

# CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL SCIENTIST

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**Summer 2022**

**ISSN No: 2230 – 956X**



**Prof. Lalrintluanga**

*Editor in Chief*

Dean, School of Social Sciences, Mizoram University

&

Professor, Department of Public Administration, Mizoram University

**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
MIZORAM UNIVERSITY  
(A CENTRAL UNIVERSITY)  
TANHRIL, AIZAWL – 796004  
MIZORAM, INDIA  
e-mail : [cssmzu@gmail.com](mailto:cssmzu@gmail.com)**



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Archives (hard copy)

Vol: I - 1

Vol: I - 2

Vol: II - 1

Vol: II - 2

Vol: III - 1

Vol: III - 2

Vol: IV - 1

Vol: IV - 2

Vol: V - 1

Vol: V - 2

Vol: VI - 1

Vol: VI - 2

Vol: VII- 1

Vol: VII- 2

Vol: VIII-1

Vol: VIII-2

Vol: IX - 1

Vol: IX - 2

Vol: X - 1

Vol: X - 2

Vol: XI - 1

Vol: XI - 2

Vol: XII -1

Vol: XII -2

Vol: XIII-1&amp;2

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**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Mizoram University (A Central University)

Tanhri, Aizawl-796004

Mizoram India

e-mail: cssmzu@gmail.com

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**About the Journal**

Contemporary Social Scientist is the journal published by the School of Social Sciences, Mizoram University. It is published twice a year-in Summer and Spring. It aims at advancing and disseminating knowledge, principles and practices in the field of Social Sciences. It encourages research, innovation and new ideas in the field of social sciences with a view to promoting human and sustainable development. Besides research-based papers, the journal also publishes Review of Books, etc. on various areas of interest in the field of Social Sciences.

**For the Contributors**

Articles are invited from authors/researchers, which must be a significant original work (either theoretical or empirical) and should be normally between 8-10 A-4 size printed pages with 1.15 line spacing and 11 point Arial font in the following manner:

- The contributors are requested to submit their articles, papers, reviews, etc. in standard format both in soft and hard copy, preferable in MS Word format.
- An abstract about 100 words should also be submitted along with the main articles/paper and the body should not be more than 2000 words.
- All non-commissioned book reviews must be submitted along with a copy of the Book for the consideration of the Editorial Board.
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- Each manuscript should be accompanied with a declaration that the material has not been published elsewhere and that has not been for publication in any other journal.
- Footnote should be listed in the appendix and not typed on the bottom of the manuscript page in which they appear.
- Biography - APA model may be adopted.
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## CONTENTS

<i>Editorial Note</i>		<i>xi-xiv</i>
<b>Sl.No.</b>	<b>Articles</b>	<b>Page</b>
1.	Women Education in Mizoram: Pre-Statehood Era to Post-Statehood Era <i>Ruthi Hmingchungnungi &amp; Prof. J.Doungel</i>	1-5
2.	An Enquiry into the Process and Pattern of Small Town Formation in Eighteenth Century Bengal <i>Dr. Subrata Roy</i>	6-11
3.	High Powered Committee, Lunglei: A Study of Its Powers and Functions <i>Lalsangpuii &amp; Prof. Lalrintluanga</i>	12-16
4.	Impact of Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme on Socio-Economic Conditions of Beneficiaries in Aizawl District, Mizoram: An Empirical Study <i>Johny Lalrammawia &amp; Prof. A. Muthulakshmi</i>	17- 27
5.	Working of Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Project in Mizoram <i>Lalbiakzarzovi &amp; Prof. A. Muthulakshmi</i>	28-34
6.	Households' Economic Determinants of Water Sources and Water Storage Tanks in Aizawl City <i>Dr. C. Ramhnehzauva</i>	35-40
7.	Household Liquid Waste Management in Lunglei Mizoram <i>Vanlalmangaihi &amp; Dr. C. Lalengzama</i>	41-48
8.	Role of Students' Organisation in border disputes: The Implication of Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) in Assam-Mizoram Border <i>Samuel Lalruatfela, Ashish Thesongti Monsang, Ramengliana &amp; Prof. K. V. Reddy</i>	49-54
9.	Locating Gandhi in the Statist Enterprise and the Popular Imagery in Contemporary India <i>Dr. Anup Shekhar Chakraborty</i>	55-66
10.	Indo-Sri Lanka Relations: Impact of Chinese Expansion in the Indian Ocean Region <i>Lalmuana Guite &amp; Prof. Jagdish Kumar Patnaik</i>	67-74
11.	Resource Management and Globalization With reference to the Hills of Manipur <i>Dr. Sheikhoahao Kipgen &amp; Thangsuanhang</i>	75-81
12.	Conflict, Authoritarian Parenting and Perseverance among Male Adolescent Substance Users in Mizoram <i>Samuel Vanlalruata &amp; Prof. Zokaitluangi</i>	82-90



13. Political Development in Mizoram Since 1947 91-103  
*Prof.Lalrintluanga*
14. Centre-State Relations in India: A Comparative Study of 104-115p  
Relations between Indian National Congress (INC)'s  
Government in Mizoram with INC Rule and with BJP at the Centre  
*Dr.Lalrinnggheta & Prof. K.V. Reddy*

### **List of Contributors**

1. Prof. Jangkhongam Dounghel - Professor, Department of Political Science,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram  
&  
Fulbright Senior Research Fellow, University of Cincinnati, USA
2. Ruthi Hmingchungnungi - Ph.D, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
3. Dr. Subrata Roy - Assistant Professor, Department of History,  
Santipur College, Santipur, Nadia, West Bengal
4. Prof. Lalrintluanga - Professor, Department of Public Administration,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
5. Lalsangpuui - Ph.D, Research Scholar,  
&  
Head, Department of Public Administration,  
Government J.Buana College, Lunglei, Mizoram
6. Prof. A. Muthulakshmi - Professor & Head, Department of Public Administration,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
7. Johny Lalrammawia - Ph.D. Scholar, Department of Public Administration,  
Mizoram University
8. Lalbiakzarzovi - Ph.D. Scholar, Department of Public Administration,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
9. Dr. C. Ramhnehzauva - Dr. C. Ramhnehzauva, Asst. Professor, Department of Geography,  
Govt. Lawngtlai College, Lawngtlai - 796891
10. Dr. C. Lalengzama - Associate Professor, Department of Social Work,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
11. Vanlalmangaihi - II Semester, MSW, Department of Social Work,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
12. Prof. K. V. Reddy - Professor & Head, Department of Political Science,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
13. Samuel Lalruatfela - Ph.D, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
14. Ashish Thesongti Monsang - Ph.D, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
15. Ramengliana - Ph.D, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram



16. Dr. Anup Shekhar Chakraborty - Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science  
&  
Political Studies, Netaji Institute for Asian Studies, Kolkata,  
West Bengal.
17. Prof. Jagdish Kumar Patnaik - Professor (HAG), Department of Political Science,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram  
&  
Pro-Vice Chancellor, Mizoram University,
18. Lalmuana Guite - Ph.D. Research Scholar, Department of Political Science,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram
19. Dr. Sheikho hao Kipgen - Associate Professor, Manipur College, Imphal, Manipur
20. Thangsuanhang - Associate Professor, Govt. Lawngtlai College,  
Lawngtlai, Mizoram.
21. Samuel Vanlalruata - Ph. D. Scholar, Department of Psychology,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl.
22. Dr. Lalringheta - Ph.D. Scholar (UGC Senior Research Fellow),  
Department of Political Science,  
Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram

## Editorial



The present Volume of Journal of Contemporary Social Scientist is a culmination of wide range of thoughts of academics on various subjects covering our nation and beyond. The scholars contributing their research papers/articles have touched upon various aspects of human life in the changing environment.

**Ruthi Hmingchungnungi and J. Doungel**, in their article on *Women Education in Mizoram: Pre-Statehood Era to Post-Statehood Era*, outline the development of women education in Mizoram in spite of the initial discouragement from men when the Christian missionaries introduced education in Mizoram. However, as a result of modernization brought about by education in the Mizo society, many Mizo girls alongwith their male counterparts, began to receive education as

advocated by the Christian missionaries. Alongwith the change of time, all girls are accepted in all in private or government owned educational institutions in Mizoram. After the implementation of Right to Education Act in India, girls have the right to receive education in any government owned institutions till they reach the age of 14 years.

**Subrata Roy**, in his article on *An Enquiry into the Process and Pattern of Small Town Formation in Eighteenth Century Bengal*, enquires into the causes of growth and development of the towns, the process of which started in the transitional period of the eighteenth century and continued till the colonial rule in Bengal. For his study of the process and pattern of Small Town Formation in Bengal, he has highlighted the theoretical formulations of urbanization and analysed the functions of the small towns. The key issue of his study is how the dichotomy of the forces of continuity and change in the life of small towns move on economically and culturally.

In their paper on *High Powered Committee, Lunglei: A Study of Its Powers and Functions*, **Lalsangpuii** and **Lalrintluanga** have attempted to study the powers and functions delegated to the High Powered Committee (HPC), Lunglei, since its inception, by the State Government. HPC has been constituted by the Government of Mizoram which would undertake development needs of the people in Lunglei District. With the cooperation of all the relevant administrative departments within Lunglei District, the HPC has formulated development plans, programmes and projects and the consolidated plans approved by the State Government have then been implemented and monitored by the concerned department under the vigilance of the HPC, Lunglei.

**Johny Lalrammawia** and **A. Muthulakshmi**, in their article on *Impact of Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme on Socio-Economic Conditions of Beneficiaries in Aizawl District, Mizoram: An Empirical Study*, attempt to study the impact of Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme on the socio-economic conditions of the eligible beneficiaries in Aizawl District and also to find out the problems and challenges faced by them while availing this scheme with the help of direct cash benefit. Their finding is that the amount of pension should be increased to meet the basic needs and requirements of elderly persons in the state of Mizoram.

**Lalbiakzarzovi** and **A. Muthulakshmi**, in their article on *Working of Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Project in Mizoram*, has made a study of ICDS which is a government community based programme in India for provision of food, pre - school education and primary healthcare to children under 6years of age and the pregnant and lactating mothers as well as women between 16-44 years of age. The



scheme is aimed to improve the health, nutrition and education of the targeted community, that is, children and the pregnant or lactating mothers. The scheme was launched in 1975, discontinued in 1978 by the Central Government but relaunched by the Tenth Five Year Plan.

In his article on *Households' Economic Determinants of Water Sources and Water Storage Tanks in Aizawl City*, **C. Ramhnehzaiva** has found that governments are unable to provide adequate water supplies due to poor water supply infrastructure in Aizawl city. Water is under-supplied to all sectors of the society and the conditions are worst for the poorer sector because of their perceived inability to pay house connection fees. In fact, the level of services provided by a water supply system is a function of the price, quantity, quality, reliability, and convenience that it provides to the users. As a result, the rich and the poor are dissatisfied with the current situation of their water supply services but the rich are better off than the poor so as far as their satisfactory level is concerned.

**Vanlalmangaihi** and **C. Lalengzama**, in their article titled *Household Liquid Waste Management in Lunglei, Mizoram*, have analysed the nature of household liquid waste disposal and management in Lunglei town in Mizoram. The paper has highlighted the pattern of household liquid waste produced among the urban households in Venglai Community of Lunglei town. Households dispose their liquid waste through drainage and the backyard of their houses without proper channel for disposing their liquid waste in the community which results in degradation of environment and causes ecological impact. Lack of awareness in regard to the importance of proper disposing and management system of liquid waste affects health condition and even leads to manmade disaster such as landslides. There is a wide gap for policy makers to fill as liquid waste disposal and management is an emerging issue especially in the urban areas.

**Samuel Lalruatfela**, **Ashish Thesongti Monsang**, **Ramengliana** and **K. V. Reddy**, in their article on *Role of Students' Organisation in border disputes: The Implication of Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) in Assam-Mizoram Border*, have examined the role of 'Mizo Zirlai Pawl,' the leading students' organization in Mizoram, and its activities in the attempt to resolve longstanding interstate border issue between Mizoram and Assam and, for quite some time, the two states have been in conflict with each other over interstate border demarcation. Even after physical clashes against each other and rounds of dialogues, no action could produce fruitful result for both sides yet. This border dispute affects many stakeholders from both states with participation of civil society bodies other than the state governments.

**Anup Shekhar Chakraborty's** article on *Locating Gandhi in the Statist Enterprise and the Popular Imagery in Contemporary India*, first looks at the cinematic representations of Gandhi from the 1950s to the 2000s and unearths the variations within the same, and contrasts them with Gandhian world visions, and secondly, attempts to locate Gandhi in the statist enterprise and the popular imagery and construes the realities of the public sphere in India. The article observes that in this politics of representation, vocality and audibility, media has realised the weight and effect of keeping alive the image of Gandhi in the minds of the 'aam aadmi' (large masses/commoner) in India. Consequently, media, namely print, television, cinema, and the 'new media' (internet and the virtual spaces, and cell/mobile communications) have systematically spun and re-spun and celebrated the image of Gandhi both as 'Mahatma' and as 'Bapu.'

In his article on *Indo-Sri Lanka Relations: Impact of Chinese Expansion in the Indian Ocean Region*, **Lalmuana Guite** has highlighted the commercial and strategic relationship between India and Sri Lanka for the past many years for commercial and financial prosperity. With the introduction of 'Neighborhood First' and 'Sagar' policy by India, Sri Lanka has become among the top beneficiaries of India's financial aids and infrastructure developmental projects. Hence, the article underlines that the two countries should work together for sheltering peace and security in the Indian Ocean region to check Chinese military and territorial expansion.

In their article on *Resource Management and Globalization With reference to the hills of Manipur*, **Sheikhohao Kipgen** and **Thangsuahang**, have exposed Manipur, which has a number of favourable factors like a huge stock of natural and human resources, as ideally one of the first states to jump into the wagon of globalization. As Manipur has geographical contiguity with the South Asian nations, there will a good prospect for the indigenous people in the hills of Manipur who have the exclusive and intrinsic rights over their land and natural resources including sustainable management and use of their land and resources as per their wishes, aspirations and self-determined rights. However, involvement in globalization and management of indigenous resources would require a holistic approach to the immediately settlement of the real problems besetting the state like corruption, protests almost on daily basis, ethnicity politics, social divide and poor infrastructure so that the people of Manipur could exploit their strength fully and gain maximum real benefits.

In their paper on *Conflict, Authoritarian Parenting and Perseverance among Male Adolescent Substance Users in Mizoram*, **Samuel Vanlalruata** and **Zokaitluangi** have studied the psychosocial aspects of the problem of substance use to highlight what measures are required for interception of the detrimental effects of substance use. To address the objective of their study, a between group design was employed with n=100 for each group-substance users and substance non-users with equal number of respondents from urban rural areas. Family Environment Scale, Parental Authority Questionnaire and Barratt Impulsiveness Scale were used to measure Family Conflict, Authoritarian Parenting and Perseverance respectively. The results of their study revealed the importance of inculcating policies that promotes healthy family relationship as well as improving individual's ability to persevere and control when faced with challenges.

In his article on *Political Development in Mizoram Since 1947*, **Lalrintluanga** has attempted to study the stages of political development in Mizoram since 1947 upto 1987. In Mizoram, political development began with the institutionalisation of political procedures and organisations based on the political demands made by the ordinary or common people who were, for years, denied of democratic participation in the political system under their traditional Village Chiefs and these demands were partially met in the last part of the British rule in Mizoram. But, Indian Independence opened the door for people's participation in the democratic process and the art of administration. But, violent political activities and the subsequent conflicting political development had put democratic life at stake in the then Mizo Hills which ultimately called for the signing of peace accord in 1996 and the conferment of Statehood to Mizoram in 1987.


In their paper on *Centre-State Relations in Mizoram Context: A Study of INC and BJP Regimes*, **Lalrinnggheta** and **K.V. Reddy**, have made an attempt to analyse the changing pattern of relations with certain implications due to strategies adopted by both the centre and the state to strengthen or not each other in a specific case of Mizoram. Prior to the Lok Sabha Election of 2014, there was a change of Ministry at the centre, Indian National Congress, which was ruling in the state of Mizoram, was also running the Central Government. But, 2014 Lok Sabha Election was won by the BJP with a clear-cut majority. As it is a regular experience that in India, regime change at the level of both union and state used to be followed by changing pattern of centre-state relations. This is more obvious when ruling parties are different from each other. Complaints and conflicts have been rising from time to time.

We receive a large number of articles for the journal but only a limited number of articles which could pass through anti-plagiarism test and peer blind review have been included in this issue. It is the hope of the Editorial Board that the articles selected for this issue will be able to trigger further debate and discussion for generation of new knowledge.

I extend my sincere thanks to Prof.R.K.Mohanty, Head, Department of Sociology, for his immense contribution for getting this issue ready for print out.

Aizawl

Dated the 14<sup>th</sup> July 2022



(Prof.LALRINTLUANGA)

Editor-in-Chief

## Women Education In Mizoram: Pre-Statehood Era to Post-Statehood Era

Ruthi Hmingchungnungi\*  
Prof.J.Doungel\*\*

### *Abstract*

*Mizo society saw modernization process with the help of education. Education was the only means which led to transformation. When Christian missionaries came to Mizo occupied areas, they introduced education besides the words of the gospel. They advocate education for both men and women. At first, the introduction of education towards women was opposed by men. As time has changed, many Mizo women receive education and as a result, they contributed to the development of the society. Although girls' schools were established at first, because of the Right to Education Act, all girls are accepted in any educational institutions and girls have the right to receive education in any government owned institution till they reach the age of 14 years. This paper will cover the development of women education in Mizoram from pre-statehood era to post-statehood era.*

**Key words:** Education, Christianity, Right to Education Act.

### 1. Introduction

The development of society largely depends upon education and even for the development of a person education plays a very important role. African proverb once said that if you educate a man, you educate an individual, but if you educate a woman, you educate a nation. This clearly shows the significance of women's education for the development of women and the growth of the nation. When Christian missionaries came to Mizo occupied areas, they introduced education besides the words of the gospel. They advocate education for both men and women. At first, the introduction of education towards women was opposed by men. As time has changed, many Mizo women receive education and as a result, they contributed to the development of

the society. If half of the total population in Mizoram i.e., women, are all literate and all received an education, Mizo society will develop vehemently.

### 2. Women Education in Mizoram in the Pre-Statehood Era

Mizo society has been transformed by Christianity, especially in the field of education. In the past, women were not expected to be enrolled in educational institutions. On 15<sup>th</sup> February, 1989 proper school was opened in Aizawl by D.E. Jones (Christian Missionary). In this year they had 6 girls out of 56 students (Khaute 2013:36). This could be said as the beginning for women education in Mizoram. From this onwards, primary schools were opened in many areas and girls were also admitted. 1901 census showed that female literacy rate in Mizoram was 0.14 percent only (Ralte 2015:241). This clearly shows that there are lots of jobs to be done in the field of women

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\* Ph.D. Research Scholar

\*\*Professor, Department of Political Science, Mizoram University

education. In 1901, there were 20 girls out of 180 students. Slave girls also benefitted as in Zote village, three slave girls namely-Pawngi, Ziki and Challiankungi were taught reading on every Sunday(Ralte 2015:246). Later, three schools had been opened temporarily for girls at Hriangmual, Thakthing and Rahsi Veng during 1902-1903. The first ever regular school for girls was established in 1903 at Mission Veng having 12 girl students. Students in this school were taught simple art and crafting techniques such as sewing, knitting, sanitation, first aid, medical care and child care by Mrs. KE Jones, wife of DE Jones(Khaute 2013:36-37).

With the existing resistance from men's concerned, the missionaries then diverted their motives rather than that of pure education. Apart from learning reading and writing, girl students were taught the art of cooking, sewing, embroidery, knitting, spinning, needlework, child care, simple health and hygiene and others (Ralte 2015:248). These learning techniques and skills have slowly changed the status and position of women and students efficiently benefits from the various skills taught by Mrs. KE Jones. Eventually, girl students were even more helpful and beneficial with their various skills acquired at and can help parents in a more meaningful way, which was taught by Mrs. KE Jones. In 1919, the first female school in the southern part of Mizoram was opened at Lunglei which was set up and looked after by Mrs. Chapman (also called as Pi Zirtiri by the Mizos) (Colbert 2010:130). Gradually, girls started attending schools in many villages to acquire educational knowledge and parents even aware that girls are more useful if they received an education.

The missionaries looked after education in Mizoram till 1952. By the year 1947, in Mizoram there were 258 Primary Schools, 22 Middle Schools and 2 High Schools. As Mizoram had attained the status of Advisory Council, Lushai Hills Autonomous District Council and Mizo District Council, education has been given an important place. School education was put under the administration of District Council from 1952 till 1972. When Mizoram attained Union Territory status in 1972, education was under the administration of Union Territory (UT) Government till 1986

(Lalthanzira 2014: xxiv-xxviii). The census of Mizoram from 1901 to 1961 shows that the number of female per 1000 males is more than 1000 (DCO 1997:37). Although women were more in number, girl education was ignored at first. With the efforts of the missionaries, the District Council and UT Government, women's literacy rates reached 68.61 percent in 1981 census (Dawngliana 1993:7).

## **2.1. Women education In Mizoram in the post statehood era**

Mizoram attained the status of statehood on 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1987. From this year, education was under the administration of the state government (Lalthanzira 2014: xxxii). By this time, there were as many as 1032 Primary Schools, 477 Middle Schools and 162 High Schools in Mizoram (Zohmingliani 2015:22). After attaining statehood, education was growing day by day and women and girl education were also given concerned more than ever. Women are accepted in any school and there was no discrimination based on sex.

The education received by women had broadened their views and they understand the importance of education for women and for the progress of the society. The educated women formed themselves into groups or organizations to work for improvement of the condition of women in Mizo society. When it came to seventies and eighties, there were a number of women's organizations in Mizoram that work for women empowerment in every sphere. One of the biggest women's organizations in Mizoram Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) that was established way back in 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1974 (Sangkhumi 2009:13) works with all its strength for female education.

This organization recognized that education could improve the condition of women and it pleads the state government to establish a higher educational institution solely for women. As a result, in 1989, Government Zirtiri Women's College was established and different courses were offered. After functioning smoothly for ten years, the state government tried to shut down the institution and the MHIP took this matter seriously and met the state officials many times to



continue the institution. Although the state government accepted their request, the name of the college was changed into Government Zirtiri Residential Science College in 2000. From this year onwards, admission was opened to both men and women.

The MHIP also recognized that women with skills were more useful and their economic self-sufficiency gives them confidence in their life. It pleads the state government to establish such an institution where women can learn handicrafts to support themselves financially and their family. It worked so hard for the establishment of Women Polytechnic in Mizoram. After a number of meetings with the state officials, the MHIP and the efforts of the then Joint Director of Higher and Technical Education B. Sangkhumi (President of MHIP 2005-2007, 2007-2009, 2011-2013), Women Polytechnic was established in 1998 under World Bank Project. B. Sangkhumi became the first principal in this institution. Courses offered on this institution are- Modern Office Practice, Diploma in Electronics and Telecommunication Engineering, Beauty Culture and Cosmetology and Garment Technology. Many women make use of these courses and as a result, they can support their family financially. By knowing that there are many women who wanted to pursue higher studies outside of their villages, the MHIP established and administered women hostels in many areas (Sangkhumi 2009:46-47).

The benefits of women's education can also be seen through its fruits. Lalsangzuali became the first Mizo women writer, whose book was chosen as Book of the Year in the year 1999. Her book title was 'Tlawm Ve Lo Lalnu Ropuiliani'. In 1964, Mizo Academy of Letters (MAL) was established and MAL started to select best book from all books that was written in Mizo language from the year 1989. The second woman was H. Lalngurliani, in the year 2004 and her book is 'Zorinpari'. The third one is Romuanpuui Zadeng in the year 2012 and her book is 'Sihlipui'. These are the three-woman writer who can win Book of the Year Award (Lalthangliana 2009:249-250). Three women also received the Padma Shri Award because of their important works in the field of Literature. They are Nuchhungi in the

year 1986, Khawlkungi in the year 1987 (Lalthangliana 2009:252) and Lalsangzuali Sailo in the year 1998 (MHA 2013:105). Thankhumi was also awarded Best Translation Book Award by MAL in the year 2005 because of her book 'Khengbettu Kut Bawr' (Lalthangliana 2009:244). All these happened because women were received education and the result of education could be seen in their works.

As per 2011 census, in Mizoram there are 10, 97,206 people and out of which there are 5, 41,867 females. The female literacy is very high as it can reach 89.27 percent (GOMPPID 2020:36). It can be said that this was the result of education. At present, there are only two girls' schools such as PC Girls school that was established in 1903 (MSPCS) and Government Mamawii High School that was established in 1972 (GMHS). These schools are the only girls' schools till today. The Right of Children To Free And Compulsory Education Act, 2009 under Article 21(a), simply known as Right To Education (RTE) Act 2009, is passed by the Government of India on 4<sup>th</sup> August, 2009 and came into effect from 1<sup>st</sup> April 2010. This Act has seven chapters and this act is a turning point in India for girl education. This act provides free and compulsory education for all children between 6 to 14 years. This act makes it possible and easier for the girl child to enter into school. It even provides separate toilet for the girl child and given more protection. It no longer requires separate schools for girl children and parents who never allow attending school for their girl children and who do not want to spend money for their girl children school fees are given a helping hand by this act (RTE 2009). In Mizoram also, although there are only two girls' schools at present, girl children now can freely attend any educational institution free of cost.

The Department of School Education, Government of Mizoram started to conduct survey regarding the enrolment of students in education institution. The enrolment rate of girl children is improving year by year. The following table contains the survey conducted by the department from 2009 to 2018. It clearly shows that girls received education as much as boys.

**Table-1:Enrolment of Students in Primary School, Middle School, High School and Higher Secondary School from the year 2009-2018. A statistical survey made by the Department of School Education, Government of Mizoram (GOM 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018) –**

Year Girls	Total Students		Percentage
2009-2010	1,39,062	2,89,032	48.12
2010-2011	1,47,174	3,04,159	48.38
2011-2012	1,54,670	3,20,989	48.18
2012-2013	1,50,743	3,11,678	48.36
2013-2014	1,57,682	3,23,437	48.75
2014-2015	1,52,870	3,14,996	48.53
2015-2016	1,54,232	3,17,131	48.63
2016-2017	1,44,711	2,97,336	48.66
2017-2018	1,43,616	2,93,170	48.98

### 3. Conclusion

Education has brought transformations in Mizo society. Women also benefitted from this. Not only

education improves their lives and but also educated women are more useful for their family as well. The missionaries' techniques for girl education help them in acquiring simple life skills. The increasing educational institution also increases the enrolment rate of girls in these schools. The literacy rate of females also increases in every census. With the passing of RTE Act in 2009, it opens more scope for girls' education and at present girls could learn whatever boys learn and also able to succeed as men did. Research is conducted amongst 120 women through questionnaires and 60% believed that woman's condition in Mizoram was satisfactory and 40% thought that it was not satisfactory. Again 90% believed that the condition of women in Mizo society was uplifted by Christianity and 10% thought that there could be another reason besides Christianity. 100% believe that education plays the most important role in uplifting the condition of women in Mizo society.

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## An Enquiry into the Process and Pattern of Small Town Formation in Eighteenth Century Bengal

Dr. Subrata Roy\*

### *Abstract*

*This paper is a study of urban characteristics of the small towns of Bengal, a process that started in the transitional period of the eighteenth century and continued till the colonial rule. It enquires into the causes of the growth and development of the towns. An analysis of the functions of the small towns and the theoretical formulations of urbanization has been highlighted. How the dichotomy of the forces of continuity and change in the life of small towns move on economically and culturally is a key issue of this study.*

**Key Words:** *urbanization, small town, Bengal, eighteenth century, colonial rule.*

### 1. Introduction

The history of urbanization in Bengal dates back to remote past, cities and towns developed as well as declined. This 'rise and fall' process occurred due to the climate and riverine character of the province. We know, India had witnessed the rearing up of a number of important urban centres and port-towns mainly at the inspiration and under the impact, if not at the initiative, of cultures that were of foreign origin ... the dominant Indo-Muslim culture, was essentially urban in nature and character; indeed, the Muslim rulers, particularly the Mughals, were responsible for rearing up a long series of *sehrais*, *kasbas*, *shahrs*, *abads* etc. throughout 'Hindustan'. The birth of the three metropolises city of Dhaka, Murshidabad and Calcutta during the eighteenth century have been identified and a comparative study of the historical roots of urbanization and metropolitan growth in Bengal has been discussed by the scholars. In Weber's account, what gives the city its special character is principally the existence of commerce

and trade, together with all the activities associated with it such as the establishment of markets and exchange. This article examines the different aspects of the process of urbanization across Bengal with special attention to the causes of the birth, growth and development of small towns and find out some of the theoretical formulation of the process of urbanization in Bengal during the period under study.

Almost a century back Rabindranath Tagore wrote "with the growth of villages evolved the town." (*Visva-Bharati Bulletin*, 1928:3) But it is very unfortunate that little attention has been paid to the question of urban variation in the eighteenth century Bengal. The historian's attention has been largely restricted to the port cities and the large inland centres. However, while the great cities dominated the political, economic and cultural life of the regions which formed their hinterlands, there were many small towns which had their own role as "hinge" centers, helping to articulate local traditions with national ones. Many of these smaller centers were dignified with their own histories, but the question is how far we came to know such histories scientifically? Probably for this reason a few decades back K. N.

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\* Assistant Professor, Department of History, Santipur College, Santipur, Nadia, West Bengal, 741404

Chaudhuri regretted that, “there can be few aspects of Indian studies more neglected than that of historical geography. Within this large area of neglect, urban history occupies a special place. The indifference with which Indian historians have approached the urban heritage of the subcontinent is all the more difficult to understand because to contemporary European visitors, the merchants and other travellers, the towns and cities of Mughal India held a profound fascination” (*Modern Asian Studies*, 1978: 77). According to one of the leading modern urban historian of the west, “Small towns that never grew big nor got stuck in amber as a neighbour did tend to remain unseen” (H. J. Dyos eds., 1968: 38). Very recently Sabyasachi Bhattacharya commented, “Unlike urban politics of the metropolitan cities the dynamics of public life in *mofussil* towns remain unexplored” (*The Defining Moments in Bengal, 1920-1947*, 2014: 24). Now the question is how long the study of small towns will remain in the dark? Although we know the emergence of towns or cities create new structures of opportunity politically, socio-economically and culturally. How a village gets included within a town is usually a long drawn process. But theoretically we see almost all the big as well as small towns, hosted all kinds of manufactures, like textile industry, carpet-making, jewellery, production of dyes, oils, sugar, scents, soap, paper, ink, glass, weaponry, tools, household utensils, all kinds of metal, wood, stone and leather works, minting, construction, shipbuilding, etc. etc. – all of them were urban occupations, though not in all cases predominantly so. Moreover the *bazaar* was a nerve centre of every town, although Kingsley Davis points out that, “there is as yet no general science of cities. Without such a general science, one cannot get far in analyzing and documenting the inter-relations between urbanization and economic development” (“The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World”, 1955: 429-437). And finally we see during the period under study the British and the Indian areas of town often appeared to be completely separate from one another.

## 2. Small Town Formation in Eighteenth Century

The 18<sup>th</sup> century in India has generally been considered to be a century of stagnation and arrested

progress. But in Europe during the second half of this century, the mental ferment among some of the European peoples and the culmination of centuries of oppression of the helpless masses in France and elsewhere gave rise to the world-shaking episode of the French Revolution in Europe. Compared with these great happening in Europe, the 18<sup>th</sup> century which slowly witnessed the establishment of European domination in India was looked upon as a “barren century” in India. But actually in spite of a great many set-backs and a general drawback in the life of the people, this century was not as barren as it has been thought to be. In fact we see some notable manifestations of a life bringing process which was silently at work even in the midst of an apparent absence of vitality. According to C. A. Bayly, the ‘decentralization’ of political power during the eighteenth century encouraged the further growth of a rooted service gentry and a homogeneous merchant class operating around small town centres. The history of these urban, mercantile and service people was moulded by three broad influences. In Bengal, these were growth of commercial productions and speeded external trade; urban and mercantile society responded to the deeper trends in the peasant economy which surrounded it and finally the political order created patterns of consumptions, protection and revenue extraction which bounded together townsmen and rural bazaars (*Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, 1992: 8-9). Hence the study of small town formation in Bengal will also substantiate how the social life of the people of the land moves on gradually amidst continuity and change.

Bengal was originally a province of the Mughal Empire and was governed by a Subahdar who represented the imperial authority. In 1701 a Brahman named Murshid Quli Khan was converted to Islam and was appointed the *Dewan* of Bengal. He was a powerful man and his growing influence enabled him to exact from the English a sum of Rs. 25,000 in lieu of the permission which he granted them to establish a factory at Qasim bazar. In 1713 he became the Governor of the Province and repeated his exactions. Murshid Quli Khan’s rise to power, however impressive, was not unique, but its timing was



significant. With the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, the era of the great Mughals had ended, and the central government began to lose its authority. This was sensed by ambitious men who had worked for the Mughals. Murshid Quli Khan was one of them. Murshid Quli Khan began to collect the land revenue through *ijaradars* or contractors, like the *fermiers generals* of France, by taking security bonds from them. This was his *mal zamini* system. Many of the older zamindars survived, but under the thumbs of these new *ijaradars*, and with the passage of time many of them were crushed out of existence. In the second or third generation, these contractors came to be called zamindars and many of them were dignified with the title of Rajas and Maharajas, though not of princely birth, but merely glorified civil servants paid by a percentage on their collections. The seat of residence of such zamindars or rajas became the centre of administration, and the zamindari of such raja denominated with the place of its existence. Gradually the seat of such zamindars grew up as a town and they also looked up for its development. Besides a numbers of European settled towns grew up in the bank of river Hooghly and across Bengal. The entry of the large, multinational trading companies of European origin brought about a qualitative change in the pattern of textile trade, by creating a market for the quality textile products, and at the same time brought profound changes in the urban scenario too. Textile trade, under their umbrella, reached a new height, and led to the emergence of many new towns. Finally we may also refer some of the religious centre like, Bandel, Nabadwip, etc. which grew up due to the establishment of the Church or as a center of Vaishnava faith.

It is also argued that it was primarily the plunging spiral of imperial administrative disintegration during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century that brought about profound changes in the established patterns of Indian urban life. Moreover we see about the latter half of the eighteenth century history was slowly but surely taking a new turn, because of the introduction of a number of new crafts and industries, a new and active spurt in trade and commerce with Central and Western Asia, and at a later stage, with Europe through the Portuguese, and the Dutch. Hence

to find out the theoretical framework of Indian urbanization especially the Bengal case we have to seek out the continuity and changes of both the political, socio-economic and cultural movement of the land and the people. In the second half of the eighteenth century British military and administrative control over India and economic penetration into its vast territory grew at a differential rate in different regions of India. British rule killed traditional urban-industrial centres and gave birth to new centres of service and commerce. It is an extremely complex history which has left its mark on the nature of urbanization in different parts of India. These birth marks of urbanization can be identified particularly in the variable mixture of western and Indian values and modes of behavior.

### 3. Factors Contributing to the Growth of the City

One of the most important contributions to the growth of the city was made by the landed and commercial interest during the period of our study. The zamindars used to maintain in the capital an establishment of *naibs*, *wakils*, messengers, peons and other servants required for their purposes; so did the big merchants and the traders. All the foreign companies had separate factories and besides their own officials and servants, hundreds were employed as agents, brokers and workers. The city served as a manufacturing center, a market place and as an entrepot. It received goods from the interior and forwarded them to various place both in and outside Bengal.

One of the chief characteristics of the pre-modern towns of Bengal was its instability. The establishment of a number of foreign factories along the Hooghly River had aroused the attention of the Mughal governors. To keep a watch over the growing activities of the European Settlement like Qasim bazar, Malda, Angrezabad (English Bazar) etc., Murshidabad with its superb commanding position provided a better strategic site in comparison to Dacca. The refractory *Dewan* built his palace and mint and improved the town and shifted the capital from Dacca to Murshidabad in 1704. The transplacing

of the *dewani* office from Dacca (Dhaka) to Murshidabad is an event in the history of urbanization in eighteenth century Bengal. With the shifting of the capital, Dhaka was immensely affected and Murshidabad became the capital town of the province. So, the temporary nature of the cities and towns of Bengal is also reflected in the frequent changes of their capital. As a result of these two most notable developments that paved the way for urban growth. Moreover, during this time, we find that the trade and commerce of the province began to develop. As Murshidabad became the capital of the subah on the bank of the river Bhagirathi, gradually the river network and existing roads began to develop. Eventually the capital city of Murshidabad expanded economically as well as demographically. Similarly the seats of the Zamindars like Burdwan, Krishnagar, Dinajpur, Midnapur, Birbhum, and Bishnupur etc. also developed. Likewise Hooghly, Chandernagore, Chinsura, Srirampur, Bandel, Baranagar, Chittagong, Buckergunj, Jiaganj, Azimganj, Bhagowngola, Haripal, Kalna, Katwa, Santipur, etc. began to develop as a result of European settlement, fortification of military stations, religious centre, or as a centre of commercial and economic activities. The demographic settlements of the emerging towns were very much of religion, caste, class and profession based. The European settled part of the towns was very much planned in comparison to the indigenous one. Moreover most of

the wards or *mohalla* of the towns were denominated by the profession of the people living there. The contemporary *Mangal Kabyas*, some of the native and foreign travel narratives depicted the morphology of the towns very well.

#### 4. Conclusion

By the above discussion we may conclude that Bengal during the eighteenth century witnessed a significant change in the formation of new social groups amidst military conflicts and disruptive politics. These developments were themselves the culmination of the slow process of commercialization. Hence we may argue that the process of town formation during the period under review were mobilized due to the emergence of the successor state in Bengal led by the zamindari settlement, new commercialized society followed by market economy and to some extent with the appearance of the Europeans and religious centre. Eventually we observed the emerging towns of Bengal became a sociological laboratory, where traditional ethos mixed with liberal ideas and practices imported from abroad. And finally with the passage of time the town household modernized and adduced social conduct that combined both religion and commerce, as a result the social formation and settlement pattern of the towns became more complex irrespective of caste, creed and religion.

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# High Powered Committee, Lunglei: A Study of Its Powers and Functions

Lalsangpuii\*  
Prof.Lalrintluanga\*\*

## Abstract

*The people in the second most populous Lunglei District of Mizoram had, for the past many years, felt that the pace of development in their district had slowed down and were not satisfied with the limited funds provided to their district by the State Government. In response to the aspirations of the people of Lunglei, the Government of Mizoram had constituted the High Powered Committee (HPC) which has been authorised to involve all the administrative departments within Lunglei District in the plan formulation, implementation as well as monitoring of the same. After prioritisation of all the developmental programmes and projects for execution within Lunglei District, the consolidated plans, after gaining approval from the State Government, have then been implemented and monitored by the concerned department under the vigilance of the HPC, Lunglei. This paper attempts to study the powers and functions delegated to the HPC since its inception by the State Government.*

## 1. Introduction

Lunglei District is the second most populous district in the State of Mizoram after the capital district of Aizawl. The urbanization in Mizoram has been largely concentrated in the capital city, Aizawl in spite of the poorly rated infrastructure condition in terms of national average or standards. It is, therefore, essential to enhance basic minimum services and infrastructures in other districts, particularly in Lunglei District, to make growth more inclusive and to broaden the base of development in the State. The people of Lunglei District felt that Development funds had not been accrued to their District for the past many years and the pace of development had drastically slowed down. It was against this background that the Governor of Mizoram, on 6<sup>th</sup> September, 1990, constituted a High Power

Committee (HPC) mainly to address the problems and grievances of the people of Lunglei District.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Powers and Functions of HPC

The powers and functions delegated to the HPC at the time of its inception were as follows:<sup>2</sup>

### 2.1. Powers

- 1) To reallocate fund from one scheme to another within the district and within the Sectoral allocation, provided that in case the Sectoral new scheme is not identical in nature with the scheme to be dropped, prior approval of the Government will be necessary.
- 2) To recommend to the Government, re-allocation of fund from one Sector to another within the overall provision for the district.

\* Ph.D, Research Scholar, & Head, Department of Public Administration, Government J.Buana College, Lunglei

\*\* Professor, Department of Public Administration, Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram



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| <p>3) To draw up calendar of work for various departments in the district and over-see their implementation.</p> <p>4) To have authority to pass structure against/give commendation to officers in the District in respect of their performance, which will have to be recorded in A.C.R. of the concerned officers by their respective superior officer as Reporting Officers.</p> <p>5) To make such recommendation to the District planning and Development Board or to the Government as deemed necessary in the interest of better planning implementation and monitoring.</p> <p>6) To obtain information from any officers in the district regarding progress of plan schemes.</p> | <p>4) Undertake review and monitoring of all District level plan and projects under State Plan, CSS and under other Central Assistance.</p> <p>5) The Committee will also have the power and liberty to draw up developmental projects and schemes considered necessary for the District for onward submission to the Central Government or any other funding agencies through the State Planning Board and pursue the same.</p> <p>6) The Planning and Programme Implementation Department, Government of Mizoram will be the nodal Department for Lunglei High Powered Committee.</p> |
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## 2.2. Functions

- 1) To give guidance to the District planning and Development Board in formulation of plan proposals, implementation of programmes and monitoring.
- 2) Quarterly review and occasional review of District plan.
- 3) Any other function that the Government may allot from time to time.

## 2.3. Modification of the powers and functions of HPC

The original Powers and Functions of the Committee were modified by the State Government as follows:<sup>3</sup>

- 1) It will formulate District Plan and schemes; set priorities and determine plan policies and thrust areas and forward the proposed plan to the State Planning Board for approval.
- 2) It will formulate and implement District level plan out of the outlay earmarked as discretionary and incentive fund or separately earmarked to meet the local aspirations.
- 3) It will examine all District level plan proposals under normal State Plan, CSS and other funding agencies before forwarding the same to the State Planning Board.

## 2.4. Enhancement of the Functions of HPC

On 28<sup>th</sup> May, 2019, the Government of Mizoram issued a new Notification on the 'Functions of High Powered Committee Lunglei' as follows:<sup>4</sup>

- 1) To prepare District Development Plan – perspective, medium term and short term.
- 2) To collect, process and maintain all information relevant to District Planning and to conduct surveys, if necessary.
- 3) Do such things as may be prescribed by the Government.
- 4) To supervise, monitor, review, coordinate, and evaluate all development works in the District, viz., State Flagship Programme (SEDP), CSS, NEC, NESIDS/NLCPR and other Developmental Work.
- 5) Setting district priorities on the basis of consensus among Planning or Development Committees at the Block and Village level, line departments, civil societies, academia and other stakeholders in development.
- 6) If found necessary, HPC may; with the approval of the State Government, constitute a Block Development Committee at RD Block level, and a Village Development Board or Committee at the village level.
- 7) In order to avoid duplicity and overlapping of developmental works within Lunglei Districts,

HPC, Lunglei will streamline and oversee all the schemes and projects of the Departments.

- 8) The Committee will have the power and liberty to draw up developmental projects and schemes considered necessary for the District for onward submission to the Central Government or any other funding agencies through the State Planning Board and pursue the same.
- 9) Planning and Programme Implementation Department, Government of Mizoram will be the Nodal Department for Lunglei High Powered Committee.
- 10) It will formulate District Plan and schemes, set priorities and determine plan policies and thrust areas and forward the proposed plan to the Planning Department for approval.
- 11) It will formulate and implement District level plan out of the outlay earmarked as discretionary and incentive fund/separately earmarked to meet local aspirations.
- 12) To review, monitor and evaluate the progress of various Development schemes, implemented by different Departments within the Districts on the basis of quarterly reports submitted by the heads of District Offices and submit the consolidated Reports to the State Planning Board.
- 13) To promote public participation and cooperation in developmental programmes and expand local community efforts both in urban and rural areas.

### **3. Involvement of District Level Offices of the State Government's Departments in the Plan Formulation and Implementation**

The HPC, Lunglei, has been empowered to involve all the departments in the formulation of plan and programmes, implementation and monitoring of the same within Lunglei District. After careful and deliberate discussions on the economic problems of the population, the HPC, Lunglei has to set priorities for the development of the district. In order to avoid duplicity and overlapping of developmental works, the HPC, Lunglei, is empowered to streamline and

oversee all the developmental programmes, schemes and projects undertaken within Lunglei District.<sup>5</sup> Further, it is the responsibility of the HPC, Lunglei, to review, monitor and evaluate the progress of various development schemes implemented by the Departments/Offices within the district. All Heads of Department/District Offices are also informed to ensure observance of the following procedure with regard to projects/schemes sanction orders pertaining to Lunglei District.<sup>6</sup>

- 1) A Copy of any scheme or project proposal should be submitted to the Office of Chief Planning Officer (CPO), HPC- Lunglei, before further submission to the concerned Directorate or State Government or Central Government.
- 2) A copy of Administrative Sanction or Expenditure Sanction order of any scheme or project received from the concerned Directorate or State Government or Central Government or any other funding agency should be submitted to the Office of the CPO of HPC- Lunglei.
- 3) Quarterly Progress Report in a proforma to be prescribed by the HPC- Lunglei on various development schemes or projects under the State Government or Central Government or foreign aid or any other funding agency being implemented by different departments or offices within Lunglei District should be submitted to the Office of the CPO of HPC-Lunglei within two weeks at the end of each quarter.

### **4. Funding Patterns**

During 2008-2009, the State Government allocated a discretionary and incentive outlay of Rs. 2.00 crores at the disposal of the District Planning Board. The task of planning was attempted at the district level with this small discretionary outlay provided to the district. In view of a considerable popular enthusiasm at the district level, the State Government decided that, at least 1% of the divisible outlay of the State Annual Plan Fund has to be set aside as a discretionary and incentive fund for Lunglei District for taking up schemes considered useful in the light of the local needs such as:

- 1) Agriculture & Allied Sector.
- 2) District & Village Roads.
- 3) Rural Water Supply.
- 4) Village & Small Industries.
- 5) Rural Health.
- 6) Primary Co-operative Societies.
- 7) Rural Electrification.

Within the outlay earmarked as discretionary funds, the HPC-Lunglei was empowered to formulate District Plans and Schemes, implement district level plan and also review and monitor all district level plan, programmes and projects. The office has taken up various developmental programmes, projects and schemes in different sectors initiated for the progress of Lunglei District in general and Lunglei town in particular. The main responsibility of the Committee is to achieve economic development in the district. To meet these objectives, it is essential to ensure increase flow of budgetary financing for specific critical infrastructure projects or schemes in Lunglei District. Thus, the Committee was further strengthened by providing a budgetary allocation of around 1% of the divisible State Plan Outlay. During 2019-2020, the budgetary allocation of HPC for Lunglei District was Rs. 8 crores. The budget allocations of Fund sanctioned to the HPC-Lunglei by the State Government are given as under:

**Table No. 2.12: Allocation of HPC-L Fund**

Sl No.	District Annual Plan	Sanctioned Amount Rs. (in Crores)
1	2008-2009	2
2	2009-2010	6
3	2010-2011	6.25
4	2011-2012	7
5	2012-2013	6
6	2013-2014	6
7	2014-2015	6
8	2015-2016	6
9	2016-2017	5.25
10	2017-2018	5.21
11	2018-2019	6.00 + 2.50 (NEDP)
12	2019-2020	8

*Source: Information received from Mr.C.Vanlalmuana, CPO, HPC-L*

The fund allocated to the HPC has been re-allocated to different departments at the district level and a meagre percentage of the fund has been allocated for urban development of Lunglei urban centre. Corresponding to this departmental fund allocation, the different departments were entrusted to prepare a particular plan addressing the problems of the district and focussing on the specific priorities. These plans were then consolidated by the HPC, Lunglei and put forward to the State Government for its approval. After gaining approval and having received sanction from the State Government, these plans and estimates were implemented and monitored by the concerned department under the vigilance of HPC, Lunglei.

## 5. Conclusion

The people of Lunglei have for so many years longed for the most beneficial development not only for the urban areas of Lunglei, but also for the whole District of Lunglei. In order to satisfy the aspirations of the people of Lunglei, the Government of Mizoram had constituted the High Powered Committee, Lunglei to undertake the requisite development needs of the people both in rural as well as urban areas of Lunglei District. The HPC which functioned from a rented house at the initial stage has now been stationed in its own Office building at the heart of Lunglei town, with the Vice Chairman and Chief Planning Officer, HPC-L to take care of the overall administration of the Office. The HPC-L has now taken up various functions and responsibilities entrusted to it from time to time by the Government of Mizoram so as to achieve economic development in Lunglei. It is also empowered to streamline and oversee all the developmental programmes, schemes and projects undertaken within Lunglei. To sum up, the HPC-L was set up with a definite purpose which it strives to realize, that of fulfilling the vision of right thinking citizens from Lunglei District regarding socio-economic development as well as urban infrastructure needed by the urban dwellers in Lunglei.

**Endnotes:**

- <sup>1</sup> Government of Mizoram. (1990). *Notification No.G.28014/59/84-PLG* Planning & Programme Implementation Department, Aizawl. September 6, 1990.
- <sup>2</sup> Government of Mizoram. (1990). *Notification No. G.28014/59/84-PLG* Planning and Programme Implementation Department, September 6. *Op.cit.*
- <sup>3</sup> Government of Mizoram. (2009). *Notification No.F.13012/1/2003-GAD*. General Administration Department. May 12.
- <sup>4</sup> Government of Mizoram. (2019). *Notification No.G.28015/1/93-PLG (LHPC)*. Planning and Programme Implementation Department. May 28.
- <sup>5</sup> Government of Mizoram. (2019). *Notification No. G.28015/1/93-PLG (LHPC)*. No. (g) & (m) of the “*Functions of High Powered Committee Lunglei.*” May 28.
- <sup>6</sup> Government of Mizoram. (2019). *Notification No.G.28015/1/93-PLG (LHPC)*. Planning and Programme Implementation Department. November 13.

## Impact of Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme on Socio-Economic Conditions of Beneficiaries in Aizawl District, Mizoram: An Empirical Study

Johny Lalrammawia\*  
Prof. A. Muthulakshmi\*\*

### *Abstract*

*The Government of India (GOI) introduced National Old Age Pension Scheme in the year 1995 to provide a safety net for India's ageing population with regard to social, economic and moral support in order to help the eligible elderly citizens with the help of direct cash benefit. In this regard, the present study is an attempt to study the impact of Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme on socio-economic conditions of beneficiaries in Aizawl District. Moreover, this study also tries to find out the problems and challenges faced by the beneficiaries while availing this scheme. Finally, the study has come with the conclusion that the amount of pension shall be increased to meet the basic needs and requirements of elderly persons in the state of Mizoram.*

**Key Words:** *Old Age Pension, security, livelihood, poverty alleviation, socio economic development.*

India is next to China in terms of population which accounts 1,405,198,953. It has been experiencing demographic changes for the past more than 70 years with an increasing population above the age of 60 years. In developing countries like India, there are many reasons for economic insecurity among elderly persons in India. Poverty is one of the most important factors causing economic difficulties in many families in general and among elderly persons in particular. Even elderly persons in poor families find it very difficult both financially and economically to suppose if they lost their family support. So, it is very important to address the increasing social and health requirements of elderly persons comprehensively. The responsibility of taking care of the elderly person's health and well-being is the prime duty of the society because they are unable to earn their livelihoods. This has thrown light on the importance of old age income security schemes. Government of India introduced

National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS) in 1995, as a component of National Social Assistance Program to overcome the financial insecurities faced by the elderly.

The concept of pension is defined as 'a benefit plan' or 'welfare scheme' which provides financial resources periodically to a person after a stipulated age or service both in organized and unorganized sectors. Pension serves the purpose of consumption smoothing and providing insurance to longevity risk and also reducing old-age poverty. The origin of pension schemes could be traced to the United Kingdom. Historically, a state social welfare pension scheme was first implemented by the German ruler, Otto Von Bismarck in 1889.

Since independence, the government of India as well as the state governments has come with various important schemes now and then. The Government of India has achieved a great milestone in the field of rural and urban development, social

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\* Ph.D, Research Scholar

\*\* Professor & Head, Deptt. of Public Administration, Mizoram University

welfare activities, poverty eradication programs, and social and economic development. NOAPS aimed to provide eligible elderly citizens with the help of direct cash benefits. It provides financial support to elderly persons and provides them monetary assistance as a remedial measure for the reduction of poverty. The elderly persons need to be recognized and be given special attention by the government as they are the most vulnerable groups. Therefore, the people who are failing under the Below Poverty Line (BPL) line are taken into special consideration to boost their morale so that they can live their lives more satisfactorily through the scheme.

This valuable scheme is also known as a non-contributing scheme as the beneficiaries do not need to contribute anything to the government to receive the payment. To apply to this ongoing scheme, the applicants must be a person who is above sixty years and who is living BPL. The amount of pension is deposited into the account of the beneficiaries. District Social Welfare Offices (DSWO) and Child Development Project Officers (CDPO) are responsible for matters relating to the selection of beneficiaries. This scheme was undertaken by Social Welfare Department (SWD) from 1974 to 75 in Mizoram. Although it is not mandatory for the State Government, it is a remarkable venture that the state government of Mizoram has given or attributed another Rs. 50 per month to the beneficiary's account. So that the beneficiaries who are falling in the category of above sixty to seventy nine years old enjoy Rs. 250 a month and the beneficiaries who fall above 80 years enjoy Rs. 550 per month.

In India, the State Governments are expected to prepare the application form and make it downloadable at no cost. Birth Certificates and Epic may be relied on. The appointed verification officer or team should verify all the applications received within two weeks. The village council at the bottom level and the local council at the district capital and some non-governmental organizations are engaged in matters relating to the verification of the beneficiaries.

## Review of Literature

**Prafulla Chakrabarti, (2009)** discussed on the issues that the elderly encounter, including an in-depth analysis of the causes of elderly mistreatment, physical violence, assault, and prejudice in homes and institutions. According to the survey study, the elderly are readily vulnerable to prejudice, ill-treatment, humiliation, and denial of meals, despite the fact that they deserve dignity and respect. Discriminatory sentiments were held against them by society, grandkids, and even their sons and daughters. Abuse was caused by poverty, financial instability, physical appearance, attitudes, and disabilities. According to the study, information from the media should be properly sensitised, and children at home should be aware of the need of paying attention to the elderly; all voluntary organisations should step forward to raise awareness.

**Donghyun Park and B. Gemma, (2012)** exposed the flaws in many Asian countries' pension systems. For financial stability and sustainability for the elderly, a well-structured pension system is deemed vital. Good institutional capability will help the poor and is required for the pension system to work properly. It was highlighted that many elderly people were not eligible for pension benefits due to inefficiency and administrative issues, which limited the pension system's ability to cover a larger elderly population. For increased benefits and financial stability, a better pension is required. Poverty among the elderly is a growing problem in Asian countries, so a universal, well-designed pension system is advised to combat it. As Asian countries progress toward being developed, the study found that they have a great ability and potential to pay more attention to their residents and the elderly.

**Population Research Centre, Department of Economics, University of Kashmir, (2009)**, in their report, they gave a clear image of NOAPS, as well as the challenges with its management and implementation. According to the report, the central government should sanction critical funding as soon as possible. The value of the pension declined as the price of various things and commodities in the market increased. Beneficiaries used to get the suggested



pension amount one year after reporting their issues to the government. The responsible committees did not meet on a regular basis, which was thought to be the primary cause of the frequent delays. It is notable that some entitled beneficiaries gained familiarity and respect from their families as a result of the programme, which allowed them to avoid destitution and begging. The study also discovered that many respondents who were in poor health visited the post office multiple times to make payments. The difficulties with regard to beneficiary selection have been noted. Several beneficiaries/respondents claimed that the selection was based on political considerations and bias. Because of discrimination in the selection process, some people were denied access to the benefits of the scheme. Finally, the study recommended that only those who are possibly in need be given a chance to apply for the plan, with no regard for politics or relationships.

**Vanlalchhawna, (2007)** has discussed various findings and authentic data regarding the growth rate of the elderly population in Mizoram. The study has shown that Mizoram witnessed high growth in the elderly population. The literature entailed the participation rate of the elderly persons in Mizoram highlighting that male participation was higher than female participation. Hence, the participation of the elderly persons was higher in the rural areas than the participation of the elderly in the urban areas of Mizoram.

**Thanseia, (2007)** highlighted the aged persons; how vulnerable they are in the society; the adopted resolution of the United Nations Organization which gave high priority to the welfare of the elderly persons; and the role and activities of Mizoram Upa Pawl (MUP). This study highlighted the role of Mizoram Upa Pawl in assisting the local leaders, suggesting policies to the government, making the senior citizens avail of the schemes available to live their life happily, and interacting with some organizations such as MizoHmeichheInsuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP), Young Mizo Association (YMA) to work for the society and the common purpose.

**Lalbiakkimi, (2007)** revealed that the criteria and guidelines framed by the government; the old age

home and the role of the concerned authorities. The article highlighted that there is no adequate resource to make the aged financially stable. The aged who sacrificed all their productive years for the welfare of society and family were given ill-treatment and discrimination. The article suggested that it is the responsibility of the guardians, government, and society to give them adequate facilities, proper care, and recognition.

A review of all these literature may illustrate some imperative news and data which will be helpful for the present study. However, the researcher still does not find some major research work on a study of the Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS) in Aizawl City. The present study, therefore, attempts to fill these gaps.

### Statement of the Problem

It is an accepted fact that the elderly persons living in poverty around 4822 are entitled to get the benefit of the ongoing scheme in Aizawl. It is argued that some people who are financially unhealthy are not aware of the ongoing scheme, so the total number of beneficiaries may be increased if there is proper dissemination of information and if they are properly given general awareness. The beneficiaries are expected to open a bank account where the amount will be credited. Nonetheless, many of them are illiterate and are unaware of this government scheme. It is the sine qua non to ensure that to offer a better condition; an elderly person needs to avail government scheme.

It is very important to ensure that the government is on track to tackle and combat the problems of the elderly and perform the task in the right manner. It was also found that the responsible committees do not have regular meetings which are considered to be the main reason why there are unnecessary irregularities. The problem in matters relating to the selection of beneficiaries can also be challenging. Because of inadequate awareness and health-related problems, many aged persons could not come forward to play an active role in the local organizations even in Mizoram. To date, there exists no proper research and study which can specifically

entail the present socio-economic conditions of the beneficiaries of IGNOAPS. There exists no authentic information that can suit the research objectives and questions and the real impact of the scheme has not been revealed yet. This is one of the arising problems and the reasons why there is a need to research the IGNOAPS.

### Scope of the Study

The study mainly focuses on the impact of the IGNOAPS on the socio-economic conditions of beneficiaries and to find out the important measures that need to be done and to figure out the desired outcome for continuous improvement. The impact of the ongoing IGNOAPS on the entitled beneficiaries was focused on as the proper identification and diagnosis of the impact were valuable sources to know the current status and to draw the things that could be changed and reformed.

### Objectives of the Study

- a) To study the impact of the IGNOAPS on the socio-economic conditions of beneficiaries in Aizawl District and
- b) To find out the problems faced by the beneficiaries in getting the IGNOAPS and to suggest remedial measures needed to overcome the difficulties.

### Research Questions

- a) Does the IGNOAPS improve the socio-economic conditions of the beneficiaries in the study area?
- b) What are the steps and measures that can be taken to tackle the problems being faced by the beneficiaries as well as the state government while implementing this scheme?

### Methodology

Descriptive design and various sources of data were used for the present study. Mixed-method approaches both qualitative and quantitative were used. Primary data were collected by using a combination of a survey and in-depth interviews.

Primary data were also being collected from DSW Office, CDPO, and SWD. Further, the researcher visited the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Aizawl Municipal Corporation, Block Development Officer, and Village Council Office of Aizawl District for consultation and for gathering information concerning the IGNOAPS beneficiaries in Aizawl District, Mizoram. Direct observation method was used while collecting the primary data.

Multi-stage sampling method was used for collecting primary sources of data. All 8 districts (Aizawl, Kolasib, Mamit, Champhai, Lawngtlai, Saiha, Serchhip, and Lunglei) were included in the multi-stage sampling method. Likewise, in the first step, the Aizawl district was chosen and 4 blocks were taken from the Aizawl district for the study. 4 villages were taken from each block. Then, all the beneficiaries of the scheme were listed formally from each selected village. 10 percent of the total beneficiaries of 16 villages were chosen for the research work. Therefore, the total sample size is 160. Secondary Sources of data were collected from various existing literature such as books, articles, journals, government documents & records, statistics, libraries, and various internet sources, etc. The collected data were processed, classified, and tabulated with the help of statistical tools.

### Data Analysis

The study was done to figure out the concept of IGNOAPS as perceived by the selected respondents. An interview schedule and questionnaire were used to assess the knowledge of the respondents towards IGNOAPS and assess the status of beneficiaries/respondents. This study represents the survey results on the knowledge and satisfaction of beneficiaries towards IGNOAPS. The researcher spent about three months in the survey period collecting primary data, meeting the selected respondents from each selected zone, and having interactions with the responsible functionaries such as State Social Welfare Department, DSWO East & DSWO West, and the office staff, MUP General Headquarters, and MUP branches from each selected zone.

From the list of local councils in the AMC area, there are presently 19 wards. The total number of wards was divided into four zones for the present study East zone, West zone, North zone, and South zone. Ward numbers 1 to 6 came under the North zone in which there are 25 villages as they are lying in the northern part of Aizawl city. Ward numbers 7 to 9 came under the East zone which comprises 11 villages. Ward numbers 10 to 15 were under the West zone which comprises 21 villages. Ward numbers 16 to 19 were included under the South zone which comprises 21 villages. From the above four selected

zone that was taken for the present study, 4 villages had been selected from each zone for the representation of the whole universe or all the villages which fall under the 4 different zone. 10 beneficiaries from each village had been dealt with questionnaire method because the research is an attempt to derive valuable information from the existing beneficiaries. Collection of the feedback or the point of view of beneficiaries is the most suitable way to draw the impact of IGNOAPS on the beneficiaries and the socio-economic conditions of the beneficiaries.

**Table 1 Number of IGNOAPS beneficiaries in Mizoram in 2016**

Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS)											
Sl.No	District	Total Universe	Total Beneficiary	Total Bank Account	Total P.O Account	Total M.O Account	Total Cash Account	Total Aadhar	Verified Aadhar	Verified Aadhaar with Banka/C	PFMS Registered
1	Aizawl	20058	9155	8613	0	0	542	4428	4415	1136	4156
2	Champhai	3003	2817	2704	0	0	113	1042	1011	260	2242
3	Hnahthial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	Khawzawl	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Kolasib	2894	1379	1376	0	0	3	1162	1162	240	1315
6	Lawngtlai	4442	1803	1182	0	0	620	194	194	32	698
7	Lunglei	11358	5256	4338	0	0	862	2064	2064	412	3728
8	Mamit	4580	2015	1704	0	0	311	1077	1077	279	999
9	Saiha	1411	1105	650	0	0	455	323	323	114	512
10	Saitual	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	Serchhip	3428	1593	1591	0	0	2	993	990	326	1420
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>51174</b>	<b>25123</b>	<b>22158</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2908</b>	<b>11283</b>	<b>11236</b>	<b>2799</b>	<b>15070</b>

**Source:** *nsap.nic.in*, accessed on 24 December. 2020.

The above table 1 shows that the State is required to maintain a database of beneficiaries to bring transparency in the disbursement of pensions. The database would include all necessary details of the beneficiaries including their photographs. National Informatics Center (NIC) has been entrusted the job of IGNOAPS-MIS. Information is kept in the public domain for open access.

### **Impact of IGNOAPS on the socio-economic status of the beneficiaries**

To assess the socio-economic status of the beneficiaries, interview, and questionnaire, personal

interviews, and survey methods were utilized. A random sampling technique was used for the selection of the beneficiaries. The selection of the beneficiaries was done purposively as it was easily approachable and not very time-consuming for the researcher.

### **Age of the Beneficiaries**

The age of beneficiaries is very important to detect the actual age and to find out whether they are qualified to be entitled or not under the scheme. The distribution of the beneficiaries based on their age and discussion of their age is under:

**Table-2: Age of the beneficiaries**

SLNo.	Particulars	Number of beneficiaries	Percentage
1	50-59	4	2.5
2	60-69	53	33.125
3	70-79	69	43.125
4	80-89	28	17.5
5	90-100	6	3.75
<b>Total</b>		<b>160</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Primary data collected from a field study conducted on 14<sup>th</sup> October, 2020.

The above table 2 reveals that 43.125 percent of the beneficiaries fell under the category of 70-79 years. 33.125 belong to the category of 60-69. And 17.5 percent belong to the category of 80-89. Only 3.75 percent belong to the category of 90-100. So, four beneficiaries belong to the category of 50-59. It is an accepted fact that more than 2.5 percent of the beneficiaries will be under the category of 50-59 in Aizawl as some people had been entitled due to some special considerations.

### The Educational Level of the Beneficiaries

As education is a factor responsible for determining the socio-economic status of beneficiaries, the study covered the distribution of the respondents based on their education. The level of education of beneficiaries has been presented in the following table.

**Table -3: Education levels of the Respondents**

SL No.	Particulars	Number of beneficiaries	Percentage
1	Class 1	18	11.25
2	Class 2	11	6.875
3	Class 3	11	6.875
4	Class 4	7	4.375
5	Class 5	6	3.75
6	Class 6	10	6.25
7	Class 7	6	3.75
8	Class 8	4	2.5
9	BA. Bed.	1	0.625
10	No formal education	86	53.75
11		160	100

**Source:** Primary data was collected from a field study conducted on 24<sup>th</sup> November, 2020.

Table 3 reveals that more than 53 percent of the beneficiaries did not receive formal education. And those who received education did not attain higher education except for one beneficiary who got BA and B.Ed degrees. Despite Data showing low literacy levels but all of the beneficiaries were able to read and write.

Our education system in Mizoram was polluted by inequality in the past, these vulnerable persons were vigorously forced by poverty, which is the inability to attain higher education. During that time they were pushed to work in their primitive agricultural fields to earn their livelihood. So that most of them could not go straight to achieve their desired targets due to poverty. So, they could not receive higher education. So, a few of the beneficiaries could enter higher education. The board exam is the ultimate criteria and ultimate test of merit in India and Mizoram. To get the Government jobs, these board examination certificates are taken under special consideration. Those who could not afford higher education were more vulnerable. Our education system gave them failure and this feeling of failure weighted the society down and reproduced inequalities.

### Family size of the Respondents

Family size of the respondents makes very significant role in the decision-making process. The result has been discussed as under:

**Table -4: Family size of the Respondents**

SL No	Particulars	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1	1	8	5
2	2	4	2.5
3	03-May	103	64.375
4	06-Aug	25	15.625
5	Above 8	20	12.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Primary data was collected from a field study conducted on 23rd November, 2020.

It is obvious from the above table 4 that 64.375 percent of the beneficiaries had 3 to 5

members whereas 5 percent of the beneficiaries were living alone. Only 2.5 percent had 2 members in their family. More than 15 percent had 6-8 members and only 12.5 percent had more than 8 members. From the above table, it is very clear that the maximum respondent was living with 3-5 members.

Monthly income of the beneficiaries from other sources except for the IGNOAPS: To assess the monthly income of the beneficiaries is needed to know the socio-economic conditions of the selected beneficiaries. The findings are provided in the following table:

**Table -5: Monthly Income of Beneficiaries**

Sl. No	Particulars	Category	Number of beneficiaries	Percentage
1	No Income	Lower	57	35.625
2	500-2000	Low	61	38.125
3	2000-3500	Normal	25	15.625
4	3500-5000	Medium	17	10.625
	<b>Total</b>		<b>160</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Primary data collected from a field study conducted on 14<sup>th</sup> October, 2020.

It is seen from table 5 that 35.625 percent of the beneficiaries were found under the Lower category. This is not very surprising that many of them were elderly who were under just their caretakers or other family members. The above table indicates that majority of the respondents are falling under the low income which indicates that their economic status not improving and living poor socioeconomic conditions. More than 25 percent of the beneficiaries were under the category of normal and medium-income which also indicated that some beneficiaries tried to survive for a better standard of living and their livelihood by selling agricultural and horticultural crops in the local markets and selling some essential commodities from small shops instead of staying without earning.

In India, the Planning Commission determined and calculated the poverty line. In the past, a person whose income did not exceed Rs.61.80 per person per month was considered to be living in poverty in rural areas and it was Rs. 71.30 for urban areas. But the measure adopted by the Planning Commission

was dynamic and could be adjusted every year. The current method adapted to measure poverty is based on Tendulkar's Methodology. According to the Tendulkar Methodology, a person whose income does not exceed Rs. 27.2 in rural areas and Rs. 33.3 in urban areas is considered to be living Below Poverty Line. Poverty estimation is done by the National Institute for Transforming India agency by using the data collected and surveyed by the National Sample Survey under the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (MOSP). Some beneficiaries exceeded the present norm. The reason is they tried to survive from other sources to increase their monthly income. Even though in Mizoram, the elderly crossing 60 years of age are not expected to spend extra hours, the study found that majority of the respondents were still able to spend extra hours for their survival.

Apart from the data collected from the quantitative approach by using the interview method, Focus Group Discussion was also conducted for two groups as a total of 17 of the beneficiaries adopted a Qualitative approach for the field study which supports the below views:

From the discussion, the study found out that Piggery was chosen by three respondents as their preferred source of income. They receive a monthly income from piggery in addition to the monthly pension scheme. For their life satisfaction, two respondents had shops offering food and medicines. Rock pounding is one of the respondents' jobs. 11 of the respondents have no job, and the majority of them have settled in with their sons and daughters, children and grandchildren.

Males account for ten of the respondents, while females account for seven. The total number of respondents that the researcher met was 17. They'd never had any formal education. Ten people live alone, while seven live with their partners. They're all Christians from scheduled tribes. There were no respondents between the ages of 50 and 59 who responded. Three of the responders are between the ages of 60 and 69. Ten of the respondents are between the ages of 70 and 79. Two of the respondents are between the ages of 80 and 89. Two

of the responders are over the age of 90. As a result of the survey, only individuals who fall within the BPL category are eligible for the pension benefit.

In the focus group discussion, ten people said they aren't healthy enough and need to take medicine regularly. One respondent stated that she had a leg injury that made it difficult for her to work correctly. One responder also stated that he had suffered from heart attacks and strokes and that he needed to take frequent medicine and exercise to maintain his health. One respondent said she had diabetes and that her daughter stayed with her after her husband died a few years ago to console her. One respondent stated that she had suffered a stroke but that she was still able to sell certain edible goods from their shop. One respondent stated that he is 76 years old and suffers from heart problems. As a result, these individuals who stated that they are not healthy enough are poor, and their living situations are similarly poor.

From the discussion, only one respondent chooses to remain alone. The average family size among the six responses is two. One of the respondents is discovered with the other two members of his family. Four of the respondents have four children. Finally, the average family size among the five respondents is five. There is no single person who has more than seven family members.

The monthly pension is not satisfactory to all of the beneficiaries except for one beneficiary, who found the monthly pension scheme satisfactory. 16 recipients found the payment inadequate. Two recipients believe that their monthly pension has been delayed and that they have not received it on time. As a result, they proposed that the monthly pension be received regularly so that they might use it for a variety of objectives. Despite their dissatisfaction with the pension, they all stated that they use the monthly income for a variety of objectives. They used the money to purchase medicines and to meet their basic requirements.

The government credited the pension to each of the beneficiaries' bank accounts. None of them have taken out government loans. So yet, just four individuals have established a permanent residence

and acquired land in Aizawl City. The remaining 13 beneficiaries live in rented homes as well as government-built homes.

From the above fact that it may be concluded that this scheme found among the beneficiaries is very useful and many people benefited mentally, socially, and economically. Besides that, the study also found that the amount of pension received from the government is not adequate to meet their basic requirements on a monthly basis. Most of the beneficiaries said that to increase the pension amount.

### **Aging and Conditions**

Information about the aging and conditions of the respondents was collected from the questionnaire and direct interview method. The research methods geared the researcher into swift action for carrying out the tasks in an effective manner. According to Mizo traditions, old age people should be treated with respect and should not be left behind to live alone in an insecure atmosphere. The data reveals that after young members of the family get married, they used to settle far away from their homes and the elderly were left behind to stay alone.

Some elderly respondents could not enjoy a healthy and fruitful atmosphere, power, and prestige as nuclear families are increasing day by day. Therefore, an attempt has been made to highlight the important profile and figure out their profile of the respondents, their age, and the number of people living in poverty living alone. Many elderly people stayed at home not competent enough to be physically productive. They are waiting for help from the family members they are living with. Some respondents are not living with their sons and daughter for some reason. So, the study found that the old age persons who were found not living with others were more vulnerable and not financially stable and they were found to live with a feeling of insecurity. Some elderly people were left by their married daughters and sons with negligence and were not regularly provided financial support. The Government schemes are really helpful for the management of their affairs as negligence, insecurity, financial instability; loneliness and lack of help are the major existing problems for them.

### Summary and major findings

1. The North zone has the highest age average (76.4 percent) while the east zone has the lowest. The age average from each zone is 72.86 percent. Life expectancy has increased tremendously around the world and even here in Mizoram. The age average of the beneficiaries is expected to reach above this as the younger elderly reaching above 60 years could not be entitled due to limited funds and as life expectancy is expected to increase dramatically like the past few years. The nutritional supplements, standard of living, government schemes, public health initiatives, and good treatment have helped the elderly and all the people to live longer than in the past few years. This is the main reason why the age average of the elderly beneficiaries is higher than expected.
2. The elderly female outnumbered the elderly male beneficiaries by 30 percent. Thanseia said that even though a study was not yet conducted to reveal that women outnumbered males, he argued that women tended to live longer than men as MUP had more female members (The Telegraph, Aizawl, 20, 10, and 06). Though this is not a proven fact in Mizoram as far as the elderly people are concerned, the current trend tells us those female voters outnumbered male voters. So, the study may be able to represent not only Aizawl city but Mizoram's elderly population as a whole.
3. More than 3. 53.75 percent of the respondents did not go through any formal education like classes 1, 2, 3, and so on while the literacy rate of Mizoram is next to Kerala. This is due to problems related to background and economy. The main cause of poverty is lack of education and poor education that makes people unemployed.
4. More than 66.25 percent of the respondents who lived in the community in Aizawl city were single (without a husband or wife). Nearly 33.75 were with partners. Around 9 percent of the respondents were single and they are more likely to be weaker and poor. A few of the respondents who are living alone said that they felt isolated and lonely. Their problems and diseases could go unnoticed. The study found that the elderly people who were found living with others were likely to be healthier as they had social interactions avoiding social isolation. Those elderly people who lived alone and who lacked communication and interactions tend to have more health problems compared to the elderly people who are living alone.
5. The study focused on the impact and the result and outcome of the IGNOAPS. The researcher presents suggestions for viewing the problems and challenges faced by the functionaries and the respondents. The suggestions may serve all the existing functionaries to act better and may tell some possible solutions to the urgent problems that can be arisen and can be additional input for proper functioning.
6. An interview schedule and Questionnaire was used to assess the knowledge of the respondents towards IGNOAPS and to assess the socio-economic status of beneficiaries. The researcher spent about three months in the survey period and for collecting primary data, meeting the selected respondents from each selected zone, and having interactions with the responsible functionaries such as State Social Welfare Department, DSWO East & DSWO West, and the office staff, MUP General Headquarters and MUP branches from each selected zone.
7. The old-age pension scheme helped the elderly by granting them access to some essential needs and necessities even though they could not afford all their needs. It may be too unlimited but getting the pension every quarter is good and better than getting it every month because they could get a larger amount of money every quarter. They could not buy all their needs and did not get satisfaction but could buy medicines, and nutritional supplements which are too imperative for human survival. There is no doubt that the fund is limited, but the majority of the

respondents were of the view that receiving pension funds for free was not bad at all in viewing many needy elderly people who are still not entitled to get this benefit.

8. The scheme is not limited as it is not restricted to one member in the family alone but covers all the elderly BPL in the family. So, it can be so useful for a family that has more than two IGNOAPS beneficiaries. The motto of the scheme cannot be judged critically as it aims at eradicating absolute poverty.
9. It also has a huge impact on increasing the income of beneficiaries. They could get a larger amount of money quarterly through which they could buy some of their basic needs, medicines, and nutrition. Even though the pension fund cannot contribute to increasing their income that much, it is vehemently important for human survival and can be regarded as a mechanism for reducing absolute poverty. It allowed them to travel around and enjoy every minute of their life. One important fact is that the old-age pension scheme granted beneficiaries in Aizawl city access to healthy food, medicines, etc. It offered them not only better health conditions but offered them opportunities to get involved in society with confidence acting as an important asset to the local community.
10. The study found that all the functionaries of IGNOAPS were arranged properly in a formal manner. But the staff working under DSWO in the social welfare department said that they experienced excessive pressure at work due to a lack of staff/ personnel. But with the help of MUP branches, the government functionaries could handle the tasks properly. So, the role played by MUP at the state level, district level, and local level was found a remarkable step for the smooth and effective implementation of the scheme and for running a successful service for the target group. The MUP branches from their jurisdictions helped the government in fulfilling their missions and giving them full support in the pursuit of their organizational purpose. So, MUP can be regarded as the

operational arms, foundation, and cornerstone for achieving the missions of the scheme.

### Summing Up

IGNOAPS is exercised in the state of Mizoram since 19th November 2007. This scheme has, in such a way, received a fair amount of praise and criticism straight from its implementation. The following points listed below are the noticeable observations and suggestions that the government should be aware of:

The relaxation made by the State Government on fading out the BPL methodology of identifying beneficiaries, along with the massive step taken by local NGOs and volunteers in engulfing more senior citizens, has resulted in the insufficiency of the scheme. It has been observed that the socio-economic profile of the beneficiaries largely comprised of lesser underprivileged families. These less needy beneficiaries have been availing of the benefits depriving some genuinely needy families. Many senior citizens who belonged to BPL households have remained uncovered due to less capacity, and are ruled out from most benefits of IGNOAPS. If we look further at these uncovered citizens, we observed that most of them are diseased and indisposed; some of them are unhealthy that's why they could not go out to work anymore and are all poverty-stricken. It is recommended that the Government conducted a more in-depth selection of beneficiaries, which will result in a larger coverage of more disadvantaged families. This situation may also be resolved by increasing the scheme's range and capacity.

It is already been mentioned that the local Non-Governmental Organizations such as the Young Mizo Association (YMA), Mizoram Upa Pawl (MUP), and Mizo HmeichheInsuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) performed a major role in choosing IGNOAPS beneficiaries. Considerable time is devoted by these organizations to preparing the reports. They engage themselves in the compilation of reports and further transfer of reports to the next tier of supervising authority. MUP is one such significant volunteer in developing IGNOAPS in Mizoram. They are an organization of local elders and have contributed ultimately to choosing eligible beneficiaries.



These NGOs have willingly taken the tiring responsibility of choosing and reporting the eligible beneficiaries to the Social Welfare Department. Without these organizations, the programs for the elderly living in destitution would not have functioned as effectively as now. It is recommended that the government compensates these NGOs, even in such a way that the compensation may not be in cash, be it an instrument for their recreation or aiding them

with their requirements in terms of their needs, or providing them with a relaxing trip or tours to compensate for their devotion and hard work. Financial help through IGNOAPS to the elderly persons improves their socio-economic conditions and makes them socially and economically independent. Therefore, the amount of pension shall be increased to meet the basic needs and requirements of elderly persons in the state.

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## Working of Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Project in Mizoram

Lalbiakzarzov\*  
Prof. A. Muthulakshmi\*\*

### Abstract

*Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme is world's largest community based programme. The scheme is targeted at children up to the age of 6 years, pregnant and lactating mothers and women between 16-44 years of age. The scheme is aimed to improve the health, nutrition and education of the target community. Launched on 2 October 1975, the scheme has completed 45 years of its operational age. Integrated Child Development Services is a government program in India which provides food, pre – school education and primary healthcare to children under 6 years of age and their mothers. The scheme was launched in 1975 but was discontinued in 1978 by the government.*

**Keywords:** Anganwadi, beneficiaries, centres, child, development, government, integrated, nutrition, programme, project, services, workers.

### Introduction

Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Schemes is the country's most comprehensive and multi-dimensional programme. It is a centrally sponsored scheme of the Ministry of Women and Child Development (WCD) of Government of India. ICDS Scheme is the most unique programme for early childhood care and development encompassing integrated services for development of children below six years, expectant and nursing mothers and adolescent girls living in the most backward, rural, urban and tribal areas. The programme was launched on 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1975 on the 106<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi in 33 (4 rural, 18 urban, 11 tribal) blocks. Over the last 45 years, it was expanded progressively and during 2014-15 financial year, there were as many as 7072 operational ICDS projects in the country.<sup>1</sup>

ICDS programme has been operational in Mizoram since 1978-79. The services of ICDS have been delivered from Anganwadi Centres only. All the performances revolved around the Anganwadi Centres. At present there are 27 ICDS Projects having 2244 Anganwadi Centres in Mizoram. Healthy early child development which includes the physical, social emotional and language, cognitive domains of development, each equally important strongly influences well – being, obesity, mental health, heart disease, competence in literacy and numeracy, economic participation. The emotional, social and physical development of young children has a direct effect on their overall development and the adult they will become. That is why understanding the need to insist in very young children is so important, so as to maximize their future well- being.

Development is the term used to describe the changes in the child's physical growth, as well as her ability to learn the social, emotional behavior, thinking and communication skills she needs for life. All of these areas are linked, and each depends on and

\* Ph.D Research Scholar, Dept. of Public Administration, Mizoram University

\*\*Professor & Head, Department of Public Administration, MZU

influences the others. Following are the objectives of ICDS; to advance the nutritional and health standing of children in the age-group 0-6 years, to create a system that tackles the proper psychological, physical and social development of the child, to fight the rate of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school dropout.

### Objectives of the study

- i. To examine the organizational structure, working and activities of Integrated Child Development Services in Mizoram,
- ii. To study the functioning of Anganwadi Centres under Integrated Child Development Services in Mizoram,

### Methodology

The present study is based on descriptive in design and cross-sectional in nature. The study was conducted by using a mixed method approach i.e both quantitative and qualitative. Primary and Secondary sources of data were used for the present study. The primary data were collected by using structured interview schedule from concerned officials namely Child Development Project Officer (CDPO), Circle Officer (CO), District Programme Officer (DPO) and staff of ICDS in Mizoram.

The secondary data was gathered from books, journals. Booklets, articles related to the study and documents of the concerned department and also some of the important sources were collected from internet.

### Objectives of the Scheme

ICDS is a major programme channel for addressing child rights related to survival, protection, participation and development. Rights for survival include rights related to life, health, nutrition, water, sanitation, environment, adequate standard of living, right to a name from birth, right to acquire a nationality, right to know and be cared by his or her parents. Rights for protection include rights related to

protection of children from all forms of discriminations, exploitation, abused, inhumane or degrading treatment and neglect, disability, right to special protection in situations of emergency and armed conflicts. Rights for participation include rights related respect for the views of the child, right to freedom of expression, thoughts, conscience and religion; freedom of association and peaceful harmony; access to appropriate information and awareness. Rights for development include rights related to education, support for early childhood development and care, social security and right to leisure, recreation and cultural activities. The objectives also include-<sup>2</sup>

- Lay foundation for the proper psychological, physical and social development of the child.
- Improved nutritional and health status of children below six years.
- Reduced incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school dropouts.
- Achieve effective coordination of policy and implementation amongst various departments.
- Enhanced the capabilities of the mother to look after the normal health and nutritional needs of child through proper nutrition and health education.

### Directorate of ICDS in Mizoram

ICDS have been operational in Mizoram since 1978-1979. In the beginning, ICDS was functioning under Social Welfare and Tribal Affairs department. The Department stands for improvement of nutrition and health status as well as laying foundation for proper psychological, physical and social development of children below the age of six years. The first ICDS Project in Mizoram was launched in E.Lungdar Village in the year of 1978. On 1.4.2020 ICDS projects has its own Directorate at Sikulpuikawn, Aizawl Mizoram under WCD. ICDS have a number of officials including Honorary workers like AWW and Helpers:-

**Table No-1: Data base of Government officials including Honorary workers like Anganwadi Workers and Helper**

Sl.no	Government officials, Anganwadi Workers and Their Centres, etc.	Number
1	No. of Child Development Project Officer	24
2	No. of Circle Officer	84
3	No. of Anganwadi Worker	2244
4	No. of Anganwadi Helper	2244
5	No. of Anganwadi Centre	2244
6	No. of Anganwadi training centre	1
7	No. of Pregnant and lactating women	25099
8	No. of AWC providing PSE for 21 days	2244
9	No. of beneficiaries (i) Boys and (ii) Girls	138762

Source: *Government of Mizoram Economic Survey 2019-2020*

### **Nutrition supply at Anganwadi Centre in Mizoram**

Enrolment of children in Mizoram is taken at the age of two and half years upto four years for pre-school as four above attended other schools. Food procured locally from Mizofed and rice from FCI. Food items like high protein biscuit, malted milk, soya noodles, cereal bases weaning food, refined soya oil. Soya cereal powder, dal and locally available foods and children were given an opportunity to eat at the Anganwadi Centre(AWC), food were well cooked and served.<sup>3</sup> Food procurements were made from

local manufacture and seasonal locally available food items and fruits such as eggs, fresh milk, banana are being provided at the centres. Kitchens were well arranged and keep it tidy, most of the AWC used gas stove for cooking and trunks were made on the wall for storing food items. Food was intended by the Directorate under the cell headed by the special officer on nutrition along with the daily menu. One third of the fund was allotted to Child Development Officers to procure locally available food items. Transportation of food items was also done by the Directorate.<sup>4</sup>

### **ICDS Coverage and Reach**

**Table No – 2:Population Coverage in an ICDS Project**

Area	Population Covered/ Project	Population Covered/ AWC	No. of AWC/ Project
Rural	1,00,000	1000	100
Urban	1,00,000	1000	100
Tribal	35,000	700	50

Source: *Handbook for Anganwadi Workers, 2006, National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development.*

Mizoram has the proud privileged of having one of the best Anganwadi Centres in the country. Most of the Anganwadi Centres are beautifully built through the contribution of coordination with the local people

or individual Anganwadi Centre level between the Project staff and the concerned committees. There are various definitions of periods in child's development, since each period is a continuum with

individual differences regarding start and ending. Some age-related development periods and examples of defined intervals are: Newborn (0 - 4 weeks), infant

(4 weeks – 1year), toddler (1-3 years), pre-school (4-6 years), school aged child (6-11 years), adolescent (12 – 19 years).<sup>5</sup>

**Table No – 3: ICDS Beneficiaries and Services**

Children Less Than	Children between	Expectant and Nursing	Others Women (15-
1 Supplementary nutrition	1 Non-formal pre-school education	1 Health check-up	1 Nutrition and health education
2 Growth monitoring	2 Supplementary nutrition	2 Tetanus Toxoid immunization to pregnant women	2 IFA supplementation and de-worming intervention
3 Immunization	3 Growth monitoring	3 Supplementary nutrition	3 Non-formal education
4 Health check-up	4 Immunization	4 Nutrition and health education	4 Home-based skill trainings and vocational trainings
5 Referral Services	5 Health check-up		5 Supplementary nutrition
	6 Referral Services		6 ICDS Beneficiaries and Services

**Source:** *Handbook for Anganwadi Workers, 2006, National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development*

### **Role of ICDS Team and Job Responsibilities**

#### **1. Child Development Project Officer**

**(CDPO):** A CDPO is an overall in-charge of an ICDS Project and is responsible for planning and implementation of the project. A CDPO is supported by a team four to five Supervisors who guide and supervise Anganwadi Workers. In large ICDS Projects, where there are more than 150 centres in a project, an Assistant Child Development Project Officer is also a part of the team.

**2. Supervisor:** A Supervisor has the responsibilities of supervising 20, 25 and 17 Anganwadi Workers in rural, urban and tribal projects respectively. A Supervisor guides an Anganwadi Workers in planning and organizing delivery of ICDS

services at Anganwadi centre and also gives on the spot guidance and training as and when required.

**3. Anganwadi Workers:** An Anganwadi Workers is a community-based frontline voluntary worker, selected from within the local communities. The selection is made by a community at the Project level. An Anganwadi Workers is mainly responsible for effective delivery of ICDS Services to children and women in the communities. An Anganwadi Worker is an honorary worker who gets a monthly honorarium.

**4. Anganwadi Helpers:** At each Anganwadi Centre, a helper is appointed to assist an Anganwadi Worker. Helper is an honorary worker who gets a monthly honorarium.

**Table No – 4: Expected Time for Daily Activities at AWC**

Sl. No.	Daily Tasks	Expected Time
1	Pre-school education	One hours (120 minutes)
2	Preparation and distribution of supplementary nutrition	Half hour (30 minutes)
3	Treatment of common childhood illnesses/ ailments and referral	Half hour (30 minutes)
4	Filling up of records and registers	Half hour (30 minutes)
5	Making 2-3 home visits	One hours (60 minutes)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>Four and half hours (270 minutes)</b>

**Source: Interview with Director of ICDS, Aizawl Mizoram during feb.2020-mar.2020.**

Paediatric malnutrition has always been a matter of national concern. The various vertical health programme initiated by the Government of India (GOI) from time to time did not reach out to the target community adequately. In 1974, India adopted a well-defined national policy for children. In pursuance of this policy it was decided to start a holistic multicentre programme with a compact package of services. The decision led to the formulation of ICDS scheme-one of the most prestigious and premier national human resource development programmes of the Government of India.

Community participation is tremendous and deserves appreciation. The people of Mizoram, organizations like the Young Mizo Association (YMA), Mizo Hmeichhia Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) etc contributed both in kind and cash. Voluntary organizations were very strong and are also involved in promoting and uplifting the scheme. Many items which would be helpful for the AWC are contributed to the centre by the NGO's. The expenditure for the gas cylinder is borne by the community.

**Table No – 5: Role of Community Member in ICDS Programme**

Community Member	Major Role in ICDS
Gram Panchayat	Provide building; promote delivery of services and advocacy for ICDS.
Adolescent girls	Assist AWW in delivery of services and help in maintaining cleanliness at AWC.
Mahila Mandal Pradhan	Encourage women to utilize ICDS services and participate in activities at AWC.
Primary School Teacher	Encourage community for sending their children to AWC.
Traditional Birth Attendant	Link between community and AWW and informing AWW of birth of children in the village.
Religious and local leaders	Mobilized and organized community to participate in ICDS programme.
Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)	Support services to run the programme effectively.
Village women	Utilized ICDS services and influenced other women for the same.

**Source: Handbook for Anganwadi Workers, 2006, National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development**

## Conclusion

Considerable progress has been achieved in the field of women and child development through ICDS Programme which has been implemented in the State (Mizoram) since 1978. The health and nutrition level had adequate attention. More importantly, a general awareness of the need to give a good foundation to children up to the age of 6 years, and care for pregnant and lactating mothers has been generated. For the effectiveness of the ICDS Programme community participates in the by way of donation of land and buildings, transporting nutrition food, constructing and repairing Anganwadi buildings, etc.

There are twenty seven ICDS projects covering all the twenty six Rural Development Blocks in Mizoram and one project for municipal areas of Aizawl city. Initially, the scheme covered 15% of the total population and the eligible beneficiaries covered at the initial stage were only 20%. With the opening of more ICDS projects, the scheme covered about 95% of eligible beneficiaries. Each Child Development Project Officer (CDPO) supervises, monitor and guide the work of the entire project, including regular supervision of Anganwadi Workers. For this they undertake field visit regularly. CDPO's make necessary arrangement for obtaining, transporting, storing and distributing various supplies of nutrition items and ensure that all the equipments and materials supplied for the ICDS programmes are accounted for and are used and maintained properly. The name of Mizoram had been brought to the notice at the National level by good performance of child development through the implementation of Integrated Child Development Services in Mizoram.

Under the scheme, services such as Supplementary nutrition; Pre-school non-formal education; nutrition and health education, immunization, health check-ups; and Referral services through Anganwadi Centres for children below 6 years of age as well as to pregnant women and lactating mothers are offered. Anganwadi is a type of rural child care centre in India. They were started by the Indian

government in 1975 as part Integrated Child Development program to combat child hunger and malnutrition, Anganwadi means "courtyard shelter" in Indian languages.

A typical Anganwadi centre provides basic health care in Indian villages. We can say that Anganwadi is a part of the Indian public health care system. Basic health care activities include contraceptive counseling and supply, nutrition education and supplementation, as well as pre-school activities had been provided smoothly. In many ways an Anganwadi worker is better equipped than a physician in reaching out to the rural population. Since the worker lives with the people she is in a better to communicate and to identify the cause of health problems and also to counter them. She has a very good insight of the health status in her region.

Secondly though Anganwadi workers are not as skilled or qualified as professionals but they have better social skills thus making it easier to interact with the people. Moreover, since these workers are from the village, they are trusted which makes it easier for them to help the people. Anganwadi workers are well aware of the ways of the people, are comfortable with the language, know the rural folk personally etc. This makes it very easy for them to figure out the problems being faced by the people and ensure that they are solved.

ICDS has been operational in Mizoram since 1978-79. The services of ICDS have been delivered from Anganwadi Centres only. All the performances revolved around the Anganwadi Centres. At present there are 27 ICDS Projects having 2244 Anganwadi Centres in Mizoram.

Mizoram has the proud privileged of having one of the best Anganwadi Centres in the country. Most of the Anganwadi Centres are beautifully built through the contribution of coordination with the local people or individual Anganwadi Centre level between the Project staff and the concerned committees.

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**Endnotes:**

- <sup>1</sup> Icds-wcd.nic.in
- <sup>2</sup> <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>
- <sup>3</sup> Source: - Interview with Director of ICDS, Aizawl Mizoram during feb.2020-mar.2020.
- <sup>4</sup> <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>
- <sup>5</sup> Handbook for Anganwadi Workers, 2006, National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development. pp, 14-16.

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## Households' Economic Determinants of Water Sources and Water Storage Tanks in Aizawl City

Dr. C. Ramhnehzauva\*

### Abstract

*Many claim that the poor cannot pay for water and use this argument to imply that water need not be priced. However, this argument is not based on reality. India's relatively poorer population does pay for water, both in a monetary sense and in terms of the effort required to obtain clean water (Bajpai and Bhandari, 2001). Water is under-supplied in the study area. The fact that water supply is almost wholly in the realm of the public sector verifies that governments are unable to provide adequate water supplies. It is characterised by poor water supply infrastructure. Services are generally poor for all sectors of society, but for poorer sector, conditions are worst because of their perceived inability to pay house connection fees. Problems in water supply are especially severe. The level of service provided by a water supply system is a function of the price, quantity, quality, reliability, and convenience that it provides to the user. As a result, poor and rich are dissatisfied with their current water supply situation. However, it was observed that the rich are better off than the poor but not dramatically so as far as their satisfactory level is concerned.*

**Keywords:** *Income group, House connection, Tuikhur, Rainwater Harvesting*

reduce the volumes of water used by households, which in turn may influence hygiene practices and increase risks of disease transmission.

### Introduction

The water needs of the hilly people for generations have been met by natural sources of water. Traditionally, Tuikhur (i.e., water seepages accumulated in artificially fabricated reservoirs and springs water collected in artificial tanks) on the hill slopes and collection of rainwater is used as the main source of drinking water in Aizawl. The affordability of water has a significant influence on the use of water and selection of water sources. The high cost of water may force households to use alternative sources of water of poorer quality that may present a greater risk to health. Furthermore, high costs of water may

### Study Area

Aizawl, the capital of Mizoram state, is situated in on the hillcrests, steep slopes and small valleys. It is located on a north-south elongated ridge, which acts as the main hill from which many small ridges and valleys are extending towards the east and west directions. The topography is highly undulating and rugged. The altitude varies from 120 m to 1400 m above mean sea level. It falls between 23° 40' N to 23° 50' N latitudes and 92° 40' E to 92° 49' E longitudes. It covers an area of about 128.98 sq km, and as per 2011 Census, the population is

\* Asst. Professor, Department of Geography, Govt. Lawngtlai College, Lawngtlai - 796891  
Email: chhangte14@gmail.com

293,416 persons. There are a number of streams in and around Aizawl, but none of them is dependable for providing adequate water. The only dependable source is river *Tlawng* located more than 1,000 m below the city.

### Literature Survey

The World Bank (2001) reports stated that 25 per cent of the urban population of Latin America and 60 per cent of the urban population of Africa are not connected to official utility networks and rely on alternative sources for their water supply. Low-income families that construct dwellings at the urban fringe far removed from main trunk lines, providing adequate supplies of safe water will remain one of the biggest urban challenges in coming decades (Howard and Bartram, 2005).

In 2004, about 3.5 billion people worldwide (54 per cent of the global population) had access to piped water supply through house connections. Another 1.3 billion (20 per cent) had access to an improved water source through other means than house connections, including standpipes, water kiosks, protected springs and protected wells. Finally, more than 1 billion people (16 per cent) did not have access to an improved water source, meaning that they have to revert to unprotected wells or springs, canals, lakes or rivers to fetch water (World Bank, 2004).

The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) data for 1998 indicates that about 70 per cent of urban and 18.7 per cent of the rural households had access to piped water supply (i.e. tap as the principal source) in India. Sixty six per cent of urban households reported their principal source within their premises, while 32 per cent had within a distance of 0.2 km. Forty-one per cent had sole access to their principal source of drinking water, which means that 59 per cent were sharing a public source (NSSO, 1999).

Between 69 per cent and 74 per cent of India's rural population, take their drinking water from protected sources, leaving an un-served population of 26 per cent to 31 per cent. Between 91 per cent and 93 per cent of India's urban population, take

their drinking water from protected sources (WHO and UNICEF, 2001). Economic condition and poverty rates are two important parameters that can significantly affect water use practices and use patterns, causing an overall increase in the demand for water in the domestic sector (WRI, 1995). Economic growth increases the demand for a wide variety of environmental services related to water (Pearce and Warford, 1993).

### Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To study the households' economic determinant of water sources
- b) To probe economic determinant of households' water storage devices

### Data Base and Methodology

The present study is based on the information obtained from primary and secondary sources.

- (i) Households' survey was carried out in 15 local councils out of 83 local councils of the study area during November – December 2018. This amounted to coverage of 18.07 per cent of the total local councils. The number of sample households selected from each of the sample local councils are 50 households, thus data was collected from 750 households. The sample households have a total population of 4,454 persons, children account for 32.88 per cent of the total. The mean value of households' size is 5.91, with a standard deviation of 0.90. About 69 per cent of the
- (ii) The scheduled for household survey was designed to elicit information of households' economic status, type of water sources and type of water storage device use to meet their daily water needs. A simple index is created to represent the economic status of the households. Self-reported total monthly income is used as the measure of households' economic status. Hence, households were categorised into three different groups such as, high-income group (HIG), middle income

group (MIG), and low-income group (LIG). A total monthly income less than the threshold level of Rs.20000 are designated as LIG, between Rs.20, 000 to Rs.40, 000 are designated as MIG and more than Rs.40, 000 are considered as HIG. About 40.66 per cent belong to Low Income Group (LIG), 38.80 per cent to Middle Income Group (MIG), and 20.53 per cent to High Income Group (HIG). Sample households own their homes and 31 per cent live in rented houses.

- (ii) The water sources have been classified into principal/main source of water and supplementary sources of water. Principal/main source of water refers to the water source that the households' has been obtaining the largest amount of water and the other sources is considered as supplementary sources of water supply. To conduct households' survey, few households have been identified because studying all the households in the sample local councils is usually impracticable in view of time, money involved, and other considerations. A stratified random sampling procedure was used to select local councils for the survey, i.e. number of population, percentage of individual piped water connections, and geographical location were taken into considerations to give an overall view of each corner of the study area. Households to be surveyed were selected based on random sampling method and it is believed that they are reasonably representative households in the study area.

## Results and Discussion

### Domestic Water Sources

Households' economy is one of the most significant determinant factors on choice of water sources. Most households are not using water from

only one source but from multiple sources. The pattern of households' dependence on water sources varies with monthly income. It has been observed that among the low-income group (LIG) no household gets house connection, whereas 81.09 per cent of middle-income group (MIG) and 93.52 per cent of high-income group (HIG) have access to house connections (Table 1). It is important to note that households belonging to MIG and HIG without house connection at the time of survey are due to technical problem.

All LIG families use *tuikhur* as their principal source of water supply, whereas 12.71 per cent of MIG and 1.30 per cent of HIG use *tuikhur* as their principal source of water supply. About 6.19 per cent of MIG and 5.18 per cent of HIG use rainwater harvesting as their principal source of water supply. Absence of LIG using rainwater harvesting as principal source of water reflect the limitation of physical and economical feasibility to make rainwater harvesting as their main source of domestic water supply for low economic family.

Among the LIG, cent percent have access to *Tuikhur*; 42.26 per cent have access to public taps; 91.48 per cent collect rainwater; 44.6 per cent use hand pumps and 14.1 per cent purchase water from tankers. Among the MIG, 81.07 per cent have house connections; 9.97 per cent have access to public taps; 73.89 per cent collect rainwater; 30.58 per cent use *tuikhur*; 5.16 per cent use hand pumps; 60.47 per cent buy water from tankers and 1.03 per cent have private dug wells. Among the HIG, 93.52 per cent have house connections; 1.94 per cent have access to public taps; 44.78 per cent collect rainwater; 5.18 per cent use *tuikhur*; 64.3 per cent purchase water from tankers and 1.3 per cent possess dug wells. It is important to note that no household from LIG has access to house connection and dug well, at the same time no household from HIG uses hand pump.

**Table 1: Income Group-Wise Use of Water Sources (% of households)**

Name of Water Sources	Low	Middle	High
<i>Tuikhur</i> + Rainwater	21.96		
<i>Tuikhur</i> + Rainwater + Public tap	20.32	4.12	
<i>Tuikhur</i> + Hand pump + Rainwater	24.3		
<i>Tuikhur</i> + Rainwater + Tanker	10.5	5.5	1.3
<i>Tuikhur</i> + Hand pump + Public tap	8.52		
<i>Tuikhur</i> + Hand pump + Public tap + Rainwater	10.8		
<i>Tuikhur</i> + Rainwater + Public tap + Tanker	2.62	1.03	
<i>Tuikhur</i> + Rainwater + Hand pump + Tanker	0.98	2.06	
Rainwater + Public tap + Tanker		4.12	1.94
Rainwater + <i>Tuikhur</i> + Tanker		1.37	3.24
Rainwater + <i>Tuikhur</i> + Public tap		0.7	
House connection		7.21	24.02
House connection + Tanker		13.05	31.2
House connection + Rainwater		13.4	9.74
House connection + Rainwater + Tanker		30.6	26.62
House connection + Rainwater + <i>Tuikhur</i>		9.96	0.64
House connection + <i>Tuikhur</i> + Hand pump		3.1	
House connection + <i>Tuikhur</i> + Tanker		2.74	
House connection + Rainwater + Dug Well		1.03	1.3

Among the users of only one source of water, 36.21 per cent belong to MIG and 63.79 per cent belong to HIG. In fact, the number of water sources access reflects the amount of water obtained from principal source of water. Of the users of two water sources, 32.37 per cent are from LIG, 37.19 per cent are from MIG and 30.43 per cent are from HIG. Subsequently, among the users of four water sources, the largest users 83.02 per cent are LIG, 16.98 per cent belong to MIG and no household from the HIG uses four sources of water. It means that lower the income, higher the number of water sources on which households depend.

As regards to the barriers of LIG from having piped supply connection, the survey revealed three major reasons. Firstly, most of the LIG families live in the local councils where the piped water facilities are limited. Secondly, utilities connection charges hinder the LIG from getting house connection.

Thirdly, despite high connection fees water supply through house service connection is unreliable so that LIG families opt for other water sources. Fourthly, for new piped water connection, proof of land ownership is required but most of the LIG live in rented houses, hence they cannot produce the land ownership certificate resulting to disqualification from getting house connection.

The characteristics of the water sources have a number of influences on choice of a water source. Firstly, piped water connection into a house, a large sum of money is necessary to pay at a time. Secondly, there are different types of other water sources available to people. These different water sources are exposed to different kinds and degrees of contamination. This significantly influences both the extent to which this source of water is used and the way it is used. It can therefore be said that the vulnerability of unprotected sources influence water

related practices. Thirdly, limitation in number of sources and supply of water from these sources influence water-collecting practices. Different water sources deliver less water during the dry season causing congestion at the sources during this time. The limited number of hand pumps and public taps create congestion at the sources. These characteristics clearly contribute to making water collection a time demanding activity, thus affecting the choice of water sources. These are a few of the factors that potentially influence peoples' choice of water source; but it is important to bear in mind that such choice is not stable or inflexible.

### Water Storage Tanks

Storage of water within house premises is usually necessary to cope with an unreliable water supply. As one would expect, storage capacity and investment vary by income, the poor rely on portable, low-cost and low-capacity storage, whereas the high class use higher cost options. Besides, materials used for storing water also differ from household to household. In fact, the choice of material depends on local availability and affordability. The water storage tanks in the study area can be classified into three types as far as their placement is concerned, i.e., overhead storage tank, ground-level storage tank and under-ground storage tank. Most of the multi-storied buildings of RCC structure possess overhead tanks to provide uninterrupted water supply to its occupants.

People use three different types of water tanks, viz., cylindrical tank constructed with galvanised plain (GP) sheets, plastic tanks of cylindrical shape, and reinforced cement concrete (RCC) tanks constructed either in rectangular or square shape. The choice of tank capacity depends on a number of technical and economic considerations like space availability, cost of tank, labour for construction, cost of materials, and types of rainwater harvesting. The common vessels used for small-scale water storage include plastic bowls, buckets, tins, oil drums, empty food containers, etc. For storing larger quantities of water, large tank is required.

It is important to note that the water tanks capacity differs significantly by households' economic status. The low-income group's water tanks capacity ranges from 400 litres to about 7,500 litres and the average tank's capacity is calculated to 1,432.79 litres, with a standard deviation of 927.42. The tanks capacity of middle-income group's ranges from 3,000 litres to 22,000 litres and the average tanks capacity is estimated at 8,223.37 litres (S.D = 3043.92). Subsequently, the high income group's tanks capacity ranges from 5,000 litres to 25,000 litres and the average capacity is 7,853.90 litres with a standard deviation of 3506.73 (Table 2). The dispersion statistics (Standard Deviation) shows wide variations of tanks capacity in all the income groups. Interestingly, the middle-income group's tank capacity is higher than that of the high-income group, it indicates that rainwater harvesting through rooftop catchment is more suitable and popular among the middle-income group than the high-income group.

**Table 2: Income Group-Wise Water Tank Capacity (in litres)**

Income Group	N total	Mean	S.D	Min.	Med.	Max.
Low income	305	1432.79	927.42	400	1000	7500
Middle income	291	8223.37	3043.92	3000	8000	22000
High income	154	7853.9	3506.73	5000	7000	25000
Overall	750	5386	4146.37	400	6000	25000

### Conclusion:

The pattern of dependence on water sources varies with monthly income. Among the low-income group (LIG), no household has house connection,

whereas 81.09 per cent of middle-income group (MIG) and 93.52 per cent of high-income group (HIG) have access to house connections. Households belonging to MIG and HIG without

house connection are those beyond reach of the network. It indicates that households' monthly income, which is a proxy for ability to pay, is a significant predictor for piped water in residence. All LIG families use *tuikhur* as their principal source of water supply, while 12.71 per cent of MIG and only 1.30 per cent of HIG use *tuikhur* as their principal source of water supply. Only MIG (6.19 per cent) and HIG (5.18 per cent) use rainwater

harvesting as their principal source of water supply. As one would expect, water storage capacity and investment vary by income, the poor rely on portable, low-cost and low-capacity storage, whereas the high class use higher cost options. The average tanks capacity of low-income group is about 1,432.79 litres, whereas the average capacity of middle-income group is 8,223.37 litres and high-income group average tanks capacity is 7,853.90 litres.

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## Household Liquid Waste Management in Lunglei Mizoram

Vanlalmangaihi\*  
Dr. C. Lalengzama\*\*

### *Abstract*

*The study analyses the nature of household liquid waste disposal and management in Lunglei district Mizoram. Waste in the form of liquid or solid was not a problem before when natural process of waste treatment method could accommodate the amount of waste produced which results in degradation of environment and cause ecological impact. Household liquid waste is waste in a liquid form produce at household level. The study highlight the pattern of household liquid waste produced among the urban household in Lunglei. Venglai Community is selected for study as it is situated in the heart of Lunglei Town. Household disposed their liquid waste through drainage and nearby their house in their backyard which has been their tradition from the past because there is no proper channel for disposing their liquid waste in the community. The awareness level in regard to liquid waste disposal and management system and its effects in the community is poor as there is no proper system developed by the government. The lack of proper disposing and management system of liquid waste effects health condition and even leads to manmade disaster such as landslides. There is a wide gap for policy makers to fill as liquid waste disposal and management is an emerging issue especially in the urban areas.*

**Key words:** Waste, Liquid Waste, Waste Disposal, Waste Management, Household

### **Introduction**

The present study attempts to describe the nature of household liquid waste management and disposal in Lunglei, Mizoram.

Human generations have always generated waste either in the form of by-product out of their activities which are no longer relevant for any use and it was going on throughout ages. Waste in the form of liquid or solid was not a problem before as natural process has its own waste treatment method in the form of dispersion, dilution and degradation. As the amount of waste produced and the nature of

waste generated the natural processes could no longer accommodate many waste and results in degradation of environment and cause ecological impact in many ways. (Syed, 2006)

Waste generally includes all items as described in Environmental protection Act 1990 that people or companies do not have significance use for which were discarded or get rid of. However, waste can be a resource if it is in the right place and properly managed. Many items can be considered as waste, for instance household rubbish, sewage sludge, waste from manufacturing activities, packing items, garden waste, old paint container etc. which is produced through daily activities and from different sources. Anything that does not create value is also termed as

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\* II Semester MSW

\*\*Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, Mizoram University

waste. Waste can be classified depending on their source viz., Domestic waste, Factory waste, E-waste, Construction waste, Nuclear waste, Slaughter waste, waste from oil factory, agriculture waste, food processing waste etc (Agarwal et.al 2015)

According to Census of India 2011 the population of India is 1.21 billion constituting 17.66% of the world population. It is estimated that India generated 0.1 million tonnes of waste every day. It is also reported that there are 366 Indian cities that represents 70% of the urban populations in India alone generate 31.6 million tons of waste in the year 2001 which is significantly increased to 47.3 million tonnes in 2011. We have experience 50% increase of waste generation just in one decade (Harikrishnan, 2014). The increase in waste both liquid and solid is mainly due to increase in population, process of urbanization, increased industrialization and change in consumption patterns. So we need integrated waste management approach which are more environmental and economic friendly (Indhira et.al. 2015).

### Household Liquid Waste

Liquid waste is used and unwanted water which cannot be used for human consumption or other domestic's purpose. Waste water as a result of various human activities at home, in businesses and in industries is called liquid waste, or used or unwanted waste water generated in household or commercial activities is called liquid waste. However, liquid waste is also called waste water. Waste water is water whose physical, chemical or biological properties have been changed as a result of the introduction of certain substances which render it unsafe for some purposes such as drinking. The day to day activities of man is mainly water dependent and therefore discharge waste into water. Some of the substance include body wastes (faeces and urine), hair shampoo, hair, food scraps, fat, laundry powder, fabric conditioners, toilet paper, chemicals, detergent, household cleaners, dirt, micro-organisms (germs) which are pollutant to the environment (Amoatey and Bani 2011).

Liquid waste can be classified into sullies/grey water, storm water and black water. Sullies /grey water waste water which are generated from

bathroom, kitchen, house washing and laundry and they usually contain pathogen. Storm water is heavy rain running off falls under this category and it is essential to prevent water stagnation as prolonged stagnation leads to water borne diseases. Black water is waste water which is drained out from toilet and also contains harmful pathogen and it needed to be treated before disposal.

Liquid waste could also be classified as domestic waste water (black water and grey water) industrial waste water and storm water runoff. Domestic wastewater basically comes from residences, homes, business buildings like hotels, and institutions like university which can be categorized into both black water are waste water generated in toilets it may also contain some flush water besides urine and faeces (excreta) and grey water are the liquid waste from washrooms, laundries, kitchens which does not contain animal or human excreta.. Industrials waste water is a liquid waste which comes from factories production unit etc. storm water runoff is water from street, open yard etc which runoff after rainfall and which run through drains or sewers etc. (Baniet.al., 2009).

Domestic liquid waste is not usually an extreme environmental hazard unless discharged in a manner where it can impact surface water or shallow groundwater. With proper application, domestic liquid waste can be resource (fertilizer, source of moisture) rather than becoming a pollutant. Domestic liquid wastes should be disposed properly following the appropriate standards for effluent disposal (Uwajambo et.al. 2017).

### Liquid Waste Management and Disposal

Untreated waste is dangerous to public health as it contributes to environmental water, land and air pollution. The disposal of liquid waste may be through dumping on land surface, burying underground and dumping to the sea or river. For effective management of water waste focus should be on management at the household level, in case if it is not possible in the household level, management should be done in the community itself. (Bhavsar, 2016)



Unwanted or used water led out of house, institution or commercial establishment is termed as liquid waste. Waste water treatment is a fairly new practice although drainage systems were built long before the nineteenth century. Management of waste water focuses on finding a way to dispose waste water in a safer way for both the human and environment. Waste water treatment is the process and technology that is used to remove the contaminant that are found in the water body and make it safe to use for human. Waste water management therefore mainly involves handling waste water to protect the environment to ensure public health, economic, social and political soundness. (Amoatey and Bani 2011)

Waste disposal sometimes referred to as management involves any actions from production to final disposal. The activities include gathering, transfer, treatment, and dumping under the supervision of the regulatory rules of waste management. Suitable techniques of liquid waste disposal reduce the adverse effects on environment. Among the methods of disposal observed in India Sedimentation and Dewatering, Incineration, Composting, Solidification, Root zone, Disposal are most commonly used. The last and very important stage in the waste management process is their disposal which must be done in environmentally sound manner, some pre-treatment of waste may be necessary before disposal in order to comply with the legislation. Destruction, for example by incineration is also included. Dumping for short term for future recovery is employed for liquid wastes such as solvents which are accumulated until the process of recovery is practical and viable (Nduthu, 2016).

### Statement of the Problem

Waste management is an issue around the globe and its impact on environment is more severe with urban areas where population is more. Although there are policy related studies at international and national level the study on household liquid waste disposal and management at community level is not available. It is evident from government records that the management of both solid and liquid waste in India is not satisfactory and Mizoram is following the same

foot step where all efforts to manage waste are not meeting the standards of Solid Waste Management Rules 2016. To understand this issue there are some few studies conducted in Mizoram especially there is no studies particularly on liquid waste. Although there is an effort made through SIPMIU in Aizawl city it is still not functioning till date and there is no efforts taken in the other district. There is no record and report of how household manages their liquid waste. The present study aims to explore the types of liquid waste, method of disposal, awareness level and challenges face by the community as there is a lack of focus from the authority and step have not been taken to improve the situation in regards to liquid waste and its drainage system.

### Methodology

The research design is exploratory in nature and quantitative method is employed. The universe of the study is households who produce liquid waste in Lunglei district Mizoram and the unit of study is households. Lunglei Town is purposively selected and Venglai Community is selected as it is situated at the heart of the town. Disproportionate stratified random sampling is used to select household. YMA Section is used as strata and 20 households each were randomly selected from each YMA Sections. Quantitative data are collected using a pre tested questionnaire which are processed with the help of Microsoft excel and SPSS. Quantitative data are analysed with the help of simple percentages and average.

**1. Structural Bases of respondents:** To understand the background and setting of the respondents the profile of respondents and profile of family was studied.

**1.1. Profile of Respondents:** Gender, Educational Qualification, Marital Status, Occupation, and Religious denomination are studied to understand the profile of respondents (See Table No 1.1). The ratio of distribution is almost equal but male (57%) comprises slightly higher than female (43%). The educational qualification of the respondents in the present study is relatively high for a Mizo community

as Undergraduate (48%) comprises the highest and is followed by Post graduate (20%), HSLC (17%) and HSSLC (15%). Majority of the respondents are married (73%) and the rest are unmarried (27%). Their main occupation was Government Servant (37%) which constitutes the highest followed by Unemployed (32%), Business (23%), Petty Shop (7%) and Private Company (2%). All the respondents are Christian and among the denomination Baptist (75%) constitutes the highest followed by Presbyterian (12%), UPC (NE) (7%), Catholic (5%) and Salvation (2%). Baptist Church of Mizoram constitutes the largest because BCM are the majority in terms of membership in the southern part of Mizoram. Majority of the respondents belong to Adult (35%) which comprises the highest and followed by Elderly (23%), Youth (22%) and Young Adult (20%). The mean age of the respondents is 42 years.

**1.2 Profile of Family:** To study the Profile of family five variable are taken for studies viz., size of family, Primary occupation of family, forms of family, socio economic category and family income (See table 1.2). More than half of respondent's family belongs to medium family (72%) followed by large (23%) and small family (5%). The household in the present study is usually large. The mean size of family is 6 members. The family primary occupation in the present study shows that Government servant (55%) constitutes the highest followed by others (23%), Business (15%), Petty Shop (5%), and Private Company (2%). Majority of respondents household family are Nuclear family (73%) followed by Extended Family (18%) and Joint family (8%). In terms of socio economic category majority of the respondents family belong to APL (80%) followed by AAY (13%) and BPL (7%) and the annual income also shows that more than half of the respondent family in the present study earn below 50000 (53%), followed by 50001-100000 (25%), 100001-200000 (17%) and above 200000 (5%).

**2. Pattern of Household Liquid waste Disposal:** To understand the pattern of household liquid waste disposal and management in the present study certain variables are taken for studies viz., types of liquid waste disposed, Sources of liquid wastes, amount of liquid waste disposed.

### 2.1 Types of liquid waste disposed from home:

The types of waste observed in the present study are classified into toilet waste, chemical waste and bathroom waste (See Table No 2.1). The different classification of waste disposed is rated by the respondents using three point scales as never (1), sometimes (2) and always (3).

Bathroom waste (2.5) is always and regularly generated and toilet waste (2) is sometimes generated by the respondent household and chemical waste (1.5) is the waste which is never generated by majority household.

**2.2 Source of liquid waste disposed:** The sources of liquid wastes generated by household in the present study observed are classified into Kitchen, Bathroom, Toilet, Washing, and Vehicle washing and over rain water (See Table 2.2). The respondents are given four points scale viz., never (1), sometimes (2), often (3) and always (4).

Among the source of household liquid waste identified waste from kitchen (3), bathroom (3) and washing (3) are rated as always generated by household while waste from toilet (2), vehicle washing (2) and over rain water (2) are sometimes generated by household.

**2.3 Amount of liquid waste disposed:** The amount of liquid waste disposed by the respondent households in the present study is classified into (i) not generated, less quantity (less than 50litres), (ii) medium quantity (51 Litres to 150 Litres) and (iii) large quantity (More than 150 Litres) (See table 2.3).

Analysis of the respondent households' liquid waste disposal in the present study shows that the amount of disposal is usually not in large quantity. Liquid waste generated from washing (1.9) and bathroom (1.5) are rated as large quantity while kitchen (1.2) and toilet (1.4) are rated as medium quantity and vehicle washing (0.6) is rated as less amount.

### 3. Disposal and management of Household Liquid waste:

The method of liquid waste Disposal and management in the present study is analysed with the following variables viz., places of disposal, Method

of disposal, means of disposal, and management of toilet waste, rainwater harvesting and management.

**3.1 Place of liquid waste disposal:** Place of disposal of liquid waste generated by the respondent observed in the present study are government constructed drainage system, backyard, drainage, septic tank and river (See table 3.1). The respondents rated the following place using three point scales viz., never (1), sometimes (2), always (3).

From the study, the respondents often disposed their liquid waste on Government constructed drainage system (2.1) and they sometimes disposed their liquid waste in their backyard (1.9), in the drain (1.9) which the community shared, septic tank (1.3) and river (1.1) are rarely disposed.

**3.2 Method of liquid waste disposal:** The method of waste disposal observed in the present study are classified into viz., Government drainage, Household Drainage, Backyard, Re use, Recycle, Treatment with chemical, and Purgation which are rated by the respondents using three point scales viz., never (1), sometimes (2), often (3) and always (4) (See table 3.2).

From the study the respondents always disposed their liquid waste using drainage method (2.2) and sometimes the respondents used the method of recycling (1.1), government (1.8), backyard (1.8), reuse (1.3), purgation (1.1) and treatment with chemical (1.0) is rated as never used.

### 3.3 Method of liquid waste disposal

The means of liquid waste disposal in the present study is analysed to understand the means and equipment used for disposing liquid waste viz., Drainage, water pipe and storage for reuse. The respondents rated the means using three point scales such as never (1), sometimes (2) and always (3) (See table 3.3).

The respondent households in the present study always used water pipe (2.4) as a means of disposal of liquid waste. Drainage (2.0) is sometimes used and as reuse is not used largely storage for reuse (1.2) is never used by respondent households.

### 3.4 Management of Toilet waste

Management of toilet waste by respondent households is studied to understand how the household handle liquid waste from toilet. Household management system in the present study is categorized as viz., soak pit, toilet dealer and drainage and cliff. The following management system is rated by the respondents using three point scale viz., never (1), sometimes (2) and always (3) (See table 4.3.4).

The respondent household in the present study manage their liquid waste from toilet mainly into soak pit (2.5) and sometimes to the toilet dealer (1.9), drainage (1.1) and to the cliff (1.1).

### 4. Awareness level on liquid waste disposal and challenges faced

**4.1. Awareness level:** The level of awareness of respondents towards liquid waste disposal in the present study is analysed to understand liquid waste disposal system and its effects using 12 statements which were rated by the respondents using strongly disagree, disagree, agree and strongly agree (See table 4.1).

From the study the respondents strongly agree that municipal corporation should make a proper a channel for drainage (3.6), proper treatment of liquid waste is required (3.6), recycling of liquid waste is needed (3.1), disposing liquid waste in the river create environmental pollution (3.2), improper disposal of liquid waste creates landslide (3.2), and the respondents also agree that current awareness level is good (2.1), services of VC and NGO is adequate (2.6), proper disposal of liquid waste has never been given a thought (2.4), aware of the problem caused by improper liquid waste disposal (2.9), recycling of liquid waste is not necessary in their state (2.2), proper law on disposing liquid waste is not present (2.6).

**4.2 Challenges faced:** The effects of improper disposal and management of liquid waste in the present study observed are studied to understand the challenges associated with it. The challenges observed are viz., liquid waste pollute the river, improper disposal of liquid waste effect health, improper disposal of liquid waste leads to landslide,

improper disposal of liquid waste leads to soil erosion, improper disposal of liquid waste increase water borne disease, improper disposal of liquid waste cause unhygienic environment, improper disposal of liquid waste increase flies and mosquitoes. These challenges observed are rated with a four point scale as strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), agree (3) and strongly disagree (4) (See table 4.2).

All of the respondents strongly agree that the effect of improper management of liquid waste leads to river pollution (3.5), effect health (3.5), landslide (3.5), soil erosion (3.4), water- borne disease (3.4), unhygienic environment (3.6), and increase in flies and mosquito (3.5).

### Conclusion:

The study many concerned with liquid waste produced by household in urban community. The structural base of respondents is mainly analysed by profile of respondents and family. The respondents are mostly male who is the head of family and belongs to adult group. The educational qualifications of the respondents are relatively high and are mostly undergraduates and some of them are postgraduate. Majority of the respondents are married and the occupation is government service. All the respondents are Christian and majority belong to Baptist as the area taken for study is where Baptist constitutes the largest followed by Presbyterian as it is the largest denomination in the state. The average size of the family is medium as Mizo families are relatively small. More than half of the respondent's families are Nuclear family as it is traditional practice for the Mizo to have nuclear family and they belong to Above Poverty Line (APL). The average annual income of family in the present study is Rs 93,108 which may not be accurate as Mizo culture picture sharing of income and debts almost like a taboo.

Among the types of water waste disposed viz., chemical, toilet and bathroom, the major types of water waste is bathroom water waste. Majority of the waste generated by household The main source of liquid waste is from kitchen and bathroom as most of the liquid waste is often disposed by the respondent's family and their toilet waste is mainly

disposed to soak pit as it is the usual practice and followed by toilet dealer.

The disposals of the liquid waste from different sources are almost all equal but waste water from washing is slightly more generated. Most of the liquid waste generated from the household is never drained to government implement drainage system as the government does not make any implement in this regards but to their backyard and drainage. Side drain is the place where most of the respondent's family disposed their liquid waste as it is nearby their house. Water pipe is the most common tool used for disposing their liquid waste and they never stored their waste water for reuse from the findings.

The current awareness level in the present study is not up to expectation and which further creates landslides and environmental pollution. The respondent family also faced challenges in improper management of liquid waste. It pollute streams nearby which further increase water borne disease because it connect spring well in a nearby locality which further effect health and cause unhygienic environment.

The on liquid waste disposal and management system at household level in Lunglei and may not be satisfactory to represent a larger population in Mizoram. However we can conclude that most household in Mizoram except household in Aizawl city disposed their liquid waste through drainage and backyard as there is no proper channel for disposing their liquid waste in the community. Disposing waste nearby their house has been tradition from the past since there is no proper liquid waste management system which the governments even do not make any policy for implementation especially regarding liquid waste disposal and management. The awareness level in regard to liquid waste disposal and management system and its effects in the community is poor as there is no proper system developed by the government. Even the initiative taken by civil society organization such as the Young Mizo Association and Village Council in the community is unsatisfactory. There is a need to recycle liquid waste as the current disposal method of liquid waste is unsatisfactory. The effect of improper disposing of the liquid waste is creating

landslide and most of the people does not know if there is any proper law on disposing liquid waste. The lack of proper disposing and management system of liquid waste effects health condition and

even leads to manmade disasters. Policy makers need to address this issue with proper planning to improve management of liquid waste especially among urban dwellers.

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## Assam-Mizoram Border Disputes: Role of Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP)

Samuel Lalruatfela\*

Ashish Thesongti Monsang\*\*

Ramenglana\*\*\*

Prof. K. V. Reddy\*\*\*\*

### Abstract

*Mizoram and Assam have been in conflict with each other over state border demarcation for quite some time. After physical clashes against each other and rounds of dialogues, no action could produce fruitful result. This border dispute affects many stakeholders from both states with participation of civil society bodies, other than the state governments. This paper aims to examine the role of Mizo Zirlai Pawl's (the leading students' organization in Mizoram) and its activities in the attempt to resolve the issue.*

**Key words:** Assam-Mizoram, Border conflict, MZP Role.

### 1. Introduction

Interstate border dispute between Mizoram and Cachar district of Assam has been a long-running competition about which Mizoram State has Constitutional claims to the Inner Line Reserved Forest that runs between the two states. Tracing the history of the region, Assam was divided into seven separate States starting from 1971 to 1987 as a result of violent and non-violent agitations from different hill tribal groups in which Mizoram was one of the States carved out from Assam.<sup>1</sup> Based on the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873, Mizoram claimed this area as per the Notification in 1875. Assam, on the other hand, accepted the Survey of India's Constitutional map and boundaries drawn in 1993 without the knowledge of the Mizos in the then Lushai Hills, now called Mizoram. Several Peace Discussions between the two governments have failed to resolve it till now. Both state governments

are under intense pressure from their people and civil societies to seek redress in any way possible, as civilians from both sides have suffered in the past, resulting in loss of life and property. Resolving border conflicts through violence is impossible, as force only escalates the situation. As a result, in order to achieve positive outcomes, conflict must be resolved at the negotiating table. Mutual dialogue, deliberation, and, if necessary, a compromise must be reached.

### 2. Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) as a Students' Organisation

MZP is a Mizo national students' organization that was established in Shillong, Meghalaya, on 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1935 by ambitious Mizo students who were studying in Shillong.<sup>2</sup> It was an apex student's body in Mizoram with branches all over Mizoram and some branches were also opened outside the state. The MZP was a registered body in Firm & Society Act under No. 35 of 1969 – 70 of the Indian Societies Registration Act.<sup>3</sup> Its general headquarters was located in Treasury Square, Aizawl, Mizoram. The

\* M.Phil. Research Scholar

\*\*M.Phil. Research Scholar

\*\*\*Professor & Head, Dept. of Political Science, Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram

student body also has 12 headquarters, which were located in Churachandpur (Manipur), Behliangchhip (Tripura), Serchhip, Biate, Champhai, Darlawn, Kolasib, Mamit, Zawlnuam, Saitual, Lunglei and Khawzawl. Apart from these, it has over 46 sub-headquarters and 74 branches all over Mizoram.<sup>4</sup> The motto of MZP was '*Tanrual hi chakna*' which means 'Unity is strength'. The main objective was to prepare all the *Zohnahthlak*<sup>5</sup> people especially the educated students to be a valuable citizen for the Mizo nation.<sup>6</sup> This has been visible in the activities undertaken by MZP throughout its existence.

### 3. Border Dispute between Mizoram and Assam

Due to the improper demarcation of boundary lines in the pre-independent times by the British, Assam had border dispute with almost all the other states of North East India. The division of Assam has been explained in different ways. Sanjib Baruah refers to Assam's division as "cosmetic federalism," arguing that the Northeast states were formed not to satisfy the desire for autonomy, but to appease volatile border populations and reward loyal elites.<sup>7</sup> Before the implementation of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act, 1971, almost all the North Eastern states were included within the territory of Assam,<sup>8</sup> except Manipur and Tripura which were princely states during the British-Indian government. As the states were reorganized and Union Territories were also granted to some region like Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, the improper demarcation of boundary lines started to pose border dispute issues. There was an inner line reserved forest with an area of 509 square miles between Assam and Mizoram, Mizoram claimed this plot of land as per the notification of 1875 under the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873. On the other hand, Assam agreed with the constitutional map and boundary drawn by the Survey of India in 1993.<sup>9</sup>

### 4. Role of Mizo Zirlai Pawl in border dispute between Mizoram and Assam

The role of Mizo Zirlai Pawl in governance could be seen in its numerous activities for the protection

of Mizoram border, as this was in compendium with the organization's aims and objectives which stated "*To do its best to unite all Mizo people and create an independent Mizo state out of all the territories historically occupied by Mizo peoples.*" Besides the intervention in various political and social issues in Mizoram, one of MZP's the biggest contributions on governance has been its role on resolving the border dispute between state of Mizoram and Assam.

The MZP in its action towards resolving border dispute had met high officials. On 10<sup>th</sup> October, 2018, the MZP had a meeting with Rajnath Singh, the Union Home Minister at North Block (Parliament) Office of The Ministry of Home Affairs.<sup>10</sup> Not only this, they also submitted memorandum to Prime Minister Narendra Modi when he visited Mizoram in 2019. Their memorandum asserted that MZP regarded the provision made by Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1875 as the state boundary. The MZP convened a seminar on the issue regarding Mizoram and Assam border on 20<sup>th</sup> February, 2018. Named as a '*Ramri Seminar*',<sup>11</sup> the seminar was held in MZP Conference Hall. A paper presentation from F. Ngurbiakvela, the Chairman of Joint Action Committee on Inner Line Reserve Forest was discussed. The seminar was also attended by many civil society organization leaders from the CYMA, MUP, MHIP, MSU, ZORO, MZP Headquarters Kolasib, AMFU and representatives of All Political Party.<sup>12</sup>

The Mizo Zirlai Pawl has appealed to Mizoram government for an immediate resolving of the long-standing border dispute with Assam, and demanded an amicable solution to the dispute with Assam. MZP President B. Vanlaltana held that the MZP would continue to make a massive effort to protect the state and its boundaries, along with taking all necessary measures to ensure that the Inner Line Permit was enforced in a much stricter manner. However, the Mizoram state home department stated that efforts are on to resolve the border dispute between Mizoram and Assam. Further, the state home department officials also requested Assam side to stop the construction of mosque near the Bairabi along the Mizoram and Assam border with a hope to maintain



status quo in the heated situation. Mizoram faced border conflict mostly in the Zophai area in Bairabi, apart from Zophai, MZP also gave active surveillance in Vairengte of Kolasib District, and in the south, Borapansury within the CADC area of Lawngtlai District.

#### 4.1. Zophai

On 10<sup>th</sup> February, 2016, following the authorization from the wife of Ch. Chhunga, the ex-Chief Minister of Mizoram, the MZP decided to build a resting shed called '*ZofateChawlhbuk*'<sup>13</sup> in Zophai paddy field, Bairabi, Mizoram. With this intention, the MZP headed by the then General Secretary L. Ramdinliana Renthlei verified the area with another eight MZP leaders in Bairabi.<sup>14</sup> This move by the MZP was supported by the Village Council (VC), YMA, MHIP and MUP of Bairabi after a joint meeting was organized.

On 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> February, 2018, the MZP again visited the area and posted a site banner where the resting shed was to be built. The construction finally took place on 27<sup>th</sup> February, 2018. The construction was finished within a day. And, many leaders and members from MZP General Headquarters, College student leaders, and Inner Line Reserve Forest JAC, and some other local people took part in the construction of resting shed.<sup>15</sup> After the departure of builders of the resting shed and Bairabi Sub-Headquarters members, in the night of 27<sup>th</sup> February, 2018, the Assam police and Assam forest department deployed JCB to demolish the resting shed. The MZP Bairabi Sub-Headquarters then filed a FIR case in the Bairabi Police Station in the same night.

On 8<sup>th</sup> March, 2018, a border standoff took place at Zophai<sup>16</sup> area when MZP leaders attempted to re-construct a resting shed, a confrontation took place between Assam Police and MZP people and their supporters had embarked on re-construction of the resting shed. The Assam Police beaten up many people leading to bloodshed, the incident evoked Mizo sentiment leading to Mizo people alarmed with the move by Assam. Two days later on 10<sup>th</sup> March, 2019, students approached the site to attempt the construction again, the Assam Police beaten up Mizo

students and gunfire also took place, it resulted in a serious injury to many MZP leaders and Mizo students, and even media personnel<sup>17</sup>. The toll of injuries recorded according to the account of B. Vanlaltana, MZP President was 20 on 8<sup>th</sup> March, 2018; and 49 people on 10<sup>th</sup> March, 2018.

In aid of the injured students and Mizo people who were beaten up by the Assam Police, a rally protesting against the act of Assam Police forces was held on 12<sup>th</sup> March at Aizawl with the name '*Hnam chhan kawng zawh*'. This rally was also observed in many places across Mizoram showing their support for injured students. The rally was organized also with an intention to urge the Mizoram government to take immediate action for safeguarding the Mizoram border. On 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2018, MZP held a sit-in demonstration at Vanapa Hall, Aizawl on the discontent over the official meeting between Chief Minister of Mizoram and Chief Secretary of Assam which hardly brought a fruitful result, urging the government once again to take immediate action to resolve the uncertainty on border issue.<sup>18</sup> Two days later, a consultation meeting was organized on MZP Conference Hall with the supportive presence of all NGO representatives, and political parties represents in the state.

On 28<sup>th</sup> March, 2018, a Fact-Finding Team under the central ministry was sent to Zophai to investigate on the incident that took place between Mizo students and Assam police. The team was accompanied by MZP represents,<sup>19</sup> to look into the activities that took place in the area. This led to the formation of a joint committee between Mizoram and Assam states governments under the union home ministry to inspect and find out illegal structures on the disputed border area. The joint committee then carried out inspection in the inner line reserved forest area. However, it was suspended after a dispute at zero point in Dholchera – Phaisen area in April, 2018.

The MZP held that the central government had decided to establish a boundary commission to resolve the issue.<sup>20</sup> Instead, a Boundary Core Committee was established under the Mizoram State Home Department, with MZP being added in the committee.<sup>21</sup> The MZP was discontented with the

core committee because they hold the view that boundary issue could not be resolved with a state-established committee, as it was beyond the purview of state. A body or commission under the union government was only to be entrusted in resolving those issues. As a result, the MZP withdrew from the Core Committee on 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 2018 after unanimous decision was made by the MZP meeting. The MZP withdrawal letter was also sent to the then Chief Minister of Mizoram, Lal Thanhawla.<sup>22</sup>

The MZP executive committee meeting on 28<sup>th</sup> August, 2018 discussed on the initiatives taken by Mizoram government on resolving the border. The meeting declared that if the state government failed to produce deliberative result, the MZP would organise a rally all over Mizoram. But, the intention of MZP was turned down due to the request of the Chief Minister, that the Core Committee shall be dissolved and a new committee to be constituted. So, a new Core Committee was created on 19<sup>th</sup> September, 2018 with Lalnunmawia Chuaungo, Principal Secretary, Home Department as its chairman. Other members include Lalthlamuana Pachuau, Conservator of Forest (CC); Director, LR & S Department or His Representative; F. Lalthanmawia, Archivist, Mizoram State Archive; Lalnunzira, DFO of Kolasib; L. Ramdiniana Renthlei, President of MZP; David H. Lalthangliana, OSD-cum-Dy. Secretary, Home Dept.<sup>23</sup>

#### 4.2. Vairengte

The MZP conducted a border survey on 9<sup>th</sup> July, 2018 in order to redefine the border in the northern corners of Mizoram. The MZP representatives were accompanied by local elders with Village Council and YMA throughout their survey. They conducted border survey in Saiphai and Saipum on the first day, and the second day on 10<sup>th</sup> July, 2018 they reached Aitlang, near Vairengte which was the northern tip of Mizoram.<sup>24</sup> The MZP made a video record of their survey which served as a valid source for demarcation of border lines. Despite the presence of a police checkpoint, the Vairengte area has always served as Mizoram's main entry point for both legal and illegal entry. If the Mizoram government fails to enforce its forces, it is possible

that non-Mizos will occupy the area in the long run. And if that happens, the Assam government will have a significant advantage over Mizoram in terms of land acquisition. Vairengte is an important area of interest for both Mizos and non-Mizos, owing to the fact that it was the site of majority of the state's imports and exports.

#### 4.3. Borapansury

The MZP constructed *Zofate Chawlbuk*,<sup>25</sup> a resting shed in Borapansury in the Chakma Autonomous District Council area, near the Indo-Bangladesh border. This was built as a sign of justifying the territory of Mizoram. The construction started in the end of 2013 and was opened in 2015.<sup>26</sup> Knowing that the resting shed was necessary for claimant of Mizoram territory, the MZP had renovated the shed. MZP leaders on 9<sup>th</sup> December, 2018 reached Borapansury and renovated the resting shed. There was no much difficulty or uprising regarding the Borapansury area like in Assam border. It is critical to clearly demarcate a boundary line, particularly along the international border with Bangladesh. This Borapansury area and a few other nearby localities were the primary sites of Chakma infiltration, necessitating the establishment of at least a rudimentary indicator of settlement. The Borapansury was a region populated primarily by Chakmas rather than Mizos. As a result, it was critical for the MZP to construct a resting shed because it is located on the crossroads of three major ethnic groups, viz., Mizos, Chakmas, and Bangladeshis.

#### 5. Conclusion

The MZP has constructed resting areas in three sensitive border areas: Zophai in Bairabi, Borapansury in the Chakma Autonomous District Council area, and Vairengte in the Kolasib District. This resting shed served as an important landmark as well as a sign to claim the territory. As a result of the MZP's demand for border police force reinforcements, IR forces were deployed in the Bairabi and Saiphai areas, where a border dispute could erupt again. The long-running border dispute between Mizoram and Assam continues to be a major issue that impedes Mizoram's governance.

However, thanks to MZP's intervention in the disputed area, much progress has been made on the land holding between Assam and Mizoram. The MZP survey data on the Mizoram border could be

a significant document in the future, assuming that the MZP attempted to give it to the state Home Department. This is how the MZP has played a very significant role in the border dispute.

## Notes:

- <sup>1</sup> McDuie-Ra, Duncan. (2009). *Civil Society, Democratization and the Search for Human Security: The Politics of the Environment, Gender and Identity in Northeast India*. Nova Science Publishers: New York. p. 54.
- <sup>2</sup> Interview with LalnunmawiaPautu, General Secretary, MZP on 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2019.
- <sup>3</sup> MZP Assembly Reports 2017 -2019. p. 4.
- <sup>4</sup> MZP Assembly Reports 2017 -2019. pp. 8 - 9.
- <sup>5</sup> "Zohnahthlak" comprises of all Mizo tribes, whether living inside or outside Mizoram, or in a broader sense that reside within the territory of India and outside India.
- <sup>6</sup> [http://www.mzpmizoram.org/Mizo Zirlai Pawl History/](http://www.mzpmizoram.org/Mizo%20Zirlai%20Pawl%20History/)
- <sup>7</sup> McDuie-Ra, Duncan. (2009). *Civil Society, Democratization and the Search for Human Security: The Politics of the Environment, Gender and Identity in Northeast India*. Nova Science Publishers: New York. p. 55.
- <sup>8</sup> Subramanian, K. S. (2016). *State, Policy and Conflicts in Northeast India*. Routledge: New Delhi. p. 28.
- <sup>9</sup> <https://nenow.in/north-east-news/mizoram/mizoram-govt-urged-to-resolve-border-dispute-with-assam.html>. Accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> December, 2019.
- <sup>10</sup> Interview with Jacob Lalmuanpuia, Asst. General Secretary, MZP on 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2019.
- <sup>11</sup> 'Ramri' means border between two states.
- <sup>12</sup> MZP Assembly 2018 Reports. pp. 18 – 19.
- <sup>13</sup> ZofateChawlhbuk literally means resting shed, 'Zofate' means Mizo people, and 'Chawlhbuk' denotes the resting shed.
- <sup>14</sup> MZP Assembly Reports 2017 – 2019. p. 21.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. 22.
- <sup>16</sup> Zophai, also called Kachurthal in Assamese.
- <sup>17</sup> MZP Assembly Reports 2017 – 2019. p. 23.
- <sup>18</sup> MZP Assembly Reports 2017 – 2019. p. 24.
- <sup>19</sup> MZP sent its representatives like L. RamdinlianaRenthlei, the then President; B. Vanlaltana, Vice President; C. Lalrokhuma, Adviser; Lalnunsiamia, Adviser; C. Lalremruata, NESO member to support the Fact-Finding Team on their observation.
- <sup>20</sup> Interview with LalnunmawiaPautu, General Secretary, MZP on 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2019.
- <sup>21</sup> The Chairman of the Core Committee was Additional Secretary Lalbiakzama under the Mizoram Home Department.
- <sup>22</sup> Interview with LalnunmawiaPautu, General Secretary, MZP on 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2019

- <sup>23</sup> MZP Assembly Reports 2017 – 2019. pp. 25 – 26.
- <sup>24</sup> Interview with LalnunmawiaPautu, General Secretary, MZP on 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2019.
- <sup>25</sup> The name of the resting shed was similar with a resting shed in Zophai. Both were named ZofateChawlhbuk.
- <sup>26</sup> Interview with LalnunmawiaPautu, General Secretary, MZP on 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2019.

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## Locating Gandhi in the Statist Enterprise and the Popular Imagery in Contemporary India

*"I have nothing new to teach the world.  
Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills." (M. K. Gandhi)*

Dr. Anup Shekhar Chakraborty\*

### Abstract

*India's nation-building programs' contemporary text and sub-text firmly anchor itself on 'the cinematic and iconographic representation' of M.K. Gandhi. Media, films in parts, conveys or reaffirms reality and plays a crucial role in reproducing the same and becoming visual texts embedded with messages. People's perception of media content influences the way they understand the world and react to other people. Media largely remains a symbolic representation of power and its contesting strands in a given society. The paper first looks at the cinematic representations of Gandhi from the 1950s to the 2000s and unearth the variations within the same, and contrasts them with Gandhian world visions. Second, the paper attempts to locate Gandhi in the statist enterprise and the popular imagery and construe the realities of the public sphere in India. The article observes that in this politics of representation, vocality and audibility, media has realised the weight and effect of keeping alive the image of Gandhi in the minds of the 'aam aadmi' (large masses/commoner) in India. Consequently, media, namely print, television, cinema, and the 'new media' (internet and the virtual spaces, and cell/mobile communications) have systematically spun and re-spun and celebrated the image of Gandhi both as 'Mahatma' and as 'Bapu.'*

**Keywords:** Cinematic, Popular Imagery, Gandhigiri, Gandhi, Bapu, Public Sphere

### 1. Cinematic Imagery and Popular Representation

India's nation-building programs<sup>1</sup> in contemporary text and sub-text, firmly anchor itself on 'the cinematic and iconographic representation' of M.K. Gandhi.<sup>2</sup> As 'Mahatma' and as 'Bapu,' Gandhi continues to intrigue, amuse and bemuse the people in the sub-continent and the world.<sup>3</sup> Media, films in parts, conveys or reaffirms reality and plays a crucial role in reproducing the same and becoming visual texts embedded with messages. People's perception of media content influences the way they understand the world and react to other people.<sup>4</sup>

Media largely remains a symbolic representation of power and its contesting strands in a given society.<sup>5</sup> In this politics of representation, vocality and audibility, the media has realised the weight and effect of keeping alive the image of Gandhi in the minds of the 'aam aadmi' (significant masses/ordinary person) in India. Consequently, media, namely print, television,<sup>6</sup> cinema and the 'new media' (internet and the virtual spaces, and also cell/mobile communications)<sup>7</sup> have systematically spun and re-spun the image of Gandhi both as 'Mahatma' and as 'Bapu.'

Over the years, cinematic representations of Gandhi have fed the public with multiple images of a 'Saint,' 'A Father figure' (both at the public and the private), an overarching leader. Recently, films have

\* Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science & Political Studies, Netaji Institute for Asian Studies, Kolkata, West Bengal

attempted to project Gandhi as a failed father and a person responsible for the unwelcome partition of the sub-continent and the perils that followed and demonised Gandhi for Muslim appeasement. For instance, Richard Attenborough's '*Gandhi: His Triumph Changed The World Forever*'<sup>8</sup> narrates the evolution of M.K Gandhi from 'Mahatma' to 'Bapu.' Contrastingly, Feroz Abbas Khan's '*Gandhi, My Father*'<sup>9</sup> explores and unravels the intricate, complex, and strained relationship between Mahatma Gandhi and his eldest son Harilal Gandhi. While the former's cinematic representation eulogises Gandhi as the uncontested 'Father of the nation,' the latter narrates the story of a 'Father that he (Gandhi) was not.'<sup>10</sup>

Underneath all these cinematic and popular images, there is a coherent thread strongly substantiating patriarchal norms and further rooting the same as unchallenging and sacrosanct. In other words, Gandhi is the unquestioned final 'Father figure of India,' and there is a robust lamenting nostalgia associated with his assassination.<sup>11</sup> Bollywood films from the 1940s and 1950s churned the imagery of Gandhi as the only person who singlehandedly sketched and channelled India's freedom struggle. For instance, the soundtrack '*Sabarmati ke santh tu ne kardiya kamal*'<sup>12</sup> from Satyen Bose directed film titled *Jagriti* (The Awakening) (1954) conveys popular imagery of Gandhi as a 'Saint'.

Gandhi has become a topical issue for Bollywood movies in the Post-2000. A genre of films has displayed celebrating, re-reading, re-locating, critiquing Gandhi and his world-visions and their relevance in contemporary times in India. For instance, the popular soundtrack '*Bande mein tha dum*'<sup>13</sup> from Rajkumar Hirani's directed *Lage Raho Munna Bhai* (Carry on Munna Bhai) (2006) describes in praise the qualities of Gandhi and laments his absence in everyday life in contemporary India.

Construing the lyrics of the above mentioned two songs- one from the 50s and the other from the 2000s, one can unearth the changes in the popular imagery.<sup>14</sup> While the former eulogised and gave patriotic rhetoric to Gandhi, the latter seems to look

at Gandhi with awe and aspiration. The latter's theme also conveys an urgency to bring back Gandhi in practice in contemporary times in India to even out the rough edges of the contentious problems associated with the functioning of democracy in post-independence times, including corruption and communalism.

Strangely enough, Gandhi himself, during his lifetime, refused to accept the popular images projected by his followers, admirers, and critics.<sup>15</sup> Both iconic and cinematic representations of Gandhi anchor firmly on his much-pronounced notions of 'non-violence' (*Ahimsa*). In short, 'Non-violence' is considered the 'mool-mantra' of 'Gandhian World-visions.'<sup>16</sup> Gandhi justified his *Satyagraha* through the *Gita*.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, he interpreted the *Gita* to arrive at his principles of non-violence, love, interconnectedness, duty, and sacrifice, where self and other are intimately connected. Through this creative act of interpretation, Gandhi successfully transformed the *Gita* into the catalyst and cornerstone of non-violent political action against British imperialism.<sup>18</sup> However, Gandhi used the backdrop of 'battlefield,' in the *Gita*, only as a metaphor for the 'struggle against evil'. Gandhi strongly voiced his concern over the 'violent connotations' in the *Gita*. He downplayed the aspect of unavoidable violence and promoted his agenda of non-violence (*Ahimsa*).<sup>19</sup> Gandhi skilfully embraced non-violent non-cooperation as the ultimate method of fighting oppression and channelizing democracy in a given society.<sup>20</sup> Non-violence sought to end the cycle of hatred and destruction, while non-cooperation sought to dismantle unjust colonial institutions.<sup>21</sup> Gandhi argued that non-violent non-cooperation was not a passive manner of requesting social justice but the most effective method of demanding it.<sup>22</sup>

## 2. The Gandhi Spectre and Nationalist Hauntings

The spectre of Gandhi looms large over the nationalist projection of the Indian state. Here, it becomes essential to interrogate and locate Gandhi and his phantom in the nation-building program in India.<sup>23</sup> Gandhi's spectre seems to be enveloping the entire horizon so overwhelmingly that a simple question, 'Where do you not find Gandhi?' requires

endless brainstorming. Gandhi seems to be omnipresent from currency to posters, picture frames in offices, government and non-Government, Bollywood movies, nationalist songs, and naming of streets and roads,<sup>24</sup> textbooks in schools,<sup>25</sup> Textile (*Khadi*),<sup>26</sup> social movements,<sup>27</sup> movements for smaller states<sup>28</sup> to name a few instances. Interestingly even a simple pictorial reference to Gandhi changes the course and futures of social movements in India. For example, on the first day of Anna Hazare's first phase of fast in Jantar Mantar, New Delhi, in April 2011, a Muslim leader objected mildly to the broad picture of '*Bharat Mata*' (Iconography of Mother India loosely drawn from the Hindu Goddess *Durga*<sup>29</sup>) placed as a centrepiece and mentioned that the Movement seemed inclined towards the rightwing Hindu *nationalist* faction, the RSS (*Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh*).<sup>30</sup> The organisers of the Anna Hazare movement immediately replaced the controversial picture of '*Bharat Mata*' with that of a photograph of Mahatma Gandhi.<sup>31</sup> In short, Gandhi has become a convenient and effective consensus-building icon in post-colonial India, a brand in itself, 'attractive-emotive merchandise with an ever-ready market.

On a similar note 'Gandhi' in contemporary times in India comes in variational degrees ranging from staunch Gandhities with Gandhi caps, moderate Gandhites, affectionate Gandhites, inclined Gandhites, the Congress version of Gandhi, the BJP version Gandhi, pseudo- Gandhites, Gandhi of the rich, Gandhi of the poor, Gandhi of India, Gandhi of Bharat and many other varieties. Interestingly what comes out very strongly in all the hues of 'Gandhi' projected publicly and made visible in contemporary times in India is that a token lip-service to 'Gandhi'. In short, having a mere pictorial reference to 'Gandhi' or just mentioning '*Gandhi ne bola tha...*' ('Gandhi had said...') provides authenticity sufficient to attract the attention not just of the multitude but also the state. Alternatively, the name Gandhi provides a command over the target audience.

'Gandhigiri,' the much in vogue popular imagery of Gandhi, serves as an interesting reference point in this discussion of Gandhi's world views and its

relevance in contemporary India.<sup>32</sup> The 'Munnabhai'<sup>33</sup> sequels outlining 'Gandhigiri' had the audience applauding the cine-star Sanjay Dutt re-inventing Gandhi and his methods of '*Satyagraha*' and '*Ahimsa*' in Bollywood style<sup>34</sup> to suit the sensibilities of the broad masses choked by the immediate hurdles in the making ranging from corruption to nepotism, to the reservation, to caste, to name a few. "Gandhi, the man, was once the message. In post-liberalisation India, "Gandhigiri" is the message."<sup>35</sup>

It is interesting to have a re-look at the word / term 'Gandhigiri.' In ordinary parlance, we often use Hindi terms such as 'Goondagiri,' 'Dadagiri' (also 'Didigiri') to refer to brutish force or tactics employed by goons, anti-socials, thugs and cons. Moreover, here we are served with a new term 'Gandhigiri' with the suffix 'giri.' An act denoting Gandhian methods stylised in Bollywood and served to the audience through films that claim to re-invent the teachings of Gandhi concerning temporal and spatial needs of contemporary India. For instance, to lie or to use unfair means for a good/noble cause is considered to be equivalent to 'a thousand truths.' Similarly, acts stylised on 'Robinhood,' i.e., robbing the rich and distributing the booty to the poor, are also seen as pious and noble and Gandhian in character. However, what goes a miss in this imagery via Bollywood is that Gandhian notions of 'means and ends' get squashed. For Gandhi, means was as sacrosanct as ends.<sup>36</sup> These reflect the spectre of Gandhi that haunts the nationalist overdrive across India.

### 3. The Gandhian World Visions and Contemporary India

Coming to the issue of 'Violence' and 'Non-Violence' two themes of the 'Gandhian world visions' in contemporary times in India, one needs to confess that 'Violence' and 'Non-Violence' are interwoven and situated in a complex web of spatial and temporal social realities. The dynamics of the two are difficult to grasp and challenging to glean. Both terms remain complex concepts to delineate into easy theoretically coherent arguments. 'Non-violence,' i.e., the renunciation of violence in personal, social, or

international affairs, often includes a commitment (called active non-violence or non-violent direct action) actively to oppose violence (and usually evil or injustice as well) by non-violent means. Non-violence may renounce physical violence alone or both physical and psychological violence.<sup>37</sup>

It may represent a purely personal commitment or be intended to be normative for others as well. When unconditional, '*absolutenon-violence*' renounces violence in all actual and hypothetical circumstances. When conditional, '*conditional non-violence*' concedes the justifiability of violence in hypothetical cases but denies it in practice. Held on moral grounds, *the commitment to non-violence* belongs to ethics of conduct or ethics of virtue. If the former, it will likely be expressed as a moral rule or principle (e.g., One ought always to act non-violently) to guide action. If the latter, it could urge cultivating the traits and dispositions of a non-violent character (which presumably then would express a non-violent action). As a principle, non-violence may be considered either essential or derivative. Either way, its justification, either utilitarian or deontological. Held on non-moral grounds, *i.e., pragmatic non-violence*, non-violence refers to specific social, political, economic, or other ends, themselves held on non-moral grounds. It justifies its effectiveness albeit limits rather than as a way of life or a guide to conduct in general. An alternative source of power may then be in the service of evil as well as good. Non-violent social action, whether principled or pragmatic, may include non-cooperation, mass demonstrations, marches, strikes, boycotts, and civil disobedience. Undertaken in defence of an entire nation or state, non-violence provides an alternative to war. It seeks to deny an invading or occupying force the capacity to attain its objectives by withholding the cooperation of the populace needed for effective rule and by non-violent direct action, including civil disobedience. It may also be used against an oppressive domestic rule or on behalf of social justice.<sup>38</sup>

#### 4. From 'Gandhian ways' to 'Gandhigiri'

Drawing a parallel with the wave of Gandhian movements/ 'Gandhian ways' seeking to unleash a wave of *Satyagraha* against institutionalised

corruption and nepotism in India, we find a steady flow towards Gandhian world-visions.<sup>39</sup> And also, the Baba Ramdev<sup>40</sup> Movements have triggered a series of '*Chintan*' (introspection) and brainstorming across the length and breadth of India, seeking to locate Gandhi anew or at least discover or find a 'new Gandhi' to save India during times of crisis and turmoil.<sup>41</sup> Media has craftily scripted and directionalised the popular images and synchronised the chords of similarity between Anna and Gandhi. 'Beyond TV bytes and debates, there is a comprehensive media strategy to project Anna Hazare as Mahatma Gandhi. From *bhajans* (Hindu devotional songs) sung to Gandhi caps, everything is well planned in strict accordance with this strategy'.<sup>42</sup> Media has, in a way, successfully fed the popular image projecting Anna as '*Aaj ka Gandhi*' (Today's Gandhi).

Both movements resorted to titillate popular sentiments and arouse the passions and power of the youths who, for a very long time, have mainly remained disgruntled with the system. A message was transported to a broad audience post Bollywood movies like '*Rang de Basanti*'<sup>43</sup> (Colour Me Orange). The message was that the youths need to take charge and change the system and set India free from octogenarian leaderships who have maintained corruption and nepotisms. *Rang De Basanti* (RDB) induced the public to organise candle-light vigilantism throughout the public spaces in urban India and public protests on various issues of general interest and motivated the youth to participate in politics.<sup>44</sup> RDB churned much debate at various levels to portray nationalism and citizenship, especially amongst the young audiences. The desire to bring about a change or make a difference in society manifested itself in an exhibitionist mode of actively participating in street protests and lobby for various public interests. This youth activism not just helped revitalise citizenship and expand the scope and direction of *the public sphere*<sup>45</sup> in India but also demonstrated the grip that Bollywood has over the masses in India.

However, these popular social movements, which have relied heavily on media (old and new)



and ‘youth power,’ ‘youth networks,’ have failed to follow the Gandhian footsteps and have instead zoomed into spontaneous mob-frenzy and exhibition or outburst of violence. The following transcripts of a report on Anna Hazare’s Movement in Ramlila Maidan, New Delhi by Jay Mazoomdaar strips bare the bones and the flesh of the Team Anna movement and the Youth activism it claims to re-generate post-JP Movement of the 1970s and also the outburst or displacement of anger among the activist citizenry:

*“There is strength in numbers, and numbers add easily at the Ramlila ground. A sizeable anti-Congress, pro-BJP crowd is conspicuous. There are school students in uniform, and the youth have come prepared with face paint and flags, much like they would for an IPL match at the Ferozeshah Kotla stadium not far away.*

*And there are the others. I sit down with a group of five friends, and they smell alcohol in the afternoon. All smiles, they tell me they did nothing and were getting bored whiling away time in their Shastri Park by lanes. “Idhar music hai, Masti hai. Bas hit Gana suno, aur ladki Dekho” (It is fun here, sit back, listen to music and check out girls). On cue, the loudspeakers blare yet another Rang De Basanti number.*

*Many young couples have walked in, too; one can tell because they avoid the cameras. Families are regulars in the evening and also after dinner. The police should take credit: their host-like graciousness has made this middle-class family entertainment possible. With so many of them deployed here, mob aggression is naturally under check, though one constable did get slapped around (nobody was sure why)<sup>46</sup> Till his colleagues rescued him.”<sup>47</sup>*

A section of Television journalist has been quick in applauding the restraints maintained by the youths in both the Team Anna as well as Baba Ramdev’s movements and patting the back of the “Indian youths” in juxtaposition to the “Youths in London.”<sup>48</sup>

However, these TV journalists fail to read that the former had ostensibly claimed and projected itself to be non-violent and Gandhian in spirit, the latter had no such projection. Here, we witness the paradoxes within movements claiming to be inspired by Gandhi and yet, remaining muted on the issue of the use of ‘Non-Violence’ as a lived mantra in a democratic environment.

The emulation of cinematic Gandhigiri in everyday dissent or protest has taken a viral form across India, ranging from giving roses to opposition parties in the Parliament,<sup>49</sup> to lawbreakers by police personnel,<sup>50</sup> protesting doctors,<sup>51</sup> sending pink panties to misogynists,<sup>52</sup> to recovering bank loans<sup>53</sup> etc.

However, the tactics of Gandhi seemed to be selectively emulated. For instance, when the current BJP led government at the centre announced the Swachh Bharat Mission<sup>54</sup> the public was taken aback. The ‘broom’ was symbolically associated with strong caste imagery, and the drive was ‘subject to criticism.’<sup>55</sup> Why would the upper castes, educated English speaking elites touch the ‘broom’ and sweep?<sup>56</sup> As many of my respondents (during interviews in Darjeeling 2015) mentioned, ‘if we clean and sweep the offices and surroundings, what will the *jamadars* (sweeper caste) do? Why should we do the cleaning when we have *jamadars*?’

It took a while for the broom to become an attractive photographic ‘prop’ to grab the media bytes through hashtags, virtual contests, and viral challenges. Gandhigiri thus became an exhibitionist overdrive in substantial deviation to Gandhi’s teachings.

## 5. Some Closing Observations

To bring my arguments to a closure, I would revert and say that celebrated as it is, the ‘Gandhian world visions’ remains thoroughly contentious. It generates many academic and non-academic murmurings ranging from total acceptance to strong rebuttal to an uncomfortable choked endorsement<sup>57</sup> as conveyed in the famous adage: ‘*Majboori ka Naam Mahatma Gandhi*’ (lit., Helplessness thy name is Mahatma Gandhi).<sup>58</sup> In contemporary times

in India, people have accepted Gandhi uncritically as a convenient and effective icon for consensus building in a fragmented and contested socio-political terrain. Whether we want it or not, Indians fall back on Gandhi, making Gandhi over the years in post-colonial India ephemeral, infallible, and godlike. The cinematic projections and the statist enterprise in unison have put Gandhi on a pedestal and isolated Gandhi from contemporary ground realities in India. There is a prevalent feeling that had Gandhi been born a few years ahead of the Indian National Movement. He could have been declared a 'God' by the vast masses in India.

The wave of Gandhigiri that has gripped and encapsulated the public in India while substantiating the Habermasian conceptualisation of the public sphere, where private people came together to form a multitude whose 'public reason' would work as a check on state power, where the public sphere consisted of organs of information and political debate such as newspapers and journals.<sup>59</sup> As well as institutions of political discussion such as political clubs, public assemblies, meeting halls, and other public spaces where the socio-political debate took place.<sup>60</sup> It doubly accentuates the factors that eventually resulted in the decay of the public sphere, including the growth of a commercial mass media, which turned the critical public into a passive consumer public; and the welfare state, which merged

the state with society so thoroughly that the public sphere was squeezed out.<sup>61</sup> It also turned the 'public sphere' into a site of self-interested contestation for the state's resources rather than a space to develop a public-minded rational consensus. The rise of the Internet and social networking- *Facebook, Twitter, YouTube*, to name a few have expanded the realm for democratic participation and debates, further enhancing the possibility of new public spaces for political intervention.<sup>62</sup> The 'new' media, just as the 'old', has produced 'new public spheres and spaces' for information, debate, and participation.<sup>63</sup>

The methods of the neo-Gandhian movements in contemporary times though ostensibly claiming to be 'Non-violent' and peaceful, exhibit traces of anger and disgruntledness against and towards the 'System.' The youth force that Gandhigiri attempts to channel and tap remains mostly distanced from the teachings and perplexed by the ideologies and methodologies of Gandhi. In short, the youths fail to read Gandhi in spirit and letter and contextualise Gandhi against and within the ambit of the constricting and expanding realities of contemporary times in India. Through these appreciations and depreciation of the popular iconography of Gandhi in India, we find that 'brand Gandhi' and its shelf-life relies heavily on the manoeuvrings and 'media management' of the manipulative market.<sup>64</sup>

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- <sup>22</sup> 'Means And Ends,' Chapter III, (pp. 81- 84) in Krishna Kriplani. (Ed.). (1958). *Op.cit.*
- <sup>23</sup> Hanes Walton, Jr. (1967). *The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Microfilms International, p. 227 cited in Varun Soni. (2004). *Op.cit.*; 'Passive Resistance' Chapter XVII, (pp 55-59) in M.K. Gandhi. (1910). (1938). *Op.cit.*
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- <sup>26</sup> For instance, see the section on Gandhi's Talisman quoted in the opening pages of school books used for study materials by the CBSE, New Delhi.
- <sup>27</sup> *Khadi* has been identified with Gandhi and is considered close to Gandhi's visions of an empowered self-sustained village-based cottage economy. The idea that the 'home-spun-ness' (*Sawdeshi*-ness) of the textile and the manual labour that it involves makes *Khadi* a textile of self-empowerment and 'national pride.'
- <sup>28</sup> Led by activists like Medha Patkar, Sundarlal Bahugana, Baba Amte, Anna Hazare, to name a few, can be clubbed under the category of Gandhian movements/methods.
- <sup>29</sup> Regional parties demanding smaller states have been time and again invoking Gandhi's name to justify their demands. For instance, the second generation Gorkhaland movement spearheaded by Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJMM) under the aegis of Bimal Gurung demanding the creation of a separate state of Gorkhaland by incorporating areas in and around Darjeeling has since 2007 declared itself to be

Gandhian Movement. The token lip service given to Gandhi has made it more acceptable by the public and earned political credits.

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- 31 Walter K. Andersen & Shridhar D. Damle (1987). *The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism*. Boulder: Westview Press; Christophe Jaffrelot. (1998). *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India*. Columbia: Columbia University Press; Christophe Jaffrelot. (2007). *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*. Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press.
- 32 Rahul Pandita & Jatin Gandhi. (2011). 'Spin Doctors: The Story Of Their Experiments With Gandhi'. *OPEN*. 5 September. pp. 20-23.
- 33 Vinay Sitapati. (2011). 'What Anna Hazare's Movement And India's New Middle Classes Say About Each Other.' *Economic & Political Weekly*. July 23- 29. Vol. XLVI No 30. pp.39-44; Manoranjan Mohanty. (2011). 'People's Movement And The Anna Upsurge.' *Economic & Political Weekly*. September 17- 23. Vol. XLVI No 38. pp.16-19.
- 34 Rajkumar Hirani. dir. (2006). *Lage Raho Munna Bhai*. India: Vidhu Vindoo Chopra/Vindoo Chopra Productions.
- 35 Arunabha Ghosh & Tapan Babu. (2006). *Lage Raho Munna Bhai: Unravelling Brand 'Gandhigiri'*. *Economic & Political Weekly*. December 23- 29. pp.5225-5227.
- 36 Arunabha Ghosh & Tapan Babu. (2006). *Ibid*.
- 37 'Means And Ends,' Chapter III, (pp. 81- 84) in Krishna Kriplani. (ed.). (1958). *Op.cit.*; Also See, Robert Audi. (Ed.). (1995). (1999). *The Cambridge Dictionary Of Philosophy*. Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; J. V. Bondurant. (1958). *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; G. Dhawan. (1951). *The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*. Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing House; M. K. Gandhi. (1958). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India; M. K. Gandhi. (1951). (1961). *Non-violent Resistance*. New York: Schocken Books; R. N. Iyer. (1973). *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*. New York: Oxford University Press; George Woodcock. (1971). *Mohandas Gandhi*. New York: Viking Press; 'M. K. Gandhi', (pp. 119-120) in Garrett Ward Sheldon. (2001). *Encyclopedia of Political Thought*. New York: Facts On File, Inc.
- 38 Robert Audi. (Ed.). (1995). (1999). *Ibid*.
- 39 Robert Audi. (Ed.). (1995). (1999). *Ibid.*; J. V. Bondurant. (1958). *Op.cit.*; G. Dhawan. (1951). *Op.cit.*; M. K. Gandhi. (1958). *Op.cit.*; M. K. Gandhi. (1951). (1961). *Op.cit.*; R. N. Iyer. (1973). *Op.cit.*; George Woodcock. (1971). *Op.cit.*; 'M. K. Gandhi', pp. 119-120 in Garrett Ward Sheldon. (2001). *Op.cit.*
- 40 Kisan Baburao Hazare, popularly known as 'Anna Hazare', is a retired driver of the Indian Army. Hazare is a social activist based in Ralegan Siddhi, a village in Parner taluka of Ahmednagar district, Maharashtra, India. The Government of India in 1992 awarded him the Padma Bhushan for establishing his model village Ralegan Siddhi. Hazare in 2011 initiated a Satyagraha movement for passing a stronger anti-corruption Lokpal (ombudsman) bill in the Indian Parliament as conceived in the 'Jan Lokpal Bill'. This draft bill incorporated more stringent provisions and broader power to the Lokpal (Ombudsman) than the draft Lokpal bill prepared by the government in 2010. These include placing 'the Prime Minister within the ambit of the proposed Lokpal's powers'. Hazare began his Indefinite Fast on 5 April

2011 at Jantar Mantar in Delhi to press for the demand to form a joint committee of the government representatives and civil society to draft a more robust anti-corruption bill with more decisive penal actions. Hazare demanded more autonomy of the Lokpal and Lokayuktas (Ombudsmen) in the states. Following the rejection of his demands by the then Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh, Anna began his indefinite fast.

- 41 Swami Ramdev, the founder of 'Patanjali Yog Peeth,' Haridwar, has been associated with the '2011 Indian anti-corruption movement' and was actively involved in the 'Jan Lokpal agitation.' The yoga guru held a large rally of over 1 lakh people at the Ramlila Maidan, New Delhi, to protest against corruption on 27 February 2011. At the rally, those present at the rally included Baba Ramdev, Acharya Balkrishna, Ram Jethmalani, Anna Hazare, Arvind Kejriwal, Kiran Bedi, Swami Agnivesh and many others. All members spoke and explained how corruption was rampant in the country and how the government itself was indulging in it. The most highlighted topic was Indian black money lying in tax havens of Switzerland. Baba Ramdev launched the '*Bhrashtachar Mitao Satyagraha*,' which was held at Ramlila Maidan, New Delhi, on 4 June 2011. Baba Ramdev declared to go on an *Anshan* (indefinite fast) on 4 June 2011, at Ramlila Ground in Delhi to pressure the Central Government to root out corruption from India and bring back the black money stashed away in various financial institutions abroad. After this declaration, the government was said to have set up a panel to suggest steps to curb black money and its transfer abroad in an apparent bid to placate Ramdev. See, 'Baba Ramdev Fast Against Corruption-India echo.com'. [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) (accessed on 27.10.2011); NDTV Correspondent. (2011). *Baba Ramdev, hospitalised given glucose, continues fast*. Haridwar, NDTV 11 June 2011. [www.ndtv.com](http://www.ndtv.com) (accessed on 27.10.2011).
- 42 Rahul Pandita & Jatin Gandhi. (2011). *Op.cit.*; Hartosh Singh Pal. (2011). 'Free For All: Anna Gana Mana.' *OPEN*. 5 September. pp. 24-27.
- 43 Rahul Pandita & Jatin Gandhi. (2011). *Ibid*.
- 44 Rakeysh Omprakash Mehra, dir. *Rang De Basanti* (2006). India: ROMP/UTV Motion Pictures. Mehra's Amir Khan starrer created much stir among the youths and called in for mobilisation and consolidation of 'youth power.'
- 45 Jurgen Habermas. (1962). (1987). *Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science and Politics*, trans. J. Shapiro. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 46 In '*The Structural Transformation Of The Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into A Category Of Bourgeois Society*' (1962) (1989), Habermas sketches the degeneration of media from print-based journalism to the electronic media of the twentieth century in an analysis that, as his critics maintain, tends to idealise earlier print media and journalism within a democratic public sphere contrasted to an excessively negative sketch of later electronic media and consumption in a debased public sphere of contemporary capitalism. For Habermas, the function of the media has thus been transformed from facilitating rational discourse and debate within the public sphere into shaping, constructing, and limiting public discourse to those themes validated and approved by media corporations. Hence, the interconnection between a sphere of public debate and individual participation was fractured and transmuted into that of a realm of political information and spectacle. The citizen-consumers ingest and absorb entertainment and information passively. Thus, 'Citizens' become spectators of media presentations and discourse, which mould public opinion, reducing consumer/citizens to objects of news, information, and public affairs. See, Jurgen Habermas, 'Further Reflections on the Public Sphere' (p.438) in Craig Calhoun. (Ed.). (1992). *Habermas And The Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; Jurgen Habermas. (1962). (1991). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois*

*Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; Michael Pusey. (1987). *Jürgen Habermas: Key Sociologists*. London: Routledge; Douglas Kellner. *Habermas, the Public Sphere, and Democracy: A Critical Intervention* (<http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/kellner.html> retrieved on 16.01.2011).

- <sup>47</sup> The Civilian Police in India always seems to bear the brunt of the mob. The *proximity* of the Civilian Police makes them the closest and most easily identifiable face of the Government and the State, and therefore, the first to bear the mob fury. I emphasise the point of proximity because of the simple reason that people in India get to interact at least facially or non-verbally with the civilian police on an everyday basis. The interaction with the military police is minimal and channelled by what Sanjay Barbora calls the ‘garrison mentality.’ The Army Jawans seldom exchange words with the local community and spend years in their camps without interacting or learning the local languages/customs and think/suffer from a superiority complex. By speaking in Hindi (The official language of India) and maintaining their North Indian/Gangetic lifestyle within their camps in the North-East, they think they have upheld Indianness and recreated a mini-India within their camps/garrisons. See, Barbora, Sanjay. (2006). ‘Rethinking India’s Counter-Insurgency campaign in the North-East.’ *Economic & Political Weekly*. September 2-8, pp. 3805-3812.

An interesting point to be observed here is that though the interaction between the civilian population and the military police is minimal thanks to media projections, the military personnel are elevated to the positions of ‘heroes’ defending the nation while the civilian police are demonised. The media feeds the public with the image that the civilian police. Thus, these media imageries provide and sustain the common perception that the civilian police is highhanded, corrupt, and eating the nation from within while the military officer is projected to protect the nation’s frontiers, i.e., ‘*Ekta and akhandata*’ of Bharat/India.

- <sup>48</sup> Jay Mazoomdaar. (2011). ‘Ramlila Live: Everybody Loves A Good Protest.’ *OPEN*. 5 September. pp. 28-30.
- <sup>49</sup> A rally organised on 6 August 2011 in response to the fatal shooting of Mark Duggan by Metropolitan Police Service firearms officer on 4 August 2011 turned violent, and a riot began in Tottenham, North London. In the following days, rioting spread to several London boroughs and districts and eventually became uncontrollable. The riots were characterised by young people actively participating in rampant looting and arson attacks of unprecedented levels. See, Paraic O’Brien. (2011). London riots: Looting & Violence continues. London: *BBC Radio 5*. 8 August 2011. [www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-14439970](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-14439970) (retrieved on 27.10.2011); London riots: The third night. (2011). *The Guardian News Blog*. 8 August 2011. [www.guardian.co.uk/uk/blog/2011/august/08/london-riots-third-night-live](http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/blog/2011/august/08/london-riots-third-night-live) (retrieved on 27.10.2011).
- <sup>50</sup> PostJagran. “‘Gandhigiri’ in Lok Sabha: BJP MPs offer roses to protesting Congress Parliamentarians.” Dec 2015, 13:43 [<http://post.jagran.com/gandhigiri-in-lok-sabha-bjp-mps-offer-roses-to-protesting-congress-parliamentarians-1450167195>] retrieved on 01/10/2018.
- <sup>51</sup> DailyPost. “Gandhigiri by Police Officials: LawBreakers offered Roses to wear helmets in future.” Mar 28, 2018 4:40 Pm [<https://dailypost.in/news/diaries/punjab-diary/gandhigiri-by-doraha-traffic-police-law-breakers-offered-rose-to-wear-helmets-in-future/>] retrieved on 01/10/2018.
- <sup>52</sup> “AIIMS doctors try Gandhigiri on health minister” 11 October 2006, 18:39 IST [<http://www.rediff.com/news/2006/oct/11aiims.htm>] retrieved on 01/10/2018.
- <sup>53</sup> NDTV. “Pink Chaddi Campaign.” December 18, 2009 16:33 IST [<https://www.ndtv.com/photos/news/pink-chaddi-campaign-1793#photo-18320>] retrieved on 01/10/2018.

- <sup>54</sup> NDTV. "PNB Embraces Gandhigiri To Recover NPAs Amounting To 1,800 Crore Rupees". April 21, 2018 19:31 IST [<https://www.ndtv.com/business/pnb-embraces-gandhigiri-to-recover-npas-amounting-to-1-800-crore-rupees-1840897>] retrieved on 01/10/2018.
- <sup>55</sup> <https://swachhbharat.mygov.in/> retrieved on 01/10/2018.
- <sup>56</sup> UN expert finds holes in Modi's Swachh Bharat Abhiyan. November 10, 2017 23:07 IST [<http://www.rediff.com/news/report/un-expert-finds-holes-in-modis-swachh-bharat-abhiyan/20171110.htm>] retrieved on 01/10/2018.
- <sup>57</sup> Is it Modi's job to get Indians to be clean? January 09, 2016 12:27 IST [<http://www.rediff.com/news/column/is-it-modis-job-to-get-indians-to-be-clean/20160109.htm>] retrieved on 01/10/2018.
- <sup>58</sup> 'Critical Appreciation,' Chapter 7, (pp 111-126) in Bhikhu Parekh. (2001). *Op.cit.*
- <sup>59</sup> All loose translation mine.
- <sup>60</sup> P. Dahlgren & C. Sparks. (Ed.). (1991). *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere*. London: Sage Publications; N. Stevenson. (1995). *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication*. London: Publications.
- <sup>61</sup> Craig Calhoun. (Ed.). (1992). *Op.cit.*; Jurgen Habermas. (1962). (1991). *Op.cit.*; Michael Pusey. (1987). *Op.cit.*; Luke Goode. (2005). *Jurgen Habermas: Democracy And The Public Sphere*. London: Pluto Press.
- <sup>62</sup> 'Unfinished Projects: Reflexive Democracy,' Chapter 5, (pp. 120-141) in Luke Goode. (2005). *Ibid.*
- <sup>63</sup> Such spheres and spaces contain both the potential to invigorate democracy, increase the dissemination of critical and progressive ideas, and new possibilities for manipulation, social control, promotion of conservative positions, and intensification of differences between people. Participation in these 'new public spheres' reflects the emerging sphere of 'cyberspace democracy.' See, Craig Calhoun. (Ed.). (1992). *Op.cit.*; Jurgen Habermas. (1962). (1991). *Op.cit.*; Michael Pusey. (1987). *Op.cit.*
- <sup>64</sup> T. Gitlin, 'Public sphere or public sphericules?' (pp-168-175) in T. Liebes & J. Curran. (Ed.). (1998). *Media, Ritual, Identity*. London: Routledge. pp. 168-75.
- <sup>65</sup> Partha Chatterjee. (2004). *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. New Delhi: Permanent Black; Harish Damodaran. (2008). *India's New Capitalists: Caste, Business, And Industry In A Modern Nation*. London: Palgrave Macmillan; Leela Fernandes. (2006). *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. Also See, Alam Srinivas. (2011). 'Disillusionment: Who Killed The Reforms Rabbit?' *OPEN*. 5 September. pp. 31-33.



## Indo-Sri Lanka Relations: Impact of Chinese Expansion in the Indian

Lalmuana Guite\*

Prof. Jagdish Kumar Patnaik\*\*

### *Abstract*

*India and Sri Lanka had experienced colonial rule at once point of history. After getting independence both countries became member of Commonwealth of Nations. Relationship between the two countries had been marked by close contact at commercial and strategic level. With the introduction of 'Neighborhood First' and 'Sagar' policy India refurbish foreign policy towards South Asian nations including Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka became among the top beneficial country of India's financial aids and infrastructure developmental projects. Today, Colombo and New Delhi look forward of uplifting intensity of diplomatic, strategic and commercial cooperation. This paper tries to highlight the important relation India and Sri Lanka enjoyed for the past years for commercial and financial prosperity. It also underline why the two country should work together for sheltering peace and security in the Indian Ocean region to check Chinese military and territorial expansion.*

**Keywords:** commercial relations, foreign policy, conflict of interest, infrastructure development, cooperation

### 1. Introduction

Relationship between India and Sri Lanka is not always smooth but also runs into rough patches. Both countries have a legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interaction. Though India and Sri Lanka had a close cultural link, the post independent period was marked by goodwill and cooperation on the one hand and suspicion and fear on the other.

Sri Lanka became independent from the British rule in 1948, one year behind India (Bajoria, 2009). First, it was granted the Dominion of Ceylon until 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1972, when it became the Republic of Sri Lanka. The two countries decided to remain under

the Commonwealth but on different objectives. While India opted for maintaining economic, commercial and cultural links with Britain, Sri Lanka's decision to join the Commonwealth was designed to be a means for safeguarding its security interest against the possible annexation from bigger and powerful neighbor countries like India (Jayapalan, 2000) In the meantime, the two countries resume the renovation of cultural, economic and strategic links as their first and foremost important homework (Mendis, 1992).

### 2. Geo-Political Relation

Sri Lanka is about one-fiftieth of the size of India. Soon after independence a psychosis of fear towards India haunted their leaders. They are afraid that being a bigger and more powerful neighbor, India might want to make a move to dominate the small island. Due to this, Prime Minister Nehru himself sent a

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\* Ph.D Research Scholar

\*\*Professor (HAG), Deptt. of Political Science, Mizoram University, Aizawl, Mizoram

special message to the Sri Lanka Government saying that India didn't wish to interfere with the Island sovereignty and assured them of India's goodwill and peaceful intention (Dubey, 1995). However many Sri Lankans still developed a fear psychosis that India would be dangerous for the small nation. As a countermeasure to this, the Sri Lankan Government entered into a defense agreement with British Government for providing security of the Island nation (Murthy, 2000).

Independent India did not harbour any ambition or inclination to follow a policy that would endanger the independence or sovereignty of any other country, least of all the small countries in her neighbourhood. However, Sri Lanka continued to be obsessed with fear of Indian domination arising out of historical experiences. Besides, Sri Lanka's dread towards India was further due to the growing unity and permanency of Independent India. The big country-small country syndrome came to haunt her as it did others in Indian periphery. In the post-independent era India has been extremely influential in Sri Lanka's domestic politics. During the 1980's relations between India and Sri Lanka were degrading due to outbreak of civil war. The involvement of IPKF was not taken so well by the Tamil militant that eventually led to the demise of India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi (Hellman-Rajanayagam, Winter 1988-1989). When Mahindra Rajapaksha favoured China, the condition worsened during the nineties. In spite of these tensions, leaders from the two countries made diplomatic meetings several times to sort out their difference.

### 3. Commercial Connection

India and Sri Lanka have maintained strong economic relations since the pre-colonial era. But under the colonial rule that lasted for almost two centuries, the economic relation was degrading. Since the colonial rule the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British were all concentrated on their own economic interest. The trade relationship between the two countries did not gain much importance to them. After independence India and Sri Lanka are member nations of several regional and multilateral

organizations such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), South Asia Co-operative Environment Programme, South Asian Economic Union and Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), working to enhance cultural and commercial ties (Haran, 2018). Both countries of India and Sri Lanka did try to revive their economic relation under Commonwealth nations. However, relationships could achieve much progress due to the inward looking policies adopted by both countries (Kelegama, 2014).

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established in 1985. The member countries were Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Zaheer, 2013). SAARC had a slow start, but gained momentum with the launch of SAPTA. The SAARC Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) was signed in April 1993 and came into force in December 1995. SAPTA is an initial step in the development of SAARC as a regional trade bloc and an economic union. Their main objective was mutual trade and economic cooperation among member countries through exchange of concessions. However, the member countries wanted to promote trade relations beyond preferential trading agreement that resulted in the creation of South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) in January 2004 (Perera, 2009). It was signed during the twelfth SAARC summit at Islamabad by all member countries.

Sri Lanka is the biggest export market for India. Trade between the two countries is carried out as per guidelines mentioned in the Indo-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ISFTA). Major items of export from India have been pulses, wheat, other cereal spices, oil meals, fresh vegetables, miscellaneous processed items, drugs pharmaceuticals and fine chemicals inorganic/ organic agro chemicals rubber manufactured goods except footwear, glass, glassware ceramic and allied products paper/wood products plastic and linoleum products non-ferrous metals manufactures of metals, machinery and instruments, iron and steel bar/rod etc. primary and semi-finished iron and steel, electronic goods, cotton

yarn, fabric, made ups, and petroleum crude and products. Major items of Sri Lanka's export to India include nuts, spices, animal feeds, ship and boat vessels, apparel, processed foods and beverage, rubber and glass work.

The existing preferential trade agreement such as Asian-Pacific Trade Agreement (APTA) SAPTA and Generalized System of Trade Preferences (GSTP) were ineffective in providing an effective trade relationship between India and Sri Lanka. Both countries had carried a number of high level official meetings to solve the problems. A strong feeling for the need to have a new approach to trade and tariff liberalization was developed among the leaders. Bilateral trade between the two countries had improved rapidly during the 1990. The launching of the Indian liberalization policy process in 1990-91, had coincided with a 'second wave' of policy reforms in Sri Lanka. India soon emerged as Sri Lanka's primary source of imports in 1996 – overtaking Japan for the first time. The Indo-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ISFTA) was signed on the 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1998 (T. L. Gunaruwan, 2014). This agreement was signed by Mrs. Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, Sri Lankan Prime Minister and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Indian Prime Minister. The objectives of ISFTA includes to promote through the expansion of trade the harmonious development of the economic relations between India and Sri Lanka, to provide fair conditions of competition for trade between India and Sri Lanka, the implementation of this Agreement the Contracting

Parties shall pay due regard to the principle of reciprocity and to contribute in this way, by the removal of barriers to trade, to the harmonious development and expansion of world trade.

The agreement came into force on the 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2000 which was followed by a wide range of free duty products between the two countries (Nisha Taniya, 2020). The delay in the implementation was due to opposition from the domestic industrial sector in Sri Lanka and also from Indian side. The primary objective of an FTA should not be to reduce the trade deficit but to provide the best deal to the consumers and the exporters while safeguarding the efficient import substitution industrialists.

The two countries, however, continue to make an attempt to find ways of invigorating trade through bilateral arrangements. In 2002, both Governments made a joint statement of their agreement to set up a task force for 'FTA II and Beyond' to include trade in service. A Joint Study Group with representatives from both countries was set up which submitted its report in October 2003 that paved the way for negotiations on the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA). Here it must be noted that the agreement was no more under FTA but it was now within CEPA. The agreement aims to remove/reduce market access and national treatment barriers, and promote cooperation between the services sectors of the two countries. CEPA negotiations were started in February, 2005 and concluded in July 2008, after Thirteen Rounds of Negotiations (Basu, 2015).

<i>Import-Export &amp; India's Rank</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2008</i>
SL exports to India	1%	9%	5%
SL imports from India	8.50%	17%	25%
Import/Export ratio	10.5 : 1	2.6 : 1	8.2 : 1
Rank of export destination	14	3	5
India investment in Sri Lanka (% of total FDI)	Less than 2%	16%	14%

*Source: IPS Data Base*

The negotiation for CEPA was carried out but never implemented. When Ranil Wickremesinghe became the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka in 2015 he stated that Sri Lanka would not sign CEPA or enter

into any similar agreement with her neighbor. The reason he claimed was due to political ideological differences between his party and that of Rajapaksha's. However, the Prime Minister also

states that it would enter into a pact on economic and technology collaboration with the neighbor.

With the implementation of ISFTA, Sri Lanka's export increased from US 173 million dollar from January 2010 to US 219 million dollar in 2011 with a growth rate of 26.6 percent. The increase was mainly due to the increase in exports between the two countries compared to the previous years. About 70 percent of Sri Lanka's exports to India fall under ISFTA while only about 25 percent of India's exports to Sri Lanka were under ISFTA (Moramudali, Against the Tide: The Growth of China-Sri Lanka Trade, 2019). The issues of Certificate of Origin by the Department of Commerce had also increased from 4,112 in 2010 to 4,371 in 2011. From 2011-12, Sri Lanka's export to India went up by almost 6 times which is a 45 percent jump for India's imports to the Island country. This shows that ISFTA had a significant impact on bilateral trade between the two countries especially for Sri Lanka. Big companies from both sides were also finding opportunities to invest in each other's countries. According to the figure given out by the Board of Investment (BOI), in 2019 India's investment in Sri Lanka amounted to \$ 139.015 million (India H. C., 2021).

#### 4. Development Cooperation

In the post-Civil War Indian leaders shifted focuses towards rehabilitation and humanitarian development project. Sri Lanka became among the top recipient of funds from India. Today India had managed to construct close to 62,500 houses to rehabilitate internally displayed persons. During the Virtual Bilateral Summit held on September 2020, Narendra Modi offered a USD 15 million dollar to Sri Lankan Prime Minister to promote bilateral Buddhist ties and inauguration of international flights carrying Sri Lankan pilgrims (Laskar, 2020). Under the Emergency Ambulance service flagship projects, Government of India already provides 300 Ambulances to Sri Lankan Government. Other notable projects of India include construction of Hospitals, Auditorium, Museum and Schools, providing hospital equipment and creating scholarship for Sri Lankan students.

#### 5. China's role in perplexing Indo-Sri Lanka Relations

With the successful negotiation of the Ceylon-China Trade Agreement in 1952 the economic relation between India and Sri Lanka became more perplexing (Mallikaaratchi, 2019). Sri Lanka entered this agreement because the Island had faced a serious crisis with regard to shortage of rice. Besides, the demand for Sri Lanka rubber was degrading and that led to the collapse of Sri Lankan's export price (Asirwatham, 2018). The countries that used to supply rice to Burma, Thailand, Indian and China were unable to provide their demand. The Sri Lankan Government had to import rice from the USA and Ecuador at a high price. During this time China was also facing sanctions from other countries due to its communist regime. Therefore, the two countries came under an agreement that China would supply rice to Sri Lanka in addition that it would purchase the Island rubber at a higher price. After this agreement a significant proportion of Sri Lanka's trade with India was diverted to China.

Sri Lanka and China developed diplomatic relations in 1957. When Sirimavo Bandaranaike became Prime Minister she took the non-alignment policy more firmly. She cancelled all the sanctions and also began closer communications with communist countries such as Soviet Union and China (Kodikara, 1973). This was followed by the initiative to explore and maintain trade and economic relations. During the Sirimavo Bandaranaike regime between (1960-65), many textiles items from India were banned. Imports of dried fish from India were also diverted to Pakistan since 1959. Since China's influence in the Island was growing India's exports of Coal was also reduced, taken over by China itself.

Located at the crossroad of global shipping lanes, Colombo has become a recipient of Chinese economic and infrastructure development projects around the Indo-Pacific. The relationship between Beijing and Colombo normally focused on economic and financial ties. However, in recent years, relationship between the two countries also grows politically and militarily (Singh A. I., 2021).

President Gotabaya Rajapaksa revived connectivity with Beijing to another level. Under President Mahinda Rajapaksa Sri Lanka endorsed hefty attachment towards China (Chaubey, 2021). The visits of Chinese nuclear submarine to Colombo in 2014 became a wake up calls to India reminding the extent of Beijing's strategic inroads to Sri Lanka. During his tenure Sirisena tries to maintain a balance of power between New Delhi and Beijing in the affairs of Colombo. However, the debt trap turns out to be the most valuable mace for PRC to draw Colombo much more closely (Abi-Habib, 2018). In the meantime, Beijing continues its provocation towards New Delhi by putting up tents, dug trenches and moving heavy equipment inside Indian Territory at Galwan Valley. China wanted to show additional muscles power in South Asian region particularly against India the only country possessing enough economic and military strength to counter China's 'Belt and Road Initiatives'. The Red Dragon has made no secret on its intention to dominate the Indian Ocean. The hegemony and India's regional influence in the Indian Ocean posted challenges to Chinese plan.

Today, all neighbouring countries of India except Maldives and Bhutan submerged into China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative's (BRI). The project had been criticized by major democratic countries for causing debt crisis among economically vulnerable nations. Over the years Sri Lanka had drifted closer towards China for economic and infrastructure support. The Island country viewed Beijing as a much reliable partner commercially and financially as well. It was under the reign of Mahinda Rajapaksa that Colombo borrowed billions from China, accumulating mountain of debt for substandard infrastructure projects.

The return of Rajapaksa family in Sri Lankan politics also raises much concern for India and her alliances. Though the two countries considered to be maintaining relationship base on economic and infrastructure development partnership Sri Lanka happens to fall into China's debt trap. Beijing focuses its top priority on developing Colombo and Hambantota port which are closely linked with the

Belt and Road Initiative project. This project extends Beijing expansion among the countries surrounding the Indian Ocean (Hariharan, 2021). China heavily depends on oil from the Arabian Gulf of which 80 percent were transit through the Straits of Malacca. Beijing has been regularly deploying research vessels in the ocean to gather intelligence and hydrographic data. There's a necessity to watch out Beijing growing footprint since her mode of expansion focuses beyond economic and infrastructure development but also carried along military extension.

## **6. Responsibility of India and Sri Lanka in Indian Ocean**

The important geographical location of India and Sri Lanka made them vital for maintaining peace and security in the Indian Ocean region. China physical expansion within the territory of smaller and weaker nations could sooner or later hamper regional harmony. The growing importance of sea trade route requires both countries to implement stronger security partnership in the Indian Ocean region (Bhatnagar, 2021). In 2015, Sri Lankan Prime Minister Wickremesinghe highlights the importance of maintaining military ties with militarily advance countries including India. In the same year Joint Naval exercise was conducted between the two forces at Trincomalee. Sri Lankan Naval Chief Admiral highlights that no action will be taken by Colombo in Sri Lankan water and harbours that could jeopardize India's security in 2017. Prime Minister Modi being the first foreign leader to visit Sri Lanka after the Easter Sunday terror attack indicates India's strategic concern of the Island country. India also helps Colombo in gathering intelligence information while investigating the Islamic State led attack. Colombo and New Delhi reached agreement under which India would train Sri Lankan forces on counter terrorism (Chaudhury, 2019). Both countries invest into all the above efforts to counter the existence of power rivalries putting the Ocean Region prone to becoming conflict zone. For India and Sri Lanka peace and harmony in the Ocean alone would serve both commercial and industrial prosperity.

Gotabaya Government unilaterally banished India and Japan from the Colombo port's Eastern Container Terminal project that the three countries had agreed to jointly develop in a tripartite agreement. In the meantime the Red Dragon managed to win a contract to set up hybrid wind and energy projects on the Delft, Nainativu, and Analativu Island in the Palk Strait off Jaffna peninsula only two nautical miles from Rameswaram (Singh R. B., 2021). By passing the controversial Colombo Port City Economic Commission Bill many believe that Sri Lanka had taken a firm decision on complete alignment with Beijing. Though infrastructure development and economic prosperity were the bait New Delhi and its alliance are not blind to see the existence of much deeper design set up by the Red Dragon. In order to counter China's territorial expansion around the Indian Ocean region U.S, India, Japan and Australia formed Quad-alliance under the motive of free and fair Indo-Pacific.

Though Sri Lanka seems to be sinking deeper towards BRI, Colombo could not compel to antagonize her closer neighbor India. The two countries had shared a deep historical and cultural relationship which is entirely different than its ties with China. Sri Lankan Government decision to include India and Japan in the developmental work of the West Container Terminal is a sign Colombo did not want to upset India with its earlier decision to eject the East Container Terminal project (Srinivasan, 2021).

## 7. Conclusion

The 'Neighborhood First' policy introduced by Modi seems serving well towards Sri Lanka and other neighbourhood countries. Knowing the importance of maritime security and cooperation for nation's security and economic aspiration New Delhi also introduced SAGAR. The objectives of 'Security and Growth for all in the Region' include livelihood generation, energy security, building ecological resilience, and strengthening connection among nations around the Indo-Pacific. The new regime in Sri Lanka led by Gotabaya promises to make Indian Ocean a peaceful zone. This statement specifies the Island Government commitment to India's strategic pledge in the Ocean region. The geographical location makes Sri Lanka important partner in maintaining Indian Ocean a peaceful zone. Under BIMSTEC, New Delhi and Colombo look forward to maintain closer cooperation both strategically and commercially. The initiative taken by Joe Biden in the formation of Indo-Pacific security alliance with Britain and Australia will lend a hand towards India in sustaining regional security. The core of China's BRI is to cut off smaller neighbouring countries of India from conducting economic ties with New Delhi. However, monopoly of trade by a single nation would only result in further tariff imbalances where economically weaker nations would inculcate maximum negative result both commercially and financially. While focusing on their national interest India and Sri Lanka must also focus on the importance of maintaining peace and security in the ocean and marine area to achieve sustainable development.

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## Resource Management and Globalization With reference to the hills of Manipur

Dr. Sheikho hao Kipgen\*  
Thangsuanhang\*\*

### Abstract

*Manipur with numbers of favourable factors like a huge stock of natural and human resources, geographical contiguity with the South Asian nations, etc. is ideally one of the first states to jump into the wagon of globalization. The indigenous people in the hills of Manipur have the exclusive and intrinsic rights over their land and natural resources including sustainable management and use of their land and resources as per their wishes, aspirations and self-determined rights. It can be a great asset in the conservation and protection of forest. The present problems besetting the state like corruption, protests almost on daily basis, ethnicity politics, social divide and poor infrastructure, etc. needs to be addressed in a holistic way. Involvement in globalization and management of indigenous resources compel everyone to settle these real problems soon so that the people of Manipur could exploit their strength fully and gain maximum real benefits.*

**Key words:** Globalization, Jhum, resources, market. Kuki.

### Introduction:

Development of a state or a nation has been traditionally measured in terms of National Income, Per Capita income and Gross National Product. With a paradigm shift taking place, the criteria adopted for measuring development is done on the basis of Human Development Index (HDI), Environmental Sustainable Index (ESI), Happiness Index/gross national happiness (HI), etc in addition to pure economic indices. Though economically backward, the North Eastern region of India is far ahead of other states in terms of HDI and ESI. It is "one of the 12 mega biodiversity rich zones in the world and forms the distinctive part of the Indo-Burma hotspots that ranks 8th among the 34 biodiversity hotspots of the

world. The region also falls in the bio-geographic tri-junction, and is a centre of gene diversity for many domestic crops and a secondary centre for several economically important plants and animal species"<sup>1</sup>. Still a lot has to be done by exploring the rich biodiversity of the region.

Manipur, which is very rich in biodiversity, forms the part of the region. It ranks 5th in ESI, Mizoram another NE state ranks 1st in India, whereas, Gujarat an economically advanced state ranks 23rd in all India level (ESI India).<sup>2</sup> In HDI too, the North eastern states fare better than other Indian states. Manipur also ranks 7th in all India HDI. "Manipur has a very high length of growing period (LGP) in the range of 300-330 days. The soils are derived from shale and sandstone mostly occurring in the hills. The soils are acidic with high organic matter content. The available phosphate is very low in the soils of the upper reaches

\* Associate Professor, Manipur College, Imphal

\*\* Associate Professor, Govt. Lawngtlai College, Lawngtlai, Mizoram

while it is medium in the soils of the narrow valleys. Valley and flood plain soils derived from alluvium are deep to very deep, poorly to moderately drained. The soils are slightly acidic to neutral with humus content. The ground water table is generally high.”<sup>3</sup>The upper reaches of the hills are under deciduous forest while mixed forest species comprising bamboos, wild bananas, etc. occur in the lower steep hills. Shifting cultivation is found practiced in or around the medium hill ranges in normal cycles of 5-10 years. Besides rice, the hill tribes irrespective of Kukis and Nagas cultivate a variety of seeds and produce different varieties of crops such as chilly, cucumbers, beans, gourd, pumpkin, maize, sesame, potato, ginger, turmeric, bitter herbs and other varieties of vegetables. Horticultural crops such as orange, pineapple, lemon, etc, are also found cultivated on terraced hill slopes under permanent cultivation. The Kukis and Nagas in the hills became the chief suppliers of various types of wood, bamboo, cane, ginger, fruits, chilly and other commercial crops to their neighbouring people in the valley.

Bamboo and cane is also an essential item for the hill people. It is used mainly for making different kinds of baskets and other day to day items. Bamboo plays a very important role in the socio-economic life of the tribal people. They used it as food, fodder, fibre, medicines, as well as for various social and religious functions. Bamboos are extensively used in place of timber, such as for the construction of houses, thatching, flooring, roofing, making walls of huts, mats, baskets, ladders, bridge, poles, fan, toys, musical instruments, bows arrows, brooms, pipes etc. The dependency for fuel wood and timber from forest was also quite high. Timber sale in Manipur has become a flourishing business for many families as the best kind of timber quality is said to have been found in the south eastern part of Manipur bordering Myanmar. Woods and Wooden furniture in Manipur are also considered one of the best in India.

The destruction of vast areas of forests in the name of Jhum cultivation can be considered crime against the environment as it consequently destroyed the homes and lives of most animals. The tribal people heavily indulge in killing wild games both for social

and religious significance. Besides, they are involved in the pollution of water and its sources, air, soil, etc. The traditional practices of shifting cultivation pattern in the hills have been replaced by shorter cycles. Frequent burning of the forest leads to loss of fertile top soil through erosion. The water holding capacity is also reduced. However, in the long history of struggle for survival and for getting enough food, hill people have evolved a number of practices which are helpful in checking soil erosion and improving fertility. The valley soils are mostly suitable for rice but these are low in available phosphorus and susceptible to flood hazards. Owing to high clay content in places farming becomes very difficult on account of water logging. These soils and agro-climatic conditions are ideal for the development of horticulture and cultivation of tea. Lakes can be utilized scientifically to expand fish production<sup>4</sup>.

With this naturally rich soil and environmental conditions, everything grows practically in Manipur. Essentially an agrarian state, agriculture is the backbone of the state's economy. More than 75% of the people inclusive of the hills and the valley of Manipur are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood and sustenance. The cultivated land, however in under 10% of the total land area in Manipur. “Currently, Manipur has a legal forest area constituting 78% of its surface area.”<sup>5</sup>

Manipur is hot spot bio rich zone where a lot of medicinal plants are grown like, *Kollhou* - *Adhatoda vasica*, *Loubong* - *Ageratum conyzoides*, *Anphui* - *Clerodendron colebrookianum*, *Bahlong* - *Oroxylum indicum*, *Changkongche* - *Centella Asiatica*, *Kelchangmai* - *Melothria perpusilla*, *Hampa jahcha* - *Mimosa pudica*<sup>6</sup>. In spite of the availability of such natural herbs people's dependency has decreased so much so that most of the younger generations have completely forgotten and not able to identify it anymore. In fact the death of a knowledgeable aged person in the village means the vanishing of traditional knowledge in treating the sick and medicinal plants as well. Besides, availability of modern hospitals in large number and easy accessibility to primary health centres has changed the situation on this front.

Another area that Manipur has a great scope is Sericulture, as plants suitable for seed and cocoon sector, like Mulberry, Eri, Muga and Oak Tasar grows in large quantities in the state. Organic farm produce also is an indigenous resource. 'Organic farms grow a variety of crops and livestock in order to optimize competition for nutrients and space between species. This results in less chance of low production or yield failure in all of these simultaneously. This condition can have an important impact on local food security and resilience. In rain-fed systems like in Manipur, organic agriculture can outperform conventional agricultural systems under environmental stress conditions. Under the right circumstances, the market returns from organic agriculture can contribute to local food security by increasing family incomes'<sup>7</sup>.

Another natural resource that is reported to be available in Manipur is oil. The state is said to be sitting on a massive oil belt and also has huge reserves of natural gas. The survey on the location of oil has been done and the oil company officials are planning to explore oil but were highly resisted by the local people. The people feared that the oil exploration with its blasting operations will adversely affect the eco-system thereby endangering the livelihood of people depending on such fragile eco-system. The state of Manipur is also famous for its handloom and handicrafts products. Bamboo and cane products, shawls and various indigenous products are found all over the state. The artisans both in the hills and valley are very proficient in handloom products. This is one of the contributing factors for the recognition of Manipur in other parts of the country and abroad. Practically every household in rural areas has a loom. For the hill people, it is a household activity for every female to spend some time in weaving clothes. 'It is reported that over 2.18 lakh women of Manipur are involved in this profession'<sup>8</sup>. Besides, Nungbi village in Ukhrul district has successfully made a large quantity of clay pots from special hill soils which are in great demand within and outside the state.

Manipur has a lot of potential in terms of human resources, be it in sports and games, performing arts, culture, dance or in medical profession, engineering

and hospitality sector etc. Sports and games is a common way of life. The artisans of Manipur were also well aware of the art of making knives and swords from locally available iron. While it is an accepted fact that there are abundance of natural, material and human resources in Manipur, the question is regarding their nurturing, production and marketing not just locally but in the global market so that the reputation of the people of Manipur as well as the financial benefit increase. In the age of modernization and globalization, the management of indigenous resources encounters both challenges and benefits. From the external point of view, globalization has resulted in inflow of new ideas, new goods and services; it also tends to block the progress of indigenous resources due to heavy competition. From the internal point of view, many factors have either helped or retarded the management of indigenous resources. While ethnicity and ethnic awareness is helpful for preserving and promotion of unique ethnic products, ethnicity politics tend to retard indigenous resources. With the coming of Hinduism and its subsequent acceptance of the new faith, the ethnic division had begun to emerge. The hill people began forming a separate ethnic group. Consequently, many sub-ethnic groups have sprung up in course of time leading to more and more ethnic polarisation. Today, we see a new trend of such polarisation, as for instance, Manipuri nationality, Naga nationality or Kuki nationality. There is more of ethnic assertion than ever before which has not helped in state or nation building and also the process of globalisation.

### **Government Initiatives:**

The role of the state in this age of globalisation has been transformed from 'strategic state' or 'development state' of the 1980's to that of 'competition state'. State structures are constructed to be 'market oriented', taking part in the competition in an economically interpenetrated world. As such, a number of steps have been taken both by the Government of India and the Government of Manipur towards marketing of indigenous products. India's Look East Policy may be criticised on many fronts, but "the inclusion of Northeast as an important component of this policy is described as the new

paradigm of development in the Northeast development perspective”<sup>9</sup>. This policy is the beginning of India’s political and economic engagement with ASEAN region. It is now transformed into Act East Policy in which northeast states is active stakeholder. Ever since, there has been continuous effort to make this relationship result-oriented and practical. Taking advantage of this policy, the ASEAN nations, particularly Thailand, are engaging themselves in trade and investment in India through the North-eastern region. Northeast, for example “has been identified by Thailand as an important destination for investment, a potential sub-regional market centre and a land-bridge connecting Thailand with the vast mainstream Indian market. The economic logic of investment has been further facilitated by cultural similarities, historical ties and geographical contiguity”.<sup>10</sup>In response to Look East Policy, Thailand had launched ‘Look West Policy’ in 1997. In this policy, Northeast has been identified as an alternate market and transit for sub-regional economies in the Bay of Bengal. Thai authorities and investors prefer to have joint ventures on through partnership with the companies of Northeast. A number of areas have been identified to promote trade and business. A large number of investors are entering into primary sectors of agro-business and food processing industries, bamboo, plantation, rubber, poultry, seed business, energy, communication, tourism etc. The Northeast has a huge potential for industrial development and economic growth<sup>11</sup>. Manipur being in the best catchment area has to take maximum advantage of the trans-border trade. Another advantage is that there is also good road connectivity from Imphal to Tamu in Myanmar and beyond. Myanmar has made a policy shift as they are more and more engaging itself to ASEAN nations rather than China. It is beneficial for India. Sensing this policy shift India has adopted a three-pronged approach of offering incentives, developing infrastructure, and marketing the assets. In order that maximum advantage is gained by both the people of Northeast and the foreign countries, “people need to be convinced of ‘potential benefits’ and an ‘investor-friendly atmosphere’”. The potential benefits refer to cheap availability of capital and potential demand.

The ‘investor-friendly atmosphere include sustainable infrastructure, safety of investment, installations and employees, local availability of skilled work-force, absence of non-economic interventions, facilitating policy frameworks, and less politico-administrative hassles”<sup>12</sup>. The day to day challenges such as kidnap, ransom, small theft, robberies, illegal tax collections, individual extortion notes in the form of ‘demand letter’ are so rampant that it needs to be addressed seriously by the concerned authorities. The government has taken measures such as developing Trans-Asian Highway, Trans-Asian Railway, provision for adequate energy supply, change in prevailing mindset etc.

In order to meet the requirements of globalization, imparting entrepreneurship training is required to be given top priority. Entrepreneurship in areas like Tailoring and Cutting, Carpentry, Foundry, Blacksmith, Weaving, Cane and Bamboo, Carpet weaving and Doll & Toys making etc, are provided by the Government of Manipur. It does promote Entrepreneurship Development Programme (EDP) and Skill Development Programmes. Besides, steps have been taken to promote handloom industry, handicraft industry, and Prime Minister’s Employment Generation Programme (PMEGP) with the target of 1000 beneficiaries. Food processing industry is given top priority with the construction of Food Park at Nilakuthi in Imphal East district at the cost of 3.172 crores, with the facility of 50-60 Food Processing Units. Unfortunately due to interventions from various quarters, this project has not become operational. To promote handloom products, the Government of Manipur is ‘planning to set up a Rs. 700 crores Mega Handloom Park at Imphal’<sup>13</sup>. Manipur International Textile Expo 2018 (Manitex) is also organised with an objective of promoting handloom and garment products in the state. Every household, be it in the hills or in the valley, has a loom and handloom and handicrafts helps in keeping the home fires burning in several household of the state.

In order to promote trade and business, the government organised Trade Fair and Exhibition programmes, Tourism Festivals, etc. Indo-Myanmar Border Trade Promotion has facilitated trade between

the local businessmen and the Burmese. Buyer-Seller Meet are regularly organised at Tamu in Myanmar<sup>14</sup>. But if there has to be fruitful engagement of ethnic groups in globalisation, and marketability of local goods, the ground work has to be prepared. There has to be proper infrastructural development in road, drinking water, electricity, good storage facilities, free marketability, proper maintenance or law and order, peaceful atmosphere and an investment-friendly atmosphere.

### Market Constraint:

The indigenous products nevertheless, are not free from various market constraints. It has been noticed that marketing of agricultural produce is not organized in Manipur. Some of the agro-products remain inside the territories of the state and cultivators or farmers do not get any benefit by exporting it. The farm produces have never crossed the state's boundary due to its strategic geographical location. The buyers are not even willing to collect things from Imphal due do various problems.

Marketing of agricultural commodities/produces in the hill areas of Manipur has not been systematically organized till date. Innumerable farm produces have been lost at the farm level or in the villages. Maximum benefits of the farmers and entrepreneurs have been deprived off by the middleman / brokers etc. Middlemen and brokers chew up most of the profit through the agricultural yields and poor farmers remain poor in an unexpectedly non-regulated market.

The reasons for this are wide-ranging:

- Lack of awareness of market potential of the produces
- Most of the produces are perishable crops
- Lack of market intelligence
- Inadequate storage and warehousing facility etc.
- Lack of proper logistic
- No proper marketing channel
- No regulated marketing system in place in Manipur
- Poor communication and transport facilities

- Geographical location (scattered villages far from the main market, etc.)
- Most of the farmers are marginalized and small farmers
- Poor availability of electricity
- No AGMARK Laboratory in the state

Given the fact that most of the cultivators or farmers are poor and living from hand to mouth, the first and the most common method is to sell away his surplus produce to the village money-lender-cum-trader, who may buy it either on his own or as an agent of a bigger merchant. Besides, there is no organized marketing agency at Imphal, who can network with the farmers at the village level. Moreover farmers lack skill in the required standard for the buyers'<sup>15</sup>.

### Private Initiatives:

Globalisation demands the indigenous goods be fit to the competitive market. 'The local artisans need to bring changes or innovation to the local products to meet the global market. Manipur artisans have excelled in different forms of local products. They have also introduced changes wherever needed to suit the local and global market. One such example is Sintha Institute of Handloom and Handicrafts' established in 2006', by a Diploma Certificate holder in Textile Designing from Institute of Textile and Technology, Khanapura. This institute with the help of their friends at Delhi has been exporting a type of shawl known as 'tulit' to Israel. This rare design of shawl could also used as a scarf and stitching of bags'. They also produce more than 100 designs, making changes to more than 35 traditional shawls of different tribes of Manipur. They add ethnic touches to curtains with Meitei shawl design and prints of State Flower Siroy Lily. The institute also imparts training on weaving and textile designing to more than 400 women of valley and hill districts<sup>16</sup>. While individual entrepreneurs are exploring various means to show case the state's rich cultural heritage, the state government need to systematize marketing of the already popular products of Manipur.

Another area concerning indigenous resource is rearing and marketing of ornamental fishes. 'This

indigenous ornamental fishes is being demanded in different parts of the country. Kerala based Travancore Aquapets, a firm recognized by Ornamental Fish International (OFI) which also exports variety of ornamental fishes across India and world has demanded ornamental fish from the state for export. The indigenous ornamental fish demanded for export by the firm includes sarangkhoibi (Boita species), ngakijou (loach species), ngawa (Barilius species) belun paibi (Esomus species), phaboungba (Funtius specis) etc. Besides there are al lot of other species scattering in the hills streams which are different to identify. There is also difficulty to meet the demand to outside because of non-availability in large number. It is interesting to note that according to a book published by Marine Product Export Developmental Authority, 85% of ornamental fish exported by India are from the North East. What is needed is a systematic and scientific management of these species in large number. Production and marketing of indigenous ornamental fish would be a lucrative business in the long run <sup>17</sup>.

In order to overcome the obstacles of marketing agricultural products, a prominent NGO under the Archdiocese of Imphal, Diocesan Social Service Society (DSSS) had initiated certain steps to help these farmers sell their produces. DSSS formed Organic Farmers Group (OFG) and Self Help Group and formed them into federations from the neighbouring villages. They called these federations as Resource Centre. At the moment there are 13 Resource Centres. They have imparted to them several trainings starting from production to harvesting, sorting, grading, processing, post harvest management and marketing. Besides information are disseminated from Resource Centres to the villages. This has solved the problem of communication to some extend because they have meeting every month. One of the major constraints is the transportation from villages to Imphal. Transportation cost is very high. So the profit that the farmers can get by selling their produces is negotiated while transporting their products to the nearest local market.<sup>18</sup>

Initially they had been sending samples to various buyers to showcase the product especially turmeric

and ginger. But it was all a failure. The buyers wanted the products made available to them at Guwahati at reasonable price. Besides, the buyers only takes interest after their products were certified as 'organic' by One Certification agency accredited to APEDA. Due unforeseen taxes from various elements on the road from Imphal to Guwahati, it is very discouraging to succeed in this venture. As such the buyers prefer to collect our produces from Guwahati itself rather than collecting from Manipur. Besides, buyers are not interested at all if the products are not certified organic<sup>19</sup>. Thus, marketing of organic products face a huge problem. As such the products are often sold in local market facing stiff competition from outside products.

### Conclusion:

The indigenous people have the exclusive and intrinsic rights over their land and natural resources including sustainable management and use of their land and resources as per their wishes, aspirations and self-determined rights. Tribal value system is very strong. It can be a great asset in the conservation and protection of forest. It is not possible to keep the tradition as they were before. It should evolve to make their journey to advancement and development meaningful in changing context of modernization and globalization. The local culture also plays an important role in resource use, conservation, sharing and management. Manipur have a huge stock of natural, material and human resources. The marketability of these has been serious problems due to various external and internal factors. For too long, ethnicity has been the central point of contention and politics in this part of Northeast India. It has been used and misused by different ethnic groups and 'powers that be' for different purposes. Manipur, by the fact of its geographical contiguity with the South Asian nations, is ideally one of the first states to jump into the wagon of globalization in order to reap the maximum benefits. With the paradigm shift taking place in the Government of India from SAARC nations to ASEAN nations, the people and the Government of Manipur should play proactive role in the process of globalization in this part of the globe. While some good initiatives

have been taken, still we require many more to be done. Our permanent strengths are the availability of abundant fertile soil suitable for different types of plantation, salubrious climate, highly talented people possessing good physiques, smart looking boys and girls with good English speaking, excellence in sports and games, art and culture, excellent skills in dance, music, fashion, etc. Their present problems besetting

the state like corruption, protests almost on daily basis, ethnicity politics, social divide and poor infrastructure etc, needs to be addressed in a holistic way. Involvement in globalization and management of indigenous resources compel everyone to settle these real problems soon so that the people of Manipur could exploit their strength fully and gain maximum real benefits.

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## Conflict, Authoritarian Parenting and Perseverance among Male Adolescent Substance Users in Mizoram

Samuel Vanlalruata\*  
Prof. Zokaitluangi\*\*

### Abstract

*Substance use encompasses a variety of problems. This study focuses on the psychosocial aspects of the problem to highlight what measures are required for interception of the detrimental effects of substance use. To address the objective of this study, a between group design was employed with  $n=100$  for each group-substance users and substance non-users with equal number of respondents from urban rural areas. Family Environment Scale, Parental Authority Questionnaire and Barratt Impulsiveness Scale were used to measure Family Conflict, Authoritarian Parenting and Perseverance respectively. The results revealed greater family conflicts among substance users ( $p<.05$ ). Perseverance was also diminished and weaker among substance users ( $p<.05$ ); and adolescents who were not engaged in substance use perceived their parents as more authoritarian in their parenting style as compared to the perception of substance users ( $p<.05$ ). Correlation was strongest for authoritarian parenting and conflict with a moderate positive association while authoritarian parenting is negatively and weakly related to perseverance. The result revealed the importance of inculcating policies that promotes healthy family relationship as well as improving individual's ability to persevere and control when faced with challenges.*

**Keywords:** substance use, family conflict, authoritarian, perseverance

development where decisions and choices greatly affect later stages of life (Najmi et al, 2019).

### Introduction

The use and marketing of substance has been related to divergent problems at the individual and community level. Substance use is detrimental for any stage of human development, though temporal onset has significant effect on the individual. Early onset is related to lifetime engagement in substance use to adult onset (Clark et al, 1998) and poor academic achievement (Breslau et al, 2011). Early indulgence in substance use during adolescence resulted in mortality during young adulthood (Clark et al, 2008). Adolescence is a crucial stage in

Family is the foundation of society where members of the family are bonded by biological, emotional or legal ties (Bauserman, 2002; Ninaniya et al, 2019). This association and bonding existing among members affects the inter-personal relationship, consequently influencing behaviors of the members. Weaker family tie or cohesion is observable among families who had substance dependent individual (Jedrzejczak, 2005). Although Conflict as a result of a constructive discussion can be positive (Sullivan & Feltz, 2001), conflict occurring without acknowledgement and cohesiveness could be detrimental to children (Li & Warner, 2015). Conflicts

\*Ph.D. Research Scholar of the Department of Psychology, Mizoram University, Aizawl

\*\*Professor of the Department of Psychology, Mizoram University, Aizawl.



occurring within family environment often affect the child in a negative consequence. When there are more conflicts experienced within the families, children tend to involve in behavioural problems which is the same for lower family cohesion (Sapp, 2003). The indirect and direct result of these conflicts among family members is often a problem in substance use. Substance dependents come from families where there is hostility and ill-will (Jedrzejczak, 2005; Bernardy et al, 2010). Longitudinal study supports that familial conflicts in childhood intensify the possibility of maintaining substance use disorders in late adolescents and in early adulthood although factors like social support may mitigate the association. (Skeer et al, 2009).

Authoritarian parenting style involves relationship where parents are highly demanding with low responsiveness (Baumrind, 1991). Parents exert rules and regulations to which the child is expected to abide without interrogation (Merlin *et al*, 2013). This high demandingness from parents instils aggression to the child and, in the meantime, reducing peer acceptance and social competency (Chen *et al*, 1997). Conflicts within family almost always involve parents or the caregiver as the primary source of conflict or in other cases, the conduct problems of the child. Conflict with parents among adolescent is frequent in families where authoritarian and neglectful parenting is imposed compared to authoritative parenting (Bi *et al*, 2018). Despite the parenting style relations, Cohen & Rice (1997) specifically observed that children's perception of highly permissive parents is associated with tobacco and alcohol use. Permissiveness could be the principal factor for adolescent's involvement in substance use and other related problems. The controlling and authoritarian child rearing practice has strong relation to substance use (Cox, 2001; Bronte-Tinkew et al, 2006; Diggs *et al*, 2015) and other forms of delinquency (Terry, 2004). Overall well-being is diminished among children who experienced highly demanding parenting style (Alkhafal, 2015). Specifically, authoritarian parenting from the father could be a protective factor regarding the child's substance use (Brassai & Piko, 2009). Among the Pakistani children, authoritarian parenting accounts for more than a quarter of variation in their academic

success (Rauf & Ahmed, 2017) which highlights the differing effects of parenting styles among cultures and practices.

Perseverance in Latin means, "one who sees through to the end," "one who doesn't yield." Perseverance means tenacity and steadfastness in times of hardship and to have patience all along (Wheatley, 2010). Perseverance trait is often acclaimed as one of the dimensions under Impulsiveness scale (Patton et al, 1995; Fossati *et al*, 2001). Studies regarding perseverance show different levels across culture. The association between perseverance and achievement seems to be greater among adolescents of East-Asian cultures (Xu *et al*, 2021). The essence and contribution of perseverance to an individual's personality cannot be underestimated, at least among substance users and recovering patients. Abstinence attempts are lowered among recovering patients when there is lack of perseverance and control (Sargeant et al, 2012).

### Objectives of the study

The study endeavoured to objectively examine the authenticity of family conflicts, authoritarian parenting style and perseverance on adolescent's substance use. To understand the relationship between these three behavioural measures among substance users in order to guide policy-making towards treatment and awareness about the substance use, the following objectives and hypotheses are mapped out:

- 1) To examine Family Conflicts, Authoritarian parenting and Perseverance among substance users and non-users.
- 2) To examine the relationship between Family Conflicts, Authoritarian parenting and Perseverance.

### Hypotheses

- 1) There will be significant mean difference between substance users and non-users on Family Conflicts.
- 2) There will be significant mean difference between substance users and non-users on Authoritarian parenting.

- 3) There will be significant mean difference between substance users and non-users on Perseverance.
- 4) There will be significant positive correlation between Family Conflict and Authoritarian Parenting and Perseverance.

## Methodology

### Sample:

200 Mizo Male adolescents were screened out from the target population consisting of Male adolescent substance users and non-users with equal number of respondents from urban (n=100) and Rural (n=100) population. The sample age ranged from 13-19 years in this study and only Mizo Male adolescents were included. Firstly, 100 Mizo male Adolescent Substance users were identified, out of which 50 samples were selected from urban areas and another 50 samples were collected from rural areas. Accordingly, 100 Mizo Male Adolescent Substance non-users were selected with a due care to match the Mizo male Adolescent Substance users for methodological consideration.

### Design:

The present study incorporates a group-design comprising of Substance users or Treatment group and Non-users or Control Group. Inclusion within control group was based on random procedure while substance user samples were identified using DAST-10 (Skinner, 1982). Although the sample included Rural and Urban population, the study did not employ two-way classification of variables (factorial design).

### Tools:

- 1) The Drug Abuse Screening Test (DAST, 1982) was originally designed by H.A Skinner to provide a brief, self-report instrument for population screening, clinical case finding and treatment evaluation research. The DAST yields a quantitative index of the degree of consequences related to drug abuse. This instrument takes approximately 5 minutes to administer and may be given in either a self-report or interview format. The DAST-10 is a

10-item self-report instrument that has been condensed from the 28-item DAST.

- 2) Barratt Impulsiveness Scale-11: The Barratt Impulsiveness Scale (BIS-11; Patton et al., 1995) is a questionnaire designed to assess the personality/ behavioural construct of impulsiveness, and most widely cited instrument for the assessment of impulsiveness (Stanford et al., 2009). The BIS-11 factor structure includes 30 items scored in a four point Likert format ranging from; 1 – Rarely/Never, 2 – Occasionally, 3- Often, 4 – Almost/Always to yield six first-order factors. The six first order factors were – Attention, Cognitive Instability, Motor impulsivity, and Perseverance, Self-control and Cognitive complexity. Score ranges from 30 to 120 when the scale is used to interpret a composite score. Perseverance has a possible score of 4 to 16 (4 items).
- 3) Family Environment Scale developed by Bhatia and Chadha (2005) adapted from the family environment scale by Moos & Moos (1974) was used to measure the social-environmental characteristics of the family. The scale consists of three dimensions adapted from Moos's scale with 69-items further sub-divided into 8 subscale dimensions. The items are scored on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from Strongly Disagree -1, Disagree-2, Neutral – 3, Agree -4, Strongly Agree-5. The present study focused on measure of Conflicts within the family environment. Family conflict has a score ranging from 12 to 60 (12 items).
- 4) *Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ; Buri, 1991)*: The PAQ is designed to measure parental authority, or disciplinary practices, from the point of view of the child (of any age). Buri (1991) developed a self-report measure asking respondents to rate on how their parents acted toward them. The PAQ has three subscales: **authoritarian, authoritative and permissiveness**. Responses are based on Likert type scale ranging from Strongly Disagree -1, Disagree-2, Neither Agree nor Disagree – 3, Agree -4, Strongly Agree-5. The PAQ is scored

by summing the individual items to comprise the subscale scores. Scores on each subscale range from 10 to 50 with no reversed items.

### Procedure:

Socio-demographic profiles along with consent forms were prepared to include important demographics and to dismiss legal issues in the study as adolescents were the target population. Instructions were given thoroughly before administering each questionnaire along with clearance of doubts regarding the scales. Most data were collected in groups with the presence of the researcher and, in some cases, individually administered.

### Results

The mean scores, standard deviations, bivariate correlations and Cronbach's alpha for the behavioural measures along with Independent sample t-test results are highlighted in the results table. The alpha coefficient assured that the three measures are reliable for measuring the dependent measures on the target population. The mean scores on conflict, authoritarian parenting and perseverance are high for both treatment and control groups.

Cohen's  $d = .65$

The independent sample t-test result was significant for all the three behavioural measures ( $p < .05$ ) indicating a significant difference between substance users and non-users about family conflicts, authoritarian parenting and perseverance. Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3 were accepted which stated significant difference between the groups. The effect sizes (Cohen's  $d$ ) were within a range of moderate to strong effect (.55 for family conflict, .62 for Authoritarianism and .65 for perseverance) which indicates that substance users has practical difference compared to non-users regarding conflicts within the family and level of perseverance while non-users significantly scored higher than substance users on authoritarian parenting.

The bivariate correlation analysis revealed a significant ( $p < .05$ ) relationship between all bivariate combinations. Family Conflict and Authoritarian parenting were positively related with moderate strength. There was a moderate negative relationship between Conflict and Perseverance and a weak positive relationship between Perseverance and Authoritarian parenting. Although significant, these relationships are not strong enough for consideration in practical sense.

**Table: Table showing mean, standard deviation and t-test among groups; reliability of tests, correlation among the variables among the samples**

Table Showing Mean, SD, SEM, Normality, Reliability, t-test, and Correlations on variables among the samples									
	Substance Users			Non Users			Reliability coefficient ( $\alpha$ )		
Stats	Family Conflict	Authoritarian Parenting	Perseverance	Family Conflict	Authoritarian Parenting	Perseverance	Family Conflict	Authoritarian Parenting	Perseverance
Mean	45.12	31.56	9.43	32.92	43.88	12.69	0.81	0.67	0.62
SD	8.52	5.79	2.12	5.09	5.08	3.12			
t=test	Between substance users and non-users on family conflict ist=-5.50* Cohen's d=0.55			Between substance users and non-users on Authoritarian Parenting ist=-4.12* Cohen's d= .62			Between substance users and non-users on Perseverance ist=-3.12* Cohen's d= .65		
Correlationbetweenfamily conflict and authoritarian parenting: $r = .41^*$ Correlationbetweenfamily conflict and Perseverance: $r = -.32^*$ CorrelationbetweenPerseverance and authoritarian parenting: $r = .271^*$									
*=significant at.01levels(2tails) **=significantat.05levels(2tails)									

## Discussion & Conclusion

The family environment of substance users incorporated conflicts much more than those of non-users among Mizo adolescents with a large difference between the means. The amount of problems substance use entails is overwhelmingly large from problems within the family, workplace, inter-personal relations, individual's well-being etc (McQueen et al, 2003; Skeer et al, 2009, Best et al, 2014). Adolescents who are in conflict with their parents are more likely to indulge in alcohol use (Loke & Mak, 2013). Substance users compared to non-users differs about the conflicts they experienced in the family which is supported (Kothari, 2010; Jogsan, 2012) although causality is hard to determine outside experimental designs. A meta-analysis by Laitano *et al* (2021) summarised that substance users compared to non-users had elevated scores on anger assessment. A conflict is often accompanied by anger in most cases and the result of this study iterated. Reduction of conflicts within the family showed decrease in substance use risk along with decrease in severity of its use (Best *et al*, 2014).

In the present study, we can see that non-users perceived their parents as more authoritarian or strict than substance users. The reasons for this result may be due to intervening variables such as religious affiliation and the orientation of traditional parenting style to authoritarian style. The result contradicts some studies that observed association of authoritarian parenting and substance use (Loke & Mak, 2013; Calafat et al, 2014; Riquelme *et al*, 2018). Studies on impact of authoritarian parenting style varied across cultures (Weiss & Schwarz, 1996; Gunnoe et al, 2006; Rauf & Ahmed, 2017) partially due to traditional values and religious beliefs etc.

Perseverance is convenient in different aspects of life such as academic achievement, abstinence, self-control etc. The present study observed the level of perseverance to be higher among non-users as

expected. Although non-users are much higher on perseverance, the negative and positive effects on substance use are not specifically examined. Substance users lacked the ability to persevere and often scored high on urgency measures (Verdejo-Garcia et al, 2007). Abstinence or attempt to abstinence is associated with perseverance and control (Sargeant et al, 2012).

The present study observes relationship between the three behavioural measures only among substance user population. The relationships among the three behavioural measures show significant results albeit authoritarian parenting and family conflict was only a considerable association as the other bivariate relationships were weak. Authoritarianism by parents needed more in-depth examination as other variables may have been interfering in its relationship with conflict. Authoritarian parenting and family conflict are positively related indicating that strict and demanding parenting style increases conflict within the family (Danesh, 1978; Park et al, 2010) and additionally authoritarian parenting is associated with unhealthy home environment (Sartaj et al, 2010).

In conclusion, the study revealed that substance users may experience more family conflicts and lack the ability to persevere, while non-users come from a more authoritarian parenting family. There was positive association between authoritarian parenting style and family conflicts; a highly demanding with low probability of response parenting style tends to increase conflicts within the family. The predictability of conflict on authoritarian parenting and other significant relationships were not examined using regression model. The design was also insufficient to determine whether family conflict is the predominant factor or the consequence of substance use. Despite these limitations, the study paved way for future researchers on formulating ideas that better explain the nature of substance use.

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## Political Development in Mizoram Since 1947

Prof.Lalrintluanga\*

### *Abstract*

*In Mizoram, political development began with the institutionalisation of political procedures and organisations based on the political demands made by the ordinary or common people who were, for years, denied of democratic participation in the political system under their traditional Village Chiefs and these demands were partially met in the last part of the British rule in Mizoram. However, Indian Independence from the British yoke became a turning point for the people to take part in the democratic process and the art of administration in their tiny ancestral land. But, violent political activities and the subsequent conflicting political development had put democratic life at stake in the then Mizo Hills which ultimately called for the signing of peace accord in 1996 and the conferment of Statehood to Mizoram. This paper has attempted to study the stages of political development in Mizoram since 1947 upto 1987.*

### **1. Introduction**

The origin of the term ‘Political Development’ can be traced to 1950’s when a large number of American political scientists were attempting to study the political dynamics of the newly emerging countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many of these new nation-states have witnessed widespread belief among the ordinary people that they should also be democratically involved in the political system.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, some groups of people, big or small, in these new nation-states- who were previously denied of any opportunities for participation in the political system by their colonial masters-have begun to demand their participation in the functioning of the political system. In this regard, Almond and Verba say: “Large groups of people who have been outside politics are demanding entrance into the political system.”<sup>2</sup> Hence, the new nation-states ought to develop structures and institutions as the tools and the means of the political system for ensuring

democratic participation of groups of people in state activities. Evidently, political development involves creations of political structures and institutions through which new groups of people would participate for the promotion of social, economic and political change in the society. Riggs also defines ‘Political Development’ as “the process of politicization: increasing participation or involvement of the citizen in state activities, in power calculations, and consequences.”<sup>3</sup> Political development can occur only if political procedures and organisations are given the shape of institutions. Samuel P. Huntington gives a relevant definition of the term ‘Political Development’ as “the institutionalization of political organizations and procedures.”<sup>4</sup> In brief, political development is a not an end-product but “a process by which a political system acquires an increased capacity to sustain successfully and continuously new types of goals, demands and the creations of new types of organisations.”<sup>5</sup> In Mizoram, political

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\*Professor, Department of Public Administration, Mizoram University, Aizawl.

development began with the institutionalisation of political procedures and organisations based on the political demands made by the ordinary or common people who were, for years, denied of democratic participation in the political system under their traditional Village Chiefs and these demands were partially met in the last part of the British rule in Mizoram. This paper has attempted to study the stages of political development in Mizoram since 1947 upto 1987.

## 2. Historical Background

In Mizoram, the first stage of political development began with the creation of the first political party, called “Mizo Commoners’ Union (MCU),” with the official permission of the District Superintendent, A.R.McDonald, on 9 April 1946.<sup>6</sup> The objective of the new party was, *inter alia*, democratisation of the traditional polity to enable the politically conscious Mizo Commoners to participate in the Provincial Government of Assam. Though the Chiefs were invited by the party leadership to join the new party, the former declined it on the ground that they did not have a place in it. Even after removing the word “Commoners” from its appellation, the leadership of the Mizo Union (MU) could not earn the confidence of the Chiefs to make them join their party. Subsequently, suspicion in the minds of the traditional Chiefs had come true when the MU, in its first General Assembly held at Kulikawn locality of Aizawl from September 24-26, 1946, passed the Resolution that “a Chief should rule the village not through the *Upas* appointed at his discretion, but elected by the people.”<sup>7</sup> As the first step for pursuing their Resolution, the MU leaders had requested the District Superintendent to give voting rights not only to the Chiefs but also to the Commoners to elect at least two-thirds of members of the District Conference which would “advise the Superintendent on all matters concerned with the administration of the district.”<sup>8</sup> Though the setting up of the Constituent Assembly of India on 6<sup>th</sup> November 1946 could be construed as an indication that the British transfer of power to India, Pakistan and Burma was imminent, the Mizos found themselves on the crossroad of

political ideas because Mizo public opinion was greatly divided over the future political status of their land. However, four choices were talked about among the Mizos themselves, such as, joining Burma, Independence, British Dominion or Colony as well as District Autonomy within the Indian Union. Of the aforesaid choices, the MU, the premier political party in the Mizo Hills, favoured the Autonomous District Council status within the Assam Province of India which was evidenced by the following Resolution unanimously passed by the first General Assembly of the party during September 24-26, 1946:<sup>9</sup>

“In the event of India attaining a complete and unqualified independence, the Mizos are also to be included in it, within the province of Assam. The Mizos are opposed to the retention of their District as an Excluded Area under Independent India, but wish to be included in the Provincial Legislature with a sufficient number of representatives who will represent them on concurrent subjects with the Provincial Government.”

Evidently, the political movement of the MU, though it was *prima facie* a regional political party, was oriented towards a pro-Indian movement which capitalised on the Commoners’ anti-Chief fervour. Meanwhile, a small section of its members had developed a contradictory idea that the Mizos would have better chance of survival by joining Burma, now called Myanmar. As a result, those who could not agree to the MU’s Resolution for integration had organised themselves into a group under the name of the Mizo Union Council (MUC) and talked of Independence from the beginning of April 1947.<sup>10</sup> L.B. Thanga and Rev. Zairema were the President and the Vice President of the new party respectively. However, one of its leaders, Lalmawia, a retired army officer of Burma, was very active in relentlessly mobilising the dissident Mizo Unionists for the formation of another political party, called “United Mizo Freedom Organization (UMFO),” on 5 July 1947 and the new party, under the leadership of L.B.Thanga, had “opted to join Burma rather than India.”<sup>11</sup> Lalmawia toured the length and breadth of Mizoram to campaign for complete separation of the

Mizo inhabited land from India and also propagated to the people that joining of Burma would be more advantageous for the Mizo tribes “on grounds of common customs, culture, dialects, common descent and common economic pattern.”<sup>12</sup> This separatist politics of the UMFO found endorsement from the Superintendent of the Mizo Hills, A.R.McDonald, who was in favour of giving an independent status to the Mizo Hills which would be a “protectorate” of the British Government.<sup>13</sup> Speculating that there would be a good prospect for maintaining the continuity of their chieftainship by joining Burma against the wishes of the MU, the Mizo Chiefs had lent enthusiastic support to the new party to thwart the MU’s movement for integration of the Mizo Hills to India through the State of Assam.

### **3. Political Development since the Formation of Advisory Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly in 1947**

When Indian Independence from the British domination was an accomplished fact, the Constituent Assembly of India was created which further set up 1 (one) Adhoc Committee, 12 (twelve) Committees and 4 (four) Sub-Committees. On 27<sup>th</sup> February 1947, the Advisory Sub-Committee on the North-East Frontiers (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas was also set up to be one such Sub-Committee headed by Gopinath Bordoloi, the then Chief Minister of Assam. The Sub-Committee was “to assess and advise on the future administration of the Tribal and Excluded Areas inhabited by the hill people of Assam.”<sup>14</sup> The other members of the Sub-Committee were: R.K.Ramadhiyani, I.C.S as Secretary, Rup Nath Brahma, A.V.Thakkar, B.N.Rao- the Constitutional Advisor to the Constituent Assembly of India, Rev. J.J.M Nichols Roy, the Khasi leader as well as Minister of Assam and Aliba Imti Ao. The MU was formally represented to the Advisory Sub-Committee by two of its leaders, namely, Mr. Khawtinkhuma and Mr. Ch.Saprawnga who were co-opted as members. The District Conference was not represented to the Advisory Sub-Committee while the Superintendent, McDonald, thought that the District Conference alone represented the popular will of the district.<sup>15</sup>

On April 17, 1947, the Bordoloi Sub-Committee arrived at Aizawl to assess public opinion for the future political status of the Mizo Hills.<sup>16</sup> The Sub-Committee took evidences from representatives of different organisations, prominent leaders, representatives of the Chiefs’ Council and the MU. The Superintendent, McDonald, was, again, perturbed by the unwillingness of the Bordoloi Sub-Committee to take evidences from the representatives of the District Conference. Under the emerging circumstances, the Superintendent, McDonald, as an ex-officio President of the District Conference, had requested the Chairman of the Sub-Committee to hear evidences even from the representatives of the District Conference. Finally, on April 18, 1947, the Bordoloi Sub-Committee had met five English speaking representatives of the District Conference, namely Rev. Liangkhaia and Mr. R.Vanlawma of Circle Representatives from the MUC, Rev. Zairema as the Representative of the whole MUC, Mr.Kailuia and Mrs. Lalziki, Representatives of the Chiefs’ Council.<sup>17</sup> Taking advantage of their interaction with Members of the Bordoloi Sub-Committee, Representatives of the District Conference submitted the following Resolutions passed by them earlier on April 14, 1947 to the Bordoloi Sub-Committee.<sup>18</sup>

- (1) The Conference was elected for framing a constitution for Mizoram. The Conference had not yet decided whether Mizoram should be within Assam; but should the decision be that it would be within the jurisdiction of Assam Legislature, there should be three members from Mizoram and they should not be given full powers over local matters.
- (2) All matters of land tenure, agriculture and social customs should be in the power of the local governing body of Mizoram which should also have authority, at least partially, in educational matters. It should also control immigration of plains people in Mizoram.
- (3) In the Assam Ministry, there should be a separate Minister in-charge of the hill districts.
- (4) All appointments in public services should be made on the basis of merit and there should be no reservation of seats for any community.”

In brief, the Bordoloi Sub-committee found that there were reasonable sections of the population in the Mizo Hills who were concerned mainly with the protection of their lands, social customs and interest. All of them, irrespective of their party affiliations, wanted safeguards from exploitation by the plains people.<sup>19</sup> While giving his evidences before the Sub-Committee, the Superintendent A.R.McDonald himself, stated that the Mizos would not have the chance of survival among the plains people if the British did not give them suitable safeguards before they left India. As a conclusion of his evidences, the Superintendent, MacDonald, strongly advocated R.Coupland's Plan to carve out an independent State between India and Burma consisting of the hill areas of Assam and Burma under the name of a "Crown Colony of Eastern Agency."<sup>20</sup> This proposed independent State would be a "Protectorate" of the British Government.<sup>21</sup> In the meanwhile, the MU, through its Representatives, submitted a "Draft Constitution of Mizoram for the future Administration of the District within the Province of Assam in free India" to the Constituent Assembly of India through the Bordoloi Sub-Committee.<sup>22</sup>

The Bordoloi Sub-Committee had found that the Superintendent, McDonald, was doing his best to set up a separate land for the Mizos to be called 'Mizoram.' On the contrary, what the Mizo Union wanted to achieve at that stage of political development was no other than democratisation of the polity and, for that, abolition of the rights and privileges of the traditional Chiefs so that even the Mizo Commoners could freely participate in the Provincial Government of Assam. However, the common masses were having fear of being assimilated by the sophisticated plains people if the Provincial Government did not provide some safeguards to them. Accordingly, on April 22, 1947, the MU leaders had resolved to prepare and submit the Memorandum to the Constituent Assembly in which they demanded that "(1) the Mizos of the neighbouring areas in Cachar, Manipur, etc., should be included in Lushai Hills district and the term 'Mizo' should be substituted for 'Lushai', (2) the internal administration of the area should be left to the people within the general framework of the province of Assam, and (3) there

should be liberal financial assistance from the central Government."<sup>23</sup>

Alongside of political movement for Mizoram independence based on 'Coupland Plan' as suggested by A.R.McDonald, there were claims and counter-claims among the Mizos whether they could opt out of India or not. In the midst of such political confusion, L.L.Peters, who succeeded A.R.McDonald to be the Superintendent of the Mizo Hills for his second term, had felt it necessary to build consensus among the political parties before the final events took shape. So, under the Chairmanship of L.L.Peters, a meeting of Accredited Public Leaders, numbering fifty, was convened at Aijal on August 14, 1947 which resolved that-

- "(1) the Lushais should be informed by His Excellency, the Governor of Assam, in writing whether they were at this stage allowed the option to join any other Dominion, i.e., Pakistan or Burma; and
- (2) if they were to remain in India, their demands were:
  - "(i) the existing safeguards of the customary laws and land tenure, etc., should continue,
  - (ii) the Chin Hills Regulation of 1873 should be retained, and
  - (iii) after a period of ten years, the Lushais should be allowed to opt out of the Indian Union, if they intended to do so."<sup>24</sup>

Unfortunately, the dawn of Indian Independence had witnessed the manifestation of persistent discord between two hostile groups in the Mizo Hills "claiming loyalties to conflicting objectives."<sup>25</sup> The pro-integrationist group of the MU had made an arrangement to celebrate the Independence Day on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 by taking out a procession which the secessionist group did not like to take place at all. Fortunately, upon the request of some veteran local politicians, "an armed showdown was avoided by cancelling the procession."<sup>26</sup> Even the Superintendent, L.L.Peters, who was to hoist the National Flag of India on that day, did not do so upon the request of R.Vanlawma, the General Secretary

of the MUC. In response to the Resolution passed by fifty Public Leaders in the meeting convened by L.L.Peters, Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, the Governor of Assam had issued a Notice that the Lushais (Mizos) must remain with the Indian Union and could not join either Pakistan or Burma and that the question of opting out after 9 or 10 years did not arise.<sup>27</sup>

## **2. Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India and the beginning of Democratic Decentralisation of Powers in Mizoram since 1952**

The Bordoloi Sub-Committee submitted its Report to the Chairman of Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Shri Ballabhai Patel, on August 25, 1947, ten days after India's Independence. The Sub-Committee took note of the anxiety of the hill people about their land including their fear of exploitation by more advanced people from the plains. Therefore, the Report dealt with various aspects of administration of the tribal areas. Under the initiative of the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Members of the Sub-Committee thoroughly discussed the matters contained in their Report on December 7, 1947 and February 24, 1948. At the end of the day, the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly had forwarded its Report to the President of the Constituent Assembly on March 4, 1948. Based on the Recommendations of the Bordoloi Sub-Committee Report, the Constituent Assembly had recommended a District Council status for the Mizo Hills. Thus, the keen desire of the MU to link up their political life with Assam on the one hand and the fear of being submerged by the plains people on the other were reconciled by providing for an autonomous existence under the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. However, for an interim period before the installation of the District Council as a functional body, the Government of Assam, after the recommendation of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam, had decided to form an Advisory Council to advise the Superintendent on the future political status of Mizoram. This interim Advisory Council, popularly known as "Lushai Hills District Advisory Council,"<sup>28</sup> was to replace the District Conference with the difference that "equal representation of the Chiefs and the Commoners was abolished."<sup>29</sup>

In pursuance of the agreement reached earlier on 10 November 1947 by Representatives of the MU, the UMFO and the Chiefs at a meeting convened in Shillong under the Chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hyderi, Governor of Assam, democratic elections to the Advisory Council were held for the first time on 23 March and on 15 April 1948 for the Chiefs and the Commoners respectively. In this democratic election, the MU which fought the electoral battle on the platform of abolition of chieftainship and the widest measure of local autonomy within Assam State won a thumping majority.<sup>30</sup> To be more exact, the MU won all the seats excepting two in Aijal town, which were won by the UMFO.<sup>31</sup> But, the Advisory Council could properly function at the initial stage of its existence due to internal conflicts between the integrationist and the separatist local politicians and the non-cooperation movement that had been launched by the MU integrationists against the Superintendent, L.L. Peters. However, after the replacement of L.L.Peters by S.N.Barkataki as the Superintendent on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1949, the latter officially dissolved the dormant District Conference and summoned the Advisory Council, on 11 February 1950, to prepare the details of the future District Council.<sup>32</sup>

Advisory Council which was created during the interim period as a stopgap arrangement got dissolved on 12<sup>th</sup> November 1951.<sup>33</sup> With the implementation of the Sixth Schedule in the beginning of 1952, the erstwhile Lushai Hills District was given the status of an autonomous District under the Province of Assam. On 4 April 1952, the people of Mizoram had, for the first time, elected their District Councillors by adult franchise to administer the functions and to exercise the powers entrusted to them. In this democratic District Council election, the MU fought the electoral battle on the platform of abolition of chieftainship and introduction of democratic village council in its place. When the elections results were declared, the separatist UMFO was badly beaten by the MU which won a thumping majority. After the formation of the District Council Executive by the MU Councillors, the Assam Chief Minister, Bishnuram Medhi, inaugurated the Mizo District Council at Aizawl, on 25 April 1952. The first piece of Legislation passed by the District Council was 'The

Lushai Hills (Chiefs Abolition) Act, 1952' which would take effect from January 1, 1953.<sup>34</sup>

Almost one year after the formation of the Executive Committee of the District Council, the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, had, in response to the invitation of Dr. Rosiama, the Chairman of the District Council, officially inaugurated the District Council at Aizawl, and simultaneously addressed the District Council at Reid House on April 4, 1953. After a couple of weeks from the date of inauguration of the Mizo (Lushai Hills) District Council, a Regional Council, called Pawi-Lakher Regional (P-LR) Council, was formed in the south within the jurisdiction of the Mizo Hills for the two indigenous minority communities within the Mizo society, namely Pawis and Lakher. This "Pawi-Lakher Regional Council" was officially inaugurated from Lunglei (Lungleh as it was called) by Ch. Saprawnga, Parliamentary Secretary to the Government of Assam, on April 23, 1953.<sup>35</sup>

In view of the landslide victory of the integrationist MU, the UMFO had got an impression that its separatist policy did not effectively work and hence dropped its original policy of joining Burma. Consequently, on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1953, the UMFO had passed a resolution that "the government be requested to form a new state comprising of Manipur, Tripura, the autonomous districts of Assam and N.E.F.A."<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile, the MU had got an impression that the Assam Government was contemplating to introduce Assamese in all the schools in the hill areas of the State. Thus, from January 31 to February 3, 1954, the MU convened the meeting of its Executive Committee in which the members "expressed their concern on the introduction of Assamese in the Schools situated in the hill districts of Assam."<sup>37</sup> All the Executive Members of the party were unanimous in their perception that the teaching of Assamese to non-speaking people without reciprocity "aimed at influencing and dominating the hill people through Assamese language."<sup>38</sup> In fact, separatist tendency of the Mizos could partially be attributed to this State Official Language policy of the Assam Government to impose Assamese on the Mizos along with other hill tribes allegedly at the behest of *Asom Jatiya Mahasobha* (AJM).

Following their capture of the District Council, the MU leadership demanded "the immediate introduction of the Village Councils all over the district in the wake of the elections, in place of the present autocratic regime of the Chiefs."<sup>39</sup> However, the Chiefs and their followers decided to adopt an attitude of non-cooperation with the District Council which was interpreted by the Government "as an act of defiance of lawful authority."<sup>40</sup> In fact, the drastic change of attitude by the Assam Government towards the Chiefs had given the MU leadership an impetus to materialise the famous Act passed by the District Council for the establishment of democratic institutions at the grassroots level. This Act is popularly known as 'the Lushai Hills District (Village Council) Act 1953.'<sup>41</sup> According to this famous Act passed by the District Council, Village Councils were to be set up in all the villages within the jurisdiction of the Mizo District Council. After doing all the preparations, democratic elections to the Village Councils were held, for the first time, in Mizoram on July 24, 1954.<sup>42</sup> With the installation of democratically elected bodies in different villages, the institution of Chieftainship was losing its relevance in the grassroots governance. Ultimately, 259 Lusei Chiefs and 50 Pawi-Lakher Chiefs were abolished on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1956.<sup>43</sup>

### 3. Political Demand for Mizoram Statehood

In response to the unhappiness of the hill leaders against the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee (APCC) over (a) the proposed imposition of Assamese as the State Language and (b) the concentration of socio-economic development programmes only within the confine of the plains, the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) visited Assam which found that the demand common to all the hill people was a separate State or, at least, a Hill District. In spite of this demand for a Hill State in North East Region, the SRC in its Report had recommended that "the Hill districts ... should continue to form part of Assam and no major changes should be made in their constitutional pattern."<sup>44</sup> Not being satisfied with the SRC's Recommendation, the hill leaders had convened an important meeting at

Aijal (Aizawl) from October 26 to 28, 1955 in which they “resolved to demand creation of a separate Hill State comprising the hill districts of Assam.”<sup>45</sup> During their meeting, the Delegates had formed a new political party, called the Eastern Indian Tribal Union (EITU), with the programme of creation of a Hill State to accommodate all the hill tribes within India. Astonishingly, the MU which was hosting the Hill Leaders’ Conference had politely refused to merge itself to the EITU for fear of being exploited and dominated by other bigger hill tribes after the creation of a Hill State. This withdrawal of the MU from EITU had indirectly prompted the UMFO to quickly join EITU for broadbasing and intensifying its separatist tendency within India. Afterwards, on March 10, 1959, the MU, in its Special Assembly, had decided to fight for a separate Mizoram State.<sup>46</sup> This decision of the MU irritated the EITU leaders who attended the earlier MU’s Special Assembly from United Khasi, Jaintia and Garo Hills, namely, A.Thanglura, Chief Parliamentary Secretary of the Assam Government, T.Cajee, Chief Executive Member of Khasi District Council, and George Hamilton.<sup>47</sup>

After the passing of the Resolution by the APCC, on 22 April 1960, for the immediate introduction of Assamese as the State’s official language, the hill leaders of Assam mobilised themselves and convened an important meeting at Tura on April 28, 1960. The consequence of this meeting was the formation of a new political party, called All Party Hill Leaders’ Conference (APHLC), at Shillong on July 6, 1960. The MU leaders took active part in the formation of the APHLC and its subsequent important Conference held at Haflong, on 18 November 1960, which, as the best solution to the Language problem, demanded “the immediate creation of a separate Hill State.”<sup>48</sup> However, the leaders of Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF) which was formed to fight a dreadful *Mautam* famine in Mizoram in 1959 had transformed itself into a political party, called the Mizo National Front (MNF), the avowed policy of independence of Mizoram with statehood as the real objective.”<sup>49</sup> Under the leadership of Laldenga, the MNF could surprisingly

earn the confidence of the Assam Chief Minister, Shri B.P.Chaliha and hence associated itself with the APHLC. In view of the prevailing volatile political situations, the MU convened a special session of its General Assembly, on 10 July 1962, at Aijal Theatre Hall, which “officially resolved to demand a separate state for the Mizos.”<sup>50</sup> This Resolution marked the withdrawal of MU from the APHLC with a clarion call for a separate Mizoram State within the Indian Union. Though the MNF leaders professed “non-violence” as a catchphrase for hoodwinking Assam Chief Minister, B.P.Chaliha, they were making elaborate preparations for an armed insurgent movement.

#### **4. Adoption of Violent Means for Political Freedom of Mizoram from India**

On 1 March 1966, the MNF took up arms in an attempt to achieve its goals and instantly declared Mizoram a “Sovereign Independent State.” This shocking incident had provoked the Government of Assam to declare the whole district as a “disturbed area” under the Assam Disturbed Areas Act, 1955 on 2 March 1966. The Indian Security Forces were immediately dispatched to Mizoram which consolidated themselves at Aizawl, on 6 March 1966 to aid and assist the civil administration in the maintenance of law and orders in the District. The Government of India also declared the Mizo District as a “disturbed area” under the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act, 1958. By this Act, the army on duty in the notified “disturbed area” were given extensive powers to the extent of arresting any person, without any warrant, who had committed or who was suspected to commit a cognisable offence.<sup>51</sup> As the administration in the Mizo District was practically paralysed, the Government of India ordered the Army “to remain in charge of operation as long as necessary in support of the civil administration.”<sup>52</sup> Eventually, the Government of India declared the MNF and its subsidiary organizations unlawful under Rule 32 of Defence of India Rules.

The contour of political development had changed after grouping of villages to notified Centres. Under Rule 57 of the Defence of India Rules (DIR)

1962, the Central Government's Liaison Officer for the Mizo Hills District issued two Orders for grouping of the interior villages to some selected places on the main road of Silchar-Aizawl-Lunglei, starting from Vairengte, the first village in Mizoram from the Silchar side, and stretching over a length of 400 kilometres.<sup>53</sup> Thus, a population of fifty thousand from 106 villages was resettled in eighteen Group Centres at a very short notice. Thus, the first phase of grouping started on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1967 and completed by the beginning of 1969. Within a month, all the eighteen Protected and Progressive Villages (P.P.Vs) were taken over by the Civil Administration but the security measures remained with the Post Commander. At this juncture, there was a general feeling among the Mizos that "they were treated as aliens and worse than enemies."<sup>54</sup>

The Government took new steps to group villages in the border areas of north, east and west sectors of northern Mizoram under the scheme of New Group Centres (NGCs). In 1969, the Deputy Commissioner passed an order for grouping of *one hundred eighty-two* villages into forty Group Centres.<sup>55</sup> Grouping of villages under the scheme of NGC affected the life of about *fifty-thousand* people and was completed by October 15, 1969. Thus, the Centres were handed over to civil administration by the army in December 1969.

Alongwith the scheme of NGCs, the Deputy Commissioner issued an Order for grouping of *one hundred ten* villages into *twenty-six* Centres, which were called "Voluntary Group Centres" (VGCs). The process of grouping under this scheme started under the supervision of the security forces in 1968 and continued till the end of 1969. The army authorities handed over the administration of these centres to the civil administration in the middle of 1970.<sup>56</sup>

There was another type of grouping that came to be known in the official parlance as the "Extended Loop Area (ELA)." Under this scheme, *sixty-three* villages with a population of *forty-thousand* in the area bordering Manipur in the north and Burma (Myanmar) in the east were grouped in *seventeen* Centres. Surprisingly, the grouping under this scheme was actually undertaken by the 59 Mountain Brigade

operating from the neighbouring Manipur State. By the end of 1969, the army authorities handed over those Group Centres to the Deputy Commissioner in the middle of 1970.<sup>57</sup>

Grouping of villages under different schemes affected about *eighty* percent of the rural population and about *sixty-five* percent of the total population of the District. The total expenditure of the Government for grouping came to about *two* crores of rupees while the Government's expenditure for the supply of free ration to the P.P.Vs only for one year alone amounted to Rs. 71 lakhs.<sup>58</sup>

After grouping of villages in the Mizo District, the Assam Government saw slight improvement of law and order situation and conducted democratic elections to the fourth term District Council on 24 April 1970, after extending the life of the third District Council by almost three years. In this election, the Congress captured *ten* seats while the MU and the independent candidates bagged *nine* and *three* seats respectively. Thus, the Congress had formed the last District Council "with the help of two nominated members."<sup>59</sup>

#### 4. Acceptance of Union Territory Status as the Springboard for Statehood

Ch.Chhunga, in his capacity as the leader of the United Mizo Parliamentary Party (UMPP) coalition, successfully negotiated with the Central Government in July 1971 for the separation of the Mizo District from the Assam State to become a Union Territory (UT). Majority of the MU members "agreed to accept the status of a Union Territory with a demand that the Union Territory should be made a state in due course of time."<sup>60</sup> Eventually, the UT of Mizoram "came into existence on January 21, 1971."<sup>61</sup> However, some MU elements led by the former C.E.M, H.K.Bawichhuaka and the former General Secretary of the MU, C.Pahlira "resigned from the party to record their insistence on full statehood demand."<sup>62</sup>

When the first general election to the Legislative Assembly of the Union Territory of Mizoram was held on May 3, 1972, the people had given mandate to the MU to form the first ministry headed by



Ch.Chhunga. Unfortunately, the inception of the first MU ministry was instantly followed by hostile incidents of varying intensity in and around the urban centres of Mizoram. Meanwhile, the MU leaders were said to have been courted and persuaded by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, to merge with the opposition Congress in the Legislative Assembly of Mizoram. Ultimately, the Chief Minister, Ch. Chhunga, and Mr.Lal Thanhawla, President of the Mizoram Congress, had agreed to an unconditional merger of the two parties after having a series of meetings with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, in New Delhi, on 13 and 14 November 1973.<sup>63</sup> But, the merger of the two political parties made a poor performance.

The MU elements absorbed in the Congress party had charged that the ruling Congress leaders did not utter even a single word of disapproval of the M.N.F's hostile activities. In the midst of widespread sufferings of the people either at the hands of the Indian Army or the MNF, the Human Rights Committee formed by Brig.T.Sailo was converted into a new political party, called "People's Conference (PC)," on April 17, 1975, to fill the political vacuum created after the merger of the MU and the Congress. The original objective of the party was "to prepare grounds for the peaceful solution of the Mizo political problem."<sup>64</sup> Unlike other regional political parties, the PC had publicly expressed its interest in the peaceful settlement of the Mizo political problem as well as its respect for human rights. As a sign of its commitment to the peaceful settlement of the vexed Mizo problem, the PC had begun to pursue its political movement with tacit understanding and support of the MNF. Hence, the PC did not like to propose any other political demand that might overshadow the MNF's demand for Mizoram independence. Brigadier T.Sailo, President of the PC party, was also found as practically lending support to the MNF movement for Independence. Even when the MNF leaders and the Government of India were contemplating to sign an Accord in June 1976, Brigadier T.Sailo was said to have briefed Laldenga, on March 15, 1976, at Calcutta, that the MNF should not unconditionally submit their guns until they made an amicable settlement of the Mizo problem.<sup>65</sup>

After months of protracted negotiations and several rounds of secret discussions, Laldenga, on behalf of the M.N.F, and S.L.Khurana, the then Union Home Secretary, on behalf of the Union Government, had signed the "peace accord" on July 1, 1976 at New Delhi. By the "July peace accord," the MNF leadership acknowledged Mizoram as an integral part of India and conveyed to the Government of India their resolve to accept a settlement of all problems in Mizoram within the framework of the Constitution of India.<sup>66</sup> Surprisingly, the signing of the "Peace Accord" was immediately followed by the arrest of Brig.T.Sailo and his political entourage by the Central Government under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) on June 3, 1976 for their frequent attacks on the harsh anti-MNF policy of the latter.

The arrest and imprisonment of Brig.T.Sailo and his political entourage had aroused the regional sentiments of the Mizo public who showed their sympathy to the PC led by Brig.T.Sailo. As a result, the PC could manage to secure an over-whelming majority bagging 23 seats out of 28 seats in the Assembly polls were held in Mizoram on 17 and 20 May 1978. This massive victory of the PC in the election was rapidly followed by the installation of a five member Ministry headed by Brigadier T.Sailo, a leader of the House, on June 2, 1978.<sup>67</sup> Since that day onward, Brigadier T.Sailo and Laldenga never shared the same political platform. The MNF was up and down to influence the overground politics in their favour from outside the Constitutional framework of the Indian Union. Laldenga had chosen Lal Thanhawla, President of the Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC) as an instrument for spearheading the thrust against Brig. T.Sailo and his party in overground politics. The MPCC was, to some extent, successful in prevailing upon the public to charge Brigadier T.Sailo as refusing to step down to give room to Laldenga to install his Ministry as the stepping-stone for establishing peace and tranquillity in Mizoram. Meanwhile, the preparations were smoothly going on in full swing for the electoral battle of 1984 and the political parties had released their election manifestoes. An analytical study of their election manifestoes, however, shows that all the

contesting political parties used the issue of settlement of peace and conferment of statehood to the UT of Mizoram as their policy No.1.<sup>68</sup> During his election campaign, Lal Thanhawla, President of the MPCC (I), had gone much further by saying that he would step down from power for 'Peace Settlement' if his party formed the government.<sup>69</sup> Added to this, the MPCC (I) had given top priority to the local grievances, such as, the peace settlement and conferment of statehood to Mizoram at the cost of its national election manifestoes. When the 1984 general election to the Mizoram Legislative Assembly finally took place, the MPCC (I) won victory and the PC had fallen into disgrace because of its alleged anti-M.N.F policy.<sup>70</sup>

## **6. Signing of the "Peace Accord" and Conferment of Statehood to Mizoram**

After passing through so many hurdles, the peace process could be set on the right track. Laldenga had a series of meetings with Central Congress leaders and finally with the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. This was followed by the signing of the political settlement or Agreement on June 25, 1986 between Laldenga and Arjun Singh, providing coalition interim government between the MNF and the Congress (I). As planned, the final stage of the peace process had been reached by the signing of the Mizoram Peace Accord on June 30, 1986 between R.D Pradhan, Union Home Secretary, Laldenga, MNF President, and Lalkhama, Chief Secretary of Mizoram. The "Mizoram Peace Accord" provided, *inter alia*, full Statehood for Mizoram which was inaugurated by the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, on February 20, 1987. It is important to note that the Congress Ministry in Mizoram could share power with the MNF and the Chief Minister, Lal Thanhawla, stepping down to Deputy Chief Ministership and three of his other Ministers being replaced by MNF men.

## **7. Conclusion**

Since 1947, the indigenous Mizo tribes in Mizoram had passed through various stages of

political developments. Prior to 1947, they were excluded from the Provincial politics of Assam and were practically kept out of the wave of political development taking place in other parts of the British India. In spite of this exclusion, the Mizo tribes demanded for entrance into the political system. Eventually, they were allowed by the last British Superintendent to organise themselves to form a political party through which they would be able to participate in the political system for promotion of social, economic and political change in their traditional society. However, it is relevant to note that the isolationist policy of the colonial power had already ingrained a sense of separateness in the minds of the Mizo tribes resulting in their fight for complete separation of their ancestral land from the Indian Union. With the passage of time, the integrationist politics of the first political party, called Mizo Union (MU), was gradually dwindled by separatist politics of the Mizo National Front (MNF) whose emotional appeal effectively worked in the minds of the new generation. In spite of this separatist politics of the MNF, the Government of India was successful in negotiating with the MNF which culminated in the signing of the "Mizo Peace Accord," as the MNF would like to call it, in 1986. In pursuance of the provision contained in the "Peace Accord" for the conferment of Statehood, the Union Territory of Mizoram was elevated to a full-fledged State of the Indian Union on February 20, 1987. But, it is very unfortunate for Mizoram that immediately after its elevation to a full-fledged State, identity politics began to emerge mainly due to the failure of the "Mizo Peace Accord" to contain a clause for the materialisation of "Greater Mizoram." Some of them felt that they were put under compelling circumstances to launch identity politics as they were let down by the MNF whose leadership previously preached "Greater Mizoram" for the integration of all the Mizo-inhabited areas. These ethnic identity politics of some indigenous 'Zo' ethnic groups and the 'non-Zo' ethnic groups are continuing in their respective areas of residence in Mizoram.

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## Centre-State Relations in India: A Comparative Study of Relations between Indian National Congress (INC)'s Government in Mizoram with INC Rule and with BJP at the Centre

Dr.Lalringheta\*  
Prof. K.V. Reddy\*\*

### *Abstract*

*Prior to the Lok Sabha Election of 2014 there was a change of ministry at the centre, Indian National Congress, ruling in the state of Mizoram, was also running the Central Government. But 2014 Lok Sabha Election was won by the Bharatiya Janata Party with a clear-cut majority. As it is a regular experience that in India, regime change at the level of both union and state used to be followed by changing pattern of centre-state relations. This is more obvious when ruling parties are different from each other. Complaints and conflicts have been rising from time to time. This paper is an attempt to analyse the changing pattern of relations with certain implications, due to strategies adopted by both the centre and state to strengthen or not each other in a specific case of Mizoram.*

**Key words:** relations, implications, change, discontentment, initiative

### **Introduction**

This paper is concerned with the relations between Mizoram State Government and Government of India during a specific timeframe from 2013 to 2016. An attempt is made to highlight the Mizoram State Government relations with the INC-led UPA Government at the Union level covering a period from 2013 to 2014 Lok Sabha Election. Is there any major change after BJP-led NDA Government was formed at the centre after the election? What are the strategies and efforts made by the State Government and the Union Government to improve relations with each other in a new regime? Is there any financial implication? And, opinions of politician, bureaucrat and academician in Mizoram relations with NDA Government are also highlighted.

The Indian National Congress in Mizoram had come into power in 2008 after the Mizo National Front completed ruling for two consecutive terms. It won the state legislative assembly election again in 2013. Without any major mistakes and scandals, the party consolidated its power in the state. Meanwhile at the Union level in the Lok Sabha election of 2014, Indian National Congress was badly defeated by the Bharatiya Janata Party and formed government at the centre under the new Prime Minister, Narendra Modi. Modi advocated a new trend in the Indian Federalism of what he called “Competitive and Co-operative Federalism” and he tried to change the patterns of centre-state relations in India. Being a Chief Minister of Gujarat, Modi had the experience of bitter relations between the state government and the union government and its adverse consequences in his earlier days. In many of his speeches, he used to talk about the importance of developed states to

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\*Ph.D Research Scholar (UGC Senior Research Fellow)

\*\*Professor & HoD, Department of Political Science

build developed India and he pleaded for the cooperation of different states.

### Methodology

To study events of centre-state relations, the paper depends a lot on *Vanglaini* newspaper (a local daily newspaper which is widespread and trustworthy in the state). The newspaper not only covers local politics but North East India besides the mainland politics. Interviews with politician, academic and bureaucrat were held during collection of material.

### State Government Initiatives to improve Relations with the Union Government

Before coming to various efforts made by the Government of Mizoram to improve relations with the BJP government at the centre, it is imperative to highlight her relations with the INC government at the centre from 2013 to Lok Sabha Election of 2014. Mizoram had good relations with the central government of Indian National Congress before the BJP came into power at the centre. Even the state flagship programme, 'New Land Use Policy' got support from the centre in words and finances. The then Planning Commission Deputy Chairman Montek Singh Ahluwalia had expressed his satisfaction over the achievements made by Mizoram in health, agriculture and education and even goes to the extent of saying that he had congratulated the success of the state NLUP programme and promised for its further success.<sup>1</sup>

On 19<sup>th</sup> September 2013, at the Congress Bhavan Aizawl, Luizinho Faleiro, General Secretary, All India Congress Committee (AICC) in-charge of North East had stated that the Mizoram Government under Lalthanhawla had implemented his promised to the people and to keep the people of Mizoram happy with the government. He added that the promises made by the State Congress before 2008 MLA Elections like NLUP, development of youth, eradication of corruption and infrastructure developments had been implemented.<sup>2</sup>

Sonia Gandhi visited to the state on 20<sup>th</sup> September 2013 to campaign for Congress for the

coming state assembly election in November. On this occasion Sonia Gandhi asked the people to vote Congress, and if Congress had won, she promised that every possible help would be given. She also said that the needs and requirement of Mizoram put forwarded by the state Chief Minister would be dealt with as soon as possible. About the NLUP, she praised the scheme as it brings development to many families and she remarks that the state government was successful in the improvement of financial conditions. Chief Minister Lalthanhawla in return expressed his gratitude to Sonia Gandhi as she had taken every measure for the implementation of the promises, she had made in the 2008 elections.<sup>3</sup> Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh paid a visit to the state on 16<sup>th</sup> November 2013 and he campaigned for the state congress asking the people to vote for Congress for the development of the state and promised all help from the centre.

Mizoram was awarded the Best Performing State under the JNNURM and also the Best State for Overall Performance under the SJSRY in the year 2012-13 by the Union Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation. The former award is given to the best state among the Special Category States and UTs for outstanding work during the last seven years in the Basic Services to Urban Poor (BSUP) and the Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) both under the JNNURM. And, the latter award is also given to the best performing state among small states and UTs. Chief Minister Lalthanhawla had received from President Pranab Mukherjee on 21<sup>st</sup> January 2014 at Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi.

There is good relationship between centre and state of Mizoram during this period as they belonged to the same party. Union Government did not have any major interference in the state politics. Lalzirlana, Home Minister of Mizoram, said that Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee never totally depended on the direction and supervision of the Congress leaders in New Delhi in the inauguration ceremony of Lalthanhawla Auditorium on 12<sup>th</sup> January 2015.<sup>5</sup> State Congress was given autonomy in the state politics but central leaders gave them financial

assistance and also campaigned for the state when election comes. State's Flagship Programme, 'New Land Use Policy(NLUP)' under which selected families in rural and urban areas are given financial assistance of Rs 1,00,000 in a phased manner so that they could attain self-sufficiency in different occupations like poultry, piggery, fishery, small trades like weaving, hair cutting, permanent farming in orange and pineapple. This policy can also be implemented with the help of financial assistance from the centre. Till May 2015, the NLUP assistance was given to 1, 30,748 families. This flagship programme paved a very great role for Congress in winning the state election of 2008.

### BJP at the Centre

Though Indian National Congress was badly defeated by its main rival BJP in the Lok Sabha Election of 2014, Government of Mizoram has been trying to maintain good relations with the Union Government. Lalthanhawla attended induction ceremony of Narendra Modi as Prime Minister in New Delhi. He said that even though Congress was defeated at the centre, the state government was still strong and he hoped that Narendra Modi's Government would be better for India and Modi also used to be Chief Minister, so he hoped that he would have better experience and understanding of what problems confronted the state.<sup>6</sup> In the political session held at Congress Bhavan, Aizawl on 31<sup>st</sup> May 2014, Chief Minister also said that it would be better for state congress and Mizoram when non-congress party had formed government at the centre.<sup>7</sup>

To build a close and friendly relationship with the BJP Government at the centre, state ministers and officials had gone to Delhi and met various Union Ministers in the initial period and later from time to time. In these meetings various needs of Mizoram and problems faced were informed to the Union Ministers concerned. State ministers and officials had meetings with the Central Officials and the issues discussed thereon are as below:

- (1) State Chief Minister, Lal Thanhawla, went to Delhi in June, 2014 and met the Prime Minister, Modi, 9<sup>th</sup> June. On 10<sup>th</sup> 2014 he also called on

V.K. Singh, the DoNER minister in his office and on 11<sup>th</sup> he had discussion with Kiren Rijju, Union Minister of State for Home Affairs at Mizoram House, New Delhi. In these meetings with the Prime Minister and Union Ministers, the CM had discussed with them various needs and problems of Mizoram, such as financial problems, power and electricity, problems in development work, needs of the NE states and also invited the Prime Minister and the DoNER Minister to visit Mizoram.<sup>8</sup>

- (2) The Chief Minister also met the Finance Minister, Arun Jaitley, on 27<sup>th</sup> June 2014<sup>9</sup> and told him that due to twenty years of insurgency Mizoram was economically backward in comparison to other states. He requested the Finance Minister to help finding solution to the financial problems of the state and the latter had replied that measures should be devised to improve financial condition of Mizoram. In the next day, Chief Minister met the Union Home Minister, Rajnath Singh, and discussed various needs of Government of Mizoram and boundary problems with Assam Government. In addition to that, some important topics are mentioned in this meeting such as:

- (a) Security Related Expenditure (SRE).
- (b) Inner Line Regulations.
- (c) Conditions of Bru at Tripura Transit Camp.
- (d) Kuki Liberation Organisation.

- (3) The CM met the Union Home Secretary Anil Goswamy on 5<sup>th</sup> August 2014, on the issue of Bru at Tripura Transit Camp and he asked him to delete those who did not want to return to Mizoram from the electoral roll.<sup>10</sup>

- (4) He also met the DoNER Minister Jitendra Singh in Delhi on 29<sup>th</sup> September 2015, and informed him about various needs of the state. In the meeting with the DoNER Minister, the CM explained the transportation problems faced by Mizoram and to overcome this he also sent a request to the Civil Aviation Ministry to arrange direct flight between Delhi and Mizoram every day or twice in a week.<sup>11</sup>



- (5) Chief Minister of Mizoram, Lalthanhawla called on the Union Minister of State (independent charge) for Petroleum and Natural Gas, Dharmendra Pradhan, in Delhi on 23rd February 2016 and requested the Union Minister to take steps for faster process of oil and gas exploration project in Mizoram.<sup>12</sup>
- (6) On 27<sup>th</sup> February 2016, Health and Family Welfare Central Council Conference was held in Delhi and Health Minister of Mizoram also attended this conference. On this occasion, the State Health Minister requested the Union Minister to take measures to set up a Medical College in Mizoram and to make concession for Mizoram in the Medical Council of India norms. Union Minister on his part assented to the request to credit funds to be received by the state from National Aids Control Organisation (NACO) to the account of Mizoram State Aids Control Society (MSACS) instead of going through the State Finance Department.<sup>13</sup>
- (7) On 24<sup>th</sup> May 2016, Chief Minister on his official tour to Delhi called on the Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh and discussed about importance of road connectivity between India and South East Asia through Myanmar and requested the Union Minister to expedite the on-going construction of Kaladan Multi Modal Transit Transport Project.<sup>14</sup>
- (8) Inter-State Council Meeting was held at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on 16<sup>th</sup> July 2016. Chief Minister of Mizoram also attended this meeting. Lalthanhawla said that Prime Minister had a great vision for development of the country and Mizoram would take every effort to implement this vision.<sup>15</sup> Though Mizoram had faced some problems with regards to appointment of Governor in the state and it can be regarded as an insult to Mizoram, Lalthanhawla did not mention about this while the Chief Minister of Delhi Arvind Kejriwal expressed his opposition of imposing President's Rule in the state without any reasonable causes. He also proposed a resolution to pass that before appointment of state Governor for the concerned states and Lt. Governor of UT should be consulted. Nitish Kumar, Chief Minister of Bihar, suggested abolition of Governor Post. Unless the state Chief Minister was empowered in the matter of appointment and sacking of governor and there should be transparency in the appointment of Governor.
- (9) Chief Minister of Mizoram Lalthanhawla went to Delhi and met the External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj in the third week of July 2016. The CM had urged the External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj to scale up and strengthen the bilateral engagement with Myanmar. He apprised her of his tour to Myanmar in April this year and shared his thoughts on the need to strengthen the bilateral relations with Myanmar through the border trade, development investment, connectivity, political engagement and people to people exchange to optimise the gains of the North Eastern States in the context of the Act East Policy. Chief Minister requested Swaraj to take initiatives to ease restriction through a bilateral process to facilitate the movement of people between the two countries and explore the possibility of making the bus service regular between the two countries through Moreh. He also asked Swaraj to take measures to preserve and protect the Banyan tree known to the Mizo as "Khampat Bung" a symbol of Mizo unity planted in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Sushma Swaraj on 26<sup>th</sup> of August 2016 informed that she had written to the Myanmar Government to take steps to protect the Khampat Bung (Banyan tree) located in the Khampat village in the country's north-western frontier.<sup>16</sup>
- (10) School Education Minister of Mizoram, H. Rohluna went to Delhi and met the Union Human Resources Development Minister Prakash Javadekar on 24<sup>th</sup> October 2016. H. Rohluna apprised the Union Minister of the salary problems faced by Hindi teacher employed under the CSS in Mizoram and requested him to take measures to solve the problem. Union Minister replied that learning of

Hindi as compulsory in the Middle and High School section in Mizoram is a very good thing and he promised that these Hindi teachers would get their salaries. He would inform the concerned department to take measure as soon as possible. He also said that the utilisation of this scheme in Mizoram would be examined and efforts would be made for its continuation.

In the inauguration programme of tourist lodge at Serchhip on 7<sup>th</sup> June 2016, Chief Minister of Mizoram Lalthanhawla said that Central Government had paid due attention to Mizoram as the state had done well among smaller states in India.<sup>17</sup> Again, on 10<sup>th</sup> June 2016, CM said at the Congress Bhavan that although UPA Government had given a very good care to Mizoram, the NDA Government might be better for Mizoram in this regard. He added that it did not matter whether BJP or INC formed the government at the centre. They are going to favour those states who had performed their duties diligently and that were why Mizoram received a very good care from the NDA Government.<sup>18</sup> On 17<sup>th</sup> of the same month CM said that BJP made an attempt to dominate the North East State but right now they did not dare to include Mizoram in this policy.

### Discontentment

Besides these efforts to improve relations with the centre after Modi's Government came into power, there are some minor difficulties with the Union Government. There is no major conflict with the Union Government that is worthy of mention but only some minor difficulties and misunderstandings on various issues.

- With regard to state Flagship Programme NLUP, State Chief Minister said that due to accusation, Centre had called for explanation on NLUP from the state government on the occasion of "Farmers' day" organised at Synod Conference Centre, Aizawl on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2015.<sup>19</sup>
- Unfortunately, eight months after BJP came into power at the centre not even a single Union Minister visited Mizoram while the other North East states were visited by union ministers.
- Though the state Congress did not attack BJP directly, it implicitly did by availing religious intolerance towards the Christians that had tainted the BJP images. On 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2015, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC) made a statement<sup>20</sup> on the issue of Zoramthanga, President MNF acting as mediator between the Myanmar Government and rebels stating that any alliance with the BJP-led NDA government was not a good thing and accused BJP of causing many troubles to Christians in India. The CM of Mizoram also said on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2015 that the main aim of BJP Government was to transform India into a Hindu state.<sup>21</sup> MPCC again made a statement on 14<sup>th</sup> July 2015 demanding punishment for Union External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj, Rajasthan Chief Minister Vasundhara Raje and his son Dushyant Singh, MP as they are involved in a scandal called "Lalitgate" and assailed of BJP Government for not taking any measures.<sup>22</sup>
- Union Home Ministry informed the CAG to investigate the lottery system of Mizoram with Sikkim and Nagaland in October 2015. But Lalthanhawla said that there was nothing wrong in the state lottery system.<sup>23</sup>
- Also, in the campaign for Delhi Assembly Election 2016, BJP called the inhabitants of North East as 'Immigrants' in their Document Vision. The MPCC along with the All Assam Student Union (AASU) and Manipur Congress announce in a statement stating their opposition to the BJP's Document Vision calling them as "Immigrants."
- In the state of Mizoram there was preparation for grand celebration of thirtieth anniversary of peace on 30<sup>th</sup> June 2016 under the guidance of Central Young Mizo Association (CYMA). The Prime Minister was re-invited by the State Chief Minister as he failed to respond to the invitation by the CYMA. The CYMA President and Organising Chairman Lalbiakzuala said that they had invited him to grace "Remnani" on its thirtieth anniversary. He added that they invited the Prime Minister to grace because the

occasion would provide opportunity to hold talks with him about the implementation of some of the terms and of memorandum of settlement signed between the Government of India and the MNF in 1986. Again, this second invitation by Chief Minister did not receive any response from Prime Minister. No information was received from Prime Minister Office about the failure to attend the ceremony.<sup>24</sup>

- An initiative taken by the Union Government and the BJP Mizoram Pradesh to commemorate a Mizo knight Khuangchera as Indian freedom fighter was cancelled due to stiff opposition from different political parties and the NGOs in the state like MZP, CYMA and MSU. Rajen Gohain, Union Minister of State for Railways, who was invited as the Chief Guest for the ceremony, said that he did not want to hurt the Mizo sentiment.<sup>25</sup> He lost his life fighting British Colonial policy in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. There was disagreement between the two opposing fronts. Mizo people claimed that Khuangchera at that time of his fighting did not know even the name of India, he had just fight for Mizoram. On the other hand, Union Government and state BJP on their turn had claimed that even though Khuangchera may not know India, his struggle against the British colonial policy was worthy of reward. On this issue, Governor of Mizoram Nirbhay Sharma also stated that the Mizo's perception of freedom fighter must be reconsidered.<sup>26</sup> Adding that, as those people who opposed the British colonial policy are freedom fighter for their distinct group of people, they are at the same time freedom fighter for India also. Erstwhile, they may reside outside India, they are now included in the Union of India, so that Mizo could have had a broader national outlook, according to him.

### Central Government Initiatives

In his letter to all the Chief Ministers of Indian States on 24<sup>th</sup> February 2015, the Prime Minister Narendra Modi said that the Centre had accepted the Fourteenth Finance Commission recommendation

which will help strengthen federal spirit of the country. He also mentioned that state government would have greater freedom in developmental work and for that matter financial assistance should be given to the states. He reiterated that strong states mean strong centre in India. Even if Central Government would lose financially if it accepts FFC recommendations, it would still pursue, he said.

Although the FFC recommendations are accepted, there were severe oppositions and submission of Joint Memorandum against changing of funding pattern which runs against the interest of Special Category States including Mizoram. After deliberate consideration, Union Ministry of Finance sent information to Secretaries of State Governments about sharing pattern on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2015. For a larger number of CSSs, 90:10 funding pattern will be continued for the NE states and Himalayan region states. In these schemes, 60:40 funding pattern will be followed for the remaining states. In some central schemes, States Government will have the authority to pursue or not. In these schemes 80:20 funding pattern will be followed for the NE states and Himalayan region and for the rest of the state 50:50 will be followed.<sup>27</sup> Again on 16<sup>th</sup> November 2015 at the North East Connectivity Summit in Shillong, Bibek Debroy, member of NITI Aayog announced that the Special Plan Assistance (SPA) under Normal Central Assistance for the NE states will be continued and adding that these states will be under the Special Category Status as before.<sup>28</sup>

On 21<sup>st</sup> August 2014, the NE Chief Ministers meeting was held at Assam administrative Staff College, Guwahati in the presence of the DoNER Minister V.K. Singh. Chief Minister of Mizoram Lalthanhawla also attended the meeting and he informed about the needs and problems of Mizoram to the Minister. The DoNER minister said at the occasion that meeting was held in the North East itself to examine the needs and conditions of the NE states.

Narendra Modi had emphasised on the development of North East states and asked eight Union Ministers to go to the NE in an interval of two weeks. He asked his ministers to go and see the

situation in the state rather than make planning from Delhi. As a result, various Union Ministers and officials visited Mizoram from time to time and held talks with the State Government ministers and high-ranking officials on the issues of their respective concerns. These visits paved the way for deeper understanding of the situation in the state and for closer relations between centre and Mizoram. Union Ministers and important Officials who visited the state and discussed the issues thereon in a chronological order are as follows:

- (1) Jitendra Singh, the DoNER Minister had a discussion with the State Government officials at State Guest House on 15<sup>th</sup> April 2015. In this meeting, he said that development of the NE states is one of the first priorities of Prime Minister and the DoNER Ministry will do its best for that purpose. Earlier, the NE states must go to Delhi but now the DoNER will go to NE to help them solve their problems and eight Union Ministers will visit NE states in an interval of two weeks as Prime Minister's wish, he added.
- (2) Mizoram was visited by Amit Shah, President of BJP, on 16<sup>th</sup> April 2015, public meeting was held at Vanapa hall, Aizawl. He invited people of Mizoram to co-operate with BJP for development of Mizoram and centre allotted Rs 1200 crore for development of youth in Mizoram. Amit Shah was met by Mizoram Kohhran Hruaitute Committee (Joint body of different Christian denomination) requested him to make effort to stop violence against Christians and not to organise government function on important Christian holiday.
- (3) Secretary, DoNER landed in Mizoram to stay here for three days on 12<sup>th</sup> May 2015 and met State Chief Minister Lalthanhawla. He also had discussion with State officials about organic farming.
- (5) On 26<sup>th</sup> May 2015 Union Minister of State for Home Affairs Kiren Rijju visited Mizoram. He said that Union Government had taken steps for the safety of the NE people and also talked about Bru refugee in Tripura.
- (6) Union Minister of State for Panchayati Raj, Nihalchand Meghwal was in Mizoram on 16<sup>th</sup> June 2015. He met state LAD Minister Lalthanliana and asked him to prepare project for development and submitted to the Central Government. A promise was given that those projects will be dealt by him as necessary. Strengthening of State Government and devolution of more power to them to be able to function independently is the aim of Central Government he said.
- (7) Union Textile Minister Gangwar inaugurated Weavers' Service Centre and Garment Manufacturing Centre here in Aizawl on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2015. On the occasion he said that, it is the desire of Prime Minister to make the NE state developed and self-sufficient in weaving.
- (8) Dr.Sanjeev Kumar Balyan, Union Minister of State for Agriculture landed in Mizoram for two days visit on 17<sup>th</sup> August 2015. He made some important statements like 50:50 funding pattern will be reconsidered; sufficient financial assistance is earmarked for agriculture development in the NE and states are advised to prepare project for that. Central Government objective is to develop Food Processing Industry in the NE and to provide better transportation for easier market in agricultural products.
- (9) Bandaru Dattatreya, Union Minister of State (independent charge) for Labour & Employment announced that Employees' State Insurance Corporation (ESIC) for workers' security and safety in health-related matters will be established when he visited Mizoram on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2015. He also declared that an office will be set up to deal with the Employment Provident Fund (EPF) and there are more than 5000 people who are covered by EPF at present in Mizoram.
- (10) In the month of October 2015, Ram Madhav, BJP National General Secretary (NE in-charge) at the North East Festival said that due to psychological and physical gap between NE region states and other states of India, the NE

lagged behind other states of India in development. Central Government would take measures to bridge this gap and he concluded that without development in North East, India cannot be fully developed.

- (11) DoNER Minister said that the DoNER Ministry will prepare project to make Mizoram “Bamboo State of India” when he visited the state on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2015.
- (12) Union Minister of State for Environment, Forestry and Climate Change (independent charge), Prakash Javadekar inaugurated a newly constructed building of State Forest Training Institute (SFTI) on 9<sup>th</sup> January 2016 and also called on Chief Minister and Governor of Mizoram.
- (13) The NITI Aayog member Ramesh Chand said that Mizoram needs to utilise central schemes effectively. He also met Chief Minister of Mizoram on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2016.
- (14) Indian Ambassador to Philippines Lalduhlthana Ralte, IFS and Indian High Commissioner to Malawi Vanlalhuma, IFS called on Industries Minister of Mizoram H. Rohluna, Home Minister R. Lalzirliana and Chief Secretary of Mizoram Lalmalsawma, IAS at the latter's offices on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2016 and discussed with them over better co-operation between Ministry of External Affairs and Mizoram state. The two visiting Ambassadors first called on H. Rohluna and told him that they are visiting the state as per the wishes of Prime Minister for better relation between Ministry of External Affairs and Mizoram.
- (15) Two Union Ministers, Santosh Kumar, Minister of State for Textile (independent charge) and Niranjana Jyoti, Minister of State for Food Processing visited Mizoram on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2016. Prime Minister had a great concern for the NE states development, every corner of India must develop to make greater and stronger India and for that every ministry work for the region both the visiting ministers said. Under the Textile ministry Rs. 20 crore had been spent for

Mizoram Industrial Growth Centre and the ministry had also made an effort to generate employment opportunities in the state as much as possible so that Mizo youth need not go outside the state in search of job. He also said that he would do whatever possible for Mizoram under his ministry. The next day Santosh Kumar inaugurated an Apparel and the Garment Making Centre and delivered a speech saying that Central Government policy “Make in India” will provide employment opportunities to Mizo youth. He added that Central Government assented to six proposals for developmental projects in Mizoram which will cost a sum of Rs 114.82 crore and for these schemes Central will give to the state Rs 102.96 crore and the rest will be matched by State Government and the State Government will also be responsible for making proper detailed plan for efficient utilisation of these money.

- (16) Radha Mohan Singh, Union Agriculture and Farmers Welfare Minister had a meeting with state officers in the departments of Horticulture, Agriculture and Fisheries at the Mizoram State Guest House on 19<sup>th</sup> June, 2016 and reviewed development work and disposal of money by these departments. He urged state officers to work for the benefit of farmers and to implement welfare programme for farmers prepared by Central Government. Ministers highlighted and appreciated development work in Mizoram under Central Government. And, Health Mela organised by Department of AYUSH, repairing work of Serchhip to Buarpui road under DoNER ministry, projects carried out in Aizawl, Serchhip and Kolasib under Swachh Bharat and creation of 2078 health worker post under National Health Mission.
- (17) Anil Madhav Dave, Union Minister of State for Environment, Forest and Climate Change (independent charge) visited Mizoram on 27<sup>th</sup> September and this is his first official visit to Indian state after he became Union Minister. He met Chief Minister and Governor of Mizoram. All the Forest Clearance applied by

Mizoram for development works are given by the Ministry he said and if not, it means there are some mistakes in the project.

- (18) Union Minister of State for Human Resources Development (independent charge) Dr. Mahendra Nath Pandey visited Mizoram on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2016 and had meeting with Governor and Higher and Technical Education Officials. Pandey said that development of NE states was the prime concern of Prime Minister and Central Ministers are informed to visit the region as frequent as possible. He told the State Governor that Mizoram needs referred to him should be dealt with as fast as possible.

These official visits and meetings by Union Ministers and important officials paved the way for closer and friendly relations between State and Union Government. But to make judgement of the success of these visits and meeting, it is too early and one needs to wait for things and time to come to judge the success or failure. Most of the projects and plans are in the initial stage but it is obvious that State Government is feeling contended with how Central Government had given treatment. Central Ministers and Officials also on their part had shown a very good care to the state.

### Perceptions on Centre-State Relations

Dr. Lallianchhunga said<sup>30</sup> that there is no discrimination in the distribution of funds among the states as Central Government follows well defined criteria. He prophesised that BJP at the centre may choose target community like Bru and other, to consolidate themselves in Mizoram. In the Christian-dominated state like Mizoram they may not popularise their religion but by using development as bait they will ask people to make comparison between BJP and Indian National Congress. Increase of various rate of tax and early acceptance of Goods and Services Tax by the State Government may mean conformity with Central directives and also to be able to hold their heads high before Central Government.

L.N. Tocchawng<sup>31</sup>, Finance Commissioner of Mizoram mentioned that as the Central follows 14<sup>th</sup>

Finance Commission Recommendation there is no problem for Mizoram with regard to the Grants-in-aid and the state also received money for Centrally Sponsored Schemes regularly but due to delay in submission of Utilisation Certificate by the state departments sometimes funds cannot be received timely. Answering the question if can there be a party politics behind all the development policy under Central Government she replied that it is too early to make an analysis of the secret policy as such.

Finance Minister<sup>32</sup> of Mizoram said that there was no problem for State Government when there was frequent change of Governor and said that unless Governor misbehave gravely, they are all acceptable. He also said that due to changing of ruling party at Union Level the state did not face problems in Funds and grants-in-aid and the relations of Mizoram Government with Central Government is very good. There is nothing to fear for Mizoram even if BJP rules at the centre. Even if had BJP played party politics through development policy, as Mizoram is Christian state, BJP could not have much advantage here in Mizoram he said.

### Conclusion

What is obvious from this paper is that there are no any major changes in Mizoram state relations with the Central Government after regime changes at the centre that are running against the interest of the state explicitly or implicitly. When INC was ruling at the centre, they were not interfering too much in the state affairs but only election campaign and supportive attitude to the state. But after Modi Government came into power at the centre Union Ministers of different ministry frequently visited the state as recommended by Prime Minister Modi. Competitive and Co-operative Federalism is the main theme of Modi in centre-state relations and in pursuance of this policy efforts are made to devolve the financial autonomy to the state. Acceptance of the 14<sup>th</sup> Finance Commission Recommendation to increase States' share in shareable tax from 32% to 42% is an explicit initiative of the Union Government.

As Mizoram is a resource-lacked state, it has to depend on Central Assistance. State revenue

receipts and capital receipts are sometimes inadequate to cover State expenditure. This increase in the money required to be borrowed by the state upon the security of the consolidated fund of the state through various sources like RBI, Financial institution at market rate and Central Government. After BJP Government came into power Mizoram also tried to collect much more money through increasing of tax rate and enactment of new Act for tax collection.

Both the State and Central Governments take initiatives to improve relations for the development of Mizoram. Visits and counter-visits have been taken place from time to time. The state did not have problems with Central Government regarding grants-in-aid. There are only some minor discontentments on various issues as mentioned earlier. State leaders like Chief Minister, Finance Minister and bureaucrats also expressed satisfaction on how the centre treated the state in the present condition.

### Findings:

The present ruling party i.e., Congress came into power in 2008 MLA election and it again won another victory in 2013 MLA election. At the centre, INC was defeated in 2014 Lok Sabha election by its main rival BJP. Due to the same party rule at both the centre and state level they maintained good relations with each other. Union Government did not have much interference in the state affairs before the Lok Sabha election of 2014. When BJP came into power at the centre, Mizoram State Government tried to build good relations with the Union Government. The CM of Mizoram attended the inauguration ceremony of PM Modi and said that it would be better for state congress and Mizoram when non-congress party had formed ministry at the centre. To build friendly relations with the Union Government state ministers paid visit to Delhi from time to time and discussed various topics that concerned them.

Central Government had paid due attention and good care on the problems of Mizoram and taken many steps towards the improvement of relations with Mizoram. PM Modi advocated “Competitive and Co-operative Federalism” and also advised his ministers to go to the NE and see the situation rather

than making plan from Delhi. These visits played an important role in the improvement of relations between the Union Government and Mizoram. Meanwhile, there are some minor problems over some issues but these problems were not acting as hindrances in the relations between Union Government and Mizoram.

From the above-mentioned findings, some relevant questions on Mizoram relations with the Union government in the context of regime change at the centre can be answered as follows;

1. Whether regime change at the centre has had any adverse effect on the centre-state political relations?
  - The answer to this question from this finding is no. Even though UPA Government under INC was replaced by BJP under the coalition of NDA, Mizoram State Government under Congress did not face any major political problems with the Union Government though there were minor issues.
2. What are the main financial implications of such changed relations?
  - Due to Modi’s “Co-operative and Competitive Federalism” policy, states are expected to raise the state’s revenues. Mizoram Government also takes some measures to improve its economy. There is no major financial implication that runs against the interest of the state. Even the FFC recommendation to remove Special Category States was not implemented due to opposition from the NE states and the Status Quo is still followed. But financial dependency of the State Government is the main factor for developing good relations with the Union Government in the case of Mizoram as the state must conform to the words of the Union Government.
3. What are the institutional changes that could improve Centre-State relations?
  - From the account of the Mizoram relations with the Union Government right from the

District Council period, it appears that financial issue had played a very big role in centre-MDC/UT/State relations. Political and economic factors are inter-related. It does not matter as to how the State Government depended heavily on union Government, financially if it gets more funds for development.

From the findings of this article one can reveal that generalisation on centre-state relations in India cannot be applied to every state. The problems faced by more developed and populous states cannot be the same with those faced by poor and less populous state like Mizoram. With the passage of time and changing of policy by the parties, that framework set earlier is not applicable in the study of Centre-State relations in India and new case study to examine relations are needed.

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30. An interview with Lallianchhunga, a noted political analysis in the state and later Spokesperson for Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, who was an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, Mizoram University was conducted by the writer on 25th October 2016.
31. On 26th October an interview was conducted by the writer with L.N. Tochwawng Indian Civil Account Services (ICAS), Finance Commissioner, Government of Mizoram at the latter's office at Secretariat.
32. The writer of this thesis also had an interview with Lalsawta, Finance Minister of Mizoram during Congress regime in Mizoram at his office on 26th October 2016.



