CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

Studies on elite and specifically on Legislative elites have drawn the scholarly attention all over the world. It has become significant because of the large scale transitions of democratic process in the West which facilitated the scholars to think about the centre of power, distribution of power, stability of democratic institutions, underpinnings of influence and decision-making, etc. It has also attracted scholarly attention in Afro-Asian countries, specifically, after the emergence of a number of newly independent states. They, however, have made promising shift subsequently, in their casual focus away from social structural towards political determinants conceptualized in terms of the behaviour of powerful actors or ‘Elite’.¹

The epicentres of all public policy formation were under the control of small groups of persons who often affects the majority people of the society in any type of political system. Every society has its elite from the least developed jungle tribe with its hereditary warrior chiefs to the great modern civilizations with their political, industrials and financial power pyramids.²

The Western scholars took keen interest in studying the political behaviour and the influences therein of the political elites after the Second World War.³ However, the importance of the same has become more explicit recently. The socio-economic and political change has doubly emphasized the role of legislative elites.

The legislative elites of the society are conditioned by their socio-economic backgrounds. Though there were many elites within the society like businessmen,
government official, lawyers, academician etc. but with quite different responsibilities and sources of power. It is political elites who play important role within the society by governing the mass. The political elites are generally divided into two: (i) governing elite, and (ii) non-governing elite. Members of Legislative Assembly are included under governing elites. In the second, the non-governing elites are those political elite who are ready to replace the governing elite at any time.

Focus of the Study

The present study is primarily focuses on the Legislative Elites in Arunachal Pradesh. It intends to explore the various dimensions of the legislative elite in the state politics of Arunachal Pradesh. The members of Legislative Assembly are the institutionalized political elite of the society. These legislative elites are the chosen few, who were responsible for the governance of the state of Arunachal Pradesh. Any decisions of the legislative elites affect the socio-economic fabric of the society, being the decision-makers of the society.

There are six chapters in the study. This chapter deals with conceptual framework of the study; review of the existing literature; statement of problems; Objectives of study; Hypotheses; Methodology and details of the chapters. It also includes a brief socio-economic and political profile of state of Arunachal Pradesh.

Conceptual Framework

The term 'elite' denotes certain fundamental features of organized social life. Every society – whether industrial or agricultural, simple or complex – must have some authorities within and spokesman and agents without. The elites are the symbols
of the common life and embodiments of the values that maintain it. Elites are those minorities which are set apart from the rest of the society by their pre-eminence in one or more fields.

The genesis of the term ‘elite’ dates back to the second century B.C. The idea that the community should be ruled by a group of superior individuals is quite prominently expressed in Plato’s thought. But the popular usage of term began from the seventeenth century to denoted commodities of particular excellence and subsequently was used to refer to specific social groups occupying certain superior positions like crack military or top level nobility.

The socio-economic and political backgrounds of the legislators have been identified as their main determinants, to which Pitkin (1967) called as ‘Mirror – representation’, because it reflects the social identity of the represented and the representatives.

Because of the intense process of democratic transition, in recent years, there has been increased number of studies on political elites. Elites were found in every society from the least developed jungle tribe with its hereditary warrior Chiefs to the great modern civilizations with their political, industrial and financial power – pyramids. In recent years, there has been a special emphasis on the political elite studies due to the democratic transition.

The Western scholars took keen interest in studying the influences of the political elites in the political behaviour after the Second World War. However, the importance of the same has become more explicit only recently. The socio – political changes have doubly emphasized the role of political elites.
Vilfredo Pareto and Mosca, G. championed the theory of elite in their respective ways. They were concerned with elite in the sense of groups of people who either exercised directly, or were in a position to influence very strongly, the exercise of political power. Mosca, however, goes beyond Pareto and talks about the psychological attributes that help the emergence and dominance of elite persons and in that lies the dynamics of elite phenomena.

The Italian political scientist Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) believed in the inequalities in society. Pareto is considered to be the pioneer in explaining the socio-political process through elite behavior. Many consider Pareto as the father of ‘elite theory’. To him, every society is ruled by a minority that possesses the qualities necessary for its coming to social and political power. He defined elite as one who score highest points in a particular field. In his opinion, the elite incorporate all the successful persons who rise to the top in every occupations and stratum of society.

Every society for Pareto consists of two classes: “(i) a lower stratum, the non-elite, whose possible influence on government, we are not just here concerned; than (ii) a higher stratum, the elite, which is divided into two:(a) a governing elite; (b) a non –governing elite.” Pareto observed that the “upper stratum of society, the elite, nominally contains certain groups of people, not always very sharply defined, that are called aristocracies.” He advocated that this section – the non-governing elite, comprising the rest who do not actually share governmental power but who can influence sufficiently the decision-making process of the government.

In the viewed of Pareto, the division of society into elites and non-elites is not something rigid. Whenever, the exceptional qualities of the governing elite becomes wrought and inappropriate, and social equilibrium becomes unstable with the
accumulation of superior elements in the lower strata and conversely of inferior elements in the higher classes, the governing elite undergoes changes in its membership over a period of time, ordinarily by the recruitment of new individual members from the lower strata of society, or by the complete replacement of the established elite by a new elite either through revolution or by the incorporation of new social groups. This is what is known as the theory of “Circulation of elites” which constitutes one of the fundamental ideas of Pareto’s political theory.10

Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), another Italian political scientist like Pareto, made a systematic distinction between ‘elites’ and masses, although using different nomenclature. In all societies, Mosca says, two classes of people appear – “a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first.”11 Mosca further believes that, once a society reaches a certain stage of development, political control in the broadest sense of the term (administrative, military, religious, economic and normal leadership) is exercised always by a special class, or by one organized minority.12

Mosca states that history substantiates the fundamental psychological law which determines human nature is an incessant struggle among fellow beings in all societies under all conditions for pre-eminence. Hence, to Mosca, the ruling class is a permanent attribute of the society and also developed a ‘political formula’ for perpetuation of class rule.”13 The ‘Political formula’ is not only a great social force, but something without which, as Mosca thinks, it is doubtful the society could persists; “It includes the common values, beliefs, sentiments and habits that result from a people’s community of history and make the people receptive to the fictions
employed by the governing class to legitimize its rule."¹⁴ Thus to Mosca, at any given time a ruling minority rules over all forces of society and it predominates in a political society. The former is always in minority and performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the later is in majority which is always under the control of the former. This minority according to him is organized and usually composed of superior individuals and majority is unorganized.¹⁵

Robert Michels developed a new principle, 'the Iron Law of Oligarchy'. It implies that every organization, whatever its original aims, is eventually reduced to an 'Oligarchy', that is the rule of the chosen few. Justifying the growth of oligarchy, Michel insists that the majority of the mass are apathetic, indolent, slavish and prone to flattery. They are, therefore, permanently incapable of self-government. Leadership becomes technically inevitable and the leaders take advantage of these shortcomings of the masses to perpetuate themselves in power.¹⁶ They use all kinds of methods—atory, persuasion, playing upon mass sentiments in order to dupe the masses.

H.D. Lasswell has devoted himself particularly to the study of the political elite. For him political elite, as distinct from other type of elite, comprise the power holders of the body politics, but he adds that the power positions include both leadership positions and social formations from which leaders emerge and to which accountability is maintained during a given period of time. He also assumes elite being "those with most power in a group; mid elites those with less power and the mass, least power."¹⁷

Ortega Y. Gasset¹⁸ in his study *The Revolt of the Masses* has also tried to focus on the elite. He observed that, a nation’s greatness basically depends on the capacity
of the people, the public, the crowd and also the masses who find their symbol in
certain chosen people on whom they pour out their strength and enthusiasm. The
masses are being led by the chosen few, who are known not for their individual
qualities but for the social energies that have been deposed on them by the masses. "A
nation is an organized human mass, given structure by a minority of select
individuals. The legal form which a nation may adopt can be as democratic or as
communistic as you choose, but its living and extra-legal constitution always consists
in the dynamic influence of minority acting on the mass. This is a natural law and
important in the biology of social bodies as the law of densities in physics". ¹⁹

He further observed that it is the people who create the elites by reposing their
faith in and by rendering their support to this chosen elements. It shows the capacity
of leading is available with a very few and the capacity of being led in many. The
masses revolt, when aristocracy becomes corrupt and inefficient and the motive
behind the revolt is not that they have objection, to being ruled by aristocracy but they
would like to be ruled by a more competent aristocracy. The main theme of his theory
of elite is that "when the masses in a country believe that they can do without
aristocracy, the nation inevitably declines. In their disillusionment the masses again
turn to the new leadership and a new aristocracy emerges". ²⁰

James Burnham ²¹ is another elite theorist who has focuses his attention on
how people acquire elite status. He concurs with Karl Marx that control of production
gives rise to political power, social esteem as well as wealth and also that capitalism is
on the wane. ²² He believes that political elite comes to power because of their
economic position. They are the people, who control the means of production and
distribution. They remain in power as long as these sources remain with them. Now
political elite comes to power when these resources go out of their control. He has
rejected the idea that people make the elite or they come to position on account of their abilities.

Milovan Djilas in his work titled, *The New Class* has been discussed about formation of a new class after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. According to him, the 'New Class' consists of the leaders of the party, who enjoy complete power, special privileges and economic preferences due to the administrative monopoly they hold. The party leaders constitute the elite and use the party as the instrument for aggrandizement of their power and enhance their social status. He says that the same class grows and uses the party for their self-interest. In the process, he says “the class grows stronger, while the party grows weaker; this is the inescapable fate of every communist party in power.”

The new class of Djilas, arises from the proletariat, and forms the ruling elite. The new class obtains its power, privileges, ideology and its customs from specific form of ownership – Collective ownership, which the class administers, distributes in the name of nation and society. All changes initiated by the communist leaders are specifically designed for the prime interest of the new class. Djilas foresees, “when the new class leaves the historical sense and this must happen, there will be less sorrow over its passing then there was for any other class before it. However, he predicts that class hegemony is a temporary phase.

C. Wright Mills has also study on the elite. He stated that in modern society power is institutionalized and elites are the product of “Institutional Landscape” of the society. He defines the power elites “as those who occupy the command posts”. He distinguishes three major elites in the USA – The Military, the Big Corporation and the Political Executive. The cohesiveness of the elite is determined by the closeness of
the links between the institutional hierarchies. He observed that; “If these hierarchies are scattered and disjoined, then their respective elites tend to be scattered and disjoined; if they have many interconnection and points of coinciding interests then their elites tend to form a coherent kind of grouping”.

According to Mills, for national power elite have to exist and there must be some contact between the leaders of the hierarchies; such contact may range from conscious conspiracy to a mere consensus amongst the leaders on policies and values. The each individual elite of various institutions has to interchange commanding roles at the top of one dominant institutional order with those in another is refer as the “Institutional Proximity.”

Mills has defined political elite in terms of its potential power rather than the actual exercise of power. He prefers to define elite in forms of means of power. Instead of ruling class or political class, he thus talks of power elite.

Raymond Aron, elite means “the minority in each of the enumerated profession which has succeeded best and occupied the high position”. He also attempted to establish a relationship between the elites and the social process. He has examined the social influence of the intellectual elite, which does not form part of the system of political power.

Robert Dahl holds that because of the inequalities in the distribution of resources of influence in the community, power gets concentrated into the hands of a few who possess the greatest wealth, the highest social status or crucial position.

A brief survey of some of important literature on elite reflects that the eminent scholars with their theories have mainly enriched to the study of political elite. The
various aspects which have been attempted by the scholars, project the dynamic nature of the concept. Further, the studying all those important works on elites, one can recapitulate the main thesis that in any society there is a minority of the population, which takes the major decisions in the society and rules over the majority. This minority "the political class or governing elite subsumes the wider circle of those who influence governmental decisions as well as those who formally decide policies. Its influence may be due to its embodying certain personal qualities which James Meisel calls the "three C's - Group: Consciousness, Coherence and Conspiracy".34

Recently the scholars of political science are engaged in the study of elites by applying new elite models all over the world. The scholars tried to evaluate the previous elite theories critically and also given proposals for its development and systematization. Further it has been tried to analyse the relationship between the natural elites, transformation of elite and political stability.35

The new generation researchers in several scholarly research articles have tried to use different elite models in understanding the societies. John Highly and Michael G. Burton have tried to develop the thesis of "Elite Consensus Model" for exploration of democratic transitions. According to them, stability of democracy has a direct causal relation with elite unity. Democratic transitions and breakdowns can best be understood by studying basic continuities and change in the internal relations of national elite. They have been attempted to analyse that the unified national elite produce "stable regime" which may evolve into a modern democracy.36

S. E. Finer has given a theory of governing elite and counter – governing elite. He observes that "In each group, there exists a reservoir of both who are just able and willing to lead as those that currently occupy governmental positions. The entire
reservoir of the able and willing may be described for these purposes, as the political elite. Those who actually fill the leadership roles at any one time may be called the governing elite and those who are willing and able to take their place, the counter-governing elite." The theory of elite of Finer is resemblance to the theory given by V. Pareto that the governing elite found to be similar conception and the counter-governing elite to non-governing elite.

James MacGregor Burns rejected both the elitist and anti-elitist theories of leadership. Further in a very exciting manner, he presents a theory of leadership as a dynamic reciprocity between ordinary people or 'followers' and political 'leaders'.

J. LaPalombara defines elite as "that subset of the political class who at any time, and for continuing periods of time, more or less determine the major public policies and how they will be implemented." Giving a broader conceptual framework, he has tried to avoid a definition that restricts political elites to those who hold formal governmental positions and who are endowed with official authority to make political decisions. In the context of identification of elites also, he tries to combine both positional and the reputational method. His outstanding contribution is the recruitment and permeability of elite.

Michael's 'the Iron Law of Oligarchy' is quite applicable in the case of Arunachal Pradesh, where power is concentrated only with a chosen few. Although the Members of Legislative Assembly are the institutionalized political elites of the society, there is no much of diffusion of power as political elites here are economic elites as well, and to some extent social elites. These political elites are the ruling class who actually rule over the state of Arunachal Pradesh.
Elite Studies in India

In India a study on elite were given recently keen interested by the scholars of various discipline of Anthropology, Sociology, History and Political Science. The scientific study of elites was mainly focussed on structure, recruitment patterns, role, socialisation, background, etc. Moreover, the social historians have attempted to analyse the process of social mobility and circulation of elites during different historical phases.

Beteille\(^{41}\) analyses the characteristics of the elites in different spheres of life. He points out the three categories of the elites, such as the elites in the field of political, bureaucracy and the business executive. Further he has analysed the position of the castes in the traditional societies and impact of Westernization and urbanisation on it.

P. C. Joshi\(^{42}\) has describes the role of the elite, especially the political elite, in the process of development. L. P. Vidyarthi’s\(^{43}\) work is an attempt to analyse elite and power structure in tribal and rural societies in India. However, he does not given definite statement on the dynamics of political leadership in India.

S. Navlakhs\(^{44}\) has discussed on the widening gap between the elite and the masses and brought out some contradictions within the ranks of the elites. A. D. Moddie\(^{45}\) has work on the ‘Brahminical’ ethos of the political and administrative elite of India, in which show two characteristic hesitation and evasion in making hard choices with regard to country’s modernisation.

Desai\(^{46}\) has talks about the nature of elites in the country in broader sense. To him, the major cause of the emergence of new elite in India is our contact with the
Britishers and the new system of education. However, he has ignored the gradual changes occurred due to the nationalist fervour and modernisation in the field of economic and socio – political structure.

Dube⁴⁷ has pin pointed on the drawbacks of modern elites in India. The new political style and the elites are characterised by an almost total lack of restraint, discipline and quest for power. To him, “India’s present political system has links with the traditional social structure, but the two are not enmeshed.”

Mitra⁴⁸ has discussed on the nature of elite structure in the society. He has emphasised on the existence of a composite structure and holds the view that the masses that form the majority are being ruled by the composite elite of the country. These are called ‘Single elite’ by Mitra.

Seshardi⁴⁹ has a different perspective on the elite and mass relationship. The elite lead the mass but there is a wide gap between the elites and masses. He observed that the gap is so abysmal that any interaction between these two is impossible. Mehta⁵⁰ observed that the elites are responsible for initiating social change on to the society.

Sheo Kumar Lal⁵¹ has focussed in his study on positional, reputational and issue – participation approaches to the identification of elites. And found that the reputational elites exercise greater influence on the society.

Vijaya Laxmi Pandit⁵² in the study she has focussed on the role of local political elites. And reveals the socio – economic background of the local elites, their patterns if recruitment, functioning and political affiliations. She has discusses at
length the extent of their awareness of local problems and the solutions: their perception of national ideals and the mode of interaction with the masses.

There is scanty literature available on the profiles and backgrounds of the members of Legislative Assembly. One of the most comprehensive books covering as many as sixteen states of India is *Rise of the Plebeians* edited by Christophe Jaffrelot and Sanjay Kumar.⁵³ This book is about understanding of how did the political elite rise from the caste - based social diversity of Indian society within the time period of five decades. The editors maintain that Indian democracy has been a conservative one, mainly dominated by the upper caste, the urban bourgeoisie and land-owning aristocracy as the legislators of the state Legislative Assemblies.

There are some articles which deal with the socio-economic profiles of the members of Legislative Assemblies. The article like “The Uneven Rise of Lower Castes in the Politics of Madhya Pradesh” by Christophe Jaffrelot discusses the socio-political backgrounds of the members of Legislative Assembly by Madhya Pradesh and found that, in last two decades, there are sudden rise of lower castes legislators.

Another article “Legislative Elite in Punjab: A socio – political study” by Ashutosh Kumar and T. R. Sharma deals with the basic determinants of electoral politics in Punjab. In its second part, the article tries to reflect the socio-economic profiles of members of Legislative Assembly like – Age, Gender, Education, Caste, Occupation, etc. The finding of the article is that the Legislative Assembly continuous to be consisted primarily of well – educated legislator. Who are mainly from the dominant peasant caste of the Jats, be they Sikhs or Hindus and are mostly farmers, businessmen or professionals.
Sanddeep Shastri, in his article "Legislators in Karnataka: Well - entrenched dominant castes" has made a multi - track analysis of the social profile of the state Legislative Assembly since 1952. The finding of the author is that a majority member of the Legislative Assembly in Karnataka is from the dominant castes and the OBC have been under represented.

"Two Dominant Castes: the socio - political system in Andhra Pradesh" by Anne Vaugier - Chatterjee reflects on the sociological backgrounds of the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. The writer found that the castes like the Reddy and the Kamas are dominant over other groups.

The article "The Resilient Bhadralok: a profile of the West Bengal MLAs" by Stephanie Tawa Lama - Rewal is an analysis of the sociological profile of West Bengal MLAs based on four variables caste, education, occupation and gender. He has found out that there is over - representation of upper castes, graduates, teachers and political activities and political activities among MLAs.

A study of *Parliament in India* by Morris Jones has served as the trend setter and very important. He has examined the socio - economic background of the members of the first Parliament in India. In the same line Bhawani Singh has study the background of the members of the Rajya Sabha till 1962.

Srivastava in his Ph.D thesis made a critical analysis of the recruitment, circulation and behavioural dimensions of elites of State Legislature and their role and interactions within the political system as part and parcel of a study of political elites in Uttar Pradesh. The finding of his study are: (i) legislators tend to be heavily drawn from higher socio-economic groupings in society in terms of caste, occupation and education; (ii) political actors - legislators mediate between the government and the
people; (iii) presence of a generation between legislators who actively participated in
the national movements and those who succeeded them; (iv) the hiatus between the
promise and performance of the legislators dilute the legitimacy of the polity.

*Political Leadership in West Bengal* by Myron Weimer⁵⁷ has attempted a
scholarly investigation into the various aspects of political elite in West Bengal.
Subsequently work on “Changing Pattern of Political Leadership” in which he has
detailed analysis of emerging patterns of leadership. And he also tried to throw some
light on the socio – economic background of the political leaders in the first decade

Gautam Vohra’s⁵⁸ The new political elite, MLAs v/s MPs has made the
comparative study of three kinds of elites, the bureaucratic, the industrial (business)
and political. It is reflected in the study that the elected representatives were found to
be a major agent of change in the society.

Shashi Lata Puri’s⁵⁹ Legislative Elite in an Indian State studies the rise of
legislative elite in the state of Rajasthan. It deals with the factors like family
background, political circumstance, administrative situation, economic position etc.
which led to the rise of the legislative elite. The author found that the personalities of
MLAs were mere reflection of their social bases like - class / caste, socio – economic,
educational and political background.

Ambedkar⁶⁰ in his Political Elites has study of the legislative elites of the
profiles of the elites were attempted to analyse. The findings of the study are: (i) that
majority of the elites are middle aged; (ii) most of them are educated in the Western
Educational system; (iii) most of the elites belonging to agriculturist and professional
groups; (iv) most of the elites are first time entrants to the Assembly; and (v) the elites are well aware of the various issues of national importance and also offer various solutions to the changes.

Dayadhar Jha\(^61\) has study the fourth Bihar Legislative Assembly. He tries to explain the socio – political background of the Legislative Elites. The attitude and orientation of the elites towards the socio – economic and political challenges was also incorporated in his study. Findings are: (i) Economically the legislators have sound background; (ii) mostly belong to upper and middle classes; (iii) occupationally, the legislators were from cultivators to lawyers and businessmen; and (iv) the elites were mostly experienced of political process, previously at different levels.

Shashishekhar Jha’s\(^62\) study highlights the structural composition of the Bihar Legislative Elites. In the study attempt has been made to linkage between the political elite and the administration. Findings of his study are: (i) majority belong to middle age group and backward classes; (ii) mostly educated; and (iii) the Assembly is predominantly male oriented.

**Elite Studies in Arunachal Pradesh**

In Arunachal Pradesh hardly any works have been conducted on the legislature and the legislators. Many scholars have been confined to the rural based political study. Reviews of the existing literature are done here.

B.B Pandey’s\(^63\)*Leadership Pattern in a Tribal Society* (1991) mainly deals with traditional leadership pattern in the Galo society. According to the author, the traditional leaders possessed deep and wide knowledge about the traditions,
conventions, practices and customary laws governing the society. And economically, leaders were wealthy and generous to help the needy. So, the traditional leaders of the Galo society are widely accepted by the society.

*Emerging Pattern of Tribal Leadership in Arunachal Pradesh (2005)* authored by Rejir Karlo⁶⁴ – has studied the emerging leadership within the Galo Society. In this book, the comparative study is made between the *Gams / Gaon Buras* and the elected Panchayat leaders. The study found that the emerging leaders were found to be more literate, secular, generous and actively participants in the modern political system when compared with the traditional leaders. The modern leaders were better exposed to the mass media as a result of which they were more adaptable to the process of political socialization. The modern leaders were economically better off and were drawn from better social and political background.

*Dynamics of Political Process (1990)* authored by B. Satapathy⁶⁵ has seven chapters which mainly deals with the electoral politics and constitutional development in the State of Arunachal Pradesh. Authored has reflected on the variables like age and education of the Members of First and Second Legislative Assembly.

*Who’s Who (2004)* published by the Secretary⁶⁶, Arunachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly is an official publication, containing the biographical sketches of the Members of fourth Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh. The Publisher has emphasized on the political profiles. However, it did not contain any information regarding the socio-economic status of the legislators and gave only the political and educational profiles. There are series of such publication.

Atul Chander Talukdar’s⁶⁷ *Political Transition in the Grassroots in Tribal India (1987)* has analyses the socio-economic profiles of Panchayat leaders of East
Siang District. He has studied the shifting of the functions and leadership from the traditional village councils to the modern political institutions.

*Development of Legislature in Arunachal Pradesh – A study in institutional and political behaviour (1989)* by Sanjay Dubey,⁶⁸ which is an unpublished Ph.D thesis, is basically the understanding of state politics of Arunachal Pradesh. It does not talk much about development as such of legislature. In one of the chapters, “Political Behaviour and Leadership Pattern” the authored gave some of the political profiles of the legislators using the variables like participation in panchayat, student politics, experienced as the legislator, etc. of the First, Second and Third Legislative Assemblies of Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh. But it has hardly touched the socio-economic backgrounds of the legislators.

No study has so far understood the socio-economic and political profiles of the Members of Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh fully and through socio-political study. Therefore, the present study has made an attempt to fill this research gap by understanding emerging profiles of people’s representatives at state level.

**Statement of Problem**

The elite class of the society, which is identified as governing elite in general and legislators in particular, shoulder the responsibility of the affairs of the state. In Arunachal Pradesh, before the modern political institutions, the traditional political institutions were the only forum for community decision making and mechanism to regulate the society. The traditional representative institutions were ethnic – specific, due to a multi-ethnic society of Arunachal Pradesh. So, every ethnic group had their own indigenous pattern of leadership. The post of leadership was hereditary in some tribes like the *Apatani, Nocte, Khampi, Wangchoo, Singphos*, etc. among the tribes
like *Adi, Nishi,* and *Monpa* they were selected or elected. The traditional leaders' basically belonged to economically wealthier, higher social status and privilege group of the society. These attributes coupled with their ability to interpret customary laws enabled them to become acceptable leaders of the society.

The power and authority to exercise administrative, religious, social and political functions of the society rested on village chief or on the members of village council chosen from the elders of the community. Later, the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 required these leaders to exercise their functions within the purview of 1945 Regulation. The Administration, as mandated by thus Regulation appointed village authorities, who were called *Gams* or *Gaon Buras.* These *Gams / Gaon Buras* were also traditional leaders of the society but had some attributes of being modern leaders. Some of the leaders belonged to poor families, who became part of the Administration because of their ability to speak and understand little bit of Assamese.

With the introduction of the institution of Panchayati Raj, the principles of democracy like – governance, electoral politics, political participation, political socialization, etc. got introduced. Also profiles and backgrounds of peoples’ representatives have changed to some extent. More literate members of the society came to be represented in this modern democratic institution, but most of the members, in the initial years, were from high social class. They were mostly the social leaders who were implanted as political leaders. At the later stage, however, political leaders, who had better educational qualification and sound economic background, began to emerge and started contesting elections.
The Pradesh Council was converted into provisional Legislative Assembly in 1975 and the members of Pradesh Council automatically became the members of Legislative Assembly. However, it was after the first Assembly election in 1978 that the true representatives of people were elected. Majority of the elected legislators were experienced in the Panchayati Raj system. There were some legislators having background of students’ politics.

The present strength of Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh is 60 members. The profiles of members of indicate that they belong to diverse social and educational backgrounds but more or less similar economic and political backgrounds. Interestingly, 72 % of the members are graduate and only 1.6 % are illiterate. Members who have passed class eight constitute 23.4 % of the total members. There are representatives belonging to Chief’s family and a Buddhist priest (Rinpoches). There are also legislators with humble social background, who have achieved their personality because of individual talent and endeavour. As stated before majority of the ethnic communities in the state are represented in the Assembly. Economically, most of the members of Legislative Assembly enjoy high and dominant status in the society.

The changing patterns of the people’s representatives from the Agency Council of 1969 to the present members of the Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh are quite noticeable. In any society, the actions, activities and values of legislators have greatly been influenced by their socio-economic and political backgrounds. The performance of legislators depends on their understanding of the community problems and capacity to offer solution to those problems and such community problems are deeply linked with social, economic and political conditions of the community.
India being a transitional society, its politics tends to be in a process of flux and change. The changing pattern of politics is seen more in Arunachal Pradesh, being a transitional and traditional society. These changing political processes have accelerated political awareness and participation within the society. There has also been increased degree of socio-economic changes taking place, which in turn, has resulted into rapid change in the determinants of people’s representatives.

Therefore, a need is felt to examine the socio-economic and political determinants of members of the Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh. This study will enable us to understand the changing patterns of the Legislators of the Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh.

**Objective of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to:

1. Study and analyze the social profiles and backgrounds of the Members of Legislative Assembly;
2. Study and analyze the economic profiles and backgrounds of the Members of Legislative Assembly.
3. Explore the political backgrounds, linkage, Ideological perspective etc. of the Members of Legislative Assembly.
4. Understand how socio-economic and political backgrounds of the legislators determine their working patterns and perception of the problems; and
5. Evaluate the people’s perception about the changing nature of the Member of Legislative Assembly.
Hypotheses

The present study tested the following hypotheses:

1. The Members of the Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh have high
diverse social and economic backgrounds but more or less similar political
backgrounds.
2. Economic status of the legislators is one of the major determinants to get
elected as an MLA.
3. The Members of Legislative Assembly are the powerful governing elite of the
society.
4. The Members of Legislative Assembly are major agent to the socio-economic
and political development of the society.
5. People perceive their representatives as the messiah of all problems.

Methodology

The present study is a socio – economic and political study of the legislative
elites in Arunachal Pradesh. The universe of the study is a State of Arunachal
Pradesh. The study is basically based on data obtained from both primary and
secondary sources.

Primary Sources:

To obtained primary data, researcher has imparted various methods such as
interview, observation and discussion. The study area is vast and presently the
Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh having 60(sixty) legislators. It is not
possible to cover all the sitting Members of Legislative Assembly within the time
frame. So, the researcher has adopted a Sample survey method for both the Legislative elites as well as for the Peoples' perception of their representative.

**Sample**

The selection of samples has been made with adopting simple random sampling technique. While in the selection of sample the following care has been taken like: sex, ethnic, religion, rural, urban, region, etc. In the study there are two types of sample has been used that:

(i) Sample from the legislative elites of Arunachal Pradesh. Finally, the selection of the sample size has been limited to 17(seventeen) legislative elites amongst the legislators of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh.

(ii) Sample from the general public to understand their perception of the legislative elites in the state. The final selection of the sample size has been limited to 225(two hundred and twenty five) from the five districts of Arunachal Pradesh namely; Kurung Kumey, Lower Subansiri, West Siang, East Siang and Changlang (45 samples from each district).

The researcher has adopted in-depth interview with the selected sample of the legislative elites. The relevant information was gathered with the help of the interview schedule consisted of both open and closed ended questions. Apart from the members of Legislative Assembly, in-depth interviews of a selected sample of general public was made to study their perception of legislative elites.
Besides the interview, the discussion was made with the official associated in one way or other with the legislative elites and the Legislative Assembly. Further, non-participatory observation method were attempted to understand the functioning of the legislators both in the Legislative Assembly and their respective constituencies. This was done by personally attending the session of the Legislative Assembly and visiting offices/residence of the respective legislators.

**Secondary Sources:**

The present study relies mostly upon primary data. Beside the primary data there are extensive study has been undergone to selected forty Official Reports of the Assembly Proceedings and Who’s Who up to Fifth Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh. However, it has been supplemented with many secondary materials from the records of Legislative Assembly Secretariat, government records, statistical accounts, gazetteers, relevant books, journals and internet and in certain case newspaper reports.

In addition to these methods, all recorded data – both published and unpublished which is relevant to the study and is available had been collected for the study.
Chapterisation

The study has been divided into the following chapters:

Chapter 1: - Introduction.

Chapter 2: - History of Legislature in Arunachal Pradesh.

Chapter 3: - Socio – Economic Profiles of the Members of Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh.

Chapter 4: - Political Profiles of Member of Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh.

Chapter 5: - Working of MLAs and peoples’ perception of their representative.

Chapter 6: - Conclusion.
Arunachal Pradesh: a profile

The understanding of the Legislative Elites of Arunachal Pradesh requires an understanding of the Socio-economic and political background and geographical setup of the State. A brief profile of the State is, therefore, presented in this chapter.

Location:-

Arunachal Pradesh is situated in the North-East extreme corner of India. This State is popularly known as ‘Land of Rising Sun’. It composes the Southern slopes of the Eastern Himalayas down from the McMahon Line and the Western slopes of the upper Patkai. Arunachal Pradesh is largest among all the North-Eastern states. The geographical area of Arunachal Pradesh is 83,743 square kilometres, which is about 2.55 per cent of India’s land area. The largest State in North-East India, Arunachal Pradesh area is slightly more than that of Assam. The State of Arunachal Pradesh is having a long international border with Bhutan in the West covering 160 kilometres, China in the North and North-East covering 1030 kilometres and Myanmar in the East covering 440 kilometres. The neighbouring States of Assam in the South and Nagaland in the East and South-East are in the border. The topography of Arunachal Pradesh consists of snow-clad mountains at higher altitude, beautiful valleys and plateaus, inaccessible terrains, dense tropical forest and some plains areas especially in the areas bordering Assam. It is a natural home for many varieties of flora and fauna.

The south-west monsoon makes Arunachal Pradesh one of the wettest States in the country, with an average annual rainfall of 350 cms. The rainy season extends from the pre-monsoon months of March and April, through the extremely wet months of June and July and continues till September – October. The foothills are hot and
humid for a major part of the year but the other areas are quite cool even during springs.

**Administration**

The State of Arunachal Pradesh presently comprises of 16 administrative districts. The Sub-Division were not equally distributed although the total Sub-Divisions is 49 (forty nine) in Arunachal Pradesh. There are 99(ninety nine) Blocks in Arunachal Pradesh. There are 186 (one hundred eighty six) Circles in State of Arunachal Pradesh. The district called Dibang Valley is having the lowest Sub-Division that is one. The highest numbers of Sub-Division is found in the district West Siang that is six. Again, the West Siang district is having highest numbers of Circles that is 21(twenty one) and the lowest holder is Dibang Valley having 05(five) Circles only. The distribution of sub-Division and Circles of a district is not uniform. Moreover, the distribution pattern is neither based on population nor on the basis of areas of district. (See Table no.1.1).
Table no. 1.1

Administrative set up showing District, Sub-Divisions and Circles in Arunachal Pradesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.no</th>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>No. of Sub-Division</th>
<th>No. of Blocks</th>
<th>No. of Circles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>West Kameng</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>East Kameng</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Papum Pare</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lower Subansiri</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>KurungKumey</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>East Siang</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Upper Siang</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lower Dibang Valley</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lohit</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Anjaw</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Tirap</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population

The State of Arunachal Pradesh has high social diversity which is inhabited by twenty six major tribes. According to 2011 Census, the State has a total population of 13, 83.7,27 in with male population of 7, 13,9,12 and female population of 6, 69,8,15. The Sex ratio is 938/1000 as compared to India’s 940/1000. The density of population is 17 people per square kilometre. The state has literacy rate of 65.38 per cent.

Table no. 1.2

District wise population of Arunachal Pradesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.no</th>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>49977</td>
<td>29151</td>
<td>20826</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>West Kameng</td>
<td>83947</td>
<td>46155</td>
<td>37792</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>East Kameng</td>
<td>78690</td>
<td>38775</td>
<td>39915</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Papum Pare</td>
<td>176573</td>
<td>89182</td>
<td>87391</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
<td>83448</td>
<td>41758</td>
<td>41690</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
<td>112274</td>
<td>58168</td>
<td>54106</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>East Siang</td>
<td>99214</td>
<td>50116</td>
<td>49098</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Upper Siang</td>
<td>35320</td>
<td>18699</td>
<td>16621</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>148226</td>
<td>76948</td>
<td>71278</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tirap</td>
<td>111975</td>
<td>57604</td>
<td>54371</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lower Subansiri</td>
<td>83030</td>
<td>41843</td>
<td>41187</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>KurungKumey</td>
<td>92076</td>
<td>45318</td>
<td>46758</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
<td>8004</td>
<td>4414</td>
<td>3590</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lower Dibang</td>
<td>54080</td>
<td>28053</td>
<td>26027</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl. no.</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Headquarters</td>
<td>Tribes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>Monpa.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>West kameng</td>
<td>Bomdila</td>
<td>Monpa, Sherdupen, Aka, Miji.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Papum Pare</td>
<td>Yupia</td>
<td>Nyishi.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Lower Subansiri</td>
<td>Ziro</td>
<td>Apatani, Nyishi, Hills Miri(Nyishi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
<td>Along/Aalo</td>
<td>Galo, Adi, Memba.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The racial affiliation of the tribe of Arunachal Pradesh is described as Mongoloid, Paleo-Mongoloid and Proto-Mongoloid with considerable difference of opinion. To quote Choudhary, “The tribes of present Arunachal Pradesh with their variation of so-called Mongoloid character had a South-East Asia origin and their migration to their present area of dispersion took place from that direction in pre-historic times.”

Table no.1.3

The tribes in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>East Siang</th>
<th>Pasighat</th>
<th>Adi, Mishing, Galo.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Upper Siang</td>
<td>Yingkiong</td>
<td>Adi, Khamba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
<td>Anini</td>
<td>Idu Mishmi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lower Dibang Valley</td>
<td>Roing</td>
<td>Mishmi, Adi (Padam).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lohit</td>
<td>Tezu</td>
<td>Mishmi, Khampti, Singpho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>Tangsa, Singpho, Tutsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tirap</td>
<td>Khonsa</td>
<td>Nocte, Wangchoo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>KurungKumey</td>
<td>Koloriang</td>
<td>Nyishi, Puroik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Anjaw</td>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>Mishmi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The table no.1.4 shows the Scheduled Tribe population composition of Arunachal Pradesh according to the census of India since 1961.

Table no.1.4

Schedule Tribe population in Arunachal Pradesh during 1961 to 2011.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>ST Population</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>336558</td>
<td>297853</td>
<td>88.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>468511</td>
<td>369408</td>
<td>78.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>631837</td>
<td>441167</td>
<td>69.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>864558</td>
<td>550351</td>
<td>63.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1097968</td>
<td>705158</td>
<td>64.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1383727</td>
<td>951821</td>
<td>68.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Religion

The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have belief systems. Each tribe has its own age-old beliefs and religious notions. Most of the Tribal communities believe in the existence of spirits that move nature and guide human activities. But they give different names to them and worship them in their own distinct way. Among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh many of them are worshipper of the Sun and the Moon, which is called Doni-Polo in local dialects. Doni means the Sun and Polo means the Moon. The tribes under this category are Adi, Apatani, Galo, Nishi and Mishing. Apart from this, there are some tribes in Arunachal Pradesh. who are believer of the Buddhism. The Tribes are Monpa, Sherdukpen, Khampti, Singpho, Khamba and Memba. Among the Buddhist group, they are divided into two different Sects. The Western Tribes like Monpa, Sherdukpen, Miji and Memba and the Eastern tribe like Khamba is follower of Mahayana Sect of the Buddhism. The Hinayana Sect of Buddhism is followed by the Tribes from the Eastern group of Buddhism like Khampti and Singpho. Apart from these two major groups there are many tribes who beliefs in their different belief-system of their respective tribe. Among them are Aka, Mishmi, Nocte, Tangsa, Wanchoo etc.

Table no.1.5

Religion wise demography of Arunachal Pradesh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.no</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>418732</td>
<td>30.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>401876</td>
<td>29.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Other Religion (Indigenous)</td>
<td>362553</td>
<td>26.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Buddhist</td>
<td>162815</td>
<td>11.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>27045</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>6648</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>3287</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jain</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: www.census2011.co.in

In the late eighties, the people of Arunachal Pradesh had realized that, their indigenous belief systems were being endangered. So, the tribal people began to mobilize themselves by institutionalization of the indigenous belief systems. So, many tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have developed common place for worship. Each tribal community has its own nomenclature- Nyishi (Nyeder Namlo), Apatani (Meder Nelo), Adi (Ganging), Galo (Kargu-Gumchi), Nocte (Longsom Kapphok), Aka (Nyezino), Wanchoo (Rangwan-Tong), etc.

In the state the composition of various belief systems has been shown in table 1.5 in which Christian followers are the highest with 30.26 per cent. Hindu believers follow them with 29.04 per cent. The indigenous believers, which have been categorized under the “Other Religion”, are in third position with 26.20 per cent.

**Language**

Arunachal Pradesh is linguistically heterogeneous society. All the languages of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh belong to “Tibeto-Burman family” except Khampti tribe. The Khampti language belongs to Tai group of the Chinese – Siamese family. The Census report of 1901 divides Tibeto – Burman into three branches:-
i) Tibeto – Himalayan group includes the Monpas, the Membas, the Khambas, the Sherdukpons, etc.

ii) The North – Assam group, consists of the Akas, the Adis, the Apatanis, the Nyishis, the Tagins, the Solungs, the Mijis and the Mishmis.

iii) The Assam – Burmese group comprises the Noctes, the Tangsas, the Wangoos and the Singphos.

The State of Arunachal Pradesh has English as the official language but the people of state rarely speak English. It is found that Hindi and Assamese remain as the lingua franca in absence of a commonly accepted language for all the tribes. Preference and influence of these languages differs from region to region. Assamese language is generally spoken in foothills areas bordering Assam and eastern part of Arunachal Pradesh. In May 1970 and in January 1971 the predominantly Adi students of Jawaharlal Nehru College, Pasighat held demonstration demanding replacement of Assamese as the medium of instruction in schools. On other hand, the Wangoos of Tirap held demonstrations in favour of Assamese. Following this the medium of instruction, which was Assamese in this schools of Arunachal Pradesh, had been changed to English. At present Hindi language is found to be widely used by the people so much so that, the younger Arunachalees prefer to converse in Hindi rather than speaking their own mother tongue, while many educated people began to speak in English among themselves.

Economy

Economy is refers to the human activities related with the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods and services. The definition of economy changes with the changed of the activities attributed to economy. The
economy of the state of Arunachal Pradesh is basically an agricultural. The vast majority of the people are engaged in agricultural and other related activities. The traditional economy of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh is based on a type of agriculture known as Jhum or Shifting or slash and burn cultivation. A small minority of people (mainly the Apatanis, the Singpho and the Khamptis) who were settled in river valleys and plateaus practiced permanent cultivation. The Monpas of Tawang district cultivate on the terraces, plough their fields and even manure the fields.

In Arunachal today because of the introduction of innovative agricultural practices many tribal groups had abandoned the shifting practice of agriculture. They have adopted settled way of cultivation. It is evident from the fact that the total area under settled agriculture has increased from 28006 hectares in 1970-71 to 108803 hectares in 1990 – 91 as against the shifting cultivation areas 461005 hectares in 1970 – 71 decreased to 219997 hectares.73

The land holding pattern is mainly governed by the customary laws of different tribes. The land holding pattern is not common throughout the state. It varies from tribe to tribe. In general two types of land holding pattern are operating in the state- i) the traditional –private – cum – community holding and ii) the modern pattern of individual holding.74 Gurudas Das notes that both the land use pattern and agricultural practices had some bearing on the emergence of the landownership pattern. He summarizes the pattern of land holding in the states as, “while some sorts of individual ownership was found to be the dominant feature in case of cultivable land, village and or clan ownership was the general norm in the homestead, hunting, fishing, grazing and forest areas. Again, in case of cultivable land the degree of individual property right varies from tribe to tribe. Those who developed permanent cultivation land, enjoyed greater degree of ownership right. Where the tribes practiced
Adi type ‘Circular system’ of *Jhum* cultivation, they also, in general, attained a kind of preliminary individual ownership. But the Nyishi type ‘rough and ready *Jhuming* hindered the emergence of individual property right in land and in such cases cultivable land also belonged to the category of village common land.⁷⁵ In July 2000 the Arunachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly passed, “Arunachal Pradesh (Land Settlement and Records) Bill 2000". As per the Amendment Bill the recognitions of the customary rights of the people on land. The land owned by individual has been accorded legal recognition.⁷⁶

**Education**

The education is main means for social change in to the society. During the British rule the North East Frontier Tracts was not introduced formal education. These tracts which letter became North East India were not gain attention from the Western Missionaries. So these areas could not able to get the benefit of the spread of education by the missionaries. The British government was contented with starting only two lower primary schools at Pasighat and Sadiya prior to 1947.⁷⁷ Since then NEFA has been tremendous expansion of educational facilities. The table no.1.6 shows that there are 3752 educational institutions, including one university and 39 (thirty nine) colleges in the state. The total students consisted of 436907 in which boys 223065 and girls 213842 students each.

Table no.1.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.no</th>
<th>Name of</th>
<th>No. of Institutions</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

37
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>A.P Govt.</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 University</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>2086</td>
<td>1248</td>
<td>3334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Colleges</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12417</td>
<td>11441</td>
<td>23858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Hr. Sc. School</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>17184</td>
<td>16448</td>
<td>33632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Sc. School</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>26567</td>
<td>24469</td>
<td>51036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Middle School</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>1121</td>
<td>49948</td>
<td>50047</td>
<td>99995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Primary School</td>
<td>2025</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>2226</td>
<td>114863</td>
<td>110189</td>
<td>225052</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3164</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>3752</td>
<td>223065</td>
<td>213842</td>
<td>436907</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Literacy**

The percentage of literates in Arunachal Pradesh is 65.38 % with males 72.6% and females 57.7% as per the Census of 2011. The highest literacy rate is found in Papum Pare district with 71.11 % and the lowest literacy rate district is Kurung Kumey with 41.89 %. These is steady increase in literacy rate in the state in each Census from mere 7.13 % in 1961 and it has increased to 73.69% in 2011.

Table no.1.7

**Literacy Rate from 1951 to 2011.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons in % (percent)</th>
<th>Males in % (percent)</th>
<th>Females in % (percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Data not available</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>7.13</td>
<td>12.25</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Value 1</td>
<td>Value 2</td>
<td>Value 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>11.29</td>
<td>17.82</td>
<td>3.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>25.55</td>
<td>35.12</td>
<td>14.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>41.59</td>
<td>51.45</td>
<td>29.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>54.74</td>
<td>64.07</td>
<td>44.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>65.38</td>
<td>72.60</td>
<td>57.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Society and Culture**

The culture of Arunachal Pradesh has often been termed as Primitive Culture and the society has been called as a backward. It is due to the tribal’s enduring inheritance of climate, land and the fact that this region remained mostly isolated / cut away from the so-called ‘Mainstream’ of the Indian society till very recently.

According to Verrier Elwin the people in Arunachal Pradesh can be placed under three broad cultural groups on the basis of their socio-religious affinities.\(^7^8\)

The first group includes the tribes who follow the Buddhist religion or have been influenced by Buddhism. The Monpas and Sherdukpons of Tawang and West Kameng follow the Lamaistic tradition of Mahayana Buddhism. Culturally similar to them are Membas and Khambas who live in the high mountains along the northern borders. The Khamptis and the Singphos inhabiting the eastern part of the state are Buddhists of Hinayana Sect. They are said to have migrated from Thailand and Burma long ago. The Zakhhrings\(^7^9\) of the Lohit Valley are influenced by Buddhism of Hinayana Sect. they have migrated from Zeyus in Tibet. These tribes are noted for their religious behavior being influenced by Buddhist ideals. They are characterized
by their expertise of carpet making, weaving, dancing, painting and mask-making and elaborate dresses.

The second group consists of the Nyishis, the Apatanis, the Adis, the Mishmis, the Tagins, the Hill Miris (now Nyishis), the Mijis, the Sulungs and the Khowas. The religion of this group can be termed as animistic – naturalistic. They worship natural objects and ancestors. The Tani group of people – the Apatanis, the Adis, the Hill Miris, the Nyishis and the Tagins worship Sun (Donyi) and Moon (Polo) as Supreme Being. The religious belief of this group, Donyi – Poloism is being institutionalized. These tribes are excellent in weaving and fine works of cane and bamboo.

The third group comprises the Noctes, the Tangsas and the Wanchoos of Tirap and Changlang districts. These tribes are known for their masculine dances and art of woodcarving. They have been known for their association with the practice of headhunting and their contacts with Burmese tribes.\(^8^0\)

**Polity**

The political life of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh was village or tribe oriented. Every tribe has a traditional political organization which governed the life within the community according to the traditional laws. Each community or tribe evolved its own political institutions and functioned as small independent states. Thus, every tribe had its own type of village council or organization. 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. Elwin is of opinion that tribal councils were a democratic
court of the people. These movements of democracy at grassroots will remain a symbol of political rationality for generation to come.

Traditional System of governance

There are as many types of village councils as the number of tribes. The character of village council reflects the socio-political nature of the community. A survey of the traditional political institutions of the major tribe of Arunachal Pradesh presented below for the better understanding of the tribal polity.

1. The Adi: The Adi’s village council known as Kebang, has essentially a democratic structure. Kebang is the most powerful and effective system among all tribal councils of Arunachal. The British explorer Wilcox, who visited the Adi country in 1825 described the “Hall of audience for debate”, where Kebang used to meet. He emphasized the fact that everyone had equal vote; but it is noted that” though not acknowledged by them, it is evident that some few, either through their superior wealth, hereditary, esteemed or real ability, exerts very strong influence as the rest can readily be swayed over to any measures”.

These Kebang organized like pyramids, are of three kinds. At village level, Bane Kebang and Atok Kebang are there. Bane Kebang is a regular village council body where all men take part at regular intervals. Atok Kebang is an adhoc body that sits as and when the need arises. When Atok Kebang meets to resolve a particular dispute between two parties or men, the non-party and neutral members are generally not allowed to sit. For inter-village disputes, there is an inter-village council called Bango Kebang. Today it is
much larger unit acting, almost like an "Adi Parliament". The *Bogum-Bokang Kebang*, the inter-*Bango* is the highest and supreme *Kebang* and it has jurisdiction over almost whole Adi areas. These *Kebang* enacts the laws of society, formulates policies for Adi community, and discusses matters relating to war, peace, culture, religion, language and development.

2. The Aka: The village council of the Akas is called *Melley* but Akas now have preference for the Assamese word *Raiz*, signifying the people. The Akas, like the Adis have the system of inter-village council meeting to discuss area of inter-village conflict and co-operation to promote harmony and to co-ordinate activities of neighbouring villages. The "Nuggu" (Great Man) called *Gaon Burah* (Village Head), plays an important role in the disposal of inter-village disputes.

3. The Apatani: The Apatanis with their close-knit cooperative social system have their village in close proximity to one another. The Apatanis have developed a much more highly organized system of government, which C. Von Furer Haimendorf described in 1944. The representative of the clans who in their plurality constitute a kind of village Government is known as the *Buliang*.

The members of *Buliang* are men of character and ability, who are appointed either from among the members of a family, which owing to its wealth and status furnish one or two *Buliangs* or on their personal influence in the community. Though the position of a *Buliangs* is normally hereditary, the persons who had been known for their integrity, ability, wealth and social reputations are drawn from the members of clans. Though the *Buliangs* are the
arbiters of tribal law and the upholders of justice, they are primarily the
spokesman of their clan or clan group. The Apatani Buliang had a great
authority and influence. Buliang intervenes only to bring about a compromise
at the stage where the community interest and harmony are threatened.

4. The Khowa: Village council of Buguns (Khowa) called as Nimiyang where in
each family of the village is represented through its head member.\(^87\) The
Nimiyang is headed by Thopobokhaw who is selected by the members of the
Nimiyang keeping in view of his record of meritorious services, knowledge of
tribal custom and convention and history, character and integrity. Next in
hierarchy is Zongmi who presides over Nimiyang in the absence of
Thopobokhaw. The treasurer of the Nimiyang is called as Gachhams, who
exercises a kind of dual influence on the life of the community.

5. The Khamti: Khamti chief occupies the highest position in the social hierarchy
and is regarded as fountain of justice.\(^88\) It is the belief that the chief and his
council are the source of law. Chieftaincy is hereditary and he holds his office
by virtue of hereditary rule. He is assisted by the council, whose members are
elected members. There are written rules (Thamasat) on the procedure of
election, principle of representation and tenure of office, etc.\(^89\) The Chief and
his council administers justice on the principles of their religion i.e. Theravada
Buddhism. In addition to this, they have a well-defined code of rewards for
virtue and punishment for sin, in this world and in the next.

6. The Mishmi: The Mishmis do not have a close knit and well organized village
institutions like that of the Adis and the Apatanis. The principles that rule
them were “head for head, an eye for eye”.\(^90\) In Mishmi society, there is no
strong village council like the kebang of the Adis or the Buliang of Apatanis
which can control the individual. However, there exists only a loose form of
council locally called "Abhela" that too with limited jurisdiction among the
iduMishmis. The Abhela constitutes the elderly males of the villages and most
experienced and knowledgeable person is chosen as the head of the council.91

7. The Monpa: Monpas have a well-developed form of village council with
strong democratic tradition and protocol. There is evidence to suggest that
Monpas village councils known as Mangjombana or Mangmajom existed
since 11th Century A.D.92 In this system, Tsoble (Local Headman) draws a
panel of names of persons suitable for election as Tsorgen (village chief) after
making thorough consultation with the villagers. From the panel of names of
suitable persons, one who is considered the fittest to become the Tsorgen
(Village Chief) is finally elected through deliberation. Tsorgen is elected for a
period of three years but he is generally re-elected every three years.

8. The Nyishi: Nele is the traditional political institution of the Nyishi.93 A
Nyishi in his village is loyal to his long house that houses several families of
close blood relationship. Each household is an independent political unit and
thus merely a place of aggregation of household. They had been traditionally
utilizing services of a unique arbiter system. The arbiters are called as
Bungreng Bungte or Buri or Ayonbo. These are professional intermediaries
who negotiate the issue between parties and try to find out solution as a
compromise which is bilaterally acceptable. To quote Elwin, "the Gindungs of
Dafla (Nyishi) society are intermediaries who were trusted in matter of
settlement of the dispute." 94 They go to and fro in the interest of peace and
comprise and finally convene a council or a Nele or Nela which consists of
people chiefly concerned, the Gindung with local elders and official headman.
9. The Nocte: Nocte traditionally possess a strong political organization represented by their councils of elders and presided over by the chief of each separate section of tribe. The council of elders is called Ngothun. Nevertheless, these bodies have not lost their importance and they still continue to regulate community life. Due to the necessity of centralized authority for the maintenance of law and order, the institution of village chief is hereditary. This has also led to the division of society, into two groups, the chief and his descendants called the Lowang Jat and the Sana Jat respectively. Here system of chieftainship prevails. The council functions like a regular panchayat, maintains law and order, settles disputes within the village and also organizes welfare and development activities.

10. The Singpho: Singpho are a community divided into several clans or small sub-groups, each under a chief. Chieftaincy in Singpho society is hereditary. Theoretically, chief enjoys every power but elders exert some influence and each family operates as an independent political unit while paying some regard to the chief. The village council of the Singpho is called Tsa – Tangdai or SiphongTangdai, which comprises of the village chief and elder member of the village community.

11. The Tangsa: Tangsa have a well-organized council of elders, called Khapua, Khapong and Khapo. The council consists of a leader called variously a Lungwang, Ngowa, etc. These leaders were chosen by villagers. The Lungwang is quite powerful and his decisions are final. The council of elders resolves all disputes and maintains peace and order in the society.

12. The Wancho: Wancho society like that of Nocte is characterized by the existence of class distinctions. The Wancho’s have also the tradition of
chieftainship system as the Noctes, each controlling a number of villages. In the Wancho areas, each village have a council of elders called Wanchu-Wangcha,\textsuperscript{99} where in each clan nominates a member. The chief of the village council is called the Wangham, who being the head of the council, presides over the meeting of the council of the elders. Several other functionaries with different specified functions assist the chief.

The power and authority to exercise administrative, religious, social and political functions of the society rested on village chief or on the members of village council chosen from the elders of the community. Later, the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 required the elite to exercise their functions within the purview of 1945 Regulation. The Administration, as mandated by thus Regulation appointed village authorities, who were called Gams or Gaon Buras. These Gams/Gaon Buras were also traditional elites of the society but had some attributes of being modern elites. Some of the elites belonged to poor families, who became part of the Administration because of their ability to speak and understand little bit of Assamese.
6. .................Ibid., p.2.
8. .................Ibid., p.1424.
12. .................Ibid., p.329.
13. ................., Ibid., pp.71-72.
18. Ortega, y. Gasset; is considered as one of the greatest philosophers of the Spanish speaking world. His book ObrasCompletas is a voluminous work runs into six volumes. Referenced in The Modern political Theory by S.P. Verma.
22. ................., Ibid., p.37.
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