

# Electoral Dynamics and Party Politics in Arunachal Pradesh: A Study in the Post-1998 Period

**ABSTRACT OF  
Thesis**

SUBMITTED TO THE  
BABASAHEB BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR UNIVERSITY, LUCKNOW  
(A CENTRAL UNIVERSITY)



FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

**Doctor of Philosophy**  
IN  
**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

SUBMITTED BY

*Gukhu Mega*

Enrolment No: 070/19

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

*Prof. Ripu Sudan Singh*

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
SCHOOL OF AMBEDKAR STUDIES FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES  
BABASAHEB BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR UNIVERSITY

(A Central University) (NAAC A++ ACCREDITED)  
VIDYA VIHAR, RAEBARELI ROAD, LUCKNOW-226 025  
UTTAR PRADESH, INDIA

**2024**

*Electoral Dynamics and Party Politics In Arunachal Pradesh: A Study  
In The Post 1998 Period.*

*Abstract*

---

The thesis deals with the **electoral dynamics and party politics in Arunachal Pradesh in the Post 1998 Period**. The study becomes very important and interesting as it has taken one of the most sensitive states in the North East of India i.e. Arunachal Pradesh which shares border with China (1,080 kms), in the North, the Burma (440 kms), in the East, and Bhutan (160), in the West. Arunachal Pradesh occupies very special status in the North East region because of its historical, cultural, social, political and strategic reasons. During the colonial rule the region was considered as a part of greater Assam. In independent India, a special agency was formed named North East Frontier Agency in 1954. The well-known NEFA converted to union territory and renamed as Arunachal Pradesh in 1972. In 1987, it gained the status of full-fledged state of the Indian Union.

The study attempts to unearth and unfold the political narratives and political mobilization of the BJP. It has left great impact on the political culture of Arunachal Pradesh state politics. The study also takes other driven factors in the state by major political parties, national and regional parties. It also looks into the behavioral aspects of people towards political programs, policies, and contributions of different political parties with special emphasis on the Bhartiya Janata Party; one of the dominant parties in the state at present. The attempt has been made to do an objective study so that the politics of Arunachal Pradesh may be compared and contrasted with other states in India in general and all seven states in the North East in particular.

Party politics in Arunachal Pradesh has been in isolation for long years. The comparatively young state among other states of the northeast, Arunachal Pradesh Passed through different stages before it became a full-fledged state as per the Constitution of India in 1987. The stages that Arunachal Pradesh has passed through are; North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT) in 1912-13, North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) in 1954, Union Territory in 1971 and finally statehood stage on 20<sup>th</sup> February 1987. The social and political affairs of the people of Arunachal Pradesh were regulated by the age-old traditional self-governing institutions till the inauguration of

the Panchayati Raj Institution in 1969. Although the introduction of the Panchayati Raj Institution has introduced certain elements of democratic participation proper election system started to take proper shape with the first parliamentary election of 1977 subsequently assembly in 1978 in the state. It was only in the year 1972; Arunachal Pradesh became an independent political entity when it was upgraded as a Union Territory. Tribal voters in Arunachal Pradesh response to democratic process was different from the main stream politics and people are mainly dictate by the society or group in fact members of a clan or lineage group function as extended family. They use to vote for a candidate as he/she is related to the voters either through blood or marriage. In modern times the nature of electoral politics in the state has undergone certain changes, probably due to outcome of restructuring of social and political structures and economic development of the state. The different socio-political situations of the strategic location and tribal-dominated society had shaped the formation of organization patterns in Arunachal Pradesh. A political party or a social organization is the expression of people's consensus in a group. The population structure of Arunachal is varied. On this background, the party politics started in Arunachal.

Electoral politics in a participatory democracy assumes great significance since it is regarded as an index of popular consciousness articulation and participation of the electorate in the decision-making process. Electoral dynamics and party politics are an inevitable part of the democratic political process. It is through this process that representatives are chosen or referendums are decided. Politics is central around it involves the everyday life of an individual or the society as a significant phenomenon which always changes the face of the world politically, socially and economically. From a running household to a running country, politics is an inevitable part of our life. It strongly influences the process of social, economic, and political change as the process toward modern politics. As politics is a process by which a group of people make a collective decision to achieve certain goals, politics becomes a way and means through which particular interests are promoted or achieved. It is maintained that politics is a social relation involving power and authority and refers to the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policies for the promotion of some basic interest.

Political parties are crucial in forming a nation's political system in any political arrangement. It serves as the mechanism by which a system of popular rule is developed. A political system is conceptually defined as the manner in which a government formulates policies and sets up its executive branch. If a political system is sound, it ought to ensure the preservation of peace and order in society and offer channels for resolving complaints and grievances from all citizens. The founding of an Indian National Congress (INC) unit in October 1972 is considered to have marked the beginning of party politics in Arunachal Pradesh. Party politics were first introduced in Arunachal Pradesh, a Union Territory, with the first general election held there in 1977. INC was the sole political party in the state which put up candidates for both parliamentary seats in the 1977 general election.

The competitive party politics has introduced many new players in the state politics. Political parties like Bhartiya Janata party making inroad into Arunachal politics, Though BJP's presence where felt from 1980's when BJP manage to won one seat in 1984 assembly election but visible change started from Post-1998 when National Democratic Alliance came to power at the centre and subsequently political churned in state politics started which led to Arunachal became the first state in north eastern state, where saffront party(BJP) managed to form government in the state under the leadership of shri Gegong Apang.

The thesis has also tried to comprehend and deliberate on the evolution of various political parties in Arunachal in the post-1998 period. After the uncertain and unstable nature of coalition politics from 1989 to 1998, political competition in India gained a degree of stability in the post-1998 period. This is because 1998 marked a watershed moment in the history of Indian politics and unleashed several changes, including the rise of electoral volatility. The narration of the Indian political system as the Congress system by Rajni Kothari was challenged by the emergence of other political parties and central to that party was the Bhartiya Janata Party. It was felt that the system of competition between two fronts has stabilized in the polity, and notwithstanding the decline by the Congress, power will oscillate between two alliances, one led by the Congress called UPA (United Progressive Alliance) and the other by the BJP NDA (National Democratic Alliances).

The study also focuses on the understanding of individual voting behavior and various determinant factors. The objective of this investigation is to find out how a voter reaches the voting decisions. Voting is a means of aggregating individual preferences into collective decisions. Given the colossal dimensions of the modern electorate and the tenuous links between electoral behaviour and government action<sup>1</sup> an equally interesting problem is to identify the reasons why the citizen votes the way they do.

### **State of Problem**

1. Has the state Electoral political narratives changed with the entry of BJP especially post 1998 period due to closer engagement of BJP with its regional affiliation and Mainstreaming of the local with national narratives and its development responses.
2. The national security concern of the BJP has led to a development in border areas and also its spillover effect on the interior. Also, mainstreaming of local art and craft has drawn public support for BJP.

### **Research Questions**

1. What has been the nature of political Mobilization, and other driven factors in the state politics from 1998 to 2019?
2. Whether religious (dharma) phenomena exist in the tribal society of Arunachal, that may play a particular role in the electoral politics of the state?
3. What are the political narratives of various political parties, and how tribe orient people respond to that narrative in the electoral Politics of Arunachal Pradesh?
4. What are the determinant factors for a political party to win the election in the state? Is it ideology, kinship, or candidates' political affiliation?

---

<sup>1</sup> Russell J. Dalton. *Voting behaviour, influences* on in Richard Rose (ed), p.435.

## **Objectives**

- (1) To understanding the interplay of development and identify politics by BJP shaped electoral process in the state from post -1998.
- (2) To analyse and understand the voter's political awareness and evaluate evolving new challenges to Arunachal electoral politics.
- (3) To find the influence of various factor like clan politics, blood relation, gender, income, militant and religious role in electoral dynamics of Arunachal politics.
- (4) To study voter's political attitudes and preference, party identification and the pattern of orientation towards candidates and the political parties.
- (5) To provides overview of general election and assembly election of Arunachal Pradesh.
- (6) To assess the political socialization, political mobilization and also understand how people in the state behave and interacts with the national political parties.

## **Hypothesis-**

1. Post 1998 Period a defining moment for Arunachal Pradesh electoral history as the BJP at Centre entered into an electoral alliance with a regional player has impacted Arunachal electoral politics.
2. Electoral change from a village or tribal politics to modern participatory politics in the state has brought about a shift in the nature of politics at the state level.

## **Methodology**

The study will rely on primary and secondary sources-Primary sources Observation method followed by interview method and questionnaire.

Secondary sources including the government publication, reports with the local administration working paper, seminars, local daily newspaper reports and articles on the topics for its research purpose. The broad study includes Ethnographic, descriptive, and empirical studies. For the study purpose, data has been drawn from

both primary and secondary sources. For the secondary data, books, various related articles, newspapers, magazines, official band sites; and published and unpublished materials were used. For primary data, closed-ended questionnaires, and structured and unstructured interviews were conducted. The researcher found it more appropriate to conduct her study based on a closed-ended questionnaire because it provides great uniformity of responses. Besides researcher has used ethnographic studies based on participant observation and the non-participation observation method was employed.

The researcher took a total of 300 respondents as a sample for the study. The size of the universe of the study is small considering the logistic constraint and the researcher found 300 sample size as ideal for conducting his research. Besides, the researcher chose respondents for interviews with party functionaries, and candidates who contested the election from different Political-Parties present in Arunachal Pradesh. Researcher met 80 respondents drawn from office bearers from the various parties and 20 persons representing those who contested in various posts in state politics in the past. Out of remaining 60, 30 respondents are from the BJP and rest of the respondent represents different other political parties in the state. Such division is needed to draw a politics 100 percent viewpoint of party politics in the state.

Among these 300 respondents from five Assembly Constituencies were further subdivided into different wards and segment. A researcher has selected 300 respondents from five assembly segments from different backgrounds. An effort has been made to represent all sections of the state to represent the state as a whole. There were males and females, different age groups, and diverse social status respondents who were randomly selected by employing the stratified random sampling method technique. While choosing the respondent sample random methods were followed. Adequate attention has been given to seeing that different sections of people or society are represented in the 300 samples.

### **Nature of party politics in Arunachal Pradesh**

The nature of party politics in India varies from state to state. In light of the above discussion, the nature of party politics of Arunachal Pradesh can be summarized as follows:

Unlike other Indian states, the anti-incumbency factor does not seem to work in Arunachal Pradesh. Voters of the state tend to vote for those candidates who are the official nominees of the ruling party of the day. It has been observed that whichever party has been in power at the central, the same party has won the election in Arunachal Pradesh.

Regional political parties are found to be unsuccessful in the state. The wave of regionalism that was witnessed in the late seventies and early eighties died down within a short period of 10 years when PPA merged with Janata Dal in 1989. The second wave of regionalism started with the formation of the Arunachal Congress in 1996 by Gegong Apang but again it was assimilated with INC in 2009. The glory of a regional political party that had a presence in the minds of people during the PPA period seems to be absent in the present context. The only surviving regional party i.e. PPA could secure one legislative assembly seat in the 2019 election. It is commonly believed that the reason for regional political parties not being able to have a larger impact on the state is a lack of independent party resources.

Competitive party politics is still to be seen in state politics. People of the state tend to vote for the candidates who are the official nominees of the ruling party of the day which makes the election one-sided rendering the opposition less effective. Arunachal Pradesh was best known as a 'Congress state' politically for a long time due to the dominance of Congress in the politics of the state for a prolonged period. However, in the present political scenario of the state, the mighty Congress is losing its glory as in 2019 the party could win only four seats in the Assembly election. Though the assembly election of the state has been one-sided every time, the parliamentary election in the state has been quite balanced. There are different political parties as well as independent candidates who have represented the state in parliament since the first Lok Sabha election of the state in 1977.

Voters, as well as candidates of the state, are not ideologically committed to any particular political party. Voters cast their vote for a particular party not because they like the party's ideology but because they support the candidate. Officially nominated candidates of the ruling party at the central are most likely to be voted to power in the state.

Defection is the term used for the opportunistic transfer of loyalties from one political party to another. Defection politics in the state seems to be a very common phenomenon. It is pointed out that in Arunachal Pradesh BJP is Congress and Congress is BJP. Almost every political leader in the state has a history of political defection. The first defection politics in the state had started before the first assembly election in the state in 1978 immediately after the Janata Party government came to power at the central. Subsequently, Gegong Apang became chief minister as a member of INC in 1980 but he defected from the party to form AC in 1996. Further, he defected to BJP in 2003 and again returned to INC in 2004 and stated that 'it feels like a homecoming'. His history of defection does not end there. He again defected to BJP and fought the election as a BJP candidate in the 2014 election but he lost. He resigned from the BJP in January 2019 and contested the election from Janata Dal-United (JDU). P.K. Thungon, Tomo Riba, Mukut Mithi, and Kiren Rijiju similarly have shifted from one party to another. Therefore, legislators in the state defected to the ruling party in the state to seek opportunities and personal profits. It is very rare to find a political leader who has no history of defection in the state.

Kinship seems to be another factor which has an enormous influence on the party politics of the state. The qualities and capabilities of the candidates have a limited impact during the election. However the candidates may be talented in politics and possess good orator skills, it is the kinship and clan factor that plays a significant role in the election. Voters of the state seem to prefer to vote on the kinship line. Further, the distribution of party tickets to contest elections also seems to be influenced to some extent by the number of voters in a particular clan.

Material base politics is the common nature of party politics in general in India and Arunachal Pradesh in Particular. It is observed that the voters of the state are usually influenced by offering a huge amount of money, job offers, vehicles, house building materials, etc. during election time. Therefore, apart from the strong kinship connection, it is believed that the candidates who are the richest among others usually get elected in the election.

Muscle power increasingly is becoming a regular feature of party politics in Arunachal Pradesh. For instance, in 2011, the state witnessed political turmoil which caused the destruction of public as well as private property and took away the lives of

few. In the 2019 simultaneous election, there were 185 Election-related violence reported in the state, which included the destruction of electronic voting machines and obstruction of polling officers in the polling station.

Women's political participation in state politics is not as intense as that of their male counterparts. The political participation of women in the state is limited to the grassroots politics to fulfil the constitutional requirement of 33% reservation. Even at the Panchayati raj level, their political power is exercised by their male counterparts in the real sense. Regarding the participation of women in assembly and parliamentary-level party politics, their involvement is very negligible. In contrast to grassroots politics, there is no constitutional provision to reserve seats for parliamentary and assembly elections contributing to their negligible presence in the party politics at the state as well as national level.

To sum up it can be said that the nature of party politics in Arunachal Pradesh is non-competitive in assembly elections and partly competitive in Lok Sabha elections. Material base politics, non-committed voters and candidates ideologically, absence of strong opposition political party, political defection, ruling party syndrome and so on are some of the common phenomena of the nature of party politics in Arunachal Pradesh.

## **Chapters Plan**

This Research has been divided into Seven Chapter

### **Chapter I first introduced the study and its contexts.**

It deals with the various aspects like the conceptual aspects of the study, origins of democracy in the world and India, the evolution of political parties and party politics in general, party politics in India, the emergences of BJP in Arunachal Pradesh, and Party politics in Arunachal Pradesh. A brief socio-economics profile of the state has been discussed in this chapter. The chapter also discusses the problems of study, objectives of the study, Hypothesis, review of literature, objectives, area of study and method of study.

## **Chapter II: The Electoral Process in the state of Arunachal Pradesh; A Historical Analysis**

In Chapter II Electoral Process in India's State of Arunachal Pradesh: A Historical Analysis. It explains the historical background in which political process in the state of Arunachal Pradesh emerged. An attempt has been made to analyze the electoral performances of the party since traditional village council to the introduction of modern participatory systems in the state.

## **Chapter III: An Overviews of Parliamentary and Assembly Election Post-1998 Period.**

In chapter III An Overview of Parliamentary Elections and Assembly Elections in the Post-1998 Period. In this chapter a brief outline about the successive election in the state from the 1999 to till 2019. This also chapter throws some light on the electoral performance of various political parties in the state in post-1998 period.

## **Chapter IV: Emergence of Party Politics in Arunachal Pradesh**

The chapter deals with the emergence of different political parties in the state. Firstly, it discussed the formation of the Indian National Congress in Arunachal Pradesh, Its ideology, and electoral performances in the state. Secondly, the chapter discusses the formation of People's Party of Arunachal, the reason behind the emergences of PPA, its objectives and ideology, and electoral performances of the party in Arunachal Pradesh. The chapter also discusses the formation of Arunachal Congress (AC), the reason behind the formation of AC, its objectives and ideology and electoral performances of AC in Arunachal Politics. Also study about the other political parties. Lastly, the chapter discusses the nature of party politics in the state.

## **Chapter V: The Resurgence of BJP in the Post-1998 Period**

The chapter analysis the electoral performances of BJP in the state in the post-1998 period and discusses the factor responsible for the win and loss of the party in the state. Separate analysis is made on the electoral performances of BJP in the state assembly election and parliamentary elections.

## **Chapter VI: Electoral Behavior and Voting Preferences**

The chapter discusses people's perceptions based on field survey towards the party in the state. It is based on the field data conducted through questionnaires and interviews with 300 samples.

## **Chapter VII: Conclusion, Findings, and Suggestions**

### **Conclusion**

The conclusion part of the concerned research work includes all the findings of different chapters, along with their criticism and appraisal. The whole thesis consists of seven chapters including the conclusion. The present research under the title "**Electoral Dynamics and Party Politics in Arunachal Pradesh: A Study in the Post-1998 Period**" is a modest study that tries to highlight the facts relating to people's participation in the periodical election. The study includes both formal and non-formal modes of political communication, the involvement of various political parties, the role of the BJP, and the voting behaviour of the voters of the five constituencies, of the state of Arunachal Pradesh. Facts gathered about the mentioned areas give us the nature of the operation of electoral politics of five constituencies. Therefore, it is proposed to briefly highlight the facts about the themes in the following discussion.

The discussion on the voting behaviour of the voters of the five constituencies also shows similar voting behavior followed in other constituencies of Arunachal Pradesh. That is to say, the voters are mainly motivated by similar factors like money, the personality of candidates, muscle power, etc. The voters are often found not following their conscience in favoring their candidates. While this is true in each constituency some voters are loyal to their long-supported party.

### **Major Findings**

Based on the analysis of data following are the major findings

Arunachal Pradesh is least affected by ideological winds that we see in other parts of India, voters are not polarized based on enduring loyalties to political parties.

The majority of party workers have not yet been indoctrinated by the ideology of the party. Even the leaders are more interested in the contesting election and part of government rather than accepting and internalizing the party ideology. (source table 6.22)

The study reveals that the voters are more inclined towards the national political parties at the expense of the regional political parties. The reason for this inclination is that since its inception the party politics of Arunachal Pradesh was guided by central-oriented politics and the party in power at the central has always run the government in the state. Moreover, national political parties have resources and organizational strength which is unmatched to the regional party.

Political parties like NPP, and NCP, and regional parties like PPA and AC have comparatively failed to gain political popularity in state electoral politics. Barring 47 days of PPA rule in 1979 and one year of BJP rule in 2003, the Congress was in the state for almost four decades and there was an electoral myth that has been dominating the state political atmosphere that the political invincibility of INC. However, 2019 Assembly election BJP's resounding victory burst that myth and BJP is now a formidable player in state electoral politics.

The post-1998 period saw the party change at the central, as the BJP came to power, and entered into an electoral alliance with a newly formed regional party called Arunachal Congress but there was no visible electoral impact of that electoral alliance. (source, table 5.4)

Polarization based on the religious line has not yet taken place in the tribal state of Arunachal Pradesh. Though, some minor incidences were reported in some constituencies mass polarization hasn't taken place in the state. (source table 6.27)

The visible change in road connectivity and other development activities in the state is due to the national security concern of the BJP-led government at the central. The majority 45 percent said yes state witnessed a faster pace of development in the border area and spillover effect on the interior parts of Arunachal Pradesh. However, 31.33 per cent said no and the remaining 23.67 per cent either skipped the question or did not respond to the question. (source table 5.6)

A majority of the respondents show similar voting behavior. The voters are motivated by similar factors like money, muscle power, ruling party. Districts like Tirap, Changlang, and Loding district show the dictates of the underground groups in some constituencies which is also one of the factors for a vote for a particular party or candidates. The voters are often found not following their conscience in favoring their candidates. Even, highly educated voters are not an exception to it.

When it comes to choosing party and organizational leaders, candidates and leaders are evaluated based on their election-winning capabilities, strong economic background, ethnic representation, and other relevant factors. Hence, party loyalty, ideological commitment, and seniority of party members are often overlooked or sidelined in most of the parties once the party comes to power.

The overall pattern of political culture, a sample of tribal political leaders of Arunachal Pradesh is different from other parts of the country. There is a different political attitudinal pattern or political psychological orientation of the tribal people of Arunachal Pradesh towards politics and their societal political system. The psycho-cultural approach as conceptualized by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba in their work, "The Civic Culture" has been adopted and his model of political culture constitutes its theoretical foundation. The democratic structure of the country's polity requires four important components to win any election i.e. Leader, organization base, narrative, and alliance but there is one exception to the Arunachal political system, (which means the totality of social behavior) only requires ruling party ticket, money and leader's personality.

The empirical research works to characterize the pattern of political culture of a sample of tribal academician, and tribal political leaders of Arunachal Pradesh. After conducting interviews and investigations, Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba discovered patterns of political culture among individuals. He referred to this political culture as 'committed involvement' culture. This allegiantly-participation has primarily three manifestations. First, institutional confidence, secondly philanthropic confidence, and third norm compliance. Both first and second points are found to be acceptable to the people at large but third norm compliances are subject to conditions.

The study revealed that people of the state are parochial in their thinking. As they preferred to vote without any issue consideration and focusing only on personal gain. A total of 71.33 per cent of respondents said that they cast their vote for their gain in terms of cash and kind, and other local issues by overlooking the state and national issues. Further, in terms of the discussion to vote, it is found that 6.67 per cent of the respondents cast their vote in favor of a particular candidate by their indigenous right consideration. Only 13 per cent of respondents said that the national issue is their main consideration for vote for particular candidates or parties (source table 6.25).

The emergence of modern political processes in the state and the initiation of party politics have helped the people of the state in many ways. It has led to the joining of the frontier state in the national mainstreaming of politics. It helps in raising the level of political consciousness among the people. However, the level of consciousness is restricted to electoral politics only.

The electoral alliance has failed to secure the desired result in the absence of competitive party politics in Arunachal Pradesh. A competitive party politics system in the state has become a distant dream. Voters in the state tend to vote for candidates who are the official nominees of the ruling party of the day.

The study of electoral participation of the people during the study period reveals the people's attitude to democratic periodical elections. It is found that people are supportive of democratic representative institutions. The result is that the electoral process in the state has undergone without hindrances. Both Assembly elections and Parliamentary elections show the differences the people maintained for the two levels of elections. The former appears to be more or immediately relevant to the people. Whereas, the latter is taken conversely.

Electoral change in the state has changed in terms of people's participation and the nature of party politics but not large mobilization of people in the real sense. Electronic media has come in a big way to influence or motivate people to participate in the electoral process.

Defection is another major feature in state politics. Almost every political leader in the state has a history of defection. As per the survey majority of respondents replied that the real causes of political defections in the state are hunger for power and the money-oriented and opportunist mentality of the leaders. It is also believed that the state's over-dependency on the central fund made the leaders more prone to defection.

Influence of muscle power in Arunachal Pradesh politics. It was reported that there were around two hundred election-related violence cases in the 2019 simultaneous election in the state. Destruction of electronic voting machines, booth capturing, and destruction of bridges leads to polling station obstruction of the polling agents and other officials in the poll-bound states. This led to re-polling in some parts of the state in the 2019 elections.

Women's participation in electoral politics of the state has been lesser as compared to their male counterparts. Despite state's women being given 33 per cent reservations in the local grassroots level politics. It was found that the women are getting elected as leaders but their role is played by their husbands. In the state assembly in the 2019 assembly election, there were only 11 candidates contested in Assembly Election and only three candidates successfully won the election. (source interviewed Panchayat Leader Smti Bindu Milli ZPM)

The role of money in the state became very crucial to win the election. There is a proverb "Spend money doesn't guarantee you to win but if you don't spend money, it will guarantee you to lose the election. It is an open secret in the politics of the state that party ideology became irrelevant in state politics. The interesting findings of the survey as per the report in local daily during the election time the banks in the state of Arunachal run out of cash. So, one can argue that money plays a far greater role in the politics of Arunachal Pradesh.

Party politics in the state is not cadre-based politics rather leader-based politics is the reality in the state. The study suggests that the majority of the voters are in consideration of leaders rather than their party affiliation or the Party's ideology.

The study concluded that party activities in the state are entirely focused on electoral politics, and party activities are enhanced during periods of elections. After the election or off-period of the election, they do not participate in party meetings or the propaganda of party policies among the people.

The absence of a robust opposition party in the state legislative assembly and frequent abandonment by party leaders has consistently impeded the socio-economic progress of the state.

In the past, traditional village councils had significant influence over the behavior of individuals in the tribal society of Arunachal Pradesh. However, their impact on the state's electoral politics is gradually diminishing.

Based on the study's findings, specific recommendations have been made to improve the efficiency of the state's political parties.

The state has yet to see a real ideological battle among the parties because party ideologies which are the backbone of every political party in a democratic system. So, various parties and leaders should imbibe and reorient themselves with the ideology. Further, the party ideology needs to be propagated at the mass level in the state.

Arunachal politics are mainly controlled by national political parties like the Congress, and the BJP due to that regional issues hardly come to the front during election times. Hence, regional parties need to be promoted if regional issues are to be priorities. Regional parties like the People's Party of Arunachal, and Arunachal Congress need to win the imagination of the masses.

Money culture should be curbed in the state during elections by strengthening the vigilance and awareness of the local masses. A proper rule should be formulated by the government to check these kinds of anomalies.

To curb the rampant defection in the state politics. Ten schedules of Indian constitutions need to be relooked when it comes to states like Arunachal, as the switching side of MLA after being elected from a particular party shifts loyalty to another party.

Organizational wings of the party matter to connect with the masses as this has been seen in the case of the BJP, other parties need to reflect on this reality. There should be well-established and properly maintained booth-level offices in every constituency.

Discourage the Politicization of criminals, as the politicization of criminals leads to criminalization of politics because when criminals enter into electoral politics, they adopt criminal activities to be in power and to achieve selfish ends. As per the Arunachal Pradesh Election Watch and Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) report 2019, out of 184 contesting candidates for 60 legislative seats in the 2019 election in Arunachal Pradesh, 29 (16%) candidates have criminal records. Nine candidates were from INC, Seven were from BJP, Eight were from NPP, two were from JD (U) (Janata Dal-United) and one each from JD(S) (Janata Dal-Secular) and Independent candidates. Out of a total of 29 candidates, 26 candidates have serious criminal charges against them that include murder, homicides, attempts to murder etc.

### **Validation of Research Hypotheses**

The research hypotheses that have been put up in the beginning of the study are either validated or proved null through this research.

To sum up the study, the research confirmed that the *hypothesis in the “Post-1998 period a defining moment for Arunachal Pradesh's electoral history as the BJP at the central allied with the regional player has impacted Arunachal's electoral politics”*. The empirical survey conducted in table-5.4 found that the BJP's electoral alliance with regional players particularly the Arunachal Congress has not brought any visible impact on the electoral history of Arunachal. The data shows that 67 per cent of respondents says that BJP's alliance with regional political parties does not impact in state electoral politics. The remaining percent either skip the question or did not respond to the question. Further, exploration led to findings that though, the electoral alliance called NDA 1998-2004 and the UPA alliance continued from 2004 to 2014 at the central and many regional parties came under this umbrella alliance but the electoral alliance in Arunachal remained dormant till 2016. Further, it was evident that the 2016 NEDA (North East Democratic Alliance) was created specifically for

the region but their existence hardly matters for the electoral politics of Arunachal Pradesh.

The second hypothesis is, that “*Electoral change from village or tribal-oriented politics to modern participatory politics in the state has brought about a shift in politics at the state level*”. Previously, Arunachal Pradesh has faced challenges in achieving the desired level of political development due to its isolation and lack of external influence. As a result, the citizens of the frontier state were mostly unaware of the existence of modern political processes and institutions. Party politics were introduced in Arunachal Pradesh in 1972. Modern political institutions have evolved and replaced traditional self-governing institutions in Arunachal Pradesh, effectively managing the socio-political behavior of the population. People's engagement in elections has gradually expanded over the years, while traditional state institutions have grown as a means of governing people's political and social lives, but they have not been totally supplanted. In the society of tribal communities, these institutions serve crucial roles. It is clear that there have been significant changes in the nature of electoral politics within the state. It can be safely concluded that the nature of the electoral politics in the state has undergone certain changes. The influencing factors of voters' voting behavior also do not remain the same. These changes are the concomitant outcome of restructuring of social and political structures and economic development of the state. However, tribal voters of Arunachal Pradesh have not yet attained the desired level of political development since their voting behavior is influenced more by non-political factors rather than by political considerations. As the parliamentary election and Assembly elections like the Itanagar constituency suggest the individual personality does play a role. However, overall voters vote more based on individual gain rather than ideology or party considerations. More such broad-based studies are required to generalize the findings of the study concerning electoral dynamics and party politics in Arunachal Pradesh.