ISSN (Online):0493-2137

E-Publication: Online Open Access

Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15260228

THE CHANGING ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE NAGA SOCIETY: A STUDY OF NORTHEAST INDIA

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Abstract

The study has explored women's evolving roles and status in Naga society, focusing on the traditional and contemporary transformations observed over time. Traditionally confined to domestic responsibilities, with access of modern education, globalization, and socio-economic movement, Naga women are increasingly stepping into varied roles, challenging the conventional traditional norms that were pushed back to the backseat. Using a qualitative approach this paper analyzes the extent of these transitions; the current social standing of Naga women and the increase of engaging in political, economic, and social roles and other activities, advocating for gender equality and greater representation in public affairs and decision-making processes. Further, it addresses the considerable challenges rooted in the traditional norms and cultural practices that hinder their full participation in various spheres. The study concludes with recommendations for further promoting gender equality and empowering Naga women, aiming to build upon the progress achieved.

Keywords: Naga Society, Status of Women, Changing Gender Roles, Traditional Norms, Gender Inequality and Decision Making.

INTRODUCTION

The Naga people, an indigenous ethnic group, are primarily found in the northeastern Indian states of Nagaland and the contiguous areas of Manipur, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh, as well as in northwestern Myanmar. Known for their distinct identity, the Nagas are a heterogeneous group consisting of several tribes and sub-tribes, each with unique customs, traditions, festivals, and dialects, but united by their Mongolian race and Tibeto-Burman language. They share many common traits, including oral traditions and socio-cultural, political, and economic affinities (Shimray 2004). Fifteen Naga tribes have been recognized in Nagaland, but determining the exact number can be challenging due to processes of fusion and fission occurring across the Northeastern India region and Myanmar (D'Souza 2001:7). Some scholars, such as Channa (1992) and Shimray (2004), have suggested that there are more than 40 Naga tribes living in the two countries. Regardless of state or international borders, Naga society has historically been deeply patriarchal, emphasizing clan and community-based living.

Some studies claim that Naga women have traditionally enjoyed a higher status in their society compared to their non-tribal counterparts (Fernandes ed. Thomas and Das 2002). However, male biases and patriarchal influences have limited their freedom and equality (Pamei 2018). Women's roles and positions within Naga society have significantly changed over time in response to broader socio-economic transformations and increased access to education. Traditionally, Naga women were confined to household chores, with limited opportunities for involvement in administration or formal decision-making processes. However, modernization and education have led Naga women to challenge

ISSN (Online):0493-2137

E-Publication: Online Open Access Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025 DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15260228

traditional patriarchal norms by engaging in diverse roles, visible now in politics, business, arts, sports, and social movements. This shift is evidenced by their growing presence in

educational institutions, professional fields, and civil society organizations.

The changes reflect a broader trend in Naga society influenced by globalization, increased access to education, and exposure to socio-political movements that have empowered women to assert their rights and redefine their roles. This study aims to explore the extent of these transformations, focusing on the shifting conventional gender roles and increasing involvement of Naga women across various domains.

Status and Role of Women: Theoretical Preview

To date, no known society ranks the status of females higher than that of males (Lindsey 2014:2). This is evident even in matriarchal social systems, as demonstrated by the folklore of the Khasi matriarchal society in Northeast India, which emphasizes male superiority and protection (Nongbri ed. Uberoi 1993:180). Although the origins of this notion remain unclear, Khasis view it as a natural order, asserting: "War is for men, while women should concern themselves with property and children" (Nongbri ed. Uberoi 1993:180).

Since the early days of human thought, women's relationships with men have captivated various thinkers, leading to interpretations suggesting women's inherent inferiority—a notion echoed across disciplines including religion, science, and social sciences. For instance, Aristotle posited that women are naturally inferior and lack intelligence (Geetha 2022:13). Such perspectives persisted despite emerging rational ideas and continued to equip women with subordinate status and limited reproductive roles. Similarly, sociologists of all backgrounds developed the same concept of inequality. For instance, despite not directly stating that the difference translates to inferiority, functionalism points to women's biological and reproductive composition as the reason why they are not on an equal footing with males (Lindsey 2014:22–23). Parsons, (1959) for instance, claims women were expressive leaders whose duties included caring for and raising children, whereas men were instrumental leaders.

The experience of inequality for women is influenced by socio-cultural history, class, caste, race, religion, and nationality (Shimray 2004:1701). In Indian society, cultural and religious frameworks impose numerous constraints on women. According to the Manusmriti, a woman is viewed as inanimate, entirely dependent on her husband's senses and intellect (Patil 2021). Traditionally, women are relegated to secondary status across various domains, including religion, society, politics, and the economy (Patil 2021).

Some scholars argue that Naga women have historically enjoyed better social status than women in caste-based societies. Haimendorf (1939:101) remarked "many women in more civilized parts of India may well envy the women of the Naga Hills their higher status and happy life; and if you measure the cultural level of the people by the social position and personal freedom of its women, you will think twice before looking down on the Nagas as savages". However, this observation may correspond predominantly to freedom in choosing husbands; the reality often diverges (Christina ed. Thomas and Das 2002:240).

ISSN (Online):0493-2137 E-Publication: Online Open Access

Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025 DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15260228

Gender inequality exists in Naga society, often normalized or legalized by customary laws and traditional practices (Adiana 2018:2).

It is believed that gender inequality in the Naga Society dates back to the headhunting era. Folklore suggests that the delineation of duties between genders originated during times of warfare (Koseno 2018; Metha and Ozukum 2022). Men were assigned war duties, while women undertook caregiving roles. Consequently, men emerged as authority figures, and women remained submissive within the domestic domain (Koseno 2018). Assertions claiming that women share equal status to men tend to be myths rather than realities. The prevailing intellectual consensus has crafted women's traditionally domestic roles and their lower status into an accepted norm. Debates about inherent inferiority remain limited in academic discourse.

Traditional Roles and Responsibilities of Naga Women

Authoritative cultural norms and tribal customs throughout history have shaped gender roles in Naga society, restricting women primarily to domestic responsibilities. Naga women traditionally handle household affairs such as childcare, weaving, food storage, brewing, cooking, collecting firewood, fetching water, and caring for domestic animals (Horam, 1975). They often lack decision-making power concerning agricultural land, which remains under male control (Veronica 2018). Contrary to women from mainland India who grapple with various social issues such as dowry, female infanticide, and domestic violence, Naga women face political and economic marginalization as men control power and resources (Longkumar 2019:9).

Naga women play significant roles in cultural preservation, passing down oral traditions, folklore, and rituals. They maintain their tribes' distinct identity. However, despite some exceptions, traditional structures discourage participation in politics and public leadership. The dominant male sphere governs public councils and tribal administrations, reserving significant roles exclusively for men. Historically, women's political engagement was limited, with Rani Gaidiliu being a rare exception who led social movements and politics against colonial rule (Shimray, 1985; Pamei, 2018). Even to this day, women's roles in political realms often revolve around supporting men by handling domestic tasks for campaigns (Christina ed. Thomas and Das 2002).

Within both domestic and public decision-making, patriarchal authority prevails. Women's voices are often muted despite their social positions. Their participation in decision-making remains subordinate to the final decisions of male members. For centuries, women's rights have been sacrificed and silenced under patriarchal norms. Longkumar (2019) identifies an Indigenous Naga woman as doubly subjugated—first by the patriarchal system and second by rigid tribal laws and customs that limit her social engagement and access to resources established and enforced by men. Naga society still operates under archaic traditions and customs that hinder women's interests (Veronica 2018). Until recently, education, office work or a full time job outside family were given due importance to men.

ISSN (Online):0493-2137

E-Publication: Online Open Access

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Recent years have sparked gradual changes in traditional roles. Increased education and exposure have empowered Naga women to challenge confining norms. Today, Naga women are progressively participating in political, economic, and social activities, advocating for gender equality and enhanced representation in decision-making processes (Mills 2018). Women's organizations in Nagaland have emerged at the forefront, advocating for equitable representation in governance. These efforts illustrate a broader redefinition of women's status, reflecting the growing demand for gender equality and social justice. The focus of this study, hence, is to explore the transition from conventional expectations of Naga women towards broader societal acceptance aimed at transforming the traditional aspects of their roles. There has been very little effort to research the evolving features of the status of Naga women's and role; the majority of studies have focused on traditional aspects. As a result, the majority of what we see is a representation of the traditional gender role, and the changing aspects are conspicuously scanty. This study aims to investigate the following objectives in light of this gap:

Objectives of the Study

- 1) To explore the extent of transitions in women's roles and social standing over time.
- 2) To analyze the level of women's education and increasing involvement in sociopolitical and economic domains.
- 3) To identify the challenges faced by women in Naga society.
- 4) To provide recommendations for future strategies and interventions.

METHODS

This study follows a qualitative approach to gain an in-depth understanding of the dynamic shifts in gender roles within a patriarchal social system over time. Given the scope limitation of examining all Naga women across India and Myanmar, the focus is primarily on women of Nagaland, forming the majority of the population in Northeast India.

Given the population's dispersion across 16 districts, focus group discussion (FGD) methods guided by snowball sampling were employed. In addition to primary data, secondary sources were leveraged, particularly government records including Census Handbooks, Statistical Handbooks, and Gender Statistics. The study employs both deductive and inductive approaches for data collection through interviews, discussions, and conversations revolving around gender inequality, personal experiences against male-dominated systems, perspectives on gender roles, participation in various domains, and suggestions for improvement.

Participants

The study encompasses a diverse sample of women from various tribes, incorporating both young and older generations across different social strata. The participant age criterion was established to include women aged 21 and above, ensuring a rich variety of life experiences. To ensure a comprehensive representation, participants were recruited from both urban and rural settings. In total, 16 focus groups comprising 10 members each

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E-Publication: Online Open Access

Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025 DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15260228

were conducted using snowball sampling. Due to linguistic diversity within tribes, discussions and interviews were conducted in Nagamese (common spoken dialects of

the Nagas), with English translations scripted simultaneously during discussions.

Ethical Concerns

All participants were provided with comprehensive briefings regarding the study's purpose, procedures, and potential advantages or disadvantages to ensure informed consent. Participation was strictly voluntary, and measures to maintain participant confidentiality were rigorously upheld. The study adheres closely to and respects the cultural norms of the Naga community. Participant welfare was prioritized; flexibility concerning timing and physical safety was given utmost importance throughout the data collection process.

DATA ANALYSIS

Manual thematic analysis was employed, conducted through three coding cycles: coding, decoding, and categorization. Findings were organized based on the following themes: traditional roles, education levels, political involvement, and economic participation, engagement in various sectors, leadership roles, persistent challenges and recommendations.

Perspectives on Gender-Conventional Responsibilities

Gender dynamics are evolving, particularly within younger cohorts and urban settings; however, traditional roles still endure. A growing number of women are breaking traditional roles by actively pursuing higher education and careers outside of their homes. Although many participants reported significant progress, women from economically disadvantaged rural families continue to uphold conventional gender roles. Economic circumstances and a lack of opportunities constrain them more than entrenched cultural norms (FGD).

Almost half of the participants acknowledged the enduring influence of traditional gender roles on community dynamics. Despite decreasing male-centeredness, the prevailing perception still associates male identity with public visibility and authority. Young adults' generation from rural areas reported experiencing pressure to adhere to traditional gender roles. However, education and social media, especially platforms like YouTube and Instagram, are driving substantial changes in attitudes towards gender norms. Except for a few participants from the older generation, regardless of educational attainment, the participants possess smartphones, and many use social media regularly. This trend is changing mindsets concerning gender roles, even in remote areas.

There has been increased awareness among young adults regarding gender equality and human rights, which signifies a noteworthy shift in cultural norms. Conversations with participants highlighted the tension between honouring cultural heritage and pursuing personal and career development. Many viewed family support as vital for empowering women to defy established norms.

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Education Status of Naga Women

Access to education in recent decades has generated substantial changes in women's status within Naga society. Data show that female literacy rates have steadily improved over the past decade; many more girls now complete secondary education and pursue higher studies. Census data reveal that the gap between female and male literacy rates narrowed from 16.37 percent in 1971 to just 6.64 percent by 2011, outperforming the national level (21.51 percent and 15.49 percent for 1971 and 2011, respectively). This trend underscores the growing significance of education in enhancing women's social and economic opportunities.

The old generation reported witnessing significant changes over the last few decades, noting the emergence of Naga women in fields previously dominated by men, like engineering and medicine. In their youth, education was not prioritized for girls, who traditionally were expected to assist in household chores and care for younger siblings. Even those who managed to school often dropped out at the primary level to fulfill domestic responsibilities. Middle-aged participants recalled similar experiences, stating that women in their time faced discouragement from pursuing fields like engineering due to prevailing notions about gender roles. Furthermore, most families were forced by their financial situation to send their sons to reputable private schools and their daughters to local government schools. But now, this tendency has stopped, and there are clear indications that things are changing.

Despite some enduring biases about property rights and land ownership, many young women feel empowered in their choices regarding education and careers. Women are increasingly given equal opportunities to excel in various fields, as reflected in the 2011 census data showing that the discrepancy between male and female graduates is only 6 percent—males at 53 percent versus females at 47 percent. It is undeniable; nevertheless, that those family from an economically disadvantaged background still prioritize their sons. It is also found that the primary barriers to educational advancement for women in rural areas are financial constraints and substandard educational quality, necessitating continued attention to address these challenges.

Recent developments—like increased public advocacy for gender equality—highlight women's prominent contributions to societal advancements, marking a substantial departure from traditional norms. Education has been pivotal in transforming women's status and roles; it has significantly boosted self-confidence, autonomy, and capability, enabling them to engage actively in social, political, and economic domains. However, disparities in educational opportunities persist, particularly for women from rural or economically disadvantaged backgrounds, underscoring the urgent need for more inclusive educational initiatives.

Employment and Participation in the Economy

Women's contribution to the state's economy has surged, driven by urbanization, education, social media, and shifting societal attitudes. According to the 2011 census, female workforce participation stood at 44.7 percent—just 8.7 percentage points below

ISSN (Online):0493-2137 E-Publication: Online Open Access

Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15260228

the male rate of 53.4 percent—substantially exceeding the national average (27.75 percent for females). Given that the male-to-female gap was 39.88 percent in 1971, with females making up just 12.13 percent and males 52.01 percent, indicating a notable increase. Employment statistics indicate women are increasingly transitioning from traditional roles to diverse sectors such as education, healthcare, military, judiciary, sports, and entrepreneurship.

The 2012 employment statistics indicate that 21.6 percent of enterprises are owned by women, comparable to the national average. Moreover, significant growth in women's employment within state government sectors has been noted. Until 1964, there were no female employees in Nagaland's state government, yet by 2014, that number jumped to 21,584, although it remained far behind the 95,909 male employees. Surprisingly, women have already overtaken men in some fields. The department of higher education is one such instance. By 2016–17, for instance, 719 of the 1700 college teachers were men and 891 were women. Furthermore, although the number of female college teachers rapidly increased, the number of male teachers declined. According to the data, the number of female college teachers rose to 1067 by 2021–2022, while the number of male decreased to 713.

Participants from older generations welcomed these changes, as they were previously deprived of these opportunities. Many feel hopeful about the current dynamics, their struggles with contemporary endeavours toward women's empowerment. Despite increased workforce participation, issues like gender wage gaps and occupational segregation still pose challenges, as noted by the young adult generation on account of facing bias in their workspaces. Except for the fact that many of them moved to towns and cities due to their husbands' jobs and their children's schooling, the experiences of the late middle-aged groups were the same as those of the old generation. They claim that little changed in terms of people's attitudes and socioeconomic advancement in general until the late 1990s. Although some fortunate women had previously made good careers in the service industry and even had taken on responsibilities that were usually assigned to men, Naga society was slow and uninformed, and there was no deliberate attempt to encourage women to work outside the home. Both the old and late middle-aged groups agreed that, notwithstanding a few exceptions, the first wave of women moving away from traditional gender roles toward higher education, services, and other professions were those born in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Many women from these generations enrolled in schools and universities, and some of them even travelled outside of the Northeast to earn degrees. Today, many of them are employed in a variety of jobs, have a great deal of independence, and actively participate in their families and communities.

When navigating traditionally male-dominated marketplaces, female entrepreneurs encounter obstacles and gender biases. However, Naga women's increasing earning potential raises their sense of dignity and value. All things considered, economic engagement promotes a feeling of independence, allowing more women to take on roles that were previously seen to be solely male. According to the young adult participants,

ISSN (Online):0493-2137

E-Publication: Online Open Access Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15260228

they have succeeded in a number of fields that were formerly exclusive to men, including the military and law enforcement, and are now competing with men on an equal basis. They expressed that Naga women can equal men's skill level if they are given equal opportunities.

Engagement in Political Activities and Assumption of Leadership Roles

Traditionally, cultural norms in Naga society have marginalized women from political participation and leadership roles. Rarely seen in governance, historical trends have shown a significant lack of representation as women were often sidelined in public spaces. A few brave women ran in the State Assembly election, however, with the exception of one to the Lok Sabha in 1977, their performance was dismal until 2022–2023 (See Table 1).

However, over time, changes have begun to redefine the political landscape for Naga women. Recent advances showcase an evolving engagement of women in politics be it local administrations, State Legislative or National Level. Milestones such as the election of one woman to the Raja Sabha in 2022 and the historic election of two women to the State Legislative Assembly in 2023 demonstrate significant progress (See Table 1). These achievements represent a profound change from the traditional exclusion of women from politics, showcasing their increased influence and leadership in the state's political landscape. Recent developments, such as the Urban Local Body (ULB) elections, have also been pivotal in this regard. In the most recent ULB elections in 2024, 198 women contested, with 102 emerging victorious. This accomplishment marks a significant movement toward women's participation in government and the increasing number of women in positions of political decision-making. These advancements, which mirror broader cultural shifts and the need for gender equality in government, show the continued efforts and accomplishments of Naga women in political arenas.

Participants from the old generation expressed that societal expectations of women's roles were radically different when they were younger. Rather, women running for office were seen negatively, and some even went so far as to brand them as presumptuous ladies. But as time went on, their perceptions and knowledge of the discriminatory behaviours against women evolved. They noted a transformation in perspectives, as more individuals recognize the capacity of women to lead and contribute meaningfully to governance. Despite this evolving consciousness, existing customs still inhibit full participation, revealing deep-rooted biases against women in formal politics.

Encouragingly, women actively engaged in socio-political roles, serve as crucial constituents in community campaigns and mobilization efforts, even amidst customary prejudices. According to some of the late middle-aged participants, perceptions of a presumptuous attitude and stigma against women in politics have persisted until recently. Furthermore, others believed that despite their recent historic success in education and other fields, Naga women had not been able to make significant contributions to politics or decision-making.

ISSN (Online):0493-2137

E-Publication: Online Open Access

Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025 DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15260228

Middle-age participants expressed that Naga women are socially powerful and have long been active in politics, but solely as campaign participants and voter organizers. Although public support for women in public office has increased dramatically over the years, men still have a dominant position in formal politics, whether at the local, state, or federal levels. This is partially because traditional conventions still serve as barriers to women's political engagement (FGD). These standards, which have their roots in regional and traditional practices, limit the roles that women can play in public and political arenas. As a result, women have not been able to make the same impact in politics and public leadership positions as they do in other spheres, such as church leadership and other sociocultural activities (FGD).

From the standpoint of the young adult participants, Naga women in politics can be considered pioneers in terms of cultural norms and roles linked with the home. This does not imply that Naga women had no interest in public leadership or politics. The cultural and social ethos that prevents them from fully participating in political activities is the reason they were not granted political representation. However, they claimed that women have demonstrated their ability to be capable, and decisive in their leadership and public capacities. Due in large part to the successful attempts of many women who have defied conventional societal expectations to assume leadership roles, they have experienced a growing understanding of the importance of women's opinions in decision-making processes. They recommended changing the mindset of Naga men who still adhere to the custom of relegating women to backstage roles to promote more women in politics. Second, any culture that prevents women from holding public leadership positions must be altered; however, this calls for women to be educated, given equal opportunities, and persuaded of the necessity of change. To guarantee more inclusive and equal political involvement, civil society as a whole must continue its efforts.

Table 1: Number of people contested and elected by sex in Nagaland Legislative Assembly from 1964-2022

General Election	Year	Total No. of Seats	No of contestant		No of elected	
			Female	Male	Female	Male
1 st	1964	40	0	73	0	40
2 nd	1969	40	2	142	0	40
3 rd	1974	60	0	219	0	60
4 th	1977	60	0	204	0	60
5 th	1982	60	1	244	0	60
6 th	1987	60	3	211	0	60
7 th	1989	60	0	140	0	60
8 th	1993	60	1	177	0	60
9 th	1998	60	0	80	0	60
10 th	2003	60	3	222	0	60
11 th	2008	60	4	214	0	60
12 th	2013	60	2	187	0	60
13 th	2018	59	5	190	0	60
14 th	2023	60	4	184	2	58

Source: Gender statistics 2017-18 (Year 1964-2022).

ISSN (Online):0493-2137

E-Publication: Online Open Access Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15260228

Challenges and Determined Disparities

Despite advancements, Naga women confront considerable challenges and inequities rooted in traditional patriarchal norms. Many participants described experiencing gender-based discrimination across different aspects of life.

Certain practices, like dowry, are absent in Naga society, but instances of domestic abuse, denial of property rights and many do's and don'ts imposed on women on the grounds of customary practices persist (FGD). This indicates a pressing need for comprehensive support systems to address the discriminatory customary practices and persistent issues of gender-based violence.

Economic disparities are a key barrier; women—particularly in rural areas—face significant challenges. Limited job opportunities and inadequate access to markets to sell their produce hinder women's self-sufficiency (FGD). Addressing these economic challenges requires targeted strategies fostering women's economic empowerment.

Political representation remains another area of disparity. Despite rising involvement in governance, women still encounter barriers to meaningful representation. The entrenched cultural norms and exclusionary practices act as impediments to women's political engagement (FGD).

Unequal educational access based on socio-economic backgrounds limits opportunities for women from disadvantaged communities. Ensuring equitable access to quality education is vital for eradicating these disparities (FGD).

Redefining Gender Roles and Empowerment

The changing landscape of gender roles in Naga society reveals an increasing acknowledgement of women's rights and capabilities. Women are actively redefining traditional roles, leading to substantial shifts in attitudes toward gender equality. Stories of empowered women across generations exemplify the impact of removing constraints and providing opportunities.

This contemporary transformation facilitates the metamorphosis of perceptions and expectations of women, allowing them to take on roles traditionally confined to domesticity. Such empowerment transcends individual success, promoting broader societal acceptance of women in fields stereotypically considered male-dominated.

Recommendations: Enhance Accessibility to Education: Ensure quality educational access for women and girls, especially in rural areas. Programs offering financial support and community awareness initiatives should be developed to encourage girls' education in rural areas.

Enhance Economic Empowerment: Prioritize accessibility of the market to rural women entrepreneurs and mentors to foster their business ventures.

Promote Gender-Sensitive Policies: Develop and enforce workplace regulations addressing gender disparities to provide equitable opportunities for women.

ISSN (Online):0493-2137

E-Publication: Online Open Access

Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15260228

Encourage Political Engagement: Facilitate women's participation in governance and in decision-making by modifying the traditional customary practices and training programs aimed at building leadership skills and capacity.

Foster Gender Equality: Launch initiatives targeting men and boys, promoting collective accountability in gender equality efforts.

Address Cultural Norm Shifts: Acknowledge and celebrate women's accomplishments, encouraging cultural shifts that embrace gender equality.

Anticipated Research

Potential avenues for future studies:

- 1. Exploring how gender intersects with social identities like class, religion, and tribe.
- 2. Analyzing urban and rural settings to uncover distinct gender role manifestations and challenges.
- 3. Investigating the experiences of successful women entrepreneurs and leaders for valuable insights.
- 4. Conducting longitudinal studies to assess shifts in gender dynamics and the effectiveness of policies over time.
- 5. Examining the influences of Naga socio-cultural events on societal opportunities, and gender roles.
- 6. Examine the perspectives and opinions of young people about challenging conventional gender norms and advancing gender equality.
- 7. Explore a comparative study of the Naga women living outside Nagaland and Myanmar.

This study could demonstrate how external environments impact gender dynamics and enable Naga women to negotiate and reinterpret their identities in a variety of sociocultural contexts by looking at their roles in diaspora communities, educational opportunities, economic involvement, and political engagement. It would further advance larger conversations about gender and culture in cross-border contexts.

CONCLUSION

The changing roles and social standing of Naga women manifest the dual impact of contemporary pressures and enduring cultural traditions. While traditional gender roles persist, expanded access to education, exposure to socio-political movements and employment opportunities have facilitated Naga women's increased engagement across various spheres. However, challenges linked to deep-seated customs, gender-based violence, and restricted political participation still looms large. Overcoming these challenges necessitates collaborations between government entities, civil society, Naga Hoho's (Apex Tribal Body of the Nagas) and communities dedicated to fostering an

ISSN (Online):0493-2137

E-Publication: Online Open Access

Vol: 58 Issue: 04:2025

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environment conducive to gender equality in Naga society, allowing women to reach their fullest potential and contribute profoundly to their communities.

Furthermore, it is crucial to recognize how important cultural preservation is to this change. Naga women have a crucial role in conserving and reviving their cultural legacy. Naga society may develop a more inclusive and equitable environment for women to flourish by eliminating customary obstacles, promoting economic empowerment, and improving access to education and resources. By embracing both traditional and modern politics, women can make significant contributions to the social, economic, and political development of the Naga communities in general and the state in particular. For Naga women and society to achieve their maximum capabilities, there needs to be resolute commitment and intimate collaboration and understanding, as the battle for gender equality is still ongoing.

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