

# **AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL AS A TOOL FOR DIVERSITY**

## **MANAGEMENT:**

### **A BOON OR BANE?**

Author: Treveni Goswami Vernal, Independent Researcher

Institute: Chair Peace Studies (Ford Foundation Chair), OMEMO

KUMAR DAS INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND

DEVELOPMENT (An institute under the

Indian Council for Social Science Research),

Guwahati, Assam, India

DIMA HASAO DISTRICT

(ASSAM)

CONTACT EMAIL: [triveni.goswami@gmail.com](mailto:triveni.goswami@gmail.com)

Presented at the 2013 Peace Practitioners Research Conference, Siem Reap.

Disclaimer: All content is that of the researcher and not of CPCS.

***This page is left intentionally blank***

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

**1.INTRODUCTION**

**2. ETHNIC CONFLICT**

**3. THE INDIAN POLITY AND THE ACCOMODATIONIST POLICY**

**4. CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH**

**5.AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL: POWERS AND FUNCTIONS**

**6.DIMA HASAO AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL**

**7. METHODOLOGY**

**8. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

**9. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE STUDY**

**10.RELVANCE OF AUTONOMOUS COUNCILS IN NORTH EAST INDIA**

**11. ISSUES OF REPRESENTATION AND ETHNIC HOSTILITIES**

**12. IS THE AUTONOMY MODEL IN NORTH EAST INDIA, A FAILURE?**

## 13. CONCLUSION

## **ABSTRACT**

### **AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL AS A TOOL FOR DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT: A BOON OR BANE?**

Identity has always been a subject of much contestation. Situating this core thesis within the diverse socio-political landscape of the North Eastern region of India, the paper seeks to explore the Accommodationist policy of the Government of India to 'manage' various ethnic identities through multiple provisions that have been incorporated into the Constitution of India. One such Constitutional Provision is the Sixth Schedule that provides for the administration of particular tribal areas as autonomous entities--as Autonomous District Councils. The paper is based on a study that was undertaken to understand the efficacy and functioning of the Autonomous Council of the Dima Hasao district (previously known as North Cachar Hills) of the state of Assam, in the year 2006. Qualitative research methods were adopted to collate information on the various aspects of the administration, history and functioning of the Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council. In order to capture the extent of diverse opinions, semi-structured interviews with a wide range of people--members of the Council, leaders of the Opposition, law enforcement authorities, student leaders, young entrepreneurs and media professionals--were conducted and both primary as well as secondary sources of data collection, were used for the study. Some of the main findings that emerged were as follows--Concentration of power amongst a small group of elites, Widespread Corruption, Encroachment of public spaces by the armed forces, Low economic growth, Problematic devolution of finances and Dismal status of the basic indices of Development (Health, Education, Industry and Communication). The study revealed that although the system to provide autonomy was in place, there were loopholes endemic in the administrative machinery. It thus provides an opportunity to reflect upon the feasibility of the Autonomous Councils as an instrument of political change.

\*\*\*\*\*

**KEYWORDS:** Accommodationist Policy, North East India, Sixth Schedule, Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council, Ethnic Identity

# AUTONOMOUS COUNCIL AS A TOOL FOR DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT: A BOON OR BANE?

## INTRODUCTION

The Northeastern region of India covers an area of approximately 7.9% of the country's territory. Every state in this region, barring Sikkim, is affected by insurgent activities, each differing from the other only in matters of degree and intensity. Strategically located, 99% of the borders of the Northeastern region are international—with China to the North; Bangladesh to the South and West; Bhutan to the North West and Myanmar to the East. The region has witnessed several tumultuous years of ethnic clashes and secessionist movements.

Being home to hundreds of ethnic communities—big and small, this region can best be described as a cauldron of ethnicities—each making an attempt to carve a niche for itself. With the advent of globalization and the subsequent pressures on land, coupled with the depletion of natural resources, ethnic communities have been placed at loggerheads with one another while competing over scarce resources. When discontentment is linked with an assertion of one's collective identity and identified with ethnicity *per se*, ethnic consciousness can mutate into ethno nationalism. This can be seen in many parts of the region.

Ethnicity in the contemporary world has emerged as a phenomenon with a capacity for social mobilization. It has certain psychological properties which can contribute towards potential volatility in the society. Although ethnicity and nationalism are two overlapping albeit distinct terms, yet often, over time ethnic consciousness may assume the form of ethno-nationalism.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Young, Crawford *Explaining The Conflict Potential Of Ethnicity* in Mac Ginty, R and Darby, J(Eds.) *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence & Peace Processes*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 9-10, 2003

Ethnicity, like several other social phenomena is socially constructed. This assumes significance in the light of the rigid 'Us-Them' divide that can emerge during interactions with members of other ethnic communities. Such a scenario is particularly evident when people are emotionally charged. During such times, they are easily swayed by ethnic sentiments, thus blurring the line between reality -as-it-exists and reality-as-it-is-made out to be, by vested interests.

By providing a sense of belongingness, ethnicity is a significant tool in early socialization allowing individuals the cognitive capacity to recognize differences and to derive expectations of nurture from 'we' or danger from 'they'.<sup>2</sup> Ethnicity is often described in three dimensions -- the primordial (affective/emotional attributes), instrumental (ethnic mobilization deployed as a political weapon) and constructivist (social construction of ethnicity).<sup>3</sup> A common phenomenon discernible in the Northeastern region of India is the overwhelming existence of grand narratives of ethnic strife (comprising of individual incidents), by invoking the concept of a mythical homeland and memories of the glorious past.

Homeland is defined as the space that the members of an ethnic community or more aptly, the organizations claiming to act on their behalf, imagine as their own and hence is entitled to some form of autonomy. Homeland, in other words, is a powerful imaginary that inspires and shapes many an autonomy practice of these organizations. Homeland turns out to be a messy political problem when the claim is couched in exclusivist terms and rules out others' claims to the same space whether through genocide and ethnic cleansing or through a denial of their democratic rights particularly representation.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>L.A. Hirschfield *Race in the Making: Cognition, Culture and the Child's Construction of Human Kind*, Cambridge: MIT Press (1996) cited in Young, Crawford *Explaining The Conflict Potential Of Ethnicity* in Mac Ginty, R and Darby, J (Eds.) *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence &Peace Processes*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p.13, 2003

<sup>3</sup> S.Cornell & D. Hartmann, *Ethnicity & Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*, Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press (1998) and C, Young (Ed), *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press(1993) cited in Young, Crawford *Explaining The Conflict Potential Of Ethnicity* in Mac Ginty, R and Darby, J (Eds.) *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence &Peace Processes* New York: Palgrave Macmillan,p.13, 2003

<sup>4</sup> Basu Ray Chaudhary, Sabyasachi, Das, Samir Kumar & Samaddar , Ranabir (Eds.) *Indian Autonomies: Keywords and Key Texts*,Kolkata: Sampark in management with Calcutta Research Group, p. 21, 2005

## ETHNIC CONFLICT

Ethnic conflict is caused by the collective fears of insecurity (social, political and economic) of the future. Ethnic activists and political entrepreneurs, operating within groups, reinforce these kinds of fears thereby creating fractures in the society. The most significant fear of any ethnic group in conflict, is the fear of loss of identity—the very core of an individual's being. The fears of being assimilated into the dominant culture weigh heavily in the minds and hearts of the people. In such scenarios, *Chosen traumas* and *Past glories* are often successful in invoking feelings of suspicions and misgivings amongst members of an ethnic community, fuelling hatred towards one another.

Ethnic Groups have certain common characteristics. Each ethnic group has a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of common culture, association with a specific homeland, and a sense of solidarity with significant sectors of the population.<sup>5</sup>

Ethnic Identity can be politicized and be given a political hue. Many of the ethnic conflicts revolve around the political rights of a people over a contested territory. The territory possesses certain inherent characteristics such that it often emerges as a symbol of individual and collective identity and has a significant value as a source of control and influence.

According to Ted Gurr, four factors can influence the evolution of minority discontentment into a separatist movement. They are—first, the degree of social, economic and political disparities between groups; secondly, the perception of a common purpose; thirdly, a strong leadership and fourthly, an

---

<sup>5</sup> Wolff, S. 'Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts' in Wolff, S & Schneckener, U. (Ed.) *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts: Perspectives on Successes and Failures in Europe, Africa and Asia*, UK: C. Hurst & Co. Ltd., pp.1-17, 2004

organizational capacity.<sup>6</sup> According to Roy et al (2007), the context has to be fertile for ethnic conflicts to emerge. Elaborating on it further, they state,

Ethnic conflicts acquire their salience only when a particular set of socio-political situations become operative in a particular climate of motivations and behavior. ...When a particular group finds itself in a situation where it feels that it has been denied its rightful access to such social resources, such as wealth, power and prestige, it takes steps to correct this situation.<sup>7</sup>

Territorial claims can be secessionist, irredentist and /or autonomist in their nature. The North Eastern region of India is a microcosm of diverse ethnicities. If one studies the socio-political landscape of this region, one finds that the different ethnic groups present have made secessionist, irredentist and autonomist territorial claims at different points of time in history.

In North East India, the states of Nagaland as well as Assam have witnessed separatist organizations waging a struggle for secessionism from the Indian nation for several decades now. In Nagaland, the struggle for secessionism has been spearheaded by the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), by both the Muivah and Khaplang factions, whereas, in Assam, the separatist movement has been spearheaded by the United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA). Besides this movement for secessionism, Assam also has several movements led by the various ethnic groups for territorial autonomism and irredentism. The Dimasa, an ethnic group in Assam is spearheading a movement for the establishment of an autonomous state for Dimasas, called "*Dimaraji*" within Assam. This movement like many others in the North Eastern region of India contains strains of both autonomism as well as irredentism. This is because the conceptualization of the proposed state of Dimaraji would include all **the Dimasa inhabited**

---

<sup>6</sup> Gurr cited in Roy, Ramashray, Sujata Miri and Sandhya Goswami *Northeast India—Development, Communalism and Insurgency*, Delhi : Anshah Publishing House, p.15, 2007

<sup>7</sup> Roy, Ramashray, Sujata Miri and Sandhya Goswami *Northeast India—Development, Communalism and Insurgency*, Delhi: Anshah Publishing House, p.16, 2007

regions in the North East of India, implying that it would not only include the external minority i.e. the Dimasas but also the territory which they inhabit in a host state, across the border.

## **THE INDIAN POLITY AND THE ACCOMODATIONIST POLICY**

The Indian Union has not completely devolved its powers to the full extent, with the result that the Central Government still exercises great power and is in fact the main decision making body in the Indian polity. In a diverse country such as India, there are numerous ethnic groups. Whenever, integration has failed or has not been very successful, the Indian nation state has adopted the Accomodationist approach to appease to the sentiments and 'manage' ethnicity.<sup>8</sup> Hence, there are several states within India that have been formed on the linguistic basis.

The Accomodationist approach also has the potential of creating more harm than good. Creation of more political units on the basis of language gives ample scope to smaller ethnic groups to vie for their space in the political set up. Driven by the fear of loss of identity, smaller ethnic groups initiate movements against the politics of homogenization (whether it is linguistic/ethnic or cultural). Images of mythical homelands and the golden past are invoked and this often translates into social movements demanding greater power, autonomy, statehood or even secessionism. The popular invocation of the ancient homeland (that was never conquered and where justice prevailed) is then projected as the *ideal* to be worked towards—as *the* future of the people. The entire approach tends to trigger off a vicious cycle, whereby more and more ethnic minorities emerge. The interplay between contested spaces, narratives, social memories and the marginalized comes to the fore. The mechanism through which the State aims to 'manage' the festering discontents is essentially flawed. When territories are carved out for one group, the rights of another group often get clamped. This in **turn fuels a different kind of**

---

<sup>8</sup> Manor, J 'Ethnicity and Politics in India', *International Affairs* 72, 3 ,1996,pp. 459-475

politics of recognition. With every new creation of a territorialized identity, new marginals emerge and this generates a never – ending cycle.

## **CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH**

This paper is based on a study that was carried out on the Autonomous Council of the Dima Hasao district (previously called North Cachar Hills) in 2006<sup>9</sup>, and it sought to study the efficacy of the Sixth Schedule, a provision enshrined within the Constitution of India that provides for the administration of particular tribal areas as autonomous entities. The Constitution of India has incorporated several special provisions to preserve the ethnic, cultural and religious identity of the people and to maintain the demographic uniqueness of the Northeastern region:

- Article 371-A—Special provision with respect to the State of Nagaland.
- Article 371-B—Special provision with respect to the State of Assam.
- Article 371-C—Special provision with respect to the State of Manipur.
- Article 371-G—Special provision with respect to the State of Mizoram.
- Article 371-H—Special provision with respect to the State of Arunachal.
- Article 244(2) and 275(1)—Sixth Schedule—Provisions for administration of Tribal Areas in the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram and Manipur.

The recommendations of the Bordoloi Committee made provisions for Regional Councils for tribes other than the main tribe, in the North Eastern region. The scheme sought to build up autonomous administration (District Councils and the Regional Councils) in the hill areas of Assam (United Khasi-

---

<sup>9</sup> The author was working as a Research Associate at Peace Studies, Omeo Kumar Das Institute of Social Change and Development (OKDISCD), Assam, at that time.

Jaintia Hills District, Garo Hills District, Lushai Hills District, Naga Hills District, Dima Hasao District and Mikir Hills District) so that the tribal people could preserve their traditional way of life, and safeguard their customs and cultures. The provision for a District Council was incorporated into the Article 244 (2) of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution on accepting the recommendations of the Bordoloi Committee.<sup>10</sup>

The Sixth Schedule to the Constitution empowers the Governor of a State with several far reaching powers such as:

- To determine the administrative areas of the Councils.
- To create a new autonomous district, increase or diminish the area of any existing district, and increase or diminish the area of any District Councils.
- To unite two or more autonomous districts or parts thereof so as to form one autonomous district, define the boundaries of any district and alter the name of any autonomous district. The Sixth Schedule thus makes the Governor the head of the Autonomous District Council. <sup>11</sup>

The Autonomous Councils were formed on the lines of Consociationalism,

a group building-block approach that relies on accommodation by ethnic group leaders at the political centre and guarantees of group autonomy and minority rights. It encourages collaborative decision-making by parties in conflict. The key institutions are: Federalism and the devolution of power to ethnic groups in the territory that they control; Minority vetoes on issues of importance to them; Grand coalition cabinets in a parliamentary framework and Proportionality in all spheres of public life (for example, budgeting and civil service appointments).<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Prasad, Dr.R.N. 'Dialogue', *Astha Bharati*, October-December, Volume 6, No. 2, New Delhi , p.1, 2004,

<sup>11</sup> Prasad, Dr.R.N. 'Dialogue', *Astha Bharati*, October-December, Volume 6, No. 2 ,New Delhi, , p.2, 2004

<sup>12</sup> Sisk, Timothy D., 'Power-sharing After Civil Wars: Matching Problems to Solutions' in Mac Ginty, R and Darby, J (Eds.) *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence & Peace Processes*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, ,p. 144, 2003

Presently Northeast India has several Autonomous District Councils—three in Assam, three in Meghalaya, three in Mizoram, one in Tripura and six in Manipur.

Yet the existing political structures provided within the ambit of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution have not been able to do justice. The purpose with which the Council was formed has not been realized over these years. Although transfer of finances from both the Central as well as the State Government has been steadily increasing over the years, development at the grassroots has not been forthcoming. Creation of smaller units of administration in the region might have been a political strategy for the Central Government, but in the long run how viable they would be financially was perhaps not taken into account. This shortsightedness has created its own vicious cycle. Huge sums of money are pumped into these administrative set ups in the form of grants-in-aid, but very little is being done by these units to become self-generating revenue earners. The eight states of the Northeast have been recognized as Special Category States and this entitles them to get 90 percent of Central Assistance as a grant and just 10 percent as loan.

The policy of providing subsidies has made inroads into the very depths of the societal framework in the region. Initially though the policy was introduced as a humanitarian gesture to alleviate the imbalance in the economy, over the years, it has spread its tentacles to such an extent that instead of smoothing out the imbalances, it has been successful in de-motivating the people in the region to a large extent. This is especially true because a steady inflow of funds “creates its own network of beneficiaries and any change in the existing set of rules evokes strong resistance.”<sup>13</sup> And this inevitably leads to situations of conflict.

---

<sup>13</sup> Sachdeva, Gulshan 'India's Northeast: Rejuvenating a Conflict-riven Economy' in Gill, K.P.S & Ajai Sahni (Eds) *Faultlines: Writings on Conflict and Resolution*, New Delhi: Bulwark Books, , p.89, 2000

Most of the movements for autonomy in the region are demanding the establishment of an autonomous unit of administration. The struggles are played out between dominant majorities and minorities. The minorities perceiving ill-treatment from the dominant other, come to believe that the State does not represent their interests properly, and therefore they must control their “own affairs” via a devolved autonomous political structure within the state.

During the period of the study, the Autonomous District Council of Dima Hasao was in its 55<sup>th</sup> year of administration and had witnessed a growth in its capacity to function as a full-fledged administrative unit. But this expansion in administrative power had resulted neither in an efficient administration nor in the proper utilization of the available funds for developmental purposes. Instead, 55 years of its existence had raised many questions regarding its role as an effective instrument of administration. It was precisely for this reason that a study of the prevalent scenario of Dima Hasao was felt necessary.

## **AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL: POWERS AND FUNCTIONS**

The Council consists of thirty members of which twenty six are elected from the single member constituencies on the basis of adult franchise and not more than four persons are nominated by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Executive Member for a term of five years. The nominated members normally represent the minorities and unrepresented communities and hold office at the pleasure of the Governor.

The term of the District councils is five years. The Governor may extend the term for a period not exceeding one year at a time. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman, who functionally act as the Speaker and Deputy Speaker, are elected by the elected members of the District Councils. They may resign in writing or alternatively be removed at any time by a resolution of the Council, as provided in the rules.

The Executive functions of the council are carried out by the Executive Committee that is comprised of the Executive Members (EMs) and the Chief Executive Member (CEM). When the CEM resigns, the Executive Committee stands dissolved automatically. The District Council has the executive powers to construct or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads and waterways. The Council is also entitled to constitute Village and District Council Courts in the autonomous areas to adjudicate or try cases or customary laws in which both the parties are tribals. The District councils are also responsible for framing rules for the management of finances with the approval of the Governor. They are also given mutually exclusive powers to collect land revenues, levy and collect taxes on lands, holdings, shops, entry of goods into the market and tolls within their respective jurisdictions. Grants-in-aid, loans and advances etc. from the State and the Central Governments, constitute other sources of income for the Councils.<sup>14</sup>

## **DIMA HASAO AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL**

Dima Hasao is situated in the southern part of Assam and is bounded by Nagaland and Manipur in the east, Cachar district of Assam in the south, Meghalaya and a part of the district Karbi Anglong in the west and another portion of Karbi Anglong and Nagaon district in the north. Created on the 17<sup>th</sup> November 1951, the district of United Mikir and North Cachar Hills was formed under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to fulfill the aspirations of the Hill tribes by providing them with adequate opportunities for their socio-economic and cultural development. For administrative conveniences, the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills District was bifurcated and in 1970, two districts came into being, namely North Cachar Hills (now Dima Hasao) and Mikir Hills. In 1976, Mikir Hills was renamed Karbi Anglong. The district headquarters of the Autonomous Council is situated in a small town named Haflong.

The Dimasas are the dominant tribe in Dima Hasao district among a heterogeneous population comprising of other tribes such as the Hmars, Kukis, Zemi Nagas, Khasis, Jaintias, Hrangkhols, Beities, Khelmas etc. The Dimasas are not only recognized by different names in different parts of the Northeastern region but are classified as Schedule Tribes (Plains) in some areas and Schedule Tribes

---

<sup>14</sup> Prasad, Dr.R.N. Dialogue, Astha Bharati, October-December, Volume 6, No. 2, New Delhi, pp.3-5, 2004

(Hills) in others. Such multiplicity in the nomenclature has compounded the identity question of the Dimasas, creating a situation of utter chaos and seething discontentment. Over the years, this discontentment on the fragmentation of the Dimasa people has manifested in the struggle for self-determination amongst a section of the Dimasa youth, driven by a strong will to unite their fellow Dimasas. Such armed movements of resistance have also emerged amongst other tribes within the district—as a consequence of strong perceived sentiments of neglect and ‘step motherly treatment’ from the dominant majority i.e. the Dimasas. Most of these movements are demanding the establishment of an autonomous unit of administration. The struggles are played out between dominant majorities and minorities. The minorities perceiving ill-treatment from the dominant 'other', come to believe that the State does not represent their interests properly, and therefore they must control their “own affairs” via a devolved autonomous political structure within the state.

It was only in 2012, that the two factions of the Dima Halom Daogah-DHD (one of the main insurgent groups demanding autonomy for the Dimasas) - one headed by Dilip Nunisa and the other by Jewel Garlosa - signed a tripartite agreement with the Central Government of India and the State Government of Assam, to end insurgency in Assam's trouble-torn Dima Hasao district. According to the memorandum of settlement (MoS), the North Cachar Hills Autonomous Council (NCHAC) would be restructured as the Dima Hasao Autonomous Territorial Council (DHATC) with more financial and administrative powers. The Assam government had earlier changed the name of North Cachar (NC) Hills to Dima Hasao district.

15

## METHODOLOGY

Qualitative Research methodologies were adopted to collate information on the various aspects of the administration, history and functioning of the Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council. Both primary (for eg., interviews with the members of various organizations as well as the civil society; manifestoes of organizations; pamphlets etc) as well as secondary sources (for eg., newspaper archives, books, records etc) of data collection, were used for the study. Semi-structured interviews with a wide range of people-

---

<sup>15</sup> The information has been taken from the article *DHD factions ink deal to end insurgency*, accessed from the website [http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-10-08/guwahati/34322151\\_1\\_dhd-assam-government-militant-outfits](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-10-08/guwahati/34322151_1_dhd-assam-government-militant-outfits), Oct 8, 2012 on September 3, 2013

-members of the Council, leaders of the Opposition, law enforcement authorities, student leaders, young entrepreneurs and media professionals--were conducted and their opinions sought on a variety of issues. During the year-long study, several visits to the field were undertaken with the duration of each visit ranging from a week to 15 days at a time. Besides meeting key informants in Dima Hasao district, an attempt was also made to interact with the members of the now defunct DHD (Dima Haram Daogah--pro talk faction--one of the main insurgent groups operating during that period) and officials of the Hill Areas Commission, of the State of Assam, in Dispur (the capital of Assam).

## **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION:**

The study that was carried out in 2006, sought to study the efficacy of the Sixth Schedule, especially the working of the Autonomous District Council in Dima Hasao. The aim was to understand if the presence of an Autonomous Council had actually led to the devolution of power and resources to the people at large, within the district or whether it had contributed to more corruption and mismanagement of resources. Some of the main findings were as follows:

### **CONCENTRATION OF POWER AMONGST A SMALL GROUP OF ELITES**

Interviews with the diverse set of people revealed that in Dima Hasao, the presence of a ruling elite, comprising of a few prominent families such as the Langthasas, Dolagopus, Thaosens, Hojais, Gorlossas etc. had become very evident over the years. The commonly held belief amongst the lay public was that the members of the Autonomous District Council seldom have any contact with the common people and it was felt that the move to bring all the Departments under the Council had resulted in absolutism and an autocratic style of functioning, that hampered with the development of the district.

## WIDESPREAD CORRUPTION

A visit to Haflong, the district Headquarters, revealed a dismal state of affairs. It soon became very evident that although Dima Hasao was rich in its resource base, a huge gap existed between its potential to deliver and what has actually been delivered to the people. Although a huge sum of money was being pumped into the Council, there appeared to be widespread corruption thus resulting in half-hearted efforts at working for the development of the district.

According to an official of the Hill Areas Commission who spoke on the condition of anonymity, "there is no integration between the Government of Assam, Department of Planning and Development, Hill Areas Department and the Autonomous Council."<sup>16</sup> This non-coordination he felt was the reason why corruption existed in the devolution of finances.

Even though the Council had to submit the budget for auditing at the end of the financial year to the Auditor General, according to the official, "some entrusted departments have unofficial deals with the Central Government to audit the budget by private Chartered Accountants instead of the Auditor General."<sup>17</sup> Such deals help in covering the tracks of corrupt officials who may have siphoned off the money for personal purposes instead of utilizing it for developmental efforts. According to him "no monitoring and evaluation committee has been instituted in the last ten years to carry out an evaluation of the devolution of finances as well as the functioning of the Council."<sup>18</sup>

This view was substantiated by a news report (that appeared in a leading daily in Assam in 1997). According to the editorial,

In July 1992, the Council was given greater autonomy; but soon it had to be superseded on charges of gross financial irregularities. The Comptroller and Auditor General's (CAG) Report (1985-1990) strengthens the belief that most of these demands for autonomy or separate states were meant not so much for decentralization of powers as to the distribution of Central funds amongst leaders who spearheaded these movements.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Interview with official at Hill Areas Commission, Government of Assam, Guwahati, Assam, June 2006

<sup>17</sup> Ibid

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> Editorial, *The Sentinel*, February 22, 1997 in Barpujari, H.K. *North-East India: Problems, Policies and Prospects*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati,(1998) p.102

In 2011, the National Investigation Agency (NIA) and the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), carried out an investigation on the Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council for the alleged misappropriation of over Rs.1000 crore of Government funds. Elaborating on it further, a newspaper report stated the following, "The amount was reportedly siphoned off to the coffer of the Dima Halam Daogah's Jewel Garlosa faction (DHD-J) for procurement of arms. NIA sleuths have arrested top DHD(J) leaders, a former chief administrator of the council and some government officials in connection with the incident."<sup>20</sup>

### **ENCROACHMENT OF PUBLIC SPACES BY THE ARMED FORCES**

The college auditorium as well as the district library were found to be occupied by the Central Reserve Police Force for over a decade, thus hampering the growth of a student friendly community. It was indeed unfortunate that the administration had not been able to provide for alternate accommodation to the armed forces and was blatantly allowing the encroachment of public property by allowing them to occupy institutions of higher learning.

### **LOW ECONOMIC GROWTH**

The low rates of growth in both the manufacturing as well as the industrial sectors had taken a toll on the economic growth of the region. Large portions of the finances had been ploughed into managing the service sector, thus overburdening the administrative units. According to noted economist, Dr. Gulshan Sachdeva, "since the States do not have to raise internal sources to meet their non-development expenditure, there has been a tendency to multiply administrative units and employees beyond reasonable requirements. Their main task seems to be simply to find ways to utilize Central funds in a routine manner. This sort of financial situation is neither desirable nor sustainable."<sup>21</sup> Although Dr. Sachdeva makes the above statement in reference to the State Government, it holds true for the functioning of the Autonomous Council too, as the Autonomous Councils are functioning as mini-states.

---

<sup>20</sup> Times of India, August 17, 2011, cited in the article *North East India: Status of Governance in Sixth Schedule Areas*, accessed from the website <http://socialissuesindia.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/sixthschedule.pdf> on September 3, 2013

<sup>21</sup> Sachdeva, Gulshan *India's Northeast: Rejuvenating a Conflict-riven Economy* in Gill, K.P.S & Ajai Sahni (Eds) *Faultlines: Writings on Conflict and Resolution*, New Delhi: Bulwark Books, p.90, 2000

## **DEVOLUTION OF FINANCES:**

Although the budget for Dima Hasao was clearly earmarked, the devolution of funds was found not to have percolated to the grassroots. It was also observed that the budgeting was top-down rather than being bottom-up, implying that the transfer of finances took place according to a few pre-conceived categories at the top rather than being based on the needs at the bottom (i.e. the grassroots).

## **STATUS OF THE MAJOR INDICES OF DEVELOPMENT: HEALTH, EDUCATION, COMMUNICATION AND INDUSTRY**

The sectoral distribution of funds from 2001-2006<sup>22</sup> revealed that the largest sum of money of Rs.5098.8 Lakhs and a one-time assistance of Rs.1400 Lakhs (i.e. Rs.64 Crores 98 Lakhs and 80 Thousand) had been pumped over the last five financial years under the heading Roads and Bridges. An amount of Rs.3173.74 Lakhs (i.e. Rs.31 Crores 73 Lakhs and 74 Thousand) had been allocated under Elementary Education. An amount of Rs.1609.2 Lakhs (i.e. 16 Crores, 9 Lakhs and 20 Thousand) had been allocated under the heading Secondary Education.

Other high allocations that had been made were under the following heads:

- Forest: Rs.1562.4 (15 Crores,62 Lakhs and 40 Thousand)
- Health: Rs.1254.2 (12 Crores 54 Lakhs and 20 Thousand)
- Rural Water Supply: Rs.1263.5 (12 Crores 63 Lakhs and 50 Thousand)
- Minor Irrigation: Rs.1179.3 (11 Crores 79 Lakhs and 30 Thousand).

Although such huge amounts of money had been allocated under the various categories, according to the official in the Hill Areas Commission, because of the lack of coordination between the different Departments (both State Government as well as the Council), whether the said amount actually reached the respective department was not known.

---

<sup>22</sup> Refer to Table 1

## HEALTH:

According to the Assam Human Development Report (2003), Dima Hasao had garnered the 11<sup>th</sup> Rank in the Human Development Index (HDI). According to the 2001 Census, the information provided under Health was as follows:

▪ Number of Hospitals:	3
▪ Number of Primary Health Centres:	12
▪ Number of Dispensaries:	2
▪ Number of Beds (per fifteen thousand population):	19.26

In an interview with Mr. L.Hmar<sup>23</sup>, the Executive Member (EM), Health, stated that “There are three hospitals, two rural hospitals in Umrongso and Maibong respectively and a central hospital in Haflong. There are 72 Family Welfare Sub-Centres and 4 Primary Health Centres at Laling, Harangajao, Hathikali and Mahur.” Although the 2001 Census shows twelve PHCs, the EM mentions of only four. According to him, “the Haflong Hospital is a 200 bedded hospital, having specializations in Surgery (1 Doctor), Medicine (1 Doctor) and Gynaecology (1 Doctor). The hospital does not have an Eye and ENT wing.”<sup>24</sup> According to Mahendra Kemprai<sup>25</sup>, a student leader, “the Haflong Civil Hospital which is the best hospital in the district has no generator. As a result when there is a power cut, it is almost non-functioning.” According to Mr. L. Hmar, there was a plan to upgrade some medical centres (at Mahur, Dehangi and Maibong) to 100 bedded hospitals with a grant from the Central Government in the near future. In the last five financial years although an amount of Rs.1254.2 Lakhs had been allocated, the expenditure had been only Rs.957.27 Lakhs.

---

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Mr. L.Hmar, EM Health, Autonomous Council on February 21, 2006 at Haflong.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Mahendra Kemprai, Student Leader on February 21,2006 at Haflong.

## **EDUCATION:**

According to the 2001 Census, the information provided under Education for Dima Hasao district in the Assam Human Development Report (2003) was as follows:

▪ Literacy Rate (%):	68.59
▪ Male Literacy Rate:	68.11
▪ Female Literacy Rate:	59.11

K.Jeme, the Principal Secretary (Normal), Autonomous Council<sup>26</sup>, in trying to explain the status of the Haflong Government College (where several posts were lying vacant), stated that “the Autonomous Council has written to the Government to provide permanent teaching staff in the colleges.” According to him, “the education system in the district is not fully satisfactory. We try to implement various schemes in rural and urban areas, but for want of proper road communication, people do not want to go the interiors.” Although an amount of Rs.5454.94 Lakhs had been allocated under Education (Elementary, Secondary, Higher and Adult education) in the last five financial years, the expenditure had been Rs.4838.27 Lakhs (refer to Table 2). Despite such a large sum of money being sanctioned, he stated that “the Government does not give us enough funds. We don’t have enough money to pay salaries.” This begs the question that If they indeed felt that the money allocated was limited then how was it that the total expenditure in the last five years had been much less than the total money allocated? If there indeed was a shortage of funds, why was the entire amount allocated, not utilized?

## **COMMUNICATION:**

Communication here refers to both roads as well as mass media. In the last five years, the highest allocation had been made under the heading of Roads and Bridges (Rs.5098.8 Lakhs and a one-time assistance of Rs.1400 Lakhs, totaling Rs. 6498.8 Lakhs) whereas the total expenditure had been Rs.5389.09 Lakhs. Despite such a huge amount being spent on the construction of roads and bridges, in

---

<sup>26</sup>Interview with K.Jeme, Principal Secretary (Normal), Autonomous Council, February 21, 2006 at Haflong.

reality there were very few roads worth the name in the district. Most of them were a little better off than dirt tracks. On the whole, the roads (both internal as well as the Highways) were in a pitiable condition.

As for the other mode of communication that is mass media, in Dima Hasao, the Council Budget included a category on Publicity and Information under which an amount of money was allocated every year. According to a publication<sup>27</sup> of the Dima Hasao Autonomous Council, the Department of Information and Public Relations had

already started the expansion of the Fixed Loud Speaker System (FLS) network at Haflong under the MPLADS (2004-2005) of local MP Biren Sing Engti and with the Departmental Budget. The Fixed Loud Speaker System (FLS) is a kind of direct media through which the Government can reach out to the general people. The new FLS system will cover the Greater Haflong town area from Sarkari Bagan to Tourist Lodge area covering Civil Hospital, Transport Station, Agriculture complex, New Gunjung, Convent Road, Dibrarai approach, DSA Ground, Ramnagar, Council Colony, Songijang, Railway Colony, Main Market, Taxi Stand, Hagjer Nagar, College Road and a portion of the Muolhoi village.

Every evening the news is broadcast live over the FLS for the general public.

Surprisingly there were no local newspapers that were published in the district. Newspapers are the foremost media for generation of public opinion. Articles on various issues concerning the public as well as policies of the Government can be easily discussed and debated through the newspapers. "The principal democratic role of the media, according to the liberal theory, is to act as a check on the state. The media should monitor the full range of state activities, and fearlessly expose abuses of official authority."<sup>28</sup> This very role was found to be missing in Dima Hasao as the platform through which this would have been possible (i.e. the newspapers) was missing. "The classic liberal response is that the state should be the main target of media scrutiny because the state has a monopoly of legitimated violence, and is therefore the institution to be feared most."<sup>29</sup> Thus, being a voice of the **general people**

---

<sup>27</sup> The Report *N.C.Hills Autonomous Council: The Retrieval and Beyond* April 29, 2005

<sup>28</sup> Curran, James, *Rethinking Media and Democracy* cited in Curran, James and Michael Gurenvitch, *Mass Media and Society*, New York and London: Co-published by OUP and Arnold Hodder Headline Group, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, p.121 2000

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid* p.123

as well as a critique of the Government's policies, the absence of the newspaper in Dima Hasao had created a vacuum in the socio-political interface in the district.

## **INDUSTRY:**

Although Dima Hasao has a veritable treasure of natural resources, the industrial scenario in the district was found to be very bleak. According to the website maintained by the National Informatics Centre (NIC)<sup>30</sup>, Dima Hasao has small quantities of Lime Stone and Coal. Good quality Lime Stone and Magnesia, suitable for cement manufacturing is also available. Dima Hasao also has a large reservoir of forest resources-*Bamboo, Cane, Gamari, Nahar, Bonsum, Sal* etc are found in abundance.

Despite the rich natural resources, there were very few industries. The major industries seen were Cement Factories (owned by a private entity, Vinay Cement) and Hydel-power projects (operated by a Central Government undertaking, North Eastern Electric Power Corporation-NEEPCO). Being a composite mix of several tribes, each with its own rich tradition of weaving, the District Head Quarters of Dima Hasao i.e. Haflong did not have a single Autonomous Council sponsored outlet for the retailing of traditional handloom and handicrafts, thus missing out on a valuable opportunity to showcase the rich indigenous arts and crafts.

According to the Deputy Manager of a reputed nationalised bank in Haflong, Mr. Rahul Nath, "Dima Hasao is a defaulter prone zone. Rs. 1.5 Crore sanctioned under PMRY (Pradhan Mantri Rozgar Yojana, a flagship scheme to provide employment to the educated unemployed in the country ) in the last four to six years is yet to be recovered. The recovery of loans was found to be very poor especially for Government sponsored schemes. It is only for fixed deposits and direct finances that the bank recovery is good."<sup>31</sup> (Refer to Table 3)

---

<sup>30</sup> The website [www.nchill.nic.in](http://www.nchill.nic.in) Accessed on March 15, 2006

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Mr. Rahul Nath, Deputy Manager, United Bank of India, Haflong, February 22, 2006

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE STUDY**

Thus it was observed that an all-round effort had not been made to utilize the available resources in the district—both natural as well as infrastructural. The various developmental indices revealed a huge lag between its potential and actual deliverables. It was felt that a more sincere attempt by the administrators could go a long way in not only improving the condition of the people but also in providing a much balanced and developed environment in the district.

The main aim of establishing an Autonomous Council in Dima Hasao was to provide autonomy to the people to manage their 'own affairs' and in doing that, uplift their cause and protect their culture as well as traditions. The study revealed that although the system was in place, there were loopholes endemic in the administrative machinery that were preventing the proper functioning and deliverance of results.

Although the study was a tiny attempt to understand the efficacy and functioning of the Autonomous District Council, the author hopes that, it successfully brought to the fore, the various flaws inherent in the system and also highlighted how complex realities (such as inaccessibility, lack of communication, insurgency and conflict) could contribute to and further escalate the already existing disparities.

## **RELEVANCE OF AUTONOMOUS COUNCILS IN NORTH EAST INDIA**

In order to understand the relevance of the autonomous councils in the present political landscape of the Northeastern region, we need to understand how the other two autonomous district councils formed on the basis of the Sixth Schedule, the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) and Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council (KAAC) have fared, so far.

A study conducted on the functioning of the KAAC in 2007, titled, " Functioning of Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council - Issues in the field of Governance," revealed significant facts that pointed towards several gaps existing within the administrative machinery.

In brief, some of the findings of the study were:

1. Lack of effective governance in the functioning of the KAAC. The nexus between the political leaders and contractors was seen as a contributory factor for the non-performance.
2. Visible lack of coordination between Dispur (the State capital) and Diphu (the Council Headquarter) over a lot of matters (administrative and budgetary allocation/implementation).
3. The security scenario of Karbi Anglong was deemed volatile with the presence of several rebel outfits and their competing territorial contestations (Karbi Anglong, Dimaraji and Nagalim, as a case in point).
4. The logic with which the Sixth Schedule was introduced was for the protection rather than the development of the communities. Thus, it seen that the paradigm of development for the areas under the Sixth Schedule came into being much later, as an aspect of the Plan model formulated by the Planning Commission.<sup>32</sup>

Critiquing the functioning of the KAAC, in conclusion, Bhuyan (2007) states," it is doubtful whether, raising the quantum of autonomy in the form of territorial readjustments, alone would suffice. In fact, a critical inquiry into the idea of autonomy suggests that there needs to be shift in emphasis from the notion of 'monolithic autonomy' to that of 'autonomy of autonomies'. The latter combines greater popular access to resources with the idea of different autonomies (read communities) learning to negotiate and co-exist."<sup>33</sup>

Thus the study on the functioning of the KAAC clearly reflects the gaps inherent in the administrative structure that impedes the proper implementation of its roles and duties in the service of the people.

Although the researcher came across no comprehensive study on the functioning of the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC), articles on various aspects of the BTC have been written by several scholars and practitioners. In his paper *Bodoland State Demand: Contested Discourse on Autonomy and Self Rule*<sup>34</sup>, Bishwajit Mohapatra looks at the seeds of discontentment amongst the Bodo community post **the**

---

<sup>32</sup> Bhuyan, Abhijit *Functioning of Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council - Issues in the field of Governance*, Unpublished Report, , Guwahati: Peace Studies, OKDISCD,pp, 35-36, 2007

<sup>33</sup> Ibid pg.37

<sup>34</sup> Mohapatra, B *Bodoland State Demand: Contested Discourse on Autonomy and Self Rule*, Accessed from the website <https://nehu.academia.edu/BiswajitMohapatra/Papers> on November 5, 2013

formation of the BTC and also makes an attempt to analyze the feasibility of the existing administrative structure.

In the paper, *Understanding Conflict in BTAD of Assam*<sup>35</sup>, Arup Kumar Deka elaborates on the genesis of the ethnic hostilities in BTAD. According to him, two main factors contributed to the growing discontentment and subsequent hostilities between the various ethnic communities residing within BTAD--First, although "the BTC accord ensured political and constitutional rights to the Bodos, it did not address the aspirations of the non-Bodos living in the BTAD area. The non-Bodos complained that their rights were curtailed in Bodoland. Many of the non-Bodo majority areas were included in the BTC to give it territorial contiguity." Secondly, "The disproportionate allocation of seats in the BTC also became a problem. Out of a total of 46 seats, 30 seats are reserved for the tribals, five for the non-tribals, five for members of all communities, and the remaining six candidates are to be nominated by the Governor of Assam."

The article *What's up with the territorial council?* by Ashild Kolas looks at the evolution of the territorial councils in the Northeastern region. He brings to light the fact that many territorial councils have in fact been formed as a tangible outcome of the decades long peace process, whereby agreements have been drawn with the leaders of various armed outfits.<sup>36</sup> This is amply evident in the fact that other than the three Territorial Councils based on the Sixth Schedule--BTC, KAAC and Dima Hasao--there are six other Tribal Autonomous Councils--Mishing Autonomous Council, Rabha Hasong Autonomous Council, Tiwa Autonomous Council, Deori Autonomous Council, Thengal Kachari Autonomous Council and Sonowal Kachari Autonomous Council, which have been formed purely on the basis of political dispensation to appease to the sentiments of the communities. In his article, Kolas also highlights the fact that the district councils of Northeast largely remain dependent on the State government for funds thereby limiting their developmental powers.

---

<sup>35</sup> Deka, A.Kr. *Understanding Conflict in BTAD of Assam*, Mainstream, VOL L, No 37, September 1, 2012 Accessed from the website <http://mainstreamweekly.net/article3666.html> on November 23, 2013

<sup>36</sup> Kolas, Ashild *Whats up with the Territorial Council?*, Article in Seminar (Journal), Accessed from the website [http://www.india-seminar.com/2012/640/640\\_ashild\\_kolas.htm](http://www.india-seminar.com/2012/640/640_ashild_kolas.htm) on November 7, 2013

## **ISSUES OF REPRESENTATION AND ETHNIC HOSTILITIES**

The core idea of an Autonomous Council is to provide a measure of autonomy to the communities residing within the stated territorial jurisdiction. Although the three Autonomous District Councils of Assam--BTC, KAAC and Dima Hasao-- have provisions inherent in their administrative structure for the representation of the various ethnic communities, this representation is not in proportion to the population of the communities. In addition to this, factors such as sharing of resources (land usage) and the presence of various armed non-state actors with their own agendas create an environment of popular dissent and volatile emotions, threatening to explode at the slightest provocation.

Thus, all three Autonomous District Councils have witnessed ethnic hostilities, over the years, that have led to the loss of innumerable innocent lives, large scale internal displacement of populations, destruction of infrastructure and an upheaval in the lives of the people causing immense physical pain and psychological trauma. For example, in BTAD, ethnic hostilities have erupted between the Bodos and Adivasis in 1996 and 1998, Bodos and Migrant Bengali Muslims in 2012; In KAAC, Dimasa- Karbi conflict in 2005, Karbi-Kuki conflict in 2004 and in Dima Hasao District Council, the Hmar-Dimasa conflict in 2003.

## **IS THE AUTONOMY MODEL IN NORTH EAST INDIA, A FAILURE?**

In the preceding pages an effort has been made to provide a brief overview of the functioning of the three Autonomous District Councils in Assam and comprehend the enormous difficulties in implementing the provisions inherent in their administrative structures. It is clearly evident that the Councils are constrained in their ability to create opportunities for economic and social growth within their territorial jurisdiction and are thereby, unable to function to their fullest potential.

According to Kolas, "Drawing cases from Macedonia, Aceh, Bolivia and the Southern Philippines, studies so far reveal mixed results as regards the prevention, or contrarily, exacerbation of conflict after decentralization. What seems to make the key difference is how decentralization is actually implemented and under what conditions decentralized institutions are allowed to work."<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid

Wasbir Hussain, a leading security analyst of the North Eastern region, believes that all is not lost. Hussain has suggested several steps that can be taken to create a system of autonomy that works for the communities, such as--

- 1) Setting up of a politico-administrative structure that enjoys maximum autonomy with provisions for devolution of powers up to village level.
- 2) Direct central funding to the autonomous councils, providing rights over resources to Panchayats/Village Councils instead of the Centre
- 3) Creation of an Upper House in the states with representation from all the ethnic groups.
- 4) Creation of regional councils instead of tribe-specific councils and setting up village councils under them.
- 5) Representation of all the ethnic groups in the autonomous district councils proportionately to their population and reservation of jobs in the government offices in the same manner.<sup>38</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The Autonomous Councils, based on the Sixth Schedule, were initially formed to protect the culture and life of the tribal communities. To that end, they have seen a measure of success. But, it has been found to be lacking immensely as an autonomous entity working towards fulfilling the aspirations of the tribal communities. Lack of transparency in their functioning, failure to adequately tap into the available resources, inherent complexities in the politico-administrative structure, nepotism, dominance of vested interests and presence of insurgent outfits have all accounted for poor governance of the Councils.

---

<sup>38</sup> Hussain, Wasbir (2013) *Introductory Remarks*, in Report on a Two Day Seminar on *Autonomy and Devolution of Powers :Can it Fulfill People's Aspirations in Northeast India?* , August 18-18, 2013 Accessed from the website [http://cdpsindia.org/events\\_past19.asp](http://cdpsindia.org/events_past19.asp) on November 23, 2013

Thus, the study provides an opportunity to reflect and analyze the provisions of the Sixth Schedule as a feasible instrument of political change within the political context in India.

\*\*\*\*\*

## REFERENCES

### **BOOKS:**

- Barpujari, H.K. *North-East India: Problems, Policies and Prospects*, Guwahati: Spectrum Publications, 1998
- Basu Ray Chaudhary, Sabyasachi, Das, Samir Kumar & Samaddar , Ranabir (Eds.) *Indian Autonomies: Keywords and Key Texts*, Kolkata: Sampark in management with Calcutta Research Group, 2005
- Curran, James and Michael Gurenvitch, *Mass Media and Society*, New York and London : Co-published by OUP and Arnold Hodder Headline Group, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, 2000
- Gill, K.P.S & Ajai Sahni (Eds) *Faultlines: Writings on Conflict and Resolution*, New Delhi: Bulwark Books, 2000
- Kohli, Atul *Democracy & Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability*, Cambridge University Press, 1991
- Mac Ginty, R and Darby, J(Eds.) *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence & Peace Processes*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003
- Roy, Ramashray, Sujata Miri and Sandhya Goswami *Northeast India—Development, Communalism and Insurgency*, Delhi: Anshah Publishing House, 2007
- Wolff, S &Schneckener, U. (Ed.) *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts: Perspectives on Successes and Failures in Europe, Africa and Asia*.UK: C. Hurst &Co. Ltd., 2004

### **JOURNALS:**

- Prasad, Dr.R.N., *Dialogue*, Astha Bharati, October-December, Volume 6, No. 2, New Delhi, 2004
- Manor, J 'Ethnicity and Politics in India', *International Affairs* 72, 3 , pp. 459-475, 1996

## REPORTS:

- Kumaran, K.P. *Evaluation study on The Pattern of Flow and Utilization of Funds by the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council in Assam* Sponsored by the Planning Commission, Government of India, Carried out by National Institute of Rural Development, North-Eastern Regional Centre, Guwahati , 2003
- *N.C.Hills Autonomous Council: The Retrieval And Beyond*, Published by Anil Kr. Baruah, Principal Secretary, N.C.Hills Autonomous Council ,2005
- Bhuyan, Abhijit *Functioning of Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council - Issues in the field of Governance*, Unpublished Report, , Guwahati: Peace Studies, OKDISCD, 2007

## WEBSITES:

[www.nchill.nic.in](http://www.nchill.nic.in) Accessed on March 15, 2006

Times of India, August 17, 2011, cited in the article *North East India: Status of Governance in Sixth Schedule Areas*, Accessed from the website <http://socialissuesindia.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/sixthschedule.pdf> on September 3, 2013

*DHD factions ink deal to end insurgency*, accessed from the website [http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-10-08/guwahati/34322151\\_1\\_dhd-assam-government-militant-outfits](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-10-08/guwahati/34322151_1_dhd-assam-government-militant-outfits), on September 3, 2013

Deka, A.Kr. *Understanding Conflict in BTAD of Assam*, Mainstream, VOL L, No 37, September 1, 2012 Accessed from the website <http://mainstreamweekly.net/article3666.html> on November 23, 2013

Kolas, Ashild *Whats up with the Territorial Council?*, Article in Seminar (Journal), Accessed from the website [http://www.india-seminar.com/2012/640/640\\_ashild\\_kolas.htm](http://www.india-seminar.com/2012/640/640_ashild_kolas.htm) on November 7, 2013

Hussain, Wasbir (2013) *Introductory Remarks*, in Report on a Two Day Seminar on *Autonomy and Devolution of Powers :Can it Fulfill People's Aspirations in Northeast India?* , August 18-18, 2013 Accessed from the website [http://cdpsindia.org/events\\_past19.asp](http://cdpsindia.org/events_past19.asp) on November 23, 2013

Mohapatra, B *Bodoland State Demand: Contested Discourse on Autonomy and Self Rule*, Accessed from the website <https://nehu.academia.edu/BiswajitMohapatra/Papers> on November 5, 2013

**INTERVIEWS:**

Interview with Mr. Rahul Nath, Deputy Manager, United Bank of India, February 22, 2006 in Haflong

Interview with Mr. L.Hmar, EM Health, Autonomous Council on February 21, 2006 in Haflong

Interview with Mahendra Kemprai, Student Leader on February 21, 2006 in Haflong.

Interview with K.Jeme, Principal Secretary (Normal), Autonomous Council, February 21, 2006 in Haflong.

Interview with official at Hill Areas Commission, Government of Assam, June 2006 in Guwahati, Assam



**TABLE 1**

**SECTORAL ALLOCATION OF FUNDS (2001-2006)**

Sl. No.	SECTORS	ALLOCATION					Total Allocation (2+3+4+5+6)	Expenditure
		2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
1	Crop Husbandry	195.00	170.00	180.00	184.00	184.00	913.00	883.94
2	Agriculture Research & Education	6.00	2.00	2.00	7.00	7.00	24.00	13.00
3	Agricultural Marketing	13.50	6.00	10.00	15.00	15.00	59.50	51.91
4	Soil Conservation	40.00	37.50	37.50	37.50	37.50	190.00	177.67
5	A.H. & Vety.	142.00	126.30	126.30	128.50	168.00	691.1	645.09
6	Dairy Development	30.00	23.40	23.40	24.00	34.00	134.80	129.84
7	Fisheries	28.50	25.00	38.50	44.00	44.00	180.00	163.50
8	Forest	375.00	340.20	346.20	201.00	300.00	<b>1562.4</b>	1482.40
9	Co-op	30.00	38.20	83.00	25.00	45.00	221.2	175.36
10	Land Reforms	31.00	15.00	25.00	25.00	25.00	121.00	56.00
11	C.D. & Panchayat	459.80	104.30	93.30	88.30	125.00	870.7	467.44
12	IJDP	75.00	67.00	175.00	175.00	175.00	667	206.62
13	Major/Medium	25.40	10.00	15.00	16.00	16.00	82.4	67.10

	Irrigation							
14	Minor Irrigation	364.40	252.80	202.80	179.80	179.50	<b>1179.3</b>	1095.41
15	Command Area Development	12.30	10.00	12.30	15.00	15.00	64.6	38.99

\*\*\* Rupees in Lakhs.

1. No.	SECTORS	ALLOCATION					Total Allocation (2+3+4+5+6)	Expenditure
		2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006		
16	AIBP	107.40	110.50	172.50	148	76.20	614.6	
17	Flood Control	100	60	100	157	140	557	503.54
18	Industries	72.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	272	260.98
19	Handloom	49.00	25.50	33.50	21.60	21.60	151.2	140.11
20	Sericulture	89.00	76.00	81.00	85.00	75.00	406	386.11
21	Roads and Bridges	900.00	849.40	1299.40	1025	1025	<b>5098.8</b>	5389.09
	*One time assistance	--	--	--	800	600	<b>1400</b>	

22	ASTC	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00	75	30.00
23	NSAP	--	--	--	177.00	350.00	527	
24	Tourism	20.10	15.10	15.10	25.10	25.00	100.4	66.26
25	Weight & Measures	2.00	0.40	0.40	2.90	3.00	8.7	5.11
26	<b>Elementary Education</b>	682.00	630.74	617.70	673.30	570.00	<b>3173.74</b>	2682.35
27	<b>Adult Education</b>	12.00	7.50	7.50	13.50	13.00	53.5	52.06
28	<b>Secondary Education</b>	394.00	333.6	333.6	285.00	263.00	<b>1609.2</b>	*1633.88
29	<b>Higher Education</b>	136.00	131.50	120.5	100.5	130.0	618.5	469.98
30	Cultural Activities	5.00	3.00	6.00	4.00	4.00	22.00	16.47
31	Library Services	10.00	4.50	5.50	6.50	7.00	33.5	28.31
32	Museum	15	4.80	5.80	7.80	7.80	41.2	33.38
33	Archaeology	2.00	0.80	1.00	2.00	2.00	7.8	5.87
34	Sports & Youth Welfare	5.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	20.00	9.00
35	Health	340.00	262.50	258.60	233.60	159.50	<b>1254.2</b>	957.27
36	Rural Water Supply	297.6	268.5	260.2	250.2	187.00	<b>1263.5</b>	1015.70
37	Urban Water Supply	181.5	163.5	163.5	230.00	230.00	968.5	*1005.75
38	Rural	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	17.00	3.00

	Sanitation							
	House Sites	0.30	1.00	1.00	--	--	2.30	0.30
39	Town & Country Planning	44.00	14.10	14.10	10.00	10.00	92.20	*96.81
40	Slum Development Programme	--	--	--	--	23.00	23.00	22.00

41	Publicity & Information	16.50	8.40	8.40	18.50	18.40	70.2	54.41
42	Article 275 of the Indian Constitution	77.20	48.30	--	88.50	91.50	305.5	
43	Social Welfare	99.40	111.20	160.00	315.00	220.00	905.6	
44	National Programme for Adolescent Girls	--	--	--	--	22.00	22.00	
45	Public Works	38.50	13.50	13.50	13.50	13.00	92	

**TABLE 2**

Serial Number	Categories	Amount Allocated (In Lakhs)	Amount Spent
1	HEALTH	Rs.1254.2	Rs.957.27
2	EDUCATION		
	a) Elementary Education	Rs.3173.74	Rs.2682.35
	b) Secondary Education	Rs. 1609.2	Rs.1633.88
	c) Higher Education.	Rs. 618.5	Rs. 469.98
	d)Adult Education	Rs. 53.5	Rs. 52.06
3	INDUSTRY	Rs. 272	Rs. 260.98
4	COMMUNICATION		
	a) Roads and Bridges	Rs.5098.8	Rs.5389.09
	* One time Assistance	Rs.1400	
	b) Publicity and Information	Rs.70.2	Rs.54.41

**TABLE 3**

**UNITED BANK OF INDIA**  
**(UBI- HAFLONG BRANCH)**

**FINANCIAL YEAR 2005-06 (SANCTIONED LOAN RECORDS)**

**Abbreviations:**

SSI -Small Scale Industries.

SBL-Small Business Loan

RTO-Road Transport Operators.

PSEP-Professional Self-Employed Persons.

STFL-Short Term Farm Loan.

MTFL-Mid-Term Farm Loan (Poultry, Horticulture loan).

**LOANS SANCTIONED UNDER DIFFERENT SCHEMES:-**

<b>SCHEMES</b>	<b>No. of Persons</b>	<b>Amount Sanctioned</b>	<b>% of Recovery</b>
RTO	10	Rs.22.75 Lakhs	60-70%
STFL	183	Rs.10,15,000	Below 20%
PSEP	1	Rs.95,000	Irregular payment
SBL	28	Rs.16,47,000	Less than 10%

SSI	11	Rs.9,27,000	30%
MTFL	16	Rs.1,25,000	20%