

Political Participation of the Tharu Tribe in Kheri District of Uttar Pradesh

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DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled,
"POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE THARU TRIBE IN KHERI
DISTRICT OF UTTAR PRADESH" submitted by RAJENDRA KUMAR
is in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy of this University.
This dissertation has not been submitted for any
other degree of this University or any other Univer-
sity. This is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed
before the examiners for evaluation.

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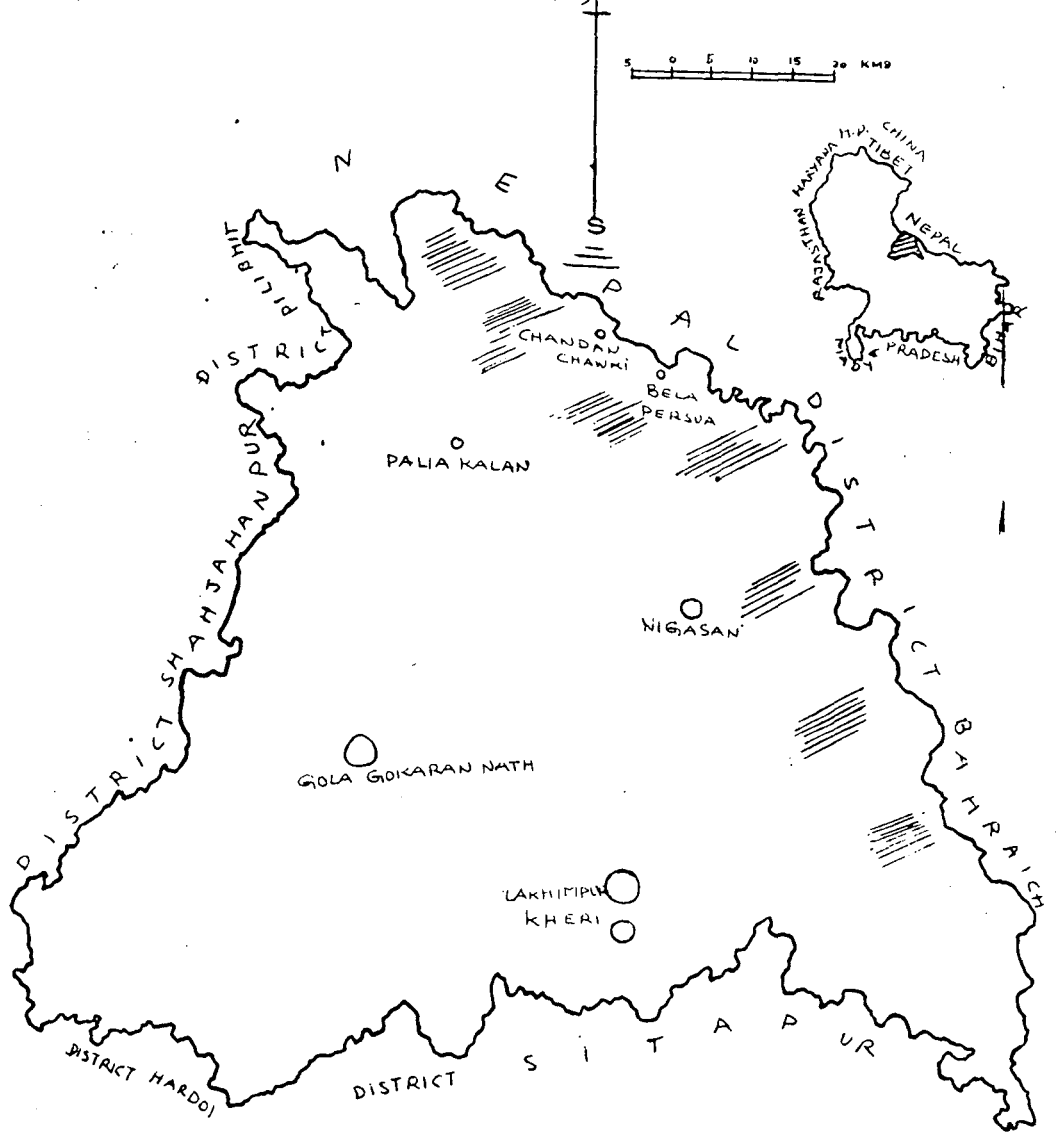
CHAPTER - ONE

'INTRODUCTION'

This work attempts to study the political behaviour of 'Tharu' tribe in Kheri district Uttar Pradesh. Nearly six lac^{ks} tribals are inhabiting in Uttar Pradesh, but only one-third of this population is recognised as scheduled tribe and that too from June 24, 1967, when Bhotia, Buxa, Jaunsari, Rozi and Tharu were declared as scheduled tribes. These tribes are inhabiting in the Chamoli, Dehradun, Pauri Garhwal, Uttarkashi Nainital, Almora, Pithoragarh, Bijnaur, Kheri, Gonda, Bahraich and Gorakhpur district of Uttarpradesh. Except these five tribes there are 13 more tribes namely Gend, Kol, Baiga, Pathari, Korva, Khairwar, Saharia, Agaria, Bhuiya, Panika, Orav, Dhanger, and Gasia, inhabiting in the Southern-Uttar Pradesh are not yet declared scheduled tribes¹. According to 1981 census the total scheduled tribe population of Uttar Pradesh^{is} 232, 705 as against the total tribal population 5,16,28,638 of the country. As for as Tharus are concerned they are inhabiting in the Kheri Nainital, Bahraich, Gonda and Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh. According to 1981 census, the total Tharu population of Kheri district is 17,789 with 9,301 males and 8488 females. The district has four Tahsils.

1. Hasan, Amir, Adivasiyan Ki Samasyayen Aur Samadan Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow, 1984

PHYSICAL MAP OF DISTRICT KHERI (U.P.)



LOCALITY OF THARU

SOURCE. census of India (21) U.P.

Kheri Lakhimpur, Nighasan, Daurehra, Neghasan and Mohamdi. And there are seven assembly constituencies i.e. Nighasan, Lakhimpur, Paila C.S.C., Srinagar, Haiderabad Mohamdi (S.C.) and Daurehra. Most of the tribal population comes under the constituency of Nighasan. So it can be said that they can play an important role in assembly election.

Location of the District :

"The district of Kheri Lakhimpur is the northern most district of Lucknow Division and is situated in the sub-Himalayan belt bordering the territory of Nepal. It lies between 27.41 and 28.42 North latitude and 80.2 and 81.19 East longitude. It is bounded on east by Bahraich, from which it is separated by the Kauriala river. On the south sitapur and for a short length Hardoi, on the west by Shahjahanpur and Piliphit^b and on the north by the territory of Nepal. It shapes an irregular triangle²".

Area :

"According to the central statistical organisation the district has an area of 7.691 sq.km. on July 1, 1971 ranking fifth in size in the state"³.

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- 2. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers (Kheri) published by government of Uttar Pradesh Lucknow, 1979 P - 2
 - 3. District Census handbook Kheri Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad 1961 P - 1

Population :

According to 1981 census the district has 19,52,680 persons with 8,95,066 females and 1057614 males and occupies 26th place in terms of population among the districts of the state.

The Kheri district, due to its strategic geographical location is given much importance. India, it is claimed, has the largest tribal population of any other country in the world⁴. There are altogether 427 tribal communities all over India.⁵ Constitution order 1950 declared 212 tribes located in fourteen states as "Scheduled Tribes"⁶. The constitution does not give any definition of the scheduled tribe. But in Article 342 of the Indian constitution, it has been mentioned that "The president may with respect to any state or union territory, and where it is a state, after consultation with the governor there-of by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purpose of this constitution be deemed to be scheduled tribes in relation

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4. Desai, A.R. Tribes in Transition in Romesh Thaper's Tribe, caste and Religion in India
Macmillan Meerut, 1977 P - 16
5. Vidyardh, L.P. and Rai, B.K. The Tribal Culture of India, concept publishing company, New Delhi, 1976 P - 25
6. Desai, A.R. Op. Cit. P - 18

to that state or union territory, as the case may be "(Article - 342(i)) Article 342(2) reads" parliament may by law include or exclude from the list of scheduled tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribal or tribal community, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification".⁷ The constitution makes various special provisions for the protection of the interests of the scheduled tribes.

Article 15, 16 and 19 make it possible while legislating on any matter to take into consideration the special conditions of the tribals in the matter of enforcing the provisions relating to equally of all the citizens. The objective is to safeguard their interests and way of life⁸.

"The claims of the members of the SC & Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of administration in the making of appointment, to services and posts in connection with the affair of the union or the state (Arti 335). There shall be a special officer for the Scheduled Tribes

7. Ibid P - 136

8. Report on the Scheduled Area & Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1960-61. P - 33

appointed by the president (Art - 338). It shall be the duty of the special officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguard provided for them under the Indian Constitution and to report to the president upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as president may direct, and the president shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of parliament.

The president may, at any time, and shall at the expiration of ten years from the commencement of this constitution, by order appoint a commission to report on the administration of scheduled areas and the welfare of scheduled tribes in the state. The order may define the composition, powers and procedures of the commission and may contain such incidental or ancillary provisions as the president may consider necessary or desirable (Art 339(1)). Article 275 of the constitution provides for assistance to the state for the implementation of the provisions of the constitution regarding scheduled tribes and scheduled area.

Special provisions are laid down in the fifth and sixth schedules of the constitution for the administration of areas inhabited by scheduled tribes.

Article 330 and 332 provide for the reservation of seats in the 'House of the people' and 'state Assembly' for the scheduled tribes. Article 335 of the constitution provides for the reservation to the scheduled tribes in services and posts. Over and above all these, there is a general directive in Article 46 of the constitution that "the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitations" (Article 46) so it can be said that in the Indian constitution a lot of provisions have been laid down to protect the interests of the scheduled tribes and for their betterment.

✓ During the last few decades a good volume of works has been done on various aspects of scheduled tribes, but most of them are sociological and anthropological in nature. However, it is also a necessity of the time that equal or more attention should be given to the political role of the Tribals, of course taking into consideration the role of other aspects of the tribal life as well. ✓

A sizable population of the country is tribals and it seems that because of their apathetic attitude and lack

of political socialisation which is to some extent due to their isolation from the non tribal neighbours, they do not substantially contribute any thing to the system. In these days every body accepts the wisdom and need of people's participation in various state activities. People's involvement in setting the goal and implementing the policies is considered highly essential. The necessity or desirability of such participation by the people has thus assumed much importance and with it, political participation which gives the people a chance to shape their destiny, has also become a matter of political importance. For the smooth functioning of the system, it is necessary that all the sections of the people should contribute to the system. Again the essence of the democracy, also says that some people should not decide things for all the people. In other words everybody should have a right to decide about how the state should run or people are to be governed. It is, therefore, required that all citizens despite of socio-cultural diversity economic differences or ethnic stock should have the fundamental right to be associated with the process of governance. Political participation with its various modes and dimensions provides this opportunity, however, it is found that this opportunity are not being equally

availed by all the sections of the people. The tribals who constitute a sizable segment of Indian population are found to be apathetic towards the political activities. Apart from their natural apathy, they also confront with numerous problems which in one way or others, become responsible for their low political participation. These tradition loving people fail to comprehend the nature and purpose of the electoral process or representative system, but with the introduction of panchayati Raj and increase in political activities even in tribal areas, the tribals are gradually getting some acquaintance with electoral activities. Hence, the study of electoral participation of tribals, their voting behaviour has attracted the attention of social scientists. The attempt should be made to involve tribals in the process of nation-building and also outputs of the system should be provided to them. Their voice must be heard of and they should be given enough opportunity to decide things themselves. This can be done only by developing political consciousness of the tribals and giving a broader and greater scope for political involvement. The aim of the present study is to ^{objective} examine the participation rate and nature of the tribal community in Kheri district of U.P. It is proposed to study their voting behaviour and to explain the reason of such behaviour. Political participation has been analysed at assembly level.

Methodology :

With the above mentioned aim in mind, the present study seeks to investigate empirically the voting pattern of the Tharu's in Kheri (U.P.). An empirical method is adopted and the study is based on tools like interview and observation. A sample of 50 adult tribals were selected randomly. A scheduled questionnaire was used to record the responses of the tribal respondents. The data collected during the field study was analysed and interpreted with the support of some theoretical propositions.

Dependent Variables :

In this study participation in campaign activities, procession, public meeting and party likes and dislikes etc. have been taken into consideration.

Campaign

It is generally believed that the scheduled tribe are apathetic towards the political system and they do not take any active participation in various political activities. Campaigning is an important variable through which their political participation can be testified. So several questions to testify it were prepared, as "did you help in arranging election meetings?"

"did you help the voters to go to the polling station?"
"How much intrest did you show during the last election
compaign?" etc. And responses of these questions were
analysed.

Processions :

It is believed that the scheduled tribe people did
not take part in public meetings and processions. So
to testify these notions few questions like.

"did you participate in any election procession?"
"did you canvass door to door compaign for any specific
candidate or party?" etc. were asked and the responses
were codified and analysed.

Party likes and dislikes :

Political parties play a very important role
in politicising the people through various means.
It is believed that the scheduled tribe people do not
take intrest in political activities. So the political
consciousness among tribals is low. So to testify this
hypothesis fews questions were asked which are given
below.

"Is there any political party that you like?"

"Whom did you vote in the last assembly election?"

Independent Variables :

In this study the independent variables which were taken into consideration are given below

1. Age
2. Education
3. Occupation

1. Age : The people who are old in age, it is believed, are politically more experienced and mature. They are involved more deeply in various political activities in comparison to younger generation. So this has to be testified. The age group divided for this purpose are as follows:

21-30, 31-40, 41-50, 50 and above.

2. Education : Education among the scheduled tribe people is very low. The illiterate people lacks political knowledge. Education is an important variable in successful working of democratic system. However the relationship between political consciousness and education is proposed to analyse. So this information was collected in terms of categories like illiterate and literate.

3. Occupation : People holding higher occupation reveal a greater willingness for participation. It can also be

said that people of this category have higher educational attainment and this no doubt, gives an important explanation of the high rate of their participation. The people who have no landed property or other occupation, it is supposed that they have not much political participation and political consciousness. So to judge this relationship the information was collected and following categories were made.

(1) $0\frac{1}{2}$ acres, (2) $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3, (3) 3 to 5 and (4) Nil.

The present study has been divided into five chapters. In this introductory chapter a brief description with regard to the significance and methodology of the study and the location of the district have been made. In the second chapter, an account of the socio-economic profile of Tharu tribe and its implications on the level of their political participation has been made. The third chapter presents a theoretical framework of political participation and social change. This chapter discusses the meaning and theories of political participation and social change and the interrelationship between these two concepts. Finally, this inter-relationship has been examined with the Tharu tribe. The fourth chapter which constitutes the important domain of the present

study analyses the voting behaviour of the people of Tharu tribe on the basis of an examination, interpretation and explanation of an exhaustive list of questionnaire prepared for this purpose. The analyses presented in this chapter on the basis of the questionnaire draw the conclusion that the voting behaviour of the people of Tharu tribe is susceptible to various factors like money, liquor, leadership, political party, poverty, lower literacy etc. In the concluding chapter, a brief summary with few suggestions has been made.

CHAPTER - TWO

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE THARU TRIBE

This chapter will present a sketch of the socio-economic profile of the Tharu Tribe of the Kheri District of Uttar Pradesh. A fundamental question arises that why the study of socio-economic condition is necessary in understanding the voting behaviour and political participation of the people. It has been assumed that the socio-economic condition are considered as the basis on which the political system of a country is being set-up. Unless one studies the social and economic life of any particular community, it will be difficult to draw any conclusion of the political life of the community. Thus, these three different aspects of life are closely integrated. Keeping this preparation in mind this chapter has been formulated to study the socio-economic conditions of the Tharu Tribe.

Another reason in attempting this chapter is that the socio-economic life of the Tharu tribe has certain distinct features. The social life of the Tharu tribe is guided by various factors like traditions, customs belief in magic, rituals and other blind faiths. Further, they lead an isolated life and never interact with the people of other communities. Therefore, their social life is confined to a limited sphere of their own activities. This also enables them to know sometime about the world

other than their own. One more point needs ^{to} mention here with regard to the social life of the Tharu tribe, i.e. their increasing emphasis on entertainment programmes like various festivals, the excessive drinking of liquor also constitutes a part of their social life which impedes them to think and do some constructive works for the betterment of their own community and the people at large. The lack of education among the people of Tharu Tribe, is also a vital factor in determining the nature of socio-economic and political life. Such a type of social life has its necessary consequences on the political life of the Tharu tribe. Their political life remained inactive due to this social life. Hence, the political consciousness and participation was reduced to a low key.

The economic conditions of the Tharu tribe is very miserable. Though the people of Tharu tribe depend on agriculture, they have not made enough progress from the agricultural lands. Their lands are not irrigated and they are very often affected by the calamity of nature like flood. They also do some small occupations like fishing, hunting, selling of fruits collected from jungle, preparing some wooden handicrafts. But, these professions do not fetch them sufficient money to lead a good life. Thus, they are still povertyridden and this poverty is a major factor

in their docile political life and a low level of political participation. Besides, they do not have any trade establishments with any other community. The absence of any developmental activity is also a factor in contributing to their poverty. The exploitation of the people of Tharu tribe by the landlords and moneylenders is also an important feature in regard to the deteriorating economic conditions. The cumulative effect of these economic conditions of the Tharu tribe is directly responsible for their low political participation and susceptible voting behaviour.

The above discussions throw sufficient light in understanding the importance of the socio-economic conditions of the Tharu tribe and its relation to their political life. It can be inferred here that the study of socio-economic profile of the Tharu tribe has its necessary implications on their voting behaviour and political participation in general. The backward socio-economic conditions of the Tharu tribe have resulted in their indifferent attitudes towards elections and other political processes. Thus, here an attempt has been made to study the socio-economic life of Tharu tribe in the setting of district Kheri.

Origin of Name of District

"The district (Kheri) derives its name from the small town of Kheri which is said to be have found by Kshemkaran, a companion of Janmejaya who was a son of Parikshit and grandson of Arjun, the third among the Pandava brothers. Another legend ascribes the name of the district to the abundance of rice and milk, that is Kheer, in the area. It is frequently called Lakhimpur from the location of the headquarters of the district there"¹.

History of the District as Administrative Unit

"In the days of Akbar the area comprising the district formed part of the province of Avadh and most of it belong to sirkar or Khairabad.. At the time of annexation in 1956, the pergunas comprising this district were devided between the two district Muhamdi and Mullanpur. In 1950 the district was reorganised and the old district of Mullanpur was abolished and part of it was added to Sitapur district. The headquarter of the district was shifted to Lakhimpur a more central spot"². At present district comprises four subdivisions viz. the Nighasan, Lakhimpur, Muhamdi and Dhaurehra. Scheduled tribes in Kheri

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1. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers - Kheri published by govt. of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow, 1979
P - 1
 2. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers - (Kheri) Op. Cit.
P - 2

district. The Tharus are inhabiting in Kheri, Gonda, Nainital, Bahraich and Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh.

The Tharus of Kheri district of Uttar Pradesh belong to the Mongoloid stock. Many attempts have been made to explain the origin of the name of the Tharu. "Some derive it from 'tahre', "they halted", after their alleged flight into the forest; others from 'tarhua' "wet", in allusion to the swampy nature of the tract in which they live"³. By another account 'thar' means "wine" and the name Tharu, or "Wine bibber" was given them by one of the Kshatriya Rajas of the plains, who when he invaded the hill country, was amazed at their drunken habits"⁴. It is fact that Tharus are very fond of wine and on each and every occasion and even in their day to day life, the use of wine can be seen.

Origine of the Tharus :

Regarding origin of the Tharu one tradition says that they fled from the Hastinapur after the destruction of the Kauravas in the Mahabharata war. Another local tradition says that is the remote past when the raja of a big kingdom in the neighbourhood was defeated and slain by an invacter, his rains and other princesses fled into the jungles to escape falling into the hands

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3. Crooke, William :- The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western India - Vol-4, Cosmo Publication, Delhi, 1975. P - 380
4. Ibid P - 381

of the foe.⁵ They themselves believed that they (Tharu) are from the royal stock of Rajputana. Tharu themselves claim chittor as their original name and to have descended from Jaimal, Fatehsingh and Tarran Singh of Sisodia clan of Rajpoots (1303 A.D.). They say that they were driven out apparently in the third siege of Chhitor by Akbar in 1567 A.D. and they were original Rajpoots who lost caste by using intoxicating liquor and rearing fowls.⁶ With the lapse of time they increase their connection with the Nepali people, even upto marital status, with the result that the blood mixed with Mangolians and a new culture emerged beyond the northern jungle of India. One can easily observe a slight Mangolide touch in their well build bodies. With the short stature broad facial features, snubbed nose and pale complexion as well as many peculiar habits and customs, the Tharus have been the subject of much speculation in so far as their racial origin and derivation of their name are concerned.⁷

Family :

The woman is supposed to be the mistress of the house, although the social control is enjoyed by males. Both the joint and single family systems are found among the Tharus.⁸ It is not unusual for a Tharu family to

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5. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers - (Kheri) Op.Cit.
P - 45
6. Srivastava, S.K. The Tharus: A study in culture dynamics
Agra University Press 1958 P - 14
7. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers (Kheri) Op. Cit.
P - 45
8. Srivastava, S.K. Op. Cit. P - 71

consist of twenty or twenty five members. It is common for them that their children grand children living under the same roof. Among the Tharus the oldest person of the family is the headman of the family. All the matters of any significance are brought to his notice and his advice and participation are sought in all important matters. He is the formal spokesman of all kind of settlement and he supervises over all matters.

House :

Their villages are from one to two miles distance from each other and the houses are made of wood or grass. The outside grass walls of each house are plastered over with the red mud. The Tharu's generally construct their houses in the months of April and May before the rain set in.⁹

Dress :

Males have a choti on their head which signifies their faith in Hinduism. Males wear Dhoti while women use Orani, coloured Lanhaga. The women love ornaments and if they can afford, they decorate themselves from head to foot with the ornaments made by silver.¹⁰

9. Ibid

P - 21

10. Ibid

P - 32

Marriage :

The usual age for marriage on the woman's part is about seventeen or eighteen and a man usually makes his first marriage at about that age.¹¹ "The marriage contract is arranged not by the parties themselves, but by the fathers on either side; The father of the youth goes over to village or clan in which the father of the young woman resides and after making his proposals for the price to be paid for her, offers him a drink of wine, and if the present is accepted, the bargain is closed. The contract once made is faithfully kept by both the parties. The price paid for woman may be in cash or kind, and its value depends on the means of the purchaser or the attractiveness of the woman."¹²



TH-2545

Birth and death customs :

After the birth of a child the mother is not allowed to taste food or water for two days.¹³ On the third day she is allowed to drink as much wine as she desires, and some is rubbed over her body. Tharu women assist each other at the time of child birth. On the day of its birth the child is immersed in water, while the oldest man in the family pronounces over it

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| 11. Crooke, William Op. Cit. | P - 389 |
| 12. Ibid | P - 389 |
| 13. Ibid | P - 392 |



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certain auspicious words. An iron tool is kept in the room where the child sleeps to avert the evil Eye. When the child is four or five months old, a name is selected for it. Among the tharus, if a man is childless, he adopts one of his nephew.

The tharus believe that a man does not die with death. He is transformed into another form. Earth burial seems to have the usual way in which the tharus formerly disposed of their dead; but cremation is now taking its place, except in the case of those who die of cholera or small-pox; these are always interred. Whether the body is buried or burnt, the ceremony is always performed on the southern side of the village.

Religion :

Their religion is Hindu. They have faith in supreme being, they call Narayan, who gives them sunshine, rain and harvests. The goddess who presides over life and death, and whom the tharus believe to be the supreme power in the universe, is Kalika, one of the numerous forms of Devi, Durga or Kali. All peoples combine to give her a periodical ovation, accompanied by much dancing, banqueting, and drinking of wine, about the middle of the october. Tharus also take part in animal sacrifices Tharus hold three animals sacred above all others, and these they would deem it a sacrilege to destroy,

the cow, the serpent and the monkey, - of which the cow and monkey are probably adored through the example of their Hindu neighbours. The snake has a special service at the Nagpanchami. The only tree to which they appear to show any particular respect is the pipal.¹⁴

Festivals :

Holi is their the most important festival to which they celebrate in the month of Falgun. The Holi festival is celebrated by the Tharu's with the great zeal. Both men and women dance on this occasion. "The female dancers usually stand in two rows forming a segments of a circle facing each other. While dancing, they alternate places on the circle. The drummer stands in the middle beating mercilessly his oversized drum. Usually no other musical instruments are played.¹⁵ "The dancers sing in chorus. The Ram Navami festival is also popular among Tharus.

The role of women in celebration :

¹⁶

"The manner of observance of Holi clearly establishes the dominant role of the Tharu women. While on the first two days both men and women actively participate in revelries. The women gain complete control of the festivities, thereafter, the role of men being, more or less

14. For detail see, Crooke, William

15. Hasan, A. A bunch of wildflower Ethnographic and Folk Culture. Society, Lucknow, 1971 P - 89-90

16. Ibid P - 89

confined to making arrangements for the festivities and performance of religious rituals. Of course, in return they get large quantities of liquor to get drunk.

Intoxicating drinks :

Tharu's are very fond of liquor produced with Muhua and rice. This rice liquor is drunk more or less every day and every member of family from the oldest to the youngest - drinks it.¹⁷ The Tharu: whose name according to one authority means 'a wine bibber' specially love drinking.¹⁸ The liquor is the integral part of their life. Lequor is used at every occasion on these occasions they use wine like water.

Divorce :

Another unique feature of the tharu society is that formal divorce or separation is not possible, unlike most of the other tribes, who have a system a easy recourse to divorce or separation by resorting to their customary elders council. Even if a girl gets pregnant in her parental home after 'mangani' (engagement) and before marriage. This is no ground to reject his wife¹⁹.

Women's status in Tharu Tribe :

Tribal women all over India are either self-employed or working girls. They are in no way economically dependent

17. Crooke, William, Op. Cit. P - 405

18. Hasan, A., Op. Cit. P - 54

19. Hasan, A., Meet the U.P. Tribes, The Academic Press, Gurgaon, 1982. P - 4

on their men²⁰. Among the Tharus, the women folk claiming descent from rains of Chittor, are able to dominate their men who are said to be the descendants of low caste camp followers of these Rains, who had to flee alongwith their servants and body-gaurds in the hoary post when their men lost their lives in a grim battle with Mughals²¹. Thus, the Tharu women behave like a royal ladies and men like humble commoners. The woman is supposed to be the mistress of the house. The woman does not observe 'purdah' and works in the field along with their men. The women of poor families mostly landless, work as wage-earners too. On the whole, they enjoy more freedom than the Hindu women of the neighbourhood²².

Panchayat :

The Tharu's have "Panchayat" as the only powerful tribunal for settling disputes of their community²³. It determines the code of conduct, fixes norms of behaviour and provides safeguards to preserve tribal culture, tradition and fold-lore. Indeed the whole temporal authority

20. Ibid

21. Ibid

PP. 11-12

22. Hasan, A. Op. Cit.

P. 54

23. Vidyarthi, L.P. and Rai, B.K., The tribal cultural of India, Concept publishing company, New Delhi, 1976

P - 203

of the tribe vests in the panchayat. The panchayat has no fixed membership. The panchayat usually consists of upto fifty members. Its decisions are binding. They do not have permanent council of panchayat as such²⁴. On each ocaasion, it is formed of the panchs and representatives of the contending parties with a Sarpanch. Individuals with known merits of high ustelligence, knowledge and reputation are chosen as panchs by the party concerned²⁵. The major function of the village panchayat is the settlement of the village disputes. The cases brought before the panchayat are as follows²⁶.

1. Partition of point property, succession and inheritance.
2. The taboos, such as, sexual union of a Tharu with a non Tharu, marriage or sexual intrigue with the prohibited degree.
3. The taboo of marrying another man's wife without his consent and without paying off the compensation demanded by the former husband.
4. The breaking of engagement of a boy with a girl without any reason.

24. Srivastava, S.K., Op. Cit. P - 104

25. Vidyarthi, L.P. & Rai, B.K. Op.Cit. P - 203

26. Srivastava, S.K, Op. Cit. PP-104-5

5. The taking forbidden food and eating at the hands of lower castes and tribes.
6. The Tabooes of killing accidentlly or intentionally of a cow, calf or a bullock.

Tharus are peace-loving people and they do not infringe upon their traditional laws. From the early age of their life they get used to their traditions and customs. However, the disputes among them are reported. The Tharu Panchayat has got some laws, on the basis of these laws. The social order is maintained. Some of these laws are as follows²⁷.

- If any Tharu man kidnaps a woman the panchayat will ask the concerned person shall be punished;
- If any married woman wants to marry some other man. She has to return all the ornaments,
- A widow can remarry with the permission of the Panchayat;
- Divorced daughter has a share in her father's property.
- No Tharu is allow to marry outside the there tribe.
- If a Tharu is not in a position to get his daughter marry due to financial problem then the panchayat will give money to concerned person. The money shall be repaid to panchayat during every harvest.

27. For detail see Srivastava, S.K., The Tharus:A study in culture dynamics.

- No Tharu is allowed to go to Muslim barber.
- No Tharu shall give his 'chilam' or 'Hukka' to any unknown person.

It has been said earlier that the panchayat being their powerful organisation, it maintains social order within the society. The panchayat settles the disputes. The disputes referred to the panchayat are settled after hearing the parties concern and witnesses. The evidence called for deciding criminal cases is of two types.

1. Oath :

The person concerned has to take an oath before the village elders or head then he or supposed to submit the facts. It is believed that whatever the person says is truth. If he tells a lie the anger of god will destroy or punish him²⁸.

2. Ordeal :

"At times the offender is subjected to some fortune before the declaration of the verdict of the panchayat. If the person escapes without injury, he is supposed to be non-guilty. In some cases for example. The accused is asked to lick salt or fire, touch a red-hot axe or put his hand in the boiling oil.

If he gets injured, he is believed to have committed the said crime²⁹.

The force behind this type of treatment is strong belief in the sacred spirits of the unknown world. They take it guaranteed that god is the greatest judge. The punishment is generally a fine in cash or in kind both depending upon the seriousness of the crime and the person concerned. The fine is generally utilized for giving a communal feast or an offering to the supernatural powers, to appease them.

All these suggest that their traditional political life is characterised by the following important features³⁰.

Moral principles and public opinions are matter of consideration. These are reflected in the mode of their social control which they have over their people. The laws are originated from their social customs.

- Oath and Ordeal are the main modes of evidence.
- Punishment is awarded in the shape of fine, compensation to aggrieved, offerings of the communal feasts or puja to the supreme being.
- It is believed that the punishment is also given by the supernatural power.

29. Ibid

30. For detail see, Vidyarthi, L.P., The tribal culture of India

The inauguration of Panchayat Raj gave a set back to the traditional panchayat, the headman was now elected and any eligible villager could seek election³¹. The tribal panchayat is still recognised as the custodian of law and morals among them. New local leaders have come forward to lead the villagers in the changed democratic set-up. The idea of general elections statutory Panchayat, community development programmes etc. were intirely new to them³². Those who are newly educated try to popularise themselves to get the leadership but they are not yet in a position at all to compete with their traditional leaders.

Education:

Out of the total population of 17,789 of Tharus, only 1476 people are literate. It makes clear that the literacy rate among them is at ^avery low level. The reality can be seen with the following data³³.

Total persons taking education			1476
	Female	Male	Total
Primary level	153	1108	1261
Junior High School	19	116	135
High School	4	70	74
Intermediate	1	4	5
Graduate	0	1	1

31. Ibid

P - 226

32. Ibid

P - 226

33. Janjati Sarvechchan Report - by Tarai Janjati Vikas Nigam Limited (Chandan Chawla) Lucknow, 1984.

Economic Life :

The Tharus are very poor people living under extreme poverty. The main source of their income is agriculture; besides it, hunting and daily wage employment are the main sources of their income. Out of the total 2043 families, 170 families are landless and remaining other families also do not have much land.

Till 1947, these tribals were masters of all they surveyed but they have to face the threat from the outsiders who flocked to Terai as soon as it was developed³⁴. The Terai land committee set-up by the state government in 1960, tells the story:

'There has been a sizable migration of population from Punjab after the partition and also from the densely populated eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh'³⁵. At present, this migrated population mainly from Punjab is dominating the area. The committees observations at another place are as follows:

"The committee is convinced that there communities (i.e. Buxa and Tharus) deserve protection by the State"³⁶.

The tharus of this area have to face a lot of problems. The forest department is also among those

34. Hasan, A., Op. Cit. P - 98
 35. Ibid P - 150
 36. Ibid P - 150

which are the main hindrance in their day to day life. Living in the forest villages, they are immune to the onslaughts of land-grabbers, but ironical as it may seem, although they have been cultivating the land is their possession for generation, they have acquired no little. They stoutly refute the claim of forest department that they were settled in their present habitat by the department. As a matter of fact they assert that they have been living and doing agriculture in these villages much before they were notified as forest villages³⁷.

To protect the interest of Tharus, in land and to stop their displacement from their paternal land, the state government issued an ordinance in 1969 prohibiting sale of land by members of scheduled tribe to non-tribals without prior permission of the collector.³⁸ The major agricultural implements of the Tharus are - Hal, Patala, Juwa, Supa, Chhapariya, Kilwai etc. Excluding agriculture the other essential elements in the economic life of the Tharus are Hunting, fishing, collecting forest fruits and roots, etc. Thus, broadly speaking the following are the means by which the tharus at present carry on their economic activities.

37. Ibid

P - 151

38. Ibid

P - 29

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| 1. Agriculture | 2. Rearing of cattle |
| 3. Fishing | 4. Hunting |
| 5. Smithy | 6. Carpentry |
| 7. Pottery | 8. Labour |
| 9. Collecting of forest fruits and roots | |
| 10. Governmental services etc. | |

In the following tables their engagements have been shown³⁹.

Cultivators	5,555
Agriculture labourers	167
Governmental services	4
Main workers	5,850
Other workers	124
Non workers	11,939

"Fishing is a favourite pastime and supplementary occupation with the Tharus, in which men women, and children take part equally though women and children avoid fishing in deep water⁴⁰.

As the tharus are great hunters, they, inspite of the forest laws, steel into forests for their hunting, although they are easily intimidated if they are caught by forest guards or any other touring officialsof the

39. Consus of India

P - 428

40. Srivastava, S.K., Op. Cit.

pp.48-49

forest department⁴¹. Hunting is an individual as well as a group activity among the Tharus. When the party returns from hunting with an animal from the forest the animal is skinned and the flesh is cut into pieces⁴². Then it is distributed among themselves according to the prevailing law of their society. So, it is evident that the Tharu are very much depend upon hunting and they earn their daily bread through hunting.

The tharus use some of wild leaves and fruits which are available to them during different seasons of the years. The popular among these are Patpara, banamethi papari, phalosa etc. Some wild grasses are also used among them. Different types of vegetables, fruits etc. are also available to them from the forest which are used normally in their day to day life.

A tharu man cannot claim himself as a perfect carpenter but he is able to produce some important articles. "He makes his own carts, ploughs, Patela, and other agricultural implements door, pillors, and cots etc."⁴³. are exploiting these tribles. Out of the total undebted 1156 families, 1022 families have taken loan from the money lenders,

41. Ibid	P - 49
42. Ibid	P - 52
43. Ibid	P - 54

merchants etc. and only 114 families have taken from the cooperative societies.

The cooperative societies are there (Chandan Chawki, Belapersua and Bankati) and cooperative banks (Chandan chawki) also but they are ineffective and rendering very little help to the tribals because the management and influence of the local merchants make it very difficult to do their genuine duty and in this way these societies have failed to fulfill the hopes entertained to them. The investment of the government has shown a little out put. Much of the money is grasped by the middlemen. The quality service the government has providing to the Tharu can be well estimated. A tharu dislikes to work as a mere labourer on another man's field. His highest ambition in life is to own a piece of land⁴⁴. When a tharu has no alternative, only then he works as a labourer in the hope that he could be able to acquire a piece of land at some future date.

The tharus, although they have literally masters of all they surveyed till 1950, face a serious threat to their holding from sikhs (farmer) who have been dispossessing the docile and simple tribals from their ancestral land⁴⁵.

44. Ibid

P - 56

45. Hasan, A. Op. Cit.

P - 12

C H A P T E R - T H R E E

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

This area is now dominated by those migrated sikhs. That's why Kheri district is often named as 'mini Punjab' of Uttar Pradesh.

The quality service the government has providing to the Tharus can be estimated as very low; since the illegal commission of the middleman has dominated the spirit of development. Similarly the response of the Tharu's has also been not satisfactory. This may be due to the lack of education, poverty and political consciousness.

During the fourth five-year plan some concrete steps were taken for their upliftment and again during fifth plan some fresh developmental programmes were started. But all these programmes failed to provide desired goal. The present situation demandsthat a greater attention^{is} to be given for their socio-economic betterment. While formulating the programmes for the tribals some variables such as environment, socio-cultural factors must be taken into consideration. As well know, economic growth can be achieved only through due cognizance of socio-cultural parameters, and economic growth and increasing political socialisation will lead to the increasing political partipation and involvement.

Political participation implies participation by the various people in the politics of the country¹. Political participation is a necessary ingredient of every political system². Political participation may imply participation by the unpolitical people as well as the politicised one³. The idea of political participations is highest in liberal democratic countries, and to some degree in totalitarian countries. After all, "participation is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled"⁴. Some regard political participation as a necessary criterion of political development, modernisation and advanced political culture. There are others like Samuel Huntington who hold that political participation leads to decay. According to him, political participation leads to high expectation which are not satisfied due to the lack of institutionalisation. Political participation refers

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1. Jangam, R.T., Textbook of political sociology
Oxford and IBH publishing Company
New Delhi, 1982 P.181
 2. Mukhopadhyaya, A.K., Political Sociology
K.P. Bagchi & Company, Calcutta, 1980
P.120
 3. Jangam, R.T., OP. Cit. P.181
 4. McClosky, H. Political participation in International
Encyclopaedia of Social Science, Collier
MacMillan, New York, 1968 Vol.12 P.253

✓ to a sense of voluntary activities which have a bearing on political process that involves issues like the selection of rulers and various aspects of the formation of public policy⁵. To be more specific these activities are as follows: "(1) Voting at the polls, (2) supporting possible pressure groups by being a member of them, (3) personally communicating directly with legislators, (4) participating in political activity and thus acquiring a claim on legislators and (5) ✓ engaging in habitual dissemination of political opinions through word of mouth communications to other citizens".⁶ Maclosky defines political participation as " those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of the rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy⁷. Political participation is cumulative in nature. It means it may spread over various activities at the same time. A person can take

5 Mukhopadhyaya, A.K., Political Sociology.
Op. Cit. P.121

6. Woodward, J.L. & Roper, E., "Political Activity of American Citizens" in H. Eulau, S.J. Eldersveld & M.Janowitz (eds), Political behaviour: A Reader in theory and Research Amerind publishing Co. Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 1972 P.133

7. McClosky, H, "Political participation, International Encyclopaedia of the social science Vol.12 Collier-MacMillan, New York, 1968 P.253

part in more than one political action at the sometime
 can be a member of interest group, political party
 and also contest election to the legislature.

The forms and stimulus for participation differ from
 system to system. Political participation in a developing
 country is limited by poverty, illiteracy etc. In
 totalitarian systems, Participation is controlled by
 rulers. In the soviet union, people have been granted
 right to participate in the elections. But voting
 in Soviet Union is not legally compulsory⁸ as it has been
 at one time or another in Austria, Switzerland. People in
 the USSR participate only in those activities which are
 provided and allowed by the government. In defining
 participation for their study of American politics,
 Verba and Nie restrict the scope of political participation,
 to "ceremonial" and "support" participation, excluding citizen
 participation in the implementation of government policy⁹.

Types of Apathy in Democracy

"In a democracy one usually comes across two type of

8. Churchward, L.G., Contemporary Soviet government
 Routledge & Kegan Paul.
 London, 1975 P. 104

9. Verba, S. and Nie, N.H., Participation in America
 Harper & Row, New York, 1972 PP.2-3

apathetics. Firstly - There are those who fail to participate because of lack of information about and interest in the political world which results from their political indifferences and incapacity; Secondly; From a lack of opportunity to participate. This second kind of political apathy which is for from deliberate is usually found among the uneducated, the unarticulate the parochial, the isolated and also among those whose very roles operate only on the basis of a kind of political passivity as it is to be found in case of woman in societies having dominated by men. The second type of political apathy is deliberate. It is to be found among those who decide not to participate politically¹⁰.

"Citizens who are pessimistic about their capacity to influence political events may eschew politics on the ground that what they do won't matter anyway. Voters sometimes neglect to vote because they feel that one vote won't change the outcome; citizens often fail to press their views on public officials because they believed that public officials won't pay attention to people like themselves¹¹."

10. Mukhopadhyaya, A.K., Op. Cit. P. 123

11. Dahl, R.A. Modern Political Analysis Prentice-Hall of India, New Delhi, 1965. P. 61

There are many persons who are apathetic towards the participation due to their frustration with the system. This comes when an individual considers the political system so much self-serving, corrupt and incorrigible that he may decide to keep away from politics.

Variables of political participation

Participation appears to be a complex phenomenon that depends upon great many variables of different relative weights¹². It varies from country to country, from era to era, from one type of people in a society to another. There are three sets of variables¹³:

1. The Psychological variables
2. The social variables; and
3. The political variables.

A change in any of them can, therefore, increase or decrease participation, and analysis based on any one of them is bound to be misleading and incomplete¹⁴.

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| 12. | McClosky, Herbert | Op. Cit. | P-256 |
| 13. | Mukhopadhyay, A.K., | Op. Cit. | P-256 |
| 14. | Mukhopadhyay, A.K., | Op. Cit. | P-125 |

Psychological variables :

"Men participate politically because they detest isolation and want to have the association of others. Again one of the fundamental psychological traits of man is that he is a curious animal; he wants to understand the meaning of his environment. This pursuit of meaning also serves ^{as} an important psychological reason for one's political participation. An individual becomes politically involved because he is keen on deriving meaning from the political environment in which he is living. All these however are the conscious psychological grounds of political participation"¹⁵.

Social variables :

The elements that compose the social environment include education, occupation, income, age, race religion, sex, mobility and residence¹⁶. "The general finding of numerous researches that have been done in different countries suggest that the political participation is relatively in case of better educated, members of the higher occupation and income groups, male members of the society, settled residents, urban dwellers and

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15. Mukhopadhyay, A.K. Op.Cit. P. 125
 16. McClosky, Herbert Op.Cit. P. 256

members of voluntary associations"¹⁷.

Education :

Education is one of the most important variables which promote political consciousness among the people. The higher is the education, the greater are one's sense of civic duty, political competence, interest, responsibilities and also self-confidence and articulateness.¹⁸ The more educated are better able to transmit their political interest and knowledge to their children and, hence, to perpetuate the relationship between education and participation¹⁹. Education, undoubtedly is an important variable of political participation.

Occupation :

A person's socio-economic status are likely to influence his political participation. It has been seen the people who are economically sound, take active part in political activities. For a hungry man politics has no meaning. Campbell, Gurin and Miller "have shown,

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17. Connelly, C.M. and Field, H.M., "The non-voter-who He is, what He thinks", Public opinion quarterly (1944) P. 179
18. Foskett, J.M., "Social Structure and social participation, American Sociological Review, 20(1955) P. 434
19. McClosky, Herbert, Op. Cit. P. 257

on the basis of their study of the voting pattern of American income groups, any given rate of increase in income from one level to another is likely to bring a smaller rate of increase in turn-out as one ascends the income scale"²⁰.

Religion and Race :

Religion and race also have impact on political participation, "In Germany, where the Christian Democratic party attempts to be the spokesman of both catholicism and protestantism, whether catholics or protestants attend church affects their political participation considerably."²¹

Political variables :

"If the social environment is important for understanding the character of political participation, so is the political environment the more open is the competition for power in a society and the more is the competition based on established and accepted forms of procedures, the greater will be the tendency to

20. Campbell, A., Gurin, G. & Miller, W.E., 'The Voter decides, Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1954

21. Lipset, S.M., Political Man, Arnold-steinmann India New Delhi, 1973 P. 196

participate --- the overall governmental programmes is also important. People may be so disgusted with the inefficiency of their government that they may detest political participation--- This, of course, does not mean that a very good performance by a government always works as a booster to political participation--- crises in national or international politics may sometime sharpen the impulse to participate"²².

Political party :

"Of all political influences on participation, the party is probably the most potent. It's rate is partly expressive and partly instrumental²³. A political party performs a wide range of important functions. The political parties give people political instruction and encourage the people to participate by constantly supplying them informations about the political world. In this way political parties impart political education to the people. The political variables in respect of participation are, no doubt, important; but it is apt to remember that, as far as participation is concerned, the same political variables are often found to produce different results and this so happens because the operation of the

22. Mukhopadhyaya A.K., Op. Cit. P. 132

23. Rush Michael & Althoff Philip, 'An Introduction to Political Sociology. Western Printing Services Ltd. Bristol, 1971 P. 82

political variables is very much limited by the psychological and social variables"²⁴.

Social Change :

Change is the law of nature. "The concept of social change is wide and complex. It has many dimensions and aspects"²⁵. It shall be useful for better understanding of process of social change to consider some of the definition of social change. Different scholars have different views regarding "Social change". According ^{to} Moore, "Social change is the significant alteration of social structure (that is of patterns of action, social, and interaction), including consequences and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values, culture, products and symbols"²⁶. Kingley Davis defines, "By social change is meant only such alterations as occur in social organization- that is structure and functions of society."²⁷ Social change occurs in all

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24. Mukhopadhyay, A.K. Op. Cit. P. 134
25. Jangam, R.T., Textbook of political sociology
Oxford & LBH Publishing Co. New Delhi, 1980
P. 222
26. American sociological Review Vol.25, 1960
P. 336
27. Davis, K., Human Society, The MacMillan Company
New York P. 622

societies and rapid in complex modern societies. Gradual and slow or rapid and spectacular, social change does occur irrespective of the type or location of human society in the type or location of human society in the world. For change in society is inevitable. "Any increase, decrease, reduction, diminution, growth, decay, envelopment, development, progress regress, revolution or evolution can be called social change"²⁸, in other words "When we speak of social change we simply assert that there is some change in social behaviour, social structure and social and cultural values"²⁹.

Let us have a brief attempt on the various views of social change. "A French sociologist, Auguste Comte, has spoken of social change in terms of three stages. He has designated these stages as theological, metaphysical and positive. The British sociologist, Herbert Spencer, speaks of the various stages of an organism. According to him there are three stages which characterise the growing and decaying organism of human society. The three stages are: (1) Primitivism; (2) Militarism; (3) Industrialism."³⁰ The economic theory of social change

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28. Jangam, R.T. Op. Cit. P. 222
 29. Kuppaswamy, B. "Social change in India"
 Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
 New Delhi, 1979 P. 43
 30. Jangam, R.T. Op. Cit. P. 224

occupies a major place in the discussion of social scientists and historians³¹. Marx asserted that economic conditions and economically oriented actions constituted the "base" of the social structure and profoundly influenced all other aspects of human activity³². He interprets the entire human history in economic terms.³³ "The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual process of life" wrote Marx. In other words "according to him the philosophy, politics, culture, literature, and social life of a nation are determined by the system of production, distribution and consumption"³⁴. Those economic views led him to develop the doctrine of class struggle. The communist manifesto asserted "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class-struggle". So at last it can be concluded that "The Marxist theory rests on fundamental assumption that changes in the economic infra-structure of society are the prime movers of social change"³⁵.

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31. Cohen Percy S., "Modern Social Theory, The English Language Book Society and Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. London, 1978 P. 180
32. Kuppaswamy, B. Op. Cit. P. 27
33. Jangam, R.T. Op. Cit. P. 226
34. Ibid P. 226
35. Cohen, Percy S. Op. Cit. P. 180

There are many possible causes of social change, but they can all be regarded as belonging to three types:³⁶

1. There are causes of change inherent either in social system, in general or in particular kinds of social system;
2. Change may be due to some impact from the social environment of the social system of reference;
3. Change may be due to some impact from the non-social environment.

As discussed earlier social change can be intended or unintended. It can also be classified into as evolutionary change or desired change. The former is a process of change and transformation of a society which takes place automatically. But a desired or planned change can be achieved by systematic planning and social engineering. This kind of change is obviously intended and the society sets a goal before it. A substantial development in the socio-political and economic life of a community amounts to a considerable change in the society. So every nation or society, while trying for transforming or modernising itself, vigourously pursues a developmental policy. Participation of the people is a necessary ingredient of

36. Johnson, Harry, M. 'Sociology: a systematic introduction allied publishers private limited, New Delhi, 1983 P. 633

all developmental activities. People for whom development is intended should be involved in developmental process.

That apart, participative political culture and institutional differentiation are basic features of, a well developed society. Every nation, in her march towards progress, tries for achieving them. Hence, Political participation of the people has assumed utmost importance these days. It creates political awareness among people, provides an opportunity to involve them in the affairs of the state and governance, it leads to the participation of the people in various activities of the state. Hence, political participation has tremendous bearing on development of nation-building and ultimately on process of social change.

On the basis of above theories and assumptions let us see the sort of political participation and social change that has taken place in the small society like Tharu's in the Kheri district of Uttar Pradesh. Participation is one of those term that are very difficult to define, because, while it is very widely used in today's languages, the scope and meaning that are ascribed to it often differing very widely.

The term participation is very often used to cover

all the forms of action by which citizens take part in the operation of administration. It is used broadly to refer to the role of members of the general public, as distinguished from that of appointed officials, including civil servants, the activities of government or in providing directly for the community needs. It may occur on any level ~~from~~ village to the country as a whole. It may be only advisory, and in the case of one advisory committee to a minister. Provincial governor or head of a hospital; it may involve decision-making, as in case of governing bodies of local, and it may extend actual implementation, as occurs when villagers decide to carry out a community self-help programme.

Let us see the participation of the Tharu's in their political process at grass-root level that is their traditional panchayat which has an important ^{ce} ce in their political behaviour. Tharu's have a caste panchayat in which ^{of them} all most all participate in their day to day problems. The panchayat, is the important organ of their society which decides disputes, solves problems of their own. They are mobilised under their caste panchayat. Their panchayat also strive to do its bit for the redressal of the grievances of the members of their community. The caste panchayat of tharus consists of Mukhia and other members. The Mukhia is the chief of

the tribe as well as of the panchayat. The Mukhia is the final arbitrator of law and order within the Tribe. The powers of the Tharu panchayat is quite significant. This body is the supreme body in so far as the caste issues are concerned. The decision of this body include even when and how a man or a woman should be taken into their tribe and should be declared out of their tribe. It forms certain rules and regulation pertaining to the entire tribe as a community. The rules once formed by the Tharu panchayat means, These should be obeyed by each and every individual of the community. The panchayat also enjoy certain judicial powers. The judgement given by the panchayat will be binding upon the whole community. An important point, however, may be pointed out that the panchayats do not have much financial powers, because it does not have much funds available with it. The people of the community are very poor. The panchayat has numerous and varied functions and which are generally social, political and at sometime economic also.

Political Functions :

Panchayat of the Tharu's play a very important role in matters of political importance. The panchayat appears to be a vote-pocket of the Tharus. The Mukhia

is usually a man of the tribe, with the most of other men as his followers in the Tharu community. The Mukhia as the chief of the Tribe interacts with other communities and public officers. Thus he is considered as an important man and is respected in the community as well as by the other communities also. His work and word carry much weight outside as well as inside the community because of the fact that he has many followers with him, in his tribe. During election times, in informal times of discussions, the Mukhia of the Tharu assumes a lot of importance. He acts as the mediator between the party leaders of various political parties and the people of his own community. Usually, he is the person who gets the maximum share in the money distributed by the various political leaders to the community during the election. Sometimes the leader distributes the money among the other prominent tribemen of the community. Usually such money is spent on the purpose of drinking and merry-making. The Tharu's are voracious drunkards who spend most of their money on drinking*.

The Mukhia is also approached in mobilising the member of the tribe for meetings, demonstration

* Even they themselves reveal that there is no difference between Daru (Liquor) and the Tharu.

and processions by the leaders of political parties and other district level leaders, whenever required. Although, due to lack of political consciousness among Tharu's, they hardly participate in any of the above mentioned.

Social Functions : of the Tharu's

The social functions of the Tharus assume much more importance with that of political functions. In this respect the Scheduled Tribe community appears to be a mini-world of complex problems. And it is only Panchayat of the Tribe which tried to solve the problems but more the less panchayat works within the caste culture. The major function of the village panchayat is the settlement of village disputes. The disputes settled by the panchayat usually relate to partition of joint property, succession, and inheritance.

The taboos, such as sexual union of Tharu's with a non-Tharu, marriage or sexual intrigue within the prohibited degree; The taboos marring with another man's wife without the consent of the husband or without paying the compensation demanded by the former husband;

The breaking of engagement; and Taboos of killing accidentally or intentionally of a cow, calf or a bullock, are also noticed

Mukhia also plays an important role in other various important matters of the Tharu's. He visits marriage occasions of tribemen. He acts as a guardian of the community and consoles the families in case of death and also guides the family. The customs and conventions of the tribe goes to the head of the tribe and are observed in the name of Mukhia.

Generally the fund for the panchayat is collected from the tribe people. In times the panchayat, while resolving the disputes may ask the parties to deposit some money and it would see it that who ever is proved to have been guilty, would go to the panchayat. Out of that money some money goes for drinking and merry-making of the people who sat to resolve the dispute. Thus the panchayat plays an important role in the scheduled tribe community. But when the question of social change comes, the panchayat plays a vital role. Such role is not towards maintaining the status-quo. It is very important to note that in the large constitutional and legal political set up, there are ^a number of non-constitutional and not legal institutions and organisations that are playing a vital role in maintaining the status-quo in the system.

Unless one recognises the importance, it is not possible to bring about progressive social change.

At empirical level, however, it needs to be tested as to what kind of political participation is taking place and what kind of social change that participation leads. To this effect some questions have been canvassed. As it has been said earlier that the political parties in the country are controlled by the upper class or highly educated people, hence the lower class more so, the scheduled tribes have been neglected. As a result of the socio-economic conditions of the lower-classes in general and scheduled tribes in particular are very bad. Apart from various other institutions and methods by which the socio-economic level of the people can be raised, the functioning of the political parties assumes a significant role. Through them the process of socialisation of the masses and mobilising for united action can be achieved. The political parties in India canvass not only, on the form and basis of their ideology, party programmes and policies, but also in recruitment into leadership from various sections of the people. While it is well known that the political parties may not talk about the castes and tribes for the reason of secular facade, in actual operation

they do exploit them. But in case of scheduled tribes, castes, and minority secular politics does not preclude them being canvassed on the caste or tribe basis, Since such quite big of the population and almost all of them are deprived sections of the community and have been deprived the ordinary privileges of normal civilised life for ages. All political parties do make direct and sectional appeal to them without any fear of being dubbed as communal. Every political party in fact, with the others makes special appeals to them. Though the actual implementation process may be at a variance with the programme declarations.

In the above analysis of the Tharu panchayat and other Tharu systems, we saw that the Tharus are the deprived sections of the society. Their participation in the wider political system of the country is very poor. This is because of a host of factors.

As we saw, for the success of democracy wider participation in the political sphere of the country is one of the pre-requisites. But the participation of the people depends on a lot of factors and conditions without which participation is impossible.

The most important conditions of participation is political consciousness. The political consciousness among the Tharu's is not satisfactory. They were the tribes who do not know the value of democracy because of their lack of knowledge, information and ignorance. They are ignorant about the happenings of the country. This is also due to their object poverty. Their poverty compels them to search for the bread and it hardly allow them to think about the state and its system. The Tharu's have their only scope of participation in the panchayat. Their panchayat is a traditional organisation which decides the disputes mainly of ritual nature.

Lack of education is another problem for Tharu's. They are not educated. Educational facilities in school as well as in higher educational institutions are not satisfactory. Tharu's are apathetic^t towards education that is because of their extreme poverty. This lack of education made them blink and for which they easily fall prey to the sectarian and corruptive call of the political parties. As it is explained earlier, the Tharu's accept money for voting in elections from the political parties and this money is being spend on drinking and merry-making purposes.

So far as the social change of Tharu's is concerned

Tharu society has changed a very little nearly unchanged. Whatever till today they have achieved, rather in a broad way has contributed to the maintenance of the status-quo of the Tharu society. No major socio-economic change has taken place in the society of the Tharus. They have still adhered to the traditional institutions of their tribe and the some ritual habits, customs and traditions are prominent in their life. They are still being exploited and their apathy towards others still continues. Their moral standard has not developed and still they believe in blind faith, mysticism, and magic. They have been accepting everything as it is and have never questioned. Their occupation is still in force, they live on jungle fruits, river fish and hunting etc.

In the concluding part of this chapter an attempt will be made here to examine the theory of political participation and social change in relation to the Tharu Tribe and to find out what is the actual relevance of this theory to the people of Tharu Tribe. It has been discussed above that political participation is an effective means to bring about social transformation in the society. Therefore, social change is directly related to the levels of political participation of a given

community. Political participation which is the resultant of the political consciousness of the people has a direct bearing on social change. Social change takes place when the society undergoes a total transformation in all aspects, i.e. politics, social, cultural, economic etc. The large-scale participation of the people in the socio-economic and political life of a given community given credence in understanding the nature of their polity and also prescribes changes required for a better life.

As it has been discussed in the preceding chapter that the political participation of the Tharu Tribe has not been significant and large-scale; their social change has not been made possible. They are still guided by various traditions, customs, rituals, belief in magic, blind faith etc. The economic conditions which constitute as one of the primary pre-requisites for an effective political participation, has not been better and self-sufficient in case of the Tharu Tribe. Hence, poverty is a major factor which impedes the social change of the people of Tharu Tribe. Another factor which helps in the process of social change is the level of literacy. Education, is, therefore an important variable in social change. Unless the people are educated and have sufficient knowledge with regard to the

various aspects of their life, they can not think about any social change. If they do not understand the meaning and complexity of the various problems afflicting the society, they can not help bring about solutions and change for a better life. As it has been shown in the beginning of this study, the literacy level of the Tharu Tribe is very low, they lack the political knowledge and understanding of various social, political phenomenon. Thus, this ignorance due to lack of education is also a vital factor which retards their development and the idea of social change.

In conclusion it may be summed-up that political participation which is an important means to social change has not been achieved in case of the Tharu Tribe. The low level of political participation of the Tharu Tribe due to discuss in the preceding chapter, is an impediment to their social change. Status-quo remained the order of the day and hence, social preservation rather than social change has become an inevitable part of the life of the people of Tharu Tribe. The lack of education, ignorance, backward socio-economic conditions, absence of developmental activities, low levels of political consciousness and participation are some of the

important factors which have contributed to their traditional, orthodox and primitive life and unable them to lead a happy, better modern civilised life which can be ^{attained} through a process of social change.

C H A P T E R - I V

ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR OF THE THARU TRIBE

Democracy implies popular government. When electorate exercises the function of voting, the concept of popular sovereignty becomes meaningful. Hence, democracy has everywhere advanced by way of an ever-increasing extension of right to vote.

In the ancient city-state of greece democracy was of direct type. The citizen of the states were the direct participants in the management of public affairs. They were the real makers of the state policy and programme of action . In the large nation-state of the later ages, direct popular participation has become impossible with the development of the city-state into modern nation-state and with the introduction of universal adult franchise direct democracy is unattainable today. Representative democracy which is generally prevalent in modern times, naturally grew up out of the conditions of modern nation-states. In representative democracy political parties play a decisive role. And when we talk of developing country like India, the responsibility upon the political parties increases many times. They articulate and organise the will of the people and act as the transmission-belt between the government and the governed. The growing political consciousness of the masses led to the belief that the governmental action

must conform to the interest of the public.

It is a known fact that upto the beginning of the present century, the right to vote, was enjoyed by only few with certain conditions. Many revolutions were made and many sacrifices were given for the voting right based on equality. The emergence of socialist thinking and the great Bolshevik revolution contributed a lot. Victor Hugo has rightly said that adult suffrage has crowned man as citizen, is however, a recent phenomenon.

In Indian constitution universal adult suffrage is a very important gain, and complete equality between the sexes not only before law but also in political sphere is adopted. In order to ensure the 'political' justice held out in the preamble, it was essential that every person in the territory of India, irrespective of his proprietary or educational claims, should be allowed to participate in the political system, like any other person.

Various factors are affecting their electoral behaviour and political participation. The political behaviour of any given community determines its nature and kind of life, political participation constitutes a vital area in the study of electoral behaviour. The level of participation of an individual or community decides

the political consciousness of that individual or community. Any major change in the life of individual and the community occurs through their respective participation in the political affairs of a nation. Such participation, in turn, points out the nature and character of the political system in which that individual or community lives. Political participation and political consciousness is closely inter-related. In this chapter this inter-relationship will be given a real colour while analysing the level of political consciousness of scheduled tribe people of Kheri district sketching out their electoral behaviour. This chapter presents an empirical analysis of the electoral behaviour of the Scheduled Tribes in Kheri district. The study is based on the response of 50 respondents selected randomly (random sampling). An exhaustive list of questionnaire was prepared to get their response. Voting is an important means to judge the political consciousness of a given community. With the introduction of universal adult franchise, the voting right is made available to all the adult citizens. In this study table No.1 gives the picture of the interest and importance of voting to all Scheduled Tribe people of the Kheri district.

Table No1 - 1Importance of Voting

Variable	No. of Respondants	Percentage
Important	44	88%
Not Important	6	12%
Total	50	100%

out of the total 50 respondants, 44 people (88%) said that they consider voting as important for them and only 6 people (12%) said in negative. It means that majority are aware of the importance of voting which is their political right.

Another question, related to above one was asked "did you vote in the last election?"

The responses given by the 50 respondants can be studied in the table No.2.

Table No. 2

Variable	No. of Respondants	Percentage
Voted	31	62%
did not voted	19	38%
Total	50	100%

This table indicates that the majority of the people that is 31 people (62%) had voted in the last election and 19 people (38%) did not vote and among these were 8 people (16%) who replied that they were not included in the voters list. It shows that the majority of the people are interested in exercising their franchise. It also shows that the community is politically mature.

Some political thinkers believe that more and more participation of the people in various political activities ensures the successful working of the system. Opinions differ as to whether the exercise of franchise should be regarded as a moral duty or as a legal obligation. It may be argued that for an accurate representation of the will of the electorate, voting should be made compulsory. However, compulsory voting is in operation in few states like Argentina, Belgium, Rumania and some of swiss cantons etc. But it is believed that the compulsory voting produces anti government feelings and tends to create political corruption. So it can be said that for the successful and smooth working of the democratic system, the people should be active and should take part in elections.

Another question when asked "did your whole village vote for one party or different parties?" the responses of the 50 respondents are as follows:

Table No. 3

Variable	No. of respondents	Percentage
One party	7	14%
different party	43	86%
Total	50	100%

The table No.3 shows that the choices of the voters are varied as while, 43 (86%) of them had voted to different political parties only seven (14%) told that their total village voted to one political party. So the table shows that the various political parties are successful in mobilising the Scheduled Tribe voters of the area. It is believed that the tribals show communal unity and collectively vote to one political party. But these views are not applicable to the Tharus of this district. It is a good sign for successful and smooth working of a democratic system.

Another important measure to judge the political

consciousness of a given community is the setting up of an effective political communication network. Communication helps in arousing their political interest and awareness towards different political phenomena. It is through this communication process, the individuals acquire political knowledge of various local, state and national issues. Hence, political communication is vital in determining the levels of political consciousness of any given community and more so of people from backward communities like Scheduled Tribe.

In this country we have mainly five broad categories of communication channels such as,

1. Newspaper
2. Radio
3. Television
4. Political party, and
5. Opinion leadership.

An analysis of these different communication channels and its impact will throw sufficient light in understanding the levels of political consciousness and their active participation in the political process. An attempt will be made here to study the impact of these different channels from the responses of 50 respondents.

1. Newspaper

When asked the question "did you read newspaper daily "). Out of 50 respondents, no one response was in favour of it. This implies that no one read newspapers among the Scheduled Tribe of this district. It may be concluded from this that the tribals of this district may be poor in literacy. Many respondents replied that the newspaper is not available to them. Newspaper which is one of the important communication channel if not being supplied to the scheduled tribe people, exposes the weaknesses and the lack of political development of a country like India.

When another question was asked "did you get news about the election campaign from newspapers?". The responses of the 50 respondents are as follows.

Table No. 4Election news from Newspaper

variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
get News	4	8%
did not get	46	92%
Total	50	100%

Out of 50 respondents only 4 people (8%) replied that they read newspaper from other places when they go out although they are not regular readers. 46 people (92%) people replied that they never read the newspaper. So this table gives the indication that most of the Scheduled Tribe people did not read newspaper due to several reasons as illeteracy, non availabety of newspapers.

2. Radio

Radio is an important means of communication in the rural areas. People in the rural area very often listen to radio particularly for the entertainment programmes. They hardly listen to the news or any election programmes which is vital in building-up the political consciousness. Radio establishes the direct link with the people and provides the information about the political happenings. So radio plays an important role in politicising and educating the people. So a question "did you listen election programmes on radio?" was asked. The responses are as follows.

Table No. 5
Programmes on Radio

variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
listen	3	6%
do not listen	47	94%
Total	50	100%

3 respondents (6%) out of 50 replied "Yes" and 47 people (94%) said that they never listen to radio for election programmes so this table makes it very clear that the Scheduled Tribe people of the Kheri district lack political interest in listening to the election programmes on radio as a result of which they remain unaware of the developments taking place on the eve of election. So it can be said that the radio did not have any major impact on the scheduled tribe people of this district.

3. Television

Regarding Television as a modern means of communication, its impact is nil for the Scheduled Tribe people of this district. It is because of the reason that there is no Television set in the area.

Most of the people do not know anything about television. They have not heard anything about television. It's non-availability therefore, unables the people to watch TV and get necessary information regarding various issues and political developments.

4. Political party

Political parties play a vital role in arousing the political awareness of the people and they are the chief sources of political mobilization. Different political parties through their programmes and manifesto try to educate the people and make them conscious of their objectives and goals. Parties are eminent educators. As they bring political issues down to the man in the street, they help the educational process that raises the general level of political intelligence of the masses. It is an important characteristic of the party that it focuses on various local, national or international problems. In fact it are the political parties which make the government responsible to the people. It is significant to note that parliamentary government is imposible without the party system. In a democracy like india political parties are important in safeguarding the intrest and the welfare of the people. Their role is more vital in case of rural areas where the people are

easily mobilized through the campaigning and charismatic leadership. The electoral behaviour of the rural people, particularly the Scheduled Tribe people are shaped by the various political parties through their programmes, campaigning and their desire to protect the interest of the people.

When the question was asked "did any party members or candidates come to you to ask for vote during the election?", the responses noted are as follows.

Table No. 6

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Came	38	76%
did not come	12	24%
Total	50	100%

Out of 50 respondents 38 people (76%) replied in favour of it and 12 people (24%) answered that no party members or candidates had come to ask for vote. The majority of respondents saying "Yes" implies that the political parties had an active engagement in the political participation process of the Scheduled Tribe people of

this district. Hence, it can be inferred here that political parties were the sources of political mobilisation of the Scheduled Tribe people of the Kheri district.

5. Opinion Leadership

The views and opinions of the leaders are major sources in building-up the political consciousness and political mobilization of the people. Since the maximum percentage of the people in the country is illiterate and as they lack individual judgement, they are easily mobilised by the leaders: This is practically more applicable in case of the Scheduled Tribe people who totally rely on their leaders in order to safeguard their interests. The leaders help in moulding the public opinion and try to establish their own views, objectives and goals. Therefore leadership is an important medium in determining the political fate of a country. The scheduled tribe people are generally dependent upon the leaders to carry out their wishes and fulfilment of their needs.

Another question "did your leader support any party or candidate?" got following responses.

Table No. 7Leaders support to party or candidate

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Support	41	82%
did not support	9	18%
Total	50	100%

Out of the total 50 respondents, 41 people (82%) answered "Yes" and 9 persons (18%) replied in negative. So this table shows that the scheduled tribe people are much conscious about the activities of their leader. They know their leaders support to a political party or candidate and the leaders in turn help the people in understanding the nature and character of a political party or the candidate, thereby eliciting support. From this table it is clear that the opinions of the leaders carry much weightage in deciding the levels of political awareness and participation of the scheduled tribe people. This opinion leadership or the inter-personal communication plays an important role in carrying the news to the general public. The people also express their loyalty to the leader and help him

in organising various election meetings, campaigning, taking part in procession, distributing pamphlets and cards and helping the voters to go to the polling station. Although the suggestions given by the leader to the people are not binding an analysis of various questions from the questionnaire prepared for this study given ample evidence in understanding the impact of opinion leadership and the people's obedience to the leadership. This is an important characteristic feature in determining the levels of political consciousness and the degree of the people participation in political activities in general and the Scheduled Tribes people in particular.

When a question was asked "did you help in arranging election meeting?" the following responses were given.

Table No. 8

Arranging Election Meetings

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Help	9	18%
did not help	41	82%
Total	50	100%

Out of 50 respondents, 9 people (18%) replied that they helped the political parties in arranging election meetings and a majority of 41 people (82%) answered that they never helped in arranging the election meetings. So this table gives the picture of low level of political consciousness and active participation in the political process.

Another question was "did you participate in any election procession?" The answer given are as follows.

Table No. 9
Participation in Election processions

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
participated	2	4%
Did not participate	48	96%
Total	50	100%

The answer to this question in affirmative form was given by only two people (that is 4%), out of 50 respondent. They told that they participated in the election procession. The rest 48 people (96%) answered that they never participated in any election procession. An examination on this table signifies that the scheduled tribe people of this district lacks the interest of active participation in the

elections and hence it is assumed that they have not achieved a relatively high level of political consciousness, which is not satisfactory at all.

A question determining the respect of the people to the party candidate was "did you distribute any pamphlets or cards alongwith any party candidate?" The answers are.

Table No. 10

Distribution of pamphlets and cards

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Distributed	13	26%
Did not distributed	37	74%
Total	50	100%

4 total of 13 people (26%) replied that they had distributed the pamphlets and cards during the election time. The remaining 37 people (74%) replied that they did not distribute any pamphlets or cards. So this table is an example of the scheduled tribe people's desire to establish a close affinity with the candidates of the

different political parties. No doubt, only 13 people have distributed pamphlets. It gives an indication of the people's interest in engaging them actively during the election time.

When a question was asked "did you canvass door to door campaigning for any specific candidate or political party?" The following responses were given.

Table No. 11

Door to door campaign

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Campaign	3	6%
did not campaign	47	94%
Total	50	100%

Only 3 people (6%) out of 50 respondents said that they help the party or the candidate in door to door campaigning. The majority of them, that is 47 people (94%) replied that they never helped in door to door campaigning. This table testifies that the political participation^{of} the Scheduled Tribe people of this locality at the highest stage is not encouraging since

a majority of them have replied in negative, indication of lack of interest and willingness of these Scheduled Tribe people to have an active political participation is evident.

Another pertinent question when asked "did you help the voters to go to the polling station?" the following responses were noted.

Table No. 12

Helping voters to go to polling station

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Help	4	8%
did not help	46	92%
Total	50	100%

Out of 50 respondents, 4 people (8%) replied that they helped the voters going to polling station. 46 people (92%) replied that they never help the voters to go to the polling station.

This table shows that the majority of the Scheduled Tribe people do not have the interest to mobilise the people to exercise their franchise. It further shows that they themselves also lack the desire to participate

in the election and exercise their voting right. It seems that the electoral behaviour of the Scheduled Tribe people is docile and hence their degree of political participation remained at a low key.

A review of the above different means of communication network proves that it has not succeeded in raising the political consciousness of the Scheduled Tribe people. These different communication channels are indispensable for successful working and maintenance of democracy. Radio and Television are valuable instruments in politicising the people and give valuable aid in formulating the opinion. So it is necessary that radio and television should not be under the control of the government. The control over these communication channels by the government is a hindrance in the success of the democracy. But in most of the countries as in India, the radio and television are however, under the government control. As already mentioned that these communication networks have not succeeded in raising the political consciousness of the Scheduled Tribe people, it may be basically due to two reasons.

First - There is lack of literacy among the majority of the voting populations; and Secondly, due

to an ineffective communication network like newspaper and radio. Another important variable responsible in measuring the levels of political consciousness of the Scheduled Tribe people is caste factor. This factor has always played an important role in the Indian socio-political system. As has already been analysed in this chapter in table No.7, the question regarding the support of caste-leader to any party or any candidate and answer of the majority of them to the question, give the evidence of the peoples attachment and respect to their caste-leaders.

The close relationship between the Scheduled Tribes people and their own community has further been substantiated from a question "during the last assembly election did your whole community vote for one political party or different political parties?" The table No.3 given above, gives the picture that the majority of Scheduled Tribe people (86%) have replied that they voted to different political parties during the last assembly election. This response of the Scheduled Tribe people gives the idea that they are not biased towards any specific political party.

Another factor which is responsible for the vote-mobilization among the people and Scheduled Tribes people in particular is, the common practice of

political corruption in India. By adopting this technique the political leaders manipulate the voting behaviour of the people. In order to testify this assumption when a question was asked "whether money and liquor were supplied freely to voters?" the responses given are as follows.

Table No. 13

Supply of money and liquor

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Supplied	12	24%
did not supply (Abstain) (did not tell any thing)	38	76%
Total	50	100%

Out of 50 respondents, 12 people (24%) replied that the money and liquor were supplied freely to the voters, and the rest 38 people (76%) did not tell any thing. The "No response" of the 38 people does not give any solid formulation to this question. But from the responses of 12 people saying in affirmative form gives the indication of the role of the money and liquor during the election period. This practice

is usually seen in various parts of India during the election time. The practice destroy the democratic values and restrict the voters to use their genuine choice.

As a corollary to the above question another supplementary question was asked "whether it was supplied to all the voters or to only few voters?" The answers given are as follows.

Table No. 14

Supply of money and liquor to voters

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
To all	9	18%
To few	41	82%
Total	50	100%

9 people (18%) out of the total 50 said that it was supplied to all the voters. 41 people (82%) replied that only few people were supplied with money and liquor and others got through their village leaders or Mukhia. This table makes it clear that through it was supplied to few people (particular classes or leaders) but maximum of the voters were getting through the leaders. Hence, it is proved that money and liquor

played a positive role in mobilising the voters of the Scheduled Tribe community. From the above questions and their answers it is crystal clear that the political corruption as a variable in measuring the levels of political consciousness and participation of the Scheduled Tribe people has proved effective and showed the result.

When a question was asked "did you like the programmes that were implemented for the progress of your Tribe?" The following responses were given.

Table No. 15
Liking for the programmes

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Like	4	8%
did not like	46	92%
Total	50	100%

The majority of the people that is 46 people (92%) replied that they do not like the programmes and only 4 people (8%) told that although they like these programmes, they are not at all satisfied with their implementation. This table shows that the majority of the people are

dissatisfied with programmes. It can be assumed from the responses that there has not been any genuine progress of the Scheduled Tribe people through the implementation of various governmental programmes. These might be weaknesses and loopholes in the implementation of these programmes. They told that the middlemen dominated the spirit of development. They are not able to enjoy the facilities provided to them. So it is necessary that these programmes should be implemented in true sense and made only for these tribals so that they can develop themselves. Regarding the role of the political parties in the upliftment of Schedule Tribe people, a question was asked "is there any political party that takes interest in your community, to uplift your condition?" The answers given are as follows.

Table No. 16

Interest of political party to uplift the tribals

Variable	No. of respondents	Percentage
Take interest .	7	14%
did not take interest	43	86%
Total	50	100%

Only 7 respondents (14%) out of the total 50 replied that the political parties take interest in the upliftment of their community, the rest 43 people (86%) replied that they did not take any interest in the welfare and upliftment of their community. This table shows that the political parties are not genuinely interested for the welfare and development of the Scheduled Tribe people. Their motto could be only to get votes, but not for the betterment of the voters after winning the elections. This is clear that the seven people who replied that the political parties take interest in the upliftment of their conditions and also said that these political parties take interest when the elections are about to be held, it becomes clear that political parties are not doing their job in the true sense. Their only intention is to get vote. In order to test the liking and allegiance of the Scheduled Tribe people to any political party, a question was asked "Is there any political party that you like?" The responses given are as follows.

Table No. 17Liking towards any political party

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Like	3	6%
did not like	47	94%
Total	50	100%

Out of the total 50 respondents only 3 people (6%) answers that they liked the political party. When they were asked to give the reason behind their liking none of them could answer, 47 people (94%) replied that they did not like any political party. So this table implies that the Scheduled Tribe people of this locality did not pay any allegiance to any political party. From this can be inferred that the political party might not have taken genuine interest in leading the cause of the Scheduled Tribe people. From Table No.16 it has been made clear that the political parties are not genuinely interested in the development of the Scheduled Tribe people. Hence, these two tables (Table No.16 and Table No.17) are quite similar and give evidence in support of people's rejection of political party.

A few more questions were asked to the respondents in order to know their levels of political consciousness and participation in various elections. The responses given from this question will exemplify the degree of awareness and political participation of the Scheduled Tribe people.

When a question was asked "how much interest did you show during the election campaign?" The following were the responses.

Table No. 18

Interest shown during election campaign

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Great deal	0	0
Some what	28	56%
Never	22	44%
Total	50	100%

None out of 50 respondents replied that they have taken a great deal of interest during the election campaign 26 people (56%) replied that they have taken some interest

during the election campaign and the rest 22 people (44%) replied that they never look any interest in election campaigning. This table shows that the interest of the Scheduled Tribe people in election campaigning is marginal. Thus, it is logical that they did not have a high rate of political participation.

Another relevant question when asked "how many of election meetings did you attend?" The replies given are noted as follows.

Table No. 19

Attending Election Meetings

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Many	0	0
Few meeting	7	14%
Never	43	86%
Total	50	100%

Out of 50 respondents, not even a single people replied that they had attended many meetings, 7 people (14%) replied that they had attended some election meetings and the rest 43 people (86%) replied that

they never attended any election meetings. This table also connotes a low level of active political participation of Scheduled Tribe people. The table No.18 and Table No. 19 are related in some sense, that both the tables show the low level of participation in elections. This may be due to education (illiteracy) poverty and political consciousness etc. An important question to judge the interest of the Scheduled Tribe people to vote was asked "did you go to the polling station on your own or did some one persuade you to go?" The responses given are as follows.

Table No.20

Going to the polling station

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Own	14	28%
Persuaded	36	72%
Total	50	100%

14 people (28%) out of the total 50 respondents told that they did go to polling station on their own behalf and the rest 36 people (72%) responded that they

were being persuaded by some one to go to the polling station. This table acts as a measuring rod to determine the genuine interest of the scheduled tribe people to vote. The responses of the majority of the people that they go to the polling station on the basis of someone's persuasion signifies that these people lack their own individual judgement. This could be due to their illiteracy and ignorance of political developments.

A question when asked "when did you decide to which party, you want to vote?" There answers are as below.

Table No. 21

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
On polling day	3	6%
during campaign	45	90%
Before campaigning	2	4%
Total	50	100%

3 persons (6%) out of 50 respondent replied that they did decide the party to which they would vote on the polling day itself. 45 people (90%) replied they decide

the party they would like to vote during the election campaign. The rest two people (4%) replied that they did decide the party, before the campaign started. From this table it is clear that campaigning constitutes a vital factor in deciding the choice of the individual. This process of campaigning has got a major impact in mobilising the voters and determining their degree of political participation and electoral behaviour. Another question in order to know the level of political participation was asked, "did you vote in the last election?". The table No.2 above in this chapter has shown that the 31 people (62%) had voted in the last election. So this figure shows that the majority of the Scheduled Tribe people are interested in active political participation.

When a question related to the above one (Table No.2) was asked "can you name the candidate or party to whom you voted in the last election?" The answers are as follows.

Table No.22

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Name Party	31	62%
Name candidate	13	26%
both party and candidate	6	12%
Total	50	100%

Out of the total 50 respondents, 31 people (62%) told the name of the party and 13 people (26%) told the name of the candidate and only 6 persons (12%) were able to tell the name of both the party and candidate. The above table shows the fact that these Tribals are not interested in knowing details regarding the election developments. A question related to above one when asked "could you name the candidate, party and symbol. Who won in the last assembly election?" The responses given are as follows.

Table No. 23

Name the victorious candidate party and symbol

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Candidate	27	54%
Party	11	22%
Symbol	5	10%
Candidate & Party	3	6%
Candidate & Symbol	3	6%
Candidate, Party & Symbol	1	2%

Out of 50 respondents, 27 people (54%) know the name of the candidate who won from their constituency. 11 people (22%) could tell the name of the party. Regarding symbole 5 persons (10%) know about it, 3 people (6%) tell the name of the candidate and party and the same number of persons tell the name of the candidate and symbole. And just one persons (2%) was knowing all the three information. So the above table makes it very clear that they lack the intrest in collecting such informations.

Another question when asked "what are the reasons for candidates victory money party or personality?" following are the responses.

Table No. 24

Reasons for victory

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
Money	33	66%
Party	11	22%
Personal influence	6	12%
Total	50	100%

Out of 50 respondents, 33 people (66%) replied that money power was an important reason for their victory. 11 persons (22%) replied that the political party is a reason for candidates victory and the rest 6 persons (12%) told that the personal influence of the candidate was the reason. An examination of this table gives the indication that money-power was the chief-factor in mobilising the voters. Hence, political corruption was highest in the locality. As mentioned above in Table No.13, as money and liquor are supplied to voters, it supports the arguments of this table. 11 people (22%) told that it was the party which was responsible for the victory. The responses of 6 persons (12%) regarding the personal influence of the candidate shows that the candidate not have any charisma.

A question when asked "during the last few years has your economic condition been getting better, same or worse?" The responses are given below.

Table No. 25

Economic condition

Variable	No. of respondent	Percentage
better	23	46%
same	20	40%
worse	7	14%
Total	50	100%

23 people (46%) told that their economic condition has improved a little. The 20 people (40%) replied that their economic condition is same and 7 persons (14%) told that their condition has become worse. So the above table shows that their economic condition is not at all satisfactory. Majority of the people fail to improve their economic condition.

To sum up, the electoral behaviour of the scheduled tribe people of this district is affected by various factors on discussed above. It is seen during the course of investigation that the educated and young people look more interest in various political activities such as arranging election meetings, distribution of cards and pamphlets etc. They also possess the knowledge on various programmes and policies of the government. They gave some suggestions for economic upliftment of these tribals. Most of the educated people and tribal leaders were aware of the names of the candidate, party and symbols. Those educated people exposed the dirty policies of various political parties during the elections.

It was also observed that the people who are economically sound also look part in various political activities. The door to door campaign, distributing

pamphlets and cards helping voters to go to the polling station were found their major activities. They were also found interested in leading the people. The educated and economically sound people's of this tribal locality want to change their traditional tribal leadership. This is due to impact of modernity and introduction of Panchayati Raj. It can be said that education is an important factor in taking part in various political activities. Due to illiteracy among these tribes of this district active political participation and political consciousness is low. So there should be focus on education. And also there economic condition is not satisfactory, so various developmental programmes should be implemented in true sense to them only. The political consciousness was found neither too high nor too low, it was quite moderate. Hence, their political participation was at a low ebb. This was mainly due to two primary factors.

Firstly, the lack of literacy among scheduled tribe people deviated them from exercising their franchise effectively. Secondly, their economic conditions are not conducive enough to think about the political events in a proper and judicious manner. The

voting of scheduled tribe people of this locality ~~was~~ vulnerable mainly due to these two reasons. Therefore, the real political consciousness which is a vital political pre-requisite for a transformation of our socio-economic system towards better one, is yet to be attained. From the above discussion, it has been made clear that various techniques adopted in campaigning process and various channels of communication network, did not play an effective and dynamic role in politicising the scheduled tribe people of the Kheri district. On the otherhand, from the analysis presented in this chapter, it can be demonstrated that such factors like political corruption, role of tribal community, personality of the leader and inter-personal relationship had a valuable influence in building up the political consciousness of the scheduled tribe people. The relative role of these different factors, give a conclusive remark that the level of political consciousness and participation of the scheduled tribe people was not remarkable and encouraging. It remains at a moderate stance. If it is to be raised and made the scheduled tribe people politically more conscious, then their level of literacy and economic conditions are to be improved, as the attainment of these two conditions are imperatives in determining the political maturity of any given community.

CHAPTER - FIVE

CONCLUSION

✓ The political participation of the masses in democracy is ^{the} most important ^{and} necessary ingredient of the system. Participation can be on different issues with different degrees and intensity among different sections of the people. All issues do not have uniform amount of importance to all sections of the people. Besides participation itself is a dependable variable, influenced by many other independent variables like socio-economic status, education level, age, level of political consciousness and processes of socialisation etc. ✓ Also participation can be negative as well as positive depending upon the point of view of the observer. The support to the governmental policy or a protest movement also varies as other actions like abiding by the general instructions, taking part in the constructive activities like planned programmes etc., we would consider that even strict obedience to law as a part of participation. The deprived sections of the people, generally, may demonstrate certain amount of apathy and indifference during certain extreme situations, resort to uncommon actions including violent out-bursts. The various tribal struggles are the demonstration of this factor. For a long period they remain totally apathetic, but given a leadership that could articulate

their grivences and aggregate them, they rose in a revolt in defiance of the legal authority and cohesive apparatus of the state. The scheduled tribes have also been for a long time deprived and weaker section of the community. Their miserable condition is a result of the age-old exploitation which had traditional sanctity. Like tribal uprisings, the trouble has been simmering even among the scheduled castes also.

Now, I have tried to examine the participation of the Tharu's situation in a field, namely Kheri Lakhimpur. A discription of the socio-economic conditions prevailing among the Tharu Tribe of Kheri, has been attempted. Even though, the Indian constitution, after independence, guarrented certain rights to the scheduled tribes and tried to improve the conditions and status of the tribe, it is far from being improved both in social and economic order. Tharus are very poor people living under poverty-line whose source of income are agriculture, hunting and some other daily wage employment as agriculture laboure . Their 77% population is depending upon agriculture. Their area is always affected by flood so in this way 3 to 4 months are wasted and in the remaining time, they same how manage to survive themselves. Thus, it may be argued that raising

the economic level of the Tharus may automatically raise their social level.

The general condition of the scheduled tribe in Uttar Pradesh, is more or less the same as in the other states, though their ritual, ceremonies, custom and practices may differ. Their socio-political system is different from others.

So far as the political participation and social change is concerned, the concept of participation and social change have been analysed. We saw that the participation of Tharus is very poor. Their participation in actual voting in elections seem to be interesting. Since, most of them said that they exercised their votes in the previous election but this does not mean that they went to the booth voluntarily and that is out of their political consciousness. The questions asked reveal that majority of them were interested in voting, but they went to the booth because of the party pressure and attraction of money which they got from the political parties as bribe. This is definitely not the question of the evidence of political consciousness. The money they got was used for drinking and merry-making.

In the context of political participation and social change of the Tharu, the role of their traditional tribal institution that is the Panchayat has been examined

The social and political powers of the Tharu Panchayat has been analysed. The panchayat of the Tharu is one of the important organs of Tharu society which is traditionally organised and deals with their day to day problems and disputes. It is proved that Padhan of the village is very powerful in dealing with the socio-economic problems of the community. During death and marriage his presence matters a great to the people. The traditional panchayat is working within their traditional framework which hardly allows all the tharus to participate effectively. The sole authority of the tharus resides with the Mukhia who takes all important decision alone. There participation in the last election did not change their socio-economic condition. The welfare measures taken by the government are failures.

Conclusion :

As per the results of the study the following conclusion may be drawn.

Tharus are very poor. Most of them are living under poverty line. As a result, they are not in a position to take active part in various political activities. It has been found that the people who are economically sound, participate more actively. During the course of

investigation about the political participation of Tharu people, it was observed that the people who were economically well off, participate more actively. They took part in various political activities such as door to door campaign, distributing cards and pamphlets, arranging public meetings, helping voters to go to the polling stations.

The tharus are educationally quite backward. As it has been said earlier that education is an important variable for successful and smooth functioning of democracy. The educated people participate actively in political process. They have more civic sense and are well aware of their rights and duties. So this is an important hindrance which influence the political participation.

They are not politically conscious and their participation in the political process of the country is very little. Panchayat (Traditional) is the most important organisation which plays as vital role in every field of their life. The inauguration of Panchayat Raj gave a set-back to their traditional Panchayat but tribal panchayat is still recognised as the custodian of law and order among them. The newly educated leaders have come foreward to lead but they are not yet in a position to compete with their traditional leaders.

No great change has been marked in the Tharu society as revealed by our study. People are apathetic towards the political system.

Political participation through voting in elections, though taking place at regular intervals, does not seem to have much impact on the life pattern of the Tharu tribe. By adopting the techniques like distribution of money and liquor among these tribals, political leaders manipulate the voting behaviour of the Tharu people. These different factors, give a conclusive remark that the political consciousness among these tribals is very low.

The following suggestions may be recommended for a wider, efficient and strong participation of the Tharu's by providing following facilities to the Tharus:

- Tharu tribe is an agricultural tribe so adequate measures should be taken at regular intervals to raise their agricultural resources for higher agricultural production. They should be provided with improved quality of seeds and fertilizers. Government should also provide them reasonable amount of loans; so that the Tharu's can carry out their plans.

- The communication and transport facilities in this area should be increased.
- All the developmental programmes of the government should be made fully and truly for Tharus only. The illegal commission of middleman should be removed.

Interview Schedule
red
— Administered in Hinds

Background data

- Age
- Occupation
- Education
- Property in Land

1. Till now where did you live ?
Town/Village
2. Is voting important for you?
Important/Unimportant
3. Did you vote or not in the last assembly election?
Voted/did not voted
4. During the last Assembly election did your whole village vote for one party or different parties?
One party/different parties
5. Did you get news about election campaign from any newspaper?
get/did not get
6. Did you listen about election programmes on radio?
listen/did not listen

7. During the election, party members and candidate contact many people, like that did anybody come to your house to ask for your vote?
come/did not come
8. Did your tribe leader support any party or candidate?
support/did not support
9. Did you help in arranging election meeting?
help/did not help
10. Did you participate in any election procession?
participated/did not participate
11. Did you distribute any pamphlets or cards along with any party candidate?
distributed/did not distribute
12. Did you canvass door to door campaign for any specific candidate or party?
Yes/No.
13. Did you help the voters to go to the polling stations?
help/did not help
14. In this constituency, whether money and liquor was supplied freely to voters?
supplied/did not supply

15. Whether it was supplied to all the voters or few voters?

To all/few

16. Did you like the programmes that were implemented for the progress of your tribe?

Like/did not like

17. Is there any political party that takes intrest in your community to uplift your conditions?

takes/did not take

18. Is there any political party that you like?

Yes/No.

19. How much intrest did you show during the election campaign?

great zeal/some what/never

20. How may of elections meeting did you attend?

Many/few/never

21. Did you go to the Polling station as your own or some one persuade you to go?

own/persuaded

22. When did you decide to which party you want to vote?

on polling day/during campaign/before

23. Can you name the candidate or party to whom you voted in the last election?

Name party/ Name candidate/
Name both party & candidate

24. Could you name the candidate, party and symbol who was in the last assembly election?

Candidate/party/symbol /party & candidate/
candidate and symbol candidate, party and symbol.

25. What are the reasons for candidate's victory?
money/party/personal influence.

26. During the last few years has your economic condition been getting better/same or worse?

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