CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ASPECT

Introduction

The foundation of Indian democracy like many others seeks to democratize the livelihood and existence of every Indians through the established principles of the Indian constitution. Party politics and the electioneering process since independence has been a catalyst to propel the democratic practices and structures in the country in spite of adversities looming around the democracy of India. Nevertheless we have triumph with a constitution encompassing all ideals and goals of our democracy on 26th November 1949.

Though it has been indicted to be a borrowed constitution lacking Indianism by many scholars but the fact is we have been booming so far in sustaining the spirit and morale of our constitution which have for all time defended us against all adversaries. Granville Austin in his work, *The Indian Constitution-Cornerstone of a Democracy* put forward that ‘Constitutions success lies primarily in its having been framed by Indians, and in the excellence of the framing process itself. The member of the assembly drafted a constitution that expressed the aspirations of the nation’.

However, there have been perpetual challenges, barriers and threats in roads to the consolidation of our democratic structures in the last 65 years of existence. One such challenge is the politics of defection that have been fervently adopted and practiced by our politicians and at times compromised against the democratic ideals of the nation just to accomplish their political desires and which at times had brought our political system to a halt. Though the practice of political defection stands universal but as a distinct democratic set up we have our own ways and maneuvers of practicing the affairs of political defection.

Politics has today become a quintessence for everyone in their daily life which at large includes the individuals and society. It is the process through which a collective

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decision is derived and implemented which involves power and authority. In fact it’s the basis of all political activities in a state and has its implications whether the system is parliamentary democracy, absolute dictatorship or an enlightened monarchy.

The phenomenon of political defection, as scholars observe, has thrown a serious challenge to Indian democratic polity. Even after sixty years of independence, we are yet to wriggle out fully from this problem of governing instability in spite of several constitutional modifications in this regard. Atul Kohli’s assertion that India’s growing crisis of governability is rooted in India’s political structure is an indication that one of the reasons for the crisis of governability in India is political defection.  

Defection may also be seen as recurring phenomena in the history of mankind and its occurrence has often coincided with the rise and fall of political system or regimes.

Even the strongest of the political party in the world has witnessed the test and underwent political defection in the making and re-making of government. Political defection takes place with the predominant motive of personal gain which may be in the form of name, fame, office, etc. Personal disillusionment or disgust is also one of the main factors in this regard. At times, due to negligence of an established leader in the party or frustration/discontent due to supersession by union leaders also contribute towards harboring the idea of defection. With the increase of personal greed and urge for accumulation of power, the instances of political defection are occurring more and more in the recent years.

In a free democracy there is nothing unusual with regards to defection politics the history of which is as old as the political party. Political Party and election system has been the main ideals of a free democracy. Even great leaders like Winston Churchill, Margaret Thatcher, Harold Mac Millan and Ramsay MC Donald have been a part of political defection.  

Oxford dictionary defines the term ‘Defection’ as ‘deserting a party, cause, religion, etc. “The word ‘defection’ etymologically includes two ideas. First, the idea of

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3 Madhu Limaye, *Contemporary Indian Politics*, New Delhi, pp.184-185.
breach or shifting of loyalty and allegiance from one base to another, and secondly, the idea of fraud, breach of faith or cheating involving fiduciary relation toward the base”.

In politics, ‘a defector is a person who gives up allegiance to one state in exchange for allegiance to another, in a way which is considered illegitimate by the first state. More broadly, it involves abandoning a person, cause or doctrine to which one is bound by some tie, as of allegiance or duty’.

The Chavan Committee set up by Lok Sabha in 1968 to bring out recommendations to prevent defection under the chairmanship of Y.B. Chavan, then Home Minister of India defined defectors as ‘An elected members of a legislature who had been allotted the reserved symbol of any political party can be said to have been defected , if, after being elected as a member of the either House of Parliament or of the Legislative Council or the Legislative Assembly of a state or Union Territory, he voluntarily renounces allegiance to, or association with such political party, provided his action is not in consequence of a decision of the party concerned’.

S.C.Kashyap in his work ‘Anti-Defection Law and parliamentary Privileges’ has defined political defection as “Change of party affiliation or allegiance by the members of a legislature”. Further he defined the traditional term of political defection as ‘floor crossing’ which had its origin in the British House of Commons where a legislator was supposed to have changed his party allegiance when he crossed the floor and move from the government to the opposition side or vice-versa.

In a study carried out by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1968, it had defined defection politics as ‘defection" means the "transfer of allegiance by a legislator from one party to another political party or (an) identifiable political group'. The need to draw an

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8 ibid.
attention was felt resulting to massive political defection after the 1967 general election which was an icebreaker of the defection politics in India.

B.L.Fadia in his work Indian Government and politics has observed that in Parliamentary politics ‘Political Defection’ includes situations like crossing or changing of floors, the politics of musical chairs, the politics of opportunism, change of party or group, shifting of loyalty or allegiance from one party or group to another, repudiation of the label under which a Legislators successfully contests his elections, crossing of floors inside the legislative chamber, leaving a party and then coming back to its own folds, etc.\(^{10}\)

The Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs, Govt. of India in 1985 stated that political defection means ‘change of political affiliation by legislator by crossing the floor’.\(^{11}\) It further stated that the phenomenon of defection is inevitable concomitant of the party system and rampant in multi-party system like in India. The Ministry observed that story of defection in India is traced back to the days of Mont-Ford Reforms when Shyam Lal Nehru, a Member of Central Legislature changed his allegiance from Congress Party to British side.\(^{12}\)

A consultation paper on India’s electoral law under the National Commission to Review the Working of the Indian Constitution (NCRWC) under its Volume II, Book No. 1 in January 2001, discussed the problems of party defections in India. It noted that defections had “haunted the Indian polity” for more than 30 years.\(^{13}\) The Commission also observed that between the fourth and the fifth general elections in 1967 and 1972, from among 4000 odd members of the Lok Sabha and the legislative assemblies of the state and the Union Territories, there were nearly 2000 cases of defection and counter defection.\(^{14}\)

In its 4\(^{th}\) report ‘Ethics in Governance’ of the Second Administrative Reforms Commission in January 2007 it stated that ‘Defection has long been a malaise of Indian

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\(^{10}\) B.L.Fadia, Indian Government and Politics, Sahitya Bhawan Publication, Agra, p. 713  
\(^{12}\) ibid.  
\(^{13}\) National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution: A consultation paper on Review of Election Law, Process and Reforms option, Govt. of India, p.29.  
\(^{14}\) ibid.
political life. It represents manipulation of the political system for furthering private interests, and has been a potent source of political corruption’. 15

It further observed that the anti-defection legislation that was enacted to combat this malaise, fixed a certain number above which defection in a group was permitted. Legalising such selective defection however, provided opportunities for transgressing political ethics and opportunism. There is no doubt that permitting defection in any form or context is a travesty of ethics in politic. Owing to some discrepancies by Speaker of the house in deciding the defection of a member or a group in the past it also strongly recommended that the issue of disqualification of members on grounds of defection should be decided by the President/Governor on the advice of the Election Commission. 16

G.C.Malhotra in his work ‘Anti-Defection Law in India and The Commonwealth’ has defined defection as ‘the process of abandoning a cause or withdrawing from it or from party or programme’. 17

Vandana Upadhyay in her work ‘Crisis in Indian Parties’ has argued defection politics as one trait in Indian politics which make a mockery of the Indian party system and the Anti-Defection Bill’. 18 She further adds that “Political defections have resulted in unpredictable alliances reducing elections to a mere farce. Politicians today—in whichever party they may be—are bound together not so much by affinity of ideals or ideology as by a common hope of sharing political power and enjoying other personal benefits. Since parties are merely vehicles of contesting elections and getting to positions of power, changing a party is like changing one’s campaign manager”. 19

16 ibid.
19 ibid.
Emergence of Defection Politics in India

The first general election held in May 1952 was in itself a historic start to the route of Indian electoral politics which witnessed various political parties taking part with INC as the most prominent. However, with the passage of time the political ideology of the elected representatives became more confusing, disloyal and power hungry. Political dissidence gradually increased causing political defection and floor crossing. The ideological commitment slowly got degenerated and the leaders more and more got driven by personal accumulation and aggrandizement, nepotism and favoritism became rampant.

In the words of Kashyap, the defection politics has emerged in the electoral politics of India right from the pre-independence Central Legislative Assembly and Provincial Autonomy days. However, the year 1967 earmarked a new era in Indian electoral politics with massive defection politics taking place since then.

The post 1967 period of the Indian political system have shown some of the most significant political changes i.e. the formation of numerous coalition governments of widely heterogeneous elements and the continuous process of changing party affiliation by the legislators in large numbers. It brought a sea-change in the political arena of our country. This was the beginning of a new age- ‘the age of defection’. This has greatly affected the fate of Ministries and the courses of State politics. Newer and newer combinations of group and parties came into being, in many cases ‘operation alliance’ and ‘operation topple’ continued.

Haryana has the dubious distinction of leading the country in the line of floor changing and which have also been phrase as ‘Aya Ram and Gaya Ram’. As stated by Fadia, one of the prominent instances have been provided by Bhajan Lal, Chief Minister, who along with 38 state MLAs mostly belonging to Janata Party, crossed over en masse and joined Mrs. Indira Gandhi’s camp with the aim of saving themselves from the ignominy and ouster from power.

Till 1967 the INC enjoyed absolute majority in govt. formation in the centre as well as in all over Indian States. But the 4th General Election, 1967 brought with it a

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21 Fadia, op.cit, p.712.
22 ibid.
remarkable shift in electoral politics of India. It ushered in an unprecedented era of political instability and horse-trading preceding and following the formation of coalition governments in several states. In fact it heralded a new beginning in the political history of India with numerous coalition govt. of heterogeneous character emerged in various Indian states which became the root cause of changing party affiliation or defection by legislators in large numbers.

During 1967-73 about 16 States government were toppled in quick succession with as many as over 2,700 cases of defection by legislators. Out of these turncoats fifteen of these turncoats became Chief Ministers and 212 were made Ministers. Many of them changing their party affiliation more than once and some of them as many as four or five times within a year. From this we can deduce that Indian democracy though numerically the largest in the world is politically weak.

This developments even led to the stress in the Centre-State relation as the Congress (I) failed in gaining absolutely majority.

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Table 1.1

Defections in India
(March 1967-March 1970)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Defection among Party Members</th>
<th>Defection by Independent s</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II i</td>
<td>Union Territories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1642</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This development was also a catalyst for the game of political defection in India. Since then the game of Defection has been taking place very often in our political system.

As stated by Rajni Kothari, ‘the fourth general elections, held in February, 1967, became important in this process of further fragmentation of the party system, a process that turned dissidence and criticism within the party to defections outside the party’.  

Table 1.2

**Number of Defectors rewarded with Ministerial Offices**

**(March 1967-March 1971)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/Union Territories</th>
<th>Cabinet Ministers</th>
<th>Ministers Of State</th>
<th>Deputy Ministers</th>
<th>Parliamentary Secretaries</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1.2 show defectors rewarded in between March 1967-March 1971. This unregulated defection politics was further accelerated when in 1977 the Congress (I) lost power and at the centre and the Janata Party came to power. It was for the first time that a non-congress govt. came to power at the centre overthrowing the myth of Congress (I) invincibility. This breakdown of Congress power was seen as a new era of Indian politics. Many political scientists extended their opinion regarding the declining phase of the congress party which usually was the dictator of the Indian politics.

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The reasons for the decline of the congress party may be many but as forwarded by Zoya Hassan in her work on *Parties and Party Politics in India* the reasons for the decline of congress party can be attributed to the political change that occurred during the tenure of Smt. Indira Gandhi as the prime Minister of India. She further point out that ‘it was the governments centralizing drives coupled with her intense desire for personal power and penchant for political manipulation that were eventually responsible for many of India’s woes. Under her regime, the once robust Congress party’s root withered and governance became less institutionalized, more personalized and centralized’.  

However, the early end of the Janata Party reign in 1979 ignited further the politics of defection in India. The Moraji Desai govt. could not survive for the full term because of the massive political defection within the party itself. Thus the year 1967 or the fourth general election in India is viewed as the year for emergence of defection politics in India.

While carrying out a study on the politics of India of the 1960s, particularly the 1967-1969 era, Bidyut Chakraborty in his work *Indian Politics and Society since independence: Events, Process and Ideology* states that ‘with the frequent breakdown of Coalitions, the politics of defection gained tremendous significance. The floor-crossing was so frequent that non of the coalition governments in a state ever had stability and they were always in the throes of crisis’.  

**Adoption of Anti-Defection Law, 1985.**

It is quite remarkable that the necessity for bringing out a comprehensive and a well framed constitutional provisions to prevent defection was never felt in any of the western democracies. Only four countries in South Asia viz. India (1985), Pakistan (1997), Sri Lanka (1978), Nepal (1997) adopted some anti-defection measure. However, the anti-defection laws that were adopted by these South Asian countries proved to be ineffective and needs some constitutional amendments to make the law more effective. In

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India, the law could not prevent the defection rather encouraged larger number of defections, with groups instead of individuals defecting.27

The political scenario in the country after the fourth general election in 1967 was inflicted with massive political defections. The spillover effect was as such that the country could witness hardly a stable government. Lok Sabha took formal notice of this development when Shri P. Venkatasubbiah moved a private member resolution on 11th August 1967 for constitution of a committee on defection. The issue of unregulated defection which was trouncing the parliamentary democracy of India was also keenly discussed and debated upon in the Presiding Officer’s Conference held in New Delhi on 14th and 15th October 1967.28 The Presiding Officer’s Conference left the task of developing a framework to contain the defection politics upon the political parties and the government.29 As a result of the private member resolution bill moved by Venkatasubbiah a committee was constituted under Y.B. Chavan, the then Union Home Minister in 1968. After various sittings the committee submitted its report on 7th January 1969 with various important recommendations.30

The committee strongly recommended that ‘every defector should be debarred from appointment as a minister for a prescribed period or until he gets himself re-elected’.31 The recommendation also mention that a committee of the representatives of the parties in parliament and state assemblies be constituted to draw up a code of conduct for the political parties with particular references to the problem of defection and to observe its implementation by discussion among themselves.32 This development was seen as a great leap for containing defection politics in India though the govt. failed to implement the recommendations fully.

It is noteworthy to mention here that even before the enactment of the constitution 52nd Amendment Act in 1985 the state of Jammu and Kashmir Legislature had passed a bill amending the Jammu and Kashmir representation of People’s Act 1957 that was to

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28 Malhotra, op.cit.p.6.
29 Ibid.
31 Virendra Kumar, Committees and Commissions in India (1947-73), 1988, New Delhi, p.272
32 Malhotra, op.cit.p.7.
disqualify a political defector from being a members of either house of Jammu and Kashmir Legislature.\textsuperscript{33}

After the Chavan Committee Report in 1969 it was only in 1973 under the Indira Gandhi govt. that the discussion on defection once again was tabled in the parliament. It was introduced by Shri Uma Shankar Dixit, the then Minister of Home Affairs on May 16\textsuperscript{th}, 1973 through the Constitution (Thirty Second Amendment) Bill, 1973. However, the Bill lingered with the 40 member Joint Committee till the dissolution of the 5\textsuperscript{th} Lok Sabha in 18\textsuperscript{th} January, 1977.\textsuperscript{34}

Subsequently, the bill was once again brought in the Parliament under the Moraji Desai govt. in 1978. Then Union Law Minister Shri Shanti Bhusan issued a notice for legislating laws in curbing defections. On 28\textsuperscript{th} August 1978 the (Forty-Eight Amendment) Bill, 1978 was introduced in the Lok Sabha which set out its objectives as “It is propose to amend the constitution to provide that defection by a member of parliament or a State Legislature shall disqualify him from continuing as such member. It is also proposed to provide that a genuine split in a political party should not be treated as defection”\textsuperscript{35} and for inserting a new schedule i.e. 10\textsuperscript{th} Schedule for curbing defection. However, because of the stiff oppositions from some members of both ruling and the opposition party the bill was withdrew by the minister from the Lok Sabha.

Ultimately after two unsuccessful attempts in trying to adopt an Anti-Defection Law the results of the general election in December 1985 raised a hope as the Congress (I) under Rajiv Gandhi came back with absolute majority. After so much of defections from the congress party in the past in the 1967 and subsequent elections and government formations and the impact of which have been tormenting the congress still Rajiv Gandhi was keen to bring up a law to contain the politics of defection. After assuming office for two weeks the Rajiv Gandhi government announced the intention to amend the constitution to ban defection politics.\textsuperscript{36}

The President of India made a proclamation in a joint session to both house of the Parliament on 17\textsuperscript{th} January, 1985, that the government is to resolute to introduce in the

\textsuperscript{33} ibid, p.11-12.
\textsuperscript{34} ibid, p.23.
\textsuperscript{35} Kothadaraman. op.cit.p. 23.
\textsuperscript{36} Hindustan Times (New Delhi), September 3, 1984.
parliament a bill to outlaw defections. Subsequently, the Rajiv Gandhi government introduced in the Parliament the Constitution (Fifty-Second Amendments) Bill or the Anti-Defection Bill in the Lok Sabha on 24th January, 1985. Finally, in 1985, the Tenth Schedule was incorporated in the Constitution through the 52nd amendment Act and earmarked a new era in the political history of India.

The 52nd Amendment to the Constitution of India was passed with a stated objective that “The evil of political defections has been a matter of national concern. If it is not combated, it is likely to undermine the very foundations of our democracy and the principles which sustain it” (Statement of Objects and Reasons, 52nd Amendment (1985) to the Constitution of India).\(^{37}\)

**Recommendation of various Committees on amendment of Anti-Defection Law, 1985:**

Though the 10th schedule has been in force for the last three decades to contain the practice of defection politics in India it has never been successful in dealing with the issue. Many constitutional experts have also expressed their reservations on the operation and effectiveness of the 10th schedule. In other way we can say that the Constitution of India has failed to contain the defection politics in India inspite of anti-defection law in force.

The 170th report of the Law Commission on ‘Reforms of the Electoral Laws’ in 1999 under chapter III has also made an important observation that regarding the 10th schedule that “the experience of this country with the Tenth Schedule since its introduction has not been happy. It has led to innumerable abuses and undesirable practices. While the idea of disqualification on the basis of defection was a right one, the provision relating to split’ has been abused beyond recall.\(^{38}\)

The NCRWC report also confirmed that more defection politics has taken place after the introduction of the Anti-Defection Law 1985 under the 10th Schedule of the Indian constitution.\(^{39}\)

\(^{37}\) [http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/amend/amend52.htm](http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/amend/amend52.htm).

\(^{38}\) 170th report of the Law Commission on ‘Reforms of the Electoral Laws’ in 1999, Chapter III.

\(^{39}\) National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution. op.cit. p.29.
Kashyap also observed that the ‘anti-defection law in the Tenth Schedule was supposed to prevent defections but, in effect, it has become an enabling law for larger defections’. ⁴⁰

A study on the ‘Re-constitution of Constitution in India’ by Kanhayalal Sharma also reveals that ‘after the Constitution 52nd amendment Act, 1985 group defection increased and new political parties were formed after split and merger. This is a permanent feature of Indian politics against the national interest’. ⁴¹

The demand for amending the 10th Schedule because of its ineptitude in containing defection politics in India led to setting up of various successive committees by the govt. of India

**Dinesh Goswami Committee, 1990.**

Dinesh Goswami Committee or Reports on Electoral Reforms, 1990 was the first committee set up after the adoption of 10th schedule to relook into the anti-defection law because of the growing demand from various sections of the peoples as a result of the anti-defection law unable to meet its objectives in curbing the menace of defection politics in India. It recommended that⁴²

1. A member should be disqualified if he voluntarily gives up his membership from a party from which he is elected.
2. A member should also be disqualified if he abstain from voting or vote in contrary to his party whip in respect to a motion of confidence or a motion of no-confidence.
3. The issue of disqualification of a member should be decided by the President or Governor who shall act on the advice of the Election Commission rather than by the Speaker as and when situation arise.
4. The nominated members of the house concerned should incur disqualification if he joins any political party at any period of time.

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In the All India Presiding Officers 62\textsuperscript{nd} Conference held on September 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1998 the need for reviewing the anti-defection law was greatly felt. As a result a committee was constituted by G.C.M. Balayogi, then Lok Sabha Speaker and also the Chairman of the Conference. The Committee was to be headed by Shri Hasim Abdul Halim, Speaker of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. The committee submitted its report in the 66\textsuperscript{th} Conference of Presiding Officers of legislative bodies held in Mumbai on 05th February 2003 with the following recommendations.\(^{43}\) It recommended that;

1. Deletion of paragraph 3 and 4 relating to splits and mergers.
2. The word “voluntarily giving up membership of a political party” to be comprehensively defined.
3. To prohibit ‘Expelled Members’ from joining any other political party or enjoying Ministerial position or any other office.
4. Defining clearly the term ‘Political Party’ as suggested by Law Commission of India in its 170\textsuperscript{th} Report.
5. In respect of members of State legislatures, the State Election Commission should be made the deciding authority with the High Court concerned as the appellate authority in deciding the case of disqualification.
6. In respect of members of Parliament the Election Commission of India should be made the deciding authority with the Supreme Court as the appellate authority.
7. Time frame should be stipulated for deciding cases under the tenth Schedule

Law Commission 170\textsuperscript{th} Report 1999:

The Law Commission under the 170\textsuperscript{th} Report in 1999 under the Chairmanship of Justice (Retd.) B.P. Jeevan Reddy made some important recommendations with regards to the 10\textsuperscript{th} Schedule of India. The Law Commission recommended that:\(^{44}\)

1. In paragraph 1, the definition of “Legislature Party” be omitted.

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\(^{43}\) Kothadaraman, op.cit.p.192.
\(^{44}\) 170\textsuperscript{th} Law Commission Report, 1999.
2. A new definition of “Political Party” shall be inserted in paragraph 1 as follows in place of existing definition in clause (c).
3. In paragraph 2, sub-para (4) shall be omitted.
4. Paragraph 3 and 4 shall be omitted.
5. Paragraph 6, 7 and 8 shall be omitted.
6. To give effect to the above mentioned recommendations article 102 and 109 may also be amended.


The National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution (NCRWC) was set up vide Government Resolution dated 22\(^{nd}\) February 2000.\(^{45}\) The Commission very strongly made the following recommendations:

1. All defectors whether single or in group should be disqualified from the party membership.
2. Defectors should be debarred from holding any public offices or becoming ministers.
3. Restricting the size of the Council of Ministers to 10%,
4. Disposing of petition under the anti-defection law by the Election Commissioner rather than the Presiding Officer.
5. Vote cast by the defectors to be treated as invalid.

**Constitution 91\(^{st}\) Amendment Act, 2003.\(^{46}\)**

The Constitution 91\(^{st}\) Amendment Act, 2003 was the outcome of the recommendation of various committees like Dinesh Goswami Committee, Law Commission Report, NCRWC Report, Election Commission’s proposal for electoral reforms, etc. The amendment came as a very important step to streamline the politics of defection in India. All of the committees strongly recommended for the scrapping of provision of split from the 10\(^{th}\) Schedule.

\(^{45}\) [http://lawmin.nic.in/ncrwc/ncrwreport.htm](http://lawmin.nic.in/ncrwc/ncrwreport.htm) as on 30th July 2014, 3:21 PM.

\(^{46}\) *Constitution 91\(^{st}\) Amendment Act, 2003.*
The bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 5th May, 2003 and was passed on 16th December by Lok Sabha and by Rajya Sabha on 18th December, 2003. Finally, the Presidential assent was given on 1st January, 2004.\textsuperscript{47}

The bill brought in many historic amendments in the constitution of India. It amended that the total number of Ministers, including the Prime Minister, in the Council of Ministers shall not exceed fifteen percent of the total number of members of the House of the People.

However, the total number of Ministers, including the Chief Minister, in the Council of Ministers in a State shall not exceed fifteen percent of the total number of members of the Legislative Assembly of that State: Provided that the number of Ministers, including Chief Minister in a State shall not be less than twelve.

The amendment also further barred the defectors from holding any ministerial post both in both the houses of the Parliament and the State Legislatures and from enjoying any remunerative if the candidate is disqualified.

However, the most important was that it amended in scrapping the para 3 which provide the provision for split.

**Election Commission of India-proposed electoral reforms, 2004.**\textsuperscript{48}

The Election Commission at various point of time has persistently been proposing for electoral reforms in the country for a better electioneering process. The Commission while identifying the controversial power vested with the Speaker under article 103 and 192 recommends that the case for disqualification of members on ground of defection should be decided by the President and Governors, on the opinion of the Election Commission of India. The commission categorically opined that ‘All political parties are aware of some of the decisions of the Hon’ble Speakers, leading to controversies and further litigations in courts of law’.\textsuperscript{49}

The Commission also suggested that the legal issues of the disqualification be left with the President and Governors of various States of India as in the case of all post-

\textsuperscript{47}Kothadaraman, *op. cit.* p.205.
\textsuperscript{49}ibid.
election disqualification of sitting MPs, MLAs and MLCs under article 103 and 1932 of
the Constitution.

The Commission further said that ‘If decisions relating to anti-defection matters
are rendered by the President or the Governor, on the opinion of the Commission, the
same would receive more respect and acceptability from the common people’.\(^{50}\)

**4\(^{th}\) Report, 2\(^{nd}\) Administrative Reforms Commission, Ethics in Governance, 2007.**

The Government of India, Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances & Pensions,
Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances under a resolution adopted
on 31\(^{st}\) August, 2007 set up a Committee appointed by the President of India under the
Chairmanship of Verrappa Moily to prepare a detailed blueprint for revamping the
public administration system in India. The Commission was also to suggest various ideas
on ‘Ethics in Governance’.

The Committee expressed that the ‘defection has been a malaise of the Indian
political life and has a potent source of political corruption’.\(^{51}\) While considering the
reports and recommendations of various Committees on defection viz; recommendation
of Election Commission, the 91\(^{st}\) amendment Act, 2003 and after anticipating the
loopholes in the 10\(^{th}\) schedule the Committee 4\(^{th}\) Report, 2\(^{nd}\) Administrative Reforms
Commission, Ethics in Governance strongly recommended that the issue of
disqualification of members on grounds of defection should be decided by the
President/Governor on the advice of the Election Commission.\(^{52}\)

**Law Commission of India Report, Report no.255 on Electoral reforms, March 2015**

The Law commission in its 255\(^{th}\) reports taking into consideration the historical
antecedents of the 10\(^{th}\) schedule and the growing demand for amendment in the
provisions of the 10\(^{th}\) schedule with regards to the role of speaker in deciding the case of
disqualification has clearly recommended the “vesting the power to decide on questions
of disqualification on the ground of defection, with the President or the Governor (as the

\(^{50}\) ibid.

\(^{51}\) 4\(^{th}\) Report, 2\(^{nd}\) Administrative Reforms Commission, Ethics in Governance, 2007, p.13.

\(^{52}\) ibid.
case may be) who shall act on the advice of the Election Commission".\textsuperscript{53} Further in said that in doing such it will also preserve the integrity of the office of the Speaker.

Political Map of India:

\textsuperscript{53} 255\textsuperscript{th} Law Commission Report on Laws on Electoral reforms, March 2015.p.97.
Arunachal Pradesh- Brief Profile

Arunachal Pradesh situated in the North-Eastern part of India was once a composite state of Assam. Geographically it is located in trans-Himalayan region between the 26° 28´N and 29° 33´ N latitude and 91° 31´ E and 97° 30´ E Longitude and with a total geographical area of 83,743 sq.km. It share international border with China in the north and north-east (1080km), Myanmar in the east (440km) and Bhutan in the west (160). It stretches from snow-capped mountains in the north to the plains of Brahmaputra valley in the south. Arunachal is the largest state area-wise in the north-east region, even larger than Assam which is the most populous. Itanagar is the capital of Arunachal Pradesh and located at an altitude of 530 meters above MSL. It is named after Itafort meaning fort of bricks built in 14th century A.D. Mithun (Bos Frontalis) is the State animal, Hornbill the State bird and Rhynchostylis Retusa (Fox tail orchid) is the State flower.

Source: Information and Public Relation, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh.

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54 Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh Official website [http://arunachalpradesh.nic.in/glance.htm](http://arunachalpradesh.nic.in/glance.htm) as on 28th May 2014,10:55 AM.
55 ibid.
Table 1.3

Basic Data of Arunachal Pradesh (As per 2011 census)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>83,743sq.km.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Districts</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addl.Dy.Conmisioner</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headquarters(Ind.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-division</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAC Headquarters</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circles</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.of Towns</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.of Villages</td>
<td>3863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>13,82,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males:</td>
<td>7,20,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females:</td>
<td>6,62,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy rate</td>
<td>66.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSDP(2011-12)</td>
<td>10.84%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Information, Public Relation and Printing, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh.

Constitutional and Administrative Growth

The peoples of this tribal hilly area have been living very close to nature and in its own ways since time immemorial. However, in the Ahom era this region was partially subjected to political control by the Ahom Kings. However, the tribes were continued to be ruled by their respective village councils even under this circumstances. In other words we can say that the Ahom Kings had minimum interference in the daily life of these hilly tribes.  

After the Ahom reign the Britishers began to administer the North East Frontier Areas after signing the treaty of Yandaboo with the Burmese authority in 1826 which at that point of time claims Assam and its dependencies under its imperial powers. Then British since then made gradual penetration into these frontier areas to protect the plain people of Assam from the tribal outrages. But the most contrasting reasons for British penetration into these frontier areas were the defence of British empire in the north-east

57 ibid.
frontier regions.\textsuperscript{58} It was very much made clear in Annual Administrative Report for 1927-28 where Captain Nevill observed that “China has still its eyes on Tibet and Lhasa, the pro-Chinese party is growing in influence and should China gain control of Tibet the Tawang country is particularly adopted for a secret and easy entrance to India.” \textsuperscript{59} Since then the British India govt. has been gradually developing this frontier regions by passing and establishing of various administrative laws for the region from time to time.

The origin of Arunachal Pradesh as a territorial unit dates back to 1875 when the British-India government started to define the administrative jurisdiction by drawing an Inner Line in regulation to the frontier tribes inhibiting in North East Frontier Tracts (NEFT). The NEFT as distinct from the administrative units of Assam began to emerge when in 1875-76 the Inner Line of Lakhimpur and Darrang districts were specified applying the Regulations of 1873.

The Inner Line Regulations, 1873 was passed by the British to prohibit the entry of all British subjects, or any class of British subject in the area within the inner line without the proper pass, issued by competent authority.\textsuperscript{60} The aims of the British Government in introducing this regulation were to isolate the peoples of the hills and to prevent interactions between hills and the plains.\textsuperscript{61} In the words of M.L.Bose, ‘the Inner Line for the first time separated some tracts inhibited by tribal people from the district of Assam and British authority’.\textsuperscript{62} However, the area was kept outside the purview of regular laws of the country. Thereafter, the British followed the policy of gradual penetration to bring more areas under normal administration.

But the territory assumed formal recognition as administrative unit (NEFT) only with the Foreign and Political Department, notification of 1914 of the British India Government. Because of the Chinese expansion policy toward the North East Frontier Tract, the necessity of these administrative changes was required.\textsuperscript{63} The 1914 notification

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{58} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{59} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{60} B.B. Kumar, \textit{Re-Organisation of North-East India, facts and Documents}, Omson Publications, 1996, New Delhi,p.9.
\item \textsuperscript{61} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{62} M.L. Bose, \textit{Historical and Constitutional Documents of North-Eastern India (1824-1973)}, 1979, Delhi, p. 157.
\item \textsuperscript{63} S.Bhattacharjee, \textit{Politics of a Frontier State,(Arunachal Pradesh)}, Omson Publications, New Delhi,1994,p.19.
\end{itemize}
promulgated the extension of Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation, 1880 to the hills
inhabited or frequented by Abors, Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Nagas, Khampti, Bhutias,
Akas and Daflas. In order to make these tribes administratively specific, in 1914 they
were separated from the Darrang and Lakhimpur districts of Assam and were grouped
under the geographical unit of North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT) and were composed of
three geographical units\textsuperscript{64}. Thus the NEFT came into existence.

I Central and Eastern Section.

II Lakhimpur Frontier Tract.

III Western Section.

The Western Section and the Central and Eastern Section were placed under the
charge of Political Officer and the Lakhimpur Frontier under the Deputy Commissioner,
Lakhimpur district in addition to his own charge. The headquarter of Central and Eastern
Section was located at Sadiya and that of the Western Section at Charduar.\textsuperscript{65}

In 1919, the Central and the Eastern Section was renamed as Sadiya Frontier
Tract and the Western Section as Baliabara Frontier Tract. However, the Lakhimpur
Frontier Tract remained as the same.\textsuperscript{66} This was done to bring those areas under the direct
control of Deputy Commissioner stationed at Sadiya and North-Lakhimpur for
Administrative purpose.\textsuperscript{67} The positions remained to be the same till 1937, however in
between this certain areas were excluded or included in the NEFT.

The British India Govt. maintained the policy of loose control over these hill
tribes so that the hill tribes remain uninterfered and get provoked or agitated.
Nevertheless, the British India govt. pass laws from time to time to keep these hill tribes
under their imperial control.

In 1921 the above said tracts were included in the backward tracts under section
52A of the govt. of India Act, 1915-1919.\textsuperscript{68} It was already felt in 1917, that the Schedule
District Act, 1874 and the Assam Frontier Regulation, 1880 was incomprehensive to deal
with the tribal peoples. Therefore, in 1937, the above mentioned Frontier Tracts were

\textsuperscript{64} P.N. Luthra, \textit{Constitutional and Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh}, Published by
Director of Research, Arunachal Pradesh.p. 9
\textsuperscript{65} ibid. p.10.
\textsuperscript{66} ibid. p.10.
\textsuperscript{67} Bhattacharjee, \textit{Op. cite}.p.20
\textsuperscript{68} ibid.p.20.
grouped collectively as the ‘Excluded Areas’ of the province of Assam under the Section 91(1) of the Government of India Act 1935 which was given effect to by the government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) order 1936. The excluded areas came under the direct control of the Governor and the legislation for this area was to be effected through Regulations only. No minister was made responsible for the administration of backward tracts.

In 1943, a new administrative charge was created with certain areas from Lakhimpur Frontier Tract and Sadiya Frontier Tract and was named as Tirap. The Tirap Frontier Tract was placed under a separate Political Officer with headquarter at Margharita. In 1946, Baliapara Frontier Tract was divided, for administrative convenience, into Sela Sub-Agency and the Subansiri Area. In 1948, the remaining portion of Sadiya Frontier Tract was bifurcated into two separate administrative charges, namely, the Abor Hills District and the Mishmi Hills District.

With the constitutional Act of 1950 coming into force, the name ‘Excluded and Partially Excluded’ areas was given up and the hill areas including the NEFT was simply designated as ‘Tribal Areas’.

In 1951, Tuensang was created as a separate division in the North-East Frontier Tract. At the same year the plain portion of the territory of Baliapara Frontier Tracts, Tirap Frontier Tract, Mishmi Hills Districts and Abor Hills District were transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the government of Assam.

In 1954, a full-scale administration of the area was inaugurated, with the promulgation of the North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation of 1954, which laid down that the Baliapara and Tirap Frontier Tract and the Abor and Mishmi Hills Districts together with the Naga Tribal Area would be collectively known as the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA). In the same year, the erstwhile Frontier Tract was re-designated as Frontier Divisions. The table 1.4 shows the territorial re-organisation in NEFT in 1954

70 ibid.
73 Section 3(a) of *The North East Frontier Areas (Administrative) Regulation, 1954.*
Table 1.4

Territorial re-organisation in NEFT in 1954.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Former Title</th>
<th>New title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Baliapara Frontier Tract</td>
<td>1 Kameng Frontier Division.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tirap Frontier Tract</td>
<td>2 Subansiri Frontier Division.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abor Hills District Mishmi Hills District</td>
<td>3 Tirap Frontier Division.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mishmi Hills District</td>
<td>4 Siang Frontier Division.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Naga Tribal Area</td>
<td>5 Lohit Frontier Division.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


After the territorial re-organisation in 1954 where six new administrative came up, a significant administrative change took place in 1957 whereby under the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957, the Tuensang Frontier Division was transferred from NEFA to the newly constituted administrative unit then called Naga Hills Tuensang Area (now Nagaland).\(^74\)

The Chinese aggression of 1962 had a phenomenal effect on the policies of govt. of India toward NEFA compelling it to re-strategize the entire administrative outlook of the NEFA. It acted as a catalyst to the administrative development of the region. India suffered shameful defeat and the reason behind this was the poor or lack of road connections, defence unpreparedness and other basic facilities in this Frontier State. Many scholars blamed Nehru’s policies toward NEFA for suffering defeat in 1962. Hereafter, the government of India realized the strategic importance of this Frontier State and the necessary for urgent development was felt tremendously. The Chinese troops successfully occupied the Bomdila and Walong area of the then NEFA.

The North-East Frontier Agency (Administration) Regulation, 1965 brought changes in the names of the frontier divisions to speed up the administration in NEFA. The changes are provided in table 1.5.

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\(^74\) ibid, p.43.
Table 1.5

Names of frontier Division changed in 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Old Name</th>
<th>New Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kameng Frontier Division</td>
<td>Kameng District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Subansiri Frontier Division</td>
<td>Subansiri District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Siang Frontier Division</td>
<td>Siang District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lohit Frontier Division</td>
<td>Lohit District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tirap Frontier Division</td>
<td>Tirap District</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Speeding up the administration, on 1st August, 1965 NEFA was transferred from the Ministry of External Affairs into the Ministry of Home Affairs. The transfer was also recommended by the Daying Ering Committee. As mentioned in the above table the five divisions of NEFA were also converted into five administrative Districts during this year, namely Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit and Tirap.

In an important development and to bring NEFA administration into a single administrative unit a parliamentary delegation headed by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha visited NEFA from 22nd -29th 1966 and recommended the transfer of headquarters of local administration from Shillong to NEFA territory75. Subsequently, under the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971, the headquarter of the territory was transferred from Shillong to Itanagar in Arunachal Pradesh.76

The initial policy of the Britishers toward this hill state was to let the tribal’s pursue its own fate of survival. This hilly state has always remained cut-off from every activities of the national mainstream. As an aim to bring NEFA to the national mainstream and introduce modern governmental institution, the governments of India materialize the setting up of a four member Dying Ering Committee headed by Dr. Dying Ering, then Union Minister of India. Foundation of Dying Ering committee that led to the introduction of Panchayati Raj institution in the state in 2nd October, 1968 was indeed a historic move on the part of the Indian govt. to bring NEFA into the national mainstream.

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75 Bose, p.246.
The committee submitted its report in January 1965 and recommended a four-tier structure.\textsuperscript{77}

The President of India promulgated the North East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulations framed on the basis of the Dying Ering Committee recommendations in 1969 in exercise of the power conferred by Article 240 of the Constitution. The Regulations created three-tier body-Gram Panchayat at the village level, Anchal Samiti at the block level and Zila Parishad at District level. Agency Council remains as the fourth territorial level body, which was renamed as Pradesh council in 1972.\textsuperscript{78} The introduction of Panchayat Raj in 1969 generated a new era of representative institution which was absent prior to this introduction.

Interestingly, with this coming of Panchayat Raj Institution the people of NEFA for the first time got a chance to exercise their franchise rights, as there was absence of any Legislative Body. NEFA was represented by one member in the Lok Sabha, nominated by President of India. The Laws made by the Assam Legislative Assembly were not applicable to the then NEFA. However, Laws made by the Parliament were automatically applied to NEFA unless there was no specific order against the application.

With the introduction of Panchayat Raj Institution in NEFA, it set the ball rolling for the implementation of democratic process in the then NEFA. With the enactment of the North East Frontier Agency, Panchayat Raj Act 1967, the ground for the Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh was prepared.\textsuperscript{79} The urgency for political development was tremendously felt. So, under Act no. 81 of the North-East Areas (Reorganization) Act 1971 NEFA got bifurcated from Assam. Further the North-East Areas (Reorganization) Act 1971 renamed NEFA as Arunachal Pradesh and Agency Council became the Pradesh Council.\textsuperscript{80} Subsequently, this also granted Arunachal Pradesh the status of Union Territory in 1972. With the establishment of Pradesh council on 2\textsuperscript{nd} October 1972 and in order to emphatise the democratic process five councilors (one from

\textsuperscript{77} ibid., p. 141.
\textsuperscript{78} Bath,\textit{op.cit.} p.45.
\textsuperscript{79} \url{http://arunachalassembly.gov.in/origingrowth.html} as on 18th May 2015.
each district) were appointed.\textsuperscript{81} It is also worth mentioning that the Act of 1971 provided the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh with one seat in Rajya Sabha and one in Lok Sabha.

The year 1972 is historic for Arunachal Pradesh in many ways. Apart from attaining the status of Union Territory and renaming it as Arunachal Pradesh it was also in October 1972 that this hilly state for the first time witnessed a political party in the form of Indian National Congress (INC) under the leadership of P.K.Thungon that later on led the foundation of political party in the state.\textsuperscript{82} This was a great leap for the growth of party politics in Arunachal Pradesh.

Propelling the administrative development further, under the 37\textsuperscript{th} Amendment Act, 1975 of the Indian Constitution, Pradesh Council was upgraded to provisional Legislative Assembly to the Union territory of Arunachal Pradesh having 23 members during 1975 to 1978.\textsuperscript{83} It also led to re-designation of the post of Chief Councillor and Councillor as Chief Minister and Ministers respectively. The post of Chief Commissioner was also re-designated as lieutenant Governor and accordingly Shri K.A.A. raja was appointed as the first Lieutenant Governor on 15\textsuperscript{th} July 1975. The first provisional legislative assembly was presided over by late Nokmey Namati as the speaker. The provincial legislative assembly sat for 23 sittings during its tenure from 18\textsuperscript{th} August, 1975 to 29\textsuperscript{th} December, 1978.\textsuperscript{84} As a result Lt. Governor was appointed as the head of the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh which earlier till 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1975 was administered by the President of India acting through the Chief Commissioner of Assam.\textsuperscript{85} The Act provided that the existing Pradesh Council would be converted into 30 members Legislative Assembly where 5 Councilors would constitute the Council of Ministers as an interim arrangement till election is held.

In the midst of all these developments the political representation of Arunachal Pradesh in the Lok Sabha was increased from one to two through the Government of

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{The North-East Frontier magazine,} 2009. Arunachal Pradesh from NEFA to Statehood-Journey of the Dawnlit mountains,p.21.
\item Bani Danggen, \textit{Administrative, Political, Legislative and Judicial Growth of Arunachal Pradesh,} Preety publisher, 2012, Itanagar, p.21.
\item \url{http://arunachalpradesh.gov.in/govt.htm} as on 11th May 2015 (Official website of govt. of Arunachal Pradesh).
\item The \textit{North-East Frontier Magazine.op.cit.}p.22
\item ibid.
\end{enumerate}
Union Territories (Amendment) Acts, 1975. It also provided that the seats of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha from then will be elected rather than nominated by the President of India. This was by now a clear indication that the government of India wanted to let the people of this region participate actively in the decision making process for better governance.

On 12th June, 1975, Prem Khandu Thungon was elected as the leader of the proposed Legislative Assembly. On 13th August, 1975 the President of India announced the formal appointment of P.K. Thungon as the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh. On the advice of the Chief Minister the President of India along with him appointed four Counselors. The Counselors were Tomo Riba, Sobeng Tayeng, Tadar Tang and Wangpa Lowang with P.K. Thungon as the leader of the proposed Legislative Assembly and also the nominated Chief Minister from INC party. However there was absence of popular participation.

Table 1.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Name of Counselors</th>
<th>Portfolio held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>P.K. Thungon</td>
<td>Transport and Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tomo Riba</td>
<td>Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sobeng Tayeng</td>
<td>Forest, Industries and Co-operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tadar Tang</td>
<td>Health, Manpower and Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wangpha Lowang</td>
<td>Community Development, Panchayat Raj and Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Finally in 1987, under Act no.69 of the State of Arunachal Pradesh Act, 1986, Arunachal Pradesh was made a full fledged state and became the 24th state of India with 60 members in the state legislative assembly. Since from the attainment of Statehood in

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86 Arunachal brochure, (Shillong, 1975), p.14  
88 ibid, p.140.
1987 there has been six times Legislative Assembly Election in the State i.e. 1990, 1995, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014.

The State has also been expanding its administrative wings by creation of various other districts for the speedy administration of the areas. It expanded itself from five districts of Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit and Tirap in 1965 to 17 districts as of 2014. 89 Three new districts have been accepted by the present state govt. in principle but yet to go for a legislative approval.

Arunachal Pradesh which is still undergoing a transition period has move down to the arena of national mainstream only in the recent past. The Journey of political development of Arunachal Pradesh from isolation to statehood involves a deep research and political understanding.

**Demographic profile**

Arunachal Pradesh has converted itself as a state only in 1987 and became the 24th state of Indian union. The state is thinly populated though many of the outsiders of other Indian states also have joined the demographic profile of the state. The state as per the 2011 census has a total population of 13,82,611 with a decadal increase of 2,84,643. Out of 13,82,611 the indigenous population stands at 9,51821 constituting 68% of the total population. 789846 schedule tribe of the state lives in the rural areas and 161975 lives in the urban areas. Out of the total population the size of rural population is 10,69,165 (77.33% of the total population), while the urban population is 3,13,446 (22.67%). It has been observed that the increase in population is more in urban areas than that of the rural areas. The male population remains to be higher with 7,20,232 against the female population of 6,62,379.

For the first time since Independence, the absolute increase in population is more in urban areas than in rural areas according to the provisional population Census 2011. It is interesting to see the level of urbanization increased from 27.81% in 2001 Census to

89 [http://arunachalpradesh.nic.in/glance.htm](http://arunachalpradesh.nic.in/glance.htm) Official Website of Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh as on 3rd June 2014.
31.16% in 2011 Census while the proportion of rural population declined from 72.19% to 68.84%.\textsuperscript{90}

From the above statement, it is clear that maximum of the indigenous populations are still living a rural life. However, the decadal considerable shift in the level of urbanization indicates that people are gradually moving from rural to urban areas for their livelihood.

**Population Growth Rate**

Population growth rate is one of the most important determining factors in accessing the demography of a state or a country. It is the growth of human population over a specific period of time.

As per the 2011 provisional census the state of Arunachal Pradesh has registered a growth rate of 25.92% during the period from 2001-2011. However the population growth rate was 27% in 1991-2001 periods which is a clear indication that the population growth rate of the state has gone down as compared to earlier decade. It has been estimated that the reason for this decadal change in the growth rate is because of the reduction of labor forces engaged in construction, agricultural and other economic activities. The ban on saw mills and felling of trees and other forest products has compelled the labourers to leave the state.\textsuperscript{91} It is also a fact that the tribal people of the state are apathetic to engage themselves in laborer works as the main occupation of the indigenous people is agriculture. The highest population growth rate is recorded by Kurung Kumey district with 111.01% and Upper Siang district placed itself at the lowest with 5.77%.

**Population Density**

Arunachal Pradesh being at its nascent stage of development is least populous inhabited by multiple tribes and sub-tribes. As per the 2011 census it has recorded a total

\textsuperscript{90} *Arunachal Times*, Itanagar, 2\textsuperscript{nd} August, 2011, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{91} *Census of India 2011, provisional population totals*, series 13, Directorate of Census operation, Arunachal Pradesh, p. 7.
population of 13, 82,611 with a schedule tribe population of 9,51,821\textsuperscript{92} and with an area of 83,743 sq.km. The density of population has also remarkably increased from 13 persons per sq.km in 2001 to 17 persons per sq.km in 2011. The highest of the population density is recorded as 51 in Papumpare district and the lowest being Dibang valley district with 1 person per sq/km. It is notable that Dibang Valley stands as the lowest in India in terms of population density with a decadal growth rate of 9.3\%.\textsuperscript{93}

Table 1.7

| District wise distribution of population, growth rate, sex ratio, population density, literacy rate and urban population of Arunachal Pradesh |
|----------------|----------------|
| Sl.No. | District |
| 1 | Tawang |
| 2 | West Kameng |
| 3 | East Kameng |
| 4 | Papumpare |
| 5 | Lower Subansiri |
| 6 | Kurung Kumey |
| 7 | Upper Subansiri |
| 8 | West Siang |
| 9 | East Siang |
| 10 | Upper Siang |
| 11 | Dibang Valley |
| 12 | Lower Dibang Valley |
| 13 | Lohit |
| 14 | Anjaw |
| 15 | Changlang |
| 16 | Tirap |
| Arunachal Pradesh (Total) | |
| Population | 49977 | 83947 | 78690 | 176573 | 83030 | 92076 | 83448 | 112274 | 99214 | 35320 | 8004 | 54080 | 145726 | 21167 | 148226 | 111975 | 13,83727 |
| % Decadal growth rate 2001-2011 | 28.40 | 12.53 | 37.62 | 44.73 | 49.00 | 116.56 | 50.78 | 8.04 | 13.53 | 5.87 | 10.07 | 7.11 | 16.50 | 14.78 | 18.18 | 11.61 | 26.00 |
| Sex ratio | 714 | 836 | 1029 | 980 | 984 | 1031 | 998 | 930 | 979 | 889 | 813 | 928 | 912 | 839 | 926 | 944 | 938 |
| Literacy | 59.00 | 67.07 | 60.02 | 79.95 | 74.35 | 48.75 | 63.80 | 66.46 | 72.54 | 59.99 | 64.10 | 69.13 | 68.18 | 56.46 | 59.80 | 52.19 | 65.38 |
| Urban Population | 11202 | 15932 | 18350 | 96963 | 12806 | 2345 | 13405 | 24968 | 27635 | 6540 | 2384 | 11389 | 32430 | 982 | 19228 | 20810 | 317369 |

Source: Census of India, 2011.

\textsuperscript{92} ibid, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{93} ibid, p. 7.
**Sex Ratio**

Sex ratio is the number of females per 1000 males. It is an important indicator of the social status of male and females in a society and which help in formulating policies for equitable development of a state or a country. The sex ratio of Arunachal Pradesh as per the 2011 census is 920 as against the 893 in the 2001 census. Comparatively there has been increase in the sex ratio since last 2001 census. Table 1.8 presents ranking of the sex ratio district wise in Arunachal Pradesh.

**Table 1.8**

**Ranking of district by sex ratio**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sex ratio (Number of females per 1000 males)</th>
<th>Rank in 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kurung Kumei</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>East Kameng</td>
<td>1012</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lower Subansiri</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>East Siang</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Papumpare</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tirap</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lower Dibang Valley</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lohit</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Upper Siang</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Anjaw</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>West Kameng</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Provisional census, 2011.
Kurung Kumey registered the highest sex ratio 1029 per 1000 males. Tawang records as the district with lowest sex ratio with 701 females per 1000 males.\textsuperscript{94}

**Rural-Urban Population**

Table 1.9 reveals the features of urban-rural population in Arunachal Pradesh.

**Table 1.9**

*Rural-Urban population statistic*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population (%)</td>
<td>77.06 %</td>
<td>22.94 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>1,066,358</td>
<td>317,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Population</td>
<td>546,011</td>
<td>167,901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Population</td>
<td>520,347</td>
<td>149,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Growth</td>
<td>22.56 %</td>
<td>39.27 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Sex Ratio (0-6)</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Population (0-6)</td>
<td>172,289</td>
<td>39,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Percentage (0-6)</td>
<td>16.16 %</td>
<td>12.57 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literates</td>
<td>535,902</td>
<td>230,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Literacy</td>
<td>59.94 %</td>
<td>82.93 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Literacy</td>
<td>67.44 %</td>
<td>88.45 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Literacy</td>
<td>49.14 %</td>
<td>67.14 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Urbansiation has increased in the past decades as of in Arunachal Pradesh too. Out of total population of 1382611, the total figure of population living in urban areas is 317,369 which constitute of 22.94% of the total population. Out of the total urban population 149468 consist of female population. On the other hand 10,65242 number of peoples live in the rural area which is 77.06% of the total population out of which 520,347 population is females.

\textsuperscript{94} ibid.
Literacy

Literacy rate is also one important yardstick in determining the level of development of a state or a nation. A literate country or a state always ensures a better prospect for the development of an individual or a society. Arunachal Pradesh though a young state but it has in a very short period of time successfully shaped itself as a state with maximum numbers of literates. Though the concept of higher education is still new yet the successive state govt. has tried to introduce all modern ways of education for overall development of the state. Table 1.10 provides the details regarding the literacy rate in Arunachal Pradesh since 1961 till 2011 census.

Table 1.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</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>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>14.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>41.59</td>
<td>51.45</td>
<td>29.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>54.34</td>
<td>63.83</td>
<td>43.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>66.95</td>
<td>73.69</td>
<td>59.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Provisional population census 2011.

In 1961, when the population census of the State was assessed for the first time, the literacy rate was only 7.13%, but today the literacy rate has move up to 66.95% as per the 2011 provisional census which is very convivial for the overall development of the State. The male literacy rate stands at 73.69% whereas female literacy rate stands at 59.57% as revealed in the 2011 census.95

95 ibid. p.8
Table 1.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Literacy Rate</td>
<td>District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Papumpare</td>
<td>82.14</td>
<td>Papumpare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lower Subansiri</td>
<td>76.33</td>
<td>Lower Subansiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>East Siang</td>
<td>73.54</td>
<td>East Siang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lower Dibang Valley</td>
<td>70.38</td>
<td>Lower Dibang Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lohit</td>
<td>69.88</td>
<td>Lohit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>West Kameng</td>
<td>69.40</td>
<td>West Kameng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
<td>67.62</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
<td>64.8063.96</td>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
<td>62.48</td>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>East Kameng</td>
<td>61.90</td>
<td>East Kameng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>60.61</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>59.94</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Upper Siang</td>
<td>59.40</td>
<td>Upper Siang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Anjaw</td>
<td>52.23</td>
<td>Anjaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Tirap</td>
<td>50.67</td>
<td>Tirap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kurung Kumey</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kurung Kumey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2011

Table 1.11 shows the ranking of the district as per literacy rate. There has been increased in the literacy rate of the state since last one decade where the population as per 2001 census was 54.34% out of which male literacy rate was 63.83% and female literacy rate was 43.53%. Table 1.11 also shows that Papumpare top as the highest literate district with 82.14% and Kurung Kumey as the lowest literate district of the state with 50.67%.
Social Aspects-

In spite of Arunachal Pradesh being economically under developed and politically unsocialized, it has a distinct social framework which is very unique in itself. The distinctness lies in the fact that the state is a composition of various tribes and sub-tribes and all of them have their own socio-cultural practices differing from one another, but similar in some respect. In other sense we can say that God has created this state in his leisure time where he blessed this state with scenic beauty, nature friendly peoples and vast stocks of natural resources. The state of Arunachal Pradesh composed of 26 major tribes and multiple sub-tribes living in 3649 scattered villages. Each tribe has various distinct characteristic in terms of languages, costumes, food habits, culture and traditions.

Family Setups-

The tribal society of Arunachal Pradesh is a patriarchal one and the fundamental laws of inheritance rest with the son. Father is the head of the family and all important decisions regarding the welfare of the family is taken by him. The son is entitled to inherit paternal properties. However, from this it may not be deduced that the women in Arunachal tribal society does not have any position in the society. With the passing of time and space, the women too have been enjoying their due rights. Especially, with the coming of the modern political institution like Panchayati Raj System in the state by 1969, the role and rights of the women have become more prominent and indispensable in bringing socio-economic and political changes in the state.

The people here follow endogamy and strictly observe the rule of clan exogamy. Polygamy is also being practiced by the people and is socially sanctioned by the society. It is also worth mentioning that the Arunachal Pradesh tribal society is basically casteless and classless society. However, social stratification is emerging due to the changed scenario in the occupational mobility. Economic differentiation is gradually emerging because of the monetisation of the society.
Religion-

In terms of religion, people here mainly follow Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and Donyi-Poloism. Prior to emergence of Donyi-Polo as an organized religion, all the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh were following nature worship. Table 1.12 highlights the religious population figures in Arunachal Pradesh.

Table 1.12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Figures</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>418732</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>401876</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>362553</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Buddhist</td>
<td>162815</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>27045</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>3287</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jains</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Religion not stated</td>
<td>6648</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, 2011.

Subsequently, Donyi-Poloism got the recognition as the indigenous faith system of the indigenous tribes of the state. However, Christianity which was brought by the Britishers has been very much successful in advocating its religious ideas in the state and today has a strong grip on faith system of the peoples of the state. It was mainly brought by the imperialist British rulers with an aim to advocate their interest and administrative convenience.

However, today the indigenous faith system i.e. Donyi-Poloism has been also widely accepted by the people of the state. Buddhism is followed by only some tribes in the state namely Monpa and Sherdukpen. Followers of Hinduism, Jainism, Islam is minimum and is mainly followed by the non-tribal’s residing in the state.

System of Governance

Arunachal Pradesh being a multi-ethnic society has witnessed the habitation of many tribes and sub-tribes. Every tribe though distinct in themselves has their own traditional village council institutions which have been socially adopted since time
immemorial and can be theoretically classified into democratic system, theocratic system and chieftainship system that maintains law and order, resolves disputes and take up all the activities to safeguard the rights and welfare of the peoples.

Verrier Elwin identified that ‘all the councils have certain features in common. They all derive their authority from ancient times and the fact that they are the expression of the will and power of the whole people’. Adis and Apatanis adopt somewhat democratic type of council system, Monpa of democracy as well as theocracy, Khampti of chieftaincy as well as theocracy and Singpho, Nocte, Wancho and Tangsa of chieftaincy system. People have faith with regards to the adjudication of justice by the village councils. Some of the traditional village council systems are Kebang of Adis, Buliyang of Apatanis, Bang Ngele of Nyishis, Mokochup of Khamptis, Ngothum of Nocte, Wancho-Wancha of Wancho, etc.

Though we are socially distinct in terms of language, culture, tribe etc, the people have been very significantly contributing to the state building process. But in the recent days it has been witnessed that there arise some cases where politics have been played on clan and community basis. This practice is likely to disintegrate the very foundation of a united and peace loving state in future. With the passage of time and space, our society today has become, more inquisitive and eager about politics. This is clearly seen from the unregulated rising of students union on different basis and also many forms of NGOs who claims to represent the society. From this it can also be deduced that our society today has become more active with regards to addressing of one’s opinion either it may be a personal or a matter related to overall development. The politics played earlier in a dictatorial form or in a pattern of ‘one man army’ does not hold any ground today. Time has changed and so the peoples mentality. Today everyone wants to propagate their opinions so that a government of a more comprehensive character based on popular opinion can be brought in.

Economic aspects:

Arunachal Pradesh is slowly developing its economy with the objective of improving the quality of life of its people. The task ahead is uphill, the resources available are plenty but the ways and means to achieve the objective through gainful utilization of the resources are not well defined.98

Arunachal Pradesh is a hilly terrain state and predominantly inhabited by a variety of tribal population belonging to Indo-Mongoloid group. The British govt. was primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order and the quest for economic development of the state was at a distance. The state is known for its ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious and physiographical diversity. The human settlement over the vast hilly terrains are highly scattered and sparsely populated and therefore their integration and involvement into the market economy is still a distant dream. As the state started its planning process very lately in most of the economic parameters, the state is lagging behind in all aspects of economic development in comparison to other states. This has left the state far below the all India average of development.

The major constraints are low level of productivity, capital inadequacy, lack of infrastructural support, unfavorable terrain, and high cost of production along with demand side constraints. The non-availability of basic preservation, storage and processing facilities, low value addition and unfavorable price of Agricultural commodities are severely affecting as a whole which directly encourages migration from rural areas to urban centers.

Arunachal Pradesh as a newly born state has entered the field of effective planned development much later than most of the states of India. In fact, the isolation and lack of developmental infrastructure facilities in the area was so acute that even at the micro level it was not possible to make any appreciable investment in the initial plan periods. Private and corporate sectors investment was non-existent.

Agriculture

Till not so long the majority of the people in Arunachal Pradesh depended on agriculture by adopting jhum cultivation or shifting cultivation method which is also known as the slash-and-burn method in the north-eastern region of the country and which happens to be the primary occupation of the people. Jhumming is not merely a tribal mode of food production in the hills; it is in fact linked to their socio-cultural life, customs and rituals, festivals and land tenure system. Crops such as paddy, maize, finger millet, foxtail millet, sweet potatoes, pumpkin, papaya, ginger, cotton, tobacco, chillies and seasam, etc are mainly grown in the region.\(^99\)

Earlier, crop production was supplemented by a number of activities: hunting, fishing and the collection of forest produce. Agriculture was basically limited to the production of paddy, the staple food of the people. In the absence of any major source of state revenues, agriculture happens to be the key sector in the economy of the state. From the very inception of planned development priority was given to the agriculture especially to replace the practice of jhumming to meet the deficit gap in the agricultural sector. In the recent times use of High Yielding Variety seeds (HYV) and use of modernized agricultural tools have given a major boost to the development of agriculture in the state. In the field of horticulture and floriculture also the state has attain some remarkable achievements.

The soil in Arunachal Pradesh generally varies from sandy loom to clay mixed with heterogeneous matrix soil under thick cover of forests containing a high proportion of humus and nitrogen. It is a mixture with acidic in certain areas. In the recent times, the government has discouraged the age old traditional practice of shifting cultivation as it is leading to mass deforestation and ecological imbalance.\(^100\)

Industry

The presence of vast natural resources, particularly enormous hydropower potential, oil and natural gas and tourism offer a strong advantage to transform this strategically located state into one of the richest states of the country. However, the state


\(^{100}\) ibid, p.216.
of Arunachal Pradesh has got difficult terrain, lack of road communication and of market and transport facilities, low level of technical development and dearth of skilled labour were some of the major constraints in the growth of modern industries in the state. Under such stringent conditions, the industrial backwardness of the territory continued to persist inspite of its vast natural resource. The ‘Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations’ of 1873 or the ‘Inner line’ is also to some extent responsible for the setting up of large scale industries in the state as it has regulated the land policy and the movement of outsiders into the state.

Industrialization is yet to take off despite of having vast potential of hydro power, minerals, raw materials, crude oil, agriculture and horticulture products and tourism, etc. Though there is absence of large scale industries there are many small scale and handloom industries in Arunachal Pradesh strengthening the economy of the state. Cane and bamboo work, weaving, mat making are some indigenous employments in Arunachal Pradesh. There is also bamboo gasifier and bamboo shoot processing industries in Arunachal Pradesh set up at Namsai to support the small scale industries. Since Arunachal Pradesh is an agricultural land, most of the industries of Arunachal Pradesh are agro-based. However, due to policy restrictions, most of the timber based industries have been closed down and the plywood industry is the major victim.

**Tourism**

Tourism is yet another profitable industry in Arunachal Pradesh. The pristine beauty of the state and the adventurous sports allure tourists to Arunachal Pradesh from all the corners of the world.\(^{101}\) The widely scattered archeological remains at different places in Arunachal bear testimony to its rich cultural heritage. Arunachal Pradesh, a serene land tucked into the North Eastern tip of India, has been blessed with nature’s beauty and as a result of which it is known as ‘nature treasure trove’.\(^{102}\)

Realizing the vast tourism potentials of the state and its economic importance, the government has come up with a vision to develop the tourism industry as an ‘Engine of Growth’ in Arunachal Pradesh and also to harness the Potential of tourism for the Benefit of the natives. Harnessing of tourism potential in the state could give a remarkable shift

\(^{101}\) ibid.
\(^{102}\) [http://arunachalpradesh.nic.in/tourism.htm](http://arunachalpradesh.nic.in/tourism.htm)
on the part of economic development of the state in the days to come. Some of the important tourist places in the state are Parsuramkund in Tezu, Malinithan in west siang, 400 years old Tawang monastery in Tawang, Itafort in Itafort, Tipi orchidarium in West Kameng, etc. The rich cultural heritage and biodiversity is also one of the important factors that attract tourist in the state. However, despite huge potentiality for tourism, specially adventure tourism and eco-tourism, this sector has not developed in the expected line, may be due to lack of political will or policy bottleneck.

**Natural resources**

Arunachal Pradesh is also very much rich in natural resources. However, due to technological and other various constraints, the vast reserves of natural resources could not be fully harnessed for economic development till date.

**i. Minerals**

In 1991, Arunachal Pradesh Mineral Development and Trading Corporation Limited were set up to promote the mineral contents of Arunachal Pradesh. Mineral resources in Arunachal Pradesh include coal, lime stone, graphite, dolomite, marble, and pyrite. Coal is found at Namchik-Namphuk, Dibang Valley, Upper Subansiri and Tirap. Dolomite is found at Rupa, West Kameng.

**ii. Hydro-power**

Power is an important element within the specific set of modern infrastructure components for overall development of a country or state. Arunachal has considerable potential for the development of hydro-electric power but, this has so far remained untapped. Arunachal Pradesh has a hydropower potential of more than 50,000 megawatts (MW), but till date, only 400 MW has been developed. The proposed power projects in Arunachal Pradesh are expected to ease the power crisis in the north-eastern region of the country and supply power to other power-starved states in India.\(^{103}\)

The first hydro power was setup at Kalaktang with the installed capacity of 10 KW only and commissioned on 23\(^{rd}\) September 1971. The deptt. of power has commissioned 35 mini hydel projects in different parts of the state in the recent past. With the completion of the 405 MW Ranganadi Hydel Project, and commissioning of the

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\(^{103}\) [http://www.tgovernment.in/site/4412-m312w-hydr159opower-projects-arunachal-38175](http://www.tgovernment.in/site/4412-m312w-hydr159opower-projects-arunachal-38175)
other projects, the installed capacity in the state will be adequate to meet its power requirements, and Arunachal will be in a position to supply power to the rest of the states of North-East India and to neighbouring countries as well.\textsuperscript{104}

Table 1.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Number of towns (as per 2001 Census)</th>
<th>Number of inhibited Villages</th>
<th>No. of Village electrified</th>
<th>% of electrified villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Census</td>
<td>Un-census</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tawang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>East Kameng</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>West Kameng</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Papumpare</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lower Subansiri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kurung Kumey</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>East Siang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Upper Siang</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lower D. Valley</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lohit</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Anjaw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Tirap</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of AP</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3863</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>4545</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Chief Engineer (power), Arunachal Pradesh, Naharlagun.

Some of the hydro-electric projects commissioned are; Siang hydro-electric power project (2700 MW), Tawang Hydro electric project phase I (250MW), The Sippi Hydro Electric Project (4000 KW), Subansiri Lower Hydro Electric Project, Dibang

Multipurpose Project (3000MW), Ranganadi Hydro Electric Plant (405 MW), Kameng Hydro Electric Project (600 MW), etc.\textsuperscript{105}

### iii. Forestry

Arunachal Pradesh is vastly covered with lush green forest. About 82 percent of the geographical area (68,045 sq.km) of this state is under forest and which hold a great importance of economic development. The people are largely dependent on forest for their essential needs and are the source of much needed materials, timber, cane and bamboo thatch, etc. for handicraft and house-building, fodder and grass, fire wood and so on. Besides this the people also derives many items of food from the forest. Table 1.13 shows the legal forest status of the state as of 2008

### Table 1.14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No.</th>
<th>Legal Classification</th>
<th>% of Geographical area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reserved Forest</td>
<td>12.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Protected Forest</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anchal Reserve Forest</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Village reserve Forest</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>National Parks</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wild Life Sanctuary</td>
<td>8.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Orchid Sanctuary</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Unclassified State Forest</td>
<td>37.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Forest provides necessary resource for wood-based industries, and a number of such industries on medium scale have come up in Arunachal Pradesh. Many small-scale industries, namely saw mills, paper making basketry of cane and bamboo ply, furniture etc. based on forest produce are also operating.

The economic development of the state, particularly in industrial sector, obviously depends much on forests.\textsuperscript{106} However, in December 1996 the supreme court of India passed an order that was applied to Arunachal Pradesh also to put a complete ban

\textsuperscript{105} State Gazetteer of Arunachal Pradesh, volume I, Itanagar, p. 309.
\textsuperscript{106} ibid, p.266.
operation of saw mills and felling of trees in order to prevent deforestation and ecological imbalance.\textsuperscript{107} After this Supreme Court’s order, the timber business for the people of Arunachal Pradesh was almost put to a halt and thus badly affecting their source of income as well as states revenue.

iv. Flora and fauna

Arunachal has all vegetation types: tropical, sub-tropical, temperate, and alpine. All the useful plant species ranging from medicinal herbs to timber plants are closely linked with the economic life of the people of the state. The state is also endowed with about a third (5,000 seed plants) of the 15,000 seed plants found in India, thousands of non-flowering plants and about 500 exotic orchids. The forest is also rich in wide varieties of medicinal plants which have been used by the people for centuries to cure various diseases, from stomach ailment to blood pressure. More than 450 plants have been identified with medicinal properties.\textsuperscript{108}

The state is rich in fauna wealth. It is believed that more than 100 species of mammals in its forests. These include four major cats (tiger, leopard, snow leopard and clouded leopard), three antelopes (serow, goral and takin) and the highly endangered hispid hare. The state is also home to 7 out of 16 species of primates found in India i.e. hillock gibbon, slow loris, assamese macaque, rhesus macaque, pig-tailed macaque, stump-tailed macaque and capped langur also occurs in the forest of the state. Bison and Mithun are the two important mammals found in the state.\textsuperscript{109}

Arunachal Pradesh is characterized by a very low economic growth rate. The state is suffering from impaired economic development due to inhospitable terrain and disproportionately high cost of providing administrative, social and economic infrastructure. Economy of the state is largely agrarian. About 60\% of the cropped area is under shifting cultivation, which provides just a subsistence level of economy. Thus, even with a small population, state remains deficit in food production. The state is therefore yet to attain self-sufficiency in food grains production and also the primary sectors have remained underdeveloped.

\textsuperscript{107} http://lawmatters.in/content/supreme-court-guidelines-on-forest-conservation-474
\textsuperscript{109} ibid, p.171.
Marketing has been a weak link in the state for which the progressive farmers are deprived from remunerative prices. Despite vast natural resources, secondary sectors have been handicapped due to inaccessibility and remoteness of the area, lack of entrepreneurial skills, inadequate banking system and weak primary sectors.

In spite of all these Arunachal Pradesh is gradually developing its economy with the objective of improving the quality of life of the people. The improved means of agricultural method, the exploration in tourism sectors, hydro-power resources, etc by the government in the recent times is supposed to increase the economy of the state in near future. However, it is quiet disheartening to know that though the resources are available, the means to achieve the objective through gainful utilization of the resources are not well defined. However, the state has gained much over the years, it is now important to consolidate the gains in order to make it sustainable and add new dimension in the coming years, so as to increase household income generations.

Keeping all these factors in mind and the need to achieve higher economic growth and creating job opportunities for the rural unemployed through agriculture and allied sectors, it is necessary for the state to have a well defined economic policy. However, at the backdrop of Chinese claim over Arunachal Pradesh in the recent years, the central government has realised the importance of Arunachal Pradesh and therefore has made a considerable shift in its policies in order to bring the state into the developmental track of the mainland India by granting huge amount of grant-in-aid from time to time and opening up many central projects.

About the Study

The politics of defection has become rampant in the state of Arunachal Pradesh since the holding of its first parliamentary election in 1977. Time and again the popular political aspirations of the peoples have been betrayed by the elected representatives. This has become cancerous for the people of the state who sturdily hope to enjoy the benefits of democracy not by being a part of defection politics which extensively corrodes the political system rather by being a part of a stable political system and ensuring a progressive democracy.
The phenomenon of political defection, which often did created political instability, is as old as electoral politics in the state. In most of the cases of political defections, there have been mass defection and subsequent merger into the ruling party. In a state like Arunachal Pradesh which is yet to see the light of modern developments and where political socialization is progressing in a snail pace the practice of political defection has been a barrier. It has been observed that no political leader of Arunachal Pradesh is permanently attached to a party.

Instances of political defection have made us to understand that any leader joins a party not because of its ideology or his commitment for that party but to contest elections so that he becomes a part of the government. Therefore Arunachal Pradesh, what S.C.Kashyap calls, “almost total absence of ideology as a force in competitive politics” has largely contributed to the growth of defection politics. Defection have also taken place because of personal benefits as most of the defectors are ‘rewarded’ with political offices in the form of ministers and parliamentary secretaries, or even chairman of state–owned corporation. Another disturbing trend is that the state politics is actively influenced by the change of government at the Centre.

Studies have suggested that there is no perceptible change in the political leadership in spite of repeated political defections. This gives out an indication that the politics of defection is not being perceived negatively by the masses, which is a matter of deep concern.

Therefore, the study will try to give an insight into the problems emerging out of constant political defection by taking into consideration the history, nature and causes of political defection in the state.

**Significance of the study:**

The state of Arunachal Pradesh has started its process of political development in the later part of the 19th century and happens to be one of the political hotspot of the country in the recent past at the backdrop of the repeated Chinese claim over this resourceful state. There has been a growing perception and accusation from the people of Arunachal Pradesh that the govt. of India is using this state as a buffer zone. Because of the unaided political culture in the past and also the lackadaisical developmental attitudes
from the central government, the process of political socialisation has been a sluggish one. Moreover the state of affairs for electoral politics in the state has taken place only in the recent decades. Nevertheless, the political system of the state has been a distinctive one because of the frequent political defection taking place time and again and posing a threat to the political development of the state.

Significance is felt to understand the nature and causes and its implications on the overall development of the state. It is also important to find out why frequent political defection takes place unlike that of the other political systems of the country and why people time and again elect these defected leaders inspite of their failure to uphold the democratic ethics. Nonetheless, it would also be significant to find out undergoing a thorough analysis the relevance of Anti-Defection Law, 1985 in the state.

**Objective**

The proposed work seeks to critically understand the phenomenon of continuing defections in the state politics of Arunachal Pradesh. More specifically, the study will examine:

1. the nature and trends of political defection in the state;
2. the causes of political defection;
3. the public perception about political defection;
4. the implications of continuing political defection in the state politics; and
5. the effectiveness of anti-defection law, 1985.

**Literature review**

Kashyap, S.C. (1969), *The Politics of Defection, A study of the Defection Politics in India* is a well founded work covering the post-fourth general election political scene in the states of Rajasthan, Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bengal. The book also describes how the fourth general election in India ushered a new era of Indian politics in Indian states. The book also highlights the politics of defection taking a centre stage in the Indian politics since then. In other words the book is a lead to the politics of defection in India.
Kashyap, S.C. (2011), *Anti-Defection Law and Parliamentary Privileges*, offers deep analysis and interpretation of the anti-defection law and provides a critical commentary on its provisions. The study also describes how the Anti-Defection law has been discussed in various forums and still remains extremely controversial, ill-defined and amenable to varying interpretations. The work also covered the various instances of political defection that has taken place so far in various States of India. Another book of the same author *The Politics of Power: Defection and State Politics in India* (1974) also provides insight into the problem of defections and understands defection politics as a feature of state politics in India.

Malhotra, G.C. (2005), “Anti-Defection Law in India and the Commonwealth” is an extensive study of the Anti-Defection law in India and the commonwealth. The book provides informations about the political defection and laws by analysing 40 commonwealth parliaments of the world. It also described the subject by analysing various cases of split and merger in various state politics of India.

Kothadaraman, R. (2006), “Ideas for an Alternative Anti-Defection Law” has focused on the genesis of the defection politics in India and the efforts made to curb the defection politics in India. Most importantly, it provides for some alternatives that can be look into in order to make the anti-defection law more regulative and stringent in the country.

Kohli, Atul (1990) in his book *Democracy and Discontent- India’s growing crisis of governability* has explained that India, in spite of being the largest democracy in the world, is reeling under a crisis of governability mainly because of political rather than socio-economic reason. He also observes that there are three main factors for the existence of crisis, namely: absence of enduring coalitions, policy effectiveness and incapacity to accommodate political conflict without violence.

Narayan, Iqbal (1989), in his edited book *Development, Politics and Social Theory: Essay in honor of Prof. S.P.Verma* has discussed about the political loyalties in India. He emphasized that the time has come in Indian politics to think seriously about the political loyalties. He also states that for a stable party system it is necessary that political loyalties should be stable, and not mercurial. He also encouraged the
identification of political ideology on the part of the leaders to ensure political loyalties. He also goes on to add that political loyalties have to be build through conscious efforts.

Bath, Nani (2009), *Electoral Politics in Arunachal Pradesh*, is a book that gives historical account of Assembly and Parliamentary elections in Arunachal Pradesh. A chapter in the book is devoted to voting behavior of the electorates. The book also provides the history of political defections and its impacts on the state politics.

Das, Hari Hara and Choudhury, B.C. (1990), *Federal and State politics in India* has put forward that how defection of dissident Congress leaders that emerged during the Congress dominance has contributed to the politics of Coalition-govt. making since 1967. It is also an attempt to know the initiation of defection politics in India.

‘Arunachal Pradesh, Human Development Report 2005’, prepared by Rajiv Gandhi University, Arunachal Pradesh have distinctly compiled the human report development taking into consideration the land and its people, socio-economic, education and overall development of the state.

Kumar, Sudhir (1991), *Political and Administrative setup of Union Territory of India* has very relevantly focused into the political and administrative growth of present day Arunachal Pradesh. It also described the initiation of defection politics in the state of Arunachal Pradesh in 1977 prior to first Assembly election in 1978 where INC MLAs headed by PK Thungon switched to Janata Party.

Sharma, B.K. (1989), *Political Instability in India* has sort out and bring into light that political instability in one form or the other has been a recurring phenomenon in the history of mankind and its occurrence has often coincided with the rise and fall of political system/ regimes. He also had discussed that instability in the govt. in the parliamentary system has been the fragmentation of parties in Legislature.

‘State Gazetteer of India of Arunachal Pradesh’, 2010, volume-I, Itanagar also provide us with the details of the state in overall development whereby it figures out the state’s history, the socio-economic trends and developments.

Swain, PC, *Local self government in India with reference to Arunachal Pradesh, 2007* also provide us the foundation of Local Self Government in Arunachal Pradesh by setting up the Daying Ering Committee in 1964 which had paved a new era for the administrative and overall development of the state.
B. Satapathy's (1990) *Dynamics of Political Process* has seven chapters dealing with the different dimensions of political process in Arunachal Pradesh. A chapter deals with electoral politics and politics of defection the state.

Fadia, B.L. (2007), *Indian Government and Politics*, examines various aspects of political processes and governmental agencies. It also describes the development of defection politics that take place in various states of India. Measures to control political defection and its implication have also been discussed.

Gehlot. N.S. (1988), in his book *Trend in Indian Politics* provides detail analysis of how the defection politics was badly threatening the stability of the governments both at the centre and in the states during 1967-70 and 1977-80. He also described in his book the magnitude of defection politics after 1967 i.e. the fourth general election.

Limaye, Madhu (1987), *Contemporary Indian Politics*, establishes a linkage between defection politics and democratic tradition in India. He maintains that the game of political defection changed the outlook of Indian democracy and its political system remarkably.

Mohapatra, J.K. (1985), *Factional Politics in India*, clearly illustrated how the fall of congress party in the late 60s has led to the beginning of new era –‘the era of defection’. He adds that shifting of loyalty by the Congress leaders to other parties at that time had been responsible for beginning of the game political defection.


**Hypothesis**

To make the study more specific and to determine its scope the following hypothesis has been tested:

a) Political defection does not create political instability in the state.

b) Absence of ideology is the main cause of political defection.

c) There is no negative popular perception with regards to defection politics.

d) Political defection is seen as an instrument of corruption in public life.
e) Anti-defection law has failed to curb the menace of political defection.

**Methodology:**

The study is mainly empirical and analytical in nature. Data for the study have been drawn both from the primary and secondary sources. Primary data have been collected through administration of interview schedule, questionnaires and observations. Rulings of the Speaker of the State Legislative Assembly have been analysed to understand the nature and trends of political defection.

Two different sets of partially structured questionnaire have been administered for both general public and political leaders separately. Accordingly, one set of questionnaire has been designed to understand the perception of the people, causes, implications and their opinions on defection politics and another set of questionnaire were designed exclusively to assess the opinions of leaders based on their personal experiences as legislators, representative and members of the party.

Beside questionnaire method, a face to face interview using partially structured interview schedule with 18 MLAs, one each from each district has also been carried out.

For the secondary sources, the study included various related official records and documents, articles of journals, newspapers, magazines and both published and unpublished works were used. The researcher’s personal knowledge and experience, extensive field notes of the discussion with the respondents and interview have been maintained to supplement the data generated through field study. The data collected through questionnaires and face to face interview have been tabulated and analyzed using the SPSS to have clear understanding of the respondents view.

The general public in the study includes students’ leaders of various students’ organization, the community based apex organisations, social activist, local intellectuals, entrepreneur, both employed and unemployed, etc. The political leaders include the former and present elected representatives, panchayat members, active party workers, etc.

For the present study, a sample size of 318 (177 for general public, 141 for political leaders) has been drawn cutting across political parties and communities by using simple random sampling method. Ten questionnaires each were served to the general public in fifteen of the district and nine each to three smaller district viz; Anjaw,
Dibang Valley and Upper Siang district (2011 Census) with respondents comprising of employees from public and private sectors, unemployed, students, journalist, etc covering both rural and urban area.

Eight questionnaires each were served to the political leaders in fifteen district and seven questionnaires each to the district of Upper Dibang Valley, Upper Subansiri and Tawang which includes one MLA, one former MLA, panchayat members and party workers. Respondents of both male and female were taken into consideration while collecting the data both of public and political leaders in order to have a wider outlook of the responses. The study have also covered at least nine assembly constituencies- three each from Eastern, Western and Central Arunachal Pradesh.