

**Traditional Governance and Politics of Rural Reform
in Sikkim: A Study of Dzumsa System**

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Degree of Master of Philosophy

By

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Date: 07/02/2020

DECLARATION

I, **Chumit Lepcha**, hereby declare that the research work embodied in the dissertation titled "**Traditional Governance and Politics of Rural Reform in Sikkim: A Study of Dzumsa System**" submitted to Sikkim University for the award degree of Masters of Philosophy is my original work and it has not been submitted earlier to this or any other University for any degree.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that dissertation titled “**Traditional Governance and Politics of Rural Reform in Sikkim: A Study of Dzumsa System**” submitted to the Sikkim University for partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Philosophy in the department of Political Science, embodies the result of bonafide research work carried out by Ms Chumit Lepcha under my guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation has been submitted earlier to this or any other university for any degree.

All the assistance and help received during the course of investigation have been duly acknowledge by her.

I recommend this dissertation to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


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Abstract

Traditional governance and politics of rural reform in Sikkim: A Study of Dzumsa system discusses about the governance and governance is defined as a system of government concentrating on effective and accountable institutions and it consists of the tradition and institutions by which authority in a nation is exercised. In governance, the local governance is understood as some governmental bodies elected by the people that have administrative, legislative and executive functions on the territories and Local government is part of the government of a country that parliament decides to delegate by the laws to local governance. Apart from local governance and local government there is traditional governance as well and traditional governance is nothing but the administration of societies that factors in the adoption of indigenous cultural practices and indigenous institutions within which the citizens are guided and respected. The traditional system of governance are the one that are led by local indigenous knowledge in collaborative and participatory process and against this backdrop this study has dealt with the traditional system of governance and different examples of traditional institutions has been given but special focus is given to the traditional governance Dzumsa which is present at this contemporary world. The Dzumsa system is still functioning in the two villages of Lachen and Lachung in North Sikkim. This traditional system of governance is still prevalent despite the introduction of Panchayati Raj Institution in Sikkim. This dissertation is an attempt to discuss about the traditional system Dzumsa, its relationships with the formal institutions and how this system is still functioning. In Sikkim various Panchayat Acts were introduced to change the political structure of Sikkim as before that there was system like Goan Panchayat, Panchayat Tribunal, Local Area Panchayat, and etc. The different Acts like the Sikkim Panchayat Act of 1965 which was an attempt to establish PRIs in Sikkim, the Panchayat Act of 1982 was enacted to introduce two-tier panchayat systems, followed by Act of 1993 which was mainly for the laws made for Panchayats and to provide for the constitution and organization of Panchayats as units of self government in Sikkim was introduced but not a single Act mentioned about the dissolution of Dzumsa system rather it was retained as it was protected by the Panchayat Act of 1982 and the Act of 2001 clearly

mentioned that the Dzumsa shall continue and carry on with its existing systems and was officially recognized. The other traditional governance system like Chhodu system in Dzongu, Mondal system in other parts of the states in Sikkim was removed and the Panchayat system was introduced. The main objective of this study is to trace the contours of the changing role of the traditional governance in Sikkim and to assess the relevance of the traditional governance in the context of the rural reforms initiative in Sikkim. In order to fulfill these objectives the method used was qualitative and quantitative studies which include in-depth interview and questionnaire where survey schedule was used for collection of data. The study was conducted in Lachen and Lachung, North District of Sikkim since the Dzumsa system is prevalent in these two villages. Through this study, it's clear that Dzumsa plays an important role for the people of Lachen and Lachung as they value it and are attached to this system. Some of the main findings were that the Dzumsa functions along with the Panchayats in Sikkim, the head of Dzumsa i.e. the two senior Pipon out of which one has been made the Zilla Panchayat member. The public of Lachen and Lachung prefer Dzumsa over the Panchayat system as there is equality, transparency and efficiency in the traditional Dzumsa than in Panchayat system. There are no codified laws in Dzumsa and regarding the role of women, they are the members of Dzumsa but have never experienced the post of pipon. The Dzumsa system has thus attracted many researchers and in future the study can be done on the role of women in Dzumsa and try to find out the reasons as to why till now not a single woman has become pipon.

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Chumit Lepcha

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	Bhutia-Lepcha
CM	Chief Minister
CVCs	Customary Village Councils
DC	District Collector
EIC	East India Company
GPU	Gram Panchayats Units
ILGIs	Informal Local Governance Institutions
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PRIs	Panchayat Raj Institutions
PRS	Panchayat Raj System
SC	Sikkim Congress
SDM	Sub-District Magistrate
SNC	Sikkim National Congress
SPA	Sikkim Panchayat Act
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The study of the Traditional Governance and Politics of Rural Reform in Sikkim is an attempt to understand about the concept of traditional governance and how over a period of time the traditional governance system evolved. There are many types of governance but this study focuses on the local governance and local governance can be described as some governmental bodies elected by the people that have administrative, legislative and executive functions on the territories under their jurisdiction (Ndreu, 2016). According to Clarke (cited in Ndreu,2016) local government is part of the government of a country which deals mainly with problems or issues related to a given population within a given territory and this is done basically on the responsibilities of a country that parliament decides to delegate by the laws to local governance. Local governance gives a better representation of the local people and their will, and serves as a trampoline for the national leadership in the future and also it's a communication tool between the central and local authorities and people. Within local governance, there are traditional governance and traditional governance captures a variety of traditional authorities such as chiefs, kings, headmen, queen mothers, council of elders and so on. It also captures traditional procedures rule such as mechanisms for conflict resolution or leadership selection. It also includes the substantial rules with respect to internal security, land and resource allocation, public health, or matters of marriage and inheritance (Holzinger et al, 2016). Traditional governance refers to the administration of societies that factors in the adoption of indigenous institutions and often adopts indigenous within which the citizens are guided and respected and a socio-cultural framework that reinforces social order in

the society (Adewusi, 2018). Traditional governance systems approaches are ones that are led by local indigenous knowledge in a collaborative and participatory process (Parry, 2018). In traditional governance, there are traditional authorities and according to (Ananthpur and Moore, 2010) traditional authorities are the leaders of traditional communities. Thus, this study focuses mainly on the traditional governance i.e. *Dzumsa*ⁱ system in Sikkim. Like elsewhere, there still exist a traditional system of governance. Informal local governance in rural India enforce traditional rules and norms, performs a wide range of useful collective functions at the village level, often in a consensual manner. They arbitrate a range of disputes at the village level, act as support structures by providing monetary and other assistance to people in distress and often prepare and organise significant sums of financial and other resources for developmental projects (Ananthpur, 2004). In Karnataka there is long and impressive history of decentralisation. Democratically elected local government structures were institutionalised and political space created for marginalised groups long before 1992 Amendment that made Panchayat Raj Institutions mandatory. Despite this, local governance in Karnataka has not become fully formalised as at the village level, elected gram panchayats continue to co-exist with customary village councils, which are rooted in traditional practices, values and power relations (Ananthpur, 2007). In Assam, the Karbis are the most important tribal community in the Karbi Anglong district of Assam, and they have their own traditional self-governing institutions, which have three tiers, the traditional system of governance is monarchical whereby the king who is known as Lingdokpo is at the apex, followed by Havai (head of the region) and Sarthe which means (headmen of village). The local level decisions are still attended by these traditional institutions (Sarmah and Gogoi 2010). In Odisha also the caste councils are quite visible in the villages in Sundargah district and the village councils are quite visible in the entire Koraput district. The participation of people forms an important part of the functioning of these councils. In the council's meetings, the discussion usually takes place on the socio-cultural issues such as organisation of festivals, celebration of various rituals, settlements of disputes related to caste such as organisation of festivals, celebration of various rituals, settlements of disputes related to caste such as inter-caste marriage, inter and intra caste conflicts, and performing of various religious practices (Mohapatra and Reddy, n.d). In countries like

South Africa for example in Ghana the constitution 1992 guarantee the institution of Chieftaincy and recognizes the role of chiefs in customary land management. The traditional authorities in Ghana are the Asantemanⁱⁱ Council and AkyemAbuakwaⁱⁱⁱ traditional council, bypassing the Ghanaian government. Traditional authorities are often seen as having the capacity to mobilize their people behind development initiatives and to be able to use the authority and respect from their people for community education and awareness creation. The chief act as a middle man between the people and the government by bridging the gap between the state and society. The traditional authorities implement governmental law and policy and to facilitate, explain and attain popular support for the development projects in their traditional area, on the other hand they can provide information from the locality (Ubink, 2007). In the same way, in Oaxaca, Mexico, in the year 1995 allowed indigenous communities to choose their forms of governance. The reform gave full legal standing to form a traditional indigenous called Usos y Costumbers^{iv}, which entails electing individual to leadership position through customary law in non-partisan elections, making decisions through participatory democracy, and monitoring compliance through a parallel system of law enforcement and community justice. In the mid-1990s the State Government of Oaxaca formally recognised usos y costumbers departing from constitutional doctrine and practice dating back to the 19th century, through which State authorities forbade indigenous communities from exercising formal autonomy over local political affairs along with the ability to use their own chosen institutions of governance (Cayeros, Magaloni and Ruiz-Euler, 2014). In Sikkim, the statutory panchayat in Sikkim is of recent origin but its resemblances can be traced back to the traditional tribal council which were accustomed to regulation of their domestic, religious, social, economic, socio-political and judicial affairs at the grassroots level through tribal councils and the collective wisdom of the people in the village (Chettri, 2008). There was the unique system of self-rule among the Bhutias and Lepchas of North Sikkim in the form of Tribal Councils known as Dzumsa and Chhodu^v whereas for majority of Nepali population have their traditional Gaon/Community panchayats system. The focus of this study is however limited to the Dzumsa system of Lachen and Lachung. The people of Lachen and Lachung villages had their own traditional tribal council known as Dzumsa or assembly of people formed several

centuries back. The Dzumsa is the traditional administrative system of the villages of Lachen and Lachung (Sabatier, 2004). The unique system of self-rule which was formed centuries back managed to survive or kept in intact even in modern period as the 1982 Panchayat Act protected these traditional tribal cultures. Another type of traditional tribal council known as Chhoddu was prevalent among the Iepchas of Dzongu in North Sikkim. After the enactment of Panchayat Act of 1965, this system was integrated with the pattern prevalent in rest of the State (Chhetri, 2008). Thus, this study attempts to trace down the role of Dzumsa system and reforms in power and functions of the Dzumsa, the changing role of the traditional governance and its relevance in the context of the rural reforms initiatives in Sikkim.

Statement of the Research Problem

In many parts of the country, there still exists a traditional system of governance which goes along with the formal local bodies. In many states, ethnic groups and indigenous communities organize collective decision making, service provision and jurisdiction according to traditional rules of governance and traditional governance entails the selection of chiefs and elders, or rules and procedures for decision making, customary law and dispute settlement, land allocation, marriage and inheritance. In India, some states like Karnataka, Odisha, Assam and Sikkim have still traditional form of governance which goes along with the formal local bodies. As far as Sikkim is concerned before the enactment of Sikkim Panchayat Act, the political structure existed then was basically the reflection of a simple and carefree tribal society with tribal chief as their ruler (Gurung, 2011), the people used to manage their daily affairs at the village and community levels through customary village panchayat like Dzumsa and Chhodu. Dzumsa is the only institution that remains in practice and recognised by both local people and government. In the 1970s when the Indian Government initiated the reorganization of Sikkim's administration and introduced the Panchayat system, the new system was not imposed in the valleys of Lachen and Lachung, Dzumsa was officially recognised in 1985 and continues to functions today and it functions along with the formal local bodies. Thus this study has looked into the role of traditional governance and how over a period of time their power and functions have changed. Besides, this study

also seeks to examine the relationship between the traditional governance and formal local governance agencies in the context of rural reforms initiatives in Sikkim.

Review of Literature

Many scholars have made contributions in particular field of study in different perspective. There is work done by eminent scholars in the field of traditional governance. Accordingly, a review of literature has been made to provide an insight about the concept of traditional governance. Adewusi (2018) in his article “Traditional Governance System in Nigeria: Lessons for Neoliberal Democracies” deals with the traditional Governance System in Nigeria. How the New Economic Order of Liberalism was not beneficial for the Nigerians since they had to witness a series of societal issues including unemployment, poverty, political turmoil and overpopulation. In the nature of traditional governance in Nigeria the indigenous system of administration that was present in Nigeria has been discussed.

Ananthpur (2004) in her article entitled “Rivalry or Synergy Formal and informal Local governance in rural India” deals with informal local governance institutions. This article is based on the field research done in Karnataka to present a clearer picture of the Informal Local Governance Institutions (ILGIs), their role in village governance and service delivery, the way they interact with formal Panchayats and the implications of their existence and role for local democracy. Study has been conducted in the Mysore, Dharwad and Raichor districts of Karnataka State. Activities of ILGIs are also highlighted in this book especially ILGIs from Karnataka and some of the activities are fund collection, dispute resolution, etc. Interaction with formal local governance institutions through field research several types of interaction include influencing formal local governance institutions elections, overlap of leadership, implementation of development projects, selection of beneficiaries for Government anti-poverty projects and informal resource mobilisation. It also presents a tentative theoretical framework which has explain why ILGIs in Karnataka is less repressive, more functional and more likely to survive than in some other countries of the South.

Ananthpur (2007) in her article “Dynamics of Local Governance in Karnataka” is a brief study about the Informal Local Governance institutions and how the local governance has been neglected after the introduction of the Panchayati Raj Institutions. The informal

local governance institutions such as caste Panchayats, street Panchayats and Customary village councils has been dealt in the study but the focus is more on the customary village councils (CVCs). Local governance in Karnataka is presented, the meaning of customary village councils is given and one definition says that CVCs are inter-caste institutions consisting of caste leaders of different caste groups represented in the community and act as forums of deliberation with an emphasis on compromise rather than simple rule enforcement. A brief study about Gram Panchayat has been made and lastly it deals with the interaction of CVCs and Gram Panchayats.

Ananthpur and Moore (2010) in their article “Ambiguous Institutions: Traditional Governance and Local Democracy in Rural South India” deals with the traditional system of governance that is present in the State of Karnataka. In India the Customary Village Councils is still active in Karnataka and are actively taking on new roles, adapting to the democratic, competitive political environment, becoming more representative and pluralist and providing a wide range of services that are highly valued by the populations they serve. The relationship between the customary village Councils and the Gram Panchayats are also highlighted and it shows that their relationship is more synergistic and complementary than competitive. It also deals with why the Customary village councils are flourishing and the reasons given are they have become more pluralist, accountable, active, funding has increased, involvement of women in decision making and most importantly their relationship with the Gram Panchayats. Though this article has presented a clear picture about the Customary Village Panchayats in Karnataka but it has not provided us with the detail meaning and definitions of the concept traditional governance as the title suggests. The concept of Traditional Governance is not properly defined.

Cayeros, Magaloni and Ruiz-Euler (2014) in their article “Traditional Governance, Citizens Engagement, and Local Public Goods: Evidence from Mexico” presents the study of governance of public goods provision in poor communities in Oaxaca, Mexico. The idea about what traditional governance has been presented. Before 1995 all municipalities in Oaxaca were formally governed by political parties. However, most municipalities informally incorporated traditional elements of governance. Through the research conducted in Oaxaca it was found that traditional governance have the

likelihood to improve the provision of education and sewerage. Debate has been made between the traditional governance Usos and political leaders. Their differences are made through the selection of political leaders, taxation, services, monitoring and sanctioning.

Cheshire, Higgins and Lawrence (2013) in their book “Rural Governance International Perspectives” traces the emergence of new forms of governing in rural areas around the world specifically the transition that is said to have occurred from the government of rural spaces to new forms of governance and there is increased involvement of local citizens in strategies of economic, social and environmental reform. The book covers the issues in rural governance by examining how power is exercised, negotiated and contested by different actors within new arrangements of governing. This book also critically explores the social causes and the consequences of these emerging governance arrangements.

Kooiman (1993) in his book entitled “Modern Governance (New Government-Society Interactions)” traces the development of some theoretical notions on governing and governance which takes into consideration complexity, dynamics and diversity as basic systems qualities. It also provides an overview of major development in governance in today’s society. It outlines and throws light upon recent theories about the relationship of the public and private sectors and of the interaction of politics and society. This book gives a broad overview of the subject, showing empirical cases of new forms of governance drawn from Western Europe as well as reviewing the major theoretical concepts explaining these developments. In Kooiman’s (2003) other book titled “Governing and Governance” demonstrates the utility of a socio-political perspective to our understanding of new forms of governing, governance and governability. This book makes us understand about the contemporary forms of governance and also advances a comprehensive conceptual framework that seeks to capture the different elements, modes and orders of governing and governance today.

Chettri (2008) in his book entitled “Panchayat Raj System and Development Planning- the case of Sikkim” presents the study which intends to examine the structure and functions of the Panchayat Raj Institution in Sikkim under the Sikkim Panchayat Raj Institution Act, 1993. The book focuses more on the Panchayat system and a very little information about Dzumsa and Chhodu system has been presented in this book. Overall

this book has given a detail idea and overview about the Panchayati Raj Institution in Sikkim, but the people's participation in local government has been neglected.

Chettri (2009) in his work "Customary Panchayat in Sikkim: A study of Dzumsa" has provided a brief introduction about the Panchayat and how several attempts have been made by the Government of India to revitalize the Panchayat system in the country. The term Customary Panchayat is used for informal panchayat system in Sikkim and special focus is given to the Dzumsa System. Regarding Panchayat in Sikkim mention has been made about the old Customary Village Panchayat which existed before the introduction of Gram Panchayat and some still functions along with the formal bodies like Dzumsa. A very clear picture about Dzumsa has been presented like what is Dzumsa, who are the members of Dzumsa, their power and functions, mode of election, qualification, resources and etc.

In the same way Sabatier (2004) in her work "The Dzumsa of Lachen: An Example of a Sikkimese Political Institution" deals with the political institution Dzumsa and provides the insights about the traditional system Dzumsa which was there in past and has been functioning till date. Dzumsa has been explained and three meanings of the word Dzumsa has been presented in her work. The old and historical functions of Dzumsa and how they have adapted to new changes has been presented.

The old age tradition Dzumsa has been explained by Talukdar (2012) in his article titled "Dzumsa (keeping traditions alive in the high mountains)" where he explains about how the people of Lachen and Lachung North Sikkim has been able to keep the centuries old traditional system alive by not only keeping the tradition alive but also how the institution has been able to handle the complex issues of modern administration. The judiciary role of Dzumsa, the structures of Dzumsa has been rightly explained by the writer but has not mentioned about the qualification of Pipon and the removal of Pipon before his tenure. In the same way Upadhyay (2012) in his article "Dzumsa: - An inimitable organism of Lachung" deals with the basic understanding about the Dzumsa and he also has explained about the committee which was formed in Lachung valley which comprises of 18 senior members including five monastery representatives who takes the charges after the completion of the term of the elected pipons.

Sinha (1975) in his book “Politics of Sikkim” deals with the political struggle of Sikkim after the amendment of Indian constitution, merger of Sikkim with India and after Sikkim becoming the 22nd Indian state which resulted in the long-drawn political unrest in Sikkim. This book provides the background story, the analysis and evaluation of the actors involved in the political struggle of Sikkim. The book also deals with the background history of various social forces in Sikkim, the elite leading and controlling various social forces which gave a direction to the politics of Sikkim and evaluates the political development after 1947 which lead to the realization of the Sikkimese people’s aspiration of merger with India.

Dhamala (1994) in her article “Panchayati Raj Institution in Sikkim: Participation and Development” discusses about the Panchayati Raj Institutions in India followed by Sikkim. The author has briefly dealt with the participation and development of the Indian experience and has mentioned about the two major Panchayats Acts of Sikkim like the Act of 1965, Act of 1982 and Panchayat Sammelan which was very important for the development of panchayat system in Sikkim as the Panchayat Act of 1982 introduced for the first time the two-tier panchayat system.

Lama (1944) in his edited book titled “Sikkim society polity economy environment” discusses about the various topics like society, polity, economy and environment and each sections of this book carries articles written by different scholars, professionals and policy makers who have worked in Sikkim in various fields.

Basnet (1974) in his book entitled “Sikkim: a short political history” traces the political history of Sikkim from its primitive beginnings to the party politics brought in by the independence of India. The revolt of 1973 has been examined in detail by the author. The history of Sikkim has been portrayed in this book as it discusses about the king’s rule in Sikkim to the merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union.

Ubink (2007) in his article “Traditional Authority Revisited: Popular perceptions of Chiefs and Chieftaincy in peri-urban Kumasi, Ghana” deals with the role of Chiefs in Ghana, how Chieftaincy are recognised as important. The position of chief has been strengthening by the Land Administration Project and how World Bank has been Promoting Partnership with Traditional Authorities Project in Ghana. Some Authors has explained that the role traditional leaders is due to the failure of the States or the

malfunctioning of the post-colonial States and the Chiefs have filled the gap of collapsed States. To find out the rule and role of Chief and how people feel about the Chiefs, the survey has been conducted in Kumasi, the 2nd largest town in Ghana and through that survey the main functions of Chief is highlighted and the functions are categorised under land management, local development projects, law and order and traditional religion. The article also deals with the perceptions of Chiefs and Chieftaincy and how people feel about Chiefs.

Ysa, Forbergerand and Albareda (2014) in their article “What is Governance” present us with the meaning and definitions of governance. In this article they have argued that governance is not a new concept and governance has become a key concept across social sciences. Regarding the concept of governance they have focus on the collaborative governance to provide a holistic approach to analyze the policy structures and processes in the addiction field and collaborative governance includes various actors from different fields, such as states, non- governmental groups, social actors, lobby groups, and companies. They have recognised addiction as wicked problem and addictions cannot be properly tackled by the state alone.

Sachdeva (2011) in his book “Local Government in India” deals with the meaning of local government as organs for promoting grass-root democracy which provides civic services for the welfare of the local people and carrying out the task of urban development and planning. This book offers the details about the system of local governance in India and also traces its evolution since independence.

Mathur (2000) in his book “From Government to Governance a brief survey of the Indian experience” provides an introduction about the concept of governance and the kind of transformation of the state that is taking place in India. It deals with the way cooperative networks of state, market and society are taking over roles that were earlier confined to the state alone which have led to many challenges. In order to face those challenges existing institutions of governance have to be strengthened, new institutions have to be forged that can fulfil the functions of coordination, control and regulation. The book also presents a brief survey of the movement from government to governance and attempts to unravel a complex web of institutions that have emerged since governance became an important element of the policy discourse.

The above books and articles provides a better understanding about the meaning of governance, good governance, traditional governance, customary village councils, informal local governance, etc but the concept like politics of rural reform and relationship between the traditional governance and formal local governance agencies and the relevance of the traditional governance has not been discussed, thus this study is taken with an intention to fill those gaps in the study of traditional governance in Sikkim.

Traditional Governance and Politics of Rural Reforms in Sikkim: Conceptual Framework

The study intends to examine the role of Traditional Governance and Politics of Rural Reform in Sikkim. Since Dzumsa comes under local governance they not only provide various services to citizens, but also represent in the best way possible the will of the people. Dzumsa represents its ethnic community and its rich in its culture; therefore, in order to explore the traditional governance in Sikkim, the study employs Neo-traditionalism approach. Neo-traditionalism means revival of traditional styles, values, practices, etc. Neo-traditionalism entails a degree of contestation over culture and memory. It can serve as a strategy of political legitimation, it is deployed in different ways by both elites and ordinary people. Neo-traditionalism can be especially prominent in contexts of rapid social change or when people question the nature or benefits of that which is presented as “developmental” or “modern.” It also suggests that the form a regime takes, the nature of law, the means by which the arbitrariness of rulers can be blocked, and other forms of interaction between State and society should take into account or resonate with local definitions of authentic culture and historical memory. Neo-traditionalism breaks with notions of deeply rooted cultural essences. It also focuses on the historical institutions, practices, and values as mouldable resources, subject to ongoing social and political contestation. Neo-traditions can be useful tools for the consolidation of group identity in circumstances of rapid and confusing social change. Thus this study looks into the social, economic and political functions of Dzumsa and how over a period of time they have adapted to the changes.

Neo-Traditionalism was a classicist and colonialist project for regenerating the nation, inaugurated by French avant-garde intellectuals who were formerly symbolists (Churchill, 2010). They wanted to regenerate a dissolute French population employing

new fantasies of identity which would overcome the fragmentation of French culture in the era of modern imperialism. The neo-traditionalist world-view was alchemy of conflicting cultural concerns which defined the era. These intellectuals hoped that, according to their specific re-arrangement of these concerns, they would redefine and regenerate France itself. Neo-traditionalism was an aesthetic-political project which was conservative and revolutionary, colonial and metropolitan, traditional and avant-garde

Neo-traditionalism is an aesthetic- political framework originating in the classical renaissance which was a period of Western history, it is conventionally dated from the end of the Franco-Prussian war in 1871 to outbreak of World War in 1914(Churchill, 2010). This aesthetic political framework provided the conceptual material for regenerative fantasies later taken up in political movements commonly associated with both French Fascism and settler colonialism in the 20th century, but was evident in earlier aesthetic movements particularly among 1890s Symbolists (Churchill, 2010).In particular, neo-traditionalists sought to regenerate a decadent France modernity by simultaneously employing strategies for the imitation of classical sources and the mimicry of colonial subjects each comprised an aesthetic political strategy for recovering France's waning power and glory. If France modernity was perceived to be effete and decade, the solution was to turn to the primitive sources of French Classicism and the savage sources of orientalised fantasies, blended as one into a regenerated modern French subject (Churchill, 2010).Neo-traditionalism is seen as a shared set of assumptions about a traditional authentic France often expressed as if it extended back to the Romans, but was in actuality a rediverted and narrowed genealogy of Frenchness. It was largely a new creation in reaction to the social and cultural crises of the Third Republic and in an Era of French Colonialism. Spear (2003) in the article "Neo-Traditionalism and The Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa" explores a range of studies regarding the invention of Tradition, the making of customary law and the creation of Tribalism since the 1980s, and also argues that the case for colonial invention has often overstated colonial power and ability to manipulate African institutions to establish hegemony. As neo-traditionalism is defined as a means of revival of traditional styles, values, practices, etc., this study therefore employs neo-traditional approach to explore the traditional governance system in Sikkim and try to find out the relationship between traditional

governance and formal local governance agencies. Besides, this study also seeks to explore the changing role of traditional governance in Sikkim.

Relevance and Scope of the Study

The local government is an integral part of the three tier system of government in India. It is at the bottom of a pyramid of governmental institutions with the national government at the top and the intermediate government at the middle. The local government in India takes place in two very distinct forms i.e. the urban localities and the rural authorities. The powers of rural authorities have been formalized under the Panchayat Raj system. The Panchayati Raj refers to the system of local self-government in India introduced by a constitutional amendment in 1992. But in Sikkim, the formal panchayati system has been functioning since 1965. However, along with formal institutions, informal institutions like Dzumsa, which is a traditional democratic institution of local governance has been in existence for many centuries in the two villages of Lachen and Lachung in North District of Sikkim. Therefore, this study seeks to understand the traditional governance system in Sikkim and Dzumsa is one such traditional institution in Sikkim which is still prevalent. The study also focuses on changing powers and functions of the Dzumsa, and the relevance of Dzumsa. The study also focuses on the relationship between the informal and formal institutions. As the traditional governance system is prevalent in two villages of Sikkim, this study therefore covers only two villages of Lachen and Lachung in North District of Sikkim.

Objective of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the nature of the relationship between traditional governance and formal local governance agencies.
2. To trace the contours of the changing role of the traditional governance in Sikkim.
3. To assess the relevance of the traditional governance in the context of the rural reforms initiatives in Sikkim.

Research Questions

The following research questions are framed to provide answer to the above objectives:

1. What is the nature of the relationship between traditional governance and formal local governance agencies?

2. What is the role of traditional governance in the development of rural areas?
3. How relevant are traditional governance to local governance in the context of rural reforms initiatives in Sikkim?

Research Methodology

The study has combination of both qualitative and quantitative method. Qualitative study include in-depth interview which is the empirical base of the study and this study was conducted on few individuals to get the details information about the Dzumsa system. Quantitative study include questionnaire wherein survey schedule was used for collection of data by the common people of Lachen and Lachung since the study intends to describe the Traditional System of Governance. The secondary sources were used from review of literature of books, journals and articles to grasp the details information about the governance, local government and the political history of Sikkim.

The research design has both descriptive and explanatory. Descriptive study was used since the main purpose of the research is to describe the situations and events. The explanatory was used to explain things since the main purpose of the study was to find out the changing role, power and functions of Dzumsa, relevance of Dzumsa and the relationship between the formal Panchayat system and the traditional Dzumsa system and the explanation creates a mental picture of condition.

The study was conducted in Lachen and Lachung, North District of Sikkim since the Dzumsa system functions in Lachen and Lachung. The total sample size was 100 where 40 respondents was selected from Lachen and 60 respondents from Lachung. Sampling used was purposive sampling since a specific population was targeted.

Organisation of the Study

The dissertation has been divided into five chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The first chapter deals with the general introduction and background to the research area, statement of the research problem, review of literature, theoretical framework, relevance and scope of the study, the purpose of the study, research questions and research methodology.

Chapter 2: Governance and Traditional Governance: A Conceptual Framework

The second chapter provides a general overview of the concept of governance, shift from governance to government, formal and informal governance and neo-traditionalism and traditional governance.

Chapter 3: Local Government and Politics of Rural Reform in Sikkim

The third chapter provides an overview of local government, political history of Sikkim and the general background of the Dzumsa system.

Chapter 4: Traditional Dzumsa System in Lachen and Lachung: Empirical study from the field.

The fourth chapter is completely devoted to the field survey conducted in Lachen and Lachung in North Sikkim.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The last chapter deals with the summary of findings and conclusion. The chapter concludes with the concluding remarks with recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

GOVERNANCE AND TRADITIONAL GOVERNANCE: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The concept of governance is not a new one as it's old as human civilization. Today governance has occupied a centre stage in the development discourse and is considered as a crucial element to be incorporated in the development strategy. Governance is one of the 'catch-words' of the last decade: the problem is that it has a wide variety of meanings. Governance is essentially related to politics, in that politics is often defined as the art of governance. Just as politics talk about governments, institutions, power, order, and the ideals of justice, governance also deals with the public sector, power structures, equity, and ideals of public administration (Tamayao, 2014). Governance refers to how state and society interact (Khan, 2011). Governance entails two processes i.e. decision- making and implementation of the decision. In broad terms decision-making refers the process by which a person or group of persons, guided by socio-political structures, arrive at a decision involving their individual and communal needs and wants. Implementation is the process that logically follows the decision and it entails the actualization or materialization of the plan or decision (Tamayao, 2014). Governance is not just decision making because decision without implementation is self-defeating. Neither is it just implementation because there is nothing to implement without a decision or plan. The two processes necessarily go hand in hand in the process of governance. Thus, this chapter deals with the meaning and conceptual definition of governance followed by the concepts of traditional governance.

Conceptual definition of Governance

The term governance can be traced back to the Greek word *kubernan* which means to pilot or steer and was used by Plato with regard to how to design a system of rule. The Greek term gave a rise to the Medieval Latin *gubernare*, which has the same connotation of piloting, rulemaking or steering. The term has been used as synonymous with government (Kjaer, 2004). Government refers to the machinery and institutional arrangements of exercising the sovereign power for serving the political community whereas governance means the process as well as the benefits of the society. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines governance as the act or manner of governing the office or functions of governing. Governance was first used by the World Bank in its report on sub-Saharan Africa in 1989 wherein the Bank suggested that the programmes of fiscal adjustment and investment in that region were being rendered ineffective by a ‘crisis of governance’. In its experience of advancing structural adjustment programmes the Bank saw the weak role of the State and its institutions in implementing these programmes as there were incompetent and corrupt governments that tended to curtail or dilute these programmes and even after governments accepting the conditions related to the programme, there were not able to implement them. This led the Bank, in its initial formulation, to focus on managerial and administrative competence as a strategy to improve governance and committed itself to the seemingly more apolitical and largely technical strategy of improving governance (Mathur, 2008). Governance according to Stoker, 1998 (cited in Mathur, 2008) refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors has become blurred.

The most influential definition of governance is provided by Kaufman et al (2007). They define governance as “the tradition and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. It includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies and the respect of citizens and the state of the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.”

Governance is a multifaceted concept with wide ramifications because of the fast changing and interdependent global environment. No country can afford to continue with a governance system that is outdated, slow, ineffective, expensive and corrupt in this age

of globalization (Khan, 2003) cited in (Rahman, 2016). Governance is defined as a system of government concentrating on effective and accountable institutions, democratic principles and electoral process, representation and responsible structures of government, in order to ensure an open and legitimate relationship between civil society and the state (Halfani et al. 1994) cited in (Rahman, 2016). Governance consists of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a nation is exercised. This includes the process of selection and monitoring government, the ability of citizens and the state for the institutions which govern socio-economic interventions. It comprises of complex mechanism institutions and processes through which common people articulate their interests and needs (Sisodia, 2013). According to Graham (2003) governance is defined “as the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power and responsibilities are exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say”. Technically, governance is about power, relationships and accountability, who influence, who decides and how decision-makers are held accountable (Graham et al, 2003).

According to Rhodes 1997 (cited in Chhetri, 2012) governance refers to self-organizing, inter organizational networks characterized by interdependence, resource-exchange, rules of the games, and significant autonomy from the state. Governance according to Hyden (cited in Chhetri, 2012) is the stewardship of formal and informal political rules of the game. Governance refers to those measures that involve setting the rules for the exercise of power and setting conflicts over such rules. Governing can be considered as the totality of interaction, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities, attending to the institutions as contexts for these governing interactions, and establishing a normative foundation for all those activities. Governance can be seen as the totality of theoretical conceptions on governing (Kooiman, 2003).

Governance means the patterns that emerge from governing activities of social, political and administrative actors. These patterns form the emerging outcome as well as a more abstract (higher level) framework for day-to-day efforts at governing (Kooiman, 1993). Governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or

diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest (Keping, 2017). Governance has gained great currency during the last decade. The concept was used for historical context but now it is utilised for a multitude of purposes. Governance refers to the interaction between civil society and government in determining governmental action (Wilson, 2000). According to Fukuyama 2013, Governance is defined as a government's ability to make and enforce rules and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not. In broader sense, governance refers to the activity or process of governing as is often implied by politicians and development agencies when they entreat for good governance meaning good administration or a form of government along liberal democratic lines (Cheshire et al, 2013).

Governance is essentially related to politics, in that politics is often defined as the art of governance. Just as politics talks about governments, institutions, power, order and the ideals of justice, governance deals with the public sector, power structures, equity and ideals of public administration. Governance is defined as the exercise of power or authority by political leaders for the well-being of their country's citizens or subjects. Governance is traditionally associated with government, in literatures, they are often used interchangeably but in the 1980s, political scientists broadened the meaning of governance by including civil society actors (UNIFEM, 2005). Today, governance includes three sectors the public (state actors and institutions), private (households and companies) and civil society (non-governmental organizations). These three sectors are said to work hand in hand in the process of governance. Governance is the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs. It is the complex mechanisms, processes, relationship and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences. Governance encompasses every institution and organization in the society, from the family to the state and embraces all methods good or bad that societies use to distribute power and manage public resources and problems (UNIFEM, 2005).

Governance also means how people are ruled and how the affairs of the state are administered and regulated. Governance connotes the ways and manners with which the politics of nation is been executed. In any governance system, a public authority is expected to play an important role in creating a conducive environment to enhance development (Adewusi, 2018). The term governance can be used specifically to describe changes in the nature and role of the state following the public-sector reforms of the 1980's and 1990's and these reforms are said to have led to a shift from a hierarchic bureaucracy toward a greater use of markets, quasi-markets and networks especially in the delivery of public services. Governance expresses a widespread belief that the state increasingly depends on other organizations to secure its intentions, deliver its policies and establishes a pattern of rule (Bevir, 2012). Governance also can be used to describe any pattern of rule that arises either when the state is dependent upon others or when the state plays little or no role. For example, the term international governance often refers to the pattern of rule found at the global level where the United Nations is too weak to resemble the kind of state that can impose its will on its territory (Bevir, 2012).

Governance refers to the political field and political activity as the vital task of every national government. Governance is a growing phenomenon. The literature on governance is definitely considerable and expanding. During the fourteenth century, the term governance referred to an action, method, or function of governing. Governance denotes how people are ruled, how the affairs of the states are administered and regulated. Thus governance is about power, relationship and accountability as it addresses the questions like who has the influence, who makes the decisions, and how decision makers are held accountable (Asaduzzaman and Virtanen, 2016).

Good governance promotes human development whereas poor governance reduces human well-being. Thus the goal of governance should be to develop capacities that are needed to realise development that gives priority to the poor, advances women, sustains the environment and creates needed opportunities for employment and other livelihoods (Sisodia, 2013). Good governance involves far more than the power of the state or the strength of political will. The rule of law, transparency, and accountability are not merely technical questions of administrative procedure or institutional design rather they are outcomes of democratizing processes driven not only by committed leadership, but also

by the participation of, and contention among, groups and interests in society processes that are most effective when sustained and restrained by legitimate, effective institutions (Johnston, 2016).

According to Stoker (1998), there are five dimensions regarding the perspective of governance these dimensions are:

- i. Governance refers to a complex set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond the government.
- ii. Governance recognises the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues.
- iii. Governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action.
- iv. Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors.
- v. Governance recognises the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of the government to command or use its authority. It sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide (Stoker, 1998).

In India, the term governance gained currency with the liberalization of the Indian economy in 1991 as the decade of the 90's saw increasing use of the term 'governance' to explain the failures of development and the policy makers accepted that governance is critical to the alleviation of poverty in the country. The Tenth Plan defines governance as the management of all such processes that, in any society, define the environment which permits and enables individuals to raise their capability levels on one hand and provide opportunities to realise their potential and enlarge the set of available choices on the other (Mathur, 2008). In present day, governance refers to a new process of governing or a changed condition of ordered rule, or the new method by which society is governed. Rhodes (2007) view governance as wearing public administration and public policy spectacles and define governance as nothing but governing with and through networks.

Shift from Government to Governance

Every organised human community residing within a defined territory needs a reliable, vibrant and resilient institutional structure that could be able deliver the desirables of the community, better known as common goods or public goods without any interruption. This formal and legitimate institution of the organised political community is called the

state or government. This formal and legitimate institution of the organised political community is called the state or government. A government is also known as an institution that holds the exclusive power to enforce certain rules of social conduct and order in a given geographical area (Nag, 2018). Government is the legitimate authority to protect and enforce the basic social principle, necessary for coexistence. To ensure the respect for these fundamental principles within organised human society, the need of government and state arises. Governance is the result of interactive social-political forms of governing (Nag, 2018).

Government means the office, authority or function of governing. Governing is having control or rule over oneself and governance is the activity of governing. Governance is a set of decisions and processes made to reflect social expectations through the management or leadership of the government. The term governance was not heard frequently within the development community till the late 1980s, though the idea of governance is old as the human civilisation itself. The rise in the popularity of the term governance is closely linked with the redefinition of the role of the government towards development enterprises and managing the economy of a state in an efficient and effective manner (Nag, 2018).

The institution which is empowered to take collectivized decisions can be considered as a government. Government is referred to as a formal institution which operates at a national level. The core function of government is to make law, implement law and interpret law. Governance is also described as the process of interaction between formal and informal sectors on how to distribute and manage resources whereas government is an entity or a body that exercises political authority and control whereas governance is the process (Navalkar, 2013).

The shift to governance refers to the decline of classic command and control mode of regulation in which public actors democratically selected by their national constituencies take decisions that are binding for everybody and then implement them through governmental agencies, and the ascending of a new system in which regulation is produced in participatory fashion by public and private actors collaborating with one another. In the governance mode of regulation, the non-state actors are not only involved in the implementation of public policy but are also involved in the policy formulation.

The regulatory functions, ultimately in the public interest are increasingly being devolved to the self-regulation of private organizations and the examples can be found in the fields of environmental and labour standards, where matters which used to be and which are still under the regulatory compass of the national state have become subject to complex private-public administrative systems which involves international organizations, administrative branches of the national state, and various civil society organizations and NGOs (Baccaro, 2009). According to Peine and Mc Michael (2005) define governance as an ideal typical concept that is differentiated from government as if the latter does not itself comprise or constitute relations of rule outside formal institutional mechanisms, and governance obscures the role governments themselves have played in fostering the emergence of governance arrangements. Governance cannot easily be separated from Government that the state remains heavily present in each (Cheshire et al, 2013).

Governance is understood as a process of managing common affairs of political communities, and thus involves more than the formal institutions of government. In the early 1990s, governance appears to be used in place of government. Governance is about a reinvented form of government which is better managed. Governance is about the potential for contracting, franchising, and new forms of regulation (Asaduzzaman and Virtanen, 2016). The Commission on Global Governance states that global level governance is seen primarily as an intergovernmental relationship which includes NGOs, citizen's movements, multi-national corporations and the global capital market. Governance is concerned with the changes taking place in the organization of the state and its relationships with private sector and civil society actors. The transition from government to governance takes place when our attention turns from state-centric analysis towards an understanding of the wider public policy system in which the institutions of government appear to be involved in processes of negotiation, bargaining and compromise with a host of other actors (Mathur, 2008). Government deals with the formal activities and political culture as designated by such formal state mechanisms as constitutions and legislation whereas governance refers to government plus unofficial political activities and culture not originally endorsed or rooted in the post-colonial state. The term rural local governance includes not only the rural local government structures, processes and political activities and culture rooted in the colonial states and post-

colonial state, but also those rooted in the pre-colonial states and other post-colonial political organizations (Ray and Reddy, 2003).

Government is a system or a set of systems of various fictional offices, structures and frameworks that relate to the management, possession, control, use and needs of a defined population as it relates to that area and to certain resources. These various systems are given certain offices, structures and frameworks which they then use in relation to the population, land and resources. As a result, there may be a single government which in fact recognizes of various governments which cumulatively form the larger government (Patel, 2016). Governance can be understood as the utilization of the systems or sub systems and the fictional offices, structures and frameworks within it by individual in order to affect the purposes or meet the responsibility with which the particular system was inspire within its design. The individuals empowered to utilize those systems depend on how the government derives its authority for instance in a democracy, certain leaders may be elected who may then appoint others to help in the process of governance, or all government officers may be elected, while in a dictatorship those who have obtained power will delegate powers to others or may decide how others responsible for exercising that power are chosen (Patel, 2016).

The term government refers to the dominant role of the state in directing the distribution of public goods and includes both traditional leadership perspectives and historic public administrative functions. Government and governance are concepts that have parallel meaning in terms of public problem solving, societal control systems and extant political and policymaking activities. If governance is distinguished from government than governance is what a government does. The shift from government towards governance implies that government is not an entity but a conglomerate of actors, government is not the only actor that attempts to influence societal development and government interventions are interventions in policy networks, in which power, resource dependency and strategic behaviour are vital elements (Rahman, 2016).

Governance essentially is a multi-stakeholder process, which can be focused on a whole territory or on particular themes or orientations of importance to a territory and different actors and citizens. Governance is also a process since the actors or stakeholders involved are not automatically identified and integrated at the same time (Bryant, 2018). Sammy

Finer (cited in Rhodes, 1996) defines government as the activity or process of governing or governance, a condition of ordered rule, those people charged with the duty of governing or governors and the manner, method or system by which a particular society is governed. Governance signifies a change in the meaning of government, referring to a new process of governing or a changed condition of ordered rule or the new method by which society is governed. There are six separate uses of governance, as the minimal state, as corporate governance, as the new public management, as good governance, as a socio-cybernetic system, as self-organizing networks (ibid Rhodes, 1996). According to Jan Kooiman (cited in Rhodes, 1996) governance can be seen as the pattern or structure that emerges in a socio-political system as 'common' result or outcome of the interacting intervention efforts of all involved actors, this pattern cannot be reduced to one actor or group of actors in particular. According to Rhodes (1996) governance refers to self-organizing, inter-organizational networks. Some characteristics of governance are:

- Interdependence between organizations. Governance is broader than government, covering non-state actors. Changing the boundaries of the state meant the boundaries between public, private and voluntary sectors became shifting and opaque.
- Continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes.
- Game like interactions, rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants.
- A significant degree of autonomy from the state, networks are not accountable to the state, they are self-organising. Although the state does not occupy a privileged sovereign position, it can indirectly and imperfectly steer networks (Rhodes, 1996).

Government is characterized by its ability to make decisions and its capacity to enforce them. Government is understood to refer to the formal and institutional processes which operate at the level of the nation state to maintain public order and facilitate collective action (Stoker, 1998). According to Rhodes 1996 (cited in Stoker, 1998) governance signifies a change in the meaning of government, referring to a new process of governing or a changed condition of ordered rule, or the new method by which society is governed.

Governance is ultimately concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action. The outputs of governance are not therefore different from those of government. It is rather a matter of a difference in processes. Governance is about a 'reinvented' form of government which is better managed (Stoker, 1998).

Government is the office, authority or function of governing. Governing is having control or rule over oneself and governance is the activity of governing. Therefore, governance is a set of decisions and processes made to reflect social expectations through the management of leadership of the government (Fasenfest, 2016). According to Khan (2011) governance refers to how state and society interact. According to Rhodes (cited in Kjaer, 2011) "Governance means there is no one centre but multiple centres; there is no sovereign authority because networks have considerable autonomy".

Rhodes has contributed to governance theory in three important ways. He was the first one to theorize the changes that had occurred in the public sector through a governance lens and has contributed to the opening of a new research agenda on governance. He has provoked critique and thereby promoted a lively governance debate. The research agenda on governance had an influence on policy practice (Kjaer, 2011). Rhodes was one of the first to use the concept of governance to theorize the changes that had taken place in the aftermath of a long period of reforms. In the 1980's and 1990's governments had been busy introducing managerialism in the public sector, setting up special purpose bodies such as committee which is appointed by the government but works independently and contracting out various service delivery tasks to the private sector. The changes implied that many actors other than central government were pursuing public goals which had significant consequences for the way we analytically deal with public policy-making and implementation. Inter-organizational networks between different levels of government and across the state-society divide were gaining more autonomy when delivering public services and this made them much more difficult to steer than before. Rhodes have characterized this process as 'hollowing out of the state', whereby the scope of public intervention becomes limited and the state loses authority (Kjaer, 2011).

Governance is concerned with the changes taking place in the organisation of the State and its relationships with private sector and civil society actors.

Informal and Formal Governance

Informal governance means that participation in decision-making process is not yet or cannot in fact be codified and publicly enforced. It can also mean that a certain group of decision makers agree informally to advocate or enact particular policies, while still acting in formal decision making contexts (Roiseland, 2011). Informal governance is neither new nor should it be associated with specific institutions nor with levels of government. Governments have been engaged in informal governance since time immemorial and informal governance can be found in institutions like European Union, as in national, regional and local policy processes (Roiseland, 2011).

Informal local governance has a common core agenda of upholding social norms and customs and preserving local law and order. Informal governance is still very patriarchal. Informal governance is complex organisations, which continue to be prevalent at village level in rural India. They have progressive features and often perform a range of useful, collective functions at the village level (Ananthpur, 2004). Informal institutions guide human behaviour and decision-making processes. Formal institutions include constitutions, contracts, and form of government while informal institutions include traditions, customs, moral values, religious beliefs, and all other norms of behaviour that have passed the test of time. The formal institutions capture rules and government structures, while the informal institutions focus on ideology and culture (Kaufmann et al, 2018).

According to Goran Hyden, elevates governance to an “umbrella concept to define an approach to comparative politics”, an approach that fills analytical gaps left by others. Using of governance approach, he emphasises “the creative potential of politics, especially with the ability of leaders to rise above the existing structure of the ordinary, to change the rules of the game and to inspire others to partake in efforts to move society forward in new and productive directions”. To him, governance is a conceptual approach that, when fully elaborated can frame a comparative analysis of macro-politics. Governance concerns big questions of a constitutional nature that establish the rules of political conduct. Governance involves creative intervention by political actors to change structures that inhibit the expression of human potential. Governance is a rational concept emphasising the nature of interactions between state and social actors, and among social

actors themselves. Lastly governance refers to particular types of relationships among political actors, those which are socially sanctioned rather than arbitrary.

To conclude it's clear that the concept of governance has over the years gained momentum and a wider meaning as apart from being an instrument of public affairs management, or a gauge of political development, governance has also become a useful mechanism to enhance the legitimacy of the public realm. It has also become an analytical framework or approach to comparative politics.

Governance should be pluralistic wherein authority should be spread across many levels and across multiple centers of authority. Decentralised forms of governance are believed to make the process of local democracy more inclusive by creating spaces for increased participation and wider representation by various citizens groups that have been traditionally marginalised from mainstream political processes (Ananthpur, 2006).

In present day use, governance refers to a new process of governing or a changed condition of ordered rule or the new method by which society is governed (Rhodes, 1997).

Neo-Traditionalism and Traditional Governance

Neo-traditionalism is the re-creation of the traditional ideology as contesting the modern that does not confine with indigenous social reality. Neo-traditionalism can be defined as romanticisation of a traditional past, which is seen as an ideal way of life and opposed to the modernised fragmentation of social relations. It can also be understood as the resistance by indigenous communities to this materialised modernity is seen as having moral value and also indigenous knowledge and culture is seen as belonging to the perceived rightful owners who are the members of the tribal society (Hassler, 2012). Neo-traditionalism accounts for a modern socio-political phenomenon. It involves various domains of ideology, practice and modulates the political and social behaviours of the actors (Pordie, 2010). Neo-traditionalism breaks with notions of deeply rooted cultural essences or characterizations of static anti-modern tradition. An approach focusing on neo-traditionalism treats seemingly historical institutions, practices and values as mouldable resources, subject to ongoing social and political contestation (Galvan, 2015). Walder (1986) described neo-traditionalism as a system characterized by dependence, deference, and particularism in contrast with the more familiar modern

forms of industrial authority that are notable for this relative impersonality and anonymity and the relatively tight bureaucratic restriction of personal discretion of immediate supervisor (Pearce, 2017).

Traditional institutions are an integral part of rural India. The importance of this institution arises from the fact that it has certain centrality in village governance (Ananthpur, 2006). Customary panchayats have a certain centrality in village governance as they provide an element of social security and local law and order. Traditional refers to a form of governance understood and validated through narratives or procedures deemed traditional by the constituents. It is usually not codified but has been applied for quite some time, and refers to the past of an ethnic community. The term traditional is not equivalent to ancient or primordial rather the term refers to a mode of legitimization of political institutions (Holzinger, et al, 2016).

The term governance refers to the political function of steering a community i.e. ability to make and enforce rules and to deliver services. Governance refers to organizations and to rules aiming at regulating behaviour and taking collective decisions. Therefore, the term traditional governance captures a variety of traditional authorities such as chiefs, kings, headmen, queen mothers, council of elders, etc. it also captures traditional procedural rules such as mechanisms for conflict resolution or leadership selection and also includes the substantial rules with respect to internal security, land and resource allocation, public health or in matters of marriage and inheritance (Holzinger, et al, 2016). Traditional governance systems approaches to governance are ones that are led by local indigenous knowledge in a collaborative and participatory process (Parry, 2018). The 73rd Amendment to the constitution envisages setting up of local governance structures with the intention of deepening democracy at the grassroots. This was achieved by bringing marginalised groups to the mainstream political process through affirmative action.

In a research report titled *Our Global Neighbourhood* issued in 1995, the commission defined governance as “governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have

agreed to or perceive to be in their interest.” Governance has four features- governance is not a set of rules or an activity, but a process, the process of governance is not based on control, but on coordination, it involves both public and private sectors, it is not a formal institution, but continuing interaction (Keping, 2017). Traditional leadership/ leaders are also known as chiefs, traditional authorities, traditional rulers, monarchs, kings, nobles, aristocrats and natural rulers in a variety of African and other countries. Traditional leaders can claim special legitimacy in the eyes of their people because these institutions can be seen to embody their people’s history, culture, laws, values, religion and even remnants of pre-colonial sovereignty (Ray and Reddy, 2003). Traditional governance is a global phenomenon because out of the 193 member states of the United Nations, 103 recognize the existence of particular ethnic groups in their constitution. 70 of them grant special cultural or political rights to these communities. 61 countries as diverse as Ghana, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Paraguay and Tuvalu explicitly recognize forms of traditional governance and customary law (Holzinger et al, 2010). Traditional governance refers to the administration of societies that factors in the adoption of indigenous institutions and often adopts indigenous cultural practices. From a broader perspective, traditional governance is one with indigenous institutions within which the citizens are guided and respected and a socio-cultural framework that reinforces social order in the society (Adewusi, 2018).

By traditional institutions, it refers to the indigenous political system or arrangements whereby leaders with proven track of records are nominated, appointed and installed in accordance with the provisions of their native laws and customs. The essence of the institutions is to preserve the customs, traditions and cultural heritage of the people and manage conflicts and violence arising among or between members of the community by the instrumentality of laws and customs of the people (Abdulqadir, 2016). Some of the examples of traditional governance in India are village council in Mizoram, Nagaland, Assam and Karnataka. In Nagaland, a Monsang^{vi} Naga village is a closely-knit political institution and every Monsang village has its own indigenous institution which looks after the well-being of the village. It comprises of fifteen leaders and the institution is called ‘Khuwnsang’ meaning the village council. The elected members of the village are known as ‘KhuwpuhChiipuh’ meaning village protector. The Monsang village chief is

called 'Eruwngpa'^{vii}. The village chief along with his assistants formed the traditional village council and the traditional village council and statutory village authority exists side by side (Somie, 2017). The Kuki^{viii} chieftainship was a historical requirement and his duties was manifold one of which was defence of the villagers. In due course of time he came to be recognised as the village chief. Village chief is a person belonging to younger branches of the family clan and another type is hereditary chief who is head of the clan. The Kuki traditional form of governance is based on Chieftainship. Each village has got a chief Haosa which the Mizo called it Lal, it is hereditary. He is the owner of ancestral lands and is traditionally the repositories of all powers of administration dealing with the village. This rule is autocratic but not despotic (Haokip, 2009). In Assam, the Karbis are the principal tribal community in the Karbi Anglong district of Assam, they have their own traditional self-governing institutions. In the same way in Sikkim, the Dzumsa system is one of the traditional institution which functions along with the formal Panchayat system.

Conclusion

Governance is generally used to describe how power and authority are exercised and distributed, how decisions are made, and to what extent citizens are able to participate in decision making processes (Pretorius et al, 2005). Governance in essence is about solving collective action dilemmas. It is recognised in the literature that this, in broad way, can be done through government regulation, privatization or self-governance arrangements. Governance includes roles of and relations between the state, the market and civil society. There are three ways to understand about governance. Firstly, governance refers to those social activities which seek to guide, steer, control, or manage societies. Governance describes the patterns that emerge from the governing activities of diverse actors that can be observed in what deemed acceptable norms of behaviour, and divergent institutional forms. Secondly, governance is not same as government as government centres on the institutions and actions of the state, and the term governance allows non-state actors such as businesses and non-governmental organisation to be brought into analysis of societal steering. Thirdly, governance is not tied to a particular period of time or geographical place rather it is a concept that travels easily across these analytical categories. In fact, its lack of geographical specificity has allowed scholars to

examine aspects of governance operating at totally different spatial scales-international, national and sub-national or even across many scales (Adger and Jordan, 2009). The term governance is used instead of government to draw attention to the empirical fact that more policies are implemented by a much wider array of Public, private and voluntary organisations than would have traditionally been included within a purely governmental framework. Neo-traditionalism rightly talks about the revival of traditional styles, values and practices and traditional governance deals with the administration of societies that factors in the adoption of indigenous institutions and are often led by the local indigenous knowledge. The people in traditional governance are guided by tradition law and those who follow this type of governance always respect and preserve its tradition and customs. The people who follow the traditional governance mostly belong to the tribal community.

CHAPTER 3

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF RURAL REFORM IN SIKKIM

Introduction

Local government is the administration of a particular country or district with representative elected by those who live there. Local government is a form of public administration which is a majority of contexts, exists as the lowest tier of administration within a given state. Local government is an administrative body for a small geographic area, such as city, town, country or state. The local government will typically only have control over their specific geographical region and cannot pass or enforce laws that will affect a wider area. It can elect officials, enact taxes and do many other things that a national government would do just on a smaller scale. Thus this chapter deals with the meaning and definition of local government, the local governments in Sikkim, rural reform's initiatives and the traditional system of governance in Sikkim.

Local Government: Meaning and Definition

Local government is an institution, which deals with matters concerning the people living in the particular locality. It represents the microscopic interests of the locality leading to the broader concept of welfare and happiness of its people. The parliament decides the matters to be of local importance, whereas implemented by provincial governments. Therefore, local government should be administered by local bodies, which are controlled by the central government. Local government is not a sovereign government as it has got nothing to do with security, defence, bank rates, taxation, international trade, etc. on a national level rather they act as the representative body which staffs of their own. In every state the work of the government is concentrated in the centre where the legislature meets and from where the heads of the executive, with the secretariats direct the

administration (Sikander, 2015). The local government institutions play an important role in promoting the democratic values but also in accelerating the pace of development. They allow effective participation and involvement of the local people in the development of the local areas. Development whether social, political or economic becomes meaningful and real only when it stems from the lowest societies levels i.e. the grass-roots level (Sikander, 2015). According to Sidgwick “the term local government in a unitary state means organ which, though completely subordinate to the central legislature are independent of the central executive in appointment, and to some extent, in their decisions and exercise a partially independent control over certain parts of public finance. The term local government is applied to those organs which exist at the will of the central government, and which, while they exist have certain definite powers of making regulation, of controlling certain parts of public finance, and of executing their own laws or the laws of the central legislature, over a given area. These organs are essentially subordinate bodies but they have independence of action within certain stated limits. They represent a sub-division of the functions of government for the purpose of efficient administration. Part of administration, as it was being parcelled out to bodies each of which has its own area of operation” (Sidgwick cited in Sikander, 2015). John Clarke in his book “Outlines of the local government” (1992) has defined local government as that part of the government of a nation which deals with such matters as concern the inhabitants of a particular district or place and which it is thought desirable should be administered by local authority subordinate to the central government. According to Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (2019), local government may be loosely defined as a public organization authorized to decide and administer a limited range of public policies within a relatively small territory which is a sub-division of a regional or national government. Local government is at the bottom of a pyramid of governmental institutions with the national government at the top and intermediate governments (state, regions, provinces) occupying the middle range. Normally, local government has general jurisdiction and is not confined to the performance of one specific function or service. As per the General Clauses Act, 1897 “Local Government shall mean the person authorized by law to administer executive government in the part of British India in which the Act or Regulation containing the expression operates and shall include a chief commissioner”.

Local government is that part of the government of a nation or state which deals mainly with such matters as concern the inhabitants of the particular district of places, together with those matters which parliament has deemed it desirable should be administered by local bodies, subordinate to the central government (Singh, 2001). To D. Lockard “local government may be loosely defined as a public organization, authorized to decide and administer a limited range of public policies within relatively small territory which is a subdivision of a regional or national government”. According to P. Stones (1963) “local government is that part of the government of a country which deals with those matters which concern the people in particular locality”. He also says that local government acts as the communities’ housewife wherein it makes our surroundings fit to live in, keeps the street clean, educates our children, builds our houses and does all those other similar jobs which enable us to lead a civilized life. In the words of Robson “local government may be said to involve the conception of a territorial, non-sovereign community possessing the legal right and the necessary organisation to regulate its own affairs. This in turn presupposes the existence of external control as well as the participation of the local community in the administration of its own affairs”. Rao (1965) defines “local government is that part of the government which deals mainly with local affairs, administered by authorities’ subordinate to the state authority by the qualified residents” (Rao, 1965 cited in Sachdeva, 2011). A very simple definition is given by Golding (1955), he says “local government is the management of their own affairs by the people of a locality”. In the same way Jennings (1947) says that “local government as governmental organs having jurisdiction not over the whole of a country but over specific portion of it”. According to Gokhale (1972) “local government is the government of specific locality by the local people through the representatives elected by them”.

Local government refers to specific institutions or entities created by national constitutions like Brazil, Denmark, France, India, Italy, Japan, Sweden, by State constitutions which are Australia, the United States, by ordinary legislation of a higher level of central government which includes New Zealand, the United Kingdom, most countries, by provincial or state legislation Canada and Pakistan, or by executive order (China) to deliver a range of specified services to a relatively small geographically delineated area. Local governance is a broader concept and is defined as the formulation

and execution of collective action at the local level. Therefore, local governance encompasses the direct and indirect roles of formal institutions of local government and government hierarchies as well as the roots of informal norms, networks, community organization and neighbourhood associations in pursuing collective action by defining the framework of (Shah and Sana, 2006). As far as India is concerned it has the distinction of being a unique federal country wherein federalism involves a two tier system- central or union government at the first level and the state or provincial government at the second level. The Constitution of India provides for a three-tier federal structures i.e. (i) Union Government at the top (ii) State Government in the middle (iii) Local Government i.e. Panchayats and Municipalities at the grassroot level. In India, local government is the third stratum of the government, the first two being the central and state governments. With the real spirit and high ideas of democracy, local government forms an indispensable part of governance and administration in India.

Local Government in Sikkim

The change through the passage of time occurs in every society in some or the other way but the change in Sikkim from monarchy to democracy can unexpectedly in Sikkim and people were not ready and prepared for the new system. The post-merger period brought about a painful process of conversion to the political and economic culture of an Indian State. The system of governance and institutions introduced by the merger were thereafter unknown to the Sikkimese (Das, 1994). The currents and cross-currents of the political life, the intra party squabble, intra community contradictions, working of the democratic government, and the economic development of the State and the disappointment both among the elite and the common mass. Communalism which had been a permanent feature of the Sikkimese politics, assumed an undesirable form. Distrust, a sense of insecurity flowing from their feeling of becoming aliens in their own land, gripped the minds of a section of people, while the flow of outsiders in Sikkim made others uneasy (Sengupta, 1985). The merger of Sikkim with India was a burning question in the minds of many people. However, a huge amount of fund for development, people's aspirations for freedom and other advantages of merger struck a balance and made the Sikkim's transition a smooth one.

Sikkim became one of the States of the Indian Union only in 1975. Owing to the historical antecedent, Sikkim did not experience the community development phase of early 1950s as at that time the institutions of local self-government known as Local Area Panchayats was introduced. Under the Indo-Sikkim Treaty, 1950 both parties agreed on 'progressive association of the people with the governance of the state', for that matter in the formation of village panchayats at the local level on an elective basis. The Local Area Panchayats were established in 1951 but the then Government of Sikkim did not show any interest in the proper functioning of these bodies, these institutions became defunct as soon as they were established (Dhamala, 1994). Soon after the merger in 1975, the congress party of India began pressing on the Kazi to merge the SNC with the congress. As a result, it ceremonially merged with the Indian National Congress and came to be known as Sikkim Pradesh Congress. The lone National Party representative in the Assembly also joined the Congress, making the House single party affairs as there was no other party in Sikkim during this time (Sengupta, 1985).

Local government operates both in urban and rural areas (Sachdeva, 2011). Local governance is described as some governmental bodies elected by the people that have administrative, legislative and executive functions on their territories under their jurisdiction (Ndreu, 2016). Local government is an authority to determine and execute measures within a restricted area inside and smaller than a whole state. Some degree of local government characterizes every country in the world, although the degree is extremely significant. The variant, local self-government is important for its emphasis upon the freedom of the locality to decide and act. Decentralization represents local government in areas where the authority to decide has been devolved to a council of locally elected persons acting on their own discretion with officials they themselves freely appoint and discipline.

Sikkim introduced its Panchayati Raj Act in 1993 to conform the 73rd Amendment Act but the roots of its Panchayat Raj dates back to the time when Sikkim was a kingdom under the Namgyal Dynasty. During this period there were *Zamindars*^{ix} or landlords who were also called as Kazi and under their rule there were *Mandals*^x and *Karbaris*^{xi} whose job was to look after the workings in the field and to collect taxes in the form of *DhuriKhazana*^{xii}. The first attempt to establish Panchayats in the State was made as early

as 1948 immediately after the abolition of Zamindari system and Addas under the landlords (Government of Sikkim, 2014). The attempt was made to create Panchayats consisting of the Landlords or his representatives and four other members from the block selected by the people through meetings convened for the purpose and these Panchayats would filled the gap created by the abolition of Addas and were essentially quasi-judicial or Nyaya Panchayats as is evident from the functions entrusted to them. The Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1965 came into effect in December 1965 and it was promulgated to consolidate and amend laws relating to Panchayats in Sikkim. The main objective to establish these Panchayats was to facilitate rural development and to enable participation of all communities at the village level. The tenure of these Panchayats were three years and each of these Panchayats was assigned 16 duties and functions and to fulfil these duties they had resources comprising house tax, a proportion (10 percent) of the land revenue of the block, matching grants by the Darbar for original work, sanitation cess and water cess. The 1965 Act also provided reservations for minorities (Government of Sikkim, 2014).

In Sikkim the two-tier Panchayat system was introduced in 1982 as a new Act was enacted for decentralizing the work at district levels and this Act envisaged the constitution of Zilla Panchayats at the district level. Sikkim follows the two-tier system of Panchayat Raj with the Zilla Panchayat at the District Level and Gram Panchayat at the village level. By implementing the Constitution 73rd Amendment Act, 1993 it marked the new age of decentralization in Sikkim. It enacted the Sikkim Panchayat Act which was notified in October 1993. The Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1993, enabled the Gram and Zilla Panchayats to have authority to levy taxes, rates and fees. The duties cast by the constitution to the State Government viz. Periodic holding of local elections, bringing out enabling legislations for the transfer of funds, functions and functionaries, constitution of State Finance Commission has been fully adhered to by the state in case of Rural Local Bodies i.e. Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs). In Sikkim there is the Zilla Panchayat at district level and Gram Panchayat at the village level. Till 1991, there was no existence of Zilla Panchayat in Sikkim and it was only after 1982 that an Act was enacted to establish the constitution of Zilla Panchayat or District Panchayat. Sikkim has 4 Zilla Panchayats consisting of 110 Territorial Constituencies and 176 Gram Panchayats Units (GPU)

comprising of 989 wards and of the 176 GP there are two traditional institutions of self-governance in Lachen and Lachung north Sikkim known as Dzumsa. The Dzumsa was deemed to be GPU for the purpose of Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1993 and exercise its traditional powers and functions in addition to those of the Gram Panchayats (Government of Sikkim, 2014).

Politics of Rural Reforms and the establishment of Local Government

The rural reform initiatives were taken in Sikkim to change the institution or practice in order to improve the political structure. The various Acts of Sikkim shows over a period of time how new Panchayat Acts was introduced in Sikkim to change the political system and introduced Panchayati Raj System in the state. The Panchayat system was introduced in all the districts of Sikkim by removing the traditional tribal councils except the traditional Dzumsa system which was retained despite the introduction of the PRIs.

The Sikkim Panchayat Act of 1965

The Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1965 was the first attempt to establish the Panchayati Raj Institutions in Sikkim and this Act demanded for a non-hierarchical panchayat with block panchayat at the village level. The Block Panchayats constituted under this Act continued till 1981 during which four elections were held in the year 1966, 1969, 1972 and 1976. The Block Panchayats were given wide range of functions like developmental, welfare and agency. The Act also provided for a long list of function and finance but the reality was different as the Panchayats mainly functioned as quarrel adjudication body and their role in development was confined to placing demands to the Government and nominating the contractor for the implementation of minor schemes. The universal adult franchise was not there for the election of block panchayat as only land revenue payee could be electorate or candidates. This provision cut at the root of democracy and served more as a facade of democracy rather than effecting popular participation. The role of Panchayat was limited as it had neither the leadership nor the organisational competence to undertake the integrated rural development (Damala, 1994). After this Act there was abolition of other traditional Panchayat system like Chhodu system of Dzongu because the system was integrated with the pattern prevalent in rest of the State whereas the traditional system Dzumsa was not removed because this unique system of self-rule managed to survived as the 1982 Panchayat Act protected these traditional tribal cultures.

The Sikkim Panchayat Act of 1982

The Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1982 was enacted to introduce two tier panchayat systems, with gram panchayat at the block level and Zilla panchayat at the district level. These bodies were constituted for the first time on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The gram panchayats were elected directly by the people and the election is conducted by the Election Department of the State. The Act also provided a long list of sources of finance. The Act states that there shall be Gram Panchayat Unit at the village level and also provides for the constitution of Zilla Panchayat at district level. The gram panchayat leaders confine themselves to identification of local needs and nomination of contractor for the execution of local works (Damala, 1994). The Zilla Panchayats were assigned with the functions to provide essential services and facilities to the rural population and the planning and execution of the development programmes for the district. This Sikkim Panchayat Act protected and retained the Dzumsa system of Lachen and Lachung in North District of Sikkim and recognised the Dzumsa and the election of Pipons annually.

The Sikkim Panchayat Act of 1993

The Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1993 which received the assent of the governor on 11th October 1993 came into effect force from August 1995. The Act incorporates most of the essential features of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992. The significant provisions of this Act include regular election in every five years, reservation of seats and offices for women and weaker sections of the people through Gram Sabha, local level planning, a democratic framework for devolution of funds and transfer of functions. The Act deals with the law relating to panchayats and to provide for the constitution and organisation of panchayats as units of self-government in Sikkim in accordance with the provisions of part 9 of the constitution as inserted by the constitution 73rd Amendment Act, 1992 and for that matters connected therewith and incidental thereto be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly in the forty fourth year of the Republic of India as follows. This Act extends to the whole of Sikkim except the areas which may hereafter be declared as or included in the Nagar Panchayat. This Act shall come into force on such date as the state government may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint and different dates may be appointed for different areas and for different provisions of the Act. The Act defines the meanings of Adhikshya, Auditor, District Collector, District Development

officer cum-panchayat officer, Governor, Gram, Gram Panchayat, Nagar Panchayat, Notification, Prescribed Authority, Sabhapati, Up-Adhikshya, Zilla Panchayat (Government of Sikkim, 2010). The Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1993 was enacted by the Sikkim Legislative Assembly and this Act was enacted in accordance with the provisions of Part IX of the constitution of the 73rd Amendment Act, 1992. The Act makes Panchayats as units of self-government in Sikkim and contains 12 chapters. The Act also has provisions for State Election Commission to conduct the regular elections to Panchayats. It has constitutional provisions regarding powers and duties of different tiers of Panchayati Raj Institutions. The Act also deals with constitution of Gram and Gram Sabha (Government of Sikkim, 2010). This Act has also kept the traditional Dzumsa intact.

Sikkim Panchayat Act of 1995

To further amend the Sikkim Panchayat Act of 1993, the Sikkim Panchayat Act of 1995 was enacted which stated that there shall be constituted in each panchayat area, an institution of self-government called the gram panchayat bearing the name of gram. For the purpose of sub-section (1), each panchayat area shall be divided into wards in such manner as the state government may, determine, provided that the number of members to be elected in each ward shall, as far as practicable, be in the same proportion to the total number of persons to be elected for the gram panchayats as the population of the wards bear to the total population of the panchayat area. The Act also deals with the constitution, composition and election of the gram panchayats (Government of Sikkim, 2010). The Act was enacted by the legislature of Sikkim in the 46th year of the Republic of India and the Act stated that “in the case of the two villages of Lachen and Lachung in the North District of the State, the areas comprised in the two villages shall be deemed to be the Grams for the purpose of section 3 of the Act and the traditional institutions of Dzumsa as existing in these two villages for many centuries shall be deemed to be the Gram Panchayat constituted under this section”. This Act made it clear that the Dzumsa is still in operation as an institution of self-government in two villages of Lachen and Lachung with recognition as Gram Panchayats as regards rural developmental activities (Chhetri, 2008).

The Sikkim Panchayat Act of 1997

To further amend the Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1993, Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1997 was enacted by the legislature of Sikkim in the 48th year of the Republic of India and this Act says that when an order of suppression has been passed under section 144 or the provision to article 243N of the Constitution has been invoked to dissolve all the Panchayats, then with effect from the date of the order. All the members of the Gram Panchayat or the Zilla Panchayat as the case may be, shall vacate their office, all the powers, duties and functions which, under the provisions of this Act or any rule made there under any law for the time being in force, may be exercised, all properties vested in the Gram Panchayat or Zilla Panchayat, as the case may be, shall remain vested in the state government until the reconstitution of such Gram Panchayat or Zilla Panchayat.

The Sikkim Panchayat Act of 2001

The Sikkim Panchayat Act, 2001 was enacted by the legislature of Sikkim in the 52nd year of the Republic of India as follows that the Act shall be called the Sikkim Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 2001. The Act shall come into force at once. In section 12 of the SPA, 1993, in sub-section (1) for the existing provision for the following provision shall be substituted, namely: “provided however, that the existing system of the traditional institutions of Dzumsa practiced in the two villages of the Lachen and Lachung in the north district of the state shall continue to exist in accordance with the traditional and customary laws of the Dzumsa. Notwithstanding other provisions of the SPA the traditional institutions of the Dzumsa existing in the village Lachen and Lachung shall exercise the powers and functions as provided under the Act in addition to the powers and functions exercised by them under the existing traditional and customary law” (Rinzing, 2001). This Act clearly mentioned that the Dzumsa shall continue and carry on with its existing systems and officially declares that Dzumsa should be retained.

Dzumsa System in Sikkim

The local government operates both in urban and rural areas and is therefore designated as urban local governance and rural local government, respectively. The urban local government institutions such as municipal corporations, municipal committees, nagar panchayats and the rural local institutions include zilla parishads, panchayat samities, gram panchayat and gram sabhas (Sachdeva, 2011). Local governments play a critical

role in delivering services to the public (Walker and Andrews, 2013). The Dzumsa system comes under the rural authorities but it is operated by Pipon who is the head of Dzumsa instead of Panchayats. Dzumsa is the unique system of self-rule which was formed centuries back and has still managed to survive in the modern period. Dzumsa is an institution of local self-government in two villages of Lachen and Lachung with recognition as Gram Panchayats as regards to rural development activities. Under the Act, 1993, Pisons in Dzumsa represent their villages in Zilla Panchayats. All the development activities were carried by Pipon of Dzumsa (Chhetri, 2008). In Dzumsa system, the qualification required in order to become a Pipon are:

- He should know about the tradition and customs.
- He should have knowledge about the local area and its people.
- Not necessary to be educated, education qualification is not required.
- One has to be above the age of 40 years.
- He should be honest, sincere, and have quality of a social worker.
- Employees are not allowed to contest for the post of Pipon.
- He should be local and have knowledge about Dzumsa system.
- He should be courageous, confident, bold and able to control public.
- The process required for the selection of Pipon includes:
 - No campaign required
 - Pipon is selected in Dzumsa gathering
 - He is elected by the public.
 - Selection is done through show of hand.

Election of the Pipon in Dzumsa

In Dzumsa system, the head is known as Pipon, and in both Lachen and Lachung there are two senior pisons. The pipon is called as the king of public who is also known as the village chiefs, possessors of authority and act as representatives to the outside world (Sabatier, 2004). In order to elect a Pipon, two blocks are divided which is locally called as Lema and Khedum and within that blocks two groups are made accordingly and they select each person from the respective groups. The names of the persons selected are written in small sheet of paper (chits) and put it in the box and after that the head Lama (head monk) of the village or a young child are asked to pick a chit from the box and

whosoever name is there in the chit becomes the pipon. If the lottery system does not work than the public's are divided into 5-6 groups and piece of paper is distributed to them and they have to write the names of the one whom they want to make Pipon. The names written in majority will become Pipon. Earlier people use to select pipon by raising their hands. At present a notebook/copy is kept wherein the names of the Pipon are written according to the seniority. Once elected as a Pipon, after his tenure he doesn't have a chance of getting re-elected so that each person in the villages be it educated, uneducated, old/young, unemployed, gets the chance to become a pipon. The people with government service are not allowed to contest for the post of Pipon. The most important criteria are that he should have a proper knowledge about the rules and regulation of the Dzumsa and also should be aware about the tradition and customs of the villages. There is no hereditary system in Dzumsa. If a father was a Pipon, it's not necessary that his son will be the next Pipon. One of the striking features of Dzumsa system is that turn by turn everyone gets the chance of being a Pipon.

The procedures for conducting a meeting in Dzumsa

In order to conduct a meeting in Dzumsa there are series of people involved in to make the functioning of Dzumsa easy, convenient and comfortable and for that there are 2 senior Pিপন followed by two Gyapons. Gyapons assist the Pipon and whenever there is a meeting on behalf of Pipon, the Gyapons are supposed to inform the public regarding the meetings. The Gyapons shout at the top of the hill and inform each Blocks. People have to gather for meetings when Gyapons inform them about the meetings. Regarding the meeting, there is a dress code where people attending the meeting has to wear traditional attire called 'Bakhu' or else they have to pay fine of Rs 100 and for not attending the meetings fine of Rs 500 is levied. There is no fixed scheduled or time as to how many times a month a meeting is conducted. Whenever the officers come from the outside they conduct a meeting, as and when necessary meeting is done. The only main meeting is conducted for almost 2-3 days before the traditional Gumpa (Monastery) dance as after that a new Pipon is elected. The traditional Gumpa dance marks as a farewell to the pipon as well. If they want to continue with the same pipon tan re-election is not necessary, he can continue after the traditional mask dance. According to Talukdar (2012) in her article "*Dzumsa (keeping traditions alive in the high mountains)*" says that

in the structure of Dzumsa, two Gyapons assist the pipon in all his tasks. There is a council of about 18 Gembo or responsible village elders representing different areas whose responsibility is to help the institution in its overall functions, as well as the chief and in dispensing its decisions. When a meeting is conducted, the gyapons call the village people to assemble in the community hall on a certain day. The tradition of making announcements by shouting names of family heads by the gyapons, visiting their localities is still alive. Those who don't attend the meeting penalty is levied. One representative from the Bhuddhist monastery in the village in the council is compulsory in the institution as Bhutias follow Bhuddhism and this representation from the religious institution is called *Chuitempa*. The tenure Dzumsa is one year but, the chief and the council may be re-elected for another year or more according to the villager's mandate. Earlier one person was nominated for the post of pipon, now more than one person can be nominated and in such a case, names of the nominated persons are written in slips of paper and then placed before the council. The Chuitempa puts all the papers in a bottle and then performs a holy ceremony so that the name of the right person comes to his hand, he draws a paper randomly and whose name emerges first is nominated as the chief for that year without further discussion and dispute. The new Dzumsa council is formed after the yearly mask dance ceremony performed in the monastery. Bhutias are divided into two clans- Lema and Khedum and both clans have their own Dzumsa. Though the role of Dzumsa has been extended over time, the original purpose of the institution of being the singular judiciary has remained the same and all disputes are settled in the apex judiciary known as Khamsu. The instance crimes is rare in areas coming with Dzumsa jurisdiction and in very rare occasions, if the accused person deviates from the Dzumsa's decision than the matter is sent to the district administration to be settled before a formal judiciary. Only the original Lachenpas and Lachungpas in their respective areas can be members of Dzumsa. Dzumsa is still prevalent as people accept it because of its transparency and clarity maintained by the leader. All welfare funds, aid or relief granted to the two villages have been distributed for the villagers through Dzumsa in open public meeting so that every person knows about such matter. The government responsibilities have made the institution overburdened at time, particularly with the complexities of the modern age. The system of Dzumsa is entirely a male dominated but the administration is

putting pressure on the authorities to provide women some space in the leadership as female participation in Panchayat in the state is 50 percent (Talukdar, 2012).

Conclusion

Sikkim became one of the constituent State of the Indian Union only in the year 1975 but before that it was under the British Protectorate from 1817 till 1947. The Statutory Panchayat in Sikkim is of recent origin but the resemblance of existing panchayat system can be trace back to the period when different tribal groups in Sikkim have different traditional institutions. They were accustomed to regulation of their domestic, religious, social, economic, socio-political and judicial affairs at the grass-root level through their tribal councils and collective wisdom of the people in the villages. In Sikkim, the internal administration was feudal in character. Though Sikkim has a long political history and follows the Panchayat Act but along with it, the traditional system so exists. The Dzumsa is one such unique system which still exists along with the formal institutions like panchayats.

CHAPTER 4

TRADITIONAL DZUMSA SYSTEM IN LACHEN AND LACHUNG: EMPIRICAL STUDY FROM THE FIELD

Introduction

Traditional governance refers to the administration of societies that factors in the adoption of indigenous institutions and often adopts indigenous within which the citizens are guided and respected and a socio-cultural framework that reinforces social order in the society. Informal governance refers to written rules, shared expectations and norms that are not enshrined in formally constituted organizations and which modify or substitute legally binding rules whereas formal governance is complex organisations which continue to be prevalent at village level in rural India. Customary panchayats have certain centrality in village governance as they provide an element of social security and local law and order. Dzumsa is one such traditional institution which functions along with the formal Panchayats system in the state of Sikkim. The survey has been conducted to study the present status of the traditional institution and the present relevance of the institution. The survey was conducted from 10th of November to 18th of November in the two villages of Lachen and Lachung in North District of Sikkim. Lachen is a village in North Sikkim district. It is located at elevation of 2,750 metres. Lachung is a village and located in the North Sikkim district near the border with Tibet. Lachung is at an elevation of about 9,600 feet and at the confluence of the Lachen and Lachung rivers, both tributaries of the river Teesta.

Table 4.1: Lachen and Lachung at a glance

Description	Lachen	Lachung
Demography	1325	2495

Elevation	2750 ft	9600 ft
Literacy Rate	52.09%	75.56%
Sex Ratio	800	389

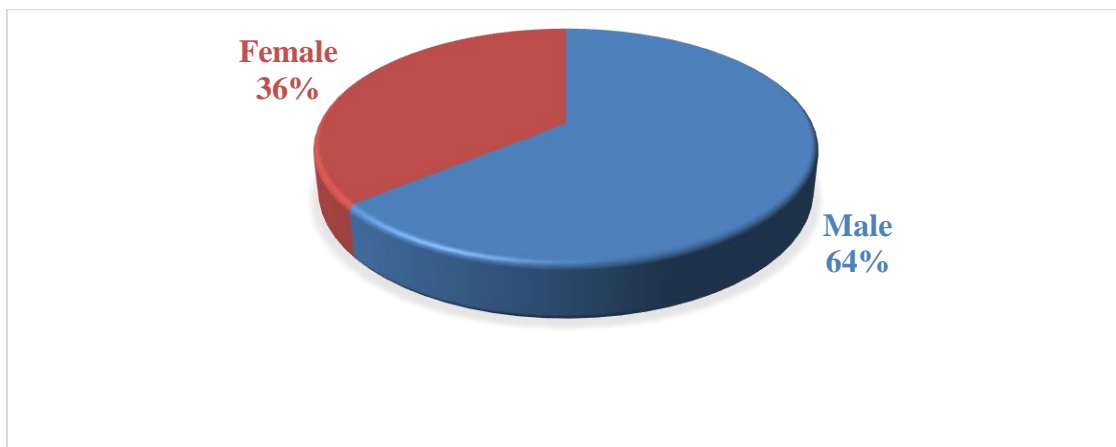
Source: Census 2011

The Dzumsa is a traditional administration body of the villages of Lachen and Lachung in North Sikkim. It is a self-government system where a headman, known as the ‘*Pipon*’, is elected and the community where all the disputes are settled in a democratic manner. The system of governance is traditional and it follows the tribal social organizational position which is entirely different, unique and to some extent more democratic than the Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) which is prevalent in other districts of Sikkim. The traditional village level organization consists of the elders of every household of the village including women and lamas (monks). The Dzumsa resembles some features of the village governance prevalent in the Vedic Age known as Sabha and Samiti. Two persons are elected from amongst the members of the Dzumsa as the pipons. They are assisted in their daily affairs by the lamas known as Chutimpas. The pipon have wide powers and functions in accordance with the customary laws. The Dzumsa conferred verdict for all the cases including major ones in the villages of Lachen and Lachung. The term of the office of Dzumsa is fixed for one year and after accomplishing its term the office has to be dissolved and a new election will be conducted for the smooth functioning of the village institution. In Dzumsa there is a committee which comprises of 18 senior members of Lachung valley including five monastery representatives. The committee takes charges after the completion of the term of the elected pipons. They remained active and execute most of the duties, earlier executed by the elected pipons until new pipon is elected. This system of self-governance was established during the first half of the 19th century in order to provide structure and solidity for societies and their activities. Even after the merger of Sikkim with India the traditional system of Dzumsa is still prevalent in Lachen and Lachung of North Sikkim (Upadhyay, 2012). The Bhutia people living in remote areas tucked between the high mountains of North Sikkim have been able to keep the centuries old Dzumsa alive, the indigenous autonomous institution of the tribe, not only with its traditional hue but simultaneously making the institution attuned to handle complex issues of modern administration. The autonomous institution of the

Tibetan dialect speaking Bhutia people living in Lachen and Lachung of North district of Sikkim bordering China is dynamic and democratic in nature as besides being crucial to their lifestyle that even after the introduction of a new administrative set up following Sikkim's merger with India way back in 1975, authorities preferred to keep Dzumsa alive in these two villages which is most protected and restricted areas in India, rather than imposing the new administration. Dzumsa have been bestowed with more responsibilities to act as the key agency of implementing welfare programmes of the modern Panchayat system. Thus, this indigenous institution has become a unique example of an autonomous institution in the Himalayan belt inherited from traditional ways which has managed to survive in the changing world. The role of Dzumsa was more of a judiciary as it was primarily responsible for maintaining community law and regulations and organizing community events. Guilty persons were summoned before the apex body in public and accordingly a penalty or punishment was fixed for the guilty. The community rule was strict and all decisions were taken on the grounds of Dzumsa, in public. After the post-merger period the role of Dzumsa got extended as now Dzumsa performs all the responsibilities of a Panchayat, apart from its traditional rule. Though the responsibility has increased, the original structure has remained similar as in the customary practices (Talukdar, 2012).

Respondent's Profile:

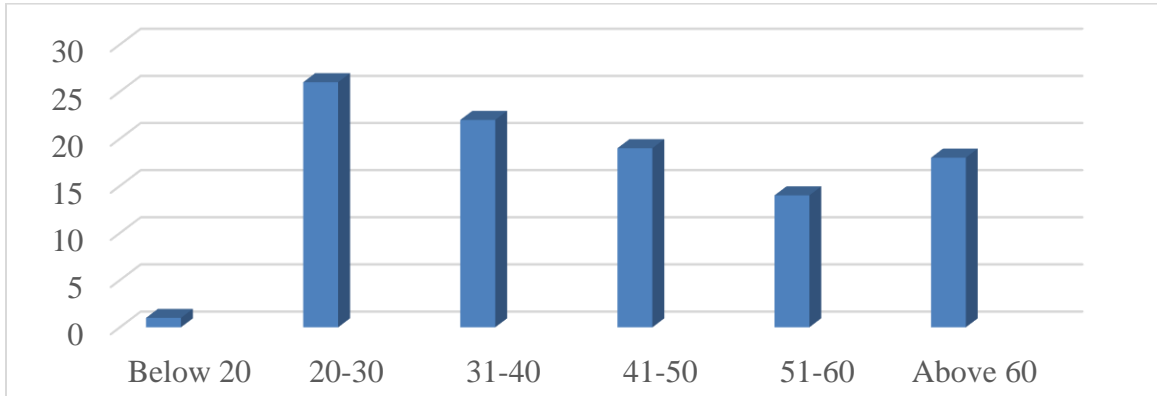
Figure 4.1: Gender of the Respondents



Source: Field Survey 2019

The total respondent was 100 out of which 64 percent was male and 36 percent were female.

Figure 4.2: Age of the Respondents

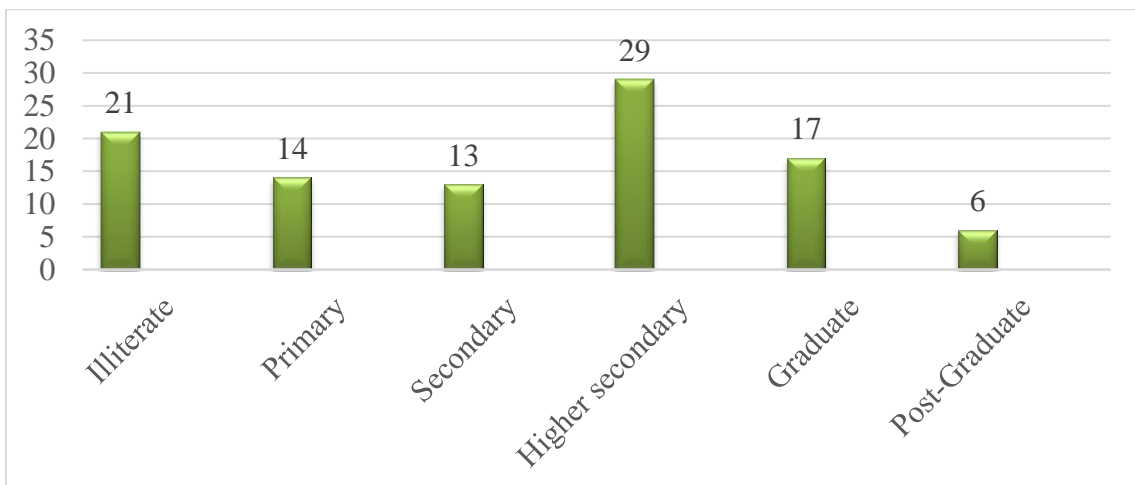


Source: Field Survey 2019

The age differences of the respondents are as follows: the respondent belonging to the age category of 20-30 were 25 percent, 31-40 were of 21 percent, 41-50 were 19 percent, 51-60 were 13 percent, above 61 were 18 percent and only 1 respondent belonged to the below 20 age category. The older the age, the better they had the knowledge about the Dzumsa system. The respondent above the age of 50 years had more idea about the Dzumsa and they also value about the importance of this system.

Category of the respondent: Most of the respondents belong to Scheduled Tribes category and almost cent percent respondent follows Buddhism as their religion.

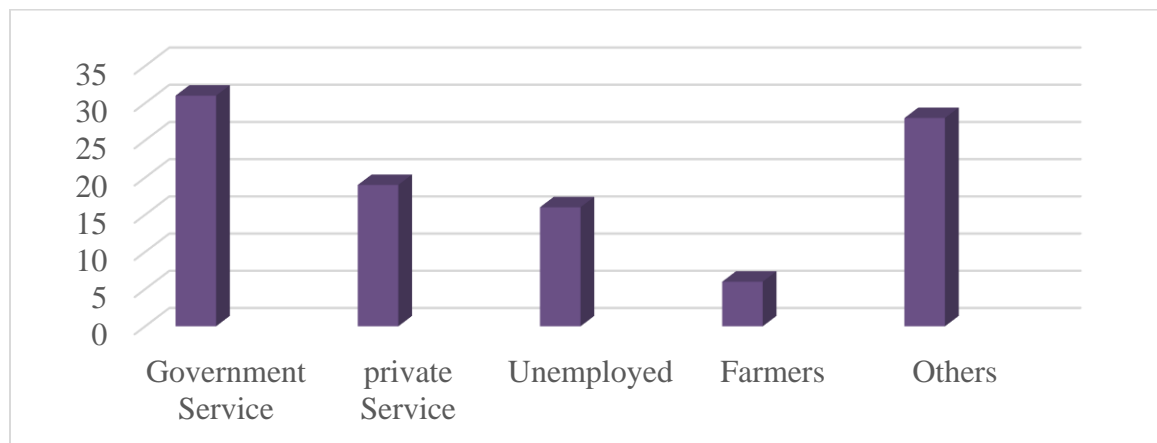
Figure 4.3: Educational Level of Respondents



Source: Field Survey 2019

The education qualification of the respondents were as follows, the 21 percent of the respondents were illiterate, 14 percent of the respondent had education till primary level, 13 percent had done education till secondary level, 29 percent of the respondent had studied till high secondary, 17 percent were graduate and only 6 percent had done education till post graduate level. The uneducated and less literate people had more knowledge about the Dzumsa system, they were aware of all the traditions and customs of their villages.

Figure 4.4: Different Occupation of Respondents



Source: Field Survey 2019

The figure 4.4 clearly shows that people in Lachen and Lachung are mostly employed in Government Services and most of them are self-employed i.e. they are either into business, some are drivers, some run their own hotels and out of 100 respondents 15 percent were unemployed, rest were into private services and few were farmers.

Table 4.2: Income of the Respondents

Income	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Below 10000	34	34
10001-20000	17	17
20001-30000	17	17
30001-40000	13	13
40001-50000	09	09
Above 50001	10	10

Source: Field Survey 2019

The above table shows the income of the total 100 respondent. Most of the Respondent earned income below 10000, and only 10 percent of the Respondent earned income above 50001.

The respondent has given different views and opinion on Dzumsa system which is discussed below-

Knowledge about Dzumsa system

The purpose of the study was to know about the Dzumsa which is the system of self-rule in the two villages of Lachen and Lachung. This system is still prevalent and in Dzumsa the two senior pipon act as the head of the village. In the words of Talukdar (2012) in her article “*Dzumsa (keeping traditions alive in the high mountains)*”, opines that the people living in remote areas have been able to keep the centuries-old Dzumsa alive, the indigenous autonomous institution of the tribe, not only with its traditional hue but simultaneously making the institution attained to handle complex issues of modern administration. This institution is dynamic and democratic in nature as besides being crucial to their lifestyle that even after the introduction of a new administrative set up following Sikkim’s merger with India way back in 1975, authorities preferred to keep Dzumsa alive in Lachen and Lachung villages which is most protected and restricted areas in India, rather than imposing the new administration. According to Sabatier (2004), “*The Dzumsa of Lachen: An example of a Sikkimese political institution*” stated that the Dzumsa is the traditional administrative system of the villages of Lachen and Lachung, high altitude communities speaking a Tibetan dialect and settled in North district of Sikkim. This system of self-governance was initially established during the first half of the 19th century in order to provide structure and cohesion for these societies and their activities. These communities were too far removed from the central authority to follow rules applicable to other regions of Sikkim. During the time of the Sikkimese kingdom, the Dzumsa was recognised and used by the king as a means of delegating his authority. In the 1970’s, when the Indian government initiated the reorganization of Sikkim’s administration and introduced the Panchayat system of local government, the new system was not imposed in the two villages of Lachen and Lachung and eventually the Dzumsa was officially recognised in 1985 and continues to function today. Dzumsa is an example of such surviving political systems which was officially recognised by the

government. So in order to find out whether the people of Lachen and Lachung had the knowledge about the Dzumsa system or not, a question was put forward to the respondent to know their views. All the 100 percent respondents have the knowledge about the Dzumsa system as they belong to that community where the traditional system still functions. Dzumsa is the traditional way of ruling people in the village.

Knowledge about the Panchayat System

The purpose of the study was to trace the relationship between the Dzumsa and Panchayat system. Formal institutions are reflexive and actors need to know and understand what they are, and in informal institutions are not officially written or enforced by legal recognition. The informal rules can be replaced, undermine and can support or strengthen formal institutions. Formal institutions are the universal and transferable rules and it generally include constitutions, laws, charters, bylaws and regulation as well as elements such as the rule of law, property rights and contract and competition monitoring systems (Ugyel, 2018). Informal institutions include a series of features like norms, traditions and social connections, interpersonal contacts, relationships and informal networks which are essential for generating trust (Rodriguez-Pose, 2013). Informal institutions are socially shared rules which are usually unwritten, which is created, communicated and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels. Informal governance can also be understood as un-codified rules of behaviour which runs parallel to the formal treaty rules and formal procedures used in international organizations (Colgan and Graaf, 2013). Informal governance is manifested by the rules and procedures of treaties and formal organizations. The Panchayat system is one such formal governance which is guided by written rules and regulations. According to Singh (2019), “Panchayat Raj system in India” Panchayats have been one of the basic features of the Indian society. Since Independence, multiple provisions of Panchayats in India have been made from time to time finally reaching epitome with the 73rd constitutional Amendment Act of 1992. The 73rd Amendment Act says that Gram Sabha may exercise such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the legislature of a state may, by law, provide, there shall be constituted in every state, Panchayats at the village, intermediate and district levels in accordance with the provisions of this part. Panchayats at the intermediate level may not be constituted in a State having a population not

exceeding twenty Lakhs. All the seats in a Panchayat shall be filled by persons chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area and, for this purpose, each Panchayat area shall be divided into territorial constituencies in such manner that the ratio between the population of each constituency and the number of seats allotted to it shall, so far as practicable, be the same throughout the Panchayat area. The legislature of a state may, by law, provide for the representation of the chairpersons of the Panchayats at the village level, intermediate level or, in the case of a State not having Panchayats at the intermediate level, in the Panchayats at the district level. In the words of Johnson (2003), the Government of India passed a series of Constitutional reforms, which were intended to empower and democratise India's rural representative bodies i.e. the Panchayats. The 73rd Amendment to the constitution formally recognised a third tier of government at the sub-State level, thereby creating the legal conditions for local self-rule or Panchayat Raj. In order to find out whether the people had knowledge about the Panchayats, the question was put forward to the respondents to know their views and it was found that the people of Lachen and Lachung follows Dzumsa system but they have knowledge about the Panchayat system since their neighbouring villages like Chungthang, Dzongu, etc have Panchayat system. All the 100 percent respondents had the knowledge about the Panchayat system.

Knowledge about the Zilla Panchayat

The Ashok Mehta Committee in 1997 brought a new thinking in the concepts and practice of the Panchayat Raj as the committee recommended a two-tier Panchayat Raj institutional structure consisting of Zilla Parisad and Mandal Panchayat and the committee in August 1987 submitted its report with various recommendations to revive and strengthen the declining Panchayat Raj system in the country. As major recommendation were two-tier system of Panchayat, regular social audit, representation of political parties at all level of Panchayat elections, provisions for regular election, reservation to scheduled casts and scheduled tribes in Panchayats and administer for Panchayat Raj in state councils of ministers (Ananth, 2014). The 1982 Act of Sikkim brought about the constitution of Zilla Panchayats at the district level and by implementing the 73rd constitutional Amendment Act, 1993 it marked the new age of decentralization in Sikkim as it enacted the Sikkim Panchayat Act. Sikkim follows the

two-tier Panchayati system with the Zilla Panchayat at district level and Gram Panchayat at the village level except in the two villages of Lachen and Lachung in north district of Sikkim and in Dzumsa, the Papon act as the panchayat of the village. Since there are two senior pipons in the Dzumsa system and one pipon is considered as Zilla Panchayat member, all the 100 percent respondents had the knowledge about the Zilla Panchayat.

Knowledge about the Gram Sabha

Gram Sabha is the primary body of the Panchayat Raj System (PRS). It is a village assembly consisting of all the registered voters within the area of the Panchayat. As per the Article 243A of the constitution, states are to constitute a Grama Sabha at the village level and this body is supposed to achieve people's participation in planning and implementation. The Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1993 provides for the constitution of Gram Sabha at the village level with persons registered as voters in the electoral rolls of the Gram Panchayats as members and the area comprised within the jurisdiction of a Gram Panchayat constituted under Section 12 of the Act shall be the jurisdiction of Gram Sabha (Chhetri, 2008). When asked on whether the people had knowledge about the Gram Sabha, it was found that the 100 percent of respondents of Lachen and Lachung had the knowledge about the Gram Sabha since the Dzumsa also conducts its meetings in the Dzumsa house and also conducts its Gram Sabha meetings as well.

Knowledge about Chhodu System in Dzongu

The study has also dealt with the examples of traditional institutions like Dzumsa and in Sikkim there used to be a system called Chhodu which was prevalent in Dzongu North Sikkim. The Chhodu system was the system of self-rule or tribal council in Dzongu which was similar to Dzumsa. This system was prevalent among the Lepchas of Dzongu in North Sikkim but later this system was removed. According to Chhetri (2012) in his book "*Decentralised Governance and Development in India*", the Lepcha of Dzongu had their own system of village administration called as Chhodu, meaning village council. It is consisted of village elders from each household of the locality. Generally, the male members of the family represent the house of the council and the council performs both the administrative and judicial functions. The office bearer of this council was Muktiar, Mandal, Gyapon and Youmi. The office of the Muktiar was established only during the rule of Tenth Chogyal. Before this, there were no Muktiar but only Mandal and Gyapons

along with Youmi that constituted the Chhodu. Many changes were introduced in the Dzongu region after the establishment of Chogyal rule in the country. In the process of the consolidation of the country, Dzongu became part of the Maharaja's private estate and administered by the Kazi, or hereditary ministers appointed by the king, which is unknown figure to the Lepchas. Chhodu or village council had all the administrative, welfare and judicial functions as administratively, the council had power to regulate intra-village affairs and collect the revenue, it provide help to poor and needy which comes under welfare functions and in judicial function, council had power to punish the convicted person, settle petty cases and impose fine for defaulters. In the words of Chhetri (2008) in his book "*Panchayati Raj System and Development Planning*" opines that the Chhodu consisted of village elders and the Mondals. The main functions of Chhodu were the regulation of intra-village affairs and the collection of taxes for the State. After the enactment of Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1965, this system was integrated with the pattern prevalent in rest of the State. To know about whether the people had knowledge about the Chhodu system or not question was put forward to the respondent regarding this system. The 100 percent respondent mentioned that they don't have any knowledge about the Chhodu system in Dzongu. Chhodu is the similar kind of traditional tribal system like Dzumsa that used to function in the Dzongu, north Sikkim.

The Role of Two Senior Pিপন in Dzumsa

The study also intends to understand the role of pipon since there are two senior pipon and the head of the village is known as the Pipon in Dzumsa. To understand the role of two senior pipons, the question was put forward to the respondent about how the works of the Pipon is divided. The respondents view was as follows, since there are two senior pipons in the Dzumsa 90 percent of the respondent said that the works of the two senior pipon's are equally respected and works are equally divided. There is no such thing as discrimination. They go by rule and both have equal position. The 10 percent of the respondents said that two senior pipons works side by side for example if one pipon goes to office than other stays at the village. One will be the Zilla member looking after all the activities outside of the village, other than that both works as a team in all the matter. According to the respondent in Dzumsa system regarding the signature, one sign of Pipon is enough. One pipon will look after Zilla Panchayat work and another will look after the

Gram Panchayat. In dzumsa system Pipon cannot pass the order instantly rather he has to discuss with the public.

The Role of Pipon as the Zilla Panchayat member

The purpose of the study is to examine the nature of the relationship between traditional governance and formal local agencies. The Dzumsa is traditional institutions which functions along with the formal local agencies. Earlier there was two senior pipons in the village but now, out of two senior pipons one pipon is made as the Zilla Panchayat member. Thus in order to find out the role of pipon as the ZPM, the question was put forward to the respondent. The respondent views are as follows, the 60 percent respondent viewed that if a Pipon from *Lema* (Blocks) becomes a Zilla Panchayat member than next year Pipon from *Khedum* (Blocks) will be the Zilla Panchayat member. Pipon as Zilla Panchayat member has the same power and responsibility as Panchayats of other States. Whenever the calling letters come the ZPM Pipon goes for the meetings. Pipon has to do all the given works of Government as the ZPM be it for development; etc the work is same as that of other Zilla Panchayat member. He also acts as a messenger of Public. He divides the work equally for the public. The Panchayats from other villages have come to Lachung to conduct meetings. Regarding the election of Zilla Adhikshya, the Pipon as ZPM can vote. The 40 percent respondent had no idea about Pipon working as Zilla Panchayat member. The respondent also commented that the power and functions of Pipon as Zilla Panchayat member- he can implement Zilla's fund and Schemes. He has same power as that of Panchayats, there is no such separate power or functions of the pipon as the Zilla Panchayat member.

Differences between Dzumsa and Panchayat

In Sikkim there is Panchayat system and follows two-tier Panchayati raj system but along with the formal institutions there is a traditional institution as well which is known as Dzumsa which is prevalent in Lachen and Lachung North Sikkim. Thus, the main purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between the Dzumsa and Panchayat. In order to get the people's perception, a question was put forward to respondent regarding the differences between the Dzumsa and Panchayat. The respondents had almost same opinion- as per the 94 percent of the respondents, Dzumsa is far better than Panchayats as for instance in maintaining of law and order, Dzumsa is best. Compare to

police, Papon is better and the law is strict in Dzumsa system. The Police take longer time to settle cases. Unlike Panchayats, Papon carry its duties in better way as everything is done quickly and efficiently. Everything is done in a proper manner, there is transparency. One of the respondent viewed that in Dzumsa system there is less Developmental schemes given but in Panchayat system there is more developmental schemes as in Panchayat system there are blocks and in each blocks there is Panchayat whereas in Dzumsa system for 7 blocks there are only two pipons. As per the 5 percent of the respondents, they viewed that, in Dzumsa system the decision is dependent on Papon, agreement is made in Dzumsa itself and in Panchayat System from law to everything it goes to police. The other difference was made regarding the tenure of papon in Dzumsa and panchayat as the Papon rule for one or mostly two years but Panchayat rule for five years. Compare to Panchayat system in Dzumsa there is more equality, and the papon doesn't create bars among the people and all the grants are distributed equally amongst all the members of villages. The papon in Dzumsa doesn't get chance to get re-elected whereas in panchayat system, he/she can contest again. The public made differences on the basis of transparency, efficiency, development, tenure, re-election and equality.

According to one of the respondent, the former papon-

“Earlier in rest part of the Sikkim people used to grow cash crops all seasons whereas in Lachen and Lachung the climate was not suitable for 12 months cultivation. The system was also different as Lachen and Lachung had Dzumsa system and rest had Mondal system and in Mondal system taxes was collected from public but in Lachen and Lachung since for six months there is snow and for only six months they could grow crops which is not sufficient, there was no development, backward than other places, so the then Chogyal didn't collect tax from them and asked them to collect their own tax and to have their own taxes. Therefore, there is no License in Lachen/Lachung, everything is collected by Dzumsa, distributed in Dzumsa. When Indian Government came in 1975, India took Sikkim and after that Mondal system was replaced by Panchayat system but Dzumsa system remained as it is. In Dzumsa system there is no need for nomination file, no five year term, the officers like District collector (DC), Sub-District Magistrate (SDM) are more concerned as to who became the Papon. Earlier the elected Papon used to go to king with goodies to introduce themselves, now they go to Ministers, CM for their introduction”.

The Dzumsa is different from the Panchayats because there is lack of transparency, equality, and efficiency in the Panchayat system.

Changing Roles of Dzumsa

The purpose of the study was also to trace the changing role of the traditional governance in Sikkim. The respondents were asked about the changing role of Dzumsa. The 77 percent of respondent said that the changing roles of the Dzumsa system are Pipon being the Zilla Panchayat member and Gram Panchayat. The 20 percent didn't not have any idea about the changing role of the pipon. However there are few respondents who have different opinion regarding the changing role of the pipon. One of the former pipon has said that:

“Earlier there used to be less people in Dzumsa but now there are more people in Dzumsa. System is same since there will be disorganisation. Till now there are no such changes, everything is same as before because change will create problem. Dzumsa believes in maintaining the old age tradition and hence the roles remain same as people don't believe in manipulating the old laws”.

One of the old aged respondent who have experienced Dzumsa system from longer time, have commented that:

“There is progress in the roles of Pipon. Politics is affecting the Dzumsa system and politics is danger to Dzumsa system. There are few changes in the role of Pipon as unlike before, there are lots of developments and during king's rule there was no progress and role of Pipon was limited but now almost everything is done and everything is dependent on Pipon. Compare to before, the scenario is much better now be it in development, education, health etc. Like before pipon are powerful but now they follow strict rules and regulations to maintain the traditional system properly”.

Through the study, it was found out that Dzumsa functions the old traditional law but they always welcome and follow any change which doesn't directly or indirectly hamper the system.

Role of Dzumsa in Rural Development

The respondent was asked about the role of Dzumsa in the development of rural areas. According to the most of the respondents, the role of Dzumsa in the development of rural areas is same as what Panchayats does in its system. Pipon has banned plastic bottles, the Dzumsa has always stood against the Hydro power projects, they have always said no to dams. For repair and making of schools, hospitals, roads etc, they follow tender system. Few of the respondents also mentioned that regarding the educational development of the children, the capability of school teachers are also examined by the Dzumsa itself.

The Dzumsa system is not only connected with laws of the two villages but it also fulfills the need of the people without discriminating it. That is why people of Lachen and Lachung do not want to adopt any other new systems because they are fully satisfied with it.

Relevance of Dzumsa

The main purpose of the study was to assess the relevance of Dzumsa system. To get the perception of the respondents, the question was put forward regarding the relevance of Dzumsa to the people of Lachen and Lachung. All of the respondents fully support the Dzumsa system. They feel that it's their main responsibility to protect the system and maintained it for future generations. Dzumsa is very much important to the people of Lachung and Lachen as because of Dzumsa people are able to survive. Some of the respondents also said that there is no existence of both villages without Dzumsa. Whereas 25 percent of respondents mentioned that Dzumsa is a unique system of governance and it also preserves the identity of the people. According to 10 percent of respondents, Dzumsa is relevant for Lachen and Lachung as it values the tradition and customs. As per 50 percent of respondent's views, Dzumsa controls everything from administration to maintain high quality of life; it is transparent and works with full public participation. It is also said that in Dzumsa system there is no involvement of political party as Pipon are nominated by the public and they do not belong from any political parties. 25 percent of respondents said by explaining that Dzumsa system is very important for people because it is way better than other systems, it does not manipulate people. The system is clear about what is right and what is wrong and takes the decisions rationally. They have also said that Dzumsa stands true to its words, lengthy process is not there in Dzumsa system and it doesn't play with the sentiments of the people. There is no corruption in Dzumsa system as everything is transparent. Public are given top priority in Dzumsa System. The signature of one Pipon is enough to do work which saves time and energy. In the case of poor and needy people, dzumsa does everything for example if someone dies in a poor family than the Dzumsa calls everyone and does everything what is required. They also maintain the discipline of two villages.

Regarding the relevance of Dzumsa, one of the interviewees said about the importance of Dzumsa and why Dzumsa was formed, so in the words of Rinzing Chewang Kazi, one of the most reputed, knowledgeable people of Lachen has said that-

“Earlier people of Lachen and Lachung had nomadic life where everything was dependent on agricultural produce, people use to raise yak, sheep, cow and etc in order to survive and trade was the only option at that time. During the time of his forefathers, grandfathers, people use to trade in Tibet. They use to take wood, pickets for tent, pillar, roots of the tree, barks of trees, bamboo and even oranges from Dzongu were taken to Tibet and since at that time there used to be barter system in return the people used to take brass bowl, mud jar, kettles, etc. the exchanged gifts were again taken to Dzongu and used to exchange it with rice, cardamom, turmeric, etc and this way people used to survive. Other than that earlier people of Tibet used to come till Gurudongmar Lake with their yaks and tax was not levied on them as along with their yaks, the yaks of lachen was also sent to a warmer place during winters, it was like give and take system. During winters the cultivation was difficult and at that time the poor people had to struggle a lot since rich people would order them to do the task for them as well, harvesting crop was difficult at that time, the animals used to destroy others harvest by eating in others field, which would add more problems. In a way everything used to be unsettled during the winter time as almost everyone had to struggle in some way or the other. This way in order to bring about a civilised society and make proper arrangements during the winters, the Dzumsa was formed to control the public and after the that people was ordered do cultivation equally, boundary was made where the people had to keep their animals so that it will not damage the crops or field. If there was anything that bothered the people everything was settled by Dzumsa be it murder, theft, etc and this way Dzumsa was formed”.

Another respondent shared his thoughts regarding the importance of traditional governance system in Sikkim and said that:

“Earlier when there was sudden death of someone from the poor family, they had to struggle a lot as there was shortage of food, wood, etc. villagers had to sell their domestic animals and because of insufficient of money, they had to take loan from the rich people. By looking at the problems of villagers, the members of the Dzumsa had started to help the needy people by taking few steps such as- whenever such things happened to the poor or any family, people from each household have to take one stack of fire wood to the deceased house for funeral, 15 people were assigned with the task of burning the dead body and rest had to give 30rs each to the deceased family and people could also give condolence on their own if they want to. The system remained same since very long time that if the people fail to bring firewood during the funeral service than he has to pay fine of 100rs. These rules help financially weaker family to complete their rituals”.

The Dzumsa system is not only connected with laws of the two villages but it also fulfils the need of the people without discriminating it. That is why people of Lachen and

Lachung do not want to adopt any other new systems because they are fully satisfied with working of Dzumsa system.

Rural Reforms Initiatives and the continuity of Dzumsa System

The main purpose of the study was assess the rural reform initiatives in Sikkim since there was many reforms which took place in Sikkim to change the local governance system by introducing various legislations. A question was put forward to know the perception of people regarding the rural reforms initiatives and how Dzumsa has been retained and other traditional governance system has been removed. Only 10 percent of the respondent expressed that the retention of Dzumsa system protect and preserve the culture and traditions of tribal people of this two villages. Moreover, the people of this village is satisfied with the works of Dzumsa system. The 90 percent of the respondent did not give any response regarding this question. The public of Lachen and Lachung had less idea about the various reform initiatives like Sikkim Panchayats Acts which retained the Dzumsa system but abolished other traditional institutions like Chhoddu and Community/Goan panchayats in Sikkim.

Women in Dzumsa System

Inorder to highlight the role of women in Dzumsa, a question was being asked to the respondent whether there was female representative in Dzumsa or not. As per the 95 percent of the respondents, in the Dzumsa system women can be the member of Dzumsa. They have equal say in the meetings, both men and women are treated equally but till date none of the women has become Pipon, the head of Dzumsa. Whereas 5 percent of respondents said that women can attend only meetings in the absence of their male family members. In this study, it has been observed that since the period of king's rule, the role of women is limited in this system. However, in recent time, women can become the member of the Dzumsa. They have also rights to speak out and can raise their voices.

Can women contest the election of Pipon?

Since the role of women in Dzumsa system is limited, the Dzumsa system looks like a patriarchy system or male domination, so a question was put forward to the respondents whether women in Lachen and Lachung are allowed to contest for the post of pipon or not. Regarding this question, the people of Lachen and Lachung have shared their different views. According to 60 percent of respondents in Lachung expressed that since

king's rule women are not allowed to be pipon because women are considered as weaker section of the society. People believe that women cannot handle emergency situation properly. Since king's rule women were not considered as earlier there was no road, no car, etc. and at that time they had to walk, so for this reason also. It is also the religion that does not allow women to be the Pipon. As per most of the respondents, since there are lots of sacred rituals which only male can perform and at the same time the presence of Pipon is the most necessary in the rituals. It is the only reason for not allowing women to be Pipon as people can't change the rituals. According to Dabla Lachungpa, he expressed that:

“Earlier women was not educated, now also women are less educated. If women are educated also, lack of confidence to speak in the public meetings, dependent on the family members, less capacity to handle the situations are also taken into count by the respondents for not being able to become the pipon. If they want to be Pipon than she can but needless to say she has to have all the required criteria. It's not that completely forbidden to become a Pipon, it's just that women themselves also don't want to be a pipon, there is no discrimination as well”.

According to NorbuLachungpa, women in Lachung cannot contest for the post of Pipon because:

“There is Chuba Puja conducted every year in which women are not allowed and Pipon's presence is needed and this is also the reason as to why women are not allowed to be pipon. In this ritual an animal (yak) is sacrificed in order to offer the deities but now people make yak out of wheat flour since their Guru Rimpoche ordered them not to slay a yak. Women are not allowed and there are lots of loads to carry as well”.

Most of the women respondents, accepted the male domination and they do not feel importance of their presence as pipon. The women respondents of Lachung also commented that the rituals which are following by the villages will be affected if women start to interfere there because those rituals are only made for male members of the villages. Women respondents strongly prefer to follow the tradition as like before. Respondents believe that pipon play a greater responsibility in Dzumsa system where he has to handle the cases like murder and many more. Therefore, it raises questions though women will be able to handle the post like pipon who carries lots of responsibility during his tenure. Almost all respondents of Lachung are happy with their unique system of governance and they want to continue as it is. The 40 percent respondent of Lachen have expressed that women can contest for the post of Pipon if they want to but till now not a

single lady has come forward to contest. They also feel that women are shy, not confident enough to come forward.

By looking into the effect of politics of Sikkim on Dzumsa, respondents shared their views that Dzumsa still remains in practice and is recognised by both local people and Government. The people of Lachen and Lachung feel that the politics is affecting the Dzumsa system in some way. Ministers, people from party politics those who are corrupted officers, people with selfish interest are also affecting on the Dzumsa. It is slowly becoming a threat to the system other than that everything is clear about Dzumsa as Dzumsa is the voice of Public. People of Dzumsa oppose all kinds of developmental project which has more disadvantage than the benefits for example the Hydro power Projects. People are benefitted more in Dzumsa system, there is true form of democracy in this system and people can talk freely without any pressure. The people of Lachen and Lachung wants to keep Dzumsa forever as it preserve the tradition and customs.

Conclusion

The Dzumsa plays an important role for the people of Lachen and Lachung in north Sikkim as they are content with the traditional system of governance. They prefer traditional governance rather than Panchayat system because the Dzumsa is true form of democracy for them and it has all the qualities of good governance which include equality, participation, and transparency, accountability, efficiency and effectiveness. Other than that there is no corruption in the Dzumsa system. The role of women in Dzumsa has improved over a time as earlier there was no role of women in the Dzumsa but now they are member of the Dzumsa along with men, equal say in the meetings, equal distribution of resources but till now not a single women has contested for the post of Pipon. The women in Lachen are allowed to contest for the post of Pipon if they want to, there is no such restriction for women but in Lachung women cannot contest for the post of Pipon due to religious beliefs and for women's safety. Till now there are no such major reforms in the Dzumsa system except that one of the senior Pipon of Dzumsa has been made the Zilla Panchayat member.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The concept of governance can be understood as the process of making and implementing collective decisions for a society. Governance involves the role of social actors in that process and government remains at the central. It is a system of government concentrating on effective and accountable institutions, democratic principles and electoral process, representation and responsible structures of government. Governance also consists of traditions and institutions by which authority in a nation is exercised. The traditional governance is one of the important aspects of ruling people in a traditional way. The tradition of tribal council and rule of traditional system is still prevalent in some parts of India like Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram, Orissa, Rajasthan and Sikkim. Despite having Panchayat system in India some of the customary institutions is still functioning and has its unique characteristics. The Dzumsa is one such system which is not just surviving but it is also adapting to the changing world around them. This traditional institution in Lachen and Lachung is the system of self-governance which was deemed to be the gram panchayat unit for the purpose of Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1993 and exercises its traditional powers and functions in addition to those of the gram panchayats. The Dzumsa functions along with the Panchayats and also enjoys the position of Zilla Panchayat member. Though Dzumsa is a traditional institution yet it has to function along with the formal bodies i.e. the Panchayats in Sikkim other than that the Dzumsa is the unique system of self-rule which has been passed down from generations to generations and this system has preserved the identity, culture and traditions of that particular rural area. Thus, the first chapter of this dissertation deals with the meaning and definition of the traditional governance with examples of different types of traditional governance in the world as well as within India followed by statement of the problem, review of literature, theoretical framework, relevance and scope, research objectives, research

questions and research methodology. The second chapter deals with the conceptual definition of governance shift from government to governance, formal and informal governance, different type's governance and traditional governance. The third chapter deals with the meaning and definition of local government, an overview local government and local governance which includes meaning and definition of local government and governance followed by features of local government and local governance and the last section of the chapter deals with politics of rural reforms and local government in Sikkim which includes all the Panchayats Acts, here various Sikkim Panchayat Acts has been mentioned in order to show how and when the Panchayats system was introduced in Sikkim and which Acts protected the Dzumsa system and was initiated in Sikkim till now. The fourth chapter is devoted to the analysis of data collected from the fieldwork. The final chapter delves on the summary of chapters, key findings and recommendations.

Major findings

The survey was conducted in Lachen and Lachung North Sikkim to examine the nature of the relationship between traditional governance and formal local governance agencies and to trace the contours of the changing role of the traditional governance in Sikkim. Besides, this study also seeks to assess the relevance of the traditional governance in the context of the rural reforms initiatives in Sikkim. The key findings of the study are as follows:

The first findings was that the Dzumsa system is one such traditional institutions in Sikkim which has been in existence since ancient times and the people of Lachen and Lachung wants to retained this system. The second findings were about the relevance of Dzumsa- the traditional system Dzumsa is very much important to the people of Lachen and Lachung as because of Dzumsa people are able to survive. Dzumsa has preserved their identity and it values the tradition and customs. In Dzumsa there is full public participation. There is no involvement of political party rather pipon is nominated by public. Dzumsa keeps village in discipline, there is no corruption in Dzumsa system as everything is transparent. Public are given top priority in Dzumsa system. The signature of one Pipon is enough to do work which saves time and energy. In the case of poor and needy, Dzumsa does everything.

The third findings were about the major differences between the Panchayat and the Dzumsa- the differences were regarding their tenure as Pipon is elected for 1 year but can continue for maximum 2 years whereas the Panchayats are elected for the term of five years. The Pipon has no chance of getting re-elected after his tenure but the Panchayat can be re-elected again after five years of his/her tenure. The other differences was regarding the transparency as it was stated that in Dzumsa system there is more transparency but there is no transparency in the Panchayat system, there is equality in Dzumsa system but less equality in the Panchayat system. There is no interference from outsiders as everything is settled in Dzumsa itself but in Panchayat system there is influence of outsiders like police. Decisions are taken immediately and effectively in Dzumsa but in Panchayat system, the law is slow and decisions are not taken immediately. The law is stricter in Dzumsa system. The Pipon in Dzumsa doesn't create bar among peoples but the Panchayat favour their family or their party supporters.

The fourth findings were regarding the changing role of Dzumsa- it was found that one of the senior Pipon is now considered as the Zilla Panchayat member. Earlier there was no such thing as the two senior Pipon being the member of Zilla Panchayat. Now the work of two senior pipon has been divided as one looks after all the activities inside of the village and another Pipon looks after all the activities outside the village. During the kings rule the role of Pipon was limited but now almost everything is done and is dependent on the Pipon. Though Dzumsa functions the old traditional law but they always welcome and follow the change which doesn't directly or indirectly hamper the system.

The fifth finding was about the role of Dzumsa in the development of rural areas- the role of Dzumsa in the development of rural areas is same as what Panchayats does in its system but the difference is that the Pipon doesn't decides everything on its own as whenever such development schemes comes than first a meeting is called where pipon informs the public about the schemes. Before passing any order, everything is discussed in the Dzumsa meetings.

The sixth findings was regarding the rural reform initiatives in Sikkim- whatever the Government has done, the two villages of Lachen and Lachung have adjusted to it, the Pipon represents the people and attends meetings of the Government and Dzumsa accept

all the rule and reform which serves as a tool to some people and doesn't divide people on political ground.

The seventh findings were regarding the role of women in Dzumsa- the women in Dzumsa has limited role to play, they are the members of Dzumsa but there is no female representation in the Dzumsa. Women have not occupied the post of Pipon till date.

The eighth findings was that the Dzumsa system has no such codified rules/law and regulation like that of the Indian Constitution. The Dzumsa of both Lachen and Lachung doesn't have any written laws and regulation since they have no fixed laws as it changes according to the circumstances. The laws are made or changed according to what the situation demands. Whenever such situation occurs which may be good or bad, the law changes accordingly. The another reason given was that it takes longer time to change the law through constitution, therefore in Dzumsa quick action is taken in front of the public and if such laws doesn't favour the situation the laws are changed instantly, no lengthy process required as it is fast, easy and convenient.

The concluding findings was regarding the complete autonomy of the Dzumsa and it was found that the Dzumsa of Lachen and Lachung used to have complete autonomy as everything was settled in the Dzumsa itself be it criminal cases, civil cases, societal problem, etc. the Dzumsa use to solve everything on its own but now there is no full power given to Dzumsa as regarding the criminal cases the police intervene. Now there is police verification required for office works as well, and now one of the Pipon has been made Zilla Panchayat member. Earlier the Pipon use to have all the stuffs like handcuffs, ropes, etc which was required to punish the offenders but now offenders are handed over to the police.

Conclusion

The traditional system of governance in Sikkim is one of the unique systems of governance which has been functioning since ancient time. The traditional institutions are known as Dzumsa which is prevalent in the two villages of Lachen and Lachung in Sikkim. The system is run by two seniors' pipon of the village who is considered as the head of the village, the pipon's decisions are binding upon the public and everyone respects and accepts his decision since he is elected by the public. The Dzumsa system is very important to the people of Lachen and Lachung in north Sikkim. People don't want

to remove this system rather wants to protect and preserve it as the system keeps alive the old age tradition and customs of the people. The people in Dzumsa are benefitted more than people who follow the Panchayat system. Though it raises the question on the democratic system of Sikkim but the fact is that it is one of the true forms of democracy as people can talk freely without any pressure. The people of Lachen feel that Dzumsa is the true voice of public. Earlier when reforms were taking place in rest of the states including Sikkim, the people were scared that the Dzumsa system will be removed. The traditional system like Chhodu in Dzongu was removed and instead of that Panchayat system was introduced but unlike Dzongu the Dzumsa system was retained and was asked to continue by the then Government. The public of Lachen and Lachung prefer Dzumsa system due to its transparency, efficiency and equality.

Limitations and Future Research

The study has some limitations. Firstly, the study only covers the two villages of Lachen and Lachung of North Sikkim as the Dzumsa system is only prevalent in this two villages. Secondly, the study doesn't include the history of Chhodu system which was similar kind of traditional institutions like Dzumsa in Sikkim, but it has not given much preference in this study.

Though the Dzumsa system demands true forms of democracy but it has not included women as the head of the villages, their role is only limited to being the members and voters of the Dzumsa. Thus, one can do a study on the role of women in Dzumsa and try to find out the reasons as to why till now not a single woman has become a pison. The future studies can also include a comparative study of both the Chhodu system and Dzumsa system.

END NOTES

Chapter one:

ⁱDzumsa- is a system of self-governance which was initially established during the first half of the 19th century. It is a very old traditional local self-government system unique to the Lachenpa and Lachungpa tribes of North Sikkim. This traditional system of governance is still prevalent today.

Chettri (2009) Customary Panchayat in Sikkim: A Study of Dzumsa Vol.3, pp 62-71 and Sabatier (2004) The Dzumsa of Lachen : An example of a Sikkimese Political Institutions Vol.40 (1) pp 93-104 provides more detail information about the Dzumsa system.

ⁱⁱAsanteman- is the highest traditional authority in Asante and has been in existence for over three hundred years since the foundation of the Asante Kingdom by OpemsuoOsei Tutu I, Asantehene, and his priest counselor, OkomfoAnokye. Its membership comprises the Asantehene, Asantehemaa and the heads of the traditional areas, Amanhehe (formerly designated Native States) within Asanteman.

For more detail information refer to Andoh (2019) Asanteman Council: The highest traditional authority in Asante.

ⁱⁱⁱAkyemAbuakwa- the largest of the States in terms of land, size, population and natural resources. It is one of the three independent states along with AkyemKotoku that forms the Akyem Mansa. It is in the Eastern and Ashanti regions of Ghana.

^{iv}Usos y Costumbres- is a legal term denoting indigenous customary law in Latin America. Since the era of Spanish Colonialism, authorities have recognised local forms of rulership, self-governance and juridical practice, with varying degrees of acceptance and formality. The term is often used in English without translation.

^vChhodu- is a traditional tribal council which was prevalent among the Lepchas of Dzongu in North Sikkim. Chhodu means village council which consists of village elders. The council performs both administrative and judicial functions, the council had a power to regulate intra- village affairs and collect revenue, it provide help to poor and needy and lastly the council had the power to punish the convicted person, settle petty cases and impose fine and defaulters.

Chapter two:

^{vi}Monsang tribe is one among the indigenous tribes of the North East India, inhabiting the South-east part of the Manipur state border to Myanmar particularly in Chandel, district. Monsang have their own culture and tradition and are peace loving people.

^{vii}Eruwangpa- he is the chief and he is the head of the village officials and also the ex-officio chairman of the village authority. All developmental, educational and other economic programmes are carried out in consultant with the Eruwng. In times of crisis the Eruwng has certain extraordinary powers to make any decision which may deem justified without consulting other officials. There is no time limit or life span for the chief. He holds the position so long as he enjoys the people's mandate.

^{viii}Kuki- the majority of kukis are Christians, with most belonging to Protestant denominations, especially Baptist. Traditionally, the kuki's were animists, due to the work of Arthur E. Carson a Baptist missionary, many converted to Christianity. Many Kukis have also served as pastors, ministering in places like the United States, Australia, Guam and India.

Chapter three:

^{ix}Zamindars- Zamindar is a local term used for a landowner, especially one who leases his land to tenant farmers. The Zamindars or the lords of an estate in Sikkim had enormous power to enjoy. Their important duties include collection of taxes from the peasants and also had a right of litigation at their courts then designated as Addas courts. Some Zamindars had seals in their name that manifests the unconcealed position of Zamindars in the feudal organization of Sikkim.

^xMandals- Mandals are the village heads who played a vital role in igniting the idea of resistance among the slumbered conscience of the Sikkimese peasantry. They were appointed by the Kazis. Their machinery role was to work as a village headman and to collect taxes from the peasants of their respective villages. For more details log in to Dr. RajenUpadhyay (2014) "Mandals as the boosters of Peasants' resistance in Feudal Sikkim", Kalpaz publications.

^{xi}Karbaris- they are assistants to the mandals who were employed by the Kazis and thikadars as rent collectors and dispute mediators.

^{xii}DhuriKhazana- DhuriKhazana means house tax. The term was used by the Sikkimese people during the earlier days.

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