

VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN MIZORAM 1972 – 1987



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**DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
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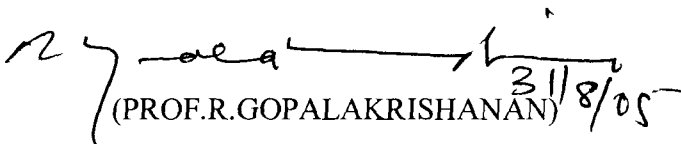
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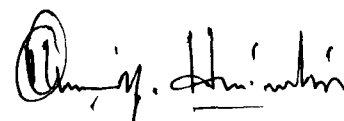
DECLARATION

I, H.Laldinmawia, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, and the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else. The same has not been submitted, in part or full, in any other institutions or university for this or any other purpose.

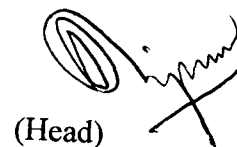
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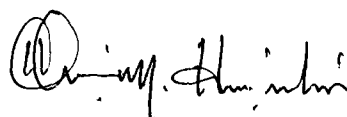
Further more, there are a host of workers of the Office of the Directorate of Election, Gov't of Mizoram to whom the scholar is grateful but would not able to acknowledge here by name.

The views expressed in the study are entirely of the author and the others are duly cited in the text. Needless to say that the omissions in the study are either of ignorance or of negligence and the mistake, the sole responsibility lies with the scholar.

At the ultimate, the almighty God is the one who made me do this entire works.

Dated. Shillong

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(H.LALDINMAWIA)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Politics continues to be of basic importance in contemporary world. Moreover, among the element of politics Election is one of the most important branch of study.

The geographical study of elections is primarily oriented towards the study and analysis of spatial aspects of how politicians at different levels of authority – local, state and central – obtain, manipulate and maintain power. Therefore, Electoral Geography stands out as the key element in understanding the role of government as spatial allocators.¹

Recently, electoral Geography studies the spatial aspect of organisation and outcome of elections: the geography of voting; the geography of translating votes into seats; and the geography of electoral power. In fact, the study of electoral geography is rapidly shifting from empiricist activity towards a closer involvement with the wider issues addressed by social scientists. The discipline is changing in its nature; this shift brings electoral geography into contact with a trend characteristic of human geography.² Voting means *the action of formally indicating one's choice of candidates* while behaviour means *one's attitude and manners*. Hence, the study of voting behaviour is the study of the causes of choices and causes of influences and the result of elections.³ Thus, Electoral geography is a systematic spatial analysis of elections. The study of voting behaviour is the study of the causes of choices and causes of influences and the result of election.

The voting results were associated with environmental factors such as social and economic conditions. A correspondence or association is found between the spatial variation in voting and in spatial variation in environmental factors. Therefore, the study established the concept of areal association in voting.⁴

In general, political participation means direct or indirect involvement in politics and in decision making process by exercising franchise right or sharing power. The degree of political participation by the people reflects the extent of maturity of political consciousness, awareness and intelligence of the people of the state. This is expressed

¹ Dikshit, R.D. p.36

² Dikshit, R.D. p.489

³ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary

⁴ Norris and Haring, p.277

through the participation in political activities sponsored by political parties, pressure groups, press and associations highlighting the socio-economic and political aspirations of the people. Election is an action or instance of choosing by vote one or more of the candidates for a position and becomes the attributes of or relating to elections or electors.⁵

Election as a form of procedure is undoubtedly the most important and popular method of choosing the people's representatives in forming the government, especially in a democratic country like India where Universal Adult Suffrage is being practised. It is through election that the authority of a government is fashioned with legitimacy. It also makes a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority possible. In fact, elections are a form of political communication between the government and the people. In short, R.P. Bhalla has rightly stated that '*a good electoral system is the bed-rock of genuine representative government*'. In other words, a geographical study of election deals with who gets, where and how. Moreover, the political geographers are interested in spatial aspects of political behaviour manifested in and through the outcome of elections. When vote returns are mapped, the resulting distribution indicates spatial variations in voting behaviour-people's attitudes, perceptions and biases.⁶ As a whole, Mizoram today presents a well-knit, integrated and united administrative unit of India because of democratic institutions, which have brought universal participation in the administration. Every political system has a social base. In Mizoram, one identifies tribal egalitarian social tradition along with deep-rooted feudal social experience; both of which are now exposed to the forces of modernisation. In compare to other elections, it is quite comprehensible that the electorates of Mizoram give their more curiosity to the election for the state's legislative members. Therefore, this dissertation focused to the elections of the legislative members.

Though the present study i.e. '**Voting Behaviour in Mizoram, 1972-1987**' is analytical in nature, it is important because it helps in identifying the geographical attributes, the composition and the decision of the people.

⁵ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary

⁶ Adhikari, S. p.403

To Parson, institutions are generalised pattern of norms, which define categories of prescribed, permitted and prohibited behaviour in social relationships for people in interaction with each other as member of society and its various sub-systems and groups. Thus, when a man agree amongst themselves to submit to some men or assembly of men, voluntarily on condition to protect against others and to satisfy his needs, and is called “Traditional Institution or Traditional Politics”. According to Eric Hobsbaum, traditions are invented, construct and formally instituted. Invented tradition means a set of practices governed by tacitly accepted rules and of a symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past wherever possible. The political tradition defines how rules are conducted, how the ruled behave towards their rulers, including electing and controlling them. Such tradition is embodied in habits, customs and norms, which expressed the prevalent values and beliefs in the society as well as in the political community. Political tradition is a tradition concerning political community, its values and beliefs. This includes their participation and a possible control of the rulers by the rules. It obviously has a vital function in the body politics.

Traditional Mizo politics was clan-lineage based politics in which the political authority rest with the class of chiefs since the time of Zahmuaka, the first Mizo chief. Before the settlement in their present habitat of Mizoram, the Mizo lived in the hill tracts of Burma and the politics of chieftainship was believed to have begun then until the early fifties of the 20th century. ⁷ The Mizos are Tibeto-Burman and Kuki-Chin tribes that have formed the homogeneous Mizo society. They are close-knit ethnic tribes living in and outside Mizoram. The word ‘Mizo’ is a name of tribe, which embraces all Lusei and akin tribes and clans. Among the Mizo chiefs, the Sailo clans were more clever and better in art of warfare and in administration of their villages, and at last established paramouncy over the other clans. The politics of Mizo society was to form a village, headed by a chief. The Sailo chiefs’ domination was established throughout Mizoram except in the

⁷ Nunthara, C. p.42

areas of Lai and Mara who had also their own chiefs to rule in south Mizoram. It finally became norms that the descendants of chiefs became chiefs.

The Mizo chief was not very free from constraints. He was guided by the traditional normative rules, which were conventionalised through customary usages. In his village administration, a council of Elders (*Upas*) who were appointed by the chief himself assisted the chief. Besides, the *Upas*, officials who had discharged other duties in administration and control such were – *Tlangau* (Crier), who announced the orders of the chief to the people, *Thirdeng* (Blacksmith), *Puithiam* (Priest), *Ramhuals* (Advisers to the chief in matter of selection of sites for jhum cultivation), *Sadawt* (Personal priest of the chief) and *Tlahpawi* (Small priest) who assisted *Sadawt*.

The politics of Mizo chieftainship prevailed in Mizoram until the British invaded Mizo areas. A number of raids were conducted by the Mizo chiefs on neighbouring areas, which were under the control of the British. This led to a series of expedition into Lushai Hills and came under the control of British in 1891 AD. Lushai Hills came to be known as ‘the Lushai Hills District’ in 1898. Despite the British policy of least interference, number of steps was taken to curtail the power and freedom of the chiefs. The British did not want to give local self-government to the Mizos and the administration of the Lushai Hills was entrusted to the Government of Assam.⁸

When the Independence of India was imminent, Mac Donald, Superintendent of Lushai Hills convened large gatherings of chiefs and commoners at Aizawl in 1946. The conference formed a body designated as ‘District Conference’ to represent and express the political ideas and demands of the Mizos. This was the first political institution ever established on democratic lines in Mizoram. On the recommendation of Bordoloi Committee, the Lushai Hills District Council for Mizos and Pawi-Lakher Regional Council for Pawi-Lakher and Chakma were constituted in 1952 and 1953 respectively. Under the pressure created by the first Mizo political party named ‘Mizo Union’, the Government of Assam passed an Act in 1954, which abolished the long practised of chieftainship in Mizoram. In place of chieftainship, the village council was established

⁸ Nunthara, C. p 56

which was elected based on adult franchise. The District Council and Regional Council were authorised to constitute village councils and village council courts. The village council plays a key-role in the Mizo politics.

The Mizo people were not satisfied with the District Council and another significant event turns the Mizo politics, which prompted the political parties to demand statehood for the Mizos. Then, the Mizo District Council was elevated to Union territory in 1972. The first ever Mizoram Assembly election was conducted in 1972. Again, in 1986, Mizoram Union Territory was elevated to Statehood. The first Mizoram State Assembly election was conducted in 1987.

There have been 35 political parties including those in the past and present. At present, the Mizo National Front, Peoples' Conference and the Congress are the major parties in Mizoram. The only national party is the Congress, and other parties are essentially regional confined to specific tribal communities. Thus, the traditional institutions have far-reaching impact on political and administrative system in Mizoram. The institution of chieftainship and the Council of Elders (*Upas*) continues to be important in Mizo society. The chiefs played a pivotal role in stabilising village life and minimising fear of insecurity to the villagers. Subsequently, the feeling of status consciousness (commoners and autocrat chiefs) surfaced and notion of exploitation of commoners by the chiefs was sounded in the air. This resulted into the formation of first political party, the Mizo Union.

Under the leadership of the Mizo Union, abolition of chieftainship and establishment of modern democratic institutions were the important developments. These institutions enabled people to administer themselves in all matters of vital concern. Thus, the root of modern democratic institution in Mizoram lies in the age-old traditional politics of chieftainship.

Mizoram has been holding elections from 1952. In the undivided Assam Legislative Assembly, there were three seats from Lushai Hills District. Mizoram was more than fifty years under the British administration. After Indian Independence, from the year 1952 to 1972, Lushai Hills had District Council elections under the Assam State

Government. After statehood, Mizoram went her first Assembly election on 16 February 1987. The MNF party formed the first popular ministry on 20th February 1987 headed by Laldenga as the Chief Minister. At present, Mizoram has a Legislative Assembly of 40 elected members with Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The electoral behaviour represents the standard of living of the people. In other words, the decision made by the population clearly shows the standard of life of the people. There should be one or more factors, which are strongly influential to the electorate in their decision-making. In India, particularly in Mizoram, there were no studies or survey according to demarcation of Constituencies. Votes cast are measures of attitudes, perceptions and biases. Thus, when vote returns are mapped, the resulting distributions give indications of place-to-place differences in behaviour.⁹ Therefore, it is necessary to do research on election related issues.

Few different communities are found in Mizoram, but all of them are having their own socio-cultural system, quite different from one another. In addition, since voting behaviour be explained in terms of party loyalty, multiple factors like caste/clan prejudices, religion, language, literacy level, communalism and regionalism decide this loyalty in turn. Nevertheless, no proper studies have been done according to any responsible factors. These variables factors are again dependant upon the microscopic analysis of socio-cultural institutions. **In short, the core of the study problem lies in these heterogeneous and complex factors of socio-economic, cultural and political system.**

India, particularly among the tribal population, the social structure still remains as a determining factor in voting behaviour and plays a significant role. There has been the growth of tribal nationalism, which is but synonymous with social freedom and political power with the interest to attach to local and regional significance. This gave rise to ethnocentrism and at times even created a condition of dis-equilibrium among the

⁹ Sudeepa Adhikari, Political Geography, p.403

different communities and within the same community. Suffice it to say the region has witness a slow but gradual change from traditional to modern culture. The two parallel political system i.e. traditional and modern political systems co-exist. The growth of modern political system and its style of functioning have complicated the tribal societal set up. Since there has been hardly any solution to the needs and problems of the people new regional political parties are coming up with the sole aim of boosting the electoral votes by asserting new issues and reforms. Proper study that deals with socio-economic research and infrastructure development was not been established in the region. The election studies in Mizoram pose a difficulty in correlating the electoral data with the socio-economic characteristics of the population, as Census Reports seldom coincide with the constituency levels. Moreover, with a multi-party system a particular case has been noticed in which a candidate is declared without having the support of the majority of the electorates.

Therefore, it is important to take up research on socio-economic oriented problems. Moreover, keeping this in mind researcher has chosen this topic to carry out further research on socio-economic problems and their solutions of Mizoram.

In the proposed study, an attempt has been made to study the electoral geography of the state of Mizoram as a case of study. During last three decades, more population lived in rural areas; whereas more population lives in urban areas in compare to the rural dwellers during the last decade till to date.

What is intended here are two specific aspects of the electoral geography namely (a) Geographical pattern of electoral participation, effective participation-pattern of valid votes; ineffective participation-pattern of invalid votes; pattern of female participation, (b) Pattern of electoral performance of political parties and their regional issues. (c). An analysis of causes and results of elections. This study is thus an initial exercise in such a direction, and its primary objective is to describe and analyse the various geographical aspects.

1.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Johnson's Electoral Geography and Political Geography (1980) was a valuable contribution with regard to definition of both disciplines. He clearly defines the needs of electoral study to understand the choice of a particular people. Dutta also contributed a lot in his book named Electoral Politics in North East India. It is an extensive work to study electoral politics in NE India excepting the state of Arunachal Pradesh.

Amani's study on The Voting Patterns in Indian Elections was one of the foremost works in a geographical perspective by any Indian scholars. It was an attempt to study the regional voting pattern in the state of Uttar Pradesh during 1961 and 1971 parliamentary elections. Again, in his, another book called Electoral Geography and Indian Elections, Amani stressed on the approach and method in understanding the geography of voting. He was of the view that fundamental research in geography need not necessarily be law generating but concerned with a high degree of generalisation. He exemplify that religion, social strata, occupation, languages, etc influenced the voting behaviour of northeastern states.

Rastogoi, in his book named Electoral calculus 1996, explains the need of careful studies on elections and show statistical methods of studies. R.D. Dikshit edited many literatures, which concerned the nature of Geography of Elections and voting bahaviour. Nag focuses on all political issues, movements and achievements as also in evolution in administration that have taken place in Mizo territory; and he also gives a critical evaluation thereon. Prasad illustrates the development of political consciousness of the Mizos, describes the performance and characteristics of national and regional political parties. In addition, he gives the story of the previous election elections.

Singh illustrates the politico-geographical aspects of Mizoram. He elaborates upon the role of traditional practices, hïstorical situations and political relations in influencing the pattern of economic development of the state. Pachuau describes the geographical personality of Mizoram. Pachuau elaborates upon the similarities and diversities of different area in terms of soil structure, settlement system, etc.

Sangkima illustrates the structure of Mizo society right from the before the advent of Britishers, until the end of their rule. He clarify the changes that taken place and how the Mizos have responded to such changes. Nunthara clarifies the political development of Mizo, and he identifies that the political movement of Mizo was a movement of Mizo identity and self-determination.

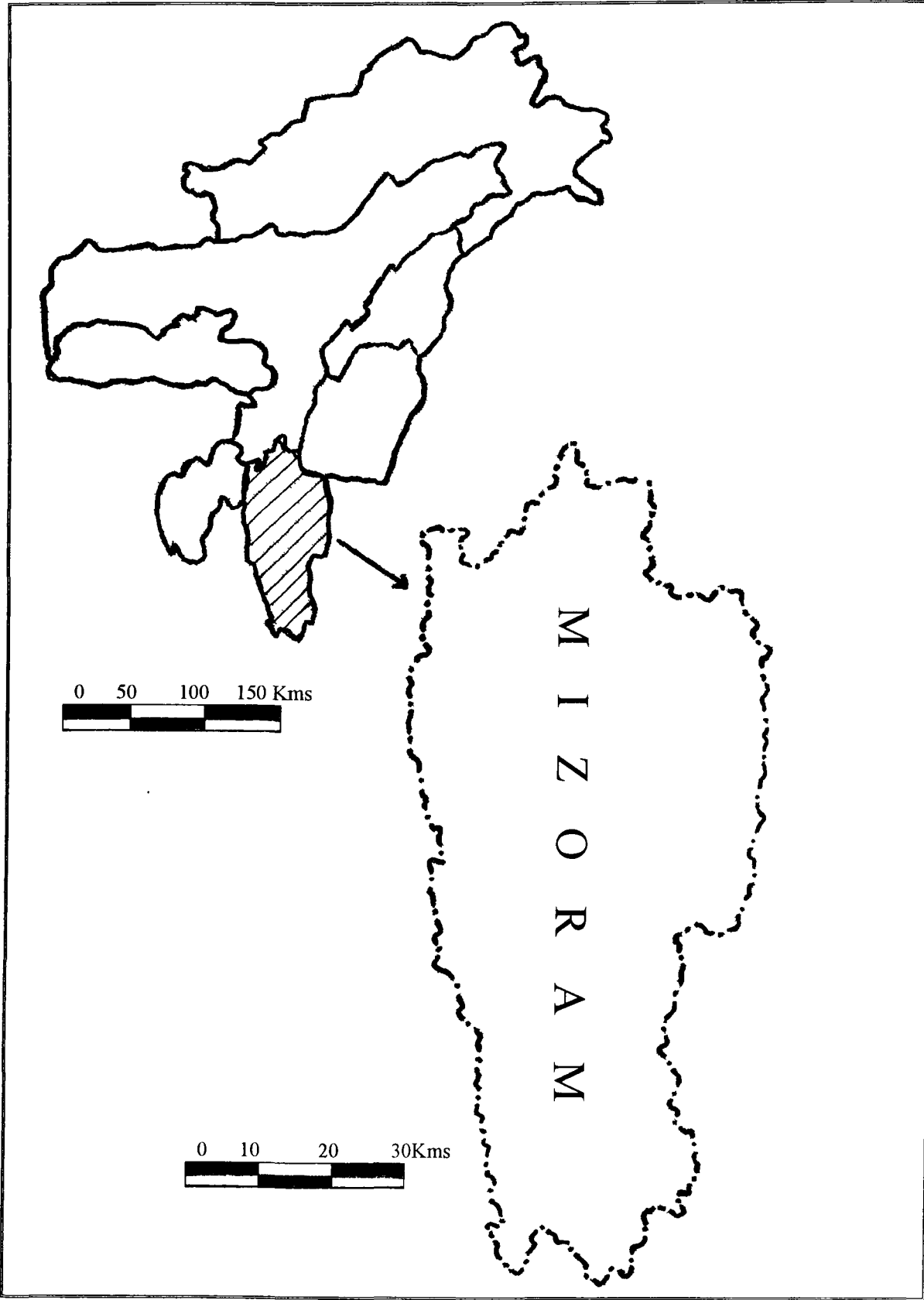
Gopalakrishanan explains the needs to avoid disruptions of the social, political and economic structures in framing the perspectives for growth, which is relevant to the study area. Lalrinthanga and Hermana show the awakening of the Mizos in the field of politics. In addition, they give some importance facts and figure of previous elections. Hermana gives careful and sincere illustrations of Mizo politics since the British invasion till to the time of statehood.

Prasad and Agarwal, in their book named 'Political and economic development of Mizoram, clearly illustrated the political changes that taken place in Mizoram since pre-colonial to the post-colonial time. In addition, they also illustrated that the economic development basing the fifth year plans. Besides, they also point up the issues regarding the economic development of Mizoram.

1.3 THE STUDY AREA

Mizoram comprises eight administrative districts and 22 rural development blocks, three autonomous district councils and 23 sub-divisions. Mizoram is one of the 28 states of the Indian union; she has got her statehood in 1987. It has population 8,91,058 and density of population is 42. The geographical area covered by the state is 21,087 Sq.Km, which constitutes 0.64 per cent of the total geographical area of India. Its length from North to South is about 277 Km and width from East to West is about 121 Km. The longitudinal and latitudinal extent of Mizoram falls between 92°16'E to 93°26'E and 21°56'N to 24°31'N. The area has an international boundary with Bangladesh and Myanmar. The exact length of this international boundary in the west with Bangladesh is 404 Km and in the east with Myanmar is 318 Km. And the state has inter state boundary

LOCATION OF MIZORAM



with Assam on the North (123 Km), Tripura on the North West (66 Km.) and Manipur on the North East (95 Km.).

There are 40 constituencies in Mizoram at present; 13 of them are in Aizawl district, 6 are in Lunglei district, 5 are in Champhai district, 4 are in Mamit district, 3 each for both Saiha and Serchhip districts, and 2 are in Lawngtlai district. It can be said that as much as 28 constituencies are at the northern side whereas only 12 are at southern Mizoram, out of which is reserved for general.

Mizoram comprises predominantly of difficult terrain with narrow valleys. The ranges in this region are running from North to South direction, which tends to be higher in the east than the west. The highest elevation is 2157 meters above mean sea level. There are a number of parallel hill ranges running in North South direction separated each other by deep and narrow valleys occupied by sedimentary rocks of conglomerates, sandstones, shales, etc. and their various inter-mixture.

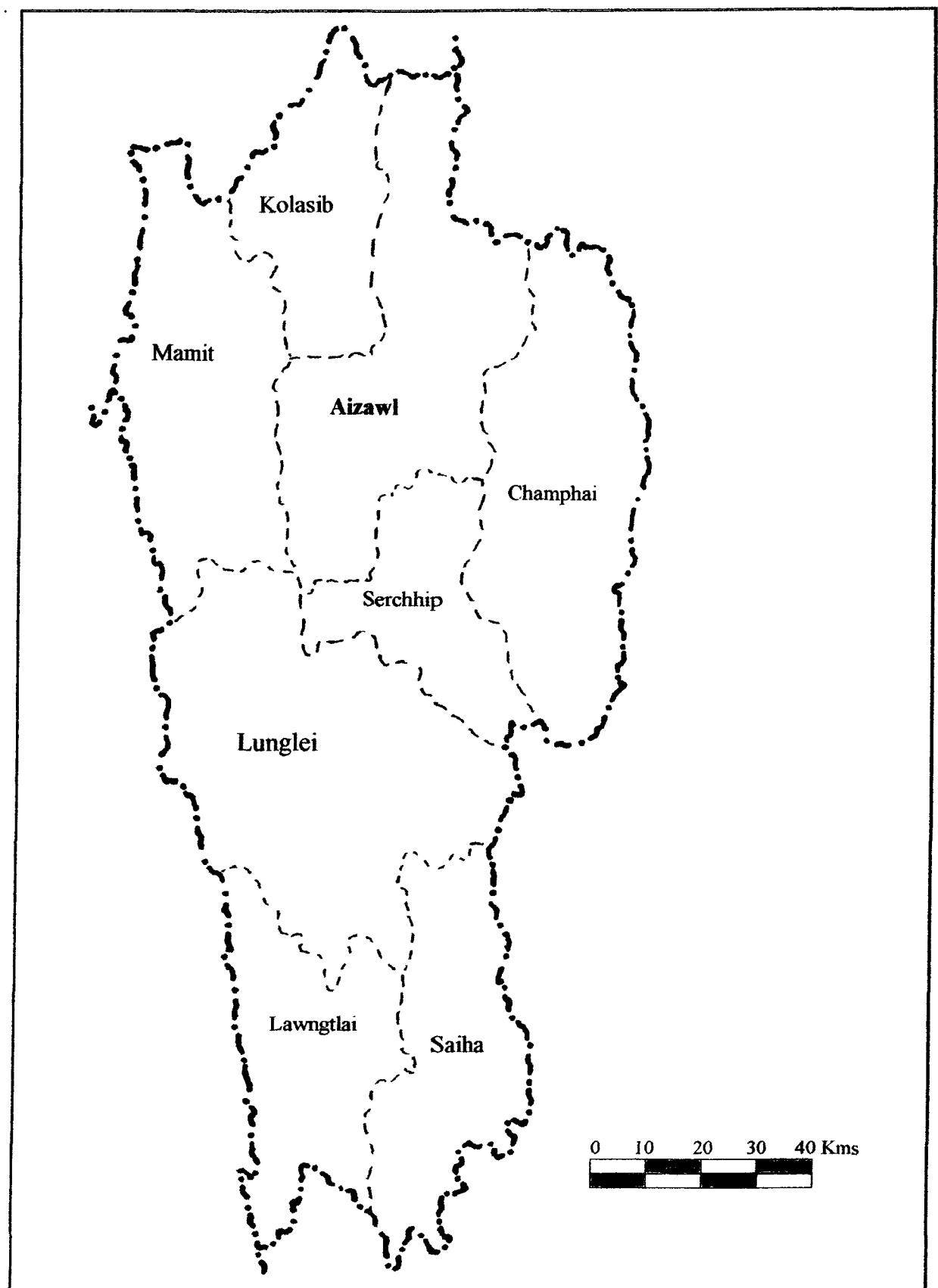
The forms of hills are very much controlled by the structural features. Although all the hill ranges are made up of monotonous sequence of rather limited varieties of rock types, sandstone, shale, mudstone, siltstone and they played an important role for the formation of the hills. In Lunglei district, there are few interment valley plains and river valley plains in small pockets.

The climatic condition of Mizoram in general is cool and wet. Mizoram enjoys a moderate climate owing to its tropical location. It is neither very hot nor too cold throughout the year. The Western part is warmer than the Eastern part. The whole region falls under the direct influence of the South-West Monsoon. As such, the region receives an adequate amount of rainfall. The climate is humid tropical, characterised by short winter and long summer with heavy rainfall.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To study the spatial variations in social composition.
2. To study the spatial variations in electoral behaviour.
3. To identify the geographical and social factors influencing political behaviour.

POLITICAL MAP OF MIZORAM



1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How does the distribution pattern reveal the degree of political awareness among the state's population?
2. How does the geographical factors and population composition influence the result of the election?

1.6 DATA BASE AND METHODOLOGY

The present study is mainly based on the secondary data collected from various sources/departments. The study heavily depends on the government records generated by the various departments, Government of Mizoram. Data has also been collected from the Census of India, Government of India. Besides, data and required information have also collected from various books, journals etc. in related with the study. Apart from these, primary data has also been collected through field work mainly including interviews on the principle of selectivity of electorate. Personal interviews with the government officials and some senior citizens were of great help in the collection of relevant information. Data have also been used to prepare tables, maps and charts for better understanding and showing a clear picture of voting behaviour in the study area during study period.

In the present study, an attempt has been made to study the distributional pattern of voters, through the application of cartographic technique, tabular representation and multiple regressions. The study has been done by using Spatial-behavioural Approach with the type of performance-oriented. The analyses of electoral performance of candidates and political parties for the years were made by statistical methods – tabular analysis and multiple regression techniques. The analysis of Voting Behaviour of Mizo electorates to the INC party during 1972 to 1987 elections of legislative assembly, Mizoram; have been done by using linear regression. Performances of the INC, PC and MU with Urban population have been done by bar representation. But, except the Indian National Congress party, more or less parties performed only to one or two elections, and they were not included in the linear analysis. Yet, the MNF also contested to only one

election ie. 1987. Multiple regression technique had been used for obtaining overall explanation of the patterns of party performance viz. INC, MNF, MU, PC and Independents.

In view of the fact that the electorates of Mizoram pays more attention and are more interested to the election of the State's Legislative Assembly, the study is restricted to the particular elections. It is no doubt that the perception, attitudes and biases of the people is best reflected by the results of these elections than other election like MP of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

1.7 PLAN OF STUDY:

The whole study has been divided into five parts, and includes the following chapters:-

The first chapter is the introductory part and it contains the statement of the problem, review of relevant literatures, objectives of the study, database and methodology and the salient features of the study area. In a sense, this chapter is very important as it highlighted the purpose of the study and act as an introductory part for a proper understanding of the whole study.

The second chapter deals with the geographical personalities of the study area. It comprises of physiography, drainage, climate, population and its distribution, sex-ratio, rural and urban population, literacy, religion, linguistics, soil, vegetation, tribal components and occupational structure. This chapter clearly highlighted the geographical milieu of Mizoram.

In the third chapter, spatial variation in political behaviour was studied and it clearly shows that the spatial organisation of the constituencies over the state. This chapter highlighted the nature of contest and the electoral pattern from 1972 to 1987 and illustrated party wise performance in these elections.

The fourth chapter focuses the important issues, which entices voters. In this chapter, important political issues and socio-economic issues during 1972 to 1987 has been studied. In addition, a brief illustration of socio-economic condition and political

development of Mizoram has also done to clarify the social, cultural and political background.

The fifth and the final chapter consist of the conclusion and summary of the whole study. Major findings of the studies and few effective and efficient prospects for further electoral issues were incorporated herein.

CHAPTER 2

GEOGRAPHICAL MILIEU OF THE STUDY AREA

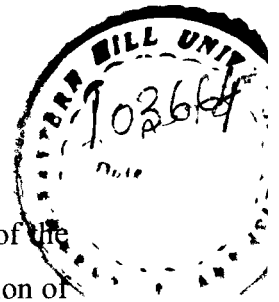
2.1. PHYSIOGRAPHY

The geographical area covered by Mizoram is 21,087 square kilometers, which constitutes 0.64 per cent of the total geographical area of India. Its length from North to South is about 277 kilometers and width from East to West is about 121 kilometers. The longitudinal and latitudinal extent of Mizoram falls between 92°16'E to 93°26'E and 21°56'N to 24°31'N. The area has an international boundary with Bangladesh and Myanmar. The exact length of this international boundary in the west with Bangladesh is 404 Km and in the east with Myanmar is 318 Km. And the state has inter state boundary with Assam on the North (123 Km), Tripura on the North West (66 Km.) and Manipur on the North East (95 Km.). Being sandwiched between Bangladesh and Myanmar, its location is of strategic significance geographically and politically. The tropic of cancer, i.e. 23° 30' North latitude cuts across the region through Champhai district, Kolasib district and Mamit district.

The ranges in this region are running from North to South direction, which tends to be higher in the east than the west. The highest elevation is 2,157 meters above mean sea level. There are a number of parallel hill ranges running in North South direction separated each other by deep and narrow valleys occupied by sedimentary rocks of conglomerates, sandstones, shales, etc. and their various inter-mixture. The general geology is represented by a repetitive succession of arenaceous and argillaceous sediments. The first geological studied of the region was made by La Tauche (1891). According to La Tauche, the area consists of a great flysch facies of rock comprising monotonous sequences of shale and sandstone, which are thrown into N-S trending folds. It is believed that the rock are in fact, the southerly continuation of those rocks forming the Cachar hills and were probably laid down in a delta or estuary of a large river during the late tertiary period.

Recently, Nandy and Sarkar (1973) and Saxena and Mukherjee (1973) have worked separately in the western part of central Mizoram and southern Mizoram respectively. Both the parties established the same stratigraphy and gave a different sedimentation history of the region. Again, Nandy and Sarkar divided the rock formation

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into several facies on the basis of lithology and sedimentation structure. They are of the opinion that the sedimentation took place in deep-sea flysch environment by the action of turbidity current mechanism. Saxena and Mukherjee have also done geological mapping in part of Lunglei district.

Surma Group: Surma group consists of two main sub-groups of rocks, which are (a).Bhuban (b). Bokabil.

Bhuban Formation: Bhuban sub-group is sub divided into three formations, which are as follows.

1. Upper Bhuban formation
2. Lower Bhuban formation
3. Middle Bhuban formation

Upper Bhuban Formation: The upper Bhuban formation underlies conformably the Boka Bil formation, the contact in most cases is gradational, east of Lungsen village in the western part of Lunglei district, and the contact is, however, a faulted one. This formation covers the whole area; it rather covers the whole hill ranges of central and western parts of the state. The rock formation is predominantly arenaceous and comprises mostly of massive, brownish, comparatively soft friable, somewhat weather, medium-grained sandstone usually containing garnet and patches of shale.

Lower Bhuban Formation: Lower Bhuban formation comprises mostly of grayish, fine to very fine-grained massive sandstone. This rock formation is found in the eastern most part of the district bordering Myanmar. At places there are well-bedded, hard compact, fine to very fine-grained sandstone bands inter bedded which comparatively thinner bands of siltstone and shale.

Middle Bhuban Formation: This rock formation overlies the upper Bhuban formation conformably the contact being gradational. The rock formation is predominantly argillaceous and comprises mostly of shale, mud stone, siltstone, thin interlamination of varying amount of shale, silt and sand and massive to well bedded sandstone inter-bedded with argillaceous sequences of varying thickness.

Bokabil Formation: The rocks belong to this formation occurs conformably over the upper Bhuban and their contact transitional in Lunglei district. It is represented by soft, friable, loosely packed medium to fine feldspathic sandy grey wacke, sandy shale with interlaminated silt or shale alternation. The rocks of this formation exhibit typical turbidity features with multiple grading and ripple drift cross lamination. The places through cross bedding and large current bedding are also present. The shale is generally grey and brownish yellow colour. This type of rock is widely exposed in the western part.

Barail Group: Barail group rests conformably on the Surma group. The Barail group is mainly composed of arenaceous rocks. This group of rocks is lithologically dissimilar from these of the Bhuban formation lying in the west. The Barail comprises monotonous sequence of weathered shale, interbedded and interlaminated with siltstone, exhibiting weathering pink, violet, greenish grey and white colorations. They enclosed bands of weathered micaceous, feldspathic, soft, medium grained sandstone. Unlike Bhuban the Barail contain sedimentary structure like flute casts. The rocks have low rolling dips and have been folded into broad anticlines with the axis trending approximately east west.

The area falls within the part of Tripura-Mizoram mio-geosynclinal basin southern extension of Surma valley (Evans 1964:99) which evolved after the regional upliftment of Barail groups of sediments and this was related with the plate behaviour in the subduction zones of west of Arakan Yama, after the spreading of Indian ocean.

From the study of provenance, paleoslope, dispersal pattern of primary sedimentary structures and regional tectonics, it is apparent that the depositions of the sediments of the area look place, after the upliftment of Barail geosynclinals in a great tectonic through of mio-geosynclinal character having 'Bell-Shape' pattern (Evans 1964:105). A shallow sea might have prevailed during the late Boka Bil time as is evidenced by the presence of large scale planar cross bedding, through cross bedding and grained sandstone with less clay in the top of the synclinal covers.

Structurally the whole region is characterise by a series of continuous and discontinuous N-S to N, 15° E – S 15° W trending anticlines and synclines involving mio-pliocene sediments of the Surma and Barail. Eastern contact of these rocks with the

Oligocene Barails is faulted by a Kolodan fault of N-S trending fault and these have obliterated the post Barail conformity in this area.

The structural trend of the area under study coincides with the regional tectonic lineaments the general strike of the folded layers is N-S direction, with dip ranging from 40° to 50° either towards west or east. Structurally, the rock of the area are highly compressed asymmetrical anticlinal ridge and narrow valley, with parallel to sub-parallel, sub-vertical to vertical axial planes. The axes of the fold show convergence pattern in the direction of plunge, except in few cases where they run parallel. The limbs of the major fold are folded into small anticlines and synclines mostly in chevron style.¹ Mesoscopic folds are observed mainly in the incompetent middle Bhubans that are bounded by the competent lower and upper Bhubans. The overall folded geometry maintains similarity throughout the region. Structural complexity and also the intensity of deformation gradually increase from west to east. To the east the fold is much compressed, overturned and iso-synclinal. Both the effect of horizontal compression and vertical movement are noticed in the deformed rock. Both megascopic and mesoscopic vertical to sub-vertical strike faults are located along the hinge of the folded layers.

The structural elements observed in Mizoram are both primary and secondary types. The primary sedimentary structures commonly found in the area are cross laminations, ripple-marks parallel laminations, graded bedding, flute casts, and load cast and ridge structures. The secondary structures observed in Mizoram are folds and faults. Folds and faults are found in both megascopic structures and mesoscopic scales. The mesoscopic structures are well preserved in the argillaceous sequences and more commonly found in the middle Bhuban formation. The fold are highly compressed and usually accompanied by strike faults which passes either along the axial region of the folds or through the steeper limbs. Saxena and Mukherjee (1973) recognized that at some places along rivers, there are overturned beds as evidenced from inverted small scale current bedding. This overturning according to them has been caused probably due to tilting along the faults.

¹ Sarkar & Nandy 1977

In Mizoram, the physiographic expression of folding is imparted by a series of steep longitudinal anticlinal hills and narrow synclinal valleys trending NNW-SSE to NNE-SSW. There are many major anticlinal structures separated from each other by major synclines. These folds have given rise to local synforms and antiforms. Some of which are plunging mostly towards either NNW or SSE. Some syncline are plunging towards south and NNE at low angles. The fold to the west are approximately NNW trending while those to the east are NS to NNE trending. They are sub-parallel to each other and indicate that they owe their origin to a single fold movement.

Other significant structural features of Mizoram are the arrangement and nature of faults. The area is bounded by minor and major faults. The faults are mainly sub-vertical and dip slip in nature. Besides, there are a number of small scale strike faults. The major faults are confined mostly along the axial region of the folds or pass along the steeper limbs. Saxena and Mukherjee (1973) observed that the thickness of the upper Bhuban formation in the eastern limbs and the Upper Bhuban formation in the eastern limbs and the western limbs of respectively have reduced as a result of the major strike faults.

There is no field evidence as to the nature of the fault in terms of its being a normal or reversed fault. It was considered, however, by Nandy, Gupta, Sarkar, Anirudha (1983) that the thrust of faults are NE-SW oblique fault whereas other faults are NW-SE transverse fault. The minor fault to the north west of Lunglei town from deep scarp faces, probably due to enormous throw of strata along the fault plane. Nature of the fault plane and altitude of strata indicates high angle reversed fault along the crest of some anticline.

The highest hill in Mizoram is known as Phawngpuitlang (Blue Mountain) located in the South-east along the Myanmar border in the east of Chhimtuipui River. The eastern side is much higher than the western side in Mizoram. The hills in the western side are lower than the east.

The formations of hills are highly controlled by the structural features. Although all the hill ranges are made up of monotonous sequence of rather limited varieties of rock types, sandstone, shale, mudstone, siltstone and they played an important role for the

formation of the hills. It is quite true that the structural features are the most important factors for the formation of hills in Mizoram. The study of trend lines clearly indicates that the folds are asymmetrical, light and compressed in nature. There are number of lineaments parallel to the regional tectonic trend. This fold is very dominant in western part of the area. There are few interment valley plains and river valley plains in small pockets. Some of them, which are noticeable, are Champhai plain in the north east, Thenzawl plain in the middle and South Vanlaiphai interment valley plain of about 1 Sq.Km. Some other interment valley plains are also found at the source region of Ngengpui stream near Thingfal village in the Southern part of the area. Some small river plains are also observed.

2.2 DRAINAGE

A number of rivers, streams and rivulets of various patterns and length actively drain Mizoram. Surface configuration like slope, relief and dissection are important factors, which affect the development and patterns of drainage system of the area. There are six most important drainage systems in Mizoram; they are Tlawng Drainage system, Tuirial drainage system, Tuivawl drainage system, Tiau drainage system, Chhimtuipui drainage system and Khawthlangtuipui Drainage system. River Tlawng is the longest river in Mizoram, which measures 102 Km inside the state. It originates from Zopui hill, some 8 Km. east of Lunglei Town, at the height of 1395 M. It flows towards north, and is navigable by small boats throughout the year and is regarded as the most important channel of water transport in Mizoram,² and cuts the region into two almost equal parts. After confluence with other smaller rivers, it enters into Cachar hills. Tuirial river is also navigable by small boat to a considerable length. It originates from Chawilung hill and flow north ward to join Barak river in Assam. The eastern fringe of the state is drained by Tiau drainage system. The river Tiau is a demarcating line between India and Myanmar; flow south ward direction to join river Tuipui and again till it join river Chhimtuipui on the southeast. River Chhimtuipui drains the south-eastern part of Mizoram. The main

² Pachuau, p.37

river Chhimtuipui is the biggest river in Mizoram by volume. It originates from the western part of Myanmar, and flow southward direction. It enters Mizoram near Sabawngte village from which it takes the north direction marking the international boundary and meet Tiau River in the opposite direction. River Khawthlangtuipui represents the drainage system of the whole south western part of Mizoram. The main river flow south ward and after taking 105 kilometers course, it turns to south west and enters into Bangladesh. River Khawthlangtuipui and its tributaries viz. R.De and R.Kau, which flows parallel from the south; R.Phairuang, R.Tuichawng and R.Kawrpui, which are associate it from the south; drains the western portion.

The whole drainage system of Mizoram on a large scale depicts parallel drainage pattern. This is the out come of the characteristics parallel mountain ranges. Trellis as well as dendretic drainage system are observed in Mizoram.

2.3 CLIMATE

Mizoram enjoys a moderate climate owing to its tropical location. It is neither very hot nor too cold throughout the year. The climate is humid tropical, characterized by short winter and long summer with heavy rainfall.³ The climatic condition of Mizoram in general is cool and wet. The Western part is warmer than the Eastern part. The average temperature in summer is generally between 20°C and 29°C. The highest temperature is observed during May, June and July. And the average temperature in winter is normally records between 9°C and 24°C. During last two decades, steady increase in temperature has been noticeable, mainly due to the large-scale degradation of vegetation and mismanagement of environment. During winter, the lower temperature is felt at places having higher altitudes at the east and maximum temperature in summer is observed at relatively lower places of western side. The whole region falls under the direct influence of the South-West Monsoon. As such, the region receives an adequate amount of rainfall. The region receives heavy rainfall during May to September. The rainfall increases southward with the increase in humidity. In the year AD 2000-2001, the total rainfall was

³ Pachuau p.41

9,876 mm. and in AD 2001-2002 the total annual rainfall was 88,018 mm. The average annual rainfall in Mizoram during the year 2000-2001 was 8,230.08 mm; while during 2001-2002 it reduced to the average of 7,334.83 mm.

Table 2.1 RAINFALL RECORDED IN MIZORAM. (in mm.)

Month	2000-2001	2001-2002
January	18	51
February	24	702
March	1,366	39
April	4505	1709
May	8865	3343
June	18379	12870
July	13007	18663
August	9632	12986
September	21220	12442
October	12674	11478
November	7437	10236
December	1634	3499
Total	9,876	88,018

Source: Statistical hand book of Mizoram, 2003.

Depending on the variation in temperature and general weather condition, three different types of seasons are observed in Mizoram.

1. The Winter Season: It starts from November and lasts till February, and the mean temperature ranges between 11°C – 23 °C. Few rainfall is receives from retreating monsoon.
2. The Spring Season: It starts from March and lasts till first part of May, and this season is merges with rainy season. The temperature varies between 19 °C to 29°C. Maximum insolation is received during this season and is the hottest season in Mizoram.
3. The Summer Season: The summer season is the longest season in Mizoram, nearly six months i.e. from late May to October. The temperature remains high but is fall down to a considerable extent by heavy rains. Rainfall is heavy from May to September, and about 40% of annual rainfall is received during this period.

2.4 SOIL

The soils of Mizoram are dominated mainly by loose sedimentary formation. They are generally young, immature and sandy. Derived soil with red, loamy texture is also found with high level laterite. The soil acidity is high; low in potash and phosphorus. But in an uneroded soil, the content of nitrogen is quite high fostered by accumulation of organic matters. The soils in the valleys are heavier as they were brought down by rainwater from the high altitudes. Sankar and Nandy (1976) have classified the soil of Mizoram into three orders of soil taxonomy. viz. Entisols, Inceptisols and Ultisols.

Entisols: These soils have little or no evidence of profile development. They occur on steep, actively eroding slopes and ridges, or on flood plains that receive new deposits of alluvium at frequent intervals. In the order of Entisols, the following soils have been identified at the family level classification:-

- a) Mixed Hyperthermic, typic Udipsamments – which occurs in narrow valleys especially on river courses in a very limited area.
- b) Loamy Skeletal, mixed hyperthermic, lithic Udorthents – occur only in ridge tops which have been severely eroded due to indiscriminate felling of forests. The soils have coherent strata with 50 cm thickness. Exposed rock sequences are seen at few places.
- c) Loamy Skeletal mixed hyperthermic, typic Udorthents – these soils have been encountered in erosional areas on ridge tops and terraces. These are found as dominant units on ridge, which are under scrubs. The soils are having 40 to 60 percent of coarse gravels. These soils can support good vegetation if properly managed.

Inceptisols: This order of soils occurs widely in sub-humid region. The common horizon sequence is an ochric epipedon over a Cambic horizon. Freely-drained inceptisols are classified as Ochrepts. The following families of sub-group typic Dystrochrepts have been identified in Mizoram.

- a) Loamy Skeletal, mixed hypothermic typic Dystrochrepts-found on the concave part of the slope in narrow patches of hill top ridges. Generally, these soils are deep with 40-50 cm. thick solum, below which weathered soft rocks are found. They are well-suited for forest species.
- b) Fine, loamy, mixed hyperthermic, typic Dystrochrepts -commonly occurring on the steep slopes in narrow valleys and on terraces. They are generally covered with dense scrubs and grasses. The soils are fine, loamy in texture with few rock fragments.

Ultisols: Ultisols are commonly found on the footslopes. The soils have horizons, which are rich in translocated Silicate clays. The main sub-orders of these soils are Aquults, Humults and Udults.

- (a) Aquults - Only one family of this sub-order, i.e., mixed hyperthermic, fine loamy, typic Palequults have been found to exist in Mizoram. It is found in the flat lands.
- (b) Humults - Only one family of this sub-order has been identified. These soils are rich in humus and generally, support rain forest.
- (c) Udults - is fairly widespread in Mizoram. They are fairly drained, poor in humus, associated with humid climate with high rainfall.

To summarize, the hilly terrain, where the slopes are steep to very steep, consists mainly of Hapludults, Paleudults and Palchumults. These soils are highly leached, poor in bases, rich in Iron and low in pH value. They have wider occurrence as compared to other soil types. In narrow valleys, the soils are young and sandy. The extents are very much limited and are of least important for land use. The soils in flat lands are poorly drained and have high ground water-table.

The soils of Mizoram as a whole are well-drained except in few flat lands, and are capable of providing substantial oxygen supply for plant growth. The soils of the region also have capability to retain soil moisture and maintain its supply throughout the growing season of normal crops. They have low inherent fertility in the form of poor supply of base and mineral reserves. This implies the necessity of inputs and proper management for utilization.

The soil acidity is high; low in potash and phosphorous. But in an uneroded soil, the content of nitrogen is quite high fostered by accumulation of organic matters. The soils in the valleys are heavier as they were brought down by rain water from high altitudes. There are three different types of soils in Mizoram viz. Entisols, Inceptisols and Ultisols.⁴ In the western part Surma group of rocks exposed, most of the landforms observed are of an erosional in nature. Although all the hill ranges are made up of monotonous sequence of rather limited varieties of rock types, sandstone, shale, mudstone, siltstone and they played an important role for the formation of the hills.

2.5 VEGETATION

As the region is fed by a heavy monsoon rain, in addition with the favour of the climatic condition, Mizoram has abundant growth of vegetation. Out of the total geographical area (i.e. 21,087 Sq.Km) as much as 18,338 Sq.Km is covered by vegetation which accounts for about 87 % of the total area of the state. The vegetation of Mizoram comprises valuable species of timber, lumber, medicinal plant and herbs and domestic resources. Pachau (1994) classified the forest of Mizoram into six types according to vegetation, as follows;

1. Tropical Evergreen Forest.
2. Sub-Himalayan semi-Evergreen Forest.
3. Sub-tropical Pine Forest.
4. Sub-tropical hill Forest.
5. Mixed Forest, and
6. Overlapping Bamboos.

Or in general, simple classification of forest of Mizoram falls under three, i.e. Tropical Wet-Evergreen, Tropical Semi-Evergreen and Mountain Sub-Tropical. On a broad scale, the forest of Mizoram can be simply described as wooded forests in the lower ridges, normally below 600 meters, including riverine low lands.

⁴ Sanker & Nandy p.22 1976

Forest area around 3,786 Sq.Km in Mizoram is occupied by dense forest and 14,522 Sq.Km is area under open forest. The most common species are Thlanvawng (Gmelina arborea), Ngiau (Michelia champaca), Lawngthing (Dipterocarpus turbinatus), Muk (Cordia wallichii), Tatkawng (Artocarpus chaplasha), Khuangthli (Bischofia javanica), Hmawng (Ficus benghalensis), with more than four species of bamboo. Small pocket of Sub-tropical pine forest is found at the eastern most part around Tarpho,

Table 2.2 MIZORAM AND ITS FORESTS (1999 – 2000)

Sl. no.	Type of forests	Area in Sq. Km.	Percentage of forest area to geographical area
1.	Protected forest area	959.00	4.54
2.	Reserved forest area	3,057.249	14.49
3.	Wildlife sanctuary	1,044.20	4.95
4.	Innerline reserved forest	561.813	2.66
5.	Total forest reserved	5,622.262	26.66
6.	Total forest area	18,775.00	89.03

Source : Mizoram Forest At a Glance, 2001 Published by Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Government of Mizoram, Aizawl.

Chawngtui and Cherhlun villages. The most common species are Chhawkhle (Phododendron), Fah (Quercus dealbata), Tlaizawng (Prunus ceracoides), Katchat (Didymochlaena), and only few Far (Pinus kesiya) is seen. The western slopes are occupied by Tropical evergreen forest with high concentration of bamboo. Khiang (Schima wallichii), Char (Terminalia myriocarpa), Zuang (Duabanga sonneratioides) Thingdawl (Tetrameles nudiflora), Zawngtah (Parkia roxburghii), Vaube Bauhinia variegata, Phunchawng (Bombox malabaricum), etc are the most common species found in the western part.

It is undoubtedly true to say that most of the species mentioned above are to be found growing here and there irrespective of classification of forest type. Bamboo is found almost every where except at the higher ridges. The vegetation of Mizoram has

undergone a serious change due to continuous onslaughts by man, clearance for jhuming, heavy exploitation and maltreatment by burning and over grazing at scattered places. The traditional jhuming, lumbering and fueling are the major factors that accelerate the degradation and degeneration of the green forests.

2.6 POPULATION AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

Man is the pivotal point from which all other elements are observed and derive their meaning and significance.⁵ Therefore, the central theme of which is the understanding of the processes of spatial organisation of population is a must to understand. The decadal growth rate of the population of Mizoram or the percentage decadal variation in the population of Mizoram for the periods 1971-1981, 1981-1991 and 1991-2001 are 48.55 for, 39.69 and 29.18 for respectively. Here, it is clearly highlighted that during the entire period of 1971-2001, population had increased steadily Mizoram the rate of growth of population experienced by Mizoram was higher than the rate of growth of population experienced of the whole nation. *SEX RATIO:* The sex ratio in Mizoram had also increased steadily during the last three decades. The numbers of females per 1,000 males in Mizoram were 946, 919, 921 and 938 in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. It is interesting to note that the State of Mizoram was having higher sex ratio than our Country as a whole (All-India) in most of the census.

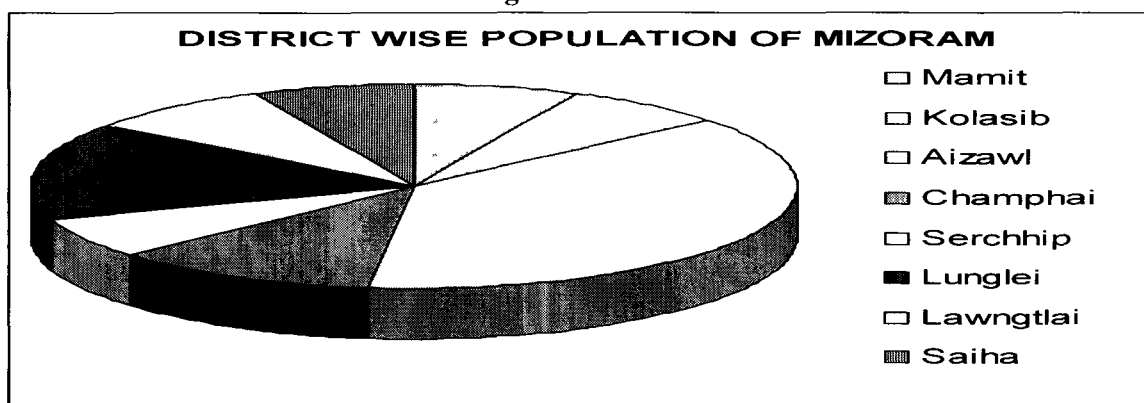
DENSITY OF POPULATION: It is also learnt from table that the figures representing density of population per square kilometer in the last four successive censuses are 16, 23, 33 and 42, which imply that there was a fast and steady increase in the density of population in Mizoram. Comparing these figures with those of the Nation, which were 178 in 1971, 216 in 1981, 267 in 1991 and 324 in 2001, one can say that the density of population per square kilometer in Mizoram is lower than the All-India average.

⁵ Trewartha, 1969, p.87

Table 2.3 DISTRICT WISE POPULATION OF MIZORAM, 2001

Name	Total Population			% to the total population
District	Persons	Male	Female	
Mamit	62,313	32,766	29,547	6.99
Kolasib	60,977	31,874	29,103	6.84
Aizawl	339,812	173,930	165,882	38.14
Champhai	101,389	51,869	49,520	11.38
Serchhip	55,539	28,445	27,094	6.23
Lunglei	137,155	71,353	65,802	15.39
Lawngtlai	73,050	38,425	34,625	8.20
Saiha	60,823	31,121	29,702	6.83

Figure 2.1



Source : Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 2001.

**Table 2.4
DEVELOPMENT OF LITERACY IN MIZORAM (1971-2001)**

Rate of literacy in Percentage			
Year of Census	Mizoram		
	Person	Male	Female
(1)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1971	53.79	60.48	46.70
1981*	59.88	64.45	54.91
1991	82.27	85.60	78.60
2001	88.49	90.69	86.13

Source : Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 2001

**Table 2.5 DECADAL AND CENTENNIAL VARIATION IN THE
POPULATION OF MIZORAM SINCE 1901**

District/ State	Year of Census	Male Populatio n	Female Populatio n	Total number of persons	Decadal variation	% decadal variation	Literacy percentge	Density of popu- lation
LUSHAI HILLS DISTRICT/ MIZO DISTRICT/ MIZORAM	1901	39,004	43,430	82,434	-	-	N.A.	N.A.
	1911	43,028	48,176	91,204	+ 8,770	+10.64	N.A.	N.A.
	1921	46,462	51,754	98,406	+ 7,202	+ 7.90	N.A.	N.A.
	1931	59,186	65,218	1,24,404	+ 25,998	+ 26.42	N.A.	N.A.
	1941	73,855	78,931	1,52,786	+ 28,382	+ 22.81	N.A.	N.A.
	1951	96,136	1,00,066	1,96,202	+ 43,416	+ 28.42	31.13	9
	1961	1,32,465	1,33,598	2,66,063	+ 69,861	+ 35.61	44.01	13
	1971	1,70,824	1,61,566	3,32,390	+ 66,327	+ 24.93	53.79	16
	1981	2,57,239	2,36,518	4,93,757	+1,61,367	+ 48.55	59.88	23
	1991	3,58,978	3,30,778	6,89,756	+1,95,999	+ 39.69	82.27	33
	2001	4,59,782	4,31,276	8,91,058	+2,01,302	+ 29.18	88.49	42

Note : Literacy rate for 1971 relates to the population aged five (5) years and above. The Literacy rates for 1981 and 1991 relate to the population aged 7 (seven) years and above.

Source : 1. Census of India 2001, Series 16, India, Paper 2 of 2001, and Mizoram at a glance, 2001, Government Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 published by the Directorate of Economics & Statistics.

DISTRICT-WISE DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS: Among the entire eight districts, Aizawl district has the highest population i.e 38.14% of the total state's population, followed by Lunglei district (15.39%), Champhai (11.38%), Lawngtlai (8.20%), Mamit 6.99%), Kolasib (6.84%), Saiha (6.83%) and Serchhip district (6.23%) comprises least population. The highest growth of population is witnessed at Aizawl district due high rate of migration or urbanization. Aizawl district is followed by Kolasib district, Saiha, Serchhip, Champhai, Lunglei, Lawngtlai and Mamit district during 1991-2001.

DENSITY OF POPULATION: The density of population in Mizoram is 42 persons. Population concentration is highest in Aizawl district (95 persons/Sq.Km) followed by Kolasib (44), Saiha district (43) stood at third followed by Serchhip district (39), Champhai district (32), Lunglei (30), Lawngtlai (29) and Mamit district (21) at the last.

The density of population per square kilometre is less than that in Lunglei district, Serchhip district, Champhai district, Lawngtlai district and in Mamit district. It is also very much less than the density of population per square kilometre in the State in compare to the nation as a whole.

2.7 LITERACY

The growth of literacy in Mizoram has been fast and spectacular during the last hundred years (1901-2001). Among the 28 States and 7 Union Territories of India, this State was recorded in the last Census to have the second highest percentage of literate persons although education was ushered by the Christian Missionaries in 1894 only.

The table 1.3; the figures representing literacy percentage in Lunglei district for the Census 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 are all higher than the corresponding state figures. Mizoram exhibits higher literacy percentage in the cases of both males and females than the nation. But, during last three or more decades, it is observed that the literacy level is increasing slightly. As compared to the position of most other States of India, the progress of both male and female literacy in Mizoram is also quite satisfactory.

Table 2.6
DISTRICT WISE NUMBER OF LITERATES & LITERACY

Name of state / district	No. of literates			Literacy rates		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Mizoram	6,63,262	3,51,851	3,11,411	88.49	90.69	86.13
Mamit	41,161	22,837	18,324	80.09	84.04	75.66
Kolasib	46,346	24,623	21,723	90.49	91.50	89.37
Aizawl	2,82,523	1,45,727	1,36,796	96.64	97.20	96.06
Champhai	77,466	40,621	36,845	91.88	94.00	89.64
Serchhip	44,642	23,210	21,432	96.16	97.27	95.02
Lunglei	96,513	52,314	44,199	84.20	87.36	80.74
Lawngtlai	33,478	20,463	13,015	56.46	65.13	46.69
Saiha	41,133	22,056	19,077	82.43	86.28	78.39

Source : Statistical handbook, Mizoram 2002

To resume our discussion on the growth and development of literacy in Mizoram, the fact that Mizoram has exhibited the highest rate of growth of literacy among the 28 States and the 7 Union Territories of India during the last 100 years; and now, ranks second in terms of literacy percentage achieved among the 28 States and the 7 Union territories of India, may be restated first. It is interesting to mention out that the progress of literacy in Mizoram is satisfactory and the percentage of decadal variation in the number of literate persons in the state is quite significant.

Among the district of Mizoram, Aizawl district has the highest literacy rate as high as 96.64 % in 2001 census, while Lawngtlai district has the lowest literacy rate as low as 56.46 %. Aizawl district is seconded by Serchhip district; Champhai district rank third and Kolasib district is on the fourth line in the ranking of district-wise literacy standard of Mizoram. Lunglei district is on the fifth and is followed by Saiha district. Mamit district ranked seventh and Lawngtlai district occupied the last line in the district-wise ranking of literacy in Mizoram. Lawngtlai and Mamit districts have got comparatively lower literacy percentages; because a consideration proportion of their

population is constituted by half-nomadic tribes called “Chakma” and “Bru” or “Riang”. Since the literacy percentage of these tribes has remained pitifully low till recently, the literacy percentage of the districts, to which they belong, is bound to comparatively smaller. Of the district, it is Aizawl district that has more population of such communities and whose literacy percentage is higher. However, the respective literacy percentages of Lawngtlai district, although not compatible with that of the other districts, are still near about the corresponding national averages.

Table 2.7
GROWTH OF LITERACY IN MIZORAM (1951 – 2001)

Year/ Census	Total Popu- lation	Total Number of male literates	Total number of female literates	Number of literates per 1,000 persons			Rate of Literacy in percentage		
				Male	Fe- male	Com- bined	Male	Fe- male	Com- bined
1951	1,96,202	44,415	16,711	462	167	311	46.15	16.70	31.13
1961	2,66,063	70,736	46,358	534	347	440	53.40	34.69	44.01
1971	3,32,390	1,03,348	75,451	605	467	538	60.48	46.70	53.79
1981	4,93,757	1,65,919	1,29,848	645	549	599	64.45	54.91	59.88
1991	6,89,756	3,07,285	2,59,991	856	786	823	85.60	78.60	82.27
2001	8,91,058	4,17,022	3,71,329	907	861	885	90.69	86.13	88.49

Source: Mizoram at a glance 2001, Published by Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Government of Mizoram.

Table 2.8
POPULATION AND AREAS OF DISTRICTS
IN THE TOTAL GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OF MIZORAM

Sl. No.	Name of District	Total Population	%	Density of population
1	Aizawl	3,39,812	38.14	95
2	Lunglei	1,37,155	15.39	30
3	Champhai	1,01,389	11.38	32
4	Lawngtlai	73,050	8.20	29
5	Mamit	62,313	6.99	21
6	Kolasib	60,977	6.84	44
7	Saiha	60,823	6.83	43
8	Serchhip	55,539	6.23	39

Source: Statistical Handbook, Mizoram 2001, Economic & Statistics, Department, Government of Mizoram.

It is very interesting to note that Mamit district has witnessed stagnant growth of population during the last decade. Due to the constant high rate of migration it is clearly visible that the population of district like Aizawl, Lunglei, Champhai and Kolasib will face population problem in the future. According to the results of Population census 2001, the population of Mizoram at 0:00 hrs of 1st March 2001, stood at 8,91,058 out of which are 4,59,783 males and 4,31,275 females. The decadal growth rate during 1991-2001 is 29.18 %, which is 9.80 % lower than the growth rate of the previous decade (1981-1991). Mizoram accounts for only 0.09% of India's population.

Table 2.9
BIRTH AND DEATH RATE IN MIZORAM (1991 & 1999)

Mizoram	Year	Rural		Urban		Over-all / Combined	
		Birth Rate	Death Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate
Mizoram	1991	24.31	5.06	19.52	2.96	22.0	4.10
Mizoram	1999	18.7	6.9	14.8	3.7	17.0	5.5

Source: 1. Statistical Handbook Mizoram 1992 and Mizoram at a glance 2001.

2. Office of Registrar General, and Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Annual Report ('00- '01)

2.8 SEX RATIO

Mizoram (938 female per 1000 male) was found to have sex ratio higher than Lunglei District (922 female per 1000 male) in the last Census. Vital Statistics of Mizoram since 1951 clearly shows that the number of female per 1000 male is reduced till 1981 census of India, is increased during the last three decades. The rate of the decline in the number of female during 1951 to 1981 is larger than the rate of growth of female population during 1981 to 2001.

Table 2.10
VITAL POPULATION STATISTICS OF MIZORAM (1951-2001)

Cens us/ Year	Total Popu- lation	Decadal growth rate of popn.	Lite- racy rate	Densi ty of popn.	Sex Ratio	% of urban population to total popn.	Decadal growth rate of urban popu-lation	% of main workers to total popn.
1951	1,96,202	+28.42	31.13	9	1,040	3.54	-	N.A.
1961	2,66,063	+35.61	44.01	13	1,008	5.36	+105.14	47.23
1971	3,32,390	+24.93	53.79	16	945	11.36	+164.85	5.61
1981	4,93,757	+48.55	59.88	23	919	24.67	+222.61	41.73 (45.44)
1991	6,89,756	+39.69	82.27	33	921	46.20	+160.27	42.29 (49.36)
2001	8,91,058	+29.18	88.49	42	938	49.50	+ 38.71	40.83

Note: 1. Literacy rates for 1951, and 1971 relate to population aged 5 and above. The rates for the years 1981, 1991 relate to population aged 7 and above.

2. Figures in brackets in Col. 10 relate to total workers.

3. The term, "Main worker" is used for 1981 and 1991 Census. In case of the previous ones, The reference is to workers only.

Source: 1. Census of India 1961 Mizo Hills. 2. Census of India 1981 Series 31 Mizoram.

2. Census of India 1991 Series 17 Mizoram. Provisional population totals.

3. Census of India 2001 Provisional population totals.

5. Mizoram at a glance 2001 published by Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Government of Mizoram

6. Socio-Economic Review Mizoram 2000 - '01 and Statistical Handbook Mizoram2002, published by Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Government of Mizoram.

Among the districts, Champhai district has the highest female population per 1000 male and is followed by Aizawl and Saiha districts; while Lawngtlai district has the lowest female population per 1000 male. In the ranking of district by sex ratio, Serchhip district stood at fourth and Lunglei district is on the fifth, while Kolasib is at Sixth. Mamit district stood at the second from the last. Moreover, Mamit district and Lawngtlai district has almost the same number of female per thousand of their counter part-male. Mamit district and Lawngtlai district may be attributable to the presence of a large number of Chakma and Bru in these two rural development blocks. In comparison with the Mizo community, the sex ratio or the number of females per thousand males among these nomadic communities is usually smaller; and the status of women is also worse.

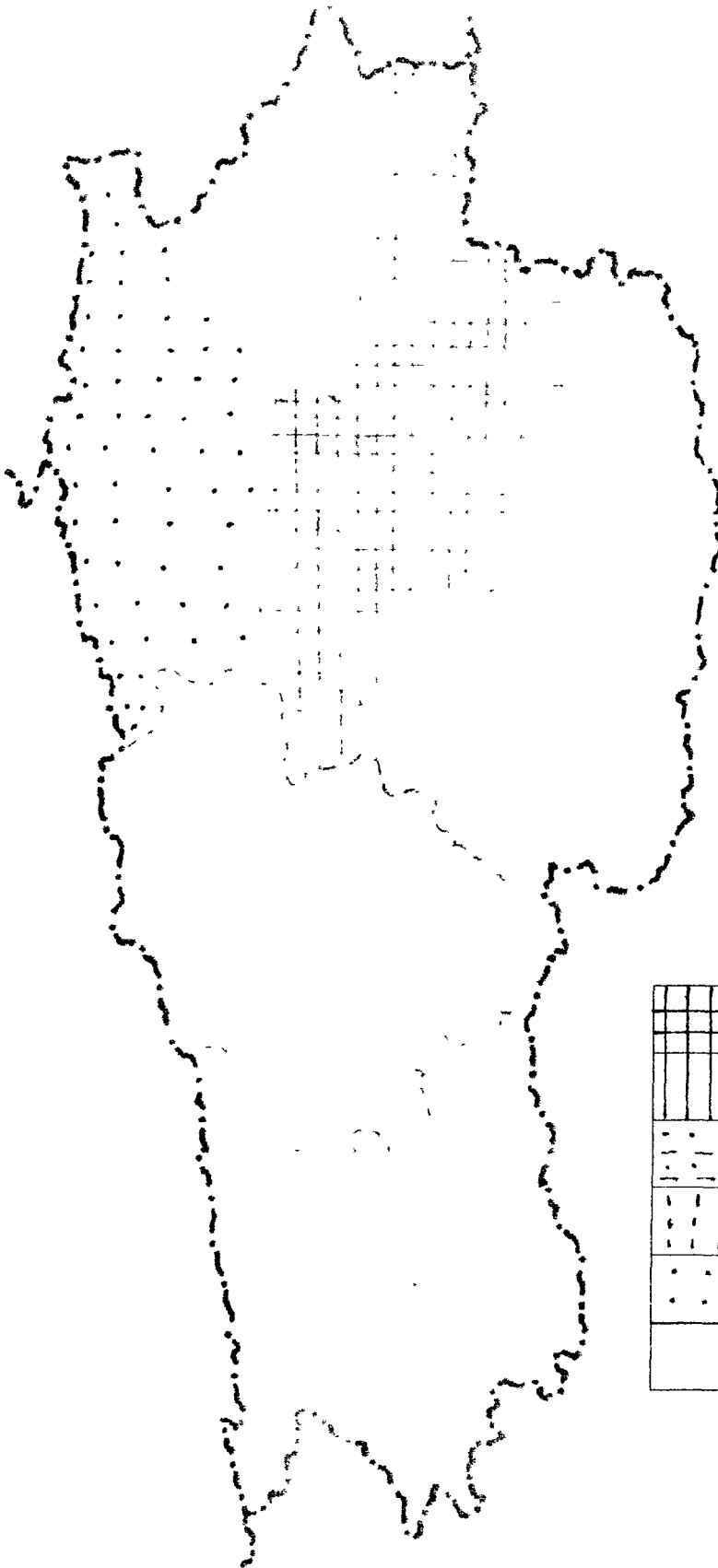
Table 2.11
RANKING OF DISTRICT BY SEX RATIO

Rank in 2001	Sex Ratio (No. of female/ thousand male)		
	District	2001	1991
1	Champhai	955	969
2	Aizawl	954	917
3	Saiha	954	939
4	Serchhip	953	959
5	Lunglei	922	910
6	Kolasib	913	924
7	Mamit	902	885
8	Lawngtlai	901	891

Source:

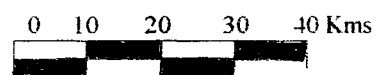
1. *Census of India, 2001,*
2. *Statistical handbook, Mizoram, 2001*

URBAN POPULATION IN MIZORAM.2001



LEGEND

	60.01 and Above
	50.01 – 60
	40.01 – 50.00
	30.01 – 40.00
	30.00 and Below
	Entirely Rural



2.9 RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION

Rural population relates to the population enumerated in areas other than those treated as urban according to the Census definition. According to 1981 Census, 75 percent of the population of Mizoram lived in the rural parts and only 25 percent lived in the urban areas, indicating rural dominance of population.

Traditionally, the Mizos are shifting cultivators are with rural habitat. Absence of economic activities other than jhum system has restricted the population of Mizoram to confine in rural areas. The limited cultivable lands do not favour the urban growth as the cultivator benefits more if he settles as near to the field (jhum) as possible, so that he can attend his jhum most of the time.

However, the 1991 Census figure shows a remarkable change on the rural-urban composition of Mizoram population. It registered 3,71,810 persons living in the rural areas and 3,17,946 living in the urban areas. This indicates that 53.90 percent of the population lived in the rural areas and 46.10 percent lived in the urban areas. In other words, population in the urban areas have registered a phenomenal growth rate of 161.01 percent during 1981-1991 while a negative growth rate of 0.74 percent has been recorded in the rural areas of the State during the same decade.

The growth of urbanization is the fall out of industrial prosperity as industrialization brings about rural-urban migration or rural to urban migration in a particular region. However, it would not be plausible to attribute rural-urban migration as the main factor in bringing about the rapid progress in urban population. There are certain factors apparent towards this phenomenon, such as:

- a) Addition of new towns to the already existing towns during the last Census.
- b) Expansion of areas of the towns already existing during the last Census;
- c) Phenomenon of high birth rate and low death rate in the urban areas existing during the 1981 Census.

Prior to 1971 Census, there was only one class IV town in the whole of Mizoram, i.e., Aizawl. At present there are 22 towns recognised in the Census register as town. In this connection, it is to be noted that as many as 16 rural constituents of 1981 Census

have acquired the status of towns in 1991 Census making a total of 22 towns, as compared to only 6 towns in 1981. The population of the newly-added towns in 1991 was 65,459, which represented 20.58 percent. Traditionally Mizo are shifting cultivators with rural habitat. Absence of economic activities other than jhum system has restricted the population of Mizoram to confine in rural areas. However, the 1991 census shows a remarkable change on the rural-urban composition of Mizoram population. Population of Mizoram has registered a decadal growth rate of 39.70 during 1981-1991, and slightly decreases to 29.18 % during 1991-2001. The percentage of urban population to total population of the state are 3.54, 5.36, 11.36, 24.67, 46.10, 49.50 in the year 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. Again, the decadal percentage of increase of population in urban areas are 105.14, 164.85, 222.61, 160.27, 38.72 in 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. According to 2001 Census 49.50 % of the population of Mizoram lives in urban areas. It was it witnessed that the percentage of urban dwellers is increased from 46.10 % in 1991. It may be noted that it has been for the first time since 1951 that the growth of urbanization has been the lowest and far below the rate of growth preceding five decades.

There were only six towns in Mizoram and then 16 rural constituents of 1981 census have acquired the status of towns in 1991 census making a total of 22 towns. During last decade no new town has been added to the existing 22 towns of 1991 Census in the state of the total urban population of the State.

The highest concentration of population is noticed at Aizawl city/town and the least concentration is found in Kutkawk village having 7 persons.

Due to the absence of economic activities, large scale rural to urban migration is witnesses till today. As a matter of fact that rural to rural migration is more frequent in the western area whereas tribal like Chakma are more concentrated. And it is undoubtedly true that the density of population is decrease towards west

Table 2.12
TRENDS IN URBANISATION IN MIZORAM, 1951-2001

Census year	No. of towns	Total population	Total urban population	% of urban population	Decennial absolute growth	Decennial % of growth	Annual exponential growth
1951	1	196201	6950	3.54	N.A	N.A	N.A
1961	1	266063	14257	5.36	7307	105.14	7.1
1971	2	332390	37759	11.36	23502	164.84	9.8
1981	6	493757	121814	24.67	84055	222.61	11.7
1991	22	689756	317946	46.10	196132	161.01	9.6
2001	22	891058	441040	49.50	123094	38.72	3.2

Source: Census of India, Provisional Population totals, 2001

The growth and distribution of population in Mizoram is mainly affects by higher birth rate along with lower death rate, and frequent migration from the neighbouring countries like Bangladesh on the south and Myanmar on the east. It is, hence, seen that the remarkable increase in the urban population of Mizoram during 1981-2001 was largely indicative of the addition of new towns by census classification, coupled with higher natural growth rate in the urban areas and large-scale migration of population from rural areas to urban areas of the State during 1981-2001. At this juncture, it is interesting to mention that Mizoram has become the most urbanised State among the States of India in terms of percentage of urban population to the State's total population. The share of 22 urban towns' population is 49.50 percent; although the share of rural population is still higher with 50.50 percent of the total population of Mizoram.

Mizoram is distinguished by an overwhelming predominance of tribal population. The tribal population in this State accounted for 93.55 percent in 1981, which is the highest percentage for any state in India. Equally striking is the share of tribal population (i.e., 89.05 %) in urban centres. This again is, by far, the highest among the Indian States.

By that token, urbanisation in Mizoram is characteristically native, a feature which is rare in most tribal parts of India.

Some other notable features of urbanisation in Mizoram are mentioned below:-

1. Almost half of the State's population is urban. In other words, the urbanisation level in this most tribal-dominated State (Mizoram) is higher than that of the country.
2. There are 22 towns located at a mean distance of about 60 Kms. away from each other. All are administrative centres and many of them are located on the Silchar-Aizawl-Lunglei National Highway.
3. Aizawl, the State capital, is the biggest. It is more than five times bigger than the second largest town, i.e., Lunglei. Nearly half of the total urban population in Mizoram is shared by the Aizawl town alone.
4. Although towns of Mizoram are comparatively small in population, yet, they cover extensive areas: For instance, Aizawl covers 110 Sq. kms. Lunglei covers 85 Sq. kms. and Saiha covers 53 Sq. kms. There are abundant urban lands in all the towns of Mizoram for further development.

2.10 RELIGION

Unlike most of the other states of India, Mizoram is marked by a monopoly of a single religion that is Christianity. The reason can be best explained by socio-economic factor, as the region is dominated by high tribal concentration with no significant ethnic and cultural diversities. Christianity was brought to the region by British Missionaries in 1894. The other religions pursued by small sections of the population of Mizoram are Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism and Jainism.

Unfortunately, no proper census has been done in 2001 census. The highly racial mixed in western part led the higher concentration of Hindus and Buddhists. The religious composition in Mizoram is highly controlled by its location. The western slopes are bounded by Bangladesh and are witnessed high density of migration to Tlabung and its surrounding areas, which increases the number of Muslims. And the high concentration of Chakma, who comes from Bangladesh and Tripura, increases the

number of population who beliefs in Buddhism. Few people who belongs to Hindu and others religion have come to the region due to business and governmental services. Table 1.13 clearly shows the number and their percentage to the total population.

Table 2.13

POPULATION COMPOSITION BY RELIGION IN MIZORAM (1981 & 1991)

Sl. No.	Religious Community	Number of Persons		Percentage to Total Population	
		1981	1991	1981	1991
1.	Christians	4,13,840	5,91,342	83.81	85.73
2.	Buddhists	40,429	54,024	8.19	7.83
3.	Hindus	35,245	34,788	7.14	5.04
4.	Muslims	2,205	4,538	0.45	0.65
5.	Sikhs	421	299	0.09	0.04
6.	Jains	11	4	0.002	0.005
7.	Other religions & Persuasions	1,606	4,761	0.32	0.69

Source: 1. *Census of India, 1981, Series 31, Mizoram Paper I of 1985, p.v.*

2. *Statistical Handbook Mizoram 1987 & 1996. Published by Directorate of Economics & Statistics. Government of Mizoram.*

2.11 LINGUISTIC GROUP

Mizoram represent the most significant deviation as far as linguistic diversity is concerned. It is a mono-lingual state in which Lusei language is the lingua-franca. The Lusei and all the Mizo languages belong to the Assam-Burman branch of Tibeto-Burman family of language. The increasing percentage of Chakma population has brought a remarkable change in the percentage share of speakers in the State in general and in

Mamit, Lawngtlai and Lunglei districts in particular. There was witnessed another remarkable change with the large scale migration of Bru or Reang to Tripura in 1997. There are also differences among the Mizo languages. Lakher is unintelligible to the Lusei language, while Pawi and Hmar languages have much similarity.

Table 2.14
MOTHER LANGUAGES OF MIZO TRIBES IN MIZORAM, 1991

Languages	Rural	Urban	Total	%
All	358113	295452	653565	
Mizo	227628	282675	510303	78.07 %
Lakher	24168	6456	30624	4.68 %
Pawi	12419	2380	14799	2.26 %
Paite	1784	13	1797	0.27 %
Hmar	15295	545	15840	2.42 %

Table 2.15
**NUMBER OF PERSONS USING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES
AND IT'S PERCENTAGE**

Name of Tribes/Sub-tribe	Total	Percentage
Mizo or Lusei	518,099	85.62
Tripuri	26,425	4.36
Lakher	22,938	3.79
Pawi	15,316	2.53
Hmar	9,525	1.57
Paite	7,726	1.27
Santali	2,679	negligible
Khasi	439	negligible
All tribal languages	6,05,059	88.18
All other languages	81,027	11.81
Total	6,86,086	

Source: Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 1991

Table 2.16
TRIBE WISE MOTHER LANGUAGES

Languages	Rural	Urban	Total	%
All	220736	279410	500146	
Mizo	211266	277494	488760	97.72
Hmar	6658	91	6749	
Pawi				
All	22936	4713	22983	
Mizo	9529	2071	9736	42.36
Lakher				
All	18456	6428	19104	
Lakher	17531	5850	18116	94.82
Mizo	717	411	1128	5.90
Hmar				
All	11609	926	12535	
Hmar	6738	194	6932	55.30
Mizo	3352	663	4015	32.03
Paite	1353	4	1357	

Source: Census of India, Special provision for Tribal population, 1991, Census of India, Series 17- Mizoram, 1991

2.12 MIGRATION

Migration process affects the areas to which migrants have moved and areas which they left; and is considered as a symptom of basic social change. The Mizo people migrated to their present habitat in three streams around 17 century A.D. ⁶ Apart from north eastern states, considerable migrants entered from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh which are highly populated states. Migrants, due to pull and push factors, were engaged in repairing, construction works, semi-skilled labour, manual labour and business. The migrants mostly settled down in rural areas are engaged in tertiary activities which the original inhabitants do not normally practice for earning their living. The migration pattern in Mizoram is greatly limited to short distance migration. The highest percentage of migration in Mizoram is intra-district migration. Based on place last residence, migration can be classified as follows;

⁶ Dalton p.44-45

- A. Rural to Rural – reverse rural turnover.
- B. Rural to urban – Push and pull.
- C. Urban to rural – Reverse push back.
- D. Urban to Urban – Urban turnover.

The distribution of population movement within the state between the above four classes is closely related with the degree of economic and social development. Rural to urban migration is generally, believed to be the classic stream, which feeds urban growth. In addition, Urban to rural migration seems to be account least amount of migrants. With the exception of immigrants, the dominant population of Mizoram is Mizo tribe with its different sub-tribes and clans. After independence of India, there was large-scale migration of Chakmas and Reangs to Mizoram, and now regarded as formal residents as far as political structure is concerned. Nevertheless, they are remaining to be socially distinct tribe having no common culture and normative pattern with the Mizos. Large amount of Chakmas were immigrants from Bangladesh after independence and live in the southernmost part of Lawngtlai district, a considerable number of immigrants follows the same route to Mizoram and live in, and around Lunglei, district and their number could be calculated roughly at well over 80,000.

Table 2.17
PERCENTAGE OF IN-MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH TO TOTAL MIGRANTS
(Percentage to total in-migrants) IN MIZORAM

Place of birth		Actual (total)	Total	Rural	Urban
A	States / U.T.'s in India beyond Mizoram	24,994	74.52	54.16	18.91
	1 Assam	6,210	18.51	11.31	7.02
	2 Tripura	6,204	18.49	16.53	1.36
	3 Bihar	4,044	12.05	10.80	1.04
	4 Uttar Pradesh	1,683	5.01	3.93	0.98
	5 Others	6,853	20.43	11.56	8.45
B	Born in other countries	8,545	25.47	-	-
	1 Bangladesh	4,373	13.03	-	-
	2 Burma/Myanmar	1,935	5.76	-	-
	3 Nepal	1,927	5.76	-	-
	4 Elsewhere	93	0.27	-	-
C	Total of A and B	33,538	100.0	-	-

Source: Calculated from Migration Tables, Mizoram, Census of India, 1981 Series 31 Mizoram, pp. 19-23

They have their own distinct culture and religious life very different from the natives. The Reangs are generally migrated from Tripura; but in 1997 a huge amount of Reangs went back to the place where they thought that they belong. This positively effected they tribal composition of the state. But, there are few number of Reangs inside Mizoram, and also in Lunglei district and Mamit district. Many 'Vai'(non-mizo & non tribal) migrates to the state and to the study area due to jobs and business. In fact, few persons who belong to Mizo migrate outside the home state. According to 1981 Census, 4, 60,219 persons out of 4, 93,757 persons living in Mizoram were born in the State of Mizoram. This means that 33,538 persons comprising of 6.79 percent of the total population were born outside Mizoram, thereby to be treated as migrants by place of birth. Migration is not significant in this Region due to political restrictions, as such the figure constituted only 6.79 percent of the total population of the total population. Of the total migrants, 74.52 percent are national migrants, i.e., migrants from other states and union territories of India, and international migrants comprised of only 25.47 percent of

the total migrants. In other words, only 1.73 percent of the populations of Mizoram are international migrants, while 5.06 percent are migrants from other parts of India.

The movement of population within the State or internal migration rate is estimated at 3.40 percent. Internal migration in rural areas tends to be higher with 3.61 percent, while it is only 2.62 percent in the urban areas.

2.13 TRIBAL COMPONENTS

There are more than 400 groups in Indian society which are officially designated as scheduled tribes. These groups have all been undergoing changes. Tribes have been differentiated not only from castes but also from the dominant community of the region. The dominant community is invariably a linguistic community. Besides representing a language it also represents a set of customs, a social organisation and a way of life. Tribe has also been conceived in opposition to 'linguistic community'. Most of the tribal components belongs to Mizo tribes (with sub-tribes), Chakma, Reang, Santali and Khasi. Chakma and Reang are concentrated on the western slope where life is easier in depending on natural resources for their livelihood. Santali speaking tribal people scattered in and around Lunglei district and northern most part of Mizoram. Small amount of Khasi tribes settled in the northern most part in and around Vairengte village. The Table no.1.9, showing Number of Persons Using different languages and its percentage_reveals that the number of persons using Mizo or Lusei language and its sub-tribes account 5,73,604 while others tribal population accounts 29,543 only. The total tribal population in the state is 6, 05,059, which is 88.18 % of the total population. Even then, 81,027 persons are non-tribal which is 11.81 % of the total population out of the total population of 6, 86,086. In 2001, there are 8, 39, 301 tribal population, which is 94.45 % out of the total population of 8, 88,573 in the state. There are 47, 355 people who live in urban areas and 19,426 people who live in rural areas.

Table 2.18
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS OCCUPIED BY SCHEDULED TRIBES IN MIZORAM

State/ District	Total/ Rural/ Urban	Total number of house- holds	Type of Census houses					
			Permane nt	Semi- Permanent	Total	Service able	Non- Service able	Unclassi fiable
Mizo ram	Total	153,460	80,787	39,391	33,201	350	32,851	81
	Rural	77,582	25,187	23,143	29,202	248	28,954	50
	Urban	75, 878	55,600	16,248	3,999	102	3,897	31

Source: Census of India, 2001

The above table clearly shows that most of the tribal population in Mizoram is concentrated in rural areas of the state and the study area in particular.

2.14 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The occupational structure represents economic activities of the people. The censuses of India have categorized the main workers into four groups – cultivators, agricultural labourer, workers in household industry and other workers.

Interestingly, the proportion of other workers has shown definite upward trends. The rising up of working population generally in non-agricultural sector seems to reflect the diversification of economic activities in the state.

Table 2.19
DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL WORKERS (Main & Marginal)
OF MIZORAM WITH SEX AND PERCENTAGE

State/ District	Male/ Female	Total workers (main+marg inal)	Category of workers (main+marginal)			
			Cultivat or	Agricultural labourers	Workers in households	Other workers
Mizoram	P	469597	253161 (53.91)	27494 (5.85)	6572 (1.40)	182370 (38.84)
	M	264162	128829 (48.77)	13010 (4.93)	3164 (1.20)	119159 (45.11)
	F	205435	124332 (60.52)	14484 (7.05)	3400 (1.66)	63211 (30.77)

Note: Figures inside brackets are percentage.

Source: Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 2003

Table 1.19 clearly reveals that bulk of the working population is engaged in agriculture and its allied activities. Cultivators constitute 53.91 % of the total workers in 2001. There was slightly decline in the percentage of cultivators from 60.89 % in 1991 to 53.91 % in 2001. Since 1971, it was noticed that the number of cultivators were declined significantly. But, the work participation rate has increased from 48.9 % in 1991 to 52.70 % in 2001. Percentages of workers in household activities and other business other than agricultural activities are 1.40 and 38.84 in 2001. It is also interesting that there are only slightly difference between male and female in the way of occupation.

Fig.2.2

Percentage of Workers to total main workers in 1991

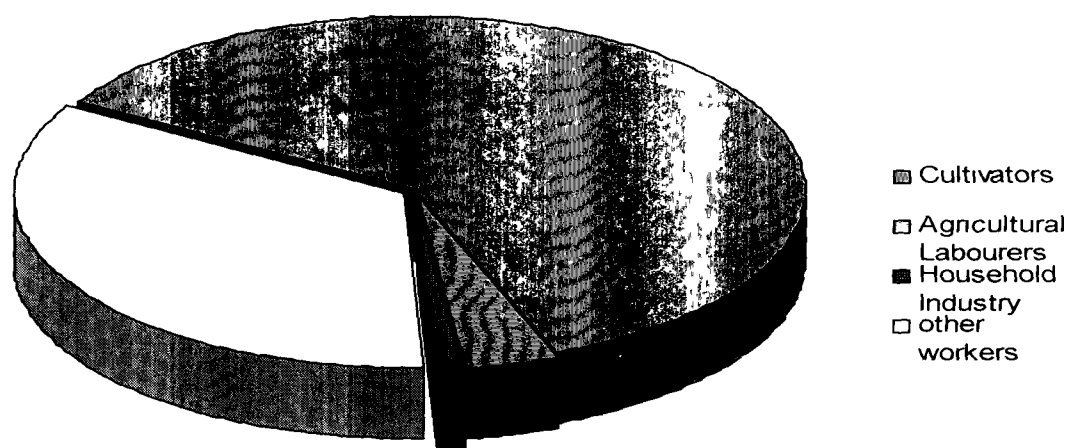
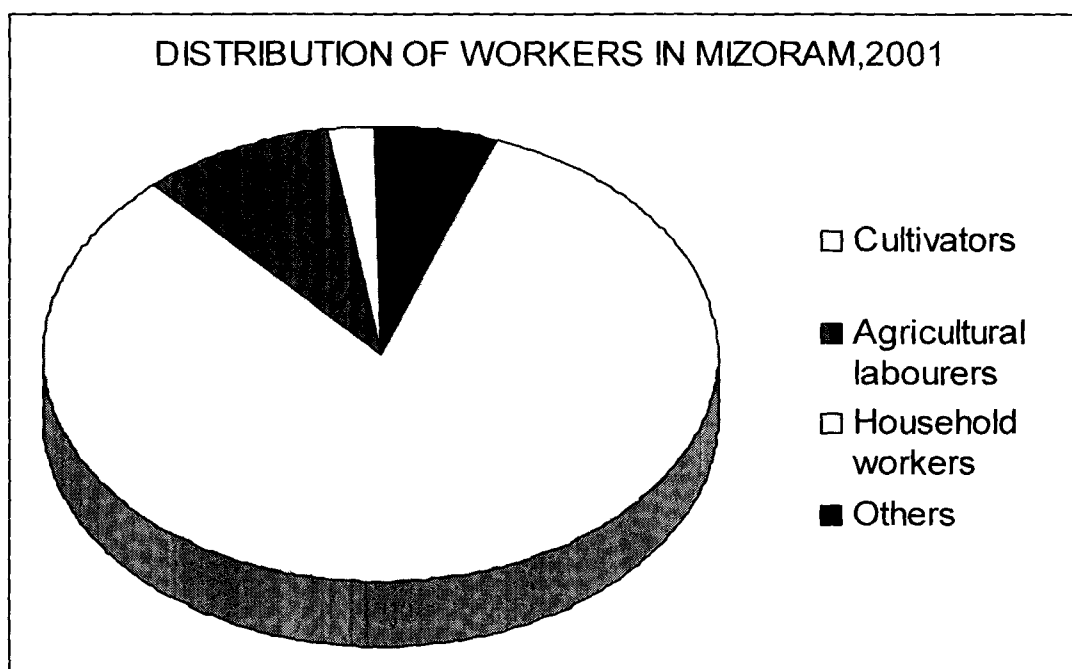


Fig. 2.3



Source Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 2001

Most of the working people in the entire district more concentrated on Agriculture and its allied activities. Serchhip and Lawngtlai district has the highest percentage of population who engaged in agriculture, whereas Aizawl district has the least percentage of cultivators though she comprises the number of population out of the state's total population. It is very interesting to note that Aizawl district has the highest percentage of population who engaged in others occupation excepting agricultural and its allied activities and workers in households; while Champhai district has the lowest percentage in the same category.

Table 2.20
DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL WORKERS BY CATEGORY OF WORKERS, 2001

District	Total workers	% Cultivators	% Agricultural labourers	% workers in households	Others
Mamit	35369	53.91	5.85	1.40	38.83
Kolasib	32388	58.42	9.35	1.13	31.09
Aizawl	172111	33.03	4.53	1.81	60.62
Champhai	63002	69.73	10.86	0.94	18.48
Serchhip	34351	74.45	4.24	2.20	19.10
Lunglei	71770	64.38	3.87	0.78	30.97
Lawngtlai	33685	70.77	7.03	1.90	20.30
Saiha	26921	67.55	5.19	0.92	26.34

Source: Statistical handbook of Lunglei district, 2001

Table 2.21
MIZORAM GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES AS ON 31ST MARCH 2003

Sl.no.	Group wise	Male	Female	Totals
1	Group A Gazetted	2525	513	3038
2	Group B Gazetted	628	108	736
3	Group B Non-gazetted	5164	2386	7550
4	Group C	20012	6415	26427
5	Group D	9835	1639	11474

Source: Census of Gov't employees, Lunglei district, 2003

The work participation rate is highest in Champhai district (61.13%) while it is as low as 44.26 % in Saiha district. Only Champhai and serchhip districts are above 60 % while Mamit, Kolasib, Lunglei and Aizawl in between 50-60%. Moreover, Lawngtlai and Saiha districts are below 50% in the rate of work participation.

CHAPTER 3

SPATIAL VARIATION IN POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

The spatial distribution of cultural phenomena, the stage and the processes of development in all the constituencies of Mizoram are largely influenced by the decision of the government. Therefore, a study of electoral behaviour of the people has come more than eco-political importance. The study of electoral geography emphasises spatial locations, distribution and inter-relationship of a social group or population living in a particular physical setting with limited resource bases. It also helps in identifying the regions of stress and strain where social and economic politics have failed to generate the process of development. This is expressed by the support for a party, which articulates and promises to redress their grievances. Moreover, elections in a democratic set up act as one of the best mechanism for conflict resolutions by installing a popular government.

Recent studies in electoral geography have contributed to a better understanding of emerging voting patterns. However, local elections have received relatively little attention than the national elections. Therefore, the present study seeks to analyse the spatial pattern of political behaviour in Mizoram during 1972-1987.

In 1952, April 5, Mizoram had witnessed an election for the Mizo District Council members; it was the first time that the people have experienced the reality of democracy. In this election, there were 18 constituencies with 6 seats were being reserved for nominated members. The election was a pull between two parties i.e. Mizo Union party and Zalen Pawl. The Mizo Union party succeeded almost all the seats.

Besides, with the district council election, an election for Assam Legislative was held. There were only three MLAs seats (i.e. Aijal East, Aijal West and Lunglei constituencies).

The second election for the Mizo district council was held at 25, January, 1957. In this election there were 24 seats with 2 seats reserved for nominated members. There were 15 seats in northern Mizoram and 7 seats were in the southern region. The election was a contest between Mizo Union party, Zalen Pawl and the Mizo Union Right Wing. In the second election too, the Mizo Union got the highest number of seats and formed the ministry for the second term.

The third election for the Mizo district council members was held at 20th February, 1962, and it was a four corner contest. The Mizo Union, for the third consecutive time, won the election and formed the ministry of the district council. The combined candidates made by the Mizo Union Party and Eastern India Tribal Union party (EITU) won the seats.

In between the third district council election and the fourth, there was a tragic changed in Mizoram as a whole. The Mizo National Front (MNF) declared independence of Mizoram on the 1st March, 1966, and it was called the 'Declaration of Mizoram Independence.' The Government of Assam, based on the Assam Disturbed Area Act 1955, also affirmed that the whole Mizoram was Disturbed area. The fourth district council election was postponed for six months; while elections for MLA and MP were conducted.

Then, the fourth election for the district council was held at 23rd April 1970, eight years from the previous election; and in this election only two parties, Mizo Union (MU) and Mizo District Congress Committee (MDCC) participated. After 2 years from the last district council election, the Mizo district council was conferred to a Union territory of the Indian Union on the 21st January, 1972. Therefore, the Mizo district council was abolished by the Central government and is replaced by Legislative Assembly; before this changed, Mizo district council have 22 open seats and 2 seats for reserved. But, all the previous system was changed and the Central government has ordered to have 30 open seats and 3 seats for nominated members. And the whole Mizo district council was divided into three districts i.e. Aizawl district, Lunglei district and Chhimtuipui district. Again under the Chhimtuipui district, three autonomous District Councils were created i.e. Mara Autonomous district council, Lai Autonomous District Council and Chakma Autonomous District Council. Moreover, the Union Territory of Mizoram has one each of member for Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

The first election for Mizoram Legislative member was held on 18th April, 1972. The first legislative election was a pulled among the candidates from four parties; added by 56 persons who contested as an independent. Meanwhile, a member for Lok Sabha

was elected, after that the elected Union Territory MLA elected a member for Rajya Sabha too. The Mizo Union, again won the highest number of seats and formed the government. In addition, the Lok Sabha seat was won by Pu.Sangliana, a candidate from Mizo Union; and a seat for a member for Rajya Sabha was won by Pu.Lalbuaia, a candidate from Mizo Union.

The second Union Territory MLA election was held on the 17th & 20th, May, 1978. In this second election for MLA, the 30 open seats were fought by six parties and 58 independent candidates. The Peoples' Conference (PC), the party which was established during the first and the second election for the post of. MLA in the Union Territory of Mizoram, won the highest number of seats (22 seats) formed the U.T. ministry.

Unfortunately, the ruling party, the Peoples' Conference party was split into two, and eight member of the elected MLA had withdrawn their support from the ministry. Therefore, the second Legislative Assembly was dissolved and the Union territory of Mizoram was declared as President's Rule on the 11th November 1978.

The third election for the posts of Union Territory MLA in Mizoram was held on 24th & 27th April, 1979. The second election platform was occupied by 5 political parties and 20 independent candidates. The election for the posts of 30 open seats was won by the Peoples' Conference party and formed the ministry.

In the fourth Legislative Assembly on the 25th April, 1984 there were as much as 129 candidates from five political parties and 19 independent candidates who contested the election. The Congress I won 23 seats out of the 30 seats and formed the new ministry.

The period between the fourth UT election and the first election of the State MLA was verily important in the history of Mizoram politics. The Congress I ministry led by Pu.Lal Thanhawla firstly tried to make peace between the underground (MNF) and the Central government. The Memorandum of Settlement or the Mizoram Peace Accord was signed by the MNF and the Central government on 30th June, 1986. Pu. Lal Thanhawla, the Chief Minister of Mizoram submitted his resignation and the interim government led

by Pu.Laldenga, the president of MNF was formed. Therefore, the Mizoram Union territory ministry was a combined ministry of Congress I and the MNF.

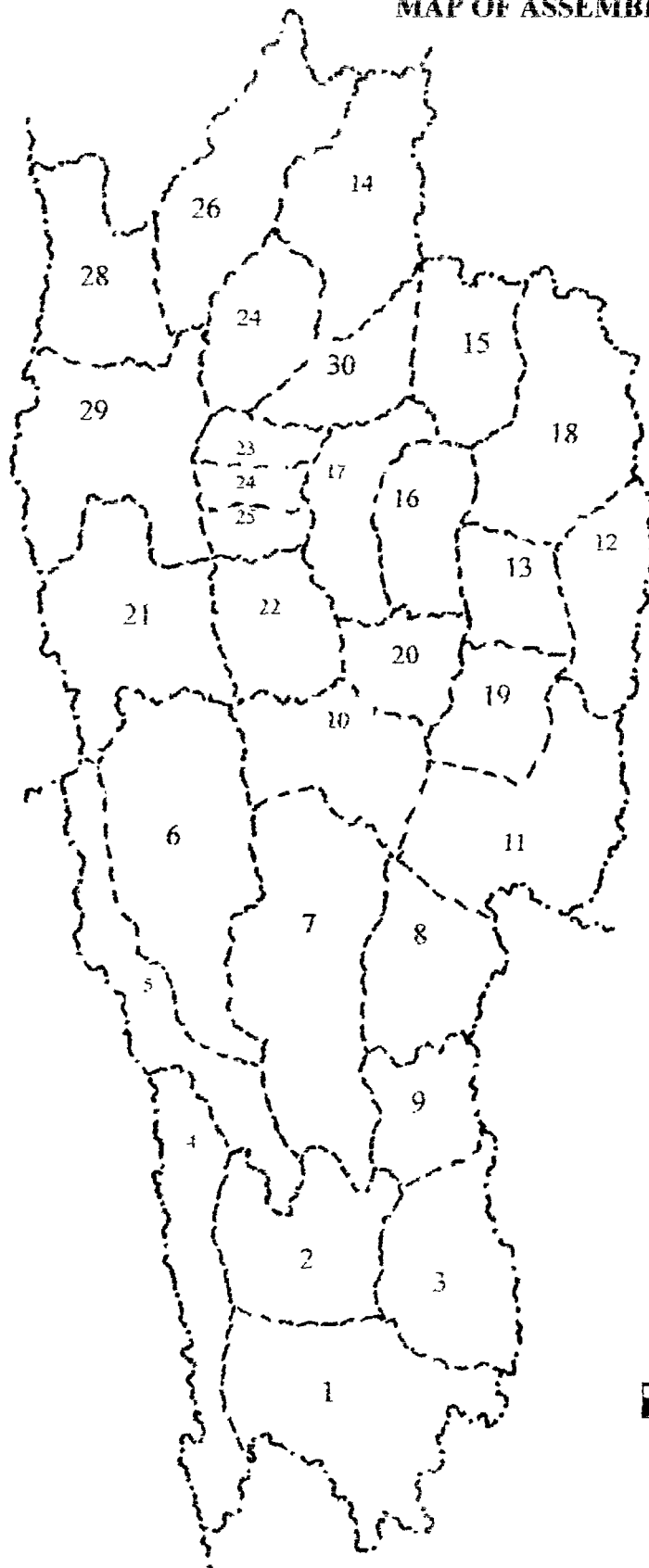
In 1987, February 20, the Union Territory of Mizoram became full-fledged state. Since 1987 Mizoram witnessed regular assembly elections.

The first election for the state of Mizoram was held in April 18, 1987 for the 40 members of Electoral College. In all, one national political party, three regional parties and twelve independent candidates contested. Out of the 40 seats, 24 seats went in favour of Mizo National Front (MNF), 13 were Indian National Congress and 3 seats were in favour of Peoples' Conference party. The total number of candidates was 146. The total number of electorates for the election was 3,21,557 and the total votes polled was 2,33,556.

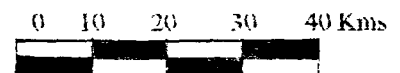
There was By-election on 24, April, 1987 due to dual membership of Mr.Laldenga, MNF, at Sateek Constituency. Three political parties participate and only three candidates contested. The seat went in favour of MNF.

Thus, from the above discussion, it is cleared that the political scenario of the state of Mizoram before 1972 was dominated by the Mizo Union. After the establishment of Mizo National Front and the Indian National Congress, the political scenario changed. The first MLA election was won by Mizo Union; and again the party won the election for both the Lok Sabha and the Rajay Sabha. In fact, the political atmosphere of Mizoram before 1978 was controlled and dominated by the Mizo Union. Though the Peoples' Conference had very good impression to the people due to their awareness about the peace between MNF and Indian Government, the party was split into two political parties and their domination to the political history was the shortest. The Congress I won the fourth U.T. election, but for the sake of MNF, Pu.Lal Thanhawla, the Chief Minister of Mizoram was resigned from his post. Therefore, the interim government was formed led by Pu. Laldenga; the president of MNF. It was the beginning of MNF into the Mizoram election scenario. For a second time, the MNF won the first Mizoram state's Assembly election. It is interesting to note that the influence and domination of the MNF to the

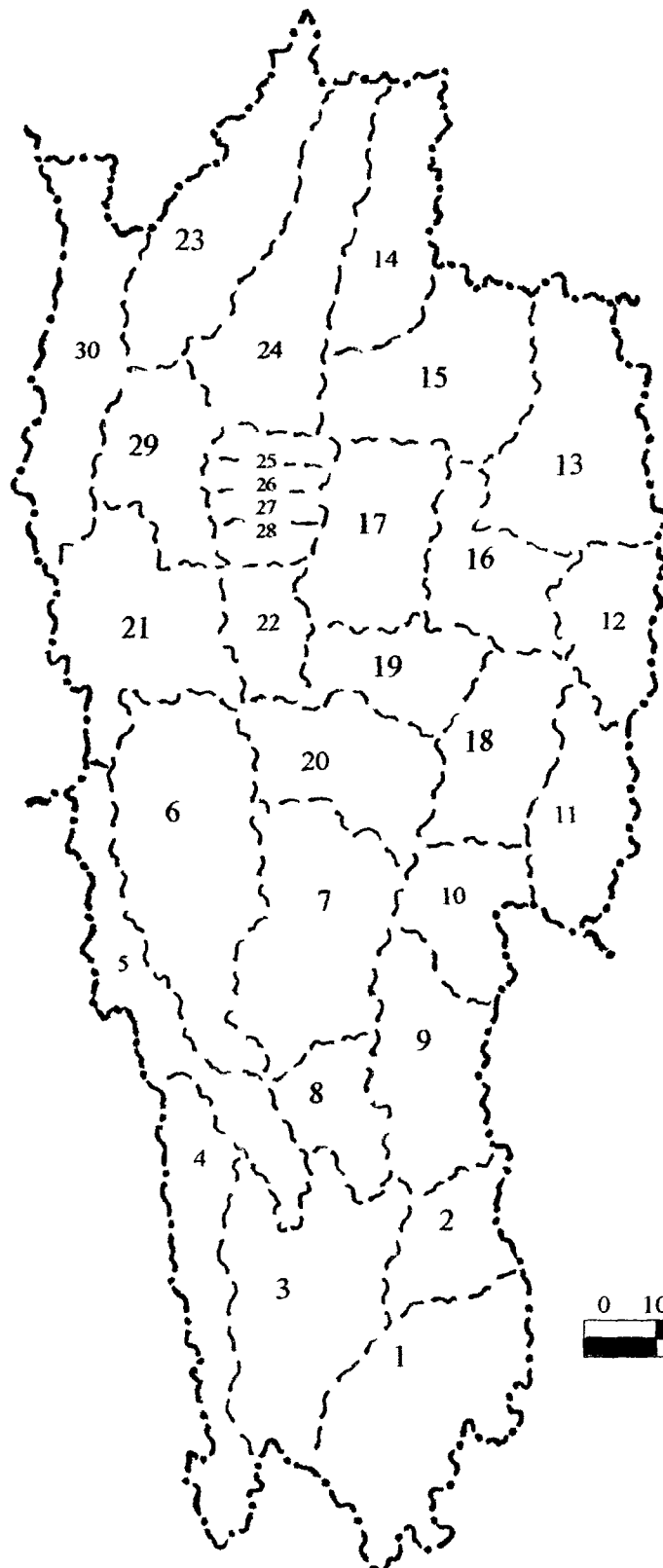
MAP OF ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCY IN 1972



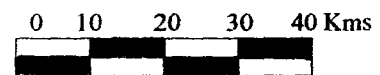
1. Tuipang
2. Sangau
3. Saiha
4. Chawngte
5. Demagiri
6. Buarpui
7. Lunglei
8. S. Vanlaiphai
9. Hnahthial
10. N. Vanlaiphai
11. Khawbung
12. Champhai
13. Khawzawl
14. Ratu
15. Suangpuilawn
16. Saitual
17. Tlungvel
18. Khawhai
19. Lungpho
20. Serchhip
21. Phuldungsei
22. Sateek
23. Aizawl South
24. Aizawl Center
25. Aizawl North
26. Kolasib
27. Kawnpui
28. Rengdil
29. Mamit
30. Sairang



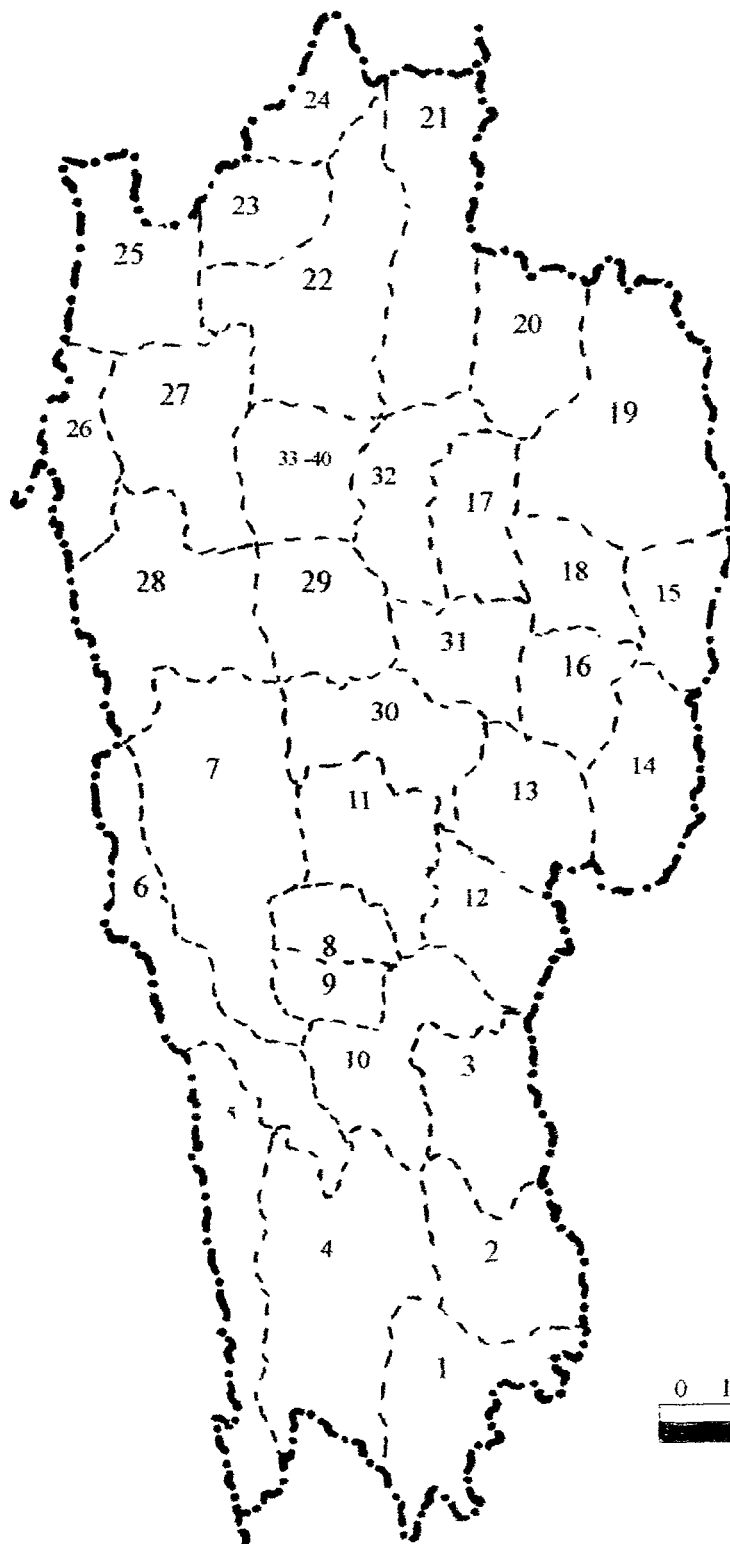
ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES IN 1978



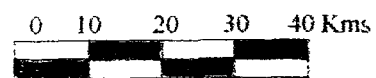
1. Tuipang
2. Sangau
3. Saiha
4. Chawngte
5. Demagiri
6. Buarpui
7. Lunglei
8. Tawipui
9. Hnahthial
10. N. Vanlaiphai
11. Khawbung
12. Champhai
13. Ngopa
14. Ratu
15. Suangpuiawn
16. Saitual
17. Tlungvel
18. Khawhai
19. Lungpho
20. Serchhip
21. Phuldungsei
22. Sateek
23. Kolasib
24. Kawnpui
25. Aizawl North
26. Aizawl South
27. Aizawl East
28. Aizawl West
29. Sairang
30. Kawrthah



ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES IN 1987



- 1 Tulpang
- 2 Saiha
- 3 Sangau
- 4 Lawngtlai
- 5 Chawngte
- 6 Tlabung
- 7 Buarpui
- 8 Lunglei South
- 9 Lunglei North
- 10 Tawipui
- 11 Vanva
- 12 Hnahthial
- 13 N Vanlaiphai
- 14 Khawbung
- 15 Champhai
- 16 Khawhai
- 17 Saitual
- 18 Khawzawl
- 19 Ngopa
- 20 Suangpuilawn
- 21 Ratu
- 22 Kawnpui
- 23 Kolasib
- 24 Bilkhawthlir
- 25 Lokicherra
- 26 Kawrthah
- 27 Mamit
- 28 Phuldungsei
- 29 Sateek
- 30 Serchhip
- 31 Lungpho
- 32 Tlungvel
- 33 Aizawl North - I
- 34 Aizawl North - II
- 35 Aizawl East - I
- 36 Aizawl East - II
- 37 Aizawl West - I
- 38 Aizawl West - II
- 39 Aizawl South - I
- 40 Aizawl South - II



political atmosphere of Mizoram started in 1986. We can aptly say that the people moved away from Peoples Conference to Congress I.

3.1 SPATIAL ORGANISATION OF CONSTITUENCIES:

Like other state of Indian Union, the small northeastern state of Mizoram has been internally sub-divided into a precisely delimited electoral units or constituencies. When Mizoram was the state of Assam, the Mizo hills district and the Cachar hills district were under one parliamentary. Moreover, the Mizo hills district had elected only three MLA at that time from only three constituencies i.e. Aijal East, Aijal West and Lunglei constituencies.

Table 3.1
DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF CONSTITUENCIES

Name of District	1972	1976	1987
Aizawl District	18	20	28
Lunglei District	5	6	7
Chhimtuipui District	4	4	5

Source: Brief Reports on Elections to MLA & Lok Sabha, 1971-1999
Reports on Assembly Election in Mizoram, Gov't of Mizoram. 2003

The first Mizoram Election, which is an election for Mizo District Council members, was held at 1952, April 5. The whole district council was divided into 24 parts. At that time the people representatives were only 18 and 6 seats were reserved for nominated members. The Union Government by following the North-Eastern Areas Re-organisation Act 1971, had put the Mizo Hills to an Union territory in 1972, January 21 and was designated as Mizoram. Hence, the 22 member of district council and 2 for nominated members were dissolved, the Union territory had 30 member of legislative assembly and 3 for nominate seats. The Delimitation Committee followed the area of the civil administration, population distribution and geographical contiguity. At the same

time the whole Mizoram was divided into three districts viz. Aizawl district, Lunglei district and Chhimtuipui district. In addition, three district council viz. Pawi district council (Lal autonomous District Council), Lakher district council (Mara Autonomous District Council) and Chakma district council (Chakma Autonomous district council) were created under the Chhimtuipui district.

At the time of the first general election of the Union territory of Mizoram, the whole region was divided into 30 constituencies. However, on 7th August, 1986, Mizoram became a full-fledged state of India with a provision of 40 members' unicameral legislature; while reservation of seats for nomination was dissolved. The first election of the state of Mizoram Legislative assembly was held on February 16 in 1987. Since the region was inaugurated as a state, the number and area of the 40 assembly constituencies in Mizoram as a whole has been not witnessed any delimitation. Recently, the district boundary of the state of Mizoram was re-organised to from an addition of 6 districts were created without any delimitation to the constituencies. So that, out of the 40 constituencies, 13 are in Aizawl district, 7 are in Lunglei district, Saiha, Kolasib, Serchhip districts comprise three constituencies each, 5 are in Champhai district, 4 are in Mamit district and 2 are in Lawngtlai district. In fact, only twelve constituencies are in the southern part of Mizoram; while 28 constituencies are in the northern side. The district-wise distribution of the constituencies shows an uneven distributional pattern with the Aizawl district claiming 13 constituencies out of the total 40 constituency units with just one-seventh of the total geographical area; the remaining 27 constituencies are spread over other districts. The much larger geographical area of Lunglei district has only 7 constituencies. The percentage-wise distribution of seats between the northern areas and the southern areas are 70 % and 30 % respectively. As the state of Mizoram experienced less racial mixing, in addition with the similarity of the whole area only Lunglei south constituency is opened for general. Thus, the 39 seats are reserved for scheduled tribes.

As a result the over all nature of constituencies or the personalities of all the constituencies are more or less similar. On the other hand, a district with a minimum of 2 constituencies and a maximum of 13 seats has been observed in Aizawl and Lawngtlai

districts respectively. The uneven pattern of distribution of number of constituencies has been due to the density of population in which population forms the main criteria in delimitating the constituency boundaries. Therefore, the uneven distribution in population has resulted in the uneven distribution of the Assembly constituencies in Mizoram.

Table 3.2
DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF CONSTITUENCY

Sl. no.	District	No. of constituencies	General	S.T.	S.C.
1.	Aizawl	13	nil	13	nil
2	Lunglei	7	1	6	nil
3	Saiha	3	nil	3	nil
4	Lawngtlai	2	nil	2	nil
5	Champhai	5	nil	5	nil
6	Kolasib	3	nil	3	nil
7	Mamit	4	nil	4	nil
8	Serchhip	3	nil	3	nil
Total		40	1	39	nil

Source: Statistical handbook, report on the general election of MLA 2003.

The area of each constituency are different, vary in size and in population. The Assembly Constituencies have been delimited three times during this 16 years. By doing this, the committee took population distribution and accessibility as main criteria. The precise delimitation of the constituencies is necessary to avoid mass confusion. In fact, the candidates, party workers and the electorates must know the exact territorial limits of the respective constituency. The constituencies in Mizoram vary in shape; for example the Lunglei North constituencies formed an oval shape, but the Tlabung constituency has an elongated shape like Italy. But it is true to say that; all the constituencies in Mizoram are geographically contiguous demarcated in such a way as to

have regarded to the natural features, roads, etc. for public conveniences. Since the number of population and ethnic composition of the population form the basis of delimitation and determined the nature of the particular constituency, the Lunglei South constituency in Lunglei district has also been left as an open for general due to the presence of large number of non tribal population in the area. However, though the Tlabung constituency have experienced very high racial mixing, it is aptly right to reserve the seat for tribal. The ethnic consideration was also kept in mind while drawing the constituency boundary. In fact the demarcation is on the basis of geographical condition of the area and not on the gerrymandering policy.¹ All the assembly constituencies in Mizoram are single member constituencies.

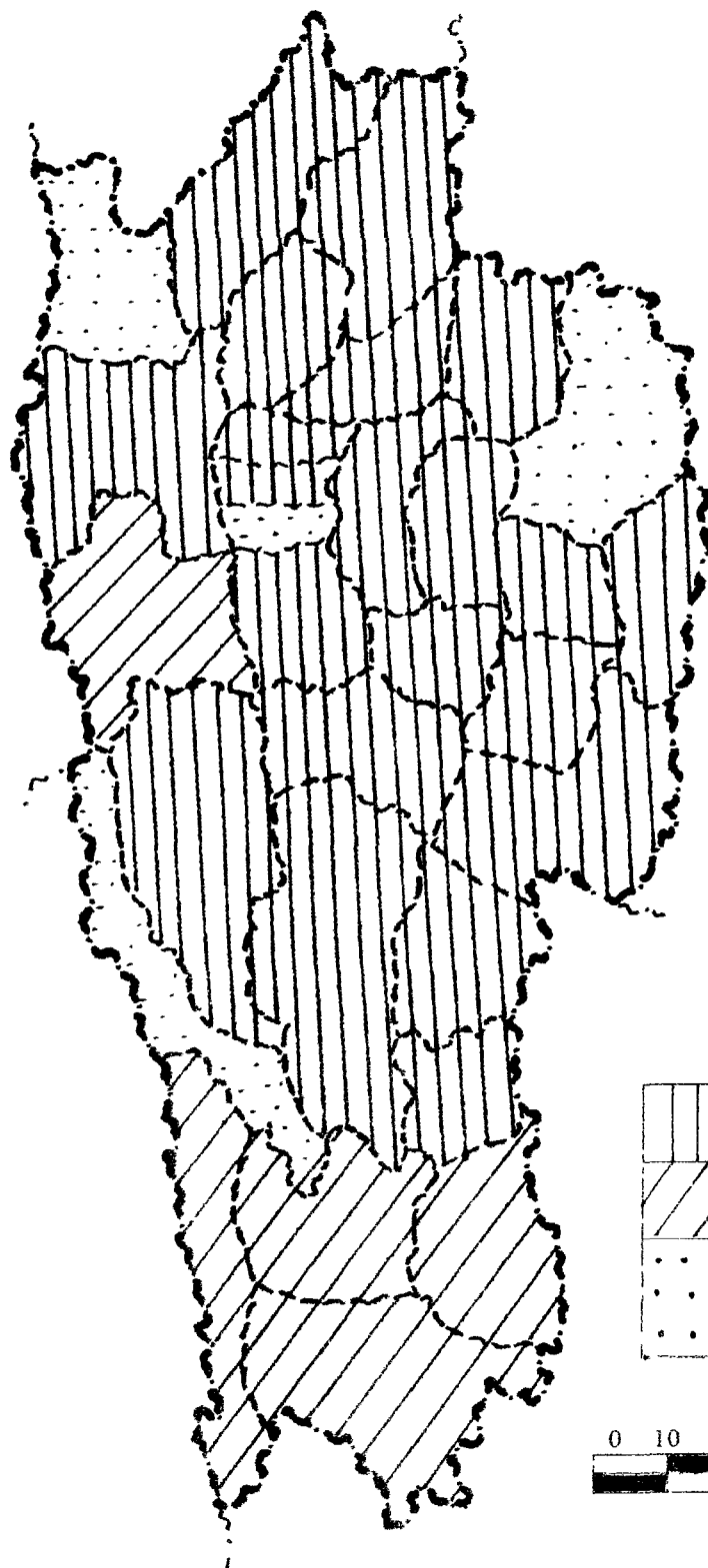
3.2 ELECTORAL PATTERNS SINCE 1972

Between 1972 to 1987, the Union Territory had for four general elections and once for the State Assembly of Mizoram. In addition, three by-elections were held and the resultant electoral patterns can be traced as follows.

1. General Election, 1972: In 1972 general election, which was held in April 18, 1987 for the 30 members of Electoral College, one national political party, three regional parties and 56 independent candidates took part. Out of the 30 Electoral College, 21 seats went in favour of Mizo Union (MU), 4 to Indian National Congress and 5 seats to in favour of independent candidates. The total numbers of 174 candidates were in the fray for the election but 17 persons had withdrawn from the election platforms and only 155 persons contested. Among the candidates, two persons belong to female gender. The total number of electorates for the election was 1,56,898 and 1,14,385 persons exercised their franchise, which showed 72.90 percent votes were turned out and cast their votes to all the 256 polling stations. In this election the average number of candidate per constituency was 5.16. For all over the 30 constituencies, the percentage of vote polled was 72.55.

¹ The Stateman, Culcutta. 13, February, 1987

RESULT OF ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 1972



1. Tuipang
2. Sangau
3. Saiha
4. Chawngte
5. Demagiri
6. Buarpui
7. Lunglei
8. S. Vanlaiphai
9. Hnahthial
10. N. Vanlaiphai
11. Khawbung
12. Champhai
13. Khawzawl
14. Ratu
15. Suangpuilawn
16. Saitual
17. Tlungvel
18. Khawhai
19. Lungpho
20. Serchhip
21. Phuldungsei
22. Sateek
23. Aizawl South
24. Aizawl Center
25. Aizawl North
26. Kolasib
27. Kawnpui

	Mizo Union
	Independent
	Indian National Congress

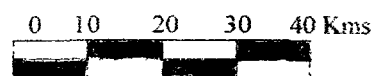


Table 3.3

RESULT OF GENERAL ELECTION, 1972

Constituency	Elected	Party	Vote secured	% of vote secured out of total valid votes
Tuipang	Hiphei	IND	1391	39.52
Sangau	Sangchhum	IND	1004	23.69
Saiha	Saplana	IND	1390	49.02
Chawngte	Satio Prio	IND	1390	32.25
Demagiri (Tlabung)	Hari Kristo Chakma	INC	2126	89.29
Buarpui	PB.Nikhuma	MU	798	29.24
Lunglei	KL.Rochama	MU	1430	24.15
S.Vanlaiphai	Saitlawma	MU	1486	36.63
Hnahthial	Thangzika	MU	2195	40.09
N.Vanlaiphai	R.Dotinaia	MU	1029	27.05
Khawbung	F.Hrangvela	MU	1036	30.88
Champhai	Lahlira	MU	1887	49.34
Khawzawl	Vanlalhruaia	MU	2127	50.64
Ratu	Sangkhuma	MU	1979	46.19
Suangpuilawn	H.Thansanga	MU	1630	31.63
Saitual	Khawtinkhuma	MU	1399	42.16
Tlungvel	Hrangaia	MU	2606	55.93
Khawhai	J.Thanghuama	INC	1447	45.80
Lungpho	Lalruata	MU	2081	52.07
Serchhip	Vaivenga	MU	1776	44.54
Phuldungsei	Lalkunga	IND	1230	32.89
Sateek	Raltezoliana	MU	1434	36.85
Aizawl south	Lalsangzuala	INC	1462	44.11
Aizawl center	Lalrinliana	MU	1462	55.95
Aizawl north	R.Thangliana	MU	2259	25.63

Kawnpui	Ch.Saprawnga	MU	2305	46.54
Kolasib	Ch.Chhunga	MU	2290	44.99
Sairang	Ngurdawla	MU	1357	40.54
Mamit	C.Chawngkunga	MU	1138	52.24
Rengdil	Zalawma	INC	1388	52.75

Source: Brief report on elections to MLA & MP 1972-1999

From the above table, it is clear that the assembly seats of Mizoram have been divided between two political parties i.e. MU and INC and to independent candidates. Though the total number of electorates was 1, 56,898, only 1, 14,385 electorates turned out and yet as much as 2,038 votes were rejected. Therefore only 70.98 % of votes out of the total votes were acceptable. In the first election for U.T. MLA, the INC candidates were contested at 29 seats and won only 6 seats, and got only 30.91 % of votes out of the total valid votes. As much as 56 numbers of independent candidates contested at 56 seats, but won only 3 seats; while the Socialist party and Mizo labour party, who participated as independent, contested at 18 and 27 seats, were without a single seat. The Mizo Union got 21 seats and won the election. In this election, Mr.Hari Kristo Chakma (MCC or INC), at Tlabung or Demagiri constituency got the highest percentage (89.29%) out of the total valid votes among all the candidates; whereas Mr.Sangchhum(IND) got the least percentage to win a seat at Sangau constituency by securing only 23.69 % of the total valid votes. Because of the less number of candidates, Mr.Hari Kristo had a chance to secure higher percentage while with as much as 8 candidates, Mr.Sangchhum secure only 23.69%. In this election the average percentage of vote secured by elected candidates was 42.06.

Thus, in the first election of the U.T. Member of Legislative Assembly of Mizoram, only one the Mizo Union has done well.

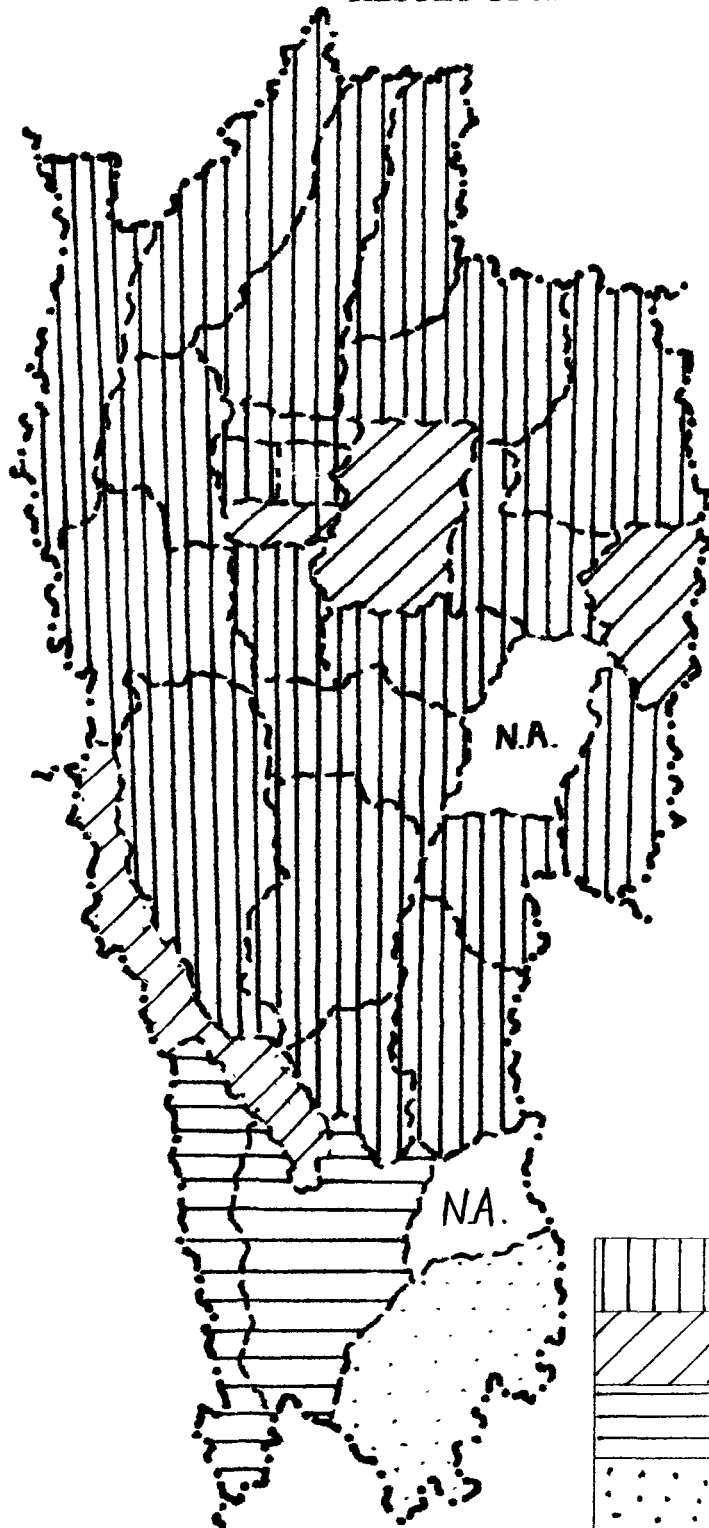
2. General election, 1978: After 5 year of the previous election, the second election for U.T. MLA was held at 17 and 20 May1978. At that time more unaffiliated local party contested in the elections and with the regional political party i.e. PC party (Peoples' Conference), the total number of different groups who were contested was 6. There were

2, 22,226 electorates in Mizoram, whereas the total number of vote polled was 1, 42,308. The PC party, Mizoram Congress Committee (as independent), Mizoram Janata Dal (as independent), Mizo Union (as independent), Mizoram Democratic Front (as independent) and four independent candidates contested for 28, 26, 28, 15 and 4 seats respectively. The PC party secured 22 seats, 4 seats gone in favour of Mizoram Congress Committee (MCC), independent candidates got 3 seats and the Mizoram Janata Dal (MJD) won at a single constituency while Mizo Union and Mizoram Democratic Front were without a single seat.

Table 3.4
RESULT OF GENERAL ELECTION, 1978

Constituency	Elected	Party	Vote secured	% of vote secured out of the total valid votes
Tuipang	Hiphei	INC	2979	58.71
Sangau	Sangchhum	MJP	1308	31.67
Saiha	R.T.Zachono	IND	1536	29.95
Chawngte	Kisto Mohan	IND	1035	30.27
Demagiri (Tlabung)	Hari Kristo Chakma	MCC	1766	53.95
Buarpui	K.Lalsanga	PC	2053	79.29
Lunglei	Lalhmingthanga	PC	3361	58.43
Kawrthah	C.Vulluaia	PC	934	19.04
Hnahthial	R.Romawia	PC	3351	38.00
N.Vanlaiphai	J.H.Rothuama	PC	1220	43.37
Khawbung	J.Kapthianga	PC	1752	35.08
Champhai	Lal Thanhawla	MCC	1835	42.21
Sairang	Tlanchhunga	PC	1797	40.29
Ratu	J.Thankunga	PC	NA	NA
Suangpuilawn	F.Malsawma	PC	NA	NA
Saitual	K.M.Biaksailova	PC	NA	NA
Tlungvel	C.L.Ruala	MCC	1835	48.55

RESULT OF ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 1978



1. Tuipang
2. Sangau
3. Saiha
4. Chawngte
5. Demagiri
6. Buarpui
7. Lunglei
8. Tawipui
9. Hnahthial
10. N. Vanlaiphai
11. Khawbung
12. Champhai
13. Ngopa
14. Ratu
15. Suangpuilawn
16. Saitual
17. Tlungvel
18. Khawhai
19. Lungpho
20. Serchhip
21. Phuldungsei
22. Sateek
23. Kolasib
24. Kawnpui
25. Aizawl North
26. Aizawl South
27. Aizawl East
28. Aizawl West
29. Sairang
30. Kawrthah

	People's Conference
	Mizoram Congress Committee
	Independent
	MIZORAM JANATA PARTY

0 10 20 30 Kms

Mamit	Tlanchhunga	PC	NA	NA
Lungpho	K.Biakchungnunga	PC	2077	59.64
Serchhip	Thanmawii	PC	1824	41.20
Phuldungsei	Lalupa	PC	1198	35.04
Sateek	Lalthanzauva	PC	1335	30.21
Aizawl South	Sainghaka	MCC	2519	38.94
Aizawl East	Thangridema	PC	2592	46.34
Aizawl North	Thenphunga Sailo	PC	3115	48.55
Aizawl West	Zairemthanga	PC	2461	45.07
Kolasib	Chawngkunga	PC	2155	42.21
Tawipui	Kiautuma	PC	1316	31.78
Kawnpui	Kenneth Chawngliana	PC	NA	NA
Ngopa	P.B.Rosanga	PC	NA	NA

Source: Brief report on elections to MLA & MP 1972-1999

The total number of candidates from all sides was increased from 174 in 1972 to 189 in 1978; but, as much as 35 persons had withdrawn their contest in the election. One woman participated in this election as a candidate. The total number of voters within the 30 constituencies came up to 2, 21,226 and the average of votes turned out was 62.99 percent. The average number of candidates per constituency was 5.13 persons, and for all the constituencies the percentage of valid vote polled was 98.70. Unfortunately, there are no data available from Suangpuilawn, Ratu, Kawnpui, Ngopa, Mamit and Saitual. In this election, Mr.K.Lalsanga(PC) secured the highest percentage among all the candidates as high as 79.29% of the total valid votes from Buarpui constituency; whereas Mr.Lalthanzauva(PC) secured 30.21 % of the total valid votes from Sateek constituency. The average percentage of votes secured by elected candidates was 42.59.

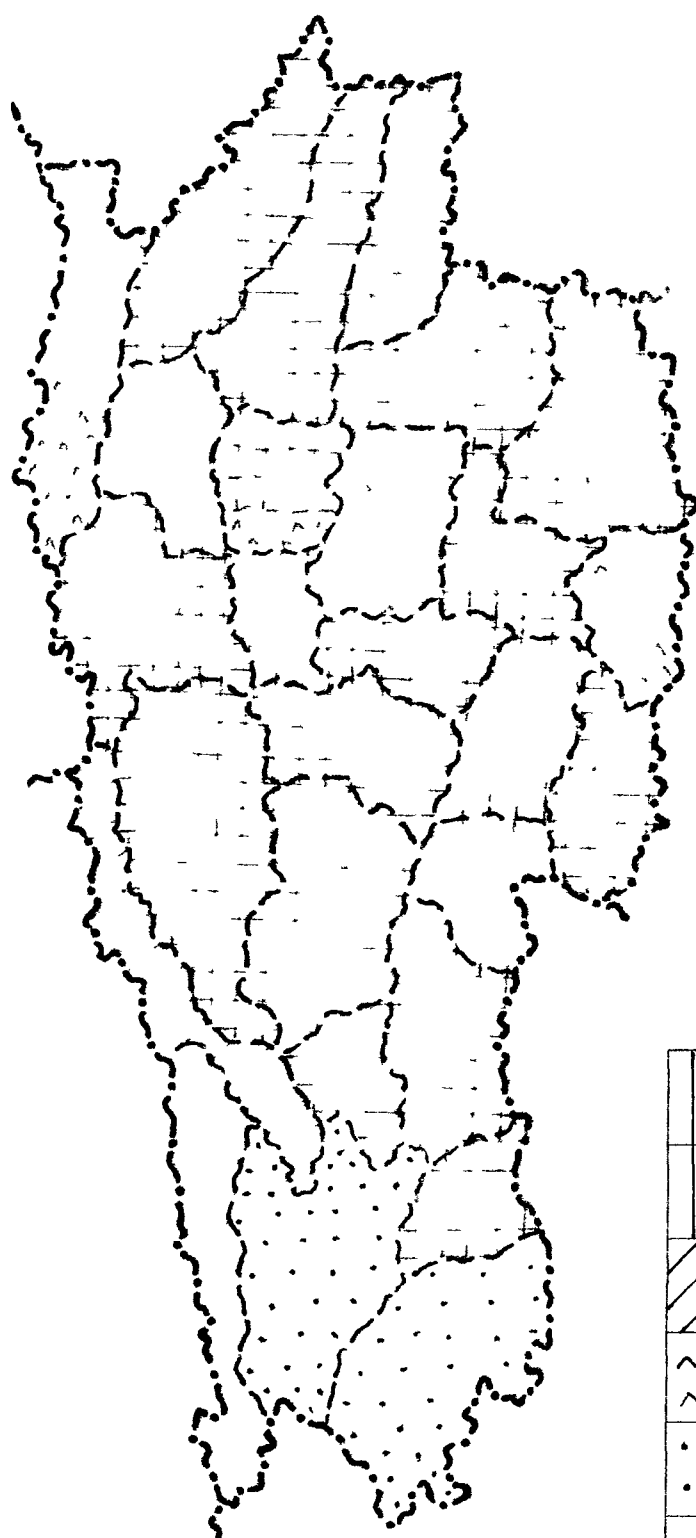
3. General election, 1979: Due to the unacceptable circumstances within the ministry, the Union Territory government of Mizoram was dissolved by the Central government.

Therefore the period between the third election and the previous election was only one year. The third election for the post of MLA in the Union territory of Mizoram was held in 1979, April 24 and 27. In this election, 2 national political parties, 1 affiliated regional party, 3 unaffiliated regional political parties and 20 independent candidates contested. The total number of electors was 2, 43,553 and the total vote polled was 1, 65,344. In this election we saw 6 political parties, 3 of them were we never seen on the platform of the previous elections of Mizoram. The PC got the highest number that is 18; the Indian National Congress (INC) got the second highest number of seats that is 5, 4seats gone in favour of Peoples' Conference 'B' (PC 'B') and the Janata party won at two constituencies while 1 seat gone for all the 38 independent candidates.

Table 3.5
RESULT OF THE GENERAL ELECTION, 1979

Constituency	Elected	Party	Vote secured	% of vote secured out of the total valid votes
Tuipang	Hiphei	Janata	2467	61.27
Sangau	H.Rammawi	PC	2161	50.41
Saiha	S.Vadyu	Janata	2853	48.51
Chawngte	Sneha Kumar	IND	1368	30.05
Demagiri (Tlabung)	Hari Kristo Chakma	MCC	1296	36.16
Buarpui	K.Lalsanga	PC	2224	79.94
Lunglei	Lalhmingthanga	PC	3846	58.10
Tawipui	B.Lalchungnunga	PC	1989	42.94
Hnahthial	Ellis Saidenga	PC	3648	52.37
N.Vanlaiphai	Ngurchhina	PC 'B'	843	23.44
Khawbung	J.Ngurdawla	PC	1185	26.36
Champhai	Lal Thanhawla	INC	1953	31.90
Khawhai	J.H.Rothuama	PC 'B'	996	22.37
Saitual	L.Piandenga	PC	1625	26.22
Ngopa	P.B.Rosanga	PC	2662	51.27

RESULT OF ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 1979



0 10 20 30 40 Kms

- 1 Tuipang
- 2 Sangau
- 3 Saiha
- 4 Chawngte
- 5 Demagiri
- 6 Buarpu
- 7 Lunglei
- 8 Tawipui
- 9 Hnahthial
- 10 N Vanlaiphai
- 11 Khawbung
- 12 Champhai
- 13 Khawzawl
- 14 Saitual
- 15 Ngopa
- 16 Suangpuiawn
- 17 Ratu
- 18 Khawhai Kawnpu
- 19 Lungpho Kolasib
- 20 Kawrthah
- 21 Sairang
- 22 Phuldungsei
- 23 Sateek
- 24 Serchhip
- 25 Lungpho
- 26 Thungvel
- 27 Aizawl North
- 28 Aizawl East
- 29 Aizawl West
- 30 Aizawl South

	People's Conference
	People's Conference 'B'
	Mizoram Congress Committee
	Indian National Congress
	Janata
	Independent

Suangpuilawn	F.Malsawma	PC	3035	46.41
Ratu	J.Thankunga	PC	2091	37.18
Kawnpui	Dr.Kenneth Chawngliana	PC	2336	33.66
Kolasib	C.Chawngkunga	PC	2242	34.76
Kawrthah	Saikapthianga	INC	1522	28.59
Sairang	C.Vulluaia	PC	1872	35.80
Phuldungsei	P.Lalupa	PC 'B'	1821	45.37
Sateek	Lalthanzauva	PC 'B'	1643	31.71
Serchhip	Bualhranga	PC	2135	37.29
Lungpho	R.Biakchungnunga	PC	2288	53.17
Tlungvel	C.L.Ruala	INC	2104	40.22
Aizawl North	Thenphunga Sailo	PC	2951	37.69
Aizawl East	Thanmawii	PC	2117	33.67
Aizawl West	Zairemthanga	PC	2448	35.95
Aizawl South	Sainghaka	INC	2630	33.66

Source: Brief report on elections to MLA & MP 1972-1999

The total number of candidates was increased to 165, but as much as 14 persons withdrew their participation. Out of the total candidates, 2 persons are women and 163 are male. In addition, the average number of candidates for all the constituencies was 5 persons per constituency. From the above detailed data it has been observed that the election scenario of the general election, 1993 was dominated by the MNF. In fact, it was pulled between the MNF and the INC within the three constituencies. Mr.K.Lalsanga, a PC party candidate, for the second time secured the highest percentage as high as 79.94% out of the total valid votes from Buarpui constituency. In addition, in this election Mr.J.H.Rothuama, a PC 'B' party candidate secured the least percentage as low as 22.37 % out of the total valid votes from Khawhai constituency. The average percentage of votes secured by elected candidates was 40.21.

By-elections: In 1982, on 5th May, Bye-election for the post of MLA to the Union territorial government of India in Mizoram at four constituencies viz. N.Vanlaiphai, Khawhai, Phuldungsei and Sateek due to the withdrawal of PC 'B' member, they are Pu.Ngurchhina, Pu.JH.Rothuama, Pu.Lalupa and Pu.Lalthanzauva. And the PC party succeed at three constituencies and only Sateek constituency gone in favour of Mizo Union.

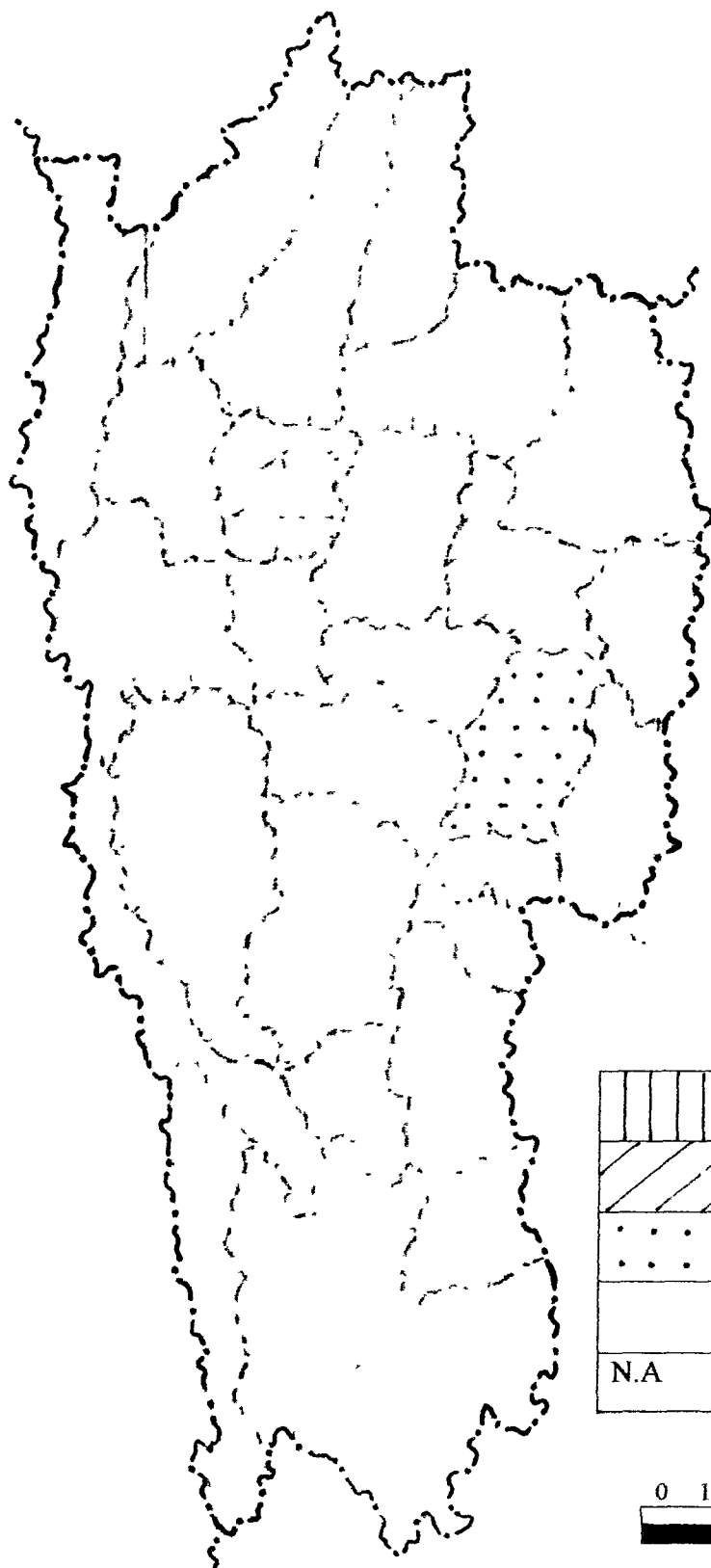
Due to the brutal murder of Pu.R.Zadinga, an elected MLA from the Phuldungsei constituency, the election Commission conducted a bye-election on 4th April, 1983; and was succeeded by Pu.Liansuama, a INC party candidate.

In 1984, on the date of June 27th, bye-election at the N.VAnlaiphai was conducted by the Election Commission due to the murder of Pu.Thawmvunga, an elected MLA who belonged to PC party. And the seat was won by Pu.C.L.Ruala, a INC candidate.

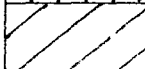
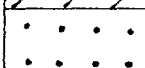
And yet, due to the dual membership of Pu.Laldenga, a president of MNF, there was a bye-election at the Sateek constituency, and was succeeded by Pu.Thankima who belongs to MNF political party.

4. General election, 1984: The state of Mizoram went to poll on 27, June, 1984 for the third time after the declaration of Union territory. The total number of candidates was decreased to 138, out of the total candidates there was only one woman. We see that two new parties took part on the fray. It was a pull from six sides, and one national party, one affiliated regional party and 3 unaffiliated regional parties and from independent candidates contested for this election. The average number of candidate was 4.6 in this election. The total number of voter was 2,56,530, while only 1,92,863 electorate exercise their rights; i.e. only 75.18 % cast their votes. Again, in this election for all the polling station as much as 2,490 votes were being rejected. The total valid votes was 1,85,889 and the percentage of valid votes out of the total votes polled was 98.67.

RESULT OF ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 1984



1. Tuipang
2. Sangau
3. Saiha
4. Chawngte
5. Demagiri
6. Buarpui
7. Lunglei
8. Tawipui
9. Hnahthial
10. N. Vanlaiphai
11. Khawbung
12. Champhai
13. Khawzawl
14. Saitual
15. Ngopa
16. Suangpuilawn
17. Ratu
18. Kawnpui
19. Kolasib
20. Kawrthah
21. Sairang
22. Phuldungsei
23. Sateek
24. Serchhip
25. Lungpho
26. Thungvel
27. Aizawl North
28. Aizawl East
29. Aizawl West
30. Aizawl South

	Indian National Congress
	People's Conference
	Independent
	Mizo Convention
N.A	Not Available

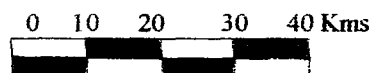


Table 3.6
RESULT OF GENERAL ELECTION, 1984

Constituency	Elected	Party	Vote secured	% of vote secured out of the total valid votes
Tuipang	Hiphei	INC	3592	55.79
Sangau	K.Sangchhum	INC	1802	37.09
Saiha	F.Lalramliana	INC	6367	52.75
Chawngte	Arun Bikash	INC	2125	36.12
Demagiri (Tlabung)	Hari Kristo Chakma	INC	1759	36.26
Buarpui	Brig.T.Sailo	PC	2160	48.90
Lunglei	Lalhmingthanga	PC	3975	46.53
Tawipui	Z.D.Lalsangliana	INC	1657	31.07
Hnahthial	Vanlalnghaka	INC	3686	48.31
Khawbung	Rochhunga Ralte	INC	2034	36.82
Champhai	Lalhliira	INC	2693	40.20
Khawhai	R.Lalawia	IND	1062	25.19
Saitual	K.Biakchungnunga	PC	2051	31.21
Ngopa	Zosiana Pachuau	PC	2915	47.39
Suangpuiawn	H.Thansanga	INC	2782	46.80
Ratu	R.Thangliana	INC	2159	33.81
Kawnpui	Vaivenga	INC	2454	36.93
Kolasib	Zalawma	INC	3044	38.03
Kawrthah	Saikapthianga	INC	3023	41.01
Sairang	Lalhuthanga	INC	2043	27.71
Phuldungsei	Liansuama	INC	2493	47.61
Sateek	J.Thanghuma	MC	1983	38.91
Serchhip	Lalthanhawla	INC	2456	45.91
Lungpho	K.L.Lianchia	PC	2174	51.71
Tlungvel	Lallawmsanga Zadeng	PC	2258	46.33
NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Aizawl North	Zairemthanga	PC	3797	42.48

Aizawl East	Rokamlova	INC	3803	44.61
Aizawl West	K.Thansiami	PC	3213	37.69
Aizawl South	Sainghaka	INC	3113	33.78

Source: Brief report on elections to MLA & MP 1972-1999

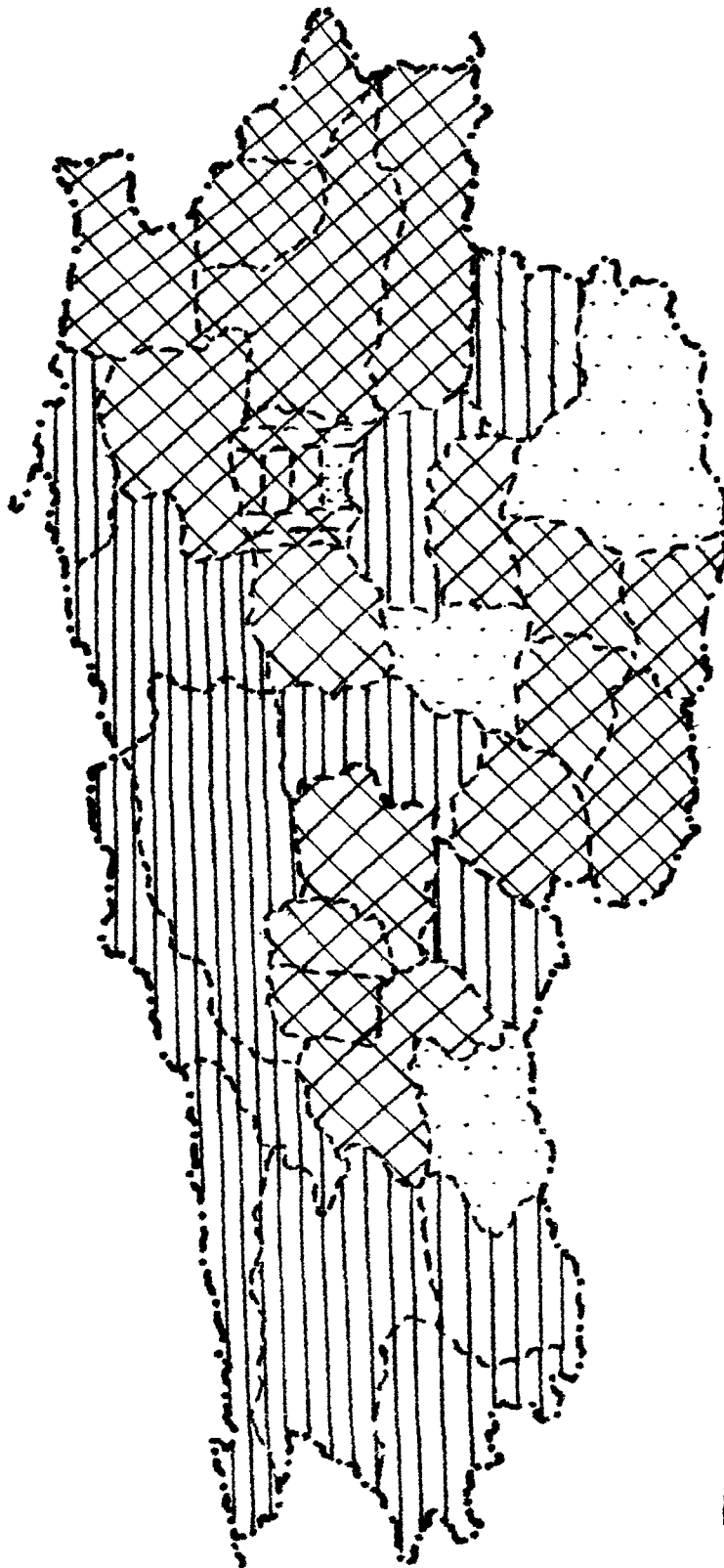
It has been observed that the total number of electorate was increasing and but the total number of invalid votes increased from the previous election. Again the number of candidates was decreased from the average of 5 persons per constituency in 1979 to 4.6 persons per constituency in 1984. The Indian National Congress won 20 seats out of the total 30 seats, and formed the ministry. In this election Mr.Hiphei got 55.79% of the total valid votes from Tuipang constituency, which was the highest percentage. Mr.R.Lalawia, an independent candidate secured 25.19% out of the total valid votes polled from Khawhai constituency, which was the lowest percentage in this election. The average percentage of votes secured by elected candidates was 40.19.

5. General election, 1987: The first general election, after the Union territory was conferred to a full-fledge State, for the state's Member of Legislative Assembly, Mizoram was held on the date 16, February in 1987. The numbers of constituencies were increased from 30 to 40 and there were 214 candidates for the 40 constituencies; but as much as 69 persons had withdrawn from the election fray. Among the candidates there were only two women, and the average candidate per constituency was 3.62. In this election, 11 persons from independent, 1 national political party, 1 affiliated regional political party and two unaffiliated regional party took part on the election platform. The Mizo National Front won the contest by securing 36.62 % of the total valid votes polled from the 24 seats. Other political parties who participated in this election were Indian National congress, PC party, and Mizo National Union and 11 independent candidates.

Table 3.7
RESULT OF THE GENERAL ELECTION, 1987

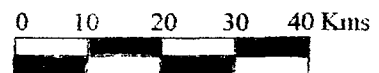
Constituency	Elected	Party	Vote secured	% of vote secured out of the total valid votes
Tuipang	Hiphei	INC	3387	61.78
Saiha	S.Hiato	INC	3579	55.87
Sangau	H.Rammawi	PC	2200	44.83
Lawngtlai	Lalramliana	INC	2910	35.23
Chawngte	Nirupam chakma	INC	declared	
Tlabung	Hari Kristo Chakma	INC	2115	39.35
Buarpui	P.Lalbiaka	INC	1908	37.70
Lunglei South	H.Lalruata	MNF	2622	51.91
Lunglei North	L.Ngurchhina	MNF	2514	44.08
Tawipui	P.Siamliana	MNF	3092	49.18
Vanva	K.Thanfianga	MNF	1889	40.60
Hnahthial	Vanlalnghaka	INC	1962	37.68
N.Vanlaiphai	Lalrinmawia	MNF	2170	43.40
Khawbung	K.Vanlalauba	MNF	2464	36.83
Champhai	Zoramthanga	MNF	3289	37.63
Khawhai	R.Lalawia	MNF	1984	42.83
Saitual	Andrew Lalherliana	MF	1955	42.90
Khawzawl	Tawnluia	MNF	3009	55.48
Ngopa	Zosiam Pachuau	PC	2946	38.26
Suangpuilawn	Vanlalngena	INC	2036	38.97
Ratu	Lalrinchhana	MNF	3101	42.59
Kawnpui	Lalkhawngginga	MNF	2814	38.59
Kolasib	Aichhinga	MNF	2609	46.92
Bilkhawthlir	Vanlalhruaia	MNF	1541	36.05
Lokicherra	J.Thanghuama	MNF	2176	46.44
Kawrthah	Saikapthianga	INC	2111	47.20

RESULT OF ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 1987



1. Tuipang
2. Saiha
3. Sangau
4. Lawngtlai
5. Chawngte
6. Tlabung
7. Buarpoi
8. Lunglei South
9. Lunglei North
10. Tawipui
11. Vanva
12. Hnahthial
13. N. Vanlaiphai
14. Khawbung
15. Champhai
16. Khawhai
17. Saitual
18. Khawzawl
19. Ngopa
20. Suangpuilawn
21. Ratu
22. Kawnpui
23. Kolasib
24. Bilkhawthlir
25. Lokicherra
26. Kawrthah
27. Mamit
28. Phuldungsei
29. Sateek
30. Serchhip
31. Lungpho
32. Tlungvel
33. Aizawl North - I
34. Aizawl North - II
35. Aizawl East - I
36. Aizawl East - II
37. Aizawl West - I
38. Aizawl West - II
39. Aizawl South - I
40. Aizawl South - II

	Indian National Congress
	Mizo National Front
	People's Conference



Mamit	K.Zahungliana	MNF	2193	37.92
Phuldungsei	Liansuama	INC	3025	47.78
Sateek	Laldenga	MNF	3219	56.75
Serchhip	Lal Thanhawla	INC	2711	37.42
Lungpho	K.L.Lianchia	PC	2223	45.92
Tlungvel	P.C.Zoramsangliana	INC	1803	37.24
Aizawl North-I	Lalhlimpuii	MNF	2328	38.08
Aizawl North-II	Laldenga	MNF	2145	33.74
Aizawl East-I	Saingura Sailo	MNF	2268	35.63
Aizawl East-II	Rokamlova	INC	1766	34.25
Aizawl West-I	H.Hrangdawla	MNF	3311	46.03
Aizawl West-II	Rualchhina	MNF	3302	49.11
Aizawl South-I	R.Tlanghmingthanga	MNF	3119	47.25
Aizawl South-II	Chawngzuala	MNF	3906	56.37

Source: Brief report on elections to MLA & MP 1972-1999

It is observed that the number of candidates increased from 138 in 1984 to 145 in 1987, among them two were women. The average number of candidates per constituency was 4.05. There were 321557 electorates in Mizoram and total vote of 2,33,556 were polled out of this 2,30,869 votes were valid; again as much as 2691 votes were invalid from all 550 polling stations. Therefore the percentage of total votes polled was decreased from 75.13 % in 1984 to 72.63 in 1987. For his second consecutive, Mr. Hiphei, an INC candidate, secured the highest in the first State's election in 1987 as high as 61.78 % out of the total valid votes. On the other hand, Mr.Laldenga, a president of MNF political party secured, the least percentage in the first state's election in 1987, as low as 33.74% out of the total valid votes from Aizawl North-II constituency. The average percentage of votes secured by elected candidates was 43.48.

3.3 NATURE OF CONTEST:

Since 1972, as much as 160 seats were opened for elections. Therefore, 658 candidates have been altogether registered for the 160 seats during an election of 1972 to 1984. The Peoples' Conference political party proposed 119 candidates at 1978, 1979, 1984 and 1987, and won 51 seats, while the Socialist party, the Mizo Peace Forum, Mizoram Democratic front and Mizo Labour party are vanished without a win in these elections. The Indian National Congress proposed 150 candidates to all the five elections and won 48 seats, while the Mizo Convention won a seat in 1984 election and, the Mizoram Janata Party proposed 58 candidates in 1979 and 1984 election and won only 3 seats. The Mizo National front political party performed only at 1987 and won as high as 24 seats. It is very interesting to note that for all the five elections, the total number of independent candidates is 110 but won only 8 seats in all the elections.

In the first U.T. Legislative election, there were 155 candidates for the 30 seats, while the number of candidates was decreased to 103 at 1978. In the third U.T. legislative election in 1979, the number of candidates increased to 150 and is going down to 138 in total in 1984. But the total number of candidates for the 40 constituencies goes up to 145 in the first election Mizoram State in 1987.

The average number of candidates in these five elections is varying. It was 5.16 candidates per constituency while it was slightly decreased to 5.13 candidates per constituency in 1978. The average number of candidates per constituency in 1979 was 5 persons and was again, decreased to 4.6 persons. Moreover, the number of candidates per constituency decreased again to 3.62 persons per constituency. Moreover, though the total numbers of persons who filed nomination were 174, 189, 165, and 214 in 1972, 1978, 1979 and 1987 respectively; who really participated for the elections was decreased to 153, 153, 148 137 and 143 in 1972, 1978, 1979, 1984 and 1987.

The above facts reveal that the number of contestants decreased in 1979 from the previous year; the number of persons who filed nomination in 1987 was 24. It is visible that for all the constituencies the average numbers of contestant are decreasing. Therefore, it can be said that party loyalties and their influences are decreasing.

3.4 PARTY-WISE PERFORMANCE:

Considering the party-wise performance on the basis of out-right victories alone may not result in a precise measurement of party support for the various parties in each constituency. It is quite frequent for the elected candidate to win only a minority out of the total votes cast in a constituency and the majority to become negligible. Therefore, a discussion on the basis of victory alone sometimes fails to depict the very fine division of the public opinion within the constituency.

In addition, the contesting number of candidates also decreased since 1972 to 1984 but it was going up to 145 candidates in 1987. In some places like Tlabung and Chawngte constituencies non- Mizo tribe like Chakma and Bru are at large number, political party especially the INC set Chakma candidates and never loose the said seats. It can be said that nationalism deeply influences the peoples' mind set and choices.

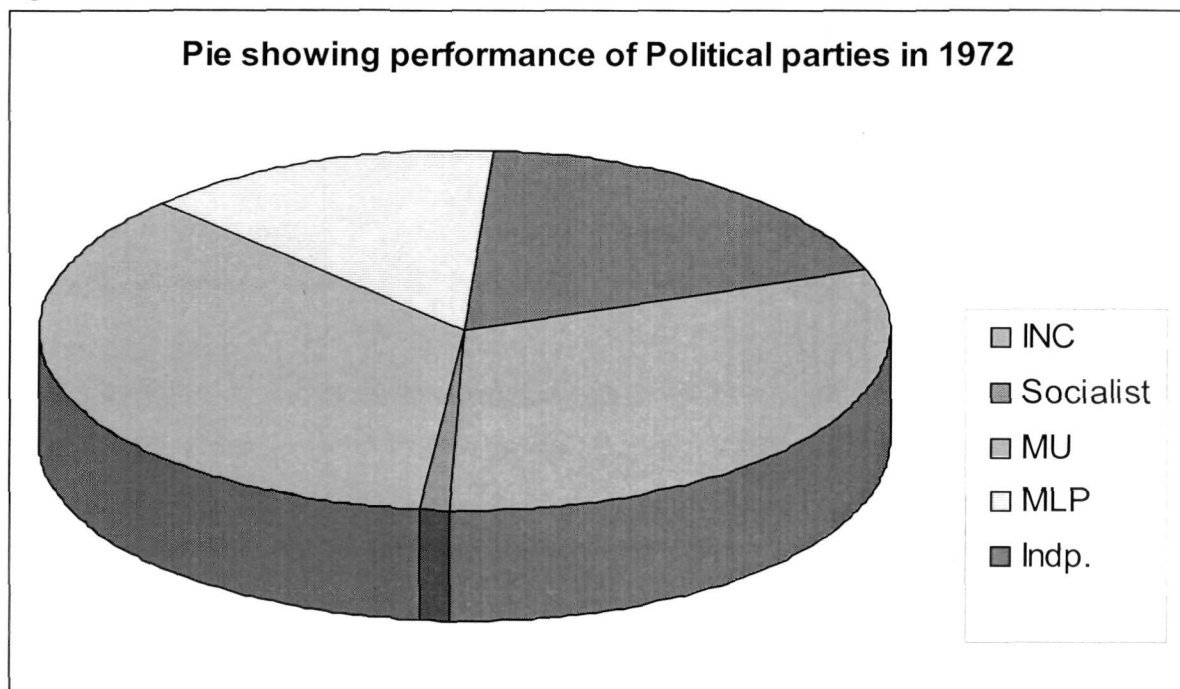
The result of the first U.T. election clearly shows that the deep impression of the Mizo Union to the Mizo society. The Mizo Union got 21 seats out of the total 30 seats whereas the socialist and Mizo Labour party did not get at least one seat. The Indian national congress (INC), in the previous elections it was known as Mizoram Congress Committee (MCC); got only 6 seat and out of the total 56 independent candidates, only 3 won their battle.

The result of the second U.T. election of 1978 and the third election in 1979 shows that the domination of Peoples' Conference to the political scenario of Mizoram at that time. The Indian National Congress, back up from Central won the fight for ministry in 1984. But the result of the first State's election of Mizoram shows that the entry of Mizo National Front in to the political field of Mizoram. The MNF party easily won the race for ministry in 1987.

Table 3.8
PARTY-WISE PERFORMANCE IN 1972

Name of party	No. of candidates	No. of seat won	Votes polled	% of votes polled
INC	29	6	34,421	30.34
Socialist Party	18	Nil	1713	1.17
Mizo Union (Ind.)	25	21	39,645	36.13
Mizo Labour Party	27	Nil	15195	14.24
Independent	56	3	20383	18.12
Total	155		1,11,357	

Fig. 3.1

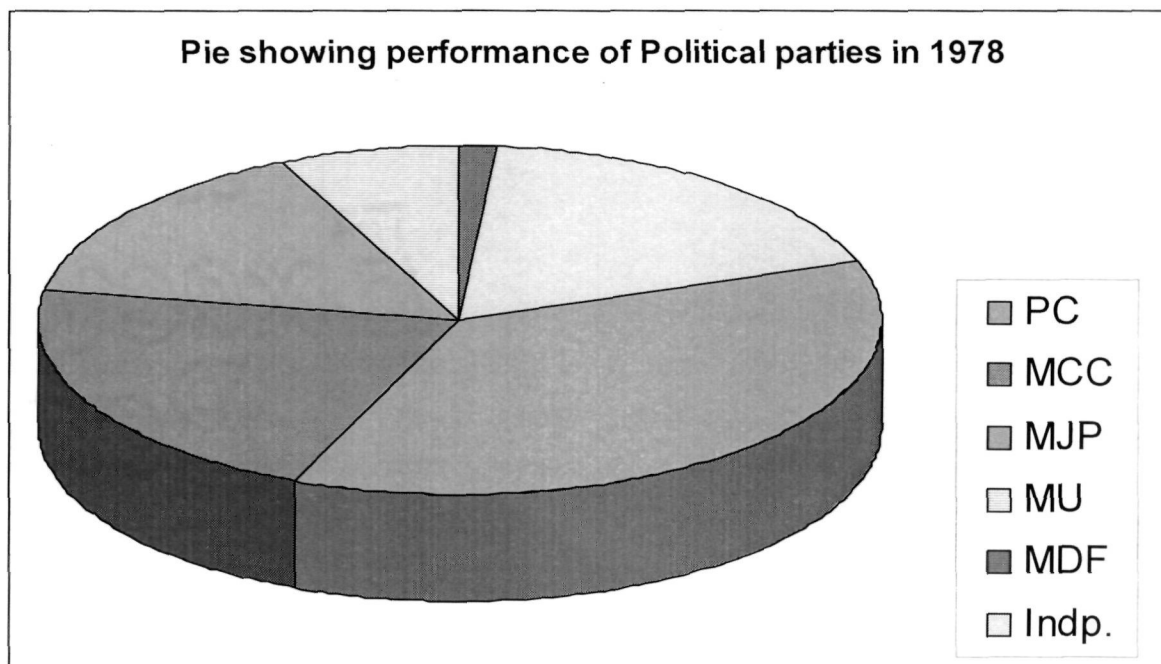


*Source: Brief report on elections to MLA 1972-1999.
Report on general Election, 2003. p.88*

Table 3.9
PARTY-WISE PERFORMANCE IN 1978

Name of party	No. of candidates	No. of seat won	Votes polled	% of votes polled
Peoples' Conference (PC)	28	22	52640	37.47
Mizoram Congress Committee (Ind.)	26	4	30825	21.94
Mizoram Janata Party (MJP)	28	2	21785	15.50
Mizo Union (Ind.)	15	Nil	9847	7.01
Mizoram Democratic Front	16	Nil	2138	1.52
Independent	4	3	23235	16.54
Total	117		140470	

Fig.3.2

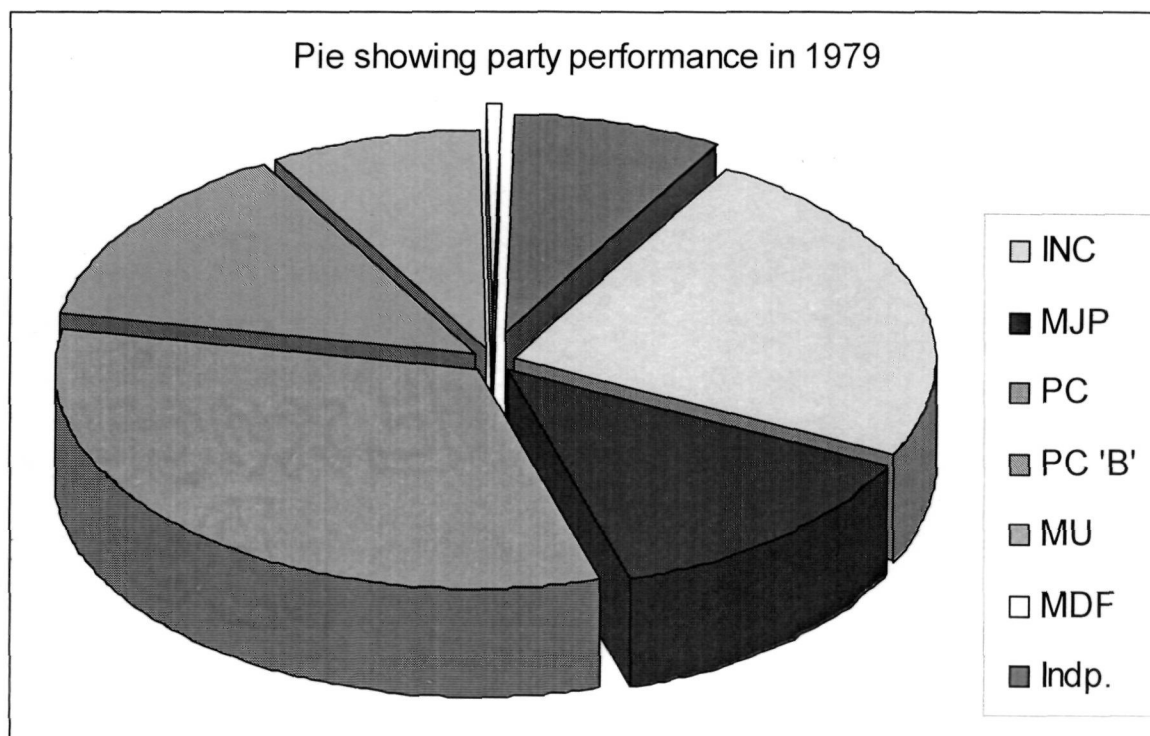


Source: Brief report on elections to MLA 1972-1999.
Report on general Election, 2003. p.88

Table 3.10
PARTY-WISE PERFORMANCE IN 1979

Name of party	No.of candidates	No. of seat won	Votes polled	% of votes polled
Janata Party	30	2	21,435	13.08
INC	25	5	39,115	23.88
PC	27	18	53,515	32.67
PC 'B'.	23	4	22,259	13.58
Mizo Union	21	Nil	13,367	8.16
Mizo Democratic Front	4	Nil	925	0.56
Independent	20	1	13,182	8.06
Total	150		1,63,798	

Fig.3.3

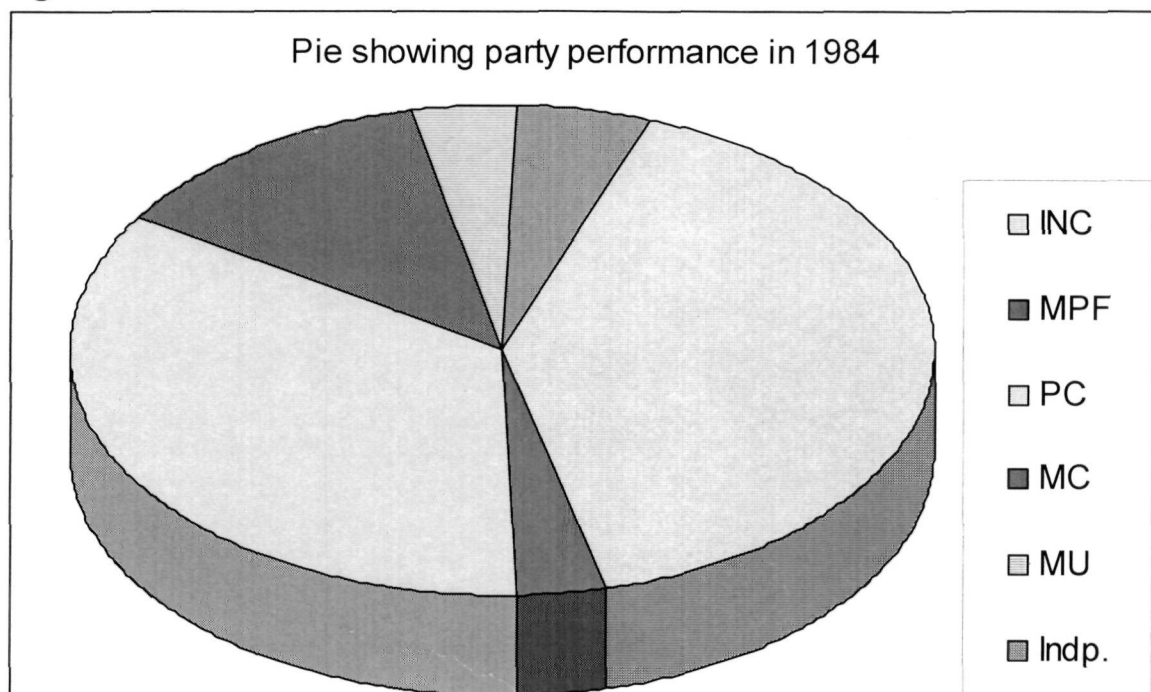


*Source: Brief report on elections to MLA 1972-1999.
Report on general Election, 2003. p.88*

Table 3.11
PARTY-WISE PERFORMANCE IN 1984

Name of party	No.of Candidates	No. of seat won	Votes polled	% of votes polled
INC	30	20	76974	40.44
PC	28	8	66065	34.71
Mizo Convention	28	1	23989	12.60
Mizo Union	19	Nil	6889	3.62
Mizo Peace Forum	14	Nil	6640	3.49
Independent	19	1	9780	5.13
Totals	166		190337	

Fig.3.4

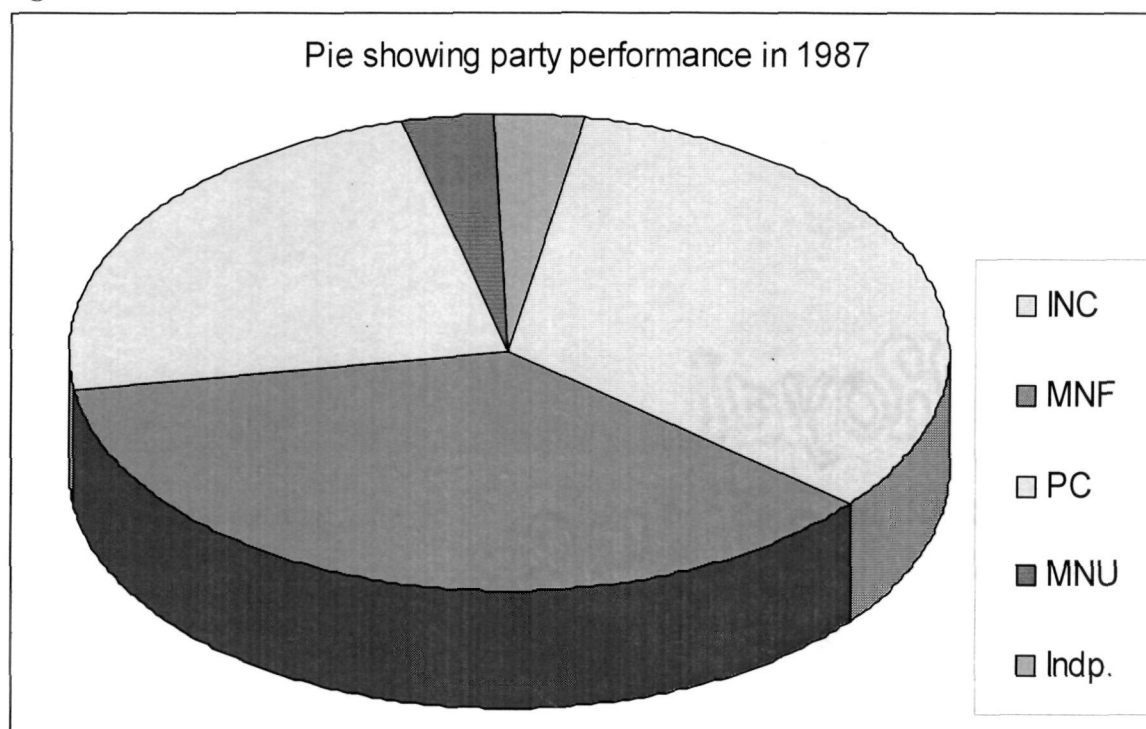


*Source: Brief report on elections to MLA 1972-1999.
Report on general Election, 2003. p.88*

Table 3.12
PARTY-WISE PERFORMANCE IN 1987

Name of party	No.of Candidates	No. of seat won	Votes polled	% of votes polled
INC	40	13	76,152	32.98
PC	36	3	54,717	23.70
MNF	37	24	84,549	36.62
Mizo National Union	21	Nil	7,688	3.33
Indp.	11	Nil	7759	3.36
Totals	145		2,30,865	

Fig.3.5



*Source: Brief report on elections to MLA 1972-1999.
Report on general Election, 2003. p.88*

The Mizo National Front (MNF):

It is the most prominent regional political party in Mizoram now a day. The Mizo National Front is the only political party who is still in the political field of Mizoram, who contest in elections before 1972. Since the MNF declared the independence of Mizoram and the group was out law from the Indian nation. Therefore the group never participated in election during 1972 to 1984. But it is undoubtedly true to say that the MNF had a very string impression in to the political atmosphere of Mizoram during that time. It has a very strong organizational structure even to the rural areas. The first appearance of MNF into the election fray was in 1987 only. But at that time the political party won 24 seats out of the total 40 seats in the state of Mizoram by securing 36.62 % of the total valid votes polled. Among all the candidates from the party Mr.Chawngzuala secured the highest percentage i.e.56.37% at Aizawl South-II constituency.

We can say that the MNF the influence of MNF to the people of Mizoram is still goes on and the party is the holder of Ministry till the state's last election in 2003.

The Indian National Congress (INC):

The Indian National congress, for the first time, enters in to the battle for ministry in Mizoram in 1972. But, that time the political party did not settled firmly in Mizoram; and in 1978 election it appeared as the Mizoram Congress Committee. The INC or the MCC contested to 29 seats but won only 6 seats in 1972 and secured 30.91% of the total valid votes polled; while it contested in 26 seats and won only 4 seats in 1978 and secured 21.94 %. The party was appeared as INC in the third UT election in 1979 contested in 25 constituencies and won only 5 seats securing 23.88% out of the total valid votes. The party again contested in 30 constituencies and secured 40.44 % from 20 seats; and formed the last U.T. government in 1984. In the first Mizoram State's election, the party fight for all the 40 constituencies but won only 13 seats. In this election, the INC secured as high as 32.98 % out of the total valid votes. It is the most and strongest organized national political party in Mizoram. During 1972 to 1987, the party did best in the fourth U.T. election in 1984 by securing 40.44%. Among all the candidates for all the

elections, Mr. Hari Kristo Chakma did his best in 1972 General election; he secured 89.29 % of the total votes polled at Tlabung constituency. As the political party is well-organised and structurally strong, it is interesting to note that the INC never lose Tlabung constituency till the last election in 2003. Infact, though the party could not dominate the whole study area, the party dominates the western parts of Lunglei district. In addition, the INC did not set more than two candidates to Tlabung constituency.

The People's Conference (PC):

The Peoples' Conference political party was set up in 1975 and appeared in 1978, 1979, 1984 and 1987 elections. It is undoubtedly true to say that the PC, even during the state was under militancy, and was hope of the people. The PC political party set 28 candidates and 22 of them won their battle for a seat in Union territory legislative assembly. The PC party fought for 27 seats in 1979 and won 18 seats, and fought for 28 seats and won only 8 seats, again the party fought for 36 seats and won only 3 seats. The PC political party did their best in 1978 election and their over all score is 37.47 %; and then formed the government. Among all the candidates for all the elections, Mr.K.Lalsanga secured the highest percentage, as high as 79.94 % out of the total valid votes, from Buarpui constituency in 1979. The over all percentage of votes secured by PC party was 32.67% in 1979, 34.71% in 1984 and it was 23.70 % in 1987. Though the over all percentage secured by the party shows dynamic nature, in fact, by looking to the number of seats the party won out of the total number of seats that the party set their candidates, the party was seriously declined. The performance of the PC party shows downward trend since 1978. In addition, the political party changed their own name twice. i.e. MPC in 1998 and MZPC in 2003. Though, the name of the party is somehow similar but the above facts depicts that the party is not well organised or not stable in its structure.

Mizo Union:

Mizo Union is one the foremost political party and could be said that a pioneer in party politics in Mizoram. The political party appeared for all the elections. In 1972, the party secured 35.60 % and formed the UT government. In 1972, the party fought for 25 seats out of the total 30 seats and won 21 seats. But, it is quite heartening that the party never won a seat after the 1972 election. Among all candidates who belong to Mizo Union political party, Mr.Lalruata scored the highest percentage as high as 52.07 % from Lungpho constituency in 1972. The party got 35.60 % in 1972, 7.01% in 1978, 8.16 % in 1979, 3.62 % in 1984 and only 3.33 % in 1987.

Independent:

In this sub-heading, only candidates who have no support from any political party whether affiliated or non-affiliated are included. The independent candidates have been observed that as the single largest totaling to 110 from 1972 to 1987. As much as 56 independent candidates fought for the election in 1972 and their total number decreased to 4 in 1978. Again their total number was increased to 20 in 1979. Since 1979 the number of independent candidates slightly decreased to 19 in 1984 and 11 in 1987. In 1972, out of the total 56 candidates only 3 persons won their battle securing 18.30 %, while in 1978, out of the total 4 candidates, only one lose his battle for a seat but secured 16.54 %. And in 1979 only one candidate won his contest by securing 8.06 %, out of the 20 candidates, only one candidate won a seat from 19 candidates in 1984 and secured 5.13 %. Again, all the 11 candidates lose their battle to party candidates in 1987 but secured 3.36 %. It can be said that the performance of candidates who does not belong to any political party was decreasing.

Others:

In this sub-heading, Janata Party, Mizoram Democratic Front, Peoples' Conference 'B', Socialist Party, Mizo Labour Party and Mizo Peace Forum are included. Peoples' conference 'B', Mizo Labour Party, Socialist Party and Mizo Peace Forum

participated only at one election. Socialist Party did not won a single seat from the 18 candidates in 1972 but secured 1.15 % only. Mizo Peace forum party also contested at 14 constituencies and secured 3.49 % and did not get a single seat.

Janata Party secured 13.08 % from 30 candidates and won only 2 seats in 1978. Mizo Labour Party secured 13.64 % in 1972 election but not a single seat from their 27 candidates. The Peoples' Conference 'B', which was a split from PC political party, won 2 seats in 1979 from their 30 candidates and secured 13.58 %.

The Mizoram Democratic Front and Janata Party participated only at two elections. The Mizoram Democratic Front secured 1.52 % only in 1978 and only 0.56 % in 1979 and never won a seat; while the Janata Party secured 15.50 % and won a seat in 1978, and secured 13.08 % and won 2 seats in 1979.

CHAPTER 4

FACTORS AND ISSUES INFLUENCING VOTING BEHAVIOUR

It is true that political activities and mass participation in decision-making process was completely dormant in Mizoram during pre-Independent period. But with the dawn of independence and with the introduction of the new constitution in 1950, the road to peoples' participation at different levels was also opened in Mizoram.¹ The first election of Assam Legislative Assembly was held in 1952 and three members were elected from Mizoram. Subsequently, the election of the members of the district council and regional council as per the provision of sixth schedule were held in Mizoram and the same electorate participated in the election. This enabled the people to participate in the election as well as express their views on all major political issues.

With the creation of Mizoram as a Union Territory in 1972 the political participation of the people extended both vertically and horizontally. The number of electorate is of ascending order beginning from 1952.

With the growth of population there is marginal increase in the number of electorate from the preceding elections. In addition, the whole female voter is more or less equal to their counter parts in the state. It has been observed that in some of the constituencies the female voters exceed male voters.

As regards the public response to election, participation marked a great enthusiasm which is evident from the percentage of poll in an average constituency. Despite difficult accessibility condition, the voters had to walk on foot for several miles to cast votes, the response was exceedingly good. The average number of voters in Mizoram in each polling station is less than 500. This is due to low density of population and geographical constraints.

The political participation in Mizoram is very significant. It reflects the true character of ideal democracy which is found nowhere in India. It is reflected through the conduct of free and fair election with negligible instances of impersonation, false voting, booth capturing, intimidation or class or caste/clan conflict which is rampant in the rest of the country. Rarely the case of imposition upon minority group by majority has been noticed. Even a father or his son or daughter is free to exercise their franchise according

¹ Singh, SN. P 288

to their conscience. The whole political atmosphere during election time in Mizoram is free from tension and group rivalry. Election campaign, mass meeting, political demonstration and propaganda, and street corners meetings held on conventional lines without any disturbances. Both national and regional parties enter into the election fray. The performance of the parties during election indicates the peoples' faith in their ideologies and their programmes. They are not misled by or bribed by the political parties. However, the huge amount of money has been pumped into the remote constituencies by the parties (INC, P.C., and MNF) to woo voters.

The sixth general election in Mizoram (1989) depicts the growth of clan based communal group participation in the election. The Hmar People Conference and the Chakma Jatiya Parishad have appeared on political horizon of Mizoram and started projecting their demands in various forms. This has allowed a feeling of their separate identity. Although they defeated badly, they have managed to get the support of 1804 and 975 voters respectively.

The political participation is easy everywhere through the political parties either national or regional which stimulated interest among the electorates by drawing attention towards national, local or regional issue. During the election the political parties promised to strive for the reunification of Mizo inhabited areas of India, Burma and Bangladesh. Though it has emotional appeal to allure all the inhabitants for immediate gain in the election, the demand is practically redundant, secondly each party in Mizoram including Congress party emphasized upon the Christian identity or the Mizo which was against the secular principle. Even the INC party had to adjust with the local situation against their secular ideology.

The political parties in general highlight the programme of socio-economic development of Mizoram. Thus the manifestos of the political parties are purely regional with national outlook. The MNF took credit of peace accord and criticized publicly during the election campaign that the Congress party is the party of 'Vai' (non-Mizo and are not tribal) although Congress members in Mizoram are mostly Mizo.

Political participation does not end with the participation in election either as voter or a candidate. It is also concerned with erecting the Government and operating the government machinery in different capacities. Since 1972, political participation by the Mizo people has become smooth. The first Ministry led by Ch.Chhunga included representatives of Lusei, Pawi and Lakher sub-tribes.

In this connection it would not be out of place to mention the role of opposition members either belonging to the Congress or MNF or PC. They usually pointed out the drawbacks of the ruling party through debates, discussion, or raising questions during zero hour. In Mizoram the opposition members discharged their duties with high appreciation and co-operated the government in dignified manner. No rowdy situation developed any time in the house which compelled the speaker to adjourn the house or call the marshal to remove any member from the house for his misconduct. Political stability is inter-twined with the stability in economy. The quality of efficiency of the political institution and the quality of political life of people depend upon the economic viability of the state. Adversely too, the non viable state cast gloomy picture upon the growth and expansion and function of the political life of the people. The society which is groaning under poverty can not think of higher political organization and its multiple functioning.

So far as Mizoram is concerned, its economic foundation is weak and tenuous. The agro-economic backwardness due to poor soil and rugged topography can not sustain the population. Nearly 4,000 metric tones rice is annually imported from outside Mizoram besides important other essential commodities like oil, pulse, sugar, and luxury goods are brought from outside the state. The infrastructure is in a bad shape, Most of the regions of south west Mizoram is inaccessible. The Chakma and Rieng areas are not connected with adequate roads communication. Industrially also, Mizoram is most backward state. Even medium or small scale industries are economically non-viable. The cost of production is high as such the industry has no bright prospect in the competitive market. The per capita income is low and the price index is steadily on the increase.

Under such economic hardship the political participation of the Mizo is mostly localized without any interests to look into external matters. The regionalism or sub-

nationalism gets priority at every stage. The local institutions like District Council or Regional council functioned in regional parameters. The mass poverty of the people spares little time for political participation except a handful political elites who energizes the dormant spirit of the common people.

An attempt has been made here to gauge the degree of political awareness with some of the important politico-socio-economic facts of the people in order to ascertain the motivation aspect of the factors responsible for the voting behaviour. In this study, careful attempt has been made to identify what are the political, social and economic issues which control and influence voters across the state. The demarcation of the erstwhile Lushai Hills District was made by the British for their own convenience and strategy. Consequently, the demographic structure of Mizo tribes underwent changes. The Mizos, who were on the outskirts of the demarcated boundary came under the administrative jurisdiction of different state.

The political parties in Mizoram in the post-colonial time grew from among the middle class and the people of indigenous class of commoners who further expanded the ambit of the middle class. The political movements of all these political parties raised the status of Mizo territory step by step in the post-colonial time from the Superintendent's district administration to the Deputy Commissioner's district administration in 1952, from here to the administration of Union territory status of Mizoram in 1972 and then to the full-fledged State of Mizoram in 1987.

4.1 POLITICAL AWARENESS OF THE PEOPLE

The year 1961 or 1966 will have lasting impact on the Mizoram politics. In order to preserve and maintain the solidarity of the Mizos and their culture as a revival of emphasis on cultural society as a means of maintaining ethnic identity among the newly awakened educated middle class, Mr. Laldenga and his friends formed a new political party called Mizo National Front. The party aimed for Greater Mizoram and secession from India. The independent Mizoram, they would emphasise, would comprise all the Mizos in Mizo, Burma, Manipur, Cachar, Tripura and Bangladesh across international

boundaries. Ethnicity was readily identified as nationalism, and the wider application of the term Mizo to subsume all the sub-ethnic group of Kuki-Chin group in the contiguous settlements became a ready-made tool for imparting the idea of greater Mizoram. As the Assam government was totally failed to take relief measures to the Mizo people from famine in 1961, the Mizo people were reinforcing to distrust towards out-group members. All in all, the MNF leaders stressed the ethnic differences of Mizo to the plains people in an emphatic manner so much so that the politically awakened Mizos were led to believe ethnic criteria as a means of political self-determination. Then, the MNF leaders accepted non-violence as a means to achieve independence from Indian government. It was the greatest political issue in the history on Mizoram politics; which indicates the desire of the Mizo people and their awakening in the field of politics. On 2nd March 1966, the Assam government declared Mizoram as a disturbed area and employed army strength to take control over Mizoram from the hand of MNF. Thereafter, the participation of MNF in the ground of democratic elections in the Union territorial government of Mizoram was ended. But it is no doubt that the MNF outfits strongly control the choice of the electorates in every election since 1972 to 1984. In fact, in search of freedom from poverty the awakening people put the mass people to a long-drawn-out for many years.

Yet, the educated Mizo populaces and leaders of different political outfits raised their voice from time to time to amalgamate the entire Mizo inhabited area into one administrative unit. This is but a natural corollary.

The Mizo Union political party too, in the beginning had the main objectives of uniting the sub-tribes of the territory and of integrating the Mizo inhabited areas of Assam, Tripura and Manipur (pre-dominantly inhabited by Mizo tribes) into a single administrative unit. The party aimed at achieving the democratic system of administration for the Mizos within the union of India and also striving for autonomy to preserve ethnic identity, safeguard and promote culture, customs, dialects and economic programme of fighting the vested interest of the chiefs. The party objected to the exploitation of the common Mizo by the autocratic chiefs and later turned to be an anti-chief. The party also

promised to bring reforms in the village administration as well as to protect the villagers from the chief's excesses.

Regarding the landslide victory of Mizo Union in 1972, it is worthy to note that the oldest one with roots in Aizawl and Lunglei where the Mizo clans are in majority. Besides, the party had been controlled over the district council administration for more than 18 years; and during this period, it worked for improving the lot of the people. It also stood for statehood and advocated peaceful means to achieve this objective. With the strong support and will of the Mizo Union, the Central government abolished kingship in Mizoram and that endeared special privileges to the people. Because of this, the Mizo Union had emerged as a really democratic and progressive political force in Mizoram. The Mizo Union had a devoted hand of workers and was guided by leaders, who were capable and honest.

In 1972, the Congress, apart from its national programmes, laid emphasis on the establishment of peace and was more concerned with the peaceful settlement of the Mizo political problem for the rapid development of Mizoram. The party came to the people with its programme for urgent economic development and comprehensive social reforms. It also promised to modernize and improve agriculture. The party further emphasized the industrialization of state. It would attempt further at the integration of contiguous areas inhabited by the Mizos with Mizoram. The party also talked of statehood. As the party's manifesto was against the declaration independent of Mizoram by MNF, the Congress also suffered from serious problem in their beginning. And yet, the MNF announced that the Congress I party-men were non-Mizo and who were not seek expedient for the people.

Due to the hard work of MNF leaders, the people of Mizo realized the need of integration Mizo sub-clan living in different places to have development and relief from serious social and political problems. All political parties, in their election manifesto included integration of contiguous areas inhabited by Mizo tribes. Even till 1984 election, Brig.T.Sailo, the former Chief Minister and a founder President of Peoples' Conference political party, has raised a strong desire and the importance of the amalgamation of all

the Mizo inhabited contiguous areas in India, Burma and Bangladesh within Indian Union. The demand of Laldenga, former Chief Minister and founder president of Mizo National Front political party, is similar in nature. Mr.Laldenga again, reiterated his demand during the peace talk with the Centre in June 1986 to which the Union government did not make any commitment.

The Zomi reunification issue has come into limelight and political speculation was moving very fast under some leaders of Zomi Reunification Organisation (ZORO or ZOGAM) in Manipur and in Mizoram, which aims at reuniting the all Zomi or Mizo inhabited areas in India, Burma and Bangladesh under one administrative set up. It is notably that unlike other tribal people of north east India who are blamed for secessionist sentiments the Zomi leaders only want to enlarge the territory of India.

Some new political parties emerged during early 1970s like Mizo Insuihkhawm Pawl (1971), Socialist Party (1971), Mizo National Union (1971), Mizo Labour Party (1972), Mizoram Democratic Front (1974) and Mizoram Janata Dal (1977). It is undoubtedly true to say newly formed political party were set up due only to search of livelihood and popularity of some intellectual persons with the advent of new political development of Mizoram. Their election manifestos, aims and objectives are almost the same with other political parties. In addition there were few clan based political parties but do not participated in these elections.

The 1972 election result showed a landslide victory of Mizo Union. It is worthy to note that the oldest one with roots in Aizawl and Lunglei where the Mizo clans are in majority. Besides, the party had been in controlled of the district council administration for more than 18 years. And during this period, it worked for improving the lot of the people. It also stood for statehood and advocated peaceful means to achieve this objective. With the strong support of the Mizo Union, the Central Government abolished kingship in Mizoram and that bestow special privileges to the people. Because of this the party was able to form the first elected government in Mizoram. Thereafter, with the effective tactical advice of the central congress leaders, the Mizo Union merged with the MPCC in 1957. The Congress party laid emphasis on the establishment of peace and it

was more concerned with the peaceful settlement of the Mizo political problem as it came in the way of rapid development of Mizoram. The party came to the people with its programme for urgent economic development and comprehensive social reforms. It also promised to modernize and improve agriculture. The party further emphasized the industrialization of state. It would attempt further at the integration of contiguous areas inhabited by the Mizos with Mizoram. The party also talked of statehood. The congress party failed in 1972, 1978 and in 1979 elections because of that the party was considered to be an alien party that was strengthened by the growing support given to the MNF which stood for ethnic group solidarity of the Mizo. Thereafter, the relatively progressive outlook and the allegedly pro-MNF behaviour purported by leaders of the party and a support from Laldenga, the Prime Minister of Mizoram Government due only to anti-Mizo Union, gained massive political support after 1972 election.

The Peoples' Conference political party was set up in 1975 after the merger of Congress and Mizo Union. It was, in fact, the only reason that the party gained massive support due to that the party was originally a conversion of the 'Human Rights Committee', which was a timely step from political angle by which Brig.T.Sailo could win the Mizo psyche to a great extent. And the political party came into the Mizoram politics when the Mizo Union and the famous Congress proved almost failure in restoring peace and harmony in the region. The personality of the leaders of the party and the programme done by the so called Human Rights Committee deeply impressed the crying people of Mizo. When the Mizo people were at the critical juncture, election to the Lok Sabha was held in 1977, the PC party won the seat. Yet, in the following two years the party formed the UT government; winning 23 seats out of 30 seats. Soon after a vertical split occurred in the PC party, 8 MLA withdrew their support to the government, and then the Union Territory of Mizoram was put to President's rule. The mid-term became inevitable in 1979, inspite of split, the party was voted back to power by winning 21 seats out of 30 in total.

But, during the second term of Peoples' Conference party ministry the insurgency rose to its climax. Negotiations talk took place between the Central

Government and MNF but were fruitless. Therefore, the PC political party also started losing confidence of the people to restore peace and harmony. Yet, the Mizo National Front too went against the PC party. Then came Mizoram legislative assembly election in 1984, with the strong support of MNF, Congress won 20 seats out of 30 and one each went in favour of Mizo Convention and an independent candidate. After that the PC party got only 8 seats and it was the starting point of their decline.

The first State's legislative election in 1987 showed the strong psychological support of Mizo people to MNF. The MNF political party formed the state's government by winning 24 seats out of 30, while INC got 13 and PC party got only 3. In all political and administrative developments of Mizoram, the major honours belong to the Mizo Union in the first period of post-colonial times, and the PC party was during late 70s while the Congress and MNF in the succeeding years. The community based parties like Mara Freedom Party, Chin National Front, Paihte National Council and Hmar Peoples' Convention have made contribution for the upliftment of their respective communities.

The four legislative election of the Union Territory of Mizoram and one state's legislative election indicate the state of political consciousness as well as keen desire in exercising their franchise. It got every individual in it in some way or the other. These elections in Mizoram were significant in the sense that the people voted not only for a particular party; they also voted for peace, stability and progress. They expressed their confidence in the parliamentary democratic machinery set up in the Union territory of Mizoram and the state, and set their seal of approval by rejecting the cult of violence and politics of opportunism. Besides, it was also observed that the clan loyalties and tribal considerations also played an important role in some of the constituencies as caste has done elsewhere. However, Mizoram since 1972 had political stability.

In conclusion, all the political parties for every election issued their election manifestos, declaring important local issues and problems and divergent approaches to solve manifold issues. The election manifestos of Congress I, the Mizo National Front, the Peoples' Conference and the Miz Union made similar appeals/promise to the voters. The single most common aspect of the manifestos is that each of the parties promised to

strive for the reunification of the Mizo inhabited areas of India, Myanmar and Bangladesh. Certainly, the election manifestos of the political parties were purely regional with national outlook but they hardly show their commitment to bring about an awareness of the national programmes and objectives of socio-economic changes. Practically there was no difference between the parties' manifestos. It is interesting to note that the Congress I party did not enter the election battle on its national election manifestos. No election manifestos laid stress on the progressive measures to bring about the socio-economic transformation in the traditional society of Mizo. No party had pledged in its election manifesto to distribute the benefits of the planned development among the average poor Mizo people reasonably. Surprisingly, the parties' manifestos completely lacked Land reforms measures. Thus, none of the parties had appealed to the electorates based on concrete items of socio-economic change and distributive justice.

4.2 SOCIAL FACTOR

Stratification and differential position in human societies all over the world, from most primitive to the most modern world, this way or that way has always been in existence, as the members of society irrespective of whether they belong to a hunting tribe, a modern economic corporation or a professional group differ in role and status. Despite political ideologies claiming or attempting to establish a classless society and equal opportunities for all, the fact of inequality in actual practice is evident. The established fact, therefore, is that a society is divided into strata. And class system, therefore, is natural and common feature of all stratified society. A class within a society is formed with individuals who have similar aspirations on the points of power, property, social values and fulfillment of psychic desires.² A class does not consist of organised groups defined by law or religion. Social class not a lineal or familial inheritance can be acquired and changed according to one's achievements and efforts.³ The Mizo society is no exception to social stratification. It too has given birth to the middle class. From

² Ray.p.182

³ Chaltuahkhuma, p.65

political angle, the Mizo society has so far witnessed three periods: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.⁴

The Mizo society is believed to have an egalitarian culture in its early formation. Thereafter a class of chiefs came into existence and until the British invasion in 1893 the Mizo territory was comprised of a number of village kingdoms. Therefore, the pre-colonial Mizo society was a stratified society having the class of chiefs and the commoners.

When the Mizo territory came under British India administration, law and order and administration came in to the hands of the British authority. But, the traditional administration of chiefs' village kingdoms was not, however, undermined; but the authority imposing restrictions on the chiefs' village administration. For better administrative convenience the whole district under Superintendent was divided into 18 circles, each under a circle interpreter. After that the British authority formed council of kings or Council of Chiefs having only three members, who was elected by the kings themselves and the elected three members were called *durbar*. Then, one persons of the *durbar* represents the Kings while one member represents the commoners, meaning that the commoners were also allowed to be a *durbar*. That is the right point of the rise of the middle class in Mizo society.

With the advent of Christianity and education to the Mizo people, the dawn of Indian independence witnessed three prominent classes in the Mizo society in its social structure, i.e. the class of chiefs, the class of commoners and the newly formed middle class.

The indigenous class distinction disappeared from the social stratification scenario when the chieftainship was totally abolished in 1954 under the pressure of the middle class backed mainly by Mizo Union. Now, since the late 1950s there have been two strata in the Mizo society in the broader sense. They are the middle class and the lower class. The middle class is again divided into two sub-classes; the upper middle class and the lower middle class. The upper middle class is composed of those

⁴ Nag. p.10-13

individuals who are in the top of the leaders of political, religious, educational and professional institutions as also in trade and commerce, say, ministers, church leaders, doctors, engineers, architects, bureaucrats, teachers in institutions of higher learning, capitalist, etc. The lower middle class are those who belong to the lower stage of the upper middle class. They are the persons who assist the upper middle class and means to lead not much discomfortable life, namely, Class III government servants and its equivalent, traders, landed peasants and the like. The lower class consists of those people who belong to the lowest strata of the society i.e. the lowest grade employees in governmental services and other private managements, daily wage earners or the weakest section of people who have not received education nor have any will, in some cases capability, to improve their prospects and are ignorant. This class of people is those who belonged to the weakest section of the commoners in the past. This class may be brought under two sub-classes: the upper lower class and the lower-lower class.⁵

Therefore, the Mizo society at present or 1947-1990 has two strata in the broad sense. But both the strata have now reached such a stage by way of progress and development and the dynamic nature of social strata of Mizo society led that fact that both the strata were sub-divided into two, the upper class and the lower. Therefore, Mizo society has four strata today.

The middle class became more and more aware about their civil rights, conscious of the dignity of man, their rightful place in the society and the nation which finally forced them to launch civil movements for establishing the role of the people and to capture power in administration and politics in Mizoram. Thereafter, political parties in Mizoram in the post-colonial time grew from among the middle class and the people of indigenous class of commoners who further expanded the ambit of the middle class. The Lushai Commoners' Union, which was later known as Mizo Union was formed in April, 1946. Immediately after the formation of Mizo Union, a rival political party named United Mizo Federation Organisation (UMFO) was formed in July, 1947, The Mizo National Front (MNF) was formed in 1996, the Congress Party of Mizoram was formed

⁵ Nag.p.22

in 1961, Mizo Labour Party (MLP) was formed in 1971, the Mizoram Democratic Front (MDF) was formed in 1974, the Peoples' Conference (PC) was formed in 1975 and the Janata Party of Mizoram was formed in 1977. All these political parties were mainly formed by the middle class. All these political parties and working group has their own aims and objectives to achieve as the different social strata also have their own needs to satisfy their needs. The people of Mizoram from the poorest to the richest traders, including church leaders, have their own choice to elect a representative for themselves and look for their benefit in choosing their representatives.

Mizoram is sparsely populated. This may be attributed to the bad communication system, rugged hills and difficult terrain and remoteness from the rest of India. Nevertheless, the demographic data has shown a steady increase in population, not only the Mizo tribes as well as the Chakmas, the Reangs and the 'Vai' (non-Mizo and are non-tribal).

The Chakmas and the Reangs are regarded as formal residents of Mizoram as far as political structure is concerned, but they are remained to be socially distinct tribe having no common culture and normative pattern with the Mizos. Chakmas are immigrants from Bangladesh after independence and live in the southernmost district Chhimtuipui and western part of Lunglei district of Mizoram. They are not generally adaptive to the Mizo social norms. They have their own distinct culture and religious life totally different from those of the Mizos. The Chakmas are mainly the believer of Buddhism, as such there is hardly any social contact with the rest of the Mizo and they retain their separate social existence. The Chakmas are represented by two members in the Mizoram Legislative Assembly. The Chawngte constituency and Tlabung Constituency, where Chakma population attentiveness is high, were dominated by Chakma candidates since the time of district councils. Recently, they became the subject of political discussions due to the illegal influx of refugees which has gradually increased their number in Mizoram.

The Reangs are a semi-nomadic people and are scattered along the small strips of valleys on either banks of the western rivers. There were any political issue on the

Reangs were heard before 1997 'Bru Exodus'. The population of Reangs along the western side near Mamit town was also significant in the voting behaviour of the particular area before 1997. The entire manifestos and issues rise by the entire participant included a special privilege to the poor Reangs people.

The census report often record the Pawis or Lai and the Mara or Lakher of the Lawngtlai and Chhimtuipu districts as belonging to separate tribal groups different from the Mizos. In their nature they are also a member of Kuki-Chin tribe like Lusei of the middle and northern Mizoram. But, it is note worthy that their likings and decision to a political field may be demarcated within their own area.

The census of India, 1971 recorded the total population of the Lushai hills districts as 3,32,390. The language-wise break-up was, Lusei (in Mizo language) or Lushai (by the British) 2,41,978, Chakma speaking people were 22,393, Pawi or Lai were 20,441, Mara or Lakher were 12,870, Hmar were 7,850 and other Kuki tribes were 7,510. The 1981 census recorded the total population was 4,87,774. The number of Chakma rose up to 39,905 with a percentage of 8.18 % out of the total population of Mizoram in 1981 from 6.73 % in 1971. While the population of Chhimtuipui district was 41,142 in 1971 and 66,420 in 1981. Out of this total, by observation through the statistical record and facts on the distribution of Chakmas, we can aptly say that out of the total population of Chhimtuipui district almost half was the number of Chakmas.

The ethnic diversity and the nature of interaction among the tribes and sub-tribes living therein had influenced the nature of political participation and their perceptions. The Mizo voters were very critical on the roles of different political parties in the elections. Before 1987 election, general voters of Mizoram supported political party, which could help and protect them from the excessive harassment of the people by the security forces in Mizoram during insurgency period. Secondly, they supported the party which could take a step and prepare ground for peaceful settlement of the Mizo problems. The Congress victory of 1984 was also because of the Congress party promised the people, if voted to power, they would finalise the negotiation for peace between the Government of India and the MNF. It is clear in the hearts of Mizo voters that any leader

or party opposed the underground MNF has a poor chance of winning election. In 1987 election, the MNF party was voted to power with absolute majority seats (24 out of 40 seats). In the Socio-economic aspects of the voters, the main considerations are Age-structure, literacy, religious composition, racial mixed, occupation and annual family income. It is undoubtedly true that the socio-economic factors played important role at the time of elections. But due to the complex phenomena, it can not be out rightly stated to affect the electoral patterns in every election for everywhere.

In fact, the role of social condition and economy of the people may be different from region to region and from election to election. Therefore, proper understanding of the regional problems for a particular area is necessary before any conclusion is drawn. The following heads will give some of the important attribute of the socio-economic aspects of the electorates in the entire constituencies of Mizoram.

a. Age structure, Sex ratio, & Literacy: Age structure is one of the most important to understand the regional structure of the study area. Unfortunately, there is no proper data after 1981 census regarding the detail age-structure to each constituency.

There is only 4.62 % in the age group of 60 and above, while the active population in the age-group of 15-59 constituted 55.60 % of the total population. In 1981, the dependency ratio for the whole state was 79.49 and it was 80.49 at Aizawl district and followed by Chhimtuipui district with 78.56, it was 76.39 in Lunglei district.

The maturity index for Mizoram in 1981 was 83.69, and it was 82.49 in Aizawl district, 87.49 in Lunglei district and 84.71 in Chhimtuipui district. The aging in Mizoram was 11.68 in 1981. The regional variation among the three districts was not significant. The lower value of aging indicates that there were a larger proportion of elderly persons to children in Mizoram. The age median was 19.57 indicating the mid-point of the sum total of population of various age groups, so that half of the population was assumed to be either below or above the ratio. In the constituent district, it was highest in Lunglei district with 20.10, lowest in Aizawl district with 19.37; it was 20.01 in Chhimtuipui district. The adult age group is biologically the most reproductive, economically the most

productive and demographically the most mobile⁶. Therefore, the analysis reveals that the population and structural composition of Mizoram depicts 50 % of the population could exercise their adult franchise in elections of 1984 and 1987.

Table 4.1
AGE DISTRIBUTION INDICES OF MIZORAM, 1981

State/ District	Aging Index			Maturity index			Dependency Ratio			Median
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	
Mizoram	11.68	11.07	11.48	83.69	92.70	76.55	79.49	73.29	84.58	19.57
Aizawl	11.91	11.77	12.20	82.49	88.23	76.40	80.82	75.82	85.78	19.37
Lunglei	11.67	11.23	12.03	87.49	96.67	77.36	76.39	69.97	84.31	20.10
Chhimituipui	10.21	10.18	10.22	84.71	93.22	75.91	78.56	74.10	83.66	20.01

Source: Calculated from Census of India, Series 31 Mizoram Part III (A&B). Part IV(A)

The sex ratio in Mizoram decrease steadily during the last three decades and was slightly increased during 1981 to 1991. The numbers of females per 1,000 males in Mizoram were 1041, 1009, 946, 919 and 924 in 1951, 1961 1971, 1981 and 1991 respectively. The sex ratio in Mizoram had shown a higher trend than the sex ratio for all India during the entire period of 1901-1991

Table 4.2
LITERACY RATES IN MIZORAM, 1961-1991

Year	Persons	Male	Female
1961	51.24	62.25	40.34
1971	62.71	70.15	54.75
1981	74.26	79.37	68.60
1991	81.23	84.06	78.09

Source: Demographic diversity of India, a reference book.

Note: children in the age group of 0-6 are treated as illiterates in 1991 census.

⁶ Trewartha, 1969. p.122

Out of the total literate persons in Mizoram, 62.25 % belonged to the male gender while female represents only 40.34 % in 1961. And the percentage of male was 79.37 % and 68.60 % in 1981. Along with the increased in the total literates, the percentage share of both the gender also increased. Mizoram exhibits higher literacy percentage in the cases of both males and females than the nation.

Table 4.3
LITERACY RATES BY RESIDENCE AND SEX, MIZORAM 2001

1	Total	Person	84.20 %
		Male	87.36 %
		Female	80.74 %
2	Rural	Person	74.81 %
		Male	80.39 %
		Female	68.71 %
3	Urban	Person	96.40 %
		Male	96.40 %
		Female	96.39 %

Source: Census of India, Mizoram, Series 16. Provisional paper -2 of 2001

b. Religious composition: In Indian context, religious composition form one of the most important factors in every sphere of life. No exception in Mizoram, the religious composition of the voters highly controlled the vote turned out in every election. During 1961-1991, there was very few variety of religion in Mizoram. Unlike most of the other states of India, Mizoram is marked by a monopoly of a single religion which is Christianity. The reason can be best explained by socio-cultural factors; as the region is dominated by a high tribal concentration with no significant ethnic and cultural diversities. The other religions pursued by small sections are Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism and Jainism.

Table 4.4
POPULATION COMPOSITION BY RELIGIOUS GROUP, 1981

Religion	Persons	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	% to totals population	Decadal growth rate
Christian	4,13,840	2,07,485	2,06,355	995	83.81	44.63
Buddhist	40,429	21,073	19,356	919	8.19	78.52
Hindu	35245	25660	9585	374	7.14	66.02
Muslim	2205	1812	393	217	0.45	17.16
Sikh	421	376	45	120	0.09	1.41
Jain	11	7	4	571	negligible	266.67
Others	1,606	826	780	944	0.32	N.A

*Source: 1. Census of India, 1981 Series 31, Mizoram Paper 1.
2. Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 1987*

Above 80 % of the total population belonged to Christianity while Hindus and Buddhists were less than 5 % in 1981. Besides, Christianity, Hindu and Buddhists, no other religions were significant. Yet, the high percentage of Buddhists was because of Chakma immigrants, who traditionally belong to Buddhism. It is no doubt that population who belongs to other religions except Christianity and Buddhism, was mainly concentrated in urban areas.

The majority of the voters belonged to Christianity; but the percent of non-Christian also very influential to the few constituencies like Tlabung and Chawngte. In Tlabung constituency, there are 58.28 % Christians, 18.33 are Hindu, 20.16 belongs to Buddhism while 3.23 are belongs to other religious group.

Right from the region has experienced democratic elections, all the constituencies except Tlabung and Chawngte constituencies, never have candidates who does not belong to Christianity; and it is interesting to note that in Tlabung constituency no Christian have been elected since the election was started.. As stated in Chapter I, a large number of

Chakma are concentrated in Tlabung surrounding areas, making so many small villages and settlement sites. Therefore, it is very influential in voting for all the elections.

c. Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes

Table 4.5
SCHEDULED CASTE AND SCHEDULED TRIBE POPULATION, 1981

State/District	Scheduled Tribe	% to total population	Scheduled Caste	% to total population
Mizoram	461,907	93.54	135	0.02
Aizawl	320,088	94.06	81	0.02
Lunglei	79,607	92.01	17	0.01
Chhimtuipui	62,212	93.66	37	0.05

Source: Census of India 1981, series 31 Mizoram Part II(B)

The table clearly demonstrates that the percentage of scheduled tribe to the total population was above 90 % for all the three districts of Mizoram in 1981. In contrary, the percentage of scheduled caste to the total population was less than 0.10 % in 1981. The scheduled tribe population was dominated largely by the Mizos or Lusei with 77.23 % in 1971. The second largest scheduled tribe in Mizoram was Chakma who comprised of 7.14 %, Pawi or Lai with 6.52 % occupy the third place followed by Lakher or Mara with 6.25 %, Hmar with 2.50 %, Khasi and Jaintia with 2.50 %. Among the scheduled caste, Dhupi or Dhobi are the dominant caste with 80.48 % followed by Muchi/Pichi comprising of 9.75 %, Mahara with 3.65 %, both Dholi and Hira constituting 2.43 % each and Newesudra with 1.21 %.

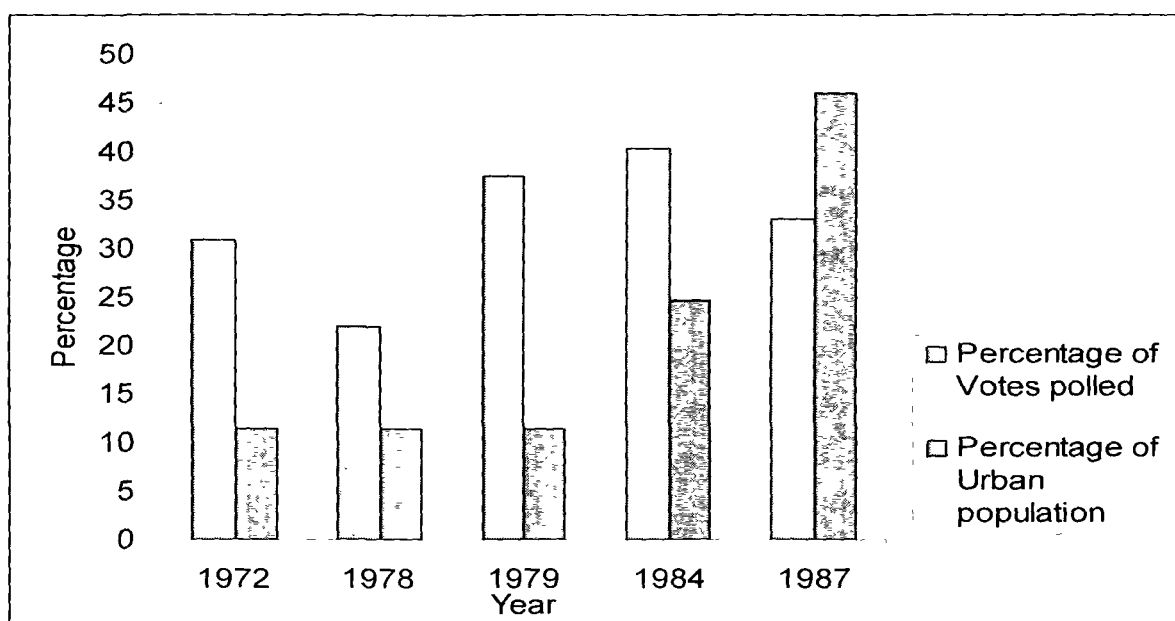
d. Rural-Urban Variation

In 1951, there was only one town in Mizoram. The number increased to 2 in 1971 and further to 6 in 1981 census. With the increased in the number of population in

urban areas, the number of population in rural areas was decreasing. The gap between rural-urban populations widened during the decade 1961-1971 due to regroup of villages as a result of insurgency. The growth rate of rural population during 1961-1971 was 17.01 % and rural population was 164.85 %. The growth rate of rural population was 26.24 % and urban population was 222.61 % during 1971-1981.

Fig.4.1

TREND OF PERFORMANCE OF PC IN MIZORAM ELECTIONS & URBAN GROWTH



A wide difference between the growth rate of urban and total population reflects towards rural-urban migration. According to the data available, there were 1.87 lakh migrants constituting 56.4 % of total population in Mizoram in 1971, of which 1.64 lakh were rural and 0.23 lakh were urban migrants. In 1981 census, migrants constituted 44.2 % and 46.4 % of the total population according to place of birth and last place of residence respectively. In this year, out of the 2.18 lakh migrants, 1.47 lakh were rural and 0.71 lakh were urban migrants.⁷ One of the important reason of rural-urban migration

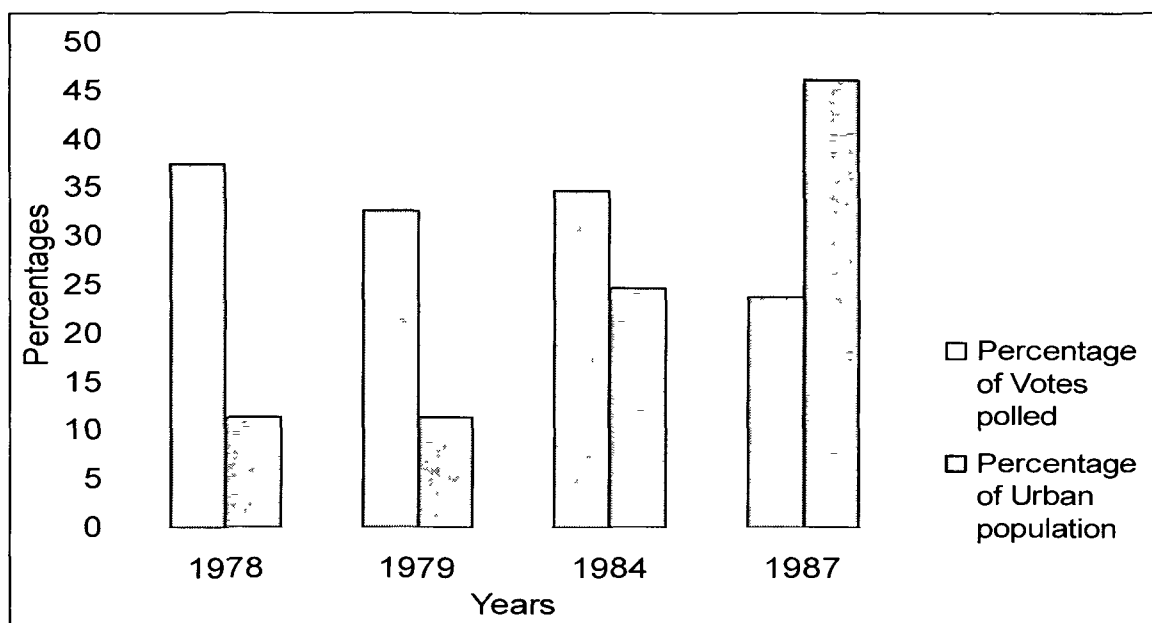
⁷ Agarwal and Prasad. p.215

was a high degree of mobility of agricultural labour forces with the decline of agriculture in rural areas due insurgency with its counter attacks by Indian army and consequent growth of the economy as a whole due to developmental activities taken up by the government during the early plan period. On the other hand, urban labour forces has traditionally very low geographical mobility and try to concentrate with a very close area where they think that they get better opportunity. Naturally, the growth of urban areas with the decline of rural population, it must be the result of concentration of commercial and tertiary activities in more developed areas.

In conclusion, different strata in Mizo society provided different choices to their own representatives. Similarly, the different Mizo tribes like Hmar, Paite, Pawi or Lai and Lakher or Mara, etc. have their own likings. Whereas the Chakmas mostly supported congress and the Reangs also seek for their advantage in selecting their own represents.

Fig.4.2

TREND OF PERFORMANCE OF INC IN MIZORAM ELECTIONS & URBAN GROWTH



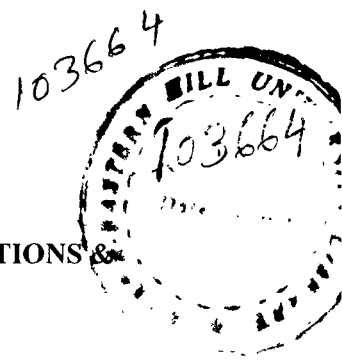
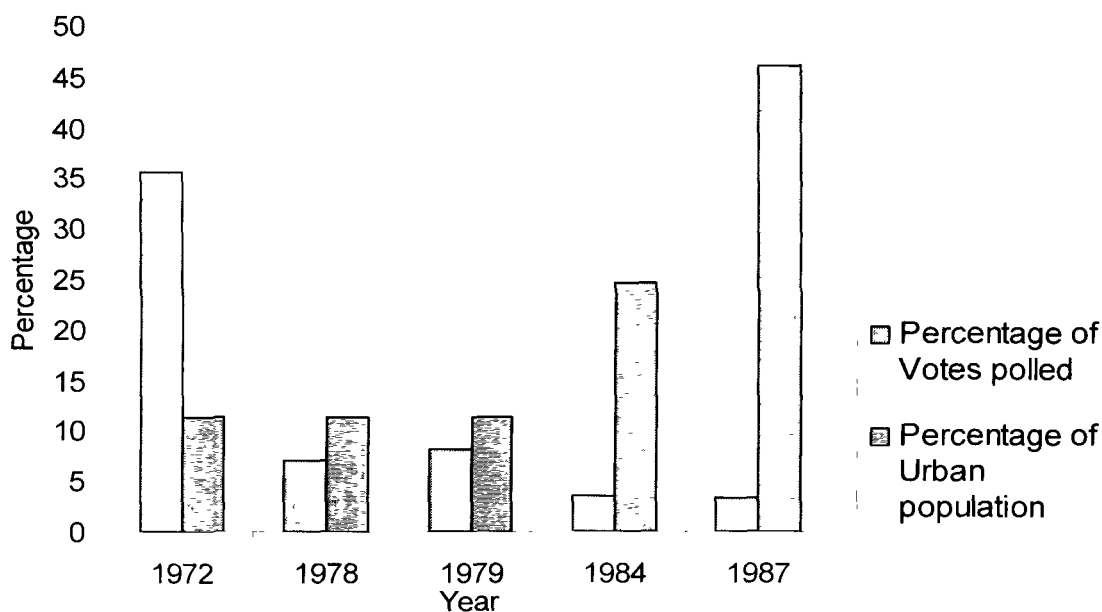


Fig.4.3

**TREND OF PERFORMANCE OF MIZO UNION IN MIZORAM ELECTIONS &
URBAN GROWTH**



4.3. ECONOMIC FACTOR

Due to the political movement made by the MNF outfits, there were no proper issues regarding economy of the region during 1971-1987. All the bureaucrats, politicians, social workers and even church leaders seek for peace and harmony for the region. The occupational structure of Mizoram and the changes in the number of working population, who were eligible in adult franchise, will shows the needs and the mind set of the people.

The main economic base was agriculture and its allied activities, while lesser percentage of the population was engaged in secondary and tertiary sector of occupations.

The Indian government, for security measures, has applied Protected and Progressive villages (PPV), New Grouping Center, Voluntary Grouping and Extended Loop Area during 1967-1970, which deeply hampered and retarded the economic growth

of Mizoram. Even when they occupied their own area in 1972, the egalitarian society was hindered to get what they needs. But, it is unfortunate that mass of the people did not care for their economic condition. It is note worthy that without peace and harmony no development scheme or plans will be in success.

One of the most significant reasons of the thumping victory of Mizo Union in 1972 U.T. legislative election was that the Congress government at the centre, with help of Mizo Union, was able abolished the special privileges of the Mizo Chiefs and thus endeared itself to the people, who had suffered exploitation at the hands of these Chiefs for a long time.

When the Mizo District council was upgraded in to Union territory, new economic opportunities based on educational attainment, government services, contract works and other new occupations have existed. Political leaders are who can successfully manipulate the new opportunities regardless of their traditional status. However the need to transfer power into economic means in order to retain or further power means that politics has become a means to an end in itself. The PC party with its avowed policy of preservation of tribal identity and bringing about political normalcy under the guise of MNF leanings, emerged as the major party in 1977 parliamentary election, 1978 and 1979 assembly elections. Moreover, the PC party proposed about the immediate need of the hour was power generations, which entice huge percentage of intellectuals. The same could be said of the Congress which came to power in 1984 mainly because of the promise to bring about political settlement between the MNF and the Central Government which it could manipulate to its advantage. In addition, one of the most significant reason of MNF winning in 1987 State' first election was their manifestos concerning economy of the people like ministry free from corruption, improvement of transport and communication, to minimise a gap between the rich and the poor.

The emergence of cash economy also changes the developmental cycle in a big way. The declining agricultural yields following the disturbed agricultural system as a result of grouping of villages made cash economy and cash transaction indispensable. People were apt to think in terms of personal appeal to activities outside jhum cultivation

in considering their future course of life. This creates conflicting interests within the Mizo society.

Table 4.6
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF MIZORAM IN 1981

State / districts		Total	Primary occupation		Secondary occupation		Tertiary occupation	
			Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Mizoram	Total	206064	153176	73.84	6563	2.21	49316	23.9
	Rural	165631	140325	84.27	1428	0.86	24060	16.5
	Urban	40433	11351	29.31	3144	7.77	25437	62.9
Aizawl	Total	140723	102716	72.98	3912	2.77	34101	24.23
	Rural	108218	93201	86.12	1085	1.00	13913	12.85
	Urban	32510	9515	29.26	2806	8.63	2053	62.29
Lunglei	Total	36031	26029	72.24	468	1.29	9535	26.46
	Rural	30289	24442	80.69	223	0.73	5620	18.55
	Urban	5746	1587	27.61	254	4.26	3915	68.13
Chhimtui pui	Total	29305	23432	79.95	191	0.65	5682	19.33
	Rural	27125	22682	83.61	99	0.35	4348	16.02
	Urban	2177	1066	48.96	93	4.27	1345	61.78

Source: Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 1981

The Congress party laid emphasis on the establishment of peace and was more concerned with the peaceful settlement of the Mizo political problem for the rapid development of Mizoram. The party came to the people with its programme for urgent economic development and comprehensive social reforms. It also promised to modernize and improve agriculture. The party further emphasized the industrialization of state. Though, a mass of the people were interested to the Congress manifestos, but the people of Mizoram were in confusion to choose which political party will be the right choice for them among the political parties. The Mizoram Democratic Front stressed on to minimize the economic inequality prevalent among the Mizos, while the Mizo Labour Party also promises to modernize and to improve agriculture in Mizoram. In fact, Mizo Union, PC political party, Congress I party and MNF political party the main political parties in Mizoram during 1972-1987.

In the Socio-economic aspects of the voters, the main considerations are Age-structure, literacy, religious composition, racial mixed, occupation and annual family income. It is undoubtedly true that the socio-economic factors played important role at the time of elections. But due to the complex phenomena, it can not be out rightly stated to affect the electoral patterns in every election for everywhere. In fact, the role of social condition and economy of the people may be different from region to region and from election to election. Therefore, proper understanding of the regional problems for a particular area is necessary before any conclusion is drawn.

The economy of a region is the ultimate portrait of its geographical environment. The knowledge of a region's geographical condition and its economic condition is always pertinent to planners and policy makers to devise appropriate scheme for development of the region.

The economic life of the Mizos has always been centered on *jhum* or shifting cultivation. In pre-British days inter-tribal inter-village feuds kept the Mizo within the confines of certain areas. In those days the Mizo were nomadic in nature.

While India's economy stood below average at global context; Mizoram is one of the least developed states of the Indian Union. The reason is often attribute to its extreme and isolated location and various geographical constraints like topography, soil texture and political instability. It is, in fact, true to say that the Mizo people who lived within the Mizoram were self-sufficient in their way of life in the pre-colonial period.

In 1961, the total workforce for Mizoram was 1, 25,865 persons out of the total population i.e.2, 66,063. Out of this total workforce 41% were engaged in primary sector of occupation, which includes cultivation, forestry, fishing, mining and quarrying, trade and commerce, hotel and restaurant, real estate ownership, etc. while only 0.20% were engaged in secondary sector, which includes manufacturing, construction, gas and water supply, etc. and 5.86 % out of the total workforce were engaged in tertiary sector, which includes transport, storage, communication, etc. In the year 1971, the working population who engaged in primary sector was decreased to 38.39%, while secondary sector and tertiary sector were slightly increased to 0.23 % and 6.98 %. The total population of

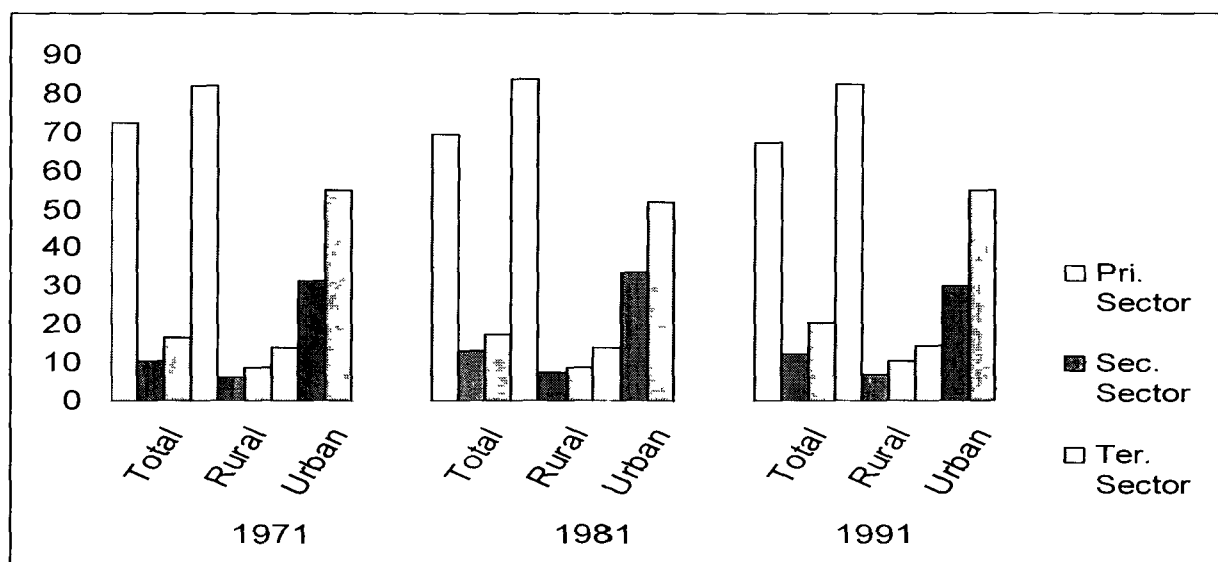
Mizoram was 3, 32,390 and the total working population was 1, 51,619. Moreover, the total population of Mizoram was 4, 93,757 in 1981 and the working population also raised to 2, 06,064. Out of the total working population as high as 25.35 % persons were doing primary activities while only 0.92 % were engaged in secondary activities, and 9.98 %b were engaged in tertiary activities.

Table 4.7
SECTORAL SHIFTING OF MIZORAM WORKFORCE

	1961	1971	1981	Annual growth rate (in %)
Total population	266063	332390	493757	5.31
Decadal growth rate	35.61	24.93	48.55	
Total workforces	125685	151619	206064	4.37
In persons	47.23	45.61	41.73	
Total non-worker	140378	180771	278693	6.15
In persons	52.76	54.39	58.27	
Primary workers	109551	127621	125186	2.42
In persons	878.16	84.14	73.85	
Secondary workers	535	770	4563	47.73
In persons	0.43	0.51	2.21	
Tertiary workers	15599	23228	49315	16.15
In persons	12.41	12.32	23.93	

Source: Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 1961, 1971, 1981

Fig.4.4
SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL-URBAN WORKERS, MIZORAM



Source: Statistical handbook of Mizoram, 1971,1981,1991

It is observed that the total number of persons who were engaged in primary activities for their livelihood was decreased whereas the number of persons in the secondary and tertiary activities was slightly increased.

In addition, there were some important differences between rural and urban areas in the three districts of Mizoram. It clearly shows that the mind set and the desire of the people of Mizoram. As high as 72.98% of the total population were doing primary activities for their livelihood in rural areas of Aizawl district in 1981, while it was only 29.26 % in its urban areas. 80.69% of rural population of Lunglei district was affianced in primary activities while it was 27.61 % in its urban areas. And the percentage of population of Chhimtuipui district who was affianced in primary activities was 86.61 % in rural population while it was 48.96 % in urban population in 1981. The percentages of rural population who were engaged in secondary activities were 2.77, 0.73 and 0.35 in Aizawl, Lunglei and Chhimtuipui districts in 1981. While the percentages of urban population, who were engaged in secondary occupation, were 8.63, 4.26 and 4.27 in Aizawl, Lunglei and Chhimtuipui districts in 1981. The percentages of rural population

who were engaged in tertiary activities were 24.23, 18.55 and 16.02 in Aizawl, Lunglei and Chhimtuipui districts in 1981. But, the percentages of urban population who were engaged in tertiary activities were 62.29, 60.13 and 61.77 in Aizawl, Lunglei and Chhimtuipui districts in 1981. It is clear that the occupation of the urban people is almost similar. The people of Mizoram who lived in urban places were mostly affianced in tertiary activities in their occupation; while the rural people were mainly betrothed in primary activities.

Therefore, as the people of rural and urban areas were differ in their occupation, their way of life, likings, dislikes, mind set, choice and desires are differ too. Hence, political parties, non-governmental organisation, ruling ministry, etc. should be careful for what they proposed to the people of Mizoram. All the political parties try to do the right thing to the right people. The political parties were only trying to woo the voters to win their votes by making emotional appeals. There was not much difference on the point of economic backwardness of the state and needs for improvement. In 1987 election, the MNF party was voted to power with absolute majority seats (24 out of 40 seats) due mainly because that the party suit tribal sentiments of Mizos and they promised to minimize the increasing gap between the rich and the poor.

From the analysis of the election manifestoes of the national and regional parties it has been found that no party emphasized the progressive measures to bring the socio-economic transformation in the traditional society of the Mizos. In general, majority of the voters were politically aware about the programmes and ideologies of their parties and had access to the information sources, particularly, newspapers and radio to keep them well acquainted about the elections and the electioneering.

The voters' affiliation with the political parties is quite high. The number and percentage of voters having the party affiliations is somehow difficult to observed, but it is undoubtedly true that, for the entire Mizoram, it is more than 35 %.⁸ On the other hand, voters with a regional political party affiliation are observed from Mizoram and it is more than 20 % of the voters. Interestingly, even female voters are attached with the political

⁸ Extract from offices of various political parties of Mizoram by the scholar.

parties in Mizoram. The voter's affiliation to the regional parties is higher than the combine number of the voters who affiliated themselves to the national parties and the non-party men in Mizoram. Yet, it is quite critical; the results from the previous elections show the domination of a particular party. A high percentage of voters' affiliation with political parties reveals that the voters in Mizoram cast their votes in party-line.

The percentage of voters' participation in election shows the interest of the people. It can be observed easily from the time sequence reports on the Election of Mizoram State Legislative Assembly, prepared by Election Commission, Mizoram. In Mizoram state as a whole the voters' participation shows a dynamic trend. The percentage of voters' participation are 72.55, 62.99, 68.33, 75.13 and 72.63 in 1972, 1978, 1979, 1984 and 1987 respectively. From the first legislative election to the second in 1978 it shows a declining trend by 9.56. But it was slightly increasing till 1984 election; and again the percentage of voters' participation was decline from 75.13 in 1984 to 72.63 1987, which was till higher than the first legislative election.

Unfortunately, except the latest general election, there are no proper records on sex wise participation in the previous elections. In the last general election 2003, the sex wise participation in the three assembly constituencies is very interesting. In Lunglei north and Tawipui constituencies the percentages of female voters are higher than their male counter-parts i.e. 49.47 to 50.52 in Lunglei North and 48.18 to 51.81 in Tawipui. Yet, it is quite precise to mention that the percentages of female participation along with their male counter part, to the Mizoram elections, are very high.

For instance, the percentage of female participation in the last election in Lunglei North constituency exceeded their male counter-parts i.e. 52.53 to 47.46. In addition, in Tawipui constituency, the percentages are 50.51 of male and 49.48 of female.

It is quite significant that the voters' participation is highly control by the age-structure in the study area. There was no polling station nearby in areas of western part of Lunglei district bordering Bangladesh, which is mostly occupied by Chakmas, therefore aged persons could not walk by foot to far distance polling station and lost their chance to choose during 1972-1987.

The consideration factors may vary from area to area and constituency to constituency. But for the entire Mizoram, the main consideration points are almost the same. The main consideration for the voters to cast their votes was the personality of the candidates, loyalty to the particular political party, tribe and clan prejudices and other considerations.

In all the constituencies, the single dominant factor was that of tribe and clan consideration. For instance, the combined votes of Chakmas keep on succeed the selected votes of any Mizo clans in Tlabung constituency till today. The candidates' personality also plays an important consideration. It is significant especially in urban areas, and it is influential mainly to the youth and the intellectuals. It is observed from leaders from different political parties that the consideration because of party loyalty shows the least percentage. The other considerations may be money power, religion, conveyance to polling station, etc. Moreover, in some places like Tlabung, Mamit and Chawngte constituencies, voters have cast their votes with a tribe/clan consideration due to the constituency inhabited different ethnic tribes. In addition, the percentage of the other factors i.e. money power, religion, conveyance of polling station is also higher in Tlabung, Mamit, Chawngte, etc. due to the higher racial mixed, different religious group, disloyalty to party, etc. The other factors played significantly to rural areas, or where voters are poor and ignorant.

The important sources of information with regard to election include newspapers, radio, election meeting, house to house campaign, hanging poster, etc. But, it is true to say that the sources of the voters in rural areas are limited. An effective changed was witnessed for urban areas that electronic media like TV are also used for giving information to the electorates. However, for rural electorates, radio and election meeting are the main sources of information for the electorates.

The majority of male voters got information of election through newspapers and election meetings while the female voters got from other sources. Moreover, the male voters who are enthusiastic in the political affairs than female counter part have mostly gather information through newspapers and meetings. The modern electronic media

except radio does not seem to be much important sources as the region is mostly rural in character.

The voters' understanding of a particular party and the candidates they have votes has been observed to be very high in all the constituencies. The higher percentage of voters with a personal knowledge of the candidates and the party to which they belonged has been observed in urban areas. It reveals that the electorates in urban constituencies are more politically aware than the electorates in the other two constituencies.

The persons influencing the voters' decision are the parents, friends, the village council and others. The above persons are to be the most important influencing the decisions of the general voters in the study area of Mizoram. Among all the persons, the parents are one of the most influential persons as the highest percentage voted according to the choice of their parents. Influences of other factors ranked second in all the constituencies, while influences of friends stood at last.

In some constituencies, which comprise a larger number of non-Mizo tribal populations, the maximum number of voters has been influenced by the parents, and the village council also plays a significant role. For instance, in Tlabung constituency, 80.19 % are influenced by the parents, 71.56 % in Lunglei north and 92.21 % in Tawipui constituencies. The reason for taking their own decision in Lunglei North constituency can be related to the political awareness and maturity in general than the other two constituencies where the individual voters have a lesser role.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Mizoram, previously known as the Lushai Hills or Mizo Hills, lies in the southernmost corner of north-east India. The area has an international boundary with Bangladesh and Myanmar. The exact length of this international boundary in the west with Bangladesh is 404 Km. and in the east with Myanmar is 318 Km. and the state has inter-state boundary with Assam on the North (123 Km), Tripura on the North West (66 Km.) and Manipur on the North East (95 Km.). In this way, about 75 percent of her boundaries are bounded by foreign countries.

It covers an area of 21,087 Square Kilometer, which constitutes 0.64 percent of the total geographical area of India and has a population of 8,91,058 in 2001, and density of population is 42. According to 2001 Census, 49.50 % of the population of Mizoram lives in urban areas. It was witnessed that the percentage of urban dwellers is increased from 46.10 % in 1991. The total number of tribal population is as much as 88.18 % while non-tribal accounts only 11.81 % out of the total population in 1991. According to Census of India, there are 22 notified towns in Mizoram; and as much as 50.5 % of the total population lives in rural areas.

Mizoram comprises eight administrative districts and 22 rural development blocks, three autonomous district councils and 23 sub-divisions. Mizoram is one of the 28 states of the Indian union; she has got her statehood in 1987. Its length from North to South is about 277 Km and width from East to West is about 121 Km. The longitudinal and latitudinal extent of Mizoram falls between 92°16'E to 93°26'E and 21°56'N to 24°31'N.

Mizoram comprises predominantly of difficult mountainous terrain with narrow valleys. The mountain ranges in this region running in North to South direction, which tends to be higher in the east than the west. There are a number of parallel hill ranges separate each other by deep and narrow valleys occupied by sedimentary rocks of conglomerates, sandstones, shales, etc. and their various inter-mixture.

The climatic condition of Mizoram in general is cool and wet. Mizoram enjoys a moderate climate owing to its tropical location. It is neither very hot nor too cold throughout the year. The Western part is warmer than the Eastern part. The whole region

falls under the direct influence of the South-West Monsoon. As such, the region receives an adequate amount of rainfall. The climate is humid tropical, characterised by short winter and long summer with heavy rainfall.

The traditional social organisation of the Mizo centered on the village. Due to the constant feuds and wars with the neighbouring groups, villages were usually made as large as possible in size and a strong fortress was usually built around the village against any possible attack. The village was the social world of the Mizo sufficient in almost all respect, each village having a particular structural existence different from other villages at the same time retaining a general uniform cultural pattern that was common throughout the hills except in the southernmost corner of Mizoram.

The Mizo traditional political institutions centered round chiefship to which all the legal authority was attached. The Chief was the secular head of a village or a cluster. But the Mizo chiefs were not totally free from constraints. He was guided by the traditional normative rules, which were conventionalised through customary usages. In his village administration, a council of Elders (*Upas*) who were appointed by the chief himself assisted the chief. Besides the *Upas*, the chief had other officials who had discharged other duties in administration and control such were – *Tlangau* (Crier), who announced the orders of the chief to the people, *Thirdeng* (Blacksmith), *Puithiam* (Priest), *Ramhuals* (Advisers to the chief in matter of selection of sites for jhum cultivation), *Sadawt* (Personal priest of the chief) and *Tlahpawi* (Small priest) who assisted *Sadawt*.

The politics of Mizo chieftainship prevailed in Mizoram until the British invaded Mizo areas. A number of raids were conducted by the Mizo chiefs on neighbouring areas which were under the control of the British. This led to a series of expedition into Lushai Hills and came under the control of British in 1891 AD. Lushai Hills came to be known as 'the Lushai Hills District' in 1898. Despite the British policy of least interference, number of steps was taken to curtail the power and freedom of the chiefs. The British did not agree to form local self-government to the Mizos and the administration of the Lushai Hills was also entrusted to the Government of Assam. When the Independence of India

was imminent, Mac Donald, Superintendent of Lushai Hills convened large gatherings of chiefs and commoners at Aizawl in 1946. The conference formed a body designated as “District Conference” to represent and express the political ideas and demands of the Mizos. This was the first political institution ever established on democratic lines in Mizoram. On the recommendation of Bordoloi Committee, the Lushai Hills District Council for Mizos and Pawi-Lakher Regional Council for Pawi-Lakher and Chakma were constituted in 1952 and 1953 respectively. Under the pressure created by the first Mizo political party named ‘Mizo Union’, the Government of Assam passed an Act in 1954, which abolished chieftainship in Mizoram. In place of chieftainship, the village council was established which was elected on the basis of adult franchise; and of authorised to handle all the developmental programmes with the help of the administrative officials within their respective jurisdiction. The District Council and Regional Council were authorised to constitute village councils and village council courts. Since then, village council plays a key-role in the Mizo politics.

The Mizo people were not satisfied with the District Council and another significant event turns the Mizo politics which prompted the political parties to demand statehood for the Mizos. Then, the Mizo District Council was elevated to Union Territory in 1972. The first ever Mizoram Assembly election was conducted in 1972. Moreover, in 1986, Mizoram Union Territory was elevated to Statehood. The first Mizoram State Assembly election was conducted in 1987.

It is no doubt and certain to do but the distribution of constituencies over the state are uneven. The demarcation of constituencies have been done along with the changed in administration system.

It is visible that the higher percentage of the electorates of Mizoram seeks for settlement of peace between the outfits and the national Government. And it is also clear that in some few constituencies there were no advantage for being a particular political party as voters voted for their own clan or sub tribes.

5.1 AREAL-ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS:

The areal-ecological analysis of Voting Behaviour of Mizo electorates to political parties during 1972 to 1987 elections of legislative assembly, Mizoram; has been done by using linear regression.

The voting pattern of the Mizo electorates to the three main political parties for all the elections i.e. 1972, 1978, 1979, 1984 and 1987, have no relationship with the sex ratio of the population.

The urban concentration have played very effective role in the voting patterns to all the three main political parties in 1972 election. It is observed that ~~the~~ though the population of urban area was increasing it is losing its influence to the voting behaviour of the Mizo electorates as time goes by.

The literacy rates also deeply effect the voting patterns in 1972 and it was decreasing as mass of the population were literates. The patterns of the influence of number of scheduled caste have show difference from party to party. No doubt, during previous election, there was not much difference, but it was increasing as the mass of Mizo electorates and other tribal people were awakened to look for their betterment.

It is unbelievable and very interesting to note that the voting pattern of two political parties namely Peoples' Conference and Mizo Union have close relationship with the number of scheduled castes in 1987.

Table 5.1

**R² Values of the Regression of political parties' votes secured economic contexts,
1972-1987**

Name of party	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6
INC	0.8126	0.0521	0.0647	-12.1520	-2.6610	0.0041
PC	0.8800	0.8910	0.3846	-22.6395	6.6195	0.8042
MU	0.0317	0.0014	0.0496	0.5091	0.5541	0.8185
Indp.	0.1031	0.1074	0.0115	-2.3063	-1.2778	0.9313

Note : Multiple regression technique has been used for obtaining overall explanation of the patterns of party performance significant with 0.01 %.¹

Voting pattern with Languages: The non Mizo speaking people support INC in all the elections and the PC party also got strong support from both non-Mizo and the native people, while linguistics difference of the people more or less significant to the Mizo Union; but it was significant for the independent candidates.

Voting pattern with urban developmental context: The development of urban areas or the urbanisation only influenced the voting patterns to PC and MU parties; while it was negatively related to other candidates.

Voting patterns with Literacy: The development of literacy highly influences the voting patterns to MU, PC and independent candidates while it was insignificant to INC.

¹ X1 = Non-mizo languages
X2 = Mizo languages
X3 = Sex ratio
X4 = Scheduled caste
X5 = Urban developmental context
X6 = Literacy

Voting pattern with Scheduled Castes: The number of scheduled caste population played a significant role only to the Mizo Union party. The significance test, for other candidates including independents, showed negative relation.

Voting pattern with Sex ratio: The difference of number of male and female played a significant role for all the party; it was highest to the PC party. It can be said that for the independent candidates, sex-wise distribution of population was almost not significant.

Figure. 5.1

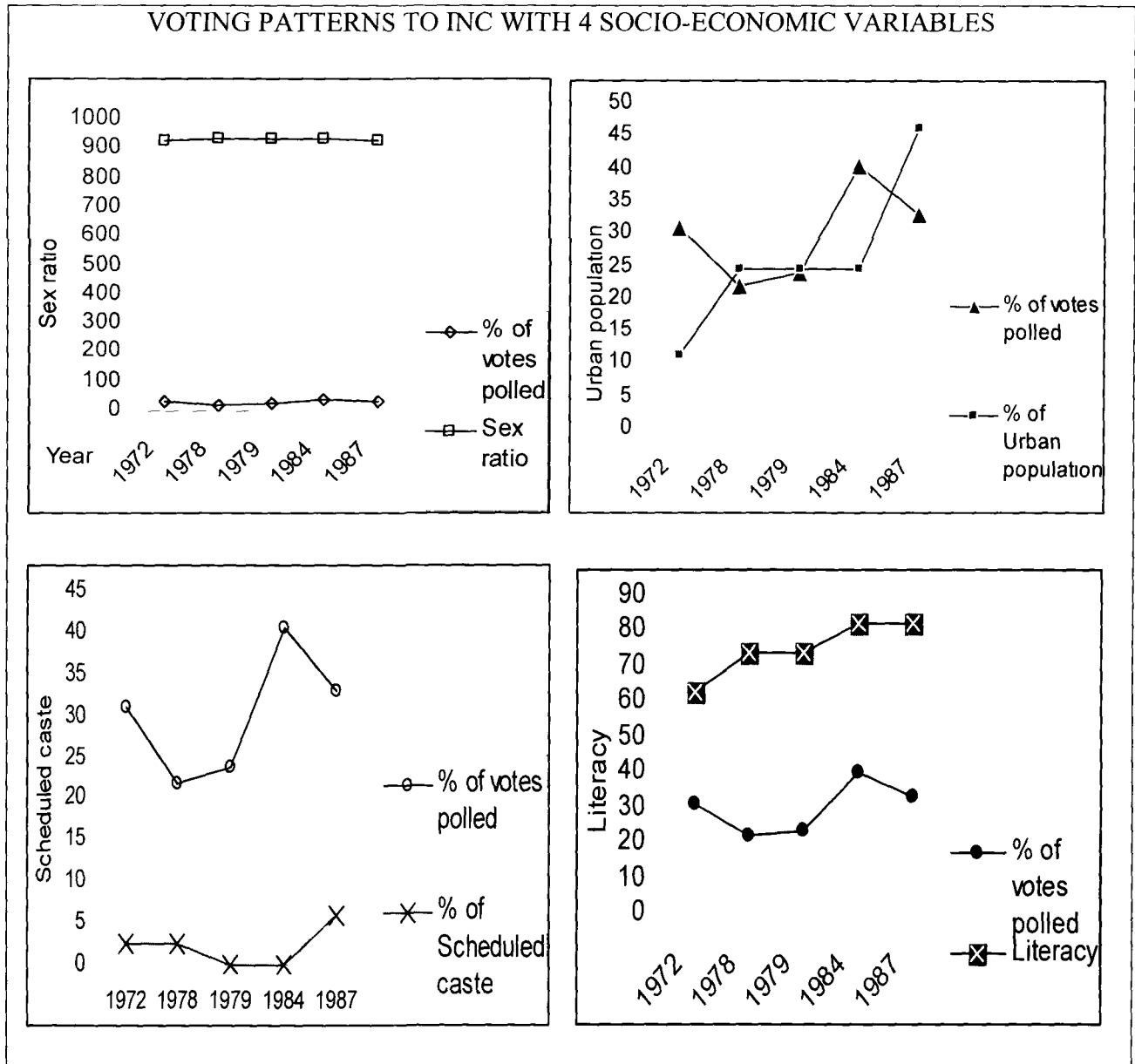
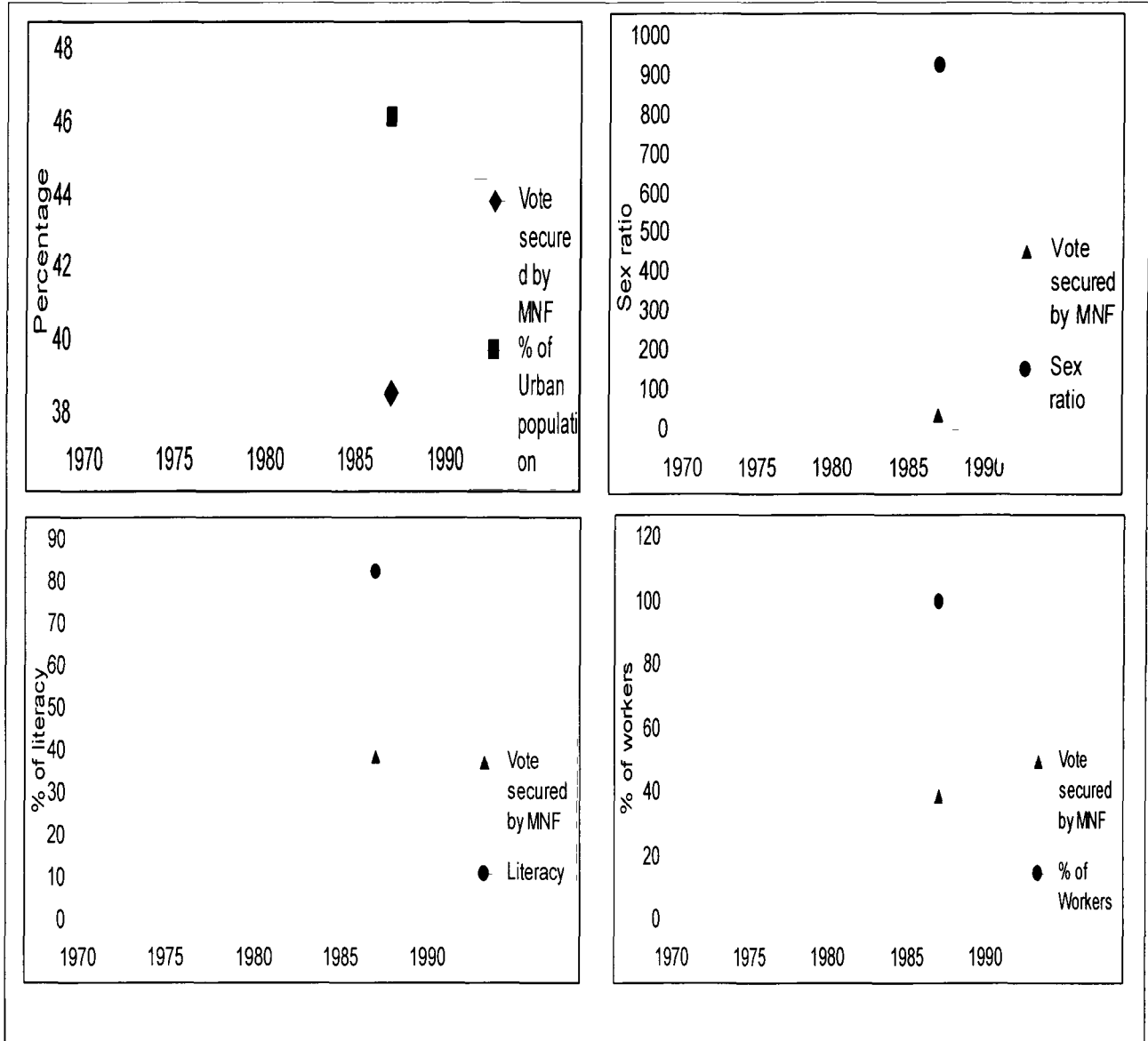


Figure 5.2

VOTING PATTERN TO MNF WITH 4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES, 1987



The above figures showed that the four important socio-economic variables did not significantly influence the voting behaviour to the MNF political party in 1987. In fact, the won of MNF in the first State's legislature was mainly because of nationalism of Mizo or ethnocentrism of Mizo people.

5.2 OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS:

1. The total population of Mizoram was 3, 32,390 in 1971 census, 4, 93,757 in 1981 and it was 6, 89,756 in 1991. In 1981 census, 75 percent of the population of Mizoram lived in rural parts and only 25 percent were in urban areas. However, 1991 census shows a remarkable change in rural-urban population distribution. Out of the total population in 1991, 46.10 percent were lived in 22 towns or urban areas while above 50 percent were lived in different rural areas throughout the region. It indicates that rural dominance of population.

2. In contrast to national figure, the population of scheduled tribes was much higher than its counter-part scheduled castes. The population categorized as scheduled tribe and scheduled caste together accounted for 93.58 percent of the total population in Mizoram. Moreover, the percentage of scheduled tribes was 93.54 and that of scheduled castes was 0.02 only. The percentage of scheduled tribes was increased to 94 percent, and due to the increased in the number of scheduled tribes, the percentage of scheduled tribes was constant. The scheduled tribe concentration was very even in the region as the percentage variation was less than 3 in all the three districts. In Aizawl district, 94.06 percent were scheduled tribes and 0.02 percent was scheduled caste, 92.01 percent were scheduled tribes and 0.01 percent was scheduled caste in Lunglei district and 93 percent were scheduled tribes and 0.05 percent was scheduled castes in Chhimtuipui district. Moreover, the scheduled tribes population was dominated by Lusei and other Mizo tribes with 97.72 percent.

However, the social composition shows a different picture at the sub-divisional levels. The spatial variation on social composition has resulted in a particular pattern of working behaviour, as the people are more conscious of their separate identity. This heterogeneous composition of the social groups also gives rise to ethnocentrism (tribal nationalism) and sometimes even created a condition of social dis-equilibrium especially during elections. It was not much before 1970, but undoubtedly ethnocentrism will grow in Mizo society as well as in Mizoram.

3. Due to the spatial variation in social composition, there has been a spatial variation in electoral behaviour. Each of the ethnic groups has the tendency to vote for their own ethnic group or clan. It was being observed that after the region was elevated to Union territory-hood in 1972. Constituencies like Tlabung and Chawngte were dominated by non-Mizo electorates and was resulted that Mizo candidates never won the battle in these two constituencies. In fact, all the political parties or candidates to the western part of the state need to look for the interest of the non-Mizo electorates.
4. There were 3 constituencies at Chhimtuipui district, 6 at Lunglei district, and 21 at Aizawl district in 1972. It was 5 at Chhimtuipui, 7 at Lunglei and 28 at Aizawl districts in 1987. It indicates that the bulk of the population was concentrated in Aizawl district. Lunglei and Chhimtuipui votes for independents and to INC candidates in 1972. In 1978, the PC party won 2 seats from Lunglei district and dominated the northern constituencies; but not with a single seat from Chhimtuipui district. The PC party got 1 seat from Chhimtuipui district and dominated Lunglei and Aizawl districts in 1979. In 1984, the seats for Mizoram legislature were distributed between INC and PC party. Moreover, urban areas also distributed to the two political parties. In 1987, rural areas of Chhimtuipui and Lunglei district was dominated by INC and urban goes for the MNF party; rural areas of Aizawl district was distributed between the two political parties and urban areas of Aizawl district goes for MNF party.
5. It is seen that distance factor minimised the degree of loyalty and sense of commitments.
6. It is also observed that the Reang voters were important at Tlabung, Buarpui, Kawnpui, Kolasib, Bilkhawthlir, Lokicherra, Kawrthah, Mamit and Phuldungsei constituencies. The Chakma voters also important at Tlabung, Chawngte, Lawngtlai, Lokicherra and Buarpui. Most of the areas are at the western slope of the state. And it is clear that Chakma and Reang populations were concentrated in the western slope of Mizoram.
7. The result of the 1972 election shows that the population cover by the Mizo Union, the winning party was restricted within northern Mizoram. The Mizo Union party

succeeds the first UT legislature without winning a seat from Chhimtuipui and Lunglei district.

8. The people of Chhimtuipui district only goes for a candidates who belong to their own clan.

9. The patterns of voting behaviour and the year by year performance of political parties vividly explains the fact that the people of Mizoram did not vote on the basis manifestos, economic or other social developmental programmes during 1972-1987. It is very interesting and undoubtedly true to note that the people of Mizoram search for the solution for their burden in the political field.

10. The political ministry was hold by Mizo Union during 1972 to 1978 owing its records and strong foundation with capable leaders. The second UT government was run by the Peoples' Conference party during 1978 to 1984 due to its interest of the peace and harmony of the mass population. The Indian National Congress won the battle for Ministry in 1984 with its aptitude to settle the long-spell of disturbance of the region. The Mizo National Front ruled over the state's first legislative assembly due to the nationalism of the Mizo. This shift in political loyalties may be attributed to the overall political development in the state.

11. The location, the historical background and population distribution suggested effective and efficient interaction between the majority and the minority and even more to the other society

12. The people of Mizoram did not vote on the basis of manifestos, economic or other social developmental programmes during 1972-1987. Tradition and consistency for security has exaggerated parochialism.

13. The non Mizo speaking people support INC in all the elections.

14. Sex ratio was significant for all political parties, especially for the PC party.

15. The PC party also got strong support from both non-Mizo and the native people, while linguistics difference of the people was more or less significant to the Mizo Union; but it was significant for the independent candidates.

16. It was also observed that series of administrative measures by district and state administration failed to check the growing unrest of in 1960s and 1970s.

In summing up it can be clearly stated that centrifugal and centripetal forces have consistently influenced the nature and pattern of relationship in the region. With increasing literacy and media system and network the inhabitants are better equipped psycho-socially to gear themselves for greater economic development.

North Eastern India, particularly Mizoram is highly sensitive and geo-strategically most vulnerable. Any neglect of the area would be geopolitically dangerous for the whole nation.

In general, the combination of many factors influences the voting behaviour of the people. These factors are ethnic affinity, caste or clan prejudices, and organisational set-up of the political parties, in search of the solution for long spell problem of insurgency and the image and the personality of the candidates.

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