

**Participatory Democracy in Grass Root Level:
The Pattern of Participation in Election of Three Unions of Chittagong
Hill Tracts**

A Dissertation

By

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DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this dissertation entitled “**Participatory Democracy in Grass Root Level: the election participation pattern of three Unions of Chittagong Hill Tracts**” is the output of my own research, under the supervision of Professor Salahuddin M. Amminuzzaman, Ph.D, Department of Public Administration, University of Dhaka, Dhaka, Bangladesh. The dissertation is prepared for academic purpose and exclusively aimed for the partial fulfillment for the degree of Masters of Arts in Governance and Development.

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ABSTRACT

Participatory democracy situates by this concept that, every citizen is political actor and participation in election is political right of a citizen. Participatory democracy is crucial for empowerment of marginal people. The political culture and social practices are refined in participatory democracy where every citizen acts dynamic role in the governance process. The primary institutional arrangement of the participatory democracy is election (John, 2005).

‘Election through franchises’ and ‘Right to Vote’ is the fundamental aspect of political participation. The voting is linked with sound democratic process and declining of voting rates express as deficit of democracy. There are several studies, where demographic attributes, psychological motivations, and social networks have been found as factors of measuring of voting and other form of political participation.

The imitation of participatory democracy in grass root level of Bangladesh began by political decentralization and UPs are particular local government institutions preside by election as political institutions. The UPs are consisting of elected representatives of local units. In this study to ascertain the strength of political participation, a diminutive locality and its election participation pattern has been chosen where diverse pattern of demographic characteristics and in general geopolitical situation is prevailed.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) is area with 5,093 square miles (13,295 square kilometer), which constitutes about 10 percent of the total area of Bangladesh. The Chittagong Hill Tracts comprises with three districts- Rangamati, Khagrachri and Bandarban. The geographical position of Hill Tracts is different from other part of Bangladesh. In this study the Belaichari Upazilla(Sub-district) of Rangamati district has been chosen for research. There are seven minor ethnic communities in this locality who are - Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Phankho, Tanchangya, Bown, and Kheyang. The demographic characteristics of different ethnic communities’ respondents’ of the Bilaichari Upazilla include - language, religion, customs and tradition. Practically the spotlight of the study is limited to three unions of Belaichari Upazila and four minor ethnic communities’ respondent interviewed for the study. The varied minor ethnics’ demography and individual cultural traditions of each minor community’s of the study area explores the scope to discover the community engagement in political participation. In this study socio economical condition, social trend, traditions and political ambience of the study area has been considered to determine the pattern of people participation.

The Circle Chief, the Headman and the Karbari are traditional social institutions in Chittagong Hill Tracts, which are prevailing in Hill Tracts from British period. The present roles of the

traditional leaders are to collection the rent of land on behalf of government and they are assigned by the government for resolving the social disputes. There are 68 traditional leaders in the study area and eight traditional leaders have been interviewed in consent to ascertain their vulnerabilities and potentialities in societal democratic process.

The study noticed the external and internal factors where diverse pattern of participation is affecting by several intangible factors. The study will endow with perceived discussion about political and historical site of CHT. The research work addressed the role of social institutions, how those are influencing on political participation, especially on election participation.

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List of Acronyms

AL	Awami League
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CHTC	Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission
HDC	Hill District Council
ICCPR	International Covenant of Cultural and Political Right
KII	Key Informant Interview
LGIs	Local Government Institutions
PCJSS	Parbattaya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samiti
SDO	Sub-Divisional Officer
RC	Regional Council
UPDF	United People Democratic Front
UN	United Nation
UNO	Upazila Nirbahi Officer
UP	Union Parishad
UZP	Upazila Parishad

Chapter – 1

Introduction: Setting the Scene

1.0 Study Background

Governance is a derivative of political culture of state. The people participation and representation of state depends on political culture of society. The rapport between people's and state institutions determines the width of governance. The interplay between people and power structure of state differentiates by various dimensions where the participatory democracy is the most proficient in grass root level. Participatory democracy is express of democracy where the participant-led governance is inherited. The active participation of individuals in public life facilitates by participatory democracy (Schweizer 1995: 368-369). Presently the local governance is considered as most effectual and apposite for participatory democracy. The broader concept of local governance includes the local - management, government and control. The formal institutions, as well as the informal social institutions such as community organizations and neighborhood accordant associations are included in local governance concept (Freire 2007 cited in Withanachchi 2011). The local governance does not consider only by a geographical limit, but also it is basically indicates the people's participation in democratic route of grass root level. According to the definition of United Nation Organization regarding local government – 'the term Local Government refers to a political Subdivision of a nation or a state which is constituted by law and has substantial control over local affairs, including the power to impose taxes, on exact labor for prescribed purposes. The governing body of such an entity is elected or locally selected'.

Bangladesh has a long history of local government and the post-independence constitution provides for the creation of local government bodies at every administrative level. The Constitution of Bangladesh positively emphasizes the need for establishing local government with a representative character. The Article-9 of the constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh directs the government to promote local government institutions through decentralization, where the representative will be elected by peoples vote. Articles 59 and 60 of the Constitution of Bangladesh provide the main foundation for the role, structure and functions of local government. The Union Parishad(UP) is the lowest tier but most important part of local governance which is formed in the grass root level of Bangladesh where more than 70 per cent of the laypeople lives. Presently, the UP is alienated into nine wards. Nine members are elected from those nine wards and three women members are now directly

elected by the people of particular wards. Three wards constitute one constituency ward for electing one women member. The development works in grass root level generally are commencing for grass root people and implements by UP.

Besides the general local governance structure, corresponding conventional neighboring governance is in Bangladesh particularly in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) and the election process is absent in its formation. The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) was a protected and separated area from the British period (1760-1947). Nawab Mir Kasim Ali Khan, the semi-independent Governor under the Mughols, ceded the CHT to the British East India Company in 1760 (Abedin 1997: 26). There are thirteen minor ethnic communities in CHT who are Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Tanchangya, Riangs Khumis, Murong, Lusai, Kukis, Kheyang, Boms, Chaks and Pangkho. Besides the majority culture of Bengali, the livelihood, language and culture of these ethnic groups are far distinct from mainstream culture. The differences among ethnic groups' culture is also evident. To protect the hill people and keep the region calm and isolated from the political unrest of the anti-British movement the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation of 1900 was promulgated and which came in effect on 1 May 1900 known as Act 1 of 1900 (Chowdhury 2012:35). The 1900 Act is often known as the Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual Amended Act of XX11 of 1860.

Schandel, Mey & Dewan (2001:19) documented the geographical and political boundary of CHT as- The Chittagong Hill Tracts which was a unique status of district, neither like regular lowland district of Chittagong or unlike Hill Tippera (Province Tripura of India), was not indirectly ruled by 'Princely State' and it was cut off administratively from the Hill country to the South (Arakan Hill Tracts) and east (Lushai Hills), which became part of the Provinces of Assam and Burma, respectively. The CHT 1900 Manual stated the detailed rules and regulation for administrative function and its executions. Beside the general administrative set-up of a Superintendent, the British government constituted the position of three Circles of separate jurisdiction for three Chiefs. The three Circle Chiefs were classified from thirteen ethnic communities according to their controlling power on community people and as well as social aristocracy. To assist the Circle Chiefs the post of Headman and Karbari were also formed in societal administrative set-up. To setup a colonial administrative structure the British Government recognized three Circle Chiefs from- Chakma, Marma and Bohmang among other ethnic community, because of their control to entry points of the hill tracts and by the Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual 1900 the British Government established and instituted a local system of land revenue collection and management setting the three Circle Chiefs in apex

position of the society. The traditional institution of hill tracts- Circle Chief, the Headman and the Karbari are belonging in their position as representation of heritage on behalf of the ethnic communities. The traditional institutions are assigned by the government for significant public duties on land and revenue administration in conjunction with protection and management of natural resources of the villages (mouza), administration of ethnic judicial system and the provision of advice to the government authorities. In some extent the traditional leaders are custodian and depository of ethnic cultures and societal customs. The Circle Chieftainship position is hereditary with sequence usually passing from the father to the son in the case of the Chakma and the Mong Chief and to the eldest of the royal family in the case of the Bohmong Chief (CHT Manual 1900:1973).

The Headman and Karbari represents from varied thirteen communities according to their social aristocracy. The traditional leaders are social leader and conserve the exclusive authority for any decision making in social order. The traditional cultures, customs and conventions are guide line of the traditional institutions and for its functions. Based upon century's previous practice the traditional institutions and traditional leaders are representing in local level at CHT.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) is area with 5,093 square miles (13,295 square kilometer), which constitutes about 10 percent of the total area of Bangladesh. At present total ethnic communities' population are 8, 5,541 in CHT (BBS Census: 2011). The Hill Tracts comprises with three districts- Rangamati, Khagrachri and Bandarban. At present there are three different local governmental institutions in the CHT: the central government's administrative institution (Municipality, Upazila Parishad and Union Parishad); "the autonomous self- ruling district council (Hill District Council Act 1989 and revised 1998); and the traditional institution (Circle Chiefs, Headmen and Karbari). There are 3 Hill District Council, 25-Upazila Parishad and 117 Union Parishad are formal local institution, where the traditional institution are 3 Circle Chief, 373 Mouza Headman and 4103 Village Karbari in CHT. The traditional ascendancy in CHT is divided into three Circles-Chakma Circle, Mong Circle and Bohmong Circle. The Rangamati district supervises by Chakma Circle Chief, the Khagrachri district is under supervision of Mong Circle Chief and Bandarban district supervises by Bohmong Circle Chief.

The historical context and present reality shows that the micro level social traditional power structure of Hill Tracts is intense in traditional leaders which were positioned by elite class of the society from British period. The British Government recognized only three Chiefs among

thirteen ethnic community and Chiefs of the other ethnic community acted as subordinate of the recognized three Circle Chiefs and the power of other ethnic chiefs dwindled by British colonial administrative system (Schendel, May & Dewan 2001). The traditional local government administration in CHT is sequential clannish tradition and for the lack of democratic selection route thirteen ethnic communities are collectively and socially scheming by foremost ethnic communities.

The 'Panchayet' system which is the first recognized set-up of local government institutions in Indian subcontinent as well as in Bangladesh established by Village Chaukidary Act 1870, the Bengal Local Self-government Act of 1885 and the Bengal Village Self-Government Act 1919 were non-applicable for Hill Tracts. So the well recognized democratic practice 'the election through franchise' which inborn in local government structure of Bangladesh was unpracticed in CHT during British Period. The formal local government structure was introduced in the period of Pakistan Government and the traditional institutions (Circle Chief, Headmen and Karbari) remained functional in CHT. After the independent when CHT became part of Bangladesh the formal local government institutions and traditional institutions are also remaining in CHT administration.

The social acceptance of the traditional leaders persuades people's motivation in societal and political matter. So in this framework several social dynamics are influencing the local governance of CHT where traditional local government institutions are considered as impel actor for social supremacy in governance structure of grass root level. To ascertain the grass root realism the proportional study is needed for Chittagong Hill Tracts from impartial sight where the traditional and formal local government is most important in governance structure.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The expanded conception of participatory democracy is cohesion between governance and government, civil society and people that create transparency and accountability in societal institutions. The successful pertain of participatory democracy suggests for localized constituency with a comparatively small population for its individuality. The writer of the 'Democracy in America', Alexis de Tocqueville who is considered as the founding father of community based empowerment and participatory democracy, emphasized on establish a responsive and accountable governance at local level as central. The election and participatory democracy is complimentary of each other. In latest days, local governments have become central instruments for establishment of participatory democracy as an elected legislature.

The political decentralization is foundation of participatory democracy and the election is the legal process for institutionalizes the decentralized institutions. Political decentralization requires local elections and laws, which will enhance the political leadership in micro level. There is an inextricable linkage between election and decentralization both political and administrative. Individual participation by citizens in political decisions and policies ensured by election and that affect their lives. Election is the consensus between authority of political governance and emancipation of citizen. So the governance institutions which consist of legislative elected body are the most competent institutions to mobilize the people in governance process and that is why the local government institutions are more closeness to people. Election is not a typical custom in democratic societies. It constitutes the soul of democracy. Any crack to influence election is an assault to democracy. Infected elections not only undermine the legitimacy of government but also dispossess the citizens from their basic human rights. Election through franchise is not enough and neither is it the only expression of political emancipation of grass root people. Free, fair, independent and pure election is challenging issues where the political and administrative decentralization is undermined.

‘2013 the State of Participatory Democracy Report’ by the Hunger Project with support of UN Democracy Fund’ mentioned two challenges of Bangladesh where the first one is ‘the local representatives are elected but they lack de facto authority or the resources available to meet the basic needs (World Bank, 2012)’ and the second one is ‘the central government continues to exercise control over local government and stress this agencies of resources (UNESCAP, 2005)’. It is a general problem of Bangladesh that, the social and political elite dominate the political process of the society. The majority of the poor and the disadvantaged enjoyed little or no scope for participation except in electing their representatives (Siddiqui, 1994). Resource constraints and control administration does not reflects the decentralized democracy. Despite the constitutional obligation local government institutions have not been involved in policy and decision-making process. Thus there is disconnection between grass root and government which is leading the participatory democracy in façade.

The present local governance structure in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) is dissimilar from other parts of Bangladesh for political, social and economical grounds and the emergence of each local government institutions have political and historical context. According to ‘the Article 28(1) of the Constitution of Bangladesh - the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of Religion, Race, Caste, Sex or Place of birth. To ensure the parity of participation in national activities the Article 28(4) of the Constitution of Bangladesh stated

that-“Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making special provision in favor of women or children or for the advancement of any backward section of citizens’. So constitutionally and legally Bangladesh Government creates the scope of people’s participation in national activities for backward citizen. Because of the constitutional spirit and political situation which was unrest and lasted until signing a treaty between PCJSS (Parbottyo Chottogram Jono Songhoti Samiti) and Government of Bangladesh in 2nd December of 1997 the local governmental institutions of CHT shows the adequate possibility of peoples’ participation in governance. Though the election in CHT for UP is happened as statutory order but the mixed demographic setting persuade strongly in election process for minute geographic boundary. But the consequential participation of marginalized and disadvantage group in some extent is disguise in Hill Tracts governance system.

Particularly it is observed for CHT that the configurations of traditional and formal local government institutions are incontrovertible position for political and historical grounds. The interception of governance is detrimental to marginalized groups participation and social elite groups captured the social institutions. Predominantly it is observed for CHT that the participation become a fiercely contested term in a question with deep implications for the ways in which community, humanity, nationality, the rights of the local people and governance itself are conceived.

1.2 Objective of the Study

There are several research studies on varied minor ethnic communities of Hill Tracts, where the emergence and objective of the UP in CHT and its role did not explore properly. But the UP’s are expanded local government institution whereas the scope of engaging micro-level people in development process within democratic framework. Traditionally the social leadership is continuing in hill tracts by selective social elite. The traditional leaders (Chief, Headmen and Karbari) positioned by ancestral representation where they are nearby close to tie with state power and playing leading role to social order. So the traditional institutions have preponderant influence in social and political matter particularly it could be persuade the election process of UP. The study is an effort to ponder on the present shape of the local governance where local governmental institutions are functioning within several apprehensive situations in CHT.

The present study is a tried to spot those factors which are intensely stirring the legal framework of participatory democracy.

The objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To assess the extent of participation of different ethnic community in UP election.
2. To analyze the role of traditional leader (Chief, Headmen and Karbari) in election process.

1.3 Research Question

The formal and traditional local governmental institutions of CHT are seems to be imitation of participatory democracy in social and political circumstances. From the study it is apparent that the traditional and formal institutions both have immense exposure in grass root level. This study is projected to answer some questions regarding the governance dimension of Chittagong Hill Tracts which is determined by several internal and external factors. The answer to these questions will interpret the diverse pattern of participation. The research question of this study is:

What are the factors persuade and impinge the participation of different ethnic community in UP election of CHT.

1.4 Scope of the Study

The varied minor ethnic demography of Hill Tracts unlocks the scope to determine the pattern of community engagement. Practically the study is restricted to three unions of hill tracts but a retrospective history about administration system of Chittagong Hill Tracts has been described in this study, which skein the political ambience of the locality. The participation is generally depending on the perspective and ground in which it is considered. In this work the way of participation of ethnic community will examine, where the local government institutions are imperative factors. To be more precisely, the research work will critically evaluate the emergence of local governmental institutions in CHT where their role and function will be analyzed.

1.5 Rational of the Study

This study has sketched the local governances of CHT in objective positions, and with consent to find the vulnerabilities, potentialities and obstacles of participatory democracy in such a mixed demographic situation. Thus the local governance of Chittagong Hill Tracts demands in-depth study to explore the extent of the participation of each ethnic community. The multidimensional governance structure of hill tracts is diverse to other part of the Bangladesh. So the study, through its findings and comprehensive examination, will facilitate to bring out the latest scenario of peoples' participation in grass root level.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

There are thirteen ethnic communities in Chittagong Hill Tracts. But there is no definite census about each community's population. The demographic locations of the ethnic communities are scattered. So for the time and resource constraints the required information is difficult to assemble. The study focuses on the leading ethnic communities who are –Chakma, Marma, Tripura and Pangkho etc. But the other ethnic communities of Bangladesh who are from other part of Bangladesh rather than Chittagong Hill Tracts have not been addressed in this study where they are also community of grass root level. The most significant part of this work is retrospective study of local governance process from British era to Bangladesh episode of CHT. The study ponders on participation pattern of grass root stage that is why national election will not get focus more. Diverse ethno-demographic culture and customs of CHT has not been addressed in this research work because the back view of the Peace Accord and Nationalism issue of Ethnic people and the broader concept of participatory democracy concentrates to expose the significant of political consent in grass root level. The research work merely based on the component of qualitative analysis more than measurable quantitative analysis. The subjective and objective analyses are done through examining the empirical fact and descriptions.

1.7 Chapter Outline

The research work will organized into five chapters. The First Chapter sketches the topic with academic concept and gives a brief overview about local government of Bangladesh. The First Chapter outlines the - research objective, research question, rationale, scope and limitation of the study. The Chapter Two draws the conceptual view of established concept about participatory democracy, local government, and diverse pattern of participation and reviews the selected literatures which are relevant in this study. In this chapter the diverse pattern of participation and involvement factors discusses within analytical framework The Chapter Three explains the methods and techniques applied for data collection and analysis in Methodology. The Chapter Four spotlights on the Union under study and presents the findings and consequent analysis. Finally Chapter five contains conclusion, in addition with summary and future track for further research.

Chapter-2

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

The innermost objective of this chapter is to examine the theoretical and analytical perspective of this research work. The Chapter has been divided into four parts. The first part has been discussed about participatory democracy, local government and grass root people which are importance in this study. The discussion of the second part focused on the political participation and political decentralization of the people where the election particularly focused for relevancy of this study. The third part of this chapter reviewed empirical literatures which are on Bangladesh and CHT context. The fourth part undertakes a framework for analyzing the participation of community people in political process as well as in election. In fact, community people's election participation is the basic issues that the research undertakings to address in this study which will skein the state of participatory democracy in grass root level.

2.1 Participatory Democracy

Participatory democracy is mutual decision-making between governance and government, civil society and people that create transparency in public resource governance (Schugurensky, 2003). The five dimensions of the participatory democracy are - active citizenry, political mandate, administrative decentralization, fiscal decentralization and multi stakeholder planning, where the political mandate identified as solitary dimension could be occur in legal framework and binding (The Hunger project and UN Democracy Fund Report: 2013).The participatory democracy performs alongside with representative democracy. The participatory democratic approach can be useful for removing democratic deficit and providing good governance of local agencies/associations/NGOs (Gaventa, 2006). The successful pertain of participatory democracy suggest for localized constituency with a comparatively diminutive population for its individuality.

2.2 Participation

'Participation' is the strength of participatory democracy. Direct and indirect participation of citizens in public affairs is the existence of a participatory democracy (Bava, 1984). Participation is a process through which stakeholders influence, share and control over priority setting, policy-making, resource allocations, and gets access to public goods and services. The "Participation does not simply mean the existence at meetings and discussions, but also the

lively involvement and commitment in development and policy making functions in the governance structure (Withanachi, 2011) In 1997 the UN Development Program articulates the eight principles of the Good Governance. The first principle is about the equal participation in decision making process. The principle determines the participation from all corners of the society, irrespective of sex, class or race. The all corners are allowed to participate and the voice from the all corner should be heard. The objective is that the participants should be affected directly or indirectly. Participation is the principal means by which consent of the citizen is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and the rulers are made accountable to the ruled (Clocksy, 1968)

2.3 Political Participation and Election

Political participation refers to the way through which the citizens of a country participate in the electoral process as well as sharing information, building discussion and meetings, staging strikes and performs, communicating with the legislators. Nie and Verba (1972:2) define political participation as 'those legal activities by private citizen that are more directly or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and /or the actions they take'. The political participation determines the authority of government which is a political outcome of democratic country. The political participation can be expressed in both collective and individual actions which are include mainly voting in election, campaigning, contacting, group action and protest. The political culture and the actors persuade the perceptions of the role of individual citizens in the political process.

Encyclopedia of Britannica (2014) states that- the participation rates in electoral process depends on the type of electoral system, the social groupings to which voters belong, the voters' personalities and beliefs, their places of residence, and a host of other idiosyncratic factors.

Dewa (2009) identified age, education, family status, migrant people, economic well-being and occupation as associates' factor which can persuade in election process and within a countrysocio economic, political development and political parties are the internal factor determined the voting pattern and behavior in an election.

2.4 Local Government and Political Decentralization

World Bank Group (2001) provides the concept of Political decentralization that- the selection of representatives from local electoral jurisdictions allows citizens to know better their political representatives and allows elected officials to know better the needs and desires of their constituents. The latest trends of decentralization add more importance to the existing local government system. The Local Government provides legitimacy to local people for consequential participation in public affairs and for management of local resources for their own benefit.

Smith (1996) states the local government in as a sub-national structure, provides an opportunity for local people to manage their activities in an empowered way and influence the central government structure, to plan development policies and programs in the light of local needs. Moreover, it is an integral part of the Government created for Self-Government within its competence (Islam, 2004). Local Self-Government means such Government, which is formed and empowered by law in a small range of certain geographic area to meet the local demand (Ahmed, 2000). The local government is responsive and accountable to the voters - here it refers to locals- and, hence, represents their views, priorities and, in short, conforms to the features of participatory development (Krishna, 2003). Local government has been promoted and subsequently strengthened through decentralization of power and authority from the central level.

2.5 People of Grassroots –State of Ethnic community

The ‘Grassroots’ denotes group of ordinary people who participates in election, governance and decision making of local sites. The proposition is made primarily based on relationship between the local government and people of the local level rather than at the centre of the major political activity.

The term ‘ethnicity’ was explained by Fredrik Barth(1969) which was most anthropological easy is that-the term ‘ethnicity’ captured the process of self–ascription of the selective cultural attributes utilized by the peoples to define an ethnic boundary characterized by close interdependency and by the occupation of different niches.

A.D Smith (1986:21-23) refers that, a collective name , myth of descent, a shared story, distinctive cultural traits, (previous) association with a territory, a sense of solidarity and an experience of being treated as collective, often in a discriminatory and misrepresented manner by the state. In this study ‘people of grass root’ denotes on the minor ethnic community, the backward section of the citizens, who are minorities and very negligible portion of total

citizens. Thus the study exclusively focused on the inconsequential ethnic communities of Bangladesh from Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), who are-Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Tanchangya, Riyangs Khumis, Murong, Lusai, Kukis, Kheyang, Bowms, Chaks and Pangkho.

2.6 Review of relevant studies on context of Bangladesh and CHT

There are enormous publications and research works on local government of Bangladesh and as well as also for CHT from those, relevant studied researches are focused in below discussion.

Khair(2004:54) found that social fragmentation, patron client traditions, and personalized charismatic leadership have given rise to an unstable system of governance, which is highly centralized and authoritarian. The study explained that- the participation of the poor and the disadvantaged group cannot be secured in the authoritarian legal structure and the legal exposure does not provide any evocative role in integrating local people into participatory democracy.

The network of patron client relationship organizational behavior and demographic cultures impinges the regulatory framework of the local level it is common problem of all over Bangladesh. In this regard Khan (2009) mentioned that - the bureaucratic domination in the local councils, lack of knowledge, and lack of expertise in technical matters as root causes for non-participation. The studied research focused on the significant issues of grass root reality which are resource constraints and lack of autonomy in local governmental institutions in policy and decision making practice.

Nizam Ahmed(1988) highlighted in 'Experiment in Local Government Reform of Bangladesh' that- the election of Union Parishad was held in 1973 after independence of Bangladesh and an average of nearly four persons contested the Chair-man ship of each parishad and the rate of voter turnout was 54%. The study explained that- though there were significant reform derived in local governance structure of Bangladesh. But for the lack of election through franchise in selection of a representative for other local governmental institution (District Council and Upazila Parishad) the political and administrative decentralization did not processed in democratic way. The election in formation of UP is constitutionally recognized and practiced but the initiatives were taken and used for achieved the political goals to strengthen the political base line in local level rather than enhancing the people participation through decentralization.

The discussion regarding CHT issues are more over on cultural assimilation and deprivation of human right which is the general and stereotype issue for concern activists. That is why in this

regards the various findings founded from below studied research which are exclusively supportive for background of the present study.

'Tribal peoples, Nationalism and the Human right challenges-The Adivasi of Bangladesh' by Dr. Tone Bleie is a noteworthy publication based on wider human right framework. The concept of Tribal, Adivasi and indigenous is discussed in this book from historical and anthropological view, mostly giving emphasized on the Santals and Orao community who are from the general part(Plain Land) of Bangladesh. The research study relates the ICCPR with human rights where the rights of minorities are establishing through Article -27 of ICCPR (International Covenant of Cultural and Political Right). The Article 27 of ICCPR refers that- the basis of such individual right is the protection and preservation of a 'Community'. To clarify the community rights, the motion of Article-27 of ICCPR (International Covenant of Cultural and Political Right) is that- Minority rights in international law are formulated in terms of individual rights exercised collectively. The book refers that 'in 1992 the General Assembly of the UN approved the Declaration on the rights of persons belonging to Ethnic, Religious and linguistic Minorities (UNDM)'. On the ground of international human rights laws and implications the studied research examines the human right situation among ethnic communities of Bangladesh, where the ethnic communities are from southern part and other are from eastern part of Bangladesh. The concern publication differentiate the CHT by this statement that-

Of all the tribal communities in Bangladesh, only the Jumma People of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were able to succeed in gaining access and to attract the attention of the World community to their plight under successive governments since Bangladesh became a sovereign state(Bleie 2006:66).

The book concentrated on well being, safety, food security, employment and control over on lands, related to human dignity of the minor ethnic community. The research work did not address the inevitability of political emancipation of minor ethnic communities. Though the problems are focused on grass root reality, but there is no recommendation was suggested in this research work.

Mohsin(1997) examines the 'isolation from political right of the hill people' of CHT in her research work 'The Politics of Nationalism - The case study of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Bangladesh'. The research work is focused on the incessant alienation of the hill people which is based on empirical study. The political alienation of the hill people which was started from the British period and after independence of Bangladesh it remains in political

culture of CHT and affecting the governance process. In the second chapter of this book titled 'British Colonialism and the Hill people, 1760-1947 mentioned that' -

The British policy in CHT was guided by two main objectives; (a) protection of the political, economic and military interests of the British (b) keeping the Hill people segregated from the Bengalis. At the same time, it served British political interests, for the region remained calm, distanced from the turbulence in the Indian antinationalist movement that has engulfed Bengal as well as the rest of India. Nonetheless, the unintended consequence of this policy of segregation, it is posited here, did more harm than good to the Hill people, for it ultimately left them unprepared for the political system into which they were incorporated (Mohsin 1997:26-27) .

The criticism of the British policy is that, though the provisions apparently in favor of hill people at the point of time as it had protected to a certain extent from the economic exploitations of Bengali, went a long way in jeopardizing their interest (Mohsin 1997:33). The significant part of the research work is that a metamorphosis description about political state of affairs of the CHT was narrated here.

'The Chittagong Hill Tracts: Living in a Borderland' by William van Schendel, Wolfgang May & Aditya Kumar Dewan an exceptional publication with exclusive photographs of minority ethnic communities and their culture. Each photograph has a historical and anthropological context. In the Chapter Three – 'Creating a Colonial Aristocracy' narrated that-

There are many Chiefs before British intervention in Hill Tracts. The Chiefs ruled group of people rather than territory, and their following ranged from several dozens to thousands of individuals. The British government recognized only three Chiefs among the ethnics groups and other local power holders had to make do with subordinate positions in the new administrative structure.

The book examined the vulnerability of minor ethnic groups and their distinctive cultures, customs and tradition which had been assimilated from the British period. The 'excluded of the excluded' which were ignoring from the beginning and after noticed in this study.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord implementation: Promises and Performance by Nusrat Jahan Chowdhury analyzed the initiatives of Bangladesh government about CHT by giving the emphasized on implementation process of 'Peace Accord'. The research work critically examines the significance of the CHT Manual 1900 and the traditional administration system of the hill tracts in this view that- it did not played any role to develop or change the fate of the backward people of the CHT. The research work criticized the role of Pakistan Government,

which cracked the integrity of Chittagong Hill Tracts and its people. In the discussion of Bangladesh episode the unimplemented peace accord, unexpected performance of Hill District Councils has been identified as lack of political willingness of government of Bangladesh.

The studied literatures are reviewed here in objective to ascertain the grass root reality of Bangladesh where the participation and decentralization had been restricted to local elites and the marginal people remained distant of decision-making. But the participatory culture of ethnic community in UP of CHT has never been addressed. Therefore, the study is undertaken to fill the gap of knowledge of participatory practices in grass root level particularly for CHT.

2.7 Analytical Frame Work of the Study

The theoretical and conceptual surroundings and empirical studies significantly supported to develop the analytical framework in this research work. The people's participation pattern in UP election of Chittagong Hill Tracts is dependent variable where the people means the inconsequential ethnic community who are – Chakma , Marma, Tripura, Tanchangya , Pangkho and Bawm.

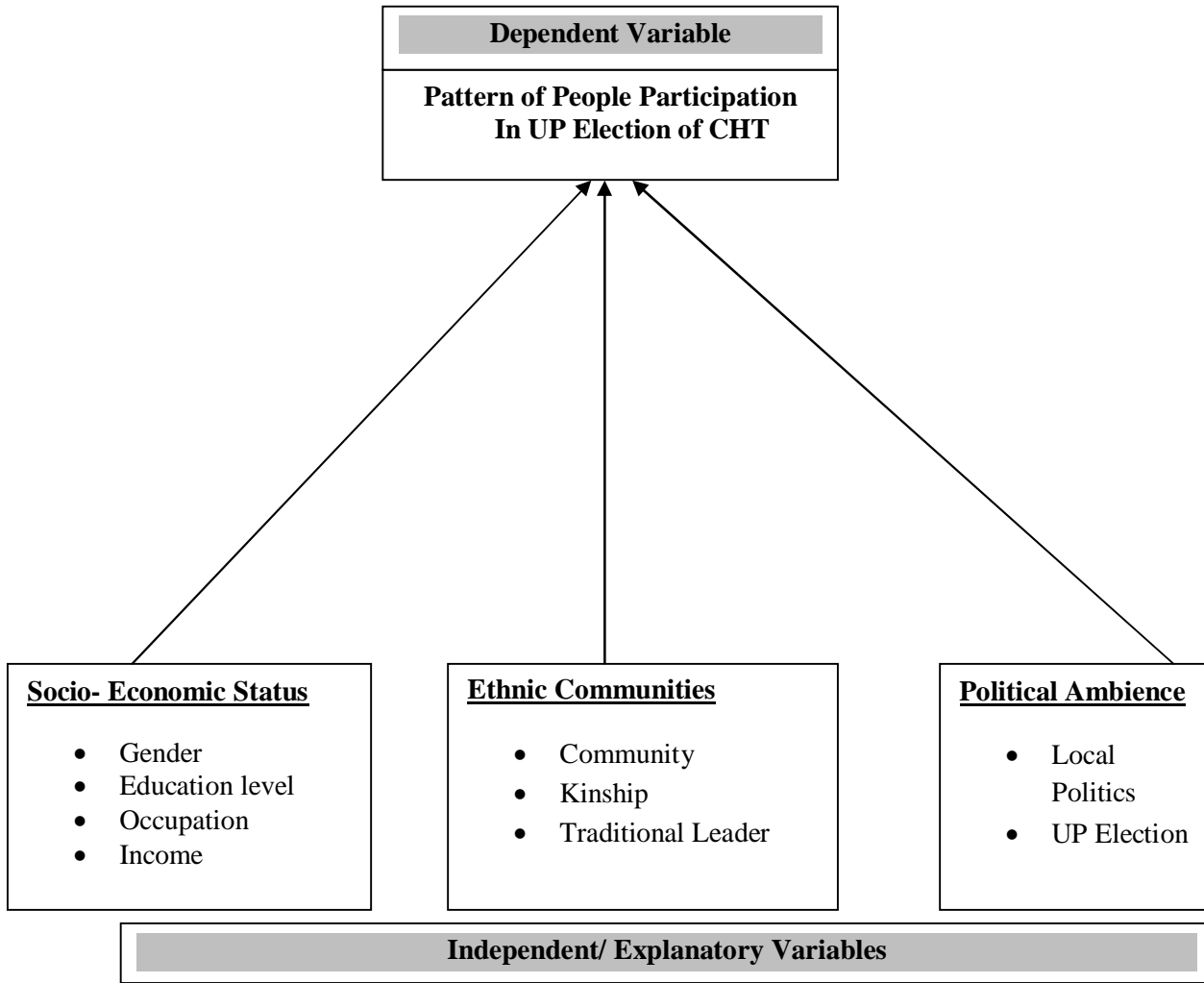
The socio-economic status of the people, demographic characteristics and political ambience are the independent variables which influence on people's participation pattern in UP election. On the basis of the literatures, discussions of various theories and findings of the scholars, the study would like to demonstrate the operational definition of the variable through the analytical model (figure-2.1).

2.8 Operational Definition of Independent Variables

The major proposition is that there are a number of social economical, cultural and political factors that may have been impinging and perhaps persuading to people's participation particularly it could be extended in UP Election. For the purpose of the analysis, the main factors that may influence participation of community people's especially in political progression and decentralization are mainly categorized in three areas; a) Socio Economic factors, b) Ethnographic composition and c) Political Ambience. The present section will clarify the definition of the independent variables and its determinants indicators.

Figure 2.1

Analytical frame work for analyzing the pattern of people participation in UP Election of CHT



Socio Economic Status

The social and economic factors play significant role in shaping people’s participation in political and societal matter. The socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the voters such as, gender, economic status, type of locality (rural or urban), and occupational and educational backgrounds, play an important role in voters deciding to participate in elections (Merrifield 1993). Family income, lower education level and average age of the population contribute to forming the participation pattern of people in election.

Gender

Women were underrepresented at the voting booth. The political participation of women is insignificant in traditional society. In all traditional societies for which we have data, sex is related to political activity men are more active than women (Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978 quoted in Norris 2012). Social exclusionary practices like gender disparity, religious factor and the control of family may discourage the participation of certain groups particularly the women in decision making (Gupte, 2004). In this study voting participation of the male-female respondents considered here to contour the pattern of participation of different ethnic communities.

Education

High level of education is the solitary most personality of a politically active citizen. People with higher levels of formal education and more access to political information are also thought to be more likely to Vote (Wolfinger & Rosentone, 1980). According to the status of educational institutions of the locality the proposed study classified five steps of educational status of the respondents, which are- (1) Illiterate (2) Primary Education (3) Secondary (4) S.S.C. and (5) H.S.C. and above.

Occupation

The occupation of the respondents divided in five types according to the localities' culture. The study area is a geographically hilly and the daily life of the respondents is not general according to other parts of Bangladesh. That is why the occupations of the respondents are purposefully associates in this study according to the respondents' socio demographic structure. There are five types of occupation categorized in this study, which are- Agriculture, Jhum Farming, Business, Service and Others. The others occupation basically included- house wife, unemployed people and students in this study. In this framework Jhum farming isolated as different occupation. This is a traditional occupation of the ethnic communities by which their subsistence food comes from Jhum Cultivation (Slash and Burn cultivation). It is a shifting cultivation. The Jhum farmers usually do not stay permanently long time in a place. Because of different nature the Jhum farming separately selected for study.

Income Level

Income level of a person is considered as key criteria for identifying one's social status. That is why to assess the extent of the participation of grass root people in election process family

income or income level has been preferred as vital variable in this study. It is general assumption that economically strong people often make alliances with the elected representatives and determines their active participation in political activities as well as in election process. In this study the income level selected which are consistencies with economic condition of the study area, which are (1) Below 3000 Taka BDT (2) 3001 Taka to 5000 Taka BDT (3) 5001 Taka to 8000 Taka BDT (4) 8001 Taka to 10,000 Taka BDT and (5) 10001 Taka and above.

Ethnic Communities

The inconsequential ethnic demographic compositions have noteworthy influence on voter participation. The voter turnout is affected by heterogeneity in the demographic and socio economic compositions of the electorate within a constituency (Ghosh, 2006). In this study four different ethnic communities are representing from- Chakma, Marma, Tanchangya and Pangkho.

Community

In this study the survey data has been collected from four different ethnic communities which are - Chakma, Marma, Tanchangya and Pangkho. The two ethnic communities' respondents', Bawm and Tripura did not equally interviewed. Majority people of Bawm and Tripura, stay at the remote place of the study area. And expected numbers of respondents' from those communities were unavailable. That is why the presented data will provide the analysis on Chakma, Marma, Tanchangya and Pangkho communities' participation pattern.

Kinship

People participate in election process not only as a voter but their participation in election process could be as candidates, supporter or as a campaigner. Sentiments of belonging and trust have some influence on electoral participation pattern (Howe & Bedford, 2009). However the concern research is mainly focused on voting participation of different ethnic communities' according to the kinship with the candidates and (1) Likeness to Community Candidates, (2) Persuasion by friend and (3) Personal Social Awareness.

The Traditional leader

The community leaders (Headmen and Karbari) have vital role in any type of political or societal matter. There are 68(Sixty Eight) traditional leader in the study area. The Chakma Community has dominance on this social post. The Pangkho and Tripura community is weaker than other communities in this regards. The influence of the traditional leader in this matter studied on sixty (60) respondents, whether there voting participation and none participation influence by the

traditional leader. In the study area 5(Five) Headmen are from Chakma Community, 2(Two) headman from Tanchangya community, and 1(one) Headman from Pangkho community (Source: Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Rangamaty).

Table: 2.2
Community and Traditional Leader

Community	Headman	Karbari
Chakma	5	26
Tanchangya	2	21
Marma	-	28
Pangkho	1	4
Tripura	-	1
Total	8	60

The extent of the traditional leader's influences is examined in this survey through three intangible measurement scales which are low influence, moderately influence and higher influence.

Political Ambience

The political ambience and its factors are conscientious to political participation of the people. The people who are politically, socially and economically powerful they may possibly prevent the active participation of their counterparts (Samad, 2002). Political knowledge of a voter can build awareness about voting right of a citizens. In this study the political ambience included by two variables which are local politics and UP election.

Local Politics

The local politics and political actors have influential role on crafting voting pattern of the voter. Individual are habitually persuaded to vote because they were asked to vote by a candidate, political party or a friend (Leighley, 2001). There are four political parties-Awamileague, Bangladesh Nationalist Party, Jano Songhoti Samiti(J.S.S) and United Peoples' Democratic Front (UPDF) in the study area. The local politics and its persuasion measured in this study through three scales-Low Influence, Moderately Influence and Higher Influence.

UP Election

Electoral processes such as election cycles, the timing of the election, voting process in UP election all influences the election. An empirical understanding about UP Election considered as influential factor for voter turnout in this study. The pattern of people participation in election depends on voting behavior of the voter. In this research work 'the lower and higher knowledge of the respondents about UP Election' preferred as leading factors to examine the different ethnic communities' election participation pattern.

Conclusion

Voting in election is linked with civic and political culture. The people participation in election is by product of democratic society. The present study explores the extent of participation of different inconsequential ethnic communities in UP election by examining the above factors throughout this analytical framework.

Chapter- 3

Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an outline of methodology and actions which applied in this study. It describes the process that was followed for collect and analyzes the data in order to explore the extent of different ethnic communities' participation in electoral process of UP. The role of traditional leaders in election of UP and the people awareness about UP also examines in this chapter to discover the participation pattern of the people in election process.

3.1 Research Methods

A both qualitative and quantitative method has been selected to carry out the research. Qualitative data is collected through interviewing two target groups – 1) Different ethnic communities 2) Traditional Leaders (Headmen and Karbari). Quantitative data has been obtained through questionnaires. In this study the number of respondent is 68(Sixty eight).

3.2 Selection of the Study Area and Respondent

The prime focus of this study is to assess the extent of different ethnic communities' participation in UP election process. Seven inconsequential ethnic communities are inhabitant of three Unions of Belaichari Upazila who are- Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Pangkho, Bawm, Kheyang and Tripura. That is why, it is general assumption that different ethnic communities have influence on UP electoral participation process and the participation pattern could be unlike for their demographic characteristics.

Among the seven communities, interview has been taken from four communities' people. The 60(Sixty) randomly selected different communities' people are – Chakma, Marma, Tripura and Pangkho. These four communities are in foremost position in the study area by population and also in traditional post. The Bawm, Kheyang and Tripura are both another community whose have not so immense exposure on locality by population. That is why for unavailability of expected number of respondent from these communities interview has not been taken from those communities' people. More over these four tiny communities do not have representation on

societal traditional post. For an insignificant presence by population and in societal traditional post, these communities did not taken under survey to avoid the error in research findings. In consent to entire the research objectives, eight traditional leaders also interviewed to find out their role and opinions on voting and election through unstructured questioners.

3.3 Sampling

The proposed research work categorized the respondents in two groups where 1st group is four different ethnic communities' people and second group is Traditional leaders of the three unions (Headman and Karbari).

Figure: 3.1

Sampling Frame at a Glance

SI NO	Category	Total Number
1	Community People(Male + Female)	(40+20) = 60
2	Traditional leaders(Headman + Karbari)	(5+3) = 8
3	Total	68

Figure: 3.2

Sampling Frame of the Respondent

NO	Name of the Community	Male	Female	Total Number
1	Chakma	10	5	15
2	Pangkho	10	5	15
3	Tanchangya	10	5	15
4	Marma	10	5	15
Total Number =		60		

3.3 Techniques of Data Collection

Data were collected during March- April2014. The methods of data collection both primary and secondary have been used in this research work.

Primary Data

Two methods were followed to collect primary data; these are questionnaire survey and key informants' interview.

Questionnaire Survey

Data collected through questionnaire survey from 60 community people. Questionnaire "Ka" has been used to interview sixty randomly selected village level people where twenty were female and forty were male respondents. The questions were both open and close ended. The Questionnaires 'Kha' developed for the Key Informants. Some parts of the questionnaire were to get comments and opinion on precise issues from research respondents.

Secondary Data

Secondary data has been gathered through content analysis. The contents of the secondary data are collected from journal articles, published books, government documents, policy papers, manuals, related acts/ Rules/ Regulations, research papers and reports, online documents, the books and published journals.

3.5 Data processing, Analysis and Validation

After completion of the survey, each questionnaire was scrutinized to verify whether it could be accepted and they were given identification numbers. Data were coded and entered into Statistical package for Social Science/SPSSPC. The data were summarized, tabulated and analyzed with the help of SPSS-PC and Microsoft – Excel. Uniformity and Compatibility of data were examined and tested with multivariate statistical techniques. The interpretations of data are likely to be based on statistical statement. The qualitative information is presented in narrative forms. Qualitative method was used to enlighten the considerable causalities, social realities and experiences. The principal authenticity and objectivity has been maintained in case of content analysis. So data are credible and reliable as much as possible.

3.6 Limitation

Due to time constraint and lack of scope optimum level of respondent could not get coverage in this research. That is why the findings and analyzes of this study purely based on the selected variables. The other significant side of political participation of the people such as political culture, political interest and other approaches of people engagement in political process did not converse in this study. The study focused only election participation of the different ethnic

community. Moreover the scattered demographic location of the different ethnic community was a hurdle for the researcher to interview the respondent. Though in-depth interview has been taken from key informant but the customs and traditions of the different ethnic communities which associated with their social and political life could not observed practically by the researcher for the inconvenient of time and scope. So it is a limitation that other aspects of the political participation did not covered completely only to concentrate the election participation pattern of different ethnic community in this research work.

Chapter Four

Different Ethnic communities and UP Election of CHT

4.0 Introduction

An ethnic group is a group of human beings whose members classify with each other, generally on the basis of special endogamy and acknowledged genuine familiar ancestry. Ethnic identity is further marked by the recognition from others of a group's distinctiveness and the recognition of common cultural, linguistic, religious, behavioral or biological traits, real or presumed, as indicators of contrast to other groups (Dewa 2009:495). The census report of Bangladesh-2011(BBS: 2011) published that there are 27(Twenty Seven) different ethnic community live in Bangladesh and the total population of the ethnic community is 15, 861, 41, which is 1.1% of the total population. Among the Twenty seven 13(thirteen) different ethnic communities live in Chittagong Hill Tracts such as- Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Tanchangya, Riyangs, Khumis, Murong, Lusai, Kukis, Kheyang, Bowms, Chaks and Pangkho. The multi furious culture, customs and language separated the inhabitants of CHT from general part of Bangladesh.

The people of Chittagong Hill Tracts was introduced as 'Pahari' or hillmen and with more specification for separate ethnic and cultural group collectively the ethnic people of Chittagong Hill Tracts called 'Jhumma'. The 'Jhum' is a way of shifting cultivation and traditional occupation of ethnic communities of CHT.

The term 'Tribe' was very much used with the people of Chittagong Hill Tracts from the British period to Pakistan period. After became a part of independent Bangladesh different ethnic communities of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) named as 'Upajati' which is referred that they are a sub part of a nation. But from the anthropological view they opposed to introduce them as 'Upajati'. Because from the anthropological perspective the Jumma people of Hill Tracts are not a sub part of a nation. Finally in 2011 the Government of Bangladesh gave a new identity for the Jhuma People of Hill Tracts as well as for rest other ethnic communities which is 'Khudro Nritattik Jonogosthi' in Bangla.

4.1 An overview of study Area

The aim of this part is to address the research question of this study –What are the factors persuade and impinge the participation of different ethnic communities in UP election of the CHT. With consent to find out the answer of the above question the survey has been conducted in Ek Nong Belaichari union, Kengra chari union and Farua union of Belaichari Upazilla. It is

notable information that at present Belaichari is comprised with four unions and the name of the fourth union is Batholi Union. The Batholi is declared as union of Belaichari upazila in this year 2014. So the UP Election has not yet been started. In this study the census data and others information are presented collectively with Farua Union. Previously Batholi was a ward of Farua Union Parishad.

The total area of Belaichari Upazila is 746 Square Kilometre. The unions are mostly inhabited by different ethnic communities' people. Majority of the people are directly involved in agriculture or Jhum farming. Business and services are source of income for few groups of people. The population of the Belaichari Upazila, which comprised by the studied union parishads is 28526. The local politics of this area is highly controlled by regional political parties of the CHT. There is no road connectivity with Balaichari Upazilla and Rangamaty District. The only way to communication is by boat or launch. The internal communication between unions also boat or by foot (in dry season). The average literacy rate is 45.90% in Belaichari Upazila.

Table: 4.1
Profiles of the study Union Parishad

Feature	Belaichari Union	Kengra Chari Union	Farua Union
Establishment	1984	1984	1984
Area	85.47 Sq.Kilometre	25.60 Sq Kilometre	557 Sq Kilometre
Number of village	18	13	28
Number of Mouza	05	02	01
Population	8573	5777	14175
Educational Institution			
*College	-	-	-
*High School	01	01	02
*Govt. Primary School	07	10	03
*Madrasa	-	01	-
Literacy rate	45.90%	43.1%	20%
Main Occupation	Business, Agriculture and Jhum farming	Business, Agriculture and Jhum farming	Agriculture and Jhum farming
Ethnic Feature	Chakma, Marma, Tanchangya, Pangkho and Bawm	Chakma, Marma, Tanchangya	Tanchangya, Tripura, Bawm Pangkho, and Kheyang

Source: Data collected from three Union Parishads(Ek nong Belaichari, Kengra Chari and Farua Union).

4.1.1 Ethnic features of the Study Area

There are seven different ethnic communities' people (Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Tanchangya, Kheyang, Bawms, and Pankho) live in this study area. The demographic characteristics of different ethnic communities' respondents' of the study area include identical - language, religion, customs and traditions. For the different ethnic composition the area is purposefully selected.

Chakma

The Chakma is the largest ethnic group in Belaichari Upazilla as well as in CHT also. Ethnically the Chakma belong to the Mongoloid group. Chakma Language is in the Indo Aryan group and it is a corrupt form of the Burmese alphabet (Grierson 1898:29). Most of Chakma of the study area live in Ek Nong Belaichari union and Kengra Chari Union. The Business, Service, Agriculture and Jhum farming are the main occupations of them. By religion most of the Chakma are Buddhist. From observation it is found that the chakma community has a remarkable advancement in education than other ethnic communities of the study area. It has been already mentioned that the study area is under jurisdiction of Chakma Circle Chief and there are 31 traditional leaders are belonging to Chakma community in study area.

Tanchangya

Racially Tanchangya is belonging to Mongoloid Gorup. Lack of authentic statistics it is not definite that they are the largest community by population in Belaichari. However physically and linguistically the Tanchangyas communities have similarities with Chakma Community (Shelly1992:64). Most of Tanchangya people engaged with Business, Agriculture and Jhum farming. This community has also advancement in education of the study area. The advancement also observed in political participation and other societal matter. There are 23 traditional leaders from Tanchangya community in study area.

Marma

The Marma is the third largest community in study area. Culturally they are mongoloid and their language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. They were a group of refugees driven out of Arakan by the Burmese (Mohsin 1997:15). Marmas are Buddhist and mixed with animism. They are occupied by mainly Agriculture and Jhum farming. Very few of them are

found in business and service. There are 28 traditional leaders representing from Marma community in study area.

Pangkho

The Pangkho is the fourth largest community in study area. In study area it is found that most of them are Christian. The main occupations of them are Jhum farming and agriculture. For the chrismissionary activities very few of them are engaged in charity service. Like above discussed ethnic communities racially Pangkho also belong to mongoloid and their language is belonging to Tebeto-Burman family. There are 5 traditional leaders from Pangkho Community in Belaichari.

Bawm

The Bawm community is one of a tiny community not in Belaichari Upazila but also in CHT. Most of them are occupied by agriculture and Jhum cultivation. Educationally they are not much advanced like other community. They live in mostly kengrachari and farua union. There are some similarities observed between Pangkho and Bawm. Lewin (1859:95) treated these groups together. There is no traditional leader from Bawm Community in the study area. It is found that, traditionally the Bawm community is an organized community and they are under supervision of Pangkho Traditional leader for any societal matter in the study area.

Tripura

The people of Tripura community are mostly inhabitant of Farua Union in Belaichari upazila. Tripura community is one of the lacks behind ethnic group in study area not for the population but also in education and political participation. The main occupations of them are Agriculture and Jhum farming. There is no representation from Tripura community in traditional post. They live in communally and most of them are Christian.

Kheyang

Kheyang community has very negligible representation in total population of Belaichari Upazila. They live in scattered way. Their language and traditions are identical and different from other ethnic groups. There is no representation from Kheyang community neither in traditional post or political activities. Most of them are Christian in the study area. They are occupied by mostly in Agriculture and Jhum farming.

4.1.2 The Union Parishad Election-2011: A study on three Union of Belaichari Upazila.

The Union Parishad Election-2011 was held in Belaichari Upazila for three unions. The Additional Deputy Commissioner (General) of Rangamati district was Returning Officer and the Upazila Agriculture Extension Officer was appointed as assistant returning officer for conduct the election in Belaichari. The number of the vote was 16584. The 16(sixteen) persons were candidates for 3(Three) Chairman Post. The number of the member post for three unions was 27(Twenty seven) and candidates number for this post was 90(Ninety) and 35 (Thirty Five) women candidates was contested for 12 reserve seat. The number of the total vote centre was 27(Twenty Seven). The total vote was casting 86.12%.

Table 4.2
Community and Candidates Distribution

Community	Chairman	Member	Member (Reserve for Women)
Chakma	07	27	12
Marma	01	06	04
Tanchangya	07	37	13
Tripura	01	02	--
Pangkho	--	01	--
Kheyang	--	--	--
Bawm	--	--	--
Total	16	73	29

The table 4.2 states that, as a whole the ethnic communities had expansion participation in UP Election-2011. The contested candidates for Chairman Post were from Chakma, Marma, Tripura and Tanchangya community. The ethnic participation as candidates for Member Post in UP Election-2011 is 81.11% and rest percentage belongs to Bengali communities'. The advancement in participation also observed for women reserve seat, where 82.85% candidates belong to ethnic community. The Chakma and Tanchangya communities both have dominant position in population and traditional post. That is also again reflects in table 4.2, which that these two communities is in leading position for contesting in UP Election-2011. Though the Marma community does not have superior position in study area but sociable participation is observed

from this community in UP election. There is very insignificant participation from Tripura and Pangkho communities. The candidates from Bawm and Kheyang communities' are absent in UP Election 2011. However the candidate's number of ethnic communities in the study area reveals that, the UP and UP election has immense exposure in their social and political life. Though the Union Parishad incorporate in their social life latterly than tradition and customs but the UP has same magnitude in study area.

4.3 Data Presentation Analysis and Findings

A total of Sixty (60) cross-section people were interviewed from four ethnic communities who are -Chakma, Marma, Tripura and Pangkho. In addition concerned eight (8) traditional leaders have been interviewed through unstructured questionnaires in order to know about their role on the research question.

The data have been presented chronologically in accordance with highlighting the independent variables to address the research question. To concentrate on the research objectives the findings and analysis of the study have been furnished to justify the analytical framework of the study.

4.3.1 Socio Economic Status

Of the sixty (60) respondent 66.7% were male and 33.3 % were female. Most of the respondents are representing from age level 35 to 45 which is 45% of the total respondent. In this study almost of the respondent are (73.32%) either illiterate or have primary level education. The income level of the most respondents is 3000 Taka to 5000 Taka as their monthly income. In addition eight traditional leaders were interviewed during this study. All most they have socially immense exposure in that locality.

4.3.1.1 Gender

The Table 4.3 and Table: 4.4 states that, the number of the male respondent is 40(Forty) and female respondents' number is 20(Twenty). There is no single or unmarried female respondent representing in this study. The percentage of none participate respondent is 5% for both male and female. The male and female participation percentage states that the extent of voting participation is equal in the study area. The presented data explains that 95% both female and male participated in UP Election-2011.

Table: 4.3
Gender Distribution of Respondents

Gender	Number	Percentage (%)
Male	40	66.67
Female	20	33.33
Total	60	100

The identical voting percentage for male and female among respondents expresses different trend of voting participation. In this study the finding is that, in a diminutive locality the male voters are proactive in voting participation. However, the same inclination also observed for none participation percentage.

Table: 4.4
Male-Female Voting Participation on Election (n=60)

Gender	Respondent voted in UP Election-2011(%)		
	Yes	No	Total
Male(n=40)	95	5	100
Female(n=20)	95	5	100

The traditional gender differences in voting participation diminished in the 1980s and 1990s, or even reserved, in many industrialized countries (Pintor, Gratschew & Sullivan 2012:96). The presented data illustrate that, the gender disparity among male and female respondent is nonappearance, particularly for voting participation.

4.3.1.2 Education

The composition of the respondent's education level unlocked the scope to categorize the participation pattern of the people in electoral process. The Table: 4.5 show the election voting percentage of UP Election-2011 according to education level of the respondents, where 73.33% of the respondents are both illiterate and primary education. Among the sixty (60) respondent fifty seven (57) respondents participated in UP Election.

Table: 4.5

Education Level and Voting Participation (n=60)

Education Level	Participation of Respondent in UP Election -2011 (%)	
	Yes	NO
Illiterate	86.66	13.33
Primary Education	96.55	3.44
Secondary Education	100	0
S.S.C	100	0
H.S.C and Above	100	0

The above Table: 4.5 interpreted that among the sixty respondents 57(Fifty Seven) respondents participated in UP Election and their education level is illiterate to H.S.C and above standard. Participation percentage of illiterate and primary education is 90.91% and 95.46%. There is no 'none participate respondent' from secondary education level and above. So the voting trend of the respondent and their education level demonstrate that, Education is visibly an advantage for mobilizing the pattern of voting participation of the people.

4.3.1.3 Occupation

Occupations of the respondents are classified into five natures. The Table 4.6 shows the occupation of sixty respondents. The data of the four different ethnic communities and their participation in UP Election -2011 analyzed according to occupational distribution. The given Table: 4.6 states that 53.4% respondents interviewed where their occupation is agriculture and Jhum farming. The respondent of the business group is 18.33% and service holder is 13.3% and the others respondents group is 15%.

Table: 4.6

Occupation and Voting Participation (n=60)

Occupation	Respondent Number	Percentage of Participation (%)
Agriculture	13	92.30
Jhum farming	19	89.47
Service	8	100
Business	11	100
Others	9	100

The voting percentage of respondents of Agriculture and Jhum farming is 92.30 and 89.47. The voting percentage of the other group is hundred percent. None participation percentage of

agriculture group is 7.70 % and none participation percentage of the Jhum farming group is 10.53%. The respondents of business, service and others participation is hundred percent in UP Election-2011. From the observation and others appearance of the study area is that, the respondents who are mainly involved in business and service groups generally they live in centers of the Upazilla and quite stable in their locality. On the other hand the respondents who are involved in agriculture and Jhum farming is related to shifting and for the occupational pattern they could not be stable in a establish place. The presented data about voting trend of UP Election-2011 according to occupational pattern proves that stability in occupation and life style influence the election participation.

4.3.1.4 Income

It is general assumption that economically strong people often make alliances with the elected representatives and determines their active participation in political activities as well as in election process. The income level which are allied in this study are-(1) Below 3000 taka BDT (2) 3001 taka to 6000 Taka BDT (3) 6001 Taka to 8000 Taka BDT (4) 8001 Taka to 10,000 Taka BDT and (5) 10001 Taka and above.

Table 4.7
Income level and voting Participation (n=60)

Income level	Respondent number	Percentage of Participation (%)
Below 3000 Taka	14	78.57
30001 Taka to 6000 Taka	21	100
6001 Taka to 8000 taka	12	100
8001 Taka to 10,000 Taka	12	100
10,001 Taka and above	1	100

The Table 4.7 shows that, the majority respondents belong to the income level from below 3000 Taka to 6000 Taka BDT and their voting participation is 78.5 %. The trend of voting participation according to income level of the participation reveals that increasing level of income reducing none participation percentage.

4.3.1.5 Ethnic Communities

It has been already discussed that, presented data has been collected from four different ethnic communities which are- Chakma, Marma, Pangkho and Tanchangya. The respondents are equally interviewed and each community's respondent's number is 15(Fifteen). In this part the different ethnic communities and their extent of participation in election has been examine by the surveyed data according to their voting participation in UP Election-2011.

4.3.2.1 Community

The Table 4.8 states that, the voting percentage of Chakma community is 93.33% and the voting percentage of Tanchangya community is 86.66%. The voting percentage of other ethnic communities- Pangkho and Marma communities is both 100% respectfully. The total percentage of participation is 95% and none participation is 5%. The percentage of voting of the respondents expresses that the extent of different ethnic communities' participation in UP election is very high.

Table: 4.8
Respondent and Voting Participation (n=60)

Community	Number of the Respondent	Voting Percentage (%)
Chakma	15	93.33
Marma	15	100
Tanchangya	15	86.66
Pangkho	15	100
Total	60	95

It is enlighten that the rural people of study area are highly motivated to vote in UP-Election. The voting turn out percentage of the study area is associated with the statement-‘the electoral turnout in local elections is greater than national and state or provincial elections turn out rate (Encyclopedia of Britannica, 2014).

4.3.2.3 Traditional Leader

The traditional leaders consider in this study as impel factor which could be affect the voting participation. It has been discussed that the traditional leaders are strongly positioned in CHT earlier than UP elected bodies.

Table: 4.9
Influence of the Traditional leader on voting participation (n=60)

How much the traditional leaders influence in your voting decision?	Low Influence (%)	Moderately Influence (%)	Higher Influence (%)
Chakma	53.33	33.33	13.33
Tanchangya	20	46.66	33.33
Marma	26.66	40	33.33
Pangkho	13.33	40	46.66

The influence of the traditional leader examined in this study through three measurement scale – Low influence, moderately influence and higher influence. The Table 4.10 presents that 53.33% respondent of Chakma community said that, they were not much influenced by the traditional leader. The moderate level of influence was worked on Tanchangya community where the percentage is 46.66. The Pangkho communities’ respondents were influenced higher than other which is 46.66%. The remarkable consequence is that, the Chakma community has dominance on traditional post but influence of the traditional leader worked less upon this community and on the other side Pangkho has less dominance on traditional post but influence of the traditional leader worked high on this community. Hence with it is observed that, there is a variation of influence nature on community people by the traditional leader on voting participation.

4.3.2.2 Kinship

To examine the participation pattern of different ethnic communities’ in UP-Election, three sub-aspects have been identified for analyzing the voting behavior of the respondents who have participated in UP Election-2011. It has been discussed before that, the three sub aspects under the Kinship are – (1) Likeness to Community Candidates, (2) Persuasion by friend and (3) Personal Social Awareness.

Table 4.10 explains the expectation of Pangkho and Marma community is that, they participate in election to vote the community candidates. The percentage of likeliness to community candidates

Pangkho and Marma communities' are 46.67% and 40% respectfully. The respondent of Tanchangya community motivated highly by 'Persuasion of Friend' and percentage is 30.77. The above table shows that Chakma respondents are more socially aware than other community and the percentage is 42.87%.

Table: 4.10
Respondents' Voting behavior and Kinship (n=60)

Which is your reason to participate as a voter in UP Election?	Likeness To Community (%)	Persuasion By Friend (%)	Personal Social awareness (%)
Chakma	35.71	21.42	42.87
Marma	40	26.67	33.33
Tanchangya	38.46	30.77	30.77
Pangkho	46.67	20	33.33

The individual kinship aspects of different ethnic communities in UP election reveal that, they expected to ensure their community participation in Union Parishad and personal social awareness about voting duty also related to voting participation.

4.3.3 Political Ambience

The local politics, political parties and their activities enhance civic engagement in political participation of a locality. The people participation in election is closely related to activities of the political actor of the locality. The political atmosphere may induce a large number of people to vote.

4.3.3.1 Local Politics

Among the four political parties of the study area, the Jana Songhoti Samiti(J.S.S) and UPDF are regional political parties and others both Awamileague(AL) and Bangladesh Nationalist Party(BNP), are national political party. The existences of both regional and national political parties in a small area lead to assume that the political ambience has supremacy exposure in election participation of the people. The grass root people moderately and above persuaded by this phase for voting participation.

Table 4.11
Local politics and Voting Participation (n=60)

How much the local political parties influence in your voting decision?	Low Influence (%)	Moderately Influence (%)	Higher Influence (%)
Chakma	20	33.33	46.66
Tanchangya	26.66	26.66	46.66
Marma	26.66	40	33.33
Pangkho	33.33	40	26.66

Among the 60(sixty) respondents 26.66% respondents said that local politics of the area did not impinge on their voting participation, where 35% respondent said that moderate level of persuasion worked on their voting participation. The 38.33% respondent said that they were highly persuaded to vote in UP Election-2011 for local political ambience. Among the communities Tanchangya and Chakma respondents' were more persuaded to participation in UP Election as a voter for political ambience and both of their percentage is 46.66%. The voting percentage of each community in UP Election-2011 simplify that, the election of Union Parishad has significance in daily social and political life of the study area.

4.3.3.2 UP Election

In this study the knowledge of the respondents about UP election measured according to their voting knowledge and awareness about election time. The Table 4.12 states that 81.66% of the respondents have higher knowledge about UP Election.

In the study area, total voter turnout rate is 86.12% in UP Election -2011. In Bangladesh Eight UP Election was held in CHT. That is why the people of the study area have better understanding about UP Election than other election.

Table: 4.12
Knowledge of the Respondents about UP Election (n=60)

Do you know the voting system and time frame of a UP Election?	Lower (%)	Higher (%)
Chakma	20	80
Tanchangya	20	80
Marma	13.33	86.67
Pangkho	20	80

Regularity of the UP Election creates awareness and affiliation between UP and the local people. So it is proves that empirical understanding about UP Election mobilizes the people in voting participation as well as in election participation.

4.4 Consolidation of Key Informants Interview

In this study the key informants are the traditional leaders of the study area. During the survey period it is found that most of the Headman and Karbari stay in the study area permanently and the Circle Chiefs of the study area furnishes his duties and responsibilities from Rangamati Town. That is why eight traditional leaders who were interviewed for this research purpose most of them represented from Headman and Karbari. It is exposed from the interview that, the traditional leaders do not involve directly in political activity neither they interest to take part in Union Parishad Election. Among the eight traditional leaders' representatives of the Chakma and Tanchangya Community both said that, generally they do not arrange consultation with community people before UP election. The traditional leaders said that, the tiny groups such as Pangkho and Bawm or Kheyang communities usually collectively take decision in any societal or political matter. In that regards the community leaders take proactive role.

4.5 Conclusion

Voting links the public to the elected officials. It is invented from the research; the UP has a very good exposure in the locality and also among traditional leaders. Homogenous electoral system creates awareness among the voter and instigates to participate in election. A better empirical understanding about UP is influential factor for voter turnout.

Chapter-Five

Conclusion

5.0 Introduction

The study concentrates on two basic mode of an election participation which is-Election candidate participation pattern and voting participation pattern. The voter turnout rate in an election can be measured in two ways: the percentage of registered voters voting or the percentage of voting age population voting. The objectives of the study are to assess the extent of participation of different ethnic communities and to analyze the role of traditional leaders in UP Election. To propose the research work several factors have been identified which are- socio economic conditions, demographic attributes, physiological motivation, political ambience and social network. This chapter discussed in two sections, where the first section deals with findings through revisiting the question and second section highlights the scope of the future research.

5.1 Revisiting the Research Question

In this study the research question is-What are the factors persuade and impinge the participation of different ethnic community in UP election of CHT? To address the research question the recent UP Election-2011 has been taken as a study case for analyzing the data. Practically the spotlight of the study is limited to three Union Parishad(UP) of Chittagong Hill Tracts under Bilaichari Upazila of Rangamati district.

It has been already mentioned that, the research emphasized on two basic participation modes of the election, which are- Election candidates and voting participation. Several intangible factors identified in this study which are to address the research question, which are- socioeconomic status, political ambience of the study area and different ethnographic identity of the locality.

As latest and last the UP Election-2011 has been taken for this research work. In consent to understand the participation pattern the respondent' of four ethnic communities has taken under consideration. The number of the respondent was 60(Sixty).

In UP Election-2011 of three Unions of study area 87% candidates are from ethnic community. The study found that 32% candidates participated from Chakma community and 40% candidate

participated from Tanchangya community. Tanchangya and Chakma community are in foremost position not only for population but also in education, societal post and as well in political activities. Only 8% participation observed from Marma community and other communities' participation only 7%, where Bawm Community's participation is absence. The advancement participation percentage of foremost community of the study area reveals that, social fragmentation; prime position and community size construct confidence to community people in election participation and on other side these factors are also discourage the other communities which are not in leading position.

Plutzer(2002) found that there is an initial relation between electoral participation and socioeconomic status. In order to examine the correspondence between socio economic status of the respondent and their voting behavior the study has acknowledged four socio-economic individuality of the respondents, which are- Gender, Education level, Income and Occupation.

The participation both male and female is very important in an election. In this study the voting percentage of the male and female is similar, which is 95%. The present voting participation trend is that female is more encouraged to participate in voting than male. In April, 2008 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) presented twelve countries voter turnout by gender and country in publication 'Women in Politics', where data for each country show that the voting participation of female is higher 10%-15% than male voter. The orthodox 'women are less active than men in political activity' may not be perfect for voting participation but the orthodox is still remain in election candidates participation pattern. It is observed that, the women participation as candidates in UP Election-2011 is absence for general post of Chairman or Member. Women only participate as candidate in reserve seat. In this study it is found that, the traditional gender difference in election participation is prevailing in the study area. The Local Government (Union Parishads) Act, 2009 of Bangladesh ensured three women representation in Union Parishad. May be it could be a positive factor for increasing women participation in election as candidates.

The education also considered in this study as important aspects for the research. The study shows that among the sixty respondents, the education level of none participate respondents are illiterate and primary level. The survey data shows that, higher the education level of the respondent is lifting the voting participation percentage is moving and none participation

percentage is becoming zero. So this depiction proves that education is essential and it increased voting participation.

The factors associated with voting an article published in 'Perspectives on Labor and Income' a publication of Labor Statistics Division Canada quoted that 'Economic well-being could also be positively related to voting participation. In this study it is observed that, the respondents who are involved in agriculture and Jhum farming, economically under positioned than respondents of service and business groups. It is observed from the study that, according to stability of occupation and income the voting participation trend is optimistically changing. So it is visible that, occupation and income persuade the voting participation pattern which affect in an election. The ethnographic contours of different ethnic communities have distinct electoral engagement pattern. The high levels of diversity are assumed to feature lower levels of social, civic, institutional solidarity, which like to feature lower levels of voter turnout (Nakhaie2008; Tossutti 2007; Raney & Birdhal 2009 quoted in Wesley & Summerlee 2012). But the propensity of the respondents' voting behavior in UP Election exhibits diverse findings about participation pattern of different ethnic communities' in study area. The ordinary observation is that the small groups of people generally take decision collectively. It is also reflects in above data, where Marma and Pangkho communities' participation is hundred percent (Table: 4.8). The voting percentage of different ethnic communities in UP Election-2011 expresses that, the participation pattern is output of cohesive decision. Voting participation percentage of different ethnic communities' clarifies that; different ethnic communities' voting participation pattern depends on collective assertion in diminutive locality. The participation pattern is illustration of common participatory approach rather than individual participation decision. Thus the heterogeneity of the ethnographic composition is persuading for voting participation of different ethnic communities in UP Election.

The traditional leaders consider in this study as impel factor which could be affect the voting participation also in election candidates' participation pattern. In this study among the 68(Sixty Eight) Traditional leaders Eight (8) traditional leaders were interviewed. From the interview with the traditional leader it is found that very few of them were candidates in UP Election-2011. The 60(Sixty) respondents also interviewed in this regards, where 31.66% respondents highly and 40% respondents were moderately influenced by traditional leader in voting participation. It is found in the study that the tiny groups which are less dominance in traditional post, they were

much influenced by traditional leaders. In the locality Pangkho community has less dominance in societal post but respondent of this community is highly influenced in election participation by the traditional leader. It is prevailed from the study that, there is a passionate influence of traditional leader on voting participation and traditional leaders are impinging factor for mobilizing participation pattern of the different community in UP election of CHT.

Political ambience included local politics, political parties and their activities, which enhances civic engagement in political participation of a locality. Political parties operate several ways to enhance the voter turnout (Stein, Leighly & Owens 2005:5). In this study, among the 60(Sixty) respondents, 38% respondent were highly influenced in election participation for political ambience. Political ambience creates consciousness and it increases political activities as well political participation in a society. The knowledge about UP election of the respondents also investigates by this study to know the extent of their election participation. The majority respondents said that they are aware about UP Election time and voting system. In Bangladesh consecutively eight (8) UP-Elections were held in Bangladesh as well as in Hill Tracts from 1973 to 2011. In this research work it is exposed that, regularity of the Election and political awareness persuades to enhance the people involvement and reflects in election participation pattern. In revisiting the research question from the above discussion, it is comprehensibly acceptable that diverse social, cultural, political and socio economic factors shape the participation pattern of different ethnic communities in UP election.

5.2 Scope of the Future Research

Particularly the study ponders to the election participation pattern of different ethnic communities of CHT. To address the objectives and scope it is observed that some important and relevant issues have not been discussed in this research. The geopolitical situation of the CHT has not been covered broadly. In this aspect Hill District Council and Regional Council of CHT and their history of emergence did not stated in this research work. Both of the institutions have immense exposure in CHT and upon the minor ethnic communities. That is why an extensive retrospective study on CHT and its governance system could be applicable and noteworthy areas for future research.

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Appendix -A

Figure: A1
Map of CHT

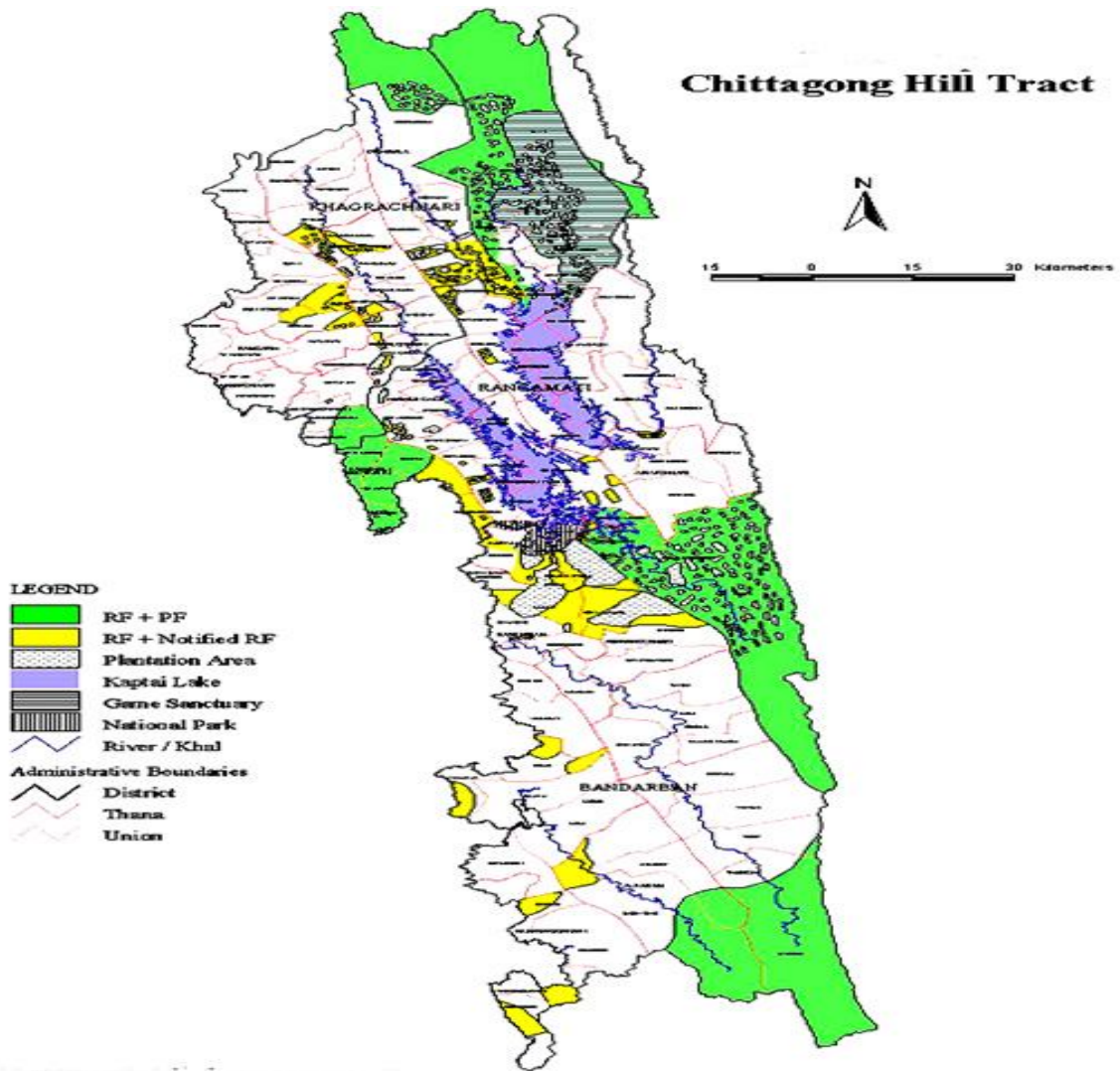


Figure: A2

Map of Belaichari Upazila

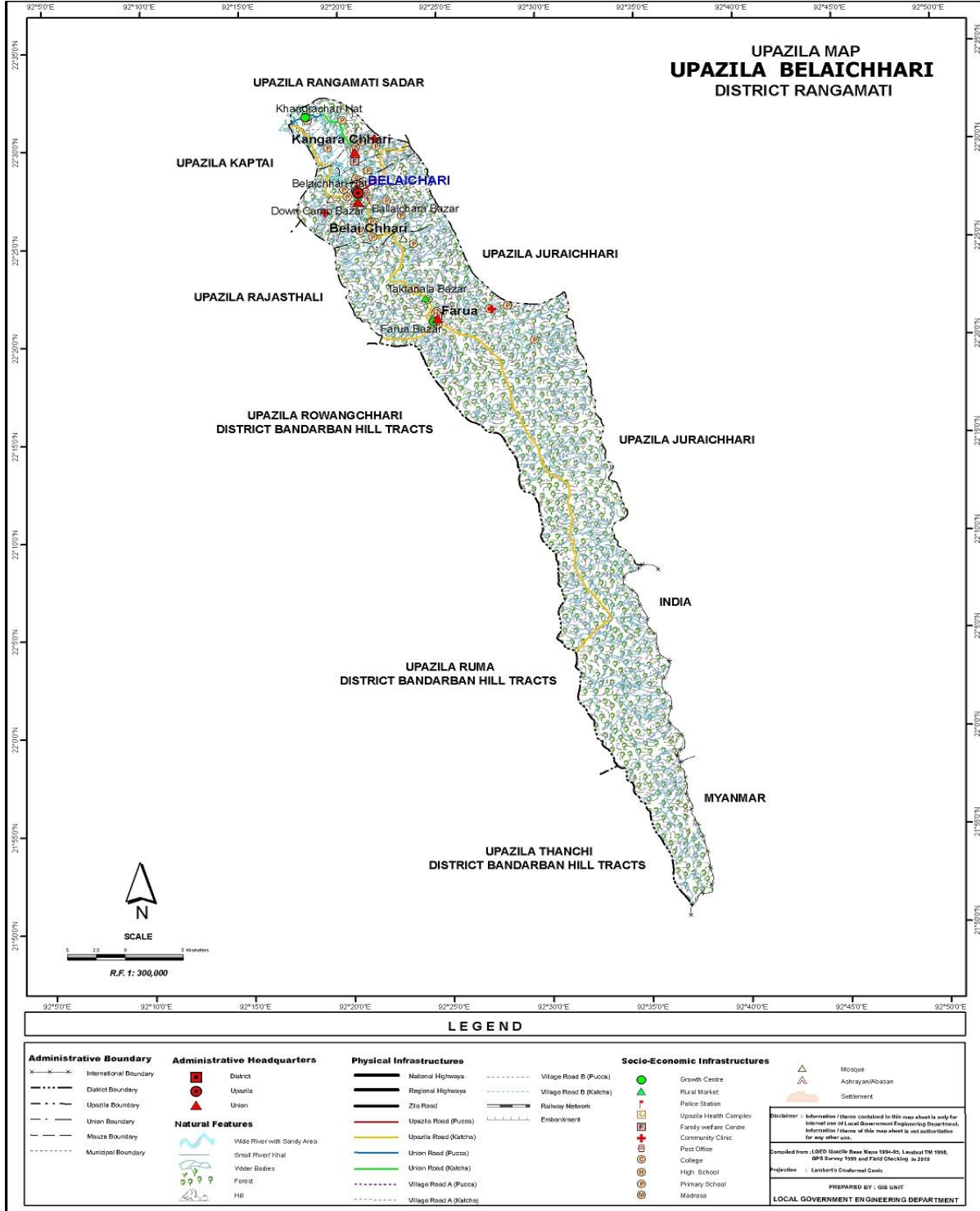


Figure: A3
Community and Candidates Distribution

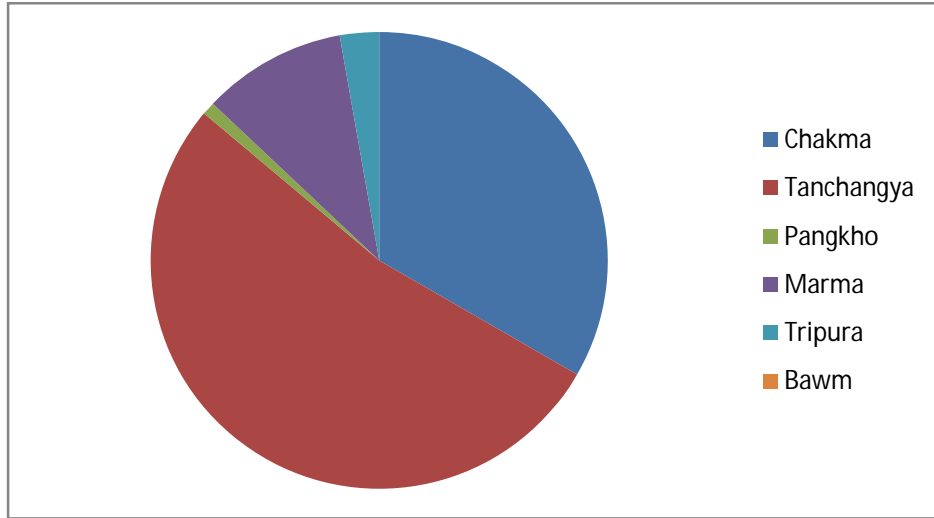


Figure: A4
Distribution of Traditional Leader in the study Area

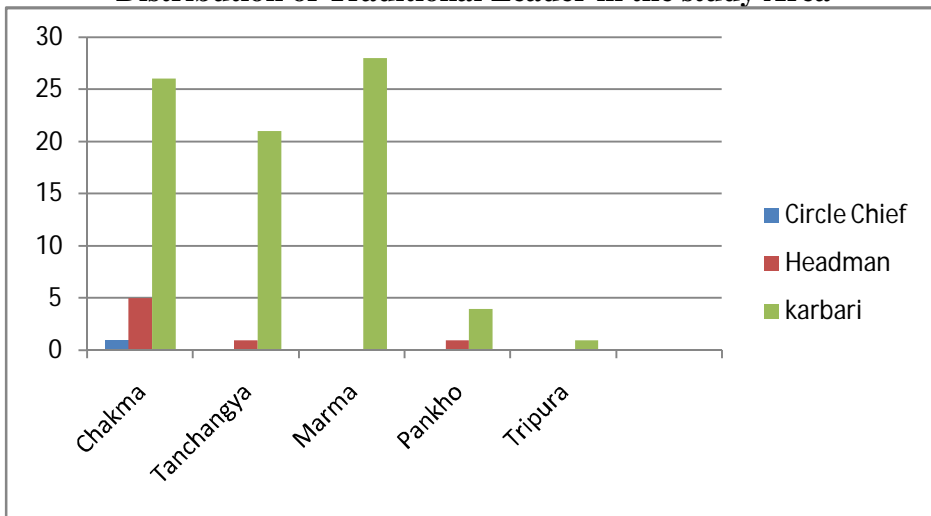


Figure: A5
Voter Distribution by Union

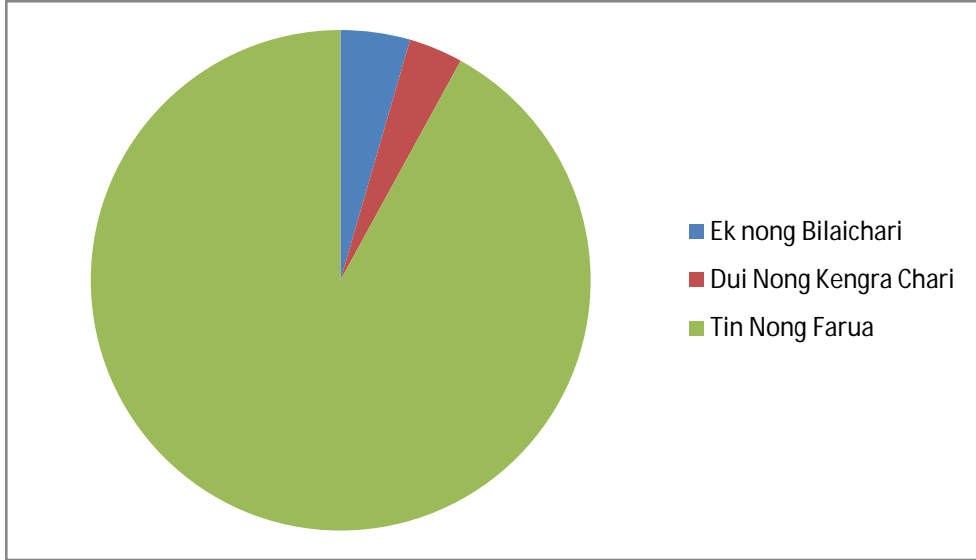


Figure A6
Influence of Traditional Leader on Respondents

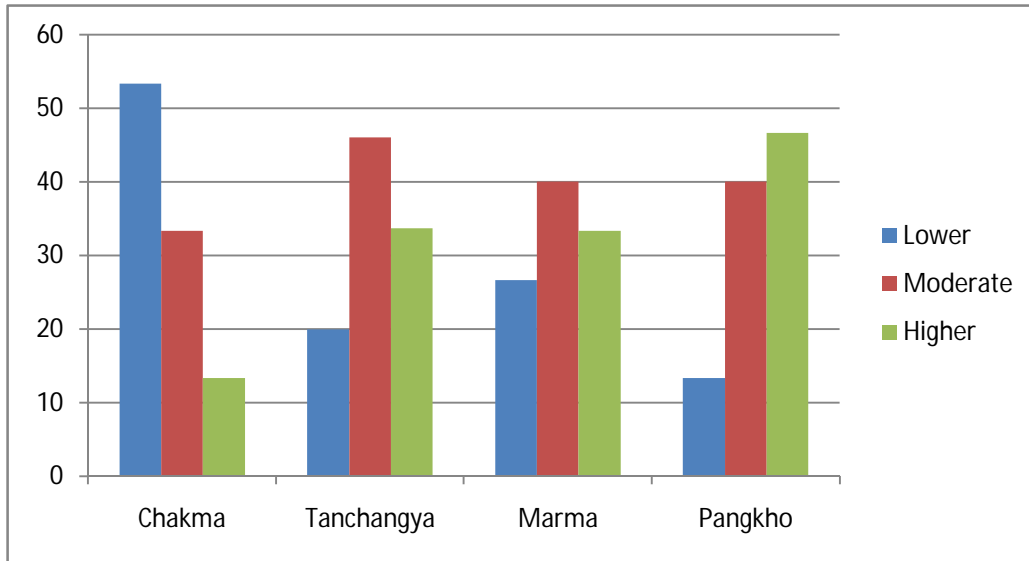


Figure: A7
Influence of the Political Ambience on Respondents

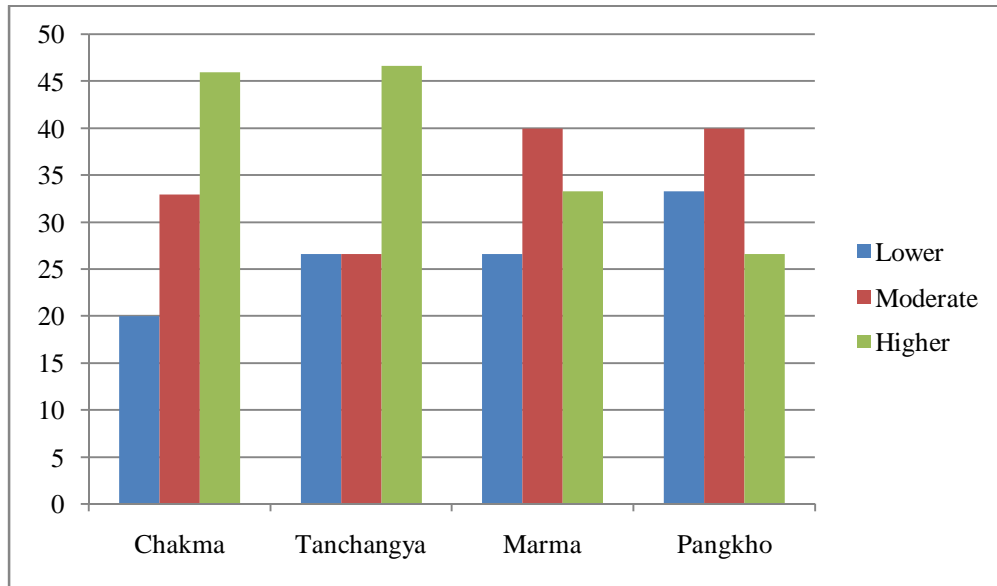
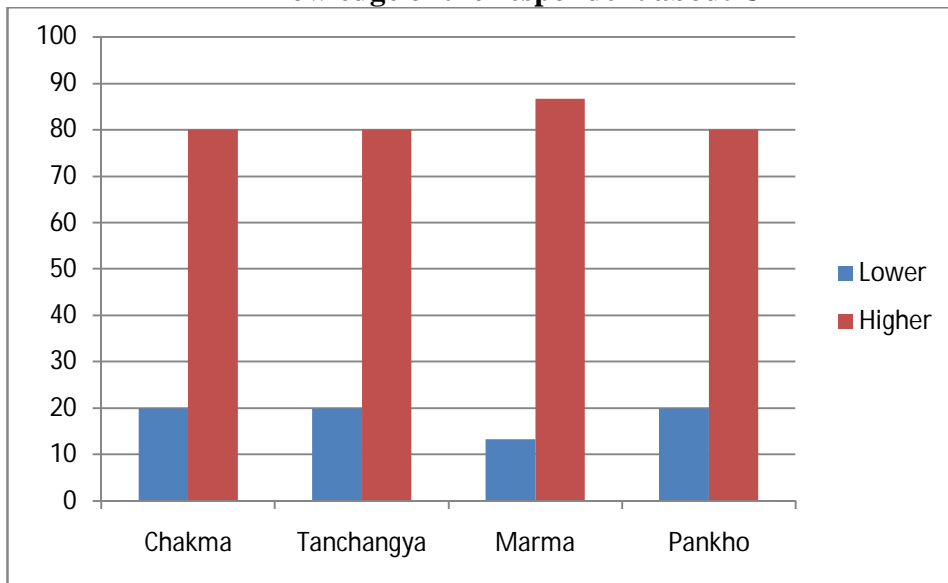


Figure: A8
Knowledge of the respondent about UP



Appendix –**B**

(English Version)

Participation of Ethnic Communities People in UP Election of CHT

Questionnaires – Ka (For Local People)

Personal Information

Name -----

Sex: Male / Female ---- Marital Status: Married/ Single

Address-----

Socio-Economic Condition

1. Community -

(1) Chakma (2) Marma (3) Pangkho

(4) Tripura (5) Tanchangya

2. Occupation -

(1) Agricultural Cultivation (2) Jumm cultivation (3) Business (4) Service

(5) Other

3. Age –

(1) 18-25 (2) 25-35 (3) 35-45 (4) 45-55 (5) 55- above

4. Educational Qualification -

(1) Illiterate (2) Primary school (3) Secondary School

(4) S, S, C, (5) H, S, C (6) Graduation and above

5. Income Level (in Taka) –

(1) Below 3000 Taka (2) 3001Ttaka – 5000 Taka (3) 5001 Taka – 8000 Taka

(4) 8001 Taka – 10,000 Taka (5) 10001 Taka and above

Affiliation with Union Parishad

6. How far you have conception about the function of Union Parishad(UP)

Unknown	Lowest Knowledge	Medium	Higher	Highest
1	2	3	4	5

7. Have you ever visited Union Parishad

(1) Yes (2) No

9. If the answer is Yes- did you participate any discussion of UP meeting

(1) Yes (2) No

Knowledge about Electoral process of Union Parishad (UP)

10. Do you know Electoral process of UP?

Lowest Knowledge	Highest
2	5

11. Do you know the Voting Process of UP?

Lowest Knowledge	Highest
2	5

Influence of Demographic Characteristics in UP Election-2011

12. Did you ensure your voting right in UP Election-2011

(1) Yes (2) No

13. Was there any Candidate from your Community in UP Election-2011

(1)Yes (2) No

14. Which was your motivation for voting in UP election -2011

- (1) Influence of family member or friend
- (2) Personal awareness about voting right
- (3) Persuasion by friend

15. In what extent the traditional leaders influence in your voting participation

Lower	Moderately influenced	Highest
2	3	5

Political Ambience

16. How many political parties in your area

- (1) One
- (2) Two
- (3) Three
- (4) Four
- (5) Five

17. In what extent the political ambience of your locality impinge on your Voting Participation

Lower	Highest
2	5

18. If the answer is yes please evaluate the level of political pressure in voting process of UP election that you have faced

Lowest	Moderately Influenced	Highest
3	4	5

20. Have you seen any political intervention in UP Election?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

21. If the answer is yes please rank the level of political intervention in voting process of UP election you have observed

Lowest	Moderately Influenced	Highest
2	4	5

Appendix -C

(English Version)

Participation of Ethnic Communities People in UP Election of CHT

Questionnaires – Kha (Traditional Leader)

Personal Information

Name -----

Sex: Male / Female ---- Marital Status: Married/ Single

Address-----

1. Community -

(2) Chakma (2) Marma (3) Pangkho

(4) Tripura (5) Tanchangya

2. 18-25 (2) 25-35 (3) 35-45 (4) 45-55 (5) 55- above

3. Educational Qualification -

(2) Illiterate (2) Primary school (3) Secondary School

(4) S, S, C, (5) H, S, C (6) Graduation and above

4. Are you actively connected with any Political party?

5. Have you ever been a candidate of UP Election in your locality

6. Which attributes you have considered before participate as voter in UP Election -
2011

7. Do the candidates of UP Election generally consider your comments and opinion before UP Election

8. Do you take any action or motivation within your community people regarding voting participation

9. In what extent political ambience of your locality influenced over UP Election-2011?
Please comments-

