

RENGMA AND ANGAMI WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN NAGALAND: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY

**A THESIS SUBMITTED DURING 2022 TO THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

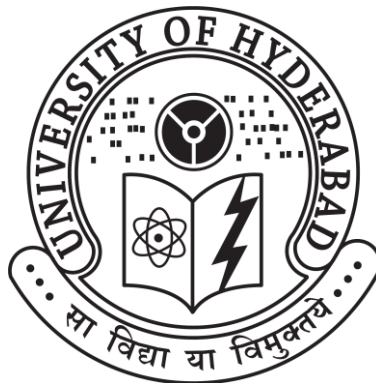
IN

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND
INCLUSIVE POLICY.**

BY

EASTROSE MIACHIEO

15SIPH03



CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND INCLUSIVE POLICY.

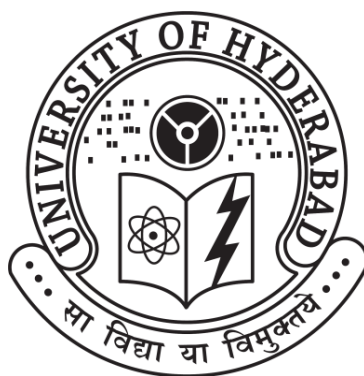
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD

HYDERABAD -500046

TELANGANA, INDIA

JANUARY 2022



Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy.

School Of Social Sciences

University Of Hyderabad

DECLARATION

I, Eastrose Miachieo hereby declare that this thesis entitled “*Rengma and Angami Women Entrepreneurs in Nagaland: An Interdisciplinary Study*”, submitted by me under the guidance and Supervision of **Prof. Ajailiu Niumai** is a bonafide research work which is also free from Plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/ INFLIBNET.

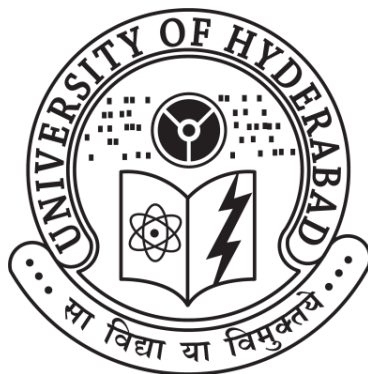
A report on plagiarism statistics from the University Librarian is enclosed.

Date: 18-01-2022

Eastrose Miachieo

Place: Hyderabad

Reg.No. 15SIPH03



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “*Rengma and Angami Women Entrepreneurs in Nagaland: An Interdisciplinary Study*”, submitted by Ms. Eastrose Miachieo bearing registration number 15SIPH03 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for award of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Social Sciences is a bonafide work carried out by her under my supervision and guidance.

The thesis is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

Further, the student has the following publications before submission of the thesis/monograph for adjudication and has produced evidence for the same in the form of acceptance letter or the reprint in the relevant area of her research: -

A. **Paper publications:**

1. Contributed a chapter on “Rengma Naga tribal women entrepreneurs in Kohima, Nagaland”, for the Book – Women Entrepreneurship: Problems and strategies, edited by Dr. V. Venkateswarlu. Published by Sucharitha Publications Vishakhapatnam, India, February 2020, First Edition. ISBN : 978-93-83729-30-2
2. Contributed a paper to Feminism in India (FII) an award-winning digital intersectional feminist media organisation, on the title “ A Rengma woman’s perspective on the issue of delimitation and district hood in Nagaland”, published December 23rd 2020 , Print Media.

3. Contributed a paper publication title “Women in Naga Society” by Sambodhi Journal (Print) ISSN: 2249-6661 UGC Care Approved, Peer Reviewed and Referred Journal Impact Factor 5.80, Vol-44-No – 1 (IV), January- March 2021.

B. Presented in the following conference:

1. Participated in the National Seminar on Discoursing shifts of the Naga society in North East India organised by Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP) School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad funded by University with the potential for Excellence (UPE- II) 14th – 15th October 2016 in collaboration with Naga Research Scholars Forum, Hyderabad.

2. Participated in the National Seminar on ‘Federal Democracy and Ethnic Identity: Challenges and Prospects’ sponsored by Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), North Eastern Regional Centre, NEHU Campus, Shillong, held at Model Christian College, A.G. Colony, Kohima, Nagaland, from 23rd to 24th November, 2017. Presented paper on ‘Identity Politics of Women in Naga Society’.

3. UGC Sponsored Two Day National Seminar on Women in Contemporary Social Realm: New Predicament and Emerging Strategies, 27th - 28th February, 2019, Organised by: Department of Sociology and Social Work, Acharya Nagarjuna University, Nagarjuna Nagar – 522 510, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, India. Presented a paper on ‘Rengma Naga tribal women Entrepreneurs in Kohima, Nagaland’.

4. Participated in the National Seminar on “State, Governance and Development in Northeast India” sponsored by ICSSR-NERC, Shillong and organised by the Department of Sociology & Research Committee, Sazolie College, Phezhu, Jotsoma, Nagaland, on 28th & 29th November, 2019. Presented a paper on ‘Analysing Naga Women Entrepreneurs through Theoretical Perspectives’.

5. 2nd International Conference on Rural Development, Social Dynamics and Women’s Welfare March 04 – 05, 2020, University of Hyderabad, India organised by Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP), Centre for Women’s Studies (CWS)

and Dean, Students' Welfare (DSW), University of Hyderabad, India. Presented a paper on 'Women Farmers in Nagaland: Challenges and Opportunities'.

Further, the student was exempted from doing coursework (recommended by Doctoral Committee) on the basis of the following courses passed during her M.Phil programme and the M.Phil. Degree was awarded:

Sl.No.	Course code	Name of the course	Credits	Pass/Fail
1	HS701	Historiography	4	Pass
2	HS702	Historical Methods	4	Pass
3	HS703	Seminar Course	4	Pass

Prof. Ajailiu Niumai
(Research Supervisor)

Head
Centre for the Study of Social
Exclusion and Inclusive Policy
(CSSEIP).

Dean
School of Social Science.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I would like to thank my Supervisor Prof. Ajailiu Niumai, for her constant support and guidance throughout my academic career. My supervisor has taught me to bring out the best qualitative work in my thesis. Madam is a true inspiration and a role model. I am grateful for getting the privilege to be working under her, as she is the best in her academic field. Ma'am has taught me to bring out the best in writing skills and also reflecting deeply on theories and methodology. Ma'am is someone who has taught me discipline and to be a perfectionist. With her deliberate support only, I could finish my thesis on time. I am grateful to my supervisor as she has encouraged me to strive for excellence in my thesis work. A true visionary, who cared for uplifting and teaching young generation of research scholars, to work deliberately for the betterment of society as well. I am forever indebted to her kindness.

I am grateful to my Doctorate committee (Dr.C) members Dr. M.N. Rajesh and Prof. Kham Khan Suan Hausing. Sir Rajesh has been supporting me since my Master's Degree (M.A.) course. I am thankful to Sir for his valuable suggestions, with his expertise in the study of North-east India. I am also thankful to Sir Suan for his suggestions and feedback for my thesis work to furnish better. They have been very patience with me and moulded me into a better research scholar.

I am grateful to Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP) faculty and staff for their constant support and humility.

I am thankful to my parents, family members and grandparents for always remembering me in their prayers. I am thankful to my friends and seniors Sapha, Bidya, Manojit, Dhana, Suman, Abin George, Shibina, Manju, Rushali, Neike, Nyan, Amihe, John Holy, Joseph, EU team Hyderabad, for their constant support.

I would also like to thank my sisters Joycy, Benny, Shany and Shonye, who took care of me during my sickness in hospital during the process of my Ph.D. journey.

I am thankful to both Catholic and Protestant Church women leaders, priest and pastors whom, I have interviewed. I am grateful to my respondents of both Rengma and Angami tribes. I am thankful to the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), Government officials in and around Kohima town.

I am thankful to Indira Gandhi Memorial Library (IGML) UoH, and Nagaland University (NU) library for providing the needed study materials.

I am thankful for the Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship (RGNF) for Schedule Tribe (ST) candidates for the financial support in my academical journey.

And mostly I am thankful to the Naga women entrepreneurs, who have shared their many untold stories and struggle on being an entrepreneur.

I would also like to thank God and dedicate my thesis work to Ajvu and Baba.

Eastrose

**RENGMA AND ANGAMI WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN NAGALAND: AN
INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY**

CONTENTS

Title	Page No.
Certificate	
Declaration	
Acknowledgements	
Contents	
List of Tables	
List of Maps	
List of Annexures	
Glossary	

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1 - 28
--------------------------------	---------------

1.1: Introduction	
1.2: Objectives of the Study	
1.3: Hypothesis	
1.4: Significance	
1.5: Scope of the Study	
1.6: Concept of Entrepreneur and Entrepreneurship	
1.7: Research Methodology	

- 1.8: Theoretical framework**
- 1.9: Research questions**
- 1.10: Limitation of the Study**
- 1.11: Benefits of the Study**
- 1.12: Chapter Schemes**

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW **29 - 50**

- 2.1: Significance of the literature review**
- 2.2: Literature review on Entrepreneur and Entrepreneurship**
- 2.3.: Literature review on women entrepreneurs**
- 2.4: Theories of entrepreneurship**
- 2.5: Literature review by various scholars- Western, Indian, Northeast Indian and Naga Scholars**
- 2.6: Conclusion**

CHAPTER 3: WOMEN IN NAGA SOCIETY **52 - 75**

- 3.1: Introduction**
- 3.2: Defining Naga Women**
- 3.3: Role and Status of Naga Women**
- 3.4: Sex ratio & Literacy rate in Nagaland**
- 3.5: Women in Naga Society**
- 3.6: Economy in Naga Society: The Socio-economic role of Naga women**
- 3.7: Culture and Women**
- 3.8: Identity politics of Naga women**
- 3.8.1: Role of Naga Mother's Association (NMA)**

3.8.2: Naga women's identity

3.9: Summary

CHAPTER 4: NAGA WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN KOHIMA DISTRICT

77 - 105

4.1: Introduction

4.2: Kohima district and Tribe

4.3: Comparative study between Rengma and Angami tribe women entrepreneurs

4.4: The cross-tribal networks

4.5: Religious (Protestant and Catholic Christians) – work ethics among Naga women

4.6: Comparative study between the Protestant and Catholic churches in Kohima town

4.7: Market in Kohima district

4.8: Policies regarding women entrepreneurs in India

4.9: Social exclusion and inclusive policy on Naga women entrepreneurs

4.10: Summary

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS: NAGA WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS

108 - 155

5.1: Introduction

5.2: Proximity of market location

5.3: Socio-economic background of Rengma and Angami tribe of Protestant and Catholic women entrepreneurs

5.4: Data Analyses

5.5: Selected case studies of Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs belonging to Protestant and Catholic denominations

5.6: Types of women entrepreneurships in Kohima

5.6: Major research findings

5.7: Voices of women in government sector

5.8: Voices of women in informal sector

5.9: Summary

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION **157 - 170**

PHOTOGRAPHS **172 - 178**

REFERENCES **179 - 193**

Table No	List of Tables	Page No.
3.1	Density of Population 2001 & 2011 Census	57
3.2	Sex Ratio	59
3.3	Literacy Gap	59
3.4	Literacy ratio	60
5.1	Case Study – Rengma tribe	115
5.2	Case Study – Angami tribe	116
5.3	Income Groups	119
5.4	Employment Generation Rengma tribe	146
5.5	Employment Generation Angami tribe	147

GLOSSARY

Abbreviations

ST - Scheduled Tribe

SC - Scheduled Caste

NMA - Naga Mother's Association

CEO - Chief Executive Officer

CEP - Community Entrepreneurs Programme

NGO - Non-governmental Organisations

EA - Entrepreneurs Associates

WEFFV - Women Entrepreneurs in Fresh Fruit and Vegetables project

FFV - Fresh Fruit Vegetables

NSSO - National Sample Survey Organisation

AWO - Angami Women Organisation

RMA - Rengma Mothers Association

SHGs - Self Help Groups

WRB - Women Reservation Bill

VDB - Village Development Board

NLA - Nagaland Legislative Assembly

VIPs - Very Important Person's

RBCK - Rengma Baptist Church Kohima

ABCC - Angami Baptist Church Council

CWAKC - Catholic Women Association Christ King Church

SBCZ - Sumi Baptist Church Zunheboto

KMC - Kohima Municipal Council

OBC - Other Backward Caste

MSME - Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise

ESDP - Entrepreneurship Skill Development Programs

TREAD - Trade Related Entrepreneurship Assistance and Development Scheme for Women

WEP - Women Entrepreneurship Platform

NECTAR - North East Centre for Technology Application and Reach

MoFPI - Ministry of Food Processing Industries

EOI - Expression of Interest

STEP - Support to Training and Employment Program for women

MWCD - Ministry for Women and Child Development

NH-39 - National Highway No.39

NH-61 - National Highway No.61

CHAPTER – 1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter – 1

Introduction

1.1: Introduction

Women entrepreneurship has gained momentum in the last three decades since it gives more freedom and flexibility to women than a traditional career. Entrepreneurship is an important part of the global quest for sustainable economic development and progress. This thesis examines the interdisciplinary study between Rengma and Angami women entrepreneur of both Protestant and Catholic denomination. There are different facets that contribute in making Naga women an entrepreneur. The tribal customary law and patriarchal society are analysed for understanding women in Naga society.

Naga society cannot be called as egalitarian unless both men and women are treated equally. Ironically customary law has been protecting the land but it is also detrimental to women's rights and freedom. With the passage of time, there were changes and assimilation in customary laws. These laws were made by men, which were a 'biased-selective choice' in terms of gender inequality. The customary laws are unwritten and uncodified. The law is guarded by the menfolk and is passed on orally as a practice from generation to generation. Customary laws are biased towards women when compared to men. For both the Rengma and Angami Nagas, there is no written laws like all the Naga tribes. In Naga tribal tradition, society is controlled by men. Some of the instance on customary law which is similar among both Rengma and Angami tribe is the property inheritance rights of women. Till today, women are denied of inheriting ancestor's land among the Rengma and Angami tribes.

Respondent Gwanyesha, an entrepreneur of agriculture products from Rengma tribe of Protestant denomination said, “I have only one brother, he passed away many years ago. My parents did not allow me and sisters to inherit immovable property. They gave the land to my uncles and their sons, as per the customary law”. Similarly among Angami tribe, the ancestral land can be used for terrace cultivation of rice for a certain period of time by the daughters but they cannot inherit the land. The other customary law followed by both the Rengma and Angami tribes are in decision making process, where women were excluded. There is absence of women at the village decision making body. Women are not allowed to enter the village community hall. The ‘feast of merit’ is one of the tradition which is practised by Rengma and Angami tribes. During the feast both, husband and wife take part in the ceremony which was a tradition passed down from generation and vigorously practised in rural parts of Nagaland. In this feast of merit, wife plays an important role in hosting the entire village, since men alone cannot perform the ceremony. The practice of feast of merit continues even till today which is manifested by men wearing traditional shawl and women wearing traditional mekhela and shawl (sarong). After the couple have hosted the feast of merit, they continue to wear the traditional attires as a symbol of their ceremony. In customary law, during the time of marriage, women receives traditional ornaments, traditional cloths and cattle from her parents. The Rengma and Angami tribes belonged to ‘Tenyimia’ (who believe they came from same ancestor) group. The traditional role of Rengma and Angami women are confined to domestic chores and agricultural works. Ajailiu Niumai (2015) and Lucy Zehol (1998) in their works affirms in Naga society, women are subordinate to men. The patriarchal norms and attitudes effects the status of Naga women.

The denial and under-representation of women can be solved through education, research study, policy, development and importantly the empowerment of women pragmatically. She is empowered only when she is self-sufficient. The sexist normalisation in patriarchal society

needs a reconstruction. When a woman is economically empowered social evils could be eradicated. Sustainable economy is the urgent need of the state, which could be solved through more designs and policies on entrepreneurship.

The Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship has drafted National policy for Entrepreneurship in 2015 (www.skilldevelopment.gov.in). The objective of the draft is to enable and empower individuals, as it helps the growth of individual and society as a whole. Policy makers have included specifically to promote women entrepreneurship, to increase women in workforce. They included geographically backward areas which are inhabited by the Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST), and the like. This is significant for my research on women entrepreneurs in Kohima, Nagaland. Society observes and respects those women who are literate, skilled and economically empowered. It is through education, knowledge and information that she climbs up the mobility hierarchy. Entrepreneurship is one such ladder for women to climb up and become a successful person.

There are two types of views that emerge in Naga society, viz; the indigenous Naga and Euro-American Colonizers, Thong (2014). The old traditional values are being replaced by western values. Most millennials today do not know about their culture as they invest their interest more into western culture; a trend emerging into lifestyle and demand for western clothing and living, whereas the old traditions are seen as backward. “Contemporary Nagas, progress means tangible and quantitative advancement driven by possessive materialism and accumulation” (Thong). The idea of progress is new for indigenous Nagas in true sense. It is a western concept. Thus if we look at Naga society today it is emerging into a pro-western culture. Naga society is evolving and changing with time. Despite the influence of western culture, it lacks in market globalization for entrepreneurs. Women start-up entrepreneurship often complain about the lack of modern technology. Despite the emerging trend and demand for popular culture i.e. western culture, Korean wave and the like, there is a need for reviving and reconstructing the

past culture of the Nagas. There is a need for an understanding of Naga history for the youth and to preserve Naga identity in contemporary society. The art of traditional weaving should be preserved even in our contemporary society. Schools should rigorously initiate at primary stage in imparting the knowledge of the past. Recently in the district of Wokha, through social media news, school have included extra-curricular activities for indigenous art. Further, Thong (ibid, p.164) argued that the contemporary Naga entrepreneurs' future lies in the past.

A glimpse of Naga women entrepreneurs:

I would like to highlight some of the contemporary Naga entrepreneurs whose work has inspired Naga youth and brought laurels to society.

They are as follows-

(1) Hekani Jakhalu, founder of YouthNet, is a lawyer and a social entrepreneur. She established the YouthNet (NGO) to help the youths of Nagaland in 2006 at Kohima. She was awarded the 'Nari Shakti Puraskar' in the year 2018. YouthNet was formed with a vision to promote entrepreneurship among youth in Nagaland. Her goal and vision is to popularise the brand name 'Made in Nagaland' (Naga artisan products) through entrepreneurship (<https://yourstory.com/womenentrepreneur>). She has abled to create jobs for hundreds of youths in Nagaland. Her brand is to be reckon with in the contemporary market.

(2) Zuboni Humtsoe, the founder of online fashion and handicraft brand called PreciousMeLove. PreciousMeLove which was founded in 2011. Humtsoe was awarded the 'Nari Shakti Puraskar' in the year 2017 (<https://thenortheasttoday.com/states/nagaland>). Her vision is to economically empower and liberate Naga girls and women through entrepreneurship. She hires girls and women only in her organisation.

(3) Jesmina Zeliang, founder of heirloom Naga. She has employed 450 Naga women (mostly traditional weavers from rural villages). She is the convenor of Northeast India at export

promotion council of handicraft. She is also the co-founder and owner of hotel Razhupru. And founder of 'Kane' concepts. She is an international exchange alumni of business. Her business is spread across the globe. She has recently been awarded the JSW prize for contemporary craftsmanship 2019 (www.architecturaldigest.in). Her first work sample was displayed in Delhi in the year 1993.

Why did I choose this topic for my research?

Rengma and Angami tribes are considered as major tribes in Nagaland. Despite having the major tribe status Rengma lack far behind the Angamis. The birth of female child is seen as a burden or a stigma in society. She is not seen as the forerunner of future generation. In some Naga culture, a boy is often perceived as equivalent to dozens of girls since a son will be an heir to the lineage and take care of his parents and unmarried sisters when they grow old. On the other hand, a daughter has to leave her parental home after her marriage and live with her husband's family. The Naga people believed that raising a daughter is like watering flowers in someone else's garden. During my visit at Tseminyu sub-division, I met and talked to a group of women who makes pottery. That encounter connected me to women who do business at Kohima town. I prepared a hypothesis for my research proposal in the year 2013 for my M.Phil, where I interviewed women in beauty parlour and some few women vegetable vendors in Kohima main market. Eventually, it helped me in finalising my Ph.D. thesis on women entrepreneurship. It is accepted as social norm for women not to raise their voice or ask for land rights. They accept it as part of their culture. This is still prevalent and followed as per customary law where women cannot inherit ancestral land. There are inequalities and hierarchy in every society. Similarly, Naga society also experiences gender inequality and class hierarchy. The work contribution of Naga women are under appreciated and undervalued. To

empower her not only through education but economically self-reliant is important. Entrepreneurship is one such step forward for Naga women to be resilient and succeed in life. There are many untapped talents which needs support and address both from the formal and informal sector. This research attempts to understand the religious influence on Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs on their success.

1.2: Objectives of the Study

- * To compare and contrast entrepreneurship skills between the Protestant and Catholic Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs.
- * To examine Naga women entrepreneurs through the lens of feminist theory.
- * To understand the different facets of women entrepreneurs.
- * To examine certain government policies that promote women entrepreneurship.

1.3: Hypothesis

The hypothesis will test and prove the following statements:

- 1) Angami women entrepreneurs are more successful, enterprising, hardworking, and innovative than Rengma women entrepreneurs.
- 2) Protestant and Catholic denominations influences in the making of Naga women entrepreneurs.
- 3) The customary law and patriarchy are hindrances for Naga women entrepreneurs.
- 4) Government policies on entrepreneurship include all class of Naga society.

1.4: Significance

Entrepreneurship is a practical work which is continuous and it has great prospect for the present and the future economy. Women work as entrepreneurs for livelihood especially in the case of grass-root level. Women entrepreneurs are significant for the holistic development of society. Women entrepreneurs need to have knowledge and information on government schemes and programs which will help them expand and grow as entrepreneurs. The research study on women entrepreneurs will be beneficial not only to business women but society and economy at large. The expansion of local products globally will add value to the state economy. Naga scholar (K. Yano, 2013) has highlighted globalisation and its impact among the Rengma and Angami tribes of Kohima district, as they are very close to nature i.e. agriculture. Agriculture is the main occupation of Nagaland and the key to socio-economic development. The producers in rice, vegetables and food crops are at lost due to open market system in Nagaland. It is significant to understand Naga women entrepreneurs in agricultural products, as Yano in his article has pointed on the importance on preserving the fertility of the land and also understanding the producers in market. Women entrepreneurs in agriculture and clothing sector needs proper channel to operate and export material globally. Besides the merits of globalisation Yano has pointed out the demerits of globalisation. He stated that indigenous land, its soil and fertility would be disrupted with the coming of globalisation to Nagaland. Hence, a nuance understanding and awareness is necessary in the case of globalisation in Nagaland. (Coughlin, 2002, p. 35) “Woman-owned small and medium enterprise, dominate in sectors such as agriculture, textiles, and clothing that are becoming more closely integrated into the global trading system”. Contemporary Naga society is influence by outside culture i.e. the influence of western and through Korean cultures since the 1990’s onwards. With rise and demand on food and clothing sector Naga society is undergoing a transition period from

traditional to modernity. Social media and globalisation are facilitating trade networks at a rapid speed. Globalisation can empower women through employment, the process by which local Naga products were sold overseas and compete at the international market. With improved economy, Naga women's life may be strengthened. Joseph Schumpeter (1930) highlighted on the term social innovation for business enterprise. In case of Kohima the concept of social innovation refers to new solution to the existing problems i.e. restrooms, lack of commercialization of the local products or organizational change which attempts to bring about a transformation of entrepreneurs. Werhane (2007) has highlighted the reason for low number of women as leaders in globalised world due to the prevailing narrow mindset. For instance, Naga customary law prohibits women to inherit immovable property. Women were not allowed to be in the decision making process and women were subjugated who are divorced by not giving her property and the like.

1.5: Scope of the Study

The research study will cover Rengma and Angami Naga women entrepreneurs belonging to food processing and clothing sector. The clothing sector includes traditional weaving, embroidery and western clothes. The traditional wear represent the Naga ethnicity and identity which is losing its ground. Naga women in rural areas are the most excluded group in the society. Research study has divided women into income groups to understand their socio-economic background further. The area of interest taken for study is Kohima town under Kohima district. The proximity of area, covers north zone to south zone of Kohima town. The scope of the study covers Churches in Kohima town including both Protestant and Catholic denominations to understand Rengma and Angami women's work ethics. Formal and informal networks of organisations are covered to understand the objectives and policies of respective

sectors in their contributions to women entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship is one way to empower Naga women.

1.6: Concept of Entrepreneur and Entrepreneurship

An entrepreneur is an individual who is ready to take up the risk of starting business with both means of profit and the choice of interest in her field of venture. An entrepreneur is the creator whereas entrepreneurship is the manager of business or in other words, entrepreneur refers to a person and entrepreneurship refers to the process. An entrepreneur apart from her creative idea in setting up a business. She combined with the buying and selling of products. All these works of market and investment into a business organisation as a unit is known as entrepreneurship.

According to Sills (1968) the word entrepreneur appeared in French language by the early 16th century. Men engaged in leading military expeditions were referred to as entrepreneurs. With transition of time, the term went under gradual changes with its definitions. Sharma and Dhameja (2002, p.5) “The unique character of an entrepreneur was first identified in early eighteenth century by Richard Cantillon. Joseph Schumpeter beginning in 1911, laid emphasis on human agent and entrepreneurial functions”.

One of the scholars Soundarapandian (2008, p.8) said, “An entrepreneur is a person in an organisation, with a vision, originality and daring, who acts as the boss and divides as to how, the activities shall be carried on”.

In the context of entrepreneurship, Sharma and Dhameja (2002, p.22) opines that, “Entrepreneurship refers to the function of seeking investment and production opportunity, organising an enterprise to undertake ventures on production or service, by co- coordinating men, money, machinery and material, and introducing new techniques in the overall

administration of an enterprise”. Considering the above statements, it can be argued that an entrepreneur is someone who starts a business either for profit or his own self-interest in the field. And, an entrepreneurship means the production, function, and investment of the business.

1.7: Research Methodology

An extensive study has been made to examine Rengma and Angami Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima District, based on ethnographic methodology. The implication of ethnographic methodology from feminist ethnographic perspectives, culture and society are examined. A careful study has been made to show the connections between various dimensions of ethnographic methodology.

The fieldwork was conducted formally and informally from October to December 2018 as well as for another three months from October to December 2019- which is a total of six months. The pilot study has been conducted just before joining for Ph.D. in the year 2014. Meeting and talking to those women helped improved my field-study for my Ph.D. thesis. Ethnographic methodology brings a better understanding of gender inequality in a society. Understanding a tribal community through close observation is apt for the study of Naga women entrepreneurs. Unstructured and qualitative approach were utilised to gather information on Naga women. Participant and non-participant observation, narrative and descriptive recording, interviewing, photos, questionnaire, snow-balling method, and field notes are some of the methods applied in the study. I have used the non-participant observation method by involving in their everyday activities. At the same time, I conducted individual interviews with the selected respondents at their residences and work places based on their convenient time and date. Snow-balling method was useful in this study since some respondents introduced me to their friends who agreed to be my respondents. I also used voice-recorder and maintained field notes which was converted

into verbatim. Women active in the field, their voice, expression and opinion was important as it is part of the feminist ethnographic methodology.

The respondents were selected and classified into food-processing sector, agriculture/vegetable products and clothing sector (traditional and western). Firstly, I divided the town of Kohima into geographical location from north zone to south zone. I identified those women who have been into business for decades and are well known for their work as well. Snow balling was one of the most effective method that contributed in my fieldwork. I met some of my respondents randomly as strangers introducing myself and asking them for answering my questionnaire. Observation, analysing, writing field notes, interviews, collection of data, are the techniques I applied for my study. I selected 35 respondents from Rengma and Angami tribes for my field study. There are 9 Rengma protestant women entrepreneurs and 4 catholic Rengma women entrepreneurs. On the other hand, there were 12 Angami protestant women entrepreneurs and 10 catholic Angami women entrepreneurs. Through feminist ethnography the everyday life of women were analysed. The lived life are very important to understand inequality, class structure and patriarchy in Naga society. The lives of the respondents and their perception including their voices were significant for the study. Women voices were documented through field notes and recorder. Domestic life, work life were both observed and discussed with respondents. I tried to engage with the selected women entrepreneurs and learnt from their stories. Women from marginalised group was the focus of the study. Respondents who narrated about the challenges on conventional customs and traditions which will be elaborated in chapter- 3, 4 and 5. Keeping in mind the diversity and different culture, traditions that each tribe has I tried to bring out a nuance understanding of the community. The study is critical in analysing its objectives and bringing about solution to the problems of Naga women entrepreneurs. I interacted with the selected respondents in a community and gathered data from them about their lived experiences. I have attempted to describe the women's lives.

Fieldwork experiences

Under this sub-theme, let me highlight my fieldwork experiences. I received information about Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs who have been working in Kohima from the government officials whom I met earlier and by employing the snow-balling method. I shortlisted thirty- five (35) women entrepreneurs who have been working on clothing, food, agricultural/ vegetable sector as mentioned earlier. I contacted respondents through government officials who are working in Directorate of Employment Skill Development and Entrepreneurship Kohima (Desdengl), Directorate of Industries and Commerce, Government of Nagaland Kohima, Kohima Municipal Council (KMC), Entrepreneurs Associates (EA) (October 2018 to December 2018 and October 2019 to December 2019 respectively). I contacted Protestant and Catholic churches of both Rengma and Angami tribe respondents, those who have a track record as being successful women entrepreneurs. I also consulted various government of Nagaland website and read the reviews. For instance, Gender statistics 2017-18 by government of Nagaland on female employment.

Fieldwork challenges

One of my major fieldwork challenges was scheduling the date and time to interview women entrepreneurs. I found that some of the respondents did not promptly responded to me and, some of them are busy with their business, they could not give me time to interview them. Another challenges which I encountered was that during fieldwork, many respondents were reluctant to interact with me when I broach the question of feminism. I introduced myself to all respondents. The respondents were reluctant to share their responses honestly with me therefore, I convinced that I am an insider and student, that I will not post a threat to their business. I have shared the objectives of my thesis stated that the study is to fulfil the

Philosophy of Doctorate (Ph.D.) award requirement in the Centre for the study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP) at University of Hyderabad (UoH). I did my first individual interview with Rengma tribe Protestant women entrepreneur in chandmari colony Kohima, with the help of structured questionnaires (13th October 2018). The first respondent introduced me to her friends who became my respondents.

Hence, I could comfortably interview the respondents because of the language (Rengma and Nagamese). During the fieldwork, I came to know additional women entrepreneurs and I managed to interview them.

Other challenge was some women respondents were not willing to be interviewed as there was constant harassment from underground tax collectors. They feared that giving information about their work might effect their business work. I tried to bring out the subjected group (low-income) of Naga women entrepreneurs as it is a tribal community. Feminism is a new concept in Naga society which was one of the challenges during my field work. The terminology on feminism is critique and debated among male intellectuals. During my field study some of the statements said were- ‘whether I am a feminist’, ‘feminism is a western concept’, ‘feminism in theory is acceptable but not possible in Naga context’. Some of these statements made during my field study points towards the stereotype and the dominance of patriarchal mindset in Naga society.

To affirm the above points Schrock (2013) Davis and Craven (2016) have highlighted on feminist ethnographic methods, where exploring women’s experience of oppression and representation of women are important. In feminist ethnographic methods, documenting lived experience are significant as it is impacted by gender, race, class and sexuality.

The classical works on ethnographic methodology was of William Foote Whyte. He lived among the community and studied about them. His work was regarded as the pioneer for participant observation. He describes various communities and groups within the district. An

individual must be put in his social setting and then observe his daily activities, a technique used as participant observation Whyte (Fourth edition 1993). He observes the behaviour of persons and groups in an Italian slum. Through his study, he found out the problem of the social organisation, the differences between the street corner boys and college boys. Whyte describes about families ties of having a God-Father or God-Child. There is absent of God-Father in case of Naga society. When misfortune happens in a family, the community, tribe, clan and relatives as a whole, assist forward. Whyte also point out the subject of changes in Connersville, as American- born generation grew into maturity, the pattern of life change. Similarly with changes in Naga society, there emerge binary ideology which has diversified into older and new generations. They form the important structure in Naga society. With the pace of time older generation and new generation should work together for the betterment of society. Whyte also observe that in Connersville senior girls' club exist, which belong to girls who were considered superior to others. Naga Society has come to a phase where rich is getting richer and the poor is getting poorer. The privileged class pay little or no attention toward the under-privileged class of the community. As a result this research methodology would resolve to include underprivileged sections of Naga women entrepreneurs more.

Ethnography is probably the most demanding way of performing qualitative research study Paul Ten Have (2004) highlighted Whyte classic book. Whyte wanted to study the daily life of the real people, such as women, minorities and workers. The research methodology elaborates on the importance of recordings, transcript and Interviews. Ethno methodologists tend to avoid formal research interviews as their major data source. Ethno methodology generally prefers to study 'natural occurring' situations in which such practises are observable (Have, 2004). Ethnography and field notes are significant for research methodology. Ethnography is committed to using a variety of approaches, always including direct observation of situated activities, in order to grasp the actually lived reality of a target population. Ethnography

embodies heroic side of qualitative research (Have, 2004). Taking field-notes is a crucial activity for any ethnographic endeavour. Researchers own experience plays a pivotal role in Ethnographic methodology. For a good ethno-methodology, the combination of ethnographic fieldwork and field recordings data are both instructive. The discoveries made during field study were within the society.

“Ethnography is the transference through the medium of written language, of whatever sense the ethnographer makes of the field” Channa (1992). The classical ethnographies, of Hutton and Haimendorf was analyse by Channa about Naga traditional society. Channa differentiates and make a comparative study between the two colonial writers. She points at different approach taken by them through ethnographic methodology. Both were concern with Naga society, the way they live, which is alien to westerners. They consider themselves superior while narrating about the tribal regions of Nagas. Ethnography was written with a view to present as much data as possible about society concerned. “Ethnography is a double mediation, by the cultural conditioning of the ethnographer and the conditioned response of the respondent” Channa (1992).

Recent research work in Europe on entrepreneurship focus more on qualitative and ethnographic study using interviewing and observation method. The term “becoming” for entrepreneurship was used in reference to a career, which is an ongoing process, Steyaert (1997). ‘Words are deeds’ and that through the ways we talk about entrepreneurship we also shape it. For a Naga women entrepreneur her voice is a tool in becoming a successful entrepreneur. For instance she speaks for her needs, rights and challenges which needs to be addressed and considered. Believing and striving as entrepreneur is an ongoing and becoming process for most Naga women in business.

Flick (2014) edited book, Rapley highlighted sampling strategies in qualitative research. In research especially social science focus of study is on action, interaction, identities and events.

Flick writes that data analysis turned more towards phenomena such as narratives, ethnographic description, and writing essays rather than coding and categorizing. The significant point highlighted was on sampling units that focus on socio-demographic units need to be emphasized more on social relational and conceptual units.

To conclude, the research methodology is objective in nature. It is only through ethnographic method that a community study on women entrepreneurs could be justified better. Ethnomethodology study to see the way society is, in its natural habitat. For the study of women entrepreneurs, it is only through qualitative and ethnographic study that could bring more imperative work. And also the feminist ethnography could bring out the subjected group of people into social inclusion.

1.8: Theoretical framework

The German Sociologist Max Weber in his classic work - 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism', (Talcott Parsons, 1904) argues that the Protestant work ethic aka Calvinist work ethic is a concept not only in sociology but in history, economics and theology which focuses that discipline, diligence and frugality are the consequence of a man's subscription to the values espoused by the Protestant Christianity. Interestingly, Max Weber pointed out that the religious ideas of people play a role in creating the capitalist spirit. In the contemporary Naga society, the Protestant work ethics works to a certain extent and it may be influenced by the Christian religious ideas. In my opinion, globalisation and the Protestant Christian religious idea of Naga people play a role in creating the capitalist spirit in their society. In his book, Max Weber attempts to understand the western industrial society and argues that society was emerging into industrial era in Germany and Europe as a whole. Steam power was becoming significant, but Weber believed that it is the religious ideas that could bring a better change to the society. The

rise of Capitalism could be achieved only through Protestantism. Weber makes a comparison between the Catholic sect and Protestant sect. The main point that he highlighted was Capitalism emerged due to 'set of ideas', it is not due to development in technology or steam power. These 'set of ideas' refer to the Protestant Ethics on work. The differences of holy work that could be done between the Catholic and the Protestant. Catholics believed the Holy work and confessing of sin could be cleanse only through the Priest and the Pope. It left the protestant feeling guiltier, thus they turn themselves into hard work, which is called as 'The Protestant Work Ethic'. As mentioned in the Bible, the Protestant believed that, sins of Adam, was seen and followed by constant hard work and toil. Protestant believed that God likes hard work, work can be done in the name of God, and either it be a baker or an accountant. It was a new moral of the Protestant workers. Weber writes that, for Catholics family was the main priority which he asserts is selfish. Rather the Protestant believed in the work and priority for the community and family comes secondary. Weber also uses the term, 'The disenchantment of the world', which means prosperity could be attained by thinking methodically, acting honestly and sensible. Protestant laid more emphasized on scientific invention and discovery. Weber argued that people became Capitalist as a result of their religion. He argued that certain countries failed in Capitalism, as they do not have guilty conscious or work rather indulged in celebrating the moment than investing in tomorrow. He was writing in an age of revolution and wanted society to change. Parsons in his translation work on Weber classic book writes that, the ownership of capital in management and commercial enterprises were largely participated by the Protestants. Due to the vast inheritance of material wealth most of the Protestant hold the ownership positions. In religious affiliations and social stratifications, Weber argued the different post that a Catholic and a Protestant holds. The former was more engaged in crafts whereas the later was engaged in factories and skilled labour. The Spirit of Capitalism, its concept was specifically on "the Spirit of modern Capitalism" Parsons (1976, p.52). Money

dominates men and becomes a purpose for once life, which Weber writes that ideas and knowledge are far more important than money and tools. A social entrepreneur gives back to the community, which Protestant believe in working as a whole. Naga women entrepreneurs help back to the community through employment, education, shelter and philanthropic work. This points are further elaborated in chapter 4 and 5. The existence of Capitalism were in the form of entrepreneur as, "Entrepreneurs are the labourers in modern capitalistic enterprises" Parsons (p.54). The challenges of Capitalism was traditionalism, which Weber refers the concept of traditional to aristocrat. The aristocrat entrepreneurs starts business for a profit, which is a traditional character. Similarly for Naga women entrepreneurs the challenges in business is the traditional customary laws which has norms and restrictions. Weber strongly points out that, the real beginner of Capitalism were the lower middle class group. These group of people were skilled and have the Spirit of Capitalism. Weber's theory is relevant as Christianity (both Protestant and Catholic) and Church plays a vital role in Naga society and most of the active role in market is initiated by middle and lower income group women. Majority of the Naga women were involved in agriculture, gardening (producing of food) and small scale business clothing in Kohima town. Since Nagaland is a Christian state majority of Nagas are involved in Church. As per the census 2011, 82.93% of people are Christians. The social structure of Naga society is largely interconnected with the church. From early age, children are taught to attend sunday schools as a form of socialization and nurturing spirituality. The church in Naga society attempts to uphold moral ethics. It also acts as information unit, where a person feel excluded when they are not part of the church organisation. When individual deceased it is through church pastor who gives prayers and proper burial. The point here, is that church plays a major role, and to understand Naga women as entrepreneurs, the religious ethics of Protestant is apt for the research study. The Protestant believe in giving back, which is apt in case of Nagaland as majority of the Protestant give their

ten-tithes every month to church for community and religious work. Naga women generally have their instinct and ethics to help and therefore are considered as kind and generous.

Cultural feminism: Naga community is a set-up of different tribes living together who follows different cultural traditions, feast and festivals. But the common thing that can be observed is the prevalence of women subjugated in ancestral land rights, lack of speech in public domain, stigmatization of her role as women and debarred her from village councils. It is through Cultural feminist theory, we can find an apt understanding on the root cause of all the problem and challenges and how can it be understood and justified in a nuance concept. Cultural feminist theory basically aims to understand gender inequality. “Feminist theory seeks to analyse the conditions which shape women lives and to explore cultural understandings of what it means to be a woman” Jackson and Jones (1998, p.1). Feminism did not begin as critical theory rather as rights for women in equal wage, voting, and the like. It began as a political work to curb out gender inequality in society. Stereotypes and bias gender roles were prevalent in society. Cultural feminism derive and depart form radical feminism Echols (1983). Cultural feminist theory argued that it is the male-defined construction of women that devalue female traits. Cultural feminism critics that generally, patriarchy attributes either to be rapaciousness of male biology. Whereas cultural feminist asserts the female biology as important and considered as powerful source. Women life’s are significant since they are capable of giving offspring and nurturing the next generation. Cultural feminism took the shape of feminist ‘Capitalism’ (Echols). Feminist capitalism took shape from cultural feminism, which have been criticised as well. “Cultural feminism is the ideology of a female nature or female essence” Alcoff (1988, p. 408). In a patriarchal society women characteristics are caring, patient, kindness, empathy, graceful and the like are considered as trivial. However, this characteristics of women are important to shape the family and society. It is not right to place or fit women in certain categories due to her assigned biology at birth. Female energy as natural essence needs

to be freed from the male biology and masculinity as it is a 'parasite' Daly and Alcoff (1988). Both Daly and Alcoff were strong critics of patriarchy. John Stuart Mill (1983), was one of the pioneers, who spoke against the legal subordination of women to their husbands, an instance of patriarchy which was prevalent since time immemorial.

On the other hand, cultural feminist sees women's abilities in a new and optimistic way. Some positive traits of women asserted by feminist scholars includes self-awareness, passive, peaceful, sentimental and nurturing are all positive traits of women. Traditional domain, which is male-dominated failed to take account of entire human experience, Mahowald (1997). The pragmatic structure of society was solely for male rather than women. Women are more humanitarian, caring and nurturing than men, which are all strong traits, Jane Addams (1997). The Doctrine of the separate spheres which was widely supported in Addams era attributed moral status to faithful observance of stereotypic gender roles. It challenges both men and women to practice domestic virtues such as nurturance and care in all areas. Addams strongly argued that, society would be better with matriarchy rather than patriarchy. As women have the nurturing skill to look and educate children, and protect the sick, weak and aged which are positive trait of Matriarchy. Addams writes that deities of agriculture are always female because of their feeding nature. Therefore feeding nature of women expands beyond the family. Due to this inclination of nurturing they are perfect example for leadership quality to feed the hunger. Cultural feminism argues on the gender roles in society, which are bias and stereotypical. If we look at the gender roles assigned, a woman's role is for childcare, cooking, and cleaning at home. Whereas, outside work are left for men. These shows that women are restricted to domestic work alone. Generally it is understood that sex is biological and physiological construct whereas, gender is a social construct. These social construction gave more value to male physiology. The social construction of women are bias, as it does not consider female as importance. Here, the system assigned for male and female role, value and

work differ. In the case of traditional Naga society, many folklores and old sayings, point on the taboos made more towards female than male. If we look closer, I feel Naga society have used the 'sectional selective choice' by male law makers since time immemorial. For instance the Naga-Hoho, which is a male dominated group, takes all decision without female consent. Therefore the cultural feminist theory, implies in understanding the cultural stereotyping towards women. Cultural stereotype interpretations are in the forms of feminine gender for reproduction and masculine gender for physical strength. The objectification of women, seeing her as an object is one instance for cultural bias. Women behaviour are conditioned and structured, which reduces women into passive role. Objectification of women which is part of popular culture and a trend in society devalues her role. "Those people who possess economic power, also possess cultural power" Nayar (2018, p.11). Therefore, we need to include all class of women for building a sustainable entrepreneurship environment. Cultural feminism was one of the pioneer for feminist Capitalism.

Intersectionality theory: Intersectionality theory refers to the multiple discrimination and marginalization face by women due to gender, race, class, sexuality and the like. It propagates to find injustice that are felt by certain group of people in a community. They believe that all women face different experience and identity. Intersectionality theory use the concept of 'simultaneity' as women are marginalised. Upper class Naga women, due to her high social status and affiliation, will be treated differently compared to lower class Naga women entrepreneur.

Crenshaw (1991) highlights on women identity and subordination i.e. representational Intersectionality. Crenshaw writes the image representation of black women, which was almost similar to misogynist representation. Women of color representation in society becomes a target of sexism. It requires the complexity of understanding its representation. Similarly the case of representation of Nagas in general, is that, they are excluded, marginalised and

oppressed. Racism is the main problem faced by Nagas in India. Illiteracy and lack of representation by the mainstream media, academic curriculum and prejudice of tribal culture are some factors which lead to complex cause of racism. Naga women are the most vulnerable group in general compared to mainland women in India. In India Naga women face the problem of racism, sexism, minority group, religious minority, tribal community and being women itself add to her challenge. Representational Intersectionality is apt for the study of Naga women in general. When it comes to the privilege and under-privilege class in Naga society, there exist a difference in opportunities in terms of entrepreneurship in particular.

Intersectionality theory also brings fresh perspective in family, human rights and the like Dhamoon (2011). Here, the concept 'Family' plays an important role for a Naga women entrepreneur, as it is the family with mould and support her to become an entrepreneurs. Intersectionality theory unlike the other feminist theory include the non-white women, to study and understand the rest of the women in color. As, women are not a homogenous group rather they are different with their issues and diverse. Critics on feminism called the feminist theory to be less practical and more theoretical concept. Therefore, Scholars argue that Intersectionality theory compared to various feminist theory are more practical in nature, as it is an occurring and happening phenomenon.

The Intersectionality theory emerged as an important theory of examining the relations between patriarchal systems of Naga society in Kohima that construct Rengma and Angami Naga women's identities as agriculture workers, entrepreneurs, beauticians, mother, wife and daughter. And social location in hierarchy of power. The intersection of Rengma and Angami women in Kohima reveals that they have been excluded since past years. They encounter various forms of stigma, discrimination based on space and region in Kohima that shows their intersecting identities. Her essence could be perceived as valuable. Understanding the ethics of work and religion through Weber's theory is relevant for both the protestant and catholic Naga

women entrepreneurs. Cultural feminist theory and Intersectionality theory extend and encourage female identity.

1.9: Research questions

Each research question is based on the themes of chapter content, objectives, hypothesis and scope of the study. Some of the research questions are- What makes Naga women an entrepreneur? What are the findings and gaps in the literature reviews? What is the role of Naga women in society? What are the social networks in influencing Naga women entrepreneurs? How are the theories link to one another for the study of women entrepreneurs? Why is there a gap between the traditional and modern Naga women? Does class exist in Naga society and if yes, why is there a class differences? How do women face challenges in patriarchal society? What are the changes in Naga society? Is there a gap between the rich and the poor in Naga society? What are the key factors that promote women entrepreneurs? What are the roles of business and globalisation? What is the role of market? What is the proximity of market? What are the business sector women take up? What are the success and failure of Naga women entrepreneurs? What is the role of women in politics? What are the formal and informal network connections of women entrepreneurs? At what expense the overcoming of socio-cultural barriers can be analysed? Is tribe an important factor? Is there a gap between each tribes or are they egalitarian? Does tribe constitute success and variables for women entrepreneurs? Why some women in particular are more successful than other? Examine on cross-tribal networks? What is the idea of religion? Locate the prospect of Naga women entrepreneurs? What role does religion play for women entrepreneurs? How Christianity came and influence people of Nagaland? What are the policies on Naga women entrepreneurs? How Naga women are socially excluded?

1.10: Limitation of the Study

Limitation was on ‘time management’, many advance appointments and post-pone of meetings had to be done for the interview. Limitation was on gaining the trust factor, as personal questions and opinions were not the normalised norm for women to disclose. Unless recommended by known people, some women were hesitate to sit and respond to the questionnaire due to threat by the underground group for tax from them. There is no secondary sources available specifically on Naga women entrepreneurs. The other limitation of my study was that the list of names of women entrepreneurs who were registered in the government of Nagaland were unreachable. Registered entrepreneurs in food-processing sector declined to meet me for an interview and they stated that, they were preoccupied.

1.11: Benefits of the Study

This study will benefit students of Gender Studies and those scholars who are interested in Naga women. It will be an addition to the literature of Naga women. It helps in understanding the root cause and gaps of gender equality. It helps in empowerment of women. It helps in the policy document for gender equality of work. The study will give knowledge on the social norms which devalues women’s role. Social norm such as customary laws are bias towards women. The study will benefit the marginalised groups of women as their stories will be documented. The Naga tribal women’s voices and narratives will benefit other Naga women entrepreneurs as an inspiration to succeed in business.

1.12: Chapter Schemes

Chapter 1 deals with an overall idea of the thesis which include the introduction of the topic, objectives of the study, Hypothesis, Significance of the study, the scope of the study, concept of Entrepreneur and Entrepreneurship, Research methodology, Theoretical framework, Research Questions, limitations of the study, benefits of the study and Chapter Schemes.

Chapter 2 Covers the literature review of the study, which includes the significance of literature review, which is further divide into sub-heads as literature review on Entrepreneur and Entrepreneurship, literature review on women entrepreneurs, literature review on theories of entrepreneurship, literature review by various scholars which includes- Western, Indian, Northeast India and Naga scholars.

Chapter 3 focuses on women in Naga society. The chapter includes introduction, defining Naga women, Role and status of Naga women, Sex ratio and literacy rate in Nagaland, Economy in Naga society i.e. the socio-economic role by Naga women, Culture and Women, Identity Politics of Naga women, which is further sub-divided into two as- role of Naga Mother's Association (NMA) and the Question on Naga women identity, and lastly summary of the Chapter.

Chapter 4 focuses on the study of Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima district. It includes introduction, Kohima district and tribe, Comparative study between Rengma and Angami tribe women entrepreneurs, work ethics among Naga women which includes both the Protestant and Catholic Christian denomination, Market in Kohima town, Policies regarding women entrepreneurs in India, social exclusion and inclusive policy on Naga women entrepreneurs and summary of the chapter.

Chapter 5 deals with the Data Analysis on Naga Women entrepreneurs. It includes introduction, data analysis, the case study between Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs

belonging to Protestant and Catholic denomination, major research findings, formal sector-field visitation analysis, and Informal sector field analysis.

Chapter 6 deals with the conclusion and suggestion of the research. Thus, this thesis has been divided into six broad headings as discussed above.

CHAPTER- 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter – 2

Literature Review

2.1: Significance of literature review

The main purpose of literature review is to update the latest research findings and knowledge. We are bringing in updates and filling in. Through literature review, we can understand the research gaps. The best way is to arrange the literature review chronologically based on major points, followed by the advancement of the book mentioned. The published literature reviews that classify theory and methods are important. Reference to these literature reviews gives legitimacy to our decision to follow one approach and not others. Literature review helps in finding the key concepts defined by various scholars. It is also significant in understanding the result of research work and finding its strength and weaknesses. The main questions in literature review is on ‘how’ and ‘why’ development and changes occur in society. It helped in drawing on existing theories and methods to build a framework for research study. This literature review is divided into sections with subheadings. Both primary and secondary sources are examine and taken for the research study. Also focus of literature review highlights the objective of the study and central research questions (which was already discussed in chapter-1). Review of literature is categorised in sections as books, journals and articles on entrepreneur and entrepreneurship, the second as women entrepreneur, the third is theories of

entrepreneurship, and lastly the fourth is literature review by Western Scholars, Indian Scholars, Northeast India Scholars and Naga Scholars.

These review of literatures on women entrepreneurs are from the secondary sources which are relevant sources for understanding of Naga women entrepreneurs.

2.2: Literature review on Entrepreneur and Entrepreneurship

Jyothi et al. (2006) in their edited book on ‘Choosing an Enterprise, How What When’ highlighted the definitions of entrepreneurship. The concept of Entrepreneurship is a complex phenomenon. Entrepreneurs are the key players whereas entrepreneurship innovate and create to its environment. Since Industrial revolution, entrepreneurs have been the attention of modernization. Jyothi pointed out some of the limitations of entrepreneurship particularly in rural regions. Rural entrepreneurship are poorly conceptualised and their issues are not studied as the focal point. Finding the key issues could solve the problem that hinders rural entrepreneurship. The various skills of an entrepreneur highlighted by Jyothi were- high on initiative, the need to achieve, the entrepreneurial vision, the ability to identify and develop opportunity, the risk taking involve, commitment to work and lastly self-confidence. Jyothi summarised the function of an entrepreneur using Arthur H. Cole’s theory. The various function of an entrepreneur are deciding on the objectives of the enterprise, obtaining financial resource, development of market, development of relation with subordinate in an organisation, development of relation with society and authorities and lastly development of technological equipment. Entrepreneurs are classified into various types based on its functions such as- initiative, innovative, technological, forced and inheritance entrepreneurs. Jyothi et al. book is relevant for the research study on Naga women entrepreneurs as it highlights on rural entrepreneurs. The raw materials collected by Naga women entrepreneurs for food processing

of agricultural products from rural part of Nagaland. As Jyothi (ibid) pointed out on 'rural entrepreneurship'. In Nagaland rural entrepreneurship is not properly conceptualised even till today. This literature review highlights the different concepts, then skills, functions and classification of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurships.

Desai (2008) in his book, 'Entrepreneurial Development, Volume 1' highlights the concept of entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and development principles, program and policies. Desai defines the term entrepreneur as an individual who organise, manage and undertake the risk of an enterprise. The term entrepreneurship has more significance as it is neither an art nor a science but rather a 'practice'. Desai pointed that entrepreneurship constitute a knowledge in practice. The word entrepreneur was derived from the French verb 'entreprendre' which means 'to undertake'. Desai highlighted entrepreneurs as people who brings about an overall changes in society through innovation. Human values are sacred which inspires him to serve society. Entrepreneur thinks for the welfare of the society and in the process, he achieves economic, personal and human development.

Desai's book is relevant in understanding the Naga women entrepreneurs as the term entrepreneur is more inclined towards the humanist deeds and society. As Naga women entrepreneurs are altruistic and gives back to the society. His book is apt in understanding the term and concept of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship principles.

Talcott Parsons (1976) highlighted the term entrepreneur. Parsons argued that Weber's work "Entrepreneurs or labourers, in modern capitalist enterprises, is a condition of the further existence of present-day capitalism" (Parson, p.54). Weber's concept of capitalism was in terms of culture and development. Further, Parsons pointed out that Max Weber focuses on religious structures which shape western capitalism that emerged due to 'set of ideas', which further refers to protestant ethics on work. Parsons reviewed Max Weber's book is apt in

understanding the work ethics of Naga women entrepreneurs, as Naga women not only work for profit but they give back to society and church in particular.

2.3: Literature review on Women entrepreneurs

Some of the literature reviews to substantiate my research in understanding the tribal community especially the womenfolk are as follows:

Reilly (2008) highlighted the word ‘ethnography’ as obscure to define as it is used in different traditions, ways and discipline. Research should be like a tree diagram, starting as brief and later longer explanation. “Ethnography is a methodology that acknowledges the complexity of human experience and the need to research it by close and sustained observation of human behaviour” (Reilly). In participant observation there is a need to gain access to groups, and time, here time means we need to see how things lead to another. By participating and observing, I learn from native point of view. As observer it was important to take down notes in the field by analytical ideas. There is also the importance of group discussion and singling out of interviews. To compare private and public discourse, spontaneous group discussion gives opportunity for interaction and ideas.

Feminist ethnography gives importance to individual experience and subjected voices. Feminist approach to ethnographic research needs to comprehend that it does not exploit aspects of observations. As a whole the ethnography methods include wider context of experience, oral history, proper investigation researcher and the subject. Feminist ethnographers could contribute inequality between the marginalised group and the privilege group of women through shared experience. Feminist ethnography among many strands of feminism could engage in social and political research. Davis and Craven (2016) United States has already begun feminist ethnography in the year 2009. It helps urban low-income women

became socially and economically mobile through ethnographic work. Visweswaran (1996) defines “feminist ethnography could focus on women’s relationship to other women, and the power differentials between them”.

Gray (2003) highlights on ethnographic methods and cultural studies. In the process of study, there is the requirement of gathering knowledge and information, groups and individual discussions, participant observations, dairies and different kinds of interviews. For cultural studies, there is need for flexible research methods. It meant cultural exploration at every level of cultural and social process. To avoid reflexivity, ethnographic methodology is one such useful exploration which investigates cultural process. “Cultural studies, we are part of the world which we study. We are not only participants in the cultural world, but constructed by the world” (Gray). Research methodology is a study of finding ways to answer questions. Research should be unbiased and objective. The collection of information from a situation, problems, issues and phenomenon collectively form a body of research methodology, Kumar (2011). “The impetus toward ethnography certainly lays in composition interest in issues around equity and social justice, community literacy’s, investigating writing beyond the academy” Barnard (2014). These are apt and relevant quotes applied for understanding Naga women entrepreneurs.

Moore and Buttner (1997) in their book, *Women Entrepreneurs: Moving beyond the Glass Ceiling* highlighted about the differences between the older and newer generation of entrepreneurs. The binary division of women entrepreneurs have been highlighted viz; the older generation entrepreneurs aka traditional and the new as the second generation entrepreneurs aka non-traditional. Moore and Buttner highlighted on the difference between the two types of women entrepreneurs. Based on their case study, they analysed traditional entrepreneurs who uses credits, needed assistance, dependent on training and capital. On the other hand the new

generation women entrepreneurs often upgrade in market knowledge, their personal choice was to be their own boss, women wanted to bring ideas and create market rather than earn money. Moore and Buttner also made a comparative study between women entrepreneurs in developed and undeveloped countries. In developed countries the number of women are highly employed, which is dependent on its global environment, whereas in undeveloped countries the employment rate of women is low. They highlighted that the major problem on women entrepreneur was the absence of women in higher position, such as CEO in companies, Executive and Management in other branches as well. The other problem was the lack of networking, where they pointed that women are excluded in networking organisations, and the lack of formal information in entrepreneurship. To achieve self-development and to have freedom women become entrepreneur, was one of the reasons, both Moore and Buttner have emphasized. They were assertive that women should move out for domestic works and break the glass ceiling and move beyond the social norms. They promote women to take up leadership highest roles as executive and managerial positions.

Moore and Buttner's book was relevant for the study of Naga women entrepreneurs as there are binary group of women entrepreneurs in Nagaland. Similar to their argument, traditional women were much older and they have conservative mind-set and belief. But the differences between what Moore and Buttner laid emphasized in their book compared to Naga women entrepreneurs is, Naga women entrepreneurs still lack the credit system and skill training. The new generation entrepreneurs which Moore and Buttner described maybe compared with Naga new generation women entrepreneurs who have more similarities than differences. The new generation Naga women entrepreneurs mostly fall under the age group of forty years of age and below. They want to be their own boss, be independent, and create innovation in market, and they are literate and chose to be entrepreneurs by their own interest, not for livelihood. Older generation Naga women entrepreneurs in the field of traditional clothing and weaving

are contend with women taking the secondary role or the inferior role compared to men. They assert on men taking the leadership role and decision making role. Whereas the new generation of Naga women entrepreneurs want their rights, equality in workforce and they question the various government schemes that exclude women.

2.4: Theories of entrepreneurship

Kwabena Nkansah Simpeh (2011) in his article ‘Entrepreneurship theories and Empirical research: A summary review of the literature’ highlighted about the various theories of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship theories bring forward its multi-disciplinary nature, a radiant scope for its study. The various theories are- (1) Economic entrepreneurship theory (2) Psychological entrepreneurship theory (3) Sociological entrepreneurship theory (4) Anthropological entrepreneurship theory (5) Opportunity-based entrepreneurship theory and (6) Resource based entrepreneurship theory.

Simpeh (2011) highlighted sociological entrepreneurship theory which focus traditionally on society. He highlighted on Reynolds (1991) theory, distinguishing into four categories- The Social networks, The Life course stage, Ethnic identification, and Population ecology. The first Social networks lay emphasized on building trust. As an entrepreneur, she should not take advantage to be successful, rather have optimistic social network in keeping the faith of the people. The second- the life course stage lay emphasized on experience of an individual. An entrepreneur life experience influence her action and thought, which eventually builds meaningful lives. The third on ethnic identification emphasized on social background. The push factor leads one to become an entrepreneur. Marginalised group struggle and strive for success in the field of entrepreneurship. The fourth population ecology emphasized on environment factor for business survival. Under the environmental factor include the

customers, employees, competition, political and government systems. These four points are significant in understanding sociological entrepreneurship theory, which is apt and applicable in the research study for Naga women entrepreneurs.

Sociological entrepreneurship theory is apt in understanding Naga women entrepreneurs because social entrepreneurs strive for social change. They do not anticipate only on making profit rather invest in philanthropist deeds. Social entrepreneur tries to understand why certain section of a community are excluded. It examines to bring social value, creativity, moral support and strength with regard to women entrepreneurs in particular. Social entrepreneur lay emphasized on having a better future for the marginalised and excluded group within the society. Therefore, sociological theory of entrepreneurship deals with various factors like the cultural values, expected roles, and social norms. They emphasized that entrepreneurs represent vogue personality of the society. For analysing the research study sociological theory of entrepreneurship covers the details of the culture and community.

2. 5: Literature review by various scholars- Western, Indian, Northeast Indian and Naga scholars.

Thornberry (2006) in his book ‘Lead like an entrepreneur’ highlighted on entrepreneurial leadership quality and their contribution to economic value. Entrepreneurs spirit focus on recognising, expanding, and showing new business probability. Thornberry keyword was on ‘explorer entrepreneurs’. The entrepreneurial leaders who focus on explorer markets are those individual who work on higher risk situation rather than safe and planed business. Their work does not include planning and territorial maps, therefore they are called as ‘explorer entrepreneurs’. Thornberry calls the risk involve entrepreneurs as explorers. They start their

enterprise without thinking any profit of investment nor fixed domain, rather daring and challenging entrepreneurs.

Thornberry's book is relevant for the study as entrepreneurship adds value to the economy of the state. Naga women as entrepreneurs not only contribute to the economy of the state but also they contribute to the household. The term 'explorer entrepreneur' which was given by Thornberry is applicable to Naga women entrepreneurs as their work involves high risk. The initial stage of business involve risk factor without any market knowledge. This book is relevant for Naga women entrepreneurs as it encourages on the entrepreneurial spirit. Thornberry's argument is similar to Max Weber's theory because they highlight on the 'spirit' of an entrepreneur. Protestant work for the community and they give back, similar to some Naga women entrepreneurs who work to help back the community without profit. Thornberry's book it can be understood that despite many hurdles, criticism and challenges women should not give up their spirit. They should be daring in their field as explorer entrepreneur and keep their spirit alive.

Colette Dumas (2001) in his article 'Micro enterprise training for low-income women' highlighted on the low-income group women. Dumas pointed out the need to set up CEP- Community Entrepreneurs Programme for low-income group women. One of the main barriers for low-income group women entrepreneurs was the lack of socialization. Dumas also highlighted the problems of low-income women in micro-enterprise due to lack of information, training, self-confidence and gender stereotypes. In United States, small business by women and minority saw its growth. CEP formation added to economic value. Dumas highlights the micro enterprise program help participants in getting employment and creating secondary employment as well. CEP became the central focus for low-income group women, and its centre point was women enterprise. CEP has ninety-eight per cent participants from Boston

inner city in United States, which was influential and successful in helping the low-income group women in entrepreneurship community.

This article is relevant to understand the Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) who have been working in uplifting the low-income groups of Naga women in Kohima. For instance, Entrepreneurs Associates (E.A.) which is an NGO, established in 2001 focuses on low income Naga women in rural Nagaland. Some of the problems that Dumas pointed out are similar with the low-income group of Naga women entrepreneurs, who lack the socialization spirit.

Prosper B. Matondi (2013) in his article wrote the abbreviated term 'WEFFV' for Women entrepreneurs in fresh fruit and vegetables project. He highlights the case of women entrepreneurs in Zimbabwe, and the stiff competition that affect the domestic and international markets which have endogenous and exogenous factors. The key factors of production in agricultural goods and environmental policy are both essential for women entrepreneurs in agro-business. Matondi highlighted the government inclusive policy in Zimbabwe, which was initiated for better market economy. Despite the policy, women had problems with competition from technical to production level. Matondi surveyed on the district of Goromonzi (Zimbabwe) and highlighted that marketing and production were passed on from generation to generation. The middleperson played an important role, as they could influence farmers. Farmers depended on them for markets, price and product. Matondi has highlighted on some of the policy implications, which are helpful for women entrepreneurs in agro-based sector. Women should have an access to market where there is a demand for their products. And, there is a need for market regulations. The fresh fruits and vegetables which Matondi refer as FFV, needs to have recognition. Both private and public sectors need to invest more in FFV, and lastly capacity and training development needs to be emphasized for women. Matondi adds it is essential to establish relationship with production quality to market, and the policy intervention which could improve women in FFV sector.

Kummitha (2016) highlighted about the social exclusion in India which are based on gender, caste and class. To eliminate social exclusion and discrimination, Kummitha highlights on the importance of social entrepreneurship. Social entrepreneurship is inclusive, as it adds to inclusive institutions, practices and innovation. Kummitha defines the term social entrepreneurship, which means a group of people come together to address social problems and bring together social values. Social entrepreneurship has multi-disciplinary attributes as a significant process of social, economic, political, cultural aspects. He has elaborated each social problem that hinders an entrepreneur and the solution for eradicating social issues. He highlighted the social problem for entrepreneurs such as unlearning, relearning, community penetration, problem of space, vision, social innovation, and personal sacrifices. These social problem for entrepreneurs are termed and elaborated by Kummitha, which are as follows-

- a) Unlearning process: “social entrepreneur must be willing to unlearn what she has earlier learnt in order to make sure she is willing to learn from the problem of context” (Kummitha, p. 198).
- b) Relearning process: “relearning the knowledge about local contexts and cultures would pave the path for identifying” (p. 199) the problem of social entrepreneur.
- c) Community penetration: It also means community participation and help social entrepreneur to participate in frequent community interaction.
- d) Problem of space: unlearning, relearning, community penetration would eventually led to understanding the problem of space. Providing space to participate in decision making and interaction with communities could be one solution for the problem.
- e) Vision: After understanding the problem of space, social entrepreneur takes responsibility for setting up vision. For instance a vision for employment and training.

f) Social innovation: Understanding the social problems could bring solution for social innovative mechanism.

g) Personal sacrifices: “social entrepreneur during the beginning of social enterprise forego the comfortable living environment” (p.201).

Kummitha’s book is relevant for understanding Naga women entrepreneurs as it highlights the various factors that contributes to social entrepreneurship. To understand and analyse the issues of Naga women entrepreneurs the inter-disciplinary approach need be emphasized. The main challenge in Naga community is patriarchy. There is a need for understanding the various problems and challenges faced by Naga women entrepreneurs. Kummitha highlighted environmental failure as state failure in the market. Environment factor is a relevant point in case of Nagaland due to its poor infrastructural environment. The physical geography of the region contributes to the challenges faced by Naga women entrepreneurs. For instance, the poor road conditions, poor network connectivity from rural to urban regions become a challenge for women in business. Given the geographical environment, the roads which are prone to landslides hampers businesses, as products are transported through inroads (NL 29 from Dimapur to Kohima). State government fails when they do not take up precautions and prevention measures examining the geography of the region. Majority of the business are done in-road connectivity, supplying of products to and fro. Kummitha highlighted on emphasizing personal sacrifices endure by social entrepreneur. And the need to create a better environment for entrepreneurship. Naga women should participate as equal partner to men in entrepreneurship, politics and religious issues. Kummitha’s observation about the problem and solutions for social entrepreneurs is relevant and applicable for analysing Naga women entrepreneurs, as it gives an elaborated micro-details on social entrepreneurship.

Sengupta et al. (2013) highlighted that a society that is divided on gender, has serious intimation on entrepreneurship. They surveyed by using National sample survey organisation (NSSO). According to their survey they found out that, women are expected to perform the traditional roles of a mother and wife. Women entrepreneurs face the issue for balancing family space and work space in society. They are expected to prioritise family space more. Survey also found out that many male headed entrepreneurs suffers from bias mentality. Despite more number of male heads, both men and women face the problem of marketing their products. They highlighted the yearly gross value added product, where female entrepreneurs were below the usual required standard than male. Which meant that despite female tireless effort of work, they are not paid enough or equal to the same amount of work as male. The social attitudes towards women set up boundaries for women to be an efficient entrepreneur. Which meant that societies stereotypical attitude towards women becomes a hinder for them in becoming a successful entrepreneur. They highlighted that literacy could solve the problem and educate a person in excessing information on entrepreneurial activities. Sengupta's article is relevant in the context of social issues faced by Naga women entrepreneurs. For instance, when a woman in business give more time towards work space, she is criticise for neglecting her home space. The hurdle for women entrepreneurs is the stereotype towards working women, whose time is consume mostly outside the home. Which is a relevant issue in case of Naga women. Lastly, both men and women in entrepreneurship sector in Kohima lack the marketing strategy and knowledge, which is relevant and highlighted in Sengupta's article.

Mehrotra (2002) in her article on 'perceiving feminism: some local responses' has highlighted on feminism, which emerged for the betterment of women's condition in society. She has highlighted briefly on various theories of feminism. Socialist feminist argues that the cause of oppression is due to social experiences and economic structure of society. Whereas, Cultural

feminist emphasized on the essentialist existence of women and her experience in life. Contemporary feminism has change its course with and there is diversity among women, within their region. Mehrotra's case study on middle-class activist and grass-root level activities in Delhi, has pointed the causes for women entering the field as social activist. These groups of women became activists due to idealism and political affiliation in the case of middle-class activism. Whereas, the grass-root level were mostly uneducated and they contribute mainly towards families economy. Mehrotra concluded that women enter as activist due to structural distinction and economic reasons which is part of class structure and cultural traditions. This article is relevant in understanding cultural feminism and its implication on Naga women entrepreneurs. Cultural feminism highlights on the essence of women. The femininity of women is under-appreciated which needs to be embraced. The Naga social norm, and cultural traditions has been bias towards women. Her article is relevant as customary law are bias on Naga women. Contemporary Naga society has diverse issues within the region or community. For instance Rengma and Angami tribes comparatively have different issues (heterogeneous) in case of women entrepreneurs. Mehrotra's article is relevant as, the reasons or why women enter the field as an entrepreneur was for livelihood and idealism/interest. Similarly in this thesis, there are low-income group women who turn entrepreneurs due to survival or for survival? They become entrepreneurs since they are enthusiastic to work hard and become successful. The high income group of Naga women enter the businesses as entrepreneurs mainly due to their personal interest. For instance, it is observed that a few high income groups of Naga women who are economically independent in the food-processing and clothing sectors due to their personal interest.

Nongbri (2008) in her book, *Gender, Maternity, and Entrepreneurship, The Khasis of North-East India* where she highlighted about the difficulty of locating women in a watertight compartments, as they take up number of work activities. Nongbri selected three categories of

women working in informal sector- (i) Traders (ii) Small-scale manufacturers and (iii) Contractors. In her study she highlighted the success of entrepreneurs which does not depend alone on zeal and commitment. Rather it depends on the opportunities and availability of environment resources and infrastructure. Roads, markets and power are necessary in contributing to successful entrepreneurship. She highlights the problem of women entrepreneurs, which is based on relation with gender and family. The push-factor, such as the pressure on land and non-social factor, was responsible for rural women to enter into the workforce. The problem of excluding women in policy documents and official statistics, also adds to the lack of attention in trade and micro-finance for women entrepreneurs. Historically trade was seen as male occupation in Meghalaya. In contemporary society, trade is no longer a male's occupation, but both male and female contribute in the field. General statements on 'Men as the breadwinner' is problematic, as some women earn more than their husbands. The categorization of women entrepreneurs as poor, middle and high income groups, where the poor works for survival whereas the middle and the rich work for middle and the elite class entrepreneurs work to enhance their lifestyle. Nongbri highlights the limitations for women entrepreneurs, which are due to the lack of education, lack of space to sell their products in pavements, and lack of network in work. For the poor she has to compete more than her other middle and high income group entrepreneurs in market. Bank loans are only helpful to certain section of women, and for the poor women she depends on her relatives and friends for financial support in start-up businesses.

Nongbri's book is relevant for understanding the Naga women entrepreneurs. Firstly she has categorised it into three income groups of women entrepreneurs. In this thesis, I have categorised my respondents into three categories viz, low-income group, middle-income group and high income group. I have also categorised by field study into informal sector –clothing business, food-processing and floristry, similar to Nongbri informal sector study. Nongbri

asserts that women cannot be compartmentalised in a group since they often play a multi-dimensional role in Meghalaya. And, it is the same with regard to Naga women. There are different facets that contribute in making Naga women as entrepreneurs. For instance, their status, education qualification, clan, tribe and community that contributes Naga women as entrepreneurs. Naga women have been multi-tasking with domestic chores and working outside their home for financial stability. Naga women entrepreneurs living in patriarchal society, had to deal with issues of social norms which are biased compared to men. The menfolk do the decision-making of the family and for the community, which Nongbri has also pointed on 'work and family' relation. Nongbri mentioned about the poor women working for 'livelihood' which is relevant to Naga women entrepreneurs. The rural women who sells vegetables struggle for livelihood. They work and travel from village to town in order to sell their agriculture products. The high income groups Naga women entrepreneurs are educated and with good economic background. The influence of western and Korean culture have brought about changes in Naga society which may not be desirable for those who uphold the Naga culture. For instance, the high demand for western cloths among the Naga women is due to western and Korean culture. There is a lack of demand for Naga traditional attires. The demand for western clothing has prompt some of the Naga women entrepreneurs to supply the need of the customers.

Nongbri's categorization of women entrepreneurs belonged to the first generation of women entrepreneurs, which is relevant to Naga women entrepreneurs who belonged to the first generation of entrepreneurs in clothing sector, food-processing and floristry. Nongbri has highlighted the problem of women entrepreneurs. Some of them are – the lack of proper space, lack of access to bank loans, lack of networking among business women, the exclusion of women entrepreneurs in policy documents and lastly women entrepreneurs are unaware about entrepreneurship schemes and programs. In a similar vein, Naga women entrepreneurs in

Kohima market also deal with the problem of space. For instance, those Naga women who sells forest products in the pavements of Kohima streets requires better facility and space. It is observed that Naga women start-up businesses often invest from their own personal savings. I found that most of the Naga women were not aware of taking bank loans for business at the beginning of their careers. Majority of the low-income groups of Naga women, who are mostly from rural areas could not access to bank loans. They are unaware about government schemes for entrepreneurship and lack of networking.

Networking in terms of peer groups, same sector and import and export is not practised among Naga women entrepreneurs. Northeast women as entrepreneur and particularly Naga women entrepreneurs lack the recognition and they are excluded in official documents. There is a need for inclusion and recognition about the success stories of Naga women entrepreneurs. Policies and programs on development and training for women entrepreneurs need to reach all income group (low, middle, and high) of women entrepreneurs. Central Government Schemes and policies for women entrepreneurs and Schedule Tribes are unknown to the local Naga women. They lack information and awareness and often end up contended in whatever minimum they have. Nongbri's book is relevant and significant for understanding Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima town. As it highlights the contemporary challenges and gaps in Nagaland. Women entrepreneurs could be analyse through different compartments. There is a gap and differences between the low-income Naga women entrepreneurs versus the middle and high income Naga women entrepreneurs. The former engages in entrepreneurship for their survival and the later engages in entrepreneurship due to their personal interest and for more profit.

Hokishe Sema (1986) his book, *Emergence of Nagaland: socio-economic and political transformation and the future*, has highlighted on the impact of religion in Naga society. Naga society witness two groups of faith in religion- Animism and Christianity. Before the advent of American Baptist in Nagaland, forefather's worship the huge rocks and big trees, which was

called as Pagan by the Christian colonizers. Sema highlighted the new faith i.e. Christianity which brought about many changes. For instance the consumption of rice-beer was considered as un-Christian. Every small or auspicious occasion among the Naga clan residing in a community feast with rice-beer before the coming of Christianity. Sema questions on why it was so easy for Nagas to convert into new faith? Apart from food- habits, indigenous clothing too lost its value. The art of weaving and designing mekhela (a piece of cloth with length till the ankle and which is wrap around the waist line) and shawls were discontinued. The setback Sema highlighted was Nagas themselves neglected the indigenous culture and practices. Gradually the old Naga culture is being replaced by western culture and outlook. Naga traditional cloths which represent the material culture and identity is losing its significance in contemporary society. Each traditional cloth represents the meaning and story behind the design woven in the cloth. For instance a person who has host 'the feast of merit' or who has beheaded his enemy in the war, has a special kind of shawl woven and worn by him. Traditional cloths are a sign of pride worn by Nagas. Traditional cloths are woven only by womenfolk. There was taboo and restrictions in Naga culture where men were not allowed to touch the weaving objects. Traditional shawls of different designs were worn by women which distinct them from being married and unmarried. But all the above mentioned practices no longer exist in contemporary Naga society. Traditional cloths are worn only during traditional festivals and special cultural occasion. With the coming of the American Baptist missionary it has change from religious belief to wearing and adapting of western cloth.

Sema's book is relevant for understanding Naga women entrepreneurs, in traditional clothing sector. Traditional cloths which is the identity of Nagas, ancestor's achievement were woven in shawls need to be preserved. The importance of traditional cloth and the art of weaving needs to be revived and its practice needs to be continued. His book also lay emphasize in keeping the indigenous culture alive and not to assimilate blindly on western culture.

2.6: Conclusion

To conclude, literature review has given a comprehensive understanding on entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and women entrepreneur in particular. Some of the key findings in this literature review were on the diverse concepts of entrepreneur, which today has expanded into various field of discipline. Many Scholars emphasized that entrepreneurship is neither a science nor an art, rather it is a 'Practice'. Sociological entrepreneurship theory is accurate in understanding Naga women entrepreneurs for the research study, as Naga women work for the community. To become an entrepreneur and to be successful in the field has various contributions, which has its advantages and disadvantages as well. The advantage is entrepreneurship empowers women and contribute to state economy as well. The disadvantage part is there are risk involve for women entrepreneurs. For instance, there is a risk of financial lost if business does not make any profit. The social stigma which Naga women entrepreneurs encounters in their everyday lives are mainly due to patriarchal values. Those Naga women entrepreneurs who stayed back in market place till late at night are criticised by her relatives and neighbours.

Work and home conflict as highlighted by scholars starts from rural entrepreneurs, to women entrepreneurs living in town. One of the factors that contribute in making a successful women entrepreneur is believing in herself, her mind-set to strive and succeed. Her self-compassion and reassurance contribute in her social mentality to be a successful entrepreneurs. The key points which I have analyse in this literature review by various scholars are- rural entrepreneurship needs a better concept and definition. Entrepreneurship is not only for profit

but for humanist and ethical beliefs. Social entrepreneurs are leaning more towards helping the community.

The literature review of different categories of women entrepreneurs reveals that most of low-income groups belonged to rural regions who are more traditional as compared to middle and high income groups. Traditional weavers mostly belonged to older generation in the context of Naga women entrepreneurs.

To empower women economically and socially, entrepreneurship plays a pivotal role. Literature review, highlights the significance of social entrepreneurship and its functions to understand the different problems. Women as entrepreneurs work both in their domestic household as well as outside their homes. There are some scholars who critique about the double work that women entrepreneurs engages in their household domestic work and outside their homes.

Both private and public sector need to come together in helping women entrepreneurs. Environmental factors influences the surroundings as well as the geography of the region which contributes to entrepreneurship. Most of the raw materials which the food processing entrepreneurs requires comes from the forest in Nagaland. The raw materials are transported from rural areas to Kohima by road. Therefore, good roads and infrastructure is require in Nagaland. Women faced multiple problems since they are not a homogenous group.

Review of literature also reveals the need for understanding market strategy and awareness of policies related to entrepreneurship. Revived and retrieved the indigenous culture without the bias influence of cultural globalisation, and the holistic contribution of status, background, education, clan, tribe and community help in making entrepreneur. These are some of the factors which contribute in understanding Naga women entrepreneurs.

In this chapter – 3, on literature review, some of the significant findings are- the religious factor, environmental factor and cultural factor in contributing to entrepreneurship. Therefore my

research study will focus on religious factor that affects in building an entrepreneur. Environment factor and Cultural factor influence Naga women entrepreneurs more than other group of mainland women entrepreneurs. A tribal community with its diverse ethnicity, identity, environmental biodiversity and market strategy which contribute in agro-based entrepreneurship will be analysed in coming chapters – 4 and 5. Sustainability in agriculture, economy, and perseverance of ethnic groups are some significant factors which will be addressed further in this thesis. There are various factors that make a social entrepreneur, which will be discussed in Chapter- 3. Further, I will compare and contrast the Rengma and Angami Naga women entrepreneurs, their social status, and religious belief and gender relationships in the same Chapter 3.

CHAPTER – 3

WOMEN IN NAGA SOCIETY

Chapter – 3

Women in Naga Society

3.1: Introduction

Every society undergo changes. Naga society has transitioned from traditional to modern. To understand women in Naga society it is significant to analyse its transition from socio-economic to cultural background. This chapter will examine women in Naga society through the lens of feminist theory. Cultural feminism is apt for understanding Naga women and their contribution as social entrepreneurs. Cultural feminist which focuses on patriarchy, motherhood, and female biology are found to be apt for understanding Naga women. Echols (1983) opines that cultural feminism is committed to ‘preserving’ rather than annihilating gender distinction. Cultural feminists encourages female identity for their work and social roles. These are some of the arguments highlighted by cultural feminist which will be analyse for understanding Naga women in society.

Feminism in Naga society does not mean advocacy for women's rights on the grounds of gender equality alone but it's rather an investigation into structures of women's subjugation, and denial of inheritance rights.

This chapter attempts to highlight the Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs in Kohima through the lens of feminist theory. Understanding the social background of Naga women in general and both Rengma and Angami women in particular will further give a clear understanding on Naga women entrepreneurs. Some of the sub-themes for the research study in this chapter are – defining Naga women, her role and status, sex ratio and literacy rate, women in Naga society- social practices, socio- economic role of Naga women, culture and women and lastly on the Identity politics of Naga women.

3.2: Defining Naga Women

Naga women are hardworking, loving and empathetic in nature. They give priority to their family and emphasize for the betterment of her children. The Mother instinct makes women obvious to give priority to her children and she would sacrifice herself for the family. She is a peace maker and a philanthropists in society. For example, the philanthropic activity of Naga women includes sponsoring the school fees for the poor students, donating for Church construction building and financially helping needy community (see case studies chapter -5). Naga women can be categorise into two - women who live in villages (traditional women) and women who live in town (non-traditional or modern women). Rural women are traditional, they are illiterate, and they work in the field, they are conservative and have older traditional believes. Whereas modern women are non-traditional, they live in town and they are more upgraded in terms of modern lifestyle. They are open-minded, western-dressed, educated, speak English, trendy and independent. Both category of women are talented, hardworking and

majority of them work to earn their livelihood. The question is, why is there is gap between the traditional and modern Naga women? The gap occurs due to two reasons viz; firstly, Naga women were cultural conditioned to perceive themselves as inferior. These psychological differences that was created in the mind of womenfolk, made the traditional group of women accept themselves as inferior to men. This traditional culture in psychological terms was explained by feminist Alice H. Eagly. She argued that women anticipate inequality in work and home compared to men. And secondly, education plays an important role in the gap between the traditional and modern women. Therefore, modern women who are based in Kohima and who are literate may become more successful as entrepreneurs when compared to traditional women entrepreneurs in the villages.

Manchanda (2005, p.13) in contemporary Naga society women were depicted as peacemakers. They played the mediator role between militant underground group (also called as freedom fighters among the locals) and the government. Naga women are more privileged compared to mainland India (those group of people or States which do not come under Northeast territory, also referred to as people living in the plain areas). There is absence of social evils such as Sati (historically), dowry, purdah, female infanticide in Nagaland. Naga women are religious in their faith of Christianity, which influence her daily life. According to 2011 census the total female literacy rate in India is 65.46% where male is 82.14%. Nagaland female literacy rate is 76.11% where male is 82.75% respectively. Literacy rate is higher in Nagaland i.e. compared to mainland Indian women. Naga women's characteristics are mostly friendly, humble and generous in nature.

Westernization has a huge impact on the millennial Naga women as well. To define Naga women in contemporary society, they are more drawn towards imitating Korean and Western culture, especially in clothing and food. Therefore there is a need for reviving the indigenous culture. Vibha Joshi (2008) in her book, highlights a chapter on 'women in Naga society'. Joshi

mentions that, Naga women were recognised in the field of weaving and agriculture sector. With the coming of Christianity and westernisation, Naga women transitioned from traditional culture to modernity. The skill of weaving sarong or wrap around skirt, have been replaced by readymade western clothes and garments. Contemporary Naga women are more prone towards educational learning rather than traditional weaving.

There is differences between the traditional Naga women and modern Naga women. For instance, traditional skill of weaving shawls and mekheles are mostly weaved by rural women. They also differ as entrepreneurs, when I compared the modern Naga women in town and traditional Naga women in villages. For instance, modern women in towns, are more advantages due to accessibility in market compared to village or traditional Naga women entrepreneurs.

3.3: Role and Status of Naga Women

As defined earlier, Naga Women can be categorised into two types viz; as traditional and non-traditional women or rural and modern women. Rural women play more rigorous role than modern women. In case of rural women, the Mother of the family begins her role early in the dawn, she is the first one to get up in the family. She fetched water, burn the firewood and prepare food for the family. Then she engaged herself in household activities of cleaning, mopping, washing and feed farm animals (such as cows, pigs, and chickens). Later on she will prepare herself for cultivating and working in field, while carrying her basket. She has to carry her infant child along with basket of necessary foods and items of work. In the field she works along with her family members. After whole day of hard work in the field she returns back with a heavy load in her basket. Her work after reaching home again continues in household activities and preparing for Dinner. These above narration is a typical traditional role of a Naga

women which is practise till today in villages. Village women status is recognise through her husband background of wealth and clan. Villages are more bound by customary laws and they follow traditional values and ways of life meticulously. These group of women are closer to nature and their life revolves around it, which is relevant as feminist theory associate women with nature.

Whereas, Modern women in Naga society can be further sub-divided into three categories such as lower class, middle class, and upper class women. Tripartite division is made in understanding Naga women entrepreneurs. The existence of class in Naga society emerged with pace of time, in the past there exist the village chief and the village community coexisting. Whereas with the coming of Christianity, it had large impact on tribal community. Today Ao community has the highest literacy rate 68%, which was the result of first Baptist American missionaries arriving in their region. Gradually Naga society after attaining its statehood, began to emerge from the haves and have- not John Edward (1989). Class emerged where it could be measured by educational status and those who have large amount of land-holdings. Analysing and observing Naga society, there is a gap between Naga tribes, certain community have all the privilege and other do not have basic necessity. Class categories and its privileges plays influential role in making a Naga women entrepreneur in society. To understand Naga women entrepreneurs for my research study, I have categorise it as, lower-income group, middle-income group and high-income group, which is a division based on class. Lower class women are illiterate, they are mostly housewives or small business women. In this category housewife depend on her husband's income and in some cases start her own small business example vegetable vendor seller. In case of middle class women they are mostly educated. It can be where both husband and wife are working, also in some case the husband's job income does not meet life's end meet, and therefore she becomes an entrepreneur. The high class women entrepreneurs who are mostly from privileged backgrounds generate more profit as compared

to lower and middle class women entrepreneurs. High class women entrepreneurs who are literate could access the benefit of high bid buyers across the state. For instance, women entrepreneurs in flori-culture business (respondents Kerhuo and Cheng) could supply their products to women buyers who belonged to high class background as well. Thus, the high-income groups of women entrepreneurs are independent and their own boss (self-made). The role and status of Naga women is defined by her family's background, educational status, and position in society, career and achievements as discussed above.

3.4: Sex ratio & Literacy rate in Nagaland

It is significant to highlight on the sex ratio and literacy rate of females, to have a better understanding of Naga women entrepreneurs. The below tables are taken from Census 2011 and Kohima district is laid emphasized as it is the selected region for the research on Naga women entrepreneurs.

Government of Nagaland 2011 Census on, "the density of population complied by using the area figures as computed and supplied by GIS section". Ranking of district by density (per sq.km) 2001 and 2011

States/District	Year- 2001	Year-2011
Nagaland	120	119
Kohima	173	213

(Table 3.1)

The sex ratio and literacy rate are given in the below table selected from the Government of Nagaland Census 2011:

Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males)

State/District	Year- 2001	Year- 2011
----------------	------------	------------

Nagaland in general	900	931
Kohima district	897	927

(Table 3.2)

The proportion of female population in the State and District as given by Census 2011, mentions that Nagaland has female proportion of between 48.00 – 48.50 and Kohima in proportion of 48.00 and Zunheboto district has the highest number of female population in Nagaland.

The literacy rate in 2001 was 57% and 2011 was 69 % and Mokokchung district have the highest literacy rate. The literacy rate of female and male 2011- Kohima district as given below table, as male and female gap:

Male and Female gap in literacy rate	2001	2011
Kohima District	11.73	7.72

(Table 3.3)

Whereas, the general literacy rate as given below:

Literacy rate of district	2001	2011
Kohima district	78.11	85.58

(Table 3.4)

The literacy rate of women is lower than men in Kohima. Patriarchy, gives more importance to male values i.e. priority given to sons where the enrolment of girls are lesser in government schools (Census 2011). Gender inequality prevails among all tribes in Kohima. Respondents Kesen who belonged to Rengma tribe and Tevo who belonged to Angami tribe both in agriculture sector businesses, have claimed their role to look after the household chores and

bear a child, an expected role. Their own respective families did not allow them to attend school, but pushes them to prioritise on household works. There is lack of social awareness in case of the above example of gender equality (where both son and daughters need to be treated equally).

3.5: Women in Naga Society

It is important to understand ‘How women are in Naga society?’ to have a better understanding of what leads them into becoming Naga women entrepreneurs? And how social environment is influential. The role, status, and challenges of Naga women may be examine from interdisciplinary perspectives. Naga women encounters discrimination even in our contemporary society. For instance, Naga women are not encouraged to take up leadership role. They are expected to do domestic chores at home. The social practises of Naga women highlighted them as more involve in household activities. Lucy Zehol’s (1998) book, ‘women in Naga society’ where Kelhuo has contributed a chapter on ‘women in Angami society’, and Shiloh Kath has contributed a chapter on ‘women in the Rengma society’. They highlighted the traditional role of Naga women in their respective societies. Both Rengma and Angami Naga women are denied ancestral land even till today inspite of the social transformation and technological revolution around. Marriages among the Rengma and Angami Naga tribes in the past were arranged by family members. During marriage in the past women wore traditional mekhela but today women wear western white gowns. Christian marriage ceremonies and vows has taken over the traditional cultural Naga marriage ceremonies, which brought about changes in social norms. For instance, respondent Kent, mentions that on the day of marriage among Rengma tribe, the bride and bridegroom often eat food together in the same plan tent leaf, (which is practice only by few).

The other factor of 'women in Naga society' is the leadership roles. The role of AWO (Angami Women Organisation) and RMA (Rengma Mothers Association) in Kohima. The objectives of the AWO and RMA were more drawn towards social rather than economical. Their agenda were on maintaining peace and against social evils such as drugs and alcohol use. Agriculture is the main occupation of women in rural areas, whereas women in towns started working as white collar jobs. As insider, I observed in Kohima town that, the late 1980's saw Naga women having minimum qualification started joining government job as typist. Today most of them are promoted as Gazetted officers. Generally in work role-women work continuously in the paddy field, office and business but their work were given lesser essence and underappreciated. Contemporary society still believes women are inferior to men in Naga society, it is only few percentage of men who think otherwise. I observed that, when a tragedy such as rape, molestation and eve teasing occurs in Kohima, women were told to stay at home. Such mandate are generally made by male leaders to stay indoors. This reveals the interplay of patriarchy on Naga society. It can be argued as cultural feminist perspectives which reveals the women's role and her body as valuable.

From time immemorial, men have been the decision maker for women. Naga women needs to have powerful agency besides Naga Mothers Association (NMA) to raise their voices for their choice of work, equality, women's right, liberty, social justice and the like. Naga society needs to be critically examine, how to impart knowledge on 'gender equality' and 'women empowerment'.

Naga society even today functions under the rule of village councils but unfortunately no changes or rules for women emancipation. The customary laws are still dominant in Naga society. Women are regarded as inferior due to their feminine characteristics. Women participated in socio-cultural ceremonies along with men. But ironically she is restricted from being a member of village council. Therefore, women do not take part in any decision making,

especially in rural regions, these regions abide by the customary laws more rigorously compared to regions like Kohima town and Dimapur.

Two issues stand out i.e. political representation and land rights. Land rights- the law of inheritance was from male. Selling of ancestral land would mean violation of customary law. The cultural law also denies women of her rights in work which is explained by Rosemary Dzuwichu (2017), in her article 'Energy, gender and social norms in indigenous rural societies' highlights that women have no power or any role when it comes to decision making. Women were left in household chores which is not considered a productive work, it is not counted as remuneration work. The Naga women entrepreneurs should be made aware of biases and inequality that women face in their everyday lives in order to become empowered economically and politically.

An entrepreneur attempts to be economically independent and bring financial contributions to their respective families. There are barriers for women in patriarchal society where it is expected for women to be silent, as it will mean she is well behaved, and submissive who is expected to obey her husband. Expectations and assigned roles given by other gender (male folk) the dominant group in tribal society becomes a weight of heavy burden for women's progress in society. To substantiate the social condition of womenfolk Ajailiu Niumai (2015) in her article 'Gender among the Nagas of North East India', highlighted about the exclusion of women in inheritances, politics, religion and inequality. Women have been excluded in politics and religion as they were considered as incapable of taking up leadership roles. Women are excluded from entering village council meetings, and taking up the top Church leadership roles. Traditional Morung (youth dormitory) was the place where girls were trained for social responsibilities for household work. Culturally work assignment to both men and women were different and it was considered a taboo to touch men's work and vice versa. Society subsumes into the dominant culture, in the case of women her existence and her essence has been unseen

and opprobrium. Patriarchy, superiority or sexist mind-set needs to be eradicated and educated in society. Women's issues and gaps can only be solved in educating the young mind and with an open mind. This will eventually lead to not only development of society but equality in gender.

3.6: Economy in Naga Society: The Socio-economic role of Naga women

Swabera I. Saleh (1989), in his book 'Nagaland's economy in transition since 1964' mentions that, "people believe in the dignity of labour, even a well to do lend a helping hand in jobs and manual labour" (ibid, p. 363). The Naga tribal community believed in helping each other, which is relevant in case of Rengma and Angami Naga women entrepreneurs as Philanthropists.

Saleh highlighted that, Nagaland is economically backward as compared to mainland India. Agriculture is the backbone of the economy, and when it comes to food-processing entrepreneurs, the rural women depend entirely on forest collections and planted field harvest. To have a sustainable economy for both women and agriculture, understanding of economy in Nagaland is significant. With the shift and focused to sustainable agriculture, where Nagas economy depended on is substantiated by U. A. Shimray (2002) in his article 'Equality as tradition: Women's Role in Naga society'. Shimray highlights that, "Women have more affinity to socio-cultural and economic activities", which implies women have the sympathy and potential for socio-cultural and economic work but are often unrecognised. Nagaland is a hilly state with traditional agricultural practice. Some of the methods practiced are- shifting cultivation, terrace cultivation for rice, firewood cultivation from forest and home gardens. Nagas depend on forest products and other activities such as hunting, fishing and pottery. Among the Rengma community pottery is practice by a group of women Self-Help Groups (SHG's) in Tseminyu subdivision. Among the Nagas, there is interconnection in spiritual,

cultural, and ecological environment. Both Rengma and Angami tribes are close to nature. They feel a connection of spiritual bond with mother-nature, like all the Naga tribes. Nagas in the past practice the worshipping of 'Nature' for prosperity of agriculture and community. Later, Christianity brought changes in Naga society from traditional to modernity. Apart from religious offerings to nature, the art of weaving which was practice by women decrease, as the source of income changed. Changes occurred in Naga socio-economic set up as explained by Dolly kikon (2015, p.74) in her article, 'Making pickles during a ceasefire livelihood, sustainability and development in Nagaland'. Kikon calls the period of armed conflict as 'militarised society' and a new shift of society as 'sustainable development of agriculture'. Some problems highlighted by Kikon on rural Naga women were financial problems, loss of fertility of soil and failed crops. The traditional farming practice such as the slash and burn, which is harmful for the environment needs to be controlled. The preservation of food practice with its simplest techniques during olden times needs recognition and conservation. The mentality of having sustainable farming methods can be educated more through women farmers. Women can be successful farmers, given the abundances of virgin land forest and production of vegetables which are organic and chemical free. But, the problem is 'Community land' where most of the women depended were disrupt from land being sold and she cannot take decision on land or about any land matters. According to customary law among Naga community all land matters either selling, buying, cultivation and land disputes are decided only by the menfolk.

Naga women are denied to inherit or decide about land-holdings. So the question is why laws are made at the convenient of certain group of individuals without considering the inequality in gender. Women's contribution to work are unrecognised and excluded as important work. Henrietta L. Moore (1988, p.42) in her book 'Feminism and Anthropology' highlighted on understanding women work. She generally classifies women's work into "four headings:

agriculture work, commerce, household work and wage labour” (Moore, p.43). The work she mentions is significant for understanding the work dynamics that women do. She highlights on ‘feminization of subsistence agriculture’ with two causes- male migration and commercialization of agriculture. She explains that, when men migrate in search for work, it is the women who take care of the household and subsistence work for livelihood. Women’s productive and reproductive work in domestic service, is important to focus on intersection of class, caste and race. Women in rural regions begin by growing crops for sale in the market, and subsistence crops necessary for household consumption. Women’s work are generally not counted as productive work. The types of work women does are also explained by Saleh (1989) he highlighted on the workforce, where women and men participate together in fields. Women apart from household work, works in the field in harvesting, carrying harvest, fetching water and firewood. Hunting was conducted by men and women engaged themselves in weaving. In most of the North east hills where patriarchy is the social norm, women work more. “In livelihood pattern, the most important activity is agriculture which occupies 79% of the workforce” (Saleh, *ibid*, p.12). Apart from agriculture, other manufacturing activity, included people engaging in weaving, handicraft and blacksmith. Economically Nagaland is backward due to most of its time spend on tackling insurgency, even after statehood 1963, and economy remain undeveloped.

Poonam Sinha (2003) in her article, ‘women entrepreneurship in northeast India’, highlighted the reason for the backwardness of the region. She mentions the lack of entrepreneurship in the region as one major reason for economic backwardness. She emphasised the need for motivation and social support for women entrepreneurs in northeast India.

Though northeast has markets controlled by women, it is underdeveloped and economically challenged. Respondents from both Rengma and Angami tribe’s women entrepreneurs, who are in clothing and food sector expressed that they suffer from socio-economic challenges, like

all other Naga tribal women. Some of the small-scale entrepreneurs mention that they received guidance and financial help from their family, parents and spouses. And socio-culturally women give priority to home over enterprise. Women's socio-economic roles are excluded which needs recognition and inclusion.

Saleh opines that, the main obstacle for economic development of Nagaland are the lack of transport, power, technical, and skilled personal (p.346). Respondent in food and clothing sector claims that their problems is the poor road conditions. In the periphery of Kohima road connectivity is crucial for them to supply and import their raw materials. The lack of electricity continuous today in Nagaland which effects not only the household business work but for any industrial work to developed.

3.7: Culture and Women

When we analyse Naga women's role in society, her status and her socio-economic role it often indicates, about gender inequality. And the reason for inequality indicates to the cultural construction of gender, the tribal customary laws, and the mind-set of Patriarchy. Therefore in this chapter, I will try to analyse culture and women in Naga society. What are the barriers and challenges that women entrepreneurs encounter in their everyday lives? What are the cultural stereotypes in Naga society?

Women have been excluded in the decision making body in Naga society even till today. Women are excluded in attending the village council meetings. The practice of exclusion of women in decision making bodies which indicates gender imbalance. Not allowing her to enter during meetings at Panchayat hall this practice is more rigour in villages.

In Patriarchal society women are excluded in politics and the sexist mind-set regard women as inferior. The cultural feminist view on gender by Marilyn French (2006) highlights the male-

female differences which is more towards biology than socialization. She has clearly emphasized on the root cause of Patriarchy. She explains that an oppression to one system would paved the way for other sorts of oppression. For instance, when women are oppressed by men's domination, it paved the way for other 'ism' such as racism and classism. The origin of patriarchy is important to understand for its current existence in society. In the beginning, humans lived in harmony with nature as explained by Marilyn French. She argues first human societies were probably mother centred. Women are compared to nature by cultural feminist as Mother played primary role in survival, as sustainer and reproducer of life. Nature was regarded as friend but later it changed as men started getting control over nature, and then over women. His physical strength in drilling, digging and ploughing of nature made him dominant. Thus men to women dyad patriarchy was born (French, *ibid*). The matrix of relationship between culture and women in Naga society enabled me to raise questions as to why the customary laws are formulated in favour of men. Women were seen as physically weaker, although majority of women are emotionally stronger than men. Naga men would gather together in their respective villages for the purpose of settling disputes, or to finalised decision for communities welfare. Thus, customary laws favoured men as they are the decision makers. Men were always the voice for women. Customary laws need to be protected for the good cause and use of the community. Rather there is gender disparity and customary laws were made at the convenience of menfolk. Traditional taboos were harsher towards women. There are folk stories which would treat women inferior to men. zaa

Respondent Lathong, from Rengma tribe narrates, in the past a wealthy man can only marry women from neighbouring villages as a sign of his wealth. He can marry more than one wife due to his high status and wealth. Man take pride in marrying more than one wife, whereas the same cannot be implied to a woman. With the pace of time, customary laws has the prospect in offering more women representations as village council and as heads. When a woman leader

is elected she will have her voice and would have better understanding of women issues. Empowering women is possible through the practice of entrepreneurship. When a woman is economically self-sufficient she overcomes the traditional cultural barriers. In Naga society one of the primary problem which needs to be eradicated is the sexist's mind-set. Treating women as less capable, assigning her roles and judging her character and morals needs to be removed. For instance, when a widow single-handedly brings up a child, she is not appreciated but looked down upon. Too often we see men marrying off quickly when the wife dies but when compared to female it is absent. Patriarchal society acknowledges men's act and deeds even if it is questionable as normal and acceptable but in the case of women it is unacceptable. Single mother and women generally in business often becomes a target of vulnerability in society. Cultural feminist highlights on the essence of feminine quality. They argue women should take pride in their feminine traits. Women should embrace it rather than trying to assimilate in the masculine trait. Naga women are seen as the epitome of peace. Her emotions, nature, body, trust and her life process defined her, which society need to be more acceptable. Culture, its ethnicity need to be preserved but the bias treatment meted out towards women based on traditional customary laws need to be re-addressed.

Naga women are seen as the forebearer of preserving Naga culture and identity. Mother's play important role in teaching a child his/her tribal dialects and culture. Every Naga tribes have its distinct tribal dialects which are different from one another. Among Rengmas there are two dialects spoken i.e. 'Nthenyi' (northern Rengma) and 'Nzonyu' (southern Rengma). Among the Angamis, they are divided into northern Angami, southern Angami and western Angami. Dialects such as 'chakroma', 'Mima', 'Mozome' and the like are spoken among Angami tribe, but the most common dialect is 'Tenyidie'. 'Tenyidie' is a vernacular subject which is offered in higher education in Nagaland, which indicates the preserving of Naga culture and identity. Some of the examples in which Naga women cooked and preserved some exotic items includes,

‘Akhuni’ or ‘Axone’ (fermented soyabean), ‘Anishi’ (made of dried yam leaves among the Ao Nagas), ‘thevo’ or ‘mudi’ (meat cooked in its blood among the Angamis), and ‘honkeryu’ (dried fermented mustard leaves among the Rengmas). Naga women preserve Naga culture and identity by weaving mekhela (sarong), making ornaments, handicrafts, participate in various traditional festivals, engaged in folksongs and folklores. Women are the carriers of culture, who contribute to Naga society and they symbolise Naga identity.

3.8: Identity politics of Naga women

Pranab Mukherjee (2016) quote, “women empowerment is impossible in the absence of their representation in legislative bodies” (<https://m.economictimes.com>).

The identity of Naga women in politics has become a significant challenge and a question on why for decades there is no elected women representative in politics. Despite the high literacy rate, cultural globalisation, Christianity and westernization, till today there is not a single women in the Nagaland State Legislative assembly. Some of the challenges that Naga women have in their identity politics will be analyse further.

3.8.1: Role of Naga Mother’s Association (NMA)

The role that Naga Mother’s Association (NMA) played was significant as they were the pioneer in socio-political Naga women issues. NMA was formed in 1984 (Manchanda, 2005, p.13). It was a voluntary organisation to remove social evils like alcohol and drug addiction. Sano Vamuzo, the founding member of NMA, states that women are a united group when it comes for ‘peace’ in Naga society. Neidonuo Angami a Padma Shri awardee was the founder

of Naga Mother's Association (NMA) and Naga weavers Association. She represented NMA at both National and International platforms.

The only women's group which strive to address socio-political issue is the NMA. Aside from their peace-making role and their role in addressing social evils, one of the most significant issue was on 33% reservation for women in Nagaland. NMA petition on the women reservation bill also referred as Women Reservation Bill (WRB) which they have been fighting for years. In 2016 the Supreme Court allowed women reservation in urban local bodies. WRB was opposed by Naga Hoho (apex body of all Naga tribes) leaders as they assert that it violates Article 371A of the constitution. Eventually it was the conflict of interests between state and tribal groups where women were left with the question of identity politics. To substantiate, Meneno Vamuzo (2012), in her article, 'Narratives of peace: Naga Women in the self-determination struggle' writes Article 371A is both advantageous in some way and disadvantageous in other. The article protects Naga tradition on the one hand and at the same time is disadvantageous as it excludes women from any decision making bodies.

Article 371 A:

"The constitution of India under Article 371A has created special provisions for governance structures of Nagaland in order to 'respect and protect' the customary laws and practices of Nagaland. One major provision states that no act of parliament in respect of- Religious or social practices of the Nagas, Naga customary law and procedure, Administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga customary law, Ownership and transfer of land and its resources, shall apply to the state of Nagaland unless the legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decides" (Vamuzo, *ibid*, p.21).

Tribal Customary laws are unwritten and unmodified. These oppressive customary practices have emerged out of the patriarchal interpretation of laws made by men. Problem with these issue was that there were many misinformation and disinformation about 33% implementation

and its outcome. As a result, there was huge outcry and mayhem that led to the unrest in social order at the cost of few lives. Eventually women were at the receiving end at the hands of both parties to the conflict which was detrimental for the rights of women equality in Naga society. Paula Banerjee (2000) commented on women as peacemakers. NMA “do not challenge the traditional role of women but instead negotiate spaces within these roles” Banerjee (ibid, p.16). Their agenda is inclusiveness. They blend both politically and socially without questioning the traditional role of women. The root cause of the problem of Naga women are the traditional roles they were assigned to which need to be addressed. Traditional roles are one of the hindrance for women achievements as entrepreneurs. Women entrepreneurship has prospect for any such socio-political empowerment that will bring women into achieving equality in real sense.

On the continuous debate on 33% women reservation bill, Jelle J P Wouters (2017, p.8) in his article, ‘Land tax, reservation for women and customary law in Nagaland’ has highlighted on the socio-historical background of reservation on women and customary law in Nagaland. On a closer look Naga customary laws were shaped on gender inequality and subjugation. The exclusion of women from any decision making bodies suggest the dominance of patriarchy. Politics and policies had been a men’s game. The only way to overcome the exclusion is to include reservation for women in politics and policies. Most of the Naga customary law were made during Naga modern history. It was not a written law. For instance, both the ‘Dobashi’ (interpreter) and ‘Goanbura’ (village headmen) were the creation of colonial rule during the modern history.

There is change and continuity factor in Naga society, where there are group of people who follow modernity and the other who follow customary and traditional laws. Manchanda (2005, p. 6) in her article, ‘Naga women making a difference: peace building in North eastern India’, writes on the position of women in contemporary Nagaland. She highlighted “women have an

important status in Naga social and ritual life, equality does not extend to the economic and political spheres” (p.12). These are examples of inequality towards women. Women are not involved in Naga Hoho meetings and are not represented. There is a binary role of older men following the customary law and younger men welcoming women representation as highlighted by Manchanda in her article. In contemporary Naga society women are excluded from representation in tribal or village local bodies. “Nagaland Village Development Board (VDB) act reserved 25 percent for women representation” (Manchanda) which is absence. There is a need to include and reserved 25 per cent women in VDB, as empowering women will enable her to climb up the social ladder.

3.8.2: Naga women identity

Naga women have multi-dimensional challenges from patriarchy, gender roles and her identity as a woman. Socio-culturally Naga women’s identity have two facets from birth to marriage. A woman is born with an identity from her father’s lineage and when she marries she take the identity of her husband’s lineage. Men have only one fixed identity in society and children born within the marriage takes the father’s surname which is the cultural societal norm in Naga society. Women having her identity is important for empowering her in contributing to the society. Michael Oppitz (2008) in his book, ‘Naga Identities: Changing local cultures in the Northeast of India’ highlights “Naga women are living a traditional customary laws which is not helping them in any way” (p. 22). Though NMA was formed for fighting social evils there is a need to take this platform to another level and end all inferior treatment and inequality on women.

Many scholars have highlighted on gender inequality and identity politics in Nagaland. To substantiate it, Paula Banerjee (2014) in her article, 'New Conundrums for women in North-East India, Nagaland and Tripura' highlighted discrimination in political representative and role of women as peacemakers. In Nagaland, women development programmes all started during 2004 -05 as highlighted by Banerjee. Development programs for women in Nagaland started at later stage, as most of its time was invested in Naga political resolutions for independence. Women have the dual crises in the hands of government and community leaders; a fight within her own ethnic group. They are lost in their own political identity due to patriarchal norms.

Hausing (2017) highlighted patriarchy is a major challenge in Naga society. He highlighted that to call a Naga society as egalitarian is misleading as women are not treated equally. The decision made by governing bodies with regard to 33% women reservation bill, shows the failure of women empowerment and justice in Nagaland. Culturally the Naga customary law debarred women from public meetings and active participation in public space, the opposite of an egalitarian society. Naga society is deeply entrenched with patriarchy. Naga women's organisations should attempt to weaken patriarchy and continue to assert for their agency in order to bring about gender equality. He also depicts instance of stone monoliths erected where the female stone is smaller than the male stone monolith, indicating the low status of women in patrilineal society. Therefore, Hausing highlights that behind equality as tradition, Naga women are discriminated in the hands of patriarchy, which could only be solved by giving equal opportunity to women. When the rest of country in mainland India have women representative Naga women still lack in political representation for decades. Naga society should overcome the patriarchal mind-set and paved the way for women representation in politics. The equality irrespective of gender should be adhered by Naga society, least women will lose her identity and become voiceless. Nagaland as a society can only progress with the

coordination of both men and women. For women identity reservation in political seats are important. As representation matters for the welfare of the community and women in particular.

3.9: Summary

The general understanding of women in Naga society depicted women role as peacemakers and philanthropists. The two categorise of Naga women emerged having differences in work and gender ideology. Despite absence of social evils unlike mainland regions, Naga women have their problems and challenges. The social, political, cultural and economic role of Naga women all indicated towards her inferiority to men. Her role is reduced to household activities and her work within and outside home is unrecognised. Both Rengma and Angami tribe excluded ancestral landownership to women and both tribe's women organisation work for eradicating social evils. Society underappreciates women's work either as a farmer, government employee or a businesswoman compared to men. Inferiority treatment towards women is a challenge which needs to be addressed. Patriarchal society normalises women to stay indoors, at home, a challenged for working women entrepreneurs. It also asserts on biological differences between genders. The biology ideology oppresses women which needs to be eliminated. Customary laws stand out as the main perpetrator to gender inequality in the case of political representation and land rights. Socially assigned role for women has no freedom and independent for her voice and work. Rather it is a detriment. In such cases entrepreneurship becomes a tool in filling the gap of gender inequality and social biases. Entrepreneurship empowers women to be successful and independent.

Saleh (1989) and Kikon (2015) opines that, Nagaland's economy depends on agriculture. This study found that women entrepreneurship contributes to the economy of the state. Entrepreneurship is important, for women to economically empower them. It is important for a sustainable economic development in Nagaland.

Women's work are interconnected to nature, culture and religion. From Animism to Christianity women are still connected to nature. Traditional work and income changed with time. Socio-economy of Nagaland changed from militarised society to sustainable development of agriculture. Women farmers have great prospect in becoming successful entrepreneurs. Sustainable agriculture will lead to sustainable economy which is significant for development. Scholars like Saleh and Kikon as discussed in the chapter argued that Nagaland's economy is backward due to its intrinsic reasons. They argued that most of its time was spend on tackling insurgency i.e. on Naga independent demand.

The solution for socio-economic backwardness can be solved through entrepreneurship. A practice, a stability and sustainability could be seen though the potential of entrepreneurs. Women and her work, gender inequality of work, bias customary laws and sexist mind-set in patriarchal society needs a revived, reconstruction for empowering women. Women essences needs to be glorified for developed society. Works done by women organisation to eradicate social evils is not enough for women empowerment. Unless women are given a political representation and economically self-sufficient, women's issue will only remain in theory. Naga women should not be left behind. Tribal women's issues as discussed in this chapter their gaps, problems, challenges, and prospects needs to be addressed. There is a need for inclusion of women issues and solutions in policy documents and a practical goal for women's right. Feminism in Nagaland can be one small step for understanding the root cause of inequality. Feminism in Nagaland means a group of women or individual asserting their or her rights on the ground of equality for work, pay and livelihood and the like. Naga women can be seen as

the preserver of indigenous culture. Through the exotic food, traditional cloths, music and festivals (discussed in the chapter) they contribute in preserving Naga identity.

A general idea on Naga women in society in this chapter, has paved the way for understanding Naga women entrepreneurs precisely in the next fourth chapter i.e. 'Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima district'. The next chapter is divided with sub-headings viz; Introduction, Kohima district, comparative study between Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs, Religion-work ethics among Naga women, Market system: Role of Naga women in market system, Policies regarding women entrepreneurs in India, The social exclusion and Inclusive Policy on Naga women entrepreneurs, problem and challenges and lastly summary.

CHAPTER – 4

NAGA WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN KOHIMA

Chapter – 4

Naga Women Entrepreneurs in Kohima town

4.1: Introduction

This chapter focuses on Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima town. Entrepreneurship for Naga women plays a significant role in contemporary society as it paves the way for her to be self-reliant and self-sufficient. Engaging in entrepreneurship for Naga women becomes significant since they are able to help their respective families including her society which will be elaborated in this chapter. This chapter will try to understand the inequality between the socially excluded group and the privilege group. The role of religion towards Naga women entrepreneurs have been further analysed. It has also tried to understand market in Kohima

district through feminist theory. This chapter has tried to understand the objectives on why some Naga women entrepreneurs are more successful than other. This chapter has also tried to understand on various government policies for women entrepreneurs and its prospects.

4.2: Kohima district and Tribe

There are sixteenth Naga tribes in Nagaland, the Naga tribes are - Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Kachari, Khiamnuingan, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sumi, Yimchunger and Zeliang (<https://nagalandexpress.com/nagaland/nagaland-tribes/>, 2019).

As per census of India 2011, the total population of Nagaland is 19, 80,602 (provisional). The total population in Kohima district is 365,017 as per density population of 2011. The overall literacy rate in Nagaland is 79.55%, female literacy rate is 76.11%, and male literacy rate is 82.75%. The sex ratio as per 2011 census is 931 per 1000 males in Nagaland. Infant mortality rate in Nagaland is 12 per cent as per NITI Aayog (2016). ‘Gender statistics 2017-18’ (Directorate of Economic and Statistics government of Nagaland) the workforce participation rate, where there is a gap between male and female in workforce in rural and urban areas. Female workforce participation in rural areas is 44.7% and for male is 53.4% as per 2011 census. In urban areas female is 25% and male is 47%.

The Gender statistics 2017-2018 (p.87) highlights the workforce participation which has a gap between women and men in both cultivators and agricultural labourers. The female cultivators consist of 65.2% and agricultural labourer comprises of 7.3%. In comparison male cultivators comprises of 47.4% and agricultural labourer comprises of 5.8%. The above statistics reveals that, despite more number of female in work category as cultivators and agricultural labourers, women’s work are under-appreciated.

The population of Nagaland is tribal belonging to Indo-mongoloid family. Nagas in Nagaland mostly belonged to Baptist Christians. Each tribe speak different dialects, customs and festivals. Among the Angami tribe the main festival is called 'Sekrenyi' which is celebrated in the month of February. 'Sekre' means sanctification or purification and 'nyi' means festival. Gyanendra Yadav (2009, p.412) opines that, in the past, it was a ten days ceremony but today it is celebrated only for a day or two. The festival follows a circle of ceremonies, one of which is the bath in the village well. Traditionally the village youth guard the well at night as no one is allowed to fetch water during the time of Sekrenyi festival. Womenfolk are not allowed to touch or carry the well water on that day. This festival symbolises patriarchy and exclusion of Angami women from important traditional festival. The feast is conducted with rice-beer and meat, singing folk songs and wearing traditional cloths.

Important festival for the Rengmas is called 'Ngada' which is celebrated in the month of November. Ngada means the festival of harvest, it is conducted for a period of eight days. It is celebrated after the harvest of the field. Yadav (ibid, p. 424) affirms that, women visit graves of their deceased relatives on day 3 of the festival, they place small amount of rice and rice beer wrapped in plantain leaf. Rengmas believed the deceased soul would visit during the Ngada festival. The festival ends by performing folk dance, singing folk songs, and wearing traditional cloths.

The tribal art and craft include Naga shawl, bamboo and wood carvings, pottery, ornaments and weaving a traditional art which is socio-culturally significant to the Nagas. In Nagaland each district is dominated by particular tribe through population wise, which share the same customs and traditions. Kohima is dominated by Angami tribe. The region has diverse group and tribes living together. Apart from the major tribes, diverse groups from different backgrounds such as Nepali, Tibetan, Bihari, Assamese, and Marwaris reside in Kohima town. They work as manual labourers, house construction workers and run businesses around Kohima

town. Both Rengma and Angami tribes have been selected for the research study as both comes under Kohima district. Kohima is the epicentre for all developments, trends in popular culture, business and the like.

Kohima district is predominantly inhabited by people belonging to Angami tribes and Rengma tribes. However, all the other Naga tribes and non-Naga communities reside in Kohima. Rengma and Angami tribes are known for their skill in handicraft, weaving mekkelas (sarong) and designing shawls as mentioned earlier.

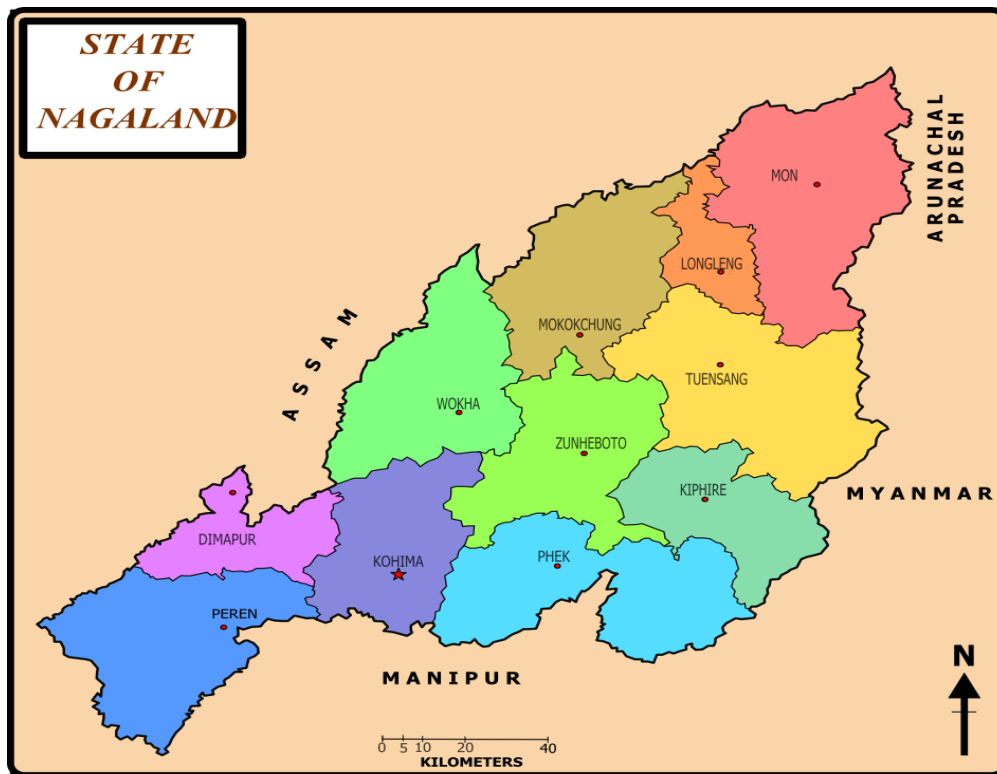
Profile of Kohima district:

Kohima is the capital of Nagaland, in Northeast India. And, Kohima district shares its boundaries with Wokha district in the north, Phek and Zunheboto district in the east, Dimapur in the west and Manipur in the south. Tseminyu subdivision, headquarter of Rengma tribe is located in the northern part of Kohima district, sharing its boundary with Wokha and Zunheboto in north and east respectively.

Kohima has a moderate pleasant climate. December and January are the coldest month of the year, hailstones and frost cold winter are experienced during the season. Kohima town is located in the southern district of Kohima. Kohima town shares municipal council status with Dimapur and Mokokchung district (Directorate of Municipal Affairs, Government of Nagaland).

Map of Nagaland: Kohima district

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_districts_of_Nagaland#/media/File:Nagalandmap.png



(Map 4.1)

4.3: Comparative study between Rengma and Angami tribe women entrepreneurs

This comparative study will be discussing on the historical background of Rengma and Angami tribes based on colonial writings. It will discuss on the cross-tribal networks and the comparison between the two tribes in detail. Nagas do not have a written script. Nagas pass on their history through folklores and orally through generations. The only source of the written past is available through colonial writings. Colonial writers such as Mills (1937) who wrote about ‘The Rengma Nagas’ and Hutton (1921) who wrote about ‘The Angami Nagas, with some notes on neighbouring tribes’ were the written sources. They gave a brief explanation on the position of women. As mention by Hutton, among the Angami’s, no women could inherit land of any sort. Rather a woman own property such as her ornaments were given to daughters.

Women status was low and recognition through female line was absent whereas men can list his male ancestors for naming. Though her status was lower than men, she would lead in welcoming the guest. Women took the lead role in agricultural work when misfortune happens to the husband and family. Marriage among the same clan or khel was forbidden. Mills mentioned in brief about the position of Rengma women. He mentions both men and women have certain allotted task of work and each individual does their own share of work. Clan supports the woman (wife) when husband mistreats her. Men bear the expenses for both the bride and marriage. Therefore, for stability both husband and wife try to co-exist to avoid problems. Women cannot inherit ancestral property which is similar to Angami tribe.

Rengma women cannot inherit ancestral property. Immovable property for cultivation can be given to daughters for cultivating for a certain period of time but cannot be inherited by them. Among Rengmas a widow can continue working in the agriculture field with the consent of the deceased husband family but she cannot inherit the field. During the time of marriage Rengma women take ornaments, traditional cloths, baskets and the like. Rengma women inherit nothing from her father or husband's house (Kath, 1998, p.85).

The study found that, the basic differences between Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs are the opportunities and privileges. Opportunities in terms of a chance for higher number of employment and privileges in terms of the advantages available, due to power and wealth which they enjoy in Kohima. When the Angamis are compared with the Rengmas, this study observe that Angamis have more political representations. Therefore, Angamis are perceived to enjoy more opportunities and privileges than the Rengma tribe. It is observed that, majority of the lands are owned by Angami tribe than Rengmas. Therefore it is perceived that Angami women have better privileges to expand and explore in the field of entrepreneurship.

Glimpse of total number of villages and population between Rengma and Angami tribes:

National Informatics Centre, Government of India (<https://kohima.nic.in>) has listed the recognised villages under Kohima district, where Angamis have 57 villages and Rengmas have only 39 villages. As per 2011 census, the total population of Angami tribe 141,732, and Rengma total population 62,951 respectively. This proves the dominances of Angami tribe in Kohima district. As per 2011 census, there are 7 Angami political representatives in the Nagaland State Assembly and Rengma have only 1 representative in the Nagaland State Assembly.

Comparatively both Rengma and Angami tribes belonged to Tenyimi, where they believe to have shared the same origin (kezhakhonoma). The Angami women entrepreneurs have better support system as start-up entrepreneurs. For instance, space - since the region i.e. Kohima town is dominated by Angami, the space is owned by them. On the other hand, the Rengma entrepreneurs have to seek permission from Angami owners for selling their products in town areas. For instance, the main shopping complex are owned by the Angamis, where they own the majority space in Kohima town. Buildings such as 'sekhose complex' where women sell second hand garments is owned by the Angamis. Angami tribe has more number of churches, SHG's, and community groups which have more opportunities and privileges for women in the field of entrepreneurship.

4.4: The cross-tribal networks

Kohima is recognised as home of the Angami tribe whereas Tseminyu the main headquarter of Rengma is a subdivision which comes under Kohima district. Both tribes are considered as major tribe in Nagaland, with the later on demand for separate district hood. The question on

whether tribe plays an important factor for women entrepreneurs shall be discussed. Women entrepreneurs in Kohima district lack in opportunities and support system from the state government, civil societies and tribal kinship affiliations.

When we examine the region of Kohima district, tribe plays an important role in its network for business comparatively between the Rengma's and the Angami's. Belongingness and dominance go together which is universal. Rengma women compared to Angami women are deprived of their rights and they are vulnerable in the socio-cultural environment.

Angami women have better cross-tribal networks. For instance, Angami Bara basti women at Kohima supermarket building which was constructed by Kohima Municipal council (KMC) under government of Nagaland. In this supermarket building Rengma women were not allowed to sell their agricultural products. Rengma women vegetable vendors sell their products in Chandmari colony Kohima. Both Angami and Rengma vegetable vendors use cash in hand for selling and buying of their products. Smart devices for payment process such as mobile phones, paytm, and google pay are absent. Their vegetable products are mostly from native villages in and around Kohima district such as Tseminyu, Phenshunny, Bara basti and Cheichama. Their vegetables are procure through middle person and through their own agricultural cultivation to those women who are travelling to Kohima. For instance, women from Phenshunny and Bara basti who are cultivators would sell their products travelling to Kohima town. When the women vendors could not sell their products on a particular day, from the middle persons whom they purchase, they would sell off at a cheaper rate than usual.

Both the formal and informal network plays its role and opportunities to help certain section of tribe among the community. Representation matters, so is the case for Angami tribe where comparatively they have better representative in politics than Rengmas. Kohima is the district headquarter for Angamis, and Tseminyu is the subdivision headquarter for Rengmas. Each region is represented by respective tribes as members of the Nagaland State Legislative

Assembly (NLA). The following are Assembly constituency represented by Angami tribe in Nagaland, having a total of seven elected members of Legislative Assembly:

Ghaspani II,

Western Angami,

Kohima town,

Northern Angami I,

Northern Angami II,

Southern Angami I, and

Southern Angami II

The Rengmas on the other hand have only one Assembly constituency as Tseminyu with one elected member of Legislative Assembly. Nagaland Legislative Assembly have its present strength of 60 members.

In matters of welfare of the community all the allotment of social community service, preference, selection of representatives and the decision making is solely done by the Angami tribe for Kohima region. Respondent Magh said “recommendations and connection play an important role in setting up a successful business and Angami colleagues get their work done easily through better networks”. Since Rengmas are under Kohima district with a sub-division their power and decision making is reduced till their own region. So Rengmas in practice do not have any representation. They are reduced to a subservient group of community. Rengmas in general have been demanding a separate district for decades. Tribalism exist and it destroys the communal harmony of society. When an elected representative is chosen for a certain portfolio for the State government, evidence shows in developing only one or particular tribe. Society as mention in the previous chapter is being reduced to the haves and the haves-not. In all this chaos of tribalism and politics of representation, women inequality doubles from the decision of the menfolk as well as the social construction of gender. Therefore, the political

networks and geographical location adds in either making or unmaking of a women entrepreneur. Comparatively both tribes show the influence of socio-political dimension in making an entrepreneur in Kohima district. Naga women in general are an inferior group to men socio-culturally, economically and politically. Among Naga women there are sub-groups and tribes, who are more excluded and subjugated particularly in Kohima district, it is observed that women issues and problems intersect. They lack the opportunities and privileges. Tseminyu sub-division under Kohima district lack in basic needs such as electricity, roads and health-care facilities are major social concerns faced by Rengma tribe. I attempted to examine whether there is a network between Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs in Kohima town. During the fieldwork, it is found that Rengma Mother's Association (RMA) and Angami Women Organisation (AWO) often network with one another. They come together with an objective to remove substance abuse, peace building and conflict issues prevailing in society. Unfortunately, this study found that there is an absences of network between the Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs. Cross-tribal networks prevail for social issues and not for entrepreneurships. Respondent Mary from Rengma tribe states that, "in clothing sector business at Tibetan market Kohima, the mentality of tribalism exist. An Angami women through her better networks would first give preferences to her fellow Angami women entrepreneurs than Rengma women entrepreneurs". I observed that, cross-tribal network is lacking in entrepreneurships.

Respondent Khrieni from Angami tribe states that, "there is no inter-tribal connection in entrepreneurship. I started my business working very hard and initially I have risk my money, time and family. I have not come across one tribe helping another tribe in entrepreneurship".

Naga women entrepreneurs often encounter risk in starting a business. This study found that most of them who are from low income group start their business because of only their interest

for this profession but also for their livelihood. Therefore, the cross tribal network for Naga women entrepreneurs is non-existent in this study.

Their problem differs from the later tribe of women. Menon (2015) in her article, 'Is feminism about 'women'? A critical view on Intersectionality from India' reiterates some of the points which is relevant for Naga women entrepreneurs was that women are not a homogenous group. Naga tribal women are not a homogenous group as echoed by Menon. Feminist politics was constituted unfairly in the constitution. Here feminist politics means women's politics are destabilised by politics of religious community, caste, identity and sexuality. John in her article, 'Intersectionality, Rejection or critical dialogue? (2015, p.73) argued that, "Intersectionality points to places where identity fails to appear or recognised as we might have expected them". Dalit women face double burden in society. They find inspiration from the struggles of black women. The comparative analyses between these two articles on Intersectionality where, Menon critics and rejects the Intersectionality theory by calling it works for profiting state and funding agencies rather than feminism. Whereas John supports the Intersectionality theory. Both writers mentioned that Indian feminism and Dalit women believes the idea of feminism to be only limited work of the urban feminist, while the other advocates for gender mainstreaming. In the context of Naga women, it is observed that they have been doubly excluded like the Dalit women since they cannot inherit immovable property and are not involve in decision –making process. Naga women are treated unfairly and within the network of community. The social construction of class in Naga society and the tribalism by certain section of individuals brings inequality. And women are at the receiving end at both the instances of inequality and discrimination. Between Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs, the later has more privilege than the former. For instance, Angamis have a district and Rengmas have a sub- division which have less opportunities for development and

women empowerment. The status, kinship affiliation and political networks help the dominant tribe more compared to minority in the same district.

The study finds that, tribe bring oneness, belongingness among the community and here tribe's language and dialect play major role. And therefore it is certain for one common speaking dialect group to prioritize its own clan first. The mentality of tribalism, the 'ism' factor, needs to be discouraged for State development and especially for women entrepreneurs. As Nagaland state is a region for holistic development of all tribes.

4.5: Religious work ethics among Naga women (Protestant and Catholic Christians)

The study of women entrepreneurs through the lens of religion is lacking in most research works. "More than ninety per cent of the Naga population is Christian" Imsong (2011, p.20). Religion plays a pivotal role for Naga women. 'Nagaland for Christ' is the slogan for the believers in the state. Max Weber's (1976) work on 'The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism' is relevant at this juncture for a better understanding of Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs. Further it will look at the two denominations of Christianity i.e. Protestant and Catholic.

According to the tradition of folklore, dance, songs and practice and the writings of secondary sources undoubtedly points to the practise of Animism among Nagas. In the olden days, they used to worship nature and offer prayers to stones and trees. Christianity brought about changes in the Naga society. The American Baptist Missionaries E.W.Clark who first came to Nagaland in 1870 (Imsong, *ibid*, p.116). They taught indigenous people that any practice which is alien to Christian beliefs was considered to be a 'Pagan'. There is a debate among scholars in Naga society on the advantages and disadvantages of the arrival of Christianity which is similar to

the debate on the arrival of westernisation. Hokishe Sema (1986) highlighted the need for reviving the past. The loss of indigenous clothing practice which is discussed in the chapter on literary review needs revival. Majority of the Naga Christians believed that Christianity has brought about positive changes and transformation in their society. The role of church as a social organisation plays a crucial role in Naga society. Unlike in mainland India where religion, politics and social organisation plays a separate body of entity in their functions, churches in Nagaland play a holistic role. A social life in Nagaland begins from church through Sunday school service, participating in church activities and information and knowledge of both social and religious topics were preached. Idea of religion was on how to behave in society, to differentiate what is right from wrong, what is moral and ethical are some of the few points indoctrinated through the medium of preaching. The church set up as a social organisation grows and develops depending on how many members of the church are wealthy and holds high social status in the community. The social stratification where the influential members of the church were given important positions and posts is practiced widely in the state. For instance, a special prayer is arranged for an influential family's well-being. Even the sitting arrangements inside the church were made in such a way that specific seat accommodations were provided for VIP's usually in the front row. Even the holding of church office positions preference is given to certain influential families. Comparing both male and female in holding important positions such as Reverend, Pastor or Deacon, women are unequally represented compared to men. There is gender inequality in holding of higher position in a religious institute and class stratification as well.

Language and dialects play a key role in formation of different protestant churches in Nagaland. The holy Bible is translated in 'Tenyidie' dialect among the Angamis and 'Nzonyu' dialect among the Rengmas. In protestant churches both the Rengma and Angami tribes elect their respective tribe pastors. Although Rengma tribe has two dialects, the Council of Rengma

Baptist Church (CRBC) decided to have only one church in Kohima town. Angami protestant churches have more than one church in Kohima town, and the parent church is known as, Angami Baptist Church Council (ABCC). Women's role and status in church is subordinate to men. There is no women appointed as pastor in Rengma Baptist Church Kohima (RBCK). Women hold subordinate positions such as deacon, finance treasurer, secretary, Sunday- school teacher and the like. Respondent Noudi from Angami tribe of Khedi Baptist Church Kohima (KBCK) village said, "There is no record of women holding the position of a pastor". Protestant churches of both Rengma and Angami tribes in Kohima town, affirms the patriarchal values and the subordinate role of women in church.

Catholic churches in Kohima town, is different from protestant churches as division or formation of churches and its congregation is not based on respective tribes. In Kohima town, some of the main catholic churches are (1) Kohima Cathedral Church Kohima, (2) St. Francis de Sales Church and (3) Christ King Catholic Church Kohima.

During my field study at Christ King Catholic Church Kohima, respondent Khrieneinu Angela, President of Catholic Women Association Christ King Church (CWAKC) narrated, about the role of catholic churches and its religious rituals performed. Catholic followers who wants to receive 'Eucharist' (a sacrament where bread and wine are consumed) have to perform the 'confessional'. Angela said, "Before Easter during the 'Lenten' season, catholic congregations fast for 40 days and collect money to help the needy and send to Rome as well". Catholic churches in Kohima town, apart from being religious body were pioneers in education. Catholic schools, colleges and universities in Nagaland, have produced toppers consecutively. Catholic institutes assist students from poor backgrounds and those belonging to catholic denominations who wants to study further at catholic educational institutes. A priest can recommend his abetment for catholic student through a written letter. Catholics are united

across the world, the Pope in Vatican is the supreme head. Prayers and religious doctrines are performed in hierarchy – at the top is the Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, Father and Sister.

Church as an Institute, revolves and assimilates into the socio-cultural environment of tribal community. Church as a religious body is connected to the family and workplace but in a different perspective. A family contributes their time, energy and money for the welfare of the Church and for spiritual blessings. For instance, among the Protestant Church in Kohima district the congregation worked hard by both men and women for the construction of a new Church building. Fund raising and Talents i.e. distribution of certain amount money to make double the profit for Church Finance. Women's Department at Church take the initiative for Talent rising in the way that they would make food items, household products and handicrafts to sell it. Women's contribution to church is very active and dominates most of the workforce in the betterment of the Church. On the other hand, the involvement of Church is indirect towards workplace for women. It is more concentrated on the spiritual guidance. There is no direct involvement of Church for women entrepreneurs in terms of providing financial assistance or encouragement in starting up new businesses. Whereas women contribute work, time and income to both family and Church.

4.6: Comparative study between the Protestant and Catholic churches in Kohima town:

The comparative study between the Protestant and Catholic churches in Kohima will be elaborated in this sub-theme. Contemporary Naga society is witnessing the high number of church construction buildings. Church apart from teaching religious doctrines, represents symbol of wealth and status of the community in Nagaland. For instance, Sumi Baptist Church Zunheboto (SBCZ) has the Asia's largest Baptist church. It was inaugurated in the year 2017.

The church cost Rs.36 cores, built by Architect Honoholi K. Chishi-Zhimomi of M/s Akitektura (<https://www.dnaindia.com>).

The head of the Protestant church is an indigenous pastor belonging to a specific tribe as church in Nagaland is based on their ethnic tribe. One of the factors is their common dialect that is spoken by certain tribal group. So the formation among Protestant church is also through tribal line. Among the Catholic churches the head Bishop is often a non-indigenous individual. Catholic churches priest are mostly South Indians from the states of Kerala, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu. The head of the church influences both Protestant and Catholic denominations. The mass or the congregation looked up to the words and teachings of the religious head. Giving a tenth of what one earns and offering cash or material goods like fruits, vegetables, rice and the like are significant part of worship in the church of Nagaland. Protestant Christians practices the act of giving to the church regularly as a manifestation of obedience to God. Among the Catholics the payment of tithes to church is a matter of individual choices and volition. Both Protestant and Catholic women contribute to church and society as Philanthropist. Both the denomination of women entrepreneurs contribute income and give back to both society and community in particular. Max Weber (1976) in his classical work 'The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism', highlights that the Calvinists were indoctrinated to have desires for accumulation of wealth. Weber was the pioneer of sociology to use the term entrepreneur. Weber introduced concept of 'calling' by reformation which means the moral obligation of individual is to fulfil his duty in worldly affairs.

When it comes to church as an institution has different contributions to society. Protestant are a dominant majority compared to Catholics in Kohima district. The Protestant church in Nagaland have different denominations- such as Revivalist, Baptist, Pentecostal, Seventh - day Adventist, Salvation Army, Evangelical and Methodist. Protestant church during its centenary or seminars conduct training for women in making pickles, cakes and the like. The Catholic

church in Kohima district are famously known for their excellent work in providing quality education to the local people. Catholic affiliated schools and colleges from the beginning of their settlement in the region till date have been playing a critical role in imparting education for the communities in Nagaland. Catholic sisters take active role in teaching. Despite different contributions to society, entrepreneurship skills between protestant and catholic women remain the same. Comparative study between the Protestant and Catholic Naga women entrepreneurs in their skills were identical. I observe, that in religious rituals and duties protestant and catholics differs, but in their work skills, they remain equivalent. Both Protestant and Catholic Naga women entrepreneurs work manually without the help of any machinery. Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima town are self-reliant and self-taught in their respective business sectors.

Respondent Semu learnt the recipes of making chilly pickles (Raja Mircha) and fruit candies through self-learning. Semu said, “I use different ingredients and taste it and used the best for commercial purpose”.

Another respondent Paphino said, ‘the guava juice recipes were for my own experimental taste, later upgraded the guava juice for business. The guava juice is medicinal and has vitamin C and good for high blood pressure. The best guava juice is kept for four years in stock’.

Respondent Keppen, said “every year during the weaving competition in Kohima, I win the first prize cash amount of ten thousand rupees only”. Keppen has high demand and pre-orders for traditional clothes, due to her talent and skill in weaving.

Thus, the above respondents affirms the protestant and catholics of Rengma and Angami tribes possess the equivalent skills for entrepreneurship i.e. self –taught and manual work. The Protestant women entrepreneurs affirms tithes regularly whereas the catholic women entrepreneurs affirms tithes only occasionally or self willingly. The Catholics used ‘English’ as the lingua franca and Protestant uses ethnic Naga dialects (each tribes have their own

churches and use their own dialects. The study found that protestant pastors draw salary from the tithes devoted by congregations and in the context of Catholic churches the salary of the priest were not drawn from church treasury but from their educational institutions and from their parent churches in south India. It is also found that the Protestant women entrepreneurs are more successful and enterprising as compared to Catholic women entrepreneurs. Perhaps it is due to the fact that there are more number of Protestant women entrepreneurs.

4.7: Market in Kohima district

Aseem Prakash (2015), “Markets are constituted through sustained human interaction where two or more parties engage in exchange of goods and services of various kinds” (ibid, p.23). In Kohima district women dominate the market especially in food and clothing sectors. These are small-scale sector and start-up businesses. Some of the questions and debates that will be discussed are the key factors that promote women entrepreneurs, the prospects of Naga women entrepreneurs, viability of the markets, the business networks, trainings, and the success and failure of Naga women entrepreneurs.

As discussed in previous chapters the factors such as gender, religion, tribe, class, and region contribute in making Naga women entrepreneurs. Aseem Prakash (2015), Naila Kabeer (1994) and Nancy Folbre (2009) are scholars who has laid emphasis on marginalise group of workers, gender and development, women’s work and market.

Kohima town is a hilly terrain with the existence of different small scale businesses. Unlike the mainland India it lacks IT sector, corporate company or large shopping complexes. Small businesses are run by both local and non-local people. Most of the retail shops are owned by non-locals. Non-locals are mostly from mainland India, neighbouring states and foreign countries. Marwari, Bihari, Nepali, Tibetan, Mallus, Assamese and Bengalis. They mostly

owned the electronic stores, grocery ration business, clothing and food business, whole-sale business, and hotels in Kohima town.

There is a stiff competition in clothing sector business. For instance, the second-hand clothes (used cloths from East-Asian countries) businesses earlier were sold mainly by the local women. Now non-locals are higher in number in selling second-hand clothes. Why do non-locals excel in business in Kohima town? One of the reason is their market strategy in dealing with customers. The non-local people prefers to work as construction workers or coolie/ daily wage labourer, driver and the like whereas the local Naga people prefers white collar jobs in Kohima. These are the different approach of mind-set towards work. Dealing with customers is another issue with regard to business in market. The culture of bargaining in food or clothing items is common. As a result, customers prefer to buy commodities in non-local shops or business. One of the reason as tactics in selling and persuading a buyer is in their skills in communication/dialogues which make it easier for non-locals. Due to which 'Jugaad' means a flexible approach to solve a problem (Indian word included in oxford English dictionary) began to increase. Non-locals with the limited resources are expert Jugaad which help them to become successful businessmen/women in Kohima town.

Markets are regulated by KMC (Kohima Municipal Council) in Kohima town. Kohima is connected only by road to other states and cities. Dimapur is connected by road, railway and Air. Naga women entrepreneurs mostly engaged in food and clothing sector, where the demand and supply is high in Kohima. Market in Kohima is more intrinsic than extrinsic. The foods and commodities that are produced (locally made) were sold and consume mostly within Kohima. There is lack of export on commodities and food processing products outside India and mainland India, which could add value to state economy. There should be a viable market (online and offline) and network for Naga women entrepreneurs to export their products in different parts of India and overseas.

The role of Naga women entrepreneurs in market:

The role of Naga women entrepreneurs in market will be analysed from theoretical perspectives of gender, work, social norms, and social identity. Prakash (2015) in his work on 'Dalit Capital' has highlighted on Markets. There are variety of Institutions in markets and social locations. Prakash highlighted the various kinds of market as institutional, norms, formal rules, social relations, and infrastructure. He highlights that caste, gender, ethnicity, religion and the like embedded into market business. Therefore, social identity of a person becomes crucial in demand, supply and profit. He mentions that identification of a person to other social group helps in Market business. Dalit as an ascribed status becomes a hindrance and subordinates them which needs a re-construction. Similarly, Naga women business network in market have various social affiliations and contributions. The factors that contribute Naga women entrepreneurs in market are – her class, tribe, region, religion and gender. Women entrepreneurs have the personality characteristics, motivation, and in some cases a support group working as team. The privileged class women entrepreneurs have more opportunities through formal networks i.e. political affiliations and Government schemes and loans to help her business expand. Upper class entrepreneurs have better market network of supply and buyers than the lower class entrepreneurs. For instance, floriculture business women entrepreneurs are more successful. They get the plants and flowers from Bangkok, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Regional location is another crucial factor that contributes to women entrepreneurs. The location of a business establishment in a busy hub region will generate more buyers that will ultimately implies more income and revenue. Business makes profit at a faster pace of time due to its high demand. Many successful entrepreneurs in business have emphasised the location and region of business as a key factor in generating profit. For instance, a Naga women selling their food items in Kohima main town would make more profit than

those women entrepreneurs in a smaller town and villages. Here, marketing strategy points to the location and region which contributes to successful entrepreneur that Naga women need to retrospect on. In Nagaland each district is dominated by a certain tribe which give privilege to the majority tribe in accessing opportunities of business networks, location and space in the market. Therefore, the dominant tribe in a region are more successful entrepreneurs than minority as tribes are helped by the informal networks such as the clan or kin-ship community. Religion is personal; its ethics on work inspire Naga women entrepreneurs as philanthropist. The religious ideology of Christianity teaches kindness, love, forgiveness and giving back to society. Most of the Naga women entrepreneurs not only make profit as entrepreneurs but prioritizes toward well-being of the community. Reason being the religious ideology of Christianity.

Nancy Folbre (2008), a feminist economist who was known for her works on family economics, non-market works and the economics of care 'argues that 'economic theory of care' is about women's work which connect people, help people to meet their needs, helping the children, sick, and elderly. These care of work are excluded and unrecognised. Similarly, work of a Naga women inside family or outside workplace is unrecognised. Women's work are marginalised and their contribution to family and community is undervalued. Folbre's economic of care and Weber's Protestant ethics, the religious ethics which focuses on work for the community and the needy, are both similar and relevant to Naga women entrepreneurs. Work ethics which is followed by most Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima town is both an advantage and a disadvantage which can be substantiated by Folbre (2001) 'The Invisible Heart: Economics and Family Values'. She highlights, profit rationalises an individual to drive wages of care workers down (economics of care). Instead of self- interest or profit motive Naga women entrepreneurs work parallel with her ethical religious belief. Disadvantages in case for financial growth income and advantages in helping community in need for care. Folbre's theory

is a contrast to Adam Smith's work on market force of supply and demand that exist due to the pursuit of self-interest. Smith work on market highlighted for profit whereas Folbre idea of work highlighted for helping the community back. Folbre's critics on the mainstream economic works, which does not include women's role. The stereotypes on Naga women entrepreneurs relating to her role in market and work becomes a challenge for her social identity. Naga women entrepreneurs play special roles as philanthropist, multi-tasking works both within her home as mother, care taker and outside her home working as entrepreneurs. Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima market work manually, they are self –reliant and independent.

4.8: Policies regarding women entrepreneurs in India

Lalitha Rani (1996, p.8) 'women entrepreneurs' writes, "From socio-cultural institutions, the majority of women are still far from enjoying the rights guarantee in the constitution".

The cabinet secretariat stated on government of India (<https://niti.gov.in/>) on the following pillars, which mentions 9 (d) Empowering women in all aspects (e) Inclusion of all groups, with special attention to economically weak, the SC, ST, OBC and rural sector (p.8).

Government of India, under the Ministry of Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises (MSME) has a scheme for Entrepreneurship Skill Development Programs (ESDP). Under the scheme 40% of Entrepreneurship scheme awareness program are for two weeks and entrepreneurship cum skill development program for six weeks will be for women. The implementing agency decide on the qualification of the participants.

Trade Related Entrepreneurship Assistance and Development Scheme for Women (TREAD) is also part of the Ministry of MSME. TREAD is a start-up initiative by government of India. This scheme envisages on economic empowerment of women. It provides credit through NGO's and by giving training, counselling and development.

NITI-Aayog under the Government of India, has set up Women Entrepreneurship Platform (WEP). It was launched in 2018 with joint partnership with United States of America. It promotes to support aspiring women entrepreneurs. Some of the areas for support are social entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial skills, marketing assistance and funding and financing assistance.

North East Centre for Technology Application and Reach (NECTAR) was established by the government of India under the Ministry of Science and Technology Government of India. The program was to create awareness of Northeast based value- added products. It created linkage between farmers and market of metro cities and marketing portals. NECTAR is for food agriculture and food processing program in Northeast region of India. It's headquarter is in Shillong, Meghalaya and had implemented its program in Nagaland for Bee keeping in Phek district and Naga Chilli sauce in Dimapur town (www.nectar.org.in).

The Ministry of Food Processing Industries (MoFPI) (www.mofpi.nic.in) issued an Expression of Interest (EOI) with the State of Nagaland. Under the Scheme it has implemented various creation of infrastructure. The Annual report 2019-2020 MoFPI (p.109) for various developmental schemes for north-eastern states. The financial assistance provided and approved by the MoFPI, under Government of India, was to set up 6 mega food parks in northeast states. Government of India has approved 1 Mega food park in Nagaland. MoFPI has approved 14 food processing units in northeast states and 10 food testing laboratories in northeast states. Nagaland has been assigned 4 food processing units and 1 food testing laboratory in Kohima, Nagaland.

Some of the scheme are to create/expand of food processing and preservation capacities, integration of cold chain and value addition infrastructure. And also to create Mega food parks (Nagaland Today, June 26, 2019). Government of India under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department for promotion of Industry and Internal trade initiated a start-up program

called Support to Training and Employment program for women (STEP) 2009. It is part of Ministry for Women and Child Development (MWCD). It aims “to provide competencies & skill that enable women to become self-employed/entrepreneurs” (www.startupindia.gov.in). The Union budget i.e. in the recent financial year 2020-21, (yourstory.com February 4, 2020) Finance Minister of India Nirmala Sitharaman has favoured budget for women entrepreneurs. She has announced women self-help groups (SHG’s) in villages and in seed distribution (daanyalakshnis). Government allocated a total of Rs. 28,600 crore for women specific schemes. The scheme budget proposed to extend MSME program (Dr. Saundarya Rajesh Social entrepreneur & founder President AVTAR group). Policies such as the MSME, ESDP, TREAD, WEP, NECTAR, MoFPI and STEP were implemented by Government of India for empowering women entrepreneurs. In Nagaland, NECTAR (North East Centre for Technology Application and Reach) have helped selected Naga women entrepreneurs in food processing and agriculture. Naga chilli sauce and bee keeping are commercialised and helped rural Chakhesang women in phrek district of Nagaland. Nagaland is at its initial, start-up stage for women entrepreneurship with the assigned and approved policies as mentioned above.

4.9: Social exclusion and inclusive policy on Naga women entrepreneurs

Naila Kabeer (1994) who is a social economist in her book ‘Revered realities: Gender hierarchies in development thought’ has highlighted about bias mainstream development theory which exclude women in current development policy.

The socially excluded group such as the tribal women are often neglected and excluded from policy documents and also the government incentives do not reach the mass of Schedule Tribes

(ST). Policy development for gender perspectives should emphasised more from the ‘bottom-up’ rather than ‘top-down’ approach Kabeer (1994).

Women mostly work in the unorganised sector as they are excluded in opportunities in skill trainings. Exclusion in regard to policies for women entrepreneurship could be seen in two ways – (1) Men are often given mechanical or productive work, which deals with public programs and has more scope for a successful business. Whereas women are trained for household handicraft work, which deals with private programs which has lesser scope for income compared to technical works. (2) Exclusion with regard to measurement of income. Generally, there is more number of male entrepreneurs than female. Despite the deprivation women faced, there exist misappropriate measurement of income among the genders. Therefore, while forming policies for women entrepreneurship, issues on its problem needs to be tackled from its root cause.

The Directorate of Employment and Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (Desdengl) in Kohima, gives vocational training to both men and women respectively. Women enrolled and trained in tailoring, knitting, flower making, beautician and the like. Men were trained in mechanical work, electrical, carpentry, plumbing and the like. In Naga society, women are not encouraged to be train in carpentry, electrical, plumbing or mechanical or any masculine jobs. Assigning of work is critiqued by cultural feminist like Echols and Folbre as discussed earlier. There is a need of implementing gender neutrality in vocational trainings, where an individual can have a choice of work and not assigned roles.

As discussed in Chapter 3 and 4, women lack in political representation, land rights, gender inequality in work and income, and socio- culturally women were seen and reduced to subordinate roles to men. Some of the issues with regard to policies on women entrepreneurs in India is; why are only a certain section of people getting the access and information to government schemes? Distribution of government funds and schemes goes through a proper

channel of paper work formalities, projects, and selection process as mentioned by government official respondents. The middle and lower class Naga women entrepreneurs lack awareness and information on government policies in entrepreneurship. The reasons are lack of awareness and advertisement about entrepreneurships. The upper class and literate Naga women entrepreneurs have more access and information to government policies than the lower class women entrepreneurs. Thus, inclusion is needed for marginalised section of the society and for the holistic development of Naga women entrepreneurs.

Social Inclusion:

Social inclusion in the context of Naga women entrepreneurs meant the involvement of women to help the weaker section or the marginalised groups in Kohima.

The participation of women in churches and entrepreneurships generate Naga women as philanthropists, who help in giving back to the community. Naga women as philanthropists as discussed in detail (chapter 5 sub-themes 5.6.) emphasised on the social inclusion of Naga women entrepreneurs.

Socio-culturally women have been defined as inferior to men, which needs to be re-constructed in educational curriculum and society in general to impart gender awareness. Gender sensitization can be implemented through public documentation, legal rights, and education to women. Through education and gender sensitization the knowledge of equality can be attained and inculcated in the minds of menfolk. When it comes to work both men and women have their important roles which contribute to society. Gender equality removes the socio-cultural mind-set of having a girl as a burden, which is one of the social evils that would results in female-infanticide and sexism with work and at home. Nagas do not practice female infanticide. But there is sexism in Naga society prevails. For instance, the absence of women representative in politics. In order to overcome the social evils women, need to empower herself. Women need to achieve autonomy and expand her abilities. It can be done through

equal distribution, enhancement of assets and capabilities. Entrepreneurship can empower women to make her personal choice and show her ability in skills and management. Policies and the study on women issues and gender equality, often end up in theory, therefore entrepreneurship is one career goal for women to enhance it practically.

4. 10: Summary

Secondary sources on Angami and Rengma tribes reveals that they have been systematically excluded from inheriting any ancestral immovable property till today. In a region dominated by a particular tribe, the majority group or tribes get better network and privileged compared to the minority tribe in the same region. Therefore, political networks, geographical location and socio-political dimensions influences Naga women to become entrepreneurs. Religion also plays significant role among Naga women entrepreneurs. Church as the religious head, plays holistic role in society. The idea of religion and the ethical values teaches in giving back selflessly. Both protestant and catholic Naga women entrepreneurs work for the welfare of the community. As mentioned in this Chapter 4- Naga women entrepreneurs contribute donations to church, sponsor the educational fees of students from poor background and employ illiterate women in their respective entrepreneurship sectors.

The contrast between protestant and catholic denomination Naga women entrepreneurs, the study finds that, it was prevalent in religious rituals and not in entrepreneurship skills. The study finds that both the denominations possess equivalent skills in entrepreneurship. Naga women are independent and self-taught in the work. Churches in Naga society plays the symbol of status and wealth in the community.

The study of entrepreneurship through religious perspectives and social environment is significant in understanding the tribal Naga women entrepreneurs. Regarding the government

policies and schemes it has tried to be inclusive to all individuals, groups and marginalised section in society. The financial year is implemented more towards women entrepreneurs. As discussed in Chapter -4 (4.8) sub themes- financial year 2020-21.

Through ethnographic method, and theoretical framework, I have tried to analyse my research study on Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima town. The tribal people's lives from their local point of view and from their own lived experiences is narrated keeping in mind the feminist ethnographic methodology.

Empowerment and development of women is the need of the hour. Today Nagas are left with unsettled boundaries, identities and chaos. Nagas should unite under the banner as 'one'. Society has been reduced to the 'selected few' who could afford better education and opportunities through kinship networks and the privilege or upper class. People living in villages are excluded of the privileges.

Mary Daly is one such cultural feminist who critics on the doctrine of religion. Contemporary society is in the verge of destruction due to many blind fundamental beliefs, which is also one of the problem in our Naga society.

Patriarchy remains a major problem in Naga society. In Naga society, men make decisions about socio-political disputes or conflict of the community at the village council. The customary laws of each tribe differ from one another. Irrespective of the different customary laws in Naga society, when it comes to matters on women's issues and roles, Naga women are subordinate to Naga men. Generally, in Nagaland women have never been taught to question her rights and awareness. The social norm for women was subordinate to men. Some of the social norm for Naga women is to follow and remain subordinate to men while going to field, women were expected to walk behind men. Even till today, Rengma and Angami women are prohibited to light a fire before cooking in a hut located in the agricultural field because it is a taboo.

Empowerment of women and inclusion of more policies and schemes for Naga women entrepreneurs would uplift the status of Naga women in particular and add value to state economy in general.

The next chapter is on Data analysis on Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima town of Nagaland. The chapter will be divided into different sections such as introduction, proximity of market, the case study between Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs belonging to protestant and catholic denominations, types of women entrepreneurships in Kohima, major research findings, voices of women in formal and informal sector and the summary of the chapter.

CHAPTER – 5

DATA ANALYSIS: NAGA WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN KOHIMA

Chapter – 5

Data Analysis: Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima

5.1: Introduction

Naga women entrepreneurs have been discussed in the previous chapter, and this chapter will analyse the data collected from the field in Kohima, capital of Nagaland. This chapter deals with the market viability, Angami Catholic and Protestant women entrepreneurs and Rengma Catholic and Protestant women entrepreneurs along with some case studies. For this study, a total of thirty five women entrepreneurs belonging to Angami and Rengma tribes have been individually interviewed in Kohima. Being an insider, I was able to contact my respondents

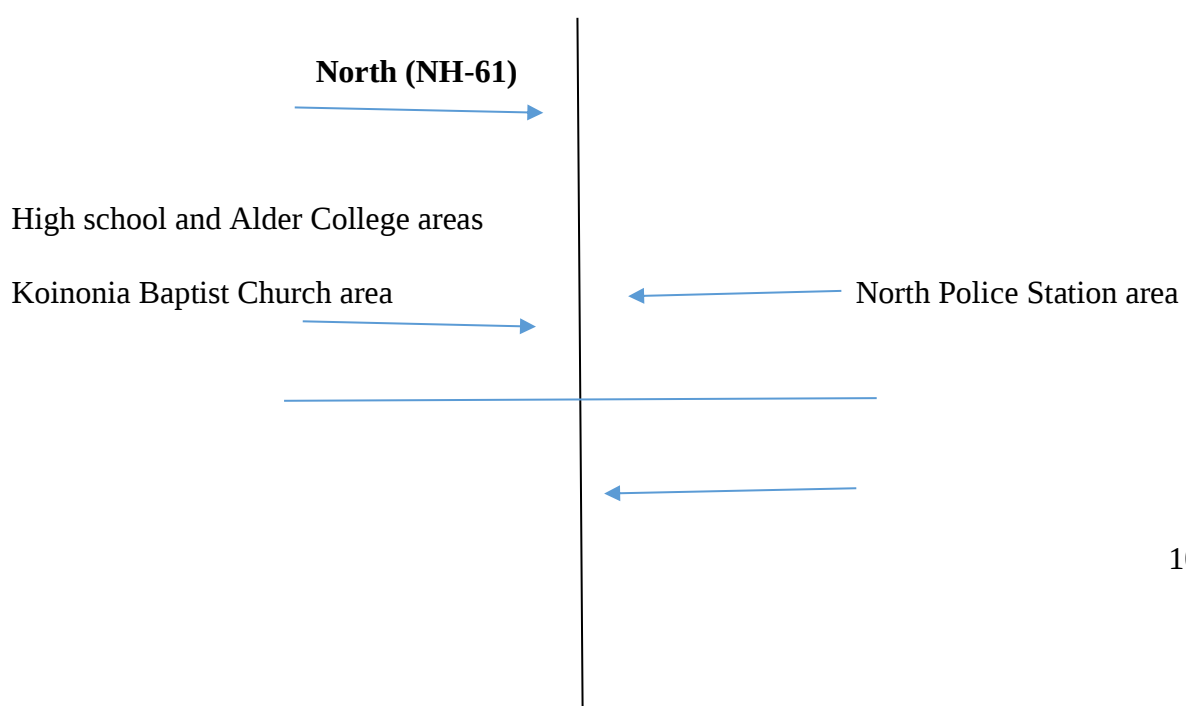
through mutual friends and family members. I purposely selected Angami and Rengma women entrepreneurs who were also actively involved in the churches and villages as leaders. At the same time, I have conducted individual interviews with the NGOs staff and state government officials at their respective offices. Additionally, selected case studies were conducted among the women entrepreneurs who deals exclusively with food and clothing businesses. It is observed that non-traditional garments are in demand than the Naga traditional attires. Therefore, supply of goods especially the western and Indian clothes came from India's metropolitan cities and abroad such as China, Thailand, Hongkong and Myanmar (known as Moreh goods) in the local market. I asked different types of questions to the selected women entrepreneurs, NGOs staff and government officials. And, I have travelled to different localities in Kohima and had various interactions with them in order to understand them personally and professionally since meeting them once only is not sufficient. I have spent six months in Kohima to collect the data. To be precise, the fieldwork was conducted in October 2018 to December 2018 and from October 2019 to December 2019 respectively. I have maintained the fieldwork notes and transcript it later. I also took photographs of my respondents and their products after seeking their approval. I took prior consent to interview them in order to maintain academic ethics. Many respondents narrated their stories in Nagamese, Angami and Rengma Naga dialects and I translated it into English.

The data analysis is based on qualitative research with a special focus on ethnographic methodology (chapter 1- 1.7: subthemes). Flick (2014) asserts that the qualitative data analysis combines approaches of a rough analysis materials with approach of detailed analysis. The selection of case study was focus on constructing versions of reality. The various variables like age, tribe, denomination, class, income, marital status, and the like were taken into consideration for.

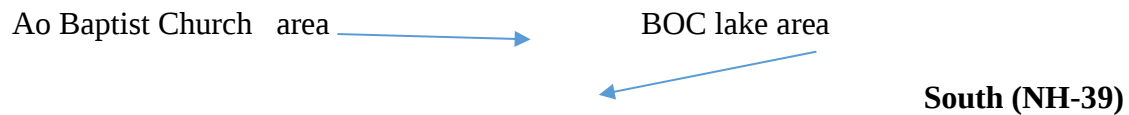
5.2: Proximity of Market location

The location map undertaken for the research was mainly Kohima town which includes Angami and Rengma tribes. Women from Rengma tribe travelling from Phenshonyu village under Tseminyu Sub-division (Kohima district) were interviewed as their products were sold in Kohima markets. From Kohima city map, which is given in previous chapter. I have tried to cover all the localities of Kohima town from the North- i.e. NH-61, to middle NH-39 and South area of NH-39. The areas covered were- High School area, Alder College, Koinonia Baptist Church, mostly North Police station and Local ground area (middle of the region) and BOC lake region.

(A rough direction from North to South)



Local ground area



(Direction and market location, Map 5.1)

5. 3: Socio-economic background of Rengma and Angami tribes of Protestant and Catholic women entrepreneurs

The socio- economic background of Naga women entrepreneurs in general have been discussed in Chapter 3 (sub-themes 3.6). Respondents were examined from socio-economic backgrounds through their social status i.e. class, age, marital status and geographical location (rural or urban). This chapter the socio-economic background of the Naga women entrepreneurs will be analysed including their educational status.

Respondent Annie Tsela Kath belonged to Rengma Catholic denomination. She is a retired school teacher. Earlier, she served as the president of Tesophenyu group women association for ten years. She was also the former president of Rengma catholic association and also hold the position of advisory Nagaland catholic women association. Being a leader, Kath has

encountered discrimination, stigma, and traumatic experiences because of patriarchy around her. Kath said, “One Naga man said to me that he is annoyed of seeing me everywhere. It is a challenge for me to express my ideas and suggestions to solve existing problems since men often reject my opinions”.

Respondent Njule Chung, who belonged to Rengma protestant denomination said, “I earned around fifty thousand a month and I give ten-tithes to church regularly. I wish to expand my business and network with more business entrepreneurs from other metropolitan cities. I am also keen to know about certain government schemes to enhance my floriculture business”.

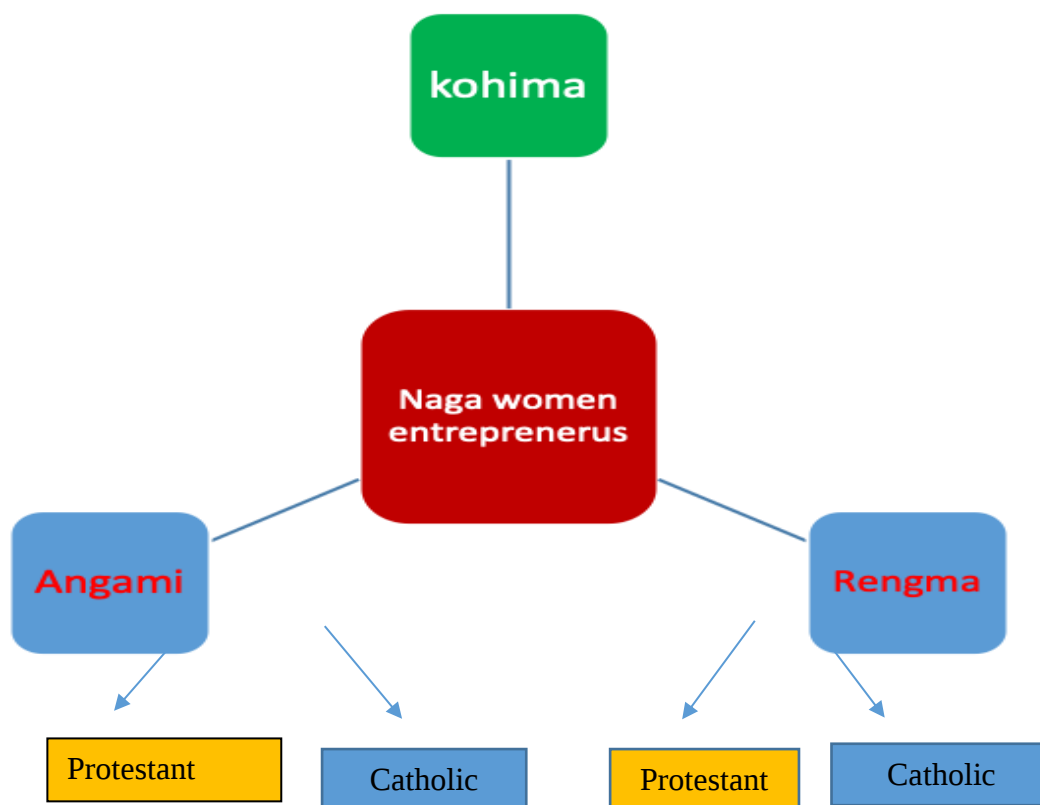
Respondent Shurhotunuo Semu belonged to Angami protestant denomination. A government employee, she said, “My products were commercialised in the year 2009”. She also said, “I believe in dignity of labour”. She added that she is multitasking between her home works, food-processing business and job. She belonged to middle class family. She lamented that women were only having small scale home base businesses in Kohima town.

Respondent Mhaliesivonuo Pienyu, belonged to Angami Catholic denomination. She said, “Naga women are treated equally in society but not in economic and political platform”. Having thirty years of experience in workforce, she feels women are excluded as entrepreneurs.

5.4: Data Analyses

The data collection was conducted in Kohima town. Data collection can be in both ways either qualitative or quantitative (Kumar, 2011). Analysing the data through ethnographic methodology gives a better understanding of Naga women entrepreneurs. I conducted a pilot study among some women entrepreneurs in Kohima in 2018 in order to test my questionnaires. When I returned to the University of Hyderabad, I discussed with my supervisor in threadbare and revised the types of questions to be asked during the final fieldwork.

Some questions were pre-determined and some were asked on the spot. The approaches of gathering data were both primary and secondary data. In primary data, their age, background, income and educational qualifications were asked. I have explained the purpose of the field study as some of the respondent were sceptical. Their behaviour were observed, with regard to their work environment, colleagues, husband and family. I have divided my field study into two section as – Rengma & Angami Protestant and Rengma & Angami Catholic women entrepreneurs, keeping in mind Max Weber’s theory on Religion.



(Chart 5.1)

5.5: The Case study between Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs belonging to protestant and catholic denominations

I have compared and contrast the Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs who belonged to Protestant and Catholic Christian denominations. My respondents agreed to let me use their real names. There were some exceptional cases, where respondents did not want their photos to be taken. Income statistics were not accurately given by some respondents and opted only to give a rough figure, as they said, it is personal asset. As mentioned earlier (Chapter- 1 subthemes 1:7) I have selected thirty-five respondents belonging to Rengma and Angami tribes of protestant and catholic denominations. There are nine Rengma protestant and four catholic Rengma women entrepreneurs. And there are twelve Angami protestant and ten catholic Angami women entrepreneurs. The following tables are list of thirteenth Rengma women entrepreneurs and twenty-two Angami women entrepreneurs respectively of both the denominations.

(Table: 5.1) List of 13 (thirteen) Protestant and Catholic Rengma women entrepreneurs:

Sl.no.	Name	Occupation	Age	Denomination	Marital status	Monthly income.
1.	Rhinlole Kent	Traditional garments	60 years and above	Protestant	Widow	Rs. 50,000 to Rs.1 lac only/-
2.	Shasin Keppen	Traditional weaver	45 to 60 years	Protestant	Widow	Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000 only/-
3.	Gwanyesha Kent	Agricultural products	60 years and above	Protestant	Married	Rs.15,000 to

						Rs.20,000 only/-
4.	Njule Chung	Flori- culture	45 to 60 years	Protestant	Widow	Rs. 45,000 to Rs. 50,000 only/-
5.	Benisha Seb	Western garments	30 to 45 years	Protestant	unmarried	Rs. 35,000 to Rs.40,000 only/-
6.	Abigail Kath	Western garments	15 to 30 years	Protestant	unmarried	Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 45,000 only/-
7.	Mary James	Western garments	30 to 45 years	Catholic	Married	Rs. 45,000 to Rs. 50,000 only/-
8.	Mary Magh	Western garments	30 to 45 years	Catholic	Unmarried	Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 45,000 only/-
9.	Annie Tsela Kath	Food- processing	45 to 60 years	Catholic	Married	Rs. 40,000 to

						Rs.45,000 only/-
10.	Yhunile Angela Kath	Traditional ornaments	45 to 60 years	Catholic	Married	Rs. 35,000 to Rs 40,000 only/-
11.	Gwanile kevi Medo	Food- processing	30 to 45 years	Protestant	Married	Rs.35, 0000 to Rs. 40,000 only/-
12.	Kenile Lorin	Agricultural products	60 years and above	Protestant	Married	Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000 only/-
13.	Lathong Kesen	Agricultural products	60 years and above	Protestant	Married	Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 only/-

(Table: 5.2) List of 22 (twenty- two) Protestant and Catholic Angami women entrepreneurs:

Sl.no.	Name	Occupation	Age	Denomination	Marital status	Monthly Income
1.	Neisalieu Kire	Traditional garments	60 years	Protestant	Married	Rs. 40,000 to Rs.

			and above			45,000 only/-
2.	Ashwen	Food- processing	45 to 60 years	Catholic	Married	Rs. 35,000 to Rs. 40,000 only/-
3.	Neingu	Agricultural products	30 to 45 years	Catholic	Unmarried	Rs.15,000 to Rs. 20,000 only/-
4.	Azai Kerhuo	Flori- culture	30 to 45 years	Protestant	Unmarried	Rs.50,000 to 1 lac only/-
5.	Khriehei	Wreaths	45 to 60 years	Protestant	Married	Rs.25,000 to Rs. 30,000 only/-
6.	Khrieni Shokhrie	Wreaths	60 years and above	Protestant	Married	Rs.25,000 to Rs.30,000 only/-
7.	Theyiechunuo Tseikha	Traditional garments	45 to 60 years	Protestant	Married	Rs.35,000- Rs.40,000 only/-

8.	Lhoulalieu Suohu	Traditional garments	45 to 60 years	Protestant	Unmarried	Rs.35,000- Rs.40,000 only/-
9.	Khriengunu Angami	Food- processing	30 to 45 years	Protestant	Married	Rs.25,000- Rs.30,000 only/-
10.	Vizonu Neikha	Western garments	15 to 30 years	Catholic	Unmarried	Rs.30,000- Rs.35,000 only/-
11.	Asenu Neikha	Western garments	15 to 30 years	Catholic	Unmarried	Rs.30,000- Rs.35,000 only/-
12.	Pelenu Paphino	Food processing	30 to 45 years	Protestant	Married	Rs.20,000- Rs.25,000 only/-
13.	Asanuo Keretsu	Veg.vendor/ forest products	15 to 30 years	Catholic	Unmarried	Rs.10,000- Rs.15,000/-
14.	Atsu Tevo	Veg.vendor/ forest products	15 to 30 years	Catholic	Unmarried	Rs.10,000- Rs.15,000/-
15.	Hielhouvonuo Mehta	Food- processing	45 to 60 years	Protestant	Married	Rs.20,000- Rs.25,000/-
16.	Akhou Kiewhuo	Food- processing	30 to 45 years	Protestant	Married	Rs.20,000- Rs.25,000/-

17.	Shurhotunuo Semu	Food- processing	30 to 45 years	Protestant	Married	Rs.25,000- Rs.30,000/-
18.	Mhaliesivonuo Pienyu	Traditional garments	60 years and above	Catholic	Married	Rs.20,000- Rs.25,000/-
19.	Abunuo Whuorie	Veg.vendor/ forest products	30 to 45 years	Catholic	Married	Rs.10,000- Rs.15,000/-
20.	Megutsono	Food- processing	30 to 45 years	Protestant	Married	Rs.20,000- Rs.25,000/-
21.	Neigunuo	Traditional garment	45 to 60 years	Catholic	Unmarried	Rs.20,000- Rs.25,000/-
22.	Niefu Mere	Food- processing	45 to 60 years	Catholic	Married	Rs.15,000- Rs.20,000/-

Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs belonging to protestant and catholic denominations were divided into three groups of women entrepreneurs based on their income i.e. the low-income groups, the middle-income groups and the high- income groups Naga women entrepreneurs.

(Table 5: 3) Following are the respondents belonging to three categories of income groups:

Group of women entrepreneurs	Income per month	Number of respondents
Low - income groups	Rs. 5000 and above	8 respondents

Middle - income groups	Rs. 20,000 and above	22 respondents
High - income groups	Rs. 45,000 and above	5 respondents

(Table 5.3)

The table 5. 3 - shows that, among the three income groups of Naga women entrepreneurs, there are higher number of middle- income groups of women respondents. One of the reasons were that in the food –processing and clothing sector there were higher number of middle-income group women and the agriculture products or vegetables vendors belonged to the low-income groups. Secondly, the focus of the study was more towards the lower and middle-income groups of women entrepreneurs. These group of women needs inclusivity, voice and their contribution as entrepreneurs in Naga society. Most of the lower and middle- income groups of Naga women entrepreneurs their hard work, their lived experiences and contributions are least documented.

5.5.1: Selected case studies of Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs belonging to protestant and catholic denominations:

Rhinlole Kent belonged to protestant Rengma tribe. Kent’s current age is 60 years. She is a widow, mother, and a grandmother. She was a government employee. She is well known in her Rengma community for designing skilled pattern traditional Rengma clothes. Kent said, “I have been into this business for the past thirty-five years”. Kent’s philanthropic work includes employing ten women weavers across the state (Manipur and Assam) and around Kohima town from remote villages. As philanthropist Kent said, “I helped in sponsoring educational fees for theologians and college students who are from poor financial backgrounds”.

Kent is from protestant Baptist denomination and religion has been part and parcel of her life. Her work on traditional garments is associated with RBCK (Rengma Baptist Church Council).

Kent was the pioneer and continues to incorporate in making new designs for Rengma mekkelas (sarong). The process for incorporating the new designs in mekkelas (sarong) is done through discussions and meetings with church and women leaders.

Kent said, “With my income and profit in business I give tithe and donations to church regularly”. She added that, “Women are nurturing, and giving in nature. Matriarchy can play a better role as she can provide for the household”. Her value and motivation is to keep the tradition alive, and to keep the rich heritage of Naga culture through her works.

Kent’s clothing business has high demand and supply in the market. Her products are sold in bulk at wholesale rate and at her residence. Kent said, “I sell my products at home and supply it at registered shops in and outside Kohima”. Kent added that Rengma church Mother’s group, they support her work through prayers and blessings.

I observe that Kent is a true social entrepreneur by giving employment to weavers from economically weaker background. And she is a philanthropists by sponsoring educational fees of high school students and theological students from economical weaker backgrounds. Thus, she was not concern much about her profits in her clothing business, rather more concern for the welfare of the community.

Mary James belonged to catholic Rengma tribe. James current age is 45 years. She is married, a mother and an entrepreneur. For the past twenty years she has been into western clothing business. She has pleasant, friendly and vibrant personality. Her permanent house is in Kohima town and her registered shop is at ‘Tibetan market’ Kohima.

‘Time’ management is a big factor in her life. James starts her day for work around 8:30 a.m. and comes back home around 6:00 p.m. on weekdays.

James said, “I began my interest for business in high school, I would make table- clothes, cross-stitch and sell it after school for my pocket money”. She added, “the initial stage of my

clothing business, I would go door to door and sell my products”. With the security and profit she earned, she expanded her clothing business in Kohima. James also travels abroad for purchasing her clothing products. James products are carried by Air and motor vehicles. She has employed one woman to assist her in the business. She sells her products daily at registered shops and at her residences. She explains that, “my husband is supportive and takes care of the house-hold work while I travel aboard”.

The challenge and problem that she encounters were not within her home but rather outside her home. She said, “I am often criticised for not giving enough time to my children”. She also faces criticism for travelling abroad alone. A patriarchal society expects women to give more time at home and there is bias perception of women travelling alone according to her.

When I interviewed her about the government schemes or loans in entrepreneurships. James said “the government loans are high with interest rate and it is not possible for laywomen to start a business”. James believes in giving back to society as philanthropist. She said, “The profits I earn from business not only sustains my family, but also I donate for ‘Deaf and Dumb’ organisation in Kohima”.

Neisalieu Kire belonged to Protestant Angami tribe. She is 60 years old and is married. For the past forty years she has been into Naga traditional clothing business. She has a registered shop in old supermarket near local ground, Kohima town. Interview with Kire was informal. Kire said, “In the initial stage of running a business, I started a small food hotel with the help of my mother and sister, than I shifted my business to Naga traditional clothes”.

Kire’s products are a blend of Naga traditional shawls and mekkelas (sarong) stitched into waist-coats, handbags, skirts, blouse and neckties. Kire said that, “with my years of experience, I can recognise the skill of the weaver”. Kire selects only the best materials and woven mekkelas (sarong) for sale.

Kire is generating employment to rural women weavers who supply and sell their finished products. Rural women cultivators during their spare time weaved traditional mekheldas (sarong) and shawls. It becomes a rotational income (rural women earning money from one sector to another) for rural women who sell their finished products to Kire.

Kire plays the role of middle-woman. Wages in cash, were paid to rural women who sold their finished products to her. Kire is helping the lower- income groups of women weavers. Kire said, “Naga traditional clothes were all handmade and hand –sewed carefully with time and skill of work”.

The raw materials for weaving Naga traditional clothes were bought in and around Kohima and Dimapur. The finished products were sold within Nagaland. There is high demand of products during the festive season of December. Kire apart from employing and helping the rural women weavers, she also helps in donating money for church construction buildings and offer tithes regularly.

Asenu Neikha belonged to Catholic Angami tribe. Neikha is 28 years old she has been into western clothing business for the past six years. Due to unemployment Neikha started her clothing business in Kohima town. Neikha said, “After completing my graduation studies I wanted to be independent and self- reliant, so I pursue a career in clothing business”.

Neikha said, “I turn my passion of clothing and fashion into business”. Contemporary Naga society is fashion centric. From young to old age, time, energy and money is invested in trendy western clothing’s and fashion. Neikha said, “There is growing competition in the market for the latest trends”.

The demand and supply in clothing sector is high and Kohima is considered as the most fashionable place in Nagaland. Neikha said, “There is constant pressure to keep up with the latest trends of clothing and fashion in market”.

Neikha mentions that, “most of my products are from China, they are imported goods, sometimes I travel abroad to purchase the garments”. She also adds that, “through travelling she has experiences the lifestyle of people around the world and has learnt about business ideas”.

Neikha has a registered shop to sell her products daily in Kohima town. The income and profits she earns in her business, she donates to church as a helping hand for Christian missionaries.

The above four case studies have used the method of interview, questionnaire, recorded data, field notes, observations of both the Rengma and Angami protestant and catholic denominations in Kohima town. Comparing the respondents first-hand information, Naga women entrepreneurs are philanthropic in nature. They regard humanitarian work as more significant than making only profits. For the Protestant women entrepreneurs tithe in Church is given on a monthly regular basis. For the Catholics tithes are given as per personal choices. Catholics and Protestant Christians preach on helping one another and the poor sections (downtrodden) in society. As entrepreneurs both Rengma and Angami tribes, their ethical values are more towards giving and helping back the society. The contrast that I observed, among the two Christian denominations were with regard to religious rituals.

Catholics water baptism is practice when an infant is born at a young age. For the protestant water baptism is taken at an adult age, there is no age limit rather a personal choice. The prayers between catholic and protestant also differs as catholics used signs and symbols, whereas it is absent among the protestant. Catholic church in Kohima speak English for communicating the word of gospel, whereas protestant church communicates through their native dialects. Protestant church are divided according to one major tribe alone, whereas it is absent in Catholic. Church helping women as entrepreneur is absent among both the tribes and denominations. Rather the Church supports through prayers and preaching the word of God.

5.5: Types of women entrepreneurships in Kohima

The various types of businesses which the Rengma and Angami Naga women entrepreneurs engages are weaving, handloom, beauty sector, bakeries, boutiques and food-processing. Khandelwal (2017) opines that everything that women are making is through hand-work and their sheer will. If they are well-trained and their products are digitally marketed they would excel in global market. In Northeast India and particularly in Nagaland women entrepreneurs are mostly self-made and do their work manually with hands as there is lack of advanced technology at present for their work. Weaving which is solely the work of women, a part of Naga culture, is losing its presence in contemporary society. There is the absence of understanding the traditions, and with cultural value comes the importance of knowing once identity. There is a shift from traditional to modern attitude in Naga society. Shift in socio-cultural traditions to modernity. Construction of church buildings are increasing. There exist continuity and change factors, which is affirm by local scholars like N.T.Jamir and A. Lanunungsang (2005, p.333) they have highlighted Naga society today is in cultural dilemma. “It is quite lamentable to see the disappearance of the Golden Age of Naga society and culture” (p.332). Nagas have forgotten their own cultural practice and beliefs. Only in the most rural regions of Nagaland we find the existence of past cultural practice.

Research study on women entrepreneur in the field of weaving gives an insight into the rich culture of Naga society, which should be a vogue practice and inherited with pride.

Naga women entrepreneurs have existed for decades, mostly in conventional sector, either it be in selling vegetables door to door, processed food and weaved cloths. For instance, there was an old lady carrying her Naga traditional basket filled with organic vegetables walking barefoot wearing her traditional mekhela, selling door to door in the past decades. She became

a regular visitor around Kenuozou colony Kohima. She could not speak Nagamese which is the common language. Rather she speaks in her native Angami dialect and sells her vegetables. Today door to door selling is not practice anymore. Unlike the conventional life of women getting married and looking after a child, contemporary Naga women are slowly changing. Some Naga women have started to involve in entrepreneurship and they began to use the social media platform for their business apart from direct market space business. Many women have taken a bold step by not following the conventional life. Instead they choose to take their own decision and be independent. Women today are investing their time more into choosing entrepreneurship as their career. Career has become their primary pursuit while personal family life of marriage has become secondary.

Coughlin and Thomas (2002) they highlighted many women in the developing world remain illiterate. In Africa women produce 80% of the food, in Asia they produce 60% and in Latin America 40%. They pointed out that, what may be less evident, though is that the rise of female entrepreneurs benefits societies and women themselves. Developing world, women owned micro-enterprises have begun to attract much attention as well. Women are becoming a driving force in the growth of emerging and developing economics around the world. New ways of thinking and doing have to be considered. They encourage women across the globe as women entrepreneurs. Cultural feminist have compared womanhood to fertility of agricultural work with nature.

Education produced a group of women who are more aware of their potential. Hence, many educated women today are taking up entrepreneurship as their profession. Scholars highlighted on the trend of women entrepreneurs, the importance of giving women a better platform for investing in business. The small vendor women entrepreneurs are important contributor to Naga economy, Yanthan (2017). When a Naga woman establishes her stand in business, she employs other women to sustain their livelihood. Similar with other scholars, Yanthan

mentioned that women in Nagaland are leading in the food, clothing, flowers and bakeries. Women from different Naga tribes come together and engage themselves as entrepreneurs. She pointed out that Naga women entrepreneurs have sustain themselves and contributed to state economy without any outside help. They are self-made entrepreneurs.

Some of the emerging trends in entrepreneurship during my field study in Kohima town are as follows-

The emerging trends in entrepreneurship in Kohima were soap making, baking, blogging, jewellery making, catering service, and interior designing. The presence of social media have helped women in setting up their goals and aspirations as small scale entrepreneurs. Use of social media, especially Instagram app, is emerging trends for selling and delivering of products and goods door to door around Kohima town. Naga women entrepreneurs use the help of local celebrities or influencers in social media to promote and sell their products. Collaborations and sponsorship among local entrepreneurs and social media influencers is one of the emerging trends in Kohima.

Naga women are acknowledging the importance of women empowerment. Small scale entrepreneurs are increasing in Kohima town, house wife and young Naga women are participating in online businesses such as magnesa, oriflame, Avon, ok company and the like. The online businesses have successfully gifted many women with cars, two-wheelers and cash amounts. Many educated women are taking the platform of 'You Tube' and earning and imparting knowledge in business sectors.

Another major trends were the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) active in promoting entrepreneurship (elaborated in chapter 5: 5.9 sub-themes). Naga women today prefer to work outside and earn their own livelihood. Institutes such as Youth Net and Entrepreneurs Associates (EA) have high number of women employees working for entrepreneurship in Kohima. Naga women are rising as contributors to state economy. Entrepreneurships for the

younger generation of Naga women entrepreneurs is beneficial due to the use and rise of social media. But the older generation Naga women entrepreneurs have to rely on traditional method of selling their products in the registered shop or selling products door to door.

I observed, during my field study that, in entrepreneurship in government sector, respondents approach the assigned offices for business work. And in case of non- government sector, respondents are helped at their door steps. Entrepreneurs Associates (EA) employees travel to interior villages and brief respondents on the profit and loss of businesses.

And lastly, the other emerging trends in Naga society is acknowledging the importance of entrepreneurship over government jobs. The younger generation of women entrepreneurs wants to be their own boss and independent. The lack of employment in Nagaland has diverted the attention to entrepreneurship. Thus, due to unemployment many educated Naga women are becoming entrepreneurs.

5.6: Major research findings

1) Women are found to be voiceless:

Out of the total samples of thirty-five respondents, nineteenth women are not able to express their opinions, enjoy autonomy and make decisions on their own. To substantiate, my findings I visited the main market in Kohima town, where women have been involved in their respective businesses for decades. The first woman whom I interviewed is the founder and owner of wreaths registered shop located opposite to Kohima taxi stand.

My first respondent belonged to Angami tribe of Protestant denomination. I broached the questions to her, but her husband respond to all the queries. They would sometimes discuss together and answer the questions. Hence, I pointed out that I wanted to know more about her personal opinion, how she feels and what she has gone through during her business venture.

Then she said, “Ok, I will answer it by myself”. My first respondent was illiterate and lives in village i.e. Bara bosti village.

My second respondent belonged to Rengma tribe of Catholic denomination. She is into clothing business sector. I personally visited her at Billy Graham road colony Kohima, which is her permanent house. Both husband and wife sat together in their living room for the interview. They asked me some personal questions as well. They started answering my questions together. I politely informed them, interview was for wife only. The husband responded politely saying, “ok, sure” and he left the living room.

My third respondent was involved in the business of making beef pickles and fruit candies (food processing). She belonged to Angami tribe of protestant denomination. It was through snow balling method that I found her residences. On my way, a stranger helped me in locating my respondent’s house. It took me a while to search and find her residences. I met my third respondent as a stranger, so I introduced myself and described about my work, keeping the ethical decorum of research. The third respondent and her employees were working when I visited them. They were packing their products to be sold and distributed in the market. Her packaging is well- defined. She is a government employee in a primary school. She is able to export to other states such as Meghalaya and Assam. Respondent’s husband was helping in packing, counting and stuffing the products. Her employees were working in other rooms. Since I visited them during their peak hour of work, I mention that they may continue doing their work and answer the questionnaire simultaneously. Respondent husband suggested her to stop her work and give her time for me to interview her. Her husband sat besides us while working and listen to all the conversations. Respondent’s husband was the younger brother of a renowned Church pastor in Kohima town belonging to Protestant denomination of Angami tribe. Therefore, his ideas and beliefs were conservative. He was against the celebration of Hornbill festival. He said, “Being a born again Christian we are not supposed to celebrate the

festival”. Further my respondent added by saying that she does not like the idea of young boys and girls holding their hands and roaming around. She said, “these are all western influence”. She supports the older traditional values which has respect and moral policing. This subject was brought up as I visited them during Hornbill and night bazaar season which usually holds from December 1 to 10th. There were number of visitors coming to and fro to their house while I was interviewing them. She said, “during the church centenary we were taught how to make pickles, it is there when I pick up the interest and started my own business”. After giving me a detail explanation on how they started their business they generously gave me packets of pickle. Nagas are very kind and giving in nature. They help and give generously. As most of them are Christian and religious teaching emphasis on sharing and loving. Majority of the churches has been established on tribal identity. There are few multicultural inter- denominational churches in Nagaland. Some of them are – Baptist, Catholic, Methodist, Pentecostal, Seventh-day Adventist church and Charismatic Christianity. My third respondent who belonged to protestant Christian denomination of Angami tribe, her monthly income is Rs. 30, 000.00 to Rs. 35, 000.00 only. The challenges and constraints in the business was management of her time. Since her products are handcrafted, it consumes more labour and time.

The food processing units are not monitored by state government and they do not have Indian Standards Institution (ISI) tag which is mandatory for food processing unit. The trademark of ISI is missing endorsement from state government. Department of Industries and Commerce, Nagaland deals with food processing industries, which I have personally visited as field study. It is observed that almost all Naga women entrepreneurs had been dependent on their spouses to be their voice. Thus it seems normal to answer a question related to women by their men counterparts. The above statements by various respondents could be substantiated with cultural feminist theory on the view that men’s value were regarded more important than female. It became a normality culture for men to speak on behalf of women, which leads women to

subjugation. Some Naga women might feel the conventional way of man speaking on their behalf, as the acceptable norms of the society. These are some of the observations during my field study. However, the point is all women are not the same; women are not a homogenous group. In many circumstances Naga women could not explain and voice her opinion. These all ends up with the conclusion that women are voiceless.

2) Challenges in the field site:

Based on my research experiences, I interviewed both Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs. I tried to cover the Kohima market areas near the local ground areas. For main market at the middle of the town, I talked to Angami women entrepreneurs. These groups of women were uncooperative and showed least interest to be interviewed. Their shops are registered and sold vegetables and agricultural products. Setting aside those pessimistic opinions I went ahead for my field study with my sister. I told these ladies that I wanted to talk to them for an interview regarding their work. One of the ladies straight away answered “No” and told me that she cannot talk to me. Instead she told me to approach other ladies who were sitting around. While I was trying to convince one of the ladies to give me twenty to thirty minutes of her time, her friend on the other corner was amusing to me as she said in her words, “what interview, interview”. She told her friend not to answer me. I proceeded assuring the lady that I am harmless and whatever details she shares will be kept confidential with me.

The major challenges in the field site, I need to gain trust factor from respondents. And language i.e. knowing the local dialects helped in gaining the trust, communication and understanding of Naga women entrepreneurs. To substantiate my point, these group of women were illiterate and belong to older generation who were above fifty years of age. The older generation women belonging to Rengma and Angami tribe of protestant and catholic

denomination could not accept the transition from traditional to modern society. It is hard for them to accept change and prefers the conventional way of life.

Contemporary scholars have found loophole on colonial writers. Many scholars have written about Naga and its people and the like without knowing the indigenous language as discussed in chapter 2. From historical perspective colonial writers who wrote on indigenous tribes, is left with the question on how well it is transcript? The colonial writers who were posted in Naga region while documenting about the native culture, was helped by indigenous person as transcriber. For instance, the word 'Rengma' was translated in local dialect as 'Rame' which means seeing a ghost (Thong, *ibid*, p.22). Scholars need to be aware about the transcription as well. Ethnographic methodology justifies loopholes in writing as they live within the community and language is not a barrier. Ethnographic methods try to observe people in their cultural setting and narrate their particular social and cultural setting. Through observation, interviews and data analysing it gave a better understanding on Naga women entrepreneurs.

3) The difference of opinion on 'women as leaders':

Perception of women as leaders differs among the older generation and the new generation of Naga women entrepreneurs. With regard to women taking up leadership roles in politics, the opinion differed between the older generation and new generation. The older generation womenfolk whom I interviewed were contended with menfolk taking the leadership role. To put in the words of one of my respondent Khriehei belonging to Angami protestant denomination said, "I don't want women to be leaders or as leaders in village councils". Older generation women emphasis that their men are cooperative, helpful and understanding. Whereas the new generation women opines that there is a need for women leaders. These are educated female respondents who believe that "women can do what men can". They also believe that if given an opportunity as leaders and invested in entrepreneurship, women can do

better. Vizonu belonging to Angami tribe of catholic denomination said that, “I wish there was women political leader, as she can understand the conditions of women and empower them”. Also with regard to men’s opinion on women as entrepreneurs, perception differed among the older and new generation of Naga men. The new generation of men who are literate believe in equality between men and women. Contrary the older generation menfolk in Kohima town believed strongly in the leadership of male alone.

To conclude the difference of opinion on ‘women as leaders’, the old and new ideas should blend together for a progressive and sustainable society. The difference of binary ideas between the old and new generation could be understood from traditional to modern society. When women become a leader, study reveal how she can understand the need and psychology of women better.

4) Patriarchal value still prevails:

Nagaland is a patriarchal society. The erection of monolith is practise till today by both the Rengma and Angami tribe of protestant and catholic denomination. In Naga culture, a large single block of stone are carried and pulled by menfolk from the forest. Monolith are tide with a rope to it which is pulled and transfer while humming the traditional song. Monolith is a symbol of Naga material culture which is erected on special occasion as commemoration.

Men have bigger monolith erected as compared to women. It shows that men were considered superior than women. Colonial writings, folk tales, and cultural traditions have all pointed towards the inferior status of women compared to men in Naga society. When a male-child is born it is taken as a pride, as son is the heir of the lineage. In Naga society father is the head of the family, and most of the decision making are taken by him. For development and welfare of a community the menfolk take the decision. The land belonged to the community, clan and

village. The ancestral land could be inherited by male alone. One of my respondent from Phenshonyu village, from Rengma tribe of protestant denomination asserted that they are seven female siblings who married outside their tribe and they did not get or inherit any ancestral land. Rather the land was divided among male cousins and relatives as per customary law of Rengma tribe. Any social matter or with regard to the family, only the male's voice is heard and taken into consideration. When a dispute occurs between two families, to resolve the issue, the area Chairman and menfolk takes the ultimate decisions to solve the issue.

To conclude, even though patriarchal value prevails I feel women should represent themselves respectfully with their opinions and men should include women regardless of whether she is educated or not. Therefore, women should be vocal, knowledgeable about her surroundings and lead a good life. A society can progress only with a good leadership who genuinely put action selflessly to help others.

5) Difference between catholic church and protestant church:

The church is the most powerful institute. Church apart from religious doctrine it take roles in socio-political affairs in Naga society. Church take roles in informing masses what is right and wrong. Here, I would like to point out that Pastor plays an important role. His words and opinion are agreed by his congregation. He is the servant of God in preaching the gospel. When it comes to politics, choosing a candidate for its constituency, some Church leaders vocally preach about voting for their candidate. In some cases, when a government fund is dispersed, Church takes in charge for distribution. Also, Church took initiative in training women to make pickles through women seminars.

In Kohima town, Churches are built and divided according to tribes and denominations. Language and dialect plays an important role for communicating and preaching the Gospel. Initially Church were named after a tribe. Today, there are different names of churches which

broke up from parent Churches. The number of Church, fellowships, prayer centres are increasing. In past five years of my visit to and fro from Hyderabad to Kohima, in most localities, there were numerous fellowships and Churches proliferating in Kohima. It is observed that majority of Naga people follow Baptist denomination (among the Protestant Christians). The Catholic denomination are minority in Kohima. According to NBCC statistics (<https://www.nbcc-nagaland.org/statistics/>) denomination census which was released in 2020 claimed 1,649 churches in Nagaland. According to the diocese of Kohima the total number of Catholic Churches in Nagaland are 55, (<http://www.kohimadiocese.org/parish.html>). In Kohima there are three Catholic parish Church i.e. – Mary Help of Christian Cathedral at Kohima, St. Francis De Sales Church at Kohima town, and Christ King Church at Kohima village.

Protestant Christians give offerings and tenth tithes to their respective churches from their monthly income unlike the Catholics who did not practice it rigorously. Protestant Church Pastors and leaders are all chosen within the local community, whereas Catholic Priests are non-Nagas who came from other states such as Kerala and Karnataka. Catholic with their affiliation to mainland Church outside Nagaland are leading in education. Weber's theory is apt for the study as the Protestant are pragmatic. As entrepreneurs, Protestant Naga women work religiously by beginning her work with morning prayers and contribute as social entrepreneurs to society and Church. Theyiechunuo said, "I get up early morning around 5:00 a.m. and pray for my family and work, before I head out to my registered shop".

During my field visit at St. Francis De Sales Church in Kohima town. I met Rev.Fr. Richard Fernandes, he gave contacts of church members who are small scale entrepreneurs. Similarly at Christ King church Kohima, I met the Priest on Sunday who referred to meet Catholic women president.

Protestant Churches such as Koinonia Church Kohima and Rengma Baptist Church Kohima, the leaders and pastors asserted to have least information about women entrepreneurs. Both the denomination Priest and Pastors suggested me to referred women cell presidents as they are not directly involved in start-up entrepreneurship rather more inclined on religious rituals and duties. Church in Kohima of both the denomination do not directly involves in finance for setting up of entrepreneurship.

When I interviewed both the Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs who belonged to both the Protestant and Catholic denomination about the role of Church in entrepreneurship. Respondent from Catholic Rengma denomination Angela Kath said, “I started my business with the help of my husband and some savings”. She is a member of Kohima Cathedral Church. Another respondent, Neifu Mere from Angami Catholic tribe said, “Church supports morally and spiritually in my work business”. Respondent Lathong Kesen from Rengma Protestant tribe said, “It is only through the blessings of God, I am able to travel and earn basic necessity for my family”. And Megutsono from Angami Protestant tribe said, “I give tithe to Church regularly”.

Respondents who answered my question on whether they gave tithes or offerings to church. Nine Rengma Protestant answered ‘Yes’ and on monthly basis. Four Rengma Catholic respondents answered by saying not on monthly basis rather they donate offerings in cash money intervals not necessarily by the end of each month. To substantiate, Mhaliesivonuo said, “Churches do not give financial support for starting a business”. She added, “Church role is to guide spiritually”. In her smiling tone she answered my questionnaires. She belonged to Catholic denomination of Angami tribe.

The research findings collected from the respondents reveal that Church in general either it be the Protestant or the Catholic denomination of Rengma and Angami tribe, their role is secondary in start-up business. Church would support morally and spiritually not directly

involved in setting up a business for women. Instead findings show that women entrepreneurs they set up their business by their own expense and in return help the Church by tithe and offerings. The reason is the Church functions as a religious body.

Some of the questions that I asked both to Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs with regard to church was – whether religion/church was influential in their daily life and business? Whether Church help financially in starting a business? Do they give tithe to Church? Whether they are involve in giving donations, charity to Church? And what is the role of Church and idea of religion in their life?

The respondent answers has been discussed briefly in the above paragraph. Both the denomination of Catholic and Protestant of Rengma and Angami tribe- Church are not involved directly in setting up a business. Rather Church supports on religious grounds through prayers and blessings. With regard to tithes has been discussed where findings show Protestant of both tribes donating money on monthly basis. Whereas among the Catholic they donate whenever they please also they called it as ‘free will donation’. Despite both as Christian faith some of the main differences are- understanding of the Bible, Church, Pope, office, Eucharist (Lord’s Supper), sacraments, worship of saints, and celibacy.

The idea of religion among the Protestant is that ‘God is a living God’ and believed in the second coming of ‘Christ’. Any good act will be rewarded in heaven as salvation. Catholics ritual involves confessional and the sign of trinity-(Father, Son and Holy Spirit). Symbols such as use of rosary, candles, status of saints and apostles are common practice among Catholics. Catholics believe in the special authority of the Pope.

6) Skill development: Local versus Non-Local Businesses in Kohima -

Kohima market has high number of non-local (mainland India) people in business. As I have divided my proximity of Kohima market from North zone i.e. marking from NH-61 to South

zone i.e. NH-39 Kohima town. Non-locals own business in clothing stores, popular bakeries, electronic shops, groceries, cosmetic, whole-sale shops and the like. The non-locals pay rent to locals who owned the market buildings and registered shop. For instance 'Blue market Kohima', 'Tibetan market Kohima', and 'Viliethe complex Kohima'. My respondent Benisha said, "It is hard to compete with the mainland who runs clothing business".

Business owned by non-locals have been around Kohima town for decades. Major business such as Hardware in Kohima town which is located in P.R.Hill Kohima have been running for the past 30 years. For example, L.K. Hardware owned by Marwari brothers.

Comparatively non-locals and local mind set in business differs. The non-locals excel in their business strategy. There is an understanding among the local business people and Kohima citizens that non-local shops or business can be bargain. Bargaining for price is very common in all the essential commodity markets in Kohima. Attracting customers through advertisement, request, right location and knowing the high demand of the product are some skills a non-local possessed in Kohima market.

Location such as Kohima local -ground main market a common place where products are sold effectively. The selling of second-hand clothes which is common in Nagaland. This used cloths are from abroad (China and South Korea). These are examples of trends in Kohima where sell of products are high and now taken up by non-locals. I observe that Kohima town market during the month of December i.e. the first week every year there is a sales of business. Under the supervision of Kohima Municipal Council a temporary tent and a shop number is given to each business person at local ground. Non-locals from Kashmir sale their shawls, Khasi women sell jewellery products of sliver and cosmetics and the like. Respondent Yhunile clothing business said, "Outsiders make more profits and good sales". She partnered with one non-local male to sell her garments. Her products are from Moreh, Delhi & Kolkata.

If we examine a closer look at most of the shops and businesses it is owned largely by the non-locals. Minimal jobs including the wage labourers are also dominated by non-locals. Therefore, outsiders (Marwaris, Assamese, Bengalis, Biharis, Nepalis and Tibetans) come and make profit within some period of years and go back to their respective places. Today contemporary Naga social influencers all preach to adopt all kinds of jobs by Naga Youths. There should not be discrimination or judgement with regard to any kinds of job. The mind-set of our unemployed youths should change and be able to work any kinds of job. During my fieldwork visit at Directorate of Employment Skill Development and Entrepreneurship Nagaland Kohima (Desdengl) on 14th December 2018, I met the Joint Director who gave me a general idea on entrepreneurship. He was kind, welcoming and was enthusiastic about entrepreneurship. He mentioned about Government Training Institute for women, in the field as beautician, cutting, sewing, knitting and the like. The government Institute teach craftsmanship irrespective of gender. They give equal opportunity to all (Joint Director). Despite giving equal opportunity to both men and women, the Joint Director said, 'the problems is that there is lack of proper training and orientation for skill development'. He asserted that, it was not as upgraded as the other parts of the mainland states. The objective of the Desdengl (short form as mention in the official website) is to help youth and school drop-outs. The ITI (Industrial Training Institute) in Kohima which is a branch of Desdengl gives training for a maximum of two years and minimum of 1 years. They give training on knitting, cutting and sewing, hair and skin care for females. Whereas training in carpentry, plumber, welder and electricians are trained for males. As mentioned by respondent, they take a batch of 50 to 60 females yearly. These women beneficiaries belonged to all the tribes of Nagaland. They belonged to both Catholic and Protestant denomination. These women are from the different districts of Nagaland, they do not belonged particularly to only Kohima district.

There is a need to have more knowledge in marketing, connectivity and the like. Despite Nagas being blessed with resources, they lack in making profits. Nagas should challenge and take the role of market strategy and profit similar to the rest of the world in business sector. The non-locals make a lot of profit through ‘dalaal’, also called as middle-men (as stated by Joint Director). Another major issue is with the rural grassroots level. Their talents are not explored. A more focus should be emphasised on rural skill training for entrepreneurship.

7) Difference of work ethics between NGO’s and Government sector: During my field visit I came to notice the difference of work ethics between the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) and Government sector. For instance, Entrepreneurs Associates (EA) an NGO, work rigorously for helping the rural section of society. EA annual report 2017-18 mentions their work in and around Nagaland. In Kohima they have initiated in weaving, handicraft, street vendors, piggery and micro-enterprise. EA has taken the initiative in uplifting first generation entrepreneurs. Uplifting of women street vendors was initiated in 13th October 2017 (p.16). The project started in Kohima, EA propose to help women vendor through BBST (Basic Business Skills Training). The project under EA from Kohima has expanded with its thirty outreached numbers.

Their work ethic was spontaneous. They teach and initiate to empower women entrepreneurs. Civil societies are taking a more vocal and practical role in bridging the gap of unemployment in society. Whereas in Government sector with regard to entrepreneurship, everything seems conventional; more paper work and less practical. Field study comparison revealed that NGOs work harder than Government sector. For instance NGO’s initiate in working and helping at door steps. There is team work and efforts to mobilise the interior corners of rural regions. The work ethics in NGO and Government sector differ from each other. Work dedication, attendance in the workplace, teamwork, optimistic attitude of the workers, organising skill and

success of productivity was prevalent among the non-formal sector. NGO respondent Lily said, “here is an attachment to this work, as an individual I need to do what is right and wrong for society”.

8) Socio-cultural stigma faced by Naga women entrepreneurs:

The concept of socio-cultural stigma in Naga society meant, when a person is labelled with stereotype and discrimination due to cultural shared attitudes and beliefs.

The three examples of socio-cultural stigma faced by Naga women are: (1) Customary laws and traditions (2) Gender roles (3) Exclusion and discrimination in socio-economic roles.

The customary traditions in Naga society when compared to men are biased towards women. Men is considered as the head of the family and women as subordinate and inferior. For instance, among Angami tribe, the man would lead and the woman would walk behind her husband while going to the paddy field. Gender roles in Naga society are structured and assigned. Women are expected to do the household domestic chores and her role is labelled in giving birth and looking after the children. And lastly the third example on socio-cultural stigma in Naga society is the exclusion and discrimination in socio-economic roles. There is inequality in leadership roles, owning of land property and economy. Naga women are excluded in political leadership role which will lead to loss of political identity. There is a need to empower women economically for her to stand and overcome the social discrimination. Entrepreneurship for instance could lead women to be self-reliant and overcome the socio-cultural stigma.

Cultural feminist argued that women roles should not be assign or structured. Women the creator of life is reduced to inferior person. When women are labelled with prejudiced in a cultural based society it starts threatening her social identity, beliefs and emotions.

A women job or her being is not for delivering a child. She has every right to be herself. She can choose and decide for her own body. Society stigmatise women with their assign role.

Rengma Catholic women respondent Magh said, “people and neighbours talk about me as I do not give much time to my children, due to my constant travel for work”. The socio-cultural stigma is focus both on Catholic and Protestant Naga women.

Analysing both Rengma and Angami tribe the socio-cultural norms are more biased towards women. Women are judged and questioned in her activities when it is not the conventional norm. Conventional role to be a stay home and obedient women.

In Naga society women are expected to talk in a certain way, they are expected to wear a decent cloth. Moral policy is more towards women in Naga society. Men can roam freely at night without the fear of getting rape. But when a women is harassed, assaulted and rape, her moral character is questioned, her wearing revealing cloths is blamed. These stereotypes towards women need to be addressed through awareness and education.

In case of women entrepreneurs, she faces hardship as she is targeted, questions and misjudged. For instance, one of my respondents mentioned that when she travels abroad for her work and business, she is often criticised. Women who could not give their time at home are often ‘called out’ as being a bad Mother and a bad wife. ‘Called out’, ‘cancel’ is a terminology used in popular culture which cancel someone of social or professional circle.

(Even the debate on International platform by Oprah Winfrey, a successful women entrepreneur, who made an episode on the term ‘Mother/ Bad Mother’ culture.) All these terms made for women in society affect her psychological well-being. It is similar in the case of Naga society where there is stigma, and the culture of name calling for women. Kenile said, “despite all the hard work I endure for my children’s future, I am called a bad mother for not coming home for days”. Abigail said, “I travel sometimes alone to Delhi and Kolkata for my clothing business, but people doubt me and call me as might be of lose moral”.

All these points out the socio-cultural construction which was made by a set of male dominant members. Women's opinion was not considered, she is subjected. Gwanyesha said, "when it comes to village council meetings, women cannot attend nor give opinion".

Socio-cultural discrimination on women should be removed. It will pave the way for women empowerment and successful entrepreneurs. Both Cultural feminist theory and Intersectionality theory are justified in this case for the socio-cultural stigma faced by Naga women entrepreneurs.

9) Women entrepreneurs as Philanthropist:

Out of thirty- five respondents, thirteenth of them are not Philanthropist and twenty-two of them are Philanthropist.

Most of the Naga women entrepreneurs are philanthropist in nature. Out of thirty-five respondents nine respondents from Rengma community give back to society. And thirteenth respondents from Angami community give back to society.

Following are the voices of Rengma women entrepreneurs as Philanthropist-

Respondent 1- Rhinlele Kent said, "I contribute in helping illiterate housewife who are in need of money I gave Rs.5000/- only. I am also sponsoring theology student by paying her fees for one year. I have donated money to the orphanage home in Kohima apart from employing women weavers across Kohima".

Respondent 2- Gwanyesha Kent said, "I contribute Rs.1000/- only when a child is in need for buying necessary stationaries. I also gave donations in cash for Village Church construction and help the old womenfolk agriculture products to sale in the market".

Respondent 3- Njule Chung said, "The cash prize money that I won during flower competition, I donated it to orphanage in Kohima".

Respondent 4- Benisha Seb said, “I donate money for construction of prayer centres in Kohima. Women spend money wisely whereas men spend money in gambling and drinking. I also donate money for my church which is in village”.

Respondent 5- Abigail Kath said, “while appearing for competitive exam, I started by clothing business to be independent. Garments fashion and cosmetics has been my passion. I pay high rent for the register shop and the small profit I get, I gave donation for Sunday school construction”.

Respondent 6- Mary James said, “I have donated for Church building construction. When different groups of helpless people come for collected at my registered shop, I donate some amount of cash money. I have also donated money in cash for ‘Asha Bhavan’ which is an organisation for the deaf and dumb”.

Respondent 7- Annie Tsela Kath said, “I contributed 90 kgs of pork meat for Golden Jubilee at Tesophenyu village from my pig farm. I also gave free will donation for those people who are in need and in their sick bed through Church. I have employed 1 chef, 2 helpers for my restaurant and I have employed a Nepali family to look after my pig farm”.

Respondent 8- Kenile Lorin said, “Apart from donating cash offerings in church, I have supplied and donated vegetables for helpless people in Nagaland government Hospital Kohima for the sick”.

Respondent 9- Lathong Kesen said, “I donate to church the first harvest in my paddy field and kitchen garden for God’s blessing. I have also donated rice bags to village for celebrating feast during Christmas”.

And following are the voices of Angami women entrepreneurs as Philanthropist-

Respondent 1- Neisalieu Kire said, “If women put afford and hard work, they can do better than men in business. Products in my shop are handmade from the best skilled work in stitching,

weaving and designing. I pay the wage of women who bring cloths to my shop. The profit that I make, I donate it as cash money to Church”.

Respondent 2- Akhou Kiewhuo said, “Mothers today are taking initiative as stay home business in donut making, cakes, dry candies, and pickles. I sale my products weekly as it is in high demand. I also donate money for church building construction, saving box and mother’s association fund”.

Respondent 3- Khriehei Rupreo said, “From starting a hotel to wreaths business, I have donated only to the Church as cash in offering, due to the high rent I have to pay for my shop”.

Respondent 4- Khrieni Shokhrie said, “I offer wreaths for funeral sometimes and I donate money in cash for sponsoring church and financially poor students belonging to the church congregation”.

Respondent 5- Theyiechunuo Tseikha said, “My sister started this traditional cloth business, but when she died, I took over the business. I donate money to church with the little profit I get by selling my products in bulk (wholesale)”.

Respondent 6- Lhoulalieu Suohu said, “women should work and earn by themselves instead of depending on men. Village women make the traditional cloth and bring it to me and sell their finished shawls and I resale it in my shop. I yearly donate money to old age home and the beggars in Dimapur railway station”.

Respondent 7- Vizonu Neikha said, “ Everybody is running after fashion, there is a pressure for bringing the latest trend in the clothing business. I donate money for the missionaries who are working around Nagaland”.

Respondent 8- Asenu Neikha said, “Women in Kohima town are succeeding in garment sector only the rest is dominated by men. During Christmas I donate money in cash to my Angami community for the feast. I also send money in envelop which is from the church as goodwill charity”.

Respondent 9- Peleno Paphino said, “In villages women are working in groups for business. During father’s day and mother’s day every year, I donate money to the church. I also help old aged people in village by giving them some amount money”.

Respondent 10- Hielhouvonuo Mehta said, “women are faster than men in their thought process. Most family women are entering into business. My husband’s income was not sufficient to look after my children, so I started my pickle making business. I keep my finished products in shop through wholesale price with expiry date. I donate money in cash towards the missionaries and for the Angami mother’s association”.

Respondent 11- Shurhotunuo Semu said, “there is a need for women wing separately to empower women. There is no big commercialization for business rather it is home base. Juggling between business and maintaining home, housewife could not make it big in business. Women are good at multi-tasking. I donate cash money monthly for missionaries and sponsoring money to students through church who are financially poor”.

Respondent 12- Mhaliesivonuo Pienyu said, ‘women are better entrepreneurs as they are graceful and patience. I donate money in cash to St. Francis Church construction and ‘Mission Church’ through self-will donation. During Christmas I help the poor by donating money’.

Respondent 13- Neigunuo said, “I belonged to second generation of traditional cloth business. My mother started the business as she was talented in her work. During festive season there is high demand of traditional garments from tourist. I donate money for mission field”.

When a woman is successful, she helps her other fellow Naga women the mother’s fund, missionaries and a helping hand to the widows’. Whatever a woman earns she gives it back to society. She employs other womenfolk, and contribute to state economy.

Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs employed total of forty women employees by each women entrepreneurs are as follows-

Rengma Protestant women entrepreneurs have employed 13 women.	Rengma Catholic women entrepreneurs have employed 6 women.
Rhinlole – 10 employees	Mary - 1 employee
Benisha – 1 employee	Kath – 4 employees
Abigail – 1 employee	Magh – 1 employee
Gwanile -1 employee	

(Table 5.4)

Angami protestant women entrepreneurs have employed 18 women	Angami catholic women entrepreneurs in total have employed 3 women
Neisalieu - 3 employees	Vizonu – 1 employee
Kerhuo – 2 employees	Asenu – 1 employee
Theyiechunuo -1 employee	Neigunuo – 1 employee
Lhoulalieu -1 employee	
Hielhouvonuo- 3 employees	
Shurhotunuo- 8 employees	

(Table 5.5)

Church is one such example where many women have contributed immensely. Women entrepreneur against all odds succeeds and opens the way for other women.

Education, employment, helping the sick, helping those who are living in addiction, and supporting those women who have faced domestic violence. These are some examples of Naga women entrepreneurs contributing to the welfare of society in terms of donation and good

cause. The philanthropist side of women are not glorified in the mainstream media or society. Women's work are less appreciated and valued as cultural feminist argued. Many Naga women believe in their philanthropist work even though they are underappreciated. Out of 35 respondents all of the women entrepreneurs believed in philanthropic work. As Philanthropist Naga women believe they will receive blessings from God rather than validation from human society. Society need to recognise their work as it contributes to the sustainable economy and society. Women Philanthropist shows their potential and capabilities as leaders which on the other hand has problems and challenges. Both men and women are contributing as a unit to society, which needs to be added and drafted in policy making continuously.

10) Difference among tribes in entrepreneurship:

Every tribe is different from one another in terms of their dialect, food, clothing, traditions and festivals. There are differences between the Rengma tribe and Angami tribe, when it comes to opportunities in business sector. When government funds for SHG's, Rengma tribe gets the least share compared to Angami. During my field visit, one of the respondent stated that most of the government funds are shared by other major tribes. She was concerned about her statements regarding the difference in tribes and wants to be anonymous. She has clothing business with a registered shop.

The lack of information and communication is also one factor that exclude and bring differences between tribes. The mind-set of the people should change. They should eradicate tribalism and rather work for humanity as contemporary Naga society face the challenge of tribalism in society. When the sense of 'ism' curbs into the mind-set there is a loss of development which effects the society. Despite Angami and Rengma both belonging to major tribes, Rengma are considered as the minority (Assam Rengma's are not counted and included for Naga Rengma). The demand for separate district-hood is still undergoing. Rengma tribe

women becomes minority among other women tribes. Despite its rich cultural heritage they are excluded from district-hood in Nagaland. Rengmas of Nagaland have been demanding for a separate district for decades. Under the leadership of ‘Rengma Hoho’ then President Kenyuseng Tep said, “the 11 districts in Nagaland were created purely out of necessity, not on the basis of population and territory nor MLA seats” (www.indiatoday.in).

Comparing both the tribes Angami tribe is more dominant and included in all social and political sphere. Despite both tribe coming under same Tenyimi (Tribes, believe to having same ancestry and common speaking dialect) group, there are difference in opportunities, and entrepreneurship being one of them. Therefore, women are not a homogenous group and inclusion of minority is significant for progressive society.

5.7: Voices of women in the government sector

For my field-work the first place that I visited was at Government of Nagaland- Directorate of Employment Skill Development and Entrepreneurship Nagaland, Kohima where I met the officials October 2018. The official mentioned that the institute functions on giving skill training to youths and women. Training such as knitting, sewing, stenography and carpentry were have been provided to the selected beneficiaries. The state government has certain allotment of seats every year for training, it could range from 50 - 60 seats. Based on the vacancy they would put up advertisement through social media, news channel and advertisement outside their office building which is located above high school junction Kohima. Beneficiaries are school drop-outs and unemployed youths. Any tribe can enroll for the training, it is not reduced alone to Rengma and Angami tribes. The minimum qualification is class-8 pass for training. Training in knitting, cutting & sewing, carpentry duration is for 1

year. Whereas, training in mechanic motor, electrician the duration is for 2 years. Depending on the interest of the beneficiary they register for training they belonged to all class of society. The institute does not focus or initiate women individually as entrepreneur as they are a government body. The official had a glance at my structure and unstructured questionnaires that I have prepared. Some of his personal thoughts were neutral and he shunned political questions such as 33% reservation for women. He suggested me to go and visit Director of Industries & Commerce and then revisit him. With his suggestion through snowballing method, my second visitation began.

The Directorate of Industries and Commerce, Government of Nagaland - located near DUDA guest house, IG stadium road Kohima. Prior to my visit (November 2018), I took an appointment to meet the Director, through reference letter. I was directed to meet a lady official. The lady official suggested me to further visit women department in Nagaland. She told me about the role of the institute as a start-up initiative under the Ministry of India i.e. Department for promotion of Industry and Internal trade, government of India. She narrated that in terms of Nagaland all businesses are still at its beginning stage, where policies are drafted and meetings are held to introduce some incentives for industrial development in the state. She further referred junior officials for list of women entrepreneurs in Kohima district. As per the list I got women entrepreneur's names, work sector and contact details. Selection was made based on my research study of women entrepreneurs and upon contacting them, some of the ladies were found to be hotels and some in food-processing sectors. The list handed to me were literate women entrepreneurs who have recently listed their names, yet their business is not in full swing.

My third official visit was at, Kohima Municipal Council's (KMC) office. After taking an appointment with the Director he suggested me some names and contact numbers who have

been as entrepreneurs in villages under Kohima district. Due to his busy schedule, the meeting was ended shortly.

The second visit at Entrepreneurship office in Kohima (Friday 14th December, 2018), was fruitful. The Joint Director was enthusiastic, kind, informative and concern about work ethics of Naga youths. He explained in brief about their department work. Some of the issues he mentioned were, the need for financial literacy, and skill and proper training orientation. He mentions the need for market language i.e. to promote entrepreneurship especially in the field of Skill development. There is lack of marketing connectivity as lamented by him. In his words, ‘though locals are blessed with good fruits, there is no profit’. He means that Naga youths are in high demand for work within and outside the state. Yet the local youths lack in income management. His last suggestion was the need to explore the raw-talents which could be found in rural areas; the urge to explore the grass-root level workers.

Since the first meeting at KMC office was not satisfactory, I visited the office for the second time on 20th December 2018. During my visit I met Office Secretary at his office chamber. He gave a brief explanation about the role of KMC in Kohima town. Some of the brief points were- under KMC they have 19 wards in Kohima town and whatever business an individual start within the ward has to obtain a license of trade. KMC focuses on giving space to vegetable vendor at the second floor of the new KMC building which is under construction. The selling of vegetables in footpaths is an issue, as there is lack of space. He adds that, KMC is collaborating with NULM i.e. National Urban Livelihood Mission a component to help local markets and women in business. KMC regulates the rate of the market items, check food items, inspects whether it is unhygienic or unsanitary, for instance Bakeries in Kohima town. KMC along with the Labour department check on the weight scale of meat butcher shops. They introduced on all butcher shop to use electronic weighing machine and they inspect face to

face. One of the major component is on building Kohima as 'Smart city' which is under progress.

5.8: Voices of women in the informal sector

The informal sector included women leaders in churches, women in market areas, women as groups and association for business in small scale sectors.

During my field work at Christ King Catholic Church (CKCC) Kohima, the Priest referred me to meet to the Woman President of the church. My respondent Mrs. Khrieneinu Angela mentioned that Women Association within the church attempt to help the old and the sick. They help Catholic Sisters and Fathers in need, helping them in educational expenses. Apart from that, for church reconstruction, they contribute cash as well as material goods whenever required. She mentions that due to many number of congregation within the church it is difficult to locate women entrepreneurs. Majority of Catholic women in the church are farmers who work in the field, weave cloth, and engages in pickle-making for sale. The main role of the Catholic Women Association Christ King Church (CWAKC) is to help each other as an association and to help the non-believers from other faiths. This Women Association is involved in eradicating social evils in society such as alcohol, use of tobacco and the like. My respondent and her group of friends join in during the course of the interview. Ladies of the group expressed that Naga way of life is better than westernization as it is simple and honest. Regarding matters of politics, they expressed that though they cast their votes during election, they do not get involve in political matters. The president mentions that apart from religious rituals and duties they collect donation money and send to Rome for further distribution. Church as religious institute were more involve in the moral and spiritual support.

Through snow-balling method, I visited the home of former Advisory of Nagaland Catholic Women Association (NCWA). My respondent Mrs. Annie Tsela Kath is a humanist and a former School Teacher. Currently she owns a restaurant and a pig farm. She talked about the arrival of Catholicism at Tesophenyu village among the Rengma tribe. Parlie P. Belho from Kohima (Angami) was the first person to introduce Catholicism in Rengma community (<https://kohimadiocese.org/history>). Kath said “Catholicism first arrived in Tesophenyu village in 1970s”. The history of Catholicism in Rengma tribe begins in the year 1968. School such as Don Bosco excelled yearly in producing cent percent in matriculation. The Priest, Sisters and the like have dedicated their life for the welfare of community.

Kath mentions that, “during the initial establishment of Catholic sect in the village there was clash and conflict among the Baptist and Catholic”. She added that “due to objection from Baptist denomination the school Don Bosco which was initially set up in Tesophenyu was shifted to Tseminyu in the 1970s”.

The Tesophenyu Group Women Association (TGWA) played the role of social and moral policing to curb the evil in society. During the Assembly election 2018, with the rise of high consumption of alcohol. Mother’s group which is affiliated to church would roam and do duty at check post to stop and seize all alcohol products. Kath said, “Customary law prohibited women to inherit immovable property”. She also said “the TGWA would help the senior citizens by donating rice, sugar, and blankets. There is a proper set up office for TGWA”.

Some traditional practices among the Rengmas was the birth of twins which was considered unnatural during the olden days. And the mother was not touched and fresh meat were not given to those women who bore twins. Coming to contemporary society where these beliefs no more exist, but discrimination on women were higher in the past. As in the past i.e. before the coming of Christian denomination women experience discrimination.

Women working as group and associations in informal sector will be further discussed. For instance during my field work at Mao Market. Located in BOC area Kohima town, I met two respondents Tevo and Neingu. They are Catholic Angami Catholic women. They sell agricultural products. Their current age range from 15-30 years. The Mao market area has permanent building for vegetable items and forest products for sell. These group of women belonged to different tribes. They have a group leader who takes in charge in collecting the necessary money for tax and refreshment. It is a busy market with influx of customers and buyers. Compared to the permanent complex for vegetable vendors and temporal space for vegetable vendors the 'Phenshonyu tenonyu Lojvu hake thyu' (women cell group) is selected for the study. These group of women belonged to Rengma tribe. The group was established in the year 2004. They are not registered as NGO. Mrs. Gwanyesha Kent is the president of the group. They do not have political influence. They network with other association called 'Phenshonyu Unit Mother's Association'. The women cell group president said, 'it was recently in chandmari colony we got a building shed to sell our products. We pay a rent of Rs. 150 for per day collectively'. She added 'they have requested many officials for a space, the current owner belongs to Angami Bara bosti village'. They belonged to protestant denomination. They are connected to Phenshonyu Baptist Church (PBC). Women cell group consist of seven women group, with twenty-one members each. They are a Self-Help Group (SHG) affiliated with Church. They are into the business for past sixteen years. They sell their products in Kohima town only on selected days i.e. Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday. Respondent Kenile belonging to Rengma protestant denomination said that, 'there is no restroom and space for us'. Due to lack of permanent space for selling their products and the poor infrastructure such as road, working becomes a challenge for this grass-root level women entrepreneurs. There is a need for food storage, a shelter to rest, washrooms and rest rooms for new Mothers.

5.9: Summary

The Data analyses reveal the multi-dimensional factor in making Naga women entrepreneurs. The data collection was done through close observation and careful understanding from the local indigenous point of view. Qualitative analysis, ethnographic methodology and theoretical framework gave a detailed analysis for understanding the social condition of women entrepreneurs. The case studies among Protestant and Catholic women entrepreneurs reveal the process of how women entrepreneurs struggles in the initial stage of her business. One of the main struggle for respondents was financial. The other struggles are balancing between family and work, and stereotypes on women.

Along with her struggles they learnt the business tactics in market. Respondents were working for survival and to have a better lifestyle. Most of the women entrepreneurs in clothing sector business flourish with gradual pace of time. The respondents were in the business for decades. Later the income and profit flourish after their marriage only. They credit their husbands for the moral support in their venture as entrepreneurs. The emerging trend reveal the high number of people taking up entrepreneurship as a career. For instance the EA. Naga society in general and women of all tribe in particular. Women today are actively involved in selling their hand made products. For example: Respondent in traditional clothing sector. Study reveal that some respondent sell their products within Nagaland and outside the state. The major findings reveal that patriarchal society and mind-set of the people hampers women entrepreneurs. Women need to be heard and her essence on feminity need to be normalised without any discrimination or bias in both formal and informal sector of network for women entrepreneurs. The formal sector reveals their role more on skill training whereas informal sector was easier to connect directly. Informal sector is directly connected to Naga women entrepreneurs such as in the form of

Church as religious head of the society. The informal sector is working harder than the formal sector for the welfare of the society and for women in particular.

CHAPTER – 6

CONCLUSION

Chapter- 6

Conclusion

This chapter summarises my research findings on Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima district of Nagaland. Naga women constitutes around 45% of the total population in Nagaland (Mention the exact statistics from the latest census report of 2021 or 2011) and the women play a significant role in the Naga economy. Their essence, value as women need rejuvenation, revived and reconstructed. Cultural feminism highlighted about the essence and nature of women. Viewing women through new vision i.e. rejuvenating her role in society as ‘women’ needs to be seen as superior. Women biology, her body that is the creator of life needs to be revived on a higher level. There is a need for reconstruction of women as one of her essence is nurturing. Cultural feminist argue that with her nurturing nature she can be an excellent leader in society.

The concept of entrepreneur emerged in the early 16th century (Sills, 1986, p.87). This concept recently has expanded and assimilated to various disciplines. From 16th century to 20th century (Sills) the terminology of entrepreneurship expanded to economics, history and sociology (p.90).

Study revealed that Naga women belonging to both protestant and catholic denominations are social entrepreneurs. Naga women established their business with a high risk. With the small scale business they help the community. Naga women entrepreneurs are philanthropist. They work to help the community generously due to their religious ethics and idea of calling, blessing and salvation. This statement is further accentuated in Chapter 5.6 (women entrepreneurs as philanthropist).

Comparative study between the traditional and modern Naga women entrepreneur revealed that higher number of women entrepreneurs in the market belonged to rural traditional women. Among the protestant Rengma tribe there are four rural traditional women entrepreneurs. Out of the total sample size, ten of them are protestant Angami women who hails from rural

villages. Six from Angami Catholic and one from Rengma catholic belonging to rural traditional category. There are higher number of protestant Angami women entrepreneurs who believe in traditional norm. For example men taking the leadership role. Villages have firm social norm compared to cities which are liberal.

The study reveals that the major problem was on 'women and culture' not 'women and family'. Scholars in India highlighted the problem of non-cooperation in family but when it comes to the regions of Naga society the problem lies with 'women and culture'. Naga women problem as entrepreneur goes through the socio-cultural barriers as discussed in the thesis chapters. For Naga women, their husbands helped them and supported them in their small-scale businesses. It is observed that husbands often help their wives in packing pickle food products for delivery in the market. This reveals the changes from customary law where it teaches the role and work of both men and women as different. Traditionally men do not touch the work assigned to women and vice versa. Naga customs and tradition on closer analyses is bias on women when compared to men. The social norm, sayings, taboos, and beliefs all point towards the inferior and lower status of women.

Rather than 'family and gender issues', it is 'gender and customary laws' which is the cause for the lower status of women in Naga society. Research study reveal the traditional norm, which is gender bias, effects the belief and mind of women in becoming successful. Patriarchal society expects women to stay at home indoors and look after the children. She cannot spread her wings and normalisation for her was living in her cocoon. There is only a few percentage of menfolk who supports gender equality. This group of men are sympathetic and belonged to educated-literate category according to my observation.

The research study shows the need for rural entrepreneurship. Agriculture is the main occupation and the economic backbone of Nagaland. Most of the women entrepreneurs in food-

processing, agriculture and forest produce are owned by rural women. They contribute to the state economy. Rural entrepreneurs have raw talents which needs to be recognised and their work commercialised on a larger platform. For instance rural women who weave the traditional attires sell their product to middle person for a few amount of money. With proper channel of connectivity through social networks to export materials on large scale could be a great prospect for empowering Naga women entrepreneurs. Rural life its environment is hard in itself. Thus this marginalised group which are excluded from basic necessity needs more exposure.

There are different debates on entrepreneurship. Some scholars argue that the role of entrepreneurs is to make only profit and business. Some argued that the role of entrepreneurs should be a humanist. It is important to examine women entrepreneurship through the lens of religious, socio-environmental and cultural backgrounds. In building and encouraging entrepreneurship among women there is the need to have sustainable entrepreneurship. For instance, those category of women whose raw materials are based on agriculture and forest. Agro-business entrepreneurs need to focus on the sustainable methods which will preserve biodiversity of the region. Women are the closest to nature, as women are the protector and giver of life. Apart from nature, faith in God is powerful among the Naga women entrepreneurs. By the time they wake up to the end of the day, they always start and end with prayer. The idea of religion is significant. Any misfortune or natural calamity that occurs is often referred as a sign of God. It is assumed that due to the sins of human being, the world is suffering. Contemporary Naga society are strong believers of visions, prophecy and tongues said by 'chosen holy person' or 'gifted person' as they refer them.

Naga women is depicted as a believer of faith in Christ. She is depicted as the peace-maker and philanthropists by different scholar and activist. Among the Rengma and Angami tribe women the similarity is revealed in case of her domestic role and the non-inheritances of ancestral

property. According to olden traditions women could only inherit ornaments and cloths from parents. This practise still continues in villages. It is found that the role of Naga women as home-makers or professionals have been under-valued. It is found that the role of Naga women as home-makers or professionals have been under-valued.

Patriarchal society normalises the gender discrimination towards women. Entrepreneurship is one bridge, a tool that can fill the gap of gender discrimination. Given the natural habitat of Nagaland which is rich in flora and fauna women farmers have successful entrepreneur prospect. Nagaland has the prospect of blooming in floriculture and horticulture which can be commercialised. For example: Kiwi fruit and succulent plants which grows in abundance.

Agriculture as the backbone of the state economy can be utilised for a sustainable entrepreneurship. Through entrepreneurship, there is better prospect to connect the global market. More inclusion of women entrepreneurs will solve the gap of gender inequality and empower women. Region and dominant tribe population contribute as an advantage for certain section of women to be more successful than the other. The active role initiated by informal sector in visiting door to door is helping the poor and middle class women entrepreneurs. The informal network connection helps women entrepreneurs in getting more customers and buyers. For instance the EA is a group of team work, they have a prior knowledge about the market. Their annual magazine reports showed their connectivity to the remote regions of Nagaland (5.8: subthemes).

Class classification exist in Naga society. Classification can be seen in social gatherings such as Church. The elite upper class group emerged in contemporary Naga society due to two reasons being education and land-holdings as discussed in chapter-3. With the emergence of upper elite group, a new class emerged as power politics. This new group of upper class were the elect representatives in politics. With the political power this class of people could

accumulate money, power and status. Being a Patriarchal society spouses of political representatives excel in their business as entrepreneurs due to better social networks. The other category of upper class group in Naga society are the first class contractors. Contractor View Angami from Kohima has contributed enormously towards the welfare of Naga society. He is a social entrepreneur who has given numerous donations during natural calamities in Kohima. He has owns a tile factory giving employment to the needy. He has generously contributed lac of amount towards the building construction of church and colleges.

Contemporary society is after the glamour of popular culture. For instance, the high demand on trending clothes and fashion which contributes to stiff competition among women entrepreneurs in clothing sector shows in the study. Possession of material assets have become the trend in contemporary Naga society, especially among millennial. With contestation of space women are left with no space. Another problem for women entrepreneurs is that their business goes in slow pace due to congested heavy traffic. Poor road condition is a challenge for women entrepreneurs as their raw material and finished products delivery depends on land road transportation.

Cultural feminist theory reveal to take pride in feminine traits (1.8: Theoretical framework). Change and continuity factor prevails in Naga society. Lack of equality in economic and political sphere represents the gender inequality in Naga society. It was only during the year 2004-05 (Paula Banerjee) women development programs were introduced in Nagaland. Political networks and geographical location adds in either making or unmaking of women entrepreneurs. Naga women compared to men are treated subordinately which has multi-dimensional aspects- socio-culturally, economically and politically which is already discussed in the Chapter-3 of the thesis (3.5, 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8. subthemes). Biased feminist politics play one of the reason for the failure of women empowerment. Here, the biased feminist politics means women are considered as incapable of holding political leadership role. During

Nagaland Assembly elections 2018- none of the women were elected as MLA despite contesting for election.

Gender mainstreaming is important. Social network of a person is crucial in market business. As compared to lower and middle class women entrepreneurs the formal networks are advantages to upper class entrepreneurs in expanding business.

Dialect and language is the first factor which immediately bonds the tribe belonging to same speaking dialect, which also becomes one of the reason and advantage for social networks. Philosophically the mind-set of a person is a weapon for her success and failure, which makes her an independent entrepreneur. Traditionally as discussed, customary laws assign work roles for both men and women separately and differently. Society has taught from beginning the category of rules which is good moral conduct and vice versa. Rather society should focus more on the essence of an individual deeds and work.

Women respondents claim women as better entrepreneurs than men. As they believe women do not spend the income in gambling and intoxication rather they are more responsible in their work which includes giving basic education to their children. Mothers who are illiterate entrepreneurs in small business want their children to be literate and have a better life.

Policy development for gender should start from the 'bottom to up' (Kabeer, 1994). As discussed in chapter - 4, with sub theme 4.8 (policies regarding women entrepreneurs in India) highlighted central government schemes for marginalised section i.e. Scheduled Tribes (S.T.) in India. Policies are meant for the holistic development of the state.

Women role in society are assigned which is a hurdle for progression. Economic empowerment through entrepreneurship is a step towards gender equality.

Some self-reflections and suggestions:

Some suggestions important for policy documentation could be the expansion of Agro-business in horticulture and floriculture. Those business which are already at the initial stage of start-ups, could be helped by supplying better tools and machinery for work. Many unemployed youth and women in particular could create jobs. High number of advertisement and media regarding business could attract customers around the globe. Resolving community issue in transparency would give equal privileges to all tribes. Creating a platform or a group where each clan of village takes in charge of indigenous maintenances of biodiversity would create a sustainable entrepreneurship business. Indigenous work such as the art of weaving traditional cloths should be given a bigger platform of recognition. Tribal women leaders should step up and empower themselves first. And then through better networks of business to include the grass-root women entrepreneurs. NITCA-Naga International Trade Centers Association, CNCCI- Confederation of Nagaland Chamber of Commerce and Industry, EA- Entrepreneurs Associate are some examples which networks with local grassroots women.

There are many success stories of village women excelling in animal farming as reported in the local newspapers (Nagaland Post 2018).

The market literacy and strategy could be taught through platforms such as conducting more seminars and skill development trainings. Creation of jobs at its initial stage for a tenure and examining the profit, loss, income will give an idea on business and market strategy. Focus on the importance of women in the work industries could be studied examining through global context. For instance, American and Japanese model of business as cultivators and tourism could add value to the economy of the state. By creating a business model for tribal women in villages could solved the problem of gender inequality. Some of my reflection model for business is to firstly hire a capable indigenous person. Then secondly, discover the product and have a thorough study about the region and culture of the tribe. Studying the pros and cons, intermediate role between the government and local is important in the process. The Planning

should be carried keeping in mind the laws and tradition of ethnic tribes and environment sustainability. The work progress and plan for entrepreneurship business should be transparent and corruption free. Government or formal sector on the other hand need to cooperate with informal sector as well. The government needs to take up the role as informer and the builder for business network rigorously in helping women entrepreneurs in rural regions. Through cooperation it will have high value of exporting materials, high value to improve the infrastructure and help in packaging, delivering and marketing of the products. All these models for business entrepreneurship is only possible through the ethics of an individual. Working for the civilization to save humanity and sustain future generations. Creation of jobs with proper planning add value to entrepreneurship business.

In this thesis, I have found out the existence of inherent hierarchical form of discrimination when it comes to Gender. Starting from the lowest level of hierarchy to the top. For instance in Village councils there is not a single women representation. Nagaland Legislative Assembly do not have a single representative. Nagaland can always amend on constitution and make law to include women representation without compromising Article 371A. There is a need to safeguard, security for indigenous people. To add to my findings and limitations- it is important to analyse from local point of view. As local views is more significant rather than outside point of view which has loopholes. There is a lack of materials and primary source, from Naga women writers on socio-cultural, political, economic issues. One of the main reason would be the practice of oral history.

To reflect and think, it is shameful as our own local Naga men are not allowing women reservation and representation in politics. Feminist argue women are already capable leaders. Patriarchal society and mindset are hindrance for women as leaders. We need proactive fearless women, who could practically take steps rather than moderate dialogues and speech.

In this thesis women's voice, their views and their personal stories are shared. It produces the truth without any partiality. All information and knowledge both personal and public were narrated and culturally determined. Therefore this thesis has analysed the study from ethnographic methodology which could justify the inequality and subjected voice of women. Observation and participation are the main factors in ethnographic methods. Ethnographic methods through feminist perspectives could bring justification. The study of inequality between the marginalised and privileged group of women among the Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs through shared experiences are justified in terms of feminist ethnographic perspectives.

Comparing both Protestant and Catholic Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs in Kohima, it can be concluded that both denominations of tribes work for the welfare of the community. They are social entrepreneurs in the sense that profit is given back to society through donations and philanthropic work. Religious ethics i.e. the set of ideas as argued by Weber lead protestants to act more for community rather than oneself. The rise of capitalism was believed to be pioneered by protestants. The contrast between protestant and catholic denominations despite both a Christian religion are in terms of rituals and power hierarchy. The entrepreneurship skills between the two denominations are the same. Naga women in general are self-made, manual workers and self-taught entrepreneurs. Church of both denominations does not involve directly in setting up a business for women. Rather church acts as a spiritual and moral guide for women entrepreneurs.

Naga women entrepreneurs belonging to Rengma and Angami tribes of both denominations differ from one another as 'tribe'. As, women are not a homogenous group in Naga society. The types of entrepreneurship that Naga women take up in Kohima town are in the clothing, food, agriculture and floriculture. Most of the Naga women entrepreneurs come from their native village to sell their products.

The highest educational qualification among the Naga women respondents had Master of Art (M.A.) degree. As mentioned in sub themes 5. 5:1 – respondent Neikha, despite her qualification became an entrepreneur due to her interest in fashion and clothing sector. She also mentions that due to lack of opportunity and employment, she chose to be an entrepreneur.

Naga women are small scale businesswomen. Naga women become entrepreneur due to financial problems, to take up the responsibility of family and for survival. Other category of women entrepreneur- are those who enter in the field based on her interest. Naga women entrepreneur belonging to upper class are successful due to their good network connectivity and background. The failure for Naga women entrepreneur could be seen from those women in agriculture sector, who do not have a proper space and place. Both formal and informal sector need to come together and function actively for promoting women entrepreneurship. Tribal regions of Northeast are marginalised and neglected compared to mainland India. Naga society is a patriarchal society, the tribal community abide by the customary law. Despite the high literacy rate, there is absence of women in political representation. To overcome gender stereotypes and inequality women need to be economically empowered. Entrepreneurship is a way for empowering women and also creating job opportunities for the unemployment.

The limitation of the study as discussed in Chapter -1 with sub themes 1.10: Limitation of the study, could be added with a way forward for future research. Some of the points that could be included in a way forward are – The Rengma Nagas of Assam State needs a recognition and inclusion in the Naga fraternity. The Rengma Assam their migration and exclusion needs further research. And with regard to women entrepreneurs in Nagaland, their financial stability and awareness in Indian Standards Institution (ISI) marks i.e. quality certification mark used in case for food products. There is a scope as discussed in 1.5. Sub- themes: Scope of the study for further research on women entrepreneurship. A deeper study on women entrepreneurship

could be a way forward in future research on how they are bringing change in their respective society.

When I examined the Angami Protestant and Catholic women entrepreneurs, it reveals that both the denominations sought God's blessings and they tend to give back to church and society as Philanthropists.

It is observed that both protestant and catholic women entrepreneurs of Rengma and Angami tribe are voiceless. Out of the total sample of thirty-five respondents, nineteenth were not able to express their opinion. Generating of employment and role as philanthropist are similar traits among both Rengma and Angami tribes of protestant and catholic denominations. They often give ten tithes to the Church as it is mandatory for every good Christians to give back tenth of their income to God.

Findings reveal that protestant were more rigorous towards giving their tithes and in contrast catholics did not contribute on monthly basis, rather they called it as 'free-will donations' whenever they wish to donate. This contrast between both protestant and catholic denominations reveal the protestant church i.e. the Pastor, workers and the like generate their monthly income through tithes as already discussed in Chapter 4, with sub-themes 4.6: Comparative study between the Protestant and Catholic Christianity in Kohima district. It is found that there are more successful number of protestant Angami women entrepreneurs than Angami Catholic women entrepreneurs. This study found that there are more number of Angami village, population, churches and protestant Baptist denomination. Study also reveal that Angami women entrepreneurs enjoy certain privileges compared with the Rengma women entrepreneurs in Kohima town.

The research findings have shown various activities that the Rengma and Angami Naga women engages in entrepreneurship at Kohima market in Nagaland. All the thirty-five respondents in this study have shared their goals and challenges. And, their stories reveals how

most of them exercised liberty to earn their livelihood although some of them are continuously subjugated by subtle patriarchy. Some of them encountered patriarchy by being dominated by their husbands, and they did not challenge it nor consider it as unusual for them. It is observed that gender and patriarchy are crucial to the construction of power dynamics between husbands and wives and such relationships explained the experiences of Rengma and Angami women entrepreneurs.

Their stories showed how they provide employment for few people in their businesses. This study was a journey that emerges as a response to lack of literature on Rengma and Angami Naga women entrepreneurs in Kohima, Nagaland. This chapter summarises the key research findings concerning the literature and collected data analysis. A feminist and sociological perspectives have been employed to get a better insights on how Rengma and Angami Naga women carried out their entrepreneurial activities.

This study explored the Protestant and Roman Catholic Rengma and Angami Naga women entrepreneurial activities and attempted to understand if their religious denominations have influenced them. Hence, this study put the selected Rengma and Angami Naga women at the centre stage, narrating their lived experiences as they engage in various businesses in Kohima. The study set out to answer some of the research questions as discussed in chapter – 1, what makes Naga women an entrepreneur? What are the findings and gaps in the literature reviews? What is the role of Naga women in society? What are the social networks in influencing Naga women entrepreneurs? How are the theories link to one another for the study of women entrepreneurs? Why is there a gap between the traditional and modern Naga women? Does class exist in Naga society and if yes, why is there a class differences? How do women face challenges in patriarchal society? What are the changes in Naga society? Is there a gap between the rich and the poor in Naga society? What are the key factors that promote women entrepreneurs? What are the roles of business and globalisation? What is the role of market?

What is the proximity of market? What are the business sector women take up? What are the success and failure of Naga women entrepreneurs? What is the role of women in politics? What are the formal and informal network connections of women entrepreneurs? At what expense the overcoming of socio-cultural barriers can be analysed? Is tribe an important factor? Is there a gap between each tribes or are they egalitarian? Does tribe constitute success and variables for women entrepreneurs? Why some women in particular are more successful than other? Examine on cross-tribal networks? What is the idea of religion? Locate the prospect of Naga women entrepreneurs? What role does religion play for women entrepreneurs? How Christianity came and influence people of Nagaland? What are the policies on Naga women entrepreneurs? How Naga women are socially excluded?

The research methodology adopted in this study have been guided by interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary perspective particularly sociological and feminist standpoints that argues that knowledge must be produced without any biases while focusing on women's lived experiences. This study makes a modest contribution to the literature of Naga women in Nagaland.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Traditional weaving and clothing women entrepreneurs, Protestant Angami tribe.



Western clothing women entrepreneur in her registered shop belonging to Catholic Angami tribe.



Traditional weaving, embroidery and clothing women entrepreneur, Protestant Rengma



Catholic Angami
women leader



Catholic Rengma
women leader



Christ king Church
Kohima



(1) Without a space for market a temporal area Rengma village women leader Protestant.

(2) A permanent space in Kohima town, Angami tribe Catholic.

(3) Mao market in Kohima town, a permanent space for vegetable vendors.

(4) Temporary space allotment in Chandmari colony Kohima.

Photo (1) is my fieldwork visit at Directorate of Employment Skill development and Entrepreneurship, Kohima

(2) Field visit at Directorate of Industries & Commerce Kohima

(3) –do–

(4) Rengma Baptist Church Kohima



(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)

The photos show the clothing sector business & traditional ornaments.



Women entrepreneurs in Floristry and field visit at informal office at Entrepreneurs Associate (EA) at Kohima town.

REFERENCES

Books

- Alasuutari, P. (2004). *Social theory and Human reality*. Sage publications Ltd.
- Anand, V.K. (1980). *Conflict in Nagaland, A study of insurgency and counter-insurgency*. Chanakya publications Delhi.
- Anand, V.K. (1967). *Nagaland in transition*. Associated publishing house New Delhi.
- Antonopoulos, G.A. (2016). *Illegal entrepreneurship, organised crime, and social control*. Springer International publishing Switzerland.
- Ao, A. (1970). *A brief historical account of Nagaland*. Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima.
- Ao, B. A. (2001). *History of Christianity in Nagaland: Social Change 1872-1972*. Shalom Ministry publications Bangalore.
- Apon, H.T.S. (2004). *History of Christianity in Rengma (Kohima Elakha 1888-1947)*. Council of Rengma Baptist Churches 1950-2004.
- Bhasin, K. (2000). *Understanding Gender*. Paul press: New Delhi.
- Baporika, N. (2002). *Entrepreneurship and small industry*. Himalaya publishing house Mumbai.
- Barreto, H. (2013). *The Entrepreneur in Microeconomic theory: Disappearance and Explanation*. Routledge, Business & Economics.
- Barua, A. (2005). *Indias North-East development issues in a historical perspective*. Manohar publisher New Delhi.
- Birtchnell, T. (2013). *Indovation, innovation and a global knowledge economy in India*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Brunner, H.P. (2010). *North-East India, local economic development and global markets*. Sage publications New Delhi.
- Bryson, V. (2003). *Feminist Political theory, an introduction second edition*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Byrne, D. (2009). *Social Exclusion*. Chaman Enterprises New Delhi.
- Channa, S.M. (1992). *Nagaland, A contemporary ethnography*. Cosmo publication New Delhi.
- Clark, W.A. (1993). *Gender and Political Economy: Explorations of South Asian Systems*. Oxford University Press New Delhi.
- Coughlin, J.H. (2002). *The rise of women entrepreneurs: people, processes, and global trends*. Quorum books United States of America.
- Davis, A.Y. (1893). *Women, race and class*. Vintage books a division of random house New York.
- Desai, V. (2008). *Entrepreneurial Development volume I, The Entrepreneur, Entrepreneurship and Development Principles, programmes and policies*. Himalayan publishing house Mumbai.
- Deva, I. (1989). *Folk Culture and Peasant Society in India*. Rawat Publication.
- Elwin, V. (1961). *Nagaland*. S.N. Guha Ray at Sree Saraswati press Ltd, Calcutta.
- Elwin, V. (1969). *The Nagas in the nineteenth century*. Oxford university press.
- Flick, U. (2014). *The Sage handbook of qualitative data analysis*. Sage publications.
- Folbre, N. (2009). *Greed, Lust & Gender, A history of economic ideas*. Oxford University Press.
- Folbre, N. (1994). *Who pays for the Kids? Gender and the structures of constraint*. Routledge publisher.
- Folbre, N. (2008). *Valuing Children, rethinking the economics of the family*. Harvard University press.
- Gait, E. (1997). *A History of Assam*. Lawyers book stall Guwahati reprint.

- Given, L.M. (2008). *The sage encyclopaedia of qualitative research methods, Volumes 1&2*. Sage publications.
- Haimendorf, C.V. (1939). *The Naked Nagas*. Methuen and Co. Ltd. London.
- Have, P.T. (2004). *Understanding qualitative research and ethnomethodology*. Sage publications.
- Hobart, M. (1996). *Ethnography as a practice*. Europaea II-1: 3-36, School of oriental and African studies, University of London, Thornhaugh Street London.
- Hutton, J.H. (1921). *The Angami Nagas, with some notes on neighbouring tribes*. Macmillan and Co. limited St. Martins Street London.
- Imsong, M. (2011). *God-Land- People: An Ethnic Naga identity*. Heritage publishing house Dimapur Nagaland India.
- Kabeer, N. (1994). *Reversed realities gender hierarchies in development thought*. Verso London. New York.
- Khanna, S.K. (1999). *Encyclopaedia of North-East India*. Indian publisher distributors Delhi.
- Kilby, P. (2011). *NGOS in India, the challenges of women's empowerment and accountability*. Routledge contemporary south Asian series.
- Kumar, R., (2011). *Research Methodology 3rd edition*. Sage publications New Delhi.
- Kummitha, R.K.R. (2016). *Social Entrepreneurship, Working towards greater Inclusiveness*. Sage publication India Pvt Ltd.
- McDuie-Ra, D. (2012). *Northeast migrants in Delhi, race, refuge and retail*. Amsterdam University press, IIAS International Institute for Asian Studies.
- Mills, J.P. (1937). *The Rengma Nagas*. Macmillan and Co. Limited St. Martins Street, London.
- Mohanty, P.K. (2006). *Encyclopaedia of Scheduled tribes in India in five volume vol.5- North-east*. Isha Books Delhi.

- Moore, H.L. (1988). *Feminism and Anthropology*. Blackwell publishers polity press, Oxford United Kingdom.
- Mukhopadhyay, L. (2002). *Tribal Women in Development*. Publication division New Delhi.
- Niumai, Ajailiu. (2015). *Gender among the Nagas of North East India*, in Rekha Pande's (ed) '*Gender Lens: Women's Issues and Perspectives*'. Rawat Publishers Jaipur and New Delhi.
- Nongbri, T. (2008). *Gender Matriliny and Entrepreneurship, the Khasis of North-East India*. Zubaan New Delhi.
- Oppitz, M. (2008). *Naga Identities: Changing local cultures in the Northeast of India*. Snoeck publishers.
- Pickering, M. (2008). *Research methods for cultural studies*. Edinburgh University Press Ltd.
- Prakash, A. (2015). *Dalit Capital, State Markets and Civil society in Urban India*. Routledge Taylor & Francis group New Delhi.
- Rani, D.L. (1996). *Women entrepreneurs*. A.P.H. publishing corporation New Delhi.
- Reilly, K.O. (2008). *Ethnographic Methods*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group New York.
- Said, E.W. (1979). *Orientalism*. Vintage books a division of random house New York.
- Saleh, S.I. (1989). *Nagaland economy in transition since 1964*. Omsons publication Delhi.
- Sanyu, V. (1996). *A history of Nagas and Nagaland: Dynamics of oral tradition in Villages formation*. Common wealth publication New Delhi.
- Schumpeter, J.A. (1934). *The theory of economic development*. Cambridge Mass.
- Scott, J.C. (2009). *The Art of not being governed, an anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia*. Yale University press new haven & London.
- Sengupta, S. (2012). *Indigenous knowledge traditions perspective from North East India*. Gyan publishing house Delhi.
- Sharma, M. (1998). *History and history writing in North East India*. Regency publications New Delhi.

- Shimmi, Y.L.R. (1988). *Comparative history of the Nagas from Ancient period till 1826*. Inter-India publications New Delhi.
- Sethi, R.M. (1999). *Globalization, culture and women's development*. Rawat publication New Delhi.
- Sema, H. (1986). *Emergence of Nagaland, socio-economic and political transformation and future*. Vikas publishing house New Delhi.
- Sen, A. (1987). *Commodities and Capabilities*. Oxford university press.
- Sen, A. (2000). *Social exclusion: concept, application and scrutiny*. Asian Development Bank Manila, Philippines.
- Sills, L. D. (1972). *International Encyclopaedia of social sciences*. Macmillan Company & the Fress Press, New York.
- Silverman, D. (2004). *Qualitative research theory, method and practice, second edition*. Sage publications.
- Singh, K.S. (1993). *Tribal ethnography customary law and change*. Concept publishing company New Delhi.
- Singh, N. (1999). *Women Problems and their Oppression*. A.P.H. Publishing corp Delhi.
- Spradley, J.P. (1979). *The Ethnographic interview*. Harcourt brace Jovanovich college publishers.
- Spradley, J.P. (1980). *Participant Observation*. Harcourt brace Jovanovich college publishers.
- Soundarapandian, M. (2008). *Women entrepreneurship, Issues and strategies*. Kanishka publishers, distributors New Delhi.
- Thong, T. (2014). *Progress and its impact on the Nagas, a clash of worldviews*. Ashgate England.
- Thornberry, N. (2006). *Lead like an entrepreneur*. Tata Mc Graw-hill publishing company limited New Delhi.

- Tong, R. (2009). *Feminist thought, a more comprehensive introduction, third edition*. Westview press.
- Trivedi, M. (1991). *Entrepreneurship among tribal*. Print well publisher Jaipur.
- Visweswaran, K. (1994). *Fictions of feminist ethnography*. University of Minnesota press.
- Weber, M. (1976). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London.
- Whyte, W.F. (1993). *Street Corner society the social structure of an Italian slum fourth edition*. The University of Chicago press.
- Yadav, C.P. (2008). *Encyclopaedia of Gender equality and development, Vol.1*. Anmol publications pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.
- Yadav, G. (2009). *Encyclopaedia of Indian tribal ethnography, volume 2*. Anmol publications pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.
- Zehol, L. (1998). *Women in Naga society*. Regency publications New Delhi.

BOOKS WITH TWO OR MORE AUTHORS

- Alasuutari, P., Bickman, L., & Brannen, J. (2008). *Social research methods*. Sage publications.
- Blackburn, S. & Ting, H. (2013). *Women in Southeast Asian Nationalist movements, a biographic approach*. Nus press Singapore, Nicholas Tarling fund.
- Calhoun, C., Gerties, J., Moody, J., Pfaff, S., & Virk, I. (2007). *Classical Sociological theory-second edition*. Blackwell publishing.
- Davis, K., Evans, M. & Lorber, J. (2006). *Gender and women's studies*. Sage publications.
- Elsberg, J.T., Folbre, N., & Heintz, J. (2006). *Field guide to the U.S. economy, a compact and irreverent guide to economic life in America*. The New press New York London, the center for popular economics.

- Epstein, S.R. & Park, M. (2008). *Guilds, Innovation and the European economy, 1400- 1800*. Cambridge University press.
- Ewert, U.C. & Selzer, S. (2016). *Institutions of Hanseatic trade, studies on the political economy of medieval network organisation*. Peter Lang edition New York.
- Folbre, N., & Bittman, M. (2004). *Family Time, the social organisation of care*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group London and New York.
- Gillis, S., Howie, G., & Munford, R. (2004). *Third wave feminism a critical exploration*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gill, R. & Scharff, C. (2011). *New Feminities postfeminism, neoliberalism and subjectivity*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hester, S. & Francis, D. (2004). *Ethnomethodology language, society and interaction*. Sage publications.
- Jackson, S. & Jones, J. (1998). *Contemporary Feminist theories*. Edinburgh University press, Edinburgh.
- Jamir, N.T., & Lanunungsang, A. (2005). *Naga society and culture, a case study of the Ao Naga society and culture*. Nagaland University tribal research culture centre, Mokokchung.
- Jyothi, P., Prasad, B., & Sita, V. (2008). *Choosing An Enterprise, How What When*. Allied Publishers pvt. Ltd, New Delhi.
- Kraft, S.E., Tafjord, B.O., Longkumar, A., Alles, G.D., & Johnson, G. (2020). *Indigenous religion (s) local grounds, global networks*. Routledge Taylor & Francis group London and New York.
- Lester, J.D. & Jr, L. J.D. (2015). *Writing research papers, a complete guide fifteenth edition*. Pearson education limited.
- Merriam, S.B. & Tisdell, E.J. (2016). *Qualitative research a guide to design and implementation fourth edition*. Jossey - Bass A Wiley Brand.

- Moore, D.P. & Buttner, E.H. (1997). *Women entrepreneurs: Moving beyond the glass ceiling*. Sage publications Thousand Oaks New Delhi.
- Nathan, D. & Xaxa V. (2012). *Social exclusion and adverse inclusion, development and deprivation of adivasis in India*. Oxford University press Institute for human development Delhi.
- Neogi, C., Bhandari, A.K., & Ghosh, S. (2017). *Women's entrepreneurship and microfinance*. Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.
- Nulkar, V.K, & Muthumani, M.K. (2013). *Encyclopaedia of Tribals tribal culture volume-4*. Commonwealth publishers' pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.
- Pilcher, J., & Whelehan, I. (2004). *50 key concepts in Gender studies*. Sage publications.
- Pruthi, R., & Sharma, B. R. (1994). *Encyclopaedia of women society and culture Vol.9 Industrialisation and women*. Anmol publications pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.
- Sharma, D.D, & Dhameja, S.K. (2002). *Indian Entrepreneurship Theory and practice*. Abhishek publications, Chandigarh India.
- White, M. & Schwoch. (2006). *Questions of method in cultural studies*. Blackwell publishing.
- Ziipao, R.R. & Bodhi, S.R. (2019). *Land words and resilient cultures, the ontological basis of tribal identity*. Tribal Intellectual collective India TICI, www.ticijournals.org

EDITED BOOKS

- Flick, U. (Ed.). (2014). *The Sage handbook of Qualitative data Analysis*. Sage publication.
- Ganesan, R., Kaur D., & Maheshwari R.C. (Ed.). (2002). *Women entrepreneurs: problems and prospects*. Response books, a division of sage publications.
- Rastogi, C.M. (Ed.). (2002). *Women entrepreneurship and government policies*. Abhishek publication.

Sengupta, S. (Ed.). (2012). *Indigenous knowledge traditions perspectives from North East India*. Gyan publishing house Delhi.

ARTICLES

Beechey, V. (1979). On Patriarchy. *Feminist Review*, No. 3, *Palgrave Macmillan Journals*, pp.66-82 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1394710> Accessed: 24/11/2014 04:29

Banerjee, P. (Nov. 1, 2014). New conundrums for women in North-East India Nagaland and Tripura. *Economic and Political weekly*, vol. XLIX no's 43 &44, pp. 57-65, Review of women's studies

Bapna, N. (2016). 'Draft National policy for women 2016, repeating old themes'. *Commentary, Economic & political weekly*. Vol. 51, Issue No.35 (27 August 2016), p. 22-25. epw.in/journal/2016/35/commentary/draft-national-policy-women-2016.html

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence against women of color. *Stanford law review*. Vol. 43, No.6, pp. 1241- 1299, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/1229039>

Eisenstein, H. (2010). Feminism seduced, globalisation and the uses of gender. *Routledge Australian feminist studies*. Vol.25, No.66, pp. 413-431, Accessed: 24-09-2015, 12.20, <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cafs20>

Friedman, M., Metelerkamp, J. & Posel, R. (1987). What is Feminism? And what kind of feminist am I? *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, no. 1, pp. 3- 24, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. On behalf of Agenda feminist media, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4547903> Accessed: 25/11/ 2015, 02: 30

Howard, J. (1983). Toward A "Marxist-Feminist Cultural Analysis". *Project Muse*. Minnesota Review, Number 20, spring 1983 (New Series), pp. 77 – 92. <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/mnr/summary/v020/20.howard.html>. 29 Nov 2014 16:21 GMT

- Kabeer, N. (1991). Gender, Development, and Training: Raising Awareness in the Planning process. *Taylor & Francis group*. Development in practice, autumn, 1991, Vol.1, No.3 (autumn, 1991), pp. 185-195, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/4029223>
- Kabeer, N. (2003). Growing Citizenship from the grassroots: Nijera Kori and social mobilization in Bangladesh. *Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies*. Vol.29, No. 3 /4 Citizenship and rights in Bangladesh, pp. 1-20, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40795679>
- Kabeer, N. (2005). Is Microfinance a ‘Magic Bullet’ for women’s empowerment? Analysis of findings from South Asia. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol. 40, No. 44 / 45 (Oct. 29 – Nov. 4) pp. 4709-4718, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/4417357>
- Kabeer, N. (March 2005). Gender equality and women’s empowerment: a critical analysis of the third millennium development goal. *Gender and development*. Vol.13, No.1. pp. 13-14, commonwealth secretariat, London
- Kelkar, G., Nathan, D., Mukhim, P., & Dzuvichu, R., (January 7, 2017). Energy, Gender and social norms in indigenous rural societies. *Economic and political weekly*, Vol LII NO1, pp. 67-74, review of rural affairs
- Kenny, M. (2006). Patriarchy and Christian Feminism. *Studies: An Irish quarterly review*, summer, vol. 95, no. 378, pp. 175-181, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/30095818>
- Kikon, D. (2015). Making pickles during a ceasefire livelihood, sustainability and development in Nagaland. *Conflict, transition and development, Economic & Political weekly*. Vol. 50, Issue No. 9 (28 February, 2015), p.74- 78. epw.in/system/files/pdf/2015_50/9
- Krishna, S. (2005). Gendered Price of Rice in North-Eastern India. *Economic & Political weekly*. Vol.40, No.25 (Jun.18-24, 2005), pp.2555-2562. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4416784>.
- 02-03-2020 03:05 UTC
- Mahmud, S. & Kabeer, N. (2003). Compliance versus accountability: Struggles for dignity and daily bread in the Bangladesh garment Industry. *The Bangladesh Institute of development*

studies. vol.29, no. 3 / 4, Citizenship and rights in Bangladesh, pp. 21-46.

<http://www.jstor.com/stable/40795680>

Manchanda, R. (2005). Naga women making a difference: peace building in north eastern India. *Women waging peace policy commission, Sanam Naraghi Anderlini series editor* January, hunt alternatives fund, ISBN 1-932679-08-1. www.inclusivesecurity.org

Mehrotra, N. (2002). Perceiving feminism: some local responses. *Sociological bulletin, Indian Sociological society*, vol.51, no.1, pp. 58-79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23620063>. 07-05-2017, 01:21 UTC

Sen, A. (1973). Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment, some conceptual issues in measurement. *Economic and political weekly*, Special Number August, pp. 1457-1464.

Shimray, U.A. (2002). Equality as tradition: Women's role in Naga society. *Economic & Political weekly*. Vol. 37, No.5, Money, Banking and Finance (Feb. 2-8), pp. 375- 377. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4411678>

Stage, S.J. (1983). Women. *American Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1/ 2, *Special Issue: contemporary America*, pp. 169-190, The Johns Hopkins University Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2712719> Accessed: 20/11/ 2015, 04:24

Thakur, R.K. (2016). Whose Hills? Whose Plains? The Politics of Border. *Sage Publications, Indian Historical Review*, 43 (1) 83- 101, DOI: 10.1177/0376983616644133 <http://ihr.sagepub.com>

Wright, E. O. (1993). Explanation and emancipation in Marxism and Feminism. *American Sociological Association. Sociological Theory*, Vol.11, No. 1 (Mar.), pp. 39-54. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/201979>. 24/11/2014 04:29

Reviewed Articles

Ferber, M.A. (Oct., 1996). Reviewed work(s): Reversed realities: Gender hierarchies in development thought by Naila Kabeer. *Economic development and cultural change*, vol. 45, no.1, pp. 222-226, The University of Chicago Press. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/1154379>

Peters, C. (Oct., 1994). Reviewed work(s): Reversed realities: Gender hierarchies in development thought by Naila Kabeer. *Taylor & Francis, Ltd on behalf of Oxfam GB*, vol.2, no.3, North-South co-operation, pp. 87-88, focus on Gender. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4030254>

Udayagiri, M. (May, 2002). The power to choose: Bangladeshi women and labour market decisions in London and Dhaka by Naila Kabeer. *American sociological association*, vol. 31, no.3, pp.272-273, Contemporary sociology. <https://jstor.org/stable/3089657> Accessed: 25-06-2019 02:14 UTC

JOURNALS

Alcoff, L. (1988). Cultural feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity crises in feminist theory. *The University of Chicago press Journals*, vol. 13, no.3, spring, pp. 405-436, Signs, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174166> Accessed: 20-07-2017 10:33 UTC

Balsamo, A. (1991). Feminism and cultural Studies. *The Journal of the Midwest modern language association*. Vol. 24, No. 1, spring, pp. 50-73, Cultural studies and new Historicism, <http://www.jstororg/stable/1315025> Accessed: 27-07-2017 21:38 UTC

Das, I. (2013). Status of women: North Eastern region of India versus India. *International Journal of scientific and research publications*, volume 3, Issue 1, ISSN 2250-3153

Derera, E., Chitakunye, P., & Neill, C.O., (2014). The Impact of gender on start-up capital: A case of women Entrepreneurs in South Africa. *The Journal of Entrepreneurship*, 23 (1) 95-114 development institute of India Sage publications, DOI: 10.1177/0971355713513355

- Ganesan, R., Kaur, D., & Maheshwari, R.C. (2002). Women entrepreneurs: problems and prospects, *The Journal of Entrepreneurship*, 11, 1, Sage publications New Delhi, pp. 76-93
- Moore, D. (1995). Feminism and occupational sex segregation. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, vol. 25, No.1, pp. 99-125, International Journals, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23029765>, Accessed: 26/11/2015, 02: 46
- Robbie, A.M., (2002). Fashion Culture: Creative work, female individualization. *Sage Journals*, Feminist review 71 (52-62) ©2002, 0141-7789/02 \$15 www.feminist-review.com
- Sengupta, A., Datta, S.K., & Mondal, S. (2013). Women's entrepreneurial abilities: A study in the Indian informal service sector. *The Journal of entrepreneurship*, 22(2) 223-243, DOI: 10.117/0971355713490622
- Sorokhaibam, R. & Laishram, N. (2011). Women entrepreneurship in Manipur, North-east India. *Interdisciplinary journal of research in business*, vol. 1, Issue. 5, pp.46-53, accessed 31-08- 2015, 10:29
- Simpeh, K.N. (2011). Entrepreneurship theories and empirical research: A summary review of the literature. *European Journal of business and Management*, Vol 3, No. 6, 2011, www.iiste.org
- Sinha, P. (2003). Women Entrepreneurship in the North East India: Motivation, Social support and constraints. *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, vol. 38, No.4, pp. 425- 443, Shri Ram Centre for Industrial relations and human resources, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27767864>, Accessed: 27-08-2015, 22:49 UTC
- Stevenson, L. (1990). Some methodological problems associated with researching women entrepreneurs. *Journal of business ethics*, vol. 9, no. 4 /5, perspectives on women in management research, pp. 439- 446, Springer, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25072052> Accessed: 27-08-2015, 22:50 UTC

Trivedi, C. (2010). A social entrepreneurship bibliography. *The Journal of Entrepreneurship*, 19, 1. Sage publications, DOI: 10.1177/097135570901900105

Vamuzo, M. (2012). Narratives of peace: Naga Women in the Self-determination struggle. *InTensions Journal*, Issue 6 (fall/ winter 2012) ISSN# 1913-5874. ©2012 by York University (Toronto, Canada)

WEB SITES

North East Network (NEN) – A women’s Rights Organisation (n.d). northeastnetwork.org

Sexual violence and the culture of impunity in Nagaland – Dolly Kikon. www.opendemocracy.net

BY A CORPORATE (GROUP) AUTHOR

Case study state of Jharkhand India, Protecting forests and securing customary rights through community forest governance. (2000). *International land coalition, united for land rights IWGIA*. www.landcoalition.org

Government of Nagaland, *Nagaland State Action Plan on Climate change*, achieving a low carbon development trajectory, Version 2012.2. (2010). A Framework for preparation of the State level action plans on climate change, MoEF.

Government of Nagaland, *Nagaland State Human Development Report 2004*. (October 2004). *New concept information system, department of planning and coordination*.

Press Information Bureau Government of India President’s Secretariat. (05 March 2016 14:39 IST). *President of India inaugurates first conference of women legislators*. <http://pib.nic.in/nwebsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=137374> .Accessed May 1, 2017.

The place of women in Naga society (2018). *Naga Women’s Union (NWU), International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Henry Martyn Institute (HMI): International Centre for Research, Interfaith Relations and Reconciliation*. Barkataki print & Media services.

The role of women in natural resource management- A thematic report 2009. *Directorate of Horticulture*. Kikhi, C. & Kikhi, K. Sociology Nagaland University.

Women's Studies Centre, Nagaland University. (2013). *Survey of research on women in Nagaland*. Copyright © WSCNU2013.

Women Waging Peace Policy Commission. (2005). *Naga Women making a difference: Peace building in Northeastern India*. © 2005 Hunt Alternatives Fund.

World Conference United Nations Decade for women at Copenhagen Denmark. (14-30 July 1980). *United Nations Conferences Women and Gender equality*.
Un.org/en/conferences/women/copenhagen1980.

EASTROSE MIACHIEO draft report

by Eastrose Miachieo

Submission date: 19-Jan-2022 09:30PM (UTC+0530)

Submission ID: 1744184336

File name: THESIS_P.docx (336.18K)

Word count: 46687

Character count: 255312

EASTROSE MIACHIEO draft report

ORIGINALITY REPORT

1 %

SIMILARITY INDEX

1 %

INTERNET SOURCES

0 %

PUBLICATIONS

0 %

STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1

[epdf.pub](#)

Internet Source

<1 %

2

[www.civildaily.com](#)

Internet Source

<1 %

3

Submitted to Macquarie University

Student Paper

<1 %

4

[link.springer.com](#)

Internet Source

<1 %

5

[baadalsg.inflibnet.ac.in](#)

Internet Source

<1 %

6

"The Middle Income Group in China and Russia", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2021

Publication

<1 %

7

Submitted to University of Hong Kong

Student Paper

<1 %

8

[netindian.in](#)

Internet Source

<1 %

[www.ncert.nic.in](#)

9	Internet Source	<1 %
10	dspace.daffodilvarsity.edu.bd:8080 Internet Source	<1 %
11	silo.pub Internet Source	<1 %
12	agri.eco.ku.ac.th Internet Source	<1 %
13	Submitted to Ohio Christian University Student Paper	<1 %
14	www.nagaland.gov.in Internet Source	<1 %
15	Submitted to The University of Manchester Student Paper	<1 %
16	www1.nyc.gov Internet Source	<1 %
17	Submitted to Harare Institute of TEchnology Student Paper	<1 %
18	en.wikipedia.org Internet Source	<1 %
19	indiainvestmentgrid.gov.in Internet Source	<1 %
20	"Agro and Food Processing Industry in India", Springer Science and Business Media LLC,	<1 %

2021

Publication

21	Submitted to Kaplan Professional School of Management Student Paper	<1 %
22	academic.oup.com Internet Source	<1 %
23	www.indiastudychannel.com Internet Source	<1 %
24	Submitted to University of Wolverhampton Student Paper	<1 %
25	dokumen.pub Internet Source	<1 %
26	www.encyclopedia.com Internet Source	<1 %
27	Submitted to Intercollege Student Paper	<1 %
28	Submitted to Jamia Milia Islamia University Student Paper	<1 %
29	www.articlerunner.net Internet Source	<1 %