

# **Governance and Electoral Politics: A Study of Sangha Seat in Sikkim**

A Dissertation Submitted

To

**Sikkim University**



In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the  
**Degree of Master of Philosophy**

By

**Sonam Wangdi Dorjee Bhutia**

Department of Political Science

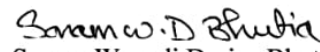
School of Social Sciences

February, 2020

Date: 07/02/2020

#### DECLARATION

I, Sonam Wangdi Dorjee Bhutia, do hereby declare that the research work embodied in the dissertation titled "Governance and Electoral Politics: A Study of Sangha Seat in Sikkim" submitted to Sikkim University for the award degree of Masters of Philosophy/ Doctor of Philosophy, is my original work and it has not been submitted earlier to this or any other University for any degree.

  
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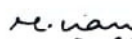
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### CERTIFICATE


This is to certify that Dissertation titled "Governance and Electoral Politics: A Study of Sangha Seat in Sikkim" submitted to the Sikkim University for partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Philosophy in the Department of Political Science embodies the result of bonafied research work carried out by Mr. Sonam Wangdi Dorjee Bhutia under my guidance and supervision. No part of the Dissertation has been submitted earlier to this or any other University for any degree.

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

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

  
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### PLAGIARISM CHECK CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that plagiarism check has been carried out for the following M.Phil Dissertation with the help of **URKUND SOFTWARE** and the result is within the permissible limit as per the norm of Sikkim University.

**“Governance and Electoral Politics: A Study of Sangha Seat in Sikkim”**

Submitted by Sonam Wangdi Dorjee Bhutia under the supervision of Dr. M.Yasin, Professor, Department of Political Science, Schools of Social Sciences, Sikkim University.

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*This work is dedicated  
to  
My  
dearest  
sister,  
my lifeline,  
my inspiration,  
my source of happiness,  
a reason for me to be alive  
Ms. Sonam Doma Bhutia.*

## **Governance and Electoral Politics: A Study of Sangha Seat in Sikkim**

## **Abstract**

In India, Sikkim is the only state which has separate religious seat reserved in legislature under the special provision article 371F of the Indian Constitution which allows a section of society (Monks) to elect their representatives and is reserved only for monks. To get elected under the Sangha seat the candidate willing to contest for the particular post should be a monk and should have his/her name register under the voter list of Sangha. Sangha seat is one of the most unique feature in India which does only exist in Sikkim and is protected under the Article 371F (k) of the Indian Constitution which assures to protect all the old laws of Sikkim implemented before the merger with Indian Union. Sikkim before merging with the Indian Union was a Separate country ruled by Chogyal's during the period of monarchy system there existed the form of Lhadi-Medi government, Lhadi means (Monks) and Medi means (Lay people) and there was the equal number of representation from both Monks and the Lay people side in Darbar of Sikkim which was later on dislodged. Later under the 1958 Proclamation of Maharaja of Sikkim, a seat in the Sikkim Council was reserved for the Sangha (Lamas). In a notice issued by the Sikkim Darbar on March 17, 1958, with reference to the Proclamation dated March 16, 1958, it stated 'it has long felt that, as the Monasteries and Sangha have constructed such a vital and important role in the life of the community since the earliest known history of Sikkim, and have played major part in the taking of decision in Councils of the past, there should be a seat specifically reserved for the Sangha in the Sikkim Council (Kazi, 2009). This marked the beginning of the separate religious seat for Sangha in Sikkim and it continued. Later, while the Sikkim was merged in Indian Union the religious seat for Sangha continued in Sikkim under the special provision article 371F (k) of the Indian Constitution. However, the question was raised regarding the constitutional validity of Sangha stating by many leaders of the Sikkim that it is contradictory to the term Secularism and some provision of Indian Constitution and filed a case in Supreme court of India challenging the Constitutional Validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim and the decision given by the Supreme court of India was in the favour of Sangha seat stating that it was not contradictory to any provision of Indian Constitution and is fully valid.

This dissertation examines the Historical background of Sangha seat in Sikkim, its evolution and the importance of Sangha seat in Sikkim. The dissertation has also find out the role and impact of Sangha seat in governance and electoral politics of Sikkim. Lastly the dissertation has tried to find the thought about the common people, monks, politician and some renowned figure of Sikkim about Sangha seat in Sikkim and their perception about the constitutional validity.



## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. M.Yasin, Professor, Department of Political Science, Sikkim University, who is my supervisor and guide. He has been guiding me throughout the dissertation from the selection of the topic to the successful completion of the study. I am very grateful for his expert guidance and valuable suggestion which he provided to the study. This study would not have been complete without his immense support and supervision. I feel to acknowledge my indebtedness and deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor. I also would like to extend my sincere word of gratitude to all the faculty members of the Department of Political Science, Dr. Durga Prasad Chettri, Dr. Om P. Gadde, Dr Amit K. Gupta, Dr. Bidhan Golay, Mr. Budh Badhur Lama, Dr. Bhim Subba and Ms Swastika Pradhan, who were continuously giving their suggestion throughout the writing of this dissertation. I would like to convey my gratefulness to all the local political leaders Hon'ble Minister Mr. Sonam Lama (Sangha MLA), Former Minister Mr. Tseten Tashi Bhutia, Former Minister R.C Poudyal, Former Minister Somnath Poudyal and also a renowned figure of Sikkim, Former captain of Sikkim Guards Yapo Sonam Youngda Bhutia, who in spite of their busy schedule took out their time and provided with the relevant data to the study. I sincerely thank all the respondents (Monks and Common Citizens) who cooperated in giving their genuine response related to the study.

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7<sup>th</sup> February 2020

Sonam Wangdi Dorjee Bhutia

### **List of Tables**

Table 2.1	State Council of Sikkim (1925-26)
Table 2.2	State Council of Sikkim (1926-27)
Table 2.3	State Council of Sikkim (1927-28)
Table 2.4	State Council of Sikkim (1932-34)
Table 2.5	Distribution and Reservation of seats in Sikkim Council (1953)
Table 2.6	Reservation of seats in State Council Sikkim after modification (1958)
Table 2.7	Reservation of seats in State Council Sikkim after modification (1966)
Table 3.1	Electors of Sangha in Sikkim (1979-1986)
Table 3.2	Assembly segment wise electorate from general election to 7 <sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha to 10 <sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha, (1991)
Table 3.3	Electors and voters in constituency-wise (1999)
Table 3.4	Electors and vote polled during the 8 <sup>th</sup> Vidhan Sabha general election (2009)
Table 3.5	Electors and vote polled during general election 2014 to the 9 <sup>th</sup> Sikkim Legislative Assembly
Table 3.6	Monasteries in East Sikkim
Table 3.7	Monasteries in West Sikkim
Table 3.8	Monasteries in North Sikkim
Table 3.9	Monasteries in South Sikkim
Table 3.10	List of monasteries which participates in electoral process of Sangha Representative
Table 3.11	Details of the grants

### **List of Figures**

- Figure 4.1      Showing the age group of respondents in percentage
- Figure 4.2      Showing sex groups of respondents in percentage
- Figure 4.3      Showing occupations of respondents in percentage
- Figure 4.4      Showing the income of respondents in percentage
- Figure 4.5      Showing the religion of respondents in percentage
- Figure 4.6      Showing the respondents who have heard about Indian constitution in percentage
- Figure 4.7      Showing the respondents who knows about the term secularism in percentage
- Figure 4.8      Showing the respondents who have heard about the Sangha seat in Sikkim in percentage
- Figure 4.9      Showing the respondents where did they came to know about Sangha seat in percentage

### **List of Glossary**

Chogyal	:	It means Dharamraja or one who rules as per religious tenets.
Darbar	:	It refers to the Royal court.
Dewan	:	It refers to the chief administrative officer in Sikkim (1949-1972).
Kazi	:	It means Sikkim aristocratic family belonging to Bhutia- Lepcha community.
Lhadi-Medi	:	Lhadi which represents monasteries and Monk and Medi which means public (lay people).
Lhori	:	It refers to the Bhutia Community.
Mary	:	It refers to the Lepcha Community.
Sangha	:	It refers to a Buddhist monastic body.
Ter	:	Treasures.
Terton	:	Text revealers.
Thikadars	:	It refers to Sikkim aristocratic family belonging to Nepali Community.
Tsongs	:	It refers to the Limboo community

## **CONTENTS**

**Declaration**

**Certificate**

**Plagiarism**

**Abstract**

**i-ii**

**Acknowledgements**

**iii-iv**

**List of Tables**

**v**

**List of Figures**

**vi**

**List of Glossary**

**vii**

### **CHAPTER 1**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

**1-10**

1.1 Background of the Study

1.2 Statement of the problem

1.3 Review of Literature

1.4 Conceptual Framework

1.5 Rationale and Scope of the study

1.6 Objectives

1.7 Research Questions

1.8 Methodology

1.9 Chapterisation

### **CHAPTER 2**

#### **GOVERNANCE AND ELECTORAL POLITICS: SANGHA SEAT IN SIKKIM: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

**11-22**

Introduction

2.1 Meaning of Sangha

2.2 Historical Background

2.3 Pre-Merger: Political and Administrative Development

2.4 State Council of Sikkim (1925-1934)

2.5 Parity System

2.6 Distribution and reservation of seats in Sikkim Council (1953-72)

2.7 Changes in the Composition of State Council Sikkim

### **CHAPTER 3**

#### **ROLE AND IMPACT OF SANGHA SEAT IN GOVERNANCE AND ELECTORAL POLITICS OF SIKKIM**

**23-38**

##### **Introduction**

- 3.1 Electoral politics of Sangha seat in Sikkim (post-1975): The election of 1979
- 3.2 Electors of Sangha in Sikkim (1979-1986)
- 3.3 Statement showing assembly segment wise electorate from the general elections to 7<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha, 1980 to 10<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha, 1991
- 3.4 Ecclesiastical Department
- 3.5 Different monasteries registered under Ecclesiastical Department
- 3.6 Monasteries which participate in the electoral process of Sangha
- 3.7 Variable showing the role and impact in governance and electoral politics of Sangha seat in Sikkim
- 3.8 Some measures taken by the Sangha representative

### **CHAPTER 4**

#### **CONSTITUTIONAL VALIDITY OF SEAT IN SIKKIM**

**39-49**

- 4.1 Background
- 4.2 Data collection, Analysis and Interpretation
- 4.3 Findings

### **CHAPTER 5**

#### **CONCLUSION**

**50-55**

##### **Introduction**

- 5.1 Summary of the study
- 5.2 Summary of the study major finding
- 5.3 Conclusions
- 5.4 Suggestion for the further studies
- 5.5 Contribution of the study
- 5.6 Limitations

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**56-59**

# **CHAPTER-1**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

The term Governance used by the first international Organization was World Bank (1992). Governance comprises all of the processes of governing whether undertaken by the government of a state, by a market or by a network over a social system (family, tribe, formal or informal organization, a territory or across territories) and whether through the laws, norms, power or language of an organized society (Bevir, 2012). Looking into wider context governance does not just encompass government but it also includes Society, States and good government. According to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, governance is the process through which decisions are made and implemented. Governance encompasses a wide range of issues from concerns about efficient government, including accountability and transparency, to concerns about human rights, social cohesion, equity, democracy, participation, corruption, military expenditures, countries in crises and last but not the least political thought culture and discourse (Cheema and Shabbir, 2001). The formal study of governance has a much longer history. In western civilization, its origins lie in ancient Greece and the Greek political theory. Plato is credited with developing the concept of philosopher king as the ideal ruler. The ‘father’ of comparative study government, Aristotle, was perhaps the first political theorist to deal with the term governance, when he classified political organizations (Sinclar, 1962). The government determines policy, based on which, it sets up various goals and targets for implementation. Thus governance needs to be viewed in two parts: deciding what is to be done or policy formulation; and doing what is to be done or policy implementation (Kulshrestha and Anup, 2000). Good governance would require that the government machinery works with full transparency of operations and is fully accountable. Citizens by and large, will be happy if it can be ensured that the governments set right objectives and are able to achieve the same (Kulshrestha and Anup, 2000). Good governance demands transparent administration by making not only decision-making criteria and the drawn up programmes more open to the public but also by involving them. Further, the right to Information, rather transparent administration with people’s participation, has become the needs of the hour, as corruption and malpractices have become an



undeniable fact in the administration (Ahammed, 1999). The attainment of the objectives of good governance would require political, economic, executive and judicial authority to be exercised in a manner, which ensures that the people are enabled to enjoy their rights, discharge their obligations; and resolve their disputes within the parameters of the constitution and the rule of law (Vohra, 2000). For all round development the goals of governance equity, efficiency, participation, transparency, accountability and effectiveness should be taken as important parameters. Governance needs to be transformed to make it the key instrument towards effective implementation of public policies. This requires a multi-pronged strategy to strengthen the capacities of all the actors involved in the governance process. When all stakeholders in a society participates in governance that is based on the principle of participation, transparency, accountability, equity; and rule of law, it by definition helps to faster human development, develop existing capacities and focus on long-term sustainability of development gains (Cheema, Shabbir and Maquire, 2001).

Electoral politics are the primary mechanism of citizen mobilization in most democracies. The public regular choice of political leaders through elections is one of the bases of representative democracy, and the rationality of the public choices is a measure of the meaningfulness of the democratic process. Electoral politics, the ideas and actions behind the process of choosing by vote among candidates to govern the state is a vital part of the democratic functioning of the state (Grover, 1982). Electoral politics in a participatory democracy assumes great significance since it is regarded as an index of popular consciousness, articulation and participation of the electorate in the decision making process (Grover, 1982). India remains by far the largest democracy in the world, with almost 1.21 billion voters. India's parliamentary government and First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral systems a legacy of British colonialism, which ended in 1947, the British introduced self-government to India in stages, but it was not until the end of colonial rule and the adoption of the Indian Constitution in 1950 by a Constituent Assembly that universal suffrage were achieved. The Constituent Assembly, which comprised a number of eminent jurists, lawyers, constitutional experts and political thinkers and laboured for almost three years, debated the issue of which electoral system should be adopted at great length before finally choosing a FPTP electoral system. Various systems of proportional representation were considered and attracted many advocates, given India's

extremely diverse and multi-ethnic society, but FPTP was chosen mainly to avoid fragmented legislatures and to help the formation of stable governments-stability being a major consideration in a developing country with widespread poverty and literacy ([link:http://aceproject.org](http://aceproject.org)). By an electoral system we mean the set of rules that structure how votes are cast at elections for a representative assembly and how these votes are then converted into seats in that assembly. Given a set of votes an electoral system determines the composition of the Parliament (Gallagher and Mitchell, 2009). Electoral system matters in other ways too, as we shall see. They make a big difference to shape the party system, to the nature of government (coalition or single party), to the kind of choices facing voters at elections, to the ability of voters to hold their representatives personally accountable, to the behaviour of Parliamentarians, to the to which a Parliament contains people from all walk of life and backgrounds, to extent of democracy and cohesion within political parties and of course to the quality of government, and hence the quality of life of the citizens ruled by that government (Gallagher and Mitchell, 2009). The structure of electoral politics describes the distribution of participation in election campaigns. As in power structure geographic areas vary gratefully in the characteristic of their electoral structure. An electoral structure is composed of four elements or dimensions which may vary independently of any of the others. They are (i) Scope of election (ii) Type of Participants (iii) Stages of the electoral cycle and Factionalism (Olsan, 1967). The Indian political system can be said to compose of three principal strata: the politics of village, of the state and of the Nation. Each has it own distinctive structures, rules and styles of political behaviour and each is related not only to the other strata but to its own distinct social and cultural environment (Forrester, 1968).

Sangha is a Sanskrit term in its broad meaning; it refers to all the practitioners of Buddha's teachings. It can have more restricted meaning according to the context, referring to ordained monks, Arthas, Bodhisattavas, etc (Bhutia, 2006). The Buddha, Dharma and the Sangha, are the three basic postulates and symbols of Buddhism. The Sangha and the land along with its people have co-existed in Sikkim ever since the visit of its patron saint Mahaguru Padmasambhava in the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (Bhutia 2006). From the beginning of Sikkimese history, when three lamas met at the capital of Yuksum (West Sikkim) to consecrate the first Chogyal (king) of Sikkim in 1642, the lamas have always associated with the traditional way of life of

the people. With their immense knowledge of Sikkimese history, rites, customs, and law they became members of the advisory council as well traditional institutions like the Lhadi-Medi, which was convened to aid the Chogyal in deciding matters of national importance. Because of these and other reasons it was decided by the Chogyal of Sikkim that a seat for Sangha be reserved in the Sikkim Council (Kazi, 2009). In view of the role played by the lamas towards religion, culture, social and economic development of the people of Sikkim, the Sangha was allotted a reserved seat in the Sikkim Legislative Assembly prior to the merger, when Sikkim was an Associate State (Kazi, 2009). The Sangha seat was introduced in order to provide for the representation of a section which was responsible for the basic culture of the Sikkimese Bhutia-Lepchas, including some section of the other communities of Sikkim who are Buddhist. Their interest and safeguard was synonymous with the safeguard and interest of the minority communities of Sikkim (Kazi, 2009). Under the Representation of Peoples Act, 1980, reservation of the one seat has been made for the Sangha as in the past (Kazi, 2009).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Sangha seat is one of the unique features which do only exist in Sikkim all over India it is the form of non-territorial constituency. The 32-Sangha Assembly constituency has no geographical boundary and it is only one-of-its-kind constituency in the country reserved for the monastic community (Sangha) and is spread all over its four districts - East, West, North and South. It is a metaphorical constituency. Similarly, the Sangha voters are also not limited to just any one constituency but are widespread all over Sikkim, in all its other 31 constituencies. To preserve the distinct identity of the Sangha, only registered lamas (Monks) and Anis (Laminis/Nuns) can contest for this exclusive Sangha seat that are also from a particular registered monasteries which are only allowed to participate in the electoral process of Sangha Representative. From time to time its validity has been questioned by many leaders and some had also filed a case against the Sangha seat in Supreme Court and has challenged this reservation which is alleged to be based on religion and therefore violate of Article 15 (I) of the Constitution. This study has find out whether the reservation which is alleged to be based on religion is valid or not and further it will also try to find out the particular registered monasteries from four district of Sikkim which are allowed to participate in the electoral procedure of the Sangha representative, it has also try to find out the responsibilities of the representative towards the monasteries, the monks,

nuns and clergy after getting chosen as their representatives. Further, it has also try to outline how Sangha as a electoral seat came into existence in Sikkim, the procedure of formation Sangha seat in Sikkim what were the challenges it faced during its formation and overall Historical background of Sangha seat in Sikkim.

### **1.3 Review of Literature**

Since the system of representation for Sangha in Sikkim is unique in its kind not much research has so far been made on this. Hence, there is relative dearth of literature on the subject. The only available literature on the subject is as follows.

Awasty, Indira (1978). In his book “Between Sikkim and Bhutan: The Lepcha and Bhutias of Pedong” where he has discussed about the geographical study of the Lepcha and Bhutias of Sikkim further this book deals with the history of Pedong and three tribes of pedong Bhutias, Lepchas and Nepalese, the book also outlines the position of women, the inter-community relations and also about the Lamaistic Buddhism.

Bhutia, Tashi, T (2006). In his book “The Awakening: Struggle for Survival” describes the brief history of Sikkim and has also talk about the different communities of Sikkim which includes Bhutias, Lepchas and the Sikkimese Nepalese. The author has also discussed about the various agreements and the rights of Sikkim.

Bevir, Mark (2012). In his book “Governance: A very short introduction” has described Governance which refers, therefore, to all processes of governing, whether undertaken by a government, market, or network, whether over a family, tribe, formal or informal organization, or territory, and whether through laws, norms, power or language. Governance differs from government in that it focuses less on the state and its institutions and more on social practices and activities.

Bhanja, K.C (1993). In his book “History of Darjeeling and the Sikkim Himalaya” has described and accounts a lengthy account of Tibet, the forbidden land, and the numerous mysteries it contains. This includes the holy peak and lake, Kalias and Mansarovar. The first-hand account gathered by the author makes the narrative authentic as well as fascinating.

Chettri. P, D (2012). In his book “Decentralised Governance and Development in India” has described about the different forms of decentralisation which are occurring in parallel, often in ways that cause confusion, ambiguity, high transaction cost and conflict. The author has also described the decentralization which entails the transfer of political, administrative, and fiscal powers to sub-national units of government. He

has also talked about the process of decentralization which started in India with the establishment of panchayati raj in the 1950s. where he has describe that over the time panchayati raj became three tier system, one at the village, the second at the block and the third at the district level thus the decentralization in India is centered on the creation of multi-tiered system of elected local government throughout the country.

Das, B.S (1996). In his book *Sikkim Saga*” presents the first hand report of the period turmoil in Sikkim from 1973 till its merger with India in 1975, it is also the story of three ladies- Indira Gandhi, Hope Cook and Elisa Maria. A political assessment of the future in North- East India has also been attempted.

Duff, Andrew (2015). In his book “*Sikkim Requiem for Himalayan Kingdom*” describes the remarkable story of Thondup, the handsome last king of Sikkim, and his young and beautiful American queen, Hope Cook, thrust unwittingly into the spot as they sought for support for Sikkim’s independence after their wedding in 1963. But as tension between India and China spilled over into war in the Himalayas, Sikkim became pawn in the cold war ideological battle that played out in Asia during the 1960s and 1970s.

Kazi, N. Jigme (2009). In his book “*Sikkim for Sikkimese: Distinct Identity within the Union*” which is the record of Jigme N. Kazi own contribution in ventilating and recording the hopes and aspirations of the Sikkimese people- Lepchas, Bhutias, Nepalese and member of the other communities, who have been living in Sikkim for generations. The book is a collection of his work published in various publications, including the *Sikkim Observer*, which he edits during his twenty five years as a journalist (1983-2008).

Sharma, R. Arora, K. R (2010). In his book “*Good Governance: Stimuli and strategies*” has described about the realm of good governance which relates to bureaucratic efficiency, administrative responsiveness, institutional accountability, decisional transparency, civil society activism, peoples participation and professional ethics. This book addresses most of these themes in an innovative manner and thus makes a valuable addition to the ever- expanding literature on good governance. Beside a delineation of the conceptual premises and ideological moorings of good governance, the book contains several thoughtful essays on the empirical as well as instrumental aspects of the central theme. The salient themes explore in this book include the Indian legacy of good governance, strategies for organizational excellence, institutional efficiency, developmental dimension of administrative

change, right to information and its impact on the governance system, policy innovations and advocacy, cross-system best practices, strengthening local bodies, revamping human resource management systems and expanding the network of e-governance.

Sinha, A.C (2008). In his book “Sikkim Feudal and Democratic” describes the story of Sikkim from its hoary past to the present and reports as to how the Tibetans, Nepalese, and the British dealt with Sikkim Leading to eclipses of its autonomous entity. Part one provides with the background and social history indicating the emergence of ethnic plurality and indeterminate political status. Part two deals with the feudal and democratic elite and shows how they fashion its destiny during two critical phases of its history. Part three describes the travail of Sikkim from a feudal set up to a democratic one under the Nepali control. At the end the book informs the reader the process of churning within the Nepamul society to find a place in the Indian democratic environment, which is sharply exhibited through the shift of political power in Sikkim. The limited research work done on the selected area and the resultant dearth of literature itself suggests that there is a research gap and the present study makes a modest attempt to fill that gap.

Trivedi, N. Mau. Tim, A. Vajpeyi, D. Dwivedi, P. S (2013). In his book “Perspectives on Governance and Society” where much discussion and debate has been going on among academics and policy makers about issues related to nation building and political development, and the role of governance in providing services to the general public in the most efficient manner. This book is divided into three major parts. Part one and two comprise essays on ethics of governance and environment and society, respectively, written specifically to celebrate professor Dwivedis contributions to scholarship and intellectual discourse spanning more the four decade. Part three is more personal in nature and includes messages and tributes.

#### **1.4 Conceptual Framework**

Governance deals with the capacity of the government to design; formulate and implement policies and in general to discharge their functions (Asmermom and Hoppe, 1995). Human Development Report 2002, has given a new perspective to governance by terming it as democratic governance, which is essential for better human development. The term governance involves all such government activities that manage society. In essence, governance includes a range of activities involving all cultural communities, governmental institution, (legislative, executive, judicial and

administrative), political parties, interest groups and NGOs (including civil society, the private sector and the public at large) (Frederickson, 1997). Good governance is not something that government can achieve by itself. It depends on the cooperation and involvement of a large number of citizens and organizations. These requirements are considered not only essential for good governance but are also important for sustainable human development (Blunt, 1995). The concept of good governance demands that the government must not only be representative but also responsive to the needs of the governed. A strong sense of responsiveness and commitment to serve the governed would ensure efficient delivery of services to the people (Mukhopadhyaya, 1998). Good governance is the moral determination, which provides the foundation for the governing process. It exhibits only a higher moral tone but also more of trust, the reciprocity of relationship between government and civil society, the extent of accountability and the nature of authority wielded (Hyden and Braton, 1993). In developing countries it is the government which initiates and implements developmental programmes. It must gain the support of the people in the discharge of their responsibilities with regard to programmes, particularly at the cutting-edge level. Such support would strengthen democracy as well as positive response of the community to developmental programmes, which should be the ultimate goal of good governance (Syndicate Paper, 2001). Administrative responsiveness implies that the administrative machinery has to be strong and responsive enough at the contact points not only to deliver the goods to the citizens effectively, but also to act to the satisfaction of all concerned. To this end, the administration has to ensure: appropriate Constitutional provisions for timely and regular elections to local institutions; decentralized district planning; flexibility in office procedures, clear definition of tasks, accountability of government functionaries, timely and speedy redressal of public grievances and improvement in working environment (Sahni and Vayunandan 1992). The path breaking wave in evolving responsive structure through institutionalization of panchayats came during the period 1986-89 when an initiative was taken by Rajeev Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India. After holding a series of workshops, he came to the conclusion that the administration in the district was 'unresponsive, inefficient, unsympathetic, often callous and sometimes even cruel to those whom they were meant to serve. He was of the opinion that the remedy laid in institutionalization of local democracy (Ghosh and Kumar, 2003). The local government is the bulwark against centralization of state power. It makes the

government more responsive, transparent and accountable. It ensures efficient and prompt service delivery as well as gives an opportunity, to the ordinary citizens to learn the art of collective decisions-making in order to influence public policies (Ghosh and Kumar, 2003).

### **1.5 Rationale and Scope of the Study**

This study has tried to find the unique feature of Sangha seat in Sikkim and the detail historical background of Sangha seat in Sikkim like how it came into being, why was the decision taken by the king of Sikkim to create a separate religious seat reservation in his cabinet and why the system was decided to be sustained even after merging with Indian Union. Further, this study focuses on whether the religious seat reservation has benefited the people of Sikkim; has the religious institution being able to get benefited out of this policy and the interest of Monks are being represented through this system. The study also finds out the role and impact of Sangha seat in Governance and electoral politics of Sikkim.

### **1.6 Objectives**

- i) To explore the Evolution of Sangha seat and its relevance in Sikkim.
- ii) To explore the role and impact of Sangha seat in Governance and Electoral politics of Sikkim.
- iii) To assess the constitutional validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim.

### **1.7 Research Question**

- i) How Sangha seat came into existence and what is the relevance of it in Sikkim?
- ii) What is the role and impact of Sangha seat in Governance and Electoral Politics of Sikkim?
- iii) Is there any contradiction between the existence of Sangha seat and the provision of the constitution of India?

### **1.8 Methodology**

The study has employed qualitative and quantitative method to collect both primary and secondary data. The tools for primary data are governmental reports, survey and interview to arrive at holistic understanding of the impact of Sangha seat on governance of Sikkim. The study based on field has the sample size of 90 respondents which will include 40 monks and 40 common citizens. The respondent has been selected from different monasteries which participate in voting for Sangha seat while the common citizens will be selected from cross sections of the society. An in-depth



interview has been conducted for the purpose of study and the interview has been taken of those elected MLAs of Sangha including the one who contested for the same, politicians and other person who has knowledge about Sangha. Similarly, common citizen has been selected purposively from different sections of the society to unearth the views of the common people regarding the existence, utility and relevance of the Sangha seat. The secondary data has been collected from Journals, Articles, Books, Newspaper, and Internet etc.

### **1.9 Chapterisation**

- 1) Introduction:** This chapter outlines the overview of Sangha seat system in Sikkim and will also include the, Review of Literature, Statement of the problem, Scope of the Study, Objectives, Research Question and Methodology.
- 2) Sangha seat in Sikkim: Historical Perspective:** This chapter has find out the evolution of Sangha seat in Sikkim its historical background and try to understand the unique feature of Sangha seat which does only exist in Sikkim among other states of India.
- 3) Role and Impact of Sangha seat in Governance and Electoral Politics of Sikkim:** This chapter outlines the role played by Sangha seat during the election in Sikkim. What differences does it make during the election procedure of Sikkim, does it has any role to play through which it really makes difference in electoral politics of Sikkim? This chapter also outlines the impact of Sangha seat on governance of Sikkim, had the representative of Sangha made any difference in the governance system of Sikkim.
- 4) Constitutional validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim:** This chapter outlines the Constitutional validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim and also finds out whether there is any contradiction between the existence of Sangha seat in Sikkim and the provision of the Constitution of India.
- 5) Conclusion:** This chapter gives the overall summary, findings of the research and draws the concluding observations. On the basis of the above an attempt has been made to make some suggestions on the question under study.

## CHAPTER-2

### Governance and Electoral Politics: Sangha Seat in Sikkim: Historical Perspective

#### Introduction

The concept of government and more recently that of governance rather good governance has begun to engage attention of scholars. Government is technically the structure within which the activity of politics takes place. In short, government provides the framework for politics. Governance, by contrast, refers to the process of making collective decisions. Government involves the task of managing complex societies. It also involves the coordination of many public and private sector bodies. The issue of governance has assumed importance because good governance is crucial to development (Shukla, 2010). The result of good governance is development that “gives priority to poor advance the causes of women sustain the environment and create needed opportunities for employment and other livelihoods” (UNDP, 1971:1). Good governance is good when it subscribes to the following nine characteristics.

- a) **Participation:** All men and women should have a voice in decision making, either directly or indirectly, or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent interests.
- b) **Strategic vision:** leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance a human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such developments. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.
- c) **Rule of Law:** Legal framework should be fair and enforced impartially, especially laws on human rights.
- d) **Transparency:** Transparency is built on free flow of information. Processes, institution and information are directly accessible to those concerned.
- e) **Responsiveness:** Institution and processes try to serve all stakeholders.
- f) **Consensus Orientation:** Good governance mediates differing of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.
- g) **Equity Building:** All men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well being.

- h) Effectiveness and Efficiency:** processes and institution produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.
- i) Accountability:** Decision-makers in government, the private sector, and civil society organizations are accountable to the public, as well as to the institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organization and whether the decision is internal or external to an organization (Shukla, 2010).

Governance is the process whereby public institution conduct public affairs, manage public resource and guarantee the realization of human right. Good governance accomplishes this in a manner which is essentially free from abuse and corruption, and accord due regard from the rule of law. Its true test is the degree to which it delivers the human right: civil, cultural, economic political and social rights. The key question is: Are the institutions of governance effectively guaranteeing the right to health, adequate housing, sufficient food, quality education, fair justice and personal security? Good governance is a term that is, as a matter of fact, often used to describe objective of a nation-states political development. According to the United Nations, the good governance is accountable, effective and efficient, participatory, transparent, responsive, consensus-oriented and equitable government (Gulati, 2011). Good governance is an issue that has attracted attention of thinkers since the beginning of civilized society. Plato in his Republic dwelt at length on the issue of governance and his disciple Aristotle, subsequently, further developed the concept. In India Chanakya went at length of defining the goal and role governance, with focus on code of conduct for the king. After industrial revolution and emergence of modern democracies, governance underwent a change, shifting focus from regulatory administration to a more enlightened citizen centric system in 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 20<sup>th</sup> century different thinkers like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau analyzed the institution of government and the system of governance with an eye on the contemporary society, its ills and aspirations (Sharma, Sharma, 2010). Good governance has now become a buzz word and it has received wide endorsement. The need for “Good Governance” is being increasingly recognized in all political system not only for administration efficiency but also for economic development and social justice. This explains why India also embarked upon the goal of good governance. It became all the more necessary for us to do so due to the general crises of governability. The idea of good governance is as old as the discipline of political science. Plato the Republic

aim at providing an ideal framework for good governance through the concept of justice, rule of philosopher king an elaborate system of education and communism of wives and property. It was the same quest that made Aristotle to suggest the rule of middle class humane system of slavery, rule of law, small size of state and steps for preventing revolutions. As a matter of fact, the basic objective behind the ideas of the all the political thinker from Plato to Marcuse has been the pursuit of good governance (Ray, 2011). The Constitution of India has clearly articulated goals for good governance and has specified arrangements for working towards the same matters concerning formation and working of the executive agencies (both political and civil) are spelt out. Citizens have been assured that the executive would uphold their rights and remove the inequalities from which the anti-democratic forces derive their sustenance. Governance would work towards transforming the social, political and economic life of the people, within the framework of democracy for quite some time, the constitutional arrangements worked to general satisfaction and provided the law-abiding citizens with a fairly safe and secure life. However, overtime, their inadequacies have become evident and government has lost its elan as it has failed to live up to the expectations of the constitutions to give real substances to the policies designed to promote social well being (Hussain, 2010)

### **2.1 Meaning of Sangha**

“Sangha means the monk body or the assembly of monks” (Youngda). Sangha is a Sanskrit term in its broad meaning; it refers to all the practitioners of Buddha’s teachings. It can have more restricted meaning according to the context, referring to ordained monks, Arthas, Bodhisattavas, etc (Bhutia, 2006)

### **2.2 Historical Background**

The Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha are the three postulates and symbol of Buddhism. The Sangha and the land along with its people have co-existed in Sikkim ever since the visit of its patron saint Mahaguru Padmasambhava in the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D (Bhutia, 2006). In 8<sup>th</sup> century Guru Rimpochee also known as second Buddha, Du Sum Sangay Guru Rimpochee three times of Buddha Past, Present, Future was travelling from Nalanda to Lhasa under the invitation of Tshesung Dichen in Tibet, while travelling he went through Sikkim route. Even today what we called in Buddhist philosophy Ter (Treasures), while Guru Rimpochee was here while going to Lhasa he had hidden the Ter (treasures) the sacred text in hills, rocks, lakes and trees etc and had said in the future time Tertons (text revealers) will be born and to subdues

the negativity and they will be able to open Ter (treasure) hidden Sacred texts and will give leap to the sentence being and after leaving from Sikkim to Tibet he appointed a Lepcha patriarch, who is known as Thekung Men Sarlang and he had handed over all the religious sites of Sikkim to him while departing to Lhasa. Even today there are sub-cast in Lepcha Sarlang who is still alive in western parts of Sikkim. He survived for around 800 years and after that Lachen Namkha Zigmee the reincarnation of Guru Rimpochee, when he came from Sikkim to Tibet he took charge from Thekung Men Sarlang. In 1642 the first coronation took place in Yuksum, Norbugang and it was under the patronage of Lachen Namkha Zigmee along with three lamas, Yuksum means three lamas Yuk mean lama and Sum mean three due to which the place was named as Yuksum and the first Chogyal (Dharmaraja) was enthroned or consecrated. Four of them (lamas) were Sanghas monks, through religious aspect we look at Sangha they are the administrators, they were the policy makers and they were the rulers of Sikkim in 1642. After the coronation of first Chogyal of Sikkim till 12<sup>th</sup> Chogyal of Sikkim they ruled for 333 years. Infact 12<sup>th</sup> Chogyal was also tulku (reincarnation). So the Sangha was very important since the beginning of Sikkim history that's why even in the council of ministers they have seat reserved for Sangha that is continuing till now (Tseten Tashi Bhutia, personal communication, September 24, 2019, 3.57 pm). Subsequently the three great Sanghas viz, Gyalwa Lhatsun Chenpo, Nagdag Sempa Chenpo and the Karthok Rinzing Chenpo, their successor and later reincarnates along with the Chogyal, engaged themselves into the founding of important monasteries likr the Dubdi Dorji-dhen, Tashiding, Sangchen Pemayangtse, Ralang, Phensang, Phodong, Rumtek, Tholung, Lachen, Namchi Nagdag Goenpa, Silnon, Karthok, Enchey etc. At the saem time though the Chogyal Pintso wanted to rejuvenate the first Sikkim monastery, Gyalwa Lhatsun Chenpo instructed him that it was not the right time to do so, the required karma was still not completed. Simultaneously, each monastery were granted their own estate by the durbar that exist till day, while certain major monasteries like the Sangchen Pemayangtse possessed magisterial power (Bhutia, 2006).

When His highness Chogyal Phuntsog Namgyal was in throne in 1609 (mentioned in monastic history the date doesn't tally with the Gazetteer of Sikkim where the date is 1642) after forming the government under the leadership of Chogyal Phuntsog Namgyal, he decided to form a spiritual democratic pattern of government it was called spiritual democracy because. There were only three communities that time,

Lhori, Mary and Chongri. Lhori means Bhutia, Mary means Lepchas or Rongs and Chongri means Tsong who came from Tsong valley along with Lapchen Namka Zigmee, they were three communities and all these three communities were Buddhist and the one son from the family is compulsory to become a monk that was the rule, preferably it says Phusum ki Pharma (if your family has got three sons then the middle son in Nepali it's called Maila should become monk, but the relaxation was if the parents wants all of the son to be monk that was also welcomed. However, one was compulsory this rule was framed and imposed by Chogyal Phuntsog Namgyal because the Lotus Buddha, eternal Buddha, also known as the Buddha of the past, present and future. According to Lotus Buddha, he mentioned the name Beyual Demazong who gave this name to our country. Beyual Demazong according to Lotus Buddha, it is the pure land of the present world and here in this holy country buddhistic administration and Buddha's formula should be totally observed by the people of this land that was his directives. So Chogyal Phuntsog Namgyal followed that rule that's why he made a rule that one son at least one son should be a monk if not all, like this the rule was framed. Then he called it spiritual democracy which means there should be equal number of participation from the monk side and the lay-Buddhist side, for instance in those days Chogyal Phuntsog Namgyal time there were 36 representatives from these communities (Lhori, Mary and Chongri) and out of these 36 from each community, Lhori had 12, Mary had 12 and Chongri had 12 total 36 and out of 36, 18 should come from monk side and 18 from the lay-Buddhist (Buddhist people) side. The election system was bit different Tsong had to elect 12 representatives and out of 12 representatives 6 representatives has to be from monastery Tsong monk and 6 representatives has to be from Tsong lay-Buddhist people side. Similarly, Lhori (Bhutias) also had to elect 12 representatives and out of 12 representatives they had to elect 6 representatives from the monastery monk side and 6 representatives from the lay-Buddhist side and similar case was with the Lepchas also. So these were the kind of election rule and system, today we are voting constituencies wise but in those days there was no constituencies system. In whole Sikkim, Bhutias will represent Bhutias, Lepchas only Lapchas and Tsongs only Tsongs. These were the rare kind of community representatives as a democratic pattern of government so they could protect their own community in every respect in executive and judiciary. That's why the monks had got the 50% of seats in assembly or in the parliament and 50% was from the lay-Buddhist (Buddhist people) side which

is called Lhadi-Medi government. Lhadi which represents monasteries and monks and Medi mean public and together it is called the Lhadi-Medi government. Some writers have written Lho-Men-Tsong-Sum, so community wise if we see there are only three communities Bhutia, Lepcha and Limboo there is no other communities so it's called Lho-Men-Tsong-Sum government also. The Sangha seat started from that period, out of 12 representatives from each community when it comes to the cabinet ministers, there were 9 ministers and in 9 ministers, 4 has to be from lay-Buddhist (Buddhist people) side and 5 from the monasteries side that's how the cabinet ministers was formed. During Chogyal Chakdor Namgyal period which was very popular government, Yukthing Arup was the Prime Minister he was Lepcha, Yuk means monk and thing means minister and he was very good administrator, during his time the income tax exemption was passed by the Lhadi-Medi government in the parliament of Sikkim which was in Tingrimgang near Rabdentse Palace. However, the 9<sup>th</sup> ruler Thuthop Namgyal time the British India they wanted to take over Sikkim through army invasion could not succeed, later politically they manipulated and came in Sikkim and they dislodge the Lhadi-Medi government through the Thikadar system, 52 landlords were nominated by the British who were pro British and those who were pro Sikkim were imprisoned along with king Thuthop Namgyal then the Land lord came into power. Since that time this Lhadi-Medi system was dislodge by British and after that Sikkim was divided into 52 provinces each province had a land lord and in order to work under land lord and to cultivate the land British brought in the people from outside the country to work under the land lord that's how the other people came in Sikkim, the land lords they continued till 1949 and in 1949 the people of Sikkim revolted against the land lord system and the land lord system was abolished then the government came under the Chogyal regime again and the development programme started. Immediately power coming back to Chogyal in 1950, he in 1953 declared the first election for Sikkim council and again the seats were reserved for Nepalese communities as well as the Bhutia, Lepcha and Tsong community then the Sangha seat one and Tsong seat one that was because the Chogyal went through our previous record, heritage, culture and tradition. The monks had a say in Sikkim politics that's how the Sangha seat was reserved for the monks. Similarly, Tsong seat was also reserved because the Tsong had also played a vital role during the invasion lodge by the Prithivi Raj Narayan Shah, Bhutanese, British India and even by the Tibetans, the Tsong also played a major role during the odd times of

Sikkim and many monks they gave up their monkhood and went to fight against the enemy so that's how the Sangha seat was again brought into practice by Chogyal (Yapo Sonam Youngda, July 19, 2019, 12.56 pm).

The influence of Buddhist Sangha has always been pervasive ever since the founding of this Buddhist-Nation after the installation of Phuntsog Namgyal as the first "Consecrated" Denzong Chogyal in 1642 A.D. It is therefore, significant to see how the how the historical circumstances and background necessarily destined the role for the Lhadi or Sangha to be played in the temporal affairs of the state ever since, as the most learned and the enlightened members of the society. Giving the cognizance to the role played by the lamas, they were entrusted with the equal shares in the royal advisory council called Lhadi-Medi composed of both the Sanghas and the laities, and thus, in all the affairs of the state (Bhutia, 2006).

### **2.3 Pre-Merger: Political and Administrative Development**

At the time of Chogyal Phuntsog Namgyal reign (1642-1670), Sikkim was very much bigger than it is today. The kingdom touched Thangla in Tibet in north, Tagong-la near Paro in Bhutan in the east, Naxalbari and Titalia in south, and TimarChorten on the Timar River in Nepal in the west. The main aim of the ruler was to build a firm foundation for his kingdom for this he needed the help of the Lepchas, Bhutias and Limbus who inhabited Sikkim at that time (Kazi, 2009). Phuntsog Namgyal divided the kingdom into 12 Dzongs (Districts) and placed each under 12 Lepcha Dzongpas (governors). He also appointed 12 Kalons (ministers) from the influential Bhutia families of Sikkim and formed a council of 12 ministers. Since then a dual system of administration in which the feudal bureaucracy on the pattern of the Lamaist theocracy of Tibet was firmly laid (Kazi, 2009). The British government of India appointed J. Claude white as the political officer and directed to administer the affairs of the state in conjunction with a council composed of the chief Dewans, Lamas and Kazis, and of which he was the president, not long after he had taken his new duties government decide that it would be to the advantage of the state to remove the Maharaja from Sikkim for a time, and Kurseong in the Darjeeling district was proposed as his residence (White, 1909). With the departure of the Raja and Rani to their temporary quarters, the task of reorganizing the country began in earnest. Chaos reigned everywhere, there was no revenue system, the Maharaja taking what he required as he wanted it from the people, those nearest the capital having to contribute the larger share, while those more remote had toll taken from them by the local



officials in the name of the Raja, though little found its way to him, no court of justice, no police, no public works, no education (White, 1909). The first step was to appoint the council, a measure which had up to now been delayed by the Maharaja's attitude, and the following men were selected. The two brothers the Khangsa Dewan and the Phodong Lama, the Shoe Dewan, Lari Pema (a lama from the important monastery of Pemayangtse), the Gangtak, Tassithing, Ethnic and Rhenock Kazis (White, 1909). Since Sikkim came under the British influence early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and finally became a British Protectorate in 1980. John Claude White, the first British political officer, arrived in Gangtok in 1887. He was appointed as the political officer of Sikkim by the British Raj in 1888. During his stay (1889-1908). White exercised effective influence in the administration of Sikkim and reorganized the entire system while keeping its basic structure (Kazi, 2009). He created a state council to advise the ruler (Thutob Namgyal) in the administration of the state. White's first state council consisted of Khangsa Dewan, Phodong Lama and Shoe Dewan with himself as head. In later years, landlords and lamas from various monasteries were also appointed in the council and this included Nepali Thikadars as well (Kazi, 2009).

#### 2.4 State Council of Sikkim (1925-1934)

**Table No 2.1: State Council of Sikkim (1925-26)**

Sl.No	Official Members	Non-Official Members
1	Mr. Rup Narayan, B.A, LL.B	Yangthang Kazi
2	Mr. Pestonji Jamasji	Tasang Lama
3	Rhenock Kazi	Rai Bahadur Lobzang Chhoden
4	-	Babu Ratna Bahadur Pradhan
5	-	Babu Balkrishna Pradhan
6	-	Rai Sahib Hari Prasad Pradhan, M.A,L. B

Source: Sikkim for Sikkimese: Distinct Identity Within The Union; Jigme.N.Kazi, Gangtok 2009.

The table no 2.1 shows the list and the names of the official and non-official members of the State Council of Sikkim in the year 1925-26.

**Table No 2.2: State Council of Sikkim (1926-27)**

Sl.No	Official Members	Non-Official Members
1	Mr. Rup Narayan, B.A, LL.B	Tasang Lama
2	Rai Sahib Rhenock Kazi Sonam Dadul	Rai Bahadur Lobzang Chhoden
3	-	Babu Ratnabhadur Pradhan
4	-	Babu Balkrishna Pradhan
5	-	Rai Sahib Hari Prasad Pradhan, M.A,L.B

Source: Sikkim for Sikkimese: Distinct Identity Within The Union; Jigme.N.Kazi, Gangtok 2009.

The table no 2.2 shows the list and the names of the officials and non-official members of the State Council of Sikkim in the year 1926-27.

**Table No 2.3: State Council of Sikkim (1927-28)**

Sl.No	Official Members	Non-Official Members
1	Mr. Rup Narayan, B.A, LL.B	Tasang Lama
2	Rai Sahib Rhenock Kazi Sonam Dadul	Rai Bahadur Lobzang Chhoden
3	-	Rai Sahib RatnaBahadur Pradhan
4	-	Babu Balkrishna Pradhan
5	-	Rai Sahib Hari Prasad Pradhan B.A,LL.B
6	-	Tashi Dadul Kazi

Source: Sikkim for Sikkimese: Distinct Identity Within The Union; Jigme.N.Kazi, Gangtok 2009.

The table no 2.3 shows the list and the names of the official and non-official members of the State Council of Sikkim in the year 1927-28.

**Table No 2.4: State Council of Sikkim (1932-34)**

Sl.No	Official Members	Non-Official Members
1	Mr, Rup Narayan, B.A, LL.B (Pn), Chief Judge	Rai Bahadur Lobzang Chhoden of Lingmo Estate
2	Mr. C.E Dudley, B.A, General Secretary	Tassang Lama of Pemayangtse Monastery
3	Rai Sahib Kazi Sonam Dadul Private Manager	Rai Sahib Ratnabhadur of Rhenock Estate
4	-	Babu Balkrishna Pradhan of Namthang Estate
5	-	Rai Sahib Hari Prasad Pradhan Of Rateypani and Sumbuk Estate
6	-	Kazi Tashi Dadul Of Bermoik Estate

Source: Sikkim for Sikkimese: Distinct Identity Within The Union; Jigme.N.Kazi Gangtok 2009.

The table no 2.4 shows the list and the names of the official and non-official members of the State Council of Sikkim in the year 1932-34.

## 2.5 Parity System

In May, 1951, the matter of communal representation was discussed by representatives of the three parties: Maharajkumar Palden Thondup Namgyal represented the Maharaja; Sonam Tshering represented the Bhutia-Lepcha interests as projected by the National Party, the state Congress was represented by Dimik Singh Lepcha and Kashi Raj Pradhan, a Lepcha and Nepalese. The Congress representatives had been deputed by Tashi Tshering with clear instructions that they were to discuss things from a nationalistic angle and they were to not, on any account, to take any

decision, which was to be left to the party high command (Basnet, 1974). Next day the ‘Parity Formula’ was signed by the four whereby the elected seats in the future State Council were to be divided equally among the Bhutia-Lepcha and the Nepalese Communities, and the Maharaja was to appoint five nominees. In January, 1952, the Maharaja issued a Proclamation laying down the mode of election to the proposed Sikkim Council the qualifying age for a voter was fixed at 21 and the minimum age for a candidate was to be 30 (Basnet, 1974). On 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1953 the Maharaja issued another Proclamation, called the Constitutional Proclamation”. This Proclamation laid down the rules governing the formation of the State Council and the Executive Council (Basnet, 1974). The Proclamation, besides mentioning the number of seat allotted to the different communities, also laid the powers and functions of the State Council and Executive Council. The Proclamation was a clear evidence of the Sikkim Government’s attempt to frame a Constitution desired by the people. It was the comprehensive Constitutional document with 27 Articles. The Parity system has been evolved as a tactical device to contain the ethnic conflict in the intricate complexity of Sikkim. Initially propounded for the distribution of the representation of the communities in the State Council, its scope has progressively been enlarged so as to cover the entire gamut of the administration (Kazi, 1974). The state Council and the Executive Council Proclamation of 1953 envisaged a system of election based on a communal representation. This system provided for equal treatment of Lepcha-Bhutias (30% of the population) and the Nepalese (65%) in matters relating to representative institutions, services, and administration. This was an arrangement in which a calculated balance was contrived in order to contain the majority and at the same time safeguarding the special privileges of the minority, and this arrangement came to be known as the ‘Parity System’ (Sinha, 2008).

## 2.6 Distribution and Reservation of Seats in Sikkim Council (1953-72)

**Table No 2.5: Distribution and Reservation of Seats in Sikkim Council (1953)**

Sl.No	Reservation of Seats in Sikkim Council	Numbers of Seats
1	Sikkimese Bhutia-Lepcha	6
2	Sikkimese Nepalese	6
3	Nominated by the Chogyal	5
Total seats		17

Source: Sikkim for Sikkimese: Distinct Identity Within The Union; Jigme N. Kazi, Gangtok 2009.

The table no 2.5 shows the distribution and reservation of Seats in Sikkim Council after the parity system was introduced and the Proclamation of 1953 was issued by the King, which was propounded for the representation of the different communities of Sikkim.

### **2.7 Changes in the Composition of State Council Sikkim**

The composition of the State Council was changed by the Maharaja Proclamation, dated 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1958, which stated. “Whereas it is considered desirable in the public interest to modify the arrangements for reservation of seats in the Sikkim Council, it is hereby ordered that the distribution of seat shall hereafter be as follows (Basnet, 1974). Under the 1958 Proclamation of the Maharaja of Sikkim, a seat in the Sikkim Council was reserved for the Sangha (Lamas). In a notice issued by the Sikkim Darbar on March 17, 1958, with reference to the Proclamation dated March 16, 1958, it stated “It has long been felt that, as the Monasteries and the Sangha have constructed such a vital and important role in the life of the community since the earliest known history of Sikkim, and have played major part in the taking of decisions in the Councils of the past, there should be a seat specifically reserved for the Sangha in the Sikkim Council. It is the reason that a seat has been provided specifically for their representation (Kazi, 2009). Voting for the seat reserved for Sangha was done through an electoral college of the Sangha belonging to Monasteries recognized by the Sikkim Darbar. The Sangha seat was introduced in order to provide for the representation of a section which was responsible for the basic culture of the Sikkimese Bhutia-Lepchas, including some section of the other communities of Sikkim. Their interest and safeguard and interest of the minority Communities in Sikkim (Kazi, 2009). The Proclamation was issued in 1966 granting representation to the tsongs and the Schedule castes and also increasing the Bhutiya-Lepcha and Nepali Seat (Basnet, 1974). Under the Proclamation act two more seats were introduced in Sikkim Council. They were for the Tsongs or Limbus and Schedule Caste. The change was not welcomed by Sikkim State Congress and Sikkim National Congress. They felt that the introduction of communalism and casteism would disintegrate the people of Sikkim. However, the National party supported the reservation (Kazi, 2009).

**Table No 2.6 Reservation of Seats in State Council Sikkim after modification  
1958**

<b>Sl.No</b>	<b>Reservation of Seats in Sikkim Council</b>	<b>Number of Seats</b>
1	Seats reserved for Bhutia and Lepcha	6
2	Seats reserved for Nepalese	6
3	General Seats	1
4	Seats reserved for the Sangha (Monastery)	1
5	Nomination by his Highness	6
Total seats		20

Source: Sikkim A Short Political History; L.B. Basnet, New Delhi 1974.

The table no 2.6 shows the increased number of seats in Sikkim Council after the proclamation of 1958 was issued by the king and certain changes were made. There was the introduction of new seats as follows, one Sangha seat, one general seat and one more seat was added to be nominated by the Chogyal.

**Table No 2.7: Reservation of seat in State Sikkim Council after the modification  
1966**

<b>Sl.No</b>	<b>Reservation of Seats in Sikkim Council</b>	<b>Number of Seats</b>
1	Bhutiya-Lepcha seats	7
2	Nepalese seats	7
3	General seat	1
4	Sangha seat	1
5	Schedule Castes seat	1
6	Tsongs seat	1
7	Nominated seats	6
Total seats		24

Source: Sikkim A Short Political History; L. B. Basnet, New Delhi 1974.

The table no 2.7 shows the increased number of seat in State Sikkim Council after the proclamation of 1966 was issued by king and certain changes were made. There was the introduction of new seats as follows, one Schedule caste seat, one Tsong seat and there was the increase of one seat for Bhutiya-Lepcha and one for Nepalese Seat.

## **CHAPTER- 3**

### **Role and Impact of Sangha Seat in Governance and Electoral Politics of Sikkim**

#### **Introduction**

The term 'governance' though used synonymously has the wider meaning and implications than those of the term 'government'. Government refers to the machinery and institutional arrangements of exercising the sovereign power for serving the political community whereas; governance means the process as well as the benefits of the society (Arora, 2003). The world bank (1992), in its document, 'Governance and Development' defines the term governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development' (World Bank, 1992). Governance according to Rhodes refers to self-organizing, inter-organizational networks characterized by interdependence, resource-exchange, rules of the games, and significant autonomy from the state (Rhodes, 1997). Governance is the capacity of the government to make and implement policy, in other words, to steer society (Pierre and Peters, 2000). Governance is the stewardship of formal and informal political rules of the game. Governance refers to those measures that involve setting the rules for the exercise of power and setting conflicts over such rules (Hyden, 1999). For the sake of development management, governance can be best defined as the: impartial, transparent management of public affairs through the generation of a regime (set of rules) accepted as constituting legitimate authority, for the purpose of promoting and enhancing societal values that are sought by individuals and groups (Charlik, 1992). The term governance therefore, encompasses a wide range of activities involving all cultural communities and various stakeholders in the country, all government institutions (legislatives, executive, administrative, judicial and parastatal bodies), political parties, interest groups, non-governmental organizations (including civil societies), the private sector, and the public at large (Frederickson, 1997). Good governance is a concept that has recently come into regular use in political science, public administration and more particularly terms as democracy, civil society, popular participation, human rights and social and sustainable development (Agere, 2000).

Good governance is a normative conception of the values according to which the act of governance is realized, and the method by which group of social actors interact in a

certain social context. The concept of good governance emerged mainly because practices of bad governance characterized by corruption, unaccountable governments and lack of respect for human right had become increasingly dangerous and the need to intervene in such case had become urgent. Good governance has become an important element of the political and economic agenda and has meanwhile been better specified along with the proliferation of good practices that take the concept into consideration. Beyond entailing just multiparty elections, a judiciary and parliament, which have been identified as primary components of western-style democracies, good governance goes on to address several other central issues (Clauser and Mariana, 2007).

### **3.1 Electoral Politics of Sangha Seat in Sikkim (post-1975): The election of 1979**

Immediately after the merger, Sikkim adopted the unicameral legislature system in the name of Sikkim Legislative Assembly. It also got one seat each in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The Sikkim Legislative Assembly (SLA) has 32 members and is directly elected by the people on the basis of 'one man one vote' and universal adult suffrage'. It was much in contrast with the traditional 'communal voting system'. Before 1979, the Sikkim Legislative Assembly was based on the mandate of 1974 election (Chakaravathi, 1994). Following the resignation of Kazi Lendup Dorji Khangsarpa's ministry and the subsequent failure of constitutional machinery President Rule was imposed for the first time in Sikkim in 1979. In fact the assembly during this time was functioning in the extended (sixth year) period because election to it was held in the year 1974 (Chakaravathi, 1994). In March 1979, a new political party emerged under the leadership of Nar Bahadur Bhandari, called the Sikkim Party (later changed to Sikkim Janata Parishad) was warming up to the upcoming election in 1979. Others political party was also formed such as the Sikkimese Congress with R.C Poudyal in September 1979 as president and Dorjee Tshering and Adhiklal Pradhan as vice Presidents. It was registered as the Sikkim Congress (Revolutionary) by the election Commission and was allotted the symbol of the "Rising Sun" (Kharel and Bhutia, 2013). A month before the election of 1979, the government of India issued Ordinance Number 7, 1979 through which the parity system was abolished. Twelve seats in the state assembly were now reserved for Bhutia and Lepcha community, 1 seat for Sangha (the monk body), 2 seats for Schedule Castes and the remaining 17 seats were declared as General seats. The election of 1979 was the first election held under the constitution of India. The party led by Nar Bahadur Bhandari

won the election of 1979 securing 16 out of 32 seats and formed the first government after the merger. On October 18, 1979, N.B.Bhandari was sworn in as the chief minister of Sikkim. In 1980 the party changed its name to “Sikkim Parishad” and in April 1981, the Sikkim Parishad merged with Congress (I). This began a process of gradual integration of Sikkim with the Indian political system (Kharel and Bhutia, 2013). In the election of 1979 Lachen Gomchen Rimpochee filed the Nomination as the independent candidate from 32-Sangha seat and was elected from the 32-Sangha seat as the Member of Legislative Assembly and the Sangha candidate played a very vital role in forming the government because. Since the Sikkim Janata Parishad party (later known as Sikkim Parishad) had won 16 seats out of 32 seats, Sangha seat was won by a independent candidate and the remaining 15 seats was won by two other party and with the support of the Sangha candidate the Sikkim Parishad party was able to form a government.



### 3.2 Electors of Sangha in Sikkim (1979-1986)

**Table No 3.1: Electors of Sangha in Sikkim.**

No and Name of the constituency	Electors in 1979	Electors in 1980 after special revision	Increase (3-2)	Electors in 1981 after summary revision	Increase (5-3)	Electors in 1982 after Summary revision	Increase (7-5)	Electors in 1983 after intensive revision	Increase (9-7)	Electors in 1984 after summary revision	Increase (11-9)	Deletion in 1984 due to duplication of name	Electors after deletion in 1984	Electors in 1985 after summary revision		Increase in 1985		Grand Total	Increase in 1985 General (21-19)	Total electors after summary revision 1986
														General	Service Voters					
1 Sangha	2146	2151	5	2151	-	2151	-	2151	-	2151	-	-	2151	2296	-	145	-	2296	-	2296

Source: Data issued by Chief Election Office 2019, Government of Sikkim.

The table no 3.1 shows the electors of Sangha in Sikkim from 1979-1986, how many voters has increased each year in the voter list of 32-Sangha constituency.

### 3.3 Statement Showing Assembly Segment wise Electorate from the General Elections to 7<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha, 1980 to 10<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha, 1991

**Table No 3.2: Assembly segment wise electorate from general election to 7<sup>th</sup> Lok sabha to 10<sup>th</sup> Lok sabha, 1991**

Sl.No	Name of Assembly Segment	7 <sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Election 1980	8 <sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Election 1984	9 <sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Election 1989	10 <sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Election 1991
1	Sangha	2151	2151	3216	3241

Source: Data issued by Chief Election Office 2019, Government of Sikkim.

The table no 3.2 shows the details about the Assembly segment wise Electorate from the general election to 7<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha, 1980 to 10<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha, 1991.

**Table No 3.3: Electors and Voters in Constituency-Wise (1999)**

Sl.No	Name of Assembly Constituency	Electors			Electors who voted			Poll percentage		
		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1	Sangha	3254	36	3290	2000	21	2021	98.96	01.30	61.42

Source: Data issued by Chief Election Office 2019, Government of Sikkim.

The table no 3.3 shows the total electors men and women of Sangha, also shows the electors who voted and over all percentage of the Sangha voters.

**Table No 3.4: Electors and vote polled during the 8<sup>th</sup> Vidhan-Sabha General Election (2009)**

Name of District and Assembly Constituency	Total Electoral			Votes Polled					
	Men	Women	Total	EVM(Men)	EVM(Women)	Total on EVM	Postal Votes	Total Votes Polled	% of Votes Polled
32-Sangha	3021	37	3058	1955	3	1958	22	1980	64.75

Source: Data issued by Chief Election Office 2019, Government of Sikkim.

The table no 3.4 shows the detail about the Electoral men and women of 32- Sangha, who voted during the 8<sup>th</sup> Vidhan-Sabha General Election, it also shows the detail of the total men and women vote and the numbers of men and women voted through EVM and postal vote, total vote polled and the total percentage of votes polled during election.

**Table No 3.5: Electors and Vote polled during General Election 2014 to the 9<sup>th</sup> Sikkim Legislative Assembly**

Name of District and Assembly Constituency	Total Electoral			Votes Polled					
	Men	Women	Total	EVM(Men)	EVM(Women)	Total on EVM	Postal Votes	Total Votes Polled	% of Votes Polled
32-Sangha	2859	45	2904	2126	31	2157	52	2209	76.07

Source: Data issued by Chief Election Office 2019, Government of Sikkim.

The table no 3.5 shows the detail about the Electors men and women of 32-Sangha, who voted during the General Election to the 9<sup>th</sup> Assembly, it also shows the detail of the total men and women vote and the numbers of men and women voted through EVM and the postal vote, total vote polled and the percentage of votes polled during election.

### **3.4 Ecclesiastical Department**

The Ecclesiastical Department is one of the oldest and most respected departments of the state. The department controls over the external affairs of the Monasteries, Mandirs and all the other religious institutions in the state. The department does not interfere in the internal affairs/ functioning of the religious institutions and organizations, particularly matter relating to religious protocols and ritual traditions. In ancient monarchy system of government in Sikkim, the period starting from first Chogyal Phungtshog Namgyal (1604-1670) to the 7<sup>th</sup> king Sidkeong Namgyal (1819-1874), there existed a unique system of assembly called Lhadi-Medi which comprised of the representatives from Sangha or Monastic Community and the representatives from the general public. The monasteries were then provided with sufficient lands in the form of ChoZhi or Monastic Estate for the monastic community to sustain the religious affairs. The villagers falling under the monastic estate paid taxes directly to the monastic authorities known as Duchi of the respective monasteries. However, with the passage of time, then the ruler as well as the people confronted with new revolutionary traits of the modern thinking and strategies that were taking their roots across the world. If we recall the historic facts, it is said that, by the time Chogyal Thuthob's (9<sup>th</sup> king) accession in 1874, the British empire in Asia was the paramount fact and Sikkim was already under the full blast of British diplomacy. King Thuthob was then only fourteen while his opposite members in Darjeeling and Calcutta were men of age and experience. Even before the accession of king Thuthob, the British were looking for trade marts in Tibet. Due to unsuccessful attempt of the British for penetrating into Tibet, the relation between king Thuthob and British Expeditionary personnel deteriorated. Following which King Thuthob was politically detained like prisoner for a long time at Kurseong. At the mean time, the British got an opportunity to interfere into the internal administration of the Durbar for their benefit. However, in the year 1905, the Royal families were invited with other dignitaries like H.H. Panchen Lama and king of Bhutan to meet the British heir apparent (Prince of Wales) and his consort at Calcutta. Taking this opportunity, his highness brought to the notice of the British Viceroy and the higher authorities the question of restoration of administrative powers in Sikkim. Eventually, on their return, James Claude White, the political officer of Sikkim handed over the council and part of administration to the king, but retained the power to review any transaction. Soon after Claude White power had fallen out. Chogyal Thuthob however, through his learning and

experiences during his hard times of life, allocated the responsibility of administration among several ministers and set up a Secretariat in the same year. In the following year, the first English school was set up in Gangtok and his son Sidkeong Tulku (Chota Namgyal) was admitted to Oxford in London. In 1908 Sidkeong Tulku returned and took over the administration of forest, Monasteries (Gon-Ney Lekhung) and Education. When Sidkeyong succeeded his father as tenth Consecrated ruler in February 1914, he strove to make the monasteries alive to their social duties. The monastic estates, through functioning themselves independently, were brought under the control of “Gon-Ney Lekhung” was rendered as an English translation as “Ecclesiastical Affairs Department” and it is continuing until to this day with its prime duties of looking after the welfare of all the faiths throughout the country for harmonious living and co-existence ([www.sikkimecccl.gov.in](http://www.sikkimecccl.gov.in)). Even though there is the separate religious reserved seat for the monks through which they elect their representative and who represent their interest in the legislature, the monasteries which participates in the electoral process of the Sangha representatives is taken care by the Ecclesiastical Affairs department

### 3.5 Different Monasteries Registered under Ecclesiastical Department

**Table No 3.6: Monasteries in East Sikkim**

Sl.No	Monastery Name	Date of Establishment
1	Old Rumtek Monastery	1734 A.D
2	Karthok Dorjeden Monastery	1840 A.D
3	Enchey Monastery	1840 A.D
4	Linkoed Monastery	1840 A.D
5	Rinak Monastery	1841 A.D
6	Simig Monastery	1843 A.D
7	Pathing Matsang Monastery	1860 A.D
8	Lingdok Tsangkhar Monastery	1862 A.D
9	Ray Mindi Kateling Monastery	1873 A.D
10	Pabyuk Monastery	1875 A.D
11	Tsangek Monastery	1888 A.D
12	Tsulakhang Monastery	1898 A.D
13	Sang Monastery	1912 A.D
14	Samdong Mintokgang Monastery	1913 A.D
15	Martam Namdzong	1917 A.D
16	Thumon Monastery	1921 A.D
17	Sumon Thubten Gatsalling Monastery	1924 A.D
18	Amba Mamring Monastery	1929 A.D
19	Choten Monastery	1946 A.D
20	Martam Tsangkhar Monastery	1951 A.D
21	Pandam “Tashi Palden” Monastery	1955 A.D
22	Raloong Monastery	1956 A.D

23	Radong Tensung Monastery	1959 A.D
24	Sang-Ngor “Ngor Gonpa” Monastery	1961 A.D
25	Rumtek Dharma Chakra Center	1962 A.D
26	Bakcham Monastery	1966 A.D
27	Kagon Tshechhogling Monastery	1977 A.D
28	Taktse Ani Gonpa “Ugen Chokorling”	1980 A.D
29	Tingkye Gonjang Monastery	1981 A.D
30	Khatek Pema Choling Monastery	1985 A.D
31	Dichen Choling Monastery	1987 A.D
32	Taglung Domsumling Monastery	1987 A.D
33	Dolepchen Boudha Sanskrit Monastery	1991 A.D
34	Singtam “Karma Thuje Choling” Monastery	1992 A.D
35	Lingdum Zurmang Monastery	1999 A.D
36	Burtuk Ugen Pemacholing Monastery	2000 A.D
37	Duchi Gyalton Monastery	2002 A.D
38	Bongyong Monastery	2005 A.D

Source: [www.sikkimeccl.gov.in](http://www.sikkimeccl.gov.in)

The table no 3.6 shows the numbers and the name of monasteries which are in East Sikkim at present registered under the Ecclesiastical Affairs Department.

**Table No 3.7: Monasteries in West Sikkim**

Sl.No	Name of Monastery	Date of Establishment
1	Dubdi Monastery	1647 A.D
2	Sang-Ngag Choling Monastery	1649-1650 A.D
3	Pemayangtshe Monastery	1650-1651 A.D
4	Tashiding Monastery	1651 A.D
5	Silnon Monastery	1761 A.D
6	Rinchenpong Monastery	1730 A.D
7	Melli-Atsing Monastery	1740 A.D
8	Khachodpalri Monastery	1760 A.D
9	Lhuntse Monastery	1850 A.D
10	Chakung Monastery	1847 A.D
11	Nubling Monastery	1875 A.D
12	Aden Wolung Monastery	1913 A.D
13	Hungri Monastery	1922 A.D
14	Okhery Monastery	1949 A.D
15	Tashi Samboling Tamang Monastery	1967 A.D
16	Sri Badam Monastery	1976 A.D
17	Rinchen Choling Tamu Monastery	1996 A.D
18	Dodak Tamu Monastery	2005 A.D

Source: [www.sikkimeccl.gov.in](http://www.sikkimeccl.gov.in)

The table no 3.7 shows the numbers and the name of monasteries which are in West Sikkim at present registered under the Ecclesiastical Affairs Department.

**Table No 3.8: Monasteries in North Sikkim**

Sl.No	Monastery Name	Date of Establishment
1	Phensang Monastery	1721 A.D
2	Phodong Karma Tashi Chokhorling Monastery	1734 A.D
3	Tsungthang Monastery	1788 A.D
4	Tholung Monastery	1789 A.D
5	Tingbung Monastery	1843 A.D
6	Labrang Monastery	1844 A.D
7	Lachung “Samten Choling” Monastery	1850 A.D
8	Ringyim “Rigdzing Tharling” Monastery	1852 A.D
9	Lingthem Gonpa “Chophel Dargyeling”	1857 A.D
10	Lachen “Ngodub Choling” Monastery	1858 A.D
11	Sontam Tensung Monastery	1884 A.D
12	Singchit Ngadag Monastery	1890 A.D
13	Ship Kunzang Choling Monastery	1900 A.D
14	Kabi “Sangha Dargyeling” Monastery	1911 A.D
15	Hee Gyathang Monastery	1914 A.D
16	Malam Monastery	1928 A.D
17	Tareng Gonpa “Dargye Choling”	1929 A.D
18	Tsawang Choling Monastery	1936 A.D
19	Nagi “Ugen Sangdoling” Monastery	1937 A.D
20	Shagyong Monastery	1940 A.D
21	Barphog “Chhodup Dargyeling” Monastery	1957 A.D
22	Silem Phagyal “Tashi Dargyeling” Monastery	1967 A.D
23	Lachen Thangu Monastery	1947 A.D
24	Gor “Rinchen Khando” Mpnastery	2002 A.D

Source: [www.sikkimeccl.gov.in](http://www.sikkimeccl.gov.in)

The table no 3.8 shows the numbers and the name of monasteries which are in North Sikkim at present registered under the Ecclesiastical Affairs Department.

**Table No 3.9: Monasteries in South Sikkim**

Sl.No	Monastery Name	Date of Establishment
1	Namchi Nga-Dag Monastery	1684 A.D
2	Dolling Monastery	1718 A.D
3	Ralong “Karma Rabtenling” Monastery	1730 A.D
4	Yangang Gonpa “Tashi Palding Gon”	1787 A.D
5	Mangbro Monastery	1790 A.D
6	Linge Phagyal Monastery	1862 A.D
7	Burmiok Wosel Choling Monastery	1873 A.D
8	Ben “Karma Choling” Monastery	1902 A.D
9	Namthang Norbu Tsho-Ling Monastery	1914 A.D
10	Melli Tashi Chodarling Monastery	1915 A.D
11	Wok Pabong Monastery	1915 A.D
12	Sangmo Sharchog Bephug Monastery	1921 A.D
13	Parbing “Samten Choling” Monastery	1935 A.D
14	Tekling Dzokchen Monastery	1936 A.D
15	Boomtar Namdroling Monastery	1939 A.D
16	Namchi Ahaley “Dechen Choling” Monastery	1948 A.D

17	Sorok Tamang Monastery	1962 A.D
18	Serdup Choling Monastery	1967 A.D
19	Rabong Kunpheling Tsechu Monastery	1972 A.D
20	Kewzing “Tashi Gyephelling” Monastery	1974 A.D
21	Bon Monastery	1980 A.D
22	Yangang Changchub Tamu Monastery	1982 A.D
23	Burmiok Norbugang Monastery	1992 A.D
24	Ralong Palchen Choling Monastery	1995 A.D
25	Suiram Risung Monastery	1995 A.D
26	Namthang Niyma Choling Monastery	1997 A.D
27	Gagyong Monastery	2005 A.D
28	Rabong Monastery	2008 A.D

Source: [www.sikkimeccl.gov.in](http://www.sikkimeccl.gov.in)

The table no 3.9 shows the numbers and the name of monasteries which are in South Sikkim at present registered under the Ecclesiastical Affairs Department.



### 3.6 Monasteries which participates in the electoral process of Sangha

**Table No 3.10: List of Monasteries which participates in electoral process of Sangha Representative**

S.L No	Name of the Monastery	District	Female voter	Male voter	Total number of voters
1	Dubdi Sangha Gumpa	West Sikkim	0	49	49
2	Kechopheri Lake	West Sikkim	0	64	64
3	Pau Hongri Gumpa	West Sikkim	0	10	10
4	Melli Gumpa	West Sikkim	0	66	66
5	Pemayangtse Gumpa	West Sikkim	0	144	144
6	Tashiding Chogyal Lakhang Gumpa, Silnen Nagdak Gumpa	West Sikkim	0	150	150
7	Sangacholing Gumpa	West Sikkim	3	91	94
8	Lhuntse Gumpa	West Sikkim	0	37	37
9	Rinchenpong Gumpa	West Sikkim	0	51	51
10	Chakung Gumpa	West Sikkim	0	10	10
11	Anden Wolung Gumpa	West Sikkim	0	56	56
12	Kitam Nyangma Gumpa	South Sikkim	0	7	7
13	Ralang Kagyud Gumpa	South Sikkim	0	88	88
14	Dolling Rikzing Langyang Gumpa	South Sikkim	1	24	25
15	Sosing Mangbru Gumpa	South Sikkim	0	19	19
16	Wak Samten Choling Gumpa	South Sikkim	0	4	4
17	Namchi Boomtar Gumpa	South Sikkim	2	23	25
18	Namchi Ngadak Gumpa	South Sikkim	16	35	51
19	Melli Tashi Chodarling Gumpa	South Sikkim	0	14	14

20	Namthang Norbu Choling Gompa	South Sikkim	1	24	25
21	Barmiok Woselcholing Gompa	South Sikkim	3	27	30
22	Parbing Karma Tashi Gompa	South Sikkim	7	38	45
23	Yangang Tashipalding Gompa	South Sikkim	3	62	65
24	Lingi Phagyal Gompa	South Sikkim	2	30	32
25	Sumin Gompa	East Sikkim	0	48	48
26	Linkey Matching Chenkar Gompa	East Sikkim	1	116	117
27	Changey Gompa	East Sikkim	1	31	32
28	Rhenock Bora Kagyud Gompa	East Sikkim	0	30	30
29	Amba Mamring Gompa	East Sikkim	0	11	11
30	Karthok Dorjiden Gompa	East Sikkim	9	39	48
31	Simick Dudling Gompa	East Sikkim	2	96	98
32	Rakdong Tinktek Gompa	East Sikkim	3	71	74
33	Tumin Karmacholing Gompa, Samdong mintok Gompa	East Sikkim	1	76	77
34	Sang Kagyud Gompa	East Sikkim	0	54	54
35	Martam Chonkar Gompa	East Sikkim	1	34	35
36	Rumtek Kagyud Gompa	East Sikkim	0	140	140
37	Pabyuk Bora Kagyud Gompa	East Sikkim	0	27	27
38	Enchey Sangacholing Gompa	East Sikkim	0	82	82
39	Tholung Gompa	North Sikkim	0	41	41
40	Lingthem Chopal Targelling Gompa	North Sikkim	0	66	66
41	Gyathang Tashi Choling Gompa	North Sikkim	0	37	37
42	Gor Tarjang Gompa	North Sikkim	0	26	26

43	Shipgyer Kingachioling Gompa	North Sikkim	0	39	39
44	Lachen Gyanden Choling Gompa	North Sikkim	0	44	44
45	Lachung Samten Choling Gompa	North Sikkim	1	48	49
46	Chungthang Chimo Rinchen Gompa	North Sikkim	0	34	34
47	Singchit Nagdok Gompa, Santong Tinsoong Gompa	North Sikkim	0	34	34
48	Ringong Rikzing Choling Gompa	North Sikkim	0	41	41
49	Phodong Lagyud- Labrang Gompa	North Sikkim	8	468	476
50	Phensang Gompa, Chewang Ani Gompa	North Sikkim	1	282	283
51	Lingdok Chenkar Gompa	North Sikkim	0	4	4

Source: Electoral Roll 32-Sangha Seat 2019 issued by Chief Election Office, Government of Sikkim.

The table no 3.10 shows the details about the selected among many other monasteries that participates in the electoral process of 32-Sangha representatives.

### **3.7 Variable showing the role and impact in governance and electoral politics of Sangha seat in Sikkim**

#### **3.7.1 Assembly Proceedings**

The Sangha seat played a very vital role in the general election of 1979 because of which the Sikkim Parishad party led by Nar Bahadur Bandhari was able to form the government. Likewise, the Sangha seat also has a major role like the other Legislature in the governance and electoral politics of Sikkim. Since there was the conception among the general people of Sikkim that the Sangha representative is only related with monks and for the welfare of that particular section people (Monk) in society but, according to the Sikkim Legislative Assembly (SLA) Proceedings where the statement of each and every member of Legislature is recorded for future reference which shows what demand, being the members of legislature he/she has made for the development of their constituencies and for the welfare of the people of their constituencies from where he/she has been elected as a representatives not only that, but it also shows that what measures has been taken by the member of legislature for welfare of Sikkimese people regardless of their own constituencies and for the development of Sikkim as whole. According to the assembly proceedings the Sangha representative has also right to raise the questions if the representative finds the work done by any other member or the department of the concerned minister is not up to the mark or satisfactory, demand the grants, make suggestions in different bills introduced by the members of legislature and raise the issues for the welfare of the different sections of people in Sikkim. The vote of Sangha Representative for passing any type of bill in Sikkim according to the Assembly proceeding counts equal in Sikkim Legislative Assembly comparing to the other members of legislature, it shows that the Sangha representative is there not only to look after the monastery and the monks but also participates in other activities, where different decision are made for the welfare of the people and certain policies are passed for the welfare of Sikkim state as a whole. The Sangha Representative is also appointed as the Chairmen of different committee in Assembly for example, Namkha Gyaltsen was appointed as the chairman government assurance committee 1986-87 (Assembly Proceeding, 1987). The Sangha Member of Legislative Assembly was also nominated as the chairman of the estimate committee for 1990-91 (Assembly Proceeding, 1992). The proceeding of the Sikkim Legislative Assembly shows that the Sangha representative has every right and enjoys the same status as compared to the other member of

legislature in every aspect, the representative can also be nominated as the chairman for different committees etc.

### **3.8 Some measures taken by the Sangha representative**

**3.8.1 Lachen Gomchen Rimpochee, Minister, Ecclesiastical Department, Culture Department, Social welfare, SC/ST, State Trading Corporation:** The Government has for the current year allocated funds for economic grants to department of Schedule Caste welfare to benefit 100 families of Schedule Caste Community. The details of the economic grants are as shown below (Assembly Proceedings, 1981).

**Table No 3.11: Details of the grants**

Sl.No	Nature of Grants	District				Total
		East	West	North	South	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	House Repairing	10	-	-	10	20
2	Black smithy Tools	8	6	2	4	20
3	Sewing Machine	7	6	1	6	20
4	Purchase of Bulls or Milking cows	5	4	1	10	20
5	Other Miscellaneous	5	10	-	10	20
6	Total	35	26	4	35	100

Source: Assembly Proceedings Issued by Sikkim Legislative Assembly 2019, Government of Sikkim.

The table no 3.11 shows the detail about the grant sanctioned under the minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs Department (Sangha Representative) by the government of Sikkim, for the welfare of the Schedule Caste Community and has also shown the detail of the grants allocated to the Schedule Caste people in numbers and district wise.

The Proceedings section shows that even though the Sangha seat representative to elect by the religious institutions- the monasteries, but they treat all the issues with equal importance besides their own religious constituency and also they are equally treated by the Government for general welfare and development of the state. This constitutes the unique character of the Sikkim political process that exhibits representation on equal footing while these representatives too not only limit their activities on religious aspects but also general welfare of the people of Sikkim and overall development of the state.

## **CHAPTER-4**

### **Constitutional Validity of Sangha Seat in Sikkim**

#### **4.1 Background**

The Sikkim Congress(R), which took part in October 1979 elections, won 11 Out of 32 seats held under the Ordinance No. 7 of 1979. On September 18, 1979, R.C Poudyal filed a writ petition (Civil Writ Petition No. 1690 Of 1979) in the Delhi high court under article 226 of the Constitution of India. The said writ petition, after withdrawing from the Delhi High Court, was filed before the Sikkim High Court on June 6, 1980. Finally, the case was transferred from the Sikkim High Court and was filed in the Supreme Court on July 30, 1982. The respondents were the Union of India, the State of Sikkim, the Chief Election Commissioner and 32 MLAs (Kazi, 2009). R.C's main pleas in his writ petition filed before the Delhi high Court were:

- a) Bhutia-Lepchas form a race and as such reservation of seats for a race is violative of Article 15 (I) and 325 of the Constitution of India.
- b) That reservation of seat for Sangha is based on ground of religion and such as it is violative of Article 15 (I) and 325 of the Constitution. Constituency for Sanghas being not a territorial constituency the same is also the violative of Article 170 of the Constitution.
- c) That a law made under 371F (f) cannot over rule the provision relating to fundamental rights.
- d) That article 371F (f) is destructive of the basic structure of the Constitution.
- e) That Nepalese in Sikkim constituting more than 70% of the population of Sikkim and such as reservations of others of disproportionately larger number of seat is violative of Article 15 (I) of the Constitution and is also destructive of rule of law (Kazi, 2009).

#### **4.1.1 The Following prayers have been made in the said writ petition:**

- a) Appropriate writ, order or direction declaring the provisions of the representation of the people (Amendment) Act 1980 as unconstitutional and illegal.
- b) Appropriate writ, direction or order declaring that the constitution and continuance of the present Legislative Assembly of Sikkim is illegal and Unconstitutional.

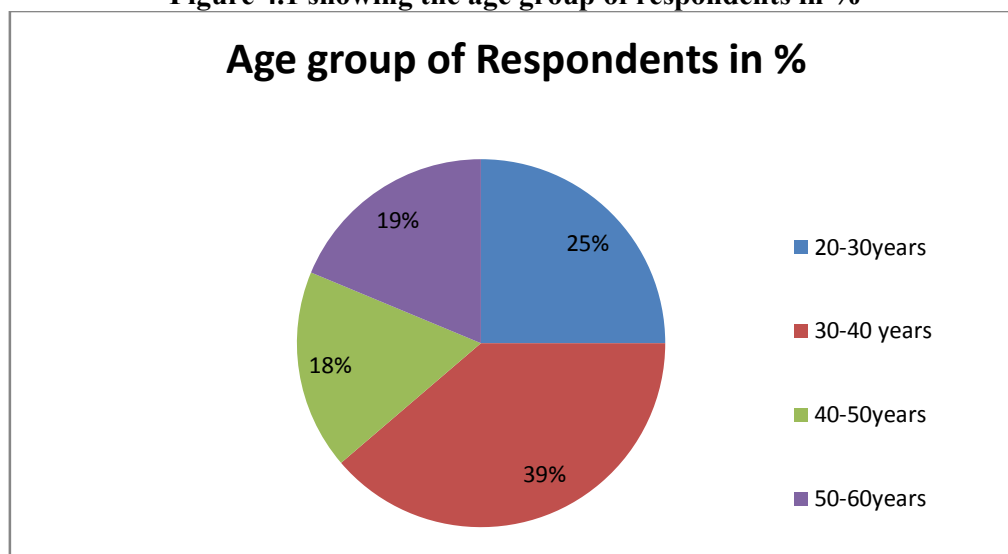
- c) Appropriate writ, order or direction restraining the union of India, State of Sikkim and the Chief Election Commissioner from holding in future the election to Legislative Assembly of Sikkim in accordance with the impugned Act (Kazi, 2009).

This study analyses and examines the evolution of Sangha seat in Sikkim, its historical background and tries to understand its unique feature which only exists in Sikkim. Among other states of India, its role and impact in governance and electoral politics of Sikkim and the most important part the Constitutional validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim in general and particularly based on the data collected from the field through survey schedule. The areas initiated for the study are Pemayangtse Monastery, Tashiding Monastery, Rumtek Monastery, Ralong Monastery, Phodong Monastery and Phensang Monastery, the six old Premiere Monasteries recognized under the regime of Chogyal and apart from that two more monastery Enchey and Kewzing Monasteries was also taken for the study to maintain the numbers of monasteries from four districts (East, West, North and South) of Sikkim. The fieldwork was undertaken from 21<sup>st</sup> of November up to 27<sup>th</sup> of November 2019. The In-depth interview was also taken of the former politicians and the present Minister of Sangha. The objectives behind the selection of the selected Monasteries from four districts of Sikkim was, the above selected 6 monasteries are the old premiere monasteries which was recognized under the regime of Chogyal and apart from that two more monasteries were taken for maintaining the numbers of monasteries taken for the study from four district of Sikkim.

#### **4.2 Data Collection, Analysis and Interpretation**

The sample of 90 respondents were selected, where 8 Monasteries were selected (including the 6 premiere monasteries recognized by Chogyal) and 40 monks respondents were selected from all these monasteries 5 each from 8 monasteries, 40 common people were selected for the same from 10 respondents from each districts and 10 In-depth interview politicians were selected including the present Sangha Minister of Sikkim. The selection of sample uses variables like age, sex, religion, income etc.

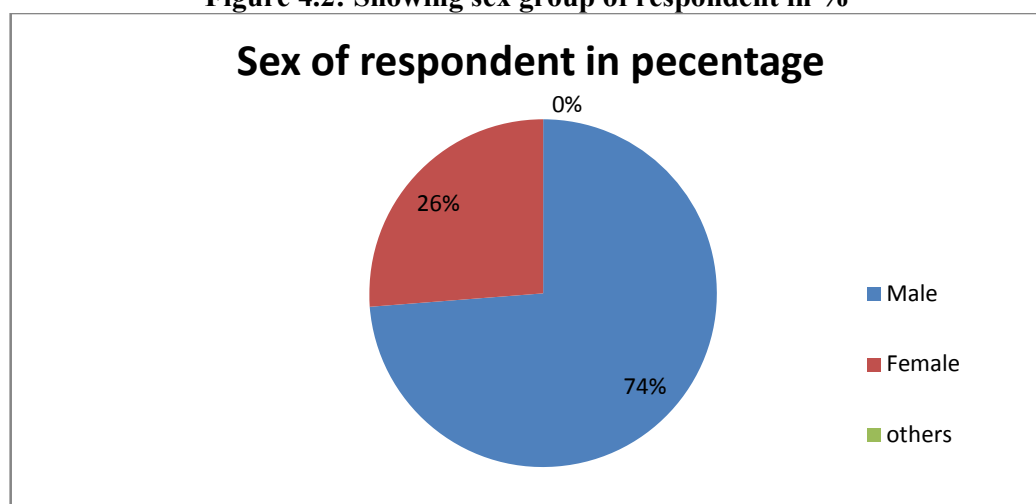
**Figure 4.1 showing the age group of respondents in %**



Source: Field Survey, 2019

The above figure shows the age of the respondents, the total number of respondents was 80 and age group was divided into four categories that are from 20 to 30, 30 to 40, 40 to 50 and 50 to 60. Out of 80 respondents 25 were from the age group of 20 to 30, 31 were from the age group of 30 to 40, 14 were from the age group of 40 to 50 and 15 respondents were from the age group of 50 to 60.

**Figure 4.2: Showing sex group of respondent in %**

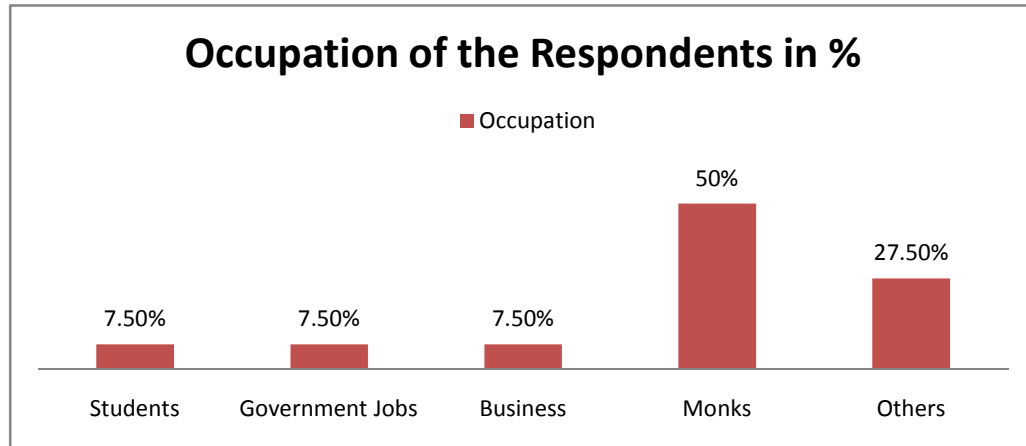


Source: Field Survey, 2019

The above figure shows the sex group of the respondents in %, out of 80 % 59 were male respondents and 21 were female respondents form others section which includes third gender respondents there were 0 respondents.



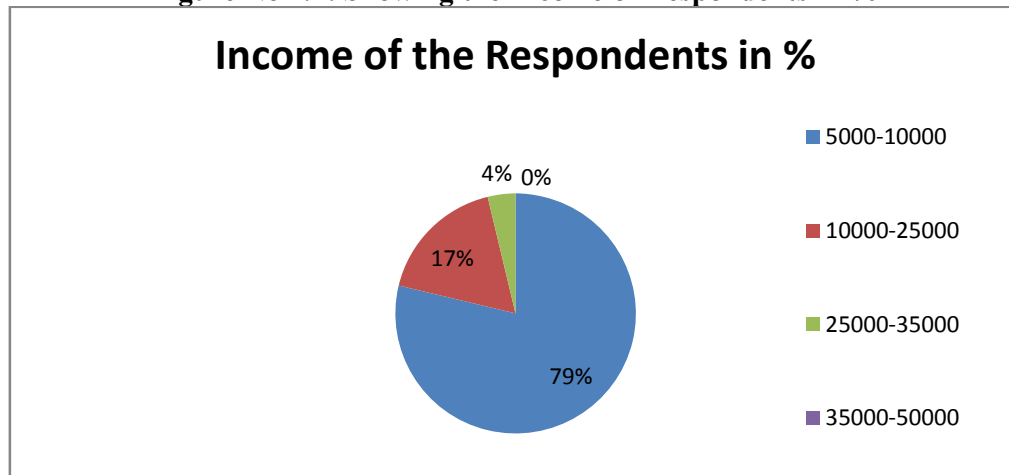
**Figure No 4.3: Showing Occupation of respondents in %**



Source: Field Survey, 2019

The above figure shows the occupation of respondents in percentage, the total number of respondents was 80 and the occupation section was divided in to five categories that are Students, Government Job, Business, Monks and Others. Out of 80 respondents 6 respondents were from students group, 6 respondents from Government Job section people, 6 respondents were from Business background, 40 respondents were from Monks section and 22 were from the others section.

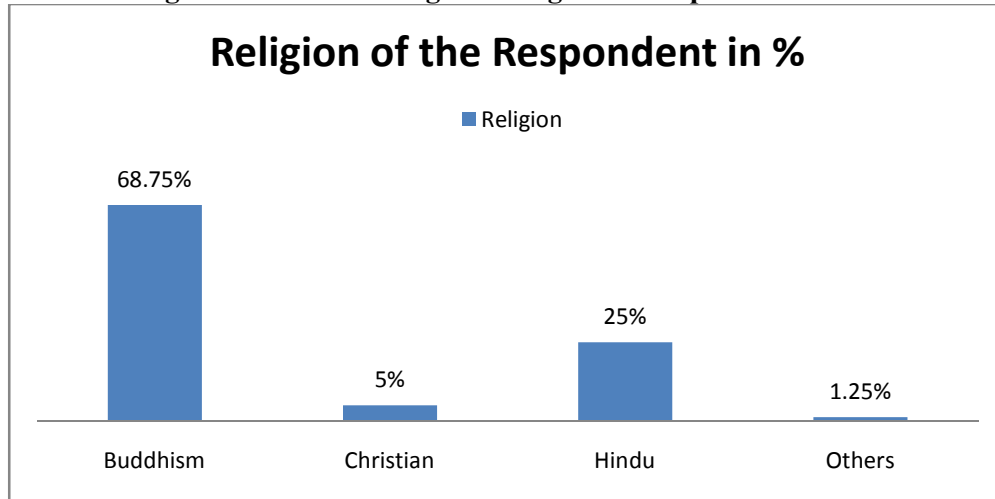
**Figure No 4.4: Showing the Income of Respondents in %**



Source: Field Survey, 2019

The above figure shows the income of respondents in percentage, the total number of respondents was 80 and the income section was divided in to five categories that are, 5000-10000, 10000-25000, 25000-35000 and 35000-50000. Out of 80 respondents 63 respondents were from 5000-10000 income groups, 14 respondents were from 10000-25000 income groups, 3 respondents were from 25000-35000 and 0 were from the 35000-50000 income group section.

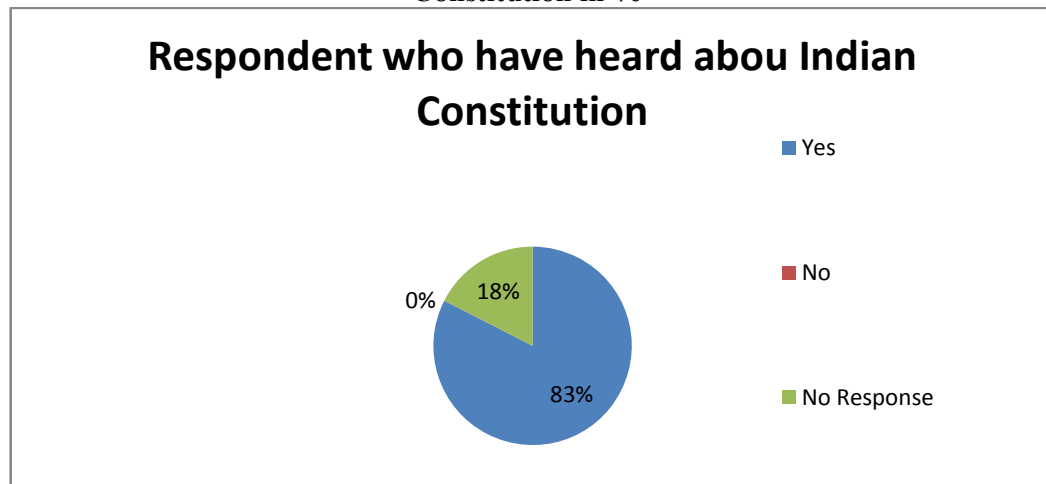
**Figure No 4.5: Showing the Religion of Respondents in %**



Source: Field Survey, 2019

The above figure shows Religion of the respondents in percentage, the total number of respondents was 80 and the religion section was divided in to four categories that are Buddhism, Christian, Hindu and Others. Out of 80 respondents 55 respondents were from Buddhist religion, 4 respondents from Christian religion, 20 respondents were from Hindu religion and 1 respondent was from others section.

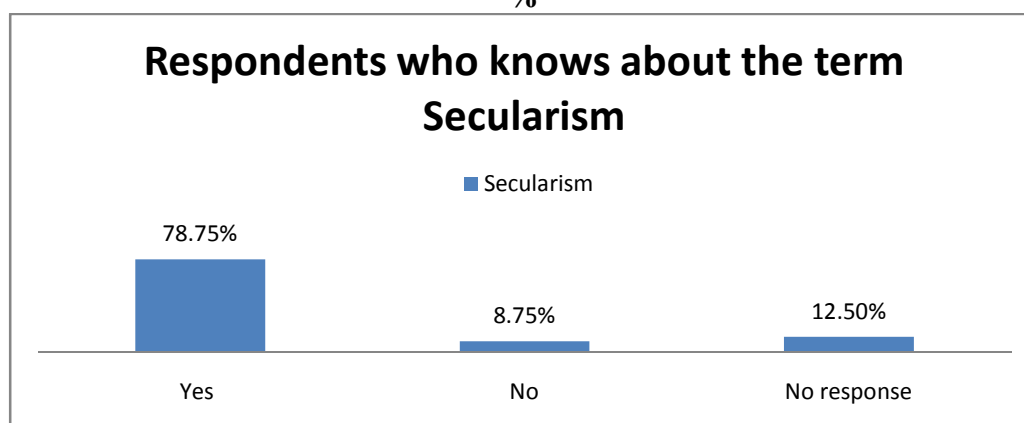
**Figure No 4.6: Showing the Respondents have heard about the Indian Constitution in %**



Source: Field Survey, 2019

The above figure shows about the respondents who knows about the Indian Constitution in percentage, the total number of respondents was 80 and the question section was divided in to three categories that are 'Yes', 'No' and 'No-response'. Out of 80 respondents 82.5% respondent answered 'Yes', 0 % respondent answered 'No' and 17.5 % respondents answered 'No-response'.

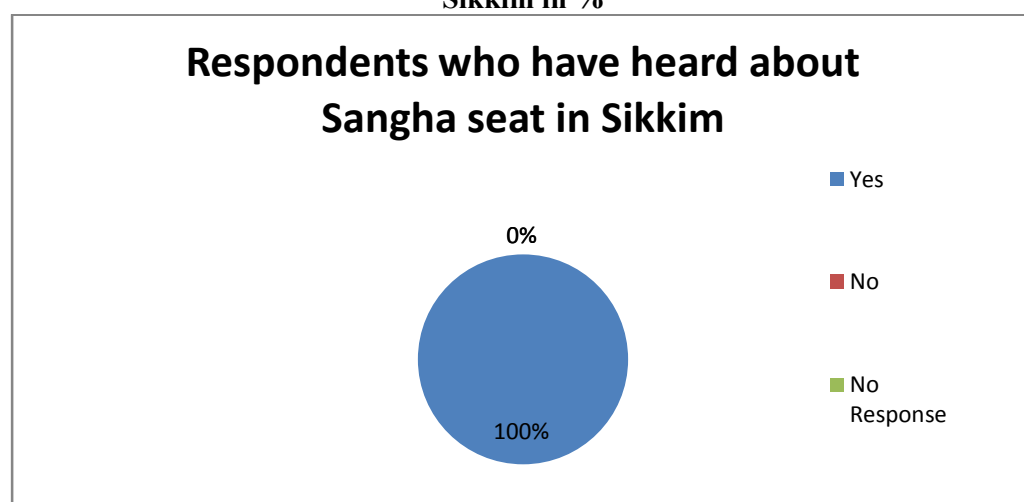
**Figure No 4.7: Showing the Respondents who knows about term Secularism in %**



Source: Field Survey, 2019

The above figure shows about the respondents who knows about the term Secularism in percentage, the total number of respondents was 80 and the question section was divided in to three categories that are 'Yes', 'No' and 'No-response'. Out of 80 respondents 78.75% respondents answered yes, 8.75% respondents answered No and 12.5% respondents answered No-response.

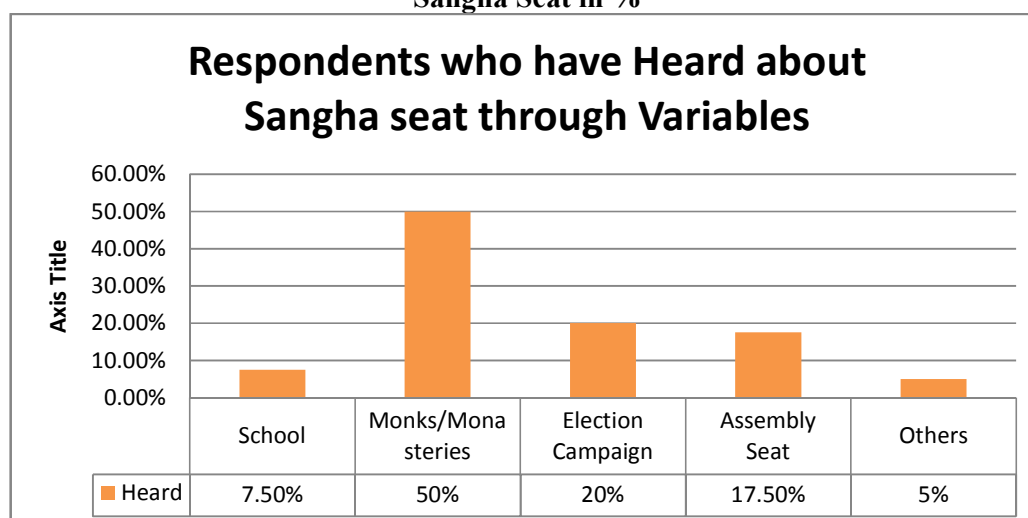
**Figure No 4.8: Showing the Respondents who have heard about Sangha seat in Sikkim in %**



Source: Field Survey, 2019

The above figure shows about the respondents who have know about Sangha seta in Sikkim in percentage, the total number of respondents was 80 and the question section was divided in to three categories that are 'Yes', 'No' and 'No-response'. Out of 80 respondents 100 % respondents answered 'Yes', 0 % respondent answered 'No' and 0 % respondents answered 'No-response'.

**Figure 4.9: Showing the Respondents where did they came to know about Sangha Seat in %**



Source: Field Survey, 2019

The above figure shows the variable which indicates that from where the respondents have heard about the Sangha seat in Sikkim in percentage, the total number of respondents was 80 and the question section was divided in to five categories that are, School, Monks/Monasteries, Election Campaign, Assembly Seat and Others. Out of 80 respondents 6 respondents answered from School, 40 respondents answered from Monk/Monastery, 16 respondents answered from Election Campaign, 14 respondents answered from Assembly Seat and 4 respondents answered from Others.

### 4.3 Findings

There are various findings and issues which came across after the field survey of Monks from different Monasteries located at four districts of Sikkim and also from the common people, which helped this study come across many new things and the perception of the monks and the Common people of Sikkim about the existence of Sangha seat in Sikkim its significance and the role in Sikkim. Since this study is based on more of qualitative method instead of quantitative method so there are less number of explanations for quantitative method and is more of descriptive method.

The indicators used for this study were categories such as, age, sex, occupation, income and religion etc. The survey schedule started with basic questions like do you know about the Indian constitution and the majority of respondents have heard about the constitution of India even though they are not aware about it in a very detailed manner, some respondents also did not responded while they were asked about the same. The majority of the respondents have heard about the term secularism while

they were explained about it in their mother language and asked while some of the respondent did not knew about it and some did not responded. The most of the respondent did not knew that in which part of the Constitution the term secularism has been reflected while some of the respondent have answered that the term secularism had been reflected in the preamble of the Indian Constitution. The respondent were also asked about the whether they have heard about Sangha seat and the 100% responded replied that they have heard about the Sangha in Sikkim, the majority of respondents who came across Sangha seat in Siikim was through Monks/Monasteries, some came to know about it through Election Campaign, Assembly seat. Others and very less respondent came to know Sangha seat through school. The majority of the respondents answered that the Sangha seat is not contradicting the term Secularism of Indian Constitution since the Sangha seat is protected by Article 371F which itself exist in the Constitution of India, while some respondent also answered that even though the term secularism is contradicted due to the existence of Sangha (religious) seat, but it was also accepted by the Indian government while the Sikkim was merged and made the 22<sup>nd</sup> state of the Indian Union, some respondents also answered that since Sikkim was a Buddhist Country and while merging with India this was one of the demand which was agreed by the Indian Union. The majority of the respondents while asked about the evolution and institutionalization of Sangha seat in Sikkim then some of the respondent answered that it was the Chogyal who introduced Sangha seat in Sikkim and it was his wisdom that the Sangha seat was one of the demand made to the Indian Union when Sikkim was merged in India. The majority of the respondents also answered that there are some candidates who have contested form their respective district and the less numbers of the respondents didn't knew about the candidates who has contested as a Sangha Candidate from their district. The majority of respondent answered that there was the need of Sangha seat post 1975 because Sikkim was a Buddhist country before merger and for the safeguard of Buddhism and religion in state there was the need of separate religious reserved seat post 1975, some respondents also answered that the Sangha seat was needed post 1975 to safeguard the rights and the interest of the minority community Bhutia-Lepcha) in Sikkim. The majority of respondents answered the 6 premiere monasteries like Pemayangtse, Tashiding, Ralong, Rumtek, Phensang and Phodong while asked about which monasteries are registered to participate in Sangha election, while some respondents also answered few other monasteries name like, Dolling Monastery, Enchey

monastery, Sanga Choling Monastery etc. The majority of the respondent also answered that the Sangha candidate is chosen through different features before the candidate contest for the election for example: the candidate must work for the betterment of the monk and for the development of the monastery, the candidate should safeguard the religion Buddhism and the candidate should always think for the betterment of the State and some answered that the candidate is answered through democratic process. The majority of respondent also accepted that the religious institute has been able to get benefited through the Sangha representative and the monastery has been provided with the monastic schools, where the mid day meal is also provided to the monk students and also said that whenever, there is the work related to monastery and any other religious institutions then the access to the Sangha is very comfortable for them to approach, the majority of respondents answered that the Sangha seat is a unique feature in Sikkim because the other candidates who contest for the election has to contest from a particular constituency but the Sangha representative has to contest from the four District of Sikkim and since the Sangha seat was demanded for the protection of religion (Buddhism) in Sikkim and the monks are the one who preach and spread Buddhism in the state so it has been given to monks, whereas some respondents said that the Indian government gave a special status to Sikkim during merger so it should be practice and preserved because it is one of the unique feature in India which only exists in Sikkim. The respondents while asked about the role and the impact of Sangha seat in governance and electoral politics of India, majority of the respondents answered that the Sangha has a very vital role in the electoral politics and governance of Sikkim looking into the elected candidate of (2014-2019) Legislature 2014 and Honorable Minister 2019 Mr. Sonam Lama, who was very vibrant and because of whom the majority people of Sikkim came to know about the Sangha seat in Sikkim and his work in the governance process and the electoral politics has been very vital, while some of the respondent had no idea about the role of Sangha seat in governance of Sikkim but also referred to the election of 1779 election where the Sangha representative who had won the election as a independent candidate as a king maker because of the Sangha representative support the party lead by Nar Bahadur Bhandari was able to form a government and acted as the king maker. The Sangha itself represents the Monk body and the monks and since Sikkim is the very religious state the lay-people also votes according to the monk of that particular place since there are many devotees from that

particular place who respects monks very much are also mobilized by them for which party to vote, some respondent also answered that Sangha Representatives once elected as a legislature the candidate becomes the leader of the all Sikkimese people and the candidate also enjoys the equal rights and as compared to the other legislature so the candidate has equal role to play in the governance of Sikkim. The respondents while asked about the candidate should contest from the party or can contest independently also, then the majority of the monks answered that the Candidate must contest independently since the Sangha is a very religious body so it should not be mixed with any party and contest according to its ideology, whereas some monks answered that the candidate must contest from that party whose chance to win is the most. The majority of the respondent (Monks) also answered that the Sangha representative is also accountable to them since the representatives is elected by the Monk as a Sangha representative and the majority of the respondents (common people) also had the same point of view, many of the respondents in majority accepted that the Sangha representative has a vital role to play in shaping the political scenario of Sikkim and quoted “Mr. Sonam Lama” Hono’ble Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs Department that he has the very great role in shaping the political scenario of Sikkim and some of the respondents who knew about the Sangha very well told that before the Sangha came into existence there was the system called Lhadi-Medi which from the very beginning had a very vital role in shaping the political process of Sikkim. Only the few registered monastery registered under the Ecclesiastical Department is able to participate in the process of electing the Sangha representative whereas only those monks whose name is in the electoral list of 32-Sangha constituency can vote for the Sangha representatives. There are four sects in Buddhism, Nyingma sect, Kagyu sect, Gyeluk sect and Sakhiya sect, the Nyingma sect and the Kagyu sect are the very old sect which has been practicing Buddhism in Sikkim since very long from the Chogyal’s period which has been recognized by the Chogyal himself, while the Gyeluk and the Sakhiya sect has been recently practicing Buddhism in Sikkim which has most of the monks from outside of the state and was not recognized by the Chogyal but has its monastery in Sikkim which are not allowed to participate in the election process of Sangha seat in Sikkim and when the respondents (monks) were asked that do the other religious institutions be able to participate in the election process of Sangha representative the majority of the respondents answered ‘No’ and said that since the monks of that particular sect of

monastery is not of Sikkimese origin so they will not be able to participate in the Election process of Sikkim but the monks who is of Sikkimese origin and is a monk of that sect can participate in the election process of Sangha representative but the monks/Nun should have his/her name registered under the electoral roll of 32-Sangha Constituency. The majority of the respondent while questioned about the Constitutional validity of Sangha seat answered that the Sangha seat has been safeguarded and secured by Article 371F (k) of the Indian Constitution and before the merger of as the state of India Sikkim was a Buddhist Country and to safeguard the religion (Buddhism) in state and the interest of minority (Bhutia-Lepcha) the Sangha was introduce in country and it was into practice in the state and since, the article 371F (k) states that “all laws in force immediately before the appointed day in the territories comprised in the State of Sikkim or any part therefore shall continue to be in force therein until amended or repealed by the competent Legislature or other competent authority” and Sangha seat being one of the old laws of Sikkim is protected under it, so the constitutional validity could not be questioned while some of the other respondents also referred to the R.C. Poudyal case where he had challenged the validity of Sangha seat but his petition was cancelled by the Supreme court of India so the Sangha seat is not invalid according to the judgment of Supreme Court. The interview of R.C Poudyal was also taken in this regard where he stated that the “Sangha seat is a very special status for the people of Sikkim and if Sangha seat would be strike out then Sikkim will be like a cooked vegetable without salt he also further stated that in coming days if there is a threat to the rights of the people of Sikkim the Sangha seat is the only tool which will be able to protect the special status of Sikkim for Sikkimese people. Sangha seat is the essential part of Sikkim Politics but Sangha seat has very much potential but the leaders should be able to explore it”.



## **CHAPTER-5**

### **Conclusion**

#### **Introduction**

In the way back when his highness Chogyal Phuntsog Namgyal was in throne in 1642. He decided to form a spiritual democratic pattern of government it is called spiritual democracy because there were only three communities that time Lhori (Bhutia), Mary (Lepcha) and Chongri (Tsong). There was a rule implemented by Chogyal named Phusum Ki Pharma which was followed by all the three communities under which if there is three sons in one family then the middle son should be a monk and if the family had only one son then he must be a monk, but the relaxation was that if the family want all their sons to be a monk it was also welcomed. However, one was compulsory. Then he called it spiritual democracy because at that the government was governed by the representatives who were 50% from the Monk side and the 50 % from the lay Buddhist people side. Which means there should be equal number of participation from the monk side and the lay-Buddhist people side, for instance in those days Chogyal Phuntsog Namgyal time there were 36 representatives from these communities (Lhori, Mary, Chongri) and out of 36 from each community Lhori had 12, Mary had 12, and Chongri had 12 total 36 out of 36 where 18 has to come from Monk Side and 18 from the lay-Buddhist people side. That's why the monk had 50% seat in the Assembly or in the Parliament and 50% was from the lay-Buddhist people side which was called Ladhi-Medi Government (Yapo Sonam Youngda, Personal Communication, July 19, 2019, 12.56 pm). The british government of India appointed J. Claude White as the political officer and directed to administer the affairs of the state in conjunction with a council composed of chief Dewans, Lamas and Kazis, and of which he was a president. The first step was to appoint the council and the following men were appointed. The two brothers the Khangsa Dewan and the Phodong Lama, the Shoe Dewan, Lari Pema a Lama from the important monastery of Pemayangtse, Gangtok, Tashiding, and Rhenock Kazis (White, 1909). J. Claude, White created a state council to advise the ruler (Thuthob Namgyal) in the administration of the state. In May, 1951 the matter of communal representation was discussed representative of the three parties: Maharaja Kumar Palden Thondup Namgyal represented the Maharaja, Sonam Tshering represented the Bhutia-Lepcha interests as projected by the National party, the state Congress was represented by

Dimik Singh Lepcha and Kashi Raj Pradhan, a Lepcha and Nepalese (Basnet, 1947). On 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1953 the Maharaja issued a Proclamation, called the Constitutional Proclamation. This Proclamation laid down the rules governing the formation of the state council and the executive council (Basnet, 1947). The composition of the state council was changed by the Maharaja Proclamation dated 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1958. Under the 1958 Proclamation the Maharaja of Sikkim, a seat in the state council was reserved for the Sangha (Lamas). This marked the beginning of the Sangha seat in Sikkim. The composition of state council was changed in 1966 and was once again modified where one seat was reserved for the Sangha (Lamas). Before the merger of Sikkim in Indian Union certain demand was made by the Chogyal and for the safeguard of the interests of the minority community of Sikkim the Sangha seat was also demanded. The special provision was give to Sikkim in form of the article 371F after the merger of Sikkim in Indian Union under which the (k) of the article 371F of Sikkim ensures to protect al, the old laws of Sikkim which was implemented in Sikkim before its merger with the Indian Union. Many questions aroused that whether, the Sangha seat in Sikkim is constitutionally valid or not and following the same, the former minister Mr. R.C Poudyal filed a petition in Supreme Court challenging the Constitutional validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim and the decision by the Supreme Court of India was in the favour of Sangha seat, the decision stated that the Sangha seat in Sikkim is not Unconstitutional.

### **5.1 Summary of the Study**

Before the existence of Sangha seat in Sikkim there was the Lhadi-Medi form of government where the Assembly or the Parliament in Sikkim was equally (50%-50%) represented by the Monks and the lay-Buddhist people. The Sanhga seat in Sikkim came into existence after the Maharaja Proclamation was passed on 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1958 under which a seat in the state council was reserved for the Sangha (Lamas). The chapter one deals with the introductory part where the concept and meaning of Governance and electoral politics has been defined and the remaining part of the synopsis has been included. The second chapter highlights the meaning and the historical background of Sangha seat in Sikkim, the Lhadi-Medi system which existed in Sikkim before the existence of Sangha seat in Sikkim, how Sangha seat came into existence in Sikkim, the pre-merger: political and administrative development where the formation of the state council in Sikkim for the first time has been discussed and the members of the state council of different year has been shown. The parity system

has also been discussed in this chapter where the Chogyal has passed the different Proclamation and from the 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1958 Proclamation passed by the Chogyal of Sikkim the Sangha seat was reserved for Lamas which marked the beginning of the Sangha seat in Sikkim. The third chapter deals with the role and impact of Sangha seat in Governance and Electoral politics of Sikkim, which highlights the role and impact of the Sangha Candidate in the governance system and electoral politics of Sikkim and also about the ecclesiastical department of Sikkim which comes under Sangha Candidate and the functions of ecclesiastical department. The fourth chapter deals with the constitutional validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim, where the petition filed by Mr. R.C Poudyal has been highlighted to some extent and the survey has been carried out to know the different perspective of the monks and the common people from four districts and also of the MLAs of Sangha, politicians and the persons who have more knowledge about Sangha regarding the constitutional validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim.

## **5.2 Summary of the Major Findings**

The major findings of the study were that the Sangha seat came into existence in Sikkim after the Proclamation was passed by the Chogyal 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1958. Some of the point has been highlighted below:

- a) The Sangha Representative is equal to the other Legislatures in terms of Decision Making (Field Survey, 2019).
- b) There are 4 sects in Buddhism Nyingma sect, Kagyu sect, Gyeluk sect and the Sakhiya sect (Field Survey, 2019).
- c) There are 111 registered Monastery under Ecclesiastical Department among which only 51 Monasteries participates in the election process of Sangha seat.
- d) The Sangha Representative does not only represent the Monastery but also represents othre religious Institutes in Sikkim (Field Survey, 2019).
- e) “The Sangha played the role of King Maker in the election of 1979” (Somnath Poudyal, Former Minister).
- f) The Sangha Representative has a vital Role in Shaping the Political Scenario of Sikkim looking into the present Representative of Sangha (Field Survey, 2019).
- g) “The inexistence of Sangha seat in Sikkim is like the Cooked Vegetable without salt” (R.C Poudyal, Former minister).

- h) “The Sangha seat is the essential part of the Sikkim politics” (R.C. Poudyal Former Minister).
- i) “According to Constitution it is not valid and is also contradictory with the Constitution of India but because it was there since Chogyals period, it was there while merger and since the judgment of Supreme Court has stated Sangha seat as valid one. In Sikkim the special status in sikkim can be brought by Sangha seat instead of tribal (B.L) seat” (R.C Poudyal).
- j) “Sangha seat has very much potential but the leader should be able to explore it” (R.C Poudyal).
- k) “The Sangha seat has brought uniqueness in Sikkim” (R.C Poudyal).

### **5.3 Conclusion**

The study on the Governance and Electoral Politics: A study of Sangha seat in Sikkim, traces out the meaning and concept of the governance and electoral politics and also the meaning of Sangha, how did it came into existence and from when it came into existence in Sikkim. Before there was the existence of Sangha seat in Sikkim there was the existence of Ladhi-Medi System wher the assembly or the parliament of Sikkim was represented by 50% of the monks and 50% of the lay-Buddhist people. J.C White was appointed as the political officer of skim by the British India and was directed to administer the affairs of the state in conjunction with a council composed of the Dewans, Lamas and Kazis, and of which he was to be the president. There was pre-merger development and the state council in Sikkim was formed for the first time in Sikkim, which continued for many years after this the matter of communal representation was discussed by representatives of the three parties in may , 1951 and the different Proclamation was passed by the Chogyal of Sikkim. The proclamation of 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1958 marked the beginning of the Sangha seat in Sikkim for the first time under which a seat was to be reserved for the Sangha (Lamas) after which the Sangha seat continued in Sikkim. When the merger of Sikkim took place in the Indian Union, Sikkim was provided with a special provision in form of the article 371F and the Sangha seat was also given under the same provision of article 371F of the Indian Constitution. The constitutional validity of Sangha seat was also questioned by some leader of Sikkim and a written petition was filed by Mr. R.C Poudyal in the supreme court of India, in which the supreme court of India gave its decision in the favour of Sangha seat and declared that the Sangha seat in Sikkim was

constitutionally valid and the case filed by Mr. R.C Poudyal was dismissed by the supreme court of India.

#### **5.4 Suggestion for the further studies**

The study on Governance and Electoral Politics: a study of Sangha seat in Sikkim has examined about how the Sangha seat came into existence in Sikkim. What was the system that existed in Sikkim before which was also one of the reason that paved the way Sangha seat in the State council of Sikkim. The Historical background of Sangha seat in Sikkim, the role and impact of Sangha seat in the governance and electoral politics of Sikkim, and also about the constitutional validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim. But more further, studied can be done about Sangha seat by linking it to the previous form of Lhadi- Medi government whet role did the monks had and what power did the monasteries had. Since the monasteries of Sikkim had very much power in the monarchical regime some also possessed the magisterial power who had a very effective role to play in the decision making process for example (Pemayangtse Monastery). The monasteries of Sikkim was allotted many acres of lands by the Chogyal of Sikkim and in present to built a building or house in the bazaar are the particular person who is willing to construct a building in bazaar are for any purpose has to take the No Objection Certificate not only from the Municipal Corporation or Municipal Council but also has to obtain N.O.C from some of the Monasteries nearby the place. The difference between the power in the monarchical time which thw monasteries consisted and which the monasteries consist now can be compared and what role Sangha seat has to maintain that power can be find out. Due to constrain of time, and the more detail on the perspective of Sangha seat could not be studied and which can be incorporate by the scholar who does a study in particular area.

#### **5.5 Contribution of the study**

The contribution of the study to the literature and knowledge is as follows; firstly this work provides the detail on the historical background of Sangha, role and impact of Sangha seat in governance and electoral political of Sikkim and also the constitutional validity of Sikkim. Secondly, the knowledge generated by this study may be useful in understanding the development of Sangha seat in Sikkim, its role and impact in governance and electoral politics of Sikkim and also about the constitutional validity of Sangha seat in Sikkim.

## **5.6 Limitations**

The study on “Governance and Electoral Politics: A Study of Sangha seat in Sikkim” had some limitations. Firstly, the study gets limited when it comes to the larger perspectives about the historical background of Sangha seat in Sikkim. Lastly, the study was limited in terms of finding a respondent who had witnessed the formation of Sangha seat in Sikkim because most of them are no more.

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