THE STUDY

To understand any political system, it requires an in-depth study of the existing patterns in a society. Leadership is one such aspect, which requires microanalysis to understand the socio-political system of a given society. Further, the leaders are usually considered as precursor to the change and development in the modern society.

Arunachal Pradesh is a late entrant into the modern democratic and representative politics. Prior to the introduction of the modern system of governance and administration, the traditional political institutions of respective tribes were the only forum for community decision-making and mechanism to regulate the society. Arunachal being a multi-ethnic society, the traditional political institutions were ethnic-specific. The deliberations in these tribal councils were guided by the traditionally influential village leaders and decisions were based on the customary laws of the land.

The Gaon Burah (popularly known as Gam) and other village elders played the leading role in the functioning of these councils. But with the introduction of statutory Panchayats and emergence of the party politics, a new trend has emerged in the grassroots leadership pattern. This study is a micro-level attempt to understand
the emerging leadership pattern in Arunachal Pradesh with specific reference to the Galo society – one of the ethnic groups in Arunachal Pradesh. Micro-research seems to be the need of the hour because “without the cluster of the micro-units the macro-unit can hardly perpetuate its consequential persistence. Seen differently, micro-level decisions, if remains non-implementative, threaten the very existence of the micro-system”[1]. The Galos have an elaborate and organized village council system known as *Keba* (popularly known as *Kebang*), an indigenous traditional political institution, responsible for taking care of issues involving socio-cultural development and conflict resolution. *Keba* being a democratic institution facilitates the participation of the members of the village without any discrimination. However, in practice, it is the village elders who are suppose to guide the proceedings of the *Keba*. It is observed that in Galo society, the *Gaon Burah* has been playing a significant role in the functioning of the *Keba*. In principle, a person with influence, knowledge of customary laws and acceptability in the village[2] was appointed as *Gaon Burah*. A person so appointed is recognized as village authority and empowered to try both criminal and civil disputes if the party is a resident within his jurisdiction. However,

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2. See “Guidelines regarding appointment, power and functions of the Gaon Burahs”, O/o Deputy Commissioner, East Siang district, Pasighat.
introduction of the statutory Panchayat and the emergence of competitive party politics have led to the emergence of the new type of leaders. The democratically elected Panchayat leaders are vested with the responsibilities of leading the rural mass towards the path of socio-economic development of the village. The party leaders are also becoming influential in the village affairs due to their linkage with the outside agencies. Unlike traditional leaders such as Gaon Burahs and village elders whose influence confined to their respective villages, the influence and link of the modern leaders are discernible across the village, clan and the tribe. Now, what we observe in the village is that there is the emergence of multiple centres of power and decentralized decision-making authority; and in the process, the sole dominance of Gaon Burahs as leader of the village appears to be significantly eroded. Hence, in this study, an attempt has been made to understand the emerging pattern of leadership in Galo society and to find out the relationship between the traditional and the modern leaders in terms of their determinants, attitudes, perceptions and so on. Further, the closed political system of the rural tribal society is usually vulnerable to the political manoeuvring on the basis of clan, family and the tribes. Hence, this study also looks into the importance and the extent of influence of the primordial loyalties in shaping the leadership pattern in Galo society.
Review of Literature

Amidst complexities, the problem of leadership has attracted the interest of the scholars resulting into an impressive output of studies on the subject. But most of the studies on leadership give major emphasis on macro-study of the national and state level leadership. There are also abundance of literature on leadership in business enterprises and other formal institutions, which can hardly be related to the leadership process in the society or community. The studies on grassroot leadership too largely confined to leadership in the traditional context in village India only. The problem of leadership in context of the rapid democratization of rural society have not attracted as much attention of the scholars as they deserve and it is more so in the tribal societies. The present study, with main focus on the trend of leadership in the changing context, is a modest attempt to fill this gap. It would not be out of place to have a glimpse of few relevant studies on leadership.

In fact, D.S. Choudhry's *Emerging Rural Leadership in Indian States* (1981) is a scholarly attempt on the grassroot Panchayat leaders. He concluded that though there has been some visible change in the pattern of traditional leadership in rural India after the introduction of the Panchati Raj institutions, the political power at the local level is still concentrated in the hands of rich peasantry and the
people of higher castes which have traditional social status, wealth and many other strong points in their favour. Real democratization of power or involvement of the people of all sections of society is yet to take place³. Similarly, A.Y. Darasankar in his Leadership in Panchayat Raj (1979) observed, "Leadership is regarded as position of authority rather than one of service"⁴. But, S.N. Mishra in his Political Socialization in Rural India (1980) observed that there is sign of decentralization and diffusion of leadership between the upper caste and the lower castes⁵. The same author in Politics and Leadership in Municipal Government (1979) presented a vivid picture of dynamics of leadership in the urban and semi-urban areas. B.S. Bhargava in his Grassroot Leadership (1979) observed that the emerging leadership was individual-oriented and economic status was a powerful determinant of rural leadership, so ‘the leadership cannot be called modern by any standard; at best it may be called neo-traditional’⁶. Writing about the traditional leaders among the Nagas, M. Horam in Naga Polity (1980) stated, “Good physique, dominating personality, eloquence in speech, bravery on the battle-field and kindness of heart are the

⁵. Mishra, S.N., Political Socialization in Rural India, Inter-India Publication, Delhi, 1980, p. 142.
prime requisite of a future leader\(^7\). Bandyopadhyay (1985) cited the factors like introduction of Christianity, consolidation of British administration and extension of the relevant provisions of the Indian Constitution as reasons for what he termed ‘leadership shift\(^8\) in the Mijo society. *Traditional Institutions of Meghalaya – A Study of Doloi and his Administration* (1988) by L.S. Gassah is a humble attempt to analyze the functioning of traditional tribal institution as it existed in the past and as it is today incorporating the tradition, continuity and change. He observed that the new pattern of leadership reflects a transition from individual to collective, from the hereditary to elective and from ascriptive to achievement oriented. *Leadership in India* (1962) edited by L.P. Vidyarthi is one of the widely referred work on leadership. The first part of the volume deals with theoretical, methodological, as well as general traits of leadership in India. The second part is exclusively devoted to tribal leadership and the third part covers the various aspects of rural leadership. This volume is a commendable work to look at the problems of leadership in India in both the tribal and rural societies in the light of certain theoretical and methodological leads. But, most of these studies have been undertaken in different socio-political environment, which can

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hardly be related to the ongoing leadership pattern in Arunachal Pradesh in general, and Galo society in particular.

The work on leadership in context of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh is very scanty. The existing works are mostly anthropological, sociological and on the history of the territory. Though there are certain works which address to the study of self-governing institutions of the tribes, most of them are based on observation, accounts and reports of the British officers, narration by an individual, incidents and events, etc. Verrier Elwin’s *Democracy in NEFA* (1965) gives a descriptive account of structural composition of almost all the tribal councils of Arunachal Pradesh. He cautioned against what he called ‘Psychiatric Imperialism’ which meant imposing new ideas of guilt and punishment on the tribal people. J.N. Choudhury’s *Arunachal Panorama* (1973) is a study of the profile of Arunachal Pradesh with major emphasis on the political evolution of the state. He also noted the impact of new forces on the traditional customs and institutions. Sanjay Dubey’s *Dynamics of Tribal Local Polity and Panchayat Raj in Arunachal Pradesh* (1991) is also a study on the existing tribal councils of Arunachal Pradesh in the context of the introduction of statutory Panchayat. *The Wanchos* by Parul Dutta (1990); *A Tryst with the Mishmi Hills* by D.S. Negi (1996) are some of

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the recent publications on the tribes. But these works do not deal exclusively with the problem of leadership except some observations. The Adis (erstwhile 'Abhors') are relatively more studied among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh due to their earlier contact with the Britishers and establishment of educational institutions relatively at an earlier date. *In Abhor Jungles* by A. Hamilton (1912), *Aspect of Padam-Minyong Culture* by Sachin Roy (1960), *Alluring Frontiers* by Tarun Kumar Bhattacharjee (1988); *History and Culture of the Adis* by T. Nyori (1993) and *British Relations with the Adis* by N.N. Osik (1992) are some of the important works on Adis which seek to trace the early and recent history of the Adis and gives significant informations about the indigenous socio-political institutions. A.C. Talukdar's *Political Transition in the Grassroots in Tribal India* (1987) sums up the trend of changes in the leadership pattern in the Panchayat perspective. But he devoted only a chapter on leadership, which gives an account of the transition in leadership pattern in Arunachal Pradesh with much emphasis on the Kebang of the Padam-Minyong group of Adis. Infact most of the works on the Adis are basically confined to the Padam-Minyong groups only. The present scholar has come across only two works, which exclusively deals with the Galos. The pioneering work on the Galos was carried out by L.R.N. Srivastava long back in 1962. His *The Gallongs* (1962) is a
sociological work, which briefly gives an introductory idea of the Galos, their country, material culture, socio-economic organizations, rituals and few other aspect of their life. But, the author has not incorporated any dimension on leadership in his study except few observations on the political organization of the village. One commendable work on the Galo was done by B.B. Pandey entitled *Leadership Pattern in a Tribal Society* (1991). The study tries to provide a detail description of the traditional leadership pattern in the Galo society, which, hitherto, was neglected by earlier researchers. However, it is basically a sociological work, which tries to analyze the leadership pattern at the grassroot level of the Galo society with the help of the then political interpreter and political Jamadars. So, the study is little short of empirical discussion to assess the leadership pattern in real and emerging socio-political perspective. Further, long time has elapsed since these studies were conducted but the society under consideration is under rapid transition. Thus, under the impact of the forces of modernization, an independent work on the grassroot leadership is yet to come up. More justification through participant observation and knowledge of local dialect to study the leadership pattern is urgently required.
So, this study is a humble attempt by a local researcher to understand the emerging trends of leadership vis-à-vis political process at the grassroot level in Galo society.

Conceptual Framework

The study of leadership has attracted the interest of the sociologists, political scientists and social psychologist alike due to the fact that it is an important aspect, which requires micro-analytical study to understand the political system of a given society. The growing complexities of life, advancement in science and technology, increasing role of government, rising expectation of the people and other similar factors have exalted the social significance of the study of leadership. But there is no unanimity among the writers and scholars as to what leadership actually mean? The studies on leadership conducted by different scholars under different socio-economic and political environments have produced different meaning and interpretation of the leadership. “The proliferation of research on leadership in cross-cultural context has enriched the concept but the plethora of ideas instead of reducing the complexities characterizing it has augmented it”\(^\text{10}\). It is aptly stated “leadership is one of the most observed and least understood

phenomenon on earth". It is probably the most studied and least understood of any management subject. There is a great variety of ways in which one individual stands out from others in social situation and in which the one may be said, therefore, to be leading the others. So diverse are these ways that "anyone concept attempting to encompass them all as 'leadership' does, loses the specificity and precision that is necessary for scientific thinking".

"As social scientists have learned to probe beneath the manifest aspect of leadership and have been correspondingly more sensitive to the relevance of numerous and complex latent facts, they have found it more difficult to agree on what leadership is and does." Thus, leadership is a complex and ever-changing phenomenon depending upon the nature of situation, task and the group. But, even under these complexities, the scholars have tried to define and interpret leadership from different angle.

The word 'lead' comes from an Anglo-Saxon word, which means a road or a way; it is knowing what the next step is. So, leaders are those who lead or excel others in certain field and lead the group towards the desired goals. The leaders occupy a special position of influence in the group or society by virtue of certain individual

personality traits, favourable situation and nature of the task to be accomplished. The Oxford English dictionary defines leaders as one who guides others in action or opinion; one who takes the lead in any business, enterprise or movement; one who is followed..., a person of eminent position and influence. Thus, in a way, leadership is a process of leading, guiding and influencing others to accomplish certain goals. But the meaning and definition of leadership is not that simple. There is a lot of theoretical complexities due to the fact that variables like individual personality, situation and nature of the task to be accomplished together plays a significant role in the leadership process. Burns identified leadership with power when he says, "leaders are a particular kind of power holders. All leaders are actual or potential power holders but not all power holders are leaders".15
Thus, those who hold power are not necessarily leaders. The leaders enjoy certain degree of inner power to influence others in their action and opinion. But he influences the others out of consent, rather than coercion. The followers cannot be forced to obey the commands of the leaders, but leaders are obeyed for the welfare of the led. There is symbiotic relationship between leaders and the followers because there can be no leading without following. So in the study of leadership phenomenon, the follower is as important as leader itself.

M.N. Basu identified leadership in terms of "dominance, which include flattery, suggestion, argument, threat and physical forces"\textsuperscript{16}.

Basically there are three popular theories regarding the concept of leadership. Firstly, the trait theory, a traditional view of leadership, is still popular among many scholars. They tend to view the leadership as a special trait or set of traits or in-born qualities like initiative, courage, integrity, oratory and intelligence residing within an individual, which predestine him to be a leader. To them, leaders are born, not made. Ramesh K. Arora identified three principal traits of leadership as ABC, where A stands for Ability, B for Behaviour and C for Character\textsuperscript{17}. All the attributes of leadership can be classified under these three traits, though relative importance of A or B or C would differ according to the environment in which leadership situation occurs. For that matter, various scholars have tried to identify different traits of leadership such as initiative, intelligence, foresight, enthusiasm, self-confidence, courage, loyalty, decisiveness, etc. D.R. Singh defined leadership as "a person who on the basis of certain qualities is accepted by the members of the group as superior; by virtue of which he occupies special status and position within the group; commands sufficient influence and control over the members of the group; and the members take pride in eulogizing his qualities

\textsuperscript{16} Basu, M.N., \textit{Role of Leaders in the Life of an Individual in Leadership in India} (ed.) L.P. Vidyarthi, Asia Publishing House, Delhi, 1962, p. 68.

\textsuperscript{17} See 'Introduction' of \textit{Leadership} by G.P. Pilania, RBSA Publisher, Jaipur, 1991.
by which they think he can lead the group towards goal fulfillment”\textsuperscript{18}. The leaders especially in tradition-bound tribal society may owe their position to certain personality traits and characteristics such as known moral stand, knowledge about the traditional history and ability to deal with the issues. But the scholars and social scientists could not conclude with definiteness as to what characteristics are required for leadership and their attempt to isolate crucial traits of leadership have been abortive, as time and environment plays an important role in determining them.

Secondly, the modern psychologists and sociologists rejects the traits approach and instead give more emphasis on the interrelation of person and environment in studying the leadership phenomenon. Popularly known as situational theory, it maintains that leadership is a relationship that exists between persons in a social situation. To quote Murphy, “Leadership does not reside in a person. It is a function of the whole situation”\textsuperscript{19}. Leadership is not symbolized by single individual, rather it rests in a fairly large number of persons thereby acquiring a plural character. Leadership is a relationship that exists between persons in a social situation, and persons who are leaders in one situation may not necessarily be a leader in other


situation. Since leadership is a dynamic process depending upon situation, different situations need different kind of leadership. The individual who has particular trait or qualities required for a given situation will emerge as the leader in that particular situation. Thus, leaders are those who can respond more adequately to the needs of the situation or who can avail the given situation to lead the group towards the desired goal.

Thirdly, the Group Theory of leadership maintains that leadership is a functional relationship between three basic variables viz. the leader, the group and the situation. "Leadership is a concept applied to the personality-environment relation to describe a situation when a personality is so placed in the environment that his 'will, feeling and insight' direct and control others in the pursuit of a common cause" (Pigor, 1935). Schnrich defines, "Leadership is a relationship between an individual and a group built around some common interest and behaviour as directed or determined by the leader". According to the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, "Leadership is a concept applied to the interaction of two or more persons when the evaluation of one or some of the parties to interaction is such that he or they come to the control and direct the
actions of the others in the pursuit of common or compatible end.”

Thus, leadership is basically a function of personality and social system in dynamic interaction. It embraces a wide variety of interactional relationship, all of which have quite different effects in terms of group behaviour. Bernard M. Bass describes leadership as a “kind of interaction between or among people.” To Fairchild, “Leadership is an act of organizing and directing the interests and activities of a group of persons…”

Besides, some scholars have identified leadership in terms of influence when it is said that ‘leadership is the process of influencing collectively – a group of persons towards the achievement of specific goals’. Leadership is the ‘activity of influencing people to cooperate towards some goal which they come to find desirable’. Thus, this notion maintains that three variables such as leader, situation and the group, influence each other thereby creating a leadership phenomenon.

In essence, each of the above-discussed conception of leadership taken separately reveals only a part of the total phenomenon. No particular definition and set of definitions can

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explain leadership in totality in exclusion of the others. All the approaches represent different facts of the same social phenomenon and yet they may not provide adequate theoretical framework for the study of leadership. But, it must be agreed that all the frameworks have their share of contribution to the study of leadership. Despite the fact that there is no single theoretical framework universally accepted to study and understand the phenomena of leadership, it has assumed wide importance in the academic realm due to its relevance to have comprehensive understanding of the same.

**Typologies of Leadership**

Attempts have been made by the scholars to categories the various types of leadership on the basis of different criteria of classification. On the basis of personality types and social roles, leaders have been classified as the political boss, the democrat, the bureaucrat, the diplomat, the reformer, the agitator and the theorist. On the basis of mode of exercise of their leadership, they have been classified as authoritarian, democratic and charismatic. On the basis of the relationship between the leaders and the led, they have been divided into institutional, dominant and persuasive leaders. Using the criteria of the origin of leadership, they have been classified as self-appointed, group-appointed and executive appointed leaders. And on the basis of the objectives of leadership, they have been
categorized as executive leaders, intellectual leaders and artistic leaders. Merton (1957) has classified leaders into two categories - monomorphic and polymorphic on the basis of their area of influence. Leaders who wield their influence in a limited and small area are monomorphic, while those who exert influence in a number of areas are polymorphic. Burns (1978) has classified leadership into 'transactional leaders and transforming leader'. The transactional leader carries on day-to-day routine business. He believes in non-interference. He is more a manager than a leader. The transforming leader is vision-oriented, value shaper, path-finder, educator and a catalyst. His approach is always motivating, elevating, mobilizing, inspiring, uplifting and activating. Ayyangar pointed out three broad classification of leadership viz. (i) those that are born leaders by their superior skills or ability, (ii) those that acquire leadership by consent of their followers or by the use of force, and (iii) those that have leadership thrust upon them. While discussing the pattern of leadership, Nagpaul identified three types of leadership: (a) institutional leadership which refers to formal or appointive leaders who by virtue of their positions are expected to carry the leadership roles, (b) situational leadership which emerges at a time when institutional leadership is found to be inadequate, or informal

leadership which commands respect and prestige in specific situation, (c) dictatorial or authoritarian leadership which tends to centralize all the functions in one individual and does not seek to evoke the maximum involvement of other members, and (d) democratic or creative leadership which promotes responsible participation by other group members and reinforces cooperative inter-personal relationship within the group. However, it is not easy to compartmentalize various leadership types particularly the authoritarian and the democratic types because the totally democratic approach may not be easy to fit into well-established hierarchical form of organization, especially in traditional and transitional societies where non-democratic values are still held high. That's why Mishra (1979) added one more type called 'reality-oriented leadership'. On the basis of the functions of leadership, Hamblin identified three types of leaders i.e. task leader, procedural leaders and socio-emotional leaders. The task leaders are more concern with groups' environmental problems. A procedural leader may influence the group the most in coordinating the activities of the various members into a cooperating whole. A socio-emotional leader

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may influence in helping group members to handle their emotions and maintaining group cohesion. But, there is always an overlapping of the functions as single individual may at the same time be the task, procedural and socio-emotional leader. On similar criteria of role, Gusfield also explains two types of leadership such as ‘task leader and social leader’\(^{32}\). The task leader sets the condition of work performance and goal orientation. The social leader maintains the morale of the followers and the harmony of the social group. There is another type of leadership known as charismatic leaders. They are exceptional leader with exceptional individual personal qualities by virtue of which he is distinguish from common people. Max Weber said that charisma is often mixed with the traditional kind of authority. ...and that charisma depends not only on leader’s qualities but also on the followers’ receptivity\(^{33}\).

However, the studies on tribal and rural society have produced a slightly different kind of leaderships, though above types are more or less equally applicable and identifiable in rural societies. In the context of emerging pattern of leadership in the rural society, they may be classified broadly into traditional leaders, and non-traditional leaders though no such dichotomous model of leadership necessarily

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\(^{33}\) As quoted in *Leadership in Panchayati Raj* by A.Y. Darshankar, Panchsheel Prakashan, Jaipur, 1979, p. 13.
The traditional leaders are the village elders, chiefs, zamindars, feudals, etc. who are comparatively more caste-oriented, statusquo-minded and individual oriented rather than institution-oriented. But such characterization of traditional leadership may not be always true in all societies particularly in some tribal societies where there are no social stratifications. They are the leaders who are legitimately accepted in the society or village on the basis of their capability, sense of justice, experience, knowledge about traditional codes and their cooperative attitude in solving the problems. The non-traditional leaders are modern institutional leaders who perform routine functions of their status allotted to them in the society. In our study, they are democratically elected members of representative institution of Panchayat bodies. Besides these, we may add another type of leadership called transitional leaders who had attained the leadership in the traditional manner but through their contact with the other world had acquired comparatively newer ideas and aspirations. Mishra (1980) found two types of leadership in Bihar Panchayat bodies: upper middle class leadership and lower class leadership. Till the introduction of the statutory Panchayat, influential members of the Bhumihar caste used to become the headman of the village but the introduction of statutory Panchayat has made a substantial difference on the domination of Bhumihars in the village affairs.
There is a change in the attitude of traditional leadership, and the traditional leadership is gradually receding in the background\(^{34}\). Sahay (1981) has pointed out that there are three types of leadership in tribal society - (a) traditional leaders such as village or regional headman, sacred specialist, traditional medicine man, and so on, (b) emergent leaders like Mukhya, Sarpanch, Chairman, etc. and (c) traditional-emergent leaders such as erstwhile traditional leaders who are trying to swim with the new currents. According to Bhouraskar, the indigenous leadership of the village could be classified into two categories namely 'official and non-official leaders. Non-official village leadership could be further classified into two: formal and informal\(^{35}\). The formal leadership is attributed to governments position and formal institutions. Bandyopadhyay called them as 'positional leaders occupying formal position in organizations and use the position as sets of tools in the process of power or pattern of interaction where power is distributed'\(^{36}\). The informal leadership may or may not be traditional. It includes influential persons in the village. They may not occupy any formal position, but can take decisions on behalf of the villagers and

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\(^{34}\) Mishra, S.N., *Political Socialization in Rural India*, Inter-India Publications, Delhi, 1980, pp. 101-102.


influence the decisions. They are the real leaders of the community and voice the group's collective conscience.

The general overview of the studies on leadership in the tribal and rural society clearly indicates the emergence of a new type of leaders to whom many scholars prefer to call the 'modern' leadership. They are comparatively younger leaders with some educational background, having wider area of influence because of their regular contact with the government officials and other outside agencies. One of the best examples is the representative of the Panchayat bodies who are democratically elected leaders. In nutshell, the modern leadership has got achieved status rather than ascribed. But Rangnath was cautious enough when he said, "it is no wonder that in certain important levels of rural leadership some of its traditional determinants like the higher caste status are still powerful. In this way, the evolving pattern of rural leadership presents a picture of an amalgam of new trends and traditional elements though it is evident that the older forces appear to fight a losing battle".37 Bhargava also preferred to call them as 'neo-traditional'38 instead of modern leaders. Such views on the emerging types of leadership are also not out of place especially in the context of the tribal and caste-

ridden rural society in India. Certain status symbols tend to persist in spite of shifts in the centre of effective authority and leadership\textsuperscript{39}.

**Leadership in Arunachal Pradesh**

Arunachal Pradesh is the late entrant into the modern representative politics. Prior to the advent of the British in the region, this land was almost unknown to the other parts of the country. The interaction with the Ahom administration was very occasional and casual. There was no formal rules and regulations to govern the society except the traditional political institution of each tribe. The society was regulated through the traditional political institutions, now popularly known as village councils. These village councils have managed to serve as an effective dispute resolution mechanism, thereby maintaining the harmony and cohesion in the society. Apart from the judicial decisions, the village council is concerning with all activities related to the welfare and security of the village. The striking feature of the functioning of village councils in Arunachal Pradesh is the role of elders as its leaders. The elders are informal leaders who by virtue of their wisdom, knowledge, wealth and other similar traits have significant influence in the village in terms of decision-making. Their word is always respected and obeyed by the common people. The age and wisdom has special place in the

leadership structure of almost all the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Thus, the tribal council is basically a council of elders. In the traditional context, different tribes have different nomenclature for the institutional village leaders though their role is more or less similar, if not identical. The Tsorgen of the Monpa is the chief not by birth but by unanimous election/selection by the Monpa village council known as Tso-Tsangzom. In addition to the power conferred on him by the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation of 1945, the Tsorgen, in the capacity of village authority, is competent to decide all civil and criminal cases under the customary law. His duties include not only the administration of the village but also giving advice and guidance in all matters concerning its welfare as a whole and of any individual householder. Each household renders one-day service to the chief (Tsorgen) annually or pays equivalent amount in cash or kind, which signifies the authority, legitimacy and the respect he commands in the society. The Tsorgen is always assisted in his works by Gomin (messenger) and the Tsoblas who represent him in different villages. The Tsoblas can also try the petty cases with the help of panel of assessors known as Mangma. The village council of the Sherdukpen is known as Jung, which consists of village headman (Thik akhao), other members of the council (Jung me), a courier and a chowkidar. The official Gaon Burah also plays a
prominent role in the functioning of the village council but any
decision in the village must respect or conform to the consensus of
the public opinion. The persons of importance in Aka village council
(Mele/Raiz) are the Gaon Burah, the Borah, and the Gibba who
commands an influence in the village by virtue of their position.
Besides them, the elder people of the community have also say in the
matters. Respect is usually given to age. "Apatani villages lack a
centralized authority wielding power over all the inhabitants, but
village affairs are managed in a somewhat informal manner by a
council of clan representative called Buliang"\textsuperscript{40}. There are three types
of Bullangs. The Aka Bullangs are the principal leaders of age and
wisdom who are always consulted on all important matters. The
Yapa Bullangs are more dynamic leaders of middle-aged men who
practically take the decision and settle the dispute. But, practically
there is overlapping of duties. The Ajang Buliang consist of young
men who act as messengers and assistants to the Yapa Buliang.
"Though the Bullangs are collectively the upholders of tribal law, they
act primarily as the spokesman of their own clan or clan group, and
not as village headman invested with absolute authority"\textsuperscript{41}. Their
duties are those of arbiters rather than of the judge. The village
council (Abbala) of the Idu Mishmi tribe usually composed of a few

\textsuperscript{40} Elwin, Verrier, \textit{Democracy in NEFA}, Shillong, 1965, p. 81.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid, p. 82.
elderly villagers reputed for their wisdom and soundness of judgement. The political authority of the Khamptis vests in the village chiefs who normally belong to one of the royal classes. The office of the chief is hereditary in clan only, not in the family. But the chief exercise his authority through a council (Mokchup), the member of which is recruited from the people of various social status. The village council of the Nockte (Ngothum) consists of the chief as its head and few other elderly experienced members. The chief though seems authoritarian always consult the council. The chief is assisted by other functionaries like - Ngongba, Ramba, Tamha, Kampa and the official Gams. In each Wancho village, there is well-organized ‘council of elders’ known as Wanchu-Wangcha. The ‘Wangham’, chief, is the head and he is assisted by number of designated members with different functions. The number of members and their functions vary from village to village. The Tangsas have also well organized council of elders known by different names in different sub-tribes such as Khaphua, Khapong, Khapo and so on. These councils consist of leaders who are anointed on the basis of their wealth and intelligence, and the other members represent the various clans.

Apart from the positional institutional leaders of the various tribes, there are other leaders who are equally, if not more, influential in the society. The first categories of such leaders are the prominent
elders of the village. In each village council, the elder people have special position though they do not hold any formal position in the traditional socio-political structure. In tribal councils, the age and wisdom has special place. Such people are always obeyed and consulted in arriving at a decision. Secondly, the Gam or Gaon Burah plays a prominent role in the functioning of the village council especially in those issues, which concern with the award of justice and punishment according to the customs and the conventions. His status as village leader is further elevated due to the rapport he enjoys with the administration. In principle, an elderly responsible person whom the people consider as their legitimate leader in the village is usually appointed as Gam by the district administration and he is provided with red coat as status symbol. He is paid annual honorarium by the government according to the seniority in the service. Hence, they are the official leaders who link the village with administration, especially for correspondence and other judicial decisions. Thirdly, the introduction of Panchayat Raj in 1967 coupled with the emergence of competitive party politics have opened up new avenues for comparatively younger people to assume the leadership roles. The emerging new leaders of the Panchayat bodies and the political parties are supposed to be more adaptive to the changing tune of the time. The changing context has necessitated a
new trend in the leadership phenomenon. The leadership is becoming more formal and likely to be more scattered. The traditional pattern of group leadership is being gradually replaced by individualistic, semi-official and artificiate leadership. It is also observable that with changed scenario, the rural leadership is becoming more broad based and party politics is augmenting the enlarged role of the modern institutional leaders.

**Leadership in the Galo society**

The village council (Keba) of the Galos, which is popularly known as Kebang do not recognize single individual or a separate body of individuals as the ultimate authority in the village. The Galos, who are popularly considered as one of the major sub-tribe of the Adis, have similar system of village council with that of the other Adis. All the adult members of the village are the natural members of the council (Keba) and they are free to participate in the proceedings and meetings. The Galo village has got collective leadership. No single individual is as influential as to dictate or dominate the decisions of the Keba. The traditional leadership structure is not hereditary or ascribed as in some other tribes. "In practice, however, many of the proceedings of such meetings concern

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42. See 'Introduction', "Leadership in India" (ed.) L.P. Vidyarthi, Ashish Publishing House, Delhi, 1968.
43. Some sections of the Galos who are based in urban areas are claiming Galo as separate tribe different from the Adis. But, such opinion is yet to get a social approval.
only a few of the members present, those who have sufficient knowledge of the subject under consideration or those who are well-versed with the intricacies of the tribal law. Thus, the expert plays their part while others only sit and listen. But in the matter of judgement, it is the consent of the village community in its corporate capacity that largely counts”44. The men of age, wisdom, experience, and knowledge about customary laws have got special status in the decision-making process. On Adi leadership, Tarun Kumar Bhattacharjee wrote, “Gifted with knowledge of myths and customs they carried a great deal of conviction with the audience while expressing a thought. They were extempore speakers, voice rise in a crescendo while elaborating a point on customary law and belief of forefathers since the days of Pedong Nane – the mythical mother of all beings”45. “An important characteristic of the leadership pattern in most of the village councils was that it was not instantaneous but a result of tortuous and prolonged process of acquiring mastery over a large corpus of customs and jurisprudence and gaining confidence of the fellow villagers. But in all cases, the leaders had to gain recognition through their age, knowledge of customary laws, years of experience and proven ability through their sustained interest and

active participation in the public affairs". Thus, the ultimate
decision is taken by the village elders popularly known as *Kebang* *Abu/Keba Abo*. Here, the *Keba Abo* are the village elders who do not
occupy any formal position but take leading role in the judicial
decisions and other community affairs in the village. The terms
frequently used to designate such prominent village elders of the
Galo society are *Nyijik*, *Nyikok* and the *Rutum*. The spiritual leader
like priest is known as *Nyijik* or *Nyibuh* or *Jikte* according to their
status. The prominent priest (*Jikte*) is usually invited to distant
villages also. They (*Nyijik* or *Jikte*) are the spiritually gifted people
who are believed to have acquired the power to communicate with
different benevolent and malevolent spirits and deities. Such people
are rarely available. They are the medium of communication or only
link between the human being and the supernatural powers. They are
born, not made or acquired. The *Nyikok* symbolize the person who
has deep knowledge of traditions, conventions, practices and
customary laws coupled with good oratorial skills, interpretation,
analysis and judgement. The dividing line between the *Nyikok* and
the *Rutum* is very narrow, if not non-existent. "Rutum is one who is
known to be public-spirited and take an active part in all activities of

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public welfare"\(^47\). But, apart from other individual personality, the Rutum is influential because of wealth or economic status and his ready generosity on the public occasions. "It should, however, be remembered that these are not public offices as such. They indicate personal status and prestige the persons acquire in public estimation on account of their talents, merits and achievements"\(^48\). These people are neither elected nor formally selected, rather, they are accepted by virtue of their talent, knowledge and wisdom.

The British penetration into the region was fraught with far-reaching effects of great magnitude especially in the leadership structure of the traditional society. The system of appointing Gam/Gaon Burah, Political Interpreter, and Political Jamadar was a totally new innovation for the Galos and other tribes alike. Under the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation of 1945, the age-old authority of village councils, headmen and the chiefs, wherever existed, were formally recognized as village authorities and vested with the task of maintaining peace and order within their jurisdiction. Some prominent and influential village elders (Keba Abo) were spotted and appointed by the administration as Gam thereby created positional/formal leaders in the village Keba. They were provided with ‘red coat’ to symbolize the formal authority given to


\(^{48}\) Ibid, p. 57.
them and the system still continues. Now, a Gaon Burah has authority because he is in the office. Initially, they were not paid but now-a-days the Gams are paid an annual honorarium. Another class of influential people invested with formal authority in the grassroot level was the Political Jamadar and the Political Interpreter. The Political Interpreter, as its name suggests, was appointed merely as translators and conveyors of the decisions and orders of the government to the people. The village people could convey their prayers and appeals to the officers through the interpreters only. They were paid officials of the British government. But the very nature of their job such as close association with the officers and knowledge about the formal rules and officials procedures made them popular in the eyes of the innocent villagers. Hence, they became instrumental in settling the disputes and awarding compensation to the victims. The Political Jamadar was also a paid government personnel. He was a substitute for regular Area Superintendent in the places and area where such official was not posted. The Jamadar was practically drawn from the local people only. Thus, the system of appointing Gam, political interpreter and the Political Jamadar introduced ‘individual authority in place of the community authority’ because these personnel were practically super-imposed by the government without necessary consent of the

49. Ibid, p. 63.
public. The official interference in the community administration led to the cracks in the traditional leadership structure. The imposition of statutory organ in the customary institution (Keba) has led to the gradual degeneration of village democracy and its leadership. Thus, the Gam, Interpreter and the Jamadar were the first group of people in the Galo society who were conferred with formal authoritative position of influence in the villages. Dr. B.B. Pandey rightly described them as 'official leadership'.

Another round of transformation in the leadership process in Galo society took place with the introduction of Panchayati Raj in 1967 AD and the subsequent elections to various posts of the Panchayat bodies. This ushered, at least in principle, into an emergence of formally and democratically elected leaders drawn from comparatively younger generation. These emerging leaders of the Panchayat bodies become instrumental in the decision-making process relating to the developmental programmes and the developmental priorities. Hence, the corporate authorities of the village under the guidance of traditional leaders are shared by the new modern leaders of the Panchayat bodies. Besides the Panchayat bodies, the emergence of party politics has brought about further transformation in the leadership process in the Galo society in form politicization of the village community and the legitimatization of the
majority decisions. The Panchayat has been instrumental in bringing the party politics to the villages. Now, the leadership pattern in Galo society is transformed.

Objectives of the study

To make the study of leadership more meaningful, it must be viewed in context of changes taking place in the society. Thus, this study revolves around the following major objectives:

1. To analyze the socio-economic background of both the traditional and the modern leaders and thereby understand the emerging pattern of leadership.

2. To understand the attitude, perceptions and orientation of the traditional and the modern leaders respectively.

3. To analyze the decision-making process in the village in light of the emerging pattern of leadership.

4. To study the role of primordial loyalties in the leadership process.

Hypotheses

This study have tested the following hypotheses:

1. The leadership pattern in Galo society is undergoing a process of change due to the impact of political modernization. The modern leadership is becoming more popular than the
traditional leaders. But, recruitment to leadership is not that democratic as it is generally thought of.

(2) The attitudes and perceptions of the leaders are in tune with the changing socio-political environment.

(3) The decision-making process at grassroot level is now marked by conflict and competition. Authoritarian and arbitrary decisions are not uncommon.

(4) Though democratic norms have entered into the political process in Galo society, the primordial loyalties determine the recruitment to leadership to a great extent.

Methodology and organization of the study.

The present study is basically an empirical study. Relevant data for the study was collected from both primary and secondary sources. We adopted positional approach in identifying the sample for primary data collection. The sample size for the study constitutes of 221 respondents. As the location of habitation of the Galos spreads over about 18 administrative circles covering both East Siang and West Siang district excluding Upper Subansiri district⁵⁰, we included five administrative circles (two from East Siang and three from West Siang district) and three villages from each circle. Adequate care was also taken to represent both the hilly areas and the plain areas. Hence, two circles from foothill areas and three from the hilly areas

⁵⁰ The Galos are found in Dupurijo and Baririjo circle of Upper Subansiri district also.
were selected. The selection of the village was on the basis of location of the villages – the village nearer to the circle headquarter, one in between the border area of the circle and circle headquarter and the third one was from the villages away from the circle headquarter of each circle. This was done to get more representative information of the different villages. While adopting the empirical survey method, primary data was collected from the sample, which constituted of both the traditional leaders as well as the modern leaders. For the purpose of this study, traditional leaders consisted of Gaon Burah/Gam, village elders (Nyikok) and the priest (Nyijik). The Gaon Burah/Gam meant the official Gam appointed by the district administration under the framework of the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945. The village elders are those leaders of the village who did not held formal position but instrumental in decision-making. The priest (Nyijik/Nyibuh) is the sacred leaders and considered as the custodian of the traditional belief system. Further, the modern leaders, in our study, consisted of the Panchayat leaders, party leaders and the church leaders. The Panchayat leaders consisted of Gram Panchayat Members and the Anchal Samity Members of the last Panchayat term. The party leaders consisted of those who hold a party office like president and secretary of any political party at village or the block level. Here, the
church leaders do not necessarily mean the religious or Christian leaders. They have been grouped under the modern leaders because many of them were party office bearer or the Panchayat members. The data have been collected through the technique of person to interview with the help of suitably designed open-ended structured interview schedule. Data were also collected from the secondary sources as per the requirement of the chapters of the study from various sources. Informal discussion with certain leaders, both traditional and modern has been used at times of strengthen the arguments. Further, we adopted simple method of calculation to analyse the data. The fractions below 0.5 were ignored and above 0.5 were taken as 1 so as to make the total percentage to 100. Where it was not possible, the fractions are shown.

The study is organized into six chapters. Chapter - I deals with the statement of the problem, conceptual framework; review of the literatures, objective, methodology and the hypothesis. It also gives the profile of Arunachal Pradesh and Galos. Chapter - II is the study of the socio-economic background of the leaders. Chapter - III deals with the study of the attitudes, perception and opinion of the leaders on some important issues. Chapter - IV is the analysis of the changing trends in the decision-making process in the village.
Chapter - V is the study of the role of primordial loyalties on the leadership formation and Chapter - VI is the summary and conclusion of our study.

II

PROFILE OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Arunachal Pradesh, the first land in India to greet the mother Sun (*Ane Donyi*)⁵¹, is home for about twenty five tribes and sub-tribes with total population of 10,96,702⁵² including non-tribal population. The major tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are the Monpas, the Sherdukpons, the Akas, the Nishis, the Tagins, the Apatonis, the Hill Miris, the Adis, the Mishmis, the Khamptis, the Singphos, the Wanchos, the Noctes etc. Each tribe of Arunachal Pradesh has their own dialect with different socio-political traditions and the colourful festivals. They are said to speak a Tibeto-Burmese group of language. The racial affiliation of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh is described as Mongoloid, Paleo-Mongoloid and Proto-Mongoloid with considerable difference of opinion. To quote Choudhury, "the tribes of present Arunachal Pradesh with their variations of so-called proto-Mongoloid character had a South-East Asian origin and their

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⁵¹ Many Tribal Groups in Arunachal consider Donyi-Polo (Sun-Moon) as God.
migration to their present area of dispersion took place from that
direction in prehistoric times"53.

Arunachal Pradesh covers a large geographical area of about
83,743 sq. kms. and is bound by Assam in the south, Bhutan in the
west, Tibet and China in the north and Burma in the east. With its
rejuvenating streams and rivers and picturesque mountain hills, it is
a natural home for many varieties of flora and fauna. The topography
of Arunachal Pradesh consists of snow-clad mountains at higher
altitude, beautiful valleys and plateaus, inaccessible terrains, dense
tropical forest and occasional plains especially in the areas bordering
Assam. The 24th state of Indian union, the modern Arunachal
comprise of 14 administrative districts. It has sixty members
Legislative Assembly and sends three representatives in the Union
Parliament (two in Lok Sabha and one in Rajya Sabha).
Corresponding with the development in other sphere, the state has
numerous schools, seven colleges and one university. Once described
as 'hidden land', now Arunachal has joined the national mainstream
in every aspect.

Since the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh lack a script of their own,
and it appears that the languages demanded from such tribes as
the Khampti being an exception, the people themselves have not
preserved any recorded history because of which it becomes difficult

53. Chowdhury, J.N., Arunachal Pradesh from Frontier Tracts to Union Territory, Cosmos
to present a history of this land and its people. The written records about these tribes are started to get from the Ahom period when the tribals occasionally came down to the plains for salt and other items of necessary use. To quote Chowdhury again, 'they were also known to indulge occasionally in depredations in the plain areas contiguous to the hills, and were sometimes involved in the clashedes with the forces of Ahom ruler. At times, they were also known to serve in the Ahom army'\(^{34}\). The Ahom rulers pursued a policy of conciliation and isolation towards the hill tribes. The Ahoms introduced the policy of keeping the tribesmen living in the frontier in good humour and to do this, a form of *Posa* was evolved. The word 'Posa' literally means a collection of subscription for a common purpose. Posa is defined in the official glossary of terms as allowances paid to certain hill tribes inhabiting the hills on the northern frontier of Assam..., on account of commuted blackmail or in consideration of the abandonment by them their claims with regards to certain *duars*. The tribals of the frontier hills used to descend annually to the plains and levy blackmail from the border villages. The blackmail was levied in kind and it appears that the quantities demanded from each village or hamlet were fixed and well known to both parties; and as no individual inhabitant of a plains village was liable for any particular

article, the whole amount was raised collectively by a village subscription or *Posa*. However, this term came to be applied to all payments made to hill tribes by the government, whether they were in communication of the blackmail or merely police payment under treaty obligation\(^5\). The right of *Posa* as claimed by the tribals were recognized or granted by the Ahom rulers.

After seeking British help to curve the Moamarian revolution (1792) by which the revolution was put to an end, the Ahom sought the British help for second time to drive out the Burmese occupation army. Consequently, the British forces defeated the Burmese army and the Treaty of Yandaboo was concluded in February 1826 AD, which ended the Burmese occupation of Assam, thereby paving the way for final annexation of the whole of Assam in 1838 AD. Thus, it is from the time of British rule over Assam that we get more detail history of these hill tribes from their tour diaries, records, reports and accounts. Though we do not have detail history of the region before the Ahom rule, the region was not unknown in the ancient times also. To quote Chowdhury again, “The Vedas and the Puranas, the epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata particularly, make specific reference to the region and the people of the mountainous terrain, ... the hill tribes of the Himalayan zone are the Kiratas mentioned in the

ancient literature such as the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Puranas specially indicate their situation both in the north and east". Besides, the archaeological sites like Bhismaknagar of Lohit district, Malinithan of West Siang district, Itafort of present Itanagar, etc. are also a testimony that this region was inhabited in the dim past also. "But history furnishes a very imperfect insight into the origin and descent of the tribes of the North East Frontier. It seems almost vain to attempt to lift up the dark veil which conceals the origin of the tribes, to trace back their history, or to gain any information of the various revolutions by which they have been influenced; these subjects belongs to times and circumstances which are beyond the limit of certain knowledge. It would be the most cautious and perhaps the most philosophical course, to abstain from any conjecture relative to their origin or from any attempt to penetrate into the nature of causes of which even the most distant results are but partially known to us. Therefore, we must depend on the reflected light which is obtained by the comparison of language, by the analysis of civil and religious institutions and mythological fables, or by tracing marked affinities in the manners and customs of different tribes".

The political evolution of Arunachal Pradesh starts from the Inner Regulation of 1843, a line fixed by the British government to guide the Civil Officer as to how far their jurisdiction extend and to contain the hill tribes within their territory, the purpose of which was basically to regulate the commercial relation between the hill tribes and the British subject in the plains. Once a part of Assam, the present Arunachal Pradesh was known as North East Frontier Tract as designated under the Assam Frontier Tract Regulation in 1914 AD. As such the North East Frontier Tract was divided into three administrative sections viz. the Central and Eastern section with headquarter at Sadhiya, the Western section with headquarter at Charduar and the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract under the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur district of Assam. These divisions were later re-designated as Sadhiya Frontier Tract, Balipara Frontier Tract and Lakhimpur Frontier Tract. Under the Government of India Act, 1919, all the tribal areas in Assam including North East Frontier Tract were designated, as ‘Backward Area’ and Dyarchy had no meaning for these Frontier Tracts. Till 1943, these areas were loosely administered as ‘Excluded Areas’ as designated in Government of India Act, 1935 but in 1943 a change in the administrative set up was effected with the creation of new frontier tract known as Tirap Frontier Tract which was curved out of Sadhiya and Lakhimpur.
Frontier Tract with headquarters at Margerita. Inspite of too rapid punitive expeditions, the British were cautious enough not to disturb the functioning of the traditional political institutions of the tribals. But, the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 was a clear indication of interference in the tribal system of crime and punishment, though for better improvement. The Regulation accepted the authority of the village councils, village headman and chieftaincy wherever they existed. The *Gaon Buras* or *Gam*, designated as village authority, were appointed and had to function within the framework of the Regulation though the Regulation did not explicitly use the expression ‘*Gaon Bura*’. Besides *Gaon Buras*, the Government appointed Political Interpreter and Political *Jamadar* also who were practically acting as an agent of the administration in the villages. In this way, the ‘village democracy was weakened and the governmental control was extended’\(^{58}\) to the tribal villages. After independence, the position of the North East Frontier Tract was hotly debated in the constituent Assembly, which ultimately led to the constitution of a committee popularly known as the Bordoloi Committee under the aegis of the Constituent Assembly to recommend special administrative framework for the tribal areas. But the committee did not favour any change in the existing administrative set up of the North East Frontier Tract. For more

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viable administration, the Balipara Frontier Tract was already divided into Sela sub-agency and the Subansiri area in 1946. Two years later, the Sadhiya Frontier Tract was also divided into the Abhor Hills and the Mishmi Hills with headquarters at Pasighat and Tezu respectively. The independent Indian government decided to push the administration further up to the Mac Mahan Line which lead to the shifting of headquarters to further north. Thus, the position before 1954 were as follows:

1. Sela Sub Agency with headquarters at Bomdila.
2. Subansiri Area with headquarters at Lakhimpur.
3. Abhor Hills with headquarters at Pasighat.
4. Mishmi Hills with headquarters at Tezu.
5. Tirap Frontier Tract with headquarters at Margherita.

The most remarkable change in the history of the North East Frontier Tract was the promulgation of the North East Frontier (Administration) Regulation of 1954, which inaugurated a full-scale administration of the area under collective designation of the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA), and erstwhile Frontier Tracts were re-designated as Frontier Division each under a Political Officer.

As a result, the whole NEFA was divided into six Frontier Divisions viz. (i) Kameng Frontier Division, (ii) Subansiri Frontier Division, (iii) Siang Frontier Division, (iv) Lohit Frontier Division, (v)
Tirap Frontier Division, (vi) Tuensang Frontier Division, which was transferred to Nagaland later on. By that time the rural reconstruction programme known as Community Development Programme was already extended to these frontier areas. For more effective frontier administration, a new cadre of the Indian Frontier Administrative Service (IAFS) was constituted which was, later on, absorbed into IAS cadre. The major administrative changes after the institution of NEFA was the constitution of Daying Ering Committee (1954) basically to explore and report on the feasibility of the introduction of modern democratic decentralization in the then NEFA. The recommendation of the Ering Committee became the basis for the enactment of the NEFA (Panchayat Raj) Regulation of 1967, which virtually ushered into the introduction of the three-tier Panchayat Raj system in NEFA. Further, as a result of the Ering Committee recommendation, the administration of NEFA was handed over to the Home Ministry of India from External Affairs Ministry. At the same time the nomenclature of the administrative division was changed to that of District such as Kameng District, Subansiri District and so on. Correspondingly, the Political Officers, Assistant Political Officer, etc. were re-designated as Deputy Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner respectively. Thus, with the introduction of three-tier democratic decentralization under the framework of Ering
Committee recommendation, the previous policy of isolationism ended and the NEFA was brought under the national mainstream.

The next important event in the political evolution of this frontier state was the enactment of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act of 1971. The basic purpose of the Act was "to provide for the establishment of the states of Manipur and Tripura and to provide for the formation of the state of Meghalaya and of the Union Territories of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh by reorganizing the existing state of Assam and for matters connected therewith". So far the NEFA was concerned, the Act separated it from Assam and converted into a Union Territory to be called as Arunachal Pradesh. The existing Agency Council was also converted into Pradesh Council. The President of India appointed K.A.A. Raja as the first Chief Commissioner of Arunachal Pradesh in January 1972. The Act also provided for one seat each in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha from Arunachal Pradesh to be elected indirectly by the Electoral College. The Chief Commissioner was authorized to constitute a body of five Councillors, which acted as advisory and recommendatory body but later on, the Chief Commissioner transferred all the development departments to the control of the Councillors. The Pradesh Council and the body of Councillors

59. Singh, Chandrika as quoted in Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a State, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1989, p. 129.
started to function as defacto legislature and defacto cabinet respectively. The democratic process, which had begun to take place in Arunachal Pradesh by 1969, got gradual maturity with the introduction of the universal adult franchise for the first time in Arunachal Pradesh in 1972 for election to the Panchayat bodies. The process got further maturity with the conversion of the Pradesh Council into a Provincial Legislature and the body of Councillors into a Council of Ministers. Mr. P.K. Thungon became the first Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh on August 13, 1975. But, the party politics was still new to the leaders of Arunachal Pradesh because no political parties took interest in the Arunachal politics though the Indian National Congress had already their unit established in 1972. The electoral politics started in Arunachal Pradesh with the flouting of the regional party known as the Peoples Party of Arunachal (PPA) in 1977 and since then, the Arunachal politics has witnessed a lot of defection and merger resulting in toppling of many ministries. Late Tomo Riba, the then Agriculture Minister, defected to the PPA because of which he was dropped from the Thungon ministry. The people of Arunachal Pradesh exercised their franchise for the first time in 1977 general election to elect their representative in the Lok Sabha. Shri R.K. Khirmey and late Bakin Pertin became the first elected representative of Arunachal Pradesh in the Lok Sabha.\(^{60}\) After

\(^{60}\) Pandey, B.B., *Arunachal Pradesh - Village State to Statehood*, Himalayan Publishers,
the Congress debacle in 1977 Parliamentary Election, Mr. Thungon, the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh, along with his council of minister, defected to the Janata Party. The first Assembly Election in Arunachal was held in February 1978, which was keenly contested between the Janata Party and Peoples’ Party of Arunachal (PPA). In this election, the Janata Party emerged victorious and hence, Thungon Ministry took the oath of office on 14th March 1978. The Arunachal politics witnessed large-scale defection after the conclusion of the mid-term Assembly election of 1980 and ultimately, Shri Gegong Apang became the Chief Minister. Mr. Apang continued to serve as Chief Minster for 19 (nineteen) uninterrupted years and founded a new regional party known as Arunachal Congress (AC). But, the Apang Ministry was toppled in 1999 by his own party legislators and hence, the Indian National Congress (INC) under the leadership of Shri Mukut Mithi formed the government. ‘Shri Gegong Apang, the lone A.C. legislator created history by dethroning the popularly elected congress government under the leadership of Mukut Mithi. An unprecedented political upheaval-toppling of an elected government and formation of United Democratic Front (UDF) by the same legislators who later switch over to the Bharatiya Janata

Ilanagar, 1997, pp. 188-190.
Party (BJP) – was the most eventful incident witnessed in this peaceful hill states in 2003.\textsuperscript{61}

Profile of Galos

The Galos or (Gallong as they are known in the official parlance) is one of the major tribe of Arunachal Pradesh. Earlier known as Abhor, the Adi is used as blanket term for the entire tribe inhabiting the West Siang District, the East Siang district, the Upper Siang district, the eastern tip of Upper Subansiri district and western portion of Dibang Valley district. Thus, the Adis spread over five districts of Arunachal Pradesh. There are so many sub-tribes within Adis, the Galo being the major one. The other sub-tribes, which are included in the Adis, are the Minyongs, the Pasis, the Padams, the Milangs, the Pangis, the Karkos, the Simongs, the Ashings, the Tangams, the Boris, the Bokars, the Ramos and the Pailibos. Some writer has classified these tribes into two broad groups on the basis of the socio-linguistic affinity and genealogical similarity. Thus, they can be divided into two groups viz. Galo group of the Adis and Minyong-Padam group of the Adis though there is no rigidity in such division rather it is only an academic interest. B.B. Pandey divided them as the Galoic group and the Padamic group.\textsuperscript{62} Dr. Nyori divided them on the basis of the location of their habitation as eastern

\textsuperscript{61} "2003 – A year that was for Arunachal", Echo of Arunachal, December 17, 2003, p. 1.

Adis and western Adis⁶³. The Galos, Bori, Bokar, Pailibo and Ramo come under the Galo group and the rests under the Minyong-Padam group according to the above categorization. However, there is no parent tribe among the sub-tribes of the Adis by which a group may be named. Though Galo is one of the major sub-tribe of the Adis, they are different from other Adis in terms of dress, festivals, dialect, marriage genealogy, hairstyle and social institutions, etc. “The social structure and institutions of the Gallongs are basically different from the other sections of the Adis”⁶⁴. In this connection, Srivastava deserves to be quoted in considerable length. “But these authors (British authors) were not very precise in making a distinction between the Abors and the Gallongs. The Abor is a group of such people as the Minyongs, Padams, Panggis, Pasis and several others, while Gallong is another group of people differing from the Abor in dialect, customs – social and religious and mainly in hairstyle ...the Gallongs cannot be placed in the same group with the Abors”⁶⁵.

Indian Constitution also listed the Galo as separate tribe of Arunachal Pradesh apart from the Abors⁶⁶. Many writers may confuse by two terms – Galo and Gallong. Actually, Gallong is a Minyong-Padam

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⁶⁶ Third Schedule, Part XVIII of Indian Constitution (Schedule Tribe Order, 1950).
pronunciation because the later usually add ‘ng’ when a word ends in a vowel such as ‘Ponung’ for ‘Poni’ and ‘Kebang’ for ‘Keba’. Thus the earlier writers, especially the British used the word ‘Gallowg’ for Galo because of their earlier contact with the Minyong-Padam group of Adis.

Habitation

The Galo dialect conforms in the general characteristics of the other Adis, Nishis, Rini, Nams and the Tagins. There are close linguistic affinities among these groups. But within Galo also the people divide Kaying, Payum, Rungong and Tato where there is mixed settlement of sub-dialect, which are slightly different from one another. The with the other Adis. Dampurjo and Barirjo circle in eastern Upper Subansiri district and Nari Koyu and Sere circles in south-west tip of East Siang, district is also inhabited by the Galos. The Galo is surrounded by Bori and Bokar in the north, the Assam plains in the south, the Tagins and Hill Miris in the west and the Padam-Minyong of Adis in the east. Their habitat is the great Himalayan slope, characterized by hilly terrain with occasional plains, valleys and gorges and beautiful plateaus where main settlements are concentrated.

The large evergreen forest in these lofty hill areas houses many types of animals. The tiger, panthers, elephants, deer, monkeys, squirrels, rats, pigeons, hornbills, wild pigs, snakes and various other
reptiles are abundant here. Thick jungles with tall and stout trees, bushes, creepers, shrubs, bamboo, cane, etc. are the characteristics of this luxuriant evergreen vegetation. The prominent rivers in the Galo area are Sinyen, Dobu, Ego, Yomgo and Sipu, besides these, many smaller rivers and streams criss-cross the hills to ultimately join with the bigger rivers and finally joins the mighty Brahmaputra in Assam. The Galo dialect conforms to the general characteristics of the other Adis, Nishis, Hill Miris and the Tagins. There are close linguistic affinities among these groups. But within Galo also there are number of sub-dialect, which are slightly different from one another. "The competent authorities, who have done work on the dialect of the NEFA, class Gallong in the North Assam group of the Tibeto-Burman language"67.

It will be very interesting to note that all the Galo can trace their genealogical route of origin right from Abotani, the legendary ancestor, down to self. All the Galos believe themselves as the progeny of Abotani. Here, Abo means father and Tani literally means a man. Thus, Abotani can be inferred as the father of mankind according to the Galo mythology. Such genealogical memory is possible among the Galo only because of the peculiar system of naming of an individual. Being a patriarchal society, a Galo always

prefix the second syllable of his father's name in his own name. Suppose, author's grandfather's name was Nyitu, so author's father's name is Ture and author's name is Rejir, then author's child's name will start from 'Jir' only. Thus, it goes like this - Nyitu - Ture - Rejir - Jirjum so on. "This is in way, similar to the system adopted by the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry for naming chemical compounds. Just as the children derive (part of) their genes from their father, the names of the children are derived from the father's. The system is reliable since deletion or inclusion of any name in the chain is considered inauspicious"\(^{68}\). Equivalent to Mr. And Ms., the prefix 'Ta' and 'Ya' is added in a name where no reference is made to the father. Male name starts with 'Ta' as 'Tare', 'Tajir' and female name starts with 'Ya' as 'Yapi', 'Yarik'. The Galos strongly believe in the sanctity of their genealogy. Every Galo is supposed to know his genealogical route of origin right from Abotani to himself otherwise; he may be looked down upon.

**History**

The early history of the Galo area is totally lies in a remote obscurity chiefly because of the absence of the indigenous script. It was a land unknown to the civilized world till the advent of the British. There is no archaeological site of importance in Galo area,

excepting the Malinithan at foothill area bordering Assam in West Slang district, to justify or conjecture the existence of any human civilization. So, it is very much difficult to ascertain the beginning of the human habitation in these dark Himalayan terrains. But, the Galo being rich in oral history has their own version of history starting from the creation of the first mankind down to the present generation. But, within Galo also, there are many versions of origin and migration but all indicating the north. Hence, the Galos are believed to be the migrant from the northern side of their present habitation.

The British too has left no account of the Galo areas to construct a recent history. All the hitherto Abor-British relations were basically the British relationship with the Padam-Minyong groups of the Adis. Excepting some survey party and occasional tour, the British did not extend their regular administration in the Galo areas during the heydays of their power. Thus, Galo’s relationship with the British was casual, occasional and very limited. To quote Srivastava again, “Whatever account is available – very scanty though – it is about the Abors. Earlier writers, who invariably entered through the Minyong Abor region, could not penetrate into the Galo areas and very little could be known about them”\textsuperscript{9}. The Galos too did not organize any

concerted effort to fight against the British or to defy the authority of the government.

The first instance of the conflict with the British occurred in 1848 when the Galos carried away ten gold-washers and the Beheah headman to their hills to take revenge for stopping the conciliatory payment. The Adis used to claim absolute right over the gold and fish of Brahmaputra and other rivers coming down from their hills. To rescue the captives, the British sent an expedition under captain Vetch in February 1848. The expedition was sent against the Galos of the valley of Igo river, and hence, the captives were rescued. The British activity in the Galo territory was mostly confined to the foothill areas only. There is no remarkable event occurred in Galo areas except occasional visits and punitive expeditions. In 1907, Noel Williamson paid a friendly visit to some Galo areas. Even during the well-known Abhor-war of 1911-12, the British troops destroyed some Galo villages, which lies to the west of Ledum. The Ledum column of the Abhor expedition under Lindsay marched up to Kakki destroying Kora and Dosi, which was suspected to be conniving with the Minyongs in the war. "The Galos poisoned the water with Emo (aconite) and Tamo (poison tree). This polluted war caused the

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column dysentery and many sepoys died." After the Abhor expedition, the British extended their administered area further west up to Sinyen river and all the villages including the Galos which fall under the said area had to pay poll tax. By 1940's, the congress movement spread through the Galo areas. Some Galo leaders established a congress office and a primary school at Dipa. The movement was suppressed and leaders were arrested. The prominent congress activists during those days were Moje Riba, Moji Riba, Kore Bagra, etc.

Society

The Galo society largely conforms to the basic democratic norms. There is no social stratification as ruling class and subject class. Each and every one is considered as equal in the society. The Galo society is clearly reflected in the following words of Bhattacharjee, "Moving among the people, I was amazed to see a tension-free society. Here, casteism does not bar anybody nor there are clash between rich and poor. Here, community work is done by every one - an obligatory function of each individual and none can escape from the customary law. Kehang met justice on anyone found guilty rich or poor alike. While on work, all share the food from the same plate and sit together as equal partners. What is more striking is

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the self-reliance of the people – young and old. Begging is unknown as also the famine and pestilence.”

Clan

As stated earlier, the Galos trace their origin from common ancestor – a human being, not from any object of nature or of the animal kingdom. Abotani is the common ancestor of the Galos and dispersion took place from him. The Galo society is divided into various clans who are the direct descendents of Abotani. The descent is always patrilineal. The following genealogical map illustrates the division of Galo society into clans.

Hence, the descendents of Nyoi viz. Jirdo, Karlo, Gameh, Lommi and Lingu are brother, so marriage within them is prohibited. Likewise, the descendents of Nyochi viz. Dabi, Riso, Ringu are brothers and cannot marry within them. All other clans of the Galos trace their descent in similar way as illustrated. Here, the genealogy of only few clans is given as an illustration. The clan is called Ali or Opin in Galo. Any clan can be traced back to a single family, which has multiplied into numerous families, and which in turn have managed to stay connected.

“For the purpose of marriage and slavery, the Galo society is divided into two rigid divisions – ‘Nyiji’ and ‘Nira’ (Nyijli and Nyira). Marriage between these two sections is absolutely prohibited”\(^\text{74}\). In earlier days, the marriage between the two sections was highly restricted and such restriction was not extended to other activities. Though, Nyiji-Nyira division is still maintained, such restriction has practically died down except in few pockets.

**Slavery**

Apart from Nyijli-Nyira division, there was a slave system (Pakne-Pakbo), which is now abolished by the intervention of the government. But, there is no slave clan as such in the Galo society. The slavery was a human creation, not a result of birth or descent.

\(^{74}\) “NEFA, the Land and the People”, Directorate of IPR, NEFA Administration, Shillong, 1968, p. 14.
Those who committed unusual crimes or who could not pay certain fines for the act committed by them were condemned to slavery by those who paid on their behalf. 'Therefore, the word 'bondage' seems more appropriate in context of the tribal slaves.'\textsuperscript{75} The traditional economy was based on agriculture supplemented by hunting and fishing. So, it needed more helping hand and the slavery was an easy way. But, the Galo society never treated the slaves as untouchables nor looked down upon, rather they lived and dinned with their masters in the same house. The only difference was that a slave had to work for his master and he could not own immovable properties. But for the outsider, it was almost impossible to differentiate the master and slave in the village. There was complete social mingling. 'But the echo of deep-rooted stigma of the slavery is still to be heard in the Galo society.'\textsuperscript{76} The marriage between the liberated slaves and non-slaves is very rare in these days also particularly in the rural areas. The marriage system in the Galo society has undergone a
Women

Though the Galo society is a patriarchal society, the women are respected and treated as equal in the society. A woman becoming a \textit{Gam} and priest (\textit{Nyibuli}) is not unknown in the society. But women generally do not take part in the deliberations of the village council

\textsuperscript{75} Negoji, D.S., \textit{A Tryst with Mishmi Hills}, Tushar Publication, New Delhi, 1996, p. 96.
\textsuperscript{76} Nyori, T., \textit{History and Culture of the Adis}, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 211-215.
(Keha) and other corporate decision-making forum though their taking part is not a taboo. A close scrutiny reveals that the women has got separate role in the family and village affairs. While she remains tied to the usual household activities of cooking, serving, washing, feeding the domestic animals, managing firewoods and so on. In short, she is the last to retire at night and the earliest to get up in the morning. In field, women’s role is more important in sowing; weeding and reaping nevertheless both husband and wife accompany each other in all activities. The headship of the mother is not sub-ordinate in a Galo family. However, in the village affairs, the women usually perform dances and songs (Ponu-Nyitom) for entertainment on occasions. They prepare ‘Opo or Poko’ (local drinks), rice and serve them to the villagers. They also take part in some community work, but in such, their role is mainly of assistance. The Marriage is considered to be consummated when ‘Agon Kauy’ is finally. The marriage system in the Galo society has undergone a considerable change under the impact of modernization and development. Many of the earlier systems have been completely discarded. In the traditional Galo society, there were basically three types of marriages - (i) normal marriage, (ii) child marriage and (iii) womb marriage (Neppe Nyida), a kind of advance marriage when a child is still in the mother’s womb. The ‘womb marriage’, though not
popular, was a peculiar type of marriage system. In such system, two families comes to an agreement before the birth of a child that after birth, if one's is a son, their marriage would be solemnized and, the process of giving and taking starts henceforth as in the normal marriage. This system has been discarded. Both 'womb marriage' and the child marriage were used to take place between two traditional friends (Keden) to retain their friendship. Usually, Galo marriage is negotiated. The process of marriage starts with the moment the marriage proposal (Nyida Tanam) comes into being but the actual marriage differs according to the will of both the parties. The most popular marriage ceremony is the mithun sacrifice (Togu), which is performed in several stages. So, it is a lengthy process. But, the Togu is not a necessary or unavoidable part of the marriage ceremony. Most of the people get married without performing Togu. The marriage is considered to be consummated when 'Agam-Layap' is finally performed. In Agam-Layap, small altar is made and a foul is sacrificed and the priest use to chant the related mythology. After Agam-Layap only, the couple is recognized by the society as legitimate husband and wife. The customary bride-price (Are) is usually two mithuns, and if any excess numbers of mithun are given, it has to be refunded by the girls' family in the form of Adam-Tadok (disc and beads) in rough proportion. It is an obligation, not compulsion, on
the part of the groom to give meat and fish to bride's family at regular interval during his lifetime for which he will also get regular presentation in form of Adam and Tadok. After being married, a women's sexual relation with her husband's brothers of the same clan (Sitem) is not considered as incest or a taboos. But, it is neither an obligation nor the husband's brothers have absolute sexual right over her as many people may think so. Many writers termed this system as polyandry but it is not polyandry in real sense of the term. B.B. Pandey termed the system as cicsbeism. Such relationship depends on their intimacy and understanding of each other. But the system is dying fast especially in urban and semi-urban areas.

Occupation

The main occupation of the Galos is agriculture both jhum and wet rice cultivation. In jhum cultivation, which is also called 'slush and burn' method of cultivation, several crops like paddy, maize, millet, chilli, beam, pumpkin, banana, sugarcane, etc. are grown. Off late people find it more reliable and assured production, to adopt wet rice cultivation. Nevertheless, the jhum is still very popular. Because of its multiple cropping pattern, there is lesser chance of crop failure in jhum and always serve as support in the lean period. Apart from

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agriculture, the main supplementary occupation are fishing, hunting, crafting and weaving.

Religion

The religious belief of the Galos is shrouded in numerous faiths and traditions, which are as old as the people themselves. The Galos believe in the existence of numerous deities (Uyi or Uyu) both benevolent and malevolent. The rites or rituals are performed to propitiate these deities. Though Donyi-Polo (Sun-Mood) is considered as supreme God and Galo conduct themselves in the name of Donyi-Polo, there is no organized prayer and established norms of worship to Donyi-Polo as other religions do have. All the rituals and sacrifices of animals are performed to appease different kinds of deities and spirits, which cause diseases or may bring prosperity. However, the new Donyi-Poloism is yet to enter into the Galo area. Like any other religion, the new Donyo-Polo religion has regular prayer centre and established methods of prayer, which is unknown to the traditional tribal faith. Besides indigenous faiths, many Galos have embraced Christianity.