

Emerging pattern of Youth Leadership in Arunachal Pradesh: an Analysis

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Abstract: The standard dictionary defines ‘Leader’ as the action of leading a group of people or an organization. In the Arunachal context, finding a precise definition of youth leader could be one of the most difficult tasks. Arunachal Pradesh has a distinct history, as compared to other states of the country; the role played by youth occupies a significant place in the political history of the state. The political structure of the state has also given significant reorganization to the Youth organizations. The distinct feature of the state politics is the non-existence of opposition party in the state assembly, which has naturally given the power to the youth organizations. It is therefore important to understand the emergence pattern of youth leaders. The paper would try to address some of the important factors behind the emergence of youth leaders. The paper would particularly deal with the social and economic factors for youths contesting elections, which could be of vital significance for the emergence of youth leader in Arunachal Pradesh.

Key Word: Youth, Leader, Social, Economic, Political.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The term youth is a more fluid category than a fixed age- group. Youth is defined differently by different countries /agencies. United Nations defines ‘youth’ as person between 15 and 24 years of age¹. The categorical group referred to as “Indian Youth” might look simple as we habitually identify this category by a certain age group, but theoretically it is not as simple as it appears. Even the attempt to define the category of Indian Youth only by age is contested since there is hardly any consensus about the age category which should form the category referred to as ‘youth’ in India. The categorization of Indian Youth has also varied from time to time in the official Indian documents. The Government of India had its own age bracket of 13-35 years as a definition of youth in different national youth policies. In the National Youth Policy-2003, ‘youth’ was defined a person of age between 13-35 years, However, in the National Youth Policy (2012), the age bracket was shrunk to 16- 30 years, but in the current National Youth Policy 2014, the youths’ are categorized under the age bar between 15-29 years². Researchers who conducted studies on Indian Youth have looked at a different age bracket- up to 25 years. So, the challenge of doing research on Indian Youth begins with the very definition of youth with regard to age, a category on which there is hardly any consensus. The difference of opinion about youth is not only limited to age groups, but also other demographic factors, such as location, gender, level of educational attainment, cast, region, religion and economic class of the family to which the youth belong; all these threes up challenge in defining the category referred to as Indian Youth. These differences in social characteristics of the youth affect not only about social issues but also about issues relate to politics and various aspects of political participation. The debate about which age category should be referred to as youth in India may not settle down quickly, one thing on which there is near unanimity is that the youth constitute a sizeable proportion of the Indian population. Keeping in view the above-mentioned factor, youth studies in India has gained significant importance³.

The standard dictionary defines ‘Leader’ as the action of leading a group of people or an organization or the ability to do this or the power or ability to lead other people. Universally accepted definition of leadership may not be acceptable to many scholars. Generally, it’s clear that leadership is persuasion; it involves

¹<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-andhuman-sciences/themes/youth/youth-defination/>: Accessed 1stjuly, 2019.

²National Youth Policy 2014. (2014). National Youth Policy., Ministry of Youth affairs and sports- Govt. of India.

³Kumar Sanjay (ed.) Indian Youth and Electoral Politics- An Emerging Engagement, Sage Publications, 2014.

influencing people to pursue a universal goal that is considered important or appropriate to the group. Leadership shouldn't be viewed as domination but gaining support willingly from others. Leadership requires creating a shared vision, building trust and confidence in others, and enabling others to act toward a standard goal⁴.

Youth organizations have been the focal point of youths' movements across the states of North East India. Likewise, in the case of Arunachal Pradesh active youth mobilization and participation in matters of education, employment, socio-cultural aspects and even in matters of state politics can be witnessed, which are spearheaded by youth' organizations under different nomenclatures led by different youth leaders. In the initial phase, prior to the formation of Arunachal Pradesh, community-based youths' associations, members of whom are the first-generation educated youths, actively participated in the reformation movement against social evils. With the gradual spread of education and introduction of modern democratic institutions, youth activities started to become broad-based, moving out of community level. The students and the youths got themselves involved in the affairs of the state, finding ills in the state and political leadership and many prominent youth leaders also got successfully elected as members of the state legislative assembly and Member of Parliament.

The formation of Arunachal Pradesh Students Union (AAPSU) as the apex youth organization in the state can be considered as the turning point in the history of youth organizations in the state as for the proper functioning of the organization, federal district student/youth organizations were created which further led to the formation of other youth organizations to meet their own regional aspirations. The existence of several youth organizations has also been one of the important characteristics of state politics in Arunachal Pradesh. If we study in dept we find almost all the tribes and Districts have their own District youth/student union, for instance in West Siang there is West Siang district Students Union (WSDSU), All Galo Students Union (AGSU), Galo youth organization (GYO), Galo Students Union (GSU) and many other areas and clan-based youth organizations. These bodies act as federal organs of the apex student union AAPSU. All the student unions to a greater extend has its own impact in the process of influencing the governance. These youth organizations at different levels have been the motivating factor for youth's active involvement not only in societal problems but also in state's politics. As the youth organizations has been playing the leading role in youth's active involvement in socio- political issues of the state.

The youth organizations in the state act as a launching pad for future political leaders in state politics. These youth organizations provide ample opportunities for the young youth leaders who take membership into these youth organizations and their organizations by default provide them a platform to express themselves and in due course of time these youth leaders develop more leadership characteristics which help them in the future platforms. The table below shows the list of former youth leaders of All Arunachal Pradesh Students Union and their various post held.

Table1: Former Presidents and General Secretaries of AAPSU and their post held

<i>Presidents and General Secretaries of AAPSU</i>				
Sl. No	Name	President/ General Secretary	Year	Post Held
1	Dying Ering	President	1947-59	-First MP NEFA
2	Bakin Pertin	General Secretary	1959-66	-First Elected Lok Sabha MP -Former President of People Party of A. P.
3	Nyodek Yonggam	President	1967-69	-Ex- MP
4	Samchom Ngemu	General Secretary	1997-73	-Ex-MLA
5	Eken Riba	President	1975-77	-Ex-MLA - Former Advisor to CM 2009 -Former State Information Commissioner
6	Wangnia Pongte	General Secretary	1975-77	-Ex-MLA
7	Hage Batt	General Secretary	1977-79	-Former secretary of state legislative assembly 1995-96
8	Jarbom Gamlin	President	1981-83	-Ex-MP

⁴https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262509825_Youth_leadership, Pfeiffer I. Steven., Youth leadership, 22 June 2016.

				- Former Chief Minister
9	Tadar Changriang	President	1983-85	-Served as Anchal Samity Member -Zila Parishad Member Lower Subansiri District
10	Tabin Taki	General Secretary	1983-85	-President PanginBoleng Block Congress Committee
11	Nabam Rebia	President	1985-87	-Ex-MLA -Present MP in Rajya Sabha
12	Takam Sanjoy	General Secretary	1987-89	-Ex-MP -Former president of AP state congress committee
13	Dominic Tadar	President	2001-2003	-Former General Secretary BJP AP
14	Gumjum Haider	General Secretary	2004-2006	-Organizing Secretary NESO (2005-07)
15	Ojing Tashing	General Secretary	2006-2009	-State Secretary BJP AP

Source: -Compiled from All Arunachal Pradesh Student Union Souvenir 2017.

Objectives of the Study

The present work will try to seek answers to the factors responsible for the emergence of youth leaders in Arunachal Pradesh. The present work will attempt to study the socio-economic background of the youth leaders and motivating factors for contesting elections for youth organizations.

II. MATERIAL AND METHODS

Keeping in view the above-mentioned objectives of the study and better outcome of the research undertaken, the research was concentrated in selected Districts of Arunachal Pradesh. Research was conducted in three Districts of Arunachal Pradesh, namely, Papum Pare District (Capital Complex, Itanagar), West Siang District and Tirap District.

The methodology of the present study adopted descriptive and analytical method. The tools of the study are mainly a set of partially structured interview schedule-cum- questionnaire, designed to elicit required information from the respondents. The relevant data have been collected from primary and secondary sources. Both published and unpublished works have been used as secondary sources as when required. Both male and female respondents were adequately represented, however due to a smaller number of female representatives in the youth organizations female respondents remain limited.

Table 2: Showing area of Data collection and Number of Respondents

District	Type of Student Union	Total Respondent from Each District
Tirap District	1 DSU	30 (10 Respondents each)
	2 ABSU	
	3 TBSU	
Papum-Pare District	1 DSU	30 (10 Respondents each)
	2 ABSU	
	3 TBSU	
West Siang District	1 DSU	30 (10 Respondents each)
	2 ABSU	
	3 TBSU	
AAPSU	1 Apex Student Union	20 Respondents
Total		110 Youth Leaders Respondents)

Note: - DSU- District Students Union, ABSU- Area Based Students Union, TBSU- Tribe based Students Union, APPSU- All Arunachal Pradesh Students Union.

III. RESULT

The study of socio-economic and motivating factors responsible for youths contesting elections is essential for having a thorough knowledge and understanding of the type of leadership and emerging pattern of youth leadership. The quality of leadership is considerably shaped by the totality of such factors. The table below shows the age group of the youth leaders.

Table3:Age Groups of the Youth Leaders

Age Group of the Youth Leaders	Number of Respondents	Percent
Between 19-21 years	5	4.54
Between 22-24 years	10	9.09
Between 25-27 years	26	23.63
Between 28-30 years	36	32.72
Between 31-33 years	18	16.36
Above 35 years	15	13.63
Total	110	100

Source: - Survey Data

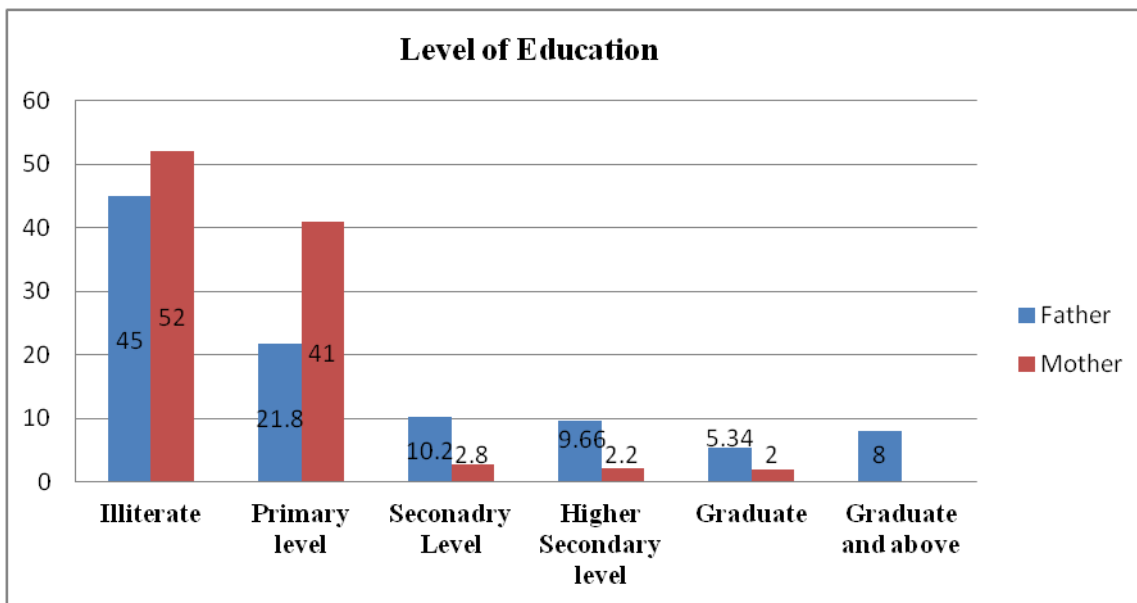
Majority of the respondents i.e. 32.72 per cent of youth leaders belong to the age group of 28-30 years, 23.63 per cent constitute between the age group of 25-27 years, 16.36 per cent of the respondents constitute the age group between 31-33 years, followed by 13.63 per cent per cent of the respondents constitute the age group of above 35 years, 9.09 per cent between 22-24 years, 4.54 per cent between 19 to 21 years respectively.

Table 4: Showing Marital Status of the Youth Leaders

<i>Marital Status of the Youth Leaders</i>					
Sl. No	Unmarried	Married	Divorced	Engaged	Total
Responses	36	48	0	26	110
Per Cent	32.72	43.63	0	23.63	100

Source: - Survey Data

The above table shows the material status of the youth leaders. 43.63 per cent of the youth respondents said they are married, 32.72 per cent of the respondents are unmarried followed by 23.63 per cent of the respondents are found to be engaged.



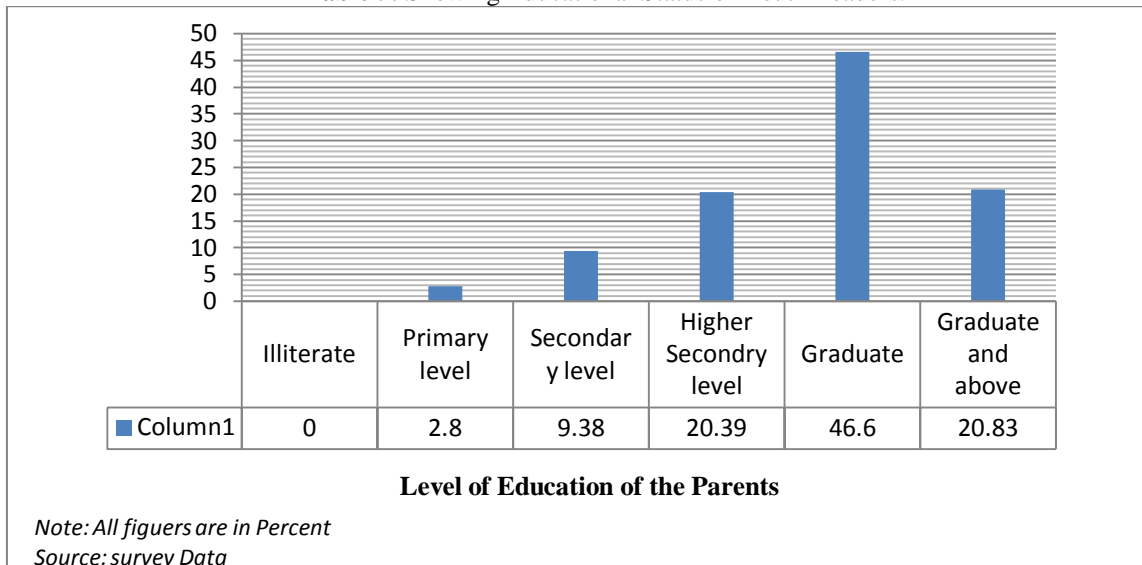
Source:- Survey Data

Figure 1: Educational Status of the Youth Leaders Parents

How does the level of education of the parents help in shaping their children is a matter of grave discussion among the scholars, but having educated parents will definitely help in shaping the academic character of a child as the parents are well aware of the importance of education in a child's life. Sociological and psychological studies have showed that child personality is associated with the level of parent's education as more educated parents will always have more authoritative parenting approach especially in terms of children's education. The more enlightened and aware the parents are about their rights; liberty and the

functioning of the government machineries so will be their young children. Keeping these important considerations, an attempt was made to understand the level of education of the parents of youth leaders. The figure 1 represents the level of education of both the father and mother of the youth respondents. Among the mothers, majority i.e. 52 per cent of the youth leaders' mothers are found to be illiterate, 41 per cent of them attended primary level of schooling, 2.8 per cent of them said they attended their education till secondary level, followed by 2.2 per cent till higher secondary level and 2 per cent of the respondent's mothers said they are graduate. On the other hand, among the respondent's father's majority of them i.e. 45 per cent of them are illiterate, 41 per cent of them have attended primary level education, 2.8 per cent of them said they had attended secondary level, 2.8 per cent of them had higher secondary level and 2 per cent of the respondent's fathers are graduate. None of the parents according to the respondents have higher degree than graduation.

Table 5: Showing Educational Status of Youth Leaders.



The above table highlights the level of education of the youth leaders, 46.6 per cent of the youth leaders responded that they are graduate, 20.39 per cent of them have attended their education till higher secondary level, 20.83 per cent of the youth leaders are graduate and above. 9.38 per cent of them are educated till secondary level followed by 2.8 per cent till their primary level.

Table 6: Family Background of Youth Leaders

<i>Do you have any political leader in your family or Relatives?</i>				
Sl. No	Yes	No	NoResponse	Total
Responses	61	49	0	110
Percent	55.45	44.54	0	100

Source: - Survey Data

Here the term 'political family' represents a family where, their parents or close relatives have presently or previously served as a leader, it be a youth, panchayat, members of state assembly or held important positions in a political party (national/regional) etc. was considered as a political family. According to the youth leader respondents 55.45 of them said that their family consists of members with political background, on the other hand 44.54 per cent of the respondents said they had no political background or any political leader in their family.

The Educational institutions also play an important role in the emergence of youth leadership in the state. The constitutions majority of the youth organizations in the state also provide membership to only those youths who are fulltime students⁵. On the other hand, the apex student union of the state- AAPSU's constitution, states that in order to be a member of the union, He/ She must be a bonafide student belonging to recognized

⁵Youth Organizations like the District Students Union, Area Based Students Union have their Constitution and bylaws which are reviewed in every three years. On the other hand, the youth organizations like the clan and Tribe based students/youth organizations do not have specified guidelines and constitution regarding the enrollment of non-students as its members.

tribes in the state and must be a full-time student affiliated to an educational institution⁶. The table 1.6 given below illustrates the Youth leaders affiliated Educational Institutions (by category). Majority of the youth leaders i.e. 44.55 per cent of them are full time students studying in private universities, 23.64 per cent of the in private colleges, 20 per cent of them in Government colleges followed by 8.18 per cent of them in central universities and 3.63 in deemed universities respectively. Further according to the youth leader's respondents 43.63 per cent of them have opted for law as a subject of study, 37.27 per cent in Arts, 7.27 per cent in science, 6.36 per cent in commerce and 5.45 per cent in other subjects of study.

Table 7: Youth leaders affiliated Educational Institutions (by category) and their subject of Study

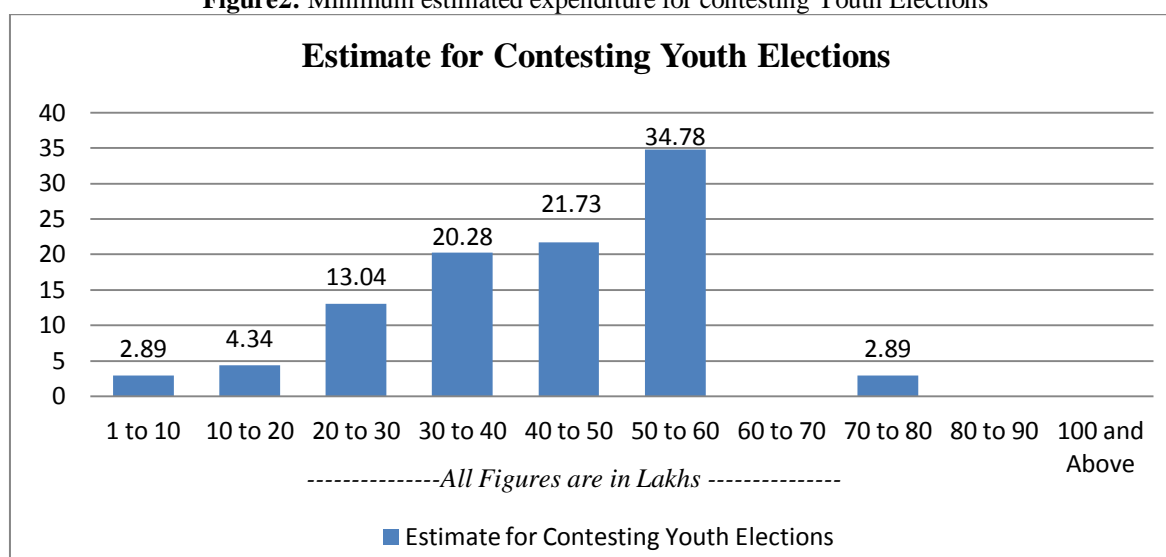
<i>Youth leaders affiliated Educational Institutions (by category) and Subject of Study</i>						
Sl. No	Education Institutions	Responses	Percent	Subject of Study	Response	Percent
1	Private University	49	44.55	Arts	41	37.27
2	Central University	9	8.18	Science	8	7.27
3	Deemed University	4	3.63	Law	48	43.63
4	Private College	26	23.64	Commerce	7	6.36
5	Government College	22	20	Other*	6	5.45
Total		110	100	Total	110	100

Source: - Survey Data, *other subjects of study like- engineering, Diploma courses etc.

The economic factors also play a significant role in the emergence of youth leaders. The high electoral expenses and use of money for contesting student union elections has been a major concern in the present century. In Arunachal Pradesh, the apex youth organizations like AAPSU and DSU is considered to be highly expensive as the huge involvement of money has been a matter of grave discussion in previously held constitutional review meetings. Youth elections in the state not less than a festival as during the campaigning process the camp of the candidates provide food and drinks which also include most of the time non-vegetarian meals for at least 2 to 3 months before the casting of votes.

Therefore, any attempt to study and understand the emergence youth leaders in the state would be unjustified if I exclude the economic factors. Figure 2, below outline the opinion of the youth leaders about the minimum estimated expenditure for contesting Youth elections in the state. According to the youth leaders, majority of them respondents i.e. 34.78 per cent of them said that 50 to 60 Lakhs for key post like president, general secretary etc. 21.73 per cent said 40 to 50 Lakhs, 20.28 per cent responded 30 to 40 Lakhs, 13.04 per cent said 10 to 20 Lakhs, followed by 2.89 per cent responded 1 to 10 Lakhs and 2.89 per cent of the youth leaders respondents felt 70 to 80 Lakhs as the minimum amount for contesting elections for the youth organizations in the state. Major youth organizational bodies like the AAPSU, DSU and Tribe based youth organization extend wider jurisdiction as compared to other youth organizations like Area based Student Unions (ABSU) which also means wider participation of youths in the electoral process and so the expenditure.

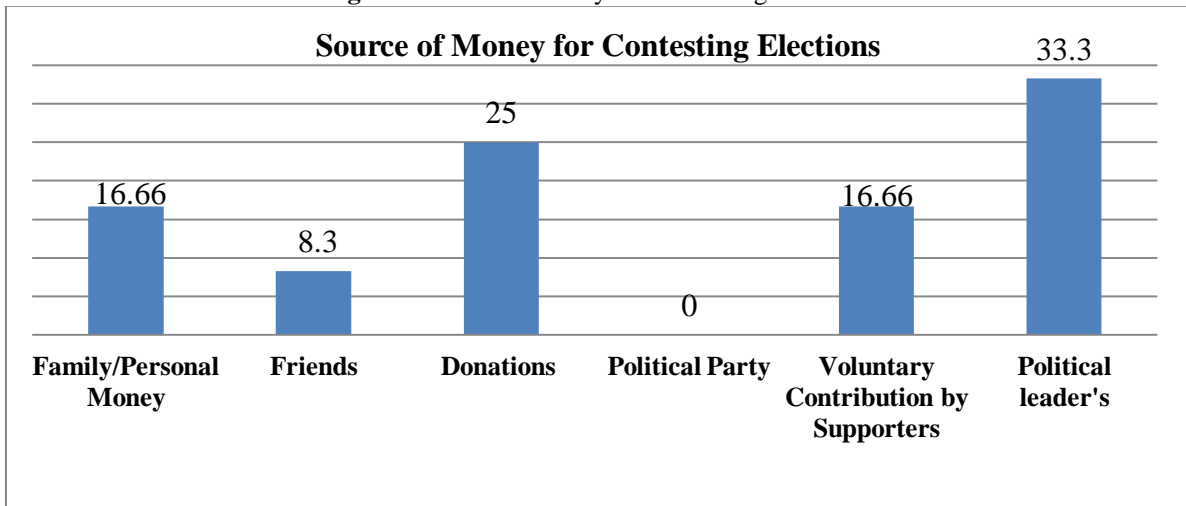
Figure2: Minimum estimated expenditure for contesting Youth Elections



Source: - Survey Data

⁶'The Constitution of All Arunachal Pradesh Students Union', Part III –Membership (Article-6) p 1.

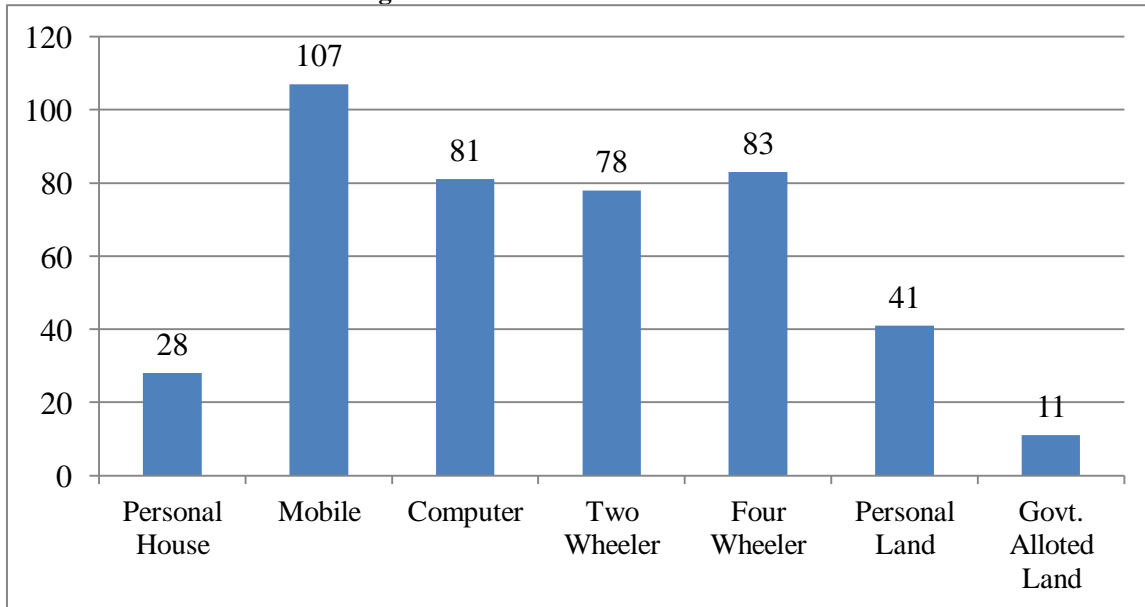
Figure3:Source of Money for Contesting Elections



Source: -Survey Data

The figure above shows the respondents opinion about the source of money for their election expenditure. 33.3 per cent of the money for contesting youth elections was funded by the local political leaders and 25 per cent of the respondents received money through donations. 16.66 per cent of the youth leaders said that their source of money for contesting youth elections were Voluntary contributions from their supporters and family/personal money. 8.3 per cent of the source of money was funded by the close friends. However as per as the respondents, political parties have never funded the youth elections directly.

Figure4:Personal assets of Youth Leaders



Source: - Survey Data/ All figures are not in percentage.

The above figure highlights the youth leader’s responses about their personal assets. The youth leaders were given multiple options to respond according to the assets they have. Accordingly, out of a total of 110 respondents, 107 respondents said that they have mobile phones, 83 of them possessed four wheelers, 81 of them had computers, 78 of them had two wheelers, 41 of them owned personal/ Ancestral lands, 28 of them had personal houses and 11 of the youth leader respondents had government allotted lands in their name.

Table:8: Residential Status of the Youth Leaders

<i>Current Residential Status</i>				
Sl. No	Urban	Semi Urban	Rural	Total
Response	45	29	16	90
Percent	50	32.22	17.77	100

Source: - Survey Data

The above table shows the residential status of the youth leaders. Majority of the youth leader's residential status are in urban areas (50 per cent), followed by 32.22 per cent in semi urban areas and 17.77 per cent in Rural areas respectively.

Table9: Income of Respondents Family

Monthly Income	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Rs 10,000-15,000	0	0
Rs 15,000-20,000	2	4.44
Rs 20,000-25,000	6	13.33
Rs 25,000-30,000	12	26.66
Rs 30,000- 35,000	12	26.66
Rs 35,000- 40,000	11	24.44
Above 50,000	2	4.44
TOTAL	45	100

Source: - Survey Data

According to the above table 9, 26.66 percent of the respondents said that their families' monthly income is between Rs 25,000 to30, 000 and Rs 30,000 to 35,000 respectively. Further 24.44 per cent of the respondents said that their monthly family's income is Rs 35,000 to 40,000, followed by 13.33 per cent said Rs 20,000 to25, 000, 4.44 per cent said Rs 15,000-20,000 and 4.44 per cent responded said that their family's monthly income is above Rs 50, 000.

Table10:Motivating factors for contesting elections

<i>Motivating Factors for contesting Elections</i>			
Sl. No	Motivating Factors	Responses	Per Cent
1	To serve the student community	32	29.09
2	To gain Publicity/Popularity	3	2.72
3	To prepare a base for future Political Leadership	25	22.72
4	To exercise power	2	1.81
5	To serve my country in general	1	0.90
6	Work to reform the education system	10	9.09
7	To correct the administrative system	12	10.90
8	To represent a political Party	1	0.90
9	To represent the student community in different platforms	16	14.54
10	My friends want me to contest	4	3.63
11	I just contested without any objective	1	0.90
12	Incidentally (Just Casually)	2	1.81
13	For other purpose	1	0.90
Total		110	100

Source: - Survey Data

When asked about the motivating factors for contesting elections for the youth organizational bodies, 29.09 per cent of the youth leader's respondents have said that their motivating factor to lead the youths was to serve the student community as a whole. 22.72 per cent of them said to prepare a base for future Political Leadership, 14.45 of the to represent the student community in different platforms, 10.90 per cent of them said to correct the administrative system, 9.09 per cent of them to work to reform the education system, 3.63 per cent of them contested elections because their friends wanted him to contest, 2.72 per cent of them contested to gain publicity/popularity, 1.81 of the contested to exercise power and was incidental (just casual) followed by 0.90 per cent said to serve the country in general, just contested without any objective and for other purpose respectively.

Further when asked about the factors contributing to their victory in the youth elections (table 11), among the 110 respondents, 18.18 per cent of the respondents felt that they won the elections due to their oratory skills, 16.36 per cent of the respondents felt that they won the youth elections due to their past record as a youth leader and active participation in youth movements/ agitations. 15.45 per cent due to their personality, 13.63 per cent felt it was due to the important issues raised by them during their studentship, 7.27 per cent said they won due to money power, 5.45 per cent said they won because they were the senior most among the contesting candidates. 3.63 per cent felt that their organizational network was strong so they won the elections. Further, 1.81 per cent of the respondents felt that it was due to their good academic record which led to their victory in the youth elections.

Table 11: Factors Contributing to Your Victory

<i>Factors Contributing to Your Victory</i>			
Sl. No	Factors	Response	Percent
1	Personality	17	15.45
2	Oratory skills	20	18.18
3	Good academic Career	2	1.81
4	Organizational network	4	3.63
5	Past record as a youth leader	18	16.36
6	Active participation in Youth movements/ Agitations	18	16.36
7	Because I was the senior most among the contesting candidates	6	5.45
8	Important issues raised by me during my studentship	15	13.63
9	Support from Political Party	0	0
10	Money Power	8	7.27
11	Use of force	0	0
12	Other reasons	2	1.81
Total		110	100

Source: - Survey Data

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

While attempting to understand the emerging pattern of youth leadership in Arunachal Pradesh with special reference to the socio- economic factors, the study found that student/youth organizations play a vital role in shaping the political career of youth leader. The study found that majority of the leaders in the state legislative assembly and other prominent figures in the state had been former student /youth leaders in different youth organizations. Among the youth leaders of different youth organizations (AAPSU, DSU, TBSU, ABSU etc.) majority of the youth leaders are found to be in between 25 to 33 years of age and 67.26 per cent of the youth leaders are found to be married or engaged.

The level of education of the parents of the youth leaders are found to be comparatively low as educational institutions were not sufficiently available during their time and among the parents, the males (Father) are found to be more educated than the females (mothers). Data collected for the study also reveals that the level of education of the parents have no impact on the level of education of the youth leaders. However, the level of education of the present generation youth leaders, is found to be high and all the youth leader respondents are well educated. The role of family in the process of political socialization can be crucial in the emergence of youth leaders in the state. According to the study, families with parents or close relatives with political background have more youth leaders compared to families with no political background. The educational institutions also provide early platform for leadership in the state as cited earlier. In order to be a member of most of the youth organization's a person must be registered as a full-time student. Majority of the youth leaders are found to be full time students of private universities and private colleges (44.55 per cent and 23.64 per cent) and majority of the youth leaders have opted for Law and Arts as their subject of study (43.63 per cent and 37.27 per cent).

While trying to understand the economic factors for the emergence of youth leaders in the state, the electoral expenditure incurred for contesting elections are found to be very high for the apex youth organizations like the AAPSU, DSU and TBSU. The roles of political leaders of their respective districts/areas remain the main source of funding and support for the youth elections. The study found that other source of electoral expenditure for elections to youth organizations are through donations, voluntary contributions made by the supporters as well as their personal money.

While attempting to understand the personal assets possessed by the youth leaders, majority of the youth leaders are found using modern equipment's like mobile phones and computers. Majority of the youth leader's own two wheelers and four wheelers. The study also found youth leaders possessing personal land, personal house and even government allotted lands. However, when all the above-mentioned assets are equated

with the monthly/annual income to the respondent's family, the monthly/annual income of the respondent's families are found to be comparatively low.

The study also found that, among the motivating factors for contesting elections, the interest of the student community has been the top priority in motivating the youth leaders to contest elections for the youth organizations. Further, preparing base for future leadership also remains the motivating factors for contesting youth elections. Lastly the study found that the major contributing factors for electoral victory happened to be the oratory skills of the candidates, past leadership experience, active participation in youth agitations and movements and personality. The role of money power in the elections is also one of the important factor in deciding the victory of a candidate in elections related to youth organizations.

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