

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF A TRADITIONAL
TRIBAL SOCIETY IN MODERN POLITICAL
INSTITUTIONS:
A CASE STUDY OF THE APA TANIIS**

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled "*Political Participation of a Traditional Tribal Society in Modern Political Institutions: A Case Study of the Apa Taniis*" submitted by Miss Aruna Gyati is an original work and is the result of her genuine research work carried out in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Rajiv Gandhi University for Ph.D. Degree.

The thesis or any part of it is not submitted to any other University for any degree.

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(Dr. Pura Tado)
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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

Scope of study:

One of the most significant developments in India since independence is the politicization of tribal societies. It is a natural and logical culmination of the democratic processes. The political culture of the tribes is under going radical changes. The introduction of adult suffrage in tribal areas gave a jolt to their traditional political system. They are slowly emerging out of their subject 'political culture' or the 'politics of compliance'¹.

The traditional tribal polity provides for village headman, divisional headman for a group of villages, clan chief etc. These are largely hereditary offices. In case of a vacancy it is filled by choice from one of the members of the family of the deceased. No choice is involved for working as a member of the traditional tribal panchayat. In addition to these, the loyalties to the clan, tribe, village and other groups based on kinship and locality are quite strong.

Most of the tribal areas have had no tradition for election in modern sense for appointments to offices and political participation in decision making in tribal societies. For a share in political power, the election

satisfies the desire of the masses. In this process the masses get an opportunity to participate in the political process. The elections and voting helps the development of intermediate political structures, to articulate policies, mobilize public opinion and institutionalize political participation.

In Arunachal Pradesh the introduction of modern representative democratic institutions for decentralization and mass participation in decision making process came in two fold as: (a) The extension of Universal Adult Franchise, and (b) Panchayat Raj³. Unlike in rest of the India, the people of Arunachal Pradesh experienced the preceding of Panchayat Raj over the introduction of General Election.

On the recommendation of Ering Committee report, the Panchayat Raj was introduced through the North East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967 (No. 3 of 1967). A three-tier Panchayat system comprising the Gram Panchayats, Anchal Samities and Zilla Parishads came into existence in 1969. This paved the way for mass participation in political life of the territory. The impact of Panchayat Raj has exhibited a modernizing tendency permeating the whole social fabric. This has certainly shown advancement in the political consciousness of the people.

Since the introduction of the Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh, six elections to Panchayat bodies were held in free and fair manner from

1972 to 1992 observing all the requisite formalities such as delimitation of constituencies and publication of electoral rolls etc. These elections were held in the year 1972, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1987 and 1992. Elections to Panchayat bodies were held through secret ballot except in the case of Gram Panchayat the members were elected according to the prevailing tribal customs.

The people of Arunachal Pradesh participated in the political process of the country for the first time in the year 1977 general election. A year later in 1978 they took part in the first Assembly Election of the state. Hitherto, the people of Arunachal Pradesh have participated in 7(seven) Assembly Elections that took place in the year 1978 for the first time and subsequently in 1980, 1984, 1990, 1995, 1999 and 2004. However, it must be noted that till recently the modern participatory political process was unknown to the tribal societies of Arunachal Pradesh.

Against this backdrop, the present study aims at examining the political participation of a tribal society in modern political institutions. The tribe chosen for the case study is the Apa Taniis of Lower Subansiri district. Apa Taniis are one of the major tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. They have their own traditional tribal village council – Buliang, since time immemorial. It provides for people's participation in the administration of

village affairs. Thus, the tribe Apa Tanni is selected for the purpose of studying the tribal participation in modern political institutions. The main questions addressed in this study are:-

1. What is the impact of modern political institutions on a tribal society where their own traditional political institution is functioning and what is their present status?
2. What is the socio-economic background of the respondents?
3. What is the type and nature of political participation?
4. What is the extent of political participation? and
5. Do socio-economic factors determine the level of participation?

Political Participation: The Concept:

The term political participation refers to those activities by which members of a society share in the selection/election of their rulers and also those activities which influence directly or indirectly the public policy. These activities include voting, attending public meetings, contributing money, discussing politics and public affairs with fellow citizens.

The more active forms of participation includes formal enrollment in a political party, canvassing in elections, speech writing and making, working in campaigns and competing for public or party office⁴.

Although political power in every society is monopolized by a few, the political incumbents in every system are found to be quite keen on ensuring certain degree of political participation by the people. By involving the masses in the affairs of the state political participation fosters stability and order by reinforcing the legitimacy of political authority. In fact in every political system, the idea of political participation seems to be well nurtured.

The right to participate is an essential element of a democratic system of government which is rule by a majority and in which responsibility and accountability lies. The democratic existence of a polity depends upon the degree of participation rendered by the people. By involving in the affairs of the state an individual can be an active participant.

Political participation appears to be a complex phenomenon which is being influenced by a number of factors. These factors are personal factors related to the individual's attitudes, beliefs and personality traits. Another set of factors influencing involvement are related to the political settings which includes the amount of exposure to political information accessible through the media or personal contacts, the political action groups, the

relative importance of elections and the regimes attitude towards participation.

Socio-economic factors such as social class, occupation and sex also influence participation. Studies of voting behaviour have identified a number of social characteristics that co-relate with the individual's propensity to vote or not to vote.

In the present study the term political participation has been used to mean the involvement in the following activities:-

- (a) Voting and contesting in elections.
- (b) Canvassing and contributing financially or any other services in elections.
- (c) Attending political meetings and rallies.
- (d) Initiating a discussion on political or public matters in meetings.
- (e) Contacting public officials and political leaders.
- (f) Seeking political information.

Operational definition of other concepts:

The key concepts used in this study are operationally defined here under:-

Villager means those persons who live in a village of Ziro valley and figures in the voters list of the 1992 Panchayat election of Ziro-I administrative circle.

Village leader means both traditional leaders i.e Buliangs and modern leaders i.e Panchayat leaders.

Traditional leader means Buliangs who are the members of the traditional Village council of the Apa Taniis also known as Buliang.

Modern leader means elected/nominated members of Panchayats i.e. Gram Panchayat, Anchal Samities and Zilla Parishads.

Local intellectual means graduates and post graduate persons and administrative officers of central as well as state government serving at Ziro.

Knowledgeable person means the elderly persons of the village who are considered reliable for providing data on Apa Taniis and their traditional village council.

Review of literature:

A number of research works have been undertaken by several scholars on political participation of the tribal societies of India. Among others Mishra S.N, Prasad L.M and Sharma Kaushal, in their book, "Tribal

Voting Behaviour: A Study of Bihar Tribe" (New Delhi, 1982) traces the growing political consciousness among the tribes inhabiting Chotanagpur area as background. Their voting behaviour is studied in two different settings- reserved and unreserved constituencies. The first deals with the parliamentary election of 1980 and the other deals with the election of June 1981. It deals with the political awareness and the participations of tribals in respect to choosing parties, candidates and communication channels through which election messages reach the electorates.

Panda Snehalata in her book "Determinants of Political Participation: Women and Public Activity" (Delhi, 1990) describes about the environment and psychological resources as stimuli for the political participation of the people. The author explores how different resources effect and propel people towards political activity. She also shows how the presence or absence of these resources affects the political participation of the women. The book brings out in detail the determinants which stimulates or inhabits participation in politics.

Mukherjee Bharti's "Political Culture and Leadership in India: A Study of West Bengal" (New Delhi, 1991) analyses in detail the variables involved in political participation. It shows that in a new society, the ethos and idioms of micro and macro politics are remarkably different from those

of developed societies as politics of modernization changes the underlying political culture through slow but steady participation of individuals and organization.

Dr. Ramachander M and Dr. Lakshmi K, in their book "Women and Politics: A Study of Political Participation" (Hydrabad, 1993) discusses the concept of participation, the status of women and social, economic and political profiles of women. The study tries to throw some light on information that women have on politics. It presents a detailed study of women in electoral process. The study explores in detail the participatory levels of women and tries to correlate these levels with socio-economic profiles.

Some of the existing literature on Arunachal Pradesh in general and Apa Taniis in particular are:-

Haimendorf C.Von Furer's "Diaries of travels in Subansiri Region" (Shillong, 1945) and "Ethnographic Notes on Tribes of Subansiri Region" (1947) describe the tribes he encountered in his exploratory visits to the area in 1944-45. In his "The Apa Taniis and their Neighbour" (London, 1962), Haimendorf describes about Apa Tanii social and political institutions, the Buliang and the Nago as it existed in 1950. His other works "A Himalayan Tribe from Cattle to Cash" (Berkeley and New Delhi, 1980)

describes the effect of rationalized administration, opening up of communication and introduction of education on the social and economic life of Apa Taniis. His last book on Apa Taniis, "Himalayan Adventure: Early Travels in North East India" (New Delhi, 1983) is revised and expanded version of his earlier book titled, "Himalayan Barbary" (London, 1955). In this book he describes the organization and functions of traditional political institutions- the Buliang. However, all his works are anthropological.

Mrs. Bower Ursula Graham, in her book "The Hidden Land" (London, 1953) describes about the role of Buliang trying to mediate in a dispute involving two villages. However, her work is more of a nature of travelogue rather than an analysis of social and political institutions.

Elvin Verrier, in his book "Democracy in NEFA" (Shillong, 1965) gives a descriptive account of almost all tribal village councils in Arunachal Pradesh and brings out their common features. Though modern political institutions were not introduced through Panchayat Raj at that time, he discusses the likely effects of it on traditional tribal village councils. In another book edited by him "India's North East Frontier in Nineteenth Century" (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1959) contains extracts from accounts of early European explorers about Apa Taniis. In his

book "A Philosophy for NEFA" (Itanagar, 1988 reprint of second edition 1959, Shillong), Elvin has presented an original scheme concerning the regulation, administration and development of NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh). The work became instrumental in helping the Government of India for formulating decisions in regard to Arunachal Pradesh. It has also proved to be an original source for further research in this area.

Bijon Mahanta, in his book "Administrative Development of Arunachal Pradesh (1875-1976)" (Delhi, 1984) presents a systematic study of the politico-administrative development that took place during a century. It encompasses a detailed study of Arunachal Pradesh, its land and people, geographical features of the territory, mode of living of the people and their socio-economic background which forms the basis for the development of administration.

Dr. Gogoi P.D discusses the likely effects of Panchayat Raj institutions and direct election based on universal adult suffrage on traditional political institutions. As this work is not yet published, the same has not been available for detailed consultations.

Dr. Talukdar A.C's "Political Transition in Tribal India" (Guwahati and New Delhi, 1987) discusses in detail the impact of Panchayat Raj system on tribal village council of the East Siang district. The study also

makes an analysis of the process of political transition and modernization at the grass root level through the functioning of the Panchayat bodies.

Dr. Satapathy B, in his book "Dynamics of Political Process in Arunachal Pradesh" (Guwahati and New Delhi 1990) discusses about the political foundation of Arunachal Pradesh. He also discusses in detail the growth of political process in Arunachal Pradesh. A chapter in his book is devoted to electoral politics where he discusses participation of people in the political processes.

Dr. Pandey D.N, in his book "Local Government in Arunachal Pradesh" (New Delhi 1997) discusses about various facets of Arunachal Pradesh in general and of local government in particular. The author has examined the pattern of local government in Arunachal Pradesh in the context of tribal ethnic background as a back drop on which the Panchayat Raj system was introduced in Arunachal Pradesh.

Dr. Pandey S, in his book "Dynamics of Tribal Local Polity and Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh" (New Delhi, 1998) discusses about the introduction of Panchayat institutions in Arunachal Pradesh. He also discusses about the indigenous political institution and its working.

Dr. Pura Tado's doctoral thesis entitled "Political Transition among the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh: A case study of the Apa Taniis" gives a

detailed accounts of political transition in Apa Tanii society. He also discusses in detail about the impact of Panchayat institutions on traditional political institutions of Apa Taniis resulting in political awareness and participation in Apa Tanii society.

Justification:

A brief survey of the existing literature reveals that all the studies on political participation have been on tribal participation in the political processes in other states of India. The literature on Arunachal Pradesh are mostly anthropological or sociological or travelogue. Nevertheless, there are some literatures which deal with the administrative development of the state. Some literatures also discuss the working of Panchayat Raj system and traditional village councils of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. However, there is hardly any comprehensive research work done on the political participation with reference to tribal societies of Arunachal Pradesh. Thus, there exists a serious research gap.

The present study is a humble attempt to fill this gap in this vital area of social science research. An understanding of the process of political participation and nature of interaction taking place between the traditional political institutions and modern democratic institutions and ideas in tribal

society would be a valuable contribution to our existing knowledge in the field, specially a society where a well developed indigenous political institution has been in operation since time immemorial. The present study is an attempt towards this end. The knowledge thus, acquired through this study will serve as an input to the planners and administrators of this country in general and Arunachal Pradesh in particular for carrying out changes and improvements in a tribal society.

Objectives of the study:

The present study sets before itself the following objectives:-

1. It aims at investigating into the working of Panchayat Institutions and its effect on traditional social and political institutions.
2. It aims to probe into the socio-economic status of the respondents.
3. To examine the types and nature of political participation at the grass root level.
4. To analyze the extent of political participation, and
5. To investigate the relationship between socio-economic factors and the level of participation.

Source of Data:

The main source of primary data was the field study and survey based on the interview schedule-cum-questionnaire and discussions with the respondents both villagers and village leaders – traditional and modern leaders, of the seven original villages of Apa Taniis. The information thus gathered was duly verified by the responsible and knowledgeable persons in the respective villages.

The secondary sources of data were the government census reports, reports, documents and legislations of the government, books on the present research topic and on related aspects of the current study. Secondary sources also included articles in research journals, magazines, dailies and other published documents.

Methodology and Tools:

The study is mainly empirical and partly reflective. All the three Anchal Samities of Ziro-I administrative circle viz, Ziro-I East (North) Anchal Samiti, Ziro-I East (South) Anchal Samiti and Ziro-I West Anchal Samiti covering all the Apa Tanii villages of Ziro with a population of 19876 persons out of total population of 24703 persons of the Ziro-I circle

as per provisional population census of 2001 provided the setting of this study.

The study was carried out by visiting all the villages of Apa Taniis, interviewing the villagers, traditional leaders i.e. Buliangs and modern leaders i.e. Panchayat Members in the 64 Gram Panchayats of the 3(three) Anchal Samities of Ziro-I. Also information was gathered through informal discussions with local intellectuals and knowledgeable persons of the seven villages of Apa Taniis and those residing in Hapoli township. However, data for the first three chapters were mainly gathered from government documents and published works. Thus, a combination of documentary, participatory observation and interview method has been employed for a clear understanding of the problem.

As regards sampling, the study initially aimed at interviewing all the Gram Panchayat Members (GPM) elected in 1992 Panchayat election, of the original seven villages of Apa Taniis. However, out of 265 GPMs only 222 of them could be contacted and interviewed. It was because, some members have passed away and others could not be contacted for administration of questionnaire and interview schedule as they were either away from their villages at the time of the visit of the researcher or have settled permanently in a place other than the village.

Out of 160 Buliangs representing all the villages of Apa Tanii, 90 of them were originally planned to be interviewed. But the researcher could contact and interview only 88 Buliangs due to the same reasons cited above.

Nevertheless, the proposed number of 300 villagers and knowledgeable persons of the three groups of villages, viz, first group consisting of Hari and Biilla, second consists of Hiija, Dutta, Miidang Tuge and Bamin Michi and the third group consists of a single village of Haangu, were contacted and interviewed by the researcher. The villagers were randomly selected from the electoral roll used in the Panchayat election of 1992.

For gaining responses from the sample Panchayat members, Buliangs and villagers including knowledgeable persons and local intellectuals, two separate sets of partially structured questionnaire-cum-interview schedules were prepared as research tool. The first set of questionnaire-cum-interview schedule is for the villagers and the second set is for the village leaders comprising the Buliangs and Panchayat members. With slightly different questions each set of questionnaire-cum-interview schedule is divided into four parts and aims to probe into the socio-economic status of the respondents, the level of exposure to mass

media, awareness and information about the traditional political institutions and modern political institutions and the nature and level of political participation. However, before undertaking the actual survey, the schedule was pilot tested through its administration to 30 sample villagers and 30 sample village leaders.

For the purpose of convenience, the questionnaire-cum-interview schedule was designed in English. It was translated into local dialect at the time of administration to the respondents. Since the researcher herself belong to Apa Tanii community the task was conveniently executed.

However, the fact that researcher belong to fair sex, has faced some problems during the field study. The researcher also faced problems in gathering information regarding the actual economic status of the respondents. They mistook the researcher for a government official seeking information for department of Statistics. Therefore, they were reluctant to cooperate fully. Besides, the sample respondents were also not very open while answering questions on their participation in political processes since Panchayat election was due at the time of the field study.

The data thus collected through the questionnaire-cum-interview schedules has been tabulated in a coding sheet to have a clear view of the replies of the respondents. The figure in the table has been converted into

percentage by simple method of calculation for the purpose of analysis. Besides, the field notes maintained by the researcher have also been used as significant aid to the analysis of the data in this study.

Plan of Study:

This study has been divided into six chapters:

The first chapter presents the scope of the study, review of literatures, methodology and sources of data. It also gives a profile of the state of Arunachal Pradesh, Lower Subansiri district and the Apa Tanii community.

Chapter two presents a brief account of traditional political institution of the Apa Taniis – Buliangs, its organization, leadership pattern and its functions.

Chapter three gives an account of historical background of the evolution of Panchayat Raj system in Arunachal Pradesh. It also examines its working and its present status.

Chapter four examines the impact of modern political institutions on Apa Tanii society. It also examines the nature of participation both of the villagers and village leaders.

Chapter five examines the socio-economic status of the sample respondents both villagers and village leaders. It also studies the extent to which the aspects of participation are related to the socio-economic variables.

Chapter six presents the findings and conclusions of the study.

ARUNACHAL PRADESH – A PROFILE:

Political behaviour like any other aspect of human behaviour, takes place in a particular socio-cultural milieu. It is affected by social structure, economic development and historical factors combining together. A study of political participation of people, therefore, pre-supposes an understanding of the socio-economic setting of the area under study. In the following pages an attempt has been made to present a brief profile of Arunachal Pradesh - the state and Lower Subansiri district.

Location:

Arunachal Pradesh, the 24th state of the Indian Republic, is a thinly populated hilly tract lying roughly between the latitudes 26° 28'N and 29° 31'N and the longitudes 91° 30'E and 97° 30'E on the North East extremity of India, comprising roughly of 83,743 kilometer squares of area. It

comprises the southern slopes of the eastern Himalayas down from Mac Mohan line and the western slopes of the upper Patkai. It is bounded on the north, north-east and north-west by China (Tibet), on the south by Assam and Nagaland, on the south-east by Myanmar (Burma) and on the west by Bhutan⁵.

Arunachal Pradesh is an exclusively tribal dominated land. The tribal population of Arunachal Pradesh is distributed into 110 tribes and sub-tribes. Out of this around 25 tribes are considered as major one which has distinctive socio-cultural features. Some of these major tribes are Adi, Aka, Apa Tani, Hill Miri, Khamba, Khamti, Howa, Memba, Miji, Mishmi, Monpa, Nishing, Nocte, Sherdukpen, Singpho, Tagin, Tangsa, and Wancho as per 1991 census. All these tribes belong to the Scheduled Tribes as per our constitution.

Thus, tribal population consists of heterogeneous groups. Each group is having its distinct culture, customs and dialects etc. However, all the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh share similarity in occupational pattern, material culture, food habits, observance of a set of socio-religious taboo and mode of living, which may be called Arunachal type. Besides, all the tribes profess patriarchal society except the Akas with matrilineal accent. On religious account, all the Arunachalees may be grouped under

Animism, Buddhism and Vaishnavism, which they profess from the time immemorial. However, now-a-days, some of the tribes have embraced Christianity also.

Administrative profile:

Arunachal Pradesh became a constituent state of India Union through the process of gradual evolution. It acquire an identity of its own for the first time in 1914, when some tribal areas were separated from the then Darrang and Lakhimpur districts of the province of Assam to form the North East Frontier Tracts by Government of India, Foreign and Political Department Notification of 1914, which promulgated the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880⁶. The tracts thus constituted were Sadiya tracts, Lakhimpur tract and Balipara tract. The British declared these tracts as the Backward Tracts under the provision of the Government of India Act, 1919.

In 1936, the Frontier Tracts came to be known collectively as the Excluded Areas of the province of Assam under the section 91[1] of the Government of India Act, 1935, which was given effect to by the Government of India [Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas], Order of 1936⁷. These Excluded Areas came under the direct charge of the Governor

who administered them in his discretion under section 92 of the said Act through the Political Officers and the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur⁸.

The political evolution of Arunachal Pradesh got real pace after independence of India. A new administrative and territorial change was brought in by the Frontier Tracts of the North-East Frontier Areas (Administration Regulation), Act of 1954 which gave birth to NEFA i.e. North East Frontier Agency⁹. Under the Regulation of 1954, the administrative units were also reconstituted and renamed as the Kameng Frontier Division, Subansiri Frontier Division, Siang Frontier Division, Lohit Frontier Division, Tirap Frontier Division and Tuensang Frontier Division¹⁰. The Tuensang Frontier Division was separated from NEFA in 1957 and merged with the newly constituted Naga Hills-Tuensang area which now forms the state of Nagaland¹¹.

In 1965 the Indian Parliament passed the North East Frontier (Administration) Regulation with a view to bring changes in the existing administration patterns of NEFA. The Regulation first of all brought change in the names of the administrative Divisions. Accordingly the hitherto known Divisions of the NEFA were renamed as districts whose particulars are mentioned below¹²:

Existing Name of Divisions**New Names**

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Kameng Frontier Division | 1. Kameng District |
| 2. Subansiri Frontier Division | 2. Subansiri District |
| 3. Siang Frontier Division | 3. Siang District |
| 4. Lohit Frontier Division | 4. Lohit District |
| 5. Tirap Frontier Division | 5. Tirap District |

Further, a change in the designation of the administrative officers of the NEFA was also made as given below¹³:

Existing Designation**New Designation**

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Political Officer | 1. Deputy Commissioner |
| 2. Additional Political Officer | 2. Additional Deputy Commissioner |
| 3. Assistant Political Officer | 3. Assistant Commissioner |

Thus, all the Divisions of the NEFA were for the first time converted into districts and put under the control of the Deputy Commissioners like other districts of Assam province. These districts were further divided into altogether 25 sub-divisions and 81 circles. Previously the entire territory of NEFA was under the Ministry of External Affairs of India. But after the Administrative Regulation of 1965 the territory of the NEFA was transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs¹⁴.

On 17th October, 1967, the President of India promulgated the North East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967. Under the Regulation Gram Panchayat at village level, an Anchal Samiti for each Block (which is co-extensive with the community development block), a Zilla Parishad for each District and the Agency Council for the area as a whole were constituted. The system was inaugurated on 2nd October, 1969¹⁵. Thus, the regulation paved the way for mass participation in the political life of the territory and political evolution of Arunachal Pradesh. However, the area had its first experiment in constitutional democratization when the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945, was enacted and the traditional village councils were recognized as village authorities.

On 20th January, 1972, under the provision of the North East Area (Reorganization) Act, 1971, (Act No. 81 of 1971), NEFA was declared a Union Territory and came to be known as 'Arunachal Pradesh' in the political map of India¹⁶. The territory thus ceased to be a tribal area within the state of Assam, and the Governor of Assam, who until then had administered the areas as agent of the President of India, also ceased to function as such¹⁷. The agency council which had been the Apex body of the Panchayat Raj, constituted under the North East Frontier Agency

Panchayat Raj Regulation of 1967, was replaced by Pradesh council in 1972, which in turn was converted into a 30 (thirty) member provisional Legislative Assembly in 1975.

Table: 1.1 Administrative set up showing no. of Districts, Sub-divisions, CD Blocks and Circles in Arunachal Pradesh as on 31st March, 2001.

Name of Districts	No. of Sub-divisions	No. of CD Blocks	No. of Circles
Tawang	2	3	7
West Kameng	3	4	10
East Kameng	2	4	10
Papum Pare	2	2	10
Lower Subansiri	2	9	16
Upper Subansiri	2	5	11
West Siang	6	7	20
East Siang	4	4	12
Upper Siang	3	4	10
Dibang Valley	3	3	10
Lohit	3	5	14
Changlang	4	4	11
Tirap	2	5	8
Total	13	38	149

Source: Statistical Abstract of Arunachal Pradesh, 2001, p.1. Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

The year 1986 has seen the Union Territory cross a milestone, with the decision having been taken by the Government of India, to confer statehood on the territory¹⁸. Finally, on 20th February, 1987, the Arunachal

Pradesh was declared as the 24th state of the Union of India with a Provision of 60 (sixty) members Legislative Assembly under Constitutional amendment Act, "The State of Arunachal Pradesh Act, 1986 (Act No. 69 of 1986)"¹⁹.

During the period of 1972 to 1987, the erstwhile five districts of the territory viz. Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit and Tirap, were reorganized into 11(eleven) districts namely, Tawang, West Kameng, East Kameng, Upper Subansiri, Lower Subansiri, East Siang, West Siang, Dibang Valley, Lohit, Changlang and Tirap. At present, the administrative set up of Arunachal Pradesh consists of 13 districts, 38 sub-divisions, 59 administrative blocks and 149 administrative circles²⁰. (See table 1.1)

Socio-economic profile:

Population:

According to the provisional population census of 2001, Arunachal Pradesh has a total population of 1097968 persons consisting of 579941 males and 518027 females. The total schedule tribe population of the state is 705158 persons comprising 352017 males and 353142 females while the total schedule caste population is 6188 persons comprising of 3590 males and 2598 females. However, it may be mentioned that the schedule caste

population are the people who have come from different parts of the country. They are government employees, small businessmen, agricultural labourers etc. The other category population in the state is 386622 persons comprising 224334 males and 162288 females. (See table 1.2)

Table: 1.2 Population of Arunachal Pradesh as per Provisional Population Census of 2001.

Particulars	Male	Female	Total
Population	579941	518027	1097968
ST population	352017	353141	705158
SC population	3590	2598	6188
Other population	224334	162288	386622

Source: Economic Review of Arunachal Pradesh, 2003, p-5. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

Table: 1.3 Sex Ratio, Density of Population and Decennial Growth Rate of Arunachal Pradesh as per Provisional Population Census of 2001

Items	Units	Particulars
Sex ratio (female per 1000 male)	Nos	894
Density of Population (per sq. km)	Nos	13
Decennial growth rate	Per cent	26.85

Source: Economic Review of Arunachal Pradesh, 2003, p.4. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

The sex ratio of the state is 894 females per 1000 males. The density of population is 13 persons per square kilometer. The decennial growth rate of population is 26.85 per cent. The total literate population in the state is 487796 persons of which 302371 are male literates and 185425 are female

literate. The literacy rate as per provisional census of 2001 is 54.74 per cent. (See tables 1.3 and 1.4)

Table: 1.4 Literacy Profile of Arunachal Pradesh as per Provisional Population Census of 2001.

Items	Units	Particulars
Total Literacy Population	Nos	487796
Male Literates	Nos	302371
Female Literates	Nos	185425
Total Literacy rate	Per cent	54.74

Source: Statistical Abstract of Arunachal Pradesh, 2001, p.5. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

Education:

A very little attention had been given to education in the state before independence. The mass educational and literacy programmes in Arunachal Pradesh was started only after India became Independent in 1947.

Prior to 1947, there was four primary schools at Pasighat, Yamchum (Tirap District), Charduar and Sadiya (later became high school). At present there are 57 Pre-primary schools, 1303 Primary schools, 333 Middle schools, 116 Secondary schools, 68 Higher Secondary schools, a school for Handicapped, one Polytechnic, 7 Arts and Science colleges, a Regional Institute of Science and Technology (Deemed University) and a University in the state. Out of the total of 1888 educational institutions,

1712 are government institutions and 176 are private institutions. Table 1.5 shows the different categories of educational institutions as existed in the state as on 31st March, 2001.

Table: 1.5 Number of recognized Educational Institutions by type in Arunachal Pradesh as on 31st March 2001.

Type of Institutions	Number of Institutions		Total
	Government	Private Aided/Unaided	
University	1	0	1
Arts and Science Colleges	7	0	7
Higher Secondary Schools	55	13	68
Secondary Schools	91	25	116
Middle Schools	297	36	333
Primary Schools	1229	74	1303
Pre-Primary Schools	29	28	57
Schools for Handicapped	1	0	1
Regional Institute of Science and Technology	1	0	1
Polytechnic	1	0	1
Total	1712	176	1888

Source: Statistical Abstract of Arunachal Pradesh, 2001, p.31. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

Economy:

The economy of Arunachal Pradesh is basically rural and agricultural. Except a negligible section of the people majority are solely dependent on agriculture as their basic economic pursuit. The shifting cultivation, which is locally known by different names occupy the central

position in Arunachal Pradesh. The other form of cultivation are terraced and paddy cultivation which is being practiced by the people of the state.

Industry in modern sense practically did not exist in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. The local people of the state are traditionally engaged in various types of traditional handicraft industries that are designed with artistic craftsmanship which manifest through various products in their day to day use. Table 1.6 shows that there are 1859 numbers of registered units of small scale industries, 17 medium scale industries and 13 rural industries project in the state as on 1st March, 2001.

Table: 1.6 Numbers of Industries in Arunachal Pradesh as on March 31,2001

Items	Unit	Particulars
No. of village and SSI units registered	Nos	1859
No. of medium industries	Nos	17
No. of rural industries project	Nos	13

Source: Statistical Abstract of Arunachal Pradesh, 2001, p.43. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

LOWER SUBANSIRI DISTRICT-A PROFILE:

Genesis:

The name of the district is derived from the Subansiri River a tributary of mighty Brahmaputra. Its formation as an administrative unit is the outgrowth of a sequence of administrative changes.

Till 1914, the district was a part of the Lakhimpur district of Assam. By a Government of India Notification of 1914 the area covered by this district became part of Lakhimpur Frontier Tract of the "North East Frontier Tract"²¹. In 1946, the district was curbed out of the Balipara Frontier Tract in the name of "Subansiri Area" with its Headquarter at North Lakhimpur. In 1954 Subansiri Area was renamed as the Subansiri Frontier Division and it's headquarter was temporarily established at Kimin and later shifted to Ziro²². Like other parts of North East Frontier Agency, the district was under the Ministry of External Affairs and over-all-in-charge was a Political Officer. On the 1st of September 1965, the Ministry of Home Affairs took over the administrative charge of NEFA from Ministry of External Affairs and Subansiri Frontier Division was renamed as Subansiri District²³.

The district was further divided into two districts under section 4 of the Arunachal Pradesh (Re-organization of Districts) Act, 1980 (Act No. 3 of 1980)²⁴. These two districts are Lower Subansiri District and Upper Subansiri District. Ziro which was the district headquarter of erstwhile Subansiri, remained as headquarter of newly constituted Lower Subansiri District. On 22nd September, 1992, under the Arunachal Pradesh (Re-Organization of Districts) Amendment Act, 1992 (Act No. 1 of 1993)²⁵,

Lower Subansiri district was again bifurcated and Papum Pare District was formed.

Location:

Lower Subansiri district covers an area of 10135 square kilometer accounting for about 12.10 per cent of the total area of the Arunachal Pradesh. It lies approximately between $92^{\circ}40'$ and $94^{\circ}21'$ East longitudes and $26^{\circ}55'$ and $28^{\circ}21'$ North latitudes. The district is bounded by China (Tibet) and part of Upper Subansiri District in the north, West Siang District and Upper Subansiri District in the east, Papum Pare District and the state of Assam in the south and East Kameng District in the west respectively. The headquarter of Lower Subansiri district is located at Ziro, which can be reached in about five hours motor drive from the state capital Itanagar²⁶.

Administrative set-up:

The administrative set-up is based on single line administration, which aims at keeping closest co-operation amongst various developmental departments with the administration to keep step together for speedy development of the people and area.

Table: 1.7 Administrative set-up showing Sub-divisions, Circles and CD Blocks in Lower Subansiri District as on 31st March, 2001.

Sl. No.	Sub-division	Circles	Year of opening	Officer-in-charge	CD Blocks
1	Ziro (Sadar)	Ziro	1952	DC	Ziro-I
		Yachuli	1993	CO	Ziro-II
		Pistana	1994	CO	
		Palin	1957	CO	Palin
		Chambang	1982	CO	Chambang
		Tali	1957	CO	Tali
		Pip Sorang	1995	CO	
		Raga	1951	EAC	Tamen-Raga
		Dollungmukh	1994	CO	
		Kamporijo	1999	CO	
2	Koliriang	Koloriang	1949	SDO	Koloriang
		Sarli	1959	CO	
		Damin	1959	CO	Huri-Damin
		Parsiparlo	1994	CO	
		Nyapin	1953	CO	Nyapin
		Sangram	1984	CO	
		Yangte	1999	CO	

Source: Statistical Handbook of Lower Subansiri, 2001. Office of District Statistical Officer Lower Subansiri District, Ziro, Arunachal Pradesh.

Note: DC : Deputy Commissioner

EAC : Extra Assistant Commissioner

SDO : Sub Divisional Officer

CO : Circle Officer

The entire Lower Subansiri District is divided into 2(two) sub-divisions viz Ziro (Sadar) and Koloriang. Ziro (Sadar) sub-division comprised of 11(eleven) circles, namely Ziro (Sadar), Yachuli, Pistana, Palin, Yangte, Chambang, Tali, Pip Sorang, Raga, Kamporijo and Dollungmukh. Koloriang sub-division is composed of 6 (six) circles, viz Koloriang, Sarli, Damin, Parsiparlo, Nyapin and Sangram. Altogether the district has 17 (seventeen) circles and 596 villages. The district has been covered by 9(nine) CD Blocks namely Palin, Chambang, Ziro-I, Ziro-II, Tali, Tamen-Raga, Koloriang, Huri-Damin and Nyapin²⁷. (See table 1.7)

The Ziro sub-division is directly placed under the charge of the Deputy Commissioner whereas Koloriang sub-division is under the charge of the Sub-Divisional Officer. The lowest unit of administration is a circle which is looked after by a Circle Officer or an Extra Assistant Commissioner. A circle is defined as group of villages and not as a territorial unit³⁸.

The Deputy Commissioner being the over-all-in-charge of the district maintains law and order with the help of administrative officers and police force. He also looks after the developmental activities of the district. The villages have their own customary administrative system in the form of traditional village councils. The Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice)

Regulation, 1945, authorizes the village councils to settle all civil matters and certain criminal matters falling within their jurisdiction. However, for all matters, the Deputy Commissioner and other administrative officers, have jurisdiction under the supervision of Assam High Court, who hold the appellate and the revisional authority²⁹.

Lower Subansiri District comes under 1-Arunachal West Parliamentary Constituency. There are six Assembly constituencies in the district viz 16-Yachuli Assembly constituency (ST), 17-Ziro-Hapoli Assembly constituency (ST), 18-Palin Assembly constituency (ST), 19-Nyapin Assembly constituency (ST), 20-Tali Assembly constituency (ST) and 21-Koloriang Assembly constituency (ST)³⁰.

As per pro-

Population:

The district is inhabited by three tribes namely Apa Tanii, Nishi and Hill Miris. These tribes belong to Tibeto-mongoloid stock. The Nishis are the largest tribe of the district. They are mainly settled in Yachuli, Pistana, Chambang, Damin, Nyapin, Sangram, Tali, Koloriang, Sarli, Parsiparlo, Pip Sorang, Palin and Yangte circles. The Hill Miris are settled in Raga, Dollungmukh and Kamporijo circles. The Apa Tannis are settled in Ziro circle.

Among the three tribes, the Apa Taniis have a well represented and well organized village council called Buliang which is democratic in its functioning and structure. The Gindungs of the Nishis and Lopo of the Hill Miris are not permanent bodies like Buliangs of the Apa Taniis. They are constituted as and when situation demands.

However, all these three communities have cultural traits such as existence of independent villages, absence of chieftainship and existence of a code of customary laws for controlling corporate life.

The main festivals celebrated by the inhabitants of the districts are Nyokum Yullo of the Nishis, Booribooh of the Hill Miris and Myoko, Murung and Dree of the Apa Taniis.

As per provisional census of 2001, the Lower Subansiri district has recorded a population of 98244 persons comprising 49542 males and 48702 females. Out of the total population of the district 85860 comprising 43062 males and 42798 females is urban population. The proportion of total rural population of the district constitutes 87.39 per cent. The population of the district is 9 per cent of the total population of the state.

The total Scheduled Tribe population in the district as per provisional population census of 2001 is 88512 persons which account for

90.09 per cent of the total population. Out of total scheduled tribe population, 43491 are males and 45021 are females.

Table: 1.8 Distribution of Population in Lower Subansiri District as per Provisional Population Census of 2001.

Particulars	Male	Female	Total
Population	49542	48702	98244
Rural Population	43062	42798	85860
Urban Population	6480	5904	12384
ST population	43491	45021	88512
SC population	126	71	197

Source: Economic Review of Arunachal Pradesh, 2003, p.5. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

The Scheduled Caste population in the district is found to be very negligible, as there is no indigenous scheduled caste population in the district as well as in the state. The total scheduled caste population in the district is 197 persons of which 126 are males and 71 are females. The scheduled caste population consists of those who have come from neighbouring states and other parts of the country. They are government employees, small businessmen, labourer etc.

As per provisional population census of 2001, the percentage of literacy in the district is 59.4 per cent. The total male literate of the district is 67.8 per cent and female literate is 50.6 per cent. (See table 1.9)

Table: 1.9 Literacy Profile of Lower Subansiri District as per Provisional Population Census of 2001

Literacy Rate (% of literates aged 7years and above)	Unit	Particulars
Persons	Per cent	59.4
Male	Per cent	67.8
Female	Per cent	50.6

Source: Fact book on Manpower in Arunachal Pradesh, 2002, p.9. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

The work wise distribution of the population in the district shows that 72.24 per cent are cultivators, 3.36 per cent are agricultural labourers, 0.62 per cent works in household industries and 23.78 per cent constitutes the other category of workers. (See table 1.10)

Table: 1.10 Work wise distribution of Population in Lower Subansiri District as per Provisional Population Census of 2001

Category of worker (Main and Marginal)	Percentage of total workers		
	Male	Female	Total
Cultivators	60.1	85.46	72.24
Agricultural Labourers	2.76	4.01	3.36
Household Industry	0.66	0.57	0.62
Other workers	36.48	9.96	23.78

Source: Economic Review of Arunachal Pradesh, 2003, p.7. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

Education:

During the pre-independence period, not a single school existed in Lower Subansiri District. However, rapid progress has been made in the

field of education after the attainment of independence. The first Lower Primary school was opened at Ziro in the year 1949³¹.

Table: 1.11 Number of recognized Educational Institutions by type in Lower Subansiri as on 31st March 2001.

Type of Institutions	Number of Institutions		Total
	Government	Private Aided/Unaided	
Pre-Primary Schools/Inter-school	81	1	82
Primary Schools	23	9	32
Middle Schools	33	3	36
Secondary Schools	12	4	16
Higher Secondary Schools	5	Nil	5
Colleges	Nil	1	1
Vocational/Technical Colleges	Nil	Nil	Nil
University	Nil	Nil	Nil
Total	154	18	172

Source: Statistical Handbook of Lower Subansiri District, 2001. Office of District Statistical Officer Lower Subansiri District, Ziro, Arunachal Pradesh and compiled by the researcher.

At present there are 82 Pre-Primary schools, 32 Primary schools, 36 Middle schools, 16 Secondary schools and 5 Higher Secondary schools in the district as on 31st March, 2001. However, in the year 2003, one Degree College has been established in the district. Out of 172 educational institutions, 154 are run by the Government and 18 are private institutions. (See table 1.11)

Economy:

Agriculture is the main occupation of the inhabitant of the district. They practice both Jhum (shifting) and settled cultivation in the form of wet rice cultivation (WRC) and terraced rice cultivation (TRC). The Apa Tanii tribe who lives in the district headquarter do settled cultivation on a vast stretch of fertile land with highly developed indigenous irrigation system whereas shifting (Jhuming) cultivation is practiced mainly by Nishi and Hill Miri tribes. Jhuming is the product of century old experience of the Hill men in the North East region. The climate and soil of the district is conducive for cultivation of Paddy, Maize, Millet, Wheat, Potato, Chilly, Ginger, Pulses, Sugarcane, Horticulture crops and other vegetable crops³².

The local people of the district have a tradition of artistic craftsmanship, which manifest through various products they produce for their day-to-day use. In the past year an emphasis was made for revival and revitalization of the traditional handlooms, handicrafts and other industrial endeavours. Effort was also made to set up industries for commercial purposes. The traditional industries of the districts are spinning, weaving, dyeing with indigenous dyeing materials, bamboo and cane works, carpet making, making of local head gears, wood works etc.

Efforts have been made to improve and strengthen the economic conditions of the local people and to promote the indigenous crafts. As such certain other crafts which can be taken up by the locals as subsidiary occupations to agriculture have been introduced in the district. The first Cottage Industry Training-cum-Production Centre (CITPC) was established by the administration at Ziro in the year 1953. The different arts and crafts consisted of (a) weaving and spinning (b) carpentry (c) black smithy (d) bell metal (e) knitting (f) sawing (g) soap making (h) tailoring (i) leather works (j) cane and bamboo works (k) pottery etc were taught through CITPC now renamed as Craft Centre.

There are 4(four) Craft Centres in the district located at Ziro, Koloriang, Damin and Nyapin and 3(three) Weaving Units at Deed, Palin and Raga are functioning in the district as on 31st March, 2001³³. Besides 1(one) District Industries Centre (DIC) is functioning at the district head quarter Ziro. The main objective of the DIC is the establishments of craft centre/weaving units, comprehensive production centre, establishment of small scale industries and to provide necessary technical, economic, management and other guidance.

There is no factory in the district which is registered under factory Act, 1948. So far the DIC, Ziro has registered 312 number of Small Scale

Industry units in the district, which are eligible for all incentives and subsidy available for industrially backward areas. DIC has been implementing the schemes for self employment to educated unemployed youth and depute local youths for Industrial management training and Entrepreneur Development Programmes in various parts of India.

APA TANI:

The Apa Taniis are one of the 25 major tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, Apa Taniis are best known to the world outside. An excellent account of the Apa Taniis are found in Haimendorf's "Himalayan Barbary" Ursula Graham Bower's "The Hidden Land" and R. Izzard's "Hunt for the Buru", a book rather rare to come by now³⁴.

At one point of time there was a great confusion over the nomenclature of the tribe. It had variously been called Anka, Auk, Apa Tanang, Auka Meri and Tenae. The name Apa Tani has now become attached to them after Haimendorf has made the tribe so well known to the world outside through his book, "Himalayan Barbary". However, the Apa Taniis call themselves as "Tani". Dr. Pura Tado in his doctoral thesis

“Political Transition among the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh A case study of the Apa Taniis” writes:

“If Apa was an integral part of the tribe’s name, it should have been written as one word with Tanii. Thus, it seems that the first official of the Government of India who came to Ziro formally for the first time might have given a new name to its inhabitants without intending it. For, still the Apa Taniis call themselves only as Tanii when they converse among themselves or whenever they inquire their identity on meeting”³⁵.

The Apa Taniis are inhabitant of Ziro, the headquarter of Lower Subansiri district. Ziro more popularly known as Apa Tanii Plateau is situated approximately at an altitude of 1564 meters above sea level fringed by high hills³⁶. The plateau is confined to approximately in an area of about 32 square kilometer lying between the valleys of Kamala and Kuru on the north and Panior on the south. The plateau itself a valley, uneven and dotted with a number of hillocks of which Ziro and Dolo Mando are particularly prominent. On the east, a high ridge extends for about 16 kilometer and it demarcates the plateau from the wooded hills of the lower region³⁷. The ridge is having some important peaks. The Salin peak is on the old Apa Tanii trade route to North Lakhimpur. This route was frequently used by the Apa Taniis before the opening of the Ziro-Kimin road in recent past. Often most of these ranges remain covered with thick

clouds. The plain of the Apa Tani valley is drained by a small river, the Kiile. It flows to the south for some 40 kilometers before it meets the Panior River at Yazali.

Originally the Apa Taniis were settled in 7(seven) villages of (a) Hari (b) Biilla (c) Hiija (d) Dutta (e) Miidang Tage (f) Bamin Michi and (g) Haangu. But now it has increased to more than 15(fifteen) villages. These villages fall into three groups, each of which has a distinct tradition regarding the migration that preceded the Apa Taniis settlement in their present habitat. The first group consists of a single village Haangu, the second of Hari and Biilla and the third group of Hiija, Dutta, Miidang Tage and Bamin Michi. Each group constitutes for certain purposes a ritual unit. For instance the greatest annual Apa Tani festival of Myoko is celebrated by each of the three groups in turn³⁸.

The Apa Taniis have migrated to their present habitat from northern areas beyond Kuru (Khru) and Kime (Kamala) rivers, the tributaries of river Subansiri. Dr Pura Tado describes the sequence of migration of the Apa Taniis in the following words:

“....Apa Taniis migrated to present area in three waves. Hiija group of people seems to have come following river Kime (kamala) and settled at Taley Valley. From there came down to Biirii near present Haangu village and thence to present location of Hiija group of villages. The Haangu group of villages seems

to have followed the same route as those of Hija but went further down with river Kime and came up to Taley Valley from south-east of it and thence to present village site. The Bulla and Hari group of villages had followed river Kuru (Khuu) and thence followed Palin river towards south west and thence turned back towards east and came to present site of their villages¹⁹.

However, in absence of any archeological data it is hard to determine for how long the Apa Taniis may have been dwelling in their present habitat.

Table: 1.12 Distribution of population in Apa Tani Valley as per Provisional Population Census of 2001.

Particulars	Male	Female	Total
Population	12478	12225	24703
Rural Population	5998	6321	12319
Urban Population	6480	5904	12384
ST population	9542	10325	19867
SC population	69	35	104

Source: Economic Review of Arunachal Pradesh, 2003, p-5. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

As per provisional population census, the total population of the Apa Tani plateau is 24703 persons comprising 12478 males and 12225 females. Out of the total population 12319 persons comprising 5998 males and 6321 females lives in rural areas and 12384 persons comprising 6480 males and 5904 females lives in urban areas. The total Scheduled Tribe population of the plateau is 19867 persons of which 9542 are males and

10325 are females. The total Scheduled Caste population consists of 104 males and 69 females. (See table 1.12) However, it may be mentioned that the scheduled caste population are those coming from neighbouring state of Assam as well as other states to work in the agricultural field and other service sectors.

Like in rest of the state, agriculture is the mainstay of the Apa Taniis. They practice permanent terrace cultivation. Their paddy fields are well developed and well irrigated by harnessing the various streams of the valley. The Apa Taniis are one of the very few tribal communities in Arunachal Pradesh who have elevated agriculture from a subsistence level to a surplus level. As such the Apa Tani Plateau is popularly known as "the rice bowl" of the district.

Now-a-days, with better transport and communication, educational facilities and economic opportunities, many of the Apa Taniis are successfully running different types of business. Also many of them are serving the Government in the state and in different parts of the country in various capacities.

The Apa Taniis are settled in large compact villages inhabited by different clans. Each village of Apa Tani has their own village council called Buliang. The council consists of one or two representatives also

called as Buliangs from each clan. The position of a Buliang is hereditary. They are arbiters of tribal law and upholders of tribal justice, but the individual Buliangs are primarily the spokesmen of their own clan or group of clans and not chieftains wielding absolute authority. The councils of Buliangs formerly arbitrated almost all the cases that were reported to them.

As in rest of the state, the Panchayat system has been introduced in Apa Tanii villages in 1969 under the provisions of the North East Frontier Agency, Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967 (Regulation 3 of 1967) as amended by the North East Frontier Agency (Administration) Supplementary Regulation, 1971. The introduction of Panchayat system although have reduced the importance of Buliangs to some extent in political and economic fronts, its importance in socio-religious spheres continues to remain the same as before.

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CHAPTER – II

BULIANG – TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTION OF APA TANIIS

Since time immemorial the traditional communities of Arunachal Pradesh have their own unique system of local self government carried out through Village Council known by different names among different tribes. The Village Council of Monpas of Tawang district is known as Tsorgens, Jung or Jungthang of the Sherdukpens of West Kameng district, Mele of the Akas of West and East Kameng districts, Kebang of the Adis of East, West and Upper Siang district, Abbala of the Idu Mishmis of Dibang Valley district, Mokchup of the Khamptis of Lohit district, Khaphua/Khapong/Khapo of Tangsas of Changlang district, Ngothung of the Noctes and Wangsu-Wangsa of the Wanchos of Tirap district and Buliang of the Apa Taniis of Lower Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh. There are certain common features of all these Village Councils. The village and village councils were the basis of political units till the introduction of the Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh (then called North East Frontier Agency) in 1969. These Village Councils continues to exist side by side with the statutory Panchayats and discharge their function.

To understand the political participation of the people at grass root level it is essential to understand the nature and working of traditional Village Council. In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the origin of traditional political institution of the Apa Taniis – the Buliang, its structure, organization, leadership pattern, functions and the continuity and changes taking place as the setting of the study.

The Apa Tanii villages are basically well-defined compact unit. There were originally seven villages which have risen to more than fifteen. Each village was economically self-sufficient and politically each village was an independent unit which did not recognize any outside authority. Each village demanded unflinching loyalty from its inhabitants. This loyalty is manifested through festivals like Myoko and Dree.

Each of the Apa Tanii village is inhabited by many clans. Each clan is housed in a particular quarter of the village. Big villages are divided into many sub-units and treated as an independent village within village itself called limba or lemba, meaning village. Thus the village of Hiija, is divided into Diire and Hiija, Biilla into Reru, Tajang and Kalung, Haangu into Niichi and Niitih.

The Apa Tanii realized that living in a crowded village of several hundred houses concentrated in a small area with an extremely dense

population require the restraint of an agreed system of social controls, if their prosperity based on elaborately organized economy, is not jeopardized by quarrels and feuds of individuals. Community life in such a self-governing unit resulted in an institution called the Buliang in accordance with customary laws. The political will of the village was expressed through it.

Origin of Buliang:

The mythological folklore tells us that the institution of Buliang is as old as the Apa Tanii society itself. The institution has arisen in response to the chaotic situation, which the Apa Tanii society underwent in absence of a regulatory authority. The folklore describing the origin of Buliang runs as follows:

“There were quarrels among all the inhabitants of the universe. There were feuds between the sky and the earth between the rocks and the plants as well as among human beings. Thus everybody was at one another’s throat and complete chaos prevailed in the universe. Everyone was fed up with the situation that prevailed. Hence, a few persons were asked to volunteer to settle the feuds among different disputants of the universe. The persons who volunteered to arbitrate the disputes, thus, became Buliangs. Their decisions were accepted as just and

equitable by the disputants. Since then, Buliangs were accepted as arbitrators of disputes to establish peace in the society”¹

The institution of Buliang as such has both social and divine sanction behind it. Besides Buliang there are other social, economic and religious institutions which are operating in Apa Tanii society. Dr. Pura Tado refers to these institutions in his four strata division of the Apa Tanii society².

The first strata constitute the Buliang and the Gora. They are usually referred to as Buliang-Gora. Buliang as the representative of the people enforce law and order to promote and maintain peace and harmony in the society. The Gora organizes common festivals of the village and oversees Anyodu i.e., abstention from work by all residents, which is observed for few days after the commencement of the festival for the well being of all. Both the Buliang and the Gora represents the clan of the village. They are usually elderly persons who are well conversant in customs and traditions of the clan and the society.

The second strata comprise Jogyih and Khabo. Jogyih means a priest or a shaman. Jogyih is also known as Nyibu. His main duty is to perform rituals of different nature so that people are free from all sorts of sufferings, diseases or evil influences. The priest or Nyil u acts as a go between the Gods, Goddesses and different spirits and human beings. A Nyibu is

always a male in Apa Tanii society. No female is allowed to be a Nyibu or a priest. On the other hand Khabo also known as Kiidih buliang or Miira is appointed by the villagers. The main function of a Khabo is to dig grave and bury the dead. In case of an unnatural death, the dead body must be first touched by him before anyone touches it.

In third strata of the Apa Tanii society comes the Giitu-Giira. They are the knowledgeable persons, well conversant in traditional customary laws of the Apa Tanii. A type of mediation and arbitration council known as Gondu consists of persons drawn from this group. The Giitu-Giira is a good orator. Although everyone is not capable and efficient to be a Giitu-Giira, at least one person from a clan is encouraged to become a Giitu-Giira as its representative.

Finally, the fourth strata comprise Nii Pabo or the general public which forms the majority of the population of the society.

Structure of Buliang:

Dr. Haimendorf has classified the Buliang of the Apa Taniis into three types: the Akha Buliang, Yapa Buliang and the Ajang Buliang. "The Akha Buliangs are the principal leaders of the villages, who even when too old to take a very active part in the life of the community must be consulted

on all important matters. The Yapa Buliangs are middle-aged men who carry on the day-to-day conduct of village affairs, settle disputes and keep the Akha Buliang informed of the development. The Ajang Buliang, finally, are young men who act as messenger and assistants of the Yapa Buliang and function in some respect as the leaders and spokesmen of the younger generation"³. Dr. Haimendorf, however, opines that, "In practice, this division of duties is not always clear-cut, and some of the older Ajang Buliangs assume gradually the function of the Yapa Buliang. The Akha Buliang appoints the Ajang Buliang from amongst the rank of eligible young men, and in making this selection an Akha Buliang does not necessarily give preference to members of his own clan, but sees to it that his clan group..... is represented by men of talent and efficiency. A Yapa Buliang usually does not become an Akha Buliang representing his group of clan"⁴.

Similar classification of Buliang is also given by Ursula Graham Bower. She refers to Ajang Buliang as assistants and messengers, Yapa Buliang as executives and Akha Buliangs as men responsible for final decision⁵.

This classification of Buliang into Akha, Yapa and Ajang has been referred to by various government officials in preparing government

reports and by scholars in their work on tribal Village Councils of Arunachal Pradesh and on various other subjects. Dr. Elwin has quoted Dr. Haimendorf in his book "Democracy in NEFA" and "A Philosophy for NEFA". Similarly, Choudhury S. Dutta has quoted Dr. Haimendorf in "Arunachal Pradesh District Gazetteers Subansiri District".

However, the classification of Buliang as given by Haimendorf, Bower, Elwin and et al has been rejected by many of the Apa Tanii scholars. Dr. Pura Tado opines, "...there is nothing like Akha, Ajang and Yapa Buliang. The interpreters of the officials visiting Apa Tanii valley during 1940s, might have added the prefix Akha (old), Yapa (youth) and Ajang (young) with Buliang for easy understanding. Further, they might have translated buliang into Akha Buliang, Miha Piilo into Yapa Buliang and Giitu-Giira (knowledgeable persons) who helped Buliang in arbitration of disputes into Ajang Buliang"⁶.

On the other hand, other Apa Tanii scholars like Mr. Takhe Kani, recognizes the classification of Buliang into three types. He writes the Akha Buliang are the original and permanent Buliang, the Ajang Buliang are the new batch of Buliang appointed by the original Buliang during 1940s to assist them and the Yapa Buliang are the Miha - village elders who are experts in tribal laws and assist the Buliang in the conduct of day-

to-day affairs of the village. They are also called as Miha Buliang. However, they are not actually a Buliang.

From the foregoing discussion and information gathered during the field study from knowledgeable persons from different villages of Apá Tanii, it can be safely concluded that the institution of Buliang consist of two-tier structure – Buliang and Miha Pillo.

Buliang as the representatives of a clan are responsible for maintaining peace and harmony in the society. They are man of character and ability drawn either from among the members of a family which owing to its wealth and status, furnishes one or two Buliangs, or on account of their personal standing in the society. Generally, Buliangs are proficient in customs, traditions and customary laws and are good orator.

The Miha Pillos are appointed by the Buliang themselves usually from younger generations. These Miha Pillos are fewer in number selected from among the Urus (phratry) of a clan from where there is no Buliang. The Miha Pillos, thus, fulfills two purposes – it gives full representation to all the Urus (phratry) of a clan inhabiting the village that does not have a Buliang and secondly, they act as the messenger of the Buling⁷.

In the settlement of a dispute between individuals or between villages, the Buliang are assisted by the Gondu, a type of mediation and

arbitration council consisting of Miha Pillos and Giitu-Giira (knowledgeable persons). Because of their age and their role in the arbitration of a dispute the Gondu might have been referred to as Yapa Buliang by scholars like Dr. Haimendorf and others. Otherwise, there is no Buliang called Yapa Buliang.

Organisation:

Unlike every adult male of the village becoming a member of the Kebang of Adis, in Apa Tanii society, a Buliang is a representative of the clans appointed from among the members of a family. According to folklore, in the beginning some villagers were persuaded to be Buliang however, without any clear cut process of their selection/election, to restore order thus giving them authority over the society. Now-a-days, the Buliangs come from a particular family in a clan and thus has become hereditary.

Theoretically, all the urus or Aba kiipings (phratry) of a clan are equally entitled to representation in the Buliang. In reality, there are families and clans who are not represented in the Buliang system. For instance, Lyalyang clan of Hiiija village does not have any Buliang. This clan is on the verge of extinction with only one family at present. Then

there are clans like Dorah again in Hiija, which had no Buliang and is presently an extinct clan. Similarly clans like Bamer and Tabyu of Biilla village (Tajang part), Tinyo clan of Haangu and Mudo clan of Hari village have one Buliang each. The populations of these clans are very small and are declining very rapidly. Since Buliang system is basically based on the principle of hereditary it is feared that the number of Buliangs rather than increasing might decrease in near future with the extinction of some of the clans as has been seen in cases of old clans. Table 2.1 shows the number of Buliangs at present in each village.

Table: 2.1 Village wise distribution of Buliang.

Name of Village	No. of Bulaing
Hari	19
Biilla	49
Hija	29
Dutta	9
Miidang Tage	12
Bamin Michi	10
Haangu	32
Total	160

Source: Based on data collected by researcher during field study at Ziro, 2003.

Although there is no taboo on women becoming a Buliang, traditionally Buliang is a male dominated institution. Cases of women membership is seen only when a widow of a Buliang takes her husband's place till her son is old enough to be a Buliang himself. Dr. Pura Tado on the membership of Buliang observes:

“When a Buliang dies, his place is usually taken over by one of his sons, if he has more than one son, proficiency in customary laws and an inclination for community service among the sons takes up the mantle of the Buliang. If the Buliang has only a son, he takes up his position of the Buliang. However, when a Buliang has no sons but only daughters, his place is taken up by a person closest in linkage to him. Thus, the Buliang is retained in the same Uru or Aba kiiping (phratry). This shows that position of Buliang is inherited within the family”⁸

Leadership:

Leadership among the Buliang is not based only on hereditary privileges, but is a flexible system under which personality and talent have full scope to assert themselves.

Theoretically all Buliang have the same position and enjoy equal privileges. Even the most prominent Buliang cannot give orders to his co-villagers and can never become a chief. Thus, the leadership of the Buliang

(Village Council) is collective. Yet in practice it is usually two or three Buliang who wield the influence in the village.

The administrative arrangement is based on the de facto position and not on the principle of equal authority of all Buliang. Many of the Buliang are very old men who, though consulted in important matters, no longer take an active part in the day-to-day administration of the village. It is rather middle-aged men of more than usual wealth or particular strength of character that sways public opinion and can, therefore, speak at least to some extent for the village community. However, the decisions in the deliberations of the Buliang are based on consensus.

Functions of the Buliang:

The Buliang as the representatives of all important clans, direct the affairs of the community through formal and informal Village Council sittings. Though the exact powers of these Buliang are not laid down in any code of law, they are yet capable of maintaining internal peace and tribal solidarity. Minor disputes may be allowed to run their course, but ultimately it is the Buliang's responsibility to restore the social harmony.

The function of Buliang may be divided into Politico-Judicial and Socio-Religious. However, it may be noted that there is no specific

functions of Buliang which can be put strictly under the category of development function.

I. Politico-Judicial Function:

Among the Apa Taniis the authority to maintain law and order and administer justice is vested in a plurality of clan representatives – the Buliang. However, no hard and fast rules can be laid down as to whose authority should be recognized. The Apa Tanii for all his social sense is a great individualist and if he is wronged by a fellow tribesmen his first reaction is not to appeal to the Buliang, but to retrieve his loss or vindicate his honour by taking the law into his own hands. As a rule it is only when a quarrel has dragged on and when it begins to undermine the peace of the whole community that the Buliang enter the field of action.

The most extreme form of dispute between individual is Lisudu. If an Apa Tanii of wealth and good social status thinks his honour at stake, he resorts to a very different procedure to vindicate himself and humiliate his enemy. This procedure is known as Lisudu and involves the ritual destruction of wealth⁹. Till recent past it was the recognized means by which a man can vindicate his personal honour slighted by a fellow villager.

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A man who challenges a co-villager to a lisudu competition start by killing one or several of his mithun in front of his opponent's house. Sometimes he adds to the holocaust valuables, such as Tibetan prayer bells, bronze plates and swords. If his opponent accepts the challenge he must slaughter at least the same number of mithun and destroy property of equal value in front of the challenger's house. The next move is that the latter kills an even greater number of mithun and this number must again be matched by his rival.

The animals slaughtered at a lisudu are not always those of the competitors. It is customary for the kinsmen, both maternal and paternal, to show their group solidarity by lending the required animals, even when there is little chance of early repayment. Therefore, sooner or later the competitor's kinsmen persuade the Buliang to intervene and prevent great destruction of property. Yet, there remains the idea that the more wealth a man can destroy the higher his social prestige rises. The very fact of the support given by numerous kinsmen is proof of his importance and influence in a large social group. But since the pursuance of a lisudu to its logical conclusion might spell the economic ruin of a whole group of families, the Buliang usually intervene in favour of a compromise which spares both parties the humiliation of defeat. The lisudu cease to be a

means to vindicate one's personal honour as a result of protest movement taken up by the Apa Tanii Youth Association (AYA) during 1974-75¹⁰.

The disputes involving members of different villages often result in a ceremonial and pre-arranged fight known as Gyambo. The dispute could be over certain rights like hunting or trapping or grazing lands or dispute on boundary of the land property etc. In case of Gyambo the partisans of an aggrieved man challenge, the supporters of his opponent to an open fight, and on the day and time fixed for the combat the men of both parties line up and fight armed with spears, bows and arrows and sometimes even with dao¹¹.

The men whose dispute is the immediate cause of Gyambo do not generally take part, but they are frequently responsible for marshalling their partisans. It is argued that they are not permitted to risk their lives in the fight, because if they were killed there would remain nobody to pay compensation to men wounded or to the relatives of men who were killed. The actual combat is governed by various rules and conventions, and there is no intention to inflict heavy losses on either side. In the heat of the fight some damages may be done to gardens and bamboo groves, but there is never any large-scale destruction of houses and granaries. In case of any

serious casualties occurring on either side, the Gyambo is usually called off.

One of the last of Gyambo was witnessed and recorded by Ursula Graham Bower in 1947 when Dutta people organized a Gyambo against Biilla¹². It was the outcome of a dispute over a mithun between Koj Nichi of Dutta village and Radhe Talang of Biilla village. The hostility between the two villages led to the involvement of other villages of Apa Tanii in the Gyambo. This resulted in the division of whole of Apa Tanii in to two politically hostile groups. Reru-Tajang i.e, a part of Bulla village, Nichi-Niiti i.e Haangu village and Diire-Hija i.e Hiija village came under one political group while Diibo group of villages i.e Dutta, Miidang Tage and Bamin Michi and Talyang-Hao group of villages i.e Talyang Kalung – the other part of the Biilla village and Hari village formed the other political group.

This hostility involving the entire Apa Tanii villages is known as 'Supung Chambyo'. Because of the timely interventions of the Buliang of all the villages the dispute was finally settled and peace was restored in the valley.

Last of the Gyambo witnessed by the people of the Apa Tanii valley was Reru-Tajang Gyambo of 1972. The dispute broke out over the naming

of Lempya Primary school which was upgraded to middle school then. On February 22, 1972, the Gyambo was called off when Mr. Nglyang Grayu of Tajang village was killed in the combat. Thereafter the people of Reru village gave up and Lempya Middle School was name as Government Middle School Tajang¹³.

The Apa Taniis have evolved an effective system of preserving tribal harmony and of dealing with anti-social elements in a way which not only eliminates the source of disturbance but also acts as a deterrent to potential law breakers. In earlier days the Buliang were authorized to award even death penalty to the law breakers in the administration of justice in the valley.

Among the Apa Taniis crimes violating rights in property are considered extremely serious. Till recent past the punishment for habitual theft had been death. A first offender was dealt with severely. They were tied up for some days besides a lapang¹⁴ with his leg fastened in a heavy log of wood and exposed to ridicule. Subsequent offences were expiated by the payment of compensation, but if a person habitually steals the Buliangs took more drastic steps to end the public nuisance by inflicting death penalty. Such action was usually backed by public opinion.

Last of the instance of Buliang awarding death penalty to a man from Dutta village Chigin Duyu and his subsequent execution was witnessed by Dr. Haimendorf in 1945¹⁵.

Chigin Duyu was a known thief and was involved in various doubtful cattle deals. He has stolen cows and mithun, slaughter them in the forest and sold the meat to the other villagers. Thereby he became a cause of dissension among the Apa Taniis. When at last he was found selling a cow stolen from a man of Haangu, the prominent men of Haangu village held council and decided to enlist the support of the Buliang of other villages in dealing with the offender. They went from village to village and the case was debated on Lapangs, the assembly platforms of all the villages barring Dutta and the neighbouring Miidang Tage. Since the majority of prominent Apa Taniis were familiar with the case, they all agreed that Chigin Duyu should be apprehended and killed. Chigin Duyu was finally executed in one of the lapang of Haangu village after his capture.

The Buliang as the leaders of the tribe allow individual citizens ample scope to fight out private disputes without outside interference, but once the public peace is endangered they come down heavily on an offender guilty of criminal acts or they end by negotiations a quarrel which has assumed threatening aspects. And in this work as guardian of the peace

they are supported by the other tribesmen who realize that prosperity as well as the security of life and property is dependent on maintenance of law and order.

II. Socio-Religious Function:

Another important function of Buliang is socio-religious in nature. The two main public festivals of Apa Taniis are Myoko and Murung. In these festivals the Buliang has a special role to play without which these festivals cannot take place.

Myoko is the biggest public festival held by each village only once in three years. But a system of rotation assures that in Myoko month, which commence in mid March and ends in the mid April, there is a celebration every year of Myoko festival in the valley. According to this system Haangu performs the Myoko one year, Biilla and Hari the following year, and the group consisting of the villages of Hiija, Dutta, Miidang Tage and Bamin Michi in the third year, after which Haangu begins a new cycle¹⁶.

Myoko festival commences with the arrival of Khiibo Amang, a procession of Buliang and young men well versed in Apa Tanii folklores led by a priest known as Byai Mibya from the guest villages to the Myoko performing village in the evening¹⁷. As only one group of villages performs

the Myoko every year, the celebration is an occasion for inter-village visiting and the entertainment of guests from other villages.

Moreover, there is a regular exchange of gifts. Shares of the sacrificial animals killed during the Myoko are given to the Buliang of villages or village-quarters linked by traditional ties to the village of those performing the rite. The system regulating this exchange is complicated and provides for a number of contacts across the limits of the three groups of allied villages. Every wards of a village has certain ceremonial links with corresponding wards of villages outside its own group, and the exchange of Myoko gifts occurs between such wards.

The ceremonial links of the Buliang of one village with specific wards of another village serve as a channel for inter-village contacts, and those negotiations for the settlement of disputes, for instance, run often along the lines of these permanent channels¹⁸.

Murung is another important public festival performed every year by all Apa Tanii villages. Generally Murung ritual is performed by wealthy men intent on increasing their prestige. These performances culminate in the slaughter of mithun, the meat of which is distributed among the villagers. There are two rites of this type – Murung Runtii and Murung Ronsre. The greater and more expensive one is Murung Runtii, and it

necessitates the slaughter of at least five to six mithuns. In this case the meat is distributed to every household in all the villages of Apa Tanii. Murung Runtii is also performed for limited group of villages which is known as Takung Putung (those groups of villages who celebrate Myoko festival together) and for this only two to three mithuns are required. In this case the sacrificial meat is distributed only to households belonging to group of villages to which the performer of the festival belongs. Men who cannot afford the performances of Murung Runtii may opt for Murung Ronsre, and for this only two to three mithuns are required. Their meat is distributed only among the relatives of the performer of the festival.

In case of Murung Runtii the Buliang of all villages of Apa Tanii are are honoured with ceremonial gifts by the performer. In case of Murung Runtii for Takung Putung the Bulinag falling in the same group of villages to which the performer of the festival belongs are honoured with ceremonial gifts. On the other hand, in case of Murung Ronsre the Buliang of only one village to which the performer of the festival belongs are honoured with ceremonial gifts. The gift includes salt, Tapyo (indigenous Apa Tanii salt), piece of raw meat and preserved pig skin (bacon). Now-a-days, payment of cash forms part of ceremonial gift called Amang.

Thus, the Amang i.e. ceremonial gifts received by the Buliang during the above mentioned festivals of Apa Tanii is maintained as their funds by them for meeting their expenses.

Another important socio-religious function of Buliang is Gyodu. It is somewhat analogous to feasting of Brahmins in other parts of India. When a family suffers too much from illness affecting every member of the family very frequently, which neither responds to traditional pujas nor to modern medicines, then the Buliang are invited. They are entertained with 'O' (rice wine), meat and cooked rice. Besides, a piece of pigskin is roasted by the Buliang and cut into pieces and distributed among the members. It is called Gyiinsi. It is believed that feasting of Buliang and getting their blessings will ward off the evil spirit affecting the family and all sort of sufferings.

Deliberations:

The Buliang are primarily the spokesmen of their own clan or group of clans and not village headmen with absolute authority. They act more as an arbiter than a judge. However, they do not take action unless they are requested to intervene or the dispute has become a public issue, which must

be dealt with by the community as a whole either by mediation or use of force.

Before a dispute is referred to Buliang, it is tried by the 'Gondu', a type of mediation and arbitration council consisting of Giitu-Giiras. They are the knowledgeable persons, well conversant in traditional customary laws of Apa Taniis. When they fail to settle the dispute, it is referred to Buliang for settlement.

When a dispute finally comes to Buliang, on the appointed day and time the disputants and the Buliang gather in the house of either of the disputant or in the house of their relative usually in uncle's or in brother's house or in a lapang (community platform of the clan) for the proceedings of the case. The disputants are represented by Giitu-Giira of their clan or they may themselves present their case before the Buliang. After hearing the case presented by both the parties to the dispute the Buliang gives their decision on the case.

In the deliberation all the male members of the village can participate. Though there is no express bar against women participation, generally by convention women are apathetic towards participating in the formal meeting of Buliang. One reason that may be attributed for their low participation is that they were discouraged to speak in public.

As such not all women had the privilege to participate in the deliberations of the Buliang. In olden days wives of those Buliangs who were not proficient in tribal customary laws and tradition spoke on behalf of their husband in the deliberation of the Buliang. Besides these women, the women folk of the party to the dispute can also take part in the deliberation by way of giving evidence.

Thus, women are not completely shut out from participating in the deliberation of the Buliang though they cannot become a Buliang.

Change and Continuity:

Till 1945, Buliang was independent of government interference in managing day-to-day affairs of the village. The enactment of Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation of 1945 brought under its general framework, all the tribal Village Councils existing throughout Arunachal Pradesh - then Frontier Tracts. The regulation recognized the importance and authority of the Village Councils, thereby, giving them certain additional powers and at the same time also took away many of their original powers. Since the regulation was enacted, circumstances have greatly changed, but it has given an opportunity to the Village Councils to

prove themselves and show that they can, in the main, use their powers wisely and according to the new ideas of equality, humanity and order¹⁹.

The Regulation of 1945 provides that criminal justice shall be administered by the then Political Officer – now designated as Deputy Commissioner, the Assistant Political Officer – now Additional Deputy Commissioner, and the village authorities, all of whom are recognized as competent administrators of the law. It gives power to the Village Councils to try number of criminal offences such as theft, simple hurt, house trespass and assault and to impose fines for them as well as to award payment in compensation to the extent of the injury sustained. The councils also have civil powers and can try all suits without limit of value in which both the parties are indigenious to the Frontier Tract²⁰.

The Regulation provides for appeals in appropriate cases and lays down that then Political Officers shall be guided by the spirit, but shall not be bound by the letter of the code of Civil Procedures.

This Regulation does in fact, give the Village Councils very wide powers, for it is recognized that they will function and inflict punishment or compensation according to their customary law. Since, according to custom and tradition, even crimes like murder, kidnapping and rape can be satisfied by payment of compensation, it is possible to bring almost every

kind of offence (except those committed against the state) within their jurisdiction. This will also extend to non-tribesmen who are involved in disputes with or offences against the tribal people. For example, an official is accused of adultery with a tribal woman, he may have to appear before the Village Council and accept its decision, irrespective of any departmental action that may subsequently be taken against him. Where tribesmen are accused by the non-tribesmen, the cases will be heard by the Village Council except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Divisional Headquarter²¹.

The 1945 Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation also provides for certain limits on the types of 'punishment' that can be inflicted. In fact the heavy punishment like death penalty of the former days has almost entirely disappeared and has been replaced by the system of compensation.

Thus, the 1945 Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation on the one hand has recognized the importance of the Village Council, on the other hand, has lessened its authority. It provides for division of authority in the administration of criminal justice between the Village Council and the government officials namely, Deputy Commissioner and Additional Deputy Commissioner of the area.

The power and position of the Buliang has also been eroded by the institution of Gaon Buras. By virtue of being appointed by the government, the Gaon Buras act as the representative of the administration in the village level. In words of Dr. Dying Ering:

“The Gaon Buras is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the village; he is assisted by the village council. He usually presides over the village council which settles all petty cases such as local quarrels, theft, boundary disputes regarding division of property and adultery. The council decides cases by majority. The final decision, however, rest with the Gaon Buras who invariably respects the consensus of the public opinion”²²

Thus, the Buliang no longer remained the sole village authority for the administration of justice in the society as in earlier days.

The introduction of Panchayat Raj Institution in the year 1969 in Arunachal Pradesh then NEFA brought further changes in the Buliang system. A new set of young and energetic leaders came up as Panchayat members who invariably replaced Buliang as the leader of the village. Panchayat system also introduced new form of function viz. development function to be executed by the new Panchayat leaders with the aid of government in the village. These developments in the village administration brought about a change in the political outlook and attitudes of the people.

Nevertheless, the Buliang continues to perform its socio-religious functions as before. In fact, because of its socio-religious importance, the Buliang system will continue in the Apa Tani society.

Notes and references:

1. Pura Tado's doctoral thesis "Political Transition among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh: A case study of Apa Taniis", 2001 pp.56-57
2. For detail see, Pura Tado, Op cit pp.58-59
3. Haimendorf, C.V.F. "The Apa Tanis and Their Neighbours: A Primitive Civilisation of the Eastern Himalayas" London 1962, pp. 167-168
4. Ibid p.68
5. Bower, Ursula Graham, "The Hidden Land" London 1953, p.120
6. Pura Tado, Op cit p.63
7. Ibid
8. Ibid p.61
9. Haimendorf C.V.F "The Apa Tanis and Their Neighbours: A Primitive Civilization of the Eastern Himalayas" London 1962, p.110
10. As told by Shri Mudo Nikang ZPM of Hari village on 30th May, 2004
11. Haimendorf C.V.F, Op cit p. 113
12. For details see Bower, Ursula Graham, Op cit pp.119-127
13. As told by Shri Tasso Tapa, a Priest and Gaon Bura of Hari village on 28th May, 2004

14. Lapang is a large, open sitting-platform. On this the men of the clan gather for gossip and work, as well as on ritual and other formal occasions.
15. Haimendorf C.V.F Op cit pp.102-103
16. Ibid p.141
17. Pura Tado, Op cit p.72
18. Haimendorf C.V.F, Ibid p.142
19. Elwin Verrier, Op cit p.171
20. Ibid
21. Ibid p. 172
22. Dying Ering Committee Report, pp.17-18.

CHAPTER – III

PANCHAYAT RAJ INSTITUTIONS

The concept of local self government was first introduced in the country under the Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935 when these Acts granted some autonomy to the provinces. With Constitution of India coming into force in 1950, introduction and promotion of the institution of local self government was first incorporated in the “Directive Principles” of the constitution. However, not much was done by the states in this direction till the Balwantrai Mehta Committee appointed in 1957, on the suggestion of the National Development Council, to review the implementation of the Community Development programmes and the National Extension service, recommended setting up of three tier system of rural local self government known as ‘Panchayat Raj’ as an instrument for democratic decentralization through mass mobilization at the grassroots level and for better implementation of community development programmes. As a result, almost all the states and union territories in the country now have Panchayat Raj institutions in one form or another¹.

In Arunachal Pradesh, although the Community Development programme was launched in 1950, followed by the setting up of the first Extension Block in 1952 it was not until 1969 that Panchayat Raj

institutions was first ushered in². As in rest of the country Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh had similar structure and aimed at democratic decentralization of power and implementation of community development programme. However, the main objective behind the introduction of Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh has been to integrate Arunachal Pradesh, then NEFA, with rest of the country by establishing a uniform political practice throughout the state through an integrated political system³.

This chapter gives an account of the evolution of Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh, the framework of the Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967 and the developments after 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendment Act of Government of India, 1992.

Ering Committee Report:

A preliminary step towards the direction of establishing Panchayat Raj was the appointment of a four member committee by the Governor of Assam in May, 1964 to consider the expansion and development of modern local self government in Arunachal Pradesh, the then NEFA. This committee was popularly known as the 'Ering Committee' after the name of its chairman Daying Ering, the then Parliamentary Secretary in the

ministry of External Affairs New Delhi. The other members of the committee were: B.D. Pandey, the then Additional Secretary to the ministry of Finance, New Delhi, Brigadier D.M. Sen, former legal advisor and Mr. L.B. Thanga, the then Development Commissioner of NEFA⁴.

While making its recommendations, the committee was to take into consideration the scope and pattern of authority and functions exercised by indigenous tribal institutions at the level of villages and above and to examine how best it can be modified or enlarged to introduce democratic working in the fields of judiciary, local development and administration. The committee was also to give due consideration to the stage of advancement in respect of each tribe and the special conditions of the tribe. Moreover, the committee was to frame proposals regarding:-

- (a) the type of democratic bodies suitable at the village level and above;
- (b) the range of subjects upon which local bodies may have jurisdiction and the extent of nature of that jurisdiction; and
- (c) the phases with regard to time in which the proposals of the committee may be put into force, having regard to the varying stages of development of the differing tribal groups⁵.

The committee started its work on May, 1964, with its first sitting at Raj Bhawan, Shillong which was also attended by Shri Vishnu Sahai, the then Governor of Assam and Shri P.N Luthra, the Advisor to the Governor of Assam⁶. The committee toured Arunachal Pradesh extensively, interacted with people of various shades and discussed with officials at various levels of administration. The committee finally submitted its report on January 4, 1965.

Encouraged to e

Recommendation of the Ering Committee:

To achieve the objectives of democratic decentralization in Arunachal Pradesh, then NEFA, the committee recommended the formation of local bodies at four different levels. They were to be at village, circle, district and the Agency level. While the bodies suggested at the first three levels were on the all India pattern of Panchayat Raj based on Balwantrai Mehta committee report, the body at Agency level was advisory in nature expected to discuss in detail the five year plans for NEFA, its budget and tax proposals⁷. Although the term 'Panchayat Raj' was never used by the Ering Committee, the bodies in the first three levels were given the all India names – the Gram Panchayat, the Anchal Samiti and the Zilla Parishad, in order to promote a sense of greater integration⁸.

At village level, the committee suggested that the existing traditional village council should be recognized and given formal authority by the Administration in all areas. In areas where the Village Councils have become, or are, ineffective, they should be reorganized as a definite parts of the Administration's activities. In those areas where there was no well defined village or Village Council, a village may be formally notified with a population of one hundred in each village, and the villagers may be encouraged to evolve a Village Council on the basis of their customs and traditions⁹.

Though the committee had tried its best to include all the essential elements of traditional systems of self governance in its recommendations, the committee suggested certain necessary changes in the existing Village Councils to form the proposed Gram Panchayat at village level¹⁰. The committee suggested that, the Administration should recognize only the actual headman of the village approved by tribal custom and usage as the official headman also. Further, the head of the village selected/elected according to the prevailing tribal customs and tradition should be called the 'Sarpanch' as in other parts of the country. The committee also recommended for a paid secretary for every Village Council. He should be a literate person to maintain the records of their proceedings and decisions

taken for future references and examination. In a village where there are other tribes who are in minority and therefore, excluded from the Village Council, the committee suggested that the council members and leaders should be persuaded and encouraged to invite representatives from minority tribes to associate and eventually take active part in the deliberations of the Village Council¹¹.

Regarding the functions of the council the committee recommended the retaining of all traditional functions. Besides, it suggested enlargement of its judicial powers granted by Assam Frontier Administration of Justice, Regulation 1945¹². The committee also suggested that developmental functions like agriculture, animal husbandry, primary education and public health should be undertaken by the village panchayat (council)¹³. The Sarpanch of the village should serve as link between the village and higher administration. Moreover, the village authorities were to be vested with powers to raise certain revenue by levying house tax and land rent or cess for the benefit of the local population¹⁴.

The next higher body recommended by the committee was the Anchal Samiti, to be constituted in each existing administrative circles. It was to consist of the head of Village Councils falling within the circle and other such persons as may be nominated to it. On the average, a council

should consist of approximately 20 persons, in special cases it may go up to even 30 or 35 persons. The secretaries of the Village Council should be allowed to attend the meetings of the Anchal Samiti. The Sub-divisional Officer or an independent Assistant Political Officer in charge of a circle should be the Chairman. In certain advanced areas, a non-official may be the Vice-Chairman elected by the Samiti. The Anchal Samiti was entrusted with only developmental function, where they should take up the formation and execution of schemes of local interest, especially in the field of agriculture, animal husbandry, communication, public health, education and village industries¹⁵.

At the district level, the committee suggested constitution of Zilla Parishads comprising one to three elected members from each Anchal Samiti and six members to be nominated in the initial stage to secure representation to backward and unrepresented areas or tribes. The Zilla Parishad was to be an advisory body to the district administration and its decisions were to be binding upon it. The Zilla Parishad was generally to be consulted for all developmental activities in the district, especially before execution of any schemes or projects. Subjects like establishment, construction and management of primary schools, dispensaries, markets, canal, roads etc. should be subject to discussions in the Zilla Parishad. It

was also to have power to impose taxes and tolls on agricultural produce, establishment of markets, exploitation of forests and fisheries etc. The committee further suggested placing some funds at the disposal of the Political Officer, who would function as Chairman of the Zilla Parishad, to be spent on developmental programmes¹⁶.

At the territory level, the committee recommended for setting up of an Agency Council. It was to be a small and compact body consisting of 20 members, four members each to be elected by Zilla Parishads. The members of Parliament from NEFA were to be its ex-officio members and the Governor of Assam as ex-officio presiding officer. The council would meet once or twice a year at Shillong and in any other convenient places as may be selected for the purpose. All regulation and Statutory rules to be issued by the Administration was to be discussed in the council. The budget, the five year plans for NEFA was also to be subject to discussions in this body¹⁷.

In view of the situation obtaining in 1965, the committee recommended establishment of Panchayat Raj Institutions, in Arunachal Pradesh, the then NEFA, which sought to integrate indigenous tribal system to mainstream of national system of self governance¹⁸. The recommendations of the Ering Committee were accepted by the

Government and were incorporated in the North Eastern Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967 with certain modifications¹⁹.

The NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967:

The North East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation was promulgated by the President of India in 1967, which came into effect from 2nd October, 1969²⁰. The Regulation provides for the constitution of the Gram Panchayats at village level, the Anchal Samities at circle level and the Zilla Parishads at district level. The Regulation also provides for an Agency Council for the whole of Arunachal Pradesh, organically linked with the Panchayat Raj system²¹. The Regulation, however, has been amended six times subsequently in the year 1970, 1971, 1972, 1980 and 1992. Except for the amendments of 1971, other amendments brought about minor changes in the Regulation. Although the Panchayat system provided by the Regulation was structurally similar to those prevalent in other parts of the country, it had different aims and objectives²². In rest of the country, decentralization of power has been the main objective of Panchayat Raj. In Arunachal Pradesh it sought to bring a uniform political practice throughout the territory by introducing an integrated political

system, in order to integrate the hitherto isolated area with the mainstream of the National life²³.

Gram Panchayat:

The Regulation of 1967 did not provide for a separate Gram Panchayat. It simply said that a "Gram Panchayat means a village Authority constituted under the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945"²⁴. Thus, the existing traditional Village Council was regarded as the Gram Panchayat. However, the 1971 amendment to the Regulation changed the provisions relating to the Gram Panchayats to create a new body, to be elected according to tribal customary methods, by the residents of a village, or villages, falling within a Gram Panchayat²⁵. Under the Arunachal Pradesh Gram Panchayat (Constitution) Rules, 1972, a Gram Panchayat is constituted in a village or group of villages with not less than 500 populations and there should be one member of the Panchayat for every hundred population. The Deputy Commissioner of the district however, may in special cases, allow a village or a number of villages with less than 500 populations also to have a Gram Panchayat²⁶. Further, the 1992 Rules says that the Deputy Commissioner is to prepare a list of all adults in the Gram Panchayat area²⁷ for the purposes of Panchayat Election

and the election is to be conducted by Presiding Officer to be appointed by him. The successful candidates are required to be formally declared elected by the Presiding Officer²⁸.

The 1967 Regulation, however, does not provide for any Sarpanch or President of the Gram Panchayat nor does it provide for any Secretary for it as recommended by the Ering Committee.

The Regulation does not entrust any specific function to the Gram Panchayat except that they are to elect one member each to the Anchal Samiti²⁹. The Anchal Samiti, however, may assign to any Gram Panchayat falling within its jurisdiction with certain specific matters relating to its own functions in a number of spheres in administrative and developmental activities³⁰. There is no provision for raising finances for the Gram Panchayat. In case an Anchal Samiti entrusts a Gram Panchayat with any of the specified functions the fund necessary for it must also be made available to the Gram Panchayat³¹.

Anchal Samiti:

The intermediary body in the panchayat system in Arunachal Pradesh is the Anchal Samiti constituted in every block. However, any contiguous areas may be declared as a block³² or two existing blocks may

be treated as one³³ by a notification for the purpose of constituting an Anchal Samiti.

Every Anchal Samiti consists of:-

- (i) One representative elected by the members of each Gram Panchayat falling within its jurisdiction. However, the total number of elected members in a block should not exceed 25 in numbers.
- (ii) One representative elected by the Chairman of the Co-operative societies situated within the block from amongst themselves. In case of only one co-operative society in a block, the Chairman of that society shall be a member of the Anchal Samiti.
- (iii) Not more than five persons nominated by the Deputy Commissioner from the members of the tribes which have not secured representation in the Anchal Samiti under clause (i) or (ii).
- (iv) The Sub-divisional Officer of the area within which the Anchal Samiti is situated³⁴.

In addition to the above mentioned categories of members i.e., elected, nominated and ex-officio, the Deputy Commissioner may appoint

any such Officers as he deems necessary, as ex-officio members of the Anchal Samiti³⁵. In practice the Deputy Commissioner invites all the local heads of various Governmental departments, as well as the local MLA and the Vice-President of Zilla Parishad to attend the meetings of the Anchal Samiti. They however, do not have a right to vote in the meeting of the Samiti³⁶.

The Sub-divisional Officer who is an ex-officio member of the Anchal Samity becomes its President and the Samiti elects a Vice-President from amongst its elected members at its first meeting³⁷. An Executive Officer who acts as the Secretary of the Anchal Samiti is also appointed by the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh³⁸.

The term of office of the Samiti is three years. However, the Vice-President or any other members of the Samiti may be removed by the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh at any time by an order in writing³⁹. A no-confidence motion may also be passed by the Anchal Samiti against its Vice-President by a two-thirds majority⁴⁰.

The Regulation has vested the Anchal Samiti with a wide range of administrative and developmental functions. It can make reasonable provisions within its jurisdiction in regard to the certain specific services in the sphere of sanitation and health, public works, education and culture,

self-defense and village-defense, administration, welfare of the people, agriculture and preservation of forests, breeding and protecting cattle and village industries⁴¹. The Anchal Samiti may also take over the execution, maintenance or repair of any work or the management of any institution within its jurisdiction on behalf of the Government or any local authority⁴². Moreover, the Anchal Samiti is also empowered to do certain acts in the event of an epidemic such as disinfection of building and articles; removal of patients suffering from infectious or contagious diseases to hospitals and power to close markets⁴³.

The Anchal Samiti, unlike Gram Panchayat has its own fund for discharging its functions under 1967 Regulation. Apart from the grant-in-aids it receives for certain specific schemes, it may levy taxes and cess on following items:-

- (a) a tax on brick or concrete buildings;
- (b) a tax on supply of drinking water, sale of firewood and the thatch, conservancy, lighting and slaughter houses;
- (c) a tax on cultivable land lying fallow for consecutive years;
- (d) a tax on fisheries allotted to Anchal Samiti;
- (e) a fee on the registration of cattle within its jurisdiction;

- (f) a license fee in respect of – tea stalls, hostels, sweet-meet shops, restaurants, bakeries and confectioneries; collection of hides and bones; cinema halls, circuses, professional variety shows and fairs; brick and tile kilns; oil and rice mills; huts and bamboo stalls; carts, carriages, cycles and boats; sawmills and timber depots;
- (g) a cess for the supply of water for irrigation;
- (h) a surcharge on duty for the transfer of immovable property⁴⁴.

Thus, the Regulation envisages the Anchal Samiti as an executive body having extensive power and functions and with its own resources to carry out its activities.

Zilla Parishad:

The Regulation provides for the constitution of Zilla Parishad for each district. It was to be a supervisory and advisory body for planning and coordinating all developmental schemes in the district and for monitoring their implementation by various implementing agencies⁴⁵. The Zilla Parishad consists of following members:

- (i) the Vice-Presidents of all the Anchal Samities in the district as ex-officio members;

- (ii) one representative of every Anchal Samiti in the district, to be elected by its members from amongst themselves;
- (iii) not more than six persons to be nominated by the Governor from out of the tribes which have not secured representation in the Zilla Parishad;
- (v) the deputy Commissioner in charge of the district as the ex-officio member⁴⁶.

The Deputy Commissioner was also the President of Zilla Parishad. A Vice-President of the Parishad was to be elected by the members of Zilla Parishad from amongst themselves⁴⁷. The term of office, as in case of other two panchayat bodies is three years which may from time to time be extended, by the Governor by an order for a period not exceeding two years in the aggregate⁴⁸.

The main function of the Zilla Parishad was to advise the Governor on all matters concerning the activities of the Gram Panchayats and Anchal Samiti situated within the district. The Zilla Parishad was to make recommendations to the governor in respect of:-

- (j) the budget estimates of the Anchal Samities;
- (ii) the distribution and allocation of funds and grants to the Anchal Samities;

- (iii) the co-ordination and consolidation of the plan proposed by the Anchal Samiti and drawing up of the district plan;
- (iv) the coordination of the work of Gram Panchayats and Anchal Samities; and
- (v) land settlement and raising of revenues for the Anchal Samities⁴⁹.

Moreover, the Zilla Parishad was to review the working of the Anchal Samiti from time to time and to advise on such other matters as may be referred to it by the Governor⁵⁰.

Agency Council:

The Regulation also provides for an Agency Council, besides the above mentioned Panchayat bodies. It consisted of in addition to certain ex-officio members, all the Vice-Presidents of the Zilla Parishad and three other members elected by each of the Zilla Parishads from among the members. The Agency Council was to advise the Governor on policy matters relating to Arunachal Pradesh⁵¹. However, unlike the other three tiers of Panchayat institutions, the Agency Council of the then NEFA lived only for four years, i.e. from 1969 to 1972 as it was substituted by 'Pradesh Council' in 1972 and subsequently replaced by a Legislative Assembly in 1975 when the Agency was given the status of a Union Territory⁵².

The panchayat bodies were first constituted in 1969, under the 1967 NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation⁵³. During 1969 to 1992, seven elections were held in free and fair manner observing all the requisite formalities such as delimitation and publication of electoral rolls etc. Elections to three bodies were held through secret ballot except in case of Gram Panchayat the members of which were elected according to the prevailing tribal customs. Besides, there was no provision in the 1967 NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation for political party system for contesting elections nor was there any arrangement for reservation for any category of persons. However, the Regulation of 1967 provides for nomination made by the Deputy Commissioner and the Governor for limited number of persons to the Anchal Samiti/Zilla Parishad and the Agency Council, as the case may be, to give representation to those tribes which were left unrepresented in a particular body⁵⁴.

The total number of Gram Panchayats in 1969, when the Panchayat Raj was first introduced in the state was 938 which came down to 837 in 1987 due to a change in the size of Gram Panchayats, but again increased to 2012 in 1992. Similarly, the total number of Anchal Samiti in the beginning was only 38 which subsequently increased to 44 in 1972, 60 in 1987 and finally to 78 in 1992 when Panchayat elections were held last in

the state before the Panchayat bodies were suspended in 1997. Likewise, the number of Zilla Parishad also rose from 5 in 1969 to 12 in 1992. Thus, after the 1992 elections on an average, each Gram Panchayat had 3 members, Anchal Samiti 16 members and Zilla Parishad 13 members⁵⁵. Table 3.1 and 3.2 gives the details of numbers of panchayat raj institutions and numbers of panchayat members in Arunachal Pradesh and Apa Tanii valley respectively after 1992 election. It may be noted that Ziro – I administrative circle constitute Apa Tanii valley.

Table: 3.1 Details of numbers of Panchayat Raj Institutions and Panchayat members in Arunachal Pradesh in 1992.

Name of Institutions	Nos.	No. of Panchayat Members		
		Male	Female	Total
Gram Panchayat	1125	5128	82	5210
Anchal Samities	78	1186	44	1230
Zilla Parishad	12	158	0	158

Source: Panchayat Election Result, 1992 Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Department of Panchayati Raj, Naharlagun.

Table: 3.2 Details of numbers of Panchayat Raj Institutions and Panchayat members in Apa Tanii Valley in 1992.

Name of Institutions	Nos.	No. of Panchayat Members		
		Male	Female	Total
Gram Panchayat	64	258	7	265
Anchal Samities	3	64	5	69

Source: Panchayat Election Result, 1992 Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Department of Panchayati Raj, Naharlagun.

Present Status:

The passage of 73rd Constitution Amendment Act 1992 created a unique situation in Arunachal Pradesh. To meet the requirement of the 73rd Amendment Act, the Arunachal Pradesh Government issued an Ordinance (The Arunachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Ordinance 1994) replacing the NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967 to meet the requirements of 73rd Constitution Amendment Act. It made provision for reservation for women, State Election and Finance Commission and a five year term in conformity with the 73rd Amendment Act in certain matters, it accommodated the main provisions of the Act such as regular elections at equal intervals for Panchayats at all levels, State Finance and Election Commissions and reservations for women, etc. But the Ordinance did not make provision for Gram Sabhas at bottom level⁵⁶.

The Ordinance as sought to be replaced by the Arunachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Bill 1994 passed by the Arunachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly in September 1994. It contained the same provisions as in the Panchayat Raj Ordinance. However, the Bill did not become an act as the Governor of Arunachal Pradesh reserved it for the assent of the President of India. The President also did not give assent to the Bill and remitted it to the Legislative Assembly with the observation that (i) it does not provide

for Gram Sabha and that (ii) it does not provide for reservation for scheduled castes⁵⁷.

The Arunachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly again passed the bill in March 1997 in the light of the observations and renamed the bill as Arunachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Bill 1997. The modified bill has included a new chapter (Chapter 11) providing for Gram Sabhas but has not made any provision for reservation of scheduled caste population, with the plea that there is no scheduled caste population in Arunachal Pradesh. The negligible number of scheduled caste population (0.47% as per 1991 census) is only floating population and is mainly concentrated in urban areas. The bill was sent again to the President of India in April 1997⁵⁸. Finally, the President of India gave his assent on 13th April, 2001 and the Bill became Arunachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act, 1997.

The introduction of Panchayat Raj institutions has created in the minds of the general populace in the state the clear existence of real democratic fora in relation to the concept of leadership, power, education, development and progress. The Panchayat Raj institutions serve as training grounds for rural people and equip them with both knowledge and experience about the democratic system of the Government in the country thereby enabling them to play more important and useful role in the state

and national level political fora. The Panchayat institution also played a very important role in bringing about a major socio-political change in the traditional tribal society of Arunachal Pradesh with increasing growth in education and political awareness of the rural people and their increasing interface with the outside world due to greater mobility. The old and traditional social structure is gradually giving way to a more modern, democratic, flexible and heterogeneous one, which is quite in keeping with the current trend else where in the country⁵⁹.

Notes and Refrence:

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2. Ibid, p.4
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4. Daying Committee Report, 1965, Appendix - I p.60
5. Ibid, p.61
6. Ibid, p.20
7. Ibid, p.52
8. Ibid, p.48
9. Ibid, p.40
10. "White Paper Panchayat Raj Bill", op cit, p.4

11. Daying Ering Committee Report, op cit, pp.41-43
12. Talukdar A.C, op cit, p.56
13. Daying Ering Committee Report, op cit, p.44
14. Ibid, p.46
15. Ibid, pp.46-47
16. Ibid, pp.48-51
17. Ibid, p.52
18. "White Paper on Panchayat Raj Bill" op cit, p.5
19. Talukdar A.C, op cit p.60
20. White Paper on Panchayat Raj Bill, op cit, p.5
21. Talukdar A.C, op cit, p.60
22. Ibid, p.65
23. Ibid, p.66
24. NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967, Section-2 (vii)
25. NEFA Administration (Supplementary) Regulation, 1971, Section-21 (1)
26. Arunachal Pradesh Gram Panchayat (Constitution) Rules, 1972, Rules 3 and 4
27. Ibid, Rule 9
28. Ibid, Rule 8
29. NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967, Section (1)
30. Ibid, Section 20 (1) and Part-I of Schedule-II
31. Talukdar A.C, op cit, p.68
32. NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967, Section 3
33. Ibid, Section 5 (4)

34. Ibid, Section 6 (1)
35. Ibid, Section 6 (2)
36. Talukdar A.C, op cit, p.69
37. NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967, Section 8 (1) and (2)
38. Ibid, Section 12 (1)
39. Ibid, Section 9 ad10
40. Ibid, Section 13 (1) and (2)
41. Ibid, Section 20 and Schedule II
42. Ibid, Section 22
43. Ibid, Section 26, 27, 28 and 29
44. Ibid, Section 40
45. White Paper on Panchayat Raj Bill, op cit, p.6
46. NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967, Section 51
47. Ibid, Section 53 (1) and (2)
48. NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation (Amendment) Act, 1980 (4 of 1980)
49. NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967, Section 55
50. Ibid
51. Talukdar A.C, op cit, p.72
52. White Paper on Panchayat Raj Bill,op cit, p.6
53. Talukdar A.C, op cit, p.73
54. White Paper on Panchayat Raj Regulation Bill, op cit, p.6
55. Ibid

56. Chandrashea(Lid) "Panchayat Raj in India – A Status Report 1999", Task Force on Panchayat Raj Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, New Delhi March,2000, p.166
57. Ibid
58. Ibid, pp 166-167
59. White Paper on Panchayat Raj Bill, op cit, p.7

CHAPTER-IV

IMPACT OF MODERN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ON APA TANII SOCIETY

This chapter has been divided into two sections. In the first section the impact of modern political institutions on traditional political institutions has been examined. In the second section of this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the types, nature and level of participation of the respondents – villagers and village leaders i.e., both traditional and modern leaders.

SECTION – I

The introduction of Panchayat institutions in Arunachal Pradesh in 1969 has made a profound impact on the traditional institutions that has operated on a completely different set of principles. Prior to the introduction of Panchayat institutions in Arunachal Pradesh the outlook of each tribe and community was basically tribal and did not rise above the tribe. They thought and worked for it. A higher level of associations which foster a larger and wider consciousness came with Panchayat Raj. It introduced graded series by which village leadership could mount up

through Anchal and district to the state level association in policy making and planning.

Panchayat Raj has reoriented and broadened the political outlook of the people in general and local leaders in particular. It has trained them to think of the district and state instead of the village, the community or the tribe. Through different Panchayat bodies it has also succeeded in producing a set of state level leaders like Mr. Padi Richo, Ex-Minister.

The changes in political outlook have brought similar changes in the traditional political institutions. Before the Panchayat Raj was introduced, all the village affairs including developmental work in Apa Tanii valley were carried out by the Buliang – the traditional village council. But after the introduction of Panchayats, the development works of the village has been taken over by the Anchal Samitis which enjoy more prestige. Besides, there is lesser number of inter-village disputes now-a-days. As a result the Buliang have limited themselves to social and religious functions and also have accepted these changes.

To gauge the impact on the Apa Taniis, the sample respondents – villagers and village leaders both modern i.e., Panchayat members and traditional leaders, i.e., Buliangs, were asked to give their opinion on the following set of questions:

1. Do you think Panchayats have brought changes in the traditional political institutions?
2. What are the changes brought in the traditional political system?
3. Whom do you consider to be the leaders of your village?
4. Do you think Panchayat can solve the problems of your village better than the Buliang?
5. Do you think that the villagers have welcomed the Panchayat system and have faith in it?

The response to these questions has been tabulated in Table 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5.

Table: 4.1 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "Do you think Panchayats have brought changes in the traditional political institutions?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Yes		No		Don't know		Total	
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)
1	Villagers	213	71.00	40	13.34	47	15.66	300	100.00
2	Buliangs	55	62.50	6	6.82	27	30.68	88	100.00
3	Panchayat members	151	68.02	0	0.00	71	31.98	222	100.00
	Total	419	68.69	46	7.54	145	23.78	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 4.1 presents the response to the question, "Do you think Panchayats have brought changes in the traditional political intuitions?" It is seen from the table that more than half 68.68 per cent of the total sampled respondents think Panchayats have brought changes in the Buliang

system of the Apa Taniis. A negligible 7.54 per cent of respondents think Panchayats have not brought changes in the Buliang system, and about 23.78 per cent of the respondents are not able to give answer in either way.

Category-wise analysis reveals that majority of the villagers (71.00 per cent) says that Panchayats have brought changes in the Buliang system of Apa Taniis while 13.34 per cent of the villagers says that Panchayats have not brought changes in the Buliang system and 15.66 per cent of villagers are not able to give answer in either way. In case of Buliangs more than half 62.50 per cent think that Panchayats have brought changes in the Buliang system while about negligible 6.82 per cent believes that Panchayats have not brought any changes in the Buliang system and as many as 30.68 per cent of Buliangs did not give answer in either way. Similarly, more than half, 68.02 per cent of Panchayat members believe that Panchayats have brought changes in the Buliang system of Apa Taniis and 31.98 per cent of the Panchayat members expressed their inability to give answer, while there is not a single Panchayat member who thinks Panchayats have not brought any changes in the Buliang system of the Apa Taniis.

Table 4.2 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "What changes are brought in the traditional political system?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Village leadership taken up by Panchayat members		Buliang marginalised		Brought political Consciousness and development in the village.		Total	
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)
1	Villagers	130	43.34	134	44.66	36	12.00	300	100.00
2	Buliangs	45	51.13	37	35.24	12	13.63	88	100.00
3	Panchayat members	123	55.40	93	41.90	6	2.70	222	100.00
Total		298	48.85	258	42.30	54	8.85	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

In order to examine the nature of changes brought about in the Buliang (traditional political institution) by the Panchayat institutions the sampled respondents were asked to name one most significant change. The responses were tabulated in Table 4.2. An analysis of the data reveals that about 48.85 per cent of the total sampled respondents say that village leadership has been taken over by the Panchayat members, 42.30 per cent of the respondents think that Buliang has been marginalized and only 8.85 per cent of the respondents say that Panchayat has brought political consciousness and development in the village.

Category-wise analysis of the respondents shows that almost similar numbers of villagers (43.34 per cent) have said that village leadership has been taken over by the young Panchayat members and 44.66 per cent have said that Buliang has been marginalized. While only 12.00 per cent of the villagers think that Panchayat Raj has brought political consciousness and development in the village. In case of Buliangs, a little more than half 51.13 per cent think that village leadership has been taken over by the Panchayat leaders while 35.24 per cent of Buliangs think that Buliang has been marginalized and 13.63 per cent of Buliangs think that Panchayat has brought political consciousness and development in the village. Similarly, more than half 55.40 per cent of Panchayat members think that village

leadership has been taken over by them. While 41.90 per cent of the Panchayat members think Buliang has been marginalized, very negligible 2.70 per cent of Panchayat members think that Panchayat has brought political consciousness and development in the village.

The responses of all the respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members clearly shows that the position of the Buliang have been marginalized and their place have been taken over by the Panchayat members. The reason for such change is assigning of administrative and developmental works to the Panchayat members and implementation of poverty alleviation programmes under Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP) by them.

The introduction of the concept of representation, election, adult franchise, decision by majority and becoming a leader through election have brought changes in the village politics. This change has also affected the views of people about leadership. To ascertain their views the question, “Whom do you consider to be the leaders of your village?”, was put to the sampled respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members.

Table: 4.3 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "Whom do you consider to be the leader of your village?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Gaon		Bulliangs		Panchayat members		Don't know		Total	
		Buras Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)
1	Villagers	36	12.00	42	14.00	151	50.34	71	23.66	300	100.00
2	Bulliangs	35	39.78	21	23.86	22	25.00	10	11.36	88	100.00
3	Panchayat members	66	29.72	8	3.60	75	33.78	73	32.90	222	100.00
Total		137	22.45	71	11.66	248	40.65	154	25.24	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

An analysis of the data presented in the table 4.3 shows that about 22.45 per cent of the total respondents consider Gaon Buras to be the leader of the village. While 11.66 per cent of the respondents consider Buliangs as the leader of the village, 40.65 per cent of the respondents consider Panchayat members as the leader of the village. About 25.24 per cent of the respondents are not able to clearly express their views as to whom they consider to be the leader of the village.

Category-wise analysis of the table 4.3 shows that 12.00 per cent of villagers consider Gaon Bura to be the leader of the village and 14.00 per cent of villagers consider Buliangs as the leader of the village. While 50.34 per cent of the villagers have accepted Panchayat members to be the leader of the village, 23.66 per cent of villagers are not in a position to express clearly as to whom they consider as their leader. The table shows that 39.78 per cent of sampled Buliangs preferred Gaon Buras as the leader of the village and 23.86 per cent of the respondents consider themselves as the leader of the village. While 25.00 per cent of the sampled Buliangs accepted Panchayat members as the leader of the village, only 11.36 per cent of the respondents are unable to clearly indicate their view as to whom they consider as their leader. In case of Panchayat members 29.72 per cent of the sampled respondents consider Gaon Buras as the leaders of the

village. Only a negligible 3.60 per cent of sampled Panchayat members preferred Buliangs to be the leader of the village. 33.78 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members consider themselves as the leader of the village. 32.90 per cent of the respondents are not in a position to give clear opinion as to who they consider are the leader of the village.

Thus it is seen from the table that there is erosion on the authority of the Buliang, as expressed by all the categories of the respondents. As a result of this erosion of authority the Buliang of all the villages of Apa Taniis are confined to social and ritualistic functions during the festivals.

As per North East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation 1967 (implemented in 1969), the traditional Village Councils like Buliang in Ziro areas were recognized as Gram Panchayats. This was in keeping with the Ering Committee report of 1965. Therefore, all the Buliangs were treated as Gram Panchayat members and hence did not affect their authority and jurisdiction. However, the first Panchayat election of 1972 based on universal adult franchise brought in a new breed of leadership in the village. Most of these new leaders were people who were school educated or dropouts after certain stage of schooling. The subsequent election to Panchayat, Anchal Samiti and Zilla Parishad has thrown up a

new class of leaders in each village. Thus, the introduction of Panchayats has brought in a major shift in the village leadership.

Further, the sampled respondents were asked to express their views on the question, "Do you think Panchayats can solve the problems of your village better than Buliang?" The response to the question is presented in table 4.4. An analysis of the data shows that 85.40 per cent of the total sample of respondents thinks Panchayat can solve the problems of the village better than the Buliang. A negligible 2.95 per cent of the respondents think that Panchayat cannot solve the problems of the village. Only 10.65 per cent of the respondents are not able to respond in either way.

Table: 4.4 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "Do you think Panchayats can solve the problems of your village better than the Buliangs?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Yes		No		Don't know		Total	
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)
1	Villagers	225	75.00	16	5.34	59	19.66	300	100.00
2	Buliangs	80	90.90	2	2.27	6	6.83	88	100.00
3	Panchayat members	222	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	222	100.00
Total		527	85.40	18	2.95	65	10.65	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Category-wise analysis shows that majority of the sampled villagers (75.00 per cent) say that the Panchayats can solve the problems of the village better than the Buliang. Only a negligible 5.34 per cent sampled villagers think Panchayats cannot solve the problems of the village better than the Buliang. 19.66 per cent respondents are unable to respond in either way. In case of Buliangs interestingly as many as 90.90 per cent of sampled respondents say that Panchayats can solve the problems of the village better than them. While very negligible 2.27 per cent sampled Buliangs still think they can solve the problems of the village better than the Panchayats, 6.83 per cent of the sampled Buliangs are not able to answer the question the either way. On the other hand cent per cent of the Panchayat members say that they can solve the problems of the village better than the Buliangs.

Finally, in order to ascertain the level of acceptability of Panchayat system the question "Do you think that the villagers have welcomed the Panchayat system and have faith in it?" was put to the sampled respondents – villagers, Buliang and Panchayat members. The response to the question is tabulated in table 4.5.

Table: 4.5 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "Do you think that the villagers have welcomed the Panchayat system and have faith in it?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Yes		No		Don't know		Total	
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)
1	Villagers	198	66.00	10	3.34	92	30.66	300	100.00
2	Buliangs	77	87.50	3	3.40	8	9.10	88	100.00
3	Panchayat members	211	95.05	11	4.95	0	0.00	222	100.00
Total		486	79.67	24	3.93	100	16.40	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The data presented in the above table shows that 79.67 per cent of the total sampled respondents think Panchayat system has been welcomed by the villagers and have expressed their faith in it. Only 3.93 per cent of the respondents say Panchayat system has not been welcomed by the villagers and therefore do not have faith in it. The rest 16.40 per cent of the respondents are not able to respond in either way.

Among the three categories of the respondents 66.00 per cent of the sampled villagers say that villagers have welcomed the Panchayat system and have faith in it. Only 3.34 per cent of the villagers think villagers have not welcomed Panchayat system and therefore do not have faith in it while 30.66 per cent of the villagers are not able to respond in either way. In case of the Buliangs majority (87.50 per cent) of the sampled Buliang say that villagers have welcomed the Panchayat system and have faith in it. Only 3.40 per cent of the sampled Buliangs think villagers have not welcomed

the Panchayat system and therefore do not have faith in it. 9.10 per cent of the respondents are not in a position to give answer in either way. Similarly, majority (95.05 per cent) of the sampled Panchayat members say villagers have welcomed the Panchayat system and have faith in it. Only 4.95 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members think villagers have not welcomed the Panchayat system and therefore do not have faith in it. Thus, it is seen from the table that majority of all the three categories of sampled respondents have accepted the Panchayat system and have expressed faith in it.

To sum up, the introduction of Panchayat Raj had far reaching impact on the village politics and traditional political institutions. It has changed the political outlook of the village leaders, both the traditional leaders i.e., Buliangs and modern leaders i.e., Panchayat members. It has inspired a political ambition in a wider range of people and has given them new avenues to rise to leadership in the villages thereby causing a new political readjustment. It also has a modernizing effect on Buliang system as a whole.

SECTION – II

Types and Nature of Political Participation:

The introduction of Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh in 1969 have acquainted the people with concepts like representation, election, adult franchise, decision by majority and becoming a leader through election. This resulted in the mass participation of the people in the village politics at various levels irrespective of their personal standing in the society.

In order to examine the types of political participation of the respondents, two slightly different sets of question bearing positive or negative replies, were prepared and administered to sample villagers and village leaders – Buliang and Panchayat members.

To measure the political participation of the *villagers* a set of following ten questions has been prepared taking into consideration various activities of participation.

- (a) Did you canvass in any elections (Panchayat/Others) for any candidate?

(b) Did you contribute either money or any other services to a candidate contesting election?

(c) Do you propose to contest any election (Panchayat/Assembly etc.) in future?

(d) Have you contested any election (Panchayat/Assembly etc.)?

(e) Are you a member of a political party?

(f) Do you participate in party rallies organized in your area?

(g) Do you attend panchayat meeting?

(h) Do you attend meeting of a political party?

(i) Do you participate in the activities organized by voluntary organizations in your village/area?

(j) Do you vote in elections?

The response to the above questions has been presented in table 4.6.

A perusal of the data presented in the table shows that 45.66 per cent of the respondents canvass in election and 38.66 per cent of the respondents contribute money or services in the election. Only negligible numbers of respondents (5.66 per cent) contested in election while about 29.34 per cent of the respondents proposed to contest election in the future. About 24.34 per cent of the respondents claim to have membership of one or the other

political party and about 19.34 per cent of the respondents participate in political rallies. While 28 per cent of the respondents attend panchayat meetings, 38.66 per cent of the respondents attend political party meetings. A vast majority 81.34 per cent of respondents participate in works organized by the voluntary organizations. On the other hand, cent per cent of the respondents vote in elections.

It is seen from the table that among the sampled villagers voting is the most popular activity that involves least effort on their part. It is followed by participating in the works organized by the voluntary organizations. During the election the sampled villagers are more interested in canvassing than contributing money or services. Very few respondents have contested election and not many are interested in contesting election in future. With regard to party activities the sampled villagers participate more in party meeting than party rallies. Many of them have also identified themselves with one party or the other. Thus, it is observed that as the intense form of participation increases the participation of the sampled villagers relatively decreases.

Table: 4.6 Distributions of Villagers by Types of Political Participation.

Types of Political Participation	Yes		No		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Canvass in election	137	45.66	163	54.34	300	100.00
Contribute money or service in election	116	38.66	184	61.34	300	100.00
Propose to contest election	17	5.66	283	94.34	300	100.00
Contested election	88	29.34	212	70.66	300	100.00
Membership of political party	73	24.34	227	75.66	300	100.00
Participate in political rallies	58	19.34	242	80.66	300	100.00
Attend panchayat meeting	84	28.00	216	72.00	300	100.00
Attend political party meeting	116	38.66	184	61.34	300	100.00
Participate in works organized by voluntary organization	244	81.34	56	18.66	300	100.00
Voting	300	100.00	0	0.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

To examine the type of political participation of *village leaders*, both traditional and modern, their political interest, political affiliation, involvement in political activities, and political discussions and voting in elections has been taken into account. Accordingly, the following set of six questions was put to the sampled village leaders.

- (i) Do you approach ministers or officials for solution of problems of your village?
- (ii) Do you initiate discussion in meetings about problems of village?
- (iii) Are you a member of any political party? If yes, which party?
- (iv) What is the most important party activity under taken by you?
- (v) What is the most important election activity under taken by you?
- (vi) Do you discuss with the villagers about political affairs of village?

In the present study the political interest has been construed to mean taking interest in problems of village and its solution. Accordingly the

questions "Do you approach ministers or officials for solution of problems of your village?" and "Do you initiate discussion in meetings about problems of village?" was put to the respondents. The responses to these questions are presented in tables 4.7 and 4.8

Table: 4.7 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "Do you approach ministers or officials for solution of problems of your village?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Yes		No		Total	
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)
1	Buliangs	22	25.00	66	75.00	88	100.00
2	Panchayat members	105	47.30	117	52.70	222	100.00
	Total	127	40.96	183	59.04	310	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The data presented in table 4.7 reveals that more than half, 59.04 per cent of the respondents do not approach either ministers or officials for the solution of the village problems while 40.96 per cent of the respondents approach ministers or officials for the solution of village problems. In terms of traditional and modern leaders, as many as 75.00 per cent of the Buliangs do not approach ministers or officials and 25.00 per cent of the Buliangs approach the ministers or officials for solution of problems of village. Similarly, among the Panchayat members more than half 52.70 per cent of the respondents do not approach either ministers or officials for the

solution of the problem of village. On the other hand, 47.30 per cent of the respondents approach the minister or officials for the solution of the problems of village.

Table: 4.8 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "Do you initiate discussion in meeting about problems of village?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Yes		No		Total	
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)
1	Buliangs	21	23.86	67	76.14	88	100.00
2	Panchayat members	174	78.37	48	21.63	222	100.00
	Total	195	62.90	115	37.10	310	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 4.8 present the response to the question, "Do you initiate discussion in meetings about problems of village?" An analysis of the data reveals that majority of the respondents (62.90 per cent) initiate discussion in the meeting about problems of village while 37.10 per cent of the respondents do not initiate discussion in the meeting about the problems of the village. In terms of type of leaders, Buliangs exhibit different pattern of response. Only 23.86 per cent of the sampled Buliangs initiate discussion in the meeting about the problems of the village while as many as 76.14 per cent of the respondents do not initiate discussion in the meeting about the problem of the village. On the other hand, as many as 78.37 per cent of the

sampled Panchayat members initiated discussion in the meeting about the problems of the village and only 21.63 per cent of the Panchayat member respondents do not initiate discussion in the meeting about the problems of the village.

The Panchayat elections at the grass root level are not contested on party basis till 1992 panchayat elections. However, both the traditional and modern leaders are politically affiliated to one party or the other party. Data presented in table 4.9 shows that majority of the respondents (76.45 per cent) are member of one party or the other and 23.55 per cent of the respondents are not the member of any of the political party. Of those respondents having party membership, a vast majority 82.27 per cent of the respondents is affiliated to the Indian National Congress and rest belongs to other parties.

Table: 4.9 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "Are you member of any party? If yes, which party?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Membership of Party		Total Nos (%)	INC		Others		Total Nos (%)				
		Yes (%)	No (%)		Nos (%)	Nos (%)	Nos (%)	Nos (%)					
1	Buliangs	55	62.50	33	37.50	88	100.00	50	90.90	5	9.10	55	100.00
2	Panchayat members	182	81.98	40	18.02	222	100.00	145	79.67	37	20.33	182	100.00
	Total	237	76.45	73	23.55	310	100.00	195	82.27	42	17.73	237	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

In terms of traditional leaders, 62.50 per cent of the Buliangs are member of one political party or other and 37.50 per cent of the sampled Buliangs are not member of any political party. Of those Buliangs who are member of a political party, a vast majority 90.90 per cent of the respondents are affiliated to Indian National Congress and only 9.10 per cent of the respondents are member of other political parties. Among the Panchayat members as many as 81.98 per cent of the respondents are affiliated to one party or the other and 18.02 per cent of the respondents are not member of any political party. Of those Panchayat members who are member of a political party, 79.67 per cent of the respondents are the member of Indian National Congress and only 20.33 per cent of the respondents are member of other political parties.

The dimensions covered under political activities are party activities and election activities. The sampled leaders – both traditional and modern, were asked to give the maximum activity they participated for the party.

Table: 4.10 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "What is most important party activity undertaken by you?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Enrollment of party members		Organize meetings/rallies		Attend meetings		Do not participate		Total Nos	Total (%)
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)		
1	Buliangs	3	3.40	0	0.00	47	53.40	38	43.20	88	100.00
2	Panchayat members	28	12.63	15	6.75	138	62.16	41	18.46	222	100.00
	Total	31	10.00	15	4.83	185	59.67	79	25.50	310	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table: 4.11 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "What is most important election activity undertaken by you?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Canvassing		Fund collection		Work as agent		Do not participate		Total Nos	Total (%)
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)		
1	Buliangs	28	31.81	6	6.83	0	0.00	54	61.36	88	100.00
2	Panchayat members	81	36.48	54	24.32	27	12.16	60	27.04	222	100.00
	Total	109	35.16	60	19.35	27	8.72	114	36.77	310	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The data presented in table 4.10 shows that the most important party activities of 56.67 per cent of respondents is attending party meeting, 10 per cent of the respondents is enrolling party members and only 4.83 per cent of the respondents is organizing meetings and rallies of the party. Significantly, 25.50 per cent of the respondents do not participate in any of the party activities. In case of types of leaders, a similar picture is found. The most important party activity of 53.40 per cent of the sampled Buliangs is to attend party meeting and only 3.40 per cent of Buliangs engage in enrolling party members. None of the sampled Buliangs participates in organizing party meeting or rallies, while 43.20 per cent of the sampled Buliangs do not participate in any of the party activities. Similarly, the most important party activities of 62.16 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members is attending party meeting, 12.63 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members is enrolling party members and 6.75 per cent of the respondents engage in organizing party meetings or rallies. About 18.46 per cent of sampled Panchayat members do not participate in any of the party activities.

In the next question the leaders were asked to mention the most important activity they undertook during elections. Table 4.11 shows that major activity of 35.16 per cent respondents during election is canvassing,

of 19.35 per cent is fund collection and 8.72 per cent of respondents work as agent. Interestingly about 36.77 per cent do not take part in election activities. An analysis of data in terms of types of leaders shows that about 31.81 per cent of sampled Buliangs canvass in election and only few number (6.83 per cent) of Buliang respondents are involved in fund collection. None of the Buliangs work as party agent while 61.36 per cent of the sampled Buliangs do not participate in any of the election activities. Among the Panchayat members 36.48 per cent of the respondents are engaged in canvassing, 24.32 per cent raise fund for the party and 12.16 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members work as agent of the party during election. About 27.04 per cent of the Panchayat member respondents do not take part in any of the election activities.

Table: 4.12 Response patterns of Respondents to the question - "Do you discuss with villagers about political affairs of village?"

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Yes		No		Total	
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)
1	Buliangs	28	31.82	60	68.18	88	100.00
2	Panchayat members	127	57.20	95	42.80	222	100.00
	Total	155	50.00	155	50	310	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Discussions on political matters with people also reflect one's political participation – at least in terms of thought and ideas. Therefore,

the leaders were asked "Do you discuss with the villagers about political affairs of the village?" The response to the question is presented in Table 4.12.

Interestingly an equal number of respondents (50 per cent each respectively) do discuss as well as do not discuss political affairs of village with the fellow villagers. However, the Buliang respondents exhibits different pattern. More than half 68.18 per cent of the sampled Buliangs do not discuss political affairs of village with the fellow villagers and only 31.82 per cent of the respondents do discuss the political affairs with fellow villagers. On the contrary, 57.20 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members discuss political affairs of the village with fellow villagers and 42.80 per cent of the respondents do not discuss political affairs of the village with fellow villagers. It may be inferred that the modern leaders take more interest than the traditional leaders in discussing politics with people.

Voting experience: The exercise of adult franchise is basic to democratic process. Voting exhibit one's sense of political efficacy, whereas, abstinance to it exhibit lack of faith in democratic institutions and system. Therefore, the village leaders were asked whether they have voted in panchayat, assembly and parliamentary elections. The study reveals cent

per cent positive responses of the leaders, both traditional and modern leaders. Thus, the political participation of the leaders in the form of voting is quite high.

Level of Participation:

In order to categorize the range of political participation, the number of positive responses given by a respondent was taken into account. Each positive answer has been awarded one mark. A total of ten questions were put to the villagers to identify the type of political participation. Accordingly respondents who scored 0 to 3 are classified as having low participatory traits, those who scored 4 to 7 are put in the category of medium participatory traits, and those who scored 8 and above are classified as having high participatory traits. In case of village leaders, both traditional and modern leaders, a set of six questions were asked to elicit the nature of their political participation. Thus, respondents who scored 0 to 2 are classified as having low participatory traits, those who scored 3 to 4 are put in the category of medium participatory traits, and those who scored 5 to 6 are classified as having high participatory traits. The level of participation of the sampled respondents – villagers and village leaders

both Buliang i.e., traditional leaders and Panchayat members i.e., modern leaders are presented in Table 4.13.

Table: 4.13 Distribution of respondents by Level of Participation.

Sl.No	Categories of Respondents	Low		Medium		High		Total	
		Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)	Nos	(%)
1	Villagers	127	42.34	135	45	38	12.66	300	100.00
2	Buliangs	30	34.10	49	55.68	9	10.22	88	100.00
3	Panchayat members	15	6.75	130	58.55	77	34.70	222	100.00
Total		172	28.19	314	51.47	124	20.34	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

An analysis of the table 4.13 shows that of the total of 610 sampled respondents 51.47 per cent of the respondents fall in the category of medium participation. While 28.19 per cent of the respondents are found in the low participation category, 20.34 per cent of the respondents are in high participation category.

Category-wise analysis of the sampled respondents reveals that 42.34 per cent of the sampled villagers have low participatory traits, 45 per cent of the respondents have medium participatory traits and only 12.66 per cent of the respondents have high participatory traits. Evidently, therefore, the level of participation of the sampled villagers is not very high.

In case of village leaders, among the Buliangs 34.10 per cent of the respondents fall in low participation category, 55.68 per cent of the respondents belong to medium participation category and only 10.22 per cent of the sampled Buliangs have high level of participation. On the other hand, Panchayat member respondents exhibit slightly different pattern. Only 6.75 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members have low participatory traits, 58.55 per cent of the respondents have medium participatory traits and 34.70 per cent of the respondents have high participatory traits. Since 90 per cent of the respondents, both traditional and modern leaders fall in high and medium categories, the level of participation of the sampled village leaders are obviously very high.

CHAPTER – V

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The political involvement of a citizen is a *sine-quo-non* for every political system and it is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy making the rulers accountable to the ruled¹. Political participation is the extent to which individuals are involved at a various levels in the political system². An individual's social environment comprises diverse elements that will prevail on the nature and extent of that individual's political participation. The most important among these diverse elements are sex, age, education, occupation, income, residence, mobility, religion, race and group influence³. The success of democracy depends upon the levels of political awareness and political participation by the members in the society and polity.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to probe into the socio-economic status of the different categories of respondents – villagers and village leaders both traditional leaders i.e., Buliangs and modern leaders i.e., Panchayat members, covered under this study. The villagers are those persons who figure in the voter list of the 1992 Panchayat election which also includes the knowledgeable persons and local officials of the Apa Tanii society. It also seeks to study the extent to which the aspect of

participation is related to socio-economic characteristics of the respondents.

Socio-economic status:

The socio-economic environment constitutes a crucial setting for the participation of the people. The socio-economic position helps an individual to assert his or her position in the society. Educational levels, occupational position, income earnings do influence the behavioural pattern of individual. These achievements instill confidence in individual and stimulate them to take part in the societal activities.

Social indicators like age, sex, education and economic indicators like property, employment, income and other variables like exposure to mass media determines the personality make-up of an individual.

The socio-economic profile of the respondents reveals interesting findings. Among the 610 respondents drawn from the seven original villages of Apa Tanii, 13.77 per cent are from Hari, 25.11 per cent are from Biilla, 14.42 are from Hiija, 2.45 per cent from Dutta, 9.18 per cent from Miidang Tage, 8.52 per cent from Bamin Michi and 26.56 per cent from Haangu. (See Table 5.1) Here it may be mentioned that the new villages

which have come up in recent years in the periphery of the seven original villages of Apa Tanii have been covered under their parent villages.

Table: 5.1 Village wise distributions of the respondents.

Name of Village	Villagers		Bullangs		Panchayat members		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Hari	46	15.33	10	11.36	28	12.61	84	13.77
Biilla	54	18.02	28	31.81	71	31.98	153	25.11
Hijja	28	9.33	18	20.45	42	18.91	88	14.42
Dutta	8	2.66	1	1.13	6	2.73	15	2.45
Miidang Tage	30	10.00	12	13.63	14	6.30	56	9.18
Bamin Michi	34	11.33	5	5.68	13	5.85	52	8.52
Haangu	100	33.33	14	15.94	48	21.62	162	26.55
Total	300	100.00	88	100.00	222	100.00	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Age:

Age-wise, the respondents have been grouped into three groups. The young, the middle and the old representing 18 to 35 years, 36 to 50 years and 51 years and above respectively. Table 5.2 shows that the young age group represents 26.88 per cent, the middle age group represents 41.65 per cent and the old age group represents 31.47 per cent. Category-wise analysis reveals that among the villagers 39.68 per cent are in young age

group, 37.66 per cent are in middle age group and 22.66 per cent are in old age group. Among the Buliangs only 13.63 per cent are in young age group, 28.42 per cent are in middle age group and 57.95 per cent of the Buliangs are in old age group. Among the Panchayat members 14.86 per cent belong to young age group, 52.26 per cent belong to middle age group and 32.88 per cent belong to old age group. Thus, it may be inferred from the above analysis that young age group are best represented among villagers, middle age group among Panchayat members and old age group are best represented among Buliangs.

Table: 5.2 Distributions of the respondents by Age Group.

Respondents	Young (18 to 35 yrs)		Middle (36 to 50yrs)		Old (51yrs and above)		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Villagers	119	39.68	113	37.66	68	22.66	300	100.00
Buliangs	12	13.63	25	28.42	51	57.95	88	100.00
Panchayat members	33	14.86	116	52.26	73	32.88	222	100.00
Total	164	26.88	254	41.65	192	31.47	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Sex:

Table 5.3 shows that as many as 83.77 per cent from total of 610 respondents are male and only 16.23 per cent are female. An analysis of

representation of females in different categories reveals that among villagers 30.00 per cent are female and 70.00 per cent are male. Traditionally leadership has been monopoly of the males. Accordingly, there are no female respondents among the Buliangs. However, among the Panchayat members only few 4.06 per cent are female and 95.94 per cent are male.

Table: 5.3 Distributions of the respondents by Sex Group.

Respondents	Male		Female		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Villagers	210	70	90	30.00	300	100.00
Buliangs	88	100	0	0.00	88	100.00
Panchayat members	213	95.94	9	4.06	222	100.00
Total	511	83.77	99	16.23	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Education:

Education is an important acquired qualification for determining social status. An analysis of sample (See table 5.4) reveals that the level of educational attainments of different categories of respondents is fairly low. Of 610 respondents 36.06 per cent are illiterate, 23.77 per cent are up to primary level educated, 20.00 per cent are educated up to secondary level

and 9.10 per cent and 11.16 per cent of respondents have education up to higher secondary level and graduate and above level respectively.

The educational level among three categories of respondents shows similar pattern. Among the villagers 31.33 per cent are illiterate, 21.33 per cent are educated up to primary level, 23.00 per cent have education up to secondary level, 10.33 per cent are educated up to higher secondary level and 14.01 per cent have education up to graduate and above level. The sample of Buliangs reveals that as many as 54.54 per cent are illiterate, 19.13 per cent are educated up to primary level and the numbers of Buliangs having education up to secondary and higher secondary level are 4.54 per cent and 6.81 per cent respectively and 14.80 per cent have education up to graduate and above level. Among the Panchayat members 35.13 per cent are illiterate, 28.82 per cent are educated up to primary level, 22.10 per cent are educated up to secondary level, 8.10 per cent have education up to higher secondary level and only 5.85 per cent are educated up to graduate and above level.

Table: 5.4 Distributions of the respondents by Level of Education.

Respondents	Illiterate		Primary		Secondary		Higher Secondary		Graduate & above		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Villagers	94	31.33	64	21.33	69	23.00	31	10.33	42	14.01	300	100.00
Bulliangs	48	54.54	17	19.31	4	4.54	6	6.81	13	14.80	88	100.00
Panchayat members	78	35.13	64	28.82	49	22.10	18	8.10	13	5.85	222	100.00
Total	220	36.06	145	23.77	122	20.00	55	9.01	68	11.16	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table: 5.5 Distributions of the respondents by Occupation.

Respondents	Agriculture		Business		Govt. Service		Others		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Villagers	116	38.66	131	43.66	42	14.02	11	3.66	300	100.00
Bulliangs	50	56.83	10	11.36	21	23.86	7	7.95	88	100.00
Panchayat members	79	35.58	118	53.16	0	0.00	25	11.26	222	100.00
Total	245	40.16	259	42.45	63	10.32	43	7.07	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Occupation:

Occupation is also an important indicator that determines the social status of a person. Employment certainly holds key to improvement in status. Generally people who are engaged in some occupation of their own have confidence in themselves and tend to behave independently at times. An analysis of the data presented in Table 5.5 shows that 40.16 per cent of the total sample of respondents are engaged in agriculture, 42.45 per cent runs business and 10.32 per cent are in government services. The representation of respondents in other occupations is only 7.07 per cent. It may be noted that other categories of occupation includes priest, carpenter, wage labourers and those involved in house keeping especially female respondents.

Category-wise analysis reveals that about 38.66 per cent of sampled villagers are agriculturalist, 43.66 per cent are in business, and 14.02 per cent are in government service and only 3.66 per cent of the sampled villagers fall in other category of occupations. On the other hand, 56.83 per cent of Buliangs are agriculturalist, 11.36 per cent are in business, 23.86 per cent are government servants and only 7.95 per cent belong to other categories of occupation. Among the Panchayat members 35.85 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 53.16 per cent i.e., more than half are in

business and only 11.26 per cent belong to other categories of occupations. None of the Panchayat members are in government service. Those who were in government service prior to their election to the panchayat bodies have resigned after their election as member of their respective panchayats.

Monthly income:

The approximate monthly income of the respondents have been expressed in relative terms as very high with monthly income of Rs. 15001 and above, high income with monthly income of Rs. 8001 to 15000, average with the monthly income of Rs. 4001 to 8000, low with monthly income of Rs. 4000 and below and no income which comprises mostly female respondents.

Table 5.6 shows that very negligible per cent of 0.98 of the total sample of respondents have no monthly income, 48.38 per cent of the sampled respondents have low monthly income, 31.80 per cent have average monthly income, 17.04 per cent of the respondents have high monthly income and only 1.80 per cent of the respondents have very high monthly income.

Table: 5.6 Distributions of the respondents by Monthly Income.

Respondents	No Income		Low		Average		High		Very High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Villagers	6	2.00	152	50.66	93	31.00	43	14.34	6	2.00	300	100.00
Bullangs	0	0.00	52	59.10	30	34.09	6	6.81	0	0.00	88	100.00
Panchayat members	0	0.00	91	40.99	71	31.98	55	24.77	5	2.26	222	100.00
Total	6	0.98	295	48.38	194	31.80	104	17.04	11	1.80	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table: 5.7 Distributions of the respondents by Property Owned.

Respondents	Very Poor		Poor		Average		Rich		Very Rich		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Villagers	10	3.33	13	4.35	92	30.66	166	55.33	19	6.33	300	100.00
Bullangs	1	1.13	1	1.13	21	23.86	59	67.07	6	6.81	88	100.00
Panchayat members	3	1.35	2	0.90	55	24.77	137	61.72	25	11.26	222	100.00
Total	14	2.29	16	2.62	168	27.54	362	59.36	50	8.19	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Category-wise analysis of the table 5.6 reveals that among villagers 2.00 per cent of the respondents do not have any income, 50.66 per cent of the villagers have low monthly income, 31.00 per cent of the respondents have average monthly income, 14.34 per cent have high monthly income and only 2.00 per cent of the sampled villagers earn very high monthly income. On the other hand, none of the sampled Buliangs falls in the category of no monthly income and very high monthly income. 59.10 per cent of the sampled Buliangs have low monthly income, 34.09 per cent of the respondents have average monthly income and only 6.81 per cent of the sampled Buliangs have high monthly income. Among the Panchayat members none of the respondents are without any monthly income, 40.99 per cent of the respondents have low monthly income, 31.98 per cent of the respondents have average monthly income, 24.77 per cent of the respondents have high monthly income and only 2.26 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members earn very high monthly income.

Property:

Property is another important factor which determines a person's position in the society. In this study property includes both immovable and moveable properties. The immovable properties include landholdings

– agricultural, bamboo groves, forest etc; house buildings – residential and commercial. The moveable properties include two wheelers, four wheelers ornaments, gun, pistol, livestock - mithun (*bos frontalis*), cows etc. Land and house properties are symbols of prestige. One's total economic status, however, is assessed on the basis of the overall value of all the properties.

The properties held by the respondents are computed into value in rupees for convenience in determining their economic status. Accordingly, the respondents are divided into five categories expressed in relative terms – very poor, poor, average, rich and very rich. The respondents without property are regarded as very poor, while the respondents having value of property below Rs. 50 thousand are categorized as poor. Average group included the respondents having value of property of Rs. 50 thousand to 2 lacs, the respondents having value of property of 2.1 lacs to 10 lacs are categorized as rich and the respondents having value of property of 10.1 lacs and above are regarded as very rich.

Table 5.7 reveals that of the total sampled respondents 2.29 per cent and 2.62 per cent of the respondents are very poor and poor respectively. 27.54 per cent of the respondents falls in average category, 59.36 per cent of the respondents are rich and only 8.19 per cent of the respondents are very rich.

The level of property owned by the three categories of the respondents exhibit similar pattern. Among the villagers 3.33 per cent are very poor, 4.35 per cent are poor and 30.66 per cent are in average category. While 55.33 per cent of the sampled villagers are rich, only 6.33 per cent are very rich. Similarly, among the sampled Buliangs 1.13 per cent of the respondents are very poor and poor respectively. While 23.86 per cent of the sampled Buliangs held average property, as many as 67.07 per cent of the respondents are rich and only 6.81 per cent of the sampled Buliangs are very rich. Among the Panchayat members 1.35 per cent of the respondents are very poor, 0.90 per cent are poor, 24.77 per cent of the respondents are of average group, 61.72 per cent are rich and 11.26 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members are very rich.

Exposure to mass media:

Mass media is a powerful instrument of educating the public and disseminate information among the people living in far off corners of the country. It is an effective means of raising the general awareness and thereby political awareness of those who are exposed to it. The exposure to media acts as a stimuli in making people to participate in public life.

Information and awareness about the environment in which they live makes an individual active to take part in the affairs of the society.

Table: 5.8 Distributions of the respondents by Exposure to Mass Media.

Respondents	Yes		No		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Exposure to Radio						
Villagers	197	65.66	103	34.34	300	100.00
Buliangs	44	50.00	44	50.00	88	100.00
Panchayat members	149	67.12	73	32.88	222	100.00
Total	390	63.93	220	36.07	610	100.00
Exposure to T.V						
Villagers	206	68.66	94	31.34	300	100.00
Buliangs	32	36.37	56	63.63	88	100.00
Panchayat members	130	58.55	92	41.45	222	100.00
Total	368	60.33	242	39.67	610	100.00
Exposure to Newspaper						
Villagers	123	41.00	177	59.00	300	100.00
Buliangs	10	11.36	78	88.64	88	100.00
Panchayat members	62	27.92	160	72.08	222	100.00
Total	195	31.96	415	68.04	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.8 shows that of the total sampled respondents 63.93 per cent of the respondents listen to radio and 36.07 per cent do not listen to radio. 60.33 per cent of the respondents watch television and 39.67 per cent of the respondents do not watch television. Only 31.96 per cent of the

respondents read newspaper while 68.04 per cent of the respondents do not read newspaper.

Category-wise analysis of the respondents reveals that 65.66 per cent of the villagers listen to radio, 68.66 per cent of the sample watch television and 41.00 per cent of the sampled villagers read newspaper. Among the Buliangs 50.00 per cent of the respondents listen to radio, 36.37 per cent of the sample watch television and only 11.36 per cent of the Buliangs read newspaper. Likewise, 67.12 per cent of Panchayat members listen to radio, 58.55 per cent of the respondents watch television and 27.92 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members read newspaper. On an average, of total of 610 respondents about 52.07 per cent of the respondents are exposed to the mass media comprising radio, television and newspaper. Among the three media radio still commands greater clientele than the rest.

Level of exposure to mass media:

The level of exposure to mass media has been expressed in relative terms as no exposure, good exposure and very good exposure. The respondents exposed to radio or television or both are categorized under good exposure. Those respondents who listen to radio, watch television and read newspaper are categorized under very good exposure group.

Table: 5.9 Distributions of the respondents by Level of Exposure to Mass Media.

Respondents	No exposure		Good exposure		Very good exposure		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Villagers	58	19.33	133	44.34	109	36.33	300	100.00
Buliangs	41	46.59	39	44.32	8	9.09	88	100.00
Panchayat members	45	20.27	126	56.78	51	33.95	222	100.00
Total	144	23.61	298	48.85	168	27.54	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

An analysis of table 5.9 shows that 23.61 per cent of the total respondents have no exposure to any of the media, 48.85 per cent of the respondents have good exposure to the media and 27.54 per cent of the respondents have very good exposure to the media. Analysis of the level of exposure to mass media among the three categories of respondents reveals that 19.33 per cent of the sampled villagers do not have exposure to any of the media, 44.34 per cent of the villagers have good exposure to the media and 36.33 per cent of the sampled villagers have very good exposure to the media. The Buliangs, however, exhibit a different pattern. 46.59 per cent of the sampled Buliangs have no exposure to the media, 44.32 per cent of the respondents have good exposure to media and 9.09 per cent of the sampled Buliangs have very good exposure to the media. Among the Panchayat members, 20.27 per cent of the respondents have no exposure to the media, 56.78 per cent of the respondents have good exposure to the media and

33.95 per cent of the Panchayat members have very good exposure to the media.

Political Awareness:

Political awareness is one of the important variables in deciding a person's political participation. It refers to the knowledge about political phenomena, political institutions and is a process and is a key concept in understanding of political system. Effective and meaningful political participation is possible only when one has the necessary information about the political surrounding and environment.

To measure the level of political awareness of the respondents the following questions were put to the respondents:

- (i) Knowledge about Buliang.
- (ii) Knowledge about Panchayati Raj.
- (iii) Knowledge about the Buliangs of their village.
- (iv) Knowledge about the Panchayat members of their village.
- (v) Knowledge about the works of Buliang.
- (vi) Knowledge about the works of Panchayat.

The villagers were asked questions both on Buliang and Panchayat Raj. On the other hand, the Buliangs were asked questions on panchayat

only and the Panchayat members were asked questions on Buliang only. It is presumed that village leaders, both traditional and modern, have fairly good knowledge about the institutions to which they belong.

Table: 5.10 Distributions of the respondents (Villagers) by Political awareness.

Respondent Villagers	Yes		No		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Knowledge about Buliang	273	91.00	27	9.00	300	100.00
Knowledge about Panchayat Raj	265	88.34	35	11.66	300	100.00
Knowledge about Buliangs of village	254	84.66	46	15.34	300	100.00
Knowledge about Panchayat members	263	87.66	37	12.34	300	100.00
Knowledge about works of Buliang	264	88.00	36	12.00	300	100.00
Knowledge about work of Panchayat	219	73.00	81	27.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

An analysis of table 5.10 reveals that 91.00 per cent of the villagers are aware about the Buliang (Village Council), 84.66 per cent of the respondents know the Buliangs of their respective villages and 88.00 per cent of the sampled villagers are aware of the works done by the Buliangs. On the other hand, 88.34 per cent of the sampled villagers know about the panchayats, 87.66 per cent of the respondents know the panchayat members of their respective villages and 73.00 per cent of the respondents know about the work under taken by the panchayat.

Table 5.11 shows that 94.32 per cent of the sampled Buliangs know about modern political institutions, 96.59 per cent of the respondents know its members of their respective villages and 94.32 per cent of the sampled Buliangs are aware of the work done by the Panchayat members. Among the Panchayat members 97.74 per cent of the respondents are aware of the Buliang (Village Council) and Buliangs of their respective villages and 97.29 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members are aware of the work done by the Buliangs.

Table: 5.11 Distributions of the respondents (Village leaders) by Political awareness.

Respondents	Yes		No		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Panchayat members						
Knowledge about Buliang	217	97.74	5	2.26	222	100.00
Knowledge about Buliangs of village	217	97.74	5	2.26	222	100.00
Knowledge about works of Buliang	216	97.29	6	2.71	222	100.00
Buliangs						
Knowledge about Panchayat Raj	83	94.32	5	5.68	88	100.00
Knowledge about Panchayat members	85	96.59	3	3.41	88	100.00
Knowledge about work of Panchayat	83	94.32	5	5.68	88	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Thus, it may be inferred from the table that majority of the respondents are not only aware of both traditional and modern political

institutions, but also knows the members of these institutions and the works done by these political institutions.

Level of political awareness:

In order to measure the level of political awareness, the number of positive responses given by a respondent was taken into account. Thus, a respondent (villager) who responded positively to all the above mentioned six questions was placed in a high category. The respondents having positive scores between 3 and 5 was accorded medium category and those respondents giving 2 or less positive responses was regarded as having low level of political awareness. In case of the village leaders, i.e., both traditional and modern leaders, they responded to three questions each. Hence, a sampled village leader who responded positively to all the three questions was placed in high category. Those respondents giving two positive answer was accorded medium category and the respondents giving one positive answer was regarded as having low level of political awareness.

An analysis of the table 5.12 shows that of the total respondents as many as 75.57 per cent of the respondents are highly politically informed.

While 21.80 per cent of the respondents fall in medium level, only 2.63 per cent of the respondents have low level of political awareness.

Table: 5.12 Distributions of the respondents by Level of Political Awareness.

Respondents	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Villagers	8	2.66	57	19.00	235	78.34	300	100.00
Buliangs	2	2.27	6	6.81	80	90.92	88	100.00
Panchayat members	6	2.70	70	31.53	146	65.77	222	100.00
Total	16	2.63	133	21.80	461	75.57	610	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

An analysis of the data in terms of type of respondents shows similar pattern. Among the villagers as many as 78.34 per cent of the respondents have high level of political awareness, 19.00 per cent of the respondents belong to medium level of political awareness and 2.66 per cent of the respondents have low level of political awareness. Among the Buliangs 90.92 per cent of the respondents have high level of political awareness, 6.81 per cent of the respondents have medium level of political awareness and 2.27 per cent of the respondents have low level of political awareness. Among the Panchayat members 65.77 per cent of the respondents have high level of political awareness, 31.53 per cent of the respondents have

medium level of political awareness and only 2.70 per cent of the sampled Panchayat members have low level of political awareness.

To summarize the foregoing discussion, an analysis of socio-economic profile of the respondents reveals that most of the respondents are of middle age group and a vast majority of them are male. About one-third of the respondents are illiterate and rest of them has education up to primary level and above with 5.85 per cent of the respondents having education up to graduate and above level. Majority of the respondents are either agriculturalist or engaged in business and rest of them are in government service and other categories of occupations. In terms of monthly income about half of the respondents earn average and above monthly income and a little less than half have low monthly income. More than half of the respondents are rich in terms of value of the property they own. About one-fourth of the respondents are not exposed to any of the medium of mass media and the rest of the respondents are either exposed to radio or television or newspaper. However, a vast majority of the respondents are highly politically aware.

Socio-economic factor and level of participation:

The nature and extent of individual's political participation is determined by individual's social environment comprising diverse socio-economic elements. A study to which the level of participation is related to some selected socio-economic characteristics, namely age, sex, education, occupation, monthly income, property, exposure to mass media and political awareness shows interesting findings. It may be noted that the level of participation has been determined by the number of positive responses of the respondents to the questions related to various acts of participation. Details have been discussed in preceding chapter.

Village and Participation:

The relationship between village and level of participation of the sampled respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members are presented in tables 5.13, 3.14 and 5.15.

Table 5.13 indicates the relationship between the village and level of participation of the villagers. Among the low level participants 15.74 per cent is from Hari, 22.08 per cent from Biilla, 6.29 per cent from Hiija, 2.36 per cent from Dutta, 4.72 per cent from Miidang Tage, 15.74 per cent from Bamin Michi and 33.07 per cent from Haangu village. In medium level of

participation 15.55 per cent belong to Hari, 14.81 per cent belong to Biilla, 10.37 per cent belong to Hiija, 3.70 per cent belong to Dutta, 14.81 per cent belong to Miidang Tage, 7.43 per cent belong to Bamin Michi and 33.33 per cent belong to Haangu village. In the high level of participation 13.15 per cent is from Hari, 15.78 per cent from Biilla, 15.78 per cent from Hiija, 10.52 per cent from Miidang Tage, 10.52 percent from Bamin Michi, 34.25 per cent from Haangu village and not a single respondent from Dutta falls under the category of high level of participation.

Table: 5.13 Distributions of Villagers by Village and Level of Participation.

Village	No. of respondents		Low		Medium		High	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Hari	46	15.35	20	15.74	21	15.55	5	13.15
Biilla	54	18.00	28	22.08	20	14.81	6	15.78
Hiija	28	9.33	8	6.29	14	10.37	6	15.78
Dutta	8	2.66	3	2.36	5	3.70	0	0.00
Miidang Tage	30	10.00	6	4.72	20	14.81	4	10.52
Bamin Michi	34	11.33	20	15.74	10	7.43	4	10.52
Haangu	100	33.33	42	33.07	45	33.33	13	34.25
Total	300	100.00	127	100.00	135	100.00	38	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of respondents from village Hari is 15.35 per cent, Biilla is 18.00 per cent, Hiija is 9.33 per cent, Dutta is 2.66 per cent, Miidang Tage is 10.00 per cent, Bamin Michi is 11.33 per cent and Haangu is 33.33 per cent. The above analysis indicates that in the low level of participation the respondents from village Hari, Biilla and Bamin Michi exhibits higher representation than the sample norm of these villages. On the other hand, the representation of sampled villagers from village Hiija, Dutta and Miidang Tage is lower than the sample norm while the representation of the respondents from village Haangu is almost equal to the sample norm. In the medium level participation the representation of the respondents from village Hiija, Dutta and Miidang Tage is higher than the sample norm of these villages. On the other hand, the respondents from the village Hari and Haangu exhibit more or less equal representation to the sample norm of these villages. In case of high level of participation the respondents from village Hiija, Miidang Tage and Hong represent higher representation than the sample norm of these villages while the representation from village Hari, Bulla and Bamin Michi is lower than their sample norm. On the other hand, in high level participation there is no respondents from the village Dutta.

Thus, it is seen that the level of participation of the sampled villagers is lowest among the villagers from Biilla village, in medium level participation the villagers from Miidang Tage village is predominant while villagers from Hiija village exhibit highest level of participation.

Table: 5.14 Distributions of Buliangs by Village and Level of Participation.

Village	No. of respondents		Low		Medium		High	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Hari	10	11.36	4	13.79	3	6.00	3	33.33
Biilla	28	31.85	7	24.13	17	34.00	4	44.45
Hiija	18	20.45	7	24.13	11	22.00	0	0.00
Dutta	1	1.13	0	0.00	1	2.00	0	0.00
Miidang Tage	12	13.63	4	13.79	7	14.00	1	11.11
Bamin Michi	5	5.68	2	6.89	2	4.00	1	11.11
Haangu	14	15.90	5	17.27	9	22.00	0	0.00
Total	88	100.00	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The relationship between the village and the level of participation of the Buliangs is presented in table 5.14. An analysis of the table indicates that among the low level participants 13.79 per cent is from Hari, 24.13 per cent from Biilla, 24.13 per cent from Hiija, 13.79 per cent from Miidang Tage, 6.89 per cent from Bamin Michi and 17.27 per cent from Haangu

village while there is no participant from Dutta village in low level participation. In the medium level participation 6.00 per cent belong to Hari, 34.00 per cent belong to Biilla, 22.00 per cent belong to Hiija, 2.00 per cent belong to Dutta, 14.00 per cent to Miidang Tage, 4.00 per cent to Bamin Michi and 22.00 per cent to Hong Village. In the high level participation 33.33 per cent is from Hari, 44.45 per cent is from Biilla, 11.11 per cent from Bamin Michi and not a single respondents from Hiija, Dutta and Haangu falls under the category of high level participation.

The sample norm of respondents from village Hari is 11.36 per cent, Bulla is 31.85 per cent, Hiija is 20.45 per cent, Dutta is 1.13 per cent, Miidang Tage is 13.63 per cent, Bamin Michi is 5.68 per cent and Haangu is 15.90 per cent. The above analysis indicate that in the low level participation the respondents from village Hari, Hiija, Miidang Tage, Bamin Michi and Haangu exhibits higher representation than their sample norm. On the other hand, while the representation of sampled Buliangs from village Biilla is lower than the sample norm, there is no representation of the respondents from Dutta village in the category of low level participation. In the medium level participation the representation of the respondents from village Biilla, Dutta, Miidang Tage and Haangu is higher than their respective sample norm. On the other hand, the representation of

the respondents from village Hari and Bamin Michi is lower than the sample norm of these villages. In case of high level participation the respondents from village Hari, Biilla and Bamin Michi exhibits higher representation than their respective sample norm while the representation of the respondents from Miidang Tage village is lower than their sample norm. On the other hand, in high level participation there is no respondents from the village Hiija, Dutta and Haangu.

It is seen from the above analysis that the level of participation of sampled Buliangs is lowest among the Buliangs of Hiija village, Buliangs of Haangu village is predominant in medium level participation and Buliangs of Hari indicates highest level participation.

Table: 5.15 Distributions of Panchayat members by Village and Level of Participation.

Village	No. of respondents		Low		Medium		High	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Hari	28	12.61	0	0.00	15	11.36	13	17.33
Biilla	71	31.98	5	33.35	33	25.00	33	44.00
Hiija	42	18.94	3	20.00	25	18.93	14	18.68
Dutta	6	2.70	1	6.66	2	1.51	3	4.00
Miidang Tage	14	6.30	2	13.33	9	6.85	3	4.00
Bamin Michi	13	5.85	1	6.66	10	7.57	2	2.66
Haangu	48	21.62	3	20.00	38	28.78	7	9.33
Total	222	100.00	15	100.00	132	100.00	75	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.15 presents the relationship between the village and level of participation of the Panchayat members. Among the low level participation 33.35 per cent is from Biilla, 20.00 per cent from Hiiija, 6.66 per cent from Dutta, 13.33 per cent from Miidang Tage, 6.66 per cent from Bamin Michi and 20.00 per cent from Haangu village while not a single respondent from Hari village falls in this category. In the medium level participation 11.36 per cent belong to Hari, 25.00 per cent belong to Biilla, 18.93 per cent belong to Hiiija, 1.51 per cent belongs to Dutta, 6.85 per cent belong to Miidang Tage, 7.57 per cent belong to Bamin Michi and 28.78 per cent belong to Haangu village. In the high level participation 17.33 per cent is from Hari, 44.00 per cent from Biilla, 18.68 per cent from Hiiija, 4.00 per cent from Dutta and Miidang Tage, 2.66 per cent from Bamin Michi and 9.33 per cent from Haangu village.

The sample norm of the respondents from Hari is 12.61 per cent, Biilla is 31.98 per cent, Hiiija is 18.94 per cent, Dutta is 2.70 per cent, Miidang Tage is 6.30 per cent, Bamin Michi is 5.85 per cent and Haangu is 21.62 per cent. The above analysis indicate that in the low level participation the respondents from village Biilla, Hiiija, Dutta, Miidang Tage and Bamin Michi exhibits higher representation than their respective sample norm. On the other hand, while the representation of sampled

Panchayat members from village Haangu is lower than the sample norm, there is no representation of the respondent from Hari village in the category of low level participation. In the medium level participation the representation of the respondents from village Hiiija, Miidang Tage, Bamin Michi and Haangu is higher than their respective sample norm. On the other hand, the representation of the respondents from village Hari, Biilla and Dutta is lower than the sample norm of these villages. In case of high level participation the respondents from village Hari, Biilla and Dutta exhibits higher representation than their respective sample norm. On the other hand, the representation of the respondents from village Hiiija, Miidang Tage, Bamin Michi and Haangu is lower than their sample norm.

It is seen from the above analysis that the level of participation of sampled Panchayat members is lowest among the respondents from Miidang Tage village, Panchayat members from Haangu village is dominant in medium level participation and the level of participation is highest among the Panchayat members of Biilla village.

Age and Participation:

Age is an important factor influencing political participation. Maturity may act as stimuli to greater participation and thus, it is assumed

that the levels of participation may increase as the age increases. The relationship between age and level of participation of the sampled respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members is presented in table 5.16, 5.17 and 5.18.

Table: 5.16 Distributions of Villagers by Age and Level of Participation.

Age	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Young	59	46.45	47	34.82	13	34.22	119	39.68
Middle	41	32.30	56	41.48	16	42.10	113	37.66
Old	27	21.25	32	23.70	9	23.68	68	22.66
Total	127	100.00	135	100.00	38	100.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.16 indicates the relationship between age and levels of participation among the villagers. In the low level of participation 46.45 per cent belong to young age group, 32.30 per cent belong to middle age group and 21.25 per cent belong to old age group. In the medium level of participation 34.82 per cent belong to young age group, 41.48 per cent belong to middle age group and 23.70 per cent belong to old age group. In the high level of participation 34.22 per cent belong to young age group, 42.10 per cent belong to middle age group and 23.68 per cent belong to old age group.

The sample norm of the sampled villagers among the young age group is 39.68 per cent, middle age group is 37.66 per cent and old age group is 22.66 per cent. The above analysis indicate that in the low category the representation of young age group is higher than the sample norm, from the middle age group it is lower than the sample norm and from the old age group it is still lower than the sample norm. This shows that the level of low participation decreases with increase in age. The representation of young age group in medium level of participation is slightly lower than the sample norm, and the representation of middle age group and old age group is higher than the sample norm. It indicates that in the medium level the levels of participation increases with increase in age. In the high level category, young age are represented lower than the sample norm, the middle age group is represented much higher than the sample norm and the old age group is slightly higher than the sample norm. The pattern of levels of participation of medium level is reflected in high level as well. Thus, the level of participation among the sampled villagers increases with the increase in age.

Table 5.17 indicates the relationship between age and the level of participation among the Buliangs. In the low levels of participation 10.34

per cent belong to young age group, 37.93 per cent belong to middle age group and 51.73 per cent belong to old age group. In the medium level of participation 18.00 per cent belong to young age group, 24.00 per cent belong to middle age group and 58.00 per cent belong to old age group. In the high level participation not a single respondent belong to young age group while 22.20 per cent belong to middle age group and 77.80 per cent belong to old age group.

Table: 5.17 Distributions of Buliangs by Age and Level of Participation.

Age	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Young	3	10.34	9	18.00	0	0.00	12	13.63
Middle	11	37.93	12	24.00	2	2.20	25	28.42
Old	15	51.73	29	58.00	7	7.80	51	57.95
Total	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00	88	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of the sampled Buliangs among young age group is 13.63 per cent, middle age group is 28.42 per cent and old age group is 57.95 per cent. The above analysis indicates that in low level participation the representation of the young age group and old age group is lower than the sample norm while the representation of middle age group is higher than the sample norm. This shows that among the Buliangs the level of

participation is higher among the middle age group than the young age group and old age group. In the medium level of participation the representation of young age group and old age group is higher than the sample norm and the representation of middle age group is lower than the sample norm. It indicates that in the medium level the level of participation is higher among the young age group and old age group than the middle age group. In high level category there is no representation of young age group while the middle age group is represented slightly lower than the sample norm and the old age group is represented much higher than the sample norm. In high level participation it is seen that the level of participation increases with the increase in age. Thus, the table indicates that among the Buliangs in high level participation old age is predominantly present and as the age decreases the predominance also decreased. However, in the low level participation and in the medium level participation similar pattern is not established.

Table 5.18 present the relationship between the age and level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members. In the low level participation not a single respondent belong to young age group while 60.00 per cent belong to middle age group and 40.00 per cent belong to old

age group. In the medium level of participation 17.44 per cent belong to young age group, 44.69 per cent belong to middle age group and 37.87 per cent belong to old age group. In the high level of participation 13.33 per cent belong to young age group, 64.00 per cent of the respondents belong to middle age group and 22.67 per cent belong to old age group.

Table: 5.18 Distributions of Panchayat members by Age and Level of Participation.

Age	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Young	0	0.00	23	17.44	10	13.33	33	14.86
Middle	9	60.00	59	44.69	48	64.00	116	52.26
Old	6	40.00	50	37.87	17	22.67	73	32.88
Total	15	100.00	132	100.00	75	100.00	222	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of the sampled Panchayat members among young age group is 14.86 per cent, middle age is 52.26 per cent and old age is 32.88 per cent. The above analysis indicates that in the low level participation there is no representation of young age group while the representation of middle age group and old age group is higher than the sample norm. This shows that the level of low participation among the Panchayat members increases with the increase in age. In the medium level of participation the representation of young age group and old age group is

higher than the sample norm and the representation of middle age group is lower than the sample norm. In the high level category the representation of young age group and old age group is lower than the sample norm while the middle age group is represented much higher than the sample norm. It is seen that both in medium level participation and high level participation there is no set pattern of relationship between the age and level of participation. While level of participation in medium level is higher among young age group and old age group the level of participation in the high level is lower among the young age group and old age group than the middle age group. However, from the above analysis it may be inferred that among the Panchayat members the middle age Panchayat members are more involve in the political process than the young and old age Panchayat members.

Sex and Participation:

Table 5.19 explains the relationship between the sex and the level of participation of the sampled villagers. In the low level participation 63.00 per cent are male and 37.00 per cent are female. In the medium level participation 69.60 per cent are male and 30.40 per cent are female.

Similarly, in high level of participation 94.70 per cent are male and only 5.30 per cent are female.

Table: 5.19 Distributions of Villagers by Sex and Level of Participation.

Sex	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Male	80	63.00	94	69.60	36	94.70	210	70.00
Female	47	37.00	41	30.40	2	5.30	90	30.00
Total	127	100.00	135	100.00	38	100.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of male respondents is 70.00 per cent and the sample norm of female respondents is 30.00 per cent. The analysis of the data shows that in low level category of participation the representation of male respondents is lower than the sample norm and the representation of female respondents is higher than the sample norm. Similarly, in the medium level of participation, the representation of the male respondents is slightly lower than the sample norm and the representation of female respondents is slightly higher than the sample norm. On the other hand, in high level of participation the representation of male respondents is much higher than the sample norm and the representation of female respondents is far below the sample norm. This indicates that among the villagers the

participation level of the female respondents is very low. On the other hand, the participation level of male respondents is very high.

Table: 5.20 Distributions of Buliangs by Sex and Level of Participation.

Sex	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Male	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00	88	100.00
Female	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00	88	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The data presented in the table 5.20 shows that there is no female respondents among the sampled Buliangs. Therefore, the table does not exhibit any relationship between sex and level of participations among the sampled Buliangs.

Table 5.21 explains the relationship between the sex and the level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members. In the low level participation 73.30 per cent are male and 26.70 per cent are female. In the medium level participation 96.20 per cent are male and 3.80 per cent are female. On the other hand, in the high level of participation cent per cent are male respondents.

Table: 5.21 Distributions of Panchayat members by Sex and Level of Participation.

Sex	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Male	11	73.30	125	96.20	77	100.00	213	95.95
Female	4	26.70	5	3.80	0	0.00	9	4.05
Total	15	100.00	130	100.00	77	100.00	222	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of male respondents is 95.95 per cent and the sample norm of female respondents is 4.05 per cent. The analysis of the data shows that in low level participation the representation of male respondents is lower than the sample norm and the representation of female respondents is higher than the sample norm. In the medium level of participation, the representation of the male respondents is slightly higher than the sample norm and the representation of female respondents is slightly lower than the sample norm. On the other hand, in high level of participation the representation of male respondents is higher than the sample norm and not a single female respondent is represented in this category. A similar pattern of relationship between sex and level of participation of the sampled villagers is reflected as in case of sampled Panchayat members as well. Thus, while the participation level of male

respondents is very high, on the other hand, the participation level of female respondents is very low.

Education and Participation:

The relevance of education to participation is obvious. Education gives greater information and expands the horizon of one's interest. The higher is the education, the greater are one's sense of civic duty, political competence, interest and responsibility and also self-confidence and articulation. Regular participation in the corporate life of educational institutions further enables one to develop more skill for political participation. The more educated are likely to be quite capable of transmitting their political interest and knowledge to the next generation. Education no doubt is an important explanatory variable of political participation. The relationship between education and level of participation of all the categories of respondents - villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members is presented in table 5.22, 5.23 and 5.24.

Table 5.22 explains the relationship between the education and levels of political participation of the sampled villagers. In the low level of participation 32.30 per cent are illiterate, 14.96 per cent are primary educated, 24.40 per cent have education up to secondary level, 10.23 per

cent are higher secondary level educated and 18.11 per cent have education up to graduate and above. In the medium level of participation the representation of illiterate is 33.33 per cent, primary educated is 25.94 per cent, secondary level is 20.74, higher secondary level is 7.40 per cent and graduate and above is 12.59 per cent. In the high level of participation 21.05 per cent are illiterate, 26.31 per cent are primary educated, 26.31 percent have education up to secondary level, 21.05 per cent are higher secondary level educated and 25.28 per cent have education up to graduate and above level.

Table: 5.22 Distributions of Villagers by Education and Level of Participation.

Education	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Illiterate	41	32.30	45	33.33	8	21.05	94	31.34
Primary	19	14.96	35	25.94	10	26.31	64	21.33
Secondary	31	24.40	28	20.74	10	26.31	69	23.00
Higher Secondary	13	10.23	10	7.40	8	21.05	31	10.33
Graduate and above	23	18.11	17	12.59	2	25.28	42	14.00
Total	127	100.00	135	100.00	38	100.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of the illiterate is 31.34 per cent, primary level is 21.33 per cent, secondary level is 23.00 per cent, and higher secondary

level is 10.33 per cent and graduate and above level is 14.00 per cent. The above analysis indicates that in low level of participation the representation of illiterates, secondary level and graduate and above level is higher than the sample norms. The representation of primary educated and of higher secondary level educated is lower than the sample norm. This shows that the level of low participation is higher among the illiterates and the graduate and above level educated. Among school educated the representation of secondary and higher secondary level educated is more or less equal to the sample norm while the level of low participation among the primary educated is much lower than the sample norm. In the medium level of participation the representation of illiterates and the primary educated are higher than the sample norm and the representation of secondary, higher secondary and graduate and above level educated are lower than the sample norms. This indicates that the medium level participation of the illiterates and primary educated is higher than the secondary, higher secondary and graduate and above level educated. In the high level of participation the representation of illiterates and graduate and above level educated are lower than the sample norm and the representation of primary, secondary and higher secondary level educated are higher than the sample norms. This shows that level of high

participation is higher among the school educated than the illiterates and the graduate and above level. The table indicates that there is no positive relation between the levels of education and levels of participation among the sampled villagers.

Table: 5.23 Distributions of Buliangs by Education and Level of Participation.

Education	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Illiterate	18	62.09	30	60.00	0	0.00	48	54.54
Primary	5	17.24	12	24.00	0	0.00	17	19.34
Secondary	2	6.89	2	4.00	0	0.00	4	4.54
Higher Secondary	3	10.34	2	4.00	1	11.10	6	6.81
Graduate and above	1	3.44	4	8.00	8	88.90	13	14.77
Total	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00	88	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.23 explains the relationship between the education and level of political participation of the sampled Buliangs. In the low level of participation 62.09 per cent are illiterate, 17.24 per cent are primary educated, 6.89 per cent have education up to secondary level, 10.34 per cent are higher secondary level educated and 3.44 per cent have education up to graduate and above. In the medium level of participation the representation of illiterate is 60.00 per cent, primary educated is 24.00 per

cent, secondary and higher secondary level is 4.00 per cent respectively and graduate and above level is 8.00 per cent. In the high level of participation 11.10 per cent are higher secondary level educated and 88.90 per cent have education up to graduate and above level while illiterate, primary educated, secondary level educated have no representation in this category.

The sample norm of the illiterate is 54.54 per cent, primary level is 19.34 per cent, secondary level is 4.54 per cent, and higher secondary level is 6.81 per cent and graduate and above level is 14.77 per cent. The above analysis indicates that in low level of participation the representation of illiterates, secondary level and higher secondary level educated are higher than the sample norms. The representation of primary educated is slightly lower than the sample norm while the representation of graduate and above level educated is much lower than the sample norm. This shows that the level of low participation is higher among the illiterates and school educated while the level of low participation is lower among the graduate and above level educated. In the medium level of participation the representation of illiterates and the primary educated are higher than the sample norm and the representation of secondary, higher secondary and graduate and above level educated are lower than the sample norms. This

indicates that the level of medium participation among the illiterates and primary educated is higher than the secondary, higher secondary and graduate and above level educated. In the high level of participation the representation of higher secondary level educated and graduate and above level educated are higher than the sample norm and the representation of illiterates, primary and secondary level educated do not have representation in this category. The table indicates some relationship between the educational background and levels of participation of the sampled Buliangs. This is evident from the fact that a large bulk of respondents having low level of participation is illiterates. Similarly, in medium level of participation majority of the respondents are either illiterate or semi-literate or those having education up to primary level. On the other hand, in high level participation category a large bulk of the respondents have education up to graduate and above level. No illiterate person is found in this category. Thus, if the educational level among the Buliang is high, the chances of their having high level of participation will be more and vice versa.

Table 5.24 explains the relationship between the education and levels of political participation of the sampled Panchayat members. In the low

level of participation 60.00 per cent are illiterate, 6.67 per cent are primary educated, 13.33 per cent have education up to secondary level, 6.67 per cent are higher secondary level educated and 13.33 per cent have education up to graduate and above. In the medium level of participation the representation of illiterate is 37.12 per cent, Primary educated is 30.30 per cent, secondary level is 21.23 per cent, higher secondary level is 7.57 per cent and graduate and above level is 3.78 per cent. In the high level of participation 26.66 per cent are illiterate, 30.66 per cent are primary level educated, 25.35 per cent are secondary level educated, 9.33 per cent are higher secondary level educated and 8.00 per cent have education up to graduate and above level.

Table: 5.24 Distributions of Panchayat members by Education and Level of Participation.

Education	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Illiterate	9	60.00	49	37.12	20	26.66	78	35.13
Primary	1	6.67	40	30.30	23	30.66	64	28.82
Secondary	2	13.33	28	21.23	19	25.35	49	22.10
Higher Secondary	1	6.67	10	7.57	7	9.33	18	8.10
Graduate and above	2	13.33	5	3.78	6	8.00	13	5.85
Total	15	100.00	132	100.00	75	100.00	222	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of the illiterate is 35.13 per cent, primary level is 28.82 per cent, secondary level is 22.10 per cent, and higher secondary level is 8.10 per cent and graduate and above level is 5.85 per cent. The above analysis indicates that in low level of participation the representation of illiterates and graduate and above level educated is higher than the sample norm. The representation of primary educated, secondary educated and higher secondary educated is lower than the sample norm. This shows that the level of low participation is higher among the illiterates and graduate and above level educated while the level of low participation is lower among the school educated. In the medium level of participation the representation of illiterates and the primary educated are higher than the sample norm and the representation of secondary, higher secondary and graduate and above level educated are lower than the sample norms. This indicates that the level of medium participation among the illiterates and primary educated is higher than the secondary, higher secondary and graduate and above level educated. In the high level of participation the representation of illiterate is lower than the sample norm and the representation of primary educated, secondary level educated, higher secondary level educated and graduate and above level educated are higher than the sample norm. Similar patterns of relationship between the

educational background and levels of participation have been seen with respect to both the sampled Buliangs and sampled Panchayat members. As in case of sampled Buliangs a large bulk of Panchayat members respondents having low level of participation is illiterate. Similarly, in medium level participation majority of the respondents are either illiterate or semi-literate or those having education up to primary level. On the other hand, in high level participation category the level of participation increases with the increase in educational level of the respondents. Thus, the table indicates positive relationship between educational background and level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members.

Occupation and Participation:

Occupation of an individual is another important socio-economic variable that determines the level of participation of the individual. The pattern of relationship between occupation and level of participation of the sampled respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members, is presented in table 5.25, 5.26 and 5.27.

Table 5.25 explains the relationship between the occupation and levels of participation of the villagers. In the low level participation 27.55 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 62.99 per cent in business, 5.53 per

cent in government service and 3.93 per cent in other category of occupation. In the medium level participation 45.92 per cent engaged in agriculture, 34.09 per cent in business, 16.29 per cent in government service and 3.70 per cent in other category of occupation. In high level of participation 50.00 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 13.15 per cent in business, 34.22 per cent in government service and 2.63 per cent in other category of occupation.

Table: 5.25 Distributions of Villagers by Occupation and Level of Participation.

Occupation	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Agriculture	35	27.55	62	45.92	19	50.00	116	38.67
Business	80	62.99	46	34.09	5	13.15	131	43.67
Govt. service	7	5.53	22	16.29	13	34.22	42	14.00
Others	5	3.93	5	3.70	1	2.63	11	3.66
Total	127	100.00	135	100.00	38	100.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of the villager respondents engaged in agriculture is 38.67 per cent, business is 43.67 per cent, government service is 14.00 per cent and other category is 3.66 per cent. The data indicates that in the low level participation the representation of those engaged in agriculture, of government service and of other category of occupation is lower than the

sample norm. The representation of business is higher than the sample norm. This shows that the level of low participation of those engaged in business is higher than those engaged in other categories of occupation. In the medium level of participation the representation of those engaged in agriculture is more than the sample norms and of those engaged in other category occupation is slightly higher than the sample norm. On the other hand the representation of those in business and government service are lower than their sample norms. This indicates that in the medium level participation the level of participation of those in agriculture is predominant. In high level participation the representation of those engaged in agriculture and government is higher than the sample norm. The representation of those in business and other category occupation is less than their respective sample norm. The table indicates higher participatory trait among those villagers who are engaged in agriculture than those engaged in any other categories of occupation.

Table 5.26 explains the relationship between the occupation and levels of participation of Buliangs. In the low level participation 55.17 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 6.89 per cent in business, 31.05 per cent in government service and 6.89 per cent in other category of occupation. In

the medium level participation 54.00 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 14.00 per cent in business, 24.00 per cent in government service and 8.00 per cent in other category of occupation. In the high levels of participation 77.78 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 11.11 per cent in business and in other category of occupations respectively. No person in government service is found in this category.

Table: 5.26 Distributions of Buliangs by Occupation and Level of Participation.

Occupation	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Agriculture	16	55.17	27	54.00	7	77.78	50	56.83
Business	2	6.89	7	14.00	1	11.11	10	11.36
Govt. service	9	31.05	12	24.00	0	0.00	21	23.86
Others	2	6.89	4	8.00	1	11.11	7	7.95
Total	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00	88	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of the Buliang respondents engaged in agriculture is 56.83 per cent, business is 11.36 per cent, government service is 23.86 per cent and other category occupation is 7.95 per cent. Analysis of the data indicates that in the low level participation the representation of those engaged in agriculture and of government service is higher than the sample norm. The representation of business and of other category occupation is

lower than the sample norm. This shows that the level of low participation is higher among those engaged in agriculture and those in government service than those in businesses and in other categories of occupation. In the medium level of participation the representation of those engaged in agriculture is lower than the sample norms. On the other hand the representation of those engaged in other categories of occupation is slightly higher than the sample norm. This indicates that the level of medium participation is higher among those engaged in other categories of occupation other than agriculture. In high level participation the representation of those engaged in agriculture and other category occupation is higher than the sample norm. The representation of those in business is less than the respective sample norms and no one from government service is found in this category. The above analysis exhibits similar pattern of relationship that has been seen in case of sampled villagers. Among the sampled Buliangs those respondents engaged in agriculture have shown higher participatory trait than those in other categories of occupation.

Table 5.27 explains the relationship between the occupation and level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members. In the low level

participation 60.00 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 33.34 per cent in business, and 6.66 per cent in other category of occupation. In the medium level participation 39.39 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 46.96 per cent in business, and 13.65 per cent in other category of occupation. In the high levels of participation 24.00 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 68.00 per cent in business and 8.00 per cent in other category of occupation. It may be noted that none of the Panchayat members are in government service thereby, fulfilling the required qualification to be elected in Panchayat bodies.

Table: 5.27 Distributions of Panchayat members by Occupation and Level of Participation.

Occupation	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Agriculture	9	60.00	52	39.39	18	24.00	79	35.58
Business	5	33.34	62	46.96	51	68.00	118	53.16
Govt. service	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Others	1	6.66	18	13.65	6	8.00	25	11.26
Total	15	100.00	132	100.00	75	100.00	222	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The sample norm of the Panchayat member respondents engaged in agriculture is 35.58 per cent, business is 53.16 per cent, and other category occupation is 11.26 per cent. An analysis of the data indicates that in the

low level participation the representation of those engaged in agriculture is much higher than the sample norm. The representation of business and of other category occupation is lower than the sample norm. This shows that the level of low participation is predominant among those engaged in agriculture. In the medium level of participation the representation of those engaged in agriculture and those engaged in other categories of occupation is slightly higher than the sample norm. On the other hand the representation of those in business is lower than the sample norms. This indicates that the level of medium participation is higher among those engaged in agriculture and other categories of occupation. In high level participation the representation of those engaged in agriculture and other category occupation is lower than the sample norms. The representation of those in business is higher than the sample norms. It is seen from the above analysis that among Panchayat members those in businesses indicates higher participatory trait unlike as seen in case of sampled villagers and sampled Buliangs.

Monthly income and Participation:

Higher income brings in greater prosperity, more leisure, less anxiety and wider opportunities naturally make people more active in politics.

Table 5.28, 5.29 and 5.30 indicates the relationship between the income level and the levels of participation of the sampled villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members.

Table: 5.28 Distributions of Villagers by Monthly Income and Level of Participation.

Monthly Income	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
No Income	4	3.14	1	0.74	1	2.64	6	2.00
Low	56	44.12	77	57.05	19	50.00	152	50.66
Average	45	35.43	35	25.92	13	34.21	93	31.00
High	20	15.74	18	31.33	5	13.15	43	14.34
Very High	2	1.57	4	2.96	0	0.00	6	2.00
Total	127	100.00	135	100.00	38	100.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.28 presents the relationship between monthly income and level of participation of the sampled villagers. In the low level participation 3.14 per cent are from no income group, 44.12 per cent are from low income group, 35.43 per cent are from average income group, 15.74 percent are from high income group and 1.57 per cent is from very high income group. In the medium level participation 0.74 per cent are from no income group, 57.05 per cent are from low income group, 25.92 per cent are from average income group, 13.33 per cent are from high income group[and 2.96 per cent are from very high income group. In the high level

participation 2.64 per cent are from no income group, 50.00 per cent are from low income group, 34.21 per cent are from average income group and 13.15 per cent are from high income group. No person is found in very high income group.

The sample norm of the villager respondents in no income group is 2.00 percent, low income group is 50.66 per cent, average income group is 31.00 per cent, high income group is 14.34 per cent and very high income is 2.00 per cent. The data in the table indicates that in the low level participation the representation of no income group, average income group and of the high income group are higher than the sample norm. The representation of the low income group is lower than the sample norm and of very high income group is slightly less than the sample norm. In the medium level participation the low income group and very high income group are represented slightly more than their respective sample norms. The representation of no income group, average income group and high income group are represented less than their respective sample norms. In the high level participation category the representation of no income group and average income group is more than their sample norms. On the other hand, the representation of low income group and the high income group are less than their respective sample norms and no person from very high

income group is represented in this category. It is seen from the above discussion that there is no close relationship between monthly income and level of participation among the sample villagers.

Table: 5.29 Distributions of Buliangs by Monthly Income and Level of Participation.

Monthly Income	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
No Income	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Low	18	62.06	26	52.00	8	88.90	52	59.09
Average	10	34.50	20	40.00	0	0.00	30	34.09
High	1	3.44	4	8.00	1	11.10	6	6.82
Very High	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00	88	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.29 presents the relationship between monthly income and level of participation of the Buliangs respondents. The data presented in the table shows that not a single Buliang respondents is in the categories of no income group and very high income group. In the low level participation 62.06 per cent are from low income group, 34.50 percent are from average income group and 3.44 per cent are from high income group. In the medium level participation 52.00 per cent are from low income group, 40.00 per cent are from average income group and 8.00 per cent are from

high income group. In the high level participation 88.90 per cent are from low income group and 11.10 per cent are from high income group. No person is from in average income group.

The sample norm of the Buliang respondents in low income group is 59.09 per cent, average income group is 34.09 per cent and high income group is 6.82 per cent. An analysis of the data indicates that in the low level participation the representation of the low income group and average income group are higher than the sample norm. On the other hand, the representation of high income group is lower than the sample norm. In the medium level participation the low income group is represented lower than the sample norm. The representation of average income group and high income group are represented higher than their respective sample norm. In the high level participation the representation of low income group is much higher than the sample norm and high income group is more than the sample norm. On the other hand, no person from average income group is represented in this category. A slightly different pattern of relationship between monthly income and level of participation in case of sampled Buliang is found. It is seen from the above discussion that level of participation of the sampled Buliangs tends to increase with the increased level of monthly income.

Table: 5.30 Distributions of Panchayat members by Monthly Income and Level of Participation.

Monthly Income	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
No Income	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Low	12	80.00	52	39.39	27	36.00	91	40.99
Average	1	6.66	48	36.36	22	29.34	71	31.98
High	2	13.34	32	24.25	21	28.00	55	24.77
Very High	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	6.66	5	2.26
Total	15	100.00	132	100.00	75	100.00	222	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.30 presents the relationship between monthly income and level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members. The data presented in the table shows that not a single Panchayat member respondent is in the category of no income group. In the low level participation 80.00 per cent are from low income group, 6.66 per cent are from average income group and 13.34 per cent are from high income group. In the medium level participation 39.39 per cent are from low income group, 36.36 per cent are from average income group and 24.25 per cent are from high income group. Both in low level participation and medium level participation no single person is found in very high income group. In high level participation 36.00 per cent are from low income

group, 29.34 per cent are from average income group, 28.00 per cent are from high income group and 6.66 per cent are from very high income group.

The sample norm of the Panchayat member respondents in low income group is 40.99 per cent, average income group is 31.98 per cent, high income group is 24.77 per cent and very high income group is 2.26 per cent. The data in the table indicates that in the low level participation the representation of the low income group is about double of the sample norm. On the other hand, the representation of the average income group and high income group is lower than their respective sample norms. In the medium level participation the low income group and high income group is represented slightly lower than the sample norm. The representation of average income group is represented higher than the sample norms. In the high level participation category the representation of low income group and average income group is lower than their respective sample norms. On the other hand, the representation of the high income group and very high income group is higher than their respective sample norm. A somewhat similar pattern of relationship between monthly income and level of participation as in case of sampled Buliang is seen with respect to sample Panchayat members as well. It is found that level of participation of the

Panchayat member respondent increases with the increase level of monthly income.

Property and Participation:

Property is an important economic variable that determines person's position in the society as well as involvement in the affairs of the society. Table 5.31, 5.32 and 5.33 explains the relationship between property owned and level of participation of the sampled villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members.

Table: 5.31 Distributions of Villagers by Property owned and Level of Participation.

Property owned	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Very poor	7	5.54	3	2.24	0	0.00	10	3.33
Poor	8	6.29	4	2.96	1	2.64	13	4.33
Average	48	37.79	29	21.48	15	39.47	92	30.66
Rich	59	46.45	87	64.44	20	56.63	166	55.35
Very rich	5	3.93	12	8.88	2	5.26	19	6.33
Total	127	100.00	135	100.00	38	100.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

The data presented in the table 5.31 explains the relationship between the property and level of participation of the sampled villagers. In

the low level participation 5.54 per cent are very poor, 6.29 per cent are poor, 37.79 per cent are average, 46.45 per cent are rich and 3.93 per cent are very rich. In the medium level participation 2.24 per cent are very poor, 2.96 per cent are poor, 21.48 per cent are average, 64.44 per cent are rich and 8.88 per cent are very rich. In the high level of participation 2.64 per cent are poor, 39.47 per cent are average, 56.63 per cent are rich and 5.26 per cent are very rich. In high level participation there is not a single person in very poor category.

The sample norm of very poor is 3.33 per cent, poor is 4.33 per cent, average is 30.66 per cent, rich is 55.35 per cent and very rich is 6.33 per cent. The analysis of the table shows that the representation in the low level participation of very poor, of the poor and of the average is higher than the sample norm. The representation of the rich and of the very rich is less than the sample norm. This indicates that the level of low participation is higher the lower economic group. In the medium level participation the representation of the very poor, the poor and average is less than their respective sample norm, of the rich and very rich are higher than their respective sample norms. This shows that the level of medium participation is higher among the higher economic group. In the high level of participation the representation of poor and very rich are less than their

respective sample norms, of the average and of the rich are higher than their respective sample norms and very poor people are not represented in this category. The above analysis indicates some relationship between property owned and level of participation of the sample villagers. It is observed that the level of participation of villagers increases with increase in level of property owned.

Table: 5.32 Distributions of Buliangs by Property owned and Level of Participation.

Property owned	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Very poor	1	3.44	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.13
Poor	0	0.00	1	2.00	0	0.00	1	1.13
Average	7	24.16	12	24.00	2	22.22	21	23.86
Rich	20	68.96	34	68.00	5	55.56	59	67.04
Very rich	1	3.44	3	6.00	2	22.22	6	6.84
Total	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00	88	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.32 explains the relationship between property and level of participation of the sampled Buliangs. In the low level participation 3.44 per cent are very poor, 24.16 per cent are average, 68.96 per cent are rich and 3.44 per cent are very rich. In the low level participation there is not a single person in poor category. In the medium level participation 2.00 per

cent are poor, 24.00 per cent are average, 68.00 per cent are rich and 6.00 per cent are very rich. There is not a single person in very poor category. In the high level of participation 22.22 percent are average, 55.56 per cent are rich and 22.22 per cent are very rich. There is not a single person in the very poor and very poor category.

The sample norm of very poor is 1.13 per cent, poor is 1.13 percent, average is 23.86 per cent, rich is 67.04 per cent and very rich is 6.84 per cent. The analysis of the table shows that in the low level participation the representation of very poor is double of the sample norm, of the average and of the rich is slightly higher than their respective sample norm. The representation of the very rich is half of the sample norm and the poor are not represented in this category. This indicates that the level of low participation is higher among the lower economic group. In the medium level participation the representation of the poor, of the average and of the rich is slightly higher than their respective sample norm. The representation of the very rich is slightly less than the sample norm, and very poor are not represented in this category. This shows that the level of medium participation is higher among the higher economic group. In the high level of participation the representation of the average and of the rich are less than their respective sample norms and very rich much higher than the

sample norm. The poor and very poor people are not represented in this category. The above analysis indicates similar pattern of relationship that has been observed in case of the sampled villagers between property owned and level of participation. It is observed that the level of participation of Buliang respondents increases with increase in level of property owned.

Table: 5.33 Distributions of Panchayat members by Property owned and Level of Participation.

Property owned	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Very poor	1	6.66	1	0.77	1	1.35	3	1.25
Poor	0	0.00	2	1.51	0	0.00	2	0.90
Average	4	26.68	31	23.48	20	26.66	55	24.77
Rich	10	66.66	86	65.15	41	54.66	137	61.72
Very rich	0	0.00	12	9.09	13	17.33	25	11.26
Total	15	100.00	132	100.00	75	100.00	222	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.33 explains the relationship between property and level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members. In the low level participation 6.66 per cent are very poor, 26.68 per cent are average, and 66.66 per cent are rich. There is not a single person in poor and very rich categories. In the medium level participation 0.77 per cent is very poor, 1.51 per cent is poor, 23.48 per cent are average, 65.15 per cent are rich

and 9.09 per cent are very rich. In the high level of participation 1.35 per cent is very poor, 26.66 per cent are average, 54.66 per cent are rich and 17.33 per cent are very rich. There is not a single person in the poor category.

The sample norm of very poor is 1.25 per cent, poor is 0.90 per cent, average is 24.77 per cent, rich is 61.72 per cent and very rich is 11.26 per cent. The analysis of the data presented in the table shows that in the low level participation the representation of very poor is much higher than the sample norm, of the average and of the rich is slightly higher than their respective sample norm. The poor and very rich are not represented in this category. This indicates that the level of low participation is higher among the lower economic group. In the medium level participation the representation of the very poor, of the average and very rich is slightly less than their respective sample norms, of the poor and of the rich is higher than their respective sample norms. This shows that the level of medium participation is higher among higher economic group. In the high level of participation the representation of the very poor is slightly higher than the sample norm, of the average and of the very rich is much higher than their respective sample norm. The representation of the rich is less than the sample norm and not a single person in poor category is represented in high

level participation. The above analysis indicates similar pattern of relationship that has been observed in case of the other categories of respondents between property owned and level of participation. It is observed that the level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members increases with increase in level of property owned.

Exposure to Mass Media and Participation:

Mass media is a powerful means of educating the public and of rising general awareness and thereby political awareness of those who are exposed to it. The exposure to media acts as stimuli in making people to take interest and participate in the affairs of the society. The relationship between exposure to mass media and level of participation of the sample respondents – villagers, Buliang and Panchayat member is presented in the table 5.34, 5.35 and 5.36.

Table: 5.34 Distributions of Villagers by Exposure to Mass media and Level of Participation.

Exposure to mass media	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
No exposure	23	18.12	29	21.48	6	15.78	58	19.33
Good	55	43.30	63	46.66	15	39.47	133	44.33
Very good	49	38.58	43	31.86	17	44.75	109	36.34
Total	127	100.00	135	100.00	38	100.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.34 explains the relationship between the level of exposure to mass media and level of participation of the sampled villagers. In the low level of participation 18.12 per cent is from no exposure group, 43.30 per cent is from good exposure group and 38.58 per cent is from very good exposure group. In the medium level participation 21.48 per cent is from no exposure group, 46.66 per cent from good exposure group and 31.86 per cent is from very good exposure group. In the high level of participation 15.78 per cent is from no exposure group, 39.47 per cent is from good exposure group and 44.75 per cent is from very good exposure group.

The sample norm of no exposure group is 19.33 per cent, good exposure group is 44.33 per cent and very good exposure group is 36.34 per cent. The above analysis shows that in the low level participation the representation of no exposure group and of the good exposure is slightly less than their respective sample norms and of the very good exposure group is higher than the sample norm. This indicates that the level of low participation is higher among the very good exposure than the no exposure group and good exposure group. In the medium level of participation the representation of no exposure group and good exposure group are higher than their respective sample norm and very good exposure group is less than the sample norm. Here the level of medium participation is higher

among no exposure group and good exposure group than the very good exposure group. In the high level participation the representation of no exposure group and good exposure group is less than their respective sample norms and very good exposure group is higher than the sample norm. This indicates that the level of high participation is higher among the very good exposure group than the no exposure group and good exposure group. The above analysis does not indicate any significant relationship between the level of exposure to mass media and level of participation of the sampled villagers.

Table: 5.35 Distributions of Buliangs by Exposure to Mass media and Level of Participation.

Exposure to mass media	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
No exposure	13	44.84	23	46.00	5	55.56	41	46.59
Good	14	48.27	23	46.00	2	22.22	39	44.31
Very good	2	6.89	4	8.00	2	22.22	8	9.10
Total	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00	88	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.35 explains the relationship between the level of exposure to mass media and level of participation of the sampled Buliangs. In the low level of participation 44.84 per cent is from no exposure group, 48.27 per cent is from good exposure group and 6.89 per cent is from very good

exposure group. In the medium level participation 46.00 per cent is from no exposure group and from good exposure group respectively and 8.00 per cent is from very good exposure group. In the high level of participation 55.56 per cent is from no exposure group, 22.22 per cent is from good exposure group and very good exposure group respectively.

The sample norm of no exposure is 46.59 per cent, good exposure group is 44.31 per cent and very good exposure group is 9.10 per cent. The above analysis shows that in the low level participation the representation of no exposure group and the very good exposure group is less than their respective sample norms and of the good exposure is higher than the sample norm. This indicates that the level of low participation is higher among the good exposure group than the very good exposure group and no exposure group. In the medium level participation the representation of no exposure group and very good exposure group is slightly less than their respective sample norms and good exposure group is higher than the sample norm. Here the level of medium participation is higher among the good exposure group than the no exposure group and very good exposure group. In the high level participation the representation of no exposure group and very good exposure group is higher than their respective sample norms and the good exposure group is less than the sample norm. This

indicates that the level of high participation among the no exposure group and very good exposure group is higher than the good exposure group. The above analysis does not indicate any significant relationship between level of exposure to mass media and level of participation of the sampled Buliang as well.

Table: 5.36 Distributions of Panchayat members by Exposure to Mass media and Level of Participation.

Exposure to mass media	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
No exposure	4	26.66	32	24.24	9	12.00	45	20.27
Good	9	60.00	75	56.83	42	56.00	126	56.76
Very good	2	13.34	25	18.93	24	32.00	51	22.97
Total	15	100.00	132	100.00	75	100.00	222	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.36 explains the relationship between the level of exposure to mass media and level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members. In the low level of participation 26.66 per cent is from no exposure group, 60.00 per cent is from good exposure group and 13.34 per cent is from very good exposure group. In the medium level participation 24.24 per cent is from no exposure group, 56.83 per cent from good exposure group and 18.93 per cent is from very good exposure group. In the high level of participation 12.00 per cent is from no exposure group, 56.00 per cent is

from good exposure group and 32.00 per cent is from very good exposure group.

The sample norm of no exposure group is 20.27 per cent, good exposure group is 56.76 per cent and very good exposure is 22.97 per cent. The above analysis shows that in the low level participation the representation of no exposure group and of good exposure group is higher than their respective sample norms and of the very good exposure group is less than the sample norm. This indicates that the level of low participation is higher among the no exposure group and the good exposure group than the very good exposure group. In the medium level of participation the representation of no exposure group and good exposure group is slightly higher than their respective sample norms and very good exposure group is less than the sample norm. Here the level of medium participation is higher among the no exposure group and the good exposure group than the very exposure group. In the high level participation the representation of no exposure group and good exposure group is less than their respective sample norm and very good exposure group is higher than the sample norm. This indicates that the level of high participation is higher among the very good exposure group than the no exposure group and good exposure group. The above analysis does not indicate any significant relationship

between the level of exposure to mass media and level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members.

Political Awareness and Participation:

People with more political awareness tend to participate more because awareness acts as stimuli to participation. Table 5.37, 5.38 and 5.39 explains the relationship between the level of political awareness and level of participation of the sampled villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members.

Table: 5.37 Distributions of Villagers by Political Awareness and Level of Participation.

Level of Awareness	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Low	7	5.52	1	0.75	0	0.00	8	2.66
Medium	35	27.55	19	14.07	3	7.90	57	19.00
High	85	66.92	115	85.18	35	92.10	235	78.34
Total	127	100.00	135	100.00	38	100.00	300	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.37 indicates the relationship between the level of political awareness and level of participation of the sampled villagers. In the low level participation 5.52 per cent have low level political awareness, 27.55 per cent have medium level political awareness and 66.92 per cent have

high level political awareness. In the medium level participation 0.75 per cent has low level of political awareness, 14.07 per cent have medium level of political awareness and 85.18 per cent have high level of political awareness. In the high level participation 7.90 per cent have medium level political awareness and 92.10 per cent have high level of political awareness. There is not a single person in low level political awareness category.

The sample norm of low political awareness is 2.66 per cent, medium political awareness is 19.00 per cent and high political awareness is 78.34 per cent. The analysis of the data presented in the table shows that in low level participation the representation of the low political awareness and of the medium political awareness is much higher than the sample norm and of the high political awareness is less the sample norm. This indicates that the low level participation is higher among the respondents having low and medium level of political awareness. In the medium level participation the representation of low political awareness and of the medium political awareness is less than their respective sample norms and of the high political awareness is higher than the sample norm. Here the level of medium participation is higher among the respondents having high level of political awareness. In the high level of participation the

representation of the medium political awareness is lower than the sample norm and of the high political awareness is much higher than the sample norm. No person having low political awareness is represented in this category. This indicates that level of high participation increases with increased level of political awareness. The above analysis indicates some relationship between the level of political awareness and the level of participation of the sampled villagers.

Table: 5.38 Distributions of Buliangs by Political Awareness and Level of Participation.

Level of Awareness	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Low	1	3.46	1	2.00	0	0.00	2	2.27
Medium	2	6.89	3	6.00	1	11.10	6	6.83
High	26	89.65	46	92.00	8	88.90	80	90.90
Total	29	100.00	50	100.00	9	100.00	88	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.38 indicates the relationship between the level of political awareness and level of participation of the sampled Buliangs. In the low level participation 3.46 per cent have low political awareness, 6.89 per cent have medium political awareness and 89.65 per cent have high political awareness. In the medium level participation 2.00 per cent have low political awareness, 6.00 per cent have medium political awareness and

92.00 per cent have high political awareness. In high level participation 11.10 per cent have medium political awareness and 88.90 per cent have high political awareness. There is not a single person in the low political awareness category.

The sample norm of low political awareness is 2.27 per cent, medium political awareness is 6.83 per cent and high political awareness is 90.90 per cent. The analysis of the data presented in the table shows that in low level participation the representation of low political awareness and of medium political awareness is slightly higher than their respective sample norms and of the high political awareness is less than the sample norm. This indicates that the low level participation is higher among the respondents having low and medium level of political awareness. In the medium level of participation the representation of the low political awareness and of the medium political awareness is slightly less than their respective sample norms and of the high political awareness is slightly higher than the sample norm. Here the level of medium participation is higher among the respondents having high level of political awareness. In the high level participation the representation of the medium political awareness and of the high political awareness is lower than their respective sample norms. No person having low political awareness is represented in

this category. In the level of high participation no significant relationship is observed. The above analysis indicates some relationship between the level of political awareness and level of participation among the Buliangs respondents having low and medium level of political awareness. However, similar pattern of relationship between the level of political awareness and level of participation has not been seen in case of high level of participation of the Buliang respondents.

Table: 5.39 Distributions of Panchayat members by Political Awareness and Level of Participation.

Level of Awareness	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)	Nos.	(%)
Low	2	13.34	3	2.27	1	1.33	6	2.70
Medium	6	40.00	39	29.55	25	33.34	70	34.24
High	7	46.66	90	68.18	49	65.33	146	65.76
Total	15	100.00	132	100.00	75	100.00	222	100.00

Source: Field survey by the researcher, 2003.

Table 5.39 indicates the relationship between the level of political awareness and level of participation of the sampled Panchayat members. In the low level participation 13.34 per cent have low political awareness, 40.00 per cent have medium level political awareness and 46.66 per cent have high level political awareness. In the medium level participation 2.27 per cent have low political awareness, 29.55 per cent have medium

political awareness and 68.18 per cent have high political awareness. In the high level participation 1.33 per cent has low political awareness, 33.34 per cent have medium political awareness and 65.33 per cent have high political awareness.

The sample norm of low political awareness is 2.70 percent, medium political awareness is 34.24 per cent and high political awareness is 65.76 per cent. The analysis of the data presented in the table shows that in low level participation the representation of low political awareness and of the medium political awareness is higher than their respective sample norms and of the high political awareness is less than the sample norm. This indicates that the low level participation is higher among the respondents having low and medium level of political awareness. In the medium level of participation the representation of low political awareness, of the medium political awareness and of the high political awareness is less than their respective sample norms. Similarly, in the high level of participation the representation of low political awareness, of the medium political awareness and of the high political awareness is lower than their respective sample norms. The above analysis does not indicate any significant relationship between the level of political awareness and level of

participation of the sampled Panchayat members as has been observed in case of sampled villagers and sampled Buliangs.

The above discussion on the relationship between level of participation and some of the selected socio-economic variables indicates interesting findings. It has been found that among the seven villages of Apa Tanii the villagers of Bamin Michi village ranks on the top in low level participation category, the villager from Mudang Tage village occupies the top position in the medium level participation and the villagers from Hija village is predominant in high level of participation category. Among the Buliangs respondents Hija village occupies the top position in the low level participation, Hong village in the medium level participation and Hari village ranks on the top in the high level participation. In case of sampled Panchayat members Mudang Tage village predominates in the low level participation, Hong village in medium level participation and Bulla in the high level participation.

In case of age groups, there is no significant relationship with the level of participation. However, category wise analysis of the respondents reveals that among the sampled villagers the level of participation increases with the increased in age group. Similar pattern of relationship is not

established in case of Buliangs and Panchayat member respondents. While among the Buliang respondents the old age group have shown higher participatory trait than the younger age group, among the Panchayat member respondents it is found that the middle age group are more involved in the political process than the young and old age group.

Sex wise in all the categories of respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members, male respondents have shown higher level of participation while the female respondents exhibits low level of participation.

The analysis proves that there is no positive relationship between the levels of education and levels of participation of the sampled villagers. However, the study indicates some relationship between the educational background and levels of participation of the sampled Buliangs and sampled Panchayat members. This is evident from the fact that a large number of respondents having low level of participation is illiterate. Similarly, in medium level participation majority of the respondents are either illiterate or semi-literate or those having education up to primary level. On the other hand, in high level participation category a large number of the respondents have education up to graduate and above level. In other words, the level of participation increases with increase in

educational level of respondents. Thus, if the educational level among the village leaders – Buliangs and Panchayat members is high, the chances of their having high level of participation will be more and vice-versa.

In case of occupation, it has been observed that the level of participation both of the sampled villagers and sampled Buliangs is higher among those who are engaged in agriculture than those engaged in business and those engaged in other categories of occupation. On the other hand, the Panchayat members engaged in business have indicated higher participatory trait than those engaged in other categories of occupation.

The study does not indicate any close relationship between monthly income and level of participation among the sampled villagers. On the contrary the analysis indicates positive relationship between monthly income and participation in case of village leaders both Buliangs and Panchayat members. It has been found that the level of participation of the respondents tends to increase with the increased level of monthly income. Similarly, it is observed that the level of participation of all categories of respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members, is higher among the high economic group in terms of the value of property owned.

The analysis does not indicate any significant relationship between levels of exposure to mass media and levels of participation of all the

categories of respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members. Similarly, the analysis does not exhibit any significant relationship between the level of political awareness and level of participation of all the categories of respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members.

Notes and reference:

1. Mukhopadhyaya, Amalkumar, "Political Sociology: An introductory Analysis" K.P. Bagchi and Company, Calcutta, 1980, p. 120.
2. Michal Rush and Philip Althoff, "An introductory to Political Sociology" Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London, 1971, p. 75.
3. Mukhopadhyaya, Amalkumar, Op. cit., p. 126.

CHAPTER – VI

CONCLUSSION

In recent years people's participation in the political process has gained added importance in all over the world. Participation provides legitimacy to the system. Normally political participation is a characteristic associated with a democratic polity in the process of governmental activities. No one can escape from participation in his normal life, one way or other. But the range of participation differs as it depends on a variety of factors.

The present work is an attempt to study the political participation of the tribal society at grass root level as a result of the impact of introduction of modern political institution – Panchayat system, in Arunachal Pradesh. The study has been conducted on the Apa Taniis of the Lower Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh. The sample covers 300 villagers and knowledgeable persons, 88 Buliangs (Traditional leaders) and 222 Panchayat members (Modern leaders) drawn from seven villages of Apa Taniis covering three Anchal Samities of Ziro-I circle of Lower Subansiri district.

Till recent past the societies of Arunachal Pradesh remained isolated from the influence of modern political institutions and political culture.

However, almost all the tribes had their own Village Councils most of which were democratic in nature and achieved some elaborate procedures and efficiency. These Village Councils regulated the corporate life of the villagers based on traditions, customs and customary laws evolved through long usage. It received unflinching loyalty and solidarity of the villagers. Because of less stratification of society, a person with excellent knowledge of customs, traditions and customary laws along with intelligence and wealth had a bright chance of achieving leadership of the village through Village Councils. Generally, the Village Councils are male dominated institutions. However, there is no pronounced taboo on women participation in the political activities of the Village Councils.

The Village Council of the Apa Taniis, Buliang have the basic characteristics of the Village Councils as narrated above. It has achieved a higher degree of development and efficiency with democratic and developed structure and procedures of deliberations than the Village Councils of other tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Besides, it also maintained its own funds in the form of *Amang*, which comes from the wealthy members of the society who performed festivals of *Subuh* and *Murung*.

The Buliang consist of representatives of different clans inhabiting the different Apa Tanii villages. Thus, the Buliang acts as the Council for whole Apa Tanii tribe besides acting as the Village Council of a particular village. Although there is no taboo on women becoming a Buliang, traditionally Buliang is a male dominated institution. Cases of women membership is seen only when a widow of a Buliang takes her husband's place till her son is old enough to be a Buliang himself.

Theoretically the leadership of the Buliang (Village Council) is collective. Yet in practice it is seen that usually two or three Buliangs with more than usual wealth or particular strength of character wielded the influence in the village. However, the decisions in the deliberations of the Buliang are based on consensus. It is also seen that though there is no express bar against women participation, generally by convention women are apathetic towards participating in the deliberations of Buliang. One reason that may be attributed for their low participation is that they were discouraged to speak in public.

The Buliang maintain internal peace and tribal solidarity by performing certain politico-judicial and socio-religious functions. It is seen that the Buliang acts more as an arbiter than as a judge. However, they do not take action unless they are requested to intervene or the dispute has

become a public issue, which must be dealt with by the community as a whole either by mediation or use of force.

The study revealed that till 1945, Buliang was independent of government interference in managing day-to-day affairs of the village. The enactment of Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation of 1945, on the one hand has conferred certain additional powers to the Village Council, on the other hand, has lessened its authority by taking away many of its original powers. Thus, the Regulation has eroded the power and position of the Buliang by providing for division of authority in the administration of criminal justice between the Village Council and the government officials namely, Deputy Commissioner and Additional Commissioner of the area. The power and position of the Buliang has also been eroded by the institution of Gaon Buras who act as the representative of the administration in the village level by virtue of being appointed by the government. The introduction of Panchayat Raj Institution in the year 1969 in Arunachal Pradesh then NEFA further eroded the power and position of the Buliangs. It produced a new set of young and energetic leaders who invariably replaced the Buliangs as the leader of the Village. However, it is seen that the Buliangs continues to be relevant because of its socio-religious functions.

On the recommendation of the Ering Committee, the Panchayat Raj was introduced through the North East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967. A three-tier Panchayat system comprising the Gram Panchayats, Anchal Samities and Zilla Parishads came into existence in 1969. The Panchayat system provided by the Regulation was structurally similar to those prevalent in other parts of the country. However, it had different aims and objectives. The main aim of the Regulation of 1967 was to modernize the political practice throughout the territory and to pattern it after the one prevalent in the rest of the country. The other objective of the Regulation of 1967 was to involve the local people in development process of the state. Thus, the cumulative effects of these two strategies were to be a process of socio-political modernization of the society.

An enquiry into the organization and working of the Panchayat Raj institutions at different levels revealed that at village level the traditional Village Council was recognized as Gram Panchayat by the Regulation of 1967. It was after the 1972 amendment to the NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967 that a new body was created as Gram Panchayat, to be elected according to the tribal customary methods, by the residents of a village. The Gram Panchayat was not given any formal functions except that

they were to elect one member each to the Anchal Samiti. Moreover, it did not have its own fund and was financially dependent upon the government. The Anchal Samiti was intermediary body and constituted in every block. The Regulation has vested the Anchal Samiti with a wide range of administrative and developmental functions with its own resources to carry out its activities. At district level the Regulation provided for Zilla Parishad elected from amongst the members of Anchal Samities. It was a supervisory and advisory body for planning and coordinating all developmental schemes in the district and for monitoring their implementation by various implementing agencies. However, in reality all the schemes are implemented by various government departments. Neither the Anchal Samiti members nor the Zilla Parishad members are involved in planning and execution of various welfare schemes for the people. Nor these members take initiative to involve themselves except attending yearly meeting convened by the Deputy Commissioner just before preparation of Annual Operating Plan for the District for next financial year.

Nevertheless, the effect of the introduction of Panchayat Raj can be observed at different levels of the village life. It is noticeable in the loosening of solidarity of the village, eroding of the authority of Village Council, ending their isolation and bringing them closer to wider

administration and throwing up new opportunity to people. The authority in the village was gradually passing from traditional leaders to elected ones as a new set of leadership emerged. The political outlook of the traditional leaders as well as people is changing.

The introduction of Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh in 1969 have acquainted the people with concepts like representation, election, adult franchise, decision by majority and becoming a leader through election. This resulted in the mass participation of the people in the village politics at various levels irrespective of their personal standing in the society. The first Panchayat election of 1972 based on universal adult franchise brought in a new breed of leadership in the village. This was also the beginning of women's participation in the political process of the territory. Although very few in number, some of the women were nominated as members at all the levels of Panchayat bodies. Further, after 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act of 1992, which provided for 33% reservation of seat for women at all the levels of Panchayat bodies, there has been increase in the level of participation of the women at grass root level. Thus, the introduction of Panchayats had far reaching impact on the village politics and traditional political institutions. It has changed the political outlook of the villagers and

the village leaders, both the traditional leaders (Buliangs) and modern leaders (Panchayat members).

Taking into consideration various types/acts of participation of individuals, the study reveals that the majority of the respondents stand at medium level participation. However, category wise analysis indicates that the sampled villagers have medium level participation while the sampled Buliangs and Panchayat members have high level of participation.

In the context of the present study, identifying the socio-economic profiles is essential as a necessary backdrop of the respondents and analysis of their responses is crucial to the understanding of their political behaviour. Their profile indicates that majority of the respondents belong to middle age group. Category-wise almost equal number of villagers belong to young, middle and old age group respectively. In case of village leaders, majority of Buliangs belong to old age group and majority of Panchayat members are of middle age group. Sex-wise, male respondents are predominant.

The educational attainment of different categories of respondents is fairly low. A little more than one-third of the respondents are illiterate, and rests of them have education up to primary level and above with only 5.85

per cent of the respondents having education up to graduate and above level. In case of occupation as many as three-fourth of the respondents are engaged either in agriculture or business and few are in government service and very negligible number of the respondents are in other category of occupation. In terms of monthly income about half of the respondents earn average and above monthly income and a little less than half have low monthly income. More than half of the respondents are rich in terms of value of property they owned. About one-fourth of the respondents are not exposed to any of the medium of mass media and the rest of the respondents are either exposed to radio or television or newspaper. However, a vast majority of the respondents have high level of political information.

A study of the extent to which the level of participation is related to some selected socio-economic variables reveals interesting findings. It has been found that among the seven villages of Apa Tanii the villagers of Bamin Michi village ranks on the top in low level participation category, the villager from Miidang Tage village occupies the top position in the medium level participation and the villagers from Hiija village is predominant in high level of participation category. Among the Buliangs respondents Hiija village occupies the top position in the low level participation, Haangu

village in the medium level participation and Hari village ranks on the top in the high level participation. In case of sampled Panchayat members Miidang Tage village predominates in the low level participation, Haangu village in medium level participation and Biilla in the high level participation.

In case of age groups, there is no significant relationship with the level of participation. However, category wise analysis of the respondents reveals that among the sampled villagers the level of participation increases with the increased in age group. Similar pattern of relationship is not established in case of Buliangs and Panchayat member respondents. While among the Buliang respondents the old age group have shown higher participatory trait than the younger age group, among the Panchayat member respondents it is found that the middle age group are more involved in the political process than the young and old age group.

Sex-wise in all the categories of respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members, male respondents have shown higher level of participation while the female respondents exhibits low level of participation.

The analysis proves that there is no positive relationship between the levels of education and levels of participation of the sampled villagers. However, the study indicates some relationship between the educational

background and levels of participation of the sampled Buliangs and sampled Panchayat members. This is evident from the fact that a large number of respondents having low level of participation are illiterate. Similarly, in medium level participation majority of the respondents are either illiterate or semi-literate or those having education up to primary level. On the other hand, in high level participation category a large number of the respondents have education up to graduate and above level. In other words, the level of participation increases with increase in educational level of respondents. Thus, if the educational level among the village leaders – Buliangs and Panchayat members is high, the chances of their having high level of participation will be more and vice-versa.

In case of occupation, it has been observed that the level of participation both of the sampled villagers and sampled Buliangs is higher among those who are engaged in agriculture than those engaged in business and those engaged in other categories of occupation. On the other hand, the Panchayat members engaged in business have indicated higher participatory trait than those engaged in other categories of occupation.

The study does not indicate any close relationship between monthly income and level of participation among the sampled villagers. On the contrary the analysis indicates positive relationship between monthly income

and participation in case of village leaders both Buliangs and Panchayat members. It has been found that the level of participation of the respondents tends to increase with the increased level of monthly income. Similarly, it is observed that the level of participation of all categories of respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members, is higher among the high economic group in terms of the value of property owned.

The analysis does not indicate any significant relationship between levels of exposure to mass media and levels of participation of all the categories of respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members. Similarly, the analysis does not exhibit any significant relationship between the level of political awareness and level of participation of all the categories of respondents – villagers, Buliangs and Panchayat members.

It may be emphasized that in the present study the scope was limited only to some selected aspects and the field investigation carried out in a selected area, the conclusions arrived here do not provide the final verdict. Admittedly, therefore, these results are subject to certain limitations in terms of wider applicability and generalization.

Appendix – I

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF TRADITIONAL TRIBAL SOCIETY IN MODERN POLITICAL INSTITUTION: A CASE STUDY OF APA TANIIS.

Interview Schedule-cum-Questionnaire for Village Leadership.

PART-I (A)

- | | | |
|-----|------------|---|
| 1.1 | Name | : |
| 1.2 | Village | : |
| 1.3 | Age | : |
| 1.4 | Status | :Buliang / Gaon Bura / P.R. Leader /
Buliang-cum-P.R.Leader |
| 1.5 | Sex | :Male / Female |
| 1.6 | Education | : Illiterate / Primary / Secondary /
Hr.Sec / Graduate & above |
| 1.7 | Occupation | : Agriculture / Business /
Government Service / Others : |

1.8 Monthly income (in Rs.) :

1.9 Property	Nos.	Value in Rs.
(i) Land-Agricultural & Others.	:	
(ii) Ornaments/Antiques	:	
(iii) Mithuns/Cows etc.	:	
(iv) Gun/Riffles/Pistols etc	:	
(v) Two wheeler/Car/Truck/Bus	:	
(vi) House-Residential/Commercial.:		

PART-I(B)

1.10 Do you listen to radio programmes? : Yes / No

1.11 Do you see T.V programmes? : Yes / No

1.12 Do you read Newspaper/Magazines? : Yes / No

PART-II

(For Buliangs only)

2.1 Do you know what Panchayati Raj is? : Yes / No

2.2 Do you know panchayat member of your
village? : Yes / No

2.3 What are the works normally undertaken

by the Panchayat in your village?

(i) Construction of Road/Footpath & Drainage etc. ()

(ii) Provisions of water supply. ()

(iii) Street lightening/Electrification. ()

(iv) Maintenance of Health centre & Sanitation. ()

(v) Don't know. ()

(For Panchayat members only)

2.4 Do you know what Buliang is? : Yes / No

2.5 Do you know the Buliangs of your area? : Yes / No

2.6 What are the works normally undertaken
by the Buliangs?

(i) Settles disputes between individuals/villages. ()

(ii) Ceremonial functions. ()

(iii) Don't know. ()

PART-III

3.1 Do you think Panchayats have brought changes
in the traditional Political institutions? : Yes / No

3.2 What are the changes brought in the traditional political system?

- (a) Village leadership taken up by Panchayat members : ()
- (b) Buliang marginalized : ()
- (c) Brought political consciousness and development
in the village : ()
- 3.3 Whom do you consider to be the leader of you village?
- (a) Gaon Buras : ()
- (b) Buliangs : ()
- (c) Panchayat members : ()
- (d) Don't know : ()
- 3.4 Do you think Panchayat can solve the problems
of your village better than the Buliangs? : Yes / No
- 3.5 Do you think that the villagers have welcomed
the Panchayat system and have faith in it? : Yes / No

PART - IV

- 4.1 Do you approach Ministers or Govt
officials for the solutions of problems
of your area? : Yes / No
- 4.2 Do you attend Panchayat meeting? : Yes / No
- 4.3 Are you a member of any Political Party? : Yes / No

If yes, which Party? : INC /AC/BPJ/Others

4.4 In which Party activities do you participate? :

(a) Enrollment of Party members. ()

(b) Organizing procession/rallies & meetings. ()

(c) Attending meetings. ()

(e) Do not participate. ()

4.5 In which activities generally you are involved in during elections?

(i) Canvassing. ()

(ii) Fund collection. ()

(iii) Work as agents. ()

(iv) Do not participate. ()

4.6 In how many elections you have voted? :

(a) Panchayat election. No. of times: 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5

(b) Assenbly election No. of times: 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5

(c) Parliamentary election No. of times: 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5

4.7 Do you discuss about political affairs related to your village with your fellow villagers? : Yes / No

Appendix - II

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF TRADITIONAL TRIBAL SOCIETY IN MODERN POLITICAL INSTITUTION: A CASE STUDY OF APA TANIIS.

Interview schedule-cum-questionnaire for villagers/general voters.

PART-I (A)

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|---|--|
| 1.1 | Name | : | |
| 1.2 | Village | : | |
| 1.3 | Age | : | |
| 1.4 | Sex | : | Male / Female |
| 1.5 | Education | : | Illiterate / Primary / Secondary /
Hr.Sec. / Graduate & above |
| 1.6 | Occupation | : | Agriculture / Business /
Government Service / Others |
| 1.7 | Monthly income (in Rs.) | : | |
| 1.8 | Property | : | Nos. Value in Rs. |
| | (i) Land-Agricultural&Others | : | |
| | (ii) Ornaments/Antiques. | : | |

- (iii) Mithuns/Cows etc. :
- (iv) Gun/Riffle/Pistol etc :
- (v) Car/Two Wheeler/ Truck/Bus :
- (vi) House – Residential/Commercial.:

PART-I (B)

- 1.9 Do you listen to Radio programmes? : Yes / No
- 1.10 Do you see T.V programmes? : Yes / No
- 1.11 Do you read News paper/Magazine? : Yes / No

PART-II

- 2.1 Do you know what Buliang is? : Yes / No
- 2.2 Do you know the Buliangs of your village? : Yes / No
- 2.3 What are the works normally undertaken by Buliangs?
- (i) Settles disputes between the individuals/villagers ()
- (ii) Ceremonial functions. ()
- (iv) Don't know. ()
- 2.4 Do you know what Panchayati Raj is? : Yes / No
- 2.5 Do you know panchayat members of your village? : Yes / No

2.6 What are the works normally undertaken by the Panchayat?

- (i) Construction of roads/Footpath & Drainage etc. ()
- (ii) Provisions of water supply. ()
- (iii) Street lightening/Electrification. ()
- (iv) Maintenance of Health centre & Sanitation. ()
- (v) Don't know. ()

PART-III

3.1 Do you think Panchayats have brought changes

in the traditional Political institutions? : Yes / No

3.2 What are the changes brought in the traditional political system?

- (a) Village leadership taken up by Panchayat members : ()
- (b) Buliang marginalized : ()
- (c) Brought political consciousness and development
in the village : ()

3.3 Whom do you consider to be the leader of you village?

- (a) Gaon Buras : ()
- (b) Buliangs : ()
- (c) Panchayat members : ()
- (d) Don't know : ()

- 3.4 Do you think Panchayat can solve the problems
of your village better than the Buliangs? : Yes / No
- 3.5 Do you think that the villagers have welcomed
the Panchayat system and have faith in it? : Yes / No

Part – IV

- 4.1 In how many elections you have voted? :
- (a) Panchayat elections. No. of times: 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5
- (b) Assembly elections. No. of times: 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5
- (c) Parliamentary elections. No. of times: 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5
- (d) Did not vote in any election. :
- 4.2 Did you canvass in any elections
(Panchayat/Others) for any candidate? : Yes / No
- 4.3 Did you contributed either money or any
other services to a candidate contesting
election? : Yes / No
- 4.4 Have you contested in any election
(Panchayat/Assembly etc.)? : Yes / No
- 4.5 Do you propose to contest any election
(Panchayat/Assembly etc.) in future? : Yes / No / Don't know

- 4.6 Are you a member of a political party? : Yes / No
If yes, which party? : INC/ BJP/AC/ Others:
- 4.7 Do you attend panchayat meeting? : Yes / No
- 4.8 Do you attend meeting of a political party? : Yes / No
- 4.9 Do you participate in political rallies
organized in your area? : Yes / No
- 4.10 Do you participate in the activities organized
by voluntary organizations in your
village/area? : Yes / No

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