

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Arunachal Pradesh situated in the eastern most corner of North East India is a heterogeneous tribal state characterized by extraordinary ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. This predominately hilly state with an area of 83, 743 sq.km is the largest state among the northeastern states of the country. Area wise Arunachal Pradesh is 32.83 per cent of the North East and around 6.76 per cent of India as a whole. It forms a complex hill system of Shivalik and Himalayan origin and is criss-crossed by numerous rivers and streams. The state shares a total of 1630 kms of international boundary with neighboring countries; 1030 kms with China, 160 kms with Bhutan and 440 kms with Myanmar. The McMahon line defines the international boundary between India and China. Administratively, the State is divided into sixteen districts¹. Capital of the State is Itanagar in Papum Pare district. This sparsely populated state has a very low density of 13 people per sq km. Arunachal Pradesh is a fascinating state which is inhabited by 26 major tribes² and more than 100 sub-tribes, each having their distinct culture, dialects and customs.

Prior to the attainment of Statehood in 1987, Arunachal Pradesh was known as the North Eastern Frontier Tracts. It was in 1954 that it was renamed as North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) and it was finally in 1972 that NEFA was given the status of a Union territory. The constitutional development in the state provided the administrative mechanism for achieving sustained development. The initiation of the process of development in the state is thus a recent one, having unfolded in the years following independence of the country in 1947. Prior to that the area was administered indirectly

¹ There were districts in the state prior to 28th June 2000. Three new districts, Kurung Kumey, Lower Dibang Valley and Anjaw have been created subsequently. In June 2000 the Kurung Kumey district was created bifurcating the Lower Subansiri district. On 16th December 2001 Lower Dibang Valley was created out of Dibang Valley district. The youngest district in the state is Anjaw created on 4th December 2003 by dividing Lohit district. The data on many variables being not available for these newly created districts. Although we have tried to generate data for all the sixteen districts to the extent possible, we had to restrict the analysis for 13 districts only for many of the variables.

² These tribes are 1) Adi, 2) Apatani, 3) Bangni, 4) Bokar, 5) Bori, 6) Digam Mishmi, 7) Hill Miri, 8) Hrusso (Aka), 9) Idu Mishmi, 10) Khamti, 11) Khamba, 12) Memba, 13) Khawa, 14) Miji, 15) Miju, 16) Monpa, 17) Nishing, 18) Nocte, 19) Sherdukpen, 20) Sinfpho, 21) Sulung, 22) Tagin, 23) Tangsha, 24) Pallibo, 25) Ramo, 26) Wangsho. See Annexure-II for a brief outline of the main tribes.

with the people enjoying a fair degree of autonomy in their villages and localities. The village or a group of villages bound by Kinships/Clanship/Community enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy.

In Arunachal Pradesh modernization is a post-independence phenomenon, beginning in slow but assured steps with the establishment of direct administrative structure in the state (Luthra, 1993). The establishment of institutional infrastructure in a hilly and sparsely populated region with a lot of inter-tribal differences was indeed a gigantic task. The problem was aggravated due to the operation of Inner Line Permit (ILP), which restricted the entry of outsiders into the state. The ILP was enacted by the British Indian Government in 1873 and continues to be in force. As per the provisions of this Act, people from other parts of the country cannot enter the state without the permission of the government. They also cannot own any fixed assets in the state. Further the induction of the cash economy in the region released the forces of institutional dynamics, which resulted in far-reaching changes and thus integrated the hitherto insular economics with the national economy. The most visible changes came into the institution of ownership, especially land.

Economic Transformation

Given the historical legacy of relative isolation and underdevelopment, the progress made by Arunachal Pradesh on the economic front, in a comparatively short span of few decades is quite impressive. During the entire period of 1971 to 2001, for which data is available, the Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) has registered an average annual growth rate of 7.34 per cent per annum. Although the growth rate was much higher in the seventies (7.07 per cent) and in the eighties (7.81 per cent) than in the nineties (4.54 per cent), given the low levels of initial development, difficult ecological pre-conditions and geo-political constraints of being a border state, the development of the economy, in overall terms, may seem satisfactory.

The per capita income of Arunachal Pradesh has been the highest among the North Eastern states in the recent years and it has been above all India average. The main constraint faced by the state is the lack of communication. CMIE index for infrastructure development for Arunachal is 44; the reference point is 100, the national average. It is basically a hilly state that is interspersed among deep valleys and narrow gorges. Forest products and industries based on them are the lifeline of the state providing income and employment to a large section of the people of the state. The state is rural based with nearly 68 per cent of its total workforce engaged in agriculture, the remaining workforce being basically concentrated in the gradually emerging tertiary sectors. The secondary sector employment is mainly in the forest-based industries and also handloom and handicraft sector especially carpet making. Tertiary sector employment is mainly in government jobs.

Table : 1.1
Per Capita income in Arunachal Pradesh and India: 1993-94 to 1999-2000

Year	Current prices (in Rs)		Constant (1993-94) prices (in Rs)	
	Arunachal	All India	Arunachal	All India
1993-94	8,853	7,698	3,368	7,698
1994-95	9,417	8,876	3,265	8,088
1995-96	11,303	10,160	3,667	8,499
1996-97	12,032(P)	11,601	3,444(P)	9,036
1997-98	13,424(Q)	12,772	3,727(Q)	9,288
1998-99	12,929(Q)	14,712	8,979(Q)	9,733
1999-00(Q)	NA	16,047	NA	10,204

Data source : Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh; Economic Survey of India(2000-01), Govt. of India, NEDFi data bank.

The state has rich mineral deposits of Limestone, Dolomite, Graphite, Coal, Marble, Oil and Natural Gas besides many more untapped Mineral Resources. About sixty per cent of the State is covered with rich forests. Arunachal Pradesh is known the world over for its rich biodiversity. There is abundance of Bamboo, Cane, and Orchids besides various economically important tree species. The forests are rich in medicinal plants also.

The state with its many rivers and their tributaries provides immense potential for generation of hydro-power. The hydro-power potential of the state is estimated at over 30,000 MW. The five major river basins namely, Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Dibang and Lohit are supplemented by many smaller rivers flowing independently into the river Brahmaputra or into the neighboring country of Bhutan. All these rivers having large catchment areas and flowing through deep gorges and narrow valleys, receive heavy annual rainfall (average 350cms) and snowmelt in the upper reaches. A few peaks at higher altitude remain snow covered for most of the year.

The economy of the state is mainly agrarian and *jhuming* i.e. shifting cultivation is still prevalent among all the tribes of the state. Due to various developmental activities of government initiative, a certain section of the population has taken to settled cultivation in addition to *jhuming*. According to tradition, land belongs to the whole village among certain tribes. Each family in the village is allotted a plot of cultivable land, which is treated as private holding as long as the plot is under cultivation. The forest and fallow lands are commonly held and are used by the whole community. There are certain amounts of variations from tribe to tribe in land holding pattern and most of the newly

reclaimed 'wet rice cultivation' plots have become private holdings. Thus we see that community ownerships of land are slowly being replaced by private ownership³.

The structural transformation of the Arunachal economy gets manifested through increasing diversification of the workforce, emergence of a modern non-farm economy, rapid urbanisation and gradual integration with the regional and national economy. However, it is important to note that in the last three decades, the contribution of manufacturing has never exceeded seven per cent of the state's income. The share of the secondary sector has gone up from around 20 per cent in 1970-71 to only 23.65 per cent in 2001-02, while that of the tertiary sector has increased substantially during the same period – from 20.48 per cent in 1970-71 to 41.68 per cent in 2001-02. The share of the primary sector has decreased from around 60 per cent to 35 per cent during the same period. The key aspect of the changing sectoral composition of the state is that the expansion of service sector has been almost entirely driven by government-sector activities. Public administration alone contributed around 14 per cent of the NSDP of the state in 2001-02.

The decade of the nineties seems to have reinforced the structural imbalances of the state's economy. Apart from the relatively slow growth of NSDP during this decade, the dependence of the state on service sector in general and public administration in particular increased substantially. As such industrialisation never really had a firm footing in the state's economy, but the restrictions on timber trade imposed by the Supreme Court of India, led to closure of many of the timber-based industries. Although agriculture has been growing over the years, it is primarily expansion of area under cultivation, rather than improvements in yield rates, which have contributed to its growth.

Like many other states of North-East India, Arunachal Pradesh continues to remain heavily dependent upon central government's assistance. During 1990-91 to 1998-99, the ratio of annual net transfers to NSDP remained as high as 78.05 per cent in the case of Arunachal Pradesh. In 1998-99, only 1.5 per cent of the revenue expenditure of the state could be generated from its own tax revenue. The predominant role of the state as the prime economic actor and the dependence of the state government on central government aid and loans have crucially conditioned the pattern of development of Arunachal Pradesh over the past decades.

Although a comprehensive analysis of the development process in Arunachal Pradesh is beyond the scope of the report, some aspects of it can be selectively looked at to have a better understanding of the context in which gender relations in the state have been emerging. *Firstly*, along with monetisation of the exchange process and gradual commercialization of the economy, interpersonal inequalities in the distribution of income, assets and opportunities have grown manifold. While the elaborate networks of redistribution and reciprocity prevented the emergence of inequality in the traditional economy of

³ For a discussion on the changing property rights over land and forests and some micro-evidences on its implications, see Mishra, 2001a, 2002b and 2004.

the communities, under the mutually reinforcing influences of the market and the State, inequality in the distribution of assets, income and wealth has increased manifold in the recent decades⁴. Secondly the spatially uneven process of development in the state has created new challenges and constraints. Typically, the districts or areas bordering Assam, and within the districts areas near the urban, administrative centres have better infrastructural facilities than the interiors. Arunachal Pradesh has been the home of a number of tribes and sub-tribes, and many of them had limited mobility beyond their well-defined local boundaries. Inter-regional disparities in the state, therefore, has an additional implication – in many cases, up to an extent, it may reflect inter-tribal disparities. Thirdly, although Arunachal Pradesh until recently has been relatively free from secessionist violence and insurgency, its development performance, particularly in terms of the human development indicators, has not been satisfactory. Among the eight northeastern states, Arunachal Pradesh occupies a high position in terms of per capita NSDP and consumption expenditure, but according to the National Human Development Report, it was at the bottom in terms of Human Development Index (Figure: 1.1). In terms of the Human Poverty index, barring Mizoram, its position is the worst in the region (Planning Commission, 2002). In 2001, Arunachal Pradesh had the lowest literacy rate among all the northeastern states, as well as the highest urban-rural gap and the highest gender gap in literacy. In terms of enrolment, drop-out rates and school availability the states' performance, in a comparative perspective, has hardly been satisfactory (Mishra and Upadhyay, 2004).

Table : 1.2
Comparison of Growth Rate of Arunachal's Income (NSDP) and National Income (NNP)

Period	Growth Rate of		Growth Rate of Per Capita	
	NNP	NSDP	NNP	NSDP
1971-80	3.36	7.07	1.10	4.03
1981-90	4.99	7.81	2.85	4.69
1991-00	5.93	4.81	3.95	2.31
1994-03	5.85	2.35	3.98	-0.04
1999-03	5.00	1.99	3.23	-0.40
1971-03	4.78	7.16	2.68	4.35

Note: NNP data are from Economic Survey 2003-04, Government of India and NSDP data are from State Domestic Product of Arunachal Pradesh for different years published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

⁴ See Mishra, 2001b and 2002a.

Table : 1.3
Sectoral Growth of Arunachal Economy

SECTORS	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2002	1971-2002
Agriculture	6.40	9.18	2.68	6.53
Forestry & Logging	0.32	4.05	-6.27	2.94
Fisheries	16.09	34.28	8.50	19.99
Minning & Quarrying	14.39	37.26	1.33	16.53
Primary	4.61	8.48	1.32	5.93
Manufacturing	14.20	7.85	2.02	11.81
Construction	7.70	6.26	2.55	6.78
Elect., Gas, etc.	0	0	0	0
Secondary	8.03	6.43	5.11	7.68
Transport, Storage & Communication	9.61	21.84	26.92	12.91
Communication	10.12	3.08	13.66	6.43
Trade, Hotel & Restaurants	17.60	9.69	3.33	9.35
Banking & Insurance	27.96	20.77	8.35	17.16
Real Estate & Business Services, etc.	3.57	4.54	-1.36	12.07
Public Administration	10.81	5.29	10.85	7.78
Other Services	9.58	9.50	6.44	10.03
Tertiary	11.39	7.62	7.87	9.38
NSDP	7.07	7.81	4.54	7.34

Note: Growth is average relative growth per annum (in %).

Sources: Based on Estimates of Domestic Product, Arunachal Pradesh, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Itanagar, 2002.

Table : 1.4
Changes in Sectoral Distribution of workers in Arunachal Pradesh

Sectors	No of Workers			Percentage of Workers		
	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991
A. Primary (1+2+3+4)	216823	235948	263666	80.44	75.28	67.44
1. Cultivators	211160	223358	235987	78.34	71.26	60.36
2. Agricultural labourers	5292	7796	20054	1.96	2.49	5.13
3. Live stock /forestry/fishery	366	4744	6917	0.14	1.51	1.77
4. Mining and quarrying	5	50	708	0	0.02	0.18
B. Secondary sector (1+2+3)	1196	27960	33859	0.44	8.92	8.66
1. Manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairing in household industry	830	995	742	0.31	0.32	0.19
2. Manufacturing, processing, servicing and Repairing other than in household industry	103	5134	9725	0.04	1.64	2.49
3. Construction	263	21831	23392	0.1	6.97	5.98
C. Tertiary sector (1+2+3)	51523	49525	93451	19.12	15.8	23.9
1. Trade and commerce	1551	6950	12923	0.58	2.22	3.31
2. Transport, storage & communication	11	1295	4417	0	0.41	1.13
3. Other services	49961	41280	76111	18.54	13.17	19.47
Total	269542	313433	390976	100	100	100

Sources: Census of India (Arunachal Pradesh) 1971, 1981 and 1991 Economic Tables.

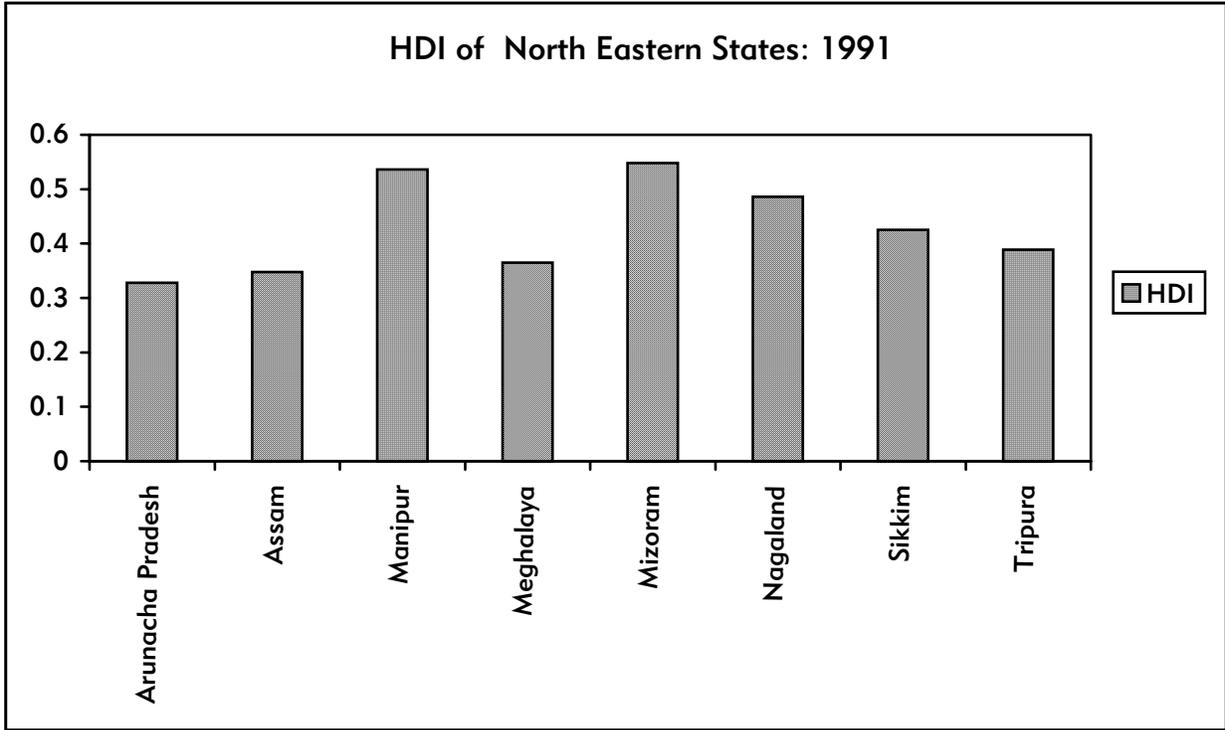
Table: 1.5
Human Development Index (HDI) Of States of India: 2000

State	Education		Life Expectancy		Income		HDI	rank
	index	rank	index	rank	index	rank		
Andhra Pradesh	0.539	13	0.672	8	0.513	8	0.575	9
Assam	0.588	6	0.570	14	0.431	13	0.530	11
Arunachal Pradesh	0.525	14	0.484	16	0.493	10	0.501	14
Bihar	0.413	16	0.626	11	0.308	16	0.449	16
Gujarat	0.612	4	0.661	9	0.544	5	0.606	7
Haryana	0.570	10	0.703	4	0.579	3	0.617	5
Karnataka	0.607	5	0.687	6	0.531	7	0.608	6
Kerala	0.751	1	0.867	1	0.544	5	0.721	1
Madhya Pradesh	0.569	11	0.552	15	0.447	12	0.523	12
Maharashtra	0.678	2	0.728	3	0.581	2	0.662	2
Orissa	0.560	12	0.582	13	0.403	15	0.515	13
Punjab	0.580	8	0.766	2	0.589	1	0.645	3
Rajasthan	0.578	9	0.628	10	0.466	11	0.557	10
Tamil Nadu	0.662	3	0.702	5	0.549	4	0.638	4
Uttar Pradesh	0.456	15	0.587	12	0.423	14	0.489	15
West Bengal	0.588	7	0.679	7	0.511	9	0.593	8
All India	0.570		0.630		0.530		0.577	

Sources : Estimated on the basis of data from Economic Survey 2002-03, National HDR, 2001, Estimates of District Domestic Product, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar, and the large-scale survey covering 5257 households with 30,762 individuals (called HDR survey in this Report).

Among the 16 states, the position of Arunachal Pradesh is 14th. As shown in Table 1.4, Kerala with an HDI of 0.721 occupies the highest rank and Bihar with an HDI of 0.449 occupies the lowest. The national level HDI is 0.577. In terms of per capita income, the rank of Arunachal Pradesh is 10th; there are six states – Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh – whose ranks are lower than Arunachal's. In education the rank of Arunachal Pradesh is 14th. However, in terms of health status, the position of Arunachal Pradesh is the worst among all the 16 states (AP HDR draft, 2004).

Figure : 1.1



Source: National HDR, 2001

CHAPTER-II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

Arunachal Pradesh is a thinly populated, mountainous, predominately tribal state characterized by rich ecological, cultural and linguistic diversity. In terms of area it is the biggest among all the states of the north eastern region, but all the states of the region, except Mizoram, have a larger population size than that of Arunachal Pradesh. As per Population Census, 2001, the population of the State was 10,979,68.

Population Density

Arunachal Pradesh has the lowest population density among all the states and union territories of India. The population density of the state has increased from 10 to 13 between 1991 and 2001. Its population density is only 4.01 per cent of the country's density. Among the districts Tirap has the highest (42 per sq.km.) and Dibang Valley (undivided) has the lowest (4 per sq. km) population density in the state.

Population Composition

The indigenous population of Arunachal Pradesh consists of a number of Tribes and sub-tribes, having their distinct ethnic identities. Over the past few decades there has been a steady inflow of migrants from other parts of the country and the neighbouring countries to the state. As per 2001 census, the scheduled tribe (ST) population constitutes 64.22 per cent of the total population. There is, however, wide inter-district variations in the share of ST population – it ranges from 97.89 per cent in Kurung Kumey district to 32.42 per cent in Lohit district.

Population Growth

As a result of in-migration as well as higher growth of population among the indigenous population¹, Arunachal Pradesh has witnessed a comparatively higher growth in population than in many other parts of the country. The total population in the state has increased from 3.37 lakhs in 1961 to 10.98 lakhs in 2001. During the entire period of 1961-2001, Arunachal's population grew at the constant relative growth rate of 2.98 per cent per annum as against 2.13 per cent growth for the entire country.

¹ Among several factors which might have caused the decline of morbidity and mortality in the states, the most important are (i) introduction of modern health care facilities and (ii) smoothing of consumption through provision of food supplies through the public distribution system (APHDR draft, 2004).

The annual average growth rate of population in the state was higher than 3.5 per cent during the 60s, 70s and the 80s, but it has declined to 2.7 per cent during the 90s. In the last three decades the growth rate of the ST population has been increasing,² but that of the non-ST population has been declining (Table:2.2). In the 1960s the growth rate of the non-ST population was as high as 16.79 per cent. In subsequent decades, although the growth rate of the non-ST population has decreased, it continued to be high indicating a positive inflow of population in the state. In the 1990s, for the first time, the growth rate of the ST-population has surpassed that of the non-ST population in the state.

Table: 2.3 present the annual average rate of the growth of population in different districts of Arunachal Pradesh during the 1990s. While Papum Pare, where the capital city of Itanagar is located has witnessed the highest growth rate, many of the interior and less developed districts have witnessed very low growth rates. Apart from Upper Dibang Valley, which has registered a negative growth rate of population, the relatively backward districts of kurung Kumey has also witnessed a very low growth rate of population during the 90s.

Urbanisation

Of the total population in the state 20.75 per cent live in urban areas as per 2001 census. Among, the ST population the share of urban population is 14.02 per cent. Among the males 21.60 per cent live in urban areas, while among the females 19.81 per cent live in urban areas. So far as the ST population is concerned 13.90 per cent of males and 14.14 per cent of females live in the urban centers.

Table: 2.1
Population Composition in Arunachal Pradesh

Districts	Total	ST	General	Percentage	
				ST	General
Tawang	38,924	29,191	9,733	74.99	25.01
West Kameng	74,599	36,951	37,648	49.53	50.47
East Kameng	57,179	49,585	7,594	86.72	13.28
Papum Pare	122,003	69,007	52,996	56.56	43.44
Kurung Kumey	42,518	41,619	899	97.89	2.11
Lower Subansiri	55,726	46,893	8,833	84.15	15.85

² The growth rate of the tribal population was higher in 1970s than in 1960s, probably because of an under-enumeration of the ST population in 1961 census or inclusion of some ST migrants to the category of ST population of Arunachal Pradesh in 1971 census and their exclusion in 1981. It is important to note that people belonging to ST category else where in the state are not considered ST in Arunachal Pradesh.

Districts	Total	ST	General	Percentage	
				ST	General
Upper Subansiri	55,346	49,552	5,794	89.53	10.47
West Siang	103,918	84,922	18,996	81.72	18.28
East Siang	87,397	60,420	26,977	69.13	30.87
Upper Siang	33,363	26,094	7,269	78.21	21.79
Lower Dibang Valley	50,378	22,005	28,373	43.68	56.32
Dibang Valley (New)	7,342	4,827	2,515	65.75	34.25
Lohit	125,086	40,552	84,534	32.42	67.58
Anjaw	18,441	14,249	4,192	77.27	22.73
Changlang	125,422	45,351	80,071	36.16	63.84
Tirap	100,326	83,940	16,386	83.67	16.33
Arunachal Pradesh	1,097,968	705,158	392,810	64.22	35.78

Data: Source: Census of India 2001, Series 13 Arunachal Pradesh, Final Population Totals.

Note: ST means Scheduled Tribes.

Table: 2.2
Population Growth in Arunachal Pradesh

Year	Size of Population			Growth of Population		
	Total	ST	General	Total	ST	General
1961	336558	299944	36614	-	-	-
1971	467511	369408	98103	3.89	2.32	16.79
1981	631839	441167	190672	3.51	1.94	9.44
1991	864558	550351	314207	3.68	2.47	6.48
2001	1097968	705158	392810	2.7	2.81	2.5

Note: The data are from different population censuses of India (Arunachal Pradesh). It may be noted that the first population census in Arunachal Pradesh was conducted in 1961. The growth rate is in yearly percentage.

Table: 2.3
Growth Rate of Population in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh: 1991-2001

DISTRICT	1991	2001	growth Rate
Tawang	28287	38924	3.76
West Kameng	56421	74599	3.22
East kameng	50395	57179	1.35
Papum Pare	72811	122003	6.76
Kurung Kumey	40019	42518	0.62
Lower Subansiri	43148	55726	2.92
Upper Subansiri	50086	55346	1.05
West Siang	89936	103918	1.55
East Siang	71864	87397	2.16
Upper Siang	27779	33363	2.01
Lower Dibang Valley	35675	50378	4.12
Upper Dibang Valley	7393	7342	-0.07
Iohit	92517	125086	3.52
Anjaw	17189	18441	0.73
Changlang	95530	125422	3.13
Tirap	85508	100326	1.73
Arunachal Pradesh	864558	1097968	2.70

Source: Census of India 2001, Series 13 Arunachal Pradesh, Final Population Totals.

Table: 2.4
Percentage of ST Population in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh: 2001

Sl. No.	Districts	Percentage				
		Total	APST	Non-APST	APST	Non-APST
1	Tawang	38,924	29,191	9,733	74.99	25.01
2	West Kameng	74,599	36,951	37,648	49.53	50.47
3	East kameng	57,179	49,585	7,594	86.72	13.28
4	Papum Pare	122,003	69,007	52,996	56.56	43.44
5	Kurung Kumey	42,518	41,619	899	97.89	2.11
6	Lower Subansiri	55,726	46,893	8,833	84.15	15.85

Sl. No.	Districts	Percentage				
		Total	APST	Non-APST	APST	Non-APST
7	Upper Subansiri	55,346	49,552	5,794	89.53	10.47
8	West Siang	103,918	84,922	18,996	81.72	18.28
9	East Siang	87,397	60,420	26,977	69.13	30.87
10	Upper Siang	33,363	26,094	7,269	78.21	21.79
11	Lower Dibang Valley	50,378	22,005	28,373	43.68	56.32
12	Upper Dibang Valley	7,342	4,827	2,515	65.75	34.25
13	Lohit	125,086	40,552	84,534	32.42	67.58
14	Anjaw	18,441	14,249	4,192	77.27	22.73
15	Changlang	125,422	45,351	80,071	36.16	63.84
16	Tirap	100,326	83,940	16,386	83.67	16.33
	Arunachal Pradesh	1,097,968	705,158	392,810	64.22	35.78

Source: Census of India 2001, Series 13 Arunachal Pradesh, Final Population Totals.

Table: 2.5
Population Composition in Rural and urban Areas

Districts	Total		Rural		Urban	
	Rural	Urban	APST	Non-APST	APST	Non-APST
Tawang	30,548	8,376	87.55	12.45	29.20	70.80
West Kameng	67,906	6,693	50.17	49.83	43.09	56.91
East Kameng	42,177	15,002	92.33	7.67	70.95	29.05
Papum Pare	59,961	62,042	69.53	30.47	44.03	55.97
Lower Subansiri	85,860	12,384	93.27	6.73	68.06	31.94
Upper Subansiri	39,590	15,756	95.47	4.53	74.60	25.40
West Siang	82,806	21,112	89.65	10.35	50.63	49.37
East Siang	65,432	21,965	80.70	19.30	34.68	65.32
Upper Siang	33,363	—	78.21	21.79	—	—
Lohit	47,613	10,107	50.75	49.25	26.42	73.58
Dibang Valley	116,765	26,762	42.40	57.60	19.79	80.21
Changlang	113,034	12,388	37.23	62.77	26.36	73.64
Tirap	85,032	15,294	91.82	8.18	38.35	61.65
Arunachal Pradesh	870,087	227,881	69.68	30.32	43.39	56.61

Source: Census of India 2001, Series 13 Arunachal Pradesh, Final Population Totals.

Migration

Migrants constitute 33.76 per cent of the total population of Arunachal Pradesh in 1991. While migrants within the state were 62.88 per cent of the total migrant population, migrants from other states and other countries accounted for 33.80 per cent and 3.31 per cent of the total migrant population respectively. The relative importance of female migration to the state can be judged from the fact that women migrants constitute 35.88 per cent of the total women population while male migrants are 31.95 per cent of the total male population. Among the migrants in the State, 21.88 per cent are female and among the urban migrants the share of female is 42.85 per cent. Again, among the male migrants, those from outside the state form the dominant category, while among women it is migration within the state that constitutes the largest category. Partly it may be explained in terms of social migration of women from the local communities (Table: 2.6).

So far as contribution of different states of India to the migration stream in Arunachal Pradesh is concerned, Assam is the most important contributor. The contribution of Assam to female migration at 68.14 is higher relative to male migration at 60.18 per cent. Other important states contributing to migration in Arunachal Pradesh are Bihar (13.29%), U.P. (6.28%) and West Bengal (4.64%). In case of all these states share in male migration is higher than that in female migration. Meghalaya, though its share in total migration is only 2.41 per cent is an exception in the sense that its share in total female migration is higher than that in male migration (Table: 2.7).

The reasons for migration to Arunachal Pradesh have been presented in table: 2.8 with reference to two different categories of migrants viz. those from outside the state and those from outside the country. For migrants from outside the state and the country employment is the main reason for migration along with the movement of family. Employment is the main cause of male migration and movement of families is the main cause of female migration. Although the dependent status of women migrants gets clearly reflected in this pattern of migration, it is important to note that 6.52 per cent of the female migrants from outside the state and 4.12 per cent of the migrants from other countries have migrated for employment. Secondly, although family movement because of marriage might have caused migration, once the family gets settled many of the women, particularly among the low-income groups, join the work force (Upadhyay, 2002).

Table: 2.6
Migrants in Arunachal Pradesh: 1991

	Category	Total	Rural	Urban
Total Migrants as Percentage of Total Population	Total	33.76 [100.00]	30.25 [100.00]	57.73 [100.00]
	Male	31.95 [78.12]	27.95 [75.43]	57.00 [57.15]
	Female	35.88 [21.88]	32.86 [24.57]	58.75 [42.85]
Migrants from within the State as percentage of Total Migrants	Total	62.88 [100.00]	66.93 [100.00]	48.09 [100.00]
	Male	56.89 [46.05]	60.54 [44.39]	45.69 [54.29]
	Female	69.08 [53.95]	55.61 [55.61]	51.30 [45.71]
Migrants from other States as percentage of Total Migrants	Total	33.80 [100.00]	29.64 [100.00]	48.64 [100.00]
	Male	69.18 [59.27]	35.59 [68.20]	50.94 [68.96]
	Female	28.03 [53.12]	23.89 [31.80]	45.56 [31.04]
Migrants from other countries as percentage of Total Migrants	Total	3.31 [100.00]	33.33 [100.00]	3.21 [100.00]
	Male	3.73 [78.77]	3.86 [56.97]	3.33 [59.30]
	Female	2.86 [42.53]	2.82 [43.03]	3.05 [40.70]

Source: Census of India 1991, Series-3

Table: 2.7
Migrants from Other States of India to Arunachal Pradesh: 1991

(in percentages)

Name of the States	Percentage of Migrants								
	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Assam	63.42	60.18	68.14	68.44	65.24	73.05	52.50	49.32	57.23
Bihar	13.29	16.12	9.17	11.36	13.75	7.91	17.50	21.21	11.97
Uttar Pradesh	6.26	6.43	6.03	5.89	6.07	5.63	7.08	7.19	6.92
West Bengal	4.64	8.25	4.18	3.27	3.68	2.69	7.62	7.71	7.49
Meghalaya	2.41	2.28	2.59	1.09	1.13	0.01	5.28	4.76	6.06
Orissa	1.45	1.81	0.92	1.87	2.38	1.14	0.52	0.59	0.43
Kerala	1.37	1.30	1.47	0.87	0.59	0.95	2.45	2.32	2.63
Other States	7.16	6.93	7.49	7.21	6.94	7.60	7.04	6.90	7.26

Source: Census of India 1991, Series-3

Table: 2.8
Reasons for Migration to Arunachal Pradesh: 1991

(in percentage)

Category		Employment	Business	Education	Family Moved	Marriage	Natural Calamities	Other Reasons
I. Migrants within the states	P	8.61	1.89	1.13	32.55	40.68	2.71	12.46
	M	22.20	4.68	1.99	38.83	2.51	5.44	23.87
	F	1.31	0.41	0.68	29.21	61.03	0.98	6.38
II. Migrants from other states	P	36.04	11.11	2.51	32.49	9.31	0.26	8.28
	M	51.63	16.42	2.90	17.53	2.13	0.3	9.09
	F	6.52	1.05	1.76	60.82	22.92	0.18	6.75
III. Migrants from other countries	P	27.76	3.42	1.76	28.95	10.65	0	27.46
	M	45.59	5.19	2.3	15.87	0.81	0	30.23
	F	4.12	1.08	1.04	46.27	23.69	0	23.8

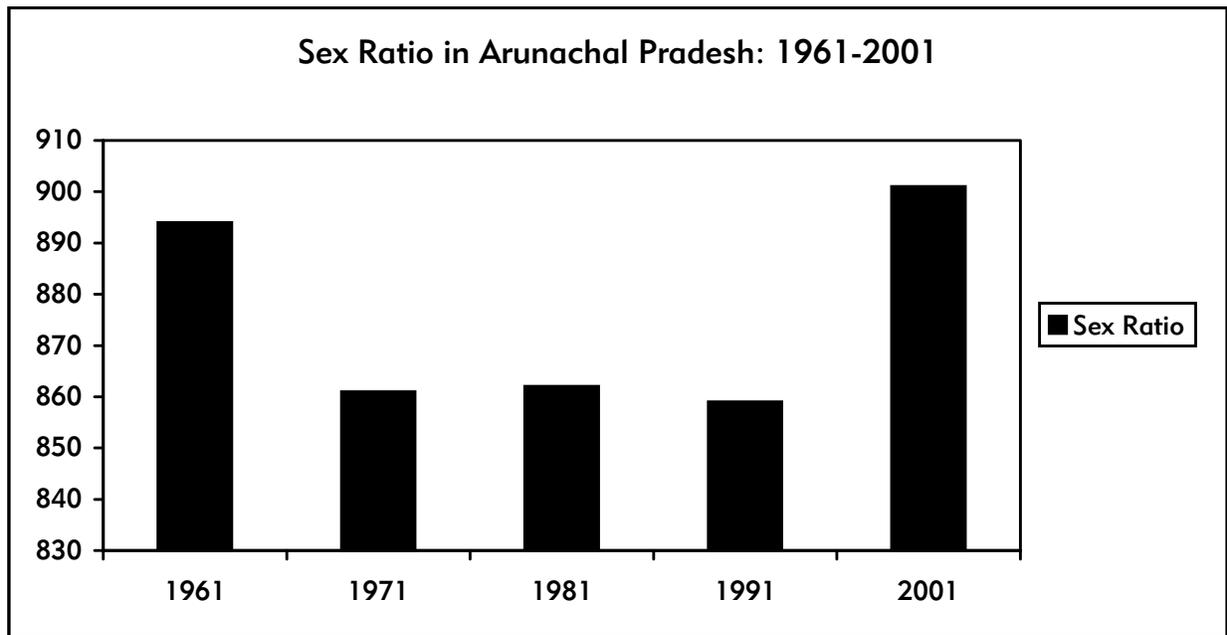
Source: Census of India 1991, Series-3, Table: D-3

Note: P = Persons, M = Males, F = Female.

Sex Ratio

Sex ratio (defined as females per 1000 males) is taken to be an indicator of women's health, nutrition and survival status. A lower sex ratio typically represents a lower social status of women, which creates conditions for discriminations at various levels. Dreze and Sen (1995) feel that it also captures the extent of intra-household gender inequalities. Although the sharp decline in sex ratio in India has been a cause of concern, at a disaggregated level there are significant regional variations. Regions having higher percentages of scheduled tribe populations are typically found to have a higher sex ratio, reflecting a lesser degree of gender discrimination (Rustagi, 2000).

Figure 2.1



Sex ratio in the state after declining from 862 in 1981 to 859 in 1991 increased to 901 in 2001 (Table: 2.9). Among the districts West Kameng has the lowest and East Kameng and Lower Subansiri have the highest sex ratio (Table: 2.10). The sex ratio in the state, however, cannot be taken to be a reliable measure of women's well-being because of the discrepancies arising out of in-migration. In order to isolate the effects of migration, if we consider the sex ratio among the Scheduled Tribe population, which largely consists of the indigenous population, a steady decline in the ratio is noticed during 1961 to 1991, although it has registered an increase in 2001 (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2

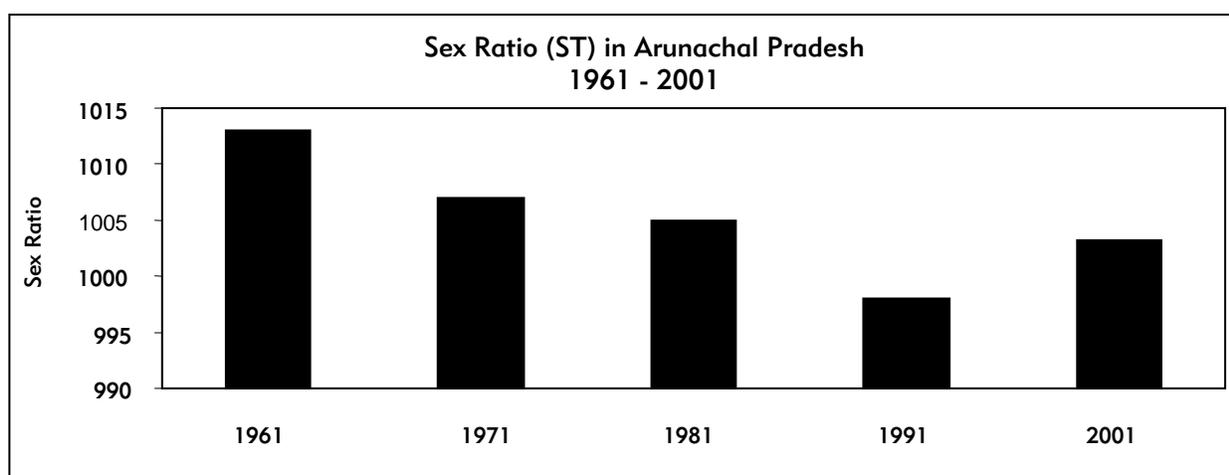


Table: 2.9

Sex Ratio in Arunachal Pradesh: 1961-2001

Year	All Population			S.T. Population		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
1961	894	894	-	1013	1013	-
1971	861	881	457	1007	1009	765
1981	862	881	629	1005	1010	803
1991	859	880	728	998	1004	921
2001	901	915	850	1003	NA.	NA.

Note: ST population figures for 2001 are not yet available.

Source: Census of India: Various Years.

Table: 2.10

Sex Ratio in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh: 1961-2001

Districts	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Tawang	884	853	905	844	963
West Kameng	586	661	834	822	749
East Kameng	1017	930	943	962	985
Papum Pare	832	909	754	831	899
Lower Subansiri	967	949	965	957	985
Upper Subansiri	982	953	972	867	973
West Siang	870	850	913	873	913

Districts	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
East Siang	963	863	833	877	937
Upper Siang	879	872	907	822	858
Dibang Valley	999	806	661	788	840
Lohit	854	762	781	797	857
Changlang	918	855	833	863	905
Tirap	961	903	899	862	911
Arunachal Pradesh	894	861	862	859	901

Source: Census of India 2001, Series-13, Arunachal Pradesh, Provisional Population Totals, Paper-1 of 2001.

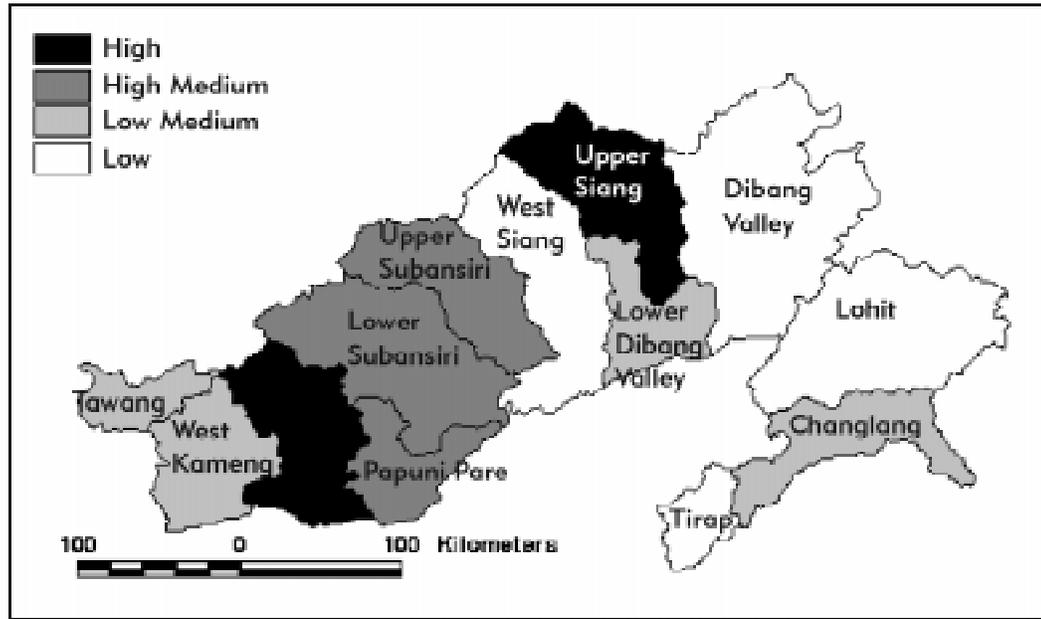
Table: 2.11
Child Sex Ratio in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh : 1991-2001

Districts	1991			2001		
	T	R	U	T	R	U
Tawang	965	965	NA	957	952	992
West Kameng	970	973	932	958	960	935
East Kameng	1036	1036	NA	1011	1001	1037
Papum Pare	934	942	924	977	962	996
Lower Subansiri	970	978	947	996	999	935
Upper Subansiri	1005	1005	NA	987	990	979
West Siang	997	1008	921	944	938	973
East Siang	1008	1007	1009	959	947	1003
Upper Siang	967	967	NA	1018	1018	NA
Dibang Valley	994	1008	906	947	949	929
Lohit	968	980	912	931	924	968
Changlang	987	987	NA	949	952	906
Tirap	946	940	1054	941	933	1001
Arunachal Pradesh	982	986	946	961	957	981

Note: NA implies that there was no urban population in the district.

Source: 1991- District Census Handbooks, Census of India, 1991, Series-3, Arunachal Pradesh, Part XII-A&B; 2001 – Provisional Population Totals, Paper-2 of 2001, Census of India 2001, Series-13, Arunachal Pradesh.

Figure 2.3
Child Sex Ratio: 2001 Arunachal Pradesh



Child Sex Ratio

The child sex ratio (CSR), which is less likely to be affected by migration, has registered a sharp decline in the state from 982 in 1991 to 961 in 2001. This decline has been sharper in the rural areas than in the urban areas (Table 2.11). It is important to note here that the CSR in the state declined by 21 points during 1991-2001, whereas at the all India level it declined by 18 points. Among the northeastern states Sikkim, Tripura and Mizoram have registered an increase in CSR during the same period, while the decline in other states of the region has been less severe than that in Arunachal Pradesh. It is important to note that in 1991, CSR among the ST population was 976, which was lower than that for all social groups. At a disaggregated level, of the thirteen districts, only three – Papum Pare, Lower Subansiri and Upper Siang - have experienced an increase in CSR, others have shown a decline during the last decade. The census data show the overall sex ratio of the tribal population declining in Arunachal Pradesh during 1961–1991. This decline can be explained in terms of the gender-gaps in education and income: women are less literate and have less command over resources than men, probably because of gender inequalities in access to emerging opportunities, sex ratio among the ST population declined during a period of rapid economic growth and transformation. However, the low child sex ratio in the tribal population cannot be explained in terms of differential literacy or income. The only plausible explanation is then in terms of discrimination against female children. Many studies, however, point out that discrimination against the female children is relatively less severe in predominantly tribal societies. The low and falling CSR in Arunachal Pradesh, thus needs further investigation.

CHAPTER - III

HEALTH STATUS OF WOMEN : WELL-BEING AND SURVIVAL

The health status of women is one of the fundamental indicators of their well-being and quality of life. The right to lead a long, healthy and productive life is one of the fundamental prerequisite for human development. Gender inequalities in these basic capabilities reflect deep-rooted, structural biases and discriminations in political, economic and cultural spheres. Apart from the absolute and relative levels of food and nutrition security, access to health care, education and income, women's work, autonomy in making reproductive choices and their relative status within the family and the community critically condition their survival and well-being.

Because of the non-availability reliable time-series data on many important aspects of health and demographic indicators for the state, it is difficult to arrive at conclusions regarding the changes in the health status of the population in the state. The following analysis is largely based on the data generated by the survey conducted for the preparation of the state's Human Development Report,¹ although data from other secondary sources have also been used.

Life Expectancy

The life expectancy at birth in Arunachal Pradesh is estimated to be 54.05 years, which is less than the national average of 61.86 years. There are no reliable estimates of the changes in the health condition of people in the state, although, the health conditions in Arunachal Pradesh, by and large, have improved in the post-independence decades. This can be ascertained, in the absence of mortality data, by the changes in the growth rates of the tribal population. As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, since 1961, the tribal population has been growing in the state. Given the declining fertility rate of the tribal population this is indicative of their improved health conditions and higher longevity. By all circumstantial evidence one can safely conclude that the health status of the people of Arunachal Pradesh has improved but the rate of improvement has been less than satisfactory.

As shown by the data in the Table: 3.1, the difference between Kerala, the state having the highest life expectancy in the country, and Arunachal Pradesh in life expectancy is very high i.e. 22.18 years. Assam is ahead of Arunachal Pradesh by 4.56 years. Papum Pare is the district with the highest expectation of life at birth indicating the best of health status of the people among all the 15 districts

¹ The primary survey was conducted in all the districts of Arunachal Pradesh covering 5257 households with 30,762 individuals.

of the State, followed by East Siang. At the other extreme is Kurung Kumey, which has a life expectancy of only 42.50 years. Dibang Valley (New) and East Kameng are close to Kurung Kumey with life expectancy of 43.20 years and 43.36 years respectively (Table: 3.2). There are five districts with expectation of life below 50 years. Upper Subansiri with a life expectancy of 46.34 years and Tawang with 49.79 years belong to this class along with three other districts already mentioned. It is found that the districts situated in the upper ranges of the hills have a lower expectation of life than the districts with a larger share of plain areas and plateaus. Lower Dibang Valley and Lohit, the districts with extensive plain areas, for example, have better health conditions than Dibang Valley (new).

Female life expectancy at birth in Arunachal Pradesh has been estimated to be 54.51, which is marginally higher than the male life expectancy in the state, 53.66. While Papum Pare, the most urbanised district, has the highest female life expectancy at birth, Kurung Kumey has the lowest life expectancy. Dibang Valley (New) and East Kameng have only marginally higher female life expectancy than Kurung Kumey. It is important to note that female life expectancy in the state is not only lower than the current national average of 64.84, but also lower than the country's average in 1981-85.

So far as the determinants of inter-district variations in life expectancy is concerned, it is found that the percentage of rural population not connected by road, carries a correlation coefficient of - 0.84 with the life expectancy, which is statistically significant at 0.10 per cent level². Literacy is positively correlated with the expectation of life, with a correlation coefficient of 0.74 that is significant at 0.40 per cent level. However, it is important to note that variables capturing the availability of health services, such as hospital beds per ten thousand population in the districts are not very strongly related to their life expectancy. In spite of relatively low IMR in Arunachal Pradesh the expectation of life which captures the overall mortality condition of the population is lowest in the country. This is because of comparatively high mortality rate among the people aged forty years and above, a situation, which is reflective of poor health services, and high illiteracy among the older generation in Arunachal Pradesh.

Table: 3.1
Life Expectancy in different States of India: 2000 (Adjusted)

State	Life expectancy			Life expectancy index		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Andhra Pradesh	62.58	66.53	64.66	0.668	0.650	0.661
Assam	57.74	59.77	58.61	0.587	0.538	0.560
Arunachal Pradesh	53.66	54.51	54.05	0.519	0.450	0.484
Bihar	61.96	61.46	61.94	0.658	0.566	0.616
Gujarat	62.27	66.00	64.03	0.663	0.642	0.650

² The explanatory variables are available for the old 13 districts and so the analysis is carried out for them only.

State	Life expectancy			Life expectancy index		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Haryana	65.26	67.90	66.53	0.713	0.673	0.692
Karnataka	62.89	68.11	65.59	0.673	0.677	0.676
Kerala	72.26	80.05	76.23	0.829	0.876	0.854
Madhya Pradesh	56.71	57.76	57.25	0.570	0.504	0.537
Maharashtra	65.67	69.91	67.99	0.719	0.707	0.716
Orissa	58.57	59.77	59.17	0.601	0.538	0.569
Punjab	68.34	72.44	70.29	0.764	0.749	0.755
Rajasthan	60.32	62.94	62.05	0.630	0.591	0.617
Tamil Nadu	64.64	68.43	66.43	0.702	0.682	0.690
Uttar Pradesh	59.39	59.56	59.47	0.615	0.534	0.574
West Bengal	63.61	66.64	65.07	0.685	0.652	0.668
All India	61.86	64.84	63.30	0.656	0.622	0.638

Source: Data of life expectancy of all the states except Arunachal Pradesh relating to the period 1992-96 are taken from National Human Development Report 2001 and adjusted for the year 2000. Arunachal's expectancy of life is calculated from HDR survey data, Draft HDR-AP.

Table: 3.2
Life Expectancy at Birth in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh: 2000-2001

State	Life expectancy			Life expectancy index		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Tawang	49.75	50.01	49.79	0.454	0.375	0.413
West Kameng	53.04	53.51	53.35	0.509	0.434	0.473.
East Kameng	43.86	42.47	43.36	0.356	0.250	0.306
Papum Pare	60.92	62.45	61.80	0.640	0.583	0.613
Kurung Kumey	42.83	42.30	42.50	0.339	0.247	0.292
Lower Subansiri	54.91	56.33	55.65	0.540	0.481	0.511
Upper Subansiri	45.50	47.22	46.34	0.383	0.329	0.356
West Siang	56.30	54.36	55.37	0.563	0.448	0.506
East Siang	59.06	61.43	60.08	0.609	0.566	0.585
Upper Siang	55.59	52.50	54.02	0.552	0.417	0.484
Lower Dibang Valley	56.95	59.05	58.56	0.574	0.526	0.559

State	Life expectancy			Life expectancy index		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Dibang Valley (new)	43.55	42.46	43.20	0.351	0.249	0.303
Lohit	55.51	57.67	56.30	0.550	0.503	0.522
Changlang	54.72	56.62	55.70	0.537	0.485	0.512
Tirap	54.36	50.51	52.66	0.531	0.384	0.461
Arunachal Pradesh	53.66	54.51	54.05	0.519	0.450	0.484

Source: Draft HDR-AP, estimated from HDR Survey.

Fertility in Arunachal Pradesh

According to the HDR survey, the Crude Birth Rate (CBR) and Crude Death Rate (CDR) for the state have been estimated to be 34.62 and 11.57 respectively, for the year 2001. The mortality rate in the state has, in all probability, declined over the last few decades, but it continues to be relatively high. The high mortality rates associated with high fertility rate leads to a high natural growth rate of population. Both the fertility and mortality rates of the state are higher than the national averages but the differential in fertility is lower than that in mortality. Among the 15 districts CBR is highest in East Kameng (39.04) and is the lowest in Papum Pare (31.17). On the other hand, Kurung Kumey (37.80) and Papum Pare (8.17) have the highest and the lowest CDR respectively. Similarly, the Contraceptive Prevalence Rate varies from 41.60 per cent in Papum Pare district to 13.04 per cent in Kurung Kumey district (Table: 3.3)

Among the 15 districts for which Total Fertility Rate (TFR) has been estimated, the district Papum Pare has the lowest (3.81) and Kurung Kumey has the highest (5.34) TFR. If the old 13 districts are considered then total fertility rate varies from 3.81 in Papum Pare to 5.23 in Upper Siang. Fertility is determined by a complex inter-play of a large number of factors originating from the socio-economic, cultural and political processes in the society. The inter district variations in TFR is found to be significantly and negatively related with literacy³.

As per NFHS data, the total fertility rate in the state has declined from 4.25 in 1990-92 to 2.52 in 1997-99, while the crude death rate has declined from 34.6 to 22.6 during the same period. The TFR in Arunachal Pradesh at 2.52 is the second lowest among the North Eastern States as is the CBR (23 per thousand). The decline in the estimates of TFR between NFHS-2 and NFHS-1 has been of 1.7 children, sharper than that in any other state of the region. The corresponding SRS estimates, (TFR in 1995-97 was 2.8 and CBR in 1998 was 23 per '000) broadly corresponds to the NFHS-2 estimates, although the HDR Survey estimates, as pointed out earlier, are higher. The SRS also shows a sharp decline in fertility in the state since 1990-92, when the TFR according to the SRS was 4.1 and the CBR was 29 per thousand.

³ The correlation coefficient between total fertility rate and literacy rate is found to be -0.76. The other variables significantly correlated with fertility are the use of contraceptives and the infant mortality rate.

Table: 3.3
Fertility, Mortality and Contraceptive Prevalence Rates in Arunachal Pradesh: 2000-2001

Sl.No.	Districts	CBR	TFR	CDR	NG	Contra
1	Tawang	36.00	4.64	15.06	2.09	15.89
2	West Kameng	32.86	4.57	11.63	2.12	21.70
3	East Kameng	39.04	5.12	17.33	2.17	17.24
4	Papum Pare	31.17	3.81	8.17	2.30	41.60
5	Kurung Kumey	37.80	5.34	19.47	1.83	13.04
6	Lower Subansiri	35.54	4.80	10.71	2.48	27.61
7	Upper Subansiri	38.05	5.18	16.08	2.20	21.56
8	West Siang	33.73	4.38	9.17	2.46	27.52
9	East Siang	33.82	4.22	8.86	2.50	27.33
10	Upper Siang	34.12	5.23	12.68	2.14	22.22
11	Lower Dibang Valley	34.51	4.64	11.02	2.35	21.95
12	Dibang Valley (new)	38.79	4.41	18.51	2.03	15.12
13	Lohit	34.67	4.52	10.40	2.43	38.16
14	Changlang	33.32	4.43	11.03	2.23	23.50
15	Tirap	35.12	4.89	13.47	2.17	16.47
	Arunachal Pradesh	34.62	4.56	11.57	2.30	26.71
	India	25.40	3.20	8.40	1.70	48.20

Note: **CBR** is Crude Birth Rate, **CDR** is Crude Death Rate, **TFR** is the Total Fertility Rate, **NG** is the natural growth of the population and **Contra** is the percentage of women in the reproductive age group 15-49 using contraceptives.

Source: Data relating to Arunachal Pradesh and its districts are from HDR survey. CBR, CDR and NG are from Sample Registration Bulletin (October, 2002) and relate to the year 2001. TFR and Contra are from Economic Survey 2004-04 of Government of India. TFR relates to the year 1999 and contra to 1998-99. Draft HDR-AP, estimated from HDR Survey.

Table: 3.4
Total Fertility Rate and Crude Birth Rates in Arunachal Pradesh from NFHS Data

Characteristics	year	rates
TFR (15-49)	NFHS-1 (1990-92)	4.25
	NFHS-2 (1997-99)	2.52
CDR	NFHS-1 (1990-92)	34.6
	NFHS-2 (1997-99)	22.6
TFR by Residence	NFHS-2 (1997-99)	
Urban		1.77
Rural		2.68
Education	NFHS-2 (1997-99)	
Illiterate		3.09
Literate, < middle school complete		3.02
Middle School Complete		1.98
High School Complete and above		1.64
Standard of Living Index	NFHS-2 (1997-99)	
Low		3.51
Medium		2.42
High		1.96

Source: IIPS and ORC Macro, 2002(NFHS-II)

NFHS-2 data reveals that TFR is higher in rural areas than in urban areas, and also that the TFR is strongly and negatively associated with women's education. The TFR differential between illiterate women and women who have completed at least high school is 1.45 children. Further, those having a low standard of living have a higher TFR than those having a higher standard of living (Table: 3.4).

Infant and Child Mortality

Infant Mortality Rate measures the health conditions in infancy and it is intricately enmeshed with the low economic conditions of the population. In general, a high IMR in a high fertility society is associated with illiteracy, low level of technology in production and poverty. Arunachal Pradesh has a high IMR. Out of 1000 children born, 77 would not see their next birthday. Among the 15 big states, Orissa's IMR of 95 is the highest and Kerala's lowest at 14 in the country. Assam's IMR of 75 is close to Arunachal's. The IMR of MP, UP, Rajasthan and Chhatisgarh are also higher than that of Arunachal Pradesh. Though all these 15 big states have expectation of life higher than Arunachal Pradesh, yet five of them have IMR higher than Arunachal.

Table: 3.5
Infant Mortality Rate in the Districts of Arunachal Pradesh

Sl.No.	Districts	IMR	Rank
1	Tawang	98	13
2	West Kameng	88	9
3	East Kameng	97	12
4	Papum Pare	67	5
5	Kurung Kumey	113	15
6	Lower Subansiri	59	3
7	Upper Subansiri	97	11
8	West Siang	85	7
9	East Siang	57	2
10	Upper Siang	87	8
11	Lower Dibang Valley	53	1
12	Dibang Valley (new)	98	14
13	Lohit	72	6
14	Changlang	62	4
15	Tirap	92	10
	Arunachal Pradesh	77	

Source: HDR Survey.

The IMR in Arunachal Pradesh varies from 113 in Kurung Kumey to 53 in Lower Dibang Valley, the inter district variation being quite large. In Arunachal Pradesh there are six districts with IMR higher than 90. There are five districts in Arunachal Pradesh with IMR higher than that of Orissa', the state having the largest IMR (Table: 3.5).

Although female infant mortality rate was estimated to be 76 for the state as a whole, considerable inter-district variation in IMR has also been noticed. Among the 13 old districts, it was found that East Kameng has the highest infant mortality rate for females, while East Siang has the lowest. However, when IMR is calculated for all the 15 districts, Kurung Kumey and Lower Dibang Valley come out as having the highest and lowest female IMRs. Universally, the inherent biological vulnerability of the male infant in a gender-neutral environment makes the male IMR higher than the females IMR. The male disadvantage disappears in the subsequent few years and the gender gap in mortality becomes marginal. However gender bias in childcare often results in excess female mortality in the 1-4 age group particularly in South Asian context. It is important to note that, of the 13 districts female IMR was found to be higher than male IMR in as many as five districts. Alternative estimates from 1991

census also show higher female IMR in 4 districts among the 11 districts for which data was available (Rajan and Mohanachandran, 1998). Among the Scheduled Tribe population in the state IMR and Under Five Mortality Rate were found to be higher for males than for females in 1991, both in urban as well as rural areas (Rajan and Mohanachandran, 2001).

As per the HDR survey, the female under-five mortality rate was estimated to be 137 for the state as a whole. Among the districts it varied between 94 in East Siang to 202 in East Kameng. The female under five-mortality rate was found to be higher than the male under-five mortality rate in 9 out of the 13 old districts as well as for the state as a whole.

IMR in Arunachal Pradesh varies significantly with the accessibility. It is excessively high in the remote and relatively inaccessible areas and relatively low in accessible areas. By and large, the districts in the upper region have a higher IMR than the districts in the lower regions of the state. Both female IMR and female under-five mortality rate are found to be negatively correlated with female adult literacy rates. Although gender discrimination is generally believed to be less severe in predominantly tribal societies, excess female mortality in Arunachal Pradesh puts a question mark on the prevailing social attitudes towards girl child. Improvement in female literacy to some extent might have contribute in eliminating gender bias in childcare that results in excess female mortality among children.

Son Preference

The widely noticed phenomenon of differential treatment of the girl child within the family is closely related to the higher preference for the male child. The causes behind higher parental preference for the boys are complex and diverse - they range from the purely economic considerations of old-age insurance to the socio-cultural value systems that attach a higher importance to the birth of a male child than that of the girl. Although gender relations are considered to be relatively more egalitarian in tribal societies, in Arunachal Pradesh son preference seems to be high in comparison to other northeastern states.

According to NFHS-II, 41.9 per cent of married women want more sons than daughters and only 2.5 per cent want more daughters than son. The preference for son is higher in rural than in urban areas and it declines along with educational levels of respondents. Curiously, however, while 30.4 per cent among those having a high standard of living index revealed a higher preference for male child, among the poor 39.2 per cent preferred male child and son preference was highest among those having medium standard of living index.

Nutritional Status

The nutritional status of women and girls is an important indicator of the relative access of males and females to food consumption, both in qualitative and quantitative terms. According to the India Nutrition Profile, 1998 the average consumption of foodstuff in Arunachal Pradesh was nearly the same among boys and girls. However, in the age group 4 to 6 years the average consumption was

lower among girls for the entire foodstuff except pulses. Among the adults, generally average consumption was similar among males and females. While the average intake of cereals, green leafy vegetables, roots and tubers and other vegetables were above suggested level of balanced diet at all ages, pulses, milk and its products, fat and oils as well as sugar were below the mandatory level. The percentages of severely undernourished children were found to be marginally higher among the girls than among the boys, but the percentage of moderately malnourished children was higher in case of the boys. Thus, so far as the overall nutritional status is concerned, no serious gender discrimination was found, according to the 1998 survey. Analysis of NFHS-II data suggest that, contrary to the findings in other parts of India, in the north eastern region, female children have a nutritional edge over male children (Rama Rao et al, 2004).

One of the crucial aspects of the food consumption pattern in the state is high average consumption of leafy vegetables, roots and tubers as well as fish and meat, not only in comparison with the national averages, but also the neighbouring states. A substantial proportion of these items are collected from forests and *jhum* fields. Women's nutritional status in the state is their participation in forest-related activities and access to forest resources. Women's access to forests and other Common Pool Resources is intrinsically linked to their micro-level strategies for risk minimisation, mutual support and solidarity in a high-risk ecological-economic context. Along with gradual privatisation of these resources, the food and nutrition security prospects of households in general and the access of women and girls to food and nutrition in particular need to be carefully monitored in future.

NFHS-II data suggest (Table: 3.6) among the ever-married women, 78.2 per cent consume green, leafy vegetables daily, but the percentages of women who do not consume milk and curd is as high as 42 per cent. Although age does not play a very important role in women's food consumption pattern in the state, illiterate women have poorer and less varied diets than literate women and the differences are particularly sharp in the cases of fruits, eggs and pulses or beans (Table: 3.7). The household's standard of living has a strong negative effect on the consumption of nutritious food – the percentage of women who consume milk or curd, fruits, eggs and meat at least once a week is much less among the households having a low status of living than that among women enjoying a better standard of living.

The percentage of women having a body-mass-index (BMI) below 18.5 kg/m² is the lowest in Arunachal Pradesh among all the northeastern states. As expected, nutritional deficiency is relatively higher among illiterate women and also among those whose standards of living are low (Table: 3.8). As per the NFHS-II survey, 62.5 per cent of ever-married women in the state were having anemia, while 50.6 per cent were having mild-anemia, 11.3 per cent were having moderate anemia. Barring Meghalaya, the percentage of women with any anemia was found to be highest in Arunachal Pradesh among all the hill states of Northeast India.

So far as Nutritional status of the Girl Child is concerned, as per NFHS-II, 22.1 per cent of girl child, under 3 years of age are under weight, while 25.7 per cent are stunted while 4.7 per cent are

wasted. It is important to note that in terms of all these anthropometrics measures girls have better nutritional status than the boys.

Table: 3.6
Women's Food Consumption: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women by Frequency of Consumption of Specific Foods (1999-2000)

Type of Food	Frequency of Consumption					Total
	Daily	Weekly	Occasionally	Never	Missing	
Milk or Curd	12.6	7.3	38.2	42.0	0.0	100.0
Pulses or Beans	23.3	27.9	44.7	4.0	0.1	100.0
Green, leafy Vegetables	78.2	17.3	4.4	0.1	0.0	100.0
Other vegetables	31.9	40.8	26.7	0.4	0.2	100.0
Fruits	3.0	25.9	69.7	1.4	0.0	100.0
Eggs	2.5	31.0	58.6	7.8	0.0	100.0
Chicken, Meat or Fish	9.1	48.3	41.5	1.2	0.0	100.0

Source: IIPS and ORC Macro, 2002(NFHS-II)

Table: 3.7
Women's Food Consumption by Back Ground Statistics: Percentage of Ever-Married Women Consuming Specific Foods at least once in a Week (1999-2000)

Background Characteristics	Type of Food						
	Milk/ Curd	Pulses/ Beans	Green, Leafy Vegetables	Other Vegetables	Fruits	Eggs	Chicken/ Meat/Fish
Age							
15-24	19.3	57.9	96.5	78.3	27.4	37.0	57.0
25-34	20.3	52.7	95.6	71.5	31.0	34.1	58.8
35-49	19.7	42.3	94.6	69.1	27.2	29.2	55.5
Education							
Illiterate	11.1	39.8	96.5	69.4	18.8	24.1	52.6
Literate < Middle School Complete	14.3	53.6	97.2	72.4	32.7	40.9	63.2
Middle School Complete	35.1	69.8	92.2	79.4	41.8	39.9	60.1
High School Complete and Above	60.1	80.9	91.2	82.2	56.4	57.9	64.6

Background Characteristics	Type of Food						
	Milk/ Curd	Pulses/ Beans	Green, Leafy Vegetables	Other Vegetables	Fruits	Eggs	Chicken/ Meat/Fish
Standard of Living							
Low	8.1	35.1	97.6	68.8	17.7	19.6	35.3
Medium	16.4	48.5	95.0	70.1	27.3	33.6	63.5
High	46.5	80.5	94.1	86.3	46.8	50.1	62.6
Total	19.9	51.2	95.6	72.7	28.9	33.5	57.4

Source: IIPS and ORC Macro, 2002(NFHS-II)

Table: 3.8
Nutritional Status of Women in Arunachal Pradesh: 1999-2000

Background Characteristic	Height		Weight-for-Height*	
	Mean Height (cm)	Percentage Below 145 cm	Mean Body mass Index (BMI)	Percentage with BMI below 18.5 kg/m ²
Marital Status				
Currently married	150.7	12.1	21.0	10.4
Not Currently married	152.7	8.6	20.9	13.8
Education				
Illiterate	150.4	13.8	20.9	11.7
Literate< Middle School Complete	151.0	12.5	20.8	10.9
Middle School Complete	151.3	6.0	21.4	9.0
High School Complete and Above	152.0	8.0	21.7	7.0
Standard of Living				
Low	150.1	16.1	20.7	13.9
Medium	150.9	10.4	20.9	10.7
High	151.5	12.4	21.7	8.0
Total	150.8	11.9	21.0	10.7

Note: The Body Mass Index (BMI) is the ratio of the weight in kilograms to the square of height in meters (kg/m²).

Source: IIPS and ORC Macro, 2002(NFHS-II).

Immunization

The Universal Immunization programme (UIP) was introduced by the government of India in 1985-86 with the objectives of covering at least 85 per cent of infants against six vaccine-preventable diseases by 1990. Subsequently, the programme was expanded to cover all the districts of the country and the target now is to achieve 100 per cent immunization coverage. In spite of the programme being universal, a number of states in the country including Arunachal Pradesh, have failed to really 'universalize' it. As per the HDR survey, the overall achievement in immunization against polio and DPT is only 68.09 per cent in the state, a level that is significantly below the national average. Some districts have achieved a better coverage with Papum Pare being at the top. National Family Health Survey (NFHS-2) in Arunachal Pradesh found that 21 per cent of the children were vaccinated fully against BCG, Polio, DPT and Measles during 1998-99, four out of five children in the state were not fully vaccinated. However, it is important to note that the percentage of girls of age 12-23 months who are fully vaccinated was found to be significantly higher than that of the boys. There is an urgent need to expand the reach of the programme in the state, particularly to the remote and hilly areas.

Health Services

The availability and effective utilization of health services are necessary preconditions for improvements of the health status of the population. The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh had a rich knowledge about medicinal plants, and in some areas (for example in the Buddhist belts) traditional medicines were being used more systematically. The growth of modern health services, however, is a comparatively recent phenomenon. As pointed by table: 3.9, hospital beds per thousand population, increased from 11.0 in 1960-61 to 26.4 in 1990-91. In the post-reform decade of the nineties, however, this has declined to 20.1. Doctors per thousand populations, similarly increased from 1.6 in 1950-51 to 4.3 in 200-01. In comparison to all India averages, the level of health facilities might seem somewhat satisfactory, but the conventional indicators based on availability of health services per thousand population has limited significance in a hilly state like Arunachal Pradesh because of the scatteredness of settlements and difficulties in availing health facilities in high altitudes areas.

An important aspect of the availability of health infrastructure in the state, as in many other parts of the country, is the rural-urban disparity. As shown in Table: 3.10 of all the allopathic medical institutions in the state 85.71 per cent are located in the urban areas. Only 29.63 per cent of Community Health Centre (CHCs) and 37.31 per cent of Primary Health Centres (PHCs) are located in the rural areas of the state. In 1991, 34.30 per cent of rural population and 50.59 per cent of all villages of the state were not having even a pre-primary health center within 10 km distance (Table: 3.11 and 3.12). In some relatively underdeveloped districts, such as East Kameng, the percentage of such population is as high as 51.03 per cent, while 75 per cent of the villages do not have any health care facilities within 10 kms. What is even more significant is that in Papum Pare, where the capital city of Itanagar is located, 61.22 per cent of villages and 40.27 per cent of rural population do not have access to any type of health care facilities within 10 kms. Providing basic health care to scattered human habitations is a tough and challenging task in Arunachal Pradesh. Improvements in health

conditions of women and children in the rural areas require provision of these services through durable and innovative means. In 1952-53, there were only 48 doctors serving in the entire Arunachal Pradesh, an area of more than 83 thousand sq km. A doctor had to extend services, on average, in an area of 1.74 thousand sq km and to a population of more than six thousand. The number of medical units, which include hospitals and dispensaries, were 52 in which 101 health personnel were employed in 1952-53.

Table 3.9
Growth of Health Services in Arunachal Pradesh and in the Country

Year	Hospital beds per 10,000 population		Doctors per 10,000 population	
	Arunachal Pradesh	India	Arunachal Pradesh	India
1950-51	-	3.2	1.6	1.7
1960-61	11.0	5.7	2.1	1.9
1970-71	25.4	6.4	3.3	2.8
1980-81	23.3	8.3	4.1	3.9
1990-91	26.4	9.5	3.1	4.7
1991-92	25.5	9.7	3.1	4.8
1995-96	-	9.4p	-	5.1p
1997-98	-	9.3p	-	5.3p
2000-01	20.3	-	4.3	-

Note: Dash means data not available. 'P' means the figure is provisional.

Sources: Economic survey, 2002-03, Government of India. Statistical Abstracts of Arunachal Pradesh, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

Table: 3.10
Rural Urban Distribution of Allopathic Medical Institutions in Arunachal Pradesh, 2001

No. of Medical Institutions	Rural	Urban	Total
General Hospital	—	3 (100)	3
District Hospital	2 (15.38)	11 (84.62)	13
Dispensaries	-	18 (100)	18
Community Health Centre (CHC)	8 (29.63)	19 (70.37)	27
Primary Health Centre (PHC)	25 (37.31)	42 (62.69)	67
Health Sub Centre	350 (100.00)	-	350
Others	48 (85.71)	8 (14.29)	56

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate percentage to total.

Source: Statistical Abstract of Arunachal Pradesh, 2001.

Table: 3.11
Percentage of Rural Population with the Medical Facilities on the basis of Distance Covered, 1991

Sl.No.	District	0 km	0 – 5 km	5 – 10 km	Above 10 km
1	Tawang	37.98	15.39	8.88	37.75
2	West Kameng	53.62	12.77	8.60	25.01
3	East Kameng	26.85	10.05	12.07	51.03
4	Papum Pare	28.14	17.37	14.22	40.27
5	Lower Subansiri	24.81	12.69	16.59	45.91
6	Upper Subansiri	34.61	9.03	9.04	47.32
7	West Siang	47.01	18.75	10.80	23.44
8	East Siang	23.75	22.54	18.10	35.61
9	Dibang Valley	37.34	22.29	2.92	37.45
10	Lohit	29.58	18.18	16.55	35.69
11	Changlang	42.20	21.42	19.16	17.22
12	Tirap	48.18	8.16	10.68	32.98
	Arunachal Pradesh	36.25	16.01	13.44	34.30

Note: The medical facilities indicate that the village has at least a pre-primary health center.

Source: Census of India, 1991, District Census Handbook of Different Districts of Arunachal Pradesh.

Table: 3.12
Percentage of Villages with the Medical Facilities on the basis of Distance Covered, 1991

Sl.No.	District	0 km	0 – 5 km	5 – 10 km	Above 10 km
1	Tawang	12.27	23.31	9.82	54.60
2	West Kameng	22.43	14.71	18.01	44.85
3	East Kameng	4.00	8.36	13.09	74.55
4	Papum Pare	4.94	21.29	12.55	61.22
5	Lower Subansiri	49.92	5.88	9.24	34.96
6	Upper Subansiri	3.46	9.38	15.06	72.10
7	West Siang	21.32	30.39	17.65	30.64
8	East Siang	10.78	23.04	20.10	46.08
9	Dibang Valley	6.30	15.97	10.92	66.81
10	Lohit	7.19	14.58	21.56	56.67
11	Changlang	22.81	22.81	20.35	34.03
12	Tirap	28.21	9.61	17.31	44.87
	Arunachal Pradesh	18.24	15.73	15.44	50.59

Note: The medical facilities indicate that the village has at least a pre-primary health center.

Source: Census of India, 1991, District Census Handbooks of Different Districts of Arunachal Pradesh.

CHAPTER-IV

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS

Access to education plays a significant role in expanding opportunities for individuals, households and communities. Given the positive externalities of education in general and that of female education in particular, it is hardly surprising that expansion of educational opportunities has been regarded as one of the fundamental means for social transformation. In Arunachal Pradesh access to formal education has been one of the most important means for achieving a better quality of life in the context of the rapid transformation and modernisation of the economy, the society and the polity.

Female Literacy Rates

Female literacy rate for Arunachal Pradesh, according to census 2001, was only 44.24 per cent, much lower than the national average of 54.03 per cent. However the state has made rapid progress in raising the female literacy – from only 14.02 per cent in 1981 to 44.24 per cent in 2001. However, female literacy rate in rural areas is as low as 37.56 per cent, and the rural-urban gap in female literacy continues to be very high. Among the ST population female literacy has gone up from 7.31 per cent in 1981 to 24.94 per cent in 1991. Adult literacy rate for females went up from 20.18 per cent in 1981 to 26.43 per cent in 1991, but in rural Arunachal Pradesh female literacy was only 19.13 per cent, which was much below other than northeastern states.

Although the state made significant progress in the past, its performance in comparative terms has not been very impressive. Considerable inter-district variations exist in female literacy rates from 61.72 per cent in Papum Pare to 29.00 per cent in Tirap and 28.86 per cent in East Kameng. Among the rest, districts having relatively high female literacy levels include, West Siang and East Siang. Substantial gap exists between urban and rural female literacy levels in many of the districts as well. The gap is the highest in Tirap followed by Tawang, Lower Subansiri, Changlang and Dibang Valley respectively. The urban-rural gap in female literacy is lowest in East Siang district. Given the inaccessibility and inadequacy in provision of social infrastructure, there is a huge gap in the opportunities before the rural women and their urban counterparts.

Between 1981-91 there was a decline in urban-rural gap in literacy both for male and female literacy rates, however, the decline urban-rural gap in case of male literacy was sharper than that in case of the females. However, during the 1990s the urban-rural gap in female literacy has come down very sharply.

Table: 4.1
Female Literacy Rate: Arunachal Pradesh 2001

District	Female Literacy Rate			Urban-Rural Gap
	Total	Rural	Urban	
Tawang	30.87	25.89	67.37	41.48
West Kameng	48.56	45.84	72.47	26.63
East Kameng	28.86	20.98	53.48	32.50
Papum Pare	61.72	49.66	73.35	23.69
Lower Subansiri	36.19	31.16	71.76	40.60
Upper Subansiri	42.74	34.84	63.94	29.10
West Siang	53.24	48.58	74.10	25.52
East Siang	52.87	48.12	67.24	19.12
Upper Siang	39.09	39.09	-	-
Dibang Valley	48.96	42.79	78.39	35.60
Lohit	44.59	38.80	69.68	30.88
Changlang	39.85	36.00	76.46	40.46
Tirap	29.00	21.24	73.69	52.45
Arunachal Pradesh	44.24	37.56	70.60	33.04

Note: Upper Siang district does not have any urban area.

Source: Census of India 2001, Series-13, Arunachal Pradesh, Provisional Population Totals, Paper-2 of 2001.

Table: 4.2
Literacy Rate in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh: 1991

(Percentage)

Districts	All Areas			Rural			Urban		
	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
Tawang	40.41	16.83	29.80	40.41	16.83	29.80	-	-	-
West Kameng	55.03	35.22	46.31	52.43	32.42	43.56	76.10	60.79	69.75
East Kameng	37.69	14.02	26.20	37.69	14.02	26.20	-	-	-
Lower Sunbansiri	51.10	30.70	41.57	41.40	21.68	31.95	77.02	59.74	69.54
Upper Subansiri	47.58	27.24	38.31	47.58	27.24	38.31	-	-	-
West Siang	53.86	35.85	45.64	47.83	31.50	40.14	81.78	65.63	75.70

Districts	All Areas			Rural			Urban		
	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
East Siang	52.49	34.43	44.30	48.72	30.56	40.35	71.71	58.49	66.26
Dibang Valley	56.94	33.27	46.88	51.79	27.06	41.10	80.31	66.71	75.00
Lohit	59.02	36.21	49.21	53.33	29.96	42.98	77.10	61.42	71.06
Changlang	54.44	29.64	43.20	54.44	29.64	43.20	-	-	-
Tirap	43.44	18.52	32.06	38.15	13.59	26.76	89.83	78.40	85.43
Arunachal Pradesh	51.45	29.69	41.59	47.00	25.31	37.02	77.99	62.23	71.59

Source: Censuses of India, Arunachal Pradesh, 1981 & 1991, Age, Sex and Level of Education, Table C-2, Directorate of Censuses Operations, Arunachal Pradesh.

Table: 4.3
Literacy Rate in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh: 2001 (All Areas)

(Percentage)

Districts	All Areas			Rural			Urban		
	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
Tawang	51.05	30.87	41.14	45.66	25.89	35.83	83.60	67.37	76.31
West Kameng	71.02	48.56	61.67	69.65	45.84	59.83	85.47	72.47	79.55
East Kameng	52.66	28.86	40.89	42.28	20.98	31.5	79.99	53.48	67.72
Papum Pare	79.00	61.72	70.89	70.11	49.66	60.35	87.03	73.35	80.72
Kurung Kumey	32.74	15.94	24.31	32.74	15.94	24.31	-	-	-
Lower Subansiri	53.68	36.19	45.09	48.79	31.16	40.01	85.86	71.76	79.10
Upper Subansiri	58.81	42.74	50.89	49.69	34.84	42.27	80.90	63.94	72.86
West Siang	66.72	53.24	60.31	60.92	48.58	54.9	87.01	74.10	81.5
East Siang	69.02	52.87	61.22	64.13	48.12	56.3	82.43	67.24	75.38
Upper Siang	58.64	39.09	49.8	58.64	39.09	49.8	-	-	-
Lower Dibang Valley	69.21	49.73	60.34	63.26	42.79	53.74	89.97	78.39	85.05
Dibang Valley (new)	60.55	43.15	53.36	60.55	43.15	53.36	-	-	-
Lohit	65.68	44.59	56.05	61.2	38.80	50.89	83.83	69.68	77.56
Changlang	62.83	39.85	51.98	59.34	36.00	48.2	90.11	76.46	84.26
Tirap	53.76	29.00	42.01	46.56	21.24	34.36	88.50	73.69	82.02
Arunachal Pradesh	64.07	44.24	54.74	58.09	37.56	48.34	85.61	70.60	78.82

Source: Censuses of India 2001, Series 13-Arunachal Pradesh, Provisional population Totals, Paper – of 2001, Directorate of Censuses Operations, Arunachal Pradesh.

Table: 4.4
Literacy Rate of 7-14 Age Group in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh: 1991

(Percentage)

Districts	All Areas			Rural			Urban		
	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
Tawang	51.49	35.48	43.22	51.49	35.48	43.22	-	-	-
West Kameng	66.13	52.35	59.46	64.85	50.20	57.76	77.89	71.86	74.95
East Kameng	60.77	31.03	47.01	60.77	31.03	47.01	-	-	-
Lower Subansiri	55.12	47.65	51.54	48.59	40.61	44.78	75.73	69.34	72.64
Upper Subansiri	65.96	49.85	58.21	65.96	49.85	58.21	-	-	-
West Siang	61.21	55.58	58.46	56.57	52.31	54.46	87.09	77.92	83.00
East Siang	64.53	54.44	59.51	61.43	51.27	56.37	81.12	71.90	76.59
Dibang Valley	64.28	51.12	58.27	57.64	45.51	51.93	89.80	80.39	86.05
Lohit	67.68	53.46	60.98	63.91	48.11	56.36	81.29	5.56	78.74
Changlang	59.13	43.06	51.29	59.13	43.06	51.29	-	-	-
Tirap	53.8	32.98	44.02	49.93	24.96	38.43	94.29	91.72	92.88
Arunachal Pradesh	60.84	47.60	54.47	57.70	43.69	50.94	81.49	74.59	78.25

Source: *Censuses of India, Arunachal Pradesh, 1981 & 1991, Age, Sex and Level of Education, Table C-2, Directorate of Censuses Operations, Arunachal Pradesh*

Table: 4.5
Adult Literacy Rate in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh: 1991 (All Areas)

(Percentage)

District	Male	Female	All
Tawang	38.26	11.81	26.76
West Kameng	51.97	29.27	42.29
East Kameng	30.81	9.50	20.33
Lower Subansiri	49.85	25.11	38.38
Upper Subansiri	42.51	20.11	32.48
West Siang	51.40	27.97	40.98
East Siang	49.34	27.87	39.88
Dibang Valley	54.72	26.86	43.17

District	Male	Female	All
Lohit	56.46	29.86	45.38
Changlang	52.85	24.13	40.20
Tirap	40.61	14.30	28.69
Arunachal Pradesh	48.69	23.59	37.53
All India	61.89	34.09	48.55

Source : *Censuses of India, Arunachal Pradesh, 1991, Age, Sex and Level of Education, Table C-2, Directorate of Censuses Operations, Arunachal Pradesh. For all India figures the source is, National Human Development Report, 2001, Planning Commission, Government of India, March 2002.*

Gender Gap in Literacy

The gender gap in literacy in Arunachal Pradesh as per 2001 census is 19.83, lower than the national average of 21.61 percentage points. The gap between male and female literacy rates in the state declined very slowly during 1981 to 2001. In rural areas, gender gap in literacy is sharper than that in urban areas. Although the gender gap in literacy has been narrowing down in the urban areas, it has remained at around 20 per cent during the past two decades in rural areas - a fact that needs to be addressed in all future initiatives.

In comparative terms, gender gap in literacy in Arunachal Pradesh is highest among all the states in northeast India both for total as well as for rural population (Table: 4.6). At a disaggregated level, gender gap in literacy was highest in Tirap district and lowest in West Siang. The districts having higher gender gap in literacy than the state average include the western districts of Tawang, West Kameng and East Kameng on the one end, and the eastern districts of Tirap, Changlang and Lohit on the other. The gender gap in adult literacy is higher than that of the overall literacy rate. Changlang has the highest gender gap in adult literacy, followed by Tirap, West Kameng, Tawang, Lohit and Upper Siang, all of which show higher gender gaps than the state average. Such patterned concentration of districts having high gender gap in literacy rates may imply the importance of shared social attitudes in determining gender difference in access to education an issue that needs further scrutiny. Another disturbing fact is that in three out of the thirteen old districts, West Kameng, East Kameng and Lower Subansiri, gender gap increased between 1991 and 2001, while in Tirap and East Siang the decline was marginal. Gender gap in literacy among the ST population in the state, although lower than that among the total population is quite high. Despite the rise in female literacy rate among the ST population, the gender gap increased substantially from 13.48 percentage points in 1981 to 19.06 percentage points in 1991. This implies that the expansion of educational opportunities has not been gender neutral - females within the ST population are lagging behind their male counterparts.

Figure 4.1

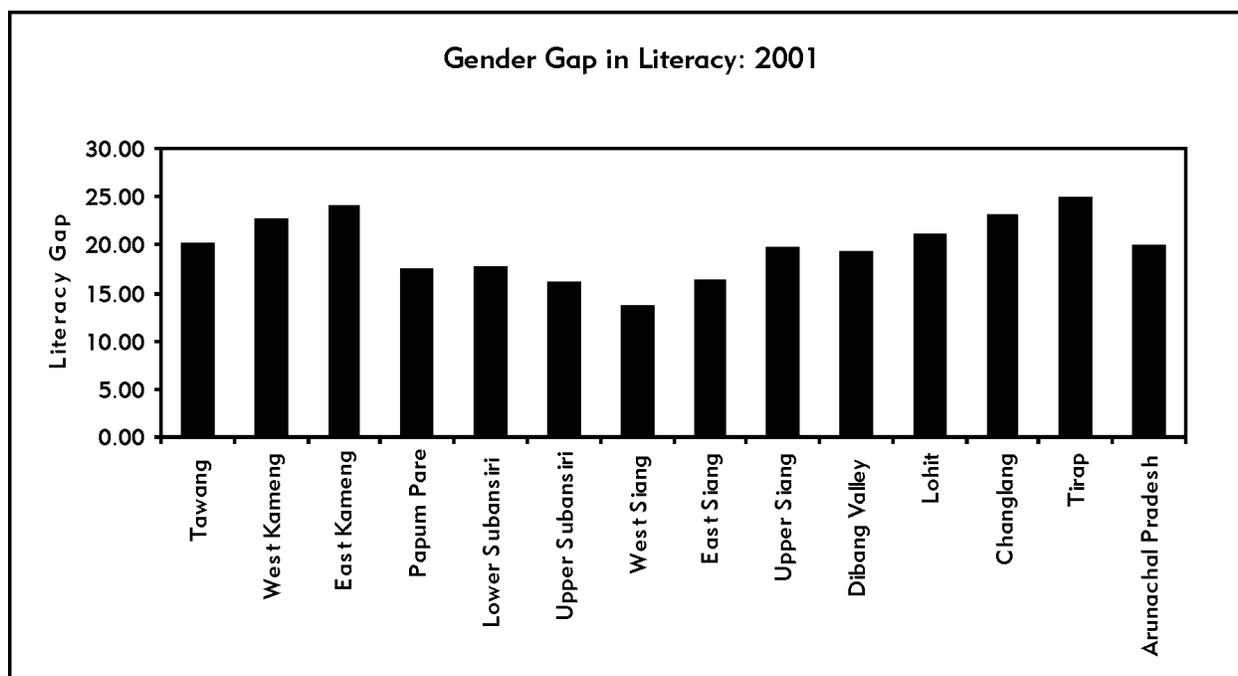


Table: 4.6

Gender Gap in Literacy : Arunachal Pradesh and North Eastern States 1981-2001

States	1981			1991			2001		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Arunachal Pradesh	21.1	20.23	18.48	18.73	21.69	15.76	19.83	20.53	15.01
Assam	-	-	-	18.84	19.47	11.17	15.19	16.77	8.85
Manipur	29.48	29.33	29.07	24.03	24.38	23.44	18.17	18.62	17.31
Meghalaya	9.48	8.59	10.81	8.27	7.71	8.40	5.73	5.88	5.60
Mizoram	10.75	11.97	6.4	7.01	10.33	3.54	4.56	8.21	1.28
Nagaland	18.20	18.20	9.7	12.87	13.06	6.84	9.85	9.86	6.92
Sikkim	25.62	26.49	15.37	19.05	19.51	10.25	15.27	16.06	8.42
Tripura	23.48	24.74	14.32	20.93	22.74	12.07	16.06	17.84	8.15
All India	26.62	27.89	-	24.84	27.25	-	21.61	24.60	13.43

Note: (i) Census not held in Assam in 1981.

(ii) Literacy Rate is defined as the proportion of literates to the population in the age group 7+.

(iii) Gender Gap in literacy is defined as male literacy rate minus female literacy rate.

Source : 1981- Census of India, Social and Cultural Tables; 1991- Paper2 of 1991, Series1, Census of India 1991; 2001-Primary Census 2001 estimates. Calculations based on NHDR, 2001; Tables 4.1-3.

Table : 4.7
Gender Gap in Literacy in Districts of Arunachal Pradesh: 1991-2001

Districts	Gender Gap in Literacy Rate		Gender Gap in Adult Literacy Rate
	1991	2001	2001
Tawang	23.58	20.17	23.15
West Kameng	19.81	22.46	23.71
East Kameng	23.67	23.80	19.05
Papum Pare	22.47	17.28	18.91
Lower Subansiri	17.55	17.49	19.12
Upper Subansiri	20.34	16.07	14.86
West Siang	18.01	13.48	15.37
East Siang	16.74	16.15	19.62
Upper Siang	21.97	19.55	23.02
Dibang Valley	22.64	19.08	20.65
Lohit	22.81	21.0	23.03
Changlang	24.80	22.98	27.02
Tirap	24.92	24.76	25.40
Arunachal Pradesh	21.76	19.83	20.92

Note: (i) Literacy rate is the percentage of literates to total population aged 7 years and above.

(ii) Adult Literacy Rate has been estimated as percentage of literates among the 15+ population.

Source: Census of India, 2001, Provisional Population Totals, Paper-2 of 2001.

Table: 4.8
Illiteracy Rate among (7-14) Age Group: 1991

Sl.No.	Districts	Male	Female	Total
1	Tawang	48.51	64.52	56.78
2	West Kameng	33.87	47.65	40.54
3	East Kameng	39.23	68.97	53.00
4	Lower Subansiri	44.88	52.35	48.46
5	Upper Subansiri	34.04	50.15	41.79
6	West Siang	38.79	44.42	41.54
7	East Siang	35.47	45.56	-40.49

Sl.No.	Districts	Male	Female	Total
8	Dibang Valley	35.72	48.88	41.73
9	Lohit	32.32	46.55	39.02
10	Changlang	40.87	56.94	48.71
11	Tirap	46.20	67.02	55.98
	Arunachal Pradesh	39.16	52.40	45.53
	India	28.56	43.77	35.84

Note: Lower Subansiri includes Papum Pare and East Siang includes Upper Siang.

Source: Census of India (Arunachal Pradesh) 1991.

Notwithstanding the importance of literacy rate a basic measure of educational attainment, the relative access to secondary, higher and technical education has to be taken into account to get a complete picture of gender disparities in educational attainments. Among the literate females in Arunachal Pradesh, a substantial proportion has studied only up to below primary levels. In 1991, of the total female literates in Arunachal Pradesh 36.4 per cent had studied up to below primary levels, while in rural areas 40.9 per cent of literate females had studied up to that level. In some districts like East Kameng 48 per cent of female literates had not studied beyond primary levels. On the other hand, 6.1 per cent of literate males had studied up to graduation and beyond in the state, but only 3.6 per cent of women could reach that stage in 1991.

National Family Health Survey data for 1998-99 show that median years of schooling among males in Arunachal Pradesh was 4.4, while that for females was only 2.1. It is important to mention that the survey found median years of schooling for females in the state to be the lowest among all northeastern states (NFHS-II, 2002:25-29).

Among the women in the age group 15-44, many of whom are in the workforce, 71.02 per cent were illiterate, 21.17 per cent had studied up to below matric level, 6.07 per cent had completed matriculation and only 1.74 per cent had studied up to graduation and above. According to 1991 census in four out of the eleven districts, namely Tawang, East Kameng, undivided Lower Subansiri and Tirap, level of illiteracy among the females of this age group was higher than 80 per cent in 1991. The improvements in female literacy during the last three decades, no doubt is an important achievement, but there is an urgent need to consolidate these gains by specific policy interventions for raising women's access to higher and technical education in the state.

The gender bias in educational attainment results from a variety of discriminatory attitudes towards females and their education. A number of studies have shown that societies and families benefit immensely from female education. An important determinant of gender gap in education is that many of the benefits of female education are societal - a more productive workforce, lower fertility, lower infant mortality - whereas the costs are private (King and Hill, 1999). Apart from the tangible

costs such as tuition fees, uniforms and school supplies, etc., a important component of cost of education of the girl child is the opportunity cost in the shape of foregone child labour (McDougall, 2000).

According to the NFHS-II, the percentage of children not attending schools in the age group 6-14 was 18.3 in the state. While among the boys 14.1 per cent were out of school, among the girls their percentage was 22.7. In the age group 6-10, the gender gap in school attendance was found to be even wider. So far as the reasons for not attending schools are concerned, differences in the relative importance of different factors in case of boys and girls, give an insight into the additional constraints faced by the girl child. Among the boys who never attended schools, distance of the school was the most important reason, followed by 'not having interest in studies'. But among the girls the most important reasons were requirement for household work (30.8 per cent), schools too far away (16.1 per cent) and cost of education (10.5 per cent). In case of boys only 0.7 per cent considered education to be unnecessary, the percentage was 5.6 in case of girls. In comparison to the boys, a high percentage of girls cited sibling care as the main reason for not joining schools. Among the girls who have dropped out from schools, the main reasons were household work, not having interest in studies, and cost of education. Marriage was cited to be the main reason for discontinuing education in case of 13 per cent of out-of-school girls.

Enrollment

In Arunachal Pradesh, the educational infrastructure continues to be inadequate, but its expansion over the past three decades or so has been impressive. Girls, as a result, have better access to schooling today in comparison with the past. Enrolment ratio among the girls in the age group 6-11 has gone up from 24.1 to 33.4 per cent, while in 11-14 age group it improved from 28.5 to 53.7 per cent during 1981 to 1991 (NHDR, 2001). Gross enrolment ratio (GER) is computed as the ratio of total enrolment at a particular level irrespective of the age of the children to the total population in the age group expected to be at that level of schooling. This ratio sometimes exceeds 100 per cent due to inclusion of over-aged and under-aged children. There is, however, a considerable inter-district variation in the GER in the state (Table: 4.9). Efforts have been made to strengthen the educational set-up particularly at the pre-primary and primary levels. The educational institutions now accommodate nearly 2 lakh students out of which 73.60 per cent are tribal. It is found that the sex-ratio among students first increases from 787 girls per 1000 boys at pre primary level to 830 girls at primary and 903 girls at middle school levels. The sex ratio then declines fast at secondary and tertiary levels dropping further to only 222 girls per 1000 boys at university level. Thus, as pointed out earlier, greater emphasis has to be given to expand access of the girls to higher education.

Table 4.9
Gross Enrolment Ratio (2000-01)

Districts	Primary	Rank	Upper Primary	Rank
Tawang	98.50	8	54.38	11
West Kameng	92.62	9	46.14	13
East Kameng	110.58	6	81.64	6
Papum Pare	123.07	4	100.01	3
Lower Subansiri	180.11	1	95.48	4
Upper Subansiri	131.53	3	73.20	8
West Siang	141.67	2	143.85	1
East Siang	120.64	5	120.54	2
Upper Siang	109.13	7	82.07	5
Dibang Valley	80.72	10	78.15	7
Lohit	62.41	13	53.62	12
Changlang	64.88	12	54.92	10
Tirap	74.47	11	66.50	9
Arunachal Pradesh	104.66		79.05	
All India	95.66		58.64	

Source : For Arunachal Pradesh ratios are estimated .For All India figures, source is Economic Survey 2001-02, Government of India, p - 110.

Drop-Out Rates

Improvements in enrolment, however, do not guarantee access to adequate levels of education. The drop-out rates in relatively underdeveloped regions are very high, more so in case of girls. Drop-out rates in classes I-IV for girls in Arunachal Pradesh have come down substantially from 72.2 per cent in 1981-82 to 45.10 per cent in 1998-99. It is still higher than the national average, but unlike in many other states, drop-out rate for girls in the state in this stage has been less than that for the boys. The drop-out rate in classes I-VIII for girls, similarly, has been reduced from 83.60 per cent in 1981-82 to 65.86 per cent in 1998-99. To draw a comparative picture, the drop-out rate for girls in the state in 1998-99 was much higher than that in Manipur and Nagaland and lower than Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura. During 1981-82 to 1998-99 the decline in drop-out rate in the classes I-VIII for girls was sharper in Arunachal Pradesh than that in Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura, while Manipur, Nagaland and Sikkim have achieved much more impressive declines in drop-out rates during the same period. In case of drop out rates in classes I-IX, girls in the state have a higher drop-out rate than boys. The drop-out rates of the girls in these classes are also high in Arunachal Pradesh in

comparison with many northeastern states such as Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland (NHDR, 2001).

Educational Infrastructure

Availability of educational infrastructure is an important pre-requisite for enhancing the scope of female education. There has been a steady expansion of educational institutions in Arunachal Pradesh over the past four decades at all levels. The schools at primary and middle levels have increased more than 11 times and 23 times respectively during the last forty years but this increase is sharper in case of secondary and higher secondary schools. However, the number of pre-primary and primary schools declined in 2000-2001 as compared with 1990-1991, primarily because a number of primary schools have been converted to middle schools. In 2001, there were one university, seven colleges, 68 higher secondary, 116 secondary, 333 middle, 1303 primary and 57 pre-primary schools in Arunachal Pradesh.

There has been significant growth of educational opportunities in Arunachal Pradesh in the post independence period, particularly since the 1980s, but crucial gender gaps in different dimensions of educational attainment continue to act as barriers to gender equality. The need to close the gender gap in literacy can hardly be overstressed, but for real empowerment of women in the state the focus has to be shifted to the quality and intensity of education of the girl child. Gender bias in levels of educational attainments can create and sustain critical deprivations, not only for females, but also for the entire society.

CHAPTER – V

LIVELIHOODS, WORK AND EMPLOYMENT

Access to employment and earnings is vital for having control over resources as well as for participation in decision-making processes, both within and outside the household¹. One of the fundamental aspects of gender discrimination, in almost all parts of the world, is the unequal access of women to gainful employment opportunities. A substantial section of women remain outside the job market and when they enter the job market they typically have less access to the well-paid, secure jobs. A majority of women work in the informal sector with low levels of earnings and pitiable working conditions. While the underlying causes of such differences in access to employment are complex and diverse, unequal opportunities for learning and education, socially constructed barriers, along with patriarchal ideologies have been found to be responsible for women's unequal participation in income generating employment opportunities.

The relatively lower levels of participation in paid-work, however, do not mean that women have lesser work burden. Typically women shoulder a disproportionately higher share of reproductive responsibilities, including child-rearing, caring and other types of domestic work. They also contribute substantially towards meeting the consumption and survival needs of the household members. Although women perform some of the most onerous and tedious tasks and spend a considerable time and energy in doing unpaid domestic work along with a host of 'productive' and income-generating activities, their contribution remains undervalued and unrecognised. In much of the developed and developing world, women's employment is constrained by a number of structural inequalities such as, relatively lower wage rates and fewer hours of paid work for females, sex-segregation in the job market, sex-stereotyping of jobs resulting in designation of women's jobs as unskilled, explicit barriers to entry for women in some segments of the job market, etc.

The key question that needs to be addressed in the context of economic transformation of Arunachal Pradesh is the changing patterns of gender division of labour and the underlying changes in social attitudes and stereotypes. In her pioneering work on the economic role of women during the process of economic development, Ester Boserup has shown that as a result of increasing population density and consequently, intensification of agriculture, shifting cultivation systems with collective

¹ This section draws substantially from the background paper prepared by the authors for the preparation for the Human Development Report of Arunachal Pradesh, as well as from Mishra (2004) and Upadhyay and Mishra (2004).

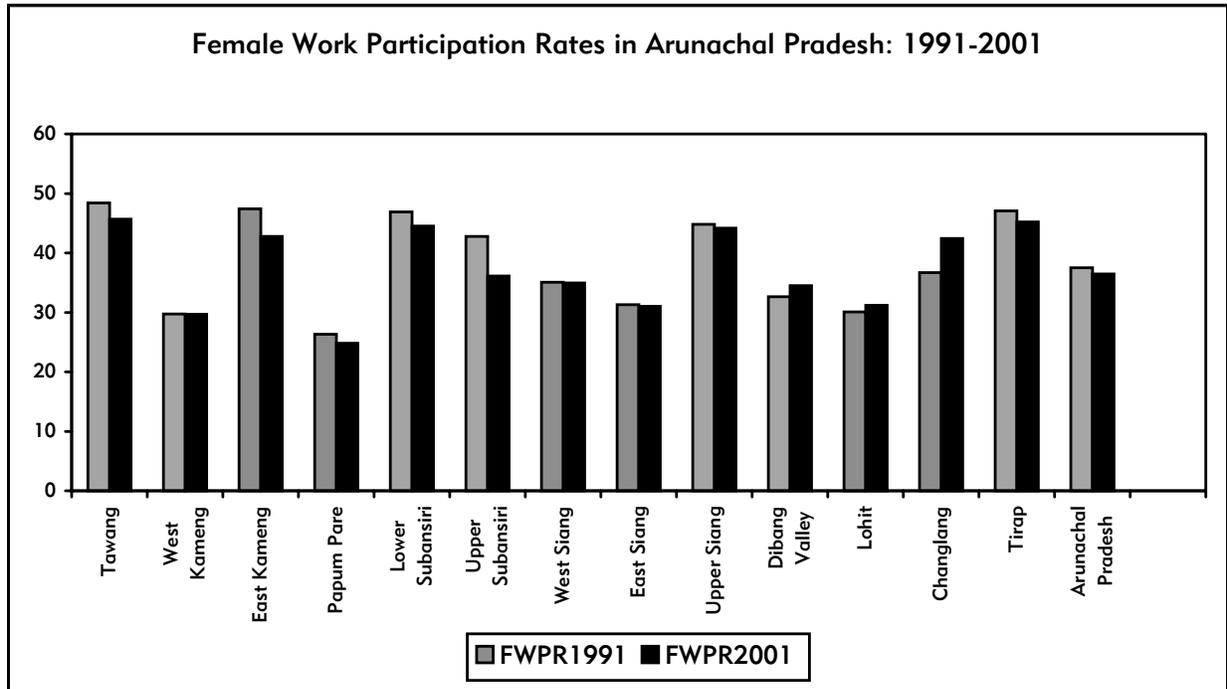
ownership over land are usually transformed into a system of peasant production with private ownership of land with use of animals for cultivation and transport. These changes are usually accompanied by significant changes in women's position (Boserup, 1970). Generally, privatisation leads to transfer of lands to males and marginalisation of women in production activities, which in turn lead to their marginalisation in society and in the household as well. 'Although there is no matriarchy in NEFA', noted Verrier Elwin in his *Philosophy for NEFA*, 'women hold a high and honourable position. They work on equal terms with the men in *Jhums* and make their influence felt in the tribal councils' (Elwin, 1957/99:28). However, the state has undergone a significant and multi-layered transition in past decades and gender roles within and outside the household are being redefined throughout this on-going transition. Across the state there is a great deal of diversity in the pace, direction and nature of changes in gender roles. While improvements in the levels of education, greater facilities for learning and skill formation along with improvements in infrastructure have opened up new employment opportunities for a section of women in the state, the gender gap in access to new opportunities continues to remain a cause of concern.

Work Participation Rates

The economic contribution of women, for a variety of reasons, remains systematically under-reported in the official data systems. The conceptual problems associated with valuation of unpaid and unaccounted work, perceptions of the interviewers, the social conditioning of the respondents as well as the social construction of work, along with other factors, have contributed to the underestimation of women's work. In case of Arunachal Pradesh, given the relative importance of subsistence production, and low levels of commercialisation of the economy, the problems of underestimation of women's work are expected to be far more serious.

Work Participation Rates in Arunachal Pradesh, during 1981-1991, for both males and females, tend to be higher than the national average. However, the gap between the two was wider in case of female work participation rate (FWPR). In 2001, FWPR of the state was 36.45 per cent in comparison with the national average of 25.68 per cent. The gap between male and female work participation rates in the state was lower than that at the national level. This can be attributed to the relatively higher percentage of ST population as well as the low levels of development in the state.

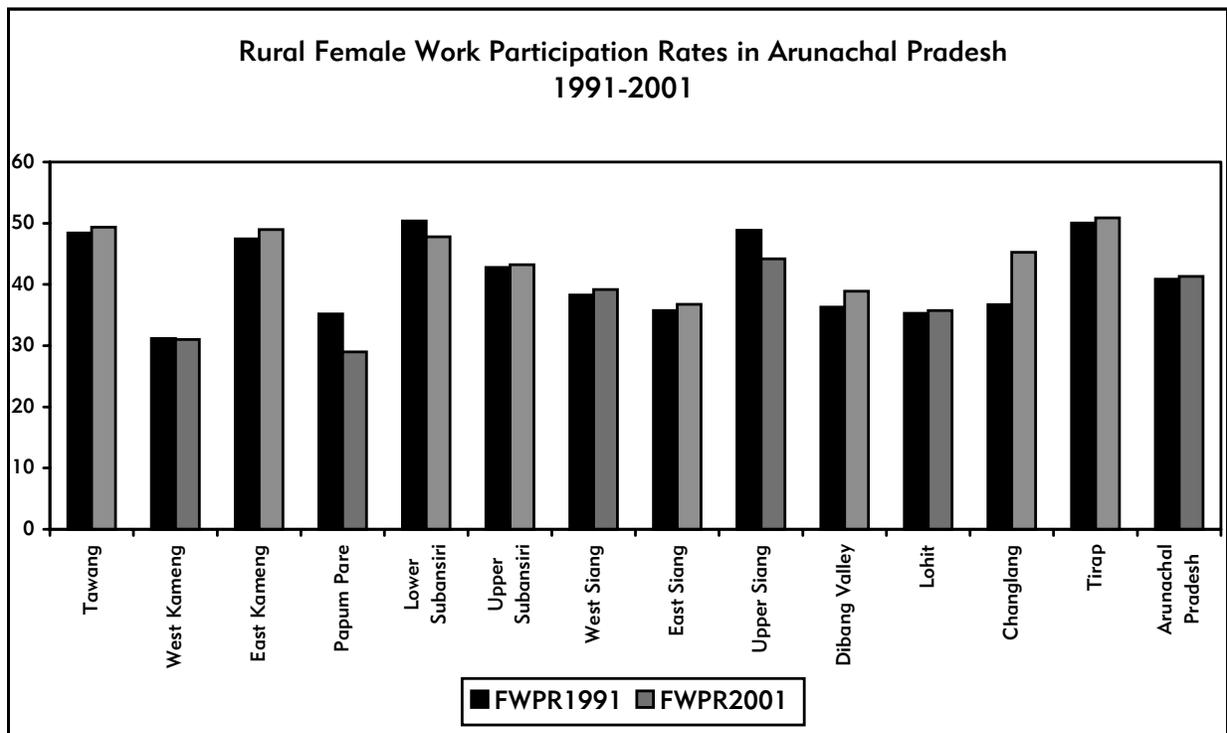
Figure: 5.1



The relationship between economic development and female work participation rate has been a widely-debated issue. Often it is conceptualised in terms of a U-shaped curve. At initial stages of development a good portion of non-agricultural productive activity takes place in households where females find it easy to combine their traditional domestic responsibilities with part-time productive endeavour. With movement to higher levels of development as the production structure gets more formalised, the scope of such informal work shrinks. A second set of arguments emphasizes the role of shrinkage in span of working age, resulting from greater consciousness of the need for learning rather than earnings in early years of life on the one hand and lowering of average exit age with the growth of organised sector on the other, in contributing to the decline of work of both males and females (Durand, 1975). At an advanced stage of development, spread of education among women, skill-acquisition as well as rising levels of living enhances the employability of women in the economy, particularly in the service sector, leading to rising work participation rates among females. FWPR in Arunachal Pradesh declined significantly from 51.28 per cent in 1971 to 36.45 percent in 2001, although an increase in FWPR was noticed in urban areas during 1991-2001. The decline in the overall FWPR in the state can largely be attributed to a strong decline in FWPR in rural areas. The work participation rate among males also exhibited a similar pattern. The gap between male and female work participation rates had been increasing during 1971-91 but in the 1990s it declined, partly because of a sharper fall in male work participation rate during the period. As expected, gender gap in work-participation is much higher in urban than the rural areas (Table 5.2).

At a disaggregated level, in 2001 Tawang, closely followed by Tirap had the highest FWPR, while Papum Pare the lowest. In case of urban female work participation rates, which are significantly below those in rural areas in all the districts, East Kameng is at the top while Lohit has the lowest value. The rural FWPR, which shows a great deal of inter-district variations, is highest in Tirap and lowest in Papum Pare. So far as gender gap in work participation is concerned, West Kameng has the highest and Lower Subansiri has the lowest gap in overall work participation. Gender gap in work participation is considerably lower in rural than in urban areas. West Kameng, followed by Lohit, has the highest gender gap in rural WPR while rural Lower Subansiri and Tirap have the lowest gender gap. Gender gap in WPR is significant in urban areas - it is highest in Tirap and Changlang and lowest in East Kameng and Lower Subansiri.

Figure 5.2



So far as the inter-temporal change in FWPR at the district level is concerned, during 1981-91, all the districts had registered a decline in FWPR with undivided Dibang Valley and Lower Subansiri registering the highest declines. During 1999-2001 FWPR declined in 10 districts, with Upper Subansiri and East Kameng showing the highest declines. Among the three districts, which have shown an increase in FWPR Dibang Valley, Lohit and Changlang the increase was highest in Changlang district.

Table 5.1
Rural Work Participation Rates in Arunachal Pradesh : 1991-2001

Districts	1991			2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Tawang	55.61	61.71	48.38	58.63	65.74	49.37
West Kameng	44.78	56.06	31.21	47.29	59.35	31.01
East Kameng	50.77	53.98	47.43	49.54	50.14	48.94
Papum Pare	43.60	50.72	35.19	36.53	43.53	28.96
Lower Subansiri	51.88	53.35	50.38	47.94	48.07	47.81
Upper Subansiri	47.38	51.37	42.78	43.97	44.70	43.24
West Siang	44.19	49.59	38.30	42.46	45.55	39.19
East Siang	42.86	49.37	35.72	41.09	45.23	36.74
Upper Siang	52.41	58.64	48.83	51.30	57.34	44.17
Dibang Valley	47.86	57.22	36.31	46.68	53.37	38.87
Lohit	45.98	54.92	35.27	44.52	52.13	35.73
Changlang	45.53	53.15	36.70	49.15	52.77	45.23
Tirap	52.82	55.25	50.06	51.19	51.48	50.87
Arunachal Pradesh	47.69	53.69	40.86	46.47	51.13	41.33

Note : Work participation Rates has been calculated for total workers which includes both Main and Marginal Workers.

Source : Census of India, 2001, Series-13, Arunachal Pradesh, Provisional Population Totals, Paper-3 of 2001.

Table 5.2
Urban Work Participation Rates in Arunachal Pradesh : 1991-2001

Districts	1991			2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Tawang	-	-	-	38.26	54.86	18.59
West Kameng	37.77	54.36	15.64	33.96	48.15	17.26
East Kameng	-	-	-	33.83	44.60	21.82
Papum Pare	35.64	53.20	14.10	36.12	49.71	20.66
Lower Subansiri	35.36	52.15	13.02	33.14	44.68	20.65
Upper Subansiri	-	-	-	30.80	42.94	17.11
West Siang	37.06	53.27	12.25	36.63	52.64	15.98
East Siang	34.90	51.96	12.10	30.59	45.93	13.30
Upper Siang	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dibang Valley	34.95	50.76	11.74	33.18	48.80	12.68
Lohit	37.21	56.65	8.28	31.16	48.15	10.45
Changlang	-	-	-	36.17	53.20	14.13
Tirap	40.42	61.78	8.81	35.80	55.49	11.49
Arunachal Pradesh	36.39	54.18	11.95	34.16	48.99	16.69

Note: Work participation Rates has been calculated for total workers which includes both Main and Marginal Workers.

Source: Census of India, 2001, Series-13, Arunachal Pradesh, Provisional Population Totals, Paper-3 of 2001.

Table 5.3
Combined Work Participation Rates in Arunachal Pradesh (Rural + Urban) 1991-2001

Districts	1991			2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Tawang	55.61	61.71	48.38	56.31	64.55	45.71
West Kameng	44.08	55.88	29.72	46.09	58.40	29.69
East Kameng	50.77	53.98	47.43	45.42	48.63	42.76
Papum Pare	40.22	51.78	26.31	36.32	46.71	24.79
Lower Subansiri	50.12	53.21	46.88	46.08	47.63	44.50
Upper Subansiri	47.38	51.37	42.78	40.22	44.17	36.12
West Siang	43.14	50.20	35.05	41.30	47.07	34.95
East Siang	41.24	49.94	31.31	38.45	45.41	31.01
Upper Siang	52.41	58.64	44.83	51.30	57.34	44.17
Dibang Valley	45.77	56.11	32.65	44.31	52.53	34.51
Lohit	44.12	55.31	30.09	42.04	51.38	31.16
Changlang	45.53	53.15	36.70	47.88	52.82	42.43
Tirap	51.79	55.85	47.08	48.84	52.13	45.23
Arunachal Pradesh	46.24	53.76	37.49	43.97	50.69	36.45

Note: Work participation Rates has been calculated for total workers which includes both Main and Marginal Workers.

Source: Census of India, 2001, Series-13, Arunachal Pradesh, Provisional Population Totals, Paper-3 of 2001.

Female Literacy and Female Work Participation

The inter-district variations in FWPR, to some extent can be explained through differences in levels of development. In 2001, FWPR in the districts was found to be negatively correlated with female literacy rate and the percentage of urban population to total population. In 1991 it was found to be positively correlated with the share of ST population in total population. In fact among the ST population, FWPR was found to be higher than that among the total population, particularly in rural areas².

Another significant dimension of women's work in Arunachal Pradesh is the relatively high proportion of marginal workers among the female workers. In 1991, of the total marginal workers in the state 87.31 per cent were females and only 12.69 per cent were males. Of the female marginal workers in the state 96.44 per cent reported household duties to be their main activity. Most of the

² The conclusion is drawn on the basis of 1991 data, as figures from 2001 census are not yet available.

marginal workers were engaged in agriculture - the percentages of cultivators and agricultural labourers among female marginal workers were 82.44 and 15.33 respectively. In 2001, of the total female workers 8.13 per cent were marginal workers, while among the males their percentage was only 4.60. Of the total marginal workers in the state, 61.23 per cent were females 2001. The relatively higher proportion of females among marginal workers signifies the additional constraints faced by females in entering 'productive' work as well as the patterns of household risk management where women's labour is kept as a buffer stock for bad weather to meet unexpected shortfalls in consumption or earnings.

Figure: 5.3

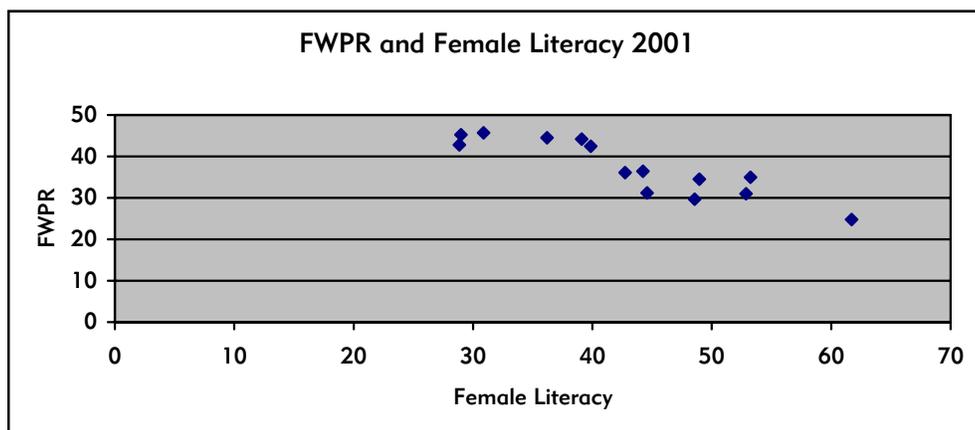


Table 5.4

Work Participation Rates in Arunachal Pradesh: 1971-2001

(Percentages)

		1971	1981	1991	2001
All Populations	Male	63.14	58.63	53.76	50.69
	Female	51.28	45.67	37.49	36.45
	Total	57.65	52.63	46.24	43.97
Rural	Male	62.78	58.50	53.69	51.13
	Female	52.27	47.64	40.86	41.33
	Total	57.88	53.42	47.69	46.47
Urban	Male	70.32	60.24	54.18	48.99
	Female	10.58	11.62	11.95	16.69
	Total	51.57	41.47	36.39	34.19

Note: (i) Work Participation Rates = {Total Workers (Main + Marginal) / Total Population} × 100

(ii) Figures for 2001 are based on provisional population totals.

Source: Census of India, 2001, Series-13, Arunachal Pradesh, Provisional Population Totals, Paper-3 of 2001.

Labour Force Participation Rate

Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR), defined as the proportion of persons who are either employed or seeking work in the age group 15 years and above, was 69.9 per cent in 1999-2000, as per NSS estimates. The female LFPR in Arunachal Pradesh was 54.2 per cent, significantly higher than the national average of 38.5 per cent. However, female LFPR in the state was lower than that of Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram.

The decline in female LFPR in the state, during 1993-94 to 1999-2000 was sharper than that in male LFPR. In rural areas of the state female LFPR has declined from 63.6 to 48.8 per cent while it has registered a marginal increase from 16.5 to 17.4 per cent in urban areas during the same period. It is important to note that, as per NSS estimates, during 1993-94 to 1999-2000, the growth rate in employment of males in the state was 0.5 per cent per annum, but female employment declined at the rate of 0.7 per cent per annum. Although in urban areas female employment has grown at the rate of 10.7 per cent per annum, in rural areas it has declined at the rate of 1.4 per cent per annum (NHDR, 2001).

Sectoral Distribution of Female Workforce

The occupational diversification of the workforce, particularly the shift of workers from low productive to high productive occupations, signifies better earnings and hence, better access to resources. In Arunachal Pradesh a substantial proportion of the female workers are engaged in agriculture. In 2001, 76.60 per cent of female workers were working as cultivators and 4.49 per cent as agricultural labourers. Thus, only 18.91 per cent were engaged in non-agricultural activities. The inter-district variation in percentage of female workers engaged in non-agricultural activities is quite high - ranging from 55.37 per cent in Papum Pare to only 7.98 per cent in Tirap. The percentage of female agricultural labourers to total female workers is highest in Dibang Valley, closely followed by neighbouring Lohit and it is lowest in Tirap.

The pattern of occupational diversification of workers in the state shows that female workers are moving out of agriculture, at a much slower pace than their male counterparts. For example, in 1971 among the total male main workers 68.78 per cent were engaged in the primary sector, only 0.66 per cent were working in the secondary sector and the rest 30.56 per cent were in the services. By 1991, the share of male workers in the primary sector had come down to 54.60 per cent and their shares in secondary and tertiary sectors had gone up to 12.34 and 33.06 per cent respectively. In contrast, the distribution of female workers in different sectors in 1971 was 97.11 per cent in primary, 0.14 per cent in secondary and 2.75 per cent in tertiary. In 1991, 89.93 per cent of female main workers were still engaged in primary sector, 2.21 per cent in secondary and 7.87 per cent in the tertiary sector (Table: 5.5).

Table : 5.5
Sectoral Distribution by Industries in Arunachal Pradesh: 1971-1991

Areas		Primary			Secondary			Tertiary		
		1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991
Total	Male	68.78	63.21	54.60	0.65	13.13	12.34	30.56	23.66	33.06
	Female	97.12	95.11	89.93	0.14	2.00	2.21	2.74	2.89	7.87
	Total	80.44	75.28	67.44	0.44	8.92	8.66	19.12	15.80	23.90
Rural	Male	72.30	68.00	62.34	0.55	11.85	11.09	27.15	20.15	26.57
	Female	97.38	96.10	92.61	0.11	1.74	1.87	2.50	2.16	5.52
	Total	82.92	79.08	74.13	0.36	7.87	7.50	16.72	13.06	18.37
Urban	Male	5.39	6.75	6.72	2.58	28.25	20.10	92.03	65.00	73.18
	Female	45.99	30.60	22.46	5.75	18.93	10.69	48.26	50.47	66.85
	Total	8.01	9.25	8.86	2.78	27.27	18.82	89.21	63.47	72.32

Source: Census of India, various years.

The Girl Child Worker

According to 1991 census, in Arunachal Pradesh 5.7 per cent of children in the age group 5 to 14 were working, which was marginally higher than the national average of 5.4 per cent. Although the percentage of working children in the state had come down from 11.3 per cent in 1981 to 5.7 per cent in 1991, the percentage of working girl children continued to remain higher than that of boys. In 1991, 6.7 per cent of girls and 4.6 per cent of the boys were working, as against 13.2 per cent of girls and 9.5 per cent of boys in 1981. The incidence of girl child worker was considerably higher in rural than in urban Arunachal Pradesh, but in rural as well as in urban areas of the state work participation rate of the girls was higher than that of the boys. In comparative terms, the percentage of working girls was higher in the state than any other state of the northeast except Meghalaya and Mizoram. The percentage of working girls in the 5-14 age groups is clearly not an adequate measure of the extent of prevalence of child labour – but it does clearly indicate that girls face significant disadvantages at a very early stage of their lives. Special attention has to be given to the additional constraints faced by the girl child workers in programmes aiming at elimination of child labour from the state.

Employment and Unemployment

As per NSS data unemployment among female workers has increased substantially in terms of usual status employment in the urban areas during 1993-94 to 1999-00 (Table: 5.6). While in the rural areas people belonging to the poorer section can hardly afford to remain poor, in the urban areas there is an increase in demand for jobs in Arunachal Pradesh. Between the 50th and 55th round of NSS

employment of females in rural areas as per usual status (US), current weekly status (CWS) and current daily status (CDS) has declined considerably.

Table: 5.6
Unemployment Rates in Arunachal Pradesh: 1987-88 to 1999-2000

(Per 1000 in the Labour Force)

Unemployment Rates			NSS Rounds		
			43rd (1987-88)	50th (1993-94)	55th (1999-2000)
RURAL	Male	US	-	17	9
		CW	2	18	11
		CD	2	19	13
	Female	US	-	3	1
		CW	-	4	1
		CD	-	4	1
URBAN	Male	US	44	17	14
		CW	38	17	24
		CD	42	18	22
	Female	US	9	77	100
		CW	9	72	91
		CD	9	73	65

Source: NSSO, 1990, 1996 and 2001.

Women's Employment: Qualitative Aspects

The earnings and other opportunities which are normally associated with employment are also influenced by the quality of employment. Although, we do not have enough data to objectively assess the quality of employment of female workers in the state, indirect evidence clearly suggest that female workers in the state generally work in low-paid jobs with little job security. First of all, an overwhelming majority of female workers in the state work in the unorganised sector. Secondly, even when they are employed in non-agricultural occupations, particularly in government services, a higher proportion of women workers are found in the lowest ranks of the job hierarchy. While the share of female workers in service sector expanded more than that of the male workers during 1971-91, this growth has also been accompanied by ghettoisation of women workers in the lowest paid jobs.

The quality of female workforce along with gender-based discrimination might be a cause of this. In 1991, while 55.9 per cent of the male main workers were illiterate, 87.9 per cent of female main workers were illiterate. In rural areas the percentage of illiterate among female main workers was

as high as 90 per cent. Only 1 per cent of female main workers had studied up to graduation and above. Even among the women workers who were engaged in non-agricultural sectors, the percentage of illiterates was as high as 54.06 in 1991. Among the female main workers working in 'other services', which in case of Arunachal Pradesh, mainly consist of those engaged in the government sector, 41.67 per cent were illiterate and 11.82 per cent studied upto primary level or below. Among the female workers in other services only 11.16 per cent had studied more than the higher secondary level in 1991. It means that even when there is a limited degree of diversification of occupation among the female workers, they typically get jobs in the low-skilled, low earning end of the spectrum.

Although we do not have data on the prevailing wage rates in different sectors of Arunachal economy and the regional variations in male and female wage rates, available micro-studies as well as the HDR survey suggest that female workers get lower wages than their male counter-parts, both within and outside agriculture. The gap is particularly high in the construction sector.

Livelihood Diversification and Women

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood 'encompasses income, both in cash and kind, as well as social institutions (kin, family, compound, village and so on), gender relations and property rights to support and to sustain a given standard of living' (Ellis, 1998). Thus, conceptually the livelihood approach goes beyond the usual emphasis on income³ and employment and brings in social institutions, which play a crucial role in determining the constraints and options of individuals and households.⁴ Multiplicity of livelihood sources helps rural households to diverse risks and manages uncertainty through allocation of resources across several non-co varying sectors. In some cases it is the ex-post coping-mechanism to production-shortfalls or entitlement-failures of various kinds. It is also a strategy to build upon complementarities of a range of activities (Start, 2001). Livelihood diversification strategies are followed both by the poor as well as the non-poor. Households diversify and complicate their livelihood strategies in order to increase income, reduce vulnerability and improve the quality of life. Livelihood diversification is not just *income* diversification – while the later refers to 'the composition of household incomes at a given instant in time', livelihood diversification concentrates on the social processes by which households are observed to engage in increasingly intricate portfolios

³ Income refers to cash earnings of the household plus payments in kind that can be valued at market prices. In the case of rural households, for example, the cash earnings typically include crop and livestock sales, wages, rents and remittances. This kind component of income refers to consumption of own-farm produce, payments in kind, and transfers or exchanges of consumption items that accrue between households in rural communities (Ellis, 1998).

⁴ Social institutions, which include rules of conduct, norms and expected behavioural outcomes, critically condition the access of households to land, CPRs and other tangible and non-tangible resources. Social norms on permissible courses of action of women, for example, may influence the livelihood options available for women compared to men (Dwyer and Bruce, 1988; Davis and Hossain, 1997 cited in Ellis, 1998).

of activities over time. Women in Arunachal Pradesh play a significant role in household livelihood diversification strategies.

Livelihoods in Arunachal Pradesh, like in many other states of the North-Eastern region are critically dependent upon 'environmental entitlements'⁵. A study based on a household level primary survey in four villages of West Kameng district⁶ found that almost all the households rely on multiple sources of livelihoods. The mean number of sources of earnings was found to be less than the mean number of sources of livelihood per households in all the villages. In the study villages, the significance of the forest resources lies in the centrality of forest-based resources as an additional and dependable source of livelihood, particularly for smoothening consumption. Among all the sample households around 16 per cent derive less than five per cent of their total income from forest resources, nearly 53 per cent have a forest dependency of 5 to 20 per cent, and more than one fourth of households have a forest dependency higher than 20 per cent. Needless to say, women and children play an important role in gathering forest resources for domestic consumption as well as for commercial use. The declining forest cover, particularly the degradation of forest near the settlements has meant extra work. The participation in non-farm agricultural labour markets, particularly by the rural poor, generally, is not in terms of a permanent occupational shift, rather it can be explained as a part of 'livelihood gathering' efforts on the part of the deficit households. The large and semi medium farmers, on the other hand, concentrate more on agriculture and trade and commerce activities. There is a gender dimension to this process as well, when male workers in small and marginal holder families move out to non-farm activities like government service or petty business, female workers tend to spend a comparatively higher percentage of working days on farm and forest activities. Another micro-study found that While male workers tend to spend a higher percentage of their working days as agricultural wage labourers the trend is reversed in case of percentage of working days spent in all types of wage labour, both agricultural as well as non-agricultural, because of the relatively higher participation of female workers in non-farm wage labour market (Mishra, 2002a).

⁵ Environmental entitlements, refer to 'alternative sets of utilities derived from environmental goods and services over which social actors have legitimate effective demand and which are instrumental in achieving well-being' (Gasper, 1993). 'The alternative set of utilities that comprise environmental entitlements may include any or all of the following: direct uses in the form of commodities, such as food, water or fuel; and the utilities derived from environmental services, such as pollution sinks or properties of the hydrological cycles' (Leach, Means and Scones, 1999: 233). These environmental entitlements play a crucial role in different aspects of livelihood security at the household level, viz, economic security, food security, health security, and empowerment, particularly in fragile ecological contexts (Jodha, 2001).

⁶ West Kameng district is characterized by a medium per capita district domestic product, a higher degree of occupational diversification of the workforce, a relatively higher share of in-migrants in total population, a lower cropping intensity and a lower yield rate for most of the crops in comparison with state averages. For details, see Mishra, 2003a.

Women in Micro-Enterprises

Micro-enterprises comprise of a wide variety of activities that include both high-end, growth-induced, well-integrated, technologically sophisticated enterprises with relatively higher levels of earnings as well as low-skill, low-earning, traditional occupations. Notwithstanding this heterogeneity within the sector studies show that micro-enterprises are characterized by their small sizes, informal networks, reliance on locally-available resources and labour-intensive and adaptive technology, informal sources of credit, and dependence on acquiring skills outside of the formal sector etc. Although a substantial proportion of micro and small enterprises (MSEs) are involved in trading and retailing ventures, many of them are also involved in value-adding manufacturing, servicing and processing activities. There is an urgent need to strengthen the participation of women in micro-enterprises in Arunachal Pradesh. The share of micro-enterprise⁷ in enterprises and employment has been presented in Table: 5.5 on the basis of the economic census of 1990 and 1998. It is found that the share of such enterprises was as high as 93 per cent, and these account for around 50 per cent of the total persons employed. There seems to be little inter-district variation in the share of micro-enterprises, which is lowest in West Siang (89.20) and the highest in Tawang (96.77) (Table: 5.7).

In 1998, hired labour constituted 76.29 per cent of all persons employed. Of the total persons employed in non-agricultural enterprises 76.48 per cent were hired labour. Of the total enterprises in the state in 1998, 6.78 per cent operated without premises and 80.22 per cent operated without power or fuel. In terms of social composition of the entrepreneurs 24.86 were owned by the STs, which largely consisted of the indigenous population of the state. Women entrepreneurs, particularly from the indigeneous communities are increasingly visible in such enterprises.

A recent study⁸, based on primary survey of 180 micro-enterprises in the state found that, the local ST entrepreneurs have a relatively higher share in some enterprises such as handicrafts, meat slaughtering, country liquor making, tourists and travel agents, auto rickshaws and retailing. Either these activities are closely connected with the traditional way of life (traditional textile weaving, meat slaughtering, liquor making) or are less skill-intensive (retail trade). The migrant entrepreneurs on the other hand, typically have a higher presence in skill-intensive activities, such as auto-repairing, fabrication units, furniture manufacturing along with a number of services. It is significant to note that among the local entrepreneurs, 70 per cent were women entrepreneurs. For start-up capital the women entrepreneurs have relied more heavily on loans from friends and relatives. Among women entrepreneurs only 37.1 per cent had some prior training. It is also important to note that the share of relatively less educated entrepreneurs, i.e. those who have studied only up to primary school or less, is higher among women (62.9) entrepreneurs. Many of these women entrepreneurs rely on multiple sources of livelihood and their enterprises have a greater probability of being operated seasonally or occasionally. So far

⁷ A micro-enterprise is defined here as an Own Account Enterprise or an establishment where 9 or less number of workers work.

⁸ See Upadhyay and Mishra, 2004, for details.

as employment in this sector is concerned, among the establishments surveyed 81.6 per cent reported preference for male workers, 13.6 per cent preferred female to male workers and 1.9 per cent were indifferent. In all the establishments where male and female workers are employed, women workers get lower wages than their male counterparts. Needless to say, given the expansion of micro-enterprises, particularly in micro-retailing and traditional manufacturing and processing activities, and the greater visibility of women entrepreneurs in these activities, there is an urgent need for a specific policy for promotion of these activities. Although some attempts have already been made to establish women self-help groups in the state under the centrally-sponsored schemes, the majority of women entrepreneurs in the state still depend on either their own savings or borrow from various informal sources.

Table: 5.7
Percentage Share of Micro-Enterprises and Employment in Arunachal Pradesh: 1990-98

Categories	Rural		Urban		Combined	
	Numbers	Employment	Numbers	Employment	Numbers	Employment
1990						
Agriculture						
OAE	58.59	30.89	57.94	35.38	58.52	31.38
Micro-Enterprise	94.16	66.82	99.21	95.61	94.77	70.44
Non-Agriculture						
OAE	45.56	16.20	36.40	8.31	43.36	13.48
Micro-Enterprise	93.36	47.86	88.11	34.27	92.10	43.18
Total						
OAE	46.31	16.87	36.96	8.60	44.12	14.08
Micro-Enterprise	93.40	48.72	88.39	34.93	92.23	44.09
1998						
Agriculture						
OAE	58.01	34.05	20.00	8.64	54.23	31.24
Micro-Enterprise	93.92	63.80	90.00	60.49	93.53	63.44
Non-Agriculture						
OAE	48.55	19.34	50.50	15.25	49.12	17.89
Micro-Enterprise	93.24	51.91	92.63	43.79	93.06	49.02
Total						
OAE	48.66	19.52	50.40	15.23	49.18	18.01
Micro-Enterprise	93.25	52.06	92.62	43.84	93.06	49.14

Source: Report on Economic Census, 1990 and 1998, Arunachal Pradesh

CHAPTER – VI

WOMEN IN DECISION-MAKING

Development, to be meaningful and sustainable, needs to be interpreted as expansion of freedom and choices. Informed participation in decision making, within and outside the household, is the only way towards making development inclusive and participatory. Women empowerment involves fundamental changes in the organization of decision-making processes. The expansion of freedoms cannot be made possible without guaranteeing the fundamental right to choose between alternatives. The capability to shape one's own future through legitimate and participatory processes of decision-making is of intrinsic value in any democratic society. But beyond that, guaranteeing the freedom of participation to everyone including the marginalised and oppressed is absolutely essential for deepening democracy.

Women in Decision Making Within the Households

The overwhelming dominance of patriarchal value-system denies effective rights of participation to women in various spheres. The structural inequalities in terms of relative deprivations in earnings, education, employability and overall well-being, creates strong barriers for informed and effective participation of women in decision-making, so far as the majority of the women are concerned. Along with that the internalization of patriarchal values by women themselves, through socialization processes and other means, makes the articulation of independent voices of women more problematic and difficult. In societies facing the challenges of modernization and possible integration into other dominant cultures, there is generally a strong emphasis to preserve a real or imagined 'pure', 'indigenous' culture. In such sharply polarized discourses on identity and culture, women's rights and concerns are often relegated to the background.

It is difficult to explain the status and position of women in Arunachal Pradesh in generalised terms. Given the substantial influence of traditional mores, community institutions and regionally differentiated socio-cultural practices, there are significant variations in the status of women within the indigenous communities. Traditional social differentiations as well as newly emerging economic differentiations within these communities have also an impact on the position enjoyed by women of different strata. Along with that, the migrations from different parts of the country, education, mass entertainment, media exposure and external cultural influences have been influencing the making of gender relations in the changing social milieu.

In the traditional value system of the communities, the relative supremacy of adults in general and earning adults in particular, vis-à-vis the children was near universal. Among some of the indigenous communities of Arunachal Pradesh, experienced old adults commanded greater respect and played a decisive role in decision-making. The changing values, disintegration of old family systems and differences in the world-view of the young and the old, in varying forms and degrees, have been changing the balance of power and authority within the households and clans.

So far as gender differences in intra-family decision-making processes are concerned, any generalization about the entire state, given the degree of inter-community heterogeneity, is bound to be partial. Gender relations in many of the migrant families, though not completely immune from the influences of the general social milieu of the state, are largely governed by the social conditions of the state or country of their origin as well as their relative social position in terms of the caste-class hierarchy within the original society. Among the indigenous communities, again, there is a great deal of difference in the relative position of women in decision-making, though by and large, it is argued that women enjoy greater autonomy in tribal communities. It is, however, equally important to note that in some communities in Arunachal Pradesh male dominance is found to be quite high. Again, within the communities where women enjoy some control over decision-making within the household, this participation is almost always enjoyed within well-defined and differentiated spheres of action and socially sanctioned parameters. The data generated by NFHS-II, to some extent, have captured these complexities.

In comparison to other parts of India women in Arunachal Pradesh seem to enjoy greater freedom of mobility and decision-making in some spheres. According to NFHS-II, among the female respondents, 84.1 per cent decide what items to cook, but when it comes to obtaining health care for one's own self, only 32.1 per cent of women take the decision alone, 35.9 per cent decide it along with their husbands (Table: 6.1). So far as decisions regarding purchasing jewelry or other major household items are concerned, only 15.7 per cent decide on their own while 56.8 per cent decide it with along with their husbands. Among the respondents 22.5 per cent take their own decisions regarding going and staying with their parents or siblings, 49.1 per cent decide it along with their husbands, while in case of 22.2 per cent the decision lies exclusively with their husbands. Among those who earn cash income 46.2 per cent can take decisions on how to spend it on their own, while 38.9 per cent take decisions with their husbands. In 13.6 per cent of cases women do not have any capacity to decide on spending their own earned money. The survey also reveals that 46.8 per cent of women do not need any permission to visit markets and 53.7 per cent do not need any permission to visit friends or relatives. Around 78.6 per cent have some access to money. There is no consistent pattern in rural-urban divide: while more rural women participate in decision-making regarding cooking and personal health care, a comparatively higher proportion of women participate in decision-making regarding purchasing jewelry or staying with parents or siblings in urban areas. Urban women also have greater access to money. It is interesting to note that educated women and those having a high

standard of living have less freedom of mobility, although they have a comparatively higher access to money than illiterate and poor women (Table: 6.2).

Table: 6.1
Participation of Women in Household Decision-Making in Arunachal Pradesh

Household Decision	Percentage of Ever-Married Women By Person Who Makes Specific Household Decisions						
	Respondent Only	Husband Only	Respondent with Husband	Others in Household Only	Respondent with Others in Household	Missing	Total
What items to cook	84.1	3.7	5.7	2.7	3.8	0.0	100
Obtaining Health-Care for Herself	32.1	27.7	35.9	2.3	2.0	0.0	100
Purchasing Jewelry or other Major Household Items	15.7	20.2	56.8	3.3	4.0	0.0	100
Going and Staying with Her Parents or Siblings	22.5	22.2	49.1	2.7	3.3	0.3	100
How the money she earns will be used*	46.2	13.1	38.9	0.5	1.3	0.0	100

Note: * For women earning cash.

Source: IIPS and ORC Macro, 2002(NFHS-II)

Table: 6.2
Participation of Women in Household Decision-Making By their Background Characteristics :
Arunachal Pradesh

Background Characteristics	Percentage Not Involved In Any Decision-Making	Percentage Involved In Decision Making On				Percentage Who Do Not Need Permission To		Percentage With Access To Money
		What to cook	Own Health Care	Purchasing Jewelry etc.	Staying with her Parents/ /siblings	Go to the market	Visit friends/ relatives	
Residence								
Urban	0.7	89.0	66.2	84.8	77.2	40.7	57.2	86.2
Rural	1.6	94.5	70.7	74.9	74.3	48.0	53.1	77.2
Education								
Illiterate	2.0	92.3	72.3	73.7	73.6	50.4	57.2	72.6
Literate < Middle School Complete	0.5	95.3	68.4	78.5	77.3	45.3	53.3	85.7
Middle School Complete	2.0	96.2	61.5	79.9	70.3	36.8	44.6	82.6
High School Complete and Above	0.0	92.8	73.9	81.9	81.5	45.3	49.0	88.4
Standard of Living								
Low	2.6	94.5	69.2	73.5	69.4	45.8	48.9	65.2
Medium	0.9	93.2	71.5	77.8	76.9	50.0	57.0	81.6
High	2.0	92.6	66.2	74.9	73.4	38.0	47.6	84.6
Total	1.4	93.6	70.0	76.5	74.8	46.8	53.7	78.6

Source: IIPS and ORC Macro, 2002(NFHS-II)

Political Participation of Women in Arunachal Pradesh

Throughout the world, in varying forms and degrees, there exists a considerable gap between men and women, in terms of their access to political power. However, as the HDR 1995 (UNDP) points out, significant progress has been made towards greater political participation of women at various levels. The need for political reforms to provide greater access to women in the decision-making process can hardly be overstressed. Gender equality cannot be achieved through a set of policies and

programmes alone; more fundamentally, it calls for a restructuring of the political, economic and socio-cultural goals and priorities. Given the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities between the sexes, women's empowerment has to be assigned a central place in the agenda of social transformation.

The road to parliamentary democracy covered by Arunachal Pradesh in a brief span of less than fifty years has more or less been smooth. The democratic political processes, institutions and practices have been gradually accepted by the tribal communities. The establishment of formal institutions of liberal democracy has neither been smooth nor uniform within various parts of the state. Elite capture of the political processes has been one of the fundamental aspects of governance in Arunachal Pradesh (Mishra and Upadhyay, 2004). In the post independence period, the most crucial aspect of political development that needs pressing attention is the near complete marginalisation of women in politics.

At present there are no women representatives from the state either in the parliament or in the state assembly. In the past, the share of women members in state legislative assembly has never exceeded 5 per cent. The highest number of women members in the sixty-member assembly has been only three. So far as parliamentary representation is concerned, no women member has ever been elected to the Lokasabha from the state. In the last twenty five years there was only one woman member of parliament from the state, who was elected to the Rajyasabha. Thus, at least in terms of representation in the formal structures of political power, women in Arunachal Pradesh remain completely marginalised.

Even today at the grassroots level, it is the traditional village-chief and the village councils, which play a crucial role in conflict resolution and administration of justice. These institutions are considered to be democratic and participatory, in spite of considerable diversity in their power, area of operation and modes of decision-making. Women are hardly allowed to play any role in these traditional institutions, although in recent years there have been some attempt to provide some space to them. The percentage of women village-chiefs was only 1.13 per cent in the state. In eight of thirteen districts there was not a single woman appointed as the village chief. The share of women village chiefs was highest in Dibang Valley – only 2.20 per cent. However, after the introduction of the three-tier Panchayati Raj System alongwith thirty three per cent reservation for women has altered women's position in grassroots level political institutions. For the state as whole, women's shares at the village, intermediate and district panchayat levels were 39.60, 34.99 and 33.82 per cent respectively in the recently concluded panchayat elections¹. The introduction of reservation for women in the decentralised institutions of governance may play a catalytic role in gradually eliminating the gender bias in sharing of political power in the state.

Women's share in top managerial and professional positions is considered to be one of the indicators of their empowerment. Unfortunately we do not have any data on the relative shares of

¹ The figures exclude Tirap district, where elections were not held.

males and females at such top positions. Anecdotal evidences suggest that there is hardly any presence of women at these apex decision-making levels. Given the low levels of industrialisation and the thin presence of the private corporate sector in the state, the share of women in top-level decision-making can be assessed indirectly by looking at their share in the top-level bureaucracy. In the top-levels of civil administration in the state, the share of women was found to be only 6.66 per cent in 2000-01.

CHAPTER – VII

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Economic prosperity and human well-being require efficient, just and non-discriminatory rule enforcement and monitoring mechanisms. One of the key determinants of a healthy and just social order is its treatment of vulnerable social groups and individuals. Increasingly the significance of human security is being stressed as a key element of human development, particularly in the context of conflict-ridden societies. Human security refers to freedom from hunger, torture, and imprisonment without a free and fair trial, discriminations against minorities and women, and domestic violence. The basic freedom from all these diverse forms of violence, along with the positive freedoms that allows each human being to enjoy life to the fullest without imposing constraints upon others engaged in the same pursuit, have to be guaranteed for all sections of the society (Upadhyay, 2002). Protection and freedom from violence is one of the fundamental aspects of basic human well-being in a rapidly changing world.

Table 7.1
Crime Against Women in Arunachal Pradesh: 1991to 2002

Years	Heads of Crime									Total IPC Crime
	Rape	Kidnapping Abduction of Women	Molestation	Cruelty by Husband or Relative	Sexual Harassment	Eve-Teasing	Dowry Death	Immoral Traffic Act	Total Crime against Women*	
1991	32	30	33	-	-	01	-	-	96 (5.16)	1861
1992	25	27	36	02	-	-	01	-	91 (4.99)	1822
1993	29	07	20	03	-	-	-	-	59 (3.78)	1560
1994	28	25	28	03	-	01	-	-	85 (4.54)	1873
1995	25	31	11	01	-	-	-	-	68 (3.55)	1917
1996	37	35	29	04	01	-	-	-	106 (5.50)	1927
1997	43	23	37	01	-	-	-	-	104 (5.54)	1876
1998	32	38	36	08	-	01	-	-	125 (7.52)	1663
1999	39	40	65	05	-	01	-	01	151 (6.67)	2263
2000	36	42	53	10	02	-	-	-	143 (6.04)	2367
2001	33	55	78	11	03	-	-	-	180 (7.69)	2342
2002	38	36	66	09	-	-	-	-	149 (6.69)	2228

Note: * Figures within brackets refer to crime against women as percentage to total crime.

Source: The Director General of Police, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

Crime against women is among the most reminiscent, traumatizing and politically explosive subjects in India. In the political mobilizations of and against social groups, cruelty against women has been used as a forceful political weapon as often women are not just victims of individual acts of violence. It significantly affects various aspects of their over all well being, such as self-esteem, mobility, psychological and emotional capabilities as well as freedom to lead a normal and healthy life. Conventional development indicators, even the human development indicators, have been criticised for their neglect of this aspect of women's well-being (Hirway and Mahadevia, 1996). Although the degrees and nature of violence directed against women vary across regions, classes and cultures, it is important to note that, often women feel more insecure in the most developed and well-communicated regions, particularly in the cities.

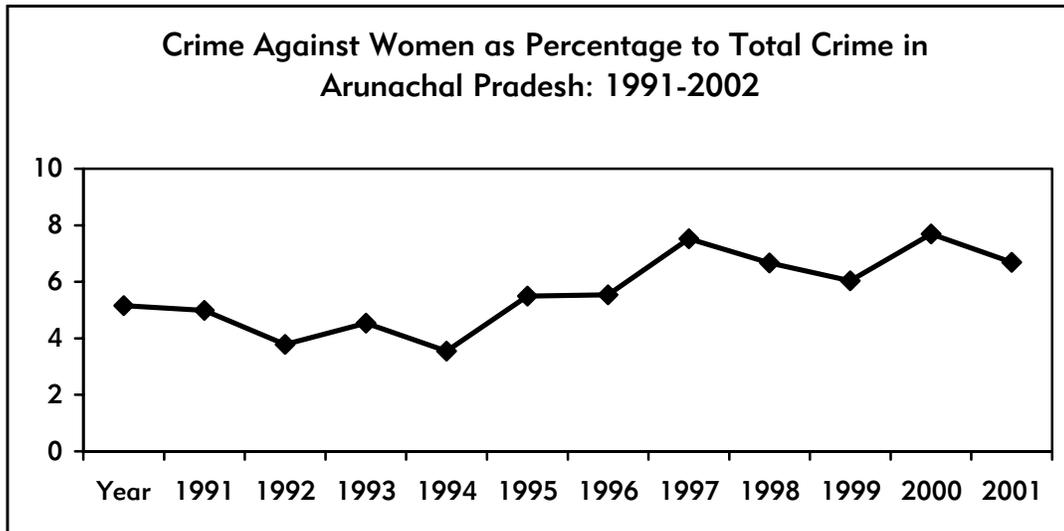
Table: 7.2
Crime Against Women: 2000-2002

Districts	As % of total crime	Per 10000 population
Tawang	8.97	1.103
West Kameng	2.80	0.402
East Kameng	8.54	1.985
Papum Pare	4.92	1.916
Lower Subansiri	6.43	1.091
Upper Subansiri	6.11	1.504
West Siang	9.59	2.987
East Siang	9.97	2.748
Upper Siang	8.02	1.298
Dibang Valley	8.53	2.142
Lohit	5.11	0.906
Changlang	4.24	0.558
Tirap	3.53	0.465
Arunachal Pradesh	9.59	0.595

Note : Calculations are based on average of three years – 2000, 2001 and 2002.

Source : The Director General of Police, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

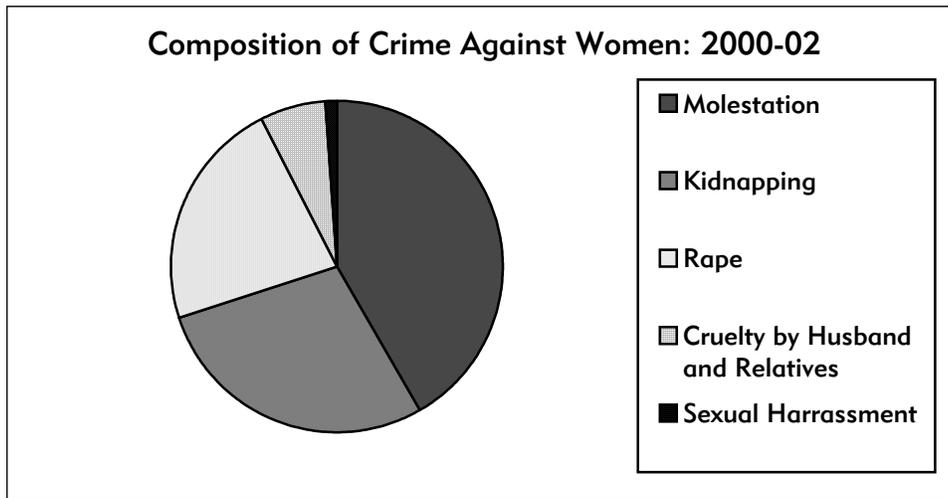
Figure 7.1



However, there are various problems in quantifying the extent of violence directed against women. Firstly, for a variety of reasons, such as the attached social stigma, distrust in legal mechanisms, fear of retaliation etc., most of the crimes against women go unreported. Secondly, it is often seen that some forms of violence are justified within the structure of socially sanctioned value systems, beliefs and practices. Many of these forms of violence go unnoticed and is hardly recognised as crime or violence. Domestic violence, for example, is hardly treated as a crime, even by the victims themselves. According to NFHS-II data, it has been found that domestic violence is wide spread even in the northeastern states. The study reveals that in Arunachal Pradesh, of the total respondents, 61.5 per cent had been beaten or physically mistreated at least once in past twelve months while 13.1 per cent had been beaten many times during the period. Tolerance as well as experience of domestic violence acts as significant barriers to women's empowerment.

In Arunachal Pradesh, the traditional community laws and institutions continue to play a vital role in conflict resolution and administration of justice at the village levels. The simultaneous existence, overlapping spheres of actions and fuzzy boundaries between the formal and informal legal frameworks make the situation all the more complex. The incidence of reported crimes and that of crime against women, by and large, are on the rise. The share of crime against women in total crime has gone up from less than five percent in early nineties to more than six percent during 1998-2002. So far as inter-district variations in the percentage of crime against women to total crime reported in the districts are concerned, during 2000-2002 it was highest in East Siang, closely followed by West Siang and lowest in West Kameng. The distribution of crimes against women over the districts is highly skewed: 20 percent was reported in West Siang while East Siang and Papum Pare contributed 15.25 and 14.83 per cent respectively. When we estimate the crime rate against women, i.e., number of reported crimes directed against women per ten thousand populations, it is found that West Siang followed by East Siang and Dibang Valley have the highest and West Kameng has the lowest crime rate against women.

Figure 7.2



It is difficult to draw conclusions regarding the security of women on the basis of these official statistics, partly because it may reflect a trend of higher *reporting* of crimes rather than higher *incidence* of crime, as the legal and policing infrastructure in the state is at an early stage of development. When we look at the composition of crime directed against women at the state level during 2000-2002, it is found that 41.74 per cent of the cases were related to molestation, 28.18 percent to kidnapping and 22.67 percent to rape, while cruelty by husband and relatives accounted for 6.35 per cent of the total reported crime against women. It may be noted that the nature of rape, according to NGO activists, has undergone a change in Arunachal Pradesh – while in the past, in many of the cases it took the form of forced marriages, in recent years rapes, like elsewhere, are just a brutal criminal assault on women.

Women typically become easy targets of violence in areas of prolonged and chronic conflicts. In parts of the state, where there has been an recent upsurge in insurgency, women face constraints not just as victims of violence but also in terms of denial of opportunities and options, which would otherwise have been available to them under normal circumstances.

Two major steps need to be taken urgently by the government as well as the civil society in Arunachal Pradesh, so far as reducing crime against women is concerned. Firstly, concrete steps have to be taken to prevent the occurrence of crime against women and secondly, there is an urgent need for awareness building and gender sensitisation campaigns both within the law enforcing agencies as well as the general public to reduce the number of unreported crimes against women. There is also a need to prepare a more comprehensive and gender sensitive database on the complaints lodged, and action taken on harassment of women both in the formal and informal institutions.

Table: 7.3
Crime Against Women in Arunachal Pradesh during the Year 1991to 2002

Years	Heads of Crime									Total IPC Crime
	Rape	Kidnapping Abduction of Women	Molestation	Cruelty by Husband or Relative	Sexual Harassment	Eve-Teasing	Dowry Death	Immoral Traffic Act	Total Crime against Women*	
1991	32	30	33	-	-	01	-	-	96 (5.16)	1861
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1999	39	40	65	05	-	01	-	01	151 (6.67)	2263
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2002	38	36	66	09	-	-	-	-	149 (6.69)	2228

Note: * Figures within brackets refer to crime against women as percentage to total crime.

Source: The Director General of Police, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar.

CHAPTER-VIII

BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY : ISSUES THAT NEED FURTHER RESEARCH

As the relatively isolated communities of Arunachal Pradesh are being exposed to new forms of economic, political and social organizations, cultures and ideas, enormous changes are also taking place with regard to the construction of acceptable social norms and practices, many of which have tremendous implications for gender relations in general and the position of women in particular. The sheer enormity of these far reaching changes and the speed in which they have been introduced has unsettled many of the age-old institutions, beliefs and practices. The life-world and world-view of the communities have been transformed in diverse and complex ways. The transitions in gender relations, both in individual and collective levels are yet to be documented and analyzed by researchers. Further, the wide variations across space, altitudes and communities make any generalization patently difficult. What follows therefore is just a description of few issues, which need to be further studied, discussed, and contextualised. Even there are some doubts regarding the appropriateness of the 'concepts' and terms, which have been used to describe the concerned social phenomena. Nevertheless, our interactions with women and activists have made us realize that these questions need to be posed to understand the complexities of the situation in which women of Arunachal Pradesh find themselves.

Bride Price

In many of the indigenous communities, the bridegroom's family has to make some payments, generally in terms of *mithuns*, pigs, ornaments and other valuables. Like in many other tribal communities, this practice was rooted in the traditional context where loss of a working hand was seen to be compensated through such an exchange at the time of the marriage. The practice is often seen as a reflection of a better social status of women, particularly in contrast to the system of dowry prevalent elsewhere. Recent and more careful research, however, has questioned such causal interpretations. With modernization, however, the attitude towards this practice has been changing. Is bride price, in the changing context, recognition of women's productive contribution to the household economy, or is it a devaluation of women's position? A comparatively recent phenomenon is the payment of dowry by some among the better-off sections of the society. There are also some objections being raised to the use of the term 'bride-price' for marriage gifts, on the grounds that even the girl's family has to reciprocate in terms of payments of gifts to the bridegroom's family.

Child Marriage

A related problem is that of child marriage. In some cases parents of girl children take the bride price in advance and the girl is 'booked' for marriage. Such a practice obviously denies the basic rights of the girl. There are indications that the practice, is in the decline. There is an urgent need to eliminate this practice completely.

Polygamy

In many of the communities in Arunachal Pradesh, polygamy has been in practice since long. Although we do not have dependable data on the proportion of polygamous marriages in the state, informed observers feel that the system has been in the decline. However, a 'new polygamy' could be seen in recent years where polygamy is fast becoming a status symbol among the neo-rich and elites. Women groups in the state have voiced concerns about the rise of such cases among the educated elite.

Migrant Women Labourers

Over the past decades, a large number of migrant women workers have been working in various sectors in Arunachal Pradesh. Many of these migrant women workers are engaged in the unorganized sector. Like elsewhere in the country, unorganized sector workers are deprived of social security provisions. Further, those female workers working in the road construction sector, who often live in 'labour camps', are deprived of basic health care and other facilities. There have been cases where their employers and co-workers have exploited them. There is a need for monitoring the working conditions of these workers.

Women and Traditional Community Laws

There is a great deal of variability in the traditional community laws governing the lives of people in rural areas of the state¹. Many of these laws affect women's well-being and rights. In recent years there have been attempts to codify these laws. However, some women activists feel that there is an urgent need for careful codification of these laws in the light of the changing social context and gender justice.

Women and Property Rights

The transition from collective to private ownership over land, evidences from different parts of the world suggest, generally results in concentration of private ownership over resources in the hands of males. Arunachal Pradesh has been undergoing this transition during the last few decades. As there has been no cadastral survey in the state it is difficult to estimate the pattern of ownership over land. Moreover, access to land is governed and monitored by the village communities with little interference from the state machinery, notwithstanding the recent efforts to codify land ownership and management

¹ See Annexure-III for details.

laws. Given women's marginalised position in the traditional community based institutions, women get disinherited as community resources, particularly land, are being privatised. Generally, the inheritance laws of the communities of Arunachal Pradesh do not allow women to inherit the landed property (Pandey et al, 1997).

CHAPTER – IX

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES FOR EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

The role of the state in ensuring the equality of opportunity and dignity to women has been widely accepted. As a result of the struggle for greater gender justice at various levels, gender concerns are being increasingly made an integral part of various state-sponsored development and welfare programmes. As such the objectives of creating a just, democratic and prosperous society will remain unfulfilled without ensuring the equality of opportunities for all the marginalized groups in the society, including women.

As it has already been mentioned, women in Arunachal Pradesh face additional constraints because of the relative backwardness of the state itself. However, various schemes initiated by the Government of India for helping the disadvantaged women as well as women's empowerment are being employed by various departments and agencies in the state. Some of the important programmes currently being implemented in the state for the welfare of the women and the girl child are discussed below¹.

Reservation for women in Panchayat Bodies

In order to ensure participation of women in the political process, thirty three per cent seats in the three tier Panchayat Raj System has been reserved for women in the state. The Panchayat elections held in April 2003, has opened up a new chapter in the political history of the state. In total 3,183 ST women have been elected to different Panchayat bodies. Due to their exposure at the grassroot level, in future, women are expected to participate more actively in the political arena in the state.

Integrated women's Empowerment Programme (IWEP)

The vision of the IWEP, which was created by recasting the Indira Mahila Yojana (IMY), is to develop empowered women who will:

- Demand their rights from family, community and government;
- Have increased access to, and control over, material, social and political resources;

¹ The following discussion is primarily based on information provided by various departments of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

- Have enhanced awareness and improved skills; and
- Be able to raise issues of common concerns through mobilization and networking.

The immediate objectives of the programme are:

- Establishment of self-reliant women's Self Help Groups (SHGs)
- Creation of confidence and awareness among members of SHGs regarding women's status, health, nutrition, education, sanitation and hygiene, legal rights, economic upliftment and other social, economic and political issues;
- Strengthening and institutionalizing the savings habit in rural women and their control over economic resources;
- Improving access of women to micro-credit;
- Involvement of women in local level planning; and
- Convergence of services of Department of Women and Child Development and other departments.

Swayamsidha

Under the IMY only one ICDS project which was launched in Tezu-Namsai in Lohit district was launched in 1995-96 and 62 SHGs have been promoted. The following numbers of SHGs have been formed during 2002-03 under Swayamsidha: Sagalee in Papum Pare district (76), Roing in Dibang Valley district (67), Buragaon in West Kameng district (53) and Tezu in Lohit district (62). In total 102 SHGs were operating in the state during 2001-02. From 1995-96 to 2002-03 the Government of India under this scheme has released a total amount of Rs. 20,31,000. Out of the sanctioned amount only Rs. 6,11,56 has been spent so far. Thus, around 70 per cent of the fund released by the central government has remained unspent.

Kishori Shakti Yojana

Kishori Shakti Yojana is a part of ICDS programme with an intention to improve the condition of Adolescent Girls in the age group of 11-18 years in the field of health and hygiene, nutrition, education, family welfare, self awareness and development, special status etc. So far the following steps have been taken up by the state government.

- 2 ICDS Projects in the State have been selected for implementation of this programme. Necessary instruction/guidelines received from the ministry has been issued to all concerned CDPOs to under take necessary survey to identify the eligible beneficiaries.
- During 2003-04 state government has sanctioned an amount of Rs. 23,10,000/ @1,10,000/ per project for implementation of KSY.

- Due to non-receipt of up to date information from the concerned projects the Annual Action Plan is still under process.

Health Facilities for Women

The Family Welfare Branch of the Directorate of Health Services, Government of Arunachal Pradesh is implementing the reproductive and Child Health Programme (RCH), which is a 100 per cent centrally, sponsored scheme. The Major focus in this programme is delivery of need based, client centred, good quality, and comprehensive reproductive and child health services to all beneficiaries in an integrated manner. Although the Government of India formally launched the RCH programme in October 1997, its implementation in the state effectively began in 1999-2000. The major schemes under the RCH programme intended specifically for improving the health status of the women and children are as follows.

- 1. Safe Motherhood Scheme:** A significant proportion of maternal death is due to unsafe abortion. For expanding and strengthening safe abortion services, under this scheme, Medical Termination of Pregnancy (MTP) trained doctors are appointed as Safe Motherhood consultants in 2-3 selected PHCs, where they have to attend every fortnightly. In addition to MTP services the consultants also provide Family Welfare advices and Post Natal Care.
- 2. 24-Hour Delivery Services:** In order to motivate the women to seek delivery in PHCs and CHCs, arrangement of medical/para-medical staffs at the health centers beyond the normal working hours are made by providing additional honorarium for the staffs.
- 3. RCH Camps and Out-Reach Services:** In order to increase access to RCH services in remote and underserved areas a scheme for holding RCH Camps at PHCs has been initiated during 2000-01. The scheme is being implemented in five districts of the State – East Kameng, Upper Subansari, Kurung Kumey, Upper Siang and Tawang. The Out-Reach Services scheme is being implemented in East Kameng District on a pilot basis.
- 4. Vande Mataram:** The main objective of this scheme is to provide ante-natal check-up and to supply Iron Folic Acid tablets. Under this scheme gynecologists of private hospitals are identified to provide ante-natal check up and give general advice on reproductive health care once a month free of cost. Given the inadequate number of private hospitals and gynecologists in the state, government doctors are performing this job.
- 5. National Maternity Benefit Scheme:** This scheme is basically meant for motivating the expectant mothers to deliver their child at the health centers. An incentive of Rs 500 is given to the expectant mother if she (a) delivers at the Health center, (b) Is above the age of 19 Years, (c) Belongs to a house hold which is below the poverty line, and (d) does not have more than two children.

- 6. Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques Act:** The Act prohibits determination and disclosure of the sex of the foetus and also prescribes punishment for any advertisement relating to pre-natal determination of sex.

Women Beneficiaries of Rural Development Schemes

The various rural development schemes undertaken by the Department of Rural Development, Government of Arunachal Pradesh covers many women beneficiaries. All these schemes are exclusively for Arunachal Pradesh Scheduled Tribes (APST). However, the percentage of women beneficiaries of many of the programmes are far from satisfactory. For example, In 2001-02, only 25.1 per cent of the beneficiaries in Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) were Women, where as under the scheme 40 per cent should have been reserved for Women.

Under Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana (SGRY), out of the 18.39 lakh mandays claimed to be created in the year 2001-02, 29.20 per cent were for women. Similarly, of the 3118 houses constructed under the Indira Awas Yojana, 1340 were for women beneficiaries and 935 were jointly held in the name of both the spouses.

Encouragement to Women Entrepreneurs

In order to help women entrepreneurs the following steps have been taken by the government of Arunachal Pradesh.

- Under the Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana (PMRY) scheme, so far 390 women have been assisted and provided self-employment during the past five years.
- In it, 25 per cent of seats have been reserved for female candidates.
- The Department of Industries in collaboration with various other institutions has been organizing Entrepreneurship Development Programmes and Industrial Management Trainings, in which women have been given preference for participation.

Schemes for Women's Education

The government is attempting to increase the female literacy rates through various measures including the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA). At present girls are 44 per cent of the total enrolments in the state. The following special incentives are provided to girl students.

- Free textbooks from class I to XII.
- Stipend in lieu of ration for hostel boarders for ten and half months in a year.
- Special incentives of Rs. 5000 per girl to discourage early marriage till completion of class ten.
- Cooked mid-day meals for all children from class I to V.

- Girl students who are one time repeater in a class are allowed hostel boarders stipend to avoid drop out and encourage them for continuation of their studies.

Balika Samriddhi Yojana (BSY)

The Balika Samriddhi Yojana (BSY) a 100 per cent centrally sponsored scheme is also being implemented in the state. The objectives of the programme are as follows:

1. To change negative family and community attitudes towards the girl child at birth and towards her mother.
2. To improve enrolment and retention of girl child in schools.
3. To raise the age at marriage of girls.
4. To assist the girl to undertake income generating activities.

The BSY covers girl children in families below the poverty line, both in rural and urban areas, who are born on or after 15 August 1997. The components of this yojana are:

- A post-birth grant amount of Rs 500/.
- Annual Scholarship for each successfully completed years of schooling.

In 2001-02, 1687 girls had been covered under the scheme.

State Commission for women

The state government has recently established a State Commission for Women as per the Arunachal Pradesh Commission for Women Act.

CHAPTER - X

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Eliminating gender based discriminations and building a just social order requires fundamental changes at various levels. For a state like Arunachal Pradesh it is important to conserve those aspects of its traditional ethos, which are egalitarian. At the same time care has to be taken so that the new opportunities are accessible to both men and women. The collective role of government, civil society institutions and the intelligentsia would be crucial in moving towards these goals. Huge challenges remain before Arunachal Pradesh in achieving gender equality in access to health, education and earnings. There is a clear need for mainstreaming gender concerns in the overall policy-making and implementation of various government-sponsored programmes. Adequate representation and participation of women in decision-making has to be ensured through affirmative action at various levels. However, the goal of eliminating discriminatory and gender oppressive beliefs and practices cannot be realized without meaningful civil society initiatives. The success of any targeted programme, however, will remain limited unless there is a holistic transformation of the overall framework of governance and decision-making to make it a more inclusive and participatory, as 'capabilities are an interlocking set; they support one another, and an impediment to one impedes others' (Nussbaum, 2002:294).

While equality and empowerment of women require actions in a number of areas, few areas stand out as most critically important for achieving the equality of women with men. These are:

- *Enhancing women's capabilities.* In spite of the fact that new opportunities have come up for a section of the women in Arunachal Pradesh, particularly in the last few decades, there is a wide scope for making these choices accessible to a larger section of women. Notwithstanding the significant gains in bridging the gender gaps in education and health the pace of progress has been inadequate and uneven within the state.
- *Expanding opportunities for women.* Without improving the opportunity to earn income or to participate in decision-making forums, Arunachalee woman's concerns and potentials will remain marginalised and hostage to patriarchal prejudices.
- *Ensuring legal justice to women and*
- *Building and strengthening institutional machinery* to ensure implementation and monitoring of gender-empowerment policies.

Some of the specific measures that need to be undertaken to empower women are outlined below.

Equality of access to capability building

In spite of the fact that there have been some improvements in capability building of women and girls in Arunachal Pradesh still a lot more has to be done in this regard. The following steps should be taken in this direction.

- Universal quality primary education has to be introduced in those districts of the state, which have low female literacy rates, such as Kurung Kumey, East Kameng, Tawang Tirap and Upper Subansari. Area specific, targeted programmes should be implemented so as to enhance women's access to education.
- There is an urgent need for making higher and technical education more accessible to women. To reduce gender disparity in healthcare, the following core strategies are suggested.
- High infant and maternal mortality rates has to be checked by the state in a big way by introducing time bound schemes and importance must be given to strengthening of health infrastructure in the underdeveloped and far flung districts of the state.
- People must have access to improved health services in the rural areas and special emphasis must be given to improvement of reproductive health both in terms of quantity and quality.

Equality of economic opportunity

In order to ensure economic equality in the state the Government should take into consideration women's economic capabilities, economic circumstances and the level of economic development of the state. Intensive efforts are required in the following areas.

- Priority has to be given to expansion of employment opportunities for women in the public sector. Steps also have to be taken to move women out of gender-segregated employment and enhance their access to non-traditional, locally viable and innovative occupations.
- Both in the formal and informal sector there is a pressing need to implement the legally prescribed equal and minimum wages for women and men.
- Women entrepreneurs, especially in micro-enterprises need to be encouraged through skill-enhancement and effective credit-support mechanisms. Emphasis should be given to launching of micro-credit schemes targeting women in urban informal sector and rural non-farm sectors.
- In order to improve women's access to economic opportunities, a Women Development Corporation should be set up.
- Exhaustive, reliable, accurate and gender-disaggregated database on various aspects of women's economic activities and well-being needs to be created for effective policy-formulation.

Equality in governance

Women in Arunachal Pradesh are nearly invisible in the governance structures. Hence bold policy initiatives with long term commitment to implement changes that are truly comprehensive are the need of the hour.

- Participation and representation of women in judiciary, legislative and executive bodies should be made compulsory.
- There must be a legal binding on political parties so as to reserve some minimum quota for women in party decision-making institutions as well as while giving party tickets during elections.
- There must be capacity enhancement of women in governance structures as well as other sectors through training and access to information.
- In order to achieve gender equality in governance there should be gender-sensitisation training programme for male civil servants, legislatures as well as members of local governments.
- Establishment of a state Commission for Women has opened up new possibilities in addressing many of the problems faced by the women in Arunachal Pradesh. There is a need to strengthen and support the commission to make it a powerful and active institution.

REPORT OF THE VISIT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION OF WOMEN TO ARUNACHAL PRADESH

The National Commission for Women (NCW), a statutory body set up under the National Commission for Women Act 1990, is mandated to evaluate the status of the women under the States and Union Territories in the country. The Commission is also mandated to participate in and advise on the planning process of the socio economic development of women under the Union and the States. In pursuance of this mandate, the Commission has been visiting the States/Union territories of the country and has been preparing gender profiles of women of all the states.

The Commission visited the State of Arunachal Pradesh from 25th To 27th October, 2004. The team of the Commission for the visit to was headed by Smt Nirmala Sitharaman, Member, NCW. The other members of the team were Smt. Nita Kapoor, Jt Secy, NCW and Ms. Nandini Thockchom, Project Coordinator. The team held an interactive session with the NGOs, Women Activists, Lawyers, elected representatives on the 27th October, 2004. The interactive meeting was inaugurated by the, NCW. There were about 50 participants in the interactive meeting. The issues raised by the NGOs etc during the interactive session were discussed with the officers of the state in a meeting held on 27.10.04 with the Chief Secretary of Arunachal Pradesh. The position on the issues along with the response of the Government are given in the following paragraphs.

Positions Relating To Crimes Against Women:

Viewpoint of NGOs

- Polygamy was a major concern with cases of men having even upto 18 wives
- Child marriage was common among some tribes but it's on the decline with greater awareness
- Effective legislation on sexual harassment and other atrocities on women is needed
- Police are not sensitive to gender issues
- Need for gender sensitization programme among the lower rung of the police personnel
- Institution of the State Women's Commission to address all the problems and atrocities the women in the state are facing.

Government's response:

Cases related to dowry are not prominent in the state. Jail administration is a neglected field in the state. Complaint Committees have not been established in the workplaces, though the orders have been issued. A State Women's Policy is in the process of its formulation. The Government assured that they will organize a State level consultation with the NGOs to ensure transparency in the formulation of the State Policy for women.

Commission's stand:

A separate women's cell in jail and a speedy trial of the women convicts should be ensured. The Supreme Court guidelines to set up Complaints Committee in the work places are mandatory and are to be complied with. The government should take measures to increase the proportion of women in the police department to 33%. The nodal offices should not be instituted only after the crimes are committed.

Condition of women in jails:

Viewpoint of NGOs

- There are no separate jails for women in the state. In villages, the settlement of cases is through the Village Councils and women are kept at the Katoki's house (a person appointed by the Govt.) till the case is settled.

Issues in Education:

Viewpoint of NGOs

- Improvement/establishment of infrastructure particularly in the remote hill areas.
- Construction of hostels for girls for the remote areas especially in the hills.
- To undertake research and find out the reasons behind the high dropout rate of girls.
- Certain checks to be conducted for the teachers' attendance in the schools and appointment of adequate number of teachers.
- Mid day meals to be implemented thoroughly.
- Most of the Adult Education centres were lying defunct due to non-availability of teaching aids
- Need for effective monitoring of the Condense Education Course taken up by the Social Welfare Advisory Board to help dropouts

Government response:

Regarding mid-day meals the Supreme Court directed to provide cooked meals but the provided only rice. The state has made rapid progress in raising the female literacy from only 14.02% in 1981

to 44.24% in 2001. Among the ST population the literacy has gone up from 7.31% in 1981 to 24.94% in 1991.

Commission's stand:

There is a need to bring about awareness among the people. The government should send worked-out action plans on infrastructure, appointment and posting of teachers, provision of mid-day meals, establishment of girls' hostels and financial and other subsidies given to the students particularly the girls. The female literacy is an encouraging factor. The government has to ensure that this rate only increases.

Economic empowerment:

Viewpoint of NGOs

- There is no State Policy for Empowerment for women.
- Capacity building and training in resource mobilisation of women below poverty line.
- To provide appropriate affordable rural technology to women belonging to the weaker section.
- To promote self help groups in the hill areas.
- Women are not very clear about the schemes of the govt. available for them
- Gap of communication between the Project officials in the state and the people
- Women typically get jobs in the low-skilled, low earning end of the spectrum.

Laws relating to women:

Viewpoint of NGOs

- Customary laws to be modified to become more women friendly and the process of codification should start
- Review of Customary Law Bill has been taken up by the State Deptt. Of Law and Women felt that they should be consulted in the process and that they were in the dark about the Bill (Arunachal Protection of Customary Laws and Social Practices Bill, 1994) and the Govt has not been very transparent.
- The State Commission for Women Act was passed in 2002 but the Commission has not been constituted so far. This shows lack of political will.

Government's response:

The Government assured that with the new change in Government, the State Commission for Women will be formed at the earliest.

Commission's stand:

The government should enact inheritance laws giving women equal rights and initiatives should be made to modify the customary laws to make them more gender sensitive. State Women's Commission should be set up at the earliest..

Reservation of seats:

Viewpoint of NGOs

Commission's stand and Government's response- Job reservation was discussed only with reference to police personnel (See crime against women).

Panchayat Raj Institutions:

Viewpoint of NGOs

- Reservation for women has been implemented but the devolution of financial and administrative powers is not yet complete.

Government's response:

The Finance Commission which has been formed to look into the modalities of the devolution of powers is yet to submit its report. The powers will be duly transferred to the PRIs as soon as the modalities are worked out.

Alcoholism and drug addiction:

Viewpoint of NGOs

- Domestic Violence is on the rise due to alcoholic husbands
- The problem of Alcoholism has increased due to the easy access after the setting up of IMFL shops across the state
- There is a phenomenon of addiction, not just of conventional drugs, but even to chemicals like dendrite etc.
- There should be a social audit of the government's expenditure in medical assistance in alcohol related treatment and the excise collected from the sale of alcohol.

Health issues:

Viewpoint of NGOs

- Malaria poses a great danger in places like Along in West Siang. Anaemia is common among females
- The government officials should be directed to assess and check the prevalence or non-prevalence of PHCs.

- To check the doctors' attendance in the PHCs and government hospitals.
- Emergency equipments specially needed for women to be provided in every PHCs.
- AIDS related awareness to be given to the women and girls.

Government's response:

There is a poor infrastructure for health and shortage of medical officers in the hilly and remote areas. The medical officers posted in the hospitals and PHCs in the hill districts and the remote areas do not attend regularly. However because of financial crunch equipments and other infrastructural facilities can only be provided in a limited capacity.

Commission's stand:

There is a need to improve the health facility in the hills and the remote rural areas. The government should also take measures to check the attendance of those doctors. Distribution of iron, folic acid supplementary tablets has not been successful.

Issues relating to Agriculture:

Viewpoint of NGOs

- Women are losing access to the forests resources due to commercialization and degradation of forests in the state.
- There are no SHGs of women in agriculture related activities.

Commission's stand:

All-women self-help groups should be established in all the districts. Technological skills should be imparted to women farmers. Krishi Vigyan Kendras are not active.

List of Participants in the meeting of the National Commission for Women with Secretaries/Commissioners of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh

National Commission for Women

1. Smt Nirmala Sitharaman, Member, National Commission for Women
2. Smt Nita Kapoor, Jt Secy, NCW
3. Ms Nandini Thockchom, Project Coordinator, NCW
4. Dr Vandana Upadhyay, Research Advisor, NCW
5. Ms.Jumyir Basar, Rapporteur, NCW

Government of Arunachal Pradesh

1. Shri Ashok Kumar, Chief Secretary
2. Secretary (Home)
3. Secretary (Education)
4. Commissioner (Health)
5. Secretary (Law)
6. Secretary (Social Welfare)
7. Secretary(Finance)
8. Director(Social Welfare)

THE TRIBES OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH: A BRIEF OUTLINE*

Arunachal Pradesh is inhabited by a number of tribes and sub-tribes. Broadly the people may be divided into three cultural groups on the basis of their socio-religious affinities. The Monpas and Sherdukpens of Tawang and West Kameng districts follow the lamaistic tradition of Mahayana Buddhism. Noted for their religious fervour, the villages of these communities have richly decorated Buddhist temples, locally called 'Gompas'. Though largely agriculturists practising terrace cultivation, many of these people are also pastoral and breed herds of yak and mountains sheep. Culturally similar to them are Membas and Khambas who live in the high mountains along the northern borders. Khamptis and Singphos inhabiting the eastern part of the State are Buddhists of Hinayana sect. They are said to have migrated from Thailand and Burma long ago and still using ancient scripts derived from their original homeland.

The second group of the tribes includes Adis, Akas, Apatanis, Bangnis, Nishis, Mishmis, Mijis, Thongsas etc., who worship Sun and Moon God namely, Donyi-Polo and Abo-Tani, the original ancestors for most of these tribes. Agricultural activities play a significant role in the religious rituals of these communities. Their religious rituals largely coincide with phases of agricultural cycles. They invoke nature deities and make animal sacrifices. They traditionally practice jhumming or shifting cultivation.

Adis and Apatanis extensively practice wet rice cultivation and have a considerable agricultural economy. Apatanis are also famous for their paddy-cum-pisciculture. Many scholars have appreciated the sophisticated indigenous system of irrigation developed by the Apatanis. They are specialised over centuries in harvesting two crops of fish along with each crop of the paddy.

The third group comprises Noctes and Wanchos, adjoining Nagaland in the Tirap District. These are hardy people known for their strictly structured village society in which hereditary village chief still plays a vital role. The Noctes also practise elementary form of Vaishnavism.

Here is a brief outline of some of the main tribes of the state. The **Adis** have two main divisions, (the Bogum and Bomis) and under each there are a number of sub-tribes. The Minyongs, Karkos, Shimongs, Bomdo, Janbos, Paggis, Pailibos, Bogum, Padams, Milangs and so on from one group ; while the Gallong and seven other groups constitute another group of Adis. The Adis have an organised

* This note is based on the information provided in the official web-site of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh. The coverage is not exhaustive.

village council called Kebang. Their traditional dance called Ponung is famous in the whole of Arunachal Pradesh. Dances are very popular among them. Adi villages are situated generally on the spurs of hills. Polyandry is unknown but polygyny is practised. Adi women are very good weavers and weave cloth with highly artistic designs.

The **Apatanis** are settled agriculturists inhabiting the valley around Ziro-the headquarters of Lower Subansiri district. The older men-folk tie the hair in top-knots and tattoo the faces. Wearing of circular nose plugs and tattooing of faces is the most characteristic aspect of ornamentation of older Apatani women. However, new generation of Apatani men and women have stopped this practice of tying hair knot, nose plugs and face tattooing since early 1970s. The Apatani are good cultivators and practice both wet and terrace cultivation. Paddy cum fish culture is very popular among them. Unlike other tribes of Arunachal their economy is stable.

The **Buguns** or Khowas are gentle, hospitable and affectionate people. They are agriculturist and perform a number of rites and ceremonies for their welfare.

The **Hrusso** or Akas have a custom of painting their face with black marks. They figured frequently in old historical records. Their popular belief is that they were related with the Ahom Kings. They are keen traders and trade, mainly in cloth, blankets, swords etc. They have come to some extent under both Hindu and Buddhist influence.

The **Singphos** represent a section of the Kachin tribe of Burma. They live on the banks of Tengapani and Noa Dehang rivers. They are agriculturists and expert blacksmiths. The ladies are good weavers too. They follow Buddhism but at the same time believe in a host of spirit.

Khambas and **Membas** inhabiting northern part of West Siang are Buddhist by religion. Polyandry is prevalent among them. But it is more in vogue among the Membas. Agricultural activities are popular among them. Millet and Maize are their staple food. They grow cotton and barley also.

Mishmis form the bulk of the population of Lohit, Upper Dibang Valley and Lower Dibang Valley districts. There are also the Khamtis, the Singphos and a few Adi settlement. The Mishmis are divided into three main groups namely- Idus or Chulikatas, Digarus or Taroan and Mijus or Kaman. A section of the Idu Mishmi are also called Bebejia Mishmi. Their women are expert weavers and make excellent coats and blouses. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people. By nature they are traders. Since very early days the Mishmis had relations with the plains of Assam. The chief items of trade are deer –musk, wild medicinal plants, animal skins, Mishimi – tita etc.

The **Monpas** are simple, gentle and courteous people. They are friendly and possess a rich heritage of culture. They dress well in artistically designed clothes. Their communal life is rich and happy. They follow Buddhism and profess Mahayana Buddhism which centres round the Tawang Monastery. Each house has a small chapel attached to it.

The **Nyishi** are the largest groups of people inhabiting the major part of Lower Subansiri district. Their menfolk wear their hair long and tie it in a knot just above the forehead. They wear cane bands around the waist. They believe that after death the spirit of a dead travels to the 'village of the ancestors'. The Sulungs or Puroik are considered to be one of the oldest of the tribes in the area. Their dress and costumes are simple, and the religion is a form of the primitive 'spirit culture'.

The **Sherdukpens** are a small tribe. They are good agriculturist but their main interest is trade. Their religion is an interesting blend of Mahayana Buddhism and tribal magico-religious beliefs.

The **Tagins** are main inhabitant of Upper Sunansiri district. Their main occupation is agriculture. Polygamy is customary among them. Their dress is very simple consisting of only one piece of cloth.

The **Khamtis** are believed to have migrated from the Shan states of Burma. They are the only tribe in Arunachal who have a script of their own. They are Buddhist (Hinayana cult) by religion, and bury the dead in a coffin. They include Khamyang tribe.

The **Wanchos** inhabit the western part of Tirap district, bordering Nagaland. They are a carefree, cheerful and hard-working people. Head hunting was customary with them in the old days. It was connected with many of the social activities of the tribe. Their society is divided into four classes the Wanghams (chiefs), the Wangpana, the Wangaue and Wangaas. They have a strict sense of discipline and the law and order of the society is maintained by a village council. The entire tribe is divided into about forty confederacies of villages. Tattooing is a social custom among them. They believe in the existence of two powerful deities, Rang and Baurang. The women are good weavers but the art is restricted to the members of the chief's families only. They are expert in wood carving also.

The **Noctes** inhabit the central part of Tirap to the east of the Wanchos. They are organized under powerful chief-those of Namsang and Borduria, They profess Vaishnavism and are disciple of the Bareghar Satra of Nazira, Assam, Naga Narottam who was a close friend of Shri Ram Dev Ata, the founder- satradhikar of the Brehar satra, become his first disciple. Noctes are famous as salt producers which is their chief item of trade and barter. They are agriculturists. They also cultivate betel leaves on a commercial scale.

The **Yobin**, also called Lisus, are a small group of people inhabiting the remote easternmost corner of the Tirap district. They are simple and gentle people having their own culture, religion, faith and beliefs and dialect.

TRADITIONAL SELF-GOVERNING INSTITUTIONS IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

The tribals of Arunachal Pradesh have highly ordered and organized system of functioning in their villages. All matters relating to the community as a whole are decided at the village level. The socio-administrative structure of the society, as evolved over a period of centuries, recognizes democratic partition right down to the level of villages.

These traditional self-governing institutions have undergone certain changes in their operative mechanisms. The difficulties imposed by the historical factors as well as the geographical compulsions had encouraged these tribal groups to confine themselves to a particular area and to develop strong isolationist tendencies. Besides, traditional acrimony among some of them and a simple pattern of primitive economy had kept the inter-tribal and even inter-village interaction at a minimal level. The tribal societies living in the state therefore evolved their own system of self-governing institutions for maintaining social order and preserving their religious traditions in order to ensure collective economic activities and for delivering justice.

Although common descent, kinship, and blood relations generally form the basis of political union among the tribal people, territorial compactness appears to be the dominating factor of political union among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. There are as many types of traditional self-governing institutions in the state as there are tribes. The most prominent among them are the Kebang of the Adis, the Builiang of the Apatanis, the Nyele of the Nishings, the Mele of the Hrusos, the Tsorgan system of the Monpas, the Jung of the Sherdukpens, the Abbala of the Idu Mishmis, the Pharai of the Kaman Mishmis, the Mockchup of the Khamtis, the Ngojowa of the Wanchos and Mungphong or Nockthung of the Tangsas. It has been seen that they do not present any uniform pattern. Some of them are monarchial, while others are Republics, some are democracies of direct type, and others function through a Chieftain or a small representative body. A few bodies are oligarchic in nature, limiting the choice of membership of the council to certain houses or clans. The Kebang of the Adis represent a sort of direct democracy while the Tsorgan of the Monpas or the Mele of the Hrusos is a representative democracy. The Apatani Builiang or the Sherdukpen Jung provides a clan oligarchic model. The village council systems found among the Singhos, Noctes, Wanchos, Khamtis and the Tangsas can be called Chieftaincies (Dutta, 2003). The oligarchic or the chieftaincy systems have some elements of democracy in them. Further, it has been seen that the constitution of all the systems are gerontocratic in character. The Monpa Tsorgan system is theocratic in nature as its elected head also

acts as the religious head in the village. Most of these institutions emerged in response to needs of each tribal society. Further it was found that the authority in all these models was based on the twin principles of ethnic loyalty and customary law. Conflicts are usually resolved within the frame-work of orally transmitted tribe jurisprudence with the help of invocation of supernatural powers, public ordeals based on superstitious beliefs, the threat of excommunication and the use of force sanctioned by the community. The pattern of leadership is not instantaneous but the result of an ambiguous and prolonged process of acquiring command over a large corpus of customs and jurisprudence and gaining confidence of the fellow villagers. Thus till the introduction of modern democratic institutions, Arunachal politics was intrinsically embedded in traditional tribal political ethos (Talukdar, 2002; Pandey et al, 1999).

Introduction of modern participatory democracy, spread of education, improved means of communication, initiation of industrialization and increasingly rationalized structure of administration were responsible for the process of change and transition in the existing system of governance of Arunachal Pradesh. The modern representative democratic institutions were introduced in two phases in Arunachal Pradesh, namely, universal adult franchise and democratic decentralization. Unlike in the other parts of the country, the Panchayat Raj and the establishment of a Legislative Assembly preceded the introduction of universal adult franchise in the state.

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A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN & GIRLS IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

By

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NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR WOMEN
NEW DELHI

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FOREWORD

The existential pathos of a woman's life has been inimitably captured by the great Hindi poet, Shri Maithilisharan Gupta, in a memorable couplet which says, "Alas, woman! Thy destiny is eternal sacrifice, eternal suffering!"

Despite the exalted position given to women in some of India's religious texts and the exceptional attainments of individual women in fields as diverse as philosophy, statecraft and even warfare, the profile of the average woman through the ages has been that of a perpetually poor, perpetually pregnant and perpetually powerless being.

Independent India has tried to redeem the situation by proclaiming equality of the sexes as a Fundamental Right under the Constitution and directing state policy towards removing the various disabilities that thwart women in realising their potential. Five decades of Independence have also seen a plethora of laws passed by the State and Federal Governments to protect women from violence and discrimination and to strengthen their entitlements in the social and economic fields. Numerous committees and commissions have x-rayed the position of women, the advances made by them and the obstacles faced by them, and they have made umpteen recommendations to improve the situation. Scores of schemes have been floated by various Ministries of the Government to address women's problems, particularly those relating to education, health, nutrition, livelihood and personal laws. In the institutional area, independent administrative departments to give undivided attention to women's problems have sprung up at the Centre as well as in the States. Development corporations were an innovation of the Eighties to energise economic benefit schemes. The Nineties saw the setting up of the National Commission for Women (NCW) and State Commissions in various States to inquire into the working of various legal and constitutional provisions concerning women, to investigate cases of violation of women's rights and generally to advise on the socio-economic policy framework in order to mainstream women's concerns. In recent years, the Governments, Central and State, have also articulated comprehensive policies for the empowerment of women through a variety of instruments and approaches focusing on an explicit vision of equal partnership of women in all walks of life.

Credit must also be given to a robust women's movement which has often given forceful expression to women's aspirations and joined issue with all the organs of state — legislative, executive and

judicial — for reviewing the age-old prescriptions of a patriarchal society. Often they have networked effectively with the international community and fora in the quest for worldwide solidarity on issues affecting women. These interactions have often times changed the idiom of discourse on women's right to justice and development.

The half-century of struggle and reform has undoubtedly had considerable impact on women's world. Some of the key indicators of development have perked up significantly; women's life expectancy has risen; education levels have improved; economic participation has grown. But there are areas of darkness too; crimes against women, both at home and outside, continue unabated; traditional economic occupations have withered in the face of global competition; there is increasing commodification of women's persona and vulgarisation of their image in the media's marketplace. The new economic regime, where Sensex swamps sensibility, has meant the precipitate withdrawal of the state from many fields leaving the weak, including women, in the cold. Similarly laws change; minds don't. Therefore between progressive legislation and sensitive enforcement falls a long shadow. Critics also point out that whatever advances have been made remain confined to urban India and the vast hinterland resists change obstinately.

The overall picture is thus a mixed one leaving the profile of the average Indian woman not substantially altered. But in this vast country there is no average Indian woman. As in all other matters, diversity marks the Indian woman's picture too. How society and economy are coping with the forces of modernisation differs substantially from region to region. The geography of a state provides its own constraints and opportunities; history gives its own moorings to values and momentum to change. Thus the regional profile is superimposed on the national profile. The NCW has therefore commissioned these studies to gauge how women's life has been changing or not changing in different States of the country, and to situate these studies in the historical and geographical context of each region or State so that progress can be measured across time and across space. Such spatial comparisons can highlight what lessons there are to be learnt from the 'leading' areas and equally they help in focusing the attention on the 'lagging' areas. Regionally disaggregated data helps in benchmarking progress of different regions, areas or districts, and can be used for improving performance by attempting to raise the performance levels of the laggards to the average of the State and then matching the State's average to the national average. Interesting insights can also be gleaned from the experience of implementing agencies, both governmental and non-governmental, in dealing with different problems. Some of these may be rooted in the soil of the region and may not lend themselves to replication but many others can be useful examples to emulate. That is how Best Practices become common practices.

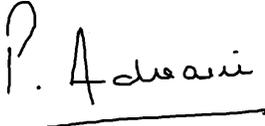
These studies have been carried out by different research groups having special knowledge and interest in the area — its people, its history, its administration, its cultural ambience etc. They have interacted with

official agencies as well as with leading NGOs working with women in the respective areas. The NCW has given a helping hand by providing information from its own database where available and also by interacting with the government of the State to set the stage for these exercises. The result is in your hands.

It is our hope that this effort will eventually result in the compilation of a comprehensive index of gender development focusing on the key issues in women's lives thus enabling comparisons of achievements and gaps regionally and nationally. This will help scholars and administrators alike.

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(POORNIMA ADVANI)

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POLITICAL MAP OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

