

**POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MIZORAM:
CONTEXTUALIZING LUCIAN PYE'S CONCEPT**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULLFILLMENT OF THE
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LUCIAN PYE'S CONCEPT**

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**In partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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This is to certify that **Mr. T. Lalremruata**, a bonafide research scholar bearing Ph. D. Registration No. MZU/Ph. D./1307 of 26.07.2019 in the Department of Political Science, Mizoram University has completed his work on **Political Development in Mizoram: Contextualizing Lucian Pye's Concept** for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D) in Political Science under my supervision. The work carried out the by the scholar is original and no part of the thesis has been published in any form, either in a journal or a book.

He has fulfilled all the criteria as prescribed by the UGC Regulation 2016 with mandatory publication. On completion of all formalities of Mizoram University, I am pleased to forward the thesis for evaluation and further necessary action.

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DECLARATION
MIZORAM UNIVERSITY
DECEMBER, 2024

I **T. LALREMRUATA**, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to do the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institute.

This is being submitted to the Mizoram University for the **Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science**.

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(T. LALREMRUATA)

Candidate

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADC- Autonomous District Council

ADP - Aspirational District Programme

AMC - Aizawl Municipal Corporation

BADP/HADP - Border and Hill Area Development Programme

BJP - Bharatiya Janata Party

BRM - Business Risk Management

CAP - Canadian Agricultural Partnership

CCM- Council of Churches in Mizoram

CHCs - Community Health Centres

CMO - Chief Medical Officer

CSOs - Civil Society Organizations

CSS - Centrally Sponsored Schemes

DARE - Department of Agriculture Research and Education

DHME - Directorate of Hospital & Medical Education

DHS - Directorate of Health Services

DONER – Development of North Eastern Region

EAG - Empowered Action Group

EU - European Union

FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

H&FW Dept. - Health and Family Welfare Department

HPC - Hmar People's Convention

ICAR - Indian Council of Agricultural Research

INC - Indian National Congress

INC - Indian National Congress

INC -Indian National Congress

IOA - Indian Olympic Association

IT - Information Technology

KIIT - Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology

LADC - Lai Autonomous District Council

LC - Local Councils

LPG – Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization

MDCC - Mizo District Congress Committee

MDGs – Millenium Development Goals

MENA - Middle East and North Africa

MFA - Mizoram Football Association

MHIS - Mizoram Health Insurance Scheme

MHSSP - Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project

MIP – Mipui Intodelhna Project

MLA - Member of Legislative Assembly

MNF - Mizo National Front

MP - Member of Parliament

MPF - Mizoram People Forum

MPL - Mizoram Premiere League

MSHCS - Mizoram State Health Care Scheme

NARES - National Agricultural Research and Education Systems

NCC - National Cadet Corps

NCDs - Non-Communicable Diseases

NEC – North East Council

NEDFi - North Eastern Development Finance Corporation

NEHHDC - North-Eastern Handicrafts and Handlooms Development Corporation

NEP - National Education Policy

NEP- New Economic Policy

NERAMAC - North-East Regional Agricultural Marketing Corporation

NGOs – Non-Governmental Organisations

NHP - National Health Policy

NIS - National Institute of Sports

NLUP - New Land Use Policy

NLUP - New Land Use Policy

NRHM - National Rural Health Mission

NSDC - National Skill Development Corporation

NSFs - National Sports Federations

NSNIS – Netaji Subhas National Institute of Sports

NSS - National Service Scheme

OBC – Other Backward Class

PHCs - Primary Health Centres

PMJAY – Pradhan Mantri Jan ArogyaYojna

PRIs - Panchayat Raj Institutions

PRISM - Promoting Regional Schools to International Standards through Multiple Interventions

RMSA - Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan

RSBY – Rashtriya Swasthya BimaYojana

SAI - Sports Authority of India

SC - Scheduled Caste

SCs - Sub-Centres

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

SEDP - Socio-Economic Development Programme

SEDP - State Economic Development Programme

SHDC - Sinlung Hills Development Council

SLE - Systemic Lupus Erythematosus

SMS - State Matching Share

ST - Scheduled Tribe

SYS - Sports and Youth Service

TEAMS - Training of Elite Athlete Management Support

TTDI - Travel & Tourism Development Index

UGC- University Grants Commission

UN - United Nations

VC - Village Council

VC - Village Councils

VHSC - Village Health and Sanitation Committee

WRC - Wet Rice Cultivation

YLA - Young Lushai Association

YMA - Young Mizo Association

YMA - Young Mizo Association

ZPM - Zoram People's Movement

CHAPTER- 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of political development has become the main concern for many countries in the recent past. It is due to the growth of scientific and technical knowledge. States also realised their responsibility to focus on overall development. There was a stagnant in the course of political development in the past due to the 1st and 2nd World Wars. Every nation nowadays draws their attention towards political development regardless of experiencing internal and external tensions and conflicts.¹ Every government is trying their best to bring about social and political change in a positive manner. Moreover, nation-states are concerned about human resource development in order to achieve an all-round development of the State. Similarly, every government in Mizoram (since statehood) is trying their best to ensure social and political change in the form of political development. But the nature and level of political development in Mizoram remains uncertain. So, the study analyses the nature of political development in Mizoram from the lens of Lucian Pye's theory of political development.

It is important to note here that the nature of political development, its process and the idea of it varies from country to country. For example, a sign of political development among the more advanced country like that of the United States of America may be reflected in improving its military condition and its internal security. Whereas, political development for a developing country may be analysed from the State's attempt to improve its infrastructure. This shows that the pattern, concept and even the understanding of political development is diverse and varied from place to place.²

¹Lucian W. Pye. (1965). The Concept of Political Development. *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 358.1-13. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1036351>. Accessed on 23-08-2019.

²Samuel P. Huntington. (1965). Political Development and Political Decay. *World Politics*. Vol. 17, No.3.386-430. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2009286>. Accessed on 10-09-2019.

The idea of political development relates to the changes and progress that occur within the political system over time. These changes aim to enhance and strengthen the institutions, practices and governance. Political development often involves a shift towards the forms of government. This includes establishing institutions upholding the rule of law conducting fair elections and safeguarding individual rights and freedoms. A politically developed society is typically characterized by a level of stability in its politics and the ability to manage conflicts peacefully. Stable political systems are better equipped to address citizens' needs while promoting social progress. Political development involves transitioning towards more democratic forms of government, establishing democratic institutions, ensuring the rule of law, and protecting individual rights and freedoms. It is characterized by political stability, effective institutional capacity and a vibrant civil society. A well-functioning political system can create an environment conducive to economic growth by providing stability, enforcing property rights and facilitating trade and investment.³

Developing efficient institutions is a crucial aspect of political development. This encompasses the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. These administrative bodies are responsible for implementing policies and programs of a government. Also, a vibrant civil society is crucial, for progress, with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) including an unbiased media.⁴ These entities uphold accountability, transparency and champion the concerns of the people which opens path for political development. Political development of a particular State depends upon the attempt of the government to raise the standard or level of its political process. Again the behaviour, attitude, approach and the support given by the people towards the State can also be a factor for political development. It can be mentioned here that if the government did not meet the expectation of the citizens

³Pye.*Op.Cit.*

⁴Herbert H. Werlin and Harry Eckstein.(1990). Political Culture and Political Change.*The American Political Science Review*.Vol.84, No.1.249-259. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1963642>.Accessed on 11.09.2019.

than political development is impossible. Besides, the political culture of the political system also decides the condition of political development within the State.⁵

Political development is very complex to define as a concept. It is because the term is defined in many ways. Scholars define the term according to their understanding and beliefs. According to Iqbal Narain, “Development is necessary, but it does not have to follow a pre-determined unilinear path. Its goals can be set, and its strategies outlined, within different cultural frames of reference”.⁶ On the other hand, according to Francis Fukuyama, “Political development is the change over time in political institution”.⁷ A cohesive machinery or theory for the measurement of political development remains unidentified. Political development is the direction of aggregative impact of transformative capacity on the lives of the members of a community, it is also a goal-oriented plan realised by the individual; which can be achieved in their social and political life.⁸

According to Gabriel Almond, “Every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientation, meaning and purposes”.⁹ This shows that every political system has its own structures and functions. It is true that in the course of history political development differs in each community or society and it was determined by several diverse factors.¹⁰ From the perspective of a State, political development can be labelled as development of economy, improving the living standard of its citizens, advancement in infrastructure and also technological and scientific advancement. However, it is assumed that these are not the only measurable factors of political development because earlier, human development was regarded as political development.¹¹ This clearly shows that political development cannot be determined by a single factor.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶IqbalNarain. (1994). *Political Dimensions of Development*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications. P-19

⁷Francis Fukuyama. (2014). *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy*. USA: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. P- 1.

⁸S.D. Gupta. (1984). *Political Growth and Political Development: Theoretical Perspective*. Calcutta: Asoke Ray. P-55.

⁹Gabriel Almond. (1956). *Comparative Political System*. *The Journal of Politics*. Vol.18, No.3. 391-409. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2127256>. Accessed on 11.09.2019.

¹⁰Lucian Pye. (1966). *Aspects of Political Development*. Massachusetts: Little Brown Company. P- 5

¹¹Pye. *The Concept of Political Development*. *Op.cit* .P-5.

The term political development was ignored for a long time even in the realm of academics. The term political development received attention and recognition after the emergence of Alliances of different countries, particularly Afro-Asian nation alliances in the post-II World War.¹² Social revolution or evolution might occur through the course of history but the level or phase of the desired political development had only a gradual development. Actually, the goal of political development is to achieve minimum conditions of material welfare for the society as a whole.¹³ As a result, the minimum measurement of political development should be according to the conditions and norms of that particular society or State. However, political development can be achieved through an all-round development of the State.¹⁴ In addition, political development can also be understood from three dimensions namely political, social and economic dimension.¹⁵

1.2 POLITICAL DIMENSION OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Political dimensions of political development, includes the evolution of the institutions, attitudes, and values that comprise the political power system of a society. Improving the lives of the people, enhancing their access to resources and opportunities is crucial for achieving political development. This is dependent on societal decisions made by the authority or the government; which also includes the allocation and distribution of resources. This can be understood as the political dimensions of political development.¹⁶ In many developing countries (to varying degrees), there is an assumption that the government has the political will and commitment to implement reforms necessary to accelerate overall development, but this does not often hold up under close scrutiny.¹⁷ Governments generally represent powerful interest of the society, interest that focus exclusively both on economic wealth and political power. Also, there are several factors influencing the political dimensions of development such as:-

- i. The political system itself

¹²*Ibid.* P- 3-4.

¹³Narain.*Op.Cit.* P- 18.

¹⁴*Ibid.* P- 18.

¹⁵Kostas Rontos, Luca Salvati&Ioannis Vavouras.(2013). *Socioeconomic and political dimension of development worldwide*.www.researchgate.net. P-1

¹⁶Christopher Pycroft. (2006). *addressing-political-dimensions-development*.www.adb.org. P- 1-3

¹⁷*Ibid.* P- 1-3.

- ii. Different institutions governing political development
- iii. Linkage between socio, economic and political development
- iv. Political behaviour¹⁸

For many developing countries democracy may not always be the answer or mechanism through which the majority of the poor can meet their demands to improve their standard of living and having access to better opportunity and a greater share on the wealth of the nation. In many developing countries, the state often acts only in the interest of the few who are at the top rather than the majority poor. The international community recognises the government in many developing countries as legitimate, but these legitimate governments often lack the necessary institutional conditions and political commitment to poverty reduction and improving livelihood of the public which is crucial for political development.¹⁹

1.3. SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Social development can be defined as reducing inequalities and social problems, accomplishing human welfare and wellbeing, generating better opportunities and empower all sections of the society. It also includes developing better relationships between the public and other social institutions. Social development is a broad term that refers to actions taken to help people, experience positive social outcomes and prevent negative outcomes which is detrimental for the society. These outcomes include issues such as crime, poverty and gang violence, disengagement from school, teen pregnancy, addictions and substance abuse obesity and ill health etc. The goal of social development is to improve the lives of people in general and also increase community support systems that prevent negative outcomes before they occur, or to mitigate (soften) their impact.²⁰

Social development is concerned with the equitable development of all individuals, communities and social groups within a given social context. It has many dimensions in terms of culture, attitudes, aptitudes, desires, demands, objectives, expectations, level of knowledge, intelligence, beliefs, traditions, customs, passions, fashions, experiences, personality development, and so on in a

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid* P-1-2

given society.²¹ There can be a number of factors affecting social development such as :-

- i. Size of a population and diversity
- ii. Language and communication
- iii. Education level of the public
- iv. Religious practices and cultural diversity
- v. People's orientation and work culture²²

Hence, it can be said that common characteristic of social development includes inclusive social development, overall societal development, people's well being, social transformation and improving people's standard of living. Other characteristic of social development includes equitable resource distribution, elimination of inequalities, the capacity to work continuously for societal welfare and also the structural changes.²³

1.4. ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Economic dimensions of political development deal with the sustained, concerted efforts of policymakers and the community to improve standard of living in general and the economic health of all sectors or specific areas in particular.²⁴ Human capital development, focusing on critical infrastructure, regional competitiveness, environmental sustainability, social inclusion, health, security, literacy and other initiatives are examples of this dimension. However, it is important to understand that economic development is not the same as economic growth. Economic development is a policy intervention that aimed at improving economic and social well-being of the people. Whereas, economic growth is a phenomenon

²¹SudiptoMundle (1993). Policies, Paradigms and Development Debate at Close of Twentieth Century. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol. 28, No. 36 (Sep. 4, 1993), P- 1879-1882
<http://www.jstor.org/stable>

²²*Ibid.*

²³Ali Ishag Adam Mohamed, Mustafa Omar Mohammed &Mohd.Nizam Bin Barom. (2020). *A critical analysis of social development: Feature, Definitions, Dimensions and Framework*. www.researchgate.net. P- 15-17.

²⁴Mundle.*Op.Cit.*

characterize by increased in market productivity and growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP).²⁵

Over the years, the concept of development has evolved. From economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s to poverty alleviation in the 1970s, sustainable development in the 1980s, human development in the 1990s, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the 2000s, and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015. SDG sometimes referred to as the Global Goals, were officially approved by the United Nations in 2015. The SDG serve as a comprehensive and inclusive appeal to address poverty eradication, environmental preservation and the promotion of peace and prosperity for all individuals by the year 2030.²⁶ Also, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), also known as the Global Goals, were adopted by the United Nations in 2015 as a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure that by 2030 people should enjoy peace and prosperity.²⁷ From the above it is clear that leaders, policy makers and organizations around the world have made every effort to achieve global development whether it is socio, economic or political development.

States and international organizations have taken steps towards political development in the form of development goals like MDG and SDG. For example, authorities around that world are trying to achieve the goal of MDG like:- Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, Universal primary education, Gender equality and women empowerment, Reducing child mortality rate, Focusing on maternal health, Combating HIV/AIDS and other diseases, Ensuring environment sustainability, Develop global partnership for development.

It is clear from the above that international agencies and governments are trying their best to ensure overall development around the world. Their efforts carry on after the United Nations created the SDG as a part of the post-2015 development agenda. In January 2015, the General Assembly began the negotiation process on the post-2015 development agenda. The process culminated in the subsequent

²⁵Tim Callen. (2017). *Gross Domestic Product: An Economy's all*. <https://www.imf.org>.

²⁶Take action for the sustainable development goals. <https://www.un.org>.

²⁷What are the sustainable development goals. www.undp.org.

adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, with 17 SDGs at its core, at the UN Sustainable Development Summit in September 2015.²⁸ The following are different goals agreed by the UN to achieved universal development:-

- i. No poverty
- ii. Zero hunger
- iii. Good health and well-being
- iv. Quality education
- v. Gender equality
- vi. Clean water and sanitation
- vii. Affordable and clean energy
- viii. Decent work and economic growth
- ix. Industry, innovation and infrastructure
- x. Reduced inequalities
- xi. Sustainable cities and communities
- xii. Responsible consumption and production
- xiii. Climate action
- xiv. Life below water
- xv. Life on land
- xvi. Peace, justice and strong institutions
- xvii. Partnership for the goal²⁹

All of the above shows that development is the main concern for international community in the 21st century. In that regards political development cannot be overlook because development without political approach cannot be an inclusive development.³⁰

²⁸The 17 Goals. <http://sdgs.un.org>.

²⁹Envision 2030: 17 goals to transform the world for persons with disabilities. www.un.org.

³⁰Ignacy Sach. (2009). Revisiting Development in the 21st Century. *International Journal of Political Economy*. Vol. 38.No. 3. P- 15.

1.5. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

It can be said that socio-economic development in India begins in pre-colonial era. Many villages functioned as a relatively self-contained economic entity with limited external commercial interactions mostly including the payment of land revenue and the procurement of essential goods from surrounding town. Despite limited nature of communication method India experienced a significant amount of trade activities both domestically and internationally, encompassing many regions of Asia and Europe. A state of equilibrium was kept between the inflow and outflow of goods and services. Which itself is a sign of development even in the pre-colonial period. Cotton textiles constituted the primary commodities exported from India. In addition to its globally renowned cotton textiles, India was a prominent exporter of goods like raw silk, indigo, rice, wheat, sugar, spices, and precious stones. India was characterized by a significant amount of natural resources. India was also engaged in extensive production of cotton and silk textiles. Towards the end of the 18th century, India undeniably emerged as a prominent hub for global trade and industry. But it is important to note here that despite the rich natural resources India was lacking behind in infrastructure development.³¹

Infrastructure in pre-British India was characterized by significant deficiencies. Indeed, a significant proportion of the communities exhibited a lack of connectivity through paved roads. Nevertheless, roads caused significant hardship during monsoon because of muddy and challenging terrain for transportation. The predominant means of transportation during this period consisted of carriages propelled by animals. The road infrastructure in pre-colonial India was poor in response the colonial administration advocated for the establishment and improvement of road infrastructure. The implementation of railways in 1853 resulted in a comprehensive overhaul of the existing infrastructure. If there were any positive

³¹Frank Perlin (1983). Growth of Money Economy and Some Questions of Transitions in Late Pre-Colonial. *Social Scientist*. Vol. 11, No. 10 (Oct., 1983), P- 27-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable>

aspects of colonial authority, introduction of railways would be one of the few positive aspects.³²

In the post-independent period, Indian leaders are concern about India's future and how it could play an important role in international politics. And, political development of the country was also another issue which addressed during the time. The main concern on the eve of India's independence was constitutional development and stability. It was view, that it was the only way to achieve political development. Since a constitution establishes the core ideas and rules of a nation, state, or social group, and also, define the government's powers and responsibilities guarantee certain rights to its citizens it was the main concern for newly independent country like India.³³ In fact, the constitution's long history dates back to almost 250 years, the roots of constitutional development in India could be traced back to the Regulating Act of 1773. But it was the Indian Council Act of 1909 that brought Indians to central and provincial governance for the first time in a limited way. It was highly restricted and unrepresentative and was also divided on communal line.³⁴

From 1909-1919 the Government of India Act 1919 saw a vast improvement in comparison with the Indian Councils Act. It somehow maintained communal representation, which was agreed upon by the Congress and the Muslim League in the Lucknow Pact of 1916.³⁵ The British government formed the Simon Commission to evaluate the Government of India Act 1919, and recommended a much higher Indian involvement in the country's governance in its report submitted in 1930. Subsequently, three roundtable conferences were held in London in 1930, 1931 and 1932 to determine how Indians could best administer their country. These conferences brought the concerns of various communities; particularly the depressed classes led by Dr. BR Ambedkar and the Muslims led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

³²*Ibid.*

³³Royal Institute of International Affairs. (1942). The Constitutional Development of India, 1917-42. Bulletin of International News.Vol. 19, No. 8 (Apr. 18, 1942), P- 329-335 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25643236>.

³⁴UdayBalakrishnan.(2020). *The origin of the constitution*.<https://www.thehindu.com>

³⁵*Ibid.*

The Congress boycotted the first and the third conferences, with exception of the second, which Gandhi attended.³⁶

During the time, MN Roy proposed the concept of a constituent assembly for the first time. The Indian National Congress (INC) officially demanded for the first time for a constituent assembly to frame a constitution for India in 1935. The British accepted their demand in the 'August Offer' of 1940. Eventually, a constituent assembly was established under the provisions of the Cabinet Mission plan. On December 9, 1946, the Constituent Assembly met for the first time in New Delhi. On 29 August, 1947, the Constituent Assembly set up a Drafting Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to prepare a Draft Constitution for India the Constituent Assembly worked for nearly three years (2 years, 11 months and 17 days) to complete its historic task of drafting the Constitution of Independent India. During this time, it held eleven sessions totaling 165 days. 114 of these days were spent deliberating on the Draft Constitution.³⁷

The constitution of India was finally adopted on the 26th of November 1949 and came into force on 26th January 1950. Over 53,000 citizens sat in the visitors' gallery of the Constituent Assembly over a period close to three years and watched the debates held during the drafting of the Constitution.³⁸ It is the world's lengthiest written Constitution which had 395 Articles, 22 Parts and 8 Schedules at the time of its commencement. It is important to know that these constitutional developments led to constitutional stability and consistency. It serves every section of society including the marginalized sections in the country and makes way for political development.

At the same time, there are some issues like social cleavages on line of religion or ethnic or social hierarchy that hinders political development in India. A number of legislations and recommendations were made to safeguard the lower strata of Indian society. This is fundamental as it resulted to political development and

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Constitution of India (Interesting fact)*, <https://pib.gov.in>.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

overall development in the country. For example, Vishwanath Pratap Singh, the Prime Minister of India, announced on August 7, 1990, that Other Backward Classes (OBCs) would be given 27% reservation in central government services and public sector units. The announcement was made in both Houses of the Parliament. The decision was based on a report submitted on December 31, 1980, which advocated for reservations for OBCs not only in government jobs but also in central educational institutions. The Mandal Commission, chaired by B.P. Mandal and established in 1979 under the Morarji Desai government, made the recommendation.³⁹ The reservations have been enjoyed and benefitted by various communities within the OBC for over three decades. The efforts to the government in the past and the present have benefitted many families across the country and their conditions in the society have improved which is a sign of political development.⁴⁰

The understanding of the process of political development in India cannot be completed without mentioning the famous New Economic Policy implemented in 1991. Under the leadership of the Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao and finance minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, the New Economic Policy (NEP) of India was launched in 1991. For the first time, this policy provides global exposure for the Indian economy. The government reduced import duties, opened reserved sectors to private players, and devalued the Indian currency to increase exports in the New Economic Policy. This is also known as the Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) Growth Model.⁴¹ The Indian economy was on the brink to collapse before the NEP was implemented. This policy refers to economic liberalization or the relaxation of import tariffs, market deregulation or the opening of markets to private and foreign players, and also tax cuts in order to broaden the country's economic wings. The NEP follows Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization and it saved India's economy which was on the verge of collapse. The NEP stabilized the Indian economy and also improved the economic condition of India. It ultimately has a significant and positive impact on the socio-political

³⁹Revathi Krishnan. (2020).30 years since Mandal Commission recommendations.<https://theprint.in>.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹On this day in 1991: A landmark budget that changed India's fortunes.
<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com>. 24th July, 2022. 5:51 pm.

situation of India. In short, the NEP brought positive changes in the political economy of India which eventually provides an overall development of the country including political development.

1.6. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH EAST

The term "northeast" refers to a group of states in India base on its geographical setting. During British rule, the concept of north east first appeared in the sense of territory lying to the north east of India. At present eight states, namely, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura comprises of the north east states. Because of the presence of a large number of tribal communities with distinct languages and cultures, the north east exemplifies ethnic and cultural pluralism. The entire north east is a part of the Eastern Himalaya. Some of these states share borders with China and the Tibet River in the north, Bhutan in the north-west, Bangladesh in the south-west, and Myanmar in the east.⁴² The topography of the north east is a mix of hills, plateaus, valleys, rivers, and plains. It is a landlocked area. The hills and mountains dominate the physical features of the north east, accounting for approximately 60% of the region's total mass.⁴³

The north-eastern region of the country is complex in terms of culture, language, ethnicity, accessibility, and overall development. Many assumed that despite years of effort, the region remains underdeveloped politically, economically and socially. Some of the assumptions are as follows:-

- i. The primary issues and problems confronting local governments in the north-eastern region are infrastructure, environmental degradation, food insecurity, poverty, and a lack of human resources.
- ii. The diversity of the region contributes to multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic cultures. Migration has resulted in increased population and conflict.

⁴²Verma.Rajesh (2013).*History of North East India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications- P-2

⁴³*Ibid*. P- 2.

- iii. The rail, air, and road communication networks are limited; moreover delays in delivery of goods make things even more difficult. The reason is attributed to the region's geographical and social issues.
- iv. Despite the fact that significant funds have already been released to the north east states, there has been no significant improvement in the vital health indicators of these states due to a lack of managerial and technical capacities. The region's low fund absorption capacity, inefficient fund management system, and lack of qualified managerial manpower impede the smooth implementation of various health schemes and activities.
- v. The lack of advanced state level training institutes in the region is also a major impediment to training programmes, which invariably impedes better performance. Furthermore, even the district training centres are under-equipped.
- vi. The literacy rate in some areas also resulted to low level of awareness of programmes and other government interventions. In some villages only a few number of the people are aware of the government's programmes and their underlying benefits.⁴⁴

As a result, the north east requires a massive development push to make up for lost time and put it on a fast track. It has a wealth of natural resources, including biodiversity and water. These should be used appropriately to raise living standards and quality of life for all people, with equity and safeguards in place to prevent degradation of the natural socio-cultural environment. It may be fair to say that, if development interventions are required, they should focus on natural resource development and human resource development in the north east.

Also, a consultative body namely the North-East Council (NEC) was established in 1972 to ensure balanced development in the region. The NEC serves as the central coordinating body for the economic and social advancement of the North East Region encompassing the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. The NEC was a result of the

⁴⁴Ahmed, JaynalUddin (2008) (ed). *Development vision of North East India*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company P-42-44.

legislation by the Parliament.⁴⁵ The establishment of the Council signifies the commencement of a novel phase characterized by coordinated and strategic efforts aimed at expediting the progress of the region. In the past five decades, NEC has played a crucial role in initiating a novel economic initiative with the objective of addressing fundamental obstacles that hindered the progress of the region. Consequently, this has brought about a period of renewed optimism in an underdeveloped area that holds significant prospects for growth. The following are specific development projects of the NEC for the North East region:

- i. Roads and Bridges construction and maintenance
- ii. Airport construction
- iii. Inter-state Bus terminal
- iv. Assistance to industrial sector
- v. Up-gradation of science and technology sector
- vi. Up-gradation of medical and health facility
- vii. Irrigation, flood control and water resources development programme
- viii. Agriculture and allied activities
- ix. Development of power sector
- x. Environmental protection
- xi. Manpower development⁴⁶

Apart from the NEC, the Government of India established a ministry namely Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (DONER) to look after the region in 2001. It began with the goal of promoting socio-economic and political development in the north-eastern region, as well as improving security, through programmes in power sector, border trade, horticulture, rural infrastructure, roads and air links, medical education and health services, industrial training institutes, information technology, border fencing, and police infrastructure.⁴⁷ The above shows that DONER aims at socio-economic and political development or in short overall

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶*Ibid.* P-144-145.

⁴⁷D. N Konar & Subhabrata Chakrabarti (2008). *Development issues of North East India*. New Delhi. Akansha Publishing House: P- 142.

development of the North East Region of India. In addition, the immense contribution of DONER for the overall development of the north east region can be seen from the following:-

i. Border and Hill Area Development Programme (BADP/HADP):

The BADP is a 100% government-funded special area programme designed to meet the different needs of people living in remote, inaccessible border areas in the North-East. BADP is an important Central Government intervention to bring about border area development by supplementing State Plan Funds to bridge gaps in socioeconomic infrastructure on the one hand and improving the security environment in border areas on the other.⁴⁸

ii. Capacity Building Scheme

It is an effort to provide professional and technical qualifications to the people of the north-eastern states. Several training courses have been launched in the region.

iii. Gender mainstreaming and Gender Justice

DONER has taken numerous steps towards women empowerment. Central project like NERAMAC (North-East Regional Agricultural Marketing Corporation) NEHHDC (North-Eastern Handicrafts and Handlooms Development Corporation) have employed a large number of women in their firms. Also, North Eastern Development Finance Corporation (NEDFi) provided assistance to women entrepreneurs in the North-East region; this is all possible because of the initiative of DONER.

iv. According to the census report of 2011, the proportion of Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) population is recorded as 34.32%.⁴⁹ The North Eastern Handicraft and Handloom Development Corporation along with the North Eastern Agricultural and Marketing Corporation have played a significant role in supporting the SC/ST population by actively engaging them in bamboo and cane crafts industry in Guwahati. NEDFi has initiated a Micro Credit initiative wherein

⁴⁸North East Council- Initiatives for balanced development of North Eastern Region.

<https://www.mha.gov.in>.

⁴⁹NER- Facts,<https://mdoner.gov.in/dashboard/files/nerfacts.pdf>

10.84% of the beneficiaries are from SC community and 38.57% belong to the ST population.⁵⁰

The above programmes highlighted the efforts of the government to ensure economic development in the northeast region which in due course lead to political development of the region. Thus, it is essential to implement a substantial development initiative in the North-East region in order to compensate for previous delays and accelerate its progress. The region possesses abundant natural resources including a diverse range of flora and fauna species and significant water reserves. These resources should be effectively utilized in order to enhance the standard of living and overall well-being of the population, while ensuring fairness and implementing measures to prevent any negative impact on the natural and socio-cultural surroundings. If development interventions are to occur, they should prioritize development in the areas of natural resource and human resource building in the North East region.⁵¹ A recommended course of action would be to establish a comprehensive, community-based programme for the management of natural resources that takes into account gender sensitivity. Authentic progress should encompass both advancement and development of human, natural and material resources. North- East exhibits a distinct proficiency in various forms of artistic and athletic events. This is evident in the fine music, dance and craftsmanship in the area. The focus should be on nurturing these abilities and potentials.⁵²

The above initiatives of the government of India indicate its wishes to transform the NER (socially, economically and politically) so that it can be at par with other states and regions in India. It is imperative for the nation to provide support to the region in order to fully unlock its potential and take advantage of the developing opportunities both inside and its surroundings. The promotion of growth and stability in the North-East area is of significant importance to national security,

⁵⁰D. N. Konar&SubhaptaraChakrabarti.*Op. Cit.* P- 150

⁵¹JayalUddin Ahmed.*Op. Cit.* P- 45

⁵²*Ibid.*

as it presents opportunities for addressing national issues through regional approaches.⁵³

1.7. PROFILE OF MIZORAM

The state of Mizoram was formerly known as Lushai Hills or Mizo Hills which was a district of Assam. Lushai Hills came under the control of the British after the Lushai Expedition of 1889.⁵⁴ The British expedition in 1890 led to the administrative division of Lushai Hills into two districts: the North Lushai Hills District and the South Lushai Hills District. During this period the North Lushai Hills District was under the jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and the South Lushai Hills District was administered by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. During the Chin-Lushai Conference held on 1st April 1898 the administrative jurisdiction over the entire Lushai Hills region was transferred to the Chief Commissioner of Assam. This amalgamation involved the consolidation of the South and North Lushai Hills into a single district overseen by an appointed authority known as the Superintendent.⁵⁵ The Mizo, under the British, slowly and gradually left behind their primitive culture, lifestyle and adopted more advanced lifestyle. Christianity and education were an important means used by the British for this transformation. As a result, the Mizo society slowly adopted the modern lifestyle, which led to socio-political consciousness.

In the post-independent India, the Lushai Hills became part of India and it became a district of Assam. The Lushai Hills had experienced many political changes and development. A significant development was the formation of Lushai Hills District Council under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India on April 1952. The establishment of district council indicates the granting of greater political autonomy to the Mizo. The name Lushai Hills District was changed by Act of Parliament to Mizo District Council on September 1954. On January 1972,

⁵³Bimal J Deb. (2006). (ed). *Ethnic Issues Secularism and Conflict Resolution in North East India*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company. P-17.

⁵⁴Chitta Ranjan Nag. (1998). *Mizo Polity and Political Modernization*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. P-60.

⁵⁵Lalnithanga, P. (2005). *Emergence of Mizoram*. Aizawl. Author. P- 24.

Mizo District Council was upgraded to the status of Union Territory and named it as Mizoram. Mizoram became a full-fledged state in 1987 as a result of Memorandum of Settlement (commonly known as Peace Accord) between the Mizo National Front (MNF) and the Government of India on June 1986.⁵⁶

In fact, the British administration brought about social and political development in the Lushai hills. The largest and most popular social organization in Mizoram is the Young Mizo Association (YMA). It was established on June 15th 1935 as Young Lushai Association (YLA). The birth of YLA is one of the most significant developments in Mizo society. Moreover, the first political party (Mizo Union) was formed on April 9th 1946.⁵⁷ The birth of the first party in the Mizo hills marked the beginning of political development in Mizoram because it increases the general political awareness of the people. The Indian National Congress (INC) was also established on 11th April 1961 and in 1962 the congress workers constituted the Mizo District Congress Committee (MDCC).⁵⁸ During the 1950s the Mizo hills faced a famine, to counter the famine and to relief the people a social organization, namely the Mizo National Famine Front was established in 1960.⁵⁹ Later on the word famine was dropped and transformed it as a political party on 22nd October 1961 with the name Mizo National Front (MNF).

The MNF led the insurgency movement in the Mizo Hills for around twenty years which lead to the formation of a new state known as Mizoram. Over a span of over thirty years, Mizoram has experienced substantial administrative transformation of considerable amount, transitioning from a district to a Union Territory and eventually attaining the status of a fully-fledged state with comprehensive self-governing capabilities. Undoubtedly, significant and impressive economic expansion and affluence appeared to have been achieved especially in urban areas. However, in actuality rural communities remained largely unaltered and unaffected. The current circumstances necessitate extensive self-reflection on the

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* P -28.

⁵⁷ K. M. Zakhuma. (2001). Political Development in Mizoram From 1946 to 1989: A Study with Special Reference to Political Parties in Mizoram. Aizawl. Author. P- 57.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* P-83.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* P- 93.

part of the administration to ensure equitable distribution of economic and political growth in Mizoram. The ultimate goal must be political development which poses a significant challenge for both the people and the administration. This challenge must be confronted head-on by the administration as their primary responsibility.

At present, the administrative set up in Mizoram consists of 11 districts (namely:-Aizawl, Champhai, Hnahthial, Khawzawl, Kolasib, Lawngtlai, Lunglei, Mamit, Saitual, Serchhip, Siahia) and 28 development blocks, 840 Village Councils (VC) and 83 Local Councils (LC).⁶⁰ It is important to know that VC is a silhouette of grass root democracy particularly meant for the rural areas in Mizoram. Likewise LC is a local governance institute particularly for the urban areas in Mizoram. Besides, these there are 3 Autonomous District Council (ADC) namely Lai, Mara and Chakma ADC in the state. Furthermore, major portion of the state population belongs to various Zo-ethnic tribes which mainly comprises of Lusei, Hmar, Paite, Lai, Mara. Additionally, other ethnic groups such as the Chakma and Gorkhas also reside in the state.⁶¹

Also, it is important to note that there are 46 different department under the Government of Mizoram which are as follows:- Agriculture Department, Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Department, Art and Culture Department, Co-operation Department, Commerce and Industries Department, Disaster Management and Rehabilitation Department, District Council Affairs Department, Economic and Statistics Department, Environment, Forests & Climate change Department, Excise and Narcotic Department, Finance Department, Fisheries Department, Food, Civil Supplies and Consumer Affairs Department, General Administration Department, Health and Family Welfare Department, Higher and Technical Education Department, Home Department, Horticulture Department, Information and Public Relations Department, Irrigation & Water Resources Department, Labour, Employment, Skill Development and Entrepreneurship Department, Land Resources, Soil and Water Conservation Department, Land Revenue and Settlement

⁶⁰*District-Mizoram.*<https://igod.gov.in/sg/MZ/E003/organizations>

⁶¹*The Land Systems of Mizoram.*<https://landrevenue.mizoram.gov.in/uploads/files/historical-evolution-of-mizoram.pdf>

Department, Law and Judicial Department, Local Administration Department, Personnel and Administrative Reforms Department, Planning and Programme Implementation Department, Police Department, Political and Cabinet Department, Power and Electricity Department, Prison Department, Public Health Engineering Department, Public Works Department, Rural Development Department, Sainik Welfare & Resettlement Department, School Education Department, Sericulture Department, Social Welfare Department, Soil and Water Conservation Department, Sports and Youth Services Department, Taxation Department, Tourism Department, Trade and Commerce Department, Transport Department, Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation Department, Vigilance Department.⁶²

1.8. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The article *The Concept of Political Development* written by Lucian Pye (1965) discusses a number of different concepts of political development. In the article, the author investigates the concept of political growth from a broad perspective and traces its gradual evolution throughout history. To put it another way, the author investigates a number of different facets of development syndrome. After careful consideration, the author came to the conclusion that the concept of Political Development is surrounded by a considerable amount of uncertainties. Because of certain tendencies in the social sciences, which impeded the clear focus on political growth as distinct from economic development, the misperception has become even more widespread. It analyses a number of definitions of the term and offers a comprehensive overview of the fundamental components of the concept like equality, capacity and specialization. The author argues that focus on equality, the growth of governmental structures with enhanced capability and difference, and the specialisation of these organisations are the three components of political development. These aspects are broadly shared. These three characteristics are often linked to particular aspects of political growth. These features include the alignment with the political culture, the difficulties of developing effective governmental structures, and the problem of structural differentiation. In light of this, it may be deduced that the final assessment of political development should focus on the

⁶² *Departments-Mizoram*.<https://igod.gov.in/sg/MZ/E003/organizations>

interaction between political culture, the authoritative structure, and the entire political process.

Samuel P. Huntington (1965) in his article titled *Political Development and Political Decay* examines the connection that exists between political modernity and political advancement. He examines the significance of institutions in the framework of the political development that takes place within the state. In addition, the author analyzed a wide range of aspects of political deterioration and the implications that this degradation has for the state. The purpose of this article is to differentiate political development from political modernity. Additionally, the author sees political development as synonymous with the establishment of political institutions and procedures. Despite the fact that rapid mobilization and involvement are essential components of modernity, they have a negative impact on the institutions that govern political life. It might be stated more succinctly that rapid modernization does not contribute to political development but rather leads to political degeneration.

The book *Political Integration and Political Development* by Myron Weiner (1965) studies the issue of political development and integration. During the period of transition where political development is taking place, the author proposes that governments begin to take on extra duties and face the problem of integration. Furthermore, he investigates the current obstacles that are associated with integration, which include issues of identity, territorial dominance, and the dynamics that exist between those who are in power and those who are being controlled. It examines the difficulties of integration that newly established nations have confronted as an integral component of the same process. It is at the transitory phase of political growth, when governments begin to take on or undertake additional responsibilities, that the sensitivity of integration problems becomes most obvious. During the process of integration, the author identified a number of significant challenges, some of which include issues concerning national identity, territorial control, and the establishment of norms for the management of public conflict, the relationship between those in power and the general population, and the difficulties in organizing individuals towards shared goals. Within the context of dealing with

integration challenges, the book investigates the key options that governments have available to them.

Aspects of Political Development is a book written by Lucian Pye (1966). The author studies the progression of political systems today. He examines the proliferation of the concept of the state as well as the evolution of nation-building. The book analyzes the different ways in which political development and the development syndrome might be interpreted. Pye discusses the significance of democracy for economic development, as well as the underlying problem of instability and the maintenance of social order, is carried out by him. The author made the observation that the anticipation of stability, the uneven trajectory of progress, and the relevance of legislation and administration were all contributing factors to the growth of the political system.

Joseph LaPalombara's (1967) edited book *Bureaucracy and Political Development* consists of a collection of works belonging to a wide range of authors and scholars of eminence. In the book, the author delves into the many facets of bureaucracy and political development, including remarks, questions, and difficulties. It argues that the presence of capable administrators can be beneficial to the advancement of political processes. In addition to this, it analyses the numerous viewpoints that exist regarding the expansion of bureaucracy and political progress in a variety of worldwide places. A discussion of the significance of public bureaucracy in relation to the advancement of social, economic, and political systems is presented in the book. In addition, it incorporates the problem of potential diverse paths for growth that newly constituted nation-states have the option of choosing to pursue. It also discusses the degree to which a bureaucracy either helps or does not help to create the conditions that are necessary for democratic transformation. Additionally, the aforementioned subjects are investigated through the use of historical research conducted in the United States of America as well as in a number of countries located in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The research was conducted in a number of different locations, including Nigeria, Pakistan, and Vietnam.

Ethnicity, Democracy and Political Development is an essay written by R.S. Milne (1973). The author studies the significance of engaging with a wide variety of ethnic groups to make political progress. He argues that democracy is an essential component for the political development of the state. In addition, the author examines the significance of the equal distribution of resources and the resolution of ethnic issues in relation to the rise of political power.

Daya Krishna's (1979) book *Political Development: A Critical Perspective* studies the theoretical approach of political development. The book examines the criteria that are used to define or quantify political growth in order to achieve political advancement for a nation. The author also emphasizes the significance of public participation. In addition to this, the author explores the similarities that exist between the development of democracy and the growth of political systems. His analysis of the relationship between political culture, political socialization, and political communication as fundamental indicators of political growth is comprehensive and in-depth. The study focuses primarily on investigating the essential question of the significance of the idea of growth or progress in gaining knowledge of the profound aspects of human existence.

Political Growth and Political Development is a book written by S.D. Gupta (1984). In the book, the author examines the reasons for driving political expansion as well as the ways in which political advancement is generally understood. The book analyzed the problem of political development and its strategies from the perspective of the expansion of the socioeconomic system. It also studies the significance of a well-functioning institutional framework for the advancement of political development. The author concluded that it is important to have an efficient public policy to achieve political growth.

Gianfranco Poggi's (1990) book *The State: It's Nature, Development and Prospect*, studies the nature of the modern state. This book examines the development of the modern state as well as the debates that have surrounded its very existence. Within the context of the political development of the state, the author examines the significance of administrative responsibilities. He investigates the

influence that political parties have on the advancement of political processes. The book also discusses the challenges that a state face in its political evolution, such as the resolution of conflicts and an increase in terrorist acts. It was claimed by the author that the state is the most significant current embodiment of the more general concept of political power. An in-depth and lucid conceptual picture of the state is provided by the author, who differentiates the initial features of the state from those that have evolved over the course of time and can be seen in contemporary states. He conducts an in-depth analysis of the historical trajectory of the state, tracing its evolution from the decline of feudal methods of governance to the emergence of contemporary liberal democratic systems. The author encompasses the most significant developments that are now taking place in respect to the characteristics of the liberal democratic system. The book also discusses the main characteristics of a single party system and explores the challenges that these systems faced in terms of fostering the advancement of industrial development. In addition to this, the book analyses the various difficulties that a state confronted with as a result of recent changes in the arenas of military affairs, the global economy, and the ecological sector.

Vernon W. Rultan's (1991) essay *What Happened to Political Development* studies the connection between political progress and economic development. The author studies the dynamics of political power and the relationship between political advancement and political power dynamics. He also analyzed the role of economic resources and agricultural growth in the process of achieving political advancement. The author argues that attempts to discern the political prerequisites for economic development have often been unproductive in numerous countries. He discovered a correlation between political structures and rapid economic growth during the initial stages of development of a nation. The study finds that centralized political systems impede economic growth as nation's progress toward middle-income status. The author found out that economic resources are perpetually converted into political resources, and significant political resources are utilized by the majority of civilizations to secure greater access to economic resources. The author asserts that economic and political development must be

integrated with the research objectives to effectively comprehend to the expansion of either economic or political resources of a society.

The book, *Political Dimensions of Development* written by Iqbal Narain (1994) study the concept of the primacy of politics and the issue of development and its pitfalls. An examination of the relationship between democracy and development, as well as the concept of federalism and its influence on the expansion of political power, is presented by the author in the book. He analyses the significance of education in relation to the political development of the state. In regard to the advancement of political systems, the author explained the significance of ecological protection. He analyzed the political aspect that is associated with the process of growth. It is a unique and groundbreaking work. The book devotes a significant portion of its attention to the theoretical aspects of development by avoiding the issues of economic liberalization in the country.

Reorganization of North-East India Since 1947 is an edited book by B Datta Ray and S.P. Agarwal (1996). This book studies the questions surrounding the reorganization of states in the north-eastern region as well as other constitutional developments that have occurred in the region. Within the context of restructuring and settlement, the book discusses a number of difficulties that the states in the north-eastern region have experienced. It examines the political and constitutional development in the northeast.

K. M. Zakhuma's (2001) book *Political Development in Mizoram from 1946 to 1989: A study with special reference to Political Parties in Mizoram*, examines the political and administrative developments that took place in the Mizo Hills while the British were in control of the region. Between the years 1898 and 1899, the British seized control of the Lushai Hills and began the process of governmental development. Within the context of the Lushai Hills, the author examines the rise of political parties as a driving force behind a new beginning for the Mizo. He analyzes the activities of political parties, including both national and regional groups. The author also discussed the political development of the Mizo as

well as other indigenous communities that are inhabitants of the North-Eastern region.

Damien Kingsbury's (2007) book *Political Development*, studies the relevance of the various institutions and agencies and how they contribute to the political growth of the state. The author discusses the role of political parties and civil organizations in the political development of the state. The author examines the significance of nationalism in terms of its role in fostering stability and advanced political development. The author analyses the relationship between political fragmentation and the degradation of political systems, as well as the negative impact that terrorism has on the growth of political systems. The book also addresses the issue of violence and places an emphasis on the necessity of resolving conflicts through non-violent means for the advancement of political development. The author argues that the existing understanding of good governance is excessively limited in its scope for consideration. The author contends that successful governance covers a wider range of responsibilities than simply safeguarding the financial activities of a nation-state. Instead, it addresses fundamental issues that are associated with transparency and accountability in social and political spheres. It encompasses a wide range of social organizations that are frequently referred to as institutions among other things. Because it offers fresh perspectives on the subject of political growth, this book is suitable for more advanced academic research because it contains original insights.

Lalsiamhnuna's (2011) book *Political Problems of Mizoram: A Study of Ethnic Politics with Special Reference to the Hmar People's Movement* examines the origin of the political movement in Mizoram as well as its subsequent evolution. The author delves into the complexities of ethnic politics and the process of establishing autonomous districts based on ethnic divisions. The history and origins of the Hmars, as well as the formation of the Hmar People's Convention (HPC) are the primary focus of this book. It also analyses the Hmar uprising from a variety of perspectives, including political, social, cultural, and economic. He examines the formation of the Sinlung Hills Development Council (SHDC) as well as the implementation of the agreement.

Samir Kumar Das's (2013) book *Governing India's North-east: Essays on Insurgency, Development and the culture of peace* examines the historical characteristics of government in the north-eastern region from the colonial to post-colonial periods. The author studies the connection between peacemaking and the influence it has on democracy. It also focuses on the ways in which peacemaking is significant to the creation of democratic institutions. The author analyses the contribution of democracy to the expansion of society. He also discusses the processes of development that took place in the 1990s and its influence on the foundation stages and expansion in the north-east region.

Political Order and Political Decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy is a book written by Francis Fukuyama (2014). The author examines a number of facets of political development, including the influence of democracy on the progression of political evolution. He discusses the importance of political order and the degradation of political power. The fundamental question that Fukuyama raises is the manner in which countries build political institutions that are robust, equitable, and responsible to the people. This tale is chronicled by the author, beginning with the French Revolution and ending with the Arab Spring, which is a more recent event. The author draws attention to the significant dysfunctions that are now present in contemporary American politics. An investigation of the impact that corruption has on governance was carried out by the individual, who also investigated the factors that lead to the successful elimination of corruption in particular nations. The author also discusses the distinct effects that colonialism had in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, and he offers an objective analysis of the factors that lead to the various levels of growth and development that can be found in these regions.

George Thomas's (2014) essay *Political Thought and Political Development* studies political development in America. After careful analysis of ideas and political philosophy, the author contends that political advancement is attainable through the application of this method. He stressed the significance of ideas and concepts as fundamental components in the process of understanding institutions and its formation. In order to challenge the conventional method of

analyzing institutions, the author argued that ideas and institutions are inexorably linked to one another.

Lalrohlua Pachuau's (2020) book, *Health and Development in Mizoram* studies the primary determinants of individuals' health-seeking behavior in Mizoram particularly in Aizawl district. It also examines how individuals pursue healthcare, either when they experience illness or as a preventive measure, even in the absence of any issues. The author examines various factors that impact individuals' health-seeking behavior, including accessibility, education, mass media, money, age, gender, sex, women's social position, type of sickness, and perceived service quality. The book also explores the state of health-seeking behavior in Mizoram. The author also examines the impact of developmental characteristics, including female literacy, urbanization, accessibility, mass media exposure, and family income, on health-seeking behavior in Aizawl.

It is clear from the above review of literature that there are a number of studies that have been conducted on the subject of political development. However the scholar was unable to identify a sufficient number of books and papers that especially focused on political development in Mizoram, particularly from the point of view of Lucian Pye's concept of political development. Therefore, in order to fill the gap in the current body of knowledge, the scholar study Lucian Pye's concept of political development in Mizoram.

1.9. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

People often believed that the state government has not been doing enough to for the overall development of the state. It is assumed that the advancement of political systems inextricably links to the level of equality among citizens. People often hold a belief that equality within the state is merely a myth, and that it is impossible to achieve equality among the general populace since attitudes, emotions and practices differs. It appears that the gap between different ethnic groups is continuously widening in Mizoram. Policy makers and authorities are criticized for showing a lack of concern for the well-being of different ethnic minorities in the state. Furthermore, there is an argument that political parties and other social and religious groups largely serve the interests of only a particular class

or a community; hence, it is extremely challenging for those marginalised sections to benefit from the rights and opportunities that the law of the land provides. It is believed that equality among different ethnic group is necessary for socio-economic development of a society, but the actual condition and nature of equality in Mizoram appears to be uncertain.

The advancements in information technology (IT) have made it convenient for the public to access all elements of government operations through various forms of media, including social media and print media. People express dissatisfaction with the effort of the administration, believing that the state government does not initiate a holistic approach towards development within the state. It seems that the efforts of the authorities to achieve overall development in the social and economic domains are not directly recognizable and lack clarity. There is a lack of vision about the efficiency and effectiveness of the state government, from the perspective of the general public or of a particular program. In light of the above context, people expressed their skepticism over the capacity of the government.

There is widespread discontent among the populace regarding the functioning of the government, yet many government departments have made laudable attempts to improve the welfare of the state. A number of ministries have made substantial efforts to promote economic and political progress in the state by implementing a number of public policies, such as the Mipui Intodelhna Project (MIP), the New Land Use Policy (NLUP), and the State Economic Development Programme (SEDP). These efforts may have a significantly contribution to the political economy of the state. In fact, a great number have benefited from these measures. On the other hand, the general public has a lot of cynicism regarding the efficiency, functions, and responsibilities of the various departments under the Government of Mizoram. Therefore, the scholar studies political development in Mizoram by examining Lucian Pye's framework of political development, which includes elements such as equality, capacity, and differentiation and specialization of various government departments in the state.

1.10. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of political development is very broad. So, the present study is confined only to the characteristics of political development in the state of Mizoram. It employs Lucian Pye's concepts of political development, such as equality, capacity, differentiation, and specialization, to examine the political development in Mizoram. The purpose of the research on equality is to examine the characteristics and conditions of people who belong to ethnic minorities, in the state. In other words, this study focuses exclusively on marginalized groups and ethnic minorities, such as the Bru, Chakma, and Gorkha communities, and also with a particular focus on women. It also analyzes the performance, effectiveness, and efficiency of the state in the socio-economic sector, specifically the capacity of the government. It also evaluates the nature of education sector, which falls under the purview of the social sector. It also studies the effectiveness and efficiency of the government in agriculture, tourism, and education to understand the capacity and potential of the government. The Sports and Youth Services Department and the Health Department, under the Government of Mizoram, are also analysed to realise their diversification and specialization.

1.11. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study has the following objectives:

1. To study various theories of political development.
2. To examine Lucian Pye's concept of equality in the state of Mizoram.
3. To analyse Lucian Pye's concept of capacity (Performance, Effectiveness and Efficiency while executing public policies) of the state government.
4. To analyse Lucian Pye's concept of differentiation and specialization of various political structures in Mizoram.
5. To examine the crises of political development in Mizoram.

1.12. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the various concepts of political development?
2. What is the nature of Lucian Pye's concept of equality in Mizoram?
3. What is the capacity of the state government according to Lucian Pye's concept of political development?

4. What are the differentiation and specialization of various political structures in Mizoram according to Lucian Pye's concept of political development?

5. What are the crises of political development in Mizoram?

1.13. METHODOLOGY

The present study is descriptive and analytical approach in nature. It is also qualitative and quantitative in nature. The study uses both primary and secondary data. The primary sources are collected mainly through interview, questionnaire and observation method. Interviews are conducted among various leaders of social organizations (like Young Mizo Association, Mizo Zirlai Pawl, Mizo Students Union, Mizoram Chakma Students Union, Mizoram Gorkha Youth Association, Bru Young Association, etc), community leaders, leaders of ethnic minority (Bru, Chakma and Gorkha), and Government officials (for example department officials of Education department, Agriculture department, Tourism department, Health department, and Sports & Youth Services) to understand the nature of equality, capacity and differentiation and specialization of the state Government. Also, women leaders of social organization like Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) are interviewed to find out their perspective on the government's efficiency in addressing their issues and concerns.

Moreover, five districts namely:-Aizawl, Lawngtlai, Champhai, Serchhip, Kolasib and Mamit are chosen for the study. A set of 64 questionnaires regarding equality, capacity and differentiation of the state government is administered and the sample size of the study is 213 (Male-110 and Female-103). The respondents are selected purposively. The rationale of selecting the five districts is their geographical location. Aizawl represents the centre and Lawngtlai represents the southern part while Champhai represents the eastern part of the state. Moreover, Mamit is selected to represent the western part and Kolasib represents the northern part of Mizoram. Also, Lawngtlai district is selected to represent ADC area and also to study the nature and condition of equality in the context of ethnic minority within the state.

Agriculture department, Tourism department and Education Department are selected to study the capacity of the state. These departments are selected to examine their contribution towards socio-economic development in the state. The

efficiency and effectiveness of the state government in the agriculture sector is also examined from case study in Khanpui village.⁶³ Also, the capacity of the government in tourism sector is also analysed from a case study in Reiek Village.⁶⁴ These villages are chosen because of their popularity and prosperity in the field of agriculture and tourism in the state.

Again, the Health Department and Sports & Youth Services department are selected to study their specialised role in the state. The rationale of selecting these departments is that both are technical departments which directly deal with the public on day to day basis. Descriptive statistics is employed to provide an outline of the general characteristics of the study. The secondary sources include government records, data and gazette. It is also collected from newspapers (Vanglaini, The Mizoram Post, etc.), journal articles, books, unpublished thesis which are relevant for the study. The scholar use content analysis to analyse the collected literatures to have a better insight of the study.

1.14. CHAPTERIZATION

Chapter 1:- Introduction

The first chapter introduce the study. It includes a profile of Mizoram, review of literature, statement of the problem, scope of the study, research questions, methodology and chapterizations.

Chapter 2:- Political Development: A Theoretical Framework

The second chapter examines different theories of political development. It also examine different concept of Political Development particularly Lucian Pye's concept of Political Development.

Chapter 3:- Nature of Equality in Mizoram

The third chapter analyzes the general spirit or attitude of the people towards equality. The nature of equality among the ethnic minority is analysed. The issue of minority relating to equality in Mizoram is also examined. Further it studies the nature of equality in the process of recruitment to the political office.

⁶³Khanpui Village is famous for organic *Sawthing* (ginger) production. The village is one of the largest producers of organic ginger in Mizoram. It is located 90 kms from Aizawl City.

⁶⁴Reiek Village is one of the tourist hotspot in the state of Mizoram. It is famous for its mesmerizing Reiek Peak filled with natural flora and fauna. The village is located 30.5 kms from Aizawl City.

Chapter 4:- Capacity of the Government

The fourth chapter analyzes the capacity (performance, effectiveness and efficiency) of the Government of Mizoram. The performance of the Government is evaluated from the social and economic sector, particularly the department of Agriculture, Education and Tourism. It also analyse the Government's policies and programmes to increase the economic growth and self-sufficiency of the state.

Chapter 5:- Differentiation and Specialization of Political Structures in Mizoram

The fifth chapter examines the differentiation and specialization of different political structures in Mizoram. The functional specificity of two departments' Health department and Sports & Youth Services department are examined in the chapter.

Chapter 6:- Crises of Political Development in Mizoram

The sixth chapter studies the crises of political development in Mizoram. It analyses different types of crises that relates to political development in the state. In short, this chapter studies the hindrances of political development in the state.

Chapter 7:- Summary and Conclusion

The last chapter summarise the findings of the research and conclude the study.

CHAPTER – II

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Politics is inherently unclassifiable. Simultaneously, it captures both the grandeur and the triviality of human nature. Strong and common elements like prestige, honor, loyalty, hatred, aggression, obligation, conscience, material advantage, self-interest, and the pursuit of security in various forms drive politics. There is a politics centered on vision and ambition, as well as one centered on desperation and hopelessness. Initially, people may perceive politics as possessing the profoundness of poetry, but quickly realize that it can also be as mundane and insignificant as the most ordinary scholarly examinations. The illusive parameters of politics appear to be constantly changing. Politics surpasses the superficial words and actions of politicians, yet at times, it seems to revert to the manipulative behavior of power-hungry individuals.¹

Previously left to the interests of the academics, the task of categorizing politics has now emerged as a significant concern in the realm of public affairs and global relations. The sudden appearance of numerous new sovereign states has left statesmen perplexed about the variations in political behavior. What is the definition of "political development"? And what are the distinguishing features of "modernization" in the field of politics? Does politics have the same differentiation as economics between "developed" and "underdeveloped"? Are there specific political structures and circumstances that are essential for promoting, or at the very least not hindering, other forms of social and economic progress? What is the significance of the conflict between traditional and modern ideals for the political order's stability and maintenance? Primarily, to what extent can someone expedite and guide political transformation, and what are the most effective methods for transforming traditional civilizations into democratic systems? These questions trouble the leaders of newly formed governments as they consider the disparities between the current political situations in their countries and their aspirations for the

¹Lucian Pye. (1966). *Aspects of Political Development*. Massachusetts: Little Brown Company. P- 5

type of political systems they aim to establish. Anyone willing to assist the newly formed states in achieving their ambitions must address these questions.²

The challenging nature of defining politics often leads scholars to overlook these concerns. Experts are having a hard time because they don't have enough knowledge to give definitive answers to questions about the best ways to bring democratic values and modern political institutions to places they have never been before. However, the realization of how little one understands about the processes of political development and the importance of political differences has greatly disturbed the sense of security of the scholar. Given the impact of numerous national and international issues on academic pursuits, it is appropriate to briefly discuss advancements in comparative politics. This subject encompasses more than just the personal interests of professional students; it is the discipline that should take the initiative in examining, differentiating, and categorizing different forms of politics in order to find better solutions to the issues faced by those pursuing political development.³

The nature of political development can be understood by analyzing culture. It can be useful for comparing and categorizing political system. The outcome might effectively utilizes the diverse knowledge from nation- and region-wide studies while maintaining a strong emphasis on universal issues and fundamental processes that are inherent to the human experience. The concept of political culture posits that the attitudes, sentiments, and cognitions that shape and influence political action in a society is not haphazard but rather creates cohesive and mutually reinforcing patterns. Despite the vast possibilities for variation in political beliefs, each community has a certain and limited political culture that shapes and defines the political process, providing it with significance, predictability, and structure. The concept of political culture posits that individuals must acquire and

²Lucian W. Pye. (1965). The Concept of Political Development. *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 358. 1-13

³Pye. Aspect of Political Development. *Op. Cit.*

assimilate knowledge and emotions regarding the politics of their society and community within their own historical context.⁴

The term 'political culture' seeks to elucidate and structure the understanding of enduring concepts such as political philosophy, national ethos, national political psychology, and the fundamental values of a society. Political culture is a more inclusive concept compared to phrases like political style or operational code, as it encompasses the political orientations of leaders and citizens rather than solely focusing on elite behaviour. On the other hand, the term specifically pertains to politics, making it more restrictive than concepts such as public opinion and national character. The political attitudes and sentiments are necessarily and relevant in shaping their political culture, as many of them are transient and not strongly held enough to have a significant impact on basic progress. Conversely, several views that may not seem political, such as having a fundamental confidence in human relationships or having certain attitudes about time and the potential for change, can actually be extremely significant. Political culture, consisting of specific shared beliefs and sentiments, shapes the political process by providing structure and organization. Essentially, political culture has a role in organizing and giving significance to the political domain, just as culture in general brings order and unity to society.⁵

By examining the political cultures of different countries, one can integrate the macro-analysis and micro-analysis approaches. This entails studying the behaviour and dynamics of both the entire political system and its individuals. When examining the roots of a political culture, it is critical to consider both the overall historical evolution of the system and the personal life experiences of the people who currently represent it. By adopting a historical perspective, it can analyze the development of institutions and value systems that shape present-day political cultures. Additionally, it can observe the impact of these institutions on individuals' lives by examining the patterns of political socialization that integrate individuals into these cultures. The relationship between private socialization processes and the

⁴Pye. *The Concept of Political Development. Op. Cit.*

⁵*Ibid.*

functioning of public institutions is a crucial factor in shaping the dynamics of stability and transformation in political systems.⁶

The term political development is relatively new in the field of politics or political science. Some individuals may contend that politics is a universal phenomenon, inherently unaffected by time or location. Therefore, they hold the view that categorizing politics as more or less developed, akin to economic systems and social structures, is inappropriate. Another valid objection to the phrase is its apparent suggestion of certain value judgments, potentially conflating objective analysis with advocacy and idealistic preferences. The widespread adoption of cultural relativism, the endeavour to understand the practical workings of politics, and the decision to temporarily suspend discussions over the optimal form of government have contributed significantly to the considerable influence of modern political science. Nevertheless, despite valid reservations regarding this idea and others, it is an undeniable reality that leaders in newly formed states are deeply worried about not just economic but often more importantly, political development. In recent years, there has been a noticeable increase in understanding and expanding the concept of political development. Although individuals may use the term differently, they often give slightly different interpretations.⁷

The term political development was not very popular before the World War II. The term political development received attention and recognition after the emergence of Alliances, Afro-Asian nations in the post-II World War.⁸ Social revolution or evolution might occur through the course of history but the level or phase of the desired political development had a gradual development. Actually, the goal of political development is to achieve minimum conditions of material welfare for the society as a whole.⁹ As a result, the minimum measurement of political development should be according to the conditions and norms of that particular

⁶Gabriel Almond. (1956). Comparative Political System. *The Journal of Politics*. Vol.18, No.3. 391-409. <https://www.jstor.org/stable>

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Pye. Aspect of Political Development. *Op.Cit.* P-5.

⁹Narain. *Op.Cit.* P- 18.

society or State. However, political development can be achieved through an all-round development of the State.¹⁰

The concept of Political development is difficult to understand. It is because the term can be defined in many ways by many. Scholars define the term according to their understanding and beliefs. Some say that political development is essential, but it need not adhere to a predetermined unilinear trajectory. Its objectives can be established, and its techniques delineated, within various cultural frameworks.¹¹ Conversely, some contend that political development is the evolution of political institutions over time.¹² A cohesive machinery or theory for the measurement of political development remains unidentified. Political development is the direction of aggregative impact of transformative capacity on the lives of the members of a community, it is also a goal-oriented plan realized by the individual; which can be achieved in their social and political life.¹³

Every political system has its own framework and orientation, significance, and objectives.¹⁴ This indicates that each political system possesses distinct structures and functions. The concept and understanding of political development vary between states, because it may be influenced by many factors.¹⁵ In certain states, political development can be characterized as economic growth, enhancement of living standards, progress in infrastructure, and advancements in technology. Nonetheless, it is presumed that they are not the exclusive quantifiable variables or definitions of political development, as historically, human development was considered synonymous with political development.¹⁶ This clearly shows that political development cannot be determined by a single factor.

According to Robert A. Packenham (1964), there are five approaches to the study of political development. They are i. Legal-formal, ii. Economic, iii.

¹⁰*Ibid.* P- 18.

¹¹IqbalNarain. (1994). *Political Dimensions of Development*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications. P-19

¹²Francis Fukuyama. (2014). *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy*. USA: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. P- 1.

¹³S.D. Gupta. (1984). *Political Growth and Political Development: Theoretical Perspective*. Calcutta: Asoke Ray. P-55.

¹⁴Almond.Comparative Political System.*Op.Cit.*

¹⁵Pye.Aspects of Political Development.*Op.Cit.*

¹⁶Pye.The Concept of Political Development.*Op.Cit.*

Administrative, iv. Social system and v. Political culture. He argued that political development of a particular state can be easily identified through the legal-formal approach. It is important to note that the legal-formal approach is particularly significant to study political development in developing countries rather than developed countries.¹⁷ This argument may be true in the sense that equal protection under the law, the rule of law, regular elections by secret ballot, federalism, the separation of powers etc., are fundamental for political development to take place.

Packenham also discuss the importance of the economic approach. Here, a number of writers and scholars shared his idea by accepting the importance of economy for political development because economic development serves material needs of the people and it enhances harmony between economic aspirations and satisfaction. However, it is important to mention here that economic progress is not only a deciding factor for political development. For example: for a newly independent country assuring political stability may be the primary goal rather than achieving economic growth.

Moreover, administrative capacity to execute law and order efficiently and effectively and the ability to perform governmental output functions rationally and neutrally may be political development for many countries. Likewise, a social system that support popular participation in governmental and political processes at all levels and the bridging of regional, religious, caste, linguistic, tribal, or other cleavages enhances political development.¹⁸ In addition, the attitude and characteristics of the people (political culture) that enables the members of the political system both to accept the privileges and to bear the responsibilities in a political process is also an indication of political development.

2.2. DIVERSE UNDERSTANDING OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The complexity of arriving to an acceptable definition of political development is due to diverge requirements and needs of a particular society, state or a country. For example, David Apter's work, "Democracy for Uganda: A Case for Comparison" discussed how Uganda experienced political instability and political

¹⁷Robert A. Packenham. (1964). Approaches to the Study of Political Development. *World Politics* .Vol. 17, No. 1. P. 108-12

¹⁸*Ibid.* P- 115.

turmoil after achieving independence from the British in 1962, and also the need to find a solution for all the problems faced by the country to achieve political development. In the book, the author argues that Uganda was prosperous because of its revenue from coffee, tea, cotton and other agricultural crops.¹⁹

Political unrest dominated Uganda right from independence; ethnic infighting and sectarianism were common as a result political development was almost absent or not visible. Besides, Apter found out that domestic products for foodstuffs and coffee and cotton for international market was in ruins and the economy was disrupted. These hampers political development and created political instability in Uganda. Also, syncretistic religious movements were still in existence thus resulted into violence, political unrest, and criminality.²⁰ However, the country is gradually recovering from the remnants of many social disruption, dislocation, political instability, and violence. Thus, according to Apter the centre piece for Uganda to make steps towards political development is the constitutional process itself. These will result to the most suitable and acceptable institutional frame work for Uganda.²¹

At the same time Apter also realises the importance of Localism in Uganda for political development.²² Localism allows quick transfer and shift of resources and money and in the informal sector, a very high degree of participation, including women. Participation of the public is important in achieving political development. The above shows that there is wide variation and the possibility of a numerous definition of political development. Although, Apter suggested that Democracy is the main solution to resolve Uganda's political mayhem, he believes that a great deal will depend on how all these are organized locally or internally.²³

On a similar note, Iqbal Narain argued that democracy both in the egalitarian and libertarian aspects is the best for achieving all round development specifically for a developing country. According to him neither of the two aspects is

¹⁹David E. Apter (1995). Democracy for Uganda: A Case for Comparison. *The MIT Press* Vol. 124, No. 3. 155-190.

²⁰*Ibid.* P- 165.

²¹*Ibid.* P- 183&184.

²²*Ibid.* P- 184.

²³*Ibid.* P- 184.

superior to the other but the egalitarian aspect has an edge over the libertarian.²⁴ It is because in a developing country people still lacked behind in terms of standard of living, income etc., in comparison with the developed countries. Also, the criminalization of democratic process of politics is common particularly in developing countries as no party wants to lose in elections. It is harmful for developing countries because the process of political development became stagnant as a result of criminalization of politics. Thus, according to Narain, political development may be achieved by eliminating of all the evil practices and with the combination of egalitarian and libertarian aspects of democracy.²⁵

It is often argued that political development may supersede economic and social development. However, to achieve all round development, every area or section must improve. On the other hand the simultaneity is the core of the matter and nothing can be ignored. For instance, ignoring socio-economic development will result to a stagnant political development. It means the scope and nature of political development is very vast. For hugely populated countries like India and China over population may be the reason for static political development. So, controlling population may be the answer for achieving political development for countries like China and India.

Besides, there is a huge concern about ecology and environment today. Eco-friendliness is becoming a topic of concern among scholars and academicians; it even affected policy making in many countries. Leaders and policy makers are left with a difficult choice between industrialization and ecological preservation. It is a fact that the need of maintaining ecological balance is essential but on the other hand socio-economic and political development can be accomplished through industrialization. This clearly shows the diversity of the term, definition and even the means of achieving political development.

After studying different political system, Byron G. Massialas (1977) argues that the general characteristics of political development constitute the following points: (a) a highly differentiated political structure (i.e., political roles and institutions are specialized, there is a centralization of the polity, and political goals

²⁴Narain. *Op.Cit.* P-84.

²⁵*Ibid.* P- 84.

become specific); (b) the scope of administrative, legal, and political activity is extended to all spheres of the society; (c) more groups in society assume political power; and (d) there is a weakening of the traditional elite and their right to rule.²⁶ Massialas after analysing the characteristics of political development, he came to recognize the importance of education for political development. He mentioned about the importance of political socialization both in social and political sphere. According to him educating the political elites through the selection, training, and recruitment is important because it resulted in efficiency and effectiveness of the political system which is a sign of political development.

Myron Weiner (1965) also mentioned the importance of integration for political development goal. He discussed the forms and strategies of integration technically and its importance in achieving political development. He argued that there are two public policy strategies for achieving national integration such as the need for elimination of the distinctive cultural traits of minority community and the importance of establishing national loyalties without eliminating subordinate cultures which in short is best defined as unity in diversity.²⁷

2.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The above paragraphs show that there are various ideas, concepts and studies of political development. This makes it difficult in defining or conceptualizing the term political development. Lucian Pye (1966) studies the diverse definition of the concept of political development. He examined 10 characteristics of political development.²⁸ They are discussed below:-

1. *Political Development as the Political Prerequisite of Economic Development.*

Political development and economic development are interconnected processes that often reinforce each other. Political Stability is crucial for economic development as it fosters investment and growth while economic development reduces poverty and social unrest. Strong and effective institutions are essential for

²⁶Byron G. Massialas. (1977) Education and Political Development. *Comparative Education Review*. (Jun. - Oct., 1977). Vol. 21, No. 2/3. P-274-295

²⁷Myron Weiner. (1965). Political Integration and Political Development. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 358. P-52-64

²⁸Pye. Aspect of Political Development. *Op. Cit* .P-33.

attracting investments, enforcing contracts and ensuring a level playing field for businesses. Political development, including human protection and access to education and healthcare improves the well-being of citizens. A stable, accountable and inclusive political system can create an environment conducive to economic growth while economic development influences the political landscape and governance structure of a nation. Both are essential for improving the overall quality of life.

Many regarded that political development is primarily a function of a level of economic development adequate to serve the material needs of the public and to increase a reasonable harmony between economic aspirations and satisfactions.²⁹ According to this view political development is understood as economic development. It is believed that political development of a particular State is possible only through its economic development or growth. When the economic condition of a State is increasing it gradually increase the level of political development in the state. Furthermore, the economic growth and the transformation of a stagnant economy are determined by the political condition or nature of the political system. Thus political development occurs in a State where economic growth is priorities.

Nonetheless, it may be inaccurate to measure political development only on economic development. Economic development cannot be the only measurable variable of political development. According to this view, the problem of political development would thus vary according to economic problems in each country. However, the administrative and legal development of the State cannot be ignored because it is also equally important for political development.³⁰ At the same time, the relevance of this view of political development is questionable, because in many developing and underdeveloped countries people are actively working and striving for political development without much concern with economic development. Thus, it is impossible to identify political development with economic development

²⁹Packenham.*Op. Cit* . P- 108-120.

³⁰Pye.Aspects of Political Developemnt.*Op.Cit.* P-34.

because there are some cases where political development takes place without much economic development.³¹

2. *Political Development as the Politics typical of industrial Society.*

Another important definition of political development which has some kind of resemblance with the first concept is the view that relates political development and socio-economic and political condition in the advanced and highly industrialized societies. The industrial revolution which began in the late 18th century and continued till the 19th century marked a significant shift in political development and social structures. The shift from an agrarian economy to manufacturing and technological advancements led to significant changes. Urbanization, the rapid expansion of industrial areas influenced the demographic shift from rural to urban areas which had political implications. Industrial societies are characterized by complex social class dynamics with distinct roles and interest among industrialists, workers and middle classes. These dynamics can lead to political tensions and the emergence of labour movements. The transition to an industrial society often necessitates changes in political institutions such as voting systems, labour laws and the role of government in regulating industries.³²

State capacity is often required in industrial societies leading to the growth of the state and changes in structures of governance. Globalization often linked to trade and the exchange of ideas and technologies can have both positive and negative effects on political development, including issues related to sovereignty, international diplomacy and global governance. Understanding the relationship between industrial society and political development is crucial for analyzing the dynamics of modern politics. Political system in most advanced and industrialized societies regardless of its democratic or undemocratic nature is usually considered to be politically developed system. This type of society set certain standards of political behaviour and performance which comprise of political

³¹Pye. The Concept of Political development. *Op. Cit.* P-5.

³²Pye. Aspects of Political Development. *Op. Cit.* P-35.

development and which represent the goals of political development for all other systems.³³

As a result, the qualities of political development become certain patterns of governmental behaviour in this type of society which ensures political development. For example, an avoidance of reckless actions which threaten the vested interests of significant segments of the society, an appreciation of the values of orderly administrative and legal procedures, a stress on welfare programs, and finally an acceptance of some form of mass participation. It is also believed that these countries achieved political development within the State itself, but it is important to know that industrialization does not necessarily carry the seeds of political development.³⁴

Moreover, it is assumed that political development of a State depends upon the actions and activities of the State. The State decisions towards safeguarding the interest of several sections of the society, its attitude towards politics inside the State are also major determinants of political development.³⁵ These advanced and industrialized countries have done their best to promote and protect the interest of the people. Also, the nature of organized administrative and legal process and the State approach towards implementing welfare programmes and policies are the reason for political development. Therefore, according to this view it is reasonable to say that the sensible and responsible behaviour of the government resulted in political development of the State.

3. *Political Development as Political Modernization.*

The understanding of political development with the political conditions in industrial society is related to the understanding that political development is similar with political modernization. Today, developed countries are becoming a trend-setter in almost all the spheres of social life, and this is also true in the context of politics. The process of political growth in advanced and modern society is

³³*Ibid.* P-6.

³⁴Joseph LaPalombara (Ed). (1963). *Bureaucracy and Political Development*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.(1963). P-12.

³⁵Pye.Aspects of Political Developemnt. *Op.Cit.* P-34

considered to be political development. Accordingly, political development is considered synonymous with political modernity.

On the other hand, it is difficult to get a clear definition of what is modernity. Normally, it is regarded that western societies are modern and advanced, which resulted in a debate between the definition of modern and western society. Consequently, the political practices, traditions and the political system in western societies are considered to be modern or advanced practices. But in fact, modern and advance systems are also relevant among the non-western society. Thus, there is confusion between the term “western” and “modern”.³⁶ Doubts and questions arise when political development is regarded as political modernization. For example, is political development the capacity of a country to equip itself with such modern cultural artifacts as political parties, civil and rational administrations, and legislative bodies? If yes, then the subject of ethnocentrism may be relevant because most of these institutions do have a western character.

This view of political development as political modernization may not be universally acceptable because of differences among nation-states. Actually, political modernization plays a crucial role in fostering political development by establishing an environment that is favourable for the implementation of democratic government. On the other hand, political development has the potential to facilitate political modernization through the facilitation of reforms and enhancements in governance frameworks that are in line with contemporary democratic ideas and practises.³⁷

Nevertheless, the association between the two variables might be intricate and may not consistently lead to a straightforward advancement. Certain societies may undergo the process of political modernization without experiencing substantial political development, and conversely, certain cultures may experience political development without undergoing major political modernization. Political development and modernisation may encounter several obstacles, such as opposition from entrenched power structures, disparities in economic conditions, and cultural elements that impede advancement. Political development and political modernization are closely interconnected phenomena, wherein the progression of one

³⁶*Ibid.* P- 34

³⁷*Ibid.* P- 35

has the ability to impact the other. Both entities play crucial roles in influencing the political framework of a given society, while the nature of their interactions might exhibit substantial variations contingent upon contextual and historical elements. However, one thing is certain that when modernization is associated with development it includes increase in the amount of information and energy that are useful for society and also increased in the ability of organizations in the state.³⁸

4. *Political Development as the Operations of a nation-state.*

Political development can be understood as the functioning and evolution of a nation-state. To a certain extent, these arguments can be addressed by the perspective that political evolution entails the establishment of political structures and the execution of political duties in alignment with the norms anticipated in a contemporary nation-state. From this perspective, it is assumed that throughout history, several political systems have existed and every community has had its own unique form of politics.

However with the rise of modern nation-state, a distinct set of political requirements emerged. Therefore, in order to function effectively as modern state, its political institutions and practices must adapt to the demands of state performance. The transition from the politics of past empires, tribes and ethnic communities or colonies is important in order to establish a political framework that enables efficient functioning of a nation-state within the context of a global system comprising other nation-states.

According to this understanding, political development refers to the transformative process through which communities evolved into nation-states in substance and actuality. More precisely, this entails that cultivation of an ability to sustain a degree of societal stability, to gather and allocate resources for a defined set of communal endeavours, and also to establish and successfully enforce various forms of global obligations. The assessment of political progress would therefore entail two key components. Firstly, it would require the construction of specific public institutions that provide the essential foundation of a nation-state. Secondly, it would necessitate the regulated manifestation of nationalism within the realm of

³⁸LaPalombara. *Op. Cit.* P-9.

political affairs. Political development refers to the intricate dynamics of nationalism inside the framework of state institutions.

The view of political development as the operation of a nation-state is generated from the understanding that political development is a result of an organized political system. It means the government must execute its duties and functions as per the expectation of a modern nation-state to achieve the desired political development. So, the nation-states are expected to meet the needs and demands of the people. In the past, various political systems and process had existed. Different community had their own political system, but it is believed that political development emerges with the operation of nation-state. Political development is a result of transformation of different communities into a nation-state. Thus, if a society or a community is to carry out as modern state, political institutions and practices must met the requirements of state's performance i.e. an effective nation-state which can operate successfully in comparison or competition with other nation-states.

The success of political development in a state is examined from the nature of public institutions and the development of infrastructure. Nationalism also plays a vital role in the process of political development regardless of the importance of developed infrastructure. Nationalist sentiments generate a feeling of responsibility and unity among the citizens and unity alone can even lead to political development of the State. In short, political development is nation-building.³⁹

5. *Political Development as Administrative and Legal Development.*

When analyzing the process of nation-building, it is often categorized into two distinct components: institution-building and citizenship development. These two notions are widely recognized and frequently employed in discussion around political development. The notion of political development as the process of constructing organizations has a significant historical background and is the foundation of the ideology behind many of the enlightened colonial practices. In the context of western influence on global societies, a prominent aspect was Europeans

³⁹ Pye. Aspects of Political Development. *Op. Cit.* P-37.

conviction that the establishment of political communities necessitated the presence of a legal framework followed by an administrative structure.

There is a prevailing notion that posits the building of efficient bureaucracies as a fundamental driver of the development process. From this perspective, administrative development is linked to the dissemination of rationality, the reinforcement of secular and legal principles, and the advancement of technical and specialized expertise in the realm of human affairs. No state can be considered 'developed' if it does not possess the necessary capability to effectively govern public affairs. The presence of competent administrative institutions in newly established states greatly contributed to the resolution of various challenges. However, it is important to note that administration alone may be insufficient for political development.⁴⁰

Political development as administrative and legal development is comparable with the concept of political development in terms of Nation-building. The influence of Western practices made the rest of the world believed that in building political communities; it is essential to have a legal order and then an administrative order.⁴¹ This idea had led to a belief that the existence of an effective bureaucracy is the heart of development process as a whole. According to this view, a State must possess some kind of legal obligations for development. The process of political development will be difficult if not impossible where there is a low level of legal awareness. The protection of civil and political rights in the State assures the active participation of its citizens in political affairs of the State which in turn can lead to political development.⁴² The development of a nation depends upon the presence of a systematic legal process.⁴³

It is also believed that a smooth functioning of an orderly legal system can be acquired only with the existence of a well-organized administrative system. This view of political development also believes that the establishment of an

⁴⁰*Ibid.* P-38

⁴¹*Ibid.* P-38

⁴²Damien Kingsbury. (2007). *Political Development*. New York: Routledge Publications. P- 78.

⁴³Pye.Aspects of Political Development.*Op.Cit.* P-38

effective and efficient bureaucracy is the core of development process. From this view, it is certain that no state can be labelled as developed if it fails to manage public affairs effectively. Moreover, the continued existence of law and order necessitate the development of a reliable and consistent public administration. In other words, political development can be measured by the ability and effectiveness of the administrative system. The importance of effective and efficient administration is evident from the fact that the first task of a newly independent country is to strengthen their bureaucracy. Thus, the outcome of an efficient and effective administration is political development of the State.⁴⁴ But it is important to note here that, the concept of political development cannot simply be defined by an improved administration. It must conjoin with public awareness and public participation.⁴⁵

6. *Political Development as Mass Mobilization and Participation.*

There is another aspect of political development that largely revolves around the role of the people and the emergence of new standards of loyalty and engagement. It is understandable that in many former colonial nations, the prevailing perspective on political growth revolves around a process of political awakening, when previously subjugated individuals transform into engaged and dedicated citizens. In some States, this perspective is taken to an extreme extent where the emotional and collective display of popular politics assumes a primary role and both leaders and citizens believe that they are promoting the progress of their country through the intensity and frequency of mass demonstrations of political dedication.⁴⁶

On the other hand, it is worth noting that nations that are advancing in an organized and efficient manner may nonetheless harbour discontent. According to some perspectives, political development includes a certain level of increased involvement from the general public. However, it is crucial to differentiate between the circumstances under which this growth occurs. In the context of Western history, this aspect of political development has been strongly linked to the expansion of suffrage and the inclusion of new segments of the public in the political sphere. The

⁴⁴Pye. The Concept of Political Development. *Op.Cit.* P-7

⁴⁵Pye. Aspects of Political Development. *Op.Cit.* P-38-39.

⁴⁶*Ibid.* P- 39.

event of mass participation resulted in the dispersion of decision making, allowing anyone to have a degree of influence over choices and decisions.

In a newly established government, there has been widespread public involvement; this has not been accompanied by a formal election system. Instead, it has mostly manifested as a novel type of collective reaction to the influence and control exerted by the ruling elite. It is important to acknowledge that even a modest level of participation can contribute to the development and to the process on nation-building, as it serves as a mechanism for fostering new allegiances and cultivating a sense of national identity. Hence, while political participation in political affairs is a valid aspect of societal progress, it also carries inherent risk of either unproductive sentimentality or manipulative populism, both of which have the potential to undermine the stability and vitality of a community. The issue is the continuous challenge of reconciling popular sentiments with the maintenance of public order.⁴⁷

7. *Political Development as the Building of Democracy.*

There is a perspective or views that political development should be equivalent to the establishment of democratic institutions and practices. The popular perspective among individuals often entails the presumption that the sole manifestation of political progress deserving of recognition is the establishment and cultivation of democratic systems. There are some who argue that the association between development and ideology is evident asserting that growth can only be comprehended within the framework of specific ideologies such as democracy, communism or totalitarianism.

According to this perspective, the concept of political development is inherently tied to the enhancement of a particular set of values. To deny this connection would be an act of self-deception. While it is indeed invigorating to encounter instances when democracy is unequivocally linked to progress, there exists considerable opposition within the field of social sciences towards adopting this perspective. To a certain extent, this might be attributed to the prevalent desire within the field of social sciences to establish itself as an objective and impartial discipline. Despite acknowledging the inherent naivety of this ambition in its

⁴⁷*Ibid.* P-40

extreme manifestation, there is a notion of appropriateness that necessitates the alignment of social science analysis categories with objective reality than subjective values. The intricate ambiguities around the notion that development is closely related to yet distinct from democracy prevent us from delving further into the topic. Instead, it is important to note that there are those who declare with equal conviction that development and democracy are fundamentally distinct and that even the implementation of democracy can potentially hinder progress.⁴⁸

8. *Political Development as Stability and Orderly Change.*

There are significant members in the society who perceive democracy as incongruous and they conceptualize growth within the realm of economic and social order. The political aspect of this perspective typically revolves around the notion of political stability which is rooted in the ability to enact intentional and organized transformations. The concept of stability when it is characterized by a lack of progress and an arbitrary endorsement of the existing state of affairs can be deemed as not constituting development unless the alternative is evidently a more unfavourable condition. Stability is inherently associated with the notion of political development as economic and social progress typically relies on an environment characterized by reduced uncertainty and the ability to make reasonably accurate predictions for planning purposes. The aforementioned perspective on development is primarily concern to the realm of politics.⁴⁹

A society that possesses the ability to effectively and intentionally manage and guide social change through its political processes is evidently more advanced than one in which the political system is powerless against the influence of social and economic forces that haphazardly determine the fate of its citizens. Therefore, similar to the viewpoint posited by many scholars, who contend that in contemporary communities humans exert control over nature for their own objective but in traditional civilizations human primarily aimed to conform to the demands of nature. The ability to maintain order is a fundamental requirement for effectively managing social dynamics.

⁴⁸Ibid. P- 40-41

⁴⁹Ibid. P- 42.

One limitation of this perspective on political development is its failure to address the extent of order that is seen necessary or desirable as well as the specific objectives for which change should be aimed. The inquiry therefore arises as to whether the integration of stability and change is exclusive to the aspirations of the middle class or at the very least that are considerably more prosperous than the majority. Ultimately, when considering priorities there is a sentiment that while maintaining order is important and even necessary, it is not the foremost concern compared to accomplishing tasks. Therefore, the pursuit of progress necessitates proactive perspective of action.⁵⁰

9. *Political Development as Mobilization and Power.*

The acceptance that political systems ought to satisfy certain criteria of effectiveness and contribute to the betterment of society brings us to the notion of political development as the measure the capacity of a system. The argument that democracy may diminish the effectiveness of a system presupposes the ability to quantify the effectiveness of a system. Additionally, the concept of effectiveness implies the existence of theoretical or ideal models that can be used to evaluate reality. This perception conceive that political regimes can be assessed based on their capacity to mobilize absolute power. Some organizations which may exhibit varying degrees of authority within these systems possess limited ability to effectively initiate and achieve policy objectives. States inherently vary in terms of their resource base and the level of development can be assessed by the extent to which they can effectively use and actualize the complete potential of their available resources.

It is important to acknowledge that this perspective does not inevitably result in a simplistic, autocratic understanding of growth as solely the ability of a governing body to appropriate resources from the populace. The ability to effectively gather and distribute resources is typically or significantly influenced by the level of public backing that the government receives. Consequently, a democratic system possesses greater efficiency in resource mobilization compared to repressive authoritarian regime. Undoubtedly, the issue of advancing political development in

⁵⁰*Ibid.* P- 42.

numerous societies may primarily entail the attainment of increased public approval. This is not due to an inherent value of democracy but rather it is because of such endorsement that the system effectively harnesses greater extent of power mobilization.⁵¹

10. *Political Development as One Aspect of a Multi-dimensional Process of Social Change.*

It is assumed that there is interconnectedness between political development and other dimensions of social and economic transformation. This assertion holds validity as every factor that might potentially elucidate a country's power capacity must also be indicative of the economic conditions and societal structure. One could argue that attempting to fully separate political development from other forms of growth is both unnecessary and inappropriate. While there may be some degree of autonomy within the political arena, it is essential for long term political development to occur within a comprehensive process of social transformation. In this process, no section or dimension of society may remain far behind.

From this perspective, there exists a correlation between various forms of political development, wherein political development is akin to political modernization. Furthermore, development occurs within a historical framework, where external influences impact the processes of social change, just as changes in different aspects of a given society, such as the economy, the polity and the social order mutually influence one another.⁵²

2.4. LUCIAN PYE'S CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The above paragraphs show that there are different views and diverse understanding of political development. Lucian Pye examines them and he draws a

⁵¹*Ibid.* P- 43.

⁵²*Ibid.* P- 44.

conclusion that there are three common concepts or three shared characteristics of political development.⁵³ They are as follows:-

One of the primary characteristics that are commonly observed is a prevailing spirit or attitude towards equality.⁵⁴ According to Pye, political development typically encompasses the active engagement and widespread participation of the public in political activities. Participation can be either democratic or as a manifestation of totalitarian mobilization. However, the most important factor is that the subjects should become active citizens and popular rule is required. Equality requires that law should be of universalistic in nature and must be applicable to all and operating in a manner that is largely impersonal. This requires the establishment of a codified legal system and explicit legal procedures.⁵⁵

Moreover, the most important factor is recognizing the law that all people, whether wealthy or poor, powerful or weak must submit to the same laws. Lastly, equality signifies that recruitment to political office should be based on achievement standards of performance rather than the factors of conventional social system. In a developed political system it is often assumed that candidates for public office have exhibited sufficient merit and that officeholders have passed a competitive test of competence.⁵⁶

The second concept of political development that is commonly observed is the capacity of a political system. Capacity, in a broader context is linked to the outcomes produced by a political system, as well as the degree to which the system can exert influence on the wider realms of society and the economy. Capacity is also linked with governmental performance and the factors that influence such performance.⁵⁷ It is believed that the performance of the government is the backbone of political development in the society. Capacity refers primarily to the extensive magnitude, breadth and size of political and governmental performance. It is often

⁵³ *Ibid.* P- 45&46.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* P- 12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* P- 45.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* P- 46.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* P-12.

assumed that advanced systems or countries possess the capacity and capability to perform a greater range of functions and have a broader impact on various aspects of social life compared to less advanced systems. Moreover, the efficiency of the political system is closely link with the nature of its administration and its secular approach towards a policy.

The term capacity also refers to the degree of efficacy and efficiency in the implementation of public policy. Developed systems are presumed to posses not only a wider range of functionalities compared to other systems and also display enhanced efficiency and a higher degree of comprehensiveness in their operations. Consequently, a discernible inclination towards professionalization of government institutions can be observed. The emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness also give rise to globally acknowledged performance criteria. So, capacity is effectiveness and efficiency in the execution of public policy. Also, capacity can be defined as rationality in administration and a secular orientation towards policy.

Lastly, political development involves differentiation and specialization of structures in the political system.⁵⁸ It holds validity when examining institutions and structures. It primarily encompasses the process of differentiation and specialization of structures. Within the government, offices and agencies typically possess discrete and delimited functions, thereby demonstrating a parallel to the concept of division of labour. The political system is a combination of different department or structure which has its own functional specialization. These departments or structures are the essential elements for political development of a nation-state. The functional specialization performed by these structures resulted in improvement or development in different fields which in turn lead to political development. Therefore, political development is an all-round economic, social, political, infrastructural and human development.

Differentiation leads to a greater level of functional specialization and diverse political functions within the system. It also encompasses the integration of complex structures and processes. Differentiation refers to a process that does not

⁵⁸*Ibid.* P- 12.

involved fragmentation of separation of various components within the political system. Rather, it entails specialization that is rooted in a fundamental sense of integration.

The above three themes (equality, capacity and differentiation or specialization) are important hypothesis to measure the nature of political development in the State. In other words, according to Lucian Pye, the nature or condition of political development in a political system can be determined by a) the condition of equality in the State. b) The capacity (performance, efficiency and effectiveness) of the political system c) The role of different structures in the political system and their performance.⁵⁹ In short, the meaning of the concept of political development has three characteristics- equality, capacity and differentiation. The degree of political development of a country (State) or province (regional government) can be determined with the help of these characteristic.

2.4. CRISES OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

At the same time, there are some hindrances which limited political development in the state and Samuel Huntington termed it as political decay.⁶⁰ Political decay can be defined as the problems and issues which limit political development in the State. The issue may be in the form of failure of democracy and transformation into a military or autocratic regime.⁶¹ Moreover, ethnic conflicts and civil war, the issue of inefficient administration and weak political administration is the sign of political decay.⁶² Thus, several factors and issues vary from place to place which resulted in political decay of a State. Similarly, the issue of instability, corruption, authoritarianism, domestic violence, institutional decline and political disintegration are also the major characteristics of political decay.⁶³

The concept of political development cannot be complete without understanding the factors which hinder the process of political development. There

⁵⁹*Ibid.* P- 46.

⁶⁰Samuel P. Huntington. (1965). Political Development and Political Decay. *World Politics*. Vol. 17, No.3.386-430. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2009286>. Accessed on 10-09-2019.

⁶¹*Ibid.* P-392.

⁶²*Ibid.* P- 392.

⁶³*Ibid.* P- 393.

are many issues which limit political development of a nation-state. Lucian Pye classifies these issues as “Crises of Political Development”.⁶⁴ They are as follows:-

The Identity Crisis: The fundamental crisis of political development is the problem of achieving a common sense of identity.⁶⁵ According to this view, a crisis arises when an individual feels insecure in the territory he/she settles. If anyone/anybody feels alienated (insecure) in their territory then commitment to the political system will be absent or very less. One must have a sense of belonging to the place where they inhabit. Political development cannot take place where an individual lacks the spirit of commitment. The identity crisis also includes the problem of traditional heritage and modern practices.⁶⁶ If the citizens have the uncertainty of their identity, political development ceased to exist and the idea of a stable nation-state is impossible.

Furthermore, the inhabitants of a recently established state must develop an awareness and acknowledgement of their national area as their bona fide homeland. Additionally, on an individual level they should perceive their personal identities as partially shaped by their association with their geographically defined nation. In majority of newly established governments there is a notable competition between traditional forms of identity such as tribe, caste, ethnic groups and linguistic groups and the broader concept of national identity. The identity crisis encompasses the process of resolving conflict between traditional heritage and modern practices as well as the contradiction between parochial sentiments and cosmopolitan practices. The absence of a strong sense of identity and lacking a sense of belonging hampers the establishment of a stable nation-state.

The Legitimacy Crisis: The second crisis of political development is the difficulty in achieving conformity about legitimate authority and responsible government.⁶⁷ The issue of establishing consensus over the valid nature of authority and appropriate government responsibilities is closely intertwined with the concept

⁶⁴Pye. Aspects of Political Development. *Op.Cit.* P-62&63.

⁶⁵*Ibid.* P-63.

⁶⁶*Ibid.* P-63.

⁶⁷*Ibid.* P-63.

of identity crisis. The issue of legitimacy sometimes manifests as a constitutional quandary, namely pertaining to the correct delineation of powers between central and local governing bodies. Conflict may arise from differing the point of view on the extent to which colonial framework should be retained in an autonomous nation.

In several states, the issue of legitimacy is widely dispersed, encompassing emotions regarding the fundamental principles of governance and the principal objectives of collective national endeavours. The question of a legitimate government includes sentiments about the aims and objectives of the authorities. According to this view, there can be a crisis of authority because people questioned and challenged the government for a different reason. As a result several leaders are not able to maintain full command of legitimate authority.⁶⁸

The Penetration of Crisis: The penetration of crisis basically means the problem of government reaching all sections of the society and ineffective public policies.⁶⁹ The administrative challenges faced by many states give rise to a phenomenon known as the penetration crisis. This crisis is related to the difficulties encountered by the government in effectively implementing policies that directly impact the state. In order to effectively implement substantial developmental initiatives it is imperative for a government to have the capability to extend its influence to the grassroots level and directly impact the everyday experiences of the public.

Political development can be achieved by a State only after effectively implementing its policies to all sections of the society. Sometimes, authorities find it difficult to perform effectively and gain popular support to accomplish political development of the State. It is assumed that a number of government frequently encounter challenges in terms of motivating the public and altering their attitudes and behaviours to garner backing for initiatives in relation to national progress. However it is worth noting that there are instances where the success of a government in dismantling established systems of authority can result in broad call for increased

⁶⁸*Ibid.* P-63.

⁶⁹*Ibid.* P-63.

participation in shaping policies. When such event takes place, it leads to the emergence of another crisis, namely participation crisis.

The Participation Crisis: In the pursuit of delineating political development, a crucial aspect of this idea entails the augmentation of citizens' involvement. The participation crisis arises when there is a lack of clarity regarding the optimal rate of growth and when the arrival of new participants puts significant pressure on the current institutions. When new demographic groups are incorporated into the political system, novel concerns and interest emerge leading to disruption of the existing political order. As a result, there arises a necessity to reconstruct the entire framework of political interactions.

The participation dilemma can be attributed to the creation of interest groups and the establishment of a party system. The concern that arises in several states in relation to whether the increase in citizens' participation will be successfully structured into distinct interest groups, or if the resulting pressures will merely give rise to collective demands. It is important to acknowledge that the presence of a participation issue does not automatically indicate calls for democratic processes. The observable fact of participation crisis can be conceptualized as a mechanism employed in totalitarian states to establish a foundation for the manipulation of mass organizations and the implementation of demonstrational politics.

Integration Crisis: The entire political system is an organized system of interacting relationship.⁷⁰ This crisis refers to the challenges associated with aligning popular politics with governments' performance. It serves as a viable and harmonious resolution to both the penetration and participation crisis. The issue of integration applies to the degree to which the entire political entity is structured as a network of interconnected relationships. This includes the interactions among government offices and agencies, as well as among different groups and interest that seek to exercise influence on the system.

⁷⁰*Ibid.* P-64.

In a number of transitional regimes there exists a multitude of interest groups that display limited interaction among themselves. At most each group asserts its own demands upon the government. The government is required to effectively address and manage all of these needs concurrently. However, it is plausible that the government itself lack effective integration. The outcome resulted to low level of performance in the political system

Distribution Crisis: Political developments largely depend on the ability of the government in the distribution of goods and services to the citizens. There may be some cases where the authorities ignore one section of the society in favour of the other. In that case issues and problem arises in the State. The efforts of the government to equally distribute the goods and services among the people are some important factors of political development. The high degree of stress on economic development and the widespread appeal of socialist slogans in some areas can be interpreted as an indication of the underlying crisis. At some instances governments seek to address the issue by actively participating in the allocation of goods and wealth. On the other hand, this approach aims to enhance the opportunities and potentialities of marginalized sections of society

The above discussions on the theoretical aspects of political development consist of different definitions of political development. The different concept of political development are being analysed by Lucian Pye and he came up with his own concept of political development. In addition he mentioned the crises of political development which is essential in understanding the concept of political development. The following chapters analyzes Pye's concept of political development in the context of Mizoram. Also, his idea of crises of political development in the context of the state of Mizoram is studied.

CHAPTER- III

NATURE OF EQUALITY IN MIZORAM

The term equality in the most simple term can be define as a state of being where every individual is treated with the same level of fairness and impartiality, regardless of their differences. Equality often exists when individuals are provided with resources in an equitable manner or when they experience equal levels of happiness. The presence and extent of equality or inequality can be determined by the overall distribution of whatever is considered valuable. An ethical perspective grounded in the principle of equality can or will lead us to strive for the achievement of equitable outcomes. The objective is to prioritize outcomes that optimize equality or minimize inequality by focusing on the overall distribution pattern of whatever that is considered valuable.¹ On the other hand the understanding of the concept of equality may defer. Here it is important to note that after analyzing several understanding and explanation of the concept of political development, Pye came up with three major characteristics of political development i.e. Equality, Capacity and Specialization or Differentiation. This chapter studies political development in the state of Mizoram through Lucian Pye's concept.

3.1. THE CONCEPT OF EQUALITY

Equality simply provides the same chance to everyone to achieve their goals and utilize their abilities to full capacity. It also means believing that no one should face disadvantages in life due to factors such as place of birth, background, personal beliefs or disabilities. The significance of equality involves acknowledging that certain groups of individuals with protected characteristics like race, disability, gender and sexual orientation have faced discrimination throughout history.²

Lucian Pye defines equality as the state of having widespread participation and popular engagement in political activity. Participation can take the

¹Dennis Mckerlie. (1996). Equality. *Ethics*. Vol. 106, No. 2 (Jan., 1996), P-274.

<https://www.jstor.org>.

²Equality, Definition & Meaning. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/equality>.

shape of either democratic involvement or a type of mobilization associated with totalitarian regimes. However, the crucial factor is that individuals should become engaged citizens, and it is essential to maintain the appearance of popular governance, at the very least. Equality also involves that rules should possess a universalistic character, being applicable to all individuals and operating in a somewhat impersonal manner. Typically, this has involved the creation of a structured legal framework and clear legal protocols. The crucial factor, therefore, is the acknowledgment that every individual, regardless of their race, background, wealth, strength, or weakness, must adhere to the same legal principles. Pye's equality also implies that the selection of individuals for political positions should be based on their abilities rather than on the inherited characteristics of a conventional social structure. In a well-established political system, it is expected that individuals must display suitable merit in order to attain public office, and that those holding office should have undergone a competitive assessment of their competence.³

From the above it can be said that equality is crucial in the evolution of systems and is a fundamental concept in political development. Political development encompasses the transformation and growth of societal institutions, norms and processes over time. The relationship between equality and political development is intricate and diverse with aspects of equality influencing political development in distinct ways. An aspect of political development involves expanding access to political participation and representation.⁴ The global scrutiny surrounding the degree of responsiveness exhibited by party system, administrations, policy makers and parliaments towards the public can or has been a subject of inquiry.⁵

Certain segments of society are perceived to wield greater influence over representative institutions due to their social or economic position, whilst other groups such as women, youth and other marginalized communities consistently face

³Lucian W Pye.(1966). *Aspect of Political Development*. Little, Brown and Company. Boston, Massachusetts. P- 45-46.

⁴*Ibid.* P- 45-46.

⁵*Ibid.* P- 45-46

underrepresentation.⁶ It is important to note here that when there is equality in participation it cultivate a more inclusive and representative political system which resulted to political development. For instance, policies that ensure voting rights access to hold office and representation for marginalized groups contribute to political development by amplifying a broader range of voices within the political system.⁷

On the other hand, social and economic inequality carries negative implications for political development as well. When the levels of inequality is very high; it can lead to uneven distribution of power within the realm of politics since those with greater resources tend to possess greater influence over decision making processes. This can impede the establishment of an inclusive system. Addressing inequality through measures like taxation or social welfare programmes can contribute towards more equitable progress in terms of political development. The principle of equality before the law is crucial for political development in a system.⁸ When individuals and groups are treated equally under the law it builds trust in the political system. On the other hand, when there is ill-treatment it can undermine the legitimacy of the political institutions and hinders political development. It simply means that equality is a principle that influences political development. It is crucial to prioritize equality in dimensions, such as gender equality, socio-economic equality, participation, legal treatment, culture and education. This commitment is vital for establishing responsive and efficient political system. Promoting equality goes beyond justice; it also plays a significant role in driving political progress and political development.

Moreover, gender equality is also a crucial aspect of equality that greatly influences political development. It is important to accomplish gender equality in politics and also in decision making processes to achieve political development. Many countries have implemented measures like gender quotas or affirmative action

⁶Political participation and representation.<https://www.idea.int>.

⁷Pye.Aspect of Political Development.*Op.cit.* P- 45-46.

⁸DaronAcemoglu& Alexander Wolitzky. (2020). The Theory of Equality before Law. *The Economic Journal*.Vol-131, Issue 636. P- 1429. <https://academic.oup.com>.

to encourage women's participation in politics and decision making process. Socio-cultural equality also plays an equally important role for achieving political development. Respecting diversity and minority rights is essential for creating a stable political system. The efforts made to protect the rights of minority groups and promote cultural and social equality can contribute to both stability and progress and hence political development.⁹

Equal access to education and information is fundamental for political development.¹⁰ It ensures that everyone has an opportunity to gain knowledge for active participation in politics. It is often assumed that, an educated and knowledgeable population is well prepared to engage in political process and also makes rational choices. They hold their leaders accountable for progress or stagnation of both politics and society. Policies that support access, to high quality education and unbiased information can contribute to political development in any given society.

Moreover, international communities, governments and different organizations have been striving and doing their best towards achieving equality. It is because of the realization that equality is an important element for political development. For example, the UN Declaration of the Right to Development was adopted on December 4th 1986, marking a significant milestone in the advancement of this concept. The declaration acknowledges the inclusion of the right to development as a fundamental entitlement for both individuals and communities, thereby reflecting its significance in both personal and social contexts. In the first article of the declaration, the right to development is defined as an inherent human right that grants every individual and collective group the entitlement to engage in, contribute to, and experience economic, social, cultural and development. This

⁹Volker Turk. (2022). *What must we do to protect minorities*. <https://www.ohchr.org>.

¹⁰Liam Shields, Anne Newman, and Debra Satz.(2023). Equality of Educational Opportunity. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2023 Edition). <https://plato.stanford.edu>

encompasses the realization of all human rights and fundamental freedom which in short is an important aspect of political development.¹¹

The UN declaration lays significant importance on the principles of equality and participatory rights. It acknowledges the crucial role of upholding and safeguarding civil and political rights, as well as economic, social and cultural rights in fostering political development. This indicates that the declaration encompasses a broader understanding of political development surpassing the conventional framework that solely focuses on economic growth such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or per capita income. The declaration assesses development as a comprehensive attempt that includes economic, social, cultural and political dimensions. Its objective is the continual enhancement of the welfare of every community and individual based on their active, unrestricted and purposeful engagement in development activities as well as an equitable distribution of benefits which in short resembles equality.¹²

The above shows the importance of the concept of equal opportunity to achieve political development. The term equal opportunity plays an important role in political development.¹³ The idea of equal opportunity can be interpreted in two distinct yet interconnected manners, which are occasionally merged in specific explanations. Equality of Opportunity can also be regarded as a limiting the choices while selecting or distributing jobs or items for everyone. Equality of Opportunity mandates the prohibition of race and gender discrimination in employment recruiting choices, ensuring that applicants receive the fair and appropriate consideration they deserve in the selection process. It is defined as the use of acceptable and unacceptable factors to determine the distribution of positions.¹⁴

Secondly, Equality of Opportunity is regarded as a societal goal pertaining to the overall structure of society and the variables that should influence

¹¹NicoSchrijver. (2020). A new convention on human rights to development: Putting the cart before the horse?.*Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*.Vol.38. Issue 2.<https://journals.sagepub.com>.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Pye.Aspect of Political Development.*Op.cit.* P- 46.

¹⁴Elford, Gideon. (2023). Equality of Opportunity.*The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2023 Edition). <https://plato.stanford.edu>.

individuals' success, perhaps in relation to one another. For instance, it may be said that a society demonstrates Equality of Opportunity when a person's socioeconomic status does not impede their overall chances of achieving success. Here Equality of Opportunity is regarded as a characteristic of the social structure, rather than a characteristic of the methods used for choosing individuals.¹⁵

In a society that has achieved a certain level of political development there are institutional mechanisms in place to ensure that all citizens have an equal chance to participate in politics, easy access to government services and a good condition to exercise their rights. These mechanisms may include laws against discrimination policies and ensuring access to education and healthcare. Prioritizing equality of opportunity fosters inclusivity within society and also within the realm of politics. This emphasis on inclusivity often leads to a representative political leadership. Inclusivity is one among many characteristic commonly seen in a politically developed society. It is believed that inclusive political systems tend to be more stable and responsive to the needs of their citizens.

On the other hand, the growth of institutions and the establishment of the rule of law through political development provide a framework for protecting and upholding equality. In developed societies citizens have opportunity such as voting, legal recourse and advocacy groups to address issues related to inequality and discrimination. There is often a relationship, between equality of opportunity and political development where each reinforces the others progress. As society progress it becomes better equipped to tackle inequalities and promote equal opportunities. Also, when there is an improvement in opportunities it can contribute to the advancement of the political landscape as a whole. Political development creates an environment for promoting opportunities, while having equal opportunities for everyone or every sections of society can greatly enhance overall progress and stability of a society. This is often regarded as the basic principles for establishing

¹⁵*Ibid.*

just and prosperous communities which is an important element for political development.¹⁶

3.2. AN OVERVIEW OF EQUALITY

Nowadays, there is a consensus that certain scholars and communities support the concept of 'cultural pluralism' or 'multiculturalism' in order to promote equality among different groups and backgrounds residing inside the same governmental entity. The concept of 'cultural pluralism' is frequently employed synonymously with the word 'multiculturalism'. In a pluralistic society, the recognition of many cultures is widely acknowledged and is based on three fundamental principles: the principle of equality, which asserts that all individuals are regarded as equal; the principle of respect, which contends that all cultures have the right to be respected; and the principle of legal support, which advocates for the endorsement of cultural plurality by legal means.¹⁷ Consequently, cultural pluralism requires the co-existence of diverse ethno-cultural groups within a unified administrative structure, operating within a multilingual context. It can be mentioned here that every culture has the entitlement to co-exist alongside other diverse cultures and also preserve and practice their distinct cultural values and beliefs. Moreover, it is imperative that they are treated at par with other cultures.

Multiculturalism is a widely acknowledged social and political idea in contemporary society. It emphasizes the value of diversity among individuals and groups, viewing these distinctions as a potential source of strength rather than a cause for conflict. The planned approach is to operate on the principle of synergy, acknowledging and appreciating the diverse cultural origins while highlighting the fundamental principles of equality and freedom upon which the constitution of the United States of America is established as a modern state. For example the emergence of multiculturalism in the United States can be attributed to the influence of the Civil Rights Movement and as a response to the previous paradigm of mono-

¹⁶Schrijver. *Op. Cit.*

¹⁷Brian J Hurn & Barry Tomalin. (2013). *Cross Culture Communication: Theory and Practise*. Palgrave Macmillan: London. P- 193-194.

cultural assimilation. The United States of America attempts to integrate diverse immigrant cultures through a metaphorical concept known as the 'melting pot'.¹⁸

The American government and society is currently grappling with the realization that its population is experiencing growth, primarily driven by significant immigration. The American society accepted that their society is mixed with different backgrounds and cultures and the government tries to blend their difference into one and fuse their differences. For those seeking American citizenship, they are required to go through a complex and costly procedure to get a green card. The candidates have to be interviewed in American history and government, along with their English fluency. In addition individuals are mandated to take an oath of loyalty to the American Flag. This clearly shows that the American government and society realizes that unity and equality is the foundation that guarantees development as a whole and in particular political development.¹⁹

Switzerland serves as a notable example for the implementation of multiculturalism, as it utilizes the canton system to uphold distinct cultures and languages while fostering a collective Swiss identity among its populace.²⁰ To a significant degree, this assertion holds true for Canada as well, as the French culture and language are upheld in Quebec, yet all individuals are recognized as Canadian citizens. Canada is regarded by many as the second country behind Switzerland to adopt the concept of multiculturalism. The initial public awareness of this matter occurred subsequently to its endorsement in the 1965 publication of the report by Canada's Royal Commission on bilingualism and biculturalism.²¹ This commission was established by the government in order to address the concerns raised by the French-speaking minority in Canada. The Canadian approach to multiculturalism is

¹⁸*Ibid.* P- 200.

¹⁹*Ibid.* P- 200-201.

²⁰*Ibid.* P- 199-200

²¹A preliminary report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Government of Canada Report. <https://publications.gc.ca>.

commonly referred to as the 'salad bowl' paradigm wherein each culture retains its distinct traits while co-existing alongside different cultures.²²

Canadian multiculturalism is founded on the principle that every person is equal and has the ability to maintain their distinct identities, while simultaneously embracing their cultural heritage and fostering a sense of national belonging as Canadians.²³ The Canadian experience acknowledges the inherent capabilities of all individuals residing in Canada and promotes their active engagement in the entirety of Canadian society. From a Canadian perspective, multiculturalism is perceived as a constructive force that promotes racial and ethnic unity and equality, while simultaneously deterring acts of prejudice, intolerance and violence. The American, the Swiss and the Canadian model of multiculturalism is no doubt far from perfection or flawlessness, but it is noteworthy that these societies are trying their best to inculcate the feeling of unity and equality among its citizens regardless of background or origin. Today, people assumed that the practice of multiculturalism and the ability to waken solidarity sentiments among its citizens that is why these societies are labeled as politically developed society.²⁴

3.3. EQUALITY IN INDIA

The Indian society demonstrates significant diversity in several dimensions of social, cultural and religious aspects of life. However, this diversity also corresponds with disparities in the social and economic spheres of life, which are directly linked to a group's identity such as caste, the untouchables, backward class, tribal's, religious minorities and women, experience varying degrees of deprivation in terms of civil, political, economic, religious, social and cultural rights. The caste system as a social institution among Hindus has resulted in significant levels of systemic inequality across different caste groups. This inequality stems from the uneven distribution of economic, civil, political, cultural and religious privileges across these groups. The phenomenon of caste Hindus converting to other

²²Brian J Hurn & Barry Tomalin. *Op. Cit.* P- 201

²³Government of Canada Report. *Op. Cit.* P- 50-52.

²⁴*Ibid.*

religions has resulted in the perpetuation of caste system inside these religious communities which continues to manifest in explicit manners.²⁵

Individuals belonging to the lower caste that choose to convert to other religion like Sikh, Christian, Islam and other sects, with the intention of attaining equal rights and social status sometimes encountered instances of prejudice within their new religious communities. Those belonging to the lowest strata in the caste system experienced the worst hardships resulting from the inequitable allocation of privileges and their marginalized social position. The deprivations of fundamental human rights experienced by the untouchables have a profound and detrimental impact on their overall quality of life. The other socially disadvantage groups also experienced various kinds of discrimination and deprivation.²⁶

The framers of the constitution of India take all necessary measure to guarantee equal treatment for all sections of society. It resulted in incorporating the term equality even in the preamble of the constitution and also in Part III of the Constitution of India (Fundamental Rights). The preamble to the Constitution of India holds significant relevance and it is important to know that while reading and interpreting the constitution there must be consideration of ideals articulated in the preamble. The preamble of the constitution states that:-

“We, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALISTS SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, Social, Economic and Political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all;

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

²⁵*Intergroup inequality in Indian society: Magnitude, Nature, Sources, Policies and the Movement.* Indian Institute of Dalit Studies.<https://dalitstudies.org.in/> . P- 1

²⁶*Ibid.* P- 1.

*IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION”.*²⁷

The preamble clearly shows that the constitutional framers were concerned about the diversity of Indian society and were well aware of the possibilities of an unjust society and thus incorporated the idea of “Equality” in the constitution. It means India is committed towards achieving equality on all grounds. One notable characteristic of the Indian Constitution is the attempt to secure equality to its citizens. Moreover, a significant portion of rights are declared as Fundamental Rights. The Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution might be regarded as the embodiment of individual liberty and human rights akin to the significance of the Magna Carta.²⁸ The Fundamental Rights of the constitution of India are enshrined in Part III of the Constitution from Article 12-35.²⁹ For example, rights are devoid of significance if they cannot be equitably enjoyed by all constituents of the community. Thus, social and economic equality must be pursued to guarantee that everyone can enjoy these rights. The Fundamental Rights of the Constitution of India mandate the state to refrain from discriminating amongst citizens solely based on caste, race, sex, or religion. Also, public spaces are accessible to all citizens, titles of honor are abolished, and Untouchability is eradicated, among other provisions. The constitution of India upholds the rule of law must prevail; all citizens are equal under the law and receive equal protection from the legal system. Moreover, the notion of universal adult franchise ensures political equality by granting every citizen the ability to engage in the governance.

The Indian Constitution encompasses the fundamental right to equality, which is safeguarded by article 14 to 18. Article 14 of the constitution mandates that, the State shall refrain from depriving any individual of equal treatment under the law or the equitable safeguarding of legal rights. Article 15 of the constitution prevents

²⁷ *Preamble, the soul of the constitution.* <https://indiaculture.gov.in>.

²⁸ Saumendra Das & N. Saibabu. (2014). “Indian Constitution: An Analysis of the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles”. *Journal of Applied Research and Social Sciences*. Vol.1, Issue.17, December 2014. P- 5.

²⁹ Part III Fundamental Rights. <https://www.mea.gov.in>.

the State from engaging in discriminatory practices against any person solely based on factors like religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any combination thereof. Based solely on these premises, it can be asserted that no individual is subjected to any kind of disadvantage, obligation, limitation or requirement in relation to the capacity to enter locations or utilized public facilities that are fully or partially funded by the State or designated for the utilization of the broader populace. However, these laws do not prohibit the state from implementing specific measures for the benefit of women, children, socially and educationally disadvantage groups as well as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.³⁰

Article 16 of the constitution ensures that individuals are provided with equal opportunities in relation to employment or appointment to any position within the government. A citizen cannot be deemed ineligible for, and subjected to discrimination in terms of any employment or official position under the State solely based on factors such as religion, race, caste, sex, and descent, place of birth or residency. The functionality of this provision is limited by certain additional clauses. Parliament possesses the authority to legislate that residency within a specific State or Union Territory is a mandatory prerequisite for certain categories of employment or appointment to an office under the said State or Union Territory. Furthermore, the State possesses the freedom to establish provision for the reservation of appointments or positions in favor of any socially disadvantaged group that it deems to be underrepresented within its administrative services. Also, it is within the purview of the State to establish legislation that mandates that those holding positions within religious or denominational institutions must adhere to a specific religious faith or be affiliated with a particular denomination.³¹

Again article 17 abolished 'Untouchability'. The State has officially designated it as an offence subject to legal punishment. The Parliament has enacted the Anti-Untouchability Act of 1955 and the Civil Liberties Protection Act of 1976 in order to implement the provision outlined in the article. In addition, the National

³⁰J.K Mittal (1965).Right to Equality and the Indian Supreme Court.*The American Journal of Comparative Law*.Vol. 14, No. 3. P- 422-423.

³¹*Ibid.* P- 423

Commission for Scheduled Castes and the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes have been functioning since 1995 with the purpose of monitoring and addressing the acts of violence and discrimination perpetrated against these groups of individuals, while also ensuring their protection and development.³² Similarly, article 18 prohibits the state to grant title bestowed upon citizens, with the exception of military or academic honours. It is quite unlikely that any citizen of India would willingly accept a title given upon them by a foreign state, or hold any position or office inside such state without obtaining prior authorization from the President. In the event that an individual does engage in such actions, there is a possibility that their citizenship will be revoked. Nevertheless, since the adoption of the constitution, the government has been giving titles such as Bharat Ratna, Padma Vibhushan, Padma Bhushan, Padma Shri and other among its citizens. The question of whether the state should grant title to its citizens has been a subject of ongoing debate.³³

Furthermore, the relevance of the constitution of India with regards to safeguarding the interest of marginalized group or sections may be debatable. In this connection, it is significant to highlight a remarkable incident that takes place during 1980's and continues till early 1990. During the time, applicants from the Christian community for admission were given preferential treatment in St. Stephen College, New Delhi. As a consequence, a case was filed in the court. It is popularly known as the "*Stephens College vs. the University of Delhi case*". The case of St. Stephens' College versus University of Delhi holds significant legal implications with respect to the interpretation and application of Article 29(2) and Article 30 (1) of the Constitution of India. The Supreme Court of India was presented with a challenge about the constitutionality of the College's admission procedure and the provision of 10% of reservation for Christian candidates, which was perceived as preferential treatment towards a specific religious community. St. Stephens' College was established in the year 1882, it became a prominent higher education institution in India. Subsequently it gained affiliation with the University of Delhi. The University has effectively conveyed a meticulously formulated admission calendar and process

³²Rajbir Singh Dalal. (2009). Fundamental Rights Enshrined In Indian Constitution: Provisions and Practices. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 70, No. 3 (JULY - SEPT., 2009). P- 782.

³³*Ibid.* P- 782.

of several undergraduate courses. Contrary to the method established by the University, the College deviated and implemented its own plan, opting to conduct additional round of admissions that included an interview process.³⁴

The Delhi University Students' Union registered a complaint, prompting the issuance of a letter dated 9th June 1980 to the College Principal, urging to compliance with the University timetable. In response, the Principal asserted that implementing any modifications at that point would be untimely. During a subsequent correspondence between the Vice Chancellor of the University and the Vice Chairman of the College, it was implied that the College would not be adhering to the directives outlined in the University circulars. A student initiated a writ petition at the Delhi High Court in accordance with Article 226, which was subsequently transferred to the Supreme Court following the filing of a writ petition under Article 32 of the constitution of India, the case mainly involved an examination of the college admission process, with a particular focus on the question of the legitimacy of granting preferential treatment to Christian students during admission process. The primary topics under consideration and examination were, the question of whether the College is managed by a minority group, does the college have to adhere to the University's circulars if it is an institution managed by a minority group? Is it permissible for the college to reserve seats specifically for Christians or would this action be deemed a breach of Article 29(2) of the Constitution of India.³⁵

Consequently, the court rendered a decision affirming that St. Stephens' College qualifies as a minority-operated institution, thereby exempting it from the applicability of the University circulars in subject falling under its purview. This exemption is justified by the college's unique character and organizational framework. Also, it should be noted that the College is an institution that is managed and operated by individuals belonging to a minority group. In light of this, the practice of providing preferential treatment to members of the same community

³⁴*Brief case analysis of St. Stephens' College versus University of Delhi*.<https://www.legalserviceindia.com>

³⁵*St. Stephen's vs Delhi University: What does the 1992 Sc judgment say?*.<https://www.indiatoday.in>

should not be considered as discriminatory within the scope of Article 29(2). Nevertheless, the government possesses the authority to oversee and control the granting of preferential treatment to individuals within the society through implementing regulations on student admissions. The allocation of reserved seats in any given admission year must not exceed 50% of the total seats available. Admission to other communities will be granted solely based on merit. In this case, the Supreme Court ruled that a minority school that receives financial assistance from the state is legally permitted to use the right to provide preference or reserve seats for students belonging to its own community. The Supreme Court also ruled that the differential treatment of candidates in the admission procedure does not constitute a violation of Article 14 of the constitution of India. This varied treatment is deemed necessary to address the needs of the marginalized and minority sections of society.³⁶

3.4. NATURE OF EQUALITY IN MIZORAM.

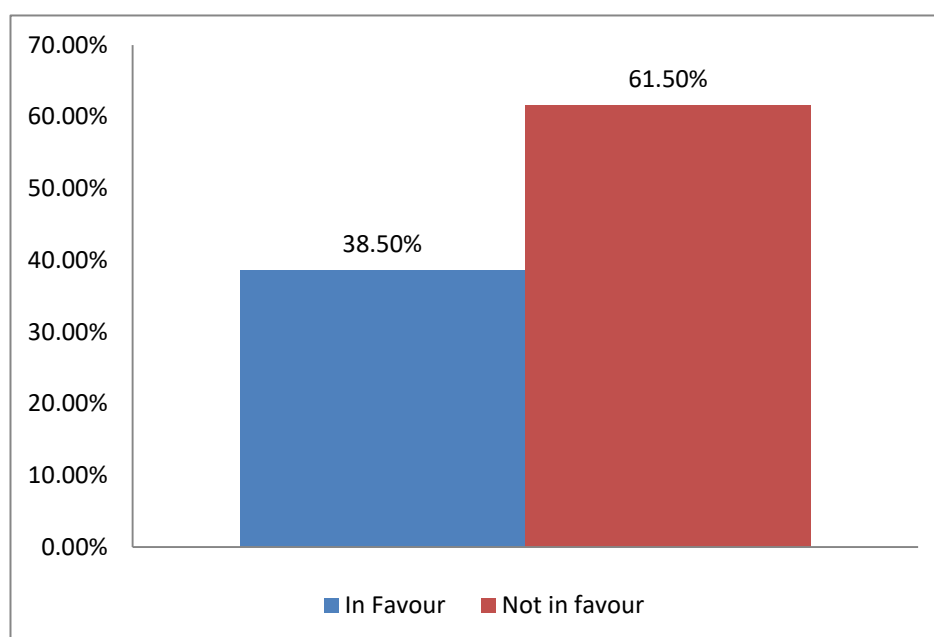
Mizoram is renowned for its abundant cultural heritage and varied ethnic composition. The state has made significant advancements in the promotion of social equality, but, it encounters both obstacles and advancements like in other sectors. The state is inhabited by a diverse ethnic groups and the Mizo community is the largest community. The state promotes communal peace among various ethnic groups. Every opportunity is open to all including the women and underprivileged groups. However, there are some discrepancies. The different regions (all the districts) of the state are not getting equal access to the resources of the state. The northern part of the state are comparatively better/develop than the south, east and west. Also, some communities are not in a position to share the resources of the state equally. Diverse governmental and civil society organizations strive to encourage equality and tackle inequalities. These endeavors frequently concentrate on education, healthcare, and economic advancement. Local organizations and community groups collaborate to tackle matters like gender,

³⁶Brief case analysis of St. Stephens' College versus University of Delhi. *Op. Cit.*

ethnicity, and socio-economic position and also advocating for the rights of marginalized groups.³⁷

The various sub-tribes within the Zo-ethnic group in Mizoram are Lai, Mara, Paite, Hmar, Lusei, Bawm, Pang, etc. Lai and Mara have a distinct culture and tradition and dialect. As a result, Autonomous District Councils (ADC's) was set up to protect and promote their culture and tradition. In other words, all sub-tribes are not granted autonomy. In a nutshell, all sub-tribes of the Zo-ethnic groups in Mizoram are not afforded equal treatment. It is believe that every sub-tribe should receive equal treatment under the law. Simultaneously, some contend that the sub-tribes should be promoted and safeguarded by the provision of special status and policies to ensure their equality with other sub-tribes in the future.

TableNo 3.1.1 Q. *Do you support the Autonomous District Council in Mizoram?*



Sources: Computed.

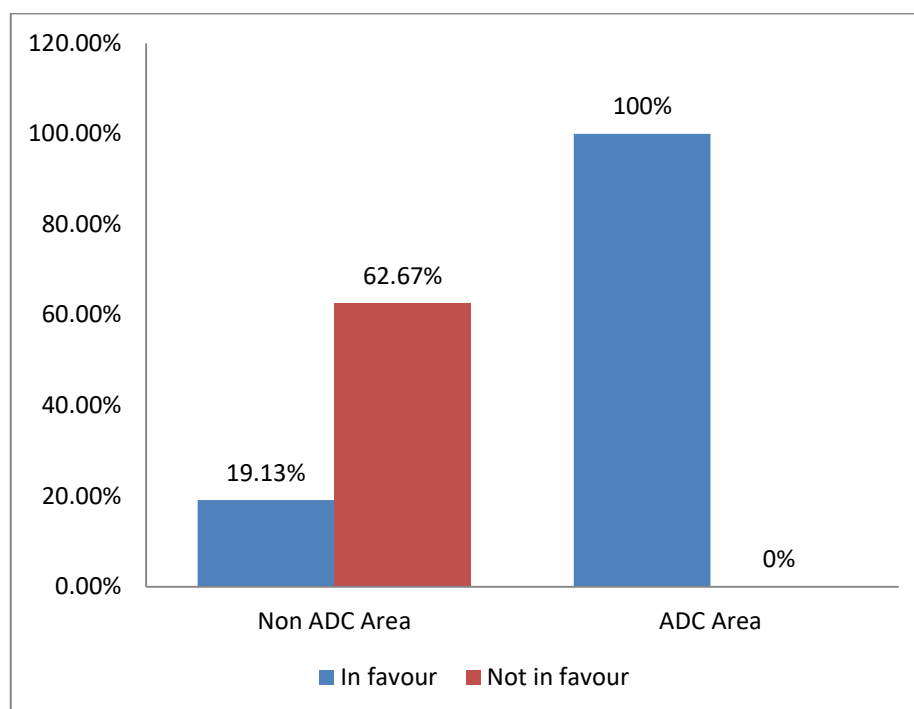
There are three ADC's in Mizoram namely Chakma³⁸ ADC, Lai ADC and Mara ADC. The three ADC's were set up in 1972. In other words, the ADC functioned in Mizoram in the last 52 years or so. The study shows that majority of the respondents (61. 50%) are not in support of Autonomous District Council (ADC)

³⁷ B. Lalthangliana. (2021). *MizoChanchin (A short account of Mizo History)*. Author. P- 331-332

³⁸ The Chakmas do not belong to the Zo-ethnic group.

in Mizoram. Whereas, there are some respondents (38.50%) who support the functioning of ADC. (Table 3.1.1) It is important to note here that all the respondents (100%) from Lawngtlai district (which is an ADC area) are in support of the ADC in Mizoram (Table 3.1.1.A). On the other hand majority of the respondents (62.67%) from the non-ADC area are not in favour of ADC. But it is noteworthy that some respondents (19.13%) from the non-ADC area are also in favour of ADC in Mizoram. (Table 3.1.1.A). It indicates that maximum number of the respondents from the non-ADC area is not in favour of the establishment of ADC in Mizoram. It can be observed that the reason why majority of the respondents from non-ADC area are not in favour of ADC may be due to the sentiment to unite all inhabitants of the state without providing any special provision to a particular community. On the other hand, all respondents from the ADC area are in favour of the functioning of ADC. It reveals that the general perception of the people in the ADC area is that in order to be equal with people in the non ADC area they still need a kind of autonomy or protection under the constitution. According to Prof. Malsawmliana General Secretary, Young Mizo Association (YMA), “Yes it true that people did not support ADC in Mizoram. For me the reason is that the names of the ADC are based on ethnic names like Lai, Mara and Chakma ADC. People will support if these ADC names are based on geographical landmark near the area. For example: -If Mara ADC is named Chhimtuipui³⁹ ADC.”

³⁹Chhimtuipui is a river located in the southern part of Mizoram.

Table No 3.1.1. A. Compilation of Non- ADC and ADC Area

Sources: Computed

It can be mentioned here that the ADC is provided by the 6th schedule to the Constitution of India. It is a constitutional provision to ensure that minority communities can experience legislative, executive and judicial power and also practice Indian democracy and administration as local autonomous body or council. In short, the working of the ADC is meant for the promotion and protection of minorities. But, the study shows that there are respondents from non-ADC area who are not in favour of the existence of ADC. In relation to this issue Mr. Lalropuia Chinzah, Executive Member, Lai Autonomous District Council (LADC) said that, “Majority of the inhabitants in Mizoram especially from the northern side of Mizoram has less awareness about the importance of ADC for minority community to survive”.⁴⁰ It means ADC is not supported by some of the inhabitants of the state because of the lack of awareness of the importance of ADC for the minority community. According to B. Lalramchhana Vice President of Mizoram Bawm

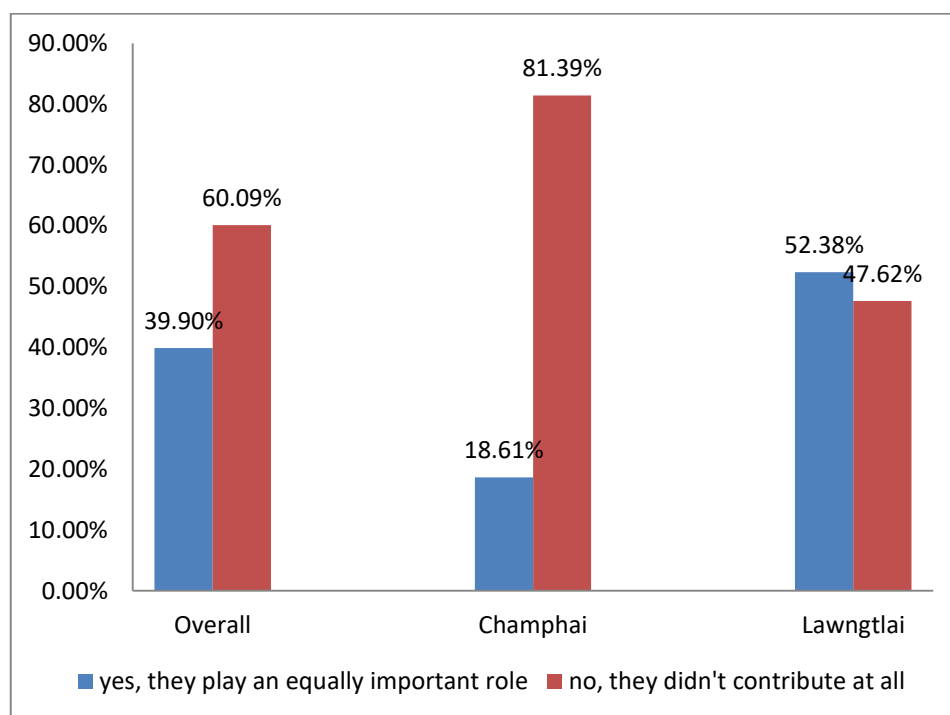
⁴⁰The scholar interviewed Mr. LalropuiaChinzah, Executive Member LADC at his office chamber in LADC Office at Lawngtlai on 12th June 2022, 1:43 pm.

Students' Association said that, "Minority Zo communities in Mizoram require support and preservation. Consequently, my community (Bawm) needs specific assistance within the state".⁴¹ The respondents from the minority communities (Lai, Mara, Paite, Bawm) are of the opinion ADC is essential for socio-political and economic assistance and also for the protection and promotion of their community. The study indicates that some minority communities in Mizoram are not getting equal opportunity for socio-economic and political development. According to Pye, guaranteeing equality for all segments of society is essential for ensuring political development. In the case of Mizoram, the study shows that there are some people who do not understand the importance of uplifting minority communities to achieve overall development of the state.

The problems of the minority or backward communities must be address sincerely by giving it as a priority to achieve social and political development in the state. Analyzing from Pye's conception of political development where equality is a major aspect for political development, the outcome of the study particularly to the nature of equality reflects that there is some kind of inequality among different Zo-ethnic group in the state. The study shows the common perception that equality is pertinent in the state may be an over statement. It may be due to the lack of unity among the people of Mizoram (both in the ADC and non-ADC area) that political development of the state is lacking behind some of the state of India. In short, the study reveals that there is a lack of a sense of unity among the Zo-ethnic groups.

⁴¹ The scholar interviewed B. Lalramchhana, Vice President of Mizoram Bawm Students' Association at Aijal Club on 29th March 2023, 11:31 am.

Table 3.1.2 Q. *Do you think that marginalized sections or communities in Mizoram (Chakma, Bru, Gorkha etc) contributed for development of the state?*



Sources: Computed

The study also reveals that more than half of the respondents (60.09%) believe that marginalized communities particularly Chakma, Bru, Gorkha in Mizoram have not contributed at par with the majority communities to process of development in the state. (Table 3.1.2) At the same time few respondents (39.90%) accepted that these communities have contributed towards political development in Mizoram. The study specifically shows that majority of the respondents (81.39%) from Champhai district is of the opinion that marginalized sections of society namely Chakma, Bru and Gorkha community have not contributed much for the development and progress of the state. On the other hand maximum numbers of respondents (52.38%) from Lawngtlai district are of the view that these communities have contributed for development of the state. It shows that there are many who did not recognized the contribution of marginalized community in Mizoram. Also, it can be argued that this highlight the absence of unity and harmony among the people of the state. (Table 3.1.2) It also means that majority of the respondents are of the view

that marginalized sections or communities particularly the Chakmas, Brus and Gorkhas were contributing insignificantly for the overall development of the state.

However, some of the community leaders (from the minority communities) believe that they do contribute for the development of the state. For example, according to, Mr. Robin Jaisi (Treasurer, Mizoram Gorkha Youth Association) “my community is doing its utmost for the overall development of Mizoram. Since we are a micro-minority in the state our contributions may not be heard of, but we’ve done community services like donating to orphanage home and supporting the Young Mizo Association (YMA) at times of need, so I can say that we have some contributions for the state”.⁴² On the other hand, Nicholas C Lianmawia, Tresasurer, (Bru Students Association) said that, “right now I see no concrete contribution from my community for the development and progress of Mizoram”.⁴³

The study indicates that majority of the respondents did not recognized positive contribution from the minority communities for political development of the state of Mizoram. According to Tushar Chakma, a school teacher and local resident of the Chawngte ‘C’ village, Lawngtlai District said that, “even though I wanted to contribute for development and do my best for my community and the state as a whole, my village lack proper resources, yes no doubt education is quite good but in other sectors like transportation, communication and health my community is still lagging behind.”⁴⁴ It means leaders and representatives of minority communities believe their communities have significantly contributed and are willing to contribute for political development of the state, whereas there are some who contend that they have not made any substantial contributions for political development of Mizoram.

⁴²The scholar interviewed Robin Jaisi on 29th March 2023 at Aijal Club, 12:30 pm

⁴³The scholar interviewed Nichoas C. Lianmawia on 29th March 2023 at Aijal Club, 11: 45 am

⁴⁴The scholar interviewed TusharChakma on 7th December 2022 at his resident in Chawngte ‘C’, Lawngtlai District, 3:13 pm

3.5. GENDER EQUALITY

Gender equality is an essential characteristic for democratic countries. It is imperative for public institutions to offer services that promote gender equality by addressing the unique experiences and needs for both women and men, thereby upholding their human rights. The politically empowered women play a vital role in upholding the credibility and legitimacy of decision-making processes. The equitable distribution of decision-making power and leadership roles between women and men yields positive outcomes that extend to the broader community. In other words, the equitable participation of both men and women in decision-making processes has been found to have a positive impact on the performance of parliaments and local governing bodies as well as enhancing credibility and accountability of governments.⁴⁵

There are legislation in numerous nations in Europe and Central Asia that mandates gender quotas for legislative bodies and governmental positions. However, there are disparities in the level of participation of women. Many women assume important roles in public service, but they continue to face several challenges and discriminatory practices that arise from gender stereotypes and cultural norms. Within the field of governance and administration, it is often seen that majority of the women are in lower strata of the organization or within areas that are deemed to possess lesser significance.⁴⁶ Sweden has historically been in the forefront in advocating gender equality. The fundamental premise in Sweden is that every individual irrespective of their gender, have the entitlement to engage in gainful employment and sustain themselves. They achieve a harmonious equilibrium between their professional and familial responsibilities and also reside in an environment free from the apprehension of mistreatment or aggression. Annually, the World Economic Forum conducts a comprehensive assessment of over 150 nations, evaluating the disparities between genders across various domains like health,

⁴⁵*Gender Equality and Democratic Governance*.<https://www.undp.org>.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

education, business and politics.⁴⁷ Since its establishment in 2006, Sweden has consistently maintained a ranking not lower than 5th in the Global Gender Gap Report.⁴⁸

Gender inequality is a serious concern within the context of Indian society. The constitution of India guarantees equal right for both gender and the implementation of legislation over the course of several decades, but India continues to grapple with deeply ingrained gender discrimination, which inflicts severe hardship onto the lives of women. Despite experiencing significant economic progress gender inequality continue to persist in Indian society. India's position on several gender equality indices which assess economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, political empowerment, and legal protection is relatively low. This can be attributed to a combination of factors, including pervasive gender discrimination against women in India and the presence of discriminatory social norms, laws and cultural practices. Gender inequality in India manifest in various domains, exemplified by instances when women encounter discriminatory practices. These include limited opportunities for education and work, inadequate representation in political spheres, inferior health and nutritional outcomes compared to men and glaring issue of violence perpetrated against women.⁴⁹

The absence of knowledge and awareness among women on their rights and potential for attaining equality is a significant contributor to gender disparity in India. The limited understanding of the issue frequently stems from the dominant cultural and societal conventions that prescribe women's subordinate role to men. The issue of gender differences in literacy rates in India is widely acknowledged. A number of states exhibit more disparities whereas others demonstrate more favourable levels of difference. The issue at hand does not primarily stem from a scarcity of educated women in India; rather it is rooted in deficiency of awareness

⁴⁷*Gender Equality: Equal power and influence for women and men- that is what Sweden is aiming for.*<https://sweden.se>.

⁴⁸*Global Gender Gap Report 2023.*<https://www.weforum.org>.

⁴⁹*Gender equality in India society.*<https://www.careindia.org>.

among women on the utilization of their rights.⁵⁰ It is important to acknowledge that India is becoming one of the most powerful nations in the world. Despite experiencing significant growth and gaining global recognition, the state of poverty in India serves as a significant contributor to the prevailing issue of gender inequality in the country. One of the primary drawbacks is in the preference of families among the rural populace to prioritize the education to male members above female. The societal perspectives, customary norms and cultural traditions significantly contribute to the subordination of women within Indian culture, thereby denying them access to opportunities that are typically afforded to men, who are seen as the dominant gender. The identification and resolution of these underlying factors are of utmost importance in the pursuit of gender equality in India.⁵¹

3.6. GENDER EQUALITY IN MIZORAM

The traditional Mizo society was a patriarchal society. Most of the important family affairs and decisions were made by men. Besides this the eldest or the youngest son became inheritor of the family's property. It shows the dominance of male in traditional Mizo society. One important example is that, every new born baby was always appreciated but when a baby boy was born it was much appreciated.⁵² But after post-independence period the status of women in Mizo society had a significant improvement particularly because of formal education introduced by the British missionaries.⁵³ Today, many would agree that the status of women in Mizo society is comparatively better than other states of India. In fact Mizoram is the highest female-to-male ratio workers among those who are working as legislators, senior officials and managers; this shows that the status of women in Mizo society is good.⁵⁴

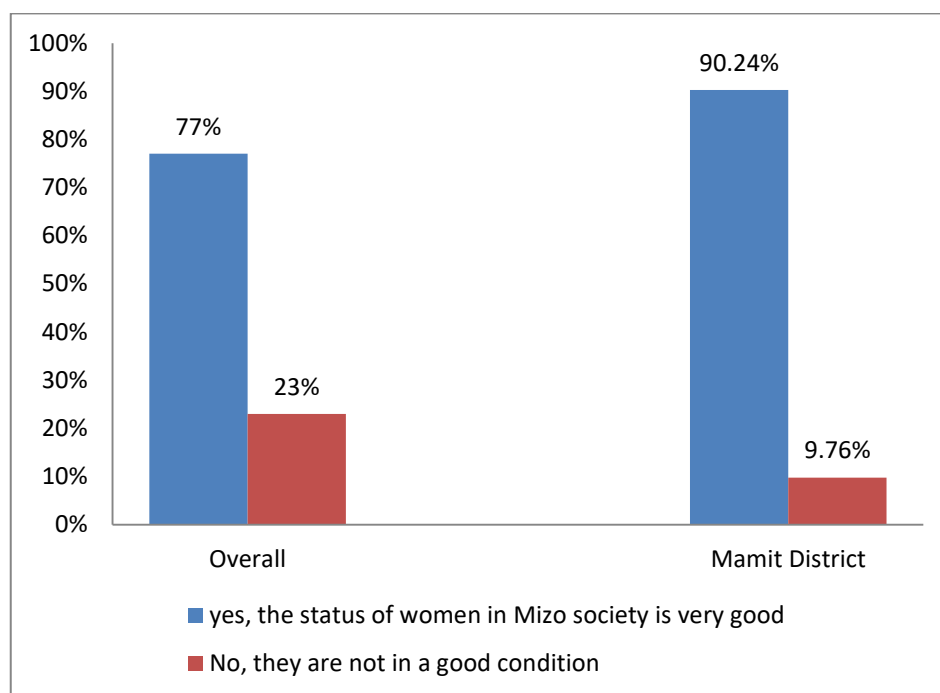
⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹*Bridging the gap: On India and Gender gap report.*<https://www.thehindu.com>

⁵²AyangbamShyamkishor& T. Lalremruata (2020).Role of Mizo Women in Nation Building.In RajkumarGiridhari Singh.*Compendium on Women and Development in Northeast India*.DM Publishers & Distributors. P- 25.

⁵³*Ibid*

⁵⁴<https://www.deccanherald.com/india/mizoram-has-highest-proportion-of-women-working-as-legislators-managers>. 12th July 2022.

Table 3.1.3. Q. What is your opinion on the status of women in Mizo society?

Sources: Computed

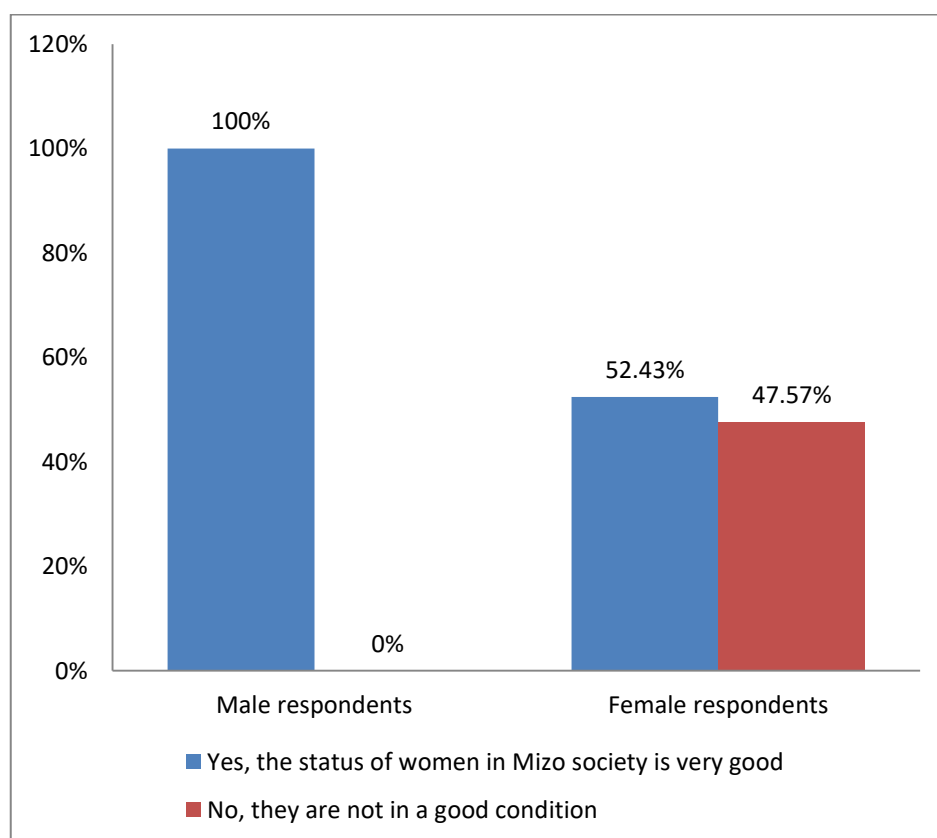
The study reveals that majority of the respondents (77%) believes that women in Mizo society are in a good condition and enjoy their rights to the fullest. While some of the respondents (23%) are of the opinion that Mizo women are not getting favourable condition to enjoy their rights. An interesting finding of the study is that almost all of the respondents (90.24%) from Mamit district believe that the status of women in Mizo society is very good. (Table 3.1.3) It is important to note here that as per the 2011 census Mamit district is the lowest in sex ratio data, (females per 1000 males) i.e. the ratio is 927-1000.⁵⁵ On the other hand the study finds that majority of the respondents agreed that the status of women in Mizo society is not bad rather it is good. Christina Roluahpuii Sailo⁵⁶ is however having a different opinion. She said that, “I did not have the scientific data to prove the status of women in Mizo society, but one example that clearly shows the real condition is

⁵⁵Statistical Handbook of Mizoram 2022.P-2 Table 1.2 District-Wise Area, Distribution of population, Decadal growth rate, Sex Ratio and Population Density (2011 Census).

⁵⁶Christina Roluahpuii Sailo is young female Politician who currently is a Coporator in the Aizawl Municipal Council (AMC) Ward no.- VIII. Also, she a from the Zoram People’s Movement (ZPM) Party.

that, women are still not permitted to be an Ordained Elder in some of the big churches in the state.”⁵⁷ Thus, it can be said that the status of women in Mizo society is acceptable but there are some areas that needs to be address to achieved gender equality in Mizoram.

Table 3.1.3.A. *Comparison between Men and Women. Q. What is your opinion on the status of women in Mizo society?*



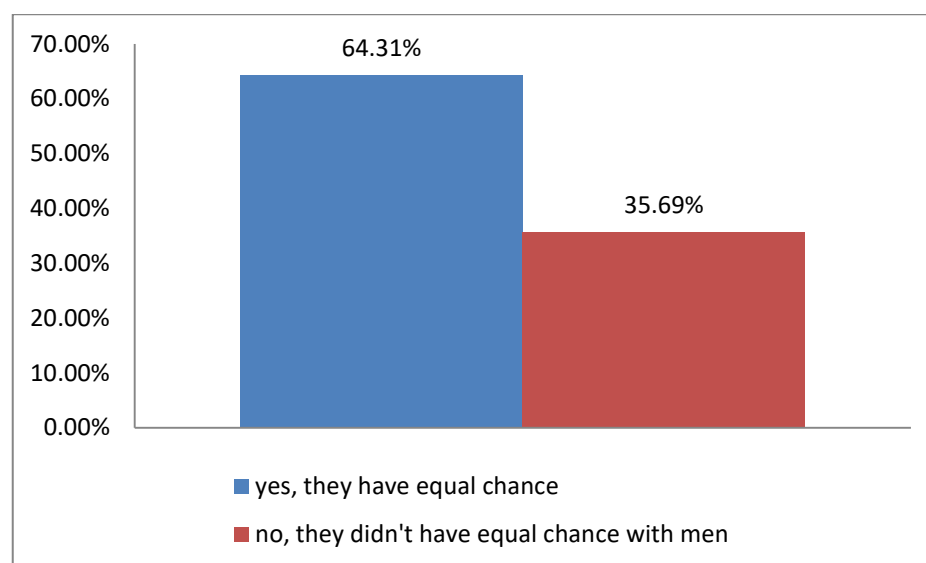
Sources: Computed

People in Mizoram believe that men and women are equal and have to take equal responsibility for social progress in the state. All of the male respondents (100%) believed that Mizo women are fully enjoying their rights. The study finds that more than half of the women respondents (52.43%) shared the same idea (Table 3.1.3.A). It is interesting to find that more than half of the women respondents believed that their status is as good as that of men. It means they enjoy their rights to

⁵⁷The Scholar interview Christina Roluahpuii Sailo at her resident in Aizawl on 25th September 2023 at 8 pm.

the fullest. So, it can be said that women are socially treated equal as that of men in Mizo society. On the other hand, according to Prof. Lalneihzovi⁵⁸, “even though many women are bread earners in many Mizo families, they still cannot occupy important positions in the civil society organizations and the churches. This clearly shows the condition of women in Mizo society.”⁵⁹ It means that there is a general consent among the public that the condition of women in Mizo society is good but there are still who feels that women condition in Mizo society have rooms for improvement. In short, the status of Mizo women is not at par with their male counterparts. Women need to be given preferential treatment to improve their status in the socio-economic and political sphere.

Table 3.1.4. Q. *Do you think that Mizo women have the same/equal chance like men to be elected as Member of Parliament (MP), Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA), Corporator of Aizawl Municipal Corporation (AMC), Councilor of Municipal Councils and as members at grassroots politics?*



Sources: Computed

Another interesting finding of the study is that majority of the respondents (68.1%) believes that women have equal chance like that of men to be

⁵⁸Prof. Lalneihzovi is a women academician in Mizoram. She is currently teaching as a Professor in the Department of Public Administration in Mizoram University.

⁵⁹The scholar interviewed Prof. Lalneihzovi on 27th June 2024 at her Office Chamber, MZU at 2:00 pm

elected as Member of Parliament (MP), Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA), Corporator of Aizawl Municipal Corporation (AMC), Councilor of Municipal Councils, as member of Village Council (VC) etc,. Whereas, some of the respondents (35.69%) opine that women didn't have equal chance like that of men to be elected in the political offices. Also, it is important to note that in the 2023 State Legislative Assembly Election in Mizoram, there were 16 women candidates. It is noteworthy that the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Indian National Congress (INC), Mizo National Front (MNF) and Zoram People's Movement (ZPM) each have 2 female candidates and 7 women contested as Independent candidate.⁶⁰ Out of the 16 women candidates 3 were successfully elected which is 18.75%. This shows that women are accepted as a political representative and they are starting to have the opportunity to serve the people of Mizoram.

This is true from the fact that in the 2023 General Election to Mizoram Legislative Assembly held on 7th November, Mizoram breaks its record by electing three women from the state. Women politicians from the Zoram Peoples Movement (ZPM) party like Lalrinpuui and Baryl Vanneihsangi were elected as Member of Legislative assembly and the former is also a minister in the current government of the state. Also, Prova Chakma from the Mizo National Front (MNF) party was elected from West Tuipui constituency.⁶¹ This shows that women in Mizoram have an equal chance of being elected as a political representative. It also indicates that women are treated equal as that of men in Mizo society. According to Margaret Lalthanthuami, Coordinator Mizoram State Commission for Women, "I am very glad that women are actively participating in the political field not only in the socio-economic field, however I still think that women still did not have equal chances like that of men to be elected as a legislator. I hope that this will improve in the near future."⁶² It indicates that there is a mixed opinion among leaders and public figures regarding women's opportunity in electoral politics. However, the study shows that

⁶⁰Individual performance of women candidates.https://www.eci.gov.in/-statistical-reports/mizoram/2023/Individual_Performance_Of_Women_Candidate.pdf

⁶¹About Us-Who's who? <https://www.mizoramassembly.in>

⁶²The Scholar interview Margaret Lalthanthuam at her Office Chamber in Aizawl on 20th March, 2024.

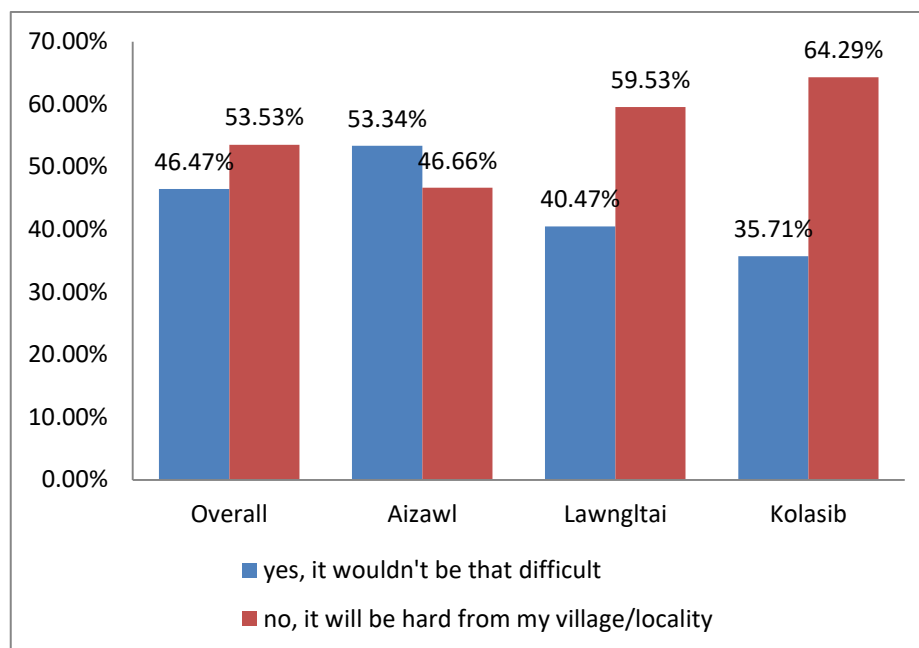
women have an equal opportunity like that of men to become an elected representative.

3.7. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN RECRUITMENT TO POLITICAL OFFICES

Equality of opportunity in the recruitment for political positions and offices is essential for guaranteeing the representation of varied views and perspectives in government. All individuals, irrespective of their background—including color, gender, financial level, or education—should possess equal opportunities to seek public office and engage in political processes. Addressing systemic challenges, like financial limits, limited access to networks, and educational gaps, is crucial for establishing equality. Legislation designed to mitigate discrimination and encourage diversity in political candidacy can facilitate fair and equal recruitment processes. Awareness of the significance of diversity in political representation may promote a more inclusive environment and stimulate greater public participation. Diverse political offices can facilitate more thorough and representative policymaking, ultimately benefiting society at large.

Other fascinating finding of the study includes the perception of all respondents regarding recruitment to a number of political offices like Member of Parliament (MP), Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA). The study shows that, some of the respondents (46.47%) are of the opinion that any member of their locality can or have a chance to be elected as members of these political offices, but majority of respondents (53.53%) believes that it would be difficult to be elected in the said political offices from their locality or area. Interestingly, majority of the respondents from Champhai, Lawngtlai and Kolasib did not believe that they will have the opportunity to be elected in the said political offices. On the other hand, just more than half of the respondents (53.34%) from Aizawl district believed that they have the opportunity to be elected in the mentioned political offices. (Table 3.1.5)

Table 3.1.5. Q. Do you think that anyone from your locality/village can be elected as Member of Parliament (MP), Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA)?



Sources: Computed

According to Andrew Lalthanzara Executive Member, Lai Autonomous District Council, “I think that electoral politics is not for everyone, those who are successful today have come a long way. They spend their time, money, heart and sweat in which I am no exception. Yes, no doubt every one can participate and have the right to contest in election but the top position is only for the few”.⁶³ This shows that some politician do believe that being an elected representative of the people is no easy task. It also shows that even though everyone has an equal opportunity to contest and actively participate in electoral and party politics there are few who thinks that they can hold top positions in electoral politics.

3.8. CONCLUSION

The study indicates that the majority of respondents do not support the establishment of the ADC in Mizoram. At the same time, all the respondents from the ADC area supported the institution of ADC. Among the respondents (who do not support ADC) some of them believe that ADC should not be established on the basis

⁶³The Scholar interview Andrew Laltanzara as his Office Chamber at Lawngtlai on 6th December, 2022.

of ethnic line; rather it should be based on geographical area. In short, majority of the respondents do not support the establishment of a separate autonomous administration which is base on ethnic line within their own state. The study shows that among the Zo-ethnic people there are different opinion regarding the special treatment (example ADC) to a particular ethnic group. It can be noted that different perspective on such issues can impede harmony and unity among the general public which can affect the nature of equality. Thus, it can be said that disrupting the nature of equality may hinder the process of political development in the state. Besides, the study shows that the majority of respondents are of the opinion that the marginalized communities of Chakma, Bru, and Gorkha have not made a significant contribution to the overall development process of the state.

Moreover, the study finds that majority of the respondents agreed that the status of women in Mizo society is excellent. Here it is important to note that even majority of the female respondents agreed that their status is good enough and are in a position to enjoy their rights to the fullest. It can be noted that in the pre-colonial period the job description of women were solely confine to the kitchen and home-making. Today, Mizo women themselves have improved their socio-economic and political status in society. Many of them are highly educated. Many Mizo women have achieved prestigious academic honors in different disciplines. As a result, many occupy good positions in the government and private offices. There are many vegetable vendor shops and business establishments that are managed by women. This means that many Mizo women are engaged in business (big and small). This means that women in Mizo society have contributed socially and economically. Besides, there are several women politicians in Mizoram. In fact, three women were elected as MLA in the last Mizoram State Legislative Assembly Election in 2023. Out of the three women MLA, one is a Cabinet Minister. Moreover, there are many women councilors and members in the local bodies (AMC, LMC, LC & VC)

Furthermore, the majority of respondents believe that women have the same chance as males to be elected to political offices. In fact, in the Legislative Assembly Election in Mizoram 2023 there are as many as 16 female candidates from different parties. This signifies that even political parties in the state are endorsing

and willing to select women as their party candidates. It indicates that the status of women in Mizo society may not be ideal, but it is a society that is suitable for women to progress and enjoy their rights.

Thus, the nature of equality in Mizoram is distinctive in its own way. If inequality continues to be prevalent in the state, there must be a concerted effort from the authorities and the people to address the problem. It is because inequality impedes social unity. The lack of social unity and togetherness creates disarray which creates division in society. Thus, it is difficult for a divided society to achieve political development because of the absence of unity. It is imperative that the government, authorities, leaders of churches and civil society organizations find a solution to solve the problem of inequality in the state. It is important to find an alternative for all sections to have a common ground and work together with harmony to achieve overall political development in the state. It is important to mention that according to Pye equality contributes significantly to political development. So, it can be said that equality in society is necessary for political development. On the other hand, achieving equality alone may not result in political development; as other issues are also of equal significance. The next chapter examines the potential or capacity of the state government to achieve political development.

CHAPTER- IV

CAPACITY OF THE GOVERNMENT

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The ability of a state to undergo development is the capacity to govern effectively and adapt to political, social and economic situations and changes. The ultimate goal is to enhance the well being of its citizens and strengthen the system. In the simplest term state capacity can be define as the ability or capacity of the state to transform its own preferences and goals into reality.¹ This concept is widely discussed in the field of social science and development studies. There are different factors that contribute to the ability of a state, for political development. One important factor is, the presence of robust and stable political institutions for fostering political development. These institutions encompass government agencies, the judiciary, electoral systems and legislative bodies. It is important that they operate transparently and remain accountable to deliver public services and uphold the rule of law.²

Among the political institutions, a functioning legal system that upholds justice and ensures consistency in law enforcement is indispensable. The establishment of legal system laid the foundation for maintaining stability and promoting economic and political growth. Furthermore, effective governance characterized by accountability plays a role in fostering political development. It involves mechanisms, for citizen participation, responsive policy making processes to prevent corruption and abuses of power. Also, a flourishing civil society, consisting of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) advocacy groups and community

¹State Capacity: *Chinese Economic Studies*. Vol. 28, No. 3. <https://www.tandfonline.com>

²Kempe Ronald Hope. (2009). Development for Good Governance in Developing Societies: Lessons from the Field. *Development in Practice*. Vol. 19, No. 1 (Feb., 2009). P- 1.

organizations plays a significant role in political development. It acts as a check on state power and advocates for the rights and interests of citizens.³

Moreover, education and political awareness are important factors in enabling citizens to participate in the political process and make well informed decisions and hold leaders accountable. Improving the education sector and ensuring media freedom are vital for political development. Likewise, economic stability and growth contribute to development by reducing poverty levels and enhancing the ability of the government to provide services. Also, political stability fosters development. Having conflict resolution mechanisms such as negotiations and reconciliation processes help prevent political crises from escalating ensuring smooth progress in the development process. Cooperative engagement with organizations and adherence to norms and treaties enhance a states standing politically while boosting its prospects for overall development.⁴

Another important factor that determines the capacity of the state is the adaptability and flexibility of its institutions. Also having innovative and inventive leaders are crucial for political development in an evolving world where circumstances change rapidly due, to technological advancements, demographic shifts or environmental changes. Similarly, political culture is another aspect that shapes political development. The beliefs, values and attitudes held by the citizens of a society can have an impact, on the progress of politics and capacity of the state. When a government places importance on democracy, human rights and peaceful conflict resolution it creates an environment that nurtures political development. It is worth noting that the ability and capacity of the state for political development can vary greatly from one country to another and can also change over time. Different states may encounter obstacles such as corruption, authoritarianism, internal conflicts and external pressures that hinder their potential for growth. In addition, it is also important to note that good governance is one of the important factors for political

³*Ibid.* P- 2

⁴Timothy Besley&TorstenPersson .(2010). State Capacity, Conflict, and Development. *Econometrica*. Vol. 78, No. 1 (Jan., 2010). P- 3&4.

development. Achieving and sustaining development is a process that requires continuous efforts, from both the government and civil society.⁵

The aforementioned points are some of the important factors that define the capacity of the state for political development. This chapter however studies the capacity of the state government in terms of good governance. It is important to mention that good governance and capacity of the government are closely related. It is because effectiveness and efficiency are two important characteristics among eight characteristics of good governance.⁶ Also, according to Lucian Pye capacity simply means effectiveness and efficiency. So, it can be said that capacity and good governance are two sides of the same coin. In a broader sense governance includes the entirety of governing processes including the institutions, procedures, and methodologies employed to address and control matters of shared interest. On the other hand the concept of good governance introduces a normative or evaluative dimension to the practice of governance. It encompasses various aspects such as the protection of human rights, adherence to the rule of law, meaningful participation, collaborative partnerships involving multiple actors, political diversity, transparent and accountable systems and institutions, a proficient and productive public sector, legitimacy, access to knowledge, information and education, political empowerment of individuals, fairness, sustainability and the cultivation of attitudes and values that promote responsibility, solidarity and tolerance.⁷

Good governance is characterized by eight major attributes. They are participation, consensus-oriented, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, equity and inclusivity, and adherence to the rule of law.⁸ In general the attributes of good governance ensures the reduction of corruption, the inclusion of minority perspective and the representation of marginalized individuals in the process of decision-making. Furthermore, it also means that adaptability and responsiveness of authorities to the current and forthcoming

⁵What is good governance?.<https://www.ohchr.org>

⁶*What is Good Governance?*.United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (Unescap).<https://www.unescap.org>

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

demands of society.⁹ These characteristics are fundamental for good governance. Good governance is defined by the capacity of the government to deliver goods and services to the people effectively as per the needs of society in different field or sector. The major characteristics are discussed below:-

Participation

Participation simply refers to inclusivity or involvement of all sections of society in governance and decision making. The inclusion of both genders, namely men and women is a fundamental aspect of an effective government and participation. Participation may manifest in either direct form such as direct participation of the public in governance or through indirect means i.e. the involvement of legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. It is essential to emphasize that participation does not only inherently guarantee the inclusion of the interest and needs of marginalized and disadvantaged individuals within society but also includes the interest of all sections of society during decision-making process. Effective participation requires individuals to possess knowledge and when people participate in the political process, the government has to deliver the services and goods and also other basic requirements and fulfill the desire of the people. This involves the fundamental rights of individuals to freely associate and express themselves alongside the presence of a well-structured civil society.¹⁰

The participation of citizens in governance and its processes increases the legitimacy of decisions taken by authority. It guarantees that decisions are aligned with the desires and concerns of the individuals impacted by them. As a result, this promotes more responsibility among those who make decisions. Participation additionally guarantees that a wide array of viewpoints and perspectives are taken into account in decision-making procedures. This inclusivity facilitates the development of policies and programs that are more equitable and just, since they take into account the needs of many elements of society. Citizens who are actively engaged are more inclined to support and actively contribute to the implementation of policies and programs. Their participation can result in a more proficient and

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Unescap.*Op.Cit.*

streamlined implementation, as they offer essential input and oversees the development. Through the active engagement of citizens in governance, it fosters social cohesiveness and instills faith in institutions. Participation is essential for effective governance as it guarantees that decisions are based on accurate information, involve all relevant parties, are open and transparent, and are responsive to the demands of the population. It enhances the democratic system by giving citizens greater power and creating a society that is more resilient and united. In this manner the government shows its capacity and this can result to political development.¹¹

Consensus Oriented

Consensus Oriented simply means that in governance and decision making process authorities must consider the wishes of all sections of society. It also means that even if the desires of all sections of society cannot be fulfilled a common minimum can be achieved in governance and decision making process. In a given society, there exist multiple actors and an equal number of ideas and viewpoints. The achievement of good governance necessitates the facilitation of dialogue and negotiation among diverse societal interests with the aim of attaining a comprehensive consensus regarding the optimal course of action for the entire community and the means by which it might be realized. Additionally, a comprehensive and enduring outlook is necessary to ascertain the requisites for sustainable human development and the strategies to effectively attain the objectives of said development. The aforementioned outcome may solely be achieved by a comprehensive comprehension of the historical, cultural and social circumstances inside a particular society or group.¹²

Consensus-oriented techniques guarantee the inclusion of diverse perspectives and stakeholders in the decision-making process. This inclusion facilitates the development of policies and activities that accurately represent the varied interests and requirements of the population. Governance processes foster

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*

unity and collaboration among stakeholders by actively seeking consensus. It diminishes division and promotes a feeling of collective responsibility in making choices, which might improve societal unity and steadiness. Decisions that are based on consensus tend to have greater longevity and stability. Consensus among stakeholders decreases the probability of future conflicts or opposition to the execution of a plan. The maintenance of this stability is essential for the efficient administration and political development. Consensus-building improves the credibility of decisions and policies. When a diverse range of stakeholders backs a decision, it boosts public confidence in governance institutions and raises the chances of people following and working together. Moreover, if authorities and policy makers got the general support in any decision making it automatically increase the capacity of the government which leads to political development.¹³

Accountability

Accountability is an essential requirement for effective governance. It refers to the responsibility of government and authorities towards the people. Both governmental institutions and enterprises in the business sector as well as civil society organizations are required to be accountable not only to the general public but also to their respective institutional stakeholders. The allocation of accountability is contingent upon whether decisions or actions are conducted within or outside of an organization or institution. Typically, an organization or institution bears responsibility towards individuals who may be impacted by its decisions or actions. The enforcement of accountability necessitates the presence of transparency and adherence to the rule of law.¹⁴

Accountability is a crucial aspect of good governance since it guarantees that those in positions of power, whether within the government, corporations, or institutions, are held responsible for their actions and choices. The importance of

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Ved P. Nanda. (2006).The "Good Governance" Concept Revisited Source: *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 603, (Jan., 2006), P- 269-283. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097772>

accountability in ensuring effective government cannot be overstated. Accountability necessitates the presence of transparency in both the decision-making processes and the conduct of public authorities. Transparent processes allow citizens to closely examine decisions, expenditures, and policies, thereby decreasing the probability of corruption and ensuring that decisions are made in the best interest of the public. Accountability of leaders and institutions fosters faith in government and public institutions. Public support and adherence to policies and laws are more probable when citizens perceive decision-makers as being responsible and answerable for their actions and choices. It is important to note that, accountability fosters the optimal and productive utilization of resources, as those in positions of authority are held responsible for the allocation and expenditure of public funds. This measure aids in the prevention of unnecessary consumption and guarantees that resources are utilized for the betterment of the general welfare.¹⁵

Accountability guarantees adherence to legal and ethical norms. It encourages obedience with laws, regulations, and codes of conduct, cultivating a culture of honesty and moral conduct among government personnel. Accountability is crucial in democratic societies to ensure that elected representatives and government officials adhere to the desires of the people. It upholds the tenets of democracy by guaranteeing that government activities are transparent, responsive, and answerable to citizens. In general, accountability is a fundamental aspect of effective governance as it fosters transparency, trust, efficiency, integrity, and responsiveness in decision-making and the provision of public services. It enhances the effectiveness of democratic institutions and promotes sustainable development and fair economic growth in countries.¹⁶

Transparency

Transparency simply means that all actions of the government must be accessible and understandable to the public. It also refers to the adherence to established norms and regulations in the process of making and implementing

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

decisions. This also implies that information be readily accessible and directly available to individuals who may be impacted by these decisions and the subsequent implementation. Additionally, it signifies the provision of sufficient knowledge in accessible formats and methods ensuring simple interpretation. Transparency guarantees that choices made by government officials, public institutions, and organizations are accessible for examination by the public and stakeholders.¹⁷

Transparency in procedures and decisions facilitates the ability to hold decision-makers responsible for their actions and ensures that they act in the public interest. It also cultivates confidence and credibility between governmental entities and the general population. Transparent decision-making methods allow stakeholders to provide pertinent information and viewpoints. This inclusivity results in more well-informed and strong decisions that encompass a wider array of interests and factors. It is noteworthy that transparency is also an effective means of thwarting corruption. Transparency in government acts and transactions serves as a deterrent to covert corrupt practices such as bribery, embezzlement, and favoritism. Transparency facilitates the identification and prevention of unethical conduct.¹⁸

It can be said that countries and organizations that exhibit openness in their governance frequently received a favorable worldwide appraisal and good reputation. Transparency improves the trustworthiness of global markets and relationships, thereby attracting investments and promoting international collaboration. Moreover, transparency is crucial for effective governance as it fosters accountability, instills trust, improves decision-making, combats corruption, ensures efficient resource allocation, encourages citizen engagement, promotes fairness, and enhances international reputation. It is a fundamental pillar of democratic government and sustainable development across the globe.¹⁹

¹⁷Alan Warren Friedman .(1996) Good Governance.*Academe*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (Jul. - Aug., 1996), P-41-43.<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40250962>

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*

Responsiveness

Responsiveness is the concept of good governance that requires institutions and processes make a concerted effort to cater to the needs and interest of all stakeholders within a reasonable and timely manner. Responsiveness can also be defined as the rapid action taken by the authorities towards the needs and requirements of the public. The nature and swiftness of responsiveness of authorities towards the demand of the people determined good governance. Responsive governance guarantees that elected representatives and government officials are held responsible to the electorate. It entails actively attending to the opinions, worries, and choices of the public, and thereafter implementing suitable measures in response to their input.²⁰

Timely and efficient responses from governments and institutions to public needs foster trust and confidence in their leadership. Citizens are more inclined to view government acts as legitimate when they witness their concerns being acknowledged and attended to. Effective governance results in improved service delivery. By immediately attending to the public's demands and complaints, governments and organizations can enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery, ultimately leading to an improved quality of life for individuals. When citizens see that their contributions and feedback are esteemed and implemented, it increased civic engagement and participation in governance. This enhances the democratic system and encourages engaged participation of citizens. Responsive governance guarantees that policies and services are easily accessible and fair for all sectors of society, particularly marginalized and vulnerable groups. It can be said that responsive government leads to increased levels of public satisfaction and well-being.²¹

Effectiveness and Efficiency

Effectiveness and efficiency means that decision making must be able to meet certain demands, expectations and requirements of all sections of society. Good

²⁰Nanda. *Op. Cit.*

²¹*Ibid.*

governance refers to the effective functioning of processes and institutions, wherein the outcomes generated align with the societal requirements while optimizing the utilization of available resources. The notion of efficiency within the realm of effective governance encompasses the prudent utilization of natural resources and the safeguarding of the environment in a sustainable approach. Efficient governance guarantees that goals and objectives are unambiguously established and consistently accomplished. It involves establishing priorities, formulating strategic decisions, and executing policies that yield desired outcomes and advantages to society. Efficiency in governance refers to the effective and responsible utilization of resources, including financial, human, and natural resources. It requires the reduction of waste, the elimination of superfluous expenses, and the optimization of resource utilization to enhance the effectiveness of public service delivery and development activities.²²

Efficient and effective governance leads to swift delivery of services to citizens. Public services, including healthcare, education, infrastructure, and social welfare, are provided promptly, dependably, and fairly. Efficient and effective governance promotes public trust and confidence in governmental institutions and leadership. Citizens are more inclined to endorse and actively participate in civic activities when they witness concrete outcomes resulting from government efforts. Efficient governance promotes innovation and incentivizes the implementation of novel technology and approaches to enhance the delivery of public services and governance procedures. It also enhances the ability to adjust to evolving situations and obstacles. An effective and efficient good governance practice enhances a favorable atmosphere for economic development and progress. Effectiveness and efficiency are fundamental principles of good governance as they facilitate the accomplishment of objectives, maximize resource utilization, improve service provision, cultivate public confidence, encourage innovation, ensure accountability and transparency, stimulate economic growth, and promote political development.

²²Neil Webster (2008) Good Governance: Between Idealism and Realism. *Danish Institute for International Studies* (2008).P-1-5.<https://www.jstor.org>

Collectively, they contribute to the establishment of healthy, adaptable, and prosperous societies.²³

Equity and Inclusiveness

The well being of a society is based upon the establishment of inclusive measures that create a sense of belonging and prevent the marginalization of any of its constituents. It is essential that all groups with a special emphasis on those who are most vulnerable are provided with chances to enhance or sustain their overall welfare. Equity in governance refers to the act of guaranteeing impartiality and righteousness in the allocation of resources, opportunities, and advantages across all sectors of society. The objective is to eradicate inequalities and ensure equitable access to services and opportunities for all individuals, irrespective of their background or circumstances. Inclusive governance promotes societal unity by acknowledging and appreciating the presence of different individuals and their unique characteristics. It create a feeling of inclusion and mutual regard among many social, cultural, and ethnic factions in society, therefore diminishing social isolation and marginalization.²⁴

Promoting equity and inclusivity in governance guarantee the engagement of all citizens in decision-making processes. It also assures that a wide range of viewpoints and opinions are acknowledged and taken into account when creating and executing policies and initiatives. Inclusive governance enhances the agency of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups by equipping them with essential resources, opportunities, and assistance to actively engage in economic, social, and political spheres. It improves their capacity to advocate for their rights and interests. By addressing disparities and fostering inclusivity, we can effectively mitigate conflicts that may arise from social, economic, or political concerns.²⁵

Inclusive government encourages peaceful cohabitation and stability by facilitating understanding and cooperation among diverse groups. Equity and

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴Nanda.*Op. Cit.*

²⁵*Ibid.*

inclusivity are principles that safeguard human rights and dignity by guaranteeing that every person is treated with esteem and has equal chances to realize their capabilities. Equity and inclusion are essential tenets of good governance since they assure justice, social cohesion, democratic engagement, empowerment, conflict prevention, efficient policy execution, respect for human rights, and sustainable development. They are crucial for constructing inclusive and resilient societies in which all individuals may actively participate in and reap the rewards of political development processes.²⁶

Rule of Law

Rule of Law simply refers to the implementation of legal framework and applying it as the base for administrative conduct. The main purpose of rule of law is to ensure human rights are preserved and to eliminate the idea ‘might is right’. It is important to mention that with the implementation of the rule of law and well organized legal framework the capacity of the government can be realized. The development of good governance necessitates the presence of equitable legislative frameworks that are implemented in an unbiased manner. Also, it is important to ensure comprehensive safeguarding of human rights, with a specific emphasis on the rights of minority groups. The impartial implementation of law requires the presence of an autonomous judiciary and a fair and incorruptible police force.²⁷

The rule of law develops explicit and foreseeable legal frameworks that regulate the conduct of individuals, companies, and government entities. Ensuring predictability is crucial for cultivating stability and nurturing trust in the legal system. The rule of law ensures the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, including the rights to life, liberty, and property. It guarantees the fair and impartial application of laws to all individuals, regardless of any form of discrimination, thereby safeguarding against any arbitrary or unjust actions by the government or influential entities. It can be said that, countries that strictly adhere to the rule of law typically experience more stable economic environments that are favorable for

²⁶Webster. *Op. Cit.*

²⁷Nanda. *Op. Cit.*

investment, entrepreneurship, and economic expansion. Legal certainty fosters corporate confidence and mitigates dangers linked to capricious governmental measures. The rule of law is essential for effective governance as it establishes the foundation for accountability, transparency, safeguarding of rights, restriction of government authority, justice, economic progress, international relations, and democratic governance. It creates a fundamental basis of stability and equity that is crucial for societies to prosper and for individuals to experience a life of dignity and safety inside the legal system.²⁸

The above mentioned principles of good governance are directly linked to multiple stakeholders within the society such as executive, legislature, judiciary, media, private sector and non-governmental organizations. It is also vital to acknowledge that both public accountability and transparency holds equal significance for each to these institutions as they serve as foundational pillars upon which society relies. Moreover, it is only when all the stakeholders of society engage in their activities with a sense of social responsibility and put into practice the factors of good governance that the goal of attaining political development may be actualized.²⁹

4.2. CAPACITY OF THE GOVERNMENT

Good governance is essential to determine the capacity of the government. It can be said that without good governance the government cannot achieve its full potential or cannot be an efficient government which will ultimately promote political development. It can be remembered here that, for Lucian Pye capacity means the performance, efficiency and effectiveness of the political system which can be directly linked with good governance and its principles. This chapter studies the capacity of the state government in three department namely agriculture, tourism and education.

The rationale behind the selection of agriculture sector is that agriculture is the backbone of Mizoram and it has always been the life source for Mizo society

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*

even before the British period. Till date agriculture and its allied sector remains the main source of income for families especially in rural Mizoram.³⁰ For example, rice is a staple food for the Mizos. It occupies the largest agricultural crop cultivation area, with 60.88% of the net cultivated area in 2023. Rice production in Mizoram for the 2022-23 period amounted to 58,836 metric tons from a total area of 34,071 hectares. From the total land designated for rice production, 22,053 MT of rice was produced from the Jhum area, while the remaining 35,788 MT come from the Wet Rice Cultivation (WRC) area.³¹ This shows that many families are engaged in agriculture and allied sector in Mizoram.

Also, the rationale for selecting tourism sector is that the location and rough terrain of Mizoram have produced an amazing landscape. The state is endowed with green and deep valleys, streams, lakes, fields and steep slopes making it a beautiful and attractive hill station and tourist destination among the local and people from other state and even from abroad. Moreover, the rationale for choosing education sector is that Mizoram's literacy rate is one of the highest in the country with a literacy rate of 91.33%³² and to unveil the state's capacity in it. It can be said that, the study analyzes these sectors to uncover the true capacity of the state. Moreover, it is important to note that the capacity of the state in these sectors will reveal the nature of political development in Mizoram.

4.3. CAPACITY IN AGRICULTURE SECTOR

Political development of a nation or a state can be greatly influenced by its economic capacity. Economy of various countries particularly the developing countries are influenced by agriculture sector. In India, agriculture is a main component of the economy and for 55% of the population agriculture is the main source of livelihood.³³ Similarly, the economy of Mizoram is influenced by

³⁰ B. Lalthangliana. (2013). *Mizo Culture*. Gilzom Offset. P- 13-18.

³¹ *Economic Survey 2023-2024*. Planning & Programme Implementation Department. Government of Mizoram. P-49. <https://planning.mizoram.gov.in/uploads>.

³² *Statistical Handbook Mizoram-2022*. Directorate of Economics & Statistics. Government of Mizoram. P- XI

³³ *Agriculture and allied sector: Advantage India*. <https://www.ibef.org/industry/agriculture-india>

agriculture because 60% of the populace is engaged in agriculture and allied sector.³⁴ Consequently, the government's capacity in agriculture and related sectors is linked to the economy. If authorities and policymakers overlook the agricultural sector, it would adversely affect the economy. Consequently, economic instability will influence the process, nature, and extent of political development.

Agriculture serves as the main source of food production for many countries. It is the responsibility of any government to ensure sufficient food supply for its populace as it directly affects socio-economic stability. It can be said that shortages in food and hunger can lead to unrest and political instability. For many countries, agriculture has a massive contribution to its economy. It provides employment opportunities and income for several sections of the population particularly in a developing country. It is important to note that policies related to agriculture can have a considerable impact on the well being of rural communities and even influence their support for the government.³⁵

Agriculture is mainly concentrated in rural areas and also agriculture policies of the government significantly affect daily lives of the rural populace. Moreover, it is the rural areas that are often neglected and the government must address the needs and requirements of the citizens in the rural areas to achieve economic development and to maintain political stability. Also, land ownership and access to resources are concerns in many countries. The issues surrounding land reform policies, property rights and land tenure system can be highly contentious and politically charged. The way land and resources are distributed can shape dynamics of politics in the state. It can also have a substantial impact on relations between people of these areas and the government.³⁶

It is also important to know that agriculture play an important role in trade. The policies, subsidies and trade agreements related to agriculture have a huge political implication. Negotiations and diplomacy often come into play as countries strive to protect their interest while ensuring access to markets. But the government

³⁴*Agriculture and Allied*. <https://planning.mizoram.gov.in/uploads>

³⁵*Agriculture and Development*. <https://www.worldbank.org>.

³⁶*Ibid*.

while implementing or formulating agriculture policies must consider the environmental impacts. Issues like deforestation, water pollution and greenhouse gas emissions must be taken into consideration. Today, these concerns drive debates, policy changes and international agreements aimed at mitigating these effects for the sake of sustainability. Also, when it comes to climate change agriculture is particularly susceptible for many states. Government need to develop strategies for adapting agriculture policies to climate change.

Agriculture is intricately connected with political development and progress³⁷, as it influences matters of food security, economic growth, land ownership, trade policies, urban dynamics and also environmental sustainability. Governments must handle policies with care in order to meet the needs and concerns of their citizens as it can have long lasting consequences for political stability and political development. The success of policies and initiatives can significantly influence perception regarding the governments' effectiveness.

In this regard, Canada is one of top performing countries in agriculture sector. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Statistical Yearbook 2022, Canada is the top exporter of wheat in the world.³⁸ It can be said that this is primarily due to the initiative approach of the government in agriculture and its capacity to implement the policy effectively. Despite the significant reduce support to agriculture form the late 1980's Canada is still striving in the aforementioned sector.³⁹ This clearly shows the efficiency and effectiveness of Canadian governments' policy in agriculture. The Canadian Agricultural Partnership (CAP) 2018-23 is a comprehensive policy framework that provides a range of policies and activities designed to provide support to Canada's agriculture and agro-food sector.⁴⁰

³⁷Melissa Leach. (2020). Food Politics and Development.Elsevier.<https://pdf.sciencedirectassets.com/>. P-1

³⁸*Statistical Yearbook: World Food and Agriculture 2022*. P- 24

³⁹*Agricultural Policy Monitoring and Evaluation 2022: Reforming Agricultural Policies for Climate Change Mitigation*. <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org>.

⁴⁰*Ibid*.

The existing policy framework of the Canadian model comprises of a collection of Business Risk Management (BRM) programmes designed to assist farmers by effectively managing market fluctuations and the potential risks associated with disasters. Also, strategic initiatives have been implemented to enhance the sectors' competitiveness, productivity and profitability. These initiatives also aim to promote environmental sustainability expand both domestic and international markets and also develop the ability of the sector to anticipate, mitigate and respond to risks that arises. The BRM programmes also aim to assist producers by decreasing risks that pose a danger to the sustainability of their agricultural operations and incidents that are beyond their control.⁴¹

Canada is among the largest global exporter of agriculture and agri-food products, like that of the European Union (EU), United States, Brazil and China. The agriculture and agri-food sector of Canada contributes significantly to the country's economy with annual exports amounting to 82.2 billion dollars. It is noteworthy that about half of Canada's total agricultural and agri-food production is exported encompassing both the primary commodities and processed food products. This clearly shows that agriculture programmes and policies implement by the government have a great impact in the economy of the country. Therefore, Canada is among the most advance country in the world and it can be said that because of the governments' capacity and efficiency in agriculture sector political development is achieved.⁴²

For a developing country like India agriculture and its allied sector is crucial for economic growth of the country. Agriculture is one of the biggest contributors to India's economy and political authorities in the past and present have made a number of good and systematic decisions in relation to agriculture. India's systematic research in agriculture began with the establishment of Imperial Council of Agricultural research in 1929 which is currently recognized as Indian Council of

⁴¹ Antón, J., S. Kimura & R. Martini (2011). "Risk Management in Agriculture in Canada". *OECD Food, Agriculture and Fisheries Papers*. No. 40, OECD Publishing, Paris. <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org>

⁴² Agri-food exports. <https://cafta.org>.

Agricultural research (ICAR). ICAR with its headquarter in New Delhi is the apex authority responsible for organizing, supervising and managing research and education in agriculture, animal sciences, and fisheries.⁴³

The council is an independent body that operates under the authority of the Department of Agriculture Research and Education (DARE), which is a part of the Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare under the Government of India. ICAR consisted of 113 research institutes, 74 agricultural universities, 4 deemed-to-be-universities and 3 central universities throughout the country. Also, ICAR is at the forefront of one of the major National Agricultural Research and Education Systems (NARES) globally. India possesses a significant amount of human resources dedicated to agricultural research with around 30,000 scientists and over 10,000 technical and supporting professionals in the National Agricultural Research and Extension System (NARES). The influence of ICAR extends to adjacent nations, with numerous international, national and regional research organizations and universities in agricultural research and development.⁴⁴

As a result of the systematic approach to agriculture in the country, the overall production of both food and non-food agricultural goods in the year 2022-23 amounted to approximately 3.22 million metric tonnes. This is a prominent milestone in the history of Independent India. The production of all commodities in India has increased significantly, resulting in India becoming one of the largest countries globally in terms of agricultural productivity. These recent advancements have not only allowed the ability to produce sustainability in food production but also to export agricultural goods. It is remarkable to note that a nation previously experiencing scarcity of food until 1950 successfully transitioned to a nation that is food sufficient by the 2000's. The integration of scientific research, technological advancements, agricultural extension services and policy implementation has played a significant role in the process of transitioning the country from a state of food

⁴³T Mahopatra , PK Rout & H Pathak. (2022) Indian Agriculture: Achievements and Aspirations, In H Pathak, JP Mishra and T Mahopatra. *Indian Agriculture After Independence*. P- 6.

⁴⁴*Ibid*. P- 6

scarcity to becoming a nation with an abundance of food. This clearly highlighted the high capacity of the government in agriculture sector in India.⁴⁵

Coming to Mizoram, the state government has the capacity to increase production under the agriculture and allied sector. Agriculture has a crucial role in the economy of the state. According to the Economic Classification of workers in the 2011 census, approximately 55.17% of all workers are involved in the agriculture and allied sector. Paddy is the primary crop and the main source of sustenance for the state. The annual rice production of the state of Mizoram is 62, 182 metric tonnes, while the minimum annual rice consumption is predicted to be 180, 000 metric tonnes. It means only 34.5% or one-third of the required rice is produced by the state. It means nearly 65% of the rice is imported from other state. In the year 2020-2021, the total area dedicated to paddy cultivation was 35, 246 hectares accounting for 25.43% of the overall cropped area in the state.⁴⁶ In the 2022-23 year, rice production in Mizoram reached 58,836 metric tons across an area of 34,071 hectares. Of the total acreage allocated for rice cultivation, 22,053 MT of rice was harvested in the Jhum region, and the remaining 35,788 MT was produced in the Wet Rice Cultivation (WRC) area.⁴⁷

Additionally, other crops such as maize, oilseeds, pulses, sugarcane, oil palm and soybean constituted approximately 11.76% of the total crop area. Then Jhum area produced a total of 25,409 metric tonnes of rice during 2020-2021, which account for 40.86% of the whole rice production in the state. The building of Mini-rice Mill at Pangbalkawn located in Kolasib District is anticipated to provide rice producers in the state with a reliable marketing channel. Maize output experienced a significant surge in the 2020-2021 period with a total of 40,966.29 quintal being produced. As a result of the successful harvest maize farmers generated substantial cash by selling their crops to local and urban market and animal farm and breeding facilities. It is important to know that the state agriculture department has been implementing specific farmer's assistance scheme that offers financial assistance to

⁴⁵*Ibid.* P- 7

⁴⁶Economic Survey of Mizoram (2021-2022). Aizawl.Planning and Implementation Department (Research and Development Branch) Govt.Of Mizoram.P-55-57.

⁴⁷*Op.cit.* Economic Survey.

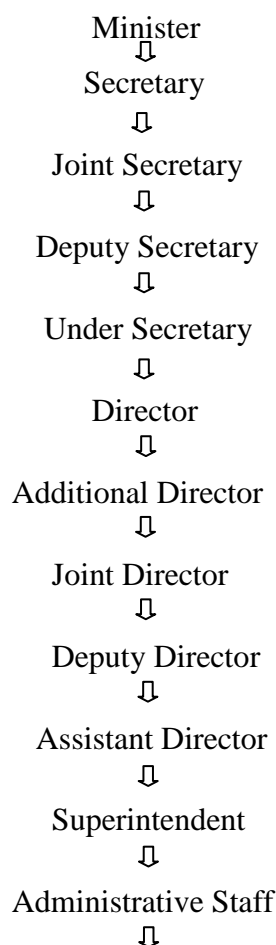
individual or group of farmers. The department received a grant of Rs. 3516.56 lakhs{(90% from the centrally sponsored schemes (css) and 10% from state matching share (sms))}.⁴⁸ It indicates that Government of Mizoram is doing its best in the agriculture and allied sector to achieve economic growth that will again enhance the political development of the state.

4.3.1 CAPACITY AND EFFICIENCY OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE SECTOR

The Department of Agriculture under the Government of Mizoram was established as a department after the Mizo Hills was upgraded to Union Territory status from the state of Assam in 1972. Subsequently, the department has been implementing a range of Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS) and state-funded schemes. Presently, there is a school dedicated to the study of Agricultural Science in Hnahthial, a town situated in the southern region of Mizoram. Additionally, there are 11 district agriculture offices and 26 block agriculture offices that fall under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture. The organizational structure of the Department of Agriculture in Mizoram is shown below.

⁴⁸*Ibid.* P- 55-57.

Department of Agriculture, Govt. of Mizoram



District Agriculture Office (in all 11 districts)

It is noteworthy that the Directorate of Agriculture now employs 104 administrative professionals, while 239 sanctioned positions remain unfilled. This indicates that the government or authorities lacks the capacity or is neglecting to fill vacancies within the Directorate of Agriculture. The study also shows that the Agriculture Secretariat under the Government of Mizoram is having 12 administrative staff members.⁴⁹ The study finds out that the Directorate and Secretariat of the Department of Agriculture in Mizoram is inadequately staffed. Furthermore, the issue of understaffing and vacant posts may or can significantly affect the department's effectiveness and capacity to implement numerous agricultural programmes and policies throughout the state. The estimated Annual

⁴⁹Data extracted from *Rti Online Mizoram* monitored by Mizoram Information Commission (MIC) on 11th October 2024.

Financial Statement of the state of Mizoram and budget allocation for the last 5 years for the agriculture department are as follows

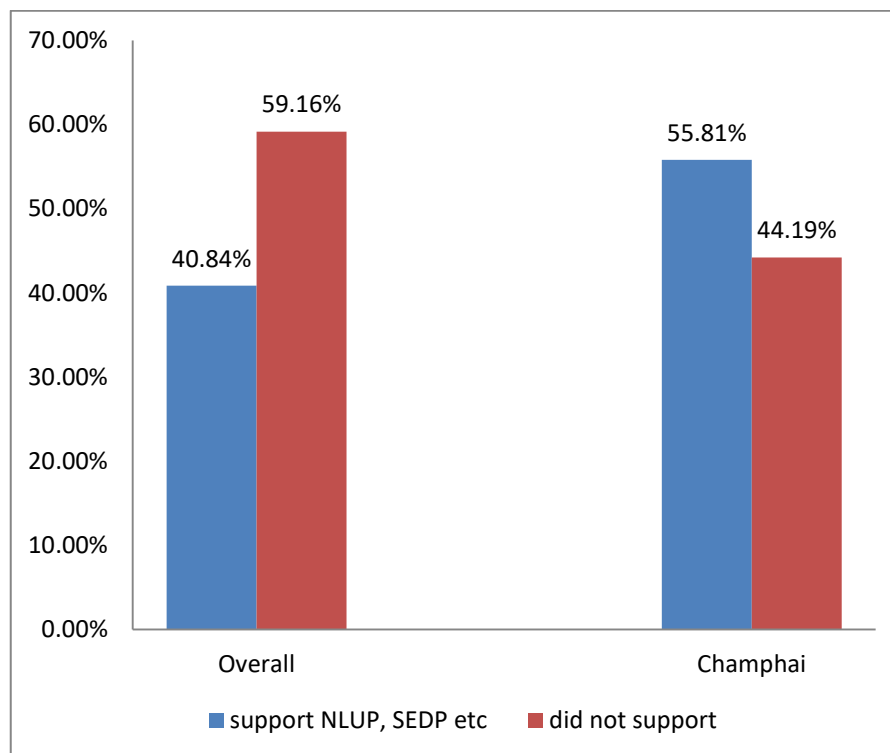
Table 4.1.1

Year	General Budget (in lakhs)	<i>Agriculture and Allied Sector budget (in lakhs)</i>
2019-2020	840551.99	58841.63 {7% from total } (economic sector- 216962.26)
2020-2021	920211.50	87010.37{9.45% from total }(economic sector- 254871.90)
2021-2022	939838.43	86550.07{9.2% from total } (economic sector- 274586.54)
2022-2023	1018851.09	76241.06{7.48% from total } (economic sector- 256510.87)
2023-2024	1120075.78	79301.33 {7.07% from total } (economic sector- 275596.54)

Sources:- Annual Financial Statement, Govt. of Mizoram, 2019-2024.

The above table indicates that the allocation for agriculture and related sectors during the past five years constitutes less than 10% of the total budget of the state. Therefore, it may be asserted that, based on the budget allocation for the agriculture and allied sector over the past five years, the capacity of the government may not fulfill public expectations. As a result, attaining self-sufficiency in the agricultural and allied sector may prove to be a challenging endeavor. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that over half of the respondents (59.16%) opposed land use-based policies such as the New Land Use Policy (NLUP) introduced by the Congress government (2008-2018) and the Socio-Economic Development Programme (SEDP) executed by the Mizo National Front (MNF) government (2018-2023) in the state of Mizoram. On the contrary, almost half of the respondents (40.84%) support these policies implemented by several ministries. (Table 4.1.2)

Table 4.1.2. Q. Are you in favour of the land based policies implement by different governments like NLUP, SEDP etc.?



Sources: Computed

The study shows that the majority of respondents did not favor the state-sponsored agriculture programmes and policies. Nonetheless, more than half of the respondents (55.81%) from Champhai District expressed their support for those initiatives. NLUP and SEDP are distinct land use plans enacted by separate governments, wherein trade-related objects were allocated to the public based on their chosen trade, with agriculture being the predominant sector. The primary instrument for implementing these policies was the distribution of cash or money. The study indicates that more than half of the respondents opposed freebies, particularly in relation to the agriculture sector. (Table 4.1.2)

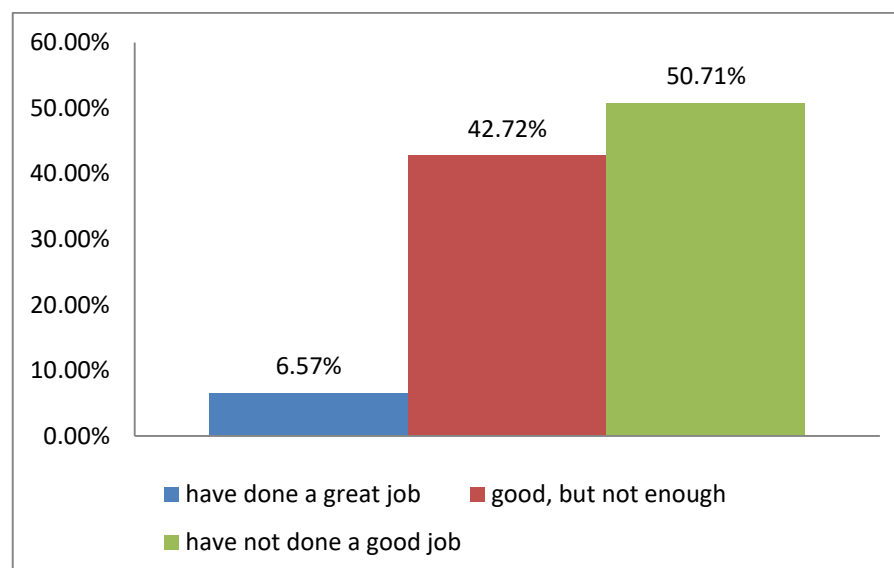
In align with this viewpoint, VL Hmangaihchhunga (Deputy Director) of the Agriculture Department of the Government of Mizoram stated that, “The government is performing adequately; while certain areas require significant attention, but claiming that the government has entirely failed in agriculture and

allied sector is somewhat misleading”.⁵⁰ On the contrary, Mr. Awmtea, President of the Khanpui Tomato Growers Association stated that, "the government's initiative in the agriculture and allied sector is insufficient, given my area is renowned inside the state for its substantial production of ginger and tomatoes. However, the truth is most of the farmers in my village grow crops independently without any government assistance and even sell them without any government intervention".⁵¹ This indicates that there is a difference of opinion between government officials and the farmers. Some of the farmers are not receiving the expected assistances (like marketing) from the government. This also simply shows Mizoram would continue to rely on other states for food grains and vegetables. Mizoram lacks sufficient production of food grains such as rice, lentils, and various vegetables. In short, Mizoram urgently need the implementation of an effective policy for agriculture and allied sector to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

⁵⁰The scholar interview VL Hmangaihchhunga (Mizoram Agriculture Service) at his office chamber in Aizawl on 19th March 2024 at 1:46 pm.

⁵¹The scholar interview Mr. Awmtea at his resident in Khanpui Village on 5th October 2022, 7:59 am.

Table. 4.1.3 Q. Do you think the state governments in Mizoram (past and present) have done a good job in promoting agriculture sector for political development of Mizoram?



Sources: Computed

The study shows that half of the respondents (50.71%) (Table 4.1.3) believes that the state government does not promote the agriculture sector to improve the economy of the state. At the same time nearly half (42.72%) of the respondents opine that the state government has done a good work to improve the economy of the state through agriculture but they also believe that the government can implement the agriculture policies better. The above indicates that the majority of respondents believe that both former and present authorities have inadequately promoted the agricultural industry in the state. The inadequate budget allocation in the agriculture and associated sector may contribute to the perception that authorities are not addressing the agricultural issues properly. The absence of initiative in this area may explain why many contend that economic self-sufficiency is yet to be achieved in the state. Also, the shortage of staff under the Secretariat and Directorate of Agriculture may or can be a factor for incompetence of the department. Additionally, a notable finding of the study is that the majority of respondents oppose the socio-economic policies implemented by various ministries. The predominant opposition among respondents to these policies may stem from the techniques and methods employed throughout the implementation of the policies. The study indicates that the

government's competence in the agriculture and allied sector is insufficient to attain economic growth in the state. It can be said that the Government of Mizoram did not effectively harness the capabilities of authorities and farmers to execute agricultural and allied sector policies and programmes to achieve economic prosperity.

4.4. CAPACITY IN TOURISM SECTOR

Tourism can play an important role in the economic development of a state. It has the potential to influence the growth of socio-economic and political institution of a particular state. It also has the potential to bolster economy of a state by generating employment among the youth. Income generated in the tourism sector has the possibility to provide the government with more financial resources to invest in other areas such as infrastructure, education, healthcare and other aspects of economic growth. Government having a good policy or initiative in tourism sector often prioritize improving infrastructure like roads, airports and public transportation systems to attract tourist. Such initiative not only benefits tourist but also enhance the overall quality of life for local communities thus contributing to socio-economic stability and progress.⁵² Moreover, tourism facilitates exchange and fosters understanding between communities breaking down stereotypes and prejudices. This can lead to improved relations based on peace, cooperation and mutual understanding. Governments can strategically employ tourism as a tool for diplomacy and soft power projection by showcasing culture, history and natural attractions to the world which can also be leveraged for economic gains as well as strategic interests. It can be said that tourism serves as a catalyst for development due to its impact on economic growth, infrastructure development, cultural exchange and diplomatic endeavors.⁵³

Tourism sector can create opportunities for entrepreneurship and employment and also empowering residents and encouraging their active participation in social and political spheres. It can also attract investments to many

⁵² *Sustainable Development*. <https://www.unwto.org>.

⁵³ Pigram John J. & Salah Wahab. (ed) (1997). *Tourism, Development and Growth The Challenge of Sustainability*. Routledge. 29 West 35th Street, New York 1001. P- 9-10.

areas/sectors and also contributed to reducing disparities and regional inequalities that could potentially lead to political unrest. Tourism often involves collaboration between countries on matters such as visa regulations, security and safety standards. Such cooperation can strengthen ties and improve political relationships between nations. Income generated from tourism can help governments to reduce their reliance on industries or external aid leading to financial independence and political stability. It also serves as a platform for people to people interactions and provides opportunity for countries to showcase their values and principles on the world stage.⁵⁴

There is a strong correlation between the expansion and growth of tourism and socio-economic development. States that perform exceptional on World Economic Forum's Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index seems to perform well in the Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations Development Programmes. For example, according to data from The World Economic Forum, of the top 30 scores in the Travel & Tourism Development Index (TTDI) for 2024, 26 are classified as high-income, 19 are located in Europe, seven in the Asia-Pacific area, three in the Americas, and one in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. The top-ranked economies in the 2024 TTDI edition are the United States, Spain, Japan, France, Australia, Germany, the United Kingdom, China, Italy, and Switzerland.⁵⁵

This clearly suggests that there is an interconnected relationship between socio-economic and political development and a prosperous tourism industry. Nevertheless, the causal relationship between tourism and political development remains ambiguous. The magnitude and swift growth of the tourism industry do not inherently imply that it serves as the principal spark and propeller of comprehensive political development. Tourism-led growth has been recorded in both developed and developing nation, although it is more commonly observed in developing countries particularly in smaller nations that have specific focus on tourism. In larger and more

⁵⁴*Ibid.* P- 26-27.

⁵⁵Travel & Tourism Development Index (TTDI), 2024. <https://www.weforum.org>

developed countries with diverse economic sectors, the importance of tourism as a primary catalyst for political and economic development may be lessened.⁵⁶

Many organizations and policy makers have implemented tourism programmes and policies that are more eco-friendly. The substantial magnitude of global tourism markets indicated the existence of several prospects for capitalization hence potentially resulting in significant economic expansion. The contribution of tourism to sustain economic and political growth depends on a variety of factors. In addition to the intrinsic attractiveness of a place, encompassing its natural and cultural assets, several key factors play a crucial role in facilitating the advancement of economic and political growth through tourism. Some of them are as follows:

- A strong tourism value chain
- A favourable business environment
- Openness and a high degree of connectivity
- An emphasis on technology and innovation
- A system of measurement to manage tourism growth
- Collective partnership⁵⁷

Tourism has emerged as one of the largest service sector worldwide, creating economic prosperity and job opportunities, while it also expose the culture of both tourists and locals. India exhibits promising indications of rising as a prominent force in global tourism. Key determinants for achieving effective tourist development encompass product enhancement, marketing strategies, regulatory frameworks, and human resource development. India's tourist industry is thriving due to its vast potential. The tourism industry in India is seeing consistent growth with the aim of creating employment opportunities and generating significant foreign exchange to support the country's economic and social development. Besides, it aids in the conservation and maintenance of natural and cultural ecosystems of India. In order to solidify our position, it is imperative to bolster the tourist industry through government assistance, innovative initiatives, proactive measures, and strategic plans

⁵⁶*Tourism for Development- Volume I: Key Areas for Action.*<https://www.e-unwto.org>. P- 26.

⁵⁷*Ibid.* P- 31.

to attract and retain international visitors. Tourism in India has a crucial role in driving economic growth and serves as an important tool for political advancement.⁵⁸

Tourism has emerged as a significant industry in emerging nations such as India, making a substantial contribution to the country's overall economic output and creating numerous job possibilities. The service industry has had rapid growth in the country and has significant potential for additional expansion and diversification. The Indian government has played a crucial role in the growth and development of the industry by providing policy and infrastructure assistance. The tourism policy of the government focuses on expediting the execution of tourism projects, creating comprehensive tourism routes, enhancing expertise in the hospitality industry, and implementing new marketing tactics. The tourism sector of India is currently undergoing a robust phase of expansion, propelled by the expanding Indian middle class, an increase in high-spending foreign tourists, and well-coordinated government initiatives to promote the 'Incredible India' campaign.⁵⁹

4.4.1 CAPACITY AND EFFICIENCY OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT IN TOURISM SECTOR

The department of Tourism, Government of Mizoram was separated from the department of Information and Public Relations in 1987.⁶⁰ The primary objective of the department has been to promote the growth of tourism and related industries, as well as to establish essential infrastructure to support the tourism sector. The Department has a secretariat and a directorate, since its establishment, it has created 77 state owned tourist facilities.⁶¹ The focus of the department is to develop infrastructure for tourism including the construction of essential lodging for visitors visiting the state and enhancing recreational amenities for them. Furthermore, the department has been operating Tourist Lodges inside the state. It accommodates the government and the general public, as well as tourists visiting the

⁵⁸ Mahalakshmi Venkatesh & P Stanley Joseph Michal Raj. (2016). Impact of Tourism in India. *International Journal of Scientific Engineering and Applied Science (IJSEAS)*. Vol. 2 Issue-1. P- 168-169.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* P- 170.

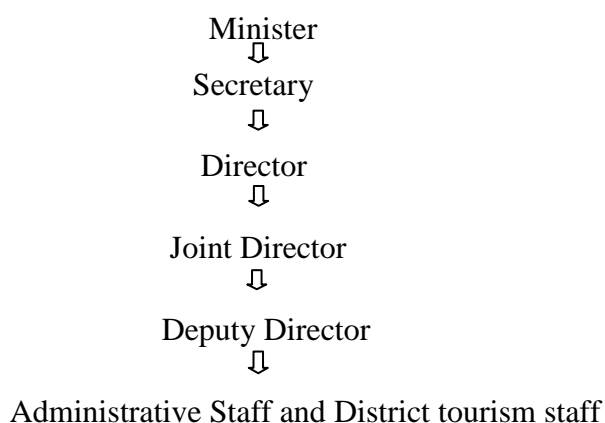
⁶⁰ <https://tourism.mizoram.gov.in>. P- 53

⁶¹ *Op.cit.* Economic Survey of Mizoram (2021-2022). P- 109.

state. It created job prospects for hotel professionals, and also for local individuals who possess a strong interest in hotel management and are adept at catering to the needs of tourists.⁶²

The Government of Mizoram launched several initiatives to promote tourism development inside the state. It generated income from tourist accommodations. These lodges function as the main accommodation choices for travelers, especially in cities and villages, owing to their reduced rental expenses relative to private hotels. The Mizoram Tourism Development Authority was set up in 2008 and is formally acknowledged under the Mizoram Societies Registration Act of 2005. The Tourism Secretariat of the Government of Mizoram consists of 5 administrative staff at present (2024), with 2 sanctioned post remains vacant. Also, the Directorate of Tourism now consists of 196 administrative staff and 20 sanctioned posts are lying vacant.⁶³

The organizational structure of the Department of Agriculture, Govt. of Mizoram is as follows:



Therefore, an assessment of the quantity and accessibility of administrative personnel indicates that the tourist department (both secretariat and directorate) within the Government of Mizoram is not substantial in comparison to other sectors examined in the study. Based on the availability of personnel within the department, the capacity of the tourism sector in Mizoram may not fulfill public

⁶²*Ibid.* P- 110

⁶³Data extracted from *Rti Online Mizoram* monitored by Mizoram Information Commission (MIC) on 15th October 2024.

expectations. Nonetheless, it may be unjust to assess the tourism sector's potential only on a singular criterion. Thus, the following consists of the estimated Tourism budget of the state of Mizoram in the last five years:

Table 4.1.4

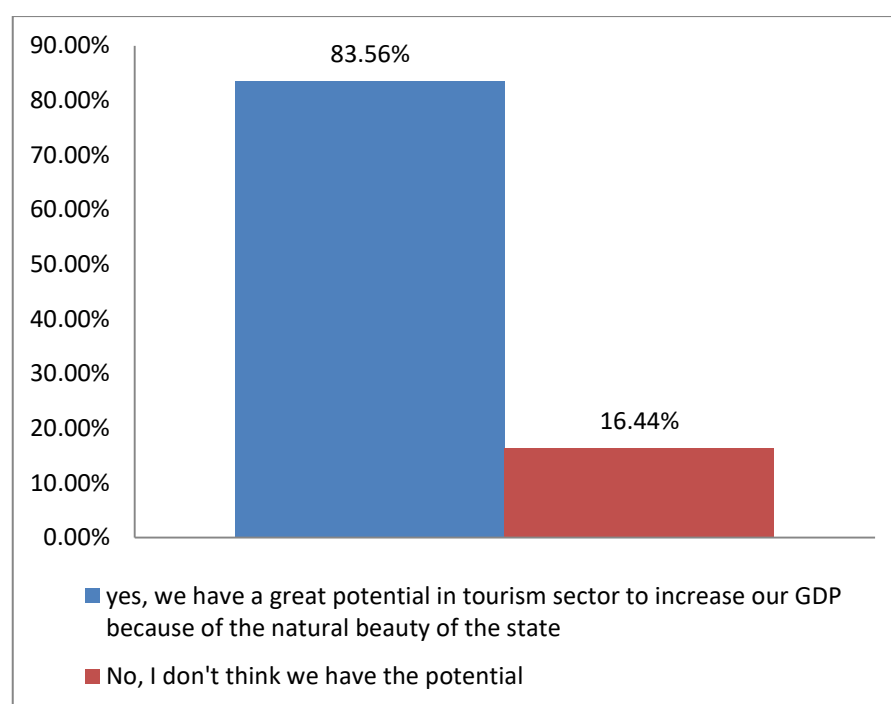
<i>Year</i>	<i>General Budget (in lakhs)</i>	<i>Tourism budget (in lakhs)</i>
2019-2020	840551.99	978.21 {0.11% from total} (economic sector- 216962.26)
2020-2021	920211.50	1403.17 {0.15% from total} (economic sector- 254871.90)
2021-2022	939838.43	1089.78 {0.11% from total} (economic sector- 274586.54)
2022-2023	1018851.09	1137.45 {0.11% from total} (economic sector- 256510.87)
2023-2024	1120075.78	1134.16 {0.10% from total} (economic sector- 275596.54)

Sources:- Annual Financial Statement, Govt. of Mizoram, 2019-2024.

The Department of tourism is functioning despite its meager budget. The diverse cultural heritage, extensive biodiversity, and potential for wildlife and adventure tourism in Mizoram render it highly attractive to the tourism sector. Interestingly, the tourism budget in Mizoram has not exceeded 1% of the entire budget during the past five years. Thus, the actual capacity of the state in the tourism sector may be challenging to determine from budget allocation alone. The study shows that the tourism department is experiencing a shortage of manpower, which is disheartening. It is disheartening because with adequate staff and proper planning the tourism sector might facilitate employment, thereby contributing to the

state's economic growth. The study indicates that over two-thirds of the respondents (83.56%) believe that Mizoram possesses significant potential in the tourist sector to enhance our Gross Domestic Product (GDP). (Table 4.1.5)

Table 4.1.5. Q. *Do you think that Mizoram have a great/huge potential in the tourism sector that could increase our GDP and boost our economy?*

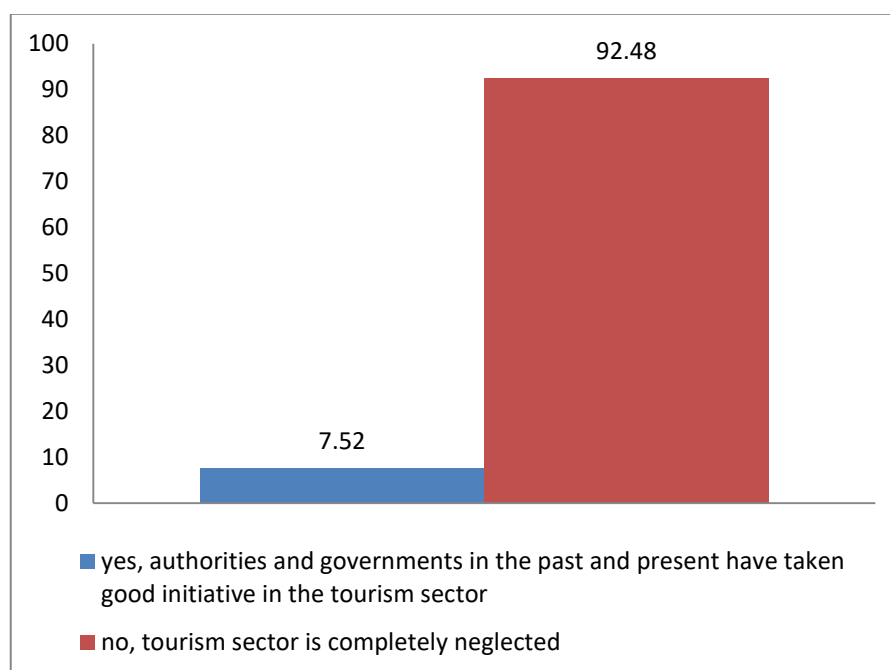


Sources: Computed

The study indicates that the majority of respondents believe Mizoram have significant potential in the tourism sector to enhance revenue and stimulate economic growth. The study reveals that nearly all respondents (92.48%) (Table 4.1.6) believe the state government does not address or initiated efforts effectively in the tourism sector. The findings suggest that, despite significant potential in the tourism sector, the government's initiative is insufficient. This shows that, historically, public opinion has not led ministries or governments to promote the tourism sector, despite the state's natural beauty, captivating landscapes, and distinctive culture. Furthermore, it is evident that budget allocation and a shortage of manpower constitute the primary challenges confronting the tourism industry in

Mizoram. The state's capacity in the tourism sector is not fully leveraged to achieve the necessary economic growth.

Table. 4.1.6. *Q. Do you think that governments and authorities (past and present) have done a good job or taken good initiative in tourism sector?*



Sources: field work

The study shows that the majority of respondents (83.56%) (Table 4.1.5) believe Mizoram possesses significant potential in the tourism sector to enhance the state's GDP of the state and improve the economy through its captivating natural beauty. Additionally, the majority of respondents claimed that the tourist sector has consistently been overlooked, both historically and currently. In this context, Mr. C. Lalsangpuia, a resident of Reiek Village and the Working Chairman of the Reiek Tlang Tourism Development Board, stated that Reiek Tlang is one of the few tourist hotspots located near Aizawl; nevertheless, the government has inadequately managed the site. The local board cleans up all the trash left by visitors at the summit of Reiek. I have planted approximately 2000 trees around Reiek Peak, an initiative that the government has not undertaken”.⁶⁴

⁶⁴The scholar interview Mr. C. Lalsangpuia at his residence in Reiek Village on 11th October 2023 at 5:44 pm.

More or less on the same line, Dr. Lalrinchhani, Deputy Director of the Tourism Department, Government of Mizoram, stated, “Indeed, the tourism sector in Mizoram requires prompt and careful attention; one of our primary challenges in the department is a shortage of manpower”.⁶⁵ On the same line Mr. H. Lalthianghlma⁶⁶ said that, “Our state has potential in the tourism sector but has not lived up to expectation. The main reason is the lack of initiative from authorities and policy makers.”⁶⁷

The study found that the current state of tourism sector is unsatisfactory and has substantial room for improvement. It also found that the public, leaders of organizations and private investors in tourism are not satisfied with the current condition of tourism sector in the state. No doubt, the state possesses significant potential for tourism because of its favorable climate, enchanting valleys, verdant hillsides, and general natural beauty. When employed effectively, tourism may serve as a fundamental driver of economic development in the state. Nonetheless, it appears that no government or authority have prioritized tourism, despite its significant potential; rather, the tourism sector tends to be neglected and overlooked as compared to other sectors.

4.5. CAPACITY IN EDUCATION SECTOR

Political development of a nation is fundamentally dependent upon the quality of its human capital and the availability and utilization of its natural resources. The amount to which individuals can effectively utilize limited resources to produce quick development and innovative breakthroughs ultimately rests on their capabilities. Moreover, it is important to know that education plays an important role in defining the capabilities and abilities of an individual. Hence education serves as

⁶⁵The scholar interview Dr. R. Lalrinchhani at her office chamber on 20th March 2023 at 11:00 am.

⁶⁶Mr. H. Lalthianghlma is the President of MizoZirlai Pawl (MZP) the largest student organization in Mizoram.

⁶⁷The scholar interview Mr. H. Lalthianghlma at his office chamber on 5th November 2023 at 11:30 am.

the fundamental pillar of a nation assuming a pivotal role in the advancement of technology and the dissemination of diverse talents, values and awareness.⁶⁸

Today, nations encounter a multitude of challenges encompassing terrorism, discrimination, climate change, socio-economic deprivation and disparities based on gender. The implementation of a comprehensive education has the potential to effectively eliminate these issues and also fostering political development of a nation. Education possesses significant advantages, as children who receive education in the present will contribute to the formation of a highly cultured and ethically upright society in the future. The human cognitive capacity possesses significant potential for catalyzing transformative advancements within the society. Prioritizing education is the foremost importance to harness the advantages of human cognition. Also, education possesses the capacity to effectuate a profound transformation within an individual, endowing them with a newfound vantage point from which to perceive and comprehend their existence.⁶⁹

Education plays an important role in political development by shaping individuals knowledge, values and skills. This influence enables them to actively participate in the political process.⁷⁰ It also provides individuals with an understanding of the system including government structure, the rule of law and democratic principles. Education also raises awareness about issues and political challenges enabling individuals to understand communal issues. It can be said that through education people learn conflict resolution techniques and negotiation skills for participation in the political process. It also plays a crucial role in instilling values such as the importance of respecting individual rights, freedom of speech, tolerance and peaceful transfer of power which are important values for the foundation of political development. Education empowers individuals to understand media literacy skills that enable him/her to assess the quality and credible information. It also plays

⁶⁸*Importance of Education in Development*.<https://leverageedu.com>.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰*Education and Development*.<https://unesdoc.unesco.org>.

an important role in the progress of both the economy and society and its influence extends to stability and overall welfare of a given society.⁷¹

Education plays a crucial role in cultivating the necessary knowledge and understanding that are fundamental in maintaining optimal well-being and also achieving high levels of productivity. It offers viable solutions to significant issues and possesses the capacity to gradually alleviate multitude of troubles that society encounter. Again, it also provides individuals with the capacity to transform raw information into meaningful knowledge, a critical asset for problem-solving in society and in the state as a whole. A comprehensive education system has the potential to significantly reduce crime rates, poverty levels, unemployment rates and other social problems and issues. Furthermore, it is important to know that education plays a pivotal role in fostering both peace and prosperity which are the fundamental of political development. Thus, it can be said that it is a must for governments to prioritize education to increase its capacity and to achieve political development.⁷²

For instance, India possesses a multifaceted education system that effectively addresses the requirement of its substantial population. The education system is categorized into three levels: basic education, secondary education and higher education. The higher education system in India is among the largest globally, comprising more than 900 universities and 40,000 colleges. In the recent years, the Indian education system has made substantial advancements.⁷³ The government has implemented many measures to enhance the standard of education, including the enactment of the Right to Education Act-2009. This legislation ensures that all children between the ages of 6 to 14 get free and mandatory education.⁷⁴ The government implemented various reforms including the foundation of the University Grants Commission (UGC) and the implementation of free and mandatory primary education. Also, the government has implemented various measures to enhance secondary education including the Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA)

⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷³Abhinav, Praveen Kumar Sinha, S. Bhargavi, BT Ramesh & V NimishBhasu. (2023). Revitalizing India's Education System: A Pathway to National Development, An-overview. *Journal of Propulsion Technology*. Vol. 44 No.3 (2023). P- 313-315

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

programme. Additionally, the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) has been established to offer vocational training.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 has been introduced to cater the evolving requirements of the education system. The history of the Indian education system is extensive and also varied. It is shaped by various civilizations and cultures. Throughout the centuries, the Indian education system has experienced numerous transformations. Although there are still obstacles to overcome, the government's efforts and proactive engagements of educators and students may contribute to enhancing the inclusivity, accessibility and effectiveness of the system which will result to political development of the country.⁷⁶

Kerala is renowned for its exceptional literacy rate, which stands as the highest in the country. The state boasts a remarkable achievement for enrolment of all children in both primary and secondary schools. The educational landscape of Kerala comprises approximately 4.6 million students, 16,000 schools and 169,000 teachers indicating a favourable student-teacher ratio and student-school ratio. With a workforce of 20,000 individuals dedicated to non-teaching responsibilities, the teachers are relieved of the load of non-teaching or administrative tasks, allowing them to focus solely on their academic duties. A prominent initiative aimed at adult education, 'athulyam' played a significant role in facilitating the attainment of universal primary education in Kerala.⁷⁷

Also, with the initiative of the state government a significant shift of 235,000 students from private to public schools can be attributed to the effective implementation of PRISM (Promoting Regional Schools to International Standards through Multiple Interventions) and substantial funding allocated to elevate one school in each assembly constituency to meet international standards.⁷⁸ This clearly shows that effective measures taken by the government can improve the quality of

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷P.V. Happy. (2017). *Kerala Model Development in Education: An Analytical Study*. JETIR June 2017, Volume 4, Issue 6. P- 578-579.

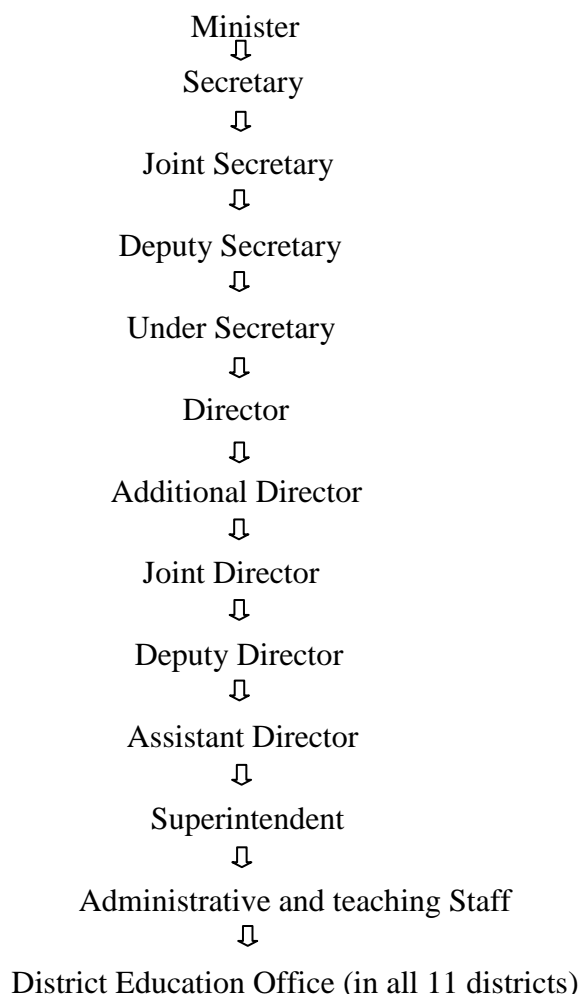
⁷⁸*Ibid.*

education in the state. Thus, looking at the present status of the state of Kerala it can be said that quality education can increase the capacity of the state and initiate political development.

4.5.1 CAPACITY AND EFFICIENCY OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION SECTOR

The Christian Mission oversaw Elementary Education in the Lushai Hill (the present Mizoram) from 1895-1952 through Honorary Inspector of Schools. The responsibility for managing Primary Education however rested with the District Council from 1953 to 1972. After Mizo hills was upgraded to a Union Territory namely Mizoram in 1972, the responsibility for the administration and supervision of Elementary Education, specifically Primary and Middle Schools, was handed to the Government of Mizoram. Since then, there has been a remarkable increase in quantity and quality of education.⁷⁹ Today, school education department is one the biggest department under the government and the administrative structure of the School Education, Govt. of Mizoram is given below.

⁷⁹B. Lalthangliana. (2021). *MizoChanchin (A short sccount of Mizo History)*. Author. Aizawl. P- 331-339



The study found that there are 14 administrative staff members under the Secretariat of the School Education Department, and 2 sanctioned administrative positions is lying vacant. On the other hand, the Directorate of School Education now employs 5,437 staff, with 4,496 sanctioned posts remaining vacant.⁸⁰ In other words, in the School Education Department only 54.74% (approximately) of the sanctioned post is filled and the remaining 45.26% of the sanctioned post is lying vacant. This is a serious case which needs to be address quickly. The issue of being short-staffed may result in unnecessary setbacks that could hinder different operations and programmes under the education department.

Moreover, the advancement in the field of education in Mizoram is the post independent period is remarkable. The progress was a result of the collaborative

⁸⁰Data extracted from *RtiOnlineMizoram* monitored by Mizoram Information Commission (MIC) on 22nd October 2024.

endeavors of the administration and the enthusiastic engagement of the Mizo community. Mizoram might be seen as a newcomer in the realm of general education. The literacy rate of Mizoram has steadily increased over the years. According to the 1901 census, the literacy rate was only 0.9%. By the 2001 census, it had risen to 88.80%. In the most recent 2011 census, Mizoram's literacy rate reached 91.33%. The School Education Department is committed to attaining universal literacy in the near future. The capacity of the department is evident from the budget allocation of the state. The budget allocation of the last five years in School Education Department is as follows:

Table 4.1.7

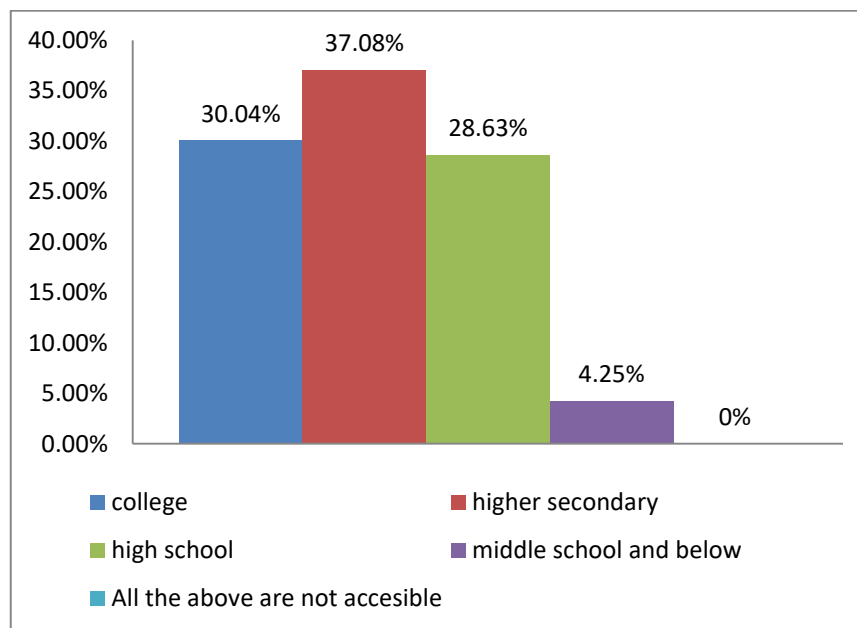
<i>Financial Year</i>	<i>General Budget (in lakhs)</i>	<i>Education budget (in lakhs)</i>
2019-2020	840551.99	158109.99 {18.81% from total} (social service sector- 318731.37)
2020-2021	920211.50	182956.91{19.88% from total} social service sector- 355331.97)
2021-2022	939838.43	178937.67{19.03% from total} (social service sector- 366541.57)
2022-2023	1018851.09	175874.58{17.26% from total} (social service sector- 395205.97)
2023-2024	1120075.78	183480.82 {16.38% from total} (social service sector- 407725.11)

Sources:- Annual Financial Statement, Govt. of Mizoram, 2019-2024.

The study reveals that the school education department receives one of the largest budget allocations among various departments under the Government of Mizoram. The budget allocation alone indicates that the government prioritizes the education sector. It can be said that amidst considerable criticism, the government is prioritizing school education in the state. The budget allocation for the education department has the potential to instigate socio-political changes in Mizo society, leading to the overall growth of the state. The study indicates that the school education department is among the most populous departments within the

Government of Mizoram and it can be said that it is having the capacity to bring positive change, growth and development in Mizoram. Nonetheless, it might be contended that financial allocation alone may insufficiently determine the state's ability of the state in the education sector.

Table. 4.1.8 Q. *Are government educational institutions easily available/accessible for you?*

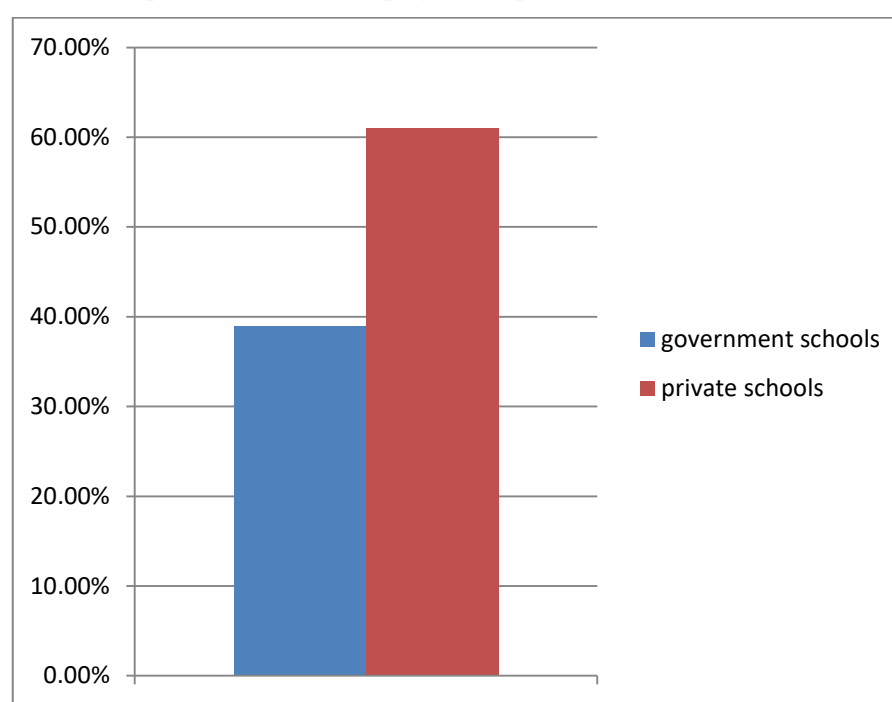


Sources: field work

The study shows that around one-third of the respondents (37.08%) reported easy access to higher secondary education (government schools) from their residences. Approximately one-third of the respondents (30.04%) stated that government-run college education is easily accessible from their residence. Some respondents (28.63%) indicated that they can visit government high schools from their homes without any difficulty. Only just a few of the respondents (4.25%) believe that government middle schools and below are readily accessible from their residences. (Table 4.1.8) The study shows that all respondents may readily access government-run educational institutions. This clearly demonstrates the presence of government departments particularly the school education department throughout the state. The respondents' easy access to government institutions indicates that the government is performing adequately in the education sector. Nonetheless, the state's actual capability in the education sector remains unclear. In relation to this Dr. R.

Lalthangliana⁸¹ said that, “From past to present I think every ministry have not neglected education in Mizoram, no matter which party come to power they all did a commendable job in the education sector but there will always be room for improvement.”⁸² On the same line, Mr. H. Lalthianghlina⁸³ argued that, “Indeed, the government is making commendable efforts in the education sector; but, I believe there are potential for improvement, and authorities should prioritize the education department and its progress.”⁸⁴

Table. 4.1.9. *Q Which type to school is your preferred option?*



Sources: Computed

The study indicates that more than half of the respondents (61.04%) favour private educational institutions. Conversely, almost half of the respondents (38.96%) preferred government schools. This indicates that government schools are not the first chosen institutions for the majority of respondents. This may be attributed to various factors, including academic outcomes, school infrastructure,

⁸¹Dr. R. Lalthangliana is the current Vice President of the Mizo National Front (MNF) party and former Health and Higher and Technical Department Minister of Mizoram.

⁸²The scholar interview Dr. R. Lalthangliana at MNF office on 9th July 2024 at 12:00 noon.

⁸³ Mr. H. Lalthianghlina is the present President of Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP). MZP is a popular student organization in Mizoram.

⁸⁴The scholar interview Mr. H. Lalthianghlina at his office chamber on 5th November 2023 at 11:30 am.

educational atmosphere, and commitment of the teachers, among others. (Table 4.1.9) Mr. Lalramthanga, Deputy Director of the Directorate of School Education, Government of Mizoram, stated, “In my opinion, the transfer and posting of teachers, as well as the hiring of substitute teachers, diminish the quality of government schools. This may be the primary reason why many choose private schooling”.⁸⁵

The study shows that the state has the capacity in education sector. It is clear that for majority of the respondents at least high school education can be easily access, which shows the availability of education in the state. This also shows the commitment of the authorities to provide education in the peripheral areas of the state. But after close analysis of the data, it can be said that majority of the total respondents have decided that private schools are their preferred option than government schools. So, from the study, it can be said that the state have the capacity in education sector to achieve social progress and development but there is still room for improvement. Also, the study shows that the public and community leaders are satisfied with the nature of education in Mizoram. On the other hand, they unanimously agreed that there is room for improvement in the school education department.

4.6. CONCLUSION

The capacity of the Government of Mizoram or the state government is not satisfactory in some department. The performance, efficiency and effectiveness of the government are missing. For example, the study reveals that majority of the respondents consider the initiative taken by both past and current authorities to the agriculture sector in the state is not enough. The limited budget allocation in the agriculture and allied sector may lead to the belief that authorities are inadequately handling agricultural challenges in the state. The lack of initiative and performance shows that economic self-sufficiency is not going to be achieved in the state. The shortage of staffs within the Secretariat and Directorate of Agriculture can be a sign of the department's and the government's inefficiency. Moreover, a significant finding of the study is that the majority of respondents disapprove of the socio-

⁸⁵The scholar interview Mr. Lalramthanga at his office chamber on 18th March 2023 at 11:00 am

economic policies enacted by successive governments. The primary disagreement among respondents over these policies may be due to the approaches and procedures for the selections of beneficiaries in the implementation of agricultural programmes and policies in the state.

The study shows that the capability and capacity of the government in the agriculture and allied sector is inadequate for achieving economic growth in the state. The Government of Mizoram failed to effectively utilize the capacities of experts and farmers to implement agriculture and allied sector policies and programmes for economic growth. Consequently, it may be asserted that the present situation of the agriculture sector in the state indicates the government's incompetence and it can be said that it falls short of public expectations. Achieving economic prosperity for the state through the agricultural sector alone will be challenging. The government and authorities must come up with a swift strategy to address the issue, as economic growth and advancement are vital for overall development of the state including political development.

The study finds that the present condition of the tourism sector in the state is inadequate and has substantial room for improvement. The state has considerable tourism potential because of its pleasant climate, scenic valleys, green hillsides, and overall natural beauty. When utilized successfully, tourism can act as an essential catalyst for economic development within the state. Nevertheless, it seems that no government or authority has promoted tourism, despite its extensive potential; instead, the tourism sector is often disregarded and overlooked in comparison to the other sectors. The budget allotment for the tourism department clearly indicates that it is neglected. The issue of manpower shortages in the tourism department requires immediate attention. The study shows that despite the state's inherent advantages and substantial potential to attract tourist, the ability of the tourism department and capacity to generate enough revenue for meaningful societal impact remains an unattainable goal.

The study shows the state possesses capabilities in the education sector to bring positive changes in Mizoram. Majority of respondents have easily accessible

high school education. This demonstrates the accessibility of education in the state and demonstrates the ability of the government to accomplish positive social transformations through the education sector. It also reflects the commitment of authorities and policy makers in delivering education in the most remote regions of the state. Another significant point is that the school education department possesses manpower advantages over other departments. This suggests that the education sector in Mizoram is equipped with the capability and capacity to bring about desirable transformations. But on the other hand, the study shows that education sector in the state still needs to improve in terms of providing quality service and infrastructure development particularly for government schools. The study proves that the state possesses the capacity within the education sector to facilitate social progress and development; nonetheless, there is potential for improvement. Thus, from the above study it can be said that the capacity of the state in three sector namely;- agriculture, tourism and education sector is revealed. Furthermore, differentiation and specialization of other sector is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER- V

DIFFERENTIATION AND SPECIALIZATION OF POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN MIZORAM

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Political development of a state is greatly determined by the differentiation and specialization of its political structures. Specialization is a strategic approach utilized by governments, organizations and businesses to enhance operational efficiency. It refers to a situation in which individuals concentrate on particular/specific job and receives training to carry out those tasks proficiently. It fosters the cultivation of advanced levels of expertise. Individuals who concentrate their efforts on certain segments are able to complete activities at a quicker pace and with greater efficiency compared to others who lack ability or specialization in that area. It can be said that specialization or differentiation is a suitable way of achieving political development. This method of specialization gives rise to the notion known as division of labour.¹

Division of labour means dividing a task into smaller parts, each of which is accomplished by a single person. It was introduced by Adam Smith in his celebrated book “An inquiry into the nature and causes of The Wealth of Nations” in 1746. Smith said that labour should be divided because the process of division made tasks simpler, easy to learn and enabled them to be quickly carried out. Today, the division of labour principle is still popular, particularly in governance, private corporations and manufacturing industries where tasks are carried out repeatedly on batches of products or continuously on a line. The continuing popularity of the idea is because, in spite of its drawbacks, there are many advantages. It promotes faster learning, it is easier to learn how to do a relatively short and simple task than a long and complex one and also automation becomes easier. Dividing a total task into small parts raises the possibility of automating some of those small tasks. This is

¹Loasby J. Brian (1996). The Division of Labour. *History of Economic Ideas*. Vol. 4- No. 1/2. P- 299-323.

probably the most important benefit of division of labour.² The present chapter (chapter 5) focuses on the differentiation and specialization among agencies under the government of Mizoram. It studies how these specialization and differentiation of works among various departments leads to social development which will lead to socio-economic development and which will ultimately lead to political development. However, the main focus is on the contributions made by two departments or sectors (health and sports sector) in the course of political development in Mizoram. The rationale behind the selection of these departments is that both are regarded as the social service sector and are also among the highest budget allocated sector in the 2023-2024 Mizoram budget.³ It can be said that these departments are specialist departments under the Government of Mizoram because maintaining and working under these departments requires technical knowledge.

5.2. SPECIALIZATION IN HEALTH DEPARTMENT

Currently, the healthcare industry is seeing rapid growth, maintaining a consistent pace even in the face of economic stagnation. Globally, the expansion of this industry is driven by the increasing presence of hospitals, medical device producers, clinical research organizations, outsourcing firms, telemedicine providers, medical tourists, health insurance companies, and medical equipment makers. Furthermore, the sustained increase in growth is attributed to the endeavours of both public and private entities to enhance investments and enhance networks, services, and coverage.⁴ Prioritizing the health and well-being of all individuals is crucial for effectively eliminating poverty and promoting economic and political growth for many communities. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, good health is considered an inherent human right.⁵ This is because it enables individuals to achieve their maximum capabilities, facilitates the learning abilities of the

²David Bennett. (2015). *Division of Labour*. P-1-2 <https://www.researchgate.net>.

³. annual-financial-statement-2024-25.pdf. P- 3. <https://finance.mizoram.gov.in>

⁴Grace Spencer, J. Hope Corbin & Esther Miedema.(2019). Sustainable development goals for health promotion. *Health Promotion International*. Vol.34, No.4 (August 2019), P-847-858. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48517864>

⁵*Universal Declaration of Human Rights- The United Nations*. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>.

children, enhances' productivity of the workers, and enables parents to provide better care for their children. Additionally, it serves as a crucial metric for measuring the political development of a country: a nation with a robust population is more prone to achieving long-term economic expansion. Optimal health is crucial for the stability of entire areas, as pandemics, which beyond national boundaries, can inflict significant social and economic consequences on families and communities, and can exacerbate the strain on healthcare systems. While there has been substantial progress in global health over the past few decades, the distribution of these improvements has been unequal both within and between countries. A significant proportion of the global population, numbering in the hundreds of millions, still lacks access to fundamental healthcare services, particularly in rural regions and the most economically disadvantaged communities.⁶

The COVID-19 pandemic has emerged as the most consequential public health disaster in over a hundred years, leading to a worldwide economic downturn and stagnated growth and also enduring consequences throughout the world. The COVID-19 pandemic caused fatalities, and a significant number of individuals experienced prolonged physical and/or mental consequences as a result of the virus. The healthcare systems are facing challenges in recovering from the extensive disruption caused by the pandemic. These unfavourable consequences highlight the importance of making intelligent investments to enhance the ability of health systems to withstand and recover from challenges. This includes safeguarding the overall health of the population, reinforcing the fundamental components of health systems, and supporting frontline healthcare workers. By doing so, countries can be better equipped to respond to not only emerging pandemics but also other unexpected disruptions, whether they are caused by nature or human actions. The benefits derived from such expenditures extend well beyond the immediate health advantages. Resilient health systems are essential for building stronger and more resilient economies and also for ensuring consistent political development. They offer significant economic and societal advantages by preventing the necessity for

⁶*Health and Development*.<https://www.international.gc.ca>.

strict and expensive containment measures during crises, while also fostering healthier and better-prepared populations.⁷

Here it can be mentioned that, an effective healthcare system is crucial for alleviating the financial strain on families and fostering national development. As per the OCED Observer, a robust healthcare system is essential for a thriving economy. Their research indicates that a modest 10% rise in life expectancy leads to an annual economic gain of approximately 0.4%. Developed and Developing nations are increasingly recognizing the significance of healthcare and life expectancy as factors contributing to economic and political progress. But this is not the case for all countries or nations where some of them still neglected allocation of resources towards healthcare infrastructure. Presently, the expenses associated with medical care and facilities in numerous nations have notably decreased.⁸At the same time, there is debate on the merits of mandating individuals to spend on healthcare vs providing healthcare subsidies. The practice of individuals paying for hospitalization expenses directly from their own funds has resulted in significant financial pressures for entire populations, leading to the emergence of poverty and hence stagnation of political development. Conversely, the provision of subsidies has elicited complaints from numerous private entities, resulting in diminished effectiveness, instances of corruption, and a lack of competitiveness. Policymakers must carefully navigate and maintain a delicate equilibrium while addressing these matters.⁹

The government particularly the health care sector should prioritize investing in people as the main criterion for assessing their success. The advent of technology has significantly expanded the possibilities for assisting individuals, prompting numerous pharmaceutical corporations to establish their own service agency in order to cater to the needs of the vulnerable population. Indeed, some nations have achieved success in effectively engaging with the rural populace,

⁷*Investing in health systems to protect society and boost the economy: Priority investments and order-of-magnitude cost estimate.* <https://www.oecd.org>.

⁸*How the health care industry is contributing to economy.* <https://www.trivitron.com>.

⁹Bradley David, Sandy Cairncross, Andy Haines and Carolyn Stephens.(2001). *Health and Sustainable Development*.International Institute for Environment and Development.P- 1-2.<https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep16607>

enhancing their healthcare services, and making significant contributions to the economic development of the region. Also, other healthcare organizations should emulate these pharmaceutical corporations by initiating their own outreach activities. This will enable individuals to take charge of their own health and make positive contributions to the nation's economic and political development.¹⁰

Policymakers must prioritize the transformation of the perception of people on the healthcare corporations from just markets to valuable growth partners. This will facilitate the enhancement of healthcare accessibility, affordability, and availability. Currently, high-quality healthcare is still a privilege that is primarily concentrated in urban areas. Indeed, majority of the individuals in most developing nations reside in rural regions where healthcare accessibility is limited. The extremely low ratio of doctors to patients in rural areas of most developing countries continues to be a worrying issue.¹¹ Technology, government initiatives, and community participation are crucial factors in providing a comprehensive outlook for healthcare organizations. In connection to the above the Aspirational District Programme (ADP) implemented by the Government of India aims to empower communities in rebuilding their lives. The programme actively engages with over 200 million individuals, which accounts for around 15% of the population of India, in order to foster a sense of ownership and accountability for their own well-being and societal development. Currently, ADP significantly contributes to the reduction of maternal mortality rate and the management of other communicable diseases in the nation. Another significant aspect of ADP is the accelerated pace of economic growth taking place in many parts of the country. It serves as evidence that individual health and economic well-being are closely interconnected.¹²

¹⁰Sulzhan Bali & Jessica Taaffe. (2017). The Sustainable Development Goals and the Global Health Security Agenda: exploring synergies for a sustainable and resilient world. *Journal of Public Health Policy*. Vol. 38, No. 2 (May 2017), P- 257-268. <https://www.jstor.org/stable>

¹¹Pratyush Kumar & Raman Kumar. (2018). Rural Health Scenario- Role of family medicine. *Journal of Family Medicine and Primary Care*. Vol. 7. Issue 6: November-December 2018. P- 1158. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>

¹²aspirational-districts-programme-List of 112 Aspirational Districts. <https://www.niti.gov.in>.

The Government of India is showing their best effort to improve the health sector by implementing health policies from time to time. One of the latest being the National Health Policy (NHP) 2017. The main objective of the National Health Policy, 2017, is to provide guidance, enhance, and prioritize the role of the government in shaping comprehensive health systems. This includes investments in healthcare, organization of healthcare services, disease prevention, promotion of good health through collaborative efforts across sectors, access to advanced technologies, development of healthcare professionals, promotion of medical diversity, knowledge advancement, implementation of improved financial protection strategies, and reinforcement of regulation and health assurance.¹³

The National Health Policy (NHP) of 1983 and the National Health Policy of 2002 have effectively provided guidance for the health sector in the implementation of the Five-Year Plans. The circumstances have undergone significant changes after NHP in four key aspects. Initially, the health priorities are undergoing a transformation. While the rates of mother and child mortality have decreased significantly, there remains an increasing burden caused by non-communicable diseases and certain infectious diseases. The second significant transformation is the rise of a resilient healthcare sector projected to experience double-digit growth. One significant development is the increasing occurrences of catastrophic expenditure caused by healthcare costs, which are currently recognized as a major factor in poverty. Furthermore, an increasing economic growth results in a strengthened budgetary capacity. Hence, there is a need for a novel health strategy that can effectively adapt to these contextual changes.¹⁴

Likewise, the main objective of the National Health Policy, 2017, is to enhance and prioritize the role of the Government in various aspects of health systems. This includes investing in health, organizing healthcare services, preventing diseases, promoting good health through cross-sectoral actions, ensuring access to technologies, developing human resources, supporting medical pluralism, building a knowledge base, implementing improved financial protection strategies,

¹³*National Health Policy-2017*.<https://main.mohfw.gov.in>.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

strengthening regulation, and providing health assurance. The publication "Backdrop to National Health Policy 2017- Situation Analyses" from the Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Government of India, has recorded the progress made in this area.¹⁵

The primary goal of the NHP 2017 is to enhance the overall health condition by implementing coordinated policy measures across all sectors. It aims to broaden the scope of preventative, promotive, curative, palliative, and rehabilitative services offered through the public health sector, with a specific emphasis on ensuring high quality standards. The national health policy places emphasis on meeting the primary healthcare requirements of the urban population, particularly those who are economically disadvantaged and reside in designated or non-designated slums. It also aims to cater to other vulnerable groups such as the homeless, rag-pickers, street children, rickshaw pullers, construction workers, sex workers, and temporary migrants.¹⁶ The policy aims to achieve optimal health and well-being for every Indian citizen, regardless of age, by prioritizing preventive and promoting health care in all developmental policies. It also seeks to ensure universal access to high-quality health care services, without imposing financial burdens on individuals. This objective can be accomplished by enhancing accessibility, enhancing the standard, and reducing the expenses associated with providing healthcare services. The policy acknowledges the crucial significance of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The policy targeted specific goals that are time-bound and are in line with both national and global strategic directions. Some key principles of the NHP 2017 are explained below. They are:

Professionalism, Integrity and Ethics: The health policy is dedicated to upholding the utmost professional standards, integrity, and ethics throughout the whole healthcare system in the country. This commitment is reinforced by a reliable, transparent, and accountable regulatory framework.

Equity: The reduction of inequity would involve using affirmative action measures to specifically target the most economically disadvantaged individuals. It

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

would involve reducing inequality based on gender, poverty, caste, disability, other types of social exclusion, and geographical obstacles. This would include more investments and enhanced financial safeguards for the impoverished individuals who bear the greatest burden of illness.

Affordability: The expenditure of health care facilities including medicine is very costly. Unacceptable household health care expenditures are defined as health expenses that surpass 10% of the total monthly consumption expenditure or 40% of the monthly non-food consumption expenditure. The NHP 2017 aims to provide affordable health care for the public

Universality: Universality refers to the principle of preventing exclusions based on social, economic, or current health status. It is envisioned that systems and services will be developed to accommodate the whole population, including individuals belonging to special groups.

Patient Centered & Quality of Care: The goal of the NHP 2017 is to deliver healthcare services that are gender-sensitive, effective, safe, and convenient, while maintaining dignity and confidentiality. It is necessary to develop and distribute standards and guidelines for all types of healthcare institutions, as well as establish a mechanism to guarantee that the quality of healthcare is not compromised.

Accountability: Accountability encompasses the principles of financial and performance responsibility, as well as the promotion of transparency in decision-making processes and the eradication of corruption within health care systems, whether they are public or private.

Inclusive Partnerships: A collaborative strategy involving the active involvement and engagement of all non-health ministries and communities. This strategy would involve forming collaborations with academic institutions, non-profit organizations, and the healthcare industry.

Pluralism: Patients are permitted to utilize AYUSH healthcare professionals who wish to do so and when suitable that practice local, home, and

community-based methods that have been recorded and validated. These systems would receive Government funding in research and supervision to enhance their contribution to achieving national health goals and objectives through integrative practices.

Decentralization: Decentralization refers to the transfer of decision-making authority to a level that is feasible and aligned with the capabilities of the institution. Furthermore, it is imperative to encourage community engagement in health planning processes.

Dynamism and Adaptiveness: The organization of health care is designed to constantly improve and adapt depending on new information and evidence. This is achieved through learning from communities and collaborating with national and international knowledge partners.¹⁷

The Policy also aims to maximize the utilization of current human resources and infrastructure in the health sector. It encourages partnerships with non-governmental organizations on a voluntary basis to provide healthcare services through a health card. This will ensure that every family has access to a doctor of their preference from the pool of volunteers. To guarantee enhanced availability and reasonable cost of high-quality secondary and tertiary healthcare services, a comprehensive approach will be adopted. This approach will involve the utilization of public hospitals and strategic procurement of services from private care providers, particularly those who operate on a not-for-profit basis, in areas where there is a shortage of healthcare resources. Attaining a substantial decrease in the amount of money individuals have to pay directly for healthcare expenses and attaining a decrease in the percentage of households facing extreme healthcare costs that lead to financial hardship and impoverishment.¹⁸

The NHP (2017) also enhances the confidence of the general public in the public healthcare system by establishing a reliable, streamlined, patient-focused,

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Ibid*

cost-effective, and impactful system that offers a wide range of services and goods to address the immediate healthcare requirements of the majority of individuals. Also the NHP (2017) aims at coordinating the expansion of the private health care industry with the objectives of public health. It also shaped the functioning and expansion of the private health care industry and medical technology to guarantee they are in line with public health objectives. It promotes private sector involvement in enhancing the effectiveness, efficiency, rationality, safety, affordability, and ethicality of health care systems. The Government's strategic procurement of essential resources for public health facilities would generate a need for services provided by the private healthcare sector, in accordance with the objectives of public health. The goals and objectives are in line with the policy direction to achieve sustainable development in the health sector.¹⁹ India's efforts to improve and promote the health sector are evident from the aforementioned factors. These initiatives aim to improve the living conditions of the people, ultimately ensuring political development in the country.

The Government of India implemented a significant welfare project known as the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) on 12 April 2005 in order to prioritize the development of health sector. Initially, it was launched in 18 states with poor public health indicators and infrastructure; it was later expanded to cover the entire country. The conceptual build-up to the mission was characterized by a range of systemic flaws in the health system. The issues encompassed a lack of comprehensive approach, a lack of connections with related health factors, a significant shortage of infrastructure and personnel, a lack of community involvement and responsibility, a failure to integrate specialized disease control programs, a lack of responsiveness, and a shortage of financial resources.²⁰ The NRHM aims at delivering accessible, cheap, and high-quality healthcare to the rural population, particularly the vulnerable segments. It can be said that the main

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰Deoki Nanda. (2010). National Rural Health Mission: Turning into reality. *Indian Journal of Community Medicine*. Vol 35/Issue 4/October 2010. P- 453.

objective of NRHM is to ensure fair, accessible, and high-quality healthcare services for the rural population, with a particular focus on vulnerable groups.²¹

The NRHM has prioritized the Empowered Action Group (EAG) States, together with the North Eastern States, Jammu and Kashmir, and Himachal Pradesh. The primary focus of the mission is to establish a comprehensive, community-driven, decentralized health delivery system that incorporates collaboration across different sectors at all levels. This will enable simultaneous efforts to address various factors that influence health, including water, sanitation, education, nutrition, and social and gender equality. The anticipated objective of institutional integration in the fragmented health sector was to establish a clear focus on achieving results, as assessed against the Indian Public Health Standards for all healthcare facilities.²²

The government initiated the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) with the aim of delivering accessible, cheap, and high-quality healthcare services to the rural population, particularly the vulnerable segments. The essential components necessary to accomplish the objectives of the Mission encompass establishing a fully operational and responsible public health delivery system that is answerable to the community, managing human resources effectively, engaging the community, decentralizing operations, conducting thorough monitoring and evaluation based on established standards, integrating health and related programs starting from the village level, implementing innovative and adaptable financing methods, and implementing interventions to enhance health indicators.²³

The NRHM utilized five primary strategies to tackle these problems – communitization, adaptable funding, enhanced management through capacity development, measuring advancements against benchmarks, and innovations in human resource management, which became the central focus. The continued process of decentralization, accompanied by convergence, greatly facilitated the establishment of a community-based health care system. The establishment of the Village Health and Sanitation Committee (VHSC) and its integration into the district

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

plan has been a key component of decentralization. This committee serves as the main instrument for planning, inter-sectoral convergence, implementation, and monitoring. There are over 451,000 functional VHSCs in operation throughout the country. Efforts are being made to ensure that all initiatives come together and align at both the village and facility level. An effort is being made to effectively incorporate health issues with other factors that influence health, such as sanitation and hygiene, nutrition, and access to safe drinking water, through the district health plan. Local accountability in program implementation is being sought through the activation of Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs), self-help organizations, and health, nutrition, and sanitation committees.²⁴

Coming to Mizoram, the Government of Mizoram implemented the Mizoram Health Insurance Scheme (MHIS) in April 2008. The purpose was to address the lack of accessibility in healthcare. It was initially implemented as collaboration between the public and commercial sectors, but later shifted to a self-funded model. The implementation of the Mizoram State Health Care Scheme (MSHCS) by the Mizoram government in April 2008 was a significant move towards improving the availability of medical care, especially for conditions that require hospitalization and surgery.²⁵ The primary aim of this health insurance plan is to reduce the financial strain caused by medical costs, offering coverage of up to ₹2 lakh under MSHCS and ₹3 lakh when combined with Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY). Originally formed as collaboration between the Mizoram government, an insurance organization, a third-party administrator, and a network of authorized hospitals, the program faced dissatisfaction and doubt due to the perceived lack of concern and inflexibility of insurance providers in handling claims.²⁶

As a result, from 2011, the healthcare system in Mizoram has shifted to a self-funded model. The Mizoram State Health Care Society (MSHCS) has been

²⁴*Ibid.* P- 453.

²⁵Mizoram Health Care Scheme.P-2-3.<https://health.mizoram.gov.in/uploads/attachments/2022/02/425409dd34b9eb6854f41b00523614d1/healthcareleaflet-2022.pdf>.

²⁶*Ibid.* P- 2-3.

responsible for implementing the Rashtriya Swasthya BimaYojana (RSBY Mizoram).²⁷ The primary focus of the scheme is on the individuals who do not have health insurance coverage. It aims to address the urgent need to reduce financial obstacles that prevent people from accessing important healthcare services. Before the establishment of the Mizoram healthcare program, disadvantaged populations frequently relied on borrowing, selling assets, or completely skipping medical treatment highlighting the scheme's importance in lowering financial barriers to accessing primary healthcare.²⁸

The Health and Family Welfare Department (H&FW Dept.), Government of Mizoram, in collaboration with the World Bank, is implementing the 'Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project' (MHSSP) to enhance the health condition of the people of Mizoram. The inauguration of the Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project took place on 3rd September, 2021. The Health and Family Welfare Department (H&FW Dept.), under the Government of Mizoram, is now carrying out the Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project (MHSSP) with assistance from the World Bank. The main objective of this project is to enhance the overall health condition of the people in the state. The primary objective of the MHSSP is to enhance the managerial proficiency and improve the standard of healthcare facilities in Mizoram.²⁹

Another objective of the MHSSP is to enhance the managerial proficiency and improve the standard of healthcare services in Mizoram. The project entails a financial commitment of \$32 million to enhance the administrative capabilities and enhance the standard of healthcare services in Mizoram, with a specific focus on addressing the needs of underserved regions and marginalized populations. The initiative aims to enhance the governance and management structure of the Department of Health and Family Welfare (H&FW) and its subsidiaries. Additionally, it aims to enhance the caliber and extent of services provided by the health systems of the state government. It also allocates resources

²⁷*Ibid.* P- 2-3.

²⁸*Ibid.* P- 2-3.

²⁹*Mizoram Health System Strengthening Project (MHSSP)*.<https://health.mizoram.gov.in>

towards a comprehensive Quality Assurance program that would facilitate the certification of health institutions based on their quality.³⁰

Besides, its main objective is to enhance the efficiency of the state health insurance program. It is establish to connect with the Government of India's Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojna (PMJAY), and consequently decrease financial obstacles in obtaining hospital services. This helps to prevent impoverished families from incurring overwhelming out-of-pocket expenses for healthcare and extend the scope of coverage. The Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project provides advantages to the population residing in all districts in Mizoram. Furthermore, this initiative enhances the capabilities of healthcare professionals in the secondary and primary levels of the health sector. It will bolster their ability to plan and manage effectively, while also improving their clinical skills and competences.³¹

The health condition of Mizoram is a combination of positive and negative results in comparison to national averages. There are notable differences between urban and rural areas, and there is a growing prevalence of non-communicable diseases (NCDs). In the year 2019-20, the rate of death among children under the age of five in Mizoram was 24 per 1,000 live births. Additionally, the proportion of under-five children who experienced stunted growth was 28.9 percent, which saw a little increase compared to the previous survey conducted in 2014-15. Non-Communicable Diseases in adults contribute to about 50 percent of the illness burden in the state. The Mizoram government has increased its dedication to the healthcare sector. In 2015-16, the North-Eastern states allocated the greatest proportion of their total state government expenditure, 8.3 percent, to health expenditure.³²

In relation to the above health sector issues the MHSSP aims to enhance the overall health of the population by establishing a flexible healthcare system that offers safeguards against illness and financial burdens associated with healthcare

³⁰*New World Bank Project to improve Healthcare Services in Mizoram, India.*
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2021/03/31/new-world-bank-project-to-improve-healthcare-services-in-mizoram-india>.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²*Ibid.*

expenses. It employs a holistic strategy, consisting of three distinct components that should be recognized as integral parts of the overall system's approach. The aforementioned demonstrates the government and authorities' diligent efforts to deliver optimal healthcare services to the population.³³

5.2.1 HEALTH SECTOR IN MIZORAM

Modern health care system in Mizoram was introduced by the British administration. It is one of the oldest operational departments in the State. According to existing documents, a destitute treatment camp was set up in Aizawl in 1894. The camp was housed in a tent and catered to laborers, commonly known as "coolies". In 1896, this was subsequently enhanced to a fully operational dispensary. Later that year, Aizawl Hospital became operational with a capacity of 20 beds, while Champhai Dispensary had 8 beds. In 1920, an additional 8 dispensaries with 6 beds each were established at Kolasib, Sairang, Lunglei, Champhai, N. Vanlaiphai, Sialsuk, Tlabung, Vahai, and Tuipang.³⁴ This shows that health infrastructure was one of the main concerns right from the British period.

It can be remembered here that Dr. E. Christian Harr, Surgeon Captain, held the position of the initial Civil Surgeon of Lushai Hills. The handwritten entry, dated November 22nd, 1896, is visible in the "Inspection Book, Champhai Dispensary, from 1896 to 1973," which is archived by the Health Department. In 1947, when India gained independence, there was a hospital in Aizawl with a capacity of 36 beds, along with the above stated dispensaries. Mizoram faced a severe scarcity of doctors and pharmacists due to its status as a district of Assam. The Health Services organization was led by a Civil Surgeon stationed in Aizawl, with the assistance of a Sub-Divisional Medical Officer stationed in Lunglei. Upon the establishment of the Mizoram District Council in 1952, an additional hospital, 7 Public Health Dispensaries, 3 Primary Health Centres, and 7 Traveling Dispensaries

³³About MSSP. <https://www.mzhssp.in/about>.

³⁴History- Evolution of Health Service in Mizoram. <https://health.mizoram.gov.in>

were established. However, several Dispensaries/Traveling Dispensaries were non-operational during the civil unrest in the State.³⁵

Today, the Health Department under the government of Mizoram is divided into two different directorates: the Directorate of Health Services (DHS) and the Directorate of Hospital & Medical Education (DHME). Each entity has its own distinct budget. The two Directorates are coordinated and integrated under the Principal Director at the State level. The Directorate of Health Services (DHS) is responsible for overseeing rural healthcare facilities such as Community Health Centres (CHCs), Primary Health Centres (PHCs), Sub-Centres (SCs), and Rural Hospital in Tlabung. Similarly, the Civil Hospital in Aizawl, Kulikawn Hospital, and all the district hospitals fall under the authority of the Directorate of Hospital & Medical Education.³⁶ The District Health Services (DHS) is represented by the Chief Medical Officer (CMO), whereas the District Health Medical Establishment (DHME) is represented by the Medical Superintendent. Furthermore, the Aizawl District has been operationally segregated into Aizawl East and Aizawl West districts for the purpose of providing health services. Each district is led by a Chief Medical Officer (CMO). At the State level, the two Directors receive assistance from Programme Officers, Deputy Directors (Administrators), an Executive Engineer and their team, Medical Officers, Research Officers, Finance & Accounts Officers, Officer Superintendent, and both ministerial and contractual staff.³⁷

The health services in Mizoram are currently delivered in 12 district hospitals, 1 tertiary hospital, 5 sub-district hospitals, 9 community health centers, 8 urban primary health centers under the National Health Mission (NHM), 81 health centers, 372 sub-centers, and 148 health clinics that are scattered throughout the state.³⁸ Various types of technical and non-technical personnel collaborate in a synchronized endeavor to fulfill the objectives and tasks of the Health Department. In 2004, the Health & Family Welfare Department was divided into two separate

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *About us-Directorates*. <https://health.mizoram.gov.in>

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

departments: Health Services and Hospital & Medical Education Department. The Principal Director is in charge of these departments. Health Services operates as an independent Directorate overseeing rural health facilities such as the Principal Medical Office, Kulikawn, Community Health Centres (CHCs), Health and Wellness centres, Sub-Centres (SCs), Rural Hospital in Tlabung, and all District Medical Offices. Aizawl District has been separated into two districts, Aizawl East and Aizawl West, for the purpose of delivering health services. Each district is led by a Senior Chief Medical Officer (Sr.CMO). Moreover, the study shows that there are 1783 administrative and technical staffs under Directorate of Health Services.

On the other hand, there is a separate Directorate responsible for overseeing Medical Institutions, Teaching Hospitals, and other related matters know as Directorate of Hospital & Medical Education.³⁹ The study finds that under this directorate currently there are 716 staffs. Out of which there are 568 administrative and technical staff under the health directorate and the remaining 148 sanction posts is lying vacant.⁴⁰ it means 20.67% (approximately) of the sanction post is lying vacant in the Directorate of Hospital and Medical Education. So it can be said that under Health and Family welfare department in Mizoram there are 2499 administrative and technical staffs. In addition, it can be said that it is the tasked and obligation of these staffs of executing educational, instructional, and research initiatives in the field of medicine, as well as providing patient care services in Mizoram. Furthermore, the Director of Health Services is assisted by the following staff:-

1. Addl. Director of Health Services (Plan)
2. Addl. Director of Health Services (Malaria)
3. Addl. Director of Health Services (Family Welfare)
4. Joint Director (Food & Drugs)
5. Joint Director (Accounts)
6. Joint Director (Malaria)
7. Joint Director (State Leprosy)

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰Data extracted from *RtiOnlineMizoram* monitored by Mizoram Information Commission (MIC) on 22nd October 2024.

8. Joint Director (Blindness)
9. Joint Director (General)
10. Deputy Director (Administration)
11. State Mass Media Officer
12. Program Officer (Reproductive and Child Health)
13. Deputy. Director (AYUSH)
14. Program Officer (State Medicinal Plants Board)
15. State TB Officer
16. Dy. Director (Administration)
17. Executive Engineer, PWD
18. State Nodal Officer (Training)
19. Program Officer (Expanded Programme of Immunization)
20. Program Officer (Integrated Disease Surveillance Programme)
21. Assistant Director (SH)
22. Deputy. Director (Food & Drugs)
23. State Nodal Officer, Training
24. Assistant Director (Food & Drugs)
25. Programme Officer (Stats/Planning)
26. Assistant Director (Nursing)
27. Research Officer
28. Superintendent

Additionally, Hospital & Medical Education is headed by a Director and he/she is assisted at the State headquarters by the following personnel.

1. Joint Director of Medical Education (Planning)
2. Joint Director of Medical Education (D)
3. Joint Director of Medical Education (Establishment)
4. Joint Director (Nursing)
5. Deputy. Director (Nursing)
6. Deputy Director (Administration)
7. Programme Officer (National Programme for Prevention & Control of Cancer, Diabetes, Cardiovascular Diseases & Stroke/Non-Communicable Disease)
8. State Nodal Officer, Oral Prog
9. State Nodal Officer (Clinical Establishment)
10. Programme Officer, Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques
11. Programme Officer (Mental)

12. Deputy. Director (P)
13. Research Officer
14. Finance Account Officer
15. Assistant Director (Nursing)
17. Assistant Engineer
18. Superintendent

The lines clearly show that health services and hospital and medical education services have a well organized administrative structure. Moreover, the Health department followed a well designed functional specialization structure. Here it is important to mention that health and wealth are connected and health must be prioritized to ensure socio-economic development in the state."Health is wealth" emphasizes the significance of a healthy body as a cornerstone for a satisfying and effective social life. Prioritizing health enhances both personal and social well-being, leading to a more fulfilling life. Moreover, a more fulfilling livelihood relates to socio-economic developments which have an impact on political development in the state. So, it is a fact that health and services department must be prioritized by authorities for the overall development of the state. On the other hand the following is the budget allocation of the past five years in the health sector.

Table 5.1.1

<i>Financial Year</i>	<i>General Budget (in lakhs)</i>	<i>Health(both health service and hospital and medical education) services (in lakhs)</i>
2019-2020	840551.99	56145.37 {6.67% from total} (social service sector- 318731.37)
2020-2021	920211.50	62632.39{6.80% from total} social service sector- 355331.97)
2021-2022	939838.43	59597.36{6.34% from total} (social service sector- 366541.57)
2022-2023	1018851.09	60549.59{5.94% from total} (social service sector- 395205.97)
2023-2024	1120075.78	63436.54 {5.66% from total} (social service sector- 407725.11)

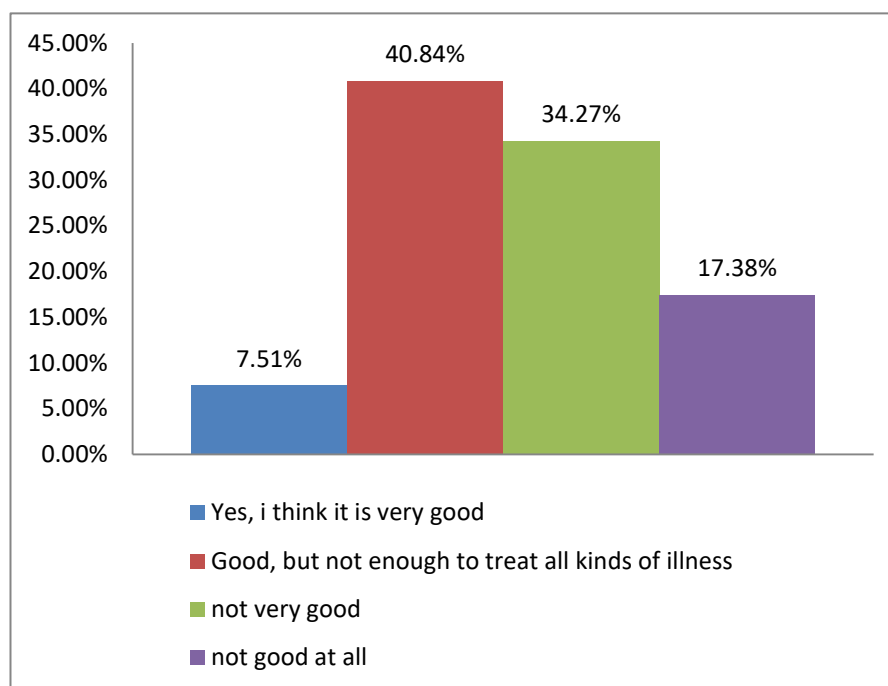
Sources:- Annual Financial Statement, Govt. of Mizoram, 2019-2024.

The above table shows the budget allocation of the Health and Family Welfare department Government of Mizoram. It can be said that the health department budget allocation is not satisfactory. The allocation in the past five years hardly crossed even 7% of the total budget. This shows that the government is not prioritizing health sector in the state. It is important to note that the negligence of the health sector have a negative impact on the socio-economic conditions of the people in the state. In this connection the study find out that nearly half the total respondents (40.84%) believed that the government health facilities are quite good but not enough to treat all types of illness. Moreover, one-third of the respondents (34.27%) are of the view that the facilities are not good enough. On the other hand some of the respondents (17.38%) thought that health facilities managed by the government are not good at all. While few respondents (7.51%) believed that these government facilities are good enough to treat all types of illness. (Table 5.1.2). It indicates that just a small number of the respondents think that the health infrastructure provided by the government is very good. It is a reflection of how authorities and policy-makers are dealing with health infrastructure in the state. Regarding this matter Mr. Lalrindika Ralte⁴¹ expressed his dismay regarding the neglect of the health sector in Mizoram by several ministries, he said that, “If this situation continues, the future of the health sector will be bleak and will fail to meet the needs of the people.”⁴²

⁴¹Lalrindika Ralte is a former Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) in Mizoram and member of the Congress Party in Mizoram.

⁴²The scholar interview Mr. Lalrindika Ralte at his resident on 27th April 2023 at 11:00 pm.

Table 5.1.2. Q. Please express your opinion on the state Government's health and medical facilities available in the state. Do you think that it is good enough to treat all types of illness?



Sources: Computed

Actually, the infrastructure for health sector is not satisfactory. The state is lacking behind in terms of medical infrastructure. It is important to note that in the year 2023 the state authority referred 3094 cases outside the state.⁴³ This clearly shows that hospitals in the state (both private and government hospitals) are not well equipped to treat different types of illness. It means that people are spending a profound amount of money outside the state for medical treatment. Another important example is that one patient (who opted to hide her identity) from Dinthar Locality⁴⁴ who is suffering from SLE {(systemic lupus erythematosus) a disease which causes the immune system to attack tissues and organs} had her medical treatment at Indraprastha Apollo Hospital, New Delhi from 9th November-17th

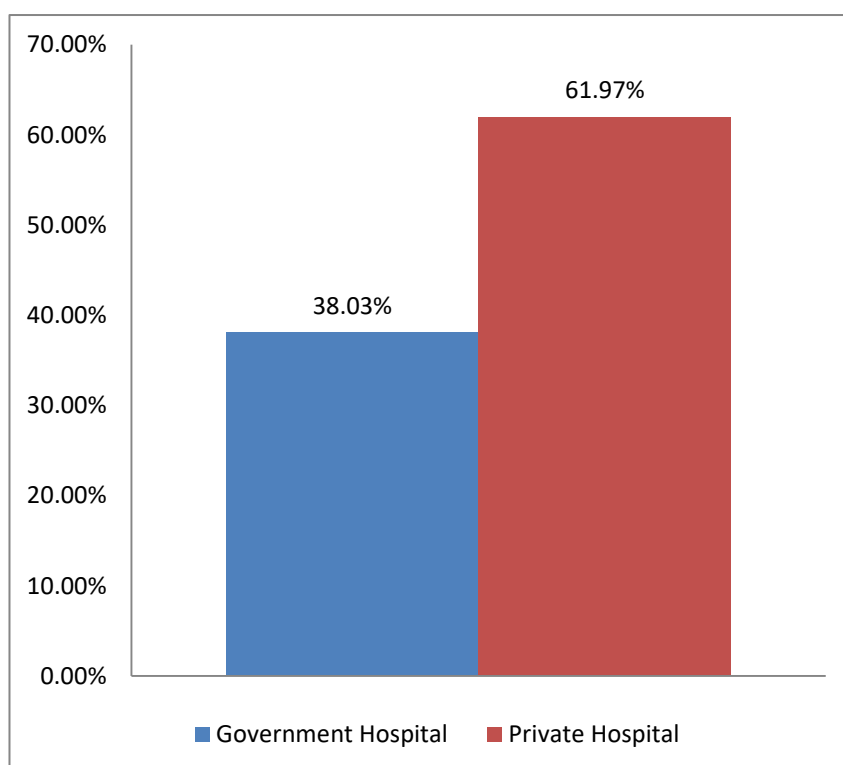
⁴³Data extracted from *Health and Family Welfare Department Office, Government of Mizoram, MINECO Khatla* on 3rd November 2024.

⁴⁴Dinthar Locality is located in the western part of Aizawl, the capital of Mizoram.

November 2023. Their medical expenses within 8 days of treatment and checkup amounts to Rs. 299077 lakhs.⁴⁵

Furthermore, the patient expresses that SLE patient in Mizoram formed a small informal group through social media⁴⁶ and from that she came to learn that during 2023, 64 SLE patients were refer outside the state for treatment. Also, it is important to note that all SLE patients in the state are referred outside that state. It is because there is no super-specialize hospital in Mizoram. As a result, many government employees (both centre & state) went outside the state for medical treatment. This shows that medical facilities in the state are not enough to treat different types of illness. More importantly, it also means that every year a huge amount of money is use for medical treatment in medical facilities outside the state

Table 5.1.3. *Q. for treating illness or hospitalization, what do you prefer, Government Hospital or Private hospital?*



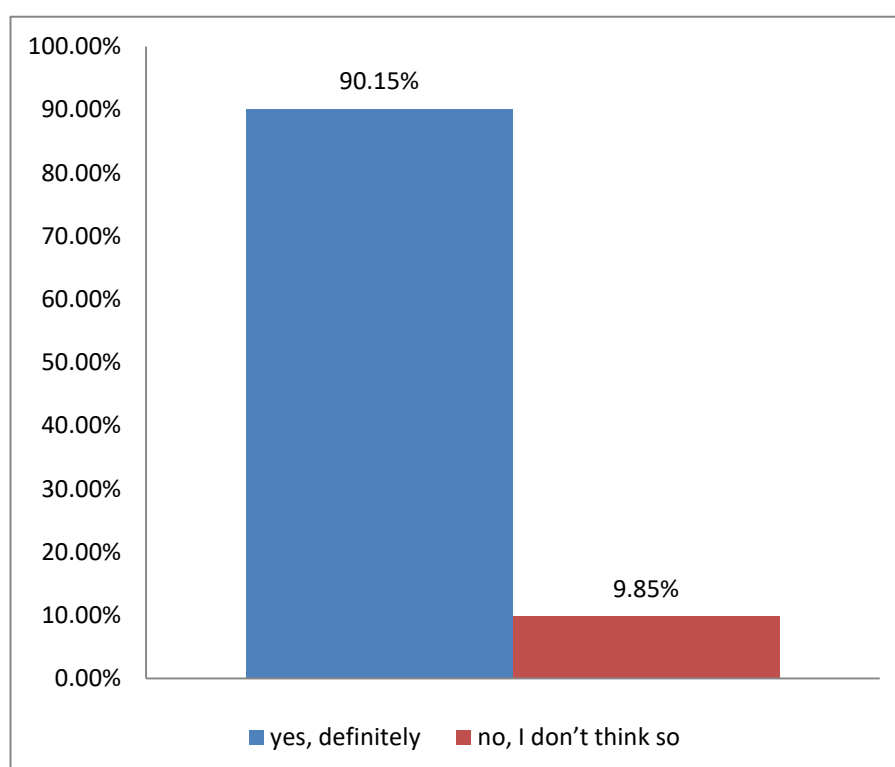
Sources: Computed

⁴⁵The scholar interview the SLE patient at their resident on 4th June 2024.

⁴⁶SLE patients in Mizoram formed a group through social media platform Whatsapp where there are 230 members who mainly consists of SLE patients or their family members.

Also, the study reveals that more than half of the respondents (61.97%) prefers private run hospitals to treat their illness or for hospitalization. On the other hand some of the respondents (38.03%) choose government hospitals for hospitalization and medical treatment. The study clearly shows that majority of the respondents favor private hospitals for taking treatment and hospitalization. (Table 5.1.3) It indicates that majority of the respondents are somehow satisfied with health facilities in the state. But, in reality majority of them are not willing to be treated in government hospital. Also, from the study it can be said that private enterprises (private hospitals) are doing better than government health facilities in providing health services to the people. The study shows that majority of the respondents are not ready to receive medical treatment in government hospitals. In other words, they choose government hospitals for medical treatment. It simply means, that government hospitals are lacking behind private hospitals in terms of infrastructure, facilities and services provided to the medical patient.

Table 5.1.4. *Q. Do you think that a good and excellent health sector (facility/infrastructure and adequate man power) can lead to economic growth and development of Mizoram?*



Sources: Computed

It can be remember the saying “Health is Wealth”. It simply means that good health is important and valuable than money. Besides, if any one spends money on hospital or medical treatment he/she can save money. It means healthy life saved money and then can be used for other purposes. So, it is essential to have a good medical infrastructure so that everyone will have a good life with good health. Also, all most all the respondents (90.15%) believes that having a state of the art health sector which included modern facility and sufficient man power can resulted to economic growth and development of the state. On the other hand the remaining few respondents (9.85%) thinks that having a state of the art health sector does not necessarily leads to economic growth and development in the state.(Table 5.1.4)

The above study indicates that there is a relationship between health and economic development. If the health of the people is not good then they will spend money on health rather than investing on education or other business for their near and dear ones. So it is imperative that authorities and law-makers must focus on improving health facilities and structure in the state to achieve economic growth and development. In relation to this Dr. Lalnuntluangi (Medical Officer (planning), Health Directorate, Govt. Of Mizoram) said that, “Yes, no doubt in the health sector there are some areas where we lack behind it may be in the form of shortage of man power or medical equipment but overall I think we are doing very great, the way we handle Covid-19 shows that our health sector is quite good and yes I think that a good health sector resulted in to economic growth and development which is a main factor for political development in the state.”⁴⁷ This clearly shows not only the people but also medical experts believed that prioritizing health sector is important for socio-economic development in the state. Thus, authorities and policy makers must take initiative to set up a well organized and state of the art health infrastructure in the state to achieve socio-economic growth because it will have an impact on political development in Mizoram.

⁴⁷The scholar interview Dr. Lalnuntluangi at her office chamber in New Secretariat, Aizawl on 20th March 2024 at 1:43 pm

5.3. SPORT SECTOR SPECIALIZATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The United Nations (UN) adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in 2015, which acknowledges the crucial role of sports in promoting overall development and peace, as well as the increasing impact of sports in these areas.⁴⁸ Sport serves as a persuasive instrument for fostering peace, tolerance, and comprehension, uniting individuals across borders, countries, and faiths. The principles of collaboration, fairness, discipline, and respect are universally recognized and can be effectively employed to promote solidarity and social cohesion.⁴⁹ Sport involves more than the mere engagement in physical activity. It is essentially a leisure area that promotes a healthy lifestyle by encouraging both physical and mental growth. It is an area where individuals come together to enhance their social aptitude, reinforce cultural principles, and adjust to regulations. Engaging in physical activities enhances an individual's overall health and well-being, benefiting both their bodily and mental states. Additionally, these activities impart significant values and social skills. Sport not only empowers individuals, but also fosters unity and inspiration among people, thereby strengthening communities.⁵⁰

Sports have historically been portrayed as a means to reconcile conflicts, established relationships, and transcend cultural and national divisions. For example, following his election as South Africa's inaugural President following the Apartheid era, Nelson Mandela wisely utilized the Rugby World Cup as a means to facilitate the nation's reconciliation and avert an anticipated civil conflict.⁵¹ Internationally, political leaders have utilized sports as a tool to foster harmony and solidarity. For instance, in 1971, the game of Table-Tennis (ping-pong) facilitated the reconciliation between China and the United States.⁵² It resolved two decades of strained relations between the

⁴⁸Wilfred Lemke. (2016). *The Role of Sport in Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals*. August 2016. No.2 Vol. LIII. <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/role-sport-achieving-sustainable-development-goals>.

⁴⁹JavaidSofi. (2019). *How sports can be use for peace and development*. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com>. 11th November, 2019.

⁵⁰*Ibid*

⁵¹*Ibid*

⁵²*Ibid*

two dominant nations. Similarly, in 2008, the Presidents of Armenia and Turkey leveraged a World Cup qualifying match involving their respective national teams to initiate renewed diplomatic discussions. Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced that India will support the advancement of cricket in Maldives, aiming to enhance the development of the sport in the country and strengthen interpersonal connections.⁵³

Sport is universally enjoyed, transcending age, gender, and ethnicity, making its influence unparalleled. Furthermore, sports foster universal principles that surpass linguistic and cultural barriers. It can serve as a means to enhance the well-being of the planet and its inhabitants. By instilling its virtues, it may impart the principles of collaboration, guidance, modesty, perseverance, and resolve many issues and social problems. At the same time, sports are use as a means to bring attention to social issues, leveraging its power and wide audience to shed light on matters that are affecting society. Sports additionally foster egalitarianism and function as a medium to advocate for the importance of inclusivity.

Sport-oriented public awareness initiatives have the potential to foster consciousness regarding climate protection and encourage a more proactive community engagement in preserving the local ecosystem. The role of sports in advancing gender equality is crucial. Engaging in sports enables girls and women to cultivate self-confidence and acquire the necessary abilities to become equitable contributors and influencers in their own communities. Sport-based programmes possess the capacity to provide girls and women with information and skills that enable them to advance in society.⁵⁴ Many developing nations neglect to prioritize the promotion and development of sports, particularly at the grassroots level. By incorporating sports issues into school curricula, the identification and development of talents and abilities for the sports sector can be enhanced among the young school students. The success of a nation in sports is contingent upon its financial resources and the extent of investment in education and health. Policy-makers typically prioritize "elite"

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴James H. Frey and D. Stanley Eitzen.(1991). Sport and Society.*Annual Review of Sociology*.Vol. 17 (1991), P- 503-522.<http://www.jstor.org/stable>.

sports, such as football, boxing, athletics, and basketball, at a professional level. However, they allocate minimal attention and financial resources to the advancement of fundamental physical education. The insufficiency of investments in sports infrastructural facilities by both the government and private sector can be attributed to the limited profitability associated with such projects. The national development plan does not prioritize sports development issues, leading to insufficient fiscal allocations for sports. Developing countries seem to neglect the significance of sports infrastructure for both individuals and national development. The inadequate funding of sports in poor nations therefore hampers the capacity of athletes to cultivate their talents.⁵⁵

The progress of sports has been influenced by the degree of economic and political development. Developing nations experience low gross domestic incomes. The underperforming economies of developing nations have had an adverse impact on the extent and caliber of their investments and their overall development strategy. The lack of progress in sports in developing countries is a direct result of their economic underdevelopment. Developing nations, specifically, have challenges such as insufficient financial resources for sports growth, inadequate sports infrastructure and equipment, and limited capacity to organize major sporting events. Moreover, it is crucial to understand that sports professionals in developing and underdeveloped countries receive inadequate compensation, leading to the migration of exceptional talents from these nations to more prosperous ones. Numerous athletes in developing nations do not receive proper remuneration due to a lack of remarkable skill and the absence of money generation from their actions.⁵⁶

Normally in a developing country government agencies and sports authorities display inadequate planning in their approach to sports development, neglecting to effectively oversee and assess the efficacy of sports programming and investments. The United Nations Development Programme (2009) states that effective planning, monitoring, and evaluation of sports activities and policies can

⁵⁵Acquah- Sam E. (2021). Developing Sports for Economic Growth and Development in Developing Countries.*European Scientific Journal*.ESJ-17 (15). P- 185-186.

⁵⁶Ibid. P- 187.

improve sports development by establishing clear connections between past, present, and future initiatives and development outcomes. Insufficient implementation of strategic planning, monitoring, and evaluation would greatly impede the ability to assess the progress and success of work, as well as hinder the identification of areas for improvement in future endeavours.⁵⁷ Insufficient funding prevents sports organizations from organizing an adequate number of competitions to discover and cultivate potential, hence hindering the advancement of sports. The insufficient involvement of developing nations in global contests and the poor achievements of athletes from these nations in significant international sporting events have had a detrimental impact on the advancement of sports. Developing countries have exhibited less involvement in international sports.

For a developing country like India sport sector plays a significant role in overall development. Different ministries and governments have shown their best efforts to promote sport sector in India. For example:-The Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports is a division of the Government of India which deals with the sport sector. The Ministry was established as the Department of Sports during the organization of the 1982 Asian Games in New Delhi. The name of the department was modified to the Department of Youth Affairs & Sports in commemoration of the International Youth Year in 1985. In 2008, the Ministry underwent a division, resulting in the creation of two new departments: the Department of Youth Affairs and the Department of Sports. Each department was placed under the leadership of a Secretary. The Sports Authority of India (SAI) is the premier national sports organization in India, founded in 1982 by the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports with the objective of fostering the growth of sports in the country. In the 2020-2021 year, the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports officially recognized 61 National Sports Federations (NSFs), encompassing both Olympic and non-Olympic sports. This clearly shows that the government is applying a system mechanism for sports development in the country.⁵⁸

⁵⁷*Ibid.* P-187.

⁵⁸Joanne Clark & Sarthak Mondal. (2022). Sport Policy in India. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. Vol. 14, No. 4. 2022. P- 732.

Moreover, on May 7th, 1961, the National Institute of Sports (NIS) was established at the Motibagh Palace grounds in Patiala. In 1973, it was renamed as the Netaji Subhas National Institute of Sports (NSNIS) with the aim of promoting the development of sports. SAI boasts 2 Sports Academic institutions, 11 Regional Centres, 14 Centres of Excellence, 56 Sports Training Centres, and 20 Special Area Games. The Training of Elite Athlete Management Support (TEAMS) division is a crucial component of SAI, offering assistance to the National Sports Federations (NSFs) in preparing National Teams for their participation in many international competitions. The TEAMS Division oversees the implementation of the Long-Term Development Plan for each NSF. It provides logistic and training assistance to academic institutions, Regional Centres of SAI, and selected training centers outside SAI.⁵⁹

This demonstrates that the sports sector in post-colonial India is considered a significant service sector that has the potential to bring advantages to the country. The commitment of the government to the sports sector is evident with the launch of the Khelo India School Games in 2018, which took place in New Delhi. The significant momentum occurred when the Indian Olympic Association (IOA) aligned them with the effort in the same year. As a result, the Khelo India School Games were officially renamed as the Khelo India Youth Games starting from 2019. The event was organized in Pune. The inaugural Khelo India University Games took place in 2020 at the Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology (KIIT), located in Odisha. The inaugural edition of the Khelo India Winter Games took place in 2020.⁶⁰

The Khelo India initiative aims to rejuvenate the sports culture in India at the grassroots level by constructing a robust framework for all sports played in our nation and positioning India as a prominent sporting nation. The inaugural Khelo India Youth Games commenced in 2018, featuring a total of 18 sports disciplines, namely athletics, archery, badminton, basketball, boxing, football, gymnastics, hockey, judo, kabaddi, khokho, wrestling, weightlifting, tennis, table tennis,

⁵⁹*Ibid.* P- 732.

⁶⁰*What is Khelo India Games? Know history and winners.* <https://olympics.com/en/news/khelo-india-games-youth-university-school>.

volleyball, swimming, and shooting. The 2024 edition of the Khelo India Youth Games, which took place in Tamil Nadu, featured a total of 26 disciplines of sports. These included archery, athletics, badminton, basketball, boxing, cycling (road and track), fencing, football, gatka, gymnastics, hockey, judo, kabaddi, kalaripayattu, khokho, mallakhamb, shooting, swimming, table tennis, tennis, volleyball, weightlifting, wrestling, yogasana, and squash was also showcased as a demonstration sport.⁶¹

According to the GroupMESP⁶² Sporting Nation Report 2024, the Indian sports business had a consistent increase, with a yearly growth rate of 11%. The survey unveiled that in 2023 the Indian sports business has a valuation is Rs. 15,766 crore, which is approximately quadruple its value from a decade ago.⁶³ The Indian sports sector has achieved a high value due to several notable achievements. These include an Indian winning an individual Olympic Gold in track and field, Indian shuttlers securing the prestigious Thomas Cup, and India surpassing 100 medals at the Asian Games. Additionally, India hosts the Indian Premiere League, which has the second-highest per-match broadcast value globally. These remarkable accomplishments have elevated the status of India in the sports sector.⁶⁴

5.3.1 STATUS OF SPORT IN MIZORAM: DEVELOPMENT AND SPORT

It is often assumed that effective social services particularly health and sports projects exemplify the commitment of the government to citizen welfare, hence enhancing public trust and support. Furthermore, good health and sports policies have the potential to stimulate changes in interconnected areas such as education and urban planning. Achievement in sporting activities can demonstrate leadership attributes and efficient administration. Political leaders can utilize this tool to enhance their public perception and establish trustworthiness. Conversely, poor athletic performance may bring attention to potential problems in government. The

⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁶²GroupM ESP is the entertainment, Esports & Sports division of GroupM private limited based in Mumbai, India. The Group releases an annual report on the Indian Sports Industry.

⁶³Pranay Rajiv. *Indian sports industry registers 11% growth in 2023: Sporting Nation Report 2024.*

<https://sportstar.thehindu.com>

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

relationship between sports and health is intricately linked to economic and political progress in several ways like playing a role in encouraging national cohesion, promoting economic advancement, ensuring social integration, and influencing international diplomacy. Strategic policies and investments in these domains have the potential to foster a more secure and affluent society, hence exerting a favorable influence on political development.⁶⁵

Mizoram is renowned for its passion for sports, be it traditional or contemporary. Traditionally, apart from cultural dances and singing, sport occupies a pivotal role in Mizo society. Traditionally physical activities like wrestling, weight-lifting, shot-put (indigenous method), and foot-racing (indigenous method) were common among the Zo-ethnic tribes. After the British period Aijal Sports Association was founded in 1954 by football enthusiast. Also in 1962 Aizawl XI won the 1st RK Jain Memorial Football in Assam.⁶⁶ After Mizoram achieved Union Territory status Mizoram Football Association (MFA) was established in 1973.⁶⁷ This shows that sports occupy an integral part in Mizo society. Notably on May 22, 2020, the Cabinet Ministers meeting of the Government of Mizoram approved the request of the Sports and Youth Service (SYS) Department to designate sports as a 'business' in the state. The judgment has conveyed a favorable message to the sports community of the state, as sports is widely regarded as a significant pursuit in the region. It is anticipated that granting industrial status to sports will undoubtedly enhance the sports sector of Mizoram, which has been encountering numerous issues pertaining to infrastructure and, to some degree, support. Remarkably, Mizoram is currently the sole state in India that has officially recognized sports as an industry.⁶⁸

The department of Sport and Youth Services (SYS) was separated from the department of Education, Government of Mizoram in 1986. After the bifurcation,

⁶⁵ David Bradley, Sandy Cairncross, Andy Haines and Carolyn Stephens.(2001). Health and Sustainable Development.*International Institute for Environment and Development (2001)*.P- 1-2.<http://www.jstor.com/stable>

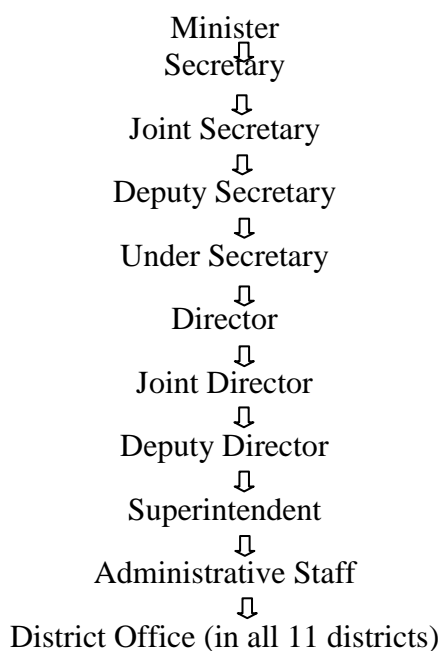
⁶⁶ *Mizoram-ah Football*.<https://dipr.mizoram.gov.in>.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*.

⁶⁸ *To generate employment, Mizoram gives sports industry status*. <https://www.thehindu.com>. May 23, 2020 04:26 pm | Updated 04:26 pm IST - GUWAHATI

the department took a sole responsibility for promoting and developing youth and sports in the State. However, it is yet to be fully accomplished its intended objectives. Efforts have been undertaken in the past to develop a Sports Policy, but with limited success. Although the Government has successfully built infrastructures such as stadiums, playgrounds, indoor stadiums, sports complexes, and academies in recent years, the lack of systematic planning and administrative framework has impeded the progress of sports development. The abundance of innate athletic ability among the young people of Mizoram is evident in their numerous triumphs in both national and international sports competitions.⁶⁹

The organizational structure of the Department of SYS, Govt. of Mizoram are as follows:



The department is well organized structure. Moreover, Scouts and Guides, National Cadet Corps (NCC), and National Service Scheme (NSS) functioned under the SYS department. Moreover, the natural landscape and topography of the state provide great potential for the growth of adventure sports. Furthermore, sports have been recognized as a means to develop the overall health of the population, address various issues faced by the youth, create employment opportunities, and contribute to the development of sports tourism as a significant

⁶⁹*Mizoram Sport Policy, 2019.* Department of Sports and Youth services, Government of Mizoram. P-1

sector for economic growth. Consequently, there is a growing realization of the necessity to formulate an effective Sports Policy. As a result, the Government of Mizoram implemented the "Mizoram Sports Policy, 2020". Also it is important to note that under the SYS secretariat there are 9 administrative staffs and 3 posts are lying vacant. On the other hand, under the SYS directorate 82 administrative staff and 21 posts lies vacant. So, it can be said that the sports department under the Government of Mizoram currently is having 91 administrative staff and 24 posts are vacant. Basically, 20.86% of sanctioned posts are lying vacant under the sports department under the Government of Mizoram.⁷⁰

The Mizoram Sports Policy, 2020 demonstrates the government's concerted efforts to promote the sports business in the state. For instance: the promotion of equitable behavior, unwavering commitment, and a drive for competition. Enforcement of robust sports ethics and protocols the ethical and value-based policy aims to utilize sports as a means to encourage human greatness and promote important values. The Mizoram Sports Policy 2020 has the theme of "Fit people make fit Nations". The policy strives to ensure accessibility and equal opportunities for all members of society, regardless of their caste, religion, age, ethnicity, race, or gender. It also aims to make sports disciplines and infrastructure affordable for the underprivileged sections of society, as well as for individuals with disabilities, women, and senior citizens.⁷¹

The goals and objectives of the policy are as follows

- a) To emphasise on improving existing sports infrastructure by providing improved sports facilities at all levels.
- b) To integrate sports in the education system for promotion and development of sports and youths in schools and colleges.
- c) To promote research and scientific study on sports.
- d) To provide an effective administrative and management system for academies, hostels, sport complexes and other sports infrastructures for youth training and development.

⁷⁰ Data extracted from *Rti Online Mizoram* monitored by Mizoram Information Commission (MIC) on 5th November, 2024.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* P-2-3.

e) To develop strategies for systematic identification and development of potential high performance athletes.

f) To equip coaches with scientific support and knowledge and opportunity to sportsperson to have access to quality coaching.

g) To utilize sports as a tool for social and economic development and promotion of positive values.

h) To develop effective methodology for organizing competitions at various levels.

i) To promote and develop Adventure Sports, Sports Tourism and Indigenous Sports and Games.

j) To promote and encourage the participation of private organizations for development and research in sports.

k) To encourage the active participation of ‘specially-abled persons’, women and the aged in sports and games.

l) To provide opportunities to participate in sports for fun, health, social interaction and relaxation.

m) To ensure that all sportspersons and organizations participating in competitive sports adhere to a code of ethics and code of conduct

n) To provide incentives and rewards for high performance.

o) To ensure that the roles and responsibilities of sports bodies and associations in the sports system are clearly defined in the context of organizational capacity to achieve system objectives.

p) To coordinate with other departments and stakeholders for development of sports, youth services and sports tourism for convergence of schemes.⁷²

Sports discipline particularly football, futsal, volleyball, basketball, contact sports, badminton, and table tennis are popular in Mizoram. Governments and a number of private agencies are organizing tournaments from time to time. For example: - annual Inter-Village football tournament and Inter-Branch Young Mizo Association (YMA) are organized. Also, a local semi-professional football league Mizoram Premiere League (MPL) just concluded its 11th season in November 2024.⁷³ This shows the popularity of sports inside the state. However, there is a

⁷²*Ibid.* P- 3-4.

⁷³*MPL season 11 Dominated by AFC.* The Zozam

Times.<https://thezozamtimes.in/2024/10/02/mpl-11-ah-afc-an-chungung>

general assumption that the government is not doing enough to support athletes from different discipline. The Mizoram State Sports Council (an autonomous body under the department of sports and youth services) was founded in accordance with the Mizoram Sports Council Act of 2002. Its purpose is to facilitate the advancement and growth of games and sports in the state of Mizoram.

Additionally, it is responsible for the establishment of a State-level Sports Council and related topics. The State Sports Council has been granted authority to facilitate the advancement and growth of sports and games within the state. This is achieved by encouraging increased participation of the public in sports and games, promoting their development, and investing in the State Sports Council. It is important to note here that the state sport council functioned separately headed by a Secretary of the Government of Mizoram. Furthermore, the state sport council's executive committee headed by the sports minister of the state steer the function of the council. Also, the state sport council recognized 33 sports discipline⁷⁴ and registered these associations officially. Thus, it can be said that all the official sports activity in the state is monitored and handled by the sport council.⁷⁵

The objective of the council is to strategically plan and actively pursue the comprehensive development of all games and sports throughout the State. This includes instilling discipline, nurturing character growth, promoting team spirit and patriotism via games, and cultivating a sense of camaraderie among various groups. The Mizoram State Sports Council is an independent organization with legal authority, as granted by The Mizoram Sports Council Act 2002. The following are the objectives of State Sports Council in Mizoram are as follows:

- Infrastructure development.
- Fostering exceptional performance in sports at both the national and international levels.

⁷⁴Associations:- Karate, Aquatics, Archery, Body Building, Cricket, Hockey, Taekwondo, Arm Wrestling, Athletics, Badminton, Basketball, Boxing, Carrom, Chess, Cycling, Fencing, Football, Indigenous games, Judo, Kick Boxing, Motor Sports, Power Lifting, Rifle, Sepaktakraw, Snooker & Billiards, Table Tennis, Tennis, Tug-of-war, Volleyball, Weightlifting, Wrestling, Wushu, Muaythai.

⁷⁵About Us- Profile. <https://sportsCouncil.mizoram.gov.in>

- To commence the implementation of a Talent Identification and Development Programme within the state.
- To foster widespread involvement with the objective of fostering sports culture and awareness, under the subject of 'Sports for All'.
- The expansion of sports to include a wide range of activities in order to create a sufficient pool of talented individuals.
- Advocating for the achievement of universal health by engaging in physical activities.
- To extend the reach of sports promotion to all areas of the state, particularly rural regions.
- Advocating for increased female involvement in sports.
- Promotion and acknowledgement of Disabled Sports.
- Promoting the ethos of Fair Play across all tiers of sports.
- Advancement of native sports.⁷⁶

The above indicates that authorities and policy makers of the government of Mizoram are trying their best to promote sports in the state. It can be said that sport sector in being prioritize in Mizoram and a sport council is even set up to promote sports in the state. The initiative taken by the state sport council has a positive outcome among many athletes in the state. For instance, Mrs. Gladys Zonunsangi (21 years) from Armed Veng South locality in Aizawl is among those athletes who benefitted from the initiative taken by the state sport council. In 2015, she registered under a Grassroots Football programme (a training camp for beginner) initiated by the council and by 2020 she was called up by the India under 17 women's team to join their training camp. Also, because of the coaching she received from grassroots programme she signed a professional contract with Sethu FC (a professional football club based in Chennai). She played an active role in the 2021-22 season of the Indian Women's Football League (highest professional women's football league in India). Thus, it can be said that the functional specialization of the SYS department and state sport council have a positive outcome. Also, it can be said that proper implementation and monitoring of sport policies and programmes can

⁷⁶About Us- Vision/Mission.<https://sportscouncil.mizoram.gov.in>. Mizoram State Sport Council, Government of Mizoram.

promote health and well being of the people which will ultimately help in economic growth of the state. The following is budget allocation in the past five years in sports sector in Mizoram.

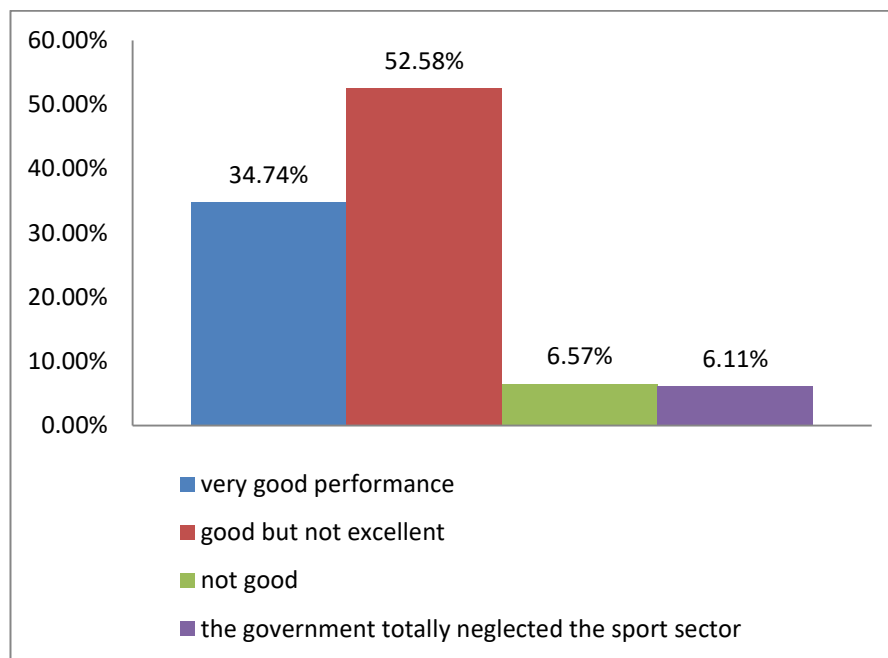
Table 5.1.5

<i>Financial Year</i>	<i>General budget (in lakhs)</i>	<i>Sports budget (in lakhs)</i>
2019-2020	840551.99	2216.06 {0.26% from total} (social service sector- 318731.37)
2020-2021	920211.50	2739.53{0.29% from total}(social service sector- 355331.97)
2021-2022	939838.43	2561.31{0.27% from total} (social service sector- 366541.57)
2022-2023	1018851.09	2422.12{0.23% from total} (social service sector- 395205.97)
2023-2024	1120075.78	2537.23{0.22% from total}(social service sector-407725.11)

Sources:- Annual Financial Statement, Govt. of Mizoram, 2019-2024.

The above table 5.1.5 shows the allocation of budget in the last five years to the sport department in Mizoram. It is interesting to find out that in the last five years budget allocation in sport sector never cross even 1% of the total budget. It can be said that despite limited funding, authorities in sport sector are trying their best to encourage sports and promote sports facilities in the state. Also, the above shows that even though the sport department is not a huge department under the Government of Mizoram, there are sanctioned posts that are still vacant. Authorities must take initiatives to fill these vacant posts so that the problem of shortage man-power is avoided.

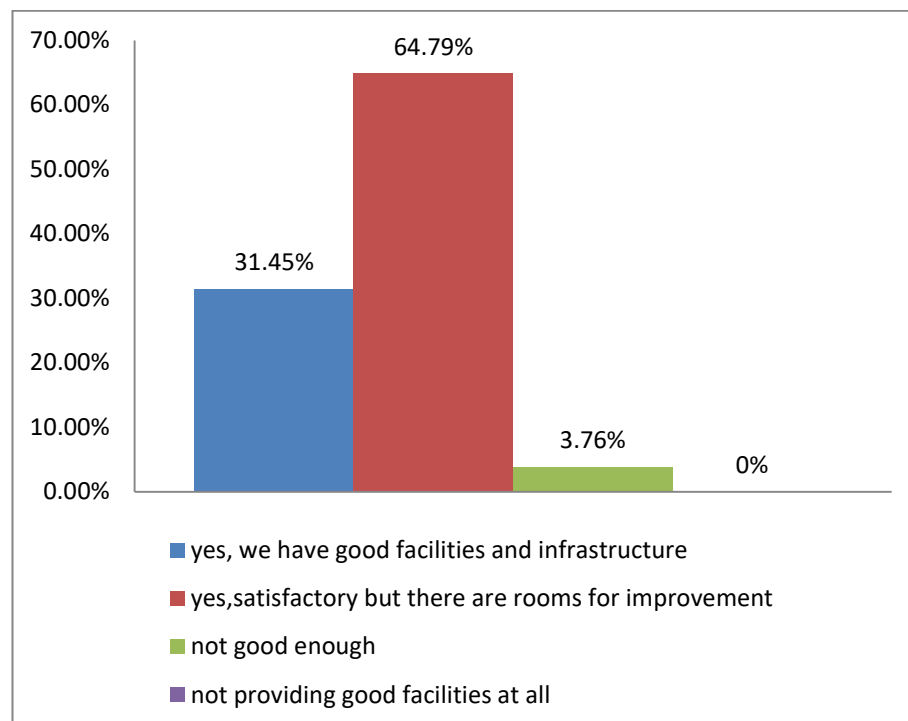
Table 5.1.6.Q. *What are your thoughts on the overall performance of the government in sport sector or sport department?*



Sources: Computed

The study finds that little more than half of the respondent (52.58%) believes that the state government is doing a decent job in the sport sector but it is not up to their expectation. Also, around one third of the respondents (34.74%) think that the government is doing a very good job in promoting sport sector in Mizoram. On the other hand it is interesting to find out that only few of the respondents (6.57%) are of the opinion that the government is not promoting sport properly in the state. Similarly, a few respondents (6.11%) believe that the government is totally neglecting sport sector and sport department in Mizoram. (Table 5.1.6) The study indicated that majority of the people considers the initiative of the government in sport sector as good or excellent.

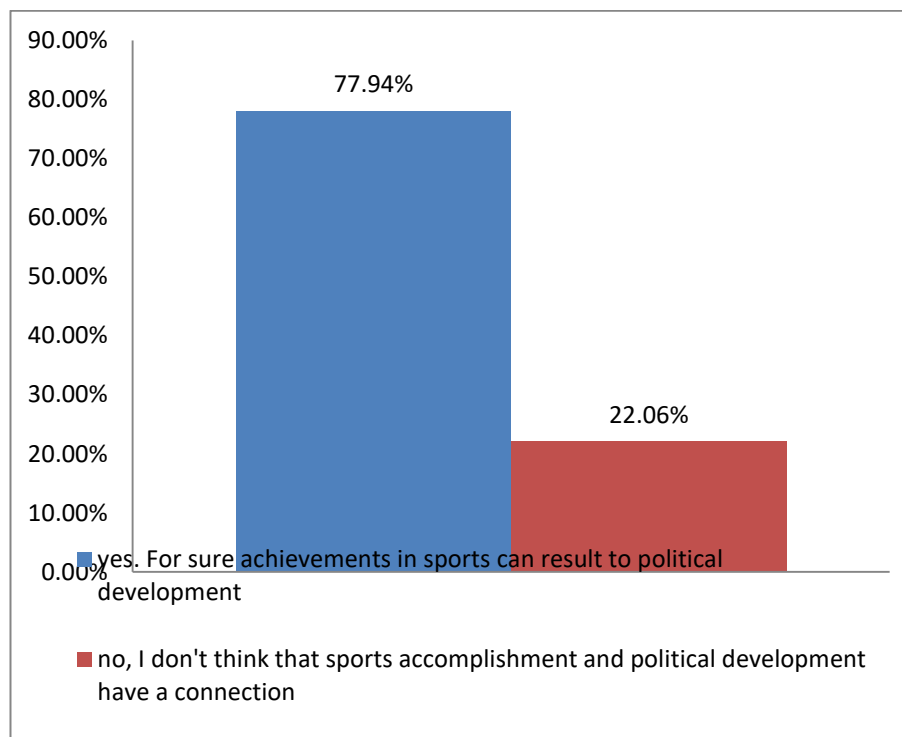
Table 5.1.7. *Q. Do you think that the government is providing state of the art training facilities/infrastructure for athletes of any sport discipline in the state?*



Sources: Computed

Moreover, the study also reveals that almost two-third of the respondents (64.79%) are of the view that the government is providing decent sports training facilities in the state but there are rooms for improvement. It is fascinating to find out that almost one-third of the respondents (31.45%) believe that the government is providing state of the art sports training facilities in the state. On the other hand, few respondents (3.76%) are of the view that the government is not providing good sports infrastructure in the state. It is interesting to find out that there are no respondents who think that the government is not providing good facilities at all. (Table 5.1.7) From the study it can be said that the government is performing quite well in the promotion of sport in the state. Also, it can be said that the study is a reflection of the nature and condition of sports facilities in the state. Thus, it can be said that the government is providing a decent sport facilities for the public.

Table 5.1.8. *Q. Do you think that success or accomplishment in sport can result to political development in Mizoram?*



Sources: Computed

Moreover, the study also reveals that more than two-third of the respondents (77.94%) believes that success, achievements and accomplishment in the sports sector can definitely resulted to economic growth which will ultimately lead to political development. (Table 5.1.8) According to Laldinlana (who is playing for Chennaiyin Football Club in the Indian Super League), “I think the government is performing well in the sport sector, several recreation centres and Indoor Sports Halls are being constructed across the state, also artificial fields are constructed in many areas. For that, I think the government is performing very well and also if the government continues to perform in the same manner consistently, I think we can achieve socioeconomic growth through sports in Mizoram.”⁷⁷ Also, from the study it is clear that the public believes that success in sport sector can instigate overall development in the state. Therefore, authorities and policy-framers must focus on

⁷⁷The Scholar interview Laldinlana at his resident in Aizawl on 19th March 2024 at 7:24 pm.

development of sport infrastructure in the state to realize the development goals. This includes improving the existing infrastructure and developing new sports facilities.

From the above study it can be said that majority of the respondents are satisfied with the initiative of the state government in sport sector. At the same time they are of the opinion that there are rooms for improvement in the sport sector. Also, majority of the respondents are hopeful that achievement in sports can activate the process of economic development. In short, the study indicates that people believe that if the government performs efficiently and effectively in sport sector, it can improve the socio-economic condition of the state.

5.4. CONCLUSION

It is important to note that specialization and differentiation is mainly concern with the functioning of structures or departments under the government or state. The functional specialization of these departments determines the socio-economic conditions of the state which have an impact on the nature of political development. In short, negligence of a particular department can have a negative impact on the socio-economic nature of the state which stagnate political development. As a result the study is confine to functional specialization of health and sport department under the government of Mizoram. The study indicates that the majority of respondents believe that state healthcare facilities are insufficient or inadequate for treating all types of illnesses. The study shows that a substantial sum of money is spent annually outside the state for medical treatment. This indicates that the healthcare facilities, both private and public, are insufficient and requires improvement. The study also shows that the majority of respondents preferred private hospitals over government hospitals for medical treatment. This reflects the state of public hospitals and medical institutions. This highlights the deplorable condition of government health institutions in the state.

Moreover, the study indicates that the state's budget allocation for the health department has not exceeded 7% of the entire budget in the past five years. This demonstrates the limited dedication of policymakers to offering advanced healthcare facilities in the state. Furthermore, this is corroborated by the fact that the

majority of responders favor private institutions for treatment. It also signifies the absence modern machinery in governmental establishments. This indicates that health facilities in Mizoram are merely minimal and do not meet standards. Consequently, it appears that achieving socio-economic advancement via the health sector in Mizoram is implausible. On the other hand, it can be said that despite of limited resources Mizoram handles the various pandemic and epidemic (for example: - Covid-19) satisfactorily. It may be a result of a strong cooperation between the community and authorities. Thus, it can be said that if prioritize health sector in Mizoram has the potential to bring about socio-economic development which leads to political development.

The study indicates that the majority of respondents believe the government is adequately promoting the sports sector in the state. It means that the government has performed its responsibilities across all sporting disciplines. The majority of respondents believe that effective government initiatives in the sports sector can lead to socio-economic growth in the state. The study indicates that Mizoram is the first state in the country to recognize sports as an industry. This signifies that both current and former governments have prioritized the sports sector in Mizoram. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that a distinct sports council (Mizoram State Sports Council) with a well-structured administrative framework has been established for the welfare of athletes in the state.

Conversely, the study indicates that budget allocation for the sports department has been exceedingly low over the past five years, remaining below 1% of the state's entire budget. The reason may be that various infrastructure development projects initiated by different departments mostly focus on creating town halls, which include recreational facilities and indoor stadiums. It can be assumed that the sports department relies on other departments for the creation of such infrastructure. The study shows that the majority of respondents express satisfaction with the government's performance in the sports sector. It means that the sports department may not have been overlooked by different ministries. The study reveals that the majority of respondents are satisfied with the government's initiatives in providing sports-related facilities in the state. This indicates that the government is

performing admirably in the sports sector. The rising number of professional athletes, both nationally and internationally, in the state can be attributed to the state's initiatives in the sports industry.

The above study indicates that improving the health and sport sector can result to socio-economic development of the state. However, the study finds that the two departments are often overlooked by the authorities. The study also shows that with careful planning and proper execution of policies these departments can improve the socio-economic condition of Mizoram. It is important to note that socio-economic development initiate overall development of a state and lead to political development. From the study it can be said that that both the two department (health & sport) can be the sector which can initiate socio-economic growth and resulted to political development in Mizoram. Moreover, negligence of the two sector can resulted to adverse consequence which is a stagnant process of overall development in the state. However, it is important to know that from the study the government is trying its best to improve and develop the two aforementioned sectors.

CHAPTER – VI

CRISES OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MIZORAM

The previous chapters primarily focus on the nature of political development in Mizoram in terms of equality, capacity, and specialization according to Lucian Pye's theory. In addition to the above Pyewrites that there are six crises of political development. According to him, it is important to know the nature of equality and participation, the need for enhanced governmental capacities, and differentiation and specialization of the system to understand political development. He further argues that it is necessary to identify the issues that impede political development which he called as the 'crises of political development'. The six crises are identity crisis, legitimacy crisis, penetration crisis, participation crisis, integration crisis, and distribution crisis. It is important to note that these crises stagnates the level of political development for a state. The idea of political development can only be conceptualized after understanding these crises. A true essence of the nature of political development can be realized only with the inclusion of these six crises. A society may encounter these crises in different sequences, but it is essential to effectively address them all for it to transform into a develop nation-state. In the case of Mizoram, the study finds that identity crisis, penetration crisis, participation crisis, integration crisis, and distribution crisis are relevant. On the other hand, it can be said that there is no legitimacy crisis in the case of Mizoram because there is no organization which challenges the authority of the state. As a result, the chapter analyzes only the relevant five crises in Mizoram.

6.1. IDENTITY CRISIS

In the process of political development, every state faces some kind of hindrances or crisis. One of the problems is the crisis of identity, where the people of a particular political system could not achieve a common sense of identity. In many of the newly established states, there is a competition between traditional forms of identity, such as tribe, caste, ethnic, and linguistic groupings, and the broader notion of national identity. The identity crisis encompasses the resolution of the conflict between traditional heritage and modern activities, as well as the dilemma between

parochial sentiments and cosmopolitan practices. In the absence of a strong sense of common identity, individuals who find themselves torn between two cultures and lack a sense of belonging in any society are unable to establish a stable and contemporary nation-state. Identity crises are prolonged conflicts that individuals and communities experience when their understanding of who they are and where they belong is questioned by outside influences, past events, and inner struggles.¹

The intricate nature of identity crises, encompassing their origins, expressions, effects on individuals and communities, as well as ways for effectively navigating and overcoming these issues. The identity crises stem from the convergence of historical, cultural, and individual elements that influence how individuals perceive themselves within the context of their identity. Historical atrocities such as colonization, slavery, forced assimilation, and genocide have had profound effects on ethnic communities, leading to intergenerational trauma, cultural erosion, and fragmentation of identity. For example, Native American communities in the United States are still dealing with the consequences of colonialism and being forced off their native lands. These experiences have had a significant impact on their cultural identity and social unity. Furthermore, the presence of systematic racism, discrimination, and marginalization rooted in ethnicity erect obstacles to accessing social and economic opportunities, intensifying sentiments of alienation and insecurity regarding one's identity. Minority ethnic groups frequently encounter stereotypes, bigotry, and structural disadvantages that undermine their sense of belonging and self-esteem in the larger society.²

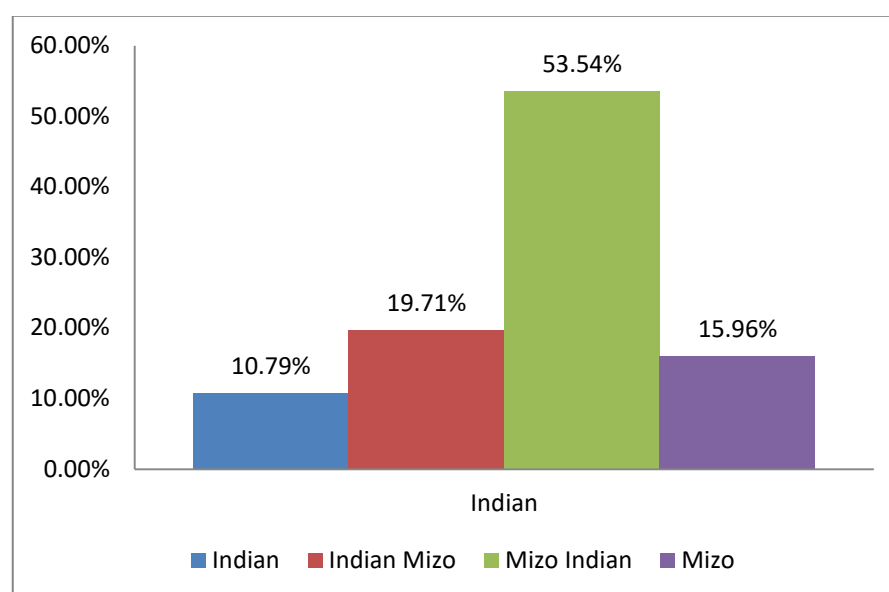
The rapid process of globalization and cultural homogeneity can gradually destroy indigenous cultural practices and languages, resulting in a decline in cultural distinctiveness and causing ethnic communities to experience an identity

¹Lucian W Pye.(1966). *Aspect of Political Development*. Little, Brown and Company. Boston, Massachusetts. P- 62-66.

² Walter Hugins (1977). American History in Comparative Perspective. *Journal of American Studies*. Vol. 11, No. 1 (Apr., 1977), P- 27-44. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27553267>

crisis. The amalgamation of worldwide influences with indigenous customs might engender conflicts between the conservation of cultural heritage and the adjustment to evolving societal standards. Political instability, ethnic strife, and civil unrest can intensify identity tensions in heterogeneous society, resulting in polarization, segregation, and violence based on ethnicity. Migration, whether by choice or under duress, can undermine individuals' feeling of cultural continuity and belonging as they adapt to new cultural surroundings, language obstacles, and integrating difficulties. Diaspora communities frequently encounter identity dilemmas stemming from the process of navigating different cultural identities and striking a balance between assimilation and cultural preservation.³

Table. 6.1.1 Q. How do you identify yourself?



Sources:- Computed

Coming to Mizoram, it can be mentioned here that it is a sub-political system or unit of a political system or province of India. In Mizoram like other parts of India, there are various communities like the Mizo, Gorkha, Chakma, Assamese, Bengali and Manipuri etc. However, the majority of the populace in Mizoram are Mizo. The study found out that more than half of the respondents (53.54%) identified them as Mizo Indian. Here it can be said that many of the respondents feel that even though they identified themselves as both Mizo and Indian their ethnic identity have

³*Ibid.*

a deeper meaning than their political identity and thus identified themselves as Mizo Indian. On the other hand some of the respondents (19.71%) identified as Indian Mizo. It can be said that these respondents have a clear understanding of their ethnic identity as well as their political identity and thus identified as Indian Mizo. On the other hand, it is interesting to find out that some few respondents (15.96%) refuse to identify themselves as Indian and decide to identify only as Mizo. This may be due to different ethnic identity, language barrier, geographical location and the insurgency movement led by MNF that took place in the course of Mizoram being a state in the union of India. For example, Mr. Vanchhunga a local resident of Armed Veng South Community in Aizawl, Mizoram and an Ex-Mizo National Front (MNF) underground said that, “Even though I completely uphold and cherish the Indian democracy and the Indian union, there is still a feeling inside me that prioritize my ethnic background i.e. Mizo”.⁴ Moreover, there are some respondents (10.79%) who classify them only as Indian. It means many people wanted to identify themselves on ethnic line. And there are many people who wanted to identify themselves as Mizo as well as Indian. Also, there are some who do not mind to identify themselves as simple ‘Indian’. From the above it can be said that even though there are few respondents who refrain to identify as Indian, majority of the respondents accepted their Indian identity along with their ethnic identity. (Table. 6.1.1)

Identity crises can emerge in several forms, illustrating the intricacies of managing cultural identity in evolving socio-political environments. An example of a potential cause of identity crises is the sensation of cultural alienation and disconnection from one's ethnic heritage, language, and traditions. This can occur as a result of societal pressures to assimilate or adhere to dominant cultural standards. This might result in a feeling of detachment from one's origins and a state of uncertainty about one's identity. Additionally, it has the ability to generate fractured identities that are marked by contradictory loyalties, attitudes, and behaviors as individuals navigate various cultural influences and societal expectations. This internal struggle can result in emotions of uncertainty, lack of confidence, and a

⁴Mr. Vanchhunga was interviewed at his resident in Armed Veng South, Aizawl, Mizoram on 23rd January 2024.

crisis of identity. This can also erode self-confidence and perpetuate patterns of marginalization and exclusion. In addition, it is important to note that disputes can arise among communities due to differences in cultural practices, values, and expectations, particularly because of the fear of assimilation and ambitions for cultural preservation.⁵

The transfer of trauma between generations and the challenges with identity can have a significant impact on familial connections and the cohesion of the community. Moreover, based on the study it is unexpected that identity issues in Mizo Society will yield a threat to the unity and integrity of the country. It is because except for a few respondents, the majority of them identify themselves as both Indian and a Mizo. (Table. 6.1.1) In short, the Mizos wanted to identify ethnically as Mizo but politically they are identifying themselves as Indian. This is how people in India identify. Many identify as Bihari, Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi, etc. within India but when they go out of India, they identify themselves as Indian.

Identity crisis can exacerbate tensions and conflict among ethnic groups due to historical grievances, political rivalries, and rivalry based on identity. Moreover, the study shows that there are many who maintain their ethnic identity as Mizo. On the other hand, they did not overlook their identity as an Indian. It may be a result of different policies and programmes that the government implemented to unite the general populace. Policy makers and authorities must implement policies and programmes that promote cultural diversity, inclusivity, and anti-discrimination measures as a means to address identity crisis. These activities should have the objective of safeguarding the rights of ethnic minorities, advancing social justice, and cultivating inclusive societies. Additionally, it is crucial to acknowledge that educational endeavors that advocate for cultural diversity, history, and identity in school curriculum, businesses, and public institutions cultivate comprehension, compassion, and admiration for many ethnic identities. Moreover, fostering discourse and cooperation across heterogeneous ethnic factions in order to

⁵James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin (1996). Explaining Interethnic Cooperation. *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 90, No. 4 (Dec., 1996), pp. 715-735. American Political Science <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2945838>. Accessed: 05/10/2012 00:35

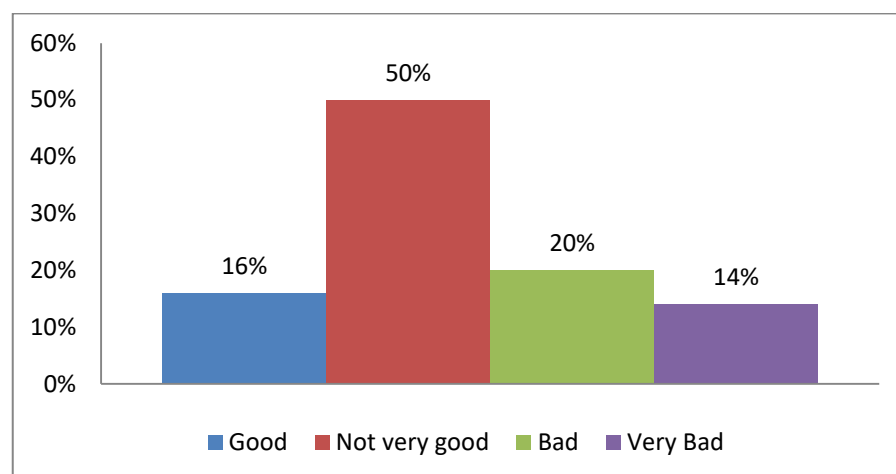
promote reciprocal comprehension, reconciliation, and harmonious cohabitation might serve as a remedy for identity crisis within a particular society.

6.2. PENETRATION CRISIS

The Penetration Crisis refers to the difficulties that governments face in effective implementation and enforcement of fundamental policies in every part of the state. In many societies, the government or authorities had minimal expectations from society; however, in most transitional systems, authorities have far higher aspirations. This is especially true if the leaders aim to expedite the rate of economic advancement and societal transformation. In order to implement substantial developmental strategies, a government must possess the capability to extend its influence to every level of the society and directly impact the day-to-day existence of individuals. However, it is evident that transitional societies often exhibit a significant disparity between the ruling elite and the general population, who remain rooted in their local customs and traditions.⁶

Penetration crisis simply means the failure of the government to implement policies and programmes effectively in every nook and corner of the state. If any government faces penetration crisis, then it will have unequal development in the state. It simply means some part of the state will be more developed than the other.

⁶Pye. Aspect of Political Development. *Op.cit.*

Table. 6.1.2. Q. What are the road conditions connecting to your area/village/city?

Sources: *Computed*

The study reveals that half of the respondents (50%) believe that the road conditions leading to their area are not very good. Also, some respondents (20%) indicate that the road conditions in their locality are inadequate. Again, according to a few number of respondents (14%) the road conditions in their neighborhood are either poor or very bad. On the other hand, a small number of respondents (16%) indicated that the road conditions are satisfactory. (Table 6.1.2) This shows that road condition of villages and communities of majority of the respondents are not good. The study illustrates the road conditions in Mizoram are poor, which makes the penetration crisis relevant. In emergencies such as natural disasters, the condition of road connectivity is vital for rapid response to the impacted region. It is important to note that road connectivity is crucial for swift delivery of basic needs of the people. But, the study shows that road connectivity is not up to the mark in the state. Also, the study shows that

On this line, a government employee (who prefers to hide his identity) who is posted in Kamala Nagar (Chawngte Village)⁷ express the view that road condition between Aizawl and Kamala Nagar is very bad. Sometimes, it took 12 hours to reach Aizawl from Kamala Nagar.⁸ This clearly shows the bad condition of

⁷Kamalanagar (Chawngte Village) is located at the southern part of Mizoram at Lawngtlai District. It is also the headquarter of Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC). It is 308.8 kms (via National Highway 2) away from the capital Aizawl.

⁸The scholar interview the government employee (a resident of Aizawl) who is posted in Kamala Nagar as his resident on 15th October 2024, @ 3:00 pm

roads in Mizoram because it took 12 hours to travel 308.8 kilometers. It means on an average the vehicle/sumo can travel only around 25 km/hr approximately in the road. The study further shows the government's inadequacy in delivering quality road connectivity in the state, which is essential for daily life, especially in rural areas. Consequently, the study indicates that the government is incapable of linking all areas due to poor road connectivity. Therefore, it can be asserted that among Pye's six crises, the penetration crisis seems to be relevant in Mizoram.

6.3. PARTICIPATION CRISIS

One aspect of the concept of political development is the political participation by all the people in the political system. The participation crisis arises when a particular group or community or a section of society fails to get the opportunity to participate in socio-political process of the system. It is important to note that the existence of a participation crisis does not always indicate a need for democratic processes. Totalitarian nations can orchestrate the participation crisis similarly, laying the groundwork for manipulating mass organizations and implementing demonstrational politics.⁹ Participation usually refers both expressions of support for and requests made to government. Authoritarian regimes frequently endorse referenda, plebiscites, and mass demonstrations to validate their claim that their authority is based on widespread public backing. Participation, in this context, refers to the acceptance and endorsement of a certain idea or action by the general public. It does not imply that individuals who offer their support have the freedom to withhold their support or impose conditions. Participation often refers specifically to effective endeavors aimed at influencing government activities or selecting government officials. Critics of democratic systems frequently characterize participation as merely ceremonial and ineffective, particularly when the endeavors of certain groups to alter policies or leaders do not succeed. Participation, according to some individuals, may be limited to the lawful behaviors of citizens such as voting, demonstrating, and petitioning.¹⁰

⁹Pye. Aspect of Political Development. *Op.cit.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*

A participation crisis can be described as a situation where the authorities identify the demands or actions of individuals and groups seeking political participation as illegitimate. Participation crisis may arise when the ruling classes, who controlled the authority, refuse to provide minority groups their rightful share of political power. Furthermore, the ruling class may perceive calls for political involvement as invalid due to their perception of the techniques used to make such demands as invalid. Several authoritarian political systems are willing to distribute power, but only to individuals who engage in politics through specifically defined channels. In one-party systems, the ruling elites may allow individuals to participate, but only on the condition that they become members of the party or its affiliated institutions. This can instigate further participation of the public which may lead to violent measures.¹¹

Authorities and policy-makers in a democratic system often respond strongly to participation demands of a widespread nature that involve potential violence or coercion, large-scale protests, general work stoppages, and similar actions. They often hesitate to respond to demands that they perceive as forceful, as they fear it may lead to a general disregard for the established procedures that they view as the only legal ones. Participation crisis may also arise when the demands made by political participants or the public are considered to be illegitimate. The ruling elite may consider certain demands to be so illegitimate that they will not accept them as public policy. They will not allow any group to implement what the elite deem as illegitimate policies to come into power. A request, such as the one for the government to establish an official state religion, may be seen as extremely detestable by a ruling secular group, to the point that they will not allow people who support such a request to come into power.¹²

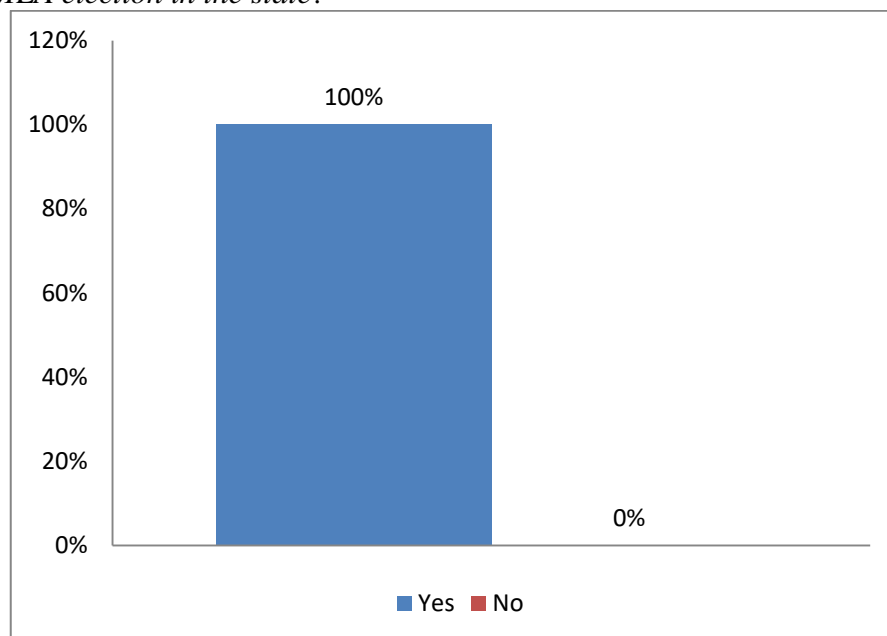
A participation crisis may occur when a group seeking participation refuses to share power with the authorities, instead aiming to replace them and therefore prevent them from holding power. Essentially, a crisis of participation can

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Mireille Affa'a Mindzie (2015). Challenges to Political Participation. *International Peace Institute* (2015)P-2-7. <http://www.jstor.com/stable>

arise when individuals aspiring for power perceive those in power as illegitimate, without any historical entitlement, religious approval, or moral attributes that justify their governance or inclusion in the governmental processes. A crisis of participation can be considered overcome when there is a consensus among ruling elites, competing elites, and political participants regarding the legitimacy of demands and the effectiveness of specific institutional mechanisms established to address those demands. Following a crisis, such as a significant event or situation, the working class may have obtained the legal right to establish associations and engage in strikes, as recognized and authorized by legislation.¹³

Table. 6.1.3. Q. *Are you excited about elections in India? If so, do you cast your vote in the last MLA election in the state?*



Sources: Computed

The study finds that all of the respondents (100%) think that it is a must to participate in democratic exercise like voting during elections. In doing so, all of the respondents have cast their vote in the last Assembly Election in the state. It can be said that, people are ready to participate in the political process of the state and the country as well and are determined to participate and engaged their political rights. The study shows that people believe that it is their duty to participate in election and exercise their voting rights. Moreover, the study reveals that all the respondents are

¹³*Ibid.*

willing to participate in any type of election (national, state election and local level election). This shows the commitment of the people to uphold the democratic values of the country. Also, the study finds that all the respondents cast their vote in the last MLA election in Mizoram. Therefore, the study shows that participation crisis particularly among the Mizo is not evident in Mizoram.

On the other hand, the study finds that the Gorkha community faces some kind of participation crisis in Mizoram. People from the community can cast their votes (if they are qualified as per the law) but they cannot contest in village council and local council elections in Mizoram. It is basically because The Lushai Hills District (Village Councils) Acts, 1953 (amended in 2014) Chapter- II 4 (a) and The Mizoram Municipalities (Election to Local Councils) Rules 2015, Chapter-III 18 {1} (b) disqualifies them because they are not member of the Schedule Tribe community.¹⁴ It is because the Gorkha not included in the scheduled tribe under 'The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, Part XVII- Mizoram' which the above Acts and Rules were based upon. So, the study finds that the Gorkha community residing in Mizoram can cast their votes but the law limits their participation as a candidate in the above mentioned elections. Thus, the study reveals that the law of the land limits political participation of the above-mentioned community. It is important to note that when Pye speaks of participation it means inclusive and democratic participation in the socio-political activity of a particular system and the exclusion of any particular community signifies participation crisis. It can be mentioned here that the Gorkha/Nepali community in Mizoram is not very huge; their population is around 7686.¹⁵ Even then, it is important to consider their case by the state government so that no community is left out in the political participation.

¹⁴State Election Commission, Government of Mizoram. *The Lushai Hills District (Village Councils) Acts, 1953 (as amended in 2014)*.P-6.

¹⁵ *Approved Census Report, 2021 of Gorkhas in Mizoram.*

<https://home.mizoram.gov.in/post/approved-census-report-2021-of-gorkhas-in-mizoram>.

6.4. INTEGRATION CRISIS

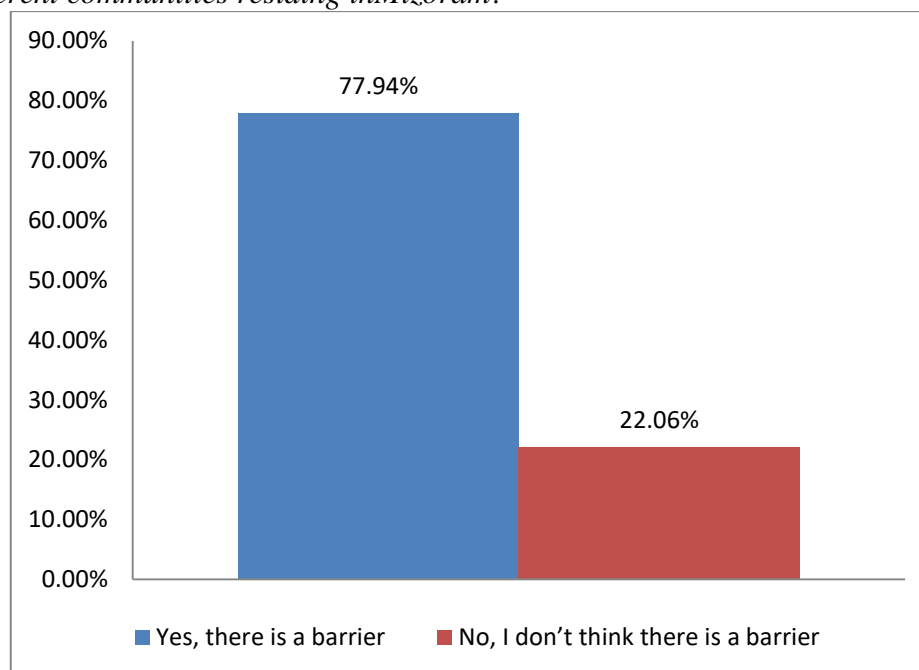
Integration crisis refers to the difficulties in connecting the people with the government. It is a challenge to unite and align the government and its agencies and some or few sections of the society. It can be noted that resolving integration crisis is a solution that also solves the penetration and participation crises. The integration crisis is concern with the extent to which the entire political system functions as a network of interconnected relationships. This includes the relationships among government offices and agencies, as well as the relationships among different groups and interests that seek to influence the system. Additionally, it encompasses the interactions between officials and engaged citizens. Within numerous transitional regimes, various interest groups often exist in isolation from one another, with minimal interaction. At most, each group strives to assert its own distinct demands on the government. The government must strive to address all these requests concurrently. However, it is possible that the government itself lacks proper integration. The result is a lower overall performance across the political system.¹⁶

In a globalized world, where advancements in science and technological advancement is prioritize, the idea of integration, whether it be social, economic, political, or technological, has become very important. The word "integration crisis" refers to the difficulties and intricacies encountered when trying to merge separate systems, groups, or processes. Integration is the mechanism via which people and groups are incorporated into the wider structure of society, fostering a feeling of inclusion and collective identity. It involves the incorporation of diverse social groupings, such as immigrants, minorities, and marginalized communities.¹⁷

¹⁶Pye. Aspect of Political Development. *Op.cit.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*

Table. 6.1.4. Q. Do you think that there is a psychological barrier or differences among different communities residing in Mizoram?



Sources: Computed

It can be remembered here that Mizoram is a multicultural society where different communities co-exist peacefully. At the same time, there are differences among different communities. Even within the Zo-ethnic community there are sub-ethnic tribes whose cultures and traditions are unique. Sometimes, due to the differences between and among them, there are psychological barrier among different communities. The study shows that, more than two-thirds of the respondents (77.94%) believed that there is a psychological barrier or differences among various communities in Mizoram. On the other hand just less than one-third of the respondents (22.06%) are of the opinion that there is no barrier. (Table. 6.1.4) It indicates that there is a psychological barrier or differences among the people in Mizoram. The study reveals there is some issues on integration of all communities in Mizoram. In relation to this, Mr. Joseph Lalhmingthanga Chinzah, General Secretary, Central Young Lai Association¹⁸, said that, “No doubt, I am a Mizo at the

¹⁸Central Young Lai Association is a civil society organization with its headquarters in Lawngtlai. the organization is working to serve the interest of the Lai youths in Mizoram.

same time my identity as Lai is equally important”.¹⁹ This shows that some community leaders of the Zo-ethnic sub tribes in Mizoram are reluctant to identify themselves as Mizo. On the same line Bijay Chhetri, who is from the Gorkha community and a local resident of Armed Veng South community in Aizawl, said that, “sometimes I experience exclusivity from the rest of my community, it may be because of cultural differences”.²⁰ It can be said that integration of different communities remains an important issue in Mizo society.

There is a public perception that there is a lack of integrity in Mizoram among different churches. Mizoram by faith is dominated by Christianity. In fact, according to the 2011 census 87.16% of the population follows Christianity in the state.²¹ This shows that Christianity is the most popular religion followed by majority of the people in Mizoram. Also, there are 10 major churches that have more than 10,000 members. They are:- Mizoram Presbyterian Church, Baptist Church of Mizoram, Salvation Army, United Pentecostal Church (North East), United Pentecostal Church (Mizoram), Seventh Day Adventist, Evangelical Church of Maraland, Lairam Isua Krista Baptist Kohhran, Roman Catholic and Isua Krista Kohhran.²² It is important to note that, to foster unity among different churches in Mizoram a church coordination council known as the Council of Churches in Mizoram (CCM) was set up and formally inaugurated on 27th October 2024.²³ The Council comprises of eight member churches namely:- Mizoram Presbyterian Church, Mizoram Baptist Church, Evangelical Church of Maraland, Lairam Isua Krista Baptist Kohhran (LIKBK), Evangelical Free Church of India, Isua Krista Kohhran (Ng), Wesley Methodist Church and Independent Church of India. Apart from the above eight members of the Council, there are some important churches who are not a member of the Council namely the Salvation Army, Pentecostal Churches (both NE and Mizoram), Seventh Day Adventist and Roman Catholic churches. It is important to note that one objective of the Council is to unite different

¹⁹The scholar interviewed Mr. Joseph LalhmingthangaChinzah at his residents in Lawngtlai on 12th June 2022 @ 9:06 pm.

²⁰The scholar interviewed Mr. Bijay Chhetri at his residents in Armed Veng South, Aizawl on 13th November 2024 @ 3:00 pm.

²¹*Mizoram Religion Census*. <https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/state/15-mizoram>.

²²*NGOS & CHURCHES*. Statistical Handbook Mizoram 2022. P- 217.

²³Baptist Church of Mizoram. *Council of Churches in Mizoram*. <https://mizobaptist.org/posts>.

churches inside the state. This shows that there are some differences among the churches.

Integration is crucial because it promotes social cohesion, mitigates conflict, and improves overall society stability. The phenomenon of increased migration and multiculturalism has had a positive impact on countries by enhancing their cultural diversity. However, it has also presented certain difficulties and obstacles. If diverse populations are not adequately managed, it can result in societal fragmentation and polarization. Factors like as cultural disparities, linguistic obstacles, and divergent sets of values can lead to conflicts and impede the process of integration. Income disparity worsens problems with societal cohesion. Inequities in wealth and opportunities among various socioeconomic groups can result in segregation and unequal availability of resources. Disadvantaged groups may encounter obstacles to accessing education, employment, and healthcare, so reinforcing social disparities. Political opposition and bureaucratic resistance can hinder efforts to achieve social cohesion. Policies that do not adequately meet the requirements of various demographic groups or that strengthen existing disparities can contribute to a crisis in integration.²⁴

Political development is strongly dependent on the efficiency and credibility of political institutions. Integration can enhance the capacity of these institutions by promoting collaboration and synchronization among diverse tiers of government and among different political entities. The merger of various regional or local administrations into a unified national framework in federal states facilitates the efficient management of governance. It guarantees the consistent implementation of policies while still accommodating regional variance. Integration facilitates the advancement of democratic processes by promoting inclusive governance and active citizen participation. Through the integration of many political actors and stakeholders, democratic systems can enhance their representation and responsiveness. Also, integration through decentralization enables local governments to possess increased autonomy and authority in decision-making. This can bolster

²⁴Stephen Castles (2011). Globalization, ethnic identity and the integration crisis. *Ethnicities*. March 2011, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 2011). P- 23-26. <https://www.jstor.org/stable>

democratic engagement at the local level, enabling more efficient resolution of local concerns and assuring the inclusion of a wide range of perspectives. In areas where there is substantial cross-border activity, the process of integration has resulted in the establishment of systems for conducting elections and ensuring representation across national boundaries. This has improved the democratic legitimacy and accountability of the involved parties.²⁵

Integration contributes to the improvement of political legitimacy by ensuring that governance structures and policies accurately represent the varied interests and requirements of the community. Political systems that are inclusive and representative are more prone to garner public support and legitimacy. Engaging citizens in decision-making through integration processes, such as participatory budgeting or public consultations, increases the legitimacy of political institutions and policies. By including accountability mechanisms, such as autonomous supervisory entities and open reporting systems, governments may be held responsible for their actions and choices, so bolstering their credibility. Efficient policy formulation necessitates the harmonization of efforts among several governmental tiers and among different political entities. Integration facilitates coordination by offering structures and mechanisms for collaboration. Regional and international integration frequently entails the establishment of shared policy frameworks and norms that member governments adhere to.²⁶

6.5. DISTRIBUTION CRISIS

The definitive crisis preventive measure in apolitical development process is the use of governmental powers to shape the allocation of goods, services, and values across society. In certain instances, governments aim to address the issue by directly engaging in the distribution of wealth, while in other cases, the strategy is to enhance the possibilities and potential of disadvantaged groups.²⁷

²⁵Pye. *Aspect of Political Development. Op.cit.*

²⁶Castles. *Op. Cit.*

²⁷Pye. *Aspect of Political Development. Op.cit.*

Today, there has been a growing concern on distribution crisis, which affect all sectors of economic, social, and political life. These crises often come from the unequal allocation of resources, money, and opportunity, resulting in substantial difficulties for a system. Efficient governance is essential for tackling these disparities, guaranteeing fair allocation, and upholding societal unity. A distribution crisis can be characterized as a scenario in which resources, wealth, or opportunities are allocated in a way that results in significant disparities or inefficiencies. These crises might appear in diverse manifestations. An example that exemplifies distribution crisis prominently is economic disparity. Disparities in wealth and income can lead to substantial socio-economic divisions, impacting individuals' quality of life, ability to access opportunities, and potential for social advancement. An additional factor to consider is the inequitable allocation of natural resources, including water, energy, and fertile land. Areas with limited resources may face increased competitiveness and conflict, worsening pre-existing inequities. Distribution issues also impact the availability of vital services such as healthcare, education, and social services. Limited access can impede social progress and sustain cycles of poverty.²⁸

Also disparities between developed and developing nations can be visible globally in the form of distribution crises. These discrepancies can have an effect on commerce, capital allocation, and diplomatic connections, so contributing to worldwide instability. Efficient governance is essential for effectively managing distribution crises. The influence of such crises on governance can be comprehended through many aspects. Unequal allocation frequently results in political instability. Discontentment among underprivileged communities can lead to demonstrations, civil disturbances, or even armed confrontations. In order to preserve stability, government must effectively handle these issues. Efficient governance necessitates strategies that tackle disparities in distribution. Insufficient or badly formulated policies can worsen the crisis, whilst well-designed policies can alleviate its effects.

²⁸*Ibid.*

The difficulty lies in formulating policies that achieve a harmonious equilibrium between efficiency and equity.²⁹

A distribution crisis has the potential to compromise the integrity of institutions. Corruption, nepotism, and inefficiency can flourish in situations where the distribution of resources is disputed or seen as unjust. Enhancing institutional integrity is essential for efficient governance. Distribution crises have the potential to demoralize societal cohesion by nurturing differences among various social groups. In order to sustain societal harmony, governance systems must prioritize diversity and work towards building trust among varied communities. Unequal distribution can hinder economic performance by constraining the capacity of specific demographic groups. Efficient government should strive to unleash the economic capacity of every individual, promoting expansion and progress. Also, engaging citizens in decision-making processes can improve governance. Participatory governance guarantees the inclusion of a wide range of viewpoints and ensures that policies are highly adaptable to the demands of different communities.³⁰

Competent governance necessitates focused approaches to tackle distribution crises. Enacting measures like progressive taxation and social welfare programs can effectively mitigate economic disparity. The policies should be specifically tailored to address the needs of the most susceptible people, while still prioritizing economic efficiency. Addressing resource scarcity can be achieved by implementing sustainable practices and ensuring fair distribution of resources, which leads to improve resource management. Policy framers must advocate for policies that achieve a harmonious equilibrium between economic progress as well as environmental preservation. It is crucial to guarantee fair and equal access to vital services. This involves allocating resources towards the development of infrastructure, education, and healthcare, with a specific focus on areas that are currently lacking adequate services.³¹

²⁹ Özlem Onaran (2009). A Crisis of Distribution. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Mar. 28 - Apr. 3, 2009, Vol. 44, No. 13, (Mar. 28-Apr. 3, 2009). P-171-178. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40278677>

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

It is essential for authorities and policy makers to give utmost importance to inclusivity and accessibility when providing services. Enhancing institutional integrity through anti-corruption measures, openness, and accountability is crucial for efficient governance. Institutions must possess the ability to effectively oversee resources and impartially tackle issues related to distribution. Resolving distribution crises necessitates collaboration among communities. Cooperative endeavors among the government, people and non-governmental groups can also effectively address challenges such as economic disparity and the problem of limited resources.³²

In this regard, the scholar conducted a case study in Kamala Nagar (Chawngte Village)³³ to understand the distribution of goods and services. The study shows that the level of education available in Kamala Nagar was decent because the local populace could access college level education. It is important to note that Govt. Kamala Nagar College was established on 4th April 1992 to ensure higher education for minorities in the area just few years after attaining statehood. Also, it is noteworthy that this area is a Chakma³⁴ inhabited area. The government managed to reach the southernmost part of the state and provide not only school education but also higher education to minority communities in the state. The village also has a Primary Health Centre (PHC) for Kamala Nagar under the supervision of a medical doctor. It can be said that, the residents of Kamala Nagar Village are provided basic health care from the government. It shows that authorities managed to provide health care and higher education in the southernmost part of the state. It means that the government is providing the bare minimum and there are rooms for improvement. On the other hand, the study found that during monsoon electric supply is terrible

³²*Ibid.*

³³Kamalanagar (Chawngte Village) is located at the southern part of Mizoram at Lawngtlai District. It is also the headquarter of Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC). It is 308.8 kms (via National Highway 2) away from the capital Aizawl.

³⁴The Chakmas are one of the Buddhist communities in the Indian sub-continent. They have their own age old culture, language and scripts. They primarily live in the Chittagong Hills Tracts of Bangladesh, Chin and Arakan provinces of Myanmar (Burma), in the North-Eastern Indian states of Mizoram (along the international boundary with Bangladesh), in the northern and southern districts of Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and in West Bengal.

and residents of the village faced many problems because of shortage of power supply. Also, the study shows that road connectivity to Kamala Nagar is awful and during monsoon season travelers from the village had to take a layover of one night at Lunglei³⁵ on their way to capital city Aizawl. In other words the state highway between Lunglei and Kamala Nagar is barely motor able. The traveling hour between Aizawl and Kamala Nagar (having a distant of 308.8 KM) is around 12 hours. It means vehicle can move only around 25 km/hr. This shows that authority is providing bare minimum of basic needs to the residents of Kamala Nagar.

Similarly, a case study was conducted at Dungtlang Village.³⁶ According to the 2018 Village Profile and Development Indicator survey by the Department of Economics and Statistics, Government of Mizoram, the village has 205 households and 1100 populace.³⁷ Also, Dungtlang village is located on the eastern most side of Mizoram near to Indo-Myanmar boarder. There is a government high school with 7 teachers. It is functioning properly. Also, the village has one government middle school and one government primary school. This is a good example for the state government to show that there are providing education facilities in every nook and corner of the state. Good education facilities will boost human resources in the state. Moreover, the village is equipped with a Health Sub-Centre with one health and wellness officer and one health worker. The study finds that road connectivity to Dungtlang village is satisfactory because of the improvement of national highway no.6 which connects Dungtlang village. On the other hand, the study reveals that residents of Dungtlang village sometimes faced shortage of water and electric supply. It is primarily because authorities do not provide proper water storage or tank for the village. There is no proper water storage facilities in the village. The study also finds that during monsoon electric supply is not very regular in the village. It means that the village faces frequent shortage of power during monsoon when people

³⁵Lunglei is the second largest city in Mizoram. It is located on the southern part of Mizoram.

³⁶Dungtlang Village is located at Khawbung Development Area in Champhai District. It is also under East Tuipui Assembly Constituency. It is located 225.5 kms away (via National Highway 6) from the capital Aizawl.

³⁷*Village Profile & Development Indicators 2017-2018 Mizoram State*. Directorate of Economic and Statistic, Government of Mizoram. Mizoram Statistical Development Agency. P- 113.

needed electric supply the most. This shows that state government is neglecting the basic needs of the people and fails to provide good water and power supply.

From the above it can be said that successful implementation of programs necessitates a strong determination and dedication from political leaders. Political leaders often exhibit hesitancy in implementing redistributive measures, primarily due to the influence of vested interests or resistance from influential factions. The scarcity of resources can impede the initiatives to solve the distribution crises. The study shows that, authorities are providing at least the basic necessities to the people. At the same time, it is not good enough. For instance cooking gas are not easily available throughout the year in these villages (Kamala Nagar and Dungtlang). No doubt they are available but in comparison with urban areas it is irregular. It can be said that authorities should try to distribute all essential items including gas to meet the need of the people. Thus, the social condition and resource availability in these villages is not enough to enhance socio-economic conditions of the residents. It is important to note that effective governance necessitates the meticulous distribution of resources and the prioritization of critical domains. The study shows that the government is facing problems to reach out to people who are located far away from the capital (Aizawl). It simply means that resources are concentrated in the city rather than being distributed equally in all villages in Mizoram. So, it can be said that authorities are failing to address the basic necessities of the people settling in the rural areas in the state. Thus, there is some kind of distribution crisis in Mizoram.

6.6. DEVELOPMENT SEQUENCES

The orders in which these crises occur and the methods used to address them largely determine the specific trajectory of development in a political system. In the history of England, which serves as a model for modern democracies, it is important to notice that the development followed a specific route where crises emerged somewhat independently and mostly in the order it is described above. Early on, the English formed a strong national identity. They had already addressed the question of the monarchy and government's legitimacy before the issue of expanding participation arose. Furthermore, concerns about the distribution of

resources only became significant after the political system had been fairly well integrated. On the other hand, the growth of the continental European system revealed more disorderly patterns. In Italy and Germany, the process of nation-building did not include a definitive answer to the problem of national identity. In France, issues about legitimacy and the challenges of insufficient integration have consistently hindered national progress and exacerbated the distribution crisis. The cumulative and simultaneous nature of the crises on the continent resulted in notable distinctions between the European and British systems.³⁸

The narrative in contemporary Asia and Africa appears to align more closely with the continental experience than with either the British or American contexts. Across many newly established states, multiple crises are emerging simultaneously, prompting governments to strategically leverage the distribution crisis as a means to address the identity issue. In these cases, the efforts to improve the quality of life are largely associated with promoting a sense of fundamental allegiance to the nation.³⁹ From the above case studies it can be said that some of the crises are almost non observable in the context of Mizoram. On the other hand most of the crises are very much relevant in Mizoram. The quality of services provided by the authorities both in education and health sector may not be like that of other states. But, the government is providing services that suffice the bare minimum of the people in rural areas of the state. However, it is important to note that the case study (this chapter) mainly focuses on daily and basic needs of the people which are crucial for socio-economic development. Thus, it can be said that there are some issues of political development (crises of political development according to Pye) particularly in the issue of identity, penetration, participation, integration and distribution in Mizoram.

³⁸Pye. Aspect of Political Development. *Op.cit.*

³⁹*Ibid.*

CHAPTER – VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The concept of political development is a relatively recent addition to the discipline of politics or political science. Some may argue that politics is a universal phenomenon, intrinsically impervious to the influence of time or geography. Over the past few years, there has been a noticeable surge in comprehending and broadening the notion of political development. After the two World Wars and the emergence of new nation-states, political development has emerged as the main agenda for many countries. While the phrase may be subject to individual variation, it is common for people to have slightly divergent interpretation of the term. Moreover, the understanding of the term varies from one nation-state to the other. For example:- political development for a developed country may be improving its military condition and securing its internal security. Whereas, political development for a developing country may be define by improving its infrastructure. This shows that the term and understanding of the concept of political development differs.

Political development as a concept is complex and difficult to define. In fact different scholars define the term. Lucian Pye is one of the scholars who studies political development by examining different political system. He asserts that political development often involves the active involvement and extensive participation of citizens in political endeavors. Participation may be characterized as either democratic or as an expression of totalitarian mobilization. Nonetheless, the paramount aspect is that individuals must evolve into active citizens, necessitating the implementation of popular governance and equality is crucial for active participation. Pye writes that there are three aspect of political development. They are Equality, Capacity and Differentiation or Specialization. Equality necessitates that the law be universal in character, applicable to all individuals, and function in a fundamentally impersonal manner. This necessitates the creation of a formalized legal framework and well defined legal protocols. Furthermore, the crucial issue is acknowledging the principle that all individuals, regardless of money or status, must adhere to the same legal standards. Ultimately, equality implies that the selection for

political positions should be predicated on performance standards rather than traditional societal norms. In an advanced political system, it is commonly presumed that candidates for public office have demonstrated adequate merit and that officeholders have successfully undergone a competitive assessment of competence.

The second aspect of political development according to Pye is the capacity of a political system. Capacity, in a broader context, alludes to the results generated by a political system and the extent to which the system can impact the broader spheres of society and the economy. Capacity is also associated with governmental performance and the elements that determine that performance. The efficacy of the government is seen as the foundation of political development within the society. Capacity generally denotes the wide volume, breadth, and scale of political and governmental performance. It is presumed that advanced systems or nations have the ability and resources to execute a wider array of functions and exert a more significant influence on several facets of social life than their less advanced counterparts. Furthermore, the efficacy of the political system is intricately connected to the characteristics of its administration and its secular stance on policy. The term capacity denotes the level of efficacy and efficiency in the execution of public policy. Developed systems are assumed to possess a broader range of functionalities, exhibit greater efficiency, and have a better level of comprehensiveness in their operations. Thus, a noticeable trend towards the professionalization of government organizations is evident. The focus on efficiency and effectiveness also leads to internationally recognized performance standards. Capacity refers to the efficacy and efficiency of the government in the implementation of the public policy. It can also be characterized as rationality in governance and a secular approach to policy.

Finally, according to Pye political development implies the differentiation and specialization of structures within the political system. It is essential for analyzing institutions and structures. It mostly involves the differentiation and specialization of structures. Government offices and agencies generally have specific and defined functions, reflecting the principle of division of labor. The political system has various departments or structures, each with its own

functional specialization. These departments or entities are fundamental components for the political advancement of a nation-state. The functional specialization of these structures led to advancements in other disciplines, thereby fostering political progress. Consequently, political development encompasses comprehensive economic, social, political, infrastructural, and human advancement. Differentiation results in enhanced functional specialization and varied political functions within the system. It also includes the amalgamation of intricate structures and processes. Differentiation denotes a process that does not entail the fragmentation or separation of distinct components within the political system. It involves specialization grounded in a fundamental sense of integration.

The aforementioned three themes (equality, capacity, and differentiation or specialization) provide a significant theory for assessing the nature of political development within the state. According to Lucian Pye, the character of political development within a political system can be assessed by a) the degree of equality in the State. b) The capacity (performance, efficiency, and effectiveness) of the political system. c) The function of various entities within the political system and their efficacy. The concept of political development encompasses three characteristics: equality, capacity, and differentiation. The extent of a country's political development of a country or province can be assessed using these characteristics.

In the context of equality in Mizoram, the study reveals that majority of the respondents are opposed to the functioning of the Autonomous District Council (ADC) in Mizoram. However, it is important to mention that all the participants from the Lawngtlai district (which falls under the Autonomous District Council) are in favor of the operation of the Autonomous District Council in Mizoram. At the same time, majority of the respondents from the non-ADC area do not support the functioning of the Autonomous District Council (ADC) in Mizoram, whereas a small number of participants from the non-ADC area are also in favor of it. Therefore, it is evident that respondents from the non-ADC area do not support the functioning of the ADC in Mizoram. There are two possibilities on why majority of respondents from non-ADC areas not supporting ADC. One reason could be that majority of the Mizo like to unite all residents of the state without giving any special privileges to a

certain population, which can be seen as promoting equality. Furthermore, majority of the respondents opposed the functioning of the ADC, as the three ADC title are based on ethnic line.

People from non-ADC areas opposed or do not endorse the establishment of an Autonomous District Councils in Mizoram. On the other hand, people from minority communities in Mizoram believe that special provisions for social, political, and economic are necessary for the survival and growth of their respective communities. Based on the study, it can be concluded that some minority communities in Mizoram may not have access to equal opportunities because of the absence of unity among the populace. This issue may cause disarray among different communities which obstruct achieving equality in the state. Here, it is important to note that, Pye asserts that promoting equality across all section of society is crucial for political development.

The study also indicates that there are people in the Mizo society who lack comprehension regarding the significance of empowering minority communities in order to attain inclusive political development in the state. It is crucial to acknowledge that prioritizing and addressing the issues faced by minority communities is vital for achieving political development in the state. Pye's notion of political development emphasizes the importance of equality as a catalyst for political development, but the study shows that equality is more or less missing in some part of the state. The absence of unity among the people of Mizoram indicates that attaining equality remains a distant objective rather than a tangible reality. Therefore, it may be asserted that the anticipated political development remains unattainable due to the lack of equality among the populace. Thus, the absence of consensus among people, even among the Zo-Ethnic groups, may result in confusion, inequality, and therefore impede the process of political development within the state.

Political development often depends on the effectiveness of a political system. The effectiveness of the political system is based on its capacity. Capacity, in a broader sense, is associated with the results generated by a political system, as well

as the extent to which the system can exert influence on the broader domains of society and the economy. Capacity is connected to the performance of the government and the elements that impact such success. The performance of the government is considered crucial for the advancement of the society. Capacity primarily refers to the vast extent, breadth, and size of political and governmental performance. There is a common belief that advanced systems or countries have the ability and potential to carry out a wider variety of activities and have a more significant influence on many facets of social life compared to less advanced systems. Furthermore, the effectiveness of the political system is intricately connected to the character of its administration and its approach to policy. Capacity also refers to the level of effectiveness and efficiency in carrying out governmental policies. Efficient and effective implementation of policies and programmes leads to socio-economic development.

The capacity of the state government is examined in three socio-economic service sectors like agriculture, tourism and education. The Agriculture department has been implementing a variety of centrally and state Sponsored Schemes. There is a specialized agriculture institution namely the School of Agricultural Science in Hnahthial (a town located in the southern part of Mizoram) that is solely focused on the field of Agricultural Science. This shows that authorities are trying their best to enhance the capacity of the state in agriculture and allied sector to achieve socio-economic development and enhance the process of political development. Also, the study reveals that administrative structure in the agriculture department is well organized and has the potential to amplify the capacity of the state. On the other hand, the study shows that the issue of shortage of man power needs to be addressed to improve the capacity of the agriculture department in Mizoram.

The study found that the budget allocated to the agriculture and allied sector in the past five years accounted less than 10% of the overall state budget. It shows that the capacity of the government may not match the expectation of the public. Furthermore, it is noteworthy to mention here that over half of the respondents did not support the land-based policies such as the New Land Use Policy

(NLUP) introduced by the Congress government (from 2008 to 2018) and the Socio-Economic Development Programme (SEDP) implemented by the Mizo National Front (MNF) Government (from 2018 to 2023) in the state of Mizoram. In short, the flagship programme of the government related with land-based policies is lacking supports of the people. This also shows that these policies are not having an impact on the socio-economy of the state.

The study reveals that more than half of the respondents expressed their lack of support for the agricultural initiatives and policies implemented by the state. It is crucial to understand that National Land Use Policy and Sustainable Economic Development Policy are two distinct land use policies executed by the previous ministries. These policies involved the distribution of trade-related commodities to the beneficiaries based on their chosen trade, with agriculture being the primary trade sector. The selected beneficiaries were distributed cash to start their chosen trade. The study finds that most of the respondents were opposed to receiving freebies, from the government. An interesting finding from the study reveals that just over half of the total respondents believe that every ministry/government in Mizoram, both past and present, has failed to effectively promote agriculture and safeguard the interests of farmers in the state. Likewise, more than one-third of the respondents believe that while authorities have made some progress, their efforts are insufficient to promote socio-economic development in the state through the agriculture and allied sector. Additionally, it is noteworthy that only small number of respondents holds the view that authorities have made significant strides in the agriculture sector to enhance socio-economic progress and increase the level of political development in the state.

The study also shows that majority of the respondents believe that both past and present authorities have not effectively promoted the agriculture sector in the state. This shows that there are rooms for improvement particularly in the agriculture sector to increase the capacity of the state and hence achieved socio-economic and political development. Also, the inadequate budget allocation in the agriculture and allied sector may contribute to the perception that authorities fail to address the needs of the agriculture sector in the state. The study indicates that

majority of the respondents do not support the socio-economic policies that have been implemented by the governments in the past. These may be due to improper implementation, and lack of sufficient monitoring mechanisms. The study reveals that the capacity of the government in the agriculture and allied sector is more or less insufficient to accomplish socio-economic development that will enhance political development in the state.

Coming to the tourism department under the government of Mizoram, it is found that the department has been managing several tourist lodges inside the state to meet the needs of the government, general public, and tourists visiting the state. It generates employment opportunities for hotel professionals and local persons who have a keen interest in hotel vocations and are skilled at meeting the demands of tourists. The government has implemented several efforts to promote the growth of tourism inside the state by generating income from tourist lodges. These lodges are the main accommodation choices for travelers, especially in towns and villages, because they have reduced rental fees compared to private hotels. However, the study shows that these facilities are not sufficient to generate adequate revenue for the state.

The study finds that, the budget of tourism department in Mizoram over the past five years has barely exceeded 1% of the entire budget. It is important to note that the budget allocation may reflect the capacity of the state in the tourism sector. Furthermore, the tourism sector is confronted with a shortage of human resources. It can be mentioned here that Mizoram is having the capacity to promote tourism industry. Unfortunately, the state government lacks a meticulous planning and implementation of projects in the tourism sector. This clearly shows that authorities and policy makers need to step in and address tourism sector in the state. However, despite its limited budget, the department is trying to promote tourism to the maximum. The study also finds that there are successful private investors who invest in tourism industry without the support and intervention from the government. The diverse cultural heritage, extensive biodiversity, and prospects for wildlife and adventure tourism in Mizoram render it as highly attractive to the tourist.

Many people believe that Mizoram possesses significant potential in the tourism sector to enhance the state's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It is noteworthy that a majority of the respondents expressed that the scenic beauty and geography of Mizoram offer substantial potential in the tourist sector, with the potential to boost the economy of the state. It simply means that majority of the people share that Mizoram possesses huge capacity in the tourism industry to enhance the revenue and stimulate the economy of the state. The study also reveals that majority of the respondents believe that both past and present governments have been inadequate or ineffective in their efforts to develop the tourism sector. It can be mentioned here that the tourism sector in Mizoram has the capacity to convert it as a tourism industry. However, the state government has not given first priority to the tourism sector. If the state government harnessed the potential of tourism effectively, tourism can serve as a fundamental catalyst for socio-economic development and thus lead to political development of Mizoram.

In the education sector, Mizoram has made a remarkable progress in the post-independent India. The improvement is achieved with the combined efforts of the administration and the active involvement of the people. Mizoram is considered a relatively new participant in the field of education. The literacy rate of Mizoram has consistently risen over the years. Based on the 1901 census data, the literacy rate stood at a mere 0.9%. According to the 2001 census, the percentage had increased to 88.80%. Mizoram achieved a literacy rate of 91.33% in the latest 2011 census. The School Education Department of the state is dedicated to achieving universal literacy in the near future. The capacity of the department is apparent from the financial budget allotment of the government.

The study indicates that the department of school education receives the largest budget allocation among the various sectors (examined here in the thesis). It infers that education is given priority and is regarded as one of the most important sector by the government. In other words, the government is prioritizing school education in the state. The budget allotment to the education department will enable it to enhance social progress in the state. Nevertheless, it might be argued that relying solely on budget allocation may not be sufficient to determine the state's capability in

the education sector. The study shows that, under the education department there are 9933 sanctioned post in school education department. Out of which there are 4496 sanctioned posts are lying vacant. Authorities must fill up the vacant position in the education department to avoid manpower crisis. The study shows that majority of respondents indicated that they have convenient access to government schools and colleges from their homes. The study indicates that all the respondents can easily access educational institutions operated by the government. This demonstrates the presence of government educational institution throughout the districts. The easy access to government institutions indicates that the government is trying its best in fulfilling its responsibilities in the education sector. However, there are rooms for improvement in many areas in the education sector. More than half of the respondents have a preference for private educational institutions than government educational institution. This indicates that the majority of the respondents consider the private school better than the government funded schools. It is because of various factors including academic outcomes, school facilities, school atmosphere, and teacher dedication. It can be concluded that the state has the capability in the education sector to attain social growth and progress, while there is still a room for improvement.

The above paragraphs indicates the capacity of the state government from the three chosen departments:- agriculture, tourism and education. Majority of the respondents express their dissatisfaction with the performance of the government. It can be argues that the lackluster performance of the government in these sectors indicates the capacity of the state. At the same time, the state government is doing a decent job in providing basic education sector in different parts of the state. However, it can be said that the government is providing just the bare minimum. The limited capacity of the state in these sectors may be the underlying cause for stagnant socio-economic development of the state which resulted to the low degree of political development.

Political development encompasses the process of differentiation and specialization in various structures within the political system. It is valid to consider institutions and structures when assessing them. It mostly involves the process of

differentiating and specializing structures. Government offices and agencies usually have specific and limited roles, which is similar to the idea of division of labor. The political system is a composite of various departments or structures, each with its own distinct functional specialization. These departments or entities are crucial components for social progress of a state. The functional specialization carried out by these entities led to advancements in various sectors, ultimately contributing to political development. Hence, political development encompasses comprehensive progress in the realms of economy, society, politics, infrastructure, and human development. Differentiation results in an increased degree of functional specialization and a wider range of political functions within the system. It also includes the incorporation of intricate structures and procedures. Differentiation involves a specialization that is based on a core sense of integration.

Coming to the differentiation and specialization, the study covers the health and sport sectors. In the health sector, the state government has initiated and implemented various policies and programmes in the last two decade or so. To understand the nature of differentiation and specialization of the state The Mizoram Health Insurance Scheme (MHIS) was introduced in April 2008 in Mizoram. The objective was to tackle the deficiency in healthcare accessibility. Originally, it was established as a public-private partnership, but it subsequently transitioned to a self-financed model. The introduction of MSHCS was a notable step towards enhancing the accessibility of medical treatment, particularly for ailments necessitating hospitalization and surgical procedures. The main objective of the health insurance plan is to alleviate the economic burden resulting from medical expenses, by providing financial assistance. The program was initially established through a partnership between the Mizoram government, an insurance organization, a third-party administrator, and a network of authorized hospitals. However, there was widespread dissatisfaction and skepticism towards the program because insurance providers were perceived as being unconcerned and inflexible when it came to settlement of claims.

The healthcare system in Mizoram has transitioned to a self-funded approach since 2011,. The Mizoram State Health Care Society is in charge of

executing the Rashtriya Swasthya BimaYojana. It primarily targets individuals who do not have health insurance. Its objective is to tackle the pressing necessity of diminishing financial barriers that hinder individuals from obtaining crucial healthcare services. Prior to the implementation of the Mizoram healthcare program, marginalized communities often resorted to borrowing money, selling their possessions, or forgoing medical treatment altogether. This underscores the significance of the program in reducing financial obstacles to addressing healthcare. The Health and Family Welfare Department, Government of Mizoram, is working together with the World Bank to conduct the 'Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project' (MHSSP). The goal of the project is to improve the health of the people living in Mizoram. The Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project was inaugurated on 3rd September, 2021. The Health and Family Welfare Department which operates under the Government of Mizoram, is now implementing the Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project (MHSSP) with the support from the World Bank. The primary goal of the project is to improve the general health status of the population in the state. This shows that authorities are working to improve health sector in the state

The main goal of the MHSSP is to augment the managerial competence and elevate the quality of healthcare facilities in Mizoram. The project involves a financial investment to improve the administrative capacities and raise the quality of healthcare services in Mizoram, with a particular emphasis on meeting the needs of neglected areas. The program seeks to improve the governance and management framework of the Department of Health and Family Welfare and its subsidiaries. It is to improve the quality and scope of services offered by the health department. Also, it directs resources towards an extensive Quality Assurance program that aims to enable the certification of healthcare institutions depending on their level of quality.

The Health & Family Welfare Department underwent a division in 2004, by establishing two distinct departments: Health Services and Hospital & Medical Education Department. The Principal Director has authority over these departments. The Health Services Directorate functions autonomously and supervises healthcare institutions in rural areas. A Senior Chief Medical Officer is in charge of each

district. In addition, there is a separate Directorate that is responsible for supervising Medical Institutions, Hospitals, and other relevant affairs. Furthermore, it is responsible for carrying out educational, instructional, and research endeavors in the realm of medicine, while also delivering patient care services. The above demonstrates that health services, hospital services, and medical education services has a well structured administrative framework. The Health department can be described as having implemented a meticulously planned functional specialization structure. This would undoubtedly enhance the efficiency of the department as it will enable the relevant authority to address any health sector-related issues with ease.

The state government is putting their best effort but the study finds that the budget allocation for the health department is very low. Over the past five years, the allocation has exceeded 5% of the entire budget. This demonstrates that the state government is not giving priority to the health sector. The neglect of healthcare sector might lead to a stagnated socio-economic development in the state. The study reveals that half of the respondents are of the opinion that the health facilities of the government are satisfactory; also, some respondents expressed the belief that government-managed health facilities are poor in quality. On the other hand, some of respondents expressed confidence in the ability of the government facilities to cure all types of illnesses. It means people have different opinion regarding the health facilities in the state. Moreover, the study shows that there are scores of medical referred cases outside the state. It means people are spending lots of money on health related issues outside the state. This shows that the medical facilities in the state are not up to the expectation of the people.

Moreover, people prefer to go to private hospital for medical treatment. The study shows that nearly two-thirds of the respondents have a preference for private hospitals while seeking medical treatment or for hospitalization. It shows that private firms, specifically private hospitals, are highly proficient in delivering healthcare services to the people. Maximum number of the respondents is of the opinion that having a state-of-the-art healthcare sector, equipped with modern facilities and an adequate workforce, can lead to socio-economic development of the state. According to the study, there is a strong relation between a well-functioning

healthcare system and socio-economic development of a state. Therefore, it is crucial that authorities and legislators prioritized enhancing health facilities and infrastructure in the state to increase the nature of political development.

The study also analyses sport sector in Mizoram to understand the specialization of the state government. Mizoram is well-known for its fervent dedication to sports, whether they are traditional or modern. Notably, the Cabinet Ministers meeting held on May 22, 2020, granted approval to make sports as a 'industry' inside the state. Mizoram is presently the only state in India that has officially acknowledged sports as an industry. The decision of the cabinet meeting sent out a positive message to the sports community of the state. The granting of industrial status to sports in Mizoram is expected to significantly improve the sports sector, which has been facing several challenges related to infrastructure and, to some extent, support.

The Department of Sports and Youth Services (SYS), Government of Mizoram is working for the promotion and development of youth and sports in the state. In addition, the Mizoram State Sports Council, an independent unit operating under the jurisdiction of the department of sports and youth services, was established under the Mizoram Sport Council Act 2002. The primary objective is to promote and promote the development and expansion of games and sports within the state of Mizoram. Moreover, the Mizoram Sports Policy, 2020 was launched and implemented by the Government of Mizoram with the aim of promoting sports in the state. The policy exemplifies the intention of the government to promote the sports industry in the state. For example, the policy includes the promotion of fair and just behavior, steadfast dedication, and a strong desire for competition among athletes. On the other hand, man power inadequacy in the sports department can be an obstacle for delivering rapid and efficient service to the public

However, during the past five years, the allocation of funds to the sports sector has consistently remained below 1% of the entire budget of the state. Despite facing financial constraints, the authorities in the sport department are making every effort to promote sports and enhance sports infrastructure in the state. The study

reveals that more than half of the respondents believe that the state government is performing satisfactorily in the sports sector, although it just falls short of their expectations. Furthermore, over one-third of the respondents believe that the efforts of the government in boosting the sports sector in Mizoram are commendable. According to the study, a majority of the people (respondents) view the effort of the state government in the sports sector as positive or outstanding. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents believe that the government is providing good sports training facilities in the state, but there are rooms for improvement. It is remarkable that none of the respondents believe that the government completely failed to provide enough sports amenities. In other words, the government is effectively promoting sports in the state. It demonstrates the ability of the sports industry to elevate the level of socio-economic progress in the state. Therefore, it can be said that the government is offering satisfactory sports facilities to the people. In short, the sports industry in Mizoram has met the expectation of the people and has the potential to uplift the socio-economic development of the state.

From the above study, it can be concluded that except for the sports sector, majority of the respondents are not satisfied with the initiative taken by the state in other sectors (Agriculture, Education, Tourism and Health). The study shows that in all five departments there is a problem or shortage of workforce. It indicates that under the state government they fail to fill up the sanctioned vacant post in various departments. Moreover, the budget allocation in various departments is not enough to initiate and implement effective programmes and policies for socio-economic development. It simply means that these departments are allocated funds just enough to manage themselves. The study also shows that five of the crises namely identity crisis, penetration crisis, participation crisis, integration and distribution crisis which Pye mentioned in relevant in Mizoram. Therefore, after analyzing these five departments and crises of political development from Pye's concept it can be concluded that the political system (government) is not in a position to initiate socio-economic development that will lead to political development in Mizoram.

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ANNEXURE I- Questionnaire

I am T. Lalremruata a PhD scholar in the Department of Political Science, Mizoram University (MZU). Currently, I am writing my thesis, “Political Development in Mizoram: Contextualizing Lucian Pye’s Concept”. So, I kindly request you to answer the following set of questions which is related with Political Development in Mizoram. **Please take note that your identity will be confidential.**

Sex: Male / Female

Age:

Qualification:

Locality:

District:

Occupation:

1. How did you identify yourself?
2. Are you committed to your religion?
3. What Religion do you follow? _____
If you are a Christian what kind of denomination are you committed to?

4. Do you believe in separation of religion and politics?
5. Do you think that there is division/discrimination based on ethnicity in Mizoram?
6. *Mitthi in riah (traditional practice of the Mizo where bachelors of the community sleep three or more nights in someone’s house who have lost their love one to offer help of any kind and tranquillity)* is deeply rooted in Mizo Culture, but recently due to many reasons many localities have stopped the practice. So, are you still in favour of this tradition?
7. Zu (liquor) was associated with Mizo culture and most of the times it was used reasonably. But after the British it was banned which lasted till date. Do you think that Zu is a sin which disrupted Mizo society?
8. Will you be able to support any government/ministry for the overall development of Mizoram?
9. Do you think that the government is doing enough to preserve and protect cultural values and practices of the Mizo?

10. Before Mizo society was self-sufficient without any outside intervention but today Mizoram is hardly self sufficient do you think that the government is responsible?
 11. Do you think that you have the opportunity to be fulfil your potential under any initiative taken by the government
 12. Were you in favour of lockdowns during Covid-19 surge in Mizoram
 13. Sir/Madam, Do you think that women have an equal chance like that of Men to be elected as MLA/EM/Councillor/VC/LC member in Mizoram.
 14. Sir/Madam, are you in favour of the existence of Autonomous District Council (Lai, Mara, Chakma) in Mizoram?
 15. Do you think that the non-mizo residents (chakma, Bru, nepali etc.) contributed to development in Mizoram?
 - 15 (1) Do you think that the interest of these Minority groups in Mizoram are protected or preserved?
 16. Do you think that identity crisis is a factor for stagnant or low level of development in Mizoram?
 17. Do you support different cultures/people living in peace at the same place; do you think that this practise will be helpful for the development of Mizoram?
 18. Are you in favour of Inner Line Permit (ILP)?
 19. Do you think that the government is doing a good job in enforcing the ILP
 20. Whom do you trust to enforce strict ILP rules in Mizoram?
 21. Do you feel that you have any kind of disadvantage to be elected as MLA/MP/EM base on your place of birth/ residence?
 22. Did you ever feel that your locality/area is overlook/neglected in terms of overall development?
 23. Do you trust the electoral process in India; do you think that it is free and fair?
-
24. What are your thoughts on the contribution of Mizoram People's Forum (MPF) in Election in Mizoram?

25. After achieving statehood are you satisfy with the condition and overall development of Mizoram?
26. Sir/Madam, do you think that the government's approach in dealing with overall development in the state is good?
27. Is there any disaster response dept. like fire department/disaster management department etc. in your locality/village/town?
28. Is there any police station/outpost in your locality/village/town?
29. One of the most popular daily newspapers in Mizoram is Vanglaini. Did you subscribe to the newspaper?
30. In the past 4 months has any one of the state ministers/MLA/Opposition MLA/ Party leaders visited your locality/village/town?
31. Are you in favour in land use policies like NLUP/SEDP/MIP etc.
32. There have been many protest and agitations by several civil society organizations, were you ever a part of these movements?
- 26 (1) Do you think that these kinds of pressure given to the government resulted to a positive outcome
33. What kind of educational institution is there in your locality/village/town
34. (1) If there is no educational institution in your village/locality then how far is it
35. Is your village/locality ever visited by district education officials?
36. Are you satisfied with the performance of govt. teachers in your village/locality
37. What are the conditions of school infrastructure in your locality/village?
38. Do you think that recruitment of teacher post in Mizoram is free and fair
39. Which school do you prefer?
40. What is the road condition inside and around your locality/village/town?
41. Do you think that the government is doing enough for farmers/growers in Mizoram
42. Do you think Mizoram can be self-sufficient in rice
43. Are development programmes like MGNREGA/NLUP/SEDP/MIP being implemented in your locality?

44. Are you satisfied with the government's effort/initiative towards farming/agriculture/horticulture in Mizoram?

45. Is there any basic health facility in your locality/village/town like primary health care centre?

46. What are your thoughts on the authorities in handling the covid-19 virus in your area?

47. What are your thoughts on health facilities in Mizoram?

48. Sadly, cancer is very popular in Mizoram, are you satisfied with cancer related facilities in Mizoram

49. Where do you think you will receive better care?

50. Do you think that ZMC and Civil hospital is good enough to treat all health complications

51. Do you think that Mizoram have a huge potential to earn revenue from tourism

52. According to you, is the government neglecting tourism sector in Mizoram

53. Would you support legalization of local beverages like buh zu, zu pui to attract more tourist

54. Does the state government provided you with any of these facilities indoor stadiums (Boxing, badminton etc.), gymnasium in your locality/village/town?

55. Has any member of your locality/village/town represented Mizoram in several sports discipline?

56. The current ministry is trying its best to improve skill development especially in the field of sport. Do you think that the efforts of the government are enough to produce successful sportsmen?

57. Is there any water supply/distribution scheme in your locality/village/town by the Public Health Engineering Department (PHED) Govt. of Mizoram?

58. What is the condition of power/electric supply in your locality/village/town?

59. Is there any LPG (gas) supplier in your locality/village/town?

60. Sir/Madam is there any Civil Supply Godown (Govt. Of Mizoram) in your locality/village/town?

61. Are you satisfied with the goods that you get it from Govt. fair price shop?
62. With regards to Covid-19 Pandemic do you think that the state is doing a good job?
63. Is there any area where you think that the government would improve in dealing with covid-19?
64. On what basis do you cast your vote?

ANNEXTURE II- Photos from the field work



Interviewed Tushar Chakma at his resident
at Chawngte on 7th December, 2022



Interviewed LalropuiaChinzah Executive
Member,LADC at his office chamber



InterviewdB.Lalramchhana, Vice
president of Mizoram Bawm Students
Association on 29th March 2023



Interviewed Robin Jaisi on 29th March,
2023



Interviewed Nicholas C.Lianmawi on
29th March, 2023



Interviewed Christina Roluahpuii Sailo
on 25th September, 2023



Interviewed Margaret Thanthuami on
20th March, 2024



Interviewed Andrew Laltlanzara on
6th December, 2022



Interviewed V.L.Hmangaihchhunga on 19th March, 2024



Interviewed Mr. Awmtea on 5th October, 2022



Interviewed C. Lalsangpuia on 11th October, 2023



Interviewed Dr.Lalrinchhani on 20th March, 2023



Interviewed H. Lalthianghlina on 5th November, 2023



Interviewed Dr. R. Lalthangliana on 9th July, 2024



Interviewed Lalramthanga on 18th March, 2023



Interviewed Lalrindika Ralte on 27th April, 2023



Interviewed Dr.Lalnuntluangi on
20th March, 2024



Interviewed Laldinlana on 19th March,
2023



Field work at Kolasib



Field work at Lawngtlai



Field work at Mamit



Interviewed Prof Malsawmliana on 29th October, 2024



Field work at Kamala Nagar



Field work at Dungtlang



Interviewed Pu C.Ngunlianchung



Field work at Champhai



Field work at Khanpui

BRIEF BIO-DATA OF THE CANDIDATE

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1	HSLC	III	2009	MBSE
2	HSSLC	II	2011	MBSE
3	BA	I	2014	MZU
4	MA	I	2016	MZU
5	M.Phil.	A+	2018	MZU

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Date of Academic Council meeting :

Ph.D. Registration & Date : MZU/Ph.D./1307 of 26.07.2019

Department : Political Science

Title of the Thesis : Political Development in Mizoram: Contextualizing
Lucian Pye's context

Supervisor : Prof. Ayangbam Shyamkishor

PARTICULARS OF THE CANDIDATE

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Date of Admission	: 26.7.2019
Approval of Research Proposal	
1. DRC	: 16.9. 2019
2. BOS	: 18.9.2019
3. School Board	: 1.10.2019
MZU Registration No.	: 898 of 2011
Ph. D. Registration no & Date	: MZU/Ph.D./1307 of 26.07.2019
Extension	: NIL

HEAD

Department of Political Science

ABSTRACT

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MIZORAM: CONTEXTUALIZING LUCIAN PYE'S CONCEPT

**AN ABSTRACT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULLFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY**

T. LALREMRUATA

MZU REGISTRATION NO.: 898 of 2011

Ph. D. REGISTRATION NO.: MZU/Ph.D./1307 of 26.07.2019



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DECEMBER, 2024

**POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MIZORAM: CONTEXTUALIZING
LUCIAN PYE'S CONCEPT**

BY

T. LALREMRUATA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Supervisor

Prof. AYANGBAM SHYAMKISHOR

SUBMITTED

**In partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Political Science in Mizoram University, Aizawl.**

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MIZORAM: CONTEXTUALIZING LUCIAN PYE'S CONCEPT

ABSTRACT

The concept of political development has become the main concern for many countries in the recent past. It is due to the scientific advancement and technical knowledge. States also realised their responsibility to focus on overall development. There was a stagnant in the course of political development in the past due to the 1st and 2nd World Wars. Every nation nowadays draws their attention towards political development regardless of experiencing internal and external tensions and conflicts. Every government is trying their best to bring about social and political change in a positive manner. Moreover, nation-states are concerned about human resource development in order to achieve an all-round development of the State. Similarly, every government in Mizoram (since statehood) is trying their best to ensure social and political change in the form of political development. But the nature and level of political development in Mizoram remains uncertain. So, the study analyses the nature of political development in Mizoram from the lens of Lucian Pye's theory of political development.

The idea of political development relates to the changes and progress that occur within the political system over time. These changes aim to enhance and strengthen the institutions, practices and governance. Political development often involves a shift towards the forms of government. This includes establishing institutions upholding the rule of law conducting fair elections and safeguarding individual rights and freedoms. A politically developed society is typically characterized by a level of stability in its politics and the ability to manage conflicts peacefully. Stable political systems are better equipped to address citizens' needs while promoting social progress. Political development involves transitioning towards more democratic forms of government, establishing democratic institutions, ensuring the rule of law, and protecting individual rights and freedoms. It is characterized by political stability, effective institutional capacity and a vibrant civil society. A well-functioning political system can create an environment conducive to

economic growth by providing stability, enforcing property rights and facilitating trade and investment.

Political development is very complex to define as a concept. It is because the term is defined in many ways. Scholars define the term according to their understanding and beliefs. According to IqbalNarain, “Development is necessary, but it does not have to follow a pre-determined unilinear path. Its goals can be set, and its strategies outlined, within different cultural frames of reference”. On the other hand, according to Francis Fukuyama, “Political development is the change over time in political institution”. A cohesive machinery or theory for the measurement of political development remains unidentified. Political development is the direction of aggregative impact of transformative capacity on the lives of the members of a community, it is also a goal-oriented plan realised by the individual; which can be achieved in their social and political life.

According to Gabriel Almond, “Every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientation, meaning and purposes”. This shows that every political system has its own structures and functions. It is true that in the course of history political development differs in each community or society and it was determined by several diverse factors. From the perspective of a State, political development can be labelled as development of economy, improving the living standard of its citizens, advancement in infrastructure and also technological and scientific advancement. However, it is assumed that these are not the only measurable factors of political development because earlier, human development was regarded as political development. This clearly shows that political development cannot be determined by a single factor.

The term political development was ignored for a long time even in the realm of academics. The term political development received attention and recognition after the emergence of Alliances of different countries, particularly Afro-Asian nation alliances in the post-II World War. Social revolution or evolution might occur through the course of history but the level or phase of the desired political development had only a gradual development. Actually, the goal of political development is to achieve minimum conditions of material welfare for the society as a whole. As a result, the minimum measurement of political development should be

according to the conditions and norms of that particular society or State. However, political development can be achieved through an all-round development of the State. In addition, political development can also be understood from three dimensions namely political, social and economic dimension.

There are various ideas, concepts, understanding and studies of political development. This makes it difficult in defining or conceptualizing the term political development. Lucian Pye (1966) studies the diverse definition of the concept of political development. He examined 10 characteristics of political development. They are discussed below:-

1. Political Development as the Political Prerequisite of Economic Development.
2. Political Development as the Politics typical of industrial Society.
3. Political Development as Political Modernization.
4. Political Development as the Operations of a nation-state.
5. Political Development as Administrative and Legal Development.
6. Political Development as Mass Mobilization and Participation.
7. Political Development as the Building of Democracy.
8. Political Development as Stability and Orderly Change.
9. Political Development as Mobilization and Power.
10. Political Development as One Aspect of a Multi-dimensional Process of Social Change.

Lucian Pye examines them and he draws a conclusion that there are three common concepts or three shared characteristics of political development. They are as follows:-

One of the primary characteristics that are commonly observed is a prevailing spirit or attitude towards equality. According to Pye, political development typically encompasses the active engagement and widespread participation of the public in political activities. Participation can be either democratic or as a manifestation of totalitarian mobilization. Equality requires that

law should be of universalistic in nature and must be applicable to all and operating in a manner that is largely impersonal

The second concept of political development that is commonly observed is the capacity of a political system. Capacity, in a broader context is linked to the outcomes produced by a political system, as well as the degree to which the system can exert influence on the wider realms of society and the economy. Capacity is also linked with governmental performance and the factors that influence such performance

Lastly, political development involves differentiation and specialization of structures in the political system. It holds validity when examining institutions and structures. It primarily encompasses the process of differentiation and specialization of structures. Within the government, offices and agencies typically possess discrete and delimited functions, thereby demonstrating a parallel to the concept of division of labour.

There are issues that limit political development of a nation-state. Lucian Pye classifies these issues as Crises of Political Development. They are:-

Identity crisis:- The fundamental crisis of political development is the problem of achieving a common sense of identity. One must have a sense of belonging to the place where they inhabit. Political development cannot take place where an individual lacks the spirit of commitment towards the political system. The identity crisis may also include the problem of traditional heritage and modern practices. If the citizens have the uncertainty of their identity, political development ceased to exist and the idea of a stable nation-state is impossible.

Legitimacy crisis:- The second crisis of political development is the difficulty in achieving conformity about legitimate authority and responsible government. The question of a legitimate government includes sentiments about the aims and objectives of the authorities. According to this view, there can be a crisis of authority because people questioned and challenged the government for a different reason. As a result several leaders are not able to maintain full command of legitimate authority.

Penetration crisis:-The penetration of crisis basically means the problem of government reaching all sections of the society and ineffective public policies. This crisis is related to the difficulties encountered by the government in effectively implementing policies that directly impact the state.

Participation crisis:- In the pursuit of delineating political development, a crucial aspect of this idea entails the augmentation of citizens' involvement. The participation crisis arises when there is a lack of clarity regarding the optimal rate of growth and when the arrival of new participants puts significant pressure on the current institutions.

Integration crisis:-This crisis refers to the challenges associated with aligning popular politics with governments' performance. It serves as a viable and harmonious resolution to both the penetration and participation crisis. The issue of integration applies to the degree to which the entire political entity is structured as a network of interconnected relationships.

Distribution crisis:-Political developments largely depend on the ability of the government in the distribution of goods and services to the citizens. There may be some cases where the authorities ignore one section of the society in favour of the other. In that case issues and problem arises in the State. The efforts of the government to equally distribute the goods and services among the people are some important factors of political development.

Review of Literature

The scholar reviewed 14 books and 4 articles. The review of literature shows that there are literatures on political development. However, there is little literature and no specific study of political development in Mizoram on the context of Lucian Pye. Besides, there is a lack of literature on political development in Mizoram. Therefore, the scholar studies political development in Mizoram in the context of Lucian Pye's concept so that it can fill up some gaps in literature in the field.

Statement of the Problem

People often believed that the state government has not been doing enough to for the overall development of the state. It is assumed that the advancement of political systems inextricably links to the level of equality among citizens. People often hold a belief that equality within the state is merely a myth, and that it is impossible to achieve equality among the general populace since attitudes, emotions and practices differs. It appears that the gap between different ethnic groups is continuously widening in Mizoram. Policy makers and authorities are criticized for showing a lack of concern for the well-being of different ethnic minorities in the state. Furthermore, there is an argument that political parties and other social and religious groups largely serve the interests of only a particular class or a community; hence, it is extremely challenging for those marginalised sections to benefit from the rights and opportunities that the law of the land provides. It is believed that equality among different ethnic group is necessary for socio-economic development of a society, but the actual condition and nature of equality in Mizoram appears to be uncertain.

The advancements in information technology (IT) have made it convenient for the public to access all elements of government operations through various forms of media, including social media and print media. People express dissatisfaction with the effort of the administration, believing that the state government does not initiate a holistic approach towards development within the state. It seems that the efforts of the authorities to achieve overall development in the social and economic domains are not directly recognizable and lack clarity. There is a lack of vision about the efficiency and effectiveness of the state government, from the perspective of the general public or of a particular program. In light of the above context, people expressed their skepticism over the capacity of the government.

There is widespread discontent among the populace regarding the functioning of the government, yet many government departments have made laudable attempts to improve the welfare of the state. A number of ministries have made substantial efforts to promote economic and political progress in the state by implementing a number of public policies, such as the Mipui Intodelhna Project

(MIP), the New Land Use Policy (NLUP), and the State Economic Development Programme (SEDP). These efforts may have a significantly contribution to the political economy of the state. In fact, a great number have benefited from these measures. On the other hand, the general public has a lot of cynicism regarding the efficiency, functions, and responsibilities of the various departments under the Government of Mizoram. Therefore, the scholar studies political development in Mizoram by examining Lucian Pye's framework of political development, which includes elements such as equality, capacity, and differentiation and specialization of various government departments in the state.

Scope of the Study

The scope of political development is very broad. So, the present study is confine only to the characteristics of political development in the state of Mizoram. Also, the time period of the study is from 2019-2024. The study employs Lucian Pye's concepts of political development, such as equality, capacity, differentiation, and specialization, to examine the political development in Mizoram. The purpose of the research on equality is to examine the characteristics and conditions of people who belong to ethnic minorities, in the state. In other words, this study focuses exclusively on marginalized groups and ethnic minorities, such as the Bru, Chakma, and Gorkha communities, and also with a particular focus on women. It also analyzes the performance, effectiveness, and efficiency of the state in the socio-economic sector, specifically the capacity of the government. It also evaluates the nature of education sector, which falls under the purview of the social sector. It also studies the effectiveness and efficiency of the government in agriculture, tourism, and education to understand the capacity and potential of the government. The Sports and Youth Services Department and the Health Department, under the Government of Mizoram, are also analysed to realise their diversification and specialization.

Objectives of the study

The study has the following objectives:

1. To study various theories of political development.
2. To examine Lucian Pye's concept of equality in the state of Mizoram.

3. To analyse Lucian Pye's concept of capacity (Performance, Effectiveness and Efficiency while executing public policies) of the state government.
4. To analyse Lucian Pye's concept of differentiation and specialization of various political structures in Mizoram.
5. To examine the crises of political development in Mizoram.

Research Questions

1. What are the various concepts of political development?
2. What is the nature of Lucian Pye's concept of equality in Mizoram?
3. What is the capacity of the state government according to Lucian Pye's concept of political development?
4. What are the differentiation and specialization of various political structures in Mizoram according to Lucian Pye's concept of political development?
5. What are the crises of political development in Mizoram?

Research Methodology

The present study is both descriptive and analytical. It is also qualitative and quantitative in nature. The study uses both primary and secondary data. The primary sources are collected mainly through interview, questionnaire and observation method. Interviews are conducted among various leaders of social organizations (like Young Mizo Association, Mizo Zirlai Pawl, Mizo Students Union, Mizoram Chakma Students Union, Mizoram Gorkha Youth Association, Bru Young Association, etc), community leaders, leaders of ethnic minority (Bru, Chakma and Gorkha), and Government officials (for example department officials of Education department, Agriculture department, Tourism department, Health department, and Sports & Youth Services) to understand the nature of equality, capacity and differentiation and specialization of the state Government. Also, women leaders of social organization like Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) are interviewed to find out their perspective on the government's efficiency in addressing their issues and concerns.

Moreover, five districts namely:-Aizawl, Lawngtlai, Champhai, Serchhip, Kolasib and Mamit are chosen for the study. A set of 64 questionnaires regarding equality, capacity and differentiation of the state government is administered and the sample size of the study is 213. The respondents are selected purposively. The rationale of selecting the five districts is their geographical location. Aizawl represents the centre and Lawngtlai represents the southern part while Champhai represents the eastern part of the state. Moreover, Mamit is selected to represent the western part and Kolasib represents the northern part of Mizoram. Also, Lawngtlai district is selected to represent ADC area and also to study the nature and condition of equality in the context of ethnic minority within the state.

Agriculture department, Tourism department and Education Department are selected to study the capacity of the state. These departments are selected to examine their contribution towards socio-economic development in the state. The efficiency and effectiveness of the state government in the agriculture sector is also examined from case study in Khanpui village. Also, the capacity of the government in tourism sector is also analysed from a case study in Reiek Village. These villages are chosen because of their popularity and prosperity in the field of agriculture and tourism in the state.

Again, the Health Department and Sports & Youth Services department are selected to study their specialised role in the state. The rationale of selecting these departments is that both are technical departments which directly deal with the public on day to day basis. The secondary sources include government records, data and gazette. It is also collected from newspapers (Vanglaini, The Mizoram Post, etc.), journal articles, books, unpublished thesis which are relevant for the study. The scholar use content analysis to analyse the collected literatures to have a better insight of the study.

Chapterizations

Chapter 1:- Introduction

The first chapter introduces the study. It includes a profile of Mizoram, review of literature, statement of the problem, scope of the study, research questions, methodology and chapterizations.

Chapter 2:- Political Development: A Theoretical Framework

The second chapter examine different theories of political development. It also examine different concept of Political Development particularly Lucian Pye's concept of Political Development.

Chapter 3:- Nature of Equality in Mizoram

The third chapter analyzes the general spirit or attitude of the people towards equality. The nature of equality among the ethnic minority is analysed. The issue of minority relating to equality in Mizoram is also examined. Further it studies the nature of equality in the process of recruitment to the political office.

Chapter 4:- Capacity of the Government

The fourth chapter analyze the capacity (performance, effectiveness and efficiency) of the Government of Mizoram. The performance of the Government is evaluated from the social and economic sector, particularly the department of Agriculture, Education and Tourism. It also analyse the Government's policies and programmes to increase the economic growth and self-sufficiency of the state.

Chapter 5:- Differentiation and Specialization of Political Structures in Mizoram

The fifth chapter examine the differentiation and specialization of different political structures in Mizoram. The functional specificity of two departments' Health department and Sports & Youth Services department are examined in the chapter.

Chapter 6:- Crises of Political Development in Mizoram

The sixth chapter studies the crises of political development in Mizoram. It analyses different types of crises that relates to political development in the state. In short, this chapter studies the hindrances of political development in the state.

Chapter 7:- Summary and Conclusion

The last chapter summarise the findings of the research and conclude the study.

Findings

In the context of equality in Mizoram, the study reveals that majority of the respondents are opposed to the functioning of the Autonomous District Council (ADC) in Mizoram. However, it is important to mention that all the participants from the Lawngtlai district (which falls under the Autonomous District Council) are in favor of the operation of the Autonomous District Council in Mizoram. At the same time, majority of the respondents from the non-ADC area do not support the

functioning of the Autonomous District Council (ADC) in Mizoram, whereas a small number of participants from the non-ADC area are also in favor of it. Therefore, it is evident that respondents from the non-ADC area do not support the functioning of the ADC in Mizoram. There are two possibilities on why majority of respondents from non-ADC areas not supporting ADC. One reason could be that majority of the Mizo like to unite all residents of the state without giving any special privileges to a certain population, which can be seen as promoting equality. Furthermore, majority of the respondents opposed the functioning of the ADC, as the three ADC title are based on ethnic line.

People from non-ADC areas opposed or do not endorse the establishment of an Autonomous District Councils in Mizoram. On the other hand, people from minority communities in Mizoram believe that special provisions for social, political, and economic are necessary for the survival and growth of their respective communities. Based on the study, it can be concluded that some minority communities in Mizoram may not have access to equal opportunities because of the absence of unity among the populace. This issue may cause disarray among different communities which obstruct achieving equality in the state. Here, it is important to note that, Pye asserts that promoting equality across all section of society is crucial for political development.

The study also indicates that there are people in the Mizo society who lack comprehension regarding the significance of empowering minority communities in order to attain inclusive political development in the state. It is crucial to acknowledge that prioritizing and addressing the issues faced by minority communities is vital for achieving political development in the state. Pye's notion of political development emphasizes the importance of equality as a catalyst for political development, but the study shows that equality is more or less missing in some part of the state. The absence of unity among the people of Mizoram indicates that attaining equality remains a distant objective rather than a tangible reality. Therefore, it may be asserted that the anticipated political development remains unattainable due to the lack of equality among the populace. Thus, the absence of consensus among people, even among the Zo-Ethnic groups, may result in confusion,

inequality, and therefore impede the process of political development within the state.

Political development often depends on the effectiveness of a political system. The effectiveness of the political system is based on its capacity. Capacity, in a broader sense, is associated with the results generated by a political system, as well as the extent to which the system can exert influence on the broader domains of society and the economy. Capacity is connected to the performance of the government and the elements that impact such success. The performance of the government is considered crucial for the advancement of the society. Capacity primarily refers to the vast extent, breadth, and size of political and governmental performance. There is a common belief that advanced systems or countries have the ability and potential to carry out a wider variety of activities and have a more significant influence on many facets of social life compared to less advanced systems. Furthermore, the effectiveness of the political system is intricately connected to the character of its administration and its approach to policy. Capacity also refers to the level of effectiveness and efficiency in carrying out governmental policies. Efficient and effective implementation of policies and programmes leads to socio-economic development.

The capacity of the state government is examined in three socio-economic service sectors like agriculture, tourism and education. The Agriculture department has been implementing a variety of centrally and state Sponsored Schemes. There is a specialized agriculture institution namely the School of Agricultural Science in Hnahthial (a town located in the southern part of Mizoram) that is solely focused on the field of Agricultural Science. This shows that authorities are trying their best to enhance the capacity of the state in agriculture and allied sector to achieve socio-economic development and enhance the process of political development. Also, the study reveals that administrative structure in the agriculture department is well organized and has the potential to amplify the capacity of the state. On the other hand, the study shows that the issue of shortage of man power needs to be addressed to improve the capacity of the agriculture department in Mizoram.

The study found that the budget allocated to the agriculture and allied sector in the past five years accounted less than 10% of the overall state budget. It shows that the capacity of the government may not match the expectation of the public. Furthermore, it is noteworthy to mention here that over half of the respondents did not support the land-based policies such as the New Land Use Policy (NLUP) introduced by the Congress government (from 2008 to 2018) and the Socio-Economic Development Programme (SEDP) implemented by the Mizo National Front (MNF) Government (from 2018 to 2023) in the state of Mizoram. In short, the flagship programme of the government related with land-based policies is lacking supports of the people. This also shows that these policies are not having an impact on the socio-economy of the state.

The study reveals that more than half of the respondents expressed their lack of support for the agricultural initiatives and policies implemented by the state. It is crucial to understand that National Land Use Policy and Sustainable Economic Development Policy are two distinct land use policies executed by the previous ministries. These policies involved the distribution of trade-related commodities to the beneficiaries based on their chosen trade, with agriculture being the primary trade sector. The selected beneficiaries were distributed cash to start their chosen trade. The study finds that most of the respondents were opposed to receiving freebies, from the government. An interesting finding from the study reveals that just over half of the total respondents believe that every ministry/government in Mizoram, both past and present, has failed to effectively promote agriculture and safeguard the interests of farmers in the state. Likewise, more than one-third of the respondents believe that while authorities have made some progress, their efforts are insufficient to promote socio-economic development in the state through the agriculture and allied sector. Additionally, it is noteworthy that only small number of respondents holds the view that authorities have made significant strides in the agriculture sector to enhance socio-economic progress and increase the level of political development in the state.

The study also shows that majority of the respondents believe that both past and present authorities have not effectively promoted the agriculture sector in

the state. This shows that there are rooms for improvement particularly in the agriculture sector to increase the capacity of the state and hence achieved socio-economic and political development. Also, the inadequate budget allocation in the agriculture and allied sector may contribute to the perception that authorities fail to address the needs of the agriculture sector in the state. The study indicates that majority of the respondents do not support the socio-economic policies that have been implemented by the governments in the past. These may be due to improper implementation, and lack of sufficient monitoring mechanisms. The study reveals that the capacity of the government in the agriculture and allied sector is more or less insufficient to accomplish socio-economic development that will enhance political development in the state.

Coming to the tourism department under the government of Mizoram, it is found that the department has been managing several tourist lodges inside the state to meet the needs of the government, general public, and tourists visiting the state. It generates employment opportunities for hotel professionals and local persons who have a keen interest in hotel vocations and are skilled at meeting the demands of tourists. The government has implemented several efforts to promote the growth of tourism inside the state by generating income from tourist lodges. These lodges are the main accommodation choices for travelers, especially in towns and villages, because they have reduced rental fees compared to private hotels. However, the study shows that these facilities are not sufficient to generate adequate revenue for the state.

The study finds that, the budget of tourism department in Mizoram over the past five years has barely exceeded 1% of the entire budget. It is important to note that the budget allocation may reflect the capacity of the state in the tourism sector. Furthermore, the tourism sector is confronted with a shortage of human resources. It can be mentioned here that Mizoram is having the capacity to promote tourism industry. Unfortunately, the state government lacks a meticulous planning and implementation of projects in the tourism sector. This clearly shows that authorities and policy makers need to step in and address tourism sector in the state. However, despite its limited budget, the department is trying to promote tourism to

the maximum. The study also finds that there are successful private investors who invest in tourism industry without the support and intervention from the government. The diverse cultural heritage, extensive biodiversity, and prospects for wildlife and adventure tourism in Mizoram render it as highly attractive to the tourist.

Many people believe that Mizoram possesses significant potential in the tourism sector to enhance the state's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It is noteworthy that a majority of the respondents expressed that the scenic beauty and geography of Mizoram offer substantial potential in the tourist sector, with the potential to boost the economy of the state. It simply means that majority of the people share that Mizoram possesses huge capacity in the tourism industry to enhance the revenue and stimulate the economy of the state. The study also reveals that majority of the respondents believe that both past and present governments have been inadequate or ineffective in their efforts to develop the tourism sector. It can be mentioned here that the tourism sector in Mizoram has the capacity to convert it as a tourism industry. However, the state government has not given first priority to the tourism sector. If the state government harnessed the potential of tourism effectively, tourism can serve as a fundamental catalyst for socio-economic development and thus lead to political development of Mizoram.

In the education sector, Mizoram has made a remarkable progress in the post-independent India. The improvement is achieved with the combined efforts of the administration and the active involvement of the people. Mizoram is considered a relatively new participant in the field of education. The literacy rate of Mizoram has consistently risen over the years. Based on the 1901 census data, the literacy rate stood at a mere 0.9%. According to the 2001 census, the percentage had increased to 88.80%. Mizoram achieved a literacy rate of 91.33% in the latest 2011 census. The School Education Department of the state is dedicated to achieving universal literacy in the near future. The capacity of the department is apparent from the financial budget allotment of the government.

The study indicates that the department of school education receives the largest budget allocation among the various sectors (examined here in the thesis). It

infers that education is given priority and is regarded as one of the most important sector by the government. In other words, the government is prioritizing school education in the state. The budget allotment to the education department will enable it to enhance social progress in the state. Nevertheless, it might be argued that relying solely on budget allocation may not be sufficient to determine the state's capability in the education sector. The study shows that, under the education department there are 9933 sanctioned post in school education department. Out of which there are 4496 sanctioned posts are lying vacant. Authorities must fill up the vacant position in the education department to avoid manpower crisis. The study shows that majority of respondents indicated that they have convenient access to government schools and colleges from their homes. The study indicates that all the respondents can easily access educational institutions operated by the government. This demonstrates the presence of government educational institution throughout the districts. The easy access to government institutions indicates that the government is trying its best in fulfilling its responsibilities in the education sector. However, there are rooms for improvement in many areas in the education sector. More than half of the respondents have a preference for private educational institutions than government educational institution. This indicates that the majority of the respondents consider the private school better than the government funded schools. It is because of various factors including academic outcomes, school facilities, school atmosphere, and teacher dedication. It can be concluded that the state has the capability in the education sector to attain social growth and progress, while there is still a room for improvement.

The above paragraphs indicates the capacity of the state government from the three chosen departments:- agriculture, tourism and education. Majority of the respondents express their dissatisfaction with the performance of the government. It can be argues that the lackluster performance of the government in these sectors indicates the capacity of the state. At the same time, the state government is doing a decent job in providing basic education sector in different parts of the state. However, it can be said that the government is providing just the bare minimum. The limited capacity of the state in these sectors may be the underlying cause for stagnant

socio-economic development of the state which resulted to the low degree of political development.

Political development encompasses the process of differentiation and specialization in various structures within the political system. It is valid to consider institutions and structures when assessing them. It mostly involves the process of differentiating and specializing structures. Government offices and agencies usually have specific and limited roles, which is similar to the idea of division of labor. The political system is a composite of various departments or structures, each with its own distinct functional specialization. These departments or entities are crucial components for social progress of a state. The functional specialization carried out by these entities led to advancements in various sectors, ultimately contributing to political development. Hence, political development encompasses comprehensive progress in the realms of economy, society, politics, infrastructure, and human development. Differentiation results in an increased degree of functional specialization and a wider range of political functions within the system. It also includes the incorporation of intricate structures and procedures. Differentiation involves a specialization that is based on a core sense of integration.

Coming to the differentiation and specialization, the study covers the health and sport sectors. In the health sector, the state government has initiated and implemented various policies and programmes in the last two decade or so. To understand the nature of differentiation and specialization of the state The Mizoram Health Insurance Scheme (MHIS) was introduced in April 2008 in Mizoram. The objective was to tackle the deficiency in healthcare accessibility. Originally, it was established as a public-private partnership, but it subsequently transitioned to a self-financed model. The introduction of MSHCS was a notable step towards enhancing the accessibility of medical treatment, particularly for ailments necessitating hospitalization and surgical procedures. The main objective of the health insurance plan is to alleviate the economic burden resulting from medical expenses, by providing financial assistance. The program was initially established through a partnership between the Mizoram government, an insurance organization, a third-party administrator, and a network of authorized hospitals. However, there was

widespread dissatisfaction and skepticism towards the program because insurance providers were perceived as being unconcerned and inflexible when it came to settlement of claims.

The healthcare system in Mizoram has transitioned to a self-funded approach since 2011,. The Mizoram State Health Care Society is in charge of executing the RashtriyaSwasthyaBimaYojana. It primarily targets individuals who do not have health insurance. Its objective is to tackle the pressing necessity of diminishing financial barriers that hinder individuals from obtaining crucial healthcare services. Prior to the implementation of the Mizoram healthcare program, marginalized communities often resorted to borrowing money, selling their possessions, or forgoing medical treatment altogether. This underscores the significance of the program in reducing financial obstacles to addressing healthcare. The Health and Family Welfare Department, Government of Mizoram, is working together with the World Bank to conduct the 'Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project' (MHSSP). The goal of the project is to improve the health of the people living in Mizoram. The Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project was inaugurated on 3rd September, 2021. The Health and Family Welfare Department which operates under the Government of Mizoram, is now implementing the Mizoram Health Systems Strengthening Project (MHSSP) with the support from the World Bank. The primary goal of the project is to improve the general health status of the population in the state. This shows that authorities are working to improve health sector in the state

The main goal of the MHSSP is to augment the managerial competence and elevate the quality of healthcare facilities in Mizoram. The project involves a financial investment to improve the administrative capacities and raise the quality of healthcare services in Mizoram, with a particular emphasis on meeting the needs of neglected areas. The program seeks to improve the governance and management framework of the Department of Health and Family Welfare and its subsidiaries. It is to improve the quality and scope of services offered by the health department. Also, it directs resources towards an extensive Quality Assurance program that aims to enable the certification of healthcare institutions depending on their level of quality.

The Health & Family Welfare Department underwent a division in 2004, by establishing two distinct departments: Health Services and Hospital & Medical Education Department. The Principal Director has authority over these departments. The Health Services Directorate functions autonomously and supervises healthcare institutions in rural areas. A Senior Chief Medical Officer is in charge of each district. In addition, there is a separate Directorate that is responsible for supervising Medical Institutions, Hospitals, and other relevant affairs. Furthermore, it is responsible for carrying out educational, instructional, and research endeavors in the realm of medicine, while also delivering patient care services. The above demonstrates that health services, hospital services, and medical education services has a well structured administrative framework. The Health department can be described as having implemented a meticulously planned functional specialization structure. This would undoubtedly enhance the efficiency of the department as it will enable the relevant authority to address any health sector-related issues with ease.

The state government is putting their best effort but the study finds that the budget allocation for the health department is very low. Over the past five years, the allocation has exceeded 5% of the entire budget. This demonstrates that the state government is not giving priority to the health sector. The neglect of healthcare sector might lead to a stagnated socio-economic development in the state. The study reveals that half of the respondents are of the opinion that the health facilities of the government are satisfactory; also, some respondents expressed the belief that government-managed health facilities are poor in quality. On the other hand, some of respondents expressed confidence in the ability of the government facilities to cure all types of illnesses. It means people have different opinion regarding the health facilities in the state. Moreover, the study shows that there are scores of medical referred cases outside the state. It means people are spending lots of money on health related issues outside the state. This shows that the medical facilities in the state are not up to the expectation of the people.

Moreover, people prefer to go to private hospital for medical treatment. The study shows that nearly two-thirds of the respondents have a preference for private hospitals while seeking medical treatment or for hospitalization. It shows that

private firms, specifically private hospitals, are highly proficient in delivering healthcare services to the people. Maximum number of the respondents is of the opinion that having a state-of-the-art healthcare sector, equipped with modern facilities and an adequate workforce, can lead to socio-economic development of the state. According to the study, there is a strong relation between a well-functioning healthcare system and socio-economic development of a state. Therefore, it is crucial that authorities and legislators prioritized enhancing health facilities and infrastructure in the state to increase the nature of political development.

The study also analyses sport sector in Mizoram to understand the specialization of the state government. Mizoram is well-known for its fervent dedication to sports, whether they are traditional or modern. Notably, the Cabinet Ministers meeting held on May 22, 2020, granted approval to make sports as a 'industry' inside the state. Mizoram is presently the only state in India that has officially acknowledged sports as an industry. The decision of the cabinet meeting sent out a positive message to the sports community of the state. The granting of industrial status to sports in Mizoram is expected to significantly improve the sports sector, which has been facing several challenges related to infrastructure and, to some extent, support.

The Department of Sports and Youth Services (SYS), Government of Mizoram is working for the promotion and development of youth and sports in the state. In addition, the Mizoram State Sports Council, an independent unit operating under the jurisdiction of the department of sports and youth services, was established under the Mizoram Sport Council Act 2002. The primary objective is to promote and promote the development and expansion of games and sports within the state of Mizoram. Moreover, the Mizoram Sports Policy, 2020 was launched and implemented by the Government of Mizoram with the aim of promoting sports in the state. The policy exemplifies the intention of the government to promote the sports industry in the state. For example, the policy includes the promotion of fair and just behavior, steadfast dedication, and a strong desire for competition among athletes. On the other hand, man power inadequacy in the sports department can be an obstacle for delivering rapid and efficient service to the public

However, during the past five years, the allocation of funds to the sports sector has consistently remained below 1% of the entire budget of the state. Despite facing financial constraints, the authorities in the sport department are making every effort to promote sports and enhance sports infrastructure in the state. The study reveals that more than half of the respondents believe that the state government is performing satisfactorily in the sports sector, although it just falls short of their expectations. Furthermore, over one-third of the respondents believe that the efforts of the government in boosting the sports sector in Mizoram are commendable. According to the study, a majority of the people (respondents) view the effort of the state government in the sports sector as positive or outstanding. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents believe that the government is providing good sports training facilities in the state, but there are rooms for improvement. It is remarkable that none of the respondents believe that the government completely failed to provide enough sports amenities. In other words, the government is effectively promoting sports in the state. It demonstrates the ability of the sports industry to elevate the level of socio-economic progress in the state. Therefore, it can be said that the government is offering satisfactory sports facilities to the people. In short, the sports industry in Mizoram has met the expectation of the people and has the potential to uplift the socio-economic development of the state.

From the above study, it can be concluded that except for the sports sector, majority of the respondents are not satisfied with the initiative taken by the state in other sectors (Agriculture, Education, Tourism and Health). The study shows that in all five departments there is a problem or shortage of workforce. It indicates that under the state government they fail to fill up the sanctioned vacant post in various departments. Moreover, the budget allocation in various departments is not enough to initiate and implement effective programmes and policies for socio-economic development. It simply means that these departments are allocated funds just enough to manage themselves. The study also shows that five of the crises namely identity crisis, penetration crisis, participation crisis, integration and distribution crisis which Pye mentioned in relevant in Mizoram. Therefore, after analyzing these five departments and crises of political development from Pye's

concept it can be concluded that the political system (government) is not in a position to initiate socio-economic development that will lead to political development in Mizoram.

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