

“Examining the Politics of Ethnicity and Issues of Development in Meghalaya Vis-à-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970’s”

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October, 2021

CERTIFICATE OF THE SUPERVISOR

This is certified that work entitled, **“Examining the Politics of Ethnicity and Issues of Development in Meghalaya Vis-à-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970’s”** is an original research work done by Periousstone Khongthohrem under my guidance and supervision for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science to be awarded by Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune.

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Research Guide

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Periousstone Khongthohrem

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

1. ADC- Autonomous District Council
2. KHADC- Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council
3. JHADC- Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council
4. GHADC- Garo Hills Autonomous District Council
5. MDC- Member of District Council
6. MLA- Member of Legislative Assembly
7. MP- Member of Parliament
8. HSPDP- Hill State People Democratic Party
9. UDP- United Democratic Party
10. MDP- Meghalaya Democratic Party
11. KSU- Khasi Student Union
12. HNLC- Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council

CHAPTER- 1: INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER- 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The Constitution of India is referred as the highest legislative of India which lays out all the directives, rules and regulations that are required to be followed by the states, union territories and citizens of India (Baruah, 2003). The states located in the North-Eastern region of India form an integral part of the Indian national frontiers and are accountable for approximately 12% of the nation's total tribal populace. Due to the lack of proper governance, corruption, economic progress, and geological separation, the growth and development in these regions had been low. As a result, the north-eastern states like Meghalaya, Assam, Tripura, and others have to experience language, identity, minority/majority, and other related issues. Hence, in order to safeguard the interest of such states, the State Governing Body of India has introduced the Sixth Schedule so that the governance of these states will be done in an efficient manner (Bhaduri, 2018). The Sixth Schedule which is regarded as mini-Constitution for the north-eastern states like Meghalaya has established Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) to regulate and exercise administrative activities in the state. In respect to this, three ADCs have been framed in Meghalaya which are Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council (KHADC) 1972, Garo Hills Autonomous District Council (GHADC) 1972, and Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council (JHADC) 1972 (Choudhury, 2016).

Furthermore, these ADCs are also responsible for exercising control and laying down regulatory actions which guide the conduction of activities by the tribes in Meghalaya (Bhattacharyya, 2005). The tribes like the Khasis, the Jaintias and the Garos have been playing a major role in the conduction of traditional and governance activities which structures the identity and development of the state. However, in order to carry out development work-related activities, the ADCs in Meghalaya face immense challenges in respect to attainment of grants, approvals and legislative provisions like issues of ADCs over Paragraph 12A of the Sixth Schedule. As a result, due to disapproval and disagreement in the working conditions of the governing bodies, the growth and progress of Meghalaya have lacked behind. As per Human Development Index Meghalaya 2009, in the segment of economic development, the position of the state has been recorded to be

7th among the eight north-eastern states (Biju kumar, 2013). Hence, it can be said to safeguard the interest of the tribal communities in the state and work for their progress proper planning, allocation of funds, the introduction of new measures like BENAMI system and others is necessary. It will also help in resolving identity and development issues prevailing in Meghalaya. In addition to this, the current research study discusses and examining the different aspects of the politics of ethnicity issues of development in Meghalaya Vis-à-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970's so that a better understanding of the research topic will be gained.

1.2 Meghalaya- Socio, Eco, Historical & Political presence of Meghalaya

Meghalaya was created on 21st January, 1972 by carved out from two district of Assam, the United Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills and the Garo Hills. It is bounded by Assam in the North-Northeast and bordering with an international border with Bangladesh in the Southern part.

The Capital of Meghalaya is Shillong; a beautiful hills station derived its name from the manifestation of the creator ‘_Lei Shyllong’. Meghalaya extends to 22,429 sq.km of land and is full of hills and valleys, plateau and slopes, but the northern portion is dotted with numerous hills”. The total population of Meghalaya as per 2011 census is 2,966,889.2. At present there are 11 districts in Meghalaya. The main tribes in Meghalaya are the Khasi which inhabit mostly in the central and eastern parts of the state. These people called themselves as Khyntiam, Bhoi, War, Pnar and Lyngngam according to the location they settled down. The Garos tribes settled in the western part of the state.

The people of Meghalaya have its own unique setup of its social institution. The most remarkable social institution of the Khasi and Synteng was the system of matriarchy or matrilinealism. Except among the Garos, it did not obtain any other races and hill tribes of North East India. Even among the Garos, the system was less rigid (Dutta, 1982)

In Meghalaya, most of the tribal communities follow the matrilineal system which propagates inheritance and lineage is to be carried out by the youngest daughter of the family and is responsible for taking care of old parents and other siblings. The celebration of festivals like Behdienkhlam, Shad Suk Mynsiem, Wangala dance, Chor

Maga, living rot practices and others to follow and maintain the cultural heritage.

Economically the State of Meghalaya is under developed with a majority of people depending on agriculture and allied activities and contributes approximately US\$2.3 billion towards the GDP. Furthermore, initiation of more than 900 manufacturing units, laying down of the thermal project, hydel power projects, enhancement of education system, development of health care centers and other development activities have been done in the state (Datta-Ray & Agrawal, 1996). As a result, significant growth in the density of population per square kilometer has been recorded to have increased to 132 in 2011 from 103 in 2001, literacy rate has reached to 75.48% in the year 2011 against 62.6% in 2001, whereas number of females has been recorded to be 986 in 2011 in comparison to 972 in 2001 in respect to every 1000 males.

While making a focus on the historical and political aspects of Meghalaya, the region was identified by people in the Neolithic era in the Khasi, Garo Hills and surrounding areas. The state was primarily governed by Khasi, Garo, and Jaintia tribes prior to British rule. In 1972, it was declared to be an independent state by passing the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act, 1971. Hence, the autonomous body of Meghalaya came into the form which was mainly occupied by the traditional ethnic groups and supplementary groups like Hajongs, Biates, Koches, Rajbongshis, and others. However, due to distinctive customs and traditions, a separate framework of political and administrative system was developed in the state at village, clan and state level which functions under the political authority (Syiemship) that carried out executive activities like collection of taxes tolls under the elected head Syiem. The traditional polity of the tribe designated by them as -Himas|| had near parallel in that 'polis' of the ancient Greeks except that the former unlike, the latter was based solely on kinship (Dutta, 1982)

A Khasi-Synteng state or Hima was remarkable for its hierarchy of village officer to govern the tiny hill polity and for its series of assemblies of people from the village at the bottom to the state level at the apex. These assemblies gave some states the appearance of oligarchies and in other (e.g- the Langrin state) the resemblance of direct democracy. (Dutta, 1982). The Panchayati Raj system that was followed in most of the states did not show improved outcomes rather resulted in conflicts with the traditional conduction of tribes. Hence, the Sixth Schedule was formed to govern the state of Meghalaya to govern

the state under state legislative so that growth and development will be brought in the state (Fabian, 2016).

1.3 Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution: Meghalaya

In order to understand the provisions, rules and regulation of the Sixth Schedule in the context of the study that was intended to offer self-rule for the populations of Tribes in the North East (N-E) part of India. The Ahom king of Assam sought the help of East India company to resist the invasion of Burmese in 1824 – 1826 and this ended as a result of the company extended its rule to the main parts of Assam (Biswas, 1997). The East India Company has made an agreement with the Burmese ‘Treaty of Yandabo’ after Burma was defeated by the British forces in the Anglo - Burmese war. In the end, the East India Company extended its rule over the broad territories of Ahom, Jaintia kingdom, Cachari, Khasi hills of the old Assam. Gassah (1997) stated about the British rules’ hidden agenda was to find the emotional integration of the populations of tribes and non-tribes for the development of general identities supplants the ethnic diversities. The socio-cultural specialties produced the demands of asymmetric and special autonomy among the Tribes and sub-tribes in North-East. It was always an issue since the Colonial rule to fix the scuffle between the project of the Indian state to preserve the integrity as well as unity and the tribal communities’ demand to preserve ‘societal culture’. The people lived during the British rule in the princely states and hill areas of the N-E region do not have the authority to vote or to contest in the elections (Srikant, 2010).

1.3.1 Content and Context of Autonomous Councils

India was preparing for Independence and needed its own rule and regulation for its people. It was decided to form a Constituent Assembly and held its meeting on December 9, 1946. The Constituent Assembly appointed a number of committees to deal with different tasks of constitution making. The Drafting Committee headed by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the most important committee.

The Framers of the Constitution designed the tribal self-rule incorporated in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India to protect the cultural diversity and democratic traditions of Tribals and to handle these distinct area problems. A sub-

committee on the North-East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas and Shri. Gopinath Bardoloi was chosen as the Chairman of the Sub-committee. The members of the Sub-committee were – Shri. JJM Nichols Roy, Shri. Rup Nath Brahma, Shri. A.V.Thakur and Shri Mayang Nockcha who was later on replaced by Shri. Aliba Imti. The subcommittee toured and communicated with the tribal people to know their problems and understood that they require safeguards and protecting environment to conserve their normal life and needs political awareness of the country. The sub-committee also realised that the tribal people were much sensitive to their forest, land, social customs, and traditional justice system. Dasgupta (1997) stated that the Sixth Schedule represented an innovation institution crafting that surpasses the arrangement of quality federal in the developed countries. The schedule not only assisted the Indian state to undertake tribal groups' autonomy demands but also delivered the ways to transform these demands into a support system by cascading linkages (Dasgupta, 1997).

In 1950, the Constitution of India established ADCs in the North East region. The core idea behind the ADCs was to set up a system of administration to give greater autonomy to tribal societies, to preserve and safeguard tribal groups' established traditional practices and to act as a 'meso institutional' linkage between the 'formal' State Government and 'informal' grassroots tribal institutions (Meghalaya Institute of Governance). Thus, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council was inaugurated by the Governor of Assam Shri. Jairamdas Daulatram on 27th June, 1952 at the Dinam Hall, Jaiaw Shillong. The UKJHADC came into being as a culmination of implementation of the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India to full fill the aspiration of the Tribal People inhabiting the North East under one composite state of Assam in recognition of their time tested autonomous polity safeguarding their traditional heritage, customs practices, usages and economic security while conferring in them Executive, Legislative and Judicial powers along with developmental and financial powers and functions.

Although the Hill leaders believed that they were provided autonomy by the Sixth Schedule, the Brahmaputra valley leaders alternately looked at this. The Extremists of Brahmaputra valley understood this Schedule as a relief exercise that contains 'Tribalstan' seeds. The Sixth Schedule journey in the starting stage has faced troubles.

In 1972, Meghalaya was formed as a separate state and the three ADCs continued to exist. As such, Meghalaya has two constitutionally mandated institutional structures: the State Government and the ADCs. Currently, only the four states were applicable by the Schedule: Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura, and some parts of Assam.

1.3.2 Functions of Autonomous District Councils:

The functions, structure and financing of ADCs are outlined in the Constitution of India. Article 244 (2) and Article 275 (2) along with the provisions in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution outline the legislative, judicial, executive and financial powers of the ADC. The specific powers of the ADC as per the Sixth Schedule are summarized.

Legislative Functions: District and Regional Councils are empowered to make laws with respect to land, forest, agriculture, social customs, appointment or successions of chiefs and village administration. However, the bills passed by the Council require assent of the Governor to be formally recognized as law.

Judicial Functions: The ADC can constitute village councils or courts for the trial of suits and cases between Scheduled Tribes, with certain exceptions. It can appoint members and presiding officers of such village councils, and are also empowered to act as, or constitute separate courts of appeal.

Executive Functions: The ADC may establish, construct or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads, road transport and waterways in the district. In addition, the Governor may entrust either conditionally or unconditionally to the ADC or its officers' functions in relation to agriculture, animal husbandry, community projects, cooperative societies, social welfare, village planning or any other matter to which the executive power of the state extends.

Financial Powers: In addition, the Constitution also provides a certain degree of fiscal autonomy by allocating revenue functions to the ADC. These include power to assess and collect land revenue, taxes on lands and buildings, taxes on professions, animals, entry of goods in the market, and maintenance of schools, dispensaries or roads. Further, ADCs receive share in royalties from licenses or leases for the purpose of prospecting for, or the

extraction of, minerals. The proportion of share is mutually agreed between the State Government and the ADC.

Table. 1 Autonomous District Council Budget Allocations

Sl No.	YEAR	AMOUNT	UTILIZATION	PURPOSE/PROJECT
1	2010 – 2011	2,27,70,000	2,27,70,000	Infrastructure Projects
2	2011 – 2012	75,15,000	75,15,000	Construction of Community Building
3	2011 – 2012	22,00,000 20,00,000 <u>8,00,000</u> 50,00,000	50,00,000	Grant in- aid to the three ADCs for construction of Headman’s Court (Kacheri) during 2011-2012.
4	2013 – 2014	31,05,000	-	Construction of Building
5	2015 - 2016	123,45,32,000	-	KHADC Special Assistance
6	2015 – 2016	9,66,68,000	-	KHADC Special Assistance
7	2016 – 2017	1,20,36,000	-	Grant in-Aids for construction of own building (Legislative)
8	2017 – 2018	32,24,70,000	-	Grant to the State Govt. during 2017-2018 for areas not in Part IX & IXA of the Constitution.
9	2018 – 2019	77,51,00,000	-	Grant to the State Govt. during 2018-2019 for areas not in Part IX & IXA of the Constitution.
10	2020 - 2021	45,50,00,000	-	Grant to the State Govt. during 2020-2021 for areas not in Part IX & IXA of the Constitution.

RTI-Department of District Council Affairs, Govt. of Meghalaya

Table 1. show the Autonomous District Council Budget allocation of Rs.2913703000 crores from 2010-2021 by the central Government for the development purposes.

1.3.3 Relevance of the ADC’s in Meghalaya:

“Meghalaya has three major tribes and we have three District Councils. The importance of the District Councils remain in its ability to protect the tribes of the North East and therefore, we must make an effort to recognize its role, take it forward, uplift it and protect their traditions and cultures. With this mindset, our Constitutional Fathers carved out the Sixth Schedule Areas to safeguard the interests of the tribal and conservation of age-old traditional practices. ADCs are tribal-oriented, formed and recognised with the sole objective of uplifting and protecting the tribal, their varied cultures, traditions, customs, dialects, faith, etc and therefore, the ADCs are an integral part of governance in Meghalaya”. (Shillong Today, 2021)

The relevance of the Sixth Schedule in the present context needs a serious review. In 2015, an activist, Michael Syiem had filed a PIL in the High Court of Meghalaya for abolishing the ADCs in the state. The court, however, had advised him to either approach the Supreme Court or withdraw the petition since it also included the ADCs in other states of the Northeast (The Shillong Times, 2021).

The Schedule was specifically created for the protection of the minor tribes from the threat of marginalization, domination, homogenization by the major tribal group under the jurisdictional area of the Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) (Maheshwar Gurumayum, 2016).

The autonomy of the ADC's administrative had taken away by the expansion of the state's role over time in the policy and legal matters that had previously resided with the ADCs. One key historical event, which has reduced the ADC's legislative autonomy, was the amendment to the Constitution in 1972. The inclusion of Paragraph 12A in the Constitution mandated that, in the case of conflict, the State Government laws would prevail over the legislation passed by the ADCs. From thereon, the enactment of ADC laws required close co-ordination with the State Government and, ultimately, the amendment allows the State Government a much greater say in the passing of legislation compared to the past. As per this procedure, any bill passed by the legislature of an ADC is sent to the District Council Affairs Department of the GoM for clearance prior to forwarding it to the Governor. Some suggest that this has empowered the State Government at the expense of the ADC's (Meghalaya Institute of Governance). The inclusion of Paragraph 12A in the functioning of the ADC's brought a stalemate between the state government and the district councils. There is a delay in the passage of the bills due to the Paragraph 12A like the Village Administrative Bill of KHADC pending clearance from the state government and the Ministry of Home Affairs (North East Division.)

The revenue collection of the three ADC's appears to be constrained. There is overlapping in the collection of taxes and the taxes from mineral resource had to be share with the state on the basis of 75:25. The Chief Minister of Meghalaya, Mr. Conrad Sangma stated that, "the biggest hurdles District Councils face today is the issue of funds and funding. In Article 280, Panchayati Raj, Municipality Board has provision for

funding but District Councils do not receive funds through the Finance Commission devolution”. Stating the example of the GHADC, the Chief Minister stressed, “The Garo Hills Autonomous District Council’s expenditure is more than the revenue it generates and this is because ADCs do not get much support from Govt of India and the Finance Commission. Because of this, District Councils appear to be failing but if they are not getting the financial support and without financial inclusion, the performance of their duties is hampered” (Shillong Today, 2021).

The stay into relevance the ADC’s under the Sixth Schedule must perform and reform itself and set a precedent to check the loopholes in its functioning. For example, the KHADC Village Administration Bill may be an important step in this regard, but it is still locked in a delay that would require some attention. Moreover, the KH-ADC - even within its currently constrained internal and external environment - could focus its attentions on establishing stronger linkages with the tribal institutions it is mandated to represent. This could involve implementing a strengthened public communications and outreach program to pro-actively and regularly engage a wider range of citizens - beyond the MDC and village heads.

The ADC’s must be strengthened and have proper channel to co-ordinate and communicate with the state government relating to deadlock in passing of bills, an anti-defection law must be implemented in the councils, a proper management of fund and revenue and a proper audit of account. The state government and the Union government must provide direct financial assistance to the village councils through the ADC’s in lieu of Article 280 of Panchayati Raj.

On the relevance of District Councils today, the Chief Minister positively stated, “Many individuals have questioned if the District Council has failed, or if the purpose of its existence is irrelevant or if it is performing its objective. Individuals draw their conclusions seeing things on the surface, seeing the management and functioning of the District Council but I would like to say that the purpose of setting up the District Councils has been accomplished. They have managed to protect the identity of the tribal population through the ADCs and I believe in the coming years, we must strengthen them” (Shillong Today, 2021).

1.4 Identity Crisis

Identity is defined as a constitution based on the recognition of familiar and shared derivations including but not limited to ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical, territorial, cultural and political attributes with other people, groups or ideal (Hall, 1994, 1996) From a sociological perspective, on the other hand, Castells (1997) asserts that identity acts as a source of meaning and experience for people through self-construction and individuation particularly on the basis of cultural attributes in a context marked by power relationships.

In order to make a focus on the identity of the people, the major tribes in Meghalaya are different categories, like Khasi and Jaintia tribal groups belong to then Mon-Khmer origin while Garo belongs to the Tibeto-Burman origin (Gosselink, 1994). The identity is referred as the similarity in the tradition, culture, religion, language, eating habits, cuisines, dance, recreational activities, common history, and other related factors experienced by the individuals belonging to a regional or cultural group. In the case of identity crisis, an individual will not be able to survive in extensive human civilizations as one needs to have similar identity people to share, communicate and grow. For example, the Garos have faced the brunt identity crisis and negligence in Meghalaya since ages and now are demanding a separate state to gain identity and autonomy. As a result, many violent insurrections takes place which further impacts the growth and development of such communities (Gupta, 2018).

In addition to this, the identity crisis has also led to the creation of a gap and hampered the growth and development of the people in Meghalaya. The incompetence of the governing bodies in exercising progressive works in the favor of larger interest of people, prevalence of violent tribal groups have also led to the anti-development activities in Meghalaya (Harriss, 2002). For example, due to threatening to the identity of Khasi communities and inflow of laborers from Bangladesh and other states, many development projects like hydel power generation plans have been opposed by the civil society workers of tribal groups in Meghalaya. As a result, the state has suffered losses and opportunities for employment, modernization, and advancements. In addition to this, due to the identity crisis, the tribes live in the state fear and are afraid to mix to other

communities like Sikhs, Nepali, Bihari, and others residing in the state (Joseph, 2015). The identity crisis also leads to the reduction in the feeling of oneness and brotherhood resulting in the emergence of conflicts among various religious groups practicing different languages and cultures. Hence, it can be said that due to an identity crisis in Meghalaya, the inhabitants faced issues of land, livelihood, education, economic growth, health care facilities, infrastructure development, and others (Lacina, 2009).

1.5 Identity Politics (Disparities and Development)

The term “identity politics” has come to signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups in a society.

The scope of identity politics is broad for examples used in the philosophical literature are predominantly of struggles for recognition and social justice by groups of citizens within western capitalist democracies, but Indigenous rights movements worldwide, nationalist projects, or demands for regional self-determination use similar arguments. Predictably, there is no straightforward criterion that makes a political struggle into an example of “identity politics.” Rather, the term signifies a loose collection of political projects, each undertaken by representatives of a collective with a distinctively different social location that has hitherto been neglected, erased, or suppressed.

The social ontology of most liberal political theories consists of citizens conceptualized as essentially similar individuals, as for example in John Rawls’ famous thought experiment using the “original position,” in which representatives of the citizenry are conceptually divested of all specific identities or affiliations in order to make rational decisions about the social contract (Rawls 1971).

Marxists, both orthodox and revisionist, and socialists—especially those who came of age during the rise of the New Left in western countries—have often interpreted the perceived ascendancy of identity politics as representing the end of radical materialist critique (see discussions in McNay 2008: 126–161, and Kumar et al. 2018). Identity politics, for these critics, is both factionalizing and depoliticizing, drawing attention away from the ravages of late capitalism toward superstructural cultural accommodations that leave economic structures unchanged.

1.5.1 Disparities

The term of disparity is very frequent term, it comes from Latin *disparitas*, and this means divided. Disparity is divergence or inequality of characters, phenomena or processes, the identification and comparison of which make some rational sense (cognitive, psychological, social, economic, political, etc.). By the dictionary the disparity is an inequality or difference. Usually it concerns inequality or difference as a result of society development tendency and this is a high level of its variability resulting in development inequality. Thus, the social subjects and their parts, or phenomena and processes running within them are unequally developed and these results in their inequality or difference, i.e., among these subjects or their parts are developing disparities.

The Aydalot (1985) approach to disparities is another; he says that disparity is a deviation from standard. But what standard to choose? The author rejects identity standard. If we will choose equality, we must say what unit or what indicator to take for equality assessing. What implicit reference to choose? And in general, is the equality a goal that can be confronted with the whole community? What equality will it concern? There is suggested an identity of incomes per inhabitant, incomes equality per active inhabitant, identity of ways of live and many others (Aydalot, 1985).

In order to make a focused development of disparities on the identity politics in Meghalaya highly express the provincial sentiments of the tribal communities like Khasi, Jaintia, and Garo present in the state. In order to gain more superiority over each other the communities have ended up fighting against each other, the different communities have been fighting with each other, which have resulted in the emergence of conflicts, bitter struggles, and violence in the state (McDuaie-Ra, 2006). As a result, identity politics has destructed the environment, lowered socio-economic growth, reduced cultural development and brought disparities among the different religious groups living in Meghalaya. For example, in order to deal with the identity crisis issues and threat of inflow of outsiders in the state, the local campaigners in the state have to deal with the national as well as regional political requirements. As a result, cultural differences occur, communalism diversity takes place, and competition among the different groups occurs resulting in conflicts, violence, and aggression in the state. Moreover, the disparities also

result in economic injustice, improper distribution of funds, loss of language integrity, immigration issues and inappropriate changes (Mc Duie-Ra, 2007).

1.5.2 Development

The enhancement of living conditions must clearly be an essential, if not the essential object of the entire economic exercise and that enhancement is an integral part of the concept of development.

The development of human society through various stages, development and change in the material condition, existence, development of capitalism, and the corresponding change in the class relationship and transformation in the mode of production were the major concerns of Karl Marx. Marx had a profound philosophical vision of the development of human society which may be understood in terms of the material condition of existence and the dialectic, i.e., contradiction inbuilt in the material condition of existence. According to Karl Mark, human civilization has manifested itself in a series of organizational structure, each determine by its primary mode of production, particularly the division of labour that dominates in each stage.

Furthermore, in order to make a focus on the development of identity politics, the tribal and non-tribal communities living since three to four generations in the state have faced with insurgencies and conflicts. Both the communities have contributed immensely to the growth of the local economy, however, identity politics resulted in a loss of the brotherhood, unity in Meghalaya and highly got impacted the peaceful environment in a negative manner. For example, in 1970, the formation of the Khasi Students Union took place which was formed by the students who had dropped from schools or took it long to Complete their course (McDuie-Ra, 2007). It launched a strike against the Bengalis residing (non-tribal) in Shillong and condemned them for bringing ill effects to the Khasi communities. The union also initiated slogans like –Khasi by birth, Indian by accident or Khasi by blood, Indian by accident, a slogan which negatively impacted the unity and progress of the entire state. As a result, many Bengalis were under constant fear in violence and later most they left the state. Hence, it can be said that the identity politics has adversely affected the growth of the communities, and state resulting in low growth and development activities in the state (McDuie-Ra & Kikon, 2016).

1.5.3 Development of Scheduled Tribes in others State.

The Schedule Tribe other than the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura come under the Fifth Schedule. A comparison of schedule tribe in the state of Meghalaya and others state of India, there are many differences, the schedule has been created differently and the provision of funding the tribe also is different. The tribes in Meghalaya came under the jurisdiction of Autonomous District Councils which is financially constraints to develop its constituents whereas the schedule tribe in other states come under the 73rd Amendment of the Constitution and through the Panchayati Raj Act they got direct funding from the central or state government.

Scheduled Tribes (STs) populations are found significantly in Madhya Pradesh. Based on the Indian Census of 2001, the population of ST comprised 23.3 percent of the state. High numbers of STs were found in 5 districts and significantly found in other 40 districts. 3 primitive tribal groups (PTGs) were also found in the state. Food gathering and settled cultivation was the primary occupation for these tribes. The tribes were provided special provisions by the Indian constitution. Several acts were passed to protect the tribal peoples of Madhya Pradesh such as the Forest Rights Act, MP Land Revenue Code 1959, MP Excise Act, MP Money Lending Act, Panchayat Act 1996, etc., 4 types of rights were granted in the Forest Rights Act such as Title Rights, Use Rights, Development and Relief rights, and Forest Management Rights. The Department of Tribal Welfare agency was set up for the tribal communities' welfare and economic/educational development in the state. The MPTFDC (Madhya Pradesh Tribal Finance and Development Corporation), a non-profit company was set up in the year of 1994 to provide institutional finance to the tribal peoples in the state for economic and educational development. The ST's development, human, constitutional and legal rights were protected by setting the Madhya Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Commission in the year 1990. The TRI (Tribal Research Institute) was set up in Madhya Pradesh in the year 1954 that brings comprehensive surveys and researches on the tribal peoples' development, social, and cultural issues and concerns.

Odisha comprises 13 primitive tribal groups and 62 ST communities, with approximately six million (5,915,067) population comprised of 22.43 percent of the state

(Meher, 2007). The Sundargarh district situated in Northern Odisha was taken in the study. Based on the Indian Census of 2001, the population of ST comprised of 51 percentages tribal peoples out of 1,829,412 total populations in the district. Shifting cultivation, food gathering, and hunting was the main occupation of the Sundargarh tribes. Occupational opportunity and economic pursuits were provided to the tribes such as the MFP (Minor Forest Produce) collection that influences the social systems and livelihoods of the tribal peoples in the district. The tribal peoples claimed to have the rights in the projects on forest management (Satpathy, 2017). Some of the other occupations of the tribal peoples involve making sculptures, masks, and pipes, carving window frames, doors, lintels, wooden ceilings. These tribal peoples have an intense belief in traditional self-governance and avoid the intervention of the government on the development of the tribal areas. The Indian Government undertook many development measures of the ST development. However, these resulted in the emergence of intra-community and inter-community inequality among the tribes. The tribes have faced insufficiency in basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing, drinking water, roads, electricity, sanitation, health, and education. The projects/schemes need to undertake for the sustainable development of the tribes in the natural resources such as water, forest, and land, traditional empowerment, and skills with the latest methods and techniques.

1.6 Some Experiences

In order to make a focus on some experiences of identity issues and development in Meghalaya, the death case of Gouri Dey, a non-tribal living in Meghalaya can be taken into consideration. While intensifying the need of identity issues and development in the state, some of the violent Khasi community people acted furiously and charged on the non-tribes in Meghalaya by killing them at public places, buses, and offices (Mohan & Sinha, 2016, December). In one such incident, an expecting lady named Gouri Dey was nabbed and estranged to death in public and then culprits were set free in absence of evidence. In another case, the Nepalese and Bihari who were residing in Meghalaya and earning their living by odd jobs and selling milk were harassed, beaten up, burnt alive in the mid of night in order to resolve identity crisis issues. As a result, the Meghalaya became a state of fire and rampage place of destruction, death, and ruin.

In addition to this, the formation Khasi Students Union (KSU) and Khun Hynniewtrep National Awakening Movement (KHNAM) took place who claimed to be the risers of the Khasi and other tribal communities present in Meghalaya. In respect to this, the KSU considered the non-tribal communities responsible for a loss of better employment opportunities, land and culture (Musvosvi, 2010). It laid down restrictions that non-tribal and Khasi woman will not move together and if incase identified will be beaten up instantly. The KSU also prohibited Khasi women from wearing –salwar kameez and warned of negative consequences if seen in different attire other than traditional Khasi dress. In case if the Khasi women had been found wearing –salwar kameez was stopped and brutally tortured by tearing their clothes. Furthermore, during the 1900s, some of the members of KSU became militants and formed a militant organization named Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC) which was responsible for creating riots, frightening, extorting and violently dealing with non-tribal businessmen in Meghalaya. As a result, an environment of fear, panic, and fright prevailed in the state and destructed the growth and progress of the state (Rajan, 2016).

1.7 Theoretical perspectives of the issue:

In order to make a focus on the theoretical perspectives of the development issues, the process of learning and understanding the identity development passes through various stages which are necessary to be developed by basic virtue of principles and thoughts. In the first process, known as identity development identity diffusion takes place when the individuals do not bear a sense-making attitude and are not willing to make any commitments (Phukan, 2013). In the next process, the identity foreclosure takes place in which the individuals are in the acceptance mode and willing to commit to certain roles, values or aims. For example, young individuals conform to other expectations, like permitting parents to take career decisions without exploring a wide range of options. Then, the process of identity moratorium takes place in which the individual is going through the phase of identity crisis and exploring various avenues of commitments to make choices but not taken the decision yet (Roy, 2018). Finally, the concluding process of identity development stage takes place known as identity achievement in which the individual goes through an identity crisis and commits to achieve a goal or value to regain the identity.

Furthermore, the development of identity is mainly related to the choices and commitments made by the individual that is highly depended upon the personal and social traits available to the individual. In respect to this, the preferences of the individual highly dependent upon the sexual orientation, principles, values, goals, direction, professional aspirations, personal skills, talents, interest, expertise, individuality, and others. As a result, by proper adoption of such features, the identity of the individual gets developed. It defines the strengths, weakness, and exclusivity of the individual and ability to progress and grow in life for the benefit of self and the community (Shivananda, 2011). However, if in case the identity of the individual is not well-developed, is not able to recognize the basic strengths and weaknesses, the uniqueness of the individual goes and not get developed. As a result, the individual may suffer from loss of identity and fall into the trap of identity crisis facing anxiety and insecurity. Hence, it is necessary to adopt identity traits so that individual will grow in a positive manner in each process of development theories, developing a sense of direction and maturity.

1.8 Global experience

In order to make a focus on the global experience of the identity issues and development, the United Kingdom (UK) governing bodies propagated that, the identification and development of identity are necessary to incorporate the feeling of belongingness, setting up of relations and acquiring local experiences. For example, due to rapid globalization, many social, economic and cultural changes have taken place in UK which has impacted the identity of the individuals and developed a sense of ambiguity among the citizens of UK (Singh, 2014). As a result, the country had been facing political decentralization, issues in the economic growth and migration in a proper manner, negative impact on the consumer culture which has led to political instability and loss of identity to the citizens. The increasing influence of globalization due to employment structure, internet applicability, development of wider cultural groups (through social networking sites) highly impact the lifestyles and identity development of the individuals in the UK. It has also led to the development of diversity, multiple identities, social differences, cultural disparities and trans-nationalism impacting identity issues, development, hybridism, education, and others in varied ways. For example, approximately 75% of 9-19 aged individuals in the UK have then access to the internet

and approximately 80% have been using mobile phones which have changed the speed and direction of the social change and impacted the individual identity development (Deepshikha and Bhattacharjee, 2013).

Furthermore, many instances of identity issues and development have been identified in European countries also. In respect to this, due to the increasing influx of globalization the Minorities of Europe (MOE) have adopted the ‘Swapping Cultures’ project which is a pan-European project. It has taken inspiration from the ‘All Different-All Equal’ movement which had been initiated in 1990. The MOE’s ‘Swapping Cultures’ initiative has been using ‘Beyond Tolerance’ model, to address identity issues at local, domestic and global levels. It lays focus on learning, practicing tolerance, and respecting the different (minority and majority) communities that are co-existing in the regions. As a result, there will be the development of a peaceful living environment, development of key values like uniformity, dignity, and harmony among the various stakeholders. Hence, it can be said that proper addressing of the social and cultural issues results in efficient handling of identity issues and development (Søreide, 2017).

1.9 Ethnicity in Meghalaya

The word ‘ethnic’ is now being increasingly used to identify group of people who have evolved from their primitive stages of tribe and clan identity into a more cohesive group looking for a coherent political identity. Sometimes the terms are loosely adopted and do not actually carry their weight in words. Ethnicity or ethnic identity have different connotations for scholars and are different from what the ethnic communities understand themselves. As such there can be no single meaning to the term/ terms. Thomas Hulland Eriksen says, “Many of us have to admit that the meaning of these terms often seem vague and ambiguous”. (B.B.Kumar et,2007). An ethnic conflict is a conflict between two or more contending ethnic groups. While the source of the conflict may be political, social, economic or religious, the individuals in conflict must expressly fight for their ethnic group's position within society.

For social anthropologists, ethnicity and ethnic identity have been subjects of intense study since the 1960s and they continue to be focal theme for research in the 21st century.

Today, there is a greater need to understand the underpinnings of ethnicity because ethnic groups have resulted in ethnic conflicts across the globe. Eriksen deduces that ethnicity emerges and is made relevant through ongoing social situations and encounters, and through people's ways of coping with the demands and challenges of life. He argues that social anthropology is best placed to investigate into these processes of human evolution from the primordial to the modern. Anthropology enables scholars to understand and help define ways in which ethnic relations are perceived by people which includes the way they explain and think about their own racial groups as distinct from 'others'. Anthropology also helps in understanding the world – view of different groups and how they are being maintained or contested.

If we go by Dunn's definition and also correctly understand Brass and Hobsbawm's analogy then all the independent tribes/ethnic groups of North – East India are little nations that have been submerged because they were not at the time politically cohesive to argue their case, nor were they strong enough militarily to fight back. So tribe after tribe was asked to sign the Instrument of Accession at a period in their history when they did not fully comprehend the implications. It seemed at the time that there were only two choices before these tribes. They could join either Pakistan or India. There was no option to remain as small independent nations. How correct and ethical this action of the Indian state is has never been debated by Indian civil society or by its political leaders. (John Dunn, 1995)

Ethnicity has often been seen to be a hindrance to nationalism. Nowhere is this more visible than in the Indian subcontinent. Racial groups in this country have strong cultural identity which they maintain is so unique that it even requires state intervention for its promotion and protection. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India is a good example of state intervention is not just the conversation of a group's cultural identity but also in its promotion.

The state of Meghalaya is mainly predominated by tribal communities like Khasi (approximately 56.4%), Garo (approximately 34.6%), Hajong (approximately 1.6%), Rabha (approximately 1.4%) and others. The ethnicity practices in Meghalaya amongst the tribes is highly related to their ethnicity in which approximately 90% of the Garo tribe, 80% of the Khasi tribes have been recorded to be Christians, while approximately

97% of the Hajong tribe, 98.53% of the Koch tribes, 94.60% of the Rabha tribes have been recorded to be Hindus. These ethnic groups follow their own traditional culture, rituals, and customs and have their own set of legislative body, rules or regulations. In respect to this, a traditional social and political system is followed among the tribal groups. For example, Khasi tribes follow the three-tier regulatory body system whereas; Garo tribes follow A-king functioning of Nokmas. The following of festivals also differs among the tribal communities like Khasis celebrate Shad Suk Mysiem, Shad Lyngdoh, Shad Beh Sier and practice various dance forms, whereas Jaintias celebrate Behdienkhlam, sowing Ritual Ceremony and perform Laho dance. The Garo tribes celebrate Wangala dance, Sa Sat Ra Chaka, while Hajongs celebrate Biswe', Kati Gasa.

Furthermore, the ethnic groups in Meghalaya practiced agriculture as their main occupation and produced approximately 230,000 tonnes of food grains. Apart from this, the tribes also cultivated food grain crops, cereals, horticulture crops like banana, plum, pear, peach. The tribes were involved in industrial activities like worked as laborers in cement plant or extracted minerals like coal, limestone, granite (Tollefsen and Buhaug, 2014). Additionally, due to close association with the land, the tribes consider their land and tenure system as the most essential possession and any interference in that results in confusions and conflicts among the tribal and nontribal communities. The tribes follow the law and regulations as per their own regulatory bodies and do not adhere to the rules and regulation laid by the governing body of the state or country which leads to the creation of confusion and issues upon several matters of land and other matters. Hence, the political parties have led to the implementation of the Sixth Schedule in the state so that the social, economic and political features of ethnic groups will be safeguarded in an effective manner. It will result in the establishment of peace among the various tribal and non-tribal groups and protecting the interest of each community.

1.10 Insurgency in Meghalaya

The inception of Meghalaya took place in 1972 and since then it has been struggling with identity issues and development among the tribal and non-tribal groups. The identity issues and development are mainly depended on factors like conservation, anticipation, exclusion, distribution, and exploration. In respect to this, the tribal

communities residing in Meghalaya have been inheriting their rich culture and traditions from their families, friends, and relatives. Hence, the following of traditions is important for tribes and do not prefer any kind of disturbance or interference in the maintenance of cultural heritage. The demand for ethnic homelands resulted in the emergence of conflicts and population displacement in the state of Meghalaya (Xaxa, 2018). The need for identity issues and development among the tribal and non-tribal groups has resulted in violence between the various sub-groups in the state. As a result, high population displacement has led to the emergence of conflicts, insurgencies, creation of armed groups, installing of anti-insurgency operations.

For example, in 1992, the first violent outbreak emerged in Meghalaya, under the leadership of Hynniewtrep Achik Liberation Council (HALC) in order to safeguard the interest of tribal groups of the state and raise voice against the high immigration of non-tribal Dkhar'community. In addition to this, the formation of many insurgent groups like, Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC), Achik Matgrik Liberation Army (AMLA), Achik National Volunteers Council (ANVC) took place who created more riots and violent activities in the state. Additionally, there was a linguistic conflict among the tribal and non-tribal communities which further created social and cultural conflicts amid the two groups. It also led to the emergence of identity crisis and development of insecurity among both the groups (Baruah, 2003). The high incident of non-local migrants like Nepalese from Nepal, Bengalis from Bangladesh and Hindu from other parts of the country, the insurgencies among the tribal communities developed which resulted in the loss of economic opportunities to indigenous communities. It also affected the social, cultural and political fields in a negative manner and led to the widespread emergence of identity crisis among the tribal groups.

1.11 Different Movements:

In order to make a focus on social movement, the formation of groups like Mother's Union took place in Meghalaya. The organization is responsible for carrying out upliftment work for women in the state, works to develop morale characters among children, provides dress to women, children, promotes humanitarian values among the tribal and non-tribal communities in the state (Datta-Ray & Agrawal, 1996). In addition

to this, other social movements like the practice of matrilineal culture take place among the tribal groups which highly prohibits the conduction of dowry system and allows the girls to get married as per their choice and preference. As per the matrilineal culture, the youngest daughter in the tribal family is given the responsibility to take care of the old parents and the other siblings. The right to own the house and the property held by the parents is also given to the youngest daughter unless another girl has not been nominated to heir the possessions. Hence, it can be said that the social movement has led to the growth and development of women and others in Meghalaya.

In order to make a focus on political movement, it played a major role in the formation of Meghalaya as it was carved out of Assam by passing Northeastern Reorganization act, 1971. In respect to this, the formation of All Party Hill Leaders Conference took place which filled the gap that existed in Meghalaya after the formation of a new state. The political party was responsible for providing integrity and unique identity to Meghalaya and its tribal inhabitants. It also created solidarity and enhanced political strength in the state resulting in the adoption of Fifth and Sixth Schedule especially for north-eastern states like Meghalaya (Deepshikha and Bhattacharjee, 2013). In order to make a focus on women movement, a women organization Synjuk Kynthei came into form in Meghalaya against the insurgent groups in the state. The organization stood in favor of the women both tribal as well as non-tribal and advocated for their rights against all the insurgent groups belonging to tribal or non-tribal communities. For example, the organization held a march against the diktat issues by KSU against wearing of -salwar kameezll. The organization warned the KSU group to not lay prohibitions on Khasi girl. As a result, the KSU has never threatened any girl or dared to set any dress code of women in the state (Dev, 2007).

1.12 Role of Political Parties (National &Regional)

In order to make the focus on national parties in Meghalaya, there have been many political parties that have been operating in the state like the Indian National Congress (INC), National People's Party (NPP), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), and others. Since, the formation of the state in 1972, and commencing of the election since 1978, no stable government has been formed in the

state. The governance of the state took place under the working of a coalition government which did not bring immense development results in the state. The different political parties have been working and campaigning in and around the state but have not been able to lay any impounding impact on the inhabitants of the state. In addition to this, the lack of adequate leadership, governance, and commitment the growth in the state has been low which has made it economically backward and poor in comparison to other states in the country. The well-established political parties like NCP, BJP, and Congress had not brought any significant development opportunities in the state and even lacked the creditability of forming a stable government.

In order to make the focus on regional political parties in Meghalaya, there have been many regional parties like United Democratic Party (UDP), Hill State People's Democratic Party (HSPDP), Khun Hynniewtrep National Awakening Movement (KHNAM), Garo National Council (GNC), and others. The regional political like UDP had worked for the growth and development of women in Meghalaya and has formed associations like Women's Wings and Youth Wing to help the poor and underprivileged sections of the society. It has also made efforts in bringing peace and communal harmony in the state by demanding government intervention in communal riots taking place in Meghalaya (McDuie-Ra, 2006). In addition to this other regional party, HSPDP has also worked for the growth and development of tribal communities in the state. The party fights against the injustice committed against the Khasi community and makes efforts for stopping the infiltration of immigrants from neighboring countries like Bangladesh. It also promotes harmony, pride, and peace among the different tribal communities like Khasi, Jaintia in the state. Hence, it can be said that the regional parties have contributed immensely towards the growth and development of inhabitants in the state.

Tracking at some manifestoes of regional parties M.P election manifesto of Hills State People's Democratic Party (HSPDP) on demanding separate state for the Khasi-Jaintia people only to be known as 'Ka Ri Khasi Jaintia State' and implementing of Article 371. It also mentions to re-open the Border hat, creating employment and set up industries etc. Another Regional Party M.P manifesto of Meghalaya Democratic Party (MDP) in its point no.4 mention about Amendment of the 6th Schedule of the Constitution to give power to Dorbar Ri (traditional administrative System).

The State Election manifesto of some regional parties known as the election manifesto of the Meghalaya Federation (HPU, HSPDP, PDIC) 1993 mention to protect and safeguard the individuality and identity of the people of the State, to strengthen the Autonomous District Council with adequate funding and demand removal of Part 12A of the 6th Schedule to the Constitution of India (Election manifesto of the Meghalaya Federation, 1993). In the year 2008 the Election manifesto of UDP also mention the preservation of traditional institution under the Sixth Schedule (UDP Election manifesto 2008).

The above manifesto of the regional political parties' stress in strengthening the District Council to protect and preserve the indigenous tribes of Meghalaya especially the Khasi, Jaintia and Garos people and also to provide employment opportunity to the people.

The MDC Election manifesto, 2004 of UDP mention that the MDC of UDP must work for peace and prosperity in the State, the District Council should barred the influx of migrant worker, to make rule and regulation for the Khasi Elaka, Hima as per their need.

1.13 Today's situation

In order to make a focus on the current situation of identity issues and development in respect to Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, the social exclusion and ethnicity have led to the displacement of ethnic groups and minority groups in the state. The different factors like race, gender, religion, language have impacted the growth of the ethnic groups and non-tribes in Meghalaya. In respect to this, the introduction of Sixth Schedule brought immense socio-economic activities in the state (Singh, 2014). It led to the implementation of executive functions and consolidated the functioning of the tribal communities at all the levels with the workings of the governmental bodies. The Schedule prohibited the transfer and concentration of land too few tribal bodies and focused on all-round development of the tribal as well as non-tribal groups in Meghalaya. The autonomous district councils working in the different divisions of the state exercised effective control, over the miscreant activities conducted by insurgent groups and provided a legal framework to all the groups in the region. It also provided a self-government opportunity to the people and led the formation of special administrative setup in the state as per the customary traditions of the tribal communities.

In addition to this, the decentralization approach adopted by the Sixth Schedule led to the structuring of the working of the tribal communities in the state in an adequate

manner. As a result, growth and development activities have been observed in the state. As per the survey conducted by the North East National Board of School Education, 2017, the literacy rate has increased from approximately 46.8% in 2011 to 76.8% in the year 2016 (Choudhury, 2016). In addition, to this, as per the North East Employment status 2017, the employment ratio in the state has increased from approximately 43.6% in the year 2012 to approximately 67.9% in the year 2017. Hence, it can be said that due to the effective implementation of the Sixth Schedule as per the Indian Constitution, the state has observed reduced communal riots and conflicts which has increased the growth and development projects in Meghalaya. The youth, tribal and non-tribal communities are at peace with others and the issue of identity has been well handled by the various groups in an effective manner.

1.14 Today's Politics

In order to make a focus on today's politics in Meghalaya, the Meghalaya Legislative Assembly election has been held to elect about 59 members from 60 constituencies in the state. The election was commenced to be conducted on 27th February 2018 but got delayed and was finally commenced on 3rd March 2018. The politics present in the state assure complete autonomy to the tribes present in the state and empowers them to play an active part in the formation of government in Meghalaya. At present, the Meghalaya Democratic Alliance (MDA) a coalition government of National People's Party has 21 MLA, Bhartiya Janta Party has only 2 seats, Hill State People's Democratic Party (HSPDP) has 2 seats, the United Democratic Party (UDP) had won 8 seats, People's Democratic Party (PDF) has 4 seats, NCP One Seat and 2 Seats belong to an Independence MLAs. The Congress who is in the Opposition has 17 MLAs and One belong to Khun Hynniewtrep National Awakening Movement (KHNAM), two seats felt vacant out of 60 Seats. Hence, with the collaboration of the national parties and regional parties, the government body has been established in Meghalaya. Due to the high incidence of political parties in the state many new growth opportunities like the introduction of **manufacturing** units and plants are also been proposed to be introduced in the state (Deepshikha and Bhattacharjee, 2013).

In addition to this, the current involvement of regional political parties with the national political parties has also broadened the reach and approach of regional parties. The regional parties have got national outlook whereas as national parties have received an entry into the tribal perspectives of the communities. As a result, all the section of the communities existing in Meghalaya has been connected to the mainstream growth and development of the nation. The political parties are making individual efforts to bring growth and development in the state, like, BJP candidates have been working for the ground level growth of both tribal and non-tribal communities, UDP has been working for the employment of the youth and provision of quality education in the state. The regional parties like PDF have been working for the attainment of land and other rights of the tribal communities in the state, while the Khun Hynniewtrep National Awakening Movement is working for the root level upliftment of the Khasi community (Fabian,2016). Hence, it can be said that the political parties had been playing an important role in the growth and development of the state in recent years.

1.15 Different Governments:

In order to make the focus on the different governments established in Meghalaya, in the year 1970, the government was formed by All Party Hill Leaders Conference under the leadership of Williamson A.Sangma. The party played an effective role in establishing the link between the central, state and other local bodies working in Meghalaya. The issues of land registration and allotment activities were taken into consideration by the government and tried to develop peace and unity between the functioning of the tribal communities and government bodies in the state. In the year 1976, the Indian National Congress came into form into the governmental activities which were also led by the Williamson A.Sangma. The Indian National Congress laid focus on establishing peaceful relations with the central government and the tribal communities in the state. The tribal communities practiced their own set of legislative rule and did not comply with the directive laid down by the governments help in the state. Hence, the Indian National Congress mainly worked towards the reduction of the disparities between the two groups (Choudhury, 2016).

In 1979 again All Party Hill Leaders Conference came into the form which ruled till 1981 after that from 1981-83 Indian National Congress ruled the government bodies. Likewise, the ruling of Indian National Congress and All Party Hill Leaders Conference took place till 1998 in which the governance of the United Democratic Party came into force. The Party developed constructive relations with the Central and State Government bodies and words the development of the tribal communities. In the year 2007 Indian National Congress came into force which was again overthrown by the United Democratic Party in the year 2009, likewise, the unstable ruling of governments took place in the history of Meghalaya which negatively impacted the growth and development of the state. In 2018, the National People's Party is ruling the government, which mainly laid focus on bringing improvements at ground levels in the state and bringing more advancement in the regions. It has developed constructive relations with all the groups (Gosselink, 1994).

1.2 Role of Insurgency groups and various ethnic clashes.

1.2. 1 Introduction:

This section in detail discusses about the identity issues in North-eastern part of India, factors that led to ethnic conflict among the tribals and non-tribals in Meghalaya, role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes.

The Britishers sowed the seeds of separateness and secessionism in the North Eastern Region. Their policy of gradual segregation of the tribals and non-tribals, hills and the plain; segregation of the tribal population by introduction of the "Inner Line Regulation", creation of non-regulated, backward and excluded areas/tracts was able to break centuries of historical, cultural, social and religious continuum and connectedness (B.B. Kumar, 2007). The term insurgency historically restricted to rebellious acts that did not reach the proportions of an organized revolution. It has subsequently been applied to any such armed uprising, typically guerilla in character, against the recognized government of a state or country. The earliest use of "insurgency" in its modern sense is from the nineteenth-century but this usage is based on much older word "insurgent" which comes from the latin root, *insurgere*.

The US Army Counter insurgency Field Manual defines insurgency as "an

organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict” (Nagl, 2009, 2; Department of the Army, 2014). The ultimate goal of insurgencies is to develop in size and capacities whilst degrading the opposing government to such a point where they may engage and defeat them in conventional combat (Schanzer, 2017, 43). Insurgent actors are similar to terrorist actors in that they are necessarily outmatched by the conventional capacities of the governing authority. They are, however, distinguished by their intent to align their political objectives with the public interest in order to develop popular support and build new forms of legitimacy in order to challenge this authority (Bernsten, 2008, 38; O’Neill, 2005, 13). The political objectives of insurgents therefore often include such outcomes as political independence, self-determination or secession.

Prior to 1947, there was hardly any forum in the North East demanding secession or autonomy, except Naga National Council (B.B. Kumar, 2007) and in the present day there are more than hundred of insurgency groups in North East.

There are three kinds of insurgents’ outfits in the North-East Region depending on their demands. They are (i) secessionist outfits, (ii) outfits demanding separate state within India, and (iii) those demanding Autonomous District Councils (ADCs). Almost all the insurgent outfits in the North-East region, starting with NNC, based their secessionist demand on separate ethnic identity assertion (B.B. Kumar, 2007)

1.2. 2. Role of insurgency groups in India:

In India, Northeast part has been troubled by insurgency related fierceness and battles for several periods. The bigger hazard and distress have been, yet, the increasing provincial pressures though proclamation of sequences of insurgency abolition and eradication policies by consecutive central governments from the year 1950. To comprise activities of insurgency, some strategic methods have been published intermittently, promising motivations or work to the surrenders, with actions of capitulating insurgent’s formalities yet some insurgents and disintegrate groups have been developed. Both vehemence and battle has been a customary subject within political characteristics and geographers are reliably claiming that vehemence and battle, as well as insurgencies, are integrally geographical as they take place in specific place (Lohman and Flint 2010). Ethnic people

in an area are attached by their socio-cultural unit thus any external powers that interrupt this social consistency is tend to have critical upshot (Leishipem, 2015).

Since 1950, the Indian Army, a force instructed mainly for conservative struggle, is being involved in domestic counter-insurgency processes. In spite of this extended shots on a military or political method, little consideration is being rendered within armed groups to doctrinal invention for instigating sub-conventional conflict in India's self-ruled civil background. In the most optimistic view, the military forces continue to notice retribution responsibility as minor to its major function of protecting India from outside pressures. By intellectualizing a retribution approach of conviction and support, some wishes to satiate this crucial gap in India's army program. In India, this counter-insurgency mostly takes place in northern part including Assam, Mizoram, Nagaland, Punjab, and Jammu and Kashmir (Namrata, 2009).

Jugdep (2007) examines the civil and military approaches expended by the Indian government effectively to suppress the counter-insurgency process in Punjab. Some debates that insurgencies are both a army and governmental occurrence, and that methods to suppress them could be either army or government or together. Insurgency is not a new occurrence in India and it occurred largely during the period 1950 following firming up, by agreement or compulsion, of some earlier princely states into present stage. Insurgency actions in Northeast India developed due to various motives and determinations with various plans but a single strand tracks through them all is the structure of homeland.

Large scale immigration has generated a distress in the minds of Indian people that they would be lowered to marginal in their own nations or areas. Immigrants frighten their own culture, ethnicities and customs and similarly seize already limited work prospects. Besides, immigration of Muslim people instructed it a common tint. The appearance of counter-insurgency in Manipur is officially drawn to the occurrence of the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) during the year 1964. The suspected enforced union of Manipur and the interruption in the discussing of developed statehood to it has been prominently begrudged by the Manipur people. During the period 1990, Kuki tribals instigated their very own brand of insurgence against the supposed domination by the

NSCN-IM. (Vision IAS, 2016).

Since from the Independence, Northeast region in India has been threatened by counter-insurgency groups, mass tensions indigenous rebellions and rough state reaction will provoke endless bloodletting and dispute. The central government of India and those ruling the regions in the Northeast have organized large developments of consistent army, central Para-military powers for counter-insurgency processes. Frequently, intelligent agencies in India have enacted competing insurgent groups against each other to deteriorate and rule the reasonably stronger dissident groups. India tries to involve its neighboring countries in its insurgency determinations against the insurgent factions who used to drive across the boundary. Insurgency exploded in the princely states of Tripura and Manipur region during 1960, nearly around the same period as the rebellion in the Mizo hills (Subir, 2007).

India has organized a COIN (counter-insurgency) canvass in Jammu and Kashmir, during the year 1989. A battle that initiated as a pro-autonomy effort to generate an independent Kashmir state has developed gradually into a war currently concentrated on Muslim groups. Functioning in the context of struggling counter-insurgency on land argued among two nuclear-powered forces. India has improved its functional method over the battle's long history. The long-standing promise to the canvass in Jammu and Kashmir provides the U.S. Military an applicable, current research on COIN actions and this military force has derived three programs from India's developing operational method. First, India's activities determine that legality could not be presumed by the COIN power and second, the program exhibits that the army's aim should be to operate itself into the backdrop, third, the state displays that safety under the rule of law needs that safety measures are held responsible for their whereabouts (Hodermarsky, 2013).

The occurrence of military forces and the enduring counter-insurgency processes has an incredible influence on daily life and the multi-ethnic aspect to the battle in NEI frequently fall over into public relations. In selected areas the military services enjoy unique powers for example shoot-to-kill, attack, arrest and warrantless search, and protection from tribunal for their activities. This has instigated profound bitterness amongst the county's population. During the year 1950 the Naga revolt was thriving and

in 1955 the government of India sent in the military to reinstate command and cover the counter-insurgency. Most of the minor outfits have efficiently been conscripted into the Indian government's counter-insurgency approach and are endured exactly as their resistance to those prohibited groups seeking self-determination (Ben, n.d.).

Since independence, north east region used to face a series of insurgences in India. And most counter-insurgency troupes have been based on the conflicting stresses of several cultural groups, with battles not only amongst the insurgent groups and the government, but also among groups. The blend of anti-government and inter-communal fierceness displays little indication of ending.. Several groups and thousands of battalions have requested protection from the Indian military's counter-insurgency rules and strategies in Burma, Bangladesh and Bhutan. Various insurgency groups express only one part of their story. Publics want the government to offer security forces but as an alternative NEI endorsed military forces to control while the laws and military services have dispensed out human rights exploitations upon the resident population (Lawrence, 2006).

1.2. 2.1 Insurgency in Assam

Ethnic clash is a usual thing almost in every country and occasionally, it is because of nationalistic patriotism. Besides, relative developing transformations, financial isolation, uninterrupted discernment by the presiding groups, inaccessibility and separation of several social classes and absence of representativeness in management and trouble in communicating protests, non-realistic in the ruling government will result in the group of provincialism. The fierceness in whatsoever form finally heads to the loss of belongings and social life and produce several related socio-cultural and financial disputes as well as the demographic reformation that has societal and financial inferences. It mostly takes back the culture behind in the drift of improvement route which might not be rectilinear as supposed to be (De, 2013). Vehemence and clash has been a long-established subject within topography and geographers have been reliably disputing that vehemence and conflict, comprising insurgences, are integrally terrestrial as they take place in specific place and across ecological place. Political extent, mal-practice of officials, Police and insurgent link are some important influences in consecutive trend of insurgency across states like Nagaland, Assam, Meghalaya and Manipur (Harihar, 2015).

1.2. 2.2 Insurgency in Nagaland:

Nagaland has been the focal point of insurgency in the North Eastern region. To accomplish the political objectives of the Nagas, the sub state of Nagaland was formed in the year 1963 and the spark of Naga counter-insurgency can never be soaked efficiently and currently it influences nearly all the North Eastern regions as a whole and Nagaland, Manipur and Assam in specific as the Naga insurgent groups focus on ethical union and freedom of all the regions demanded to be Naga-controlled regions and as these groups are offering support and guidance to the insurgent groups in other regions also. The vale people tackles the insurgency of the ethnic group of Manipur activists while the hill station regions are being influenced by attacks by the Naga supporters on one side and intertribal conflict among the Nagas and Kukis on the other side (Bhattacharje and Purusottam 2013).

In view of its strategic terrestrial location and rich natural sources, even Nagaland one of the prominent states in India which possesses an assuring financial growth. The idea of insurgency specifies a method of civil conflict, which materializes in a region or in any part of a state in which the common people are complicated or in any case there is an implicit pillar of a huge preponderance of them. Moreover, insurgency in Nagaland region is being termed as the mother of all rebellious actions in the northeastern part of India. The Naga nationalist drive, which had activated before freedom of nation, is completely depended on the evidence and principles that Nagaland people have been generally liberated, not captured by anyone and as a result India has no right to conquer or vanquish them (Mithilesh, et al 2014).

1.2. 2.3 Insurgency in Manipur

In India, Manipur is the most troubled state in the northeastern part of India. It is imposed with a huge number of activist groups, deals out with ethnic groups, functioning with requirements varying from departure to independence and the right to autonomy and self-rule. These insurgent classes are not just dreadful against the India, but also involved in internal conflicts amongst themselves. The officials and political ministers in this region stated that lack of employment is one of the reasons for insurgency. Most of the building and manufacturing work in this region has been carried out by the contractors, who are

largely relinquished insurgents of numerous groups.

1.2. 2.4 Insurgency in Meghalaya

The north-eastern state of Meghalaya has been facing ethnic conflicts between the tribal and non-tribal communities since its formation in 1972. The domination of migrants from surrounding areas of Bangladesh, Nepal and India in business establishments, labour force and other employment opportunities has created a perception of fear among local settlers who are threatened about their identity, land and culture.

One of the prominent reasons for its troubled state stems from the continuous assertions made towards ethnic nationalism against the Indian state since the country became independent in 1947 (Haokip, 2014). Such assertions have resulted in the formation of various insurgent groups across the north eastern region which has been demanding sovereignty and autonomy from the Indian state. Thus, there exists a discernible divide within the region between the tribal as well as non-tribal dwellers. The divide has assumed geographical patterns as tribes reside in hilly areas and non-tribal in reside in valley.

The Insurgency in Meghalaya is part of the wider Insurgency in Northeast India, and was fuelled by demands of the Khasi, Synteng and Garo people for a separate state. Some of the insurgency groups in Meghalaya are Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC), Garo National Liberation Army (GNLA) etc. These militants group belonging to a specific community create terror in the mind of non-tribals by kidnapping, killing, extortion in the guise of defending and protecting their own people.

1.2. 3. Role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes:

The ethnic conflicts in the north east region of India, which is known to be the 'hot spots' of insurgency corner in the south Asian region. This type of ethnic conflicts which seem to be disarraying affairs to the state make tribes, non tribes and state authorities feel more insecure to appropriately administer the region. The military, as well as economic factors make the region more vulnerable and sensitive to conflicts as it is already connected to the mainland via siliguri's thin corridor and it's known to lack the infrastructure. The ethnic clashes impact can make the nation prone to security with the escalating and

enhancing problems faced by northern east are in need of paradigm shift by the national policy approach for better development and problem resolving strategy (Shivananda, 2011).

Ethnicity, insurgency and the civil war rapid proliferation was hold by the influence of conventional wisdom. The cold war is rooted from the ethnic nationalism, but the internal war prevalence is also due to the conflicts which were protracted from the years 50's and 60's. The civil war was experienced by the control of per capita incomes, religious diversity, growth rates and more and more ethnicity. Rural guerrilla war fare is also known in the term 'insurgency' in the civil war is the military practice with slightly armed bands that harness the diverse agenda of politics and also form the rural base, but it is not limited to ethnic nationalism alone. Insurgency role in ethnic clashes make favours the countries that have weak governments financially, politically and organisationally. The poverty is also form a base of the insurgency as the guerrilla life has relatively more attractive in aiding recruitment (Fearon and Laitin, 2001).

Ethnic conflicts and the northeast Indian resolution are the earliest and long lasting in Nagaland, where separatist conflicts as well as multiplicity conflicts have proliferated. The states which are highly affected by the insurgency are Assam, Tripura, Nagaland and Manipur. The insurgency in Assam is characterized by the escalating violence and popular support erosion simultaneously. Later the Bodos, ethnic tribe and earlier settlers initiated the insurgency second stream in the tribal land of Bengal and Assamese. The ethnic conflict with Nagas has compounded the issue, and they had greater struggle in smuggling, trafficking and drugs in border town but it's erupted and resulted in blood bath with Khasis. The insurgency projected towards the ethnic violence on the basic of the human rights abuses in the two factions of the national socialist council in the Nagaland (Sahni, n.d).

The ethnicity conflicts and displace of population in north east region in India has witnessed by highest episodes of secessionist and insurgency which are related to ethnic conflicts and violence attacks. Now the insurgency starts as the people are in need of their own geographical space in the north east region to protect their culture and preserve their identity. Illegal immigration from Bangladesh and other neighbouring countries has

induced fumes in the ethnic clashes again due to reduction in indigenous people and tribal insurgency gather again the alienation. Even though the sixth schedule of the Indian constitution provides protection for these indigenous people, the ethnic clashes is started again as the ethnic groups are not in distinct areas, so the demands for ethnic homeland overlap with others. So the ethnic homeland become a demand for every group let to ethnic conflict and a violent insurgency is been fuelled (Phukan, 2013).

The inter-communal and insurgent violence that has been fumed with the ethnics of north east India for decades but during 2008, the ethnic attacks against the central government forces are in intermission. The reflection of the local regimes has ended in the corruption and also repression due to the support of the localized autocracy to manage the insurgent threats. The decades of insurgency in northeast region has been characterised by the diverse variant of the ethnic clashes which has already been in the fire of saving their traditional values and home land. But the tribal insurgency is known to be continued even after the inter-communal violence has been tried to stop by the army. The government became ineffectual even with their army as the insurgency projected in the minority region of the tribal in northeast part (Lacina, 2009).

The insurgency sting towards the ethnic people and insurgency related fights are getting declined in past few years radically. But there are many security establishments for peace taken by the state authorities before the insurgent groups made the north eastern part of India into a major concern due to the already fuming ethnic conflicts. The insurgent group has the supreme intelligence and knowledge of ramification in the trans-borders setting up rebel groups in shops and operating the actual conflicts from the neighbouring countries from the start of sixties. Even after the full military assault the North East Indian insurgent group has sparked the ethnic rebels and pure terrorism making innocent civilian to get murdered and terrorised (Hussain, 2015).

1.2. 4. Ethnic clashes in north-eastern part:

Ethnic clash is a common thing in north-eastern part. North-eastern region has been facing incidents of agitator and insurgency related ferocity and ethnic-conflict. And currently, these people are struggling for the same ecological place to defend and sustain their uniqueness and values. North-eastern region is the native land of huge number of ethnic societies who move towards to the state from various ways at different ancient times. These classes affiliated with the various ethnic stocks, use several languages, and also have diverse socio-cultural tradition. Thus the area has turned out to be the focal point of several ethnic people. NC Hills and Karbi Anglong in Assam are typically

occupied by local and ethnic tribes and these two regions are lasted to be inundated by unparalleled ethnic clashes in recent periods (Mridula, 2013).

In Northeast region every state has an inimitable and various ethnic, social, language, financial and political custom of its own. And also the geography of each is dissimilar from the other region. These influences have harmfully influenced the method of expansion in the Northeastern part. Every single insurgency is being well-defined by the beliefs, ethnic, and political background in which it takes place. To recognize the undercurrents of the ever exploding clashes in the Northeastern region, which used to have their origins in ethnic range, it is also essential to examine the story of ethnic clashes which are not a different occurrence in the cultures of the Third World republics which are basically multi-ethnic. In the course of this development, more than one ethnic focuses which turned out to be forceful attempted to engross the subgroups (Sidra, 2011). The main ethnic clash in the region is the protest against the professed invasion of immigrants that is residents with a linguistic and beliefs substantively various from the Assam people. Clashes in the state range from insurgence for separation to revolution for independence, from subsidized extremism to ethnic clashes, to battles produced by means of endless invasion of immigrants from across the boundaries and also from other region. An extensive range of ethnic clashes conquer in the region e.g. activisms against invasion of immigrants, professed incapability of the state or central government to expel them, strains and pressures between spiritual groups and rising clashes including ethnic groups who search for resident autonomy etc. Insurgency has destroyed a greater number of people, both of safety forces and residents, which is clearly expressed in the Table 1 (ARC,2007).

Table 1.2: Incidence of Violence in the North East

Head	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Incidents of violence	1,335	1,312	1,332	1,234	1,332	1,366
Extremists killed	572	571	523	404	405	395
Security personnel killed	175	147	90	110	70	76
Civilians killed	660	454	494	414	393	309

Source: Annual Report of Ministry of Home Affairs, 2006-07

Current concerns of counter-insurgency including the attrition of esteem for human and political moralities and the excavating partisan divide in society pay out for the development of an intolerant or semi-democratic civil system, categorized by the growth of a separate administrative party and its invincible leader to dominance power. Pockets of confrontation and battle persisted, but maximum amount of spectators consented that the insurgency group was weakening and relatively silent during the year 1990. Both the possibility and direction of processes point to different dynamic forces within the conventionally factionalized and indecisive nationalist movement. Though, it is obvious that some groups remain the primary performers in the counter-insurgency and even that there is no essential power of the insurgents. Meghalaya, from the year 1972, had been struggled by ethnic clashes among the native tribes and immigrant non-tribal groups. The control and authority of business formations, personnel and workforces and other work prospects by colonizers who are mostly financial immigrants from Bangladesh and other regions of India led to unrest amongst the local tribes, gives rise to three ethnic clashes among native group and immigrant non-tribal groups. In its twentieth century this region experienced a comparative variation in the nature of links among the ethnic groups. Though the interactions among the native group and immigrant groups have fairly enhanced, ethnic clashes and pressures moved to the native tribes. Importance is retained on the post-1992 period, concentrating on the developing ethnic links among the ethnic tribes of Meghalaya state. (Thongkhohal, 2013).

Table 1.3

SL.NO	PARTICULARS	EAST KHASI HILLS	RI BHOI	WEST GARO HILLS
1	Years of ethnic clashes	1979	1987	1987
		1980		2012
		1992		2013
2	No. of places affected	1082	7	10
3	Year & community where clashes happened	1979 Bengali	1987	1987 2012
		1980 Bengali	-	
		1992 Nepali	Khasi-Nepali	

4	Name of group which Inflamed	Nil	KSU	Nil
5	Number of persons injured	455	Nil	20 1987
6	Quantum of death	34	Nil	4

(Sources: RTI- Office of the Directorate General of Police Meghalaya, Shillong)

Table.1.2 show that ethnic clashes in Meghalaya in the year 1979,1980,1987,1992,2002 which led to the death toll of 38 and more which were spearheaded by tribals groups, students and pressure groups against the non-tribals like the Bengalis, Nepali etc.

In Meghalaya there are 11 districts and out of it there are four districts which ethnic violence had happened. They are East Khasi Hills district, Ri Bhoi District, East Garo Hills and West Garo Hills district.

In East Khasi Hills district, ethnic violence occurred in the year 1979, 1980, 1987 and 1992. In the years 1979 and 1987 ethnic clashed were against the Bengali communities and in 1992 the main target were the Nepali communities. There were 490 people who injured and 34 deaths and there were 1082 places of occurrence of incidents during the ethnic clashes in the district of East Khasi Hills. (RTI-DIG,2015)

In the month of August, 1987, two students belongs to non-tribal were assaulted by some Garo students in Tura Govt. College. One of the non-tribal belongs to Muslim community passed some derogatory remarks on Garo community mainly women. The news flared up and leads to four death and twenty persons were injured. There were instant cases of ethnic clashes in the years 2012 and 2013 also in the district of West Garo Hills.

In the Ri Bhoi District an incident of ethnic clashed between the Khasi and Nepali occurred in 1987 in Umsning, Umraling, Mawkhap Umran Diary, Raitong, Dewlieh, Nongpoh, Nongpdeng, Mawsyntai, Umiam and Umbir villages.

In the year 2011, there were an ethnic clashed occurred at Gokulgre, Seonang, Rabhapara, Thapa Darenchi, Thapa Dangre, Gajingpara, Manikganj all under

Mendipathar Police Station of East Garo Hills District. The ethnic clashes were between two communities the Garo and Rabha. There were seven people injured and four losses their lives during the ethnic incident.

The ethnic clashes in the state led to a loss of many precious lives, property and hamper the economic activities. Ashild, (2015) inspects the framing of ethnic clashes in Northeastern region in India, concentrating on armed groups and insurgence in the hill stations of Assam region and a form of partisan power identified as ethnic clashes. Ethnic clashes turned to be traditional form of equipped vehemence in the state, whereas ethnic conflict is an important analytic structure for clashes. As portrayals and imaginaries of traditional vehemence and ethnic clashes are a creation of players who hold risks in signifying equipped political fierceness due to ethnic conflict among opposing tribal groups. People in this region believed that insurgency relies less on protests rather than on funding purposes, usually diamonds and easily extractible products, and the veracity of those benefiting from battle economies.

Ethnic clashes have turned out to be an important concern in current political exploration. Since 1950s ethnic clashes have been prompting the northeastern region and the people of Assam. Assam is one of the most culturally rich states in northeast India which is a place to a diversity of societies and communities, respectively with a diverse socio-cultural history. In Indian background culture and ethnicity not only persists an essential part of the certainty but it also occurs to be the resource of a series of most important difficulties and complications. In country like India, ethnic clashes in current history have spiritual, financial and socio-cultural and administrative character. Nowadays, ethnicity turns out to be an essential method not only for the compilation but also in the exertion for conserving one's civil power, region, natural and substantial resources (Nipan, 2015).

1.2. 5 Summary:

From the above literature, it is clear that the story of insurgency remains countersign of several aspects functioning behind and it becomes an issue that people have to deal with. The followers of these counter-insurgent groups become secluded in the long period and remarkably it is ignored that even they were in a group the inseparable segment of the entire political society. Apart from these, it was noted that ethnic problem rises due to the various factors like inhabitants of people with racial stock difference, speak various languages and also have various types of socio-cultural tradition.

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CHAPTER-2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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2.1 Introduction:

This chapter discusses about the Review of Literature which is meant for the Study of Examining the Politics of Ethnicity and Issues in Development of Meghalaya Vis-à-vis Sixth since 1970's. In a literature review the researcher would survey some of the scholarly sources such as books, journal, articles, thesis etc. A quantum of good research works has been done on ethnic identity, ethnic issues and ethnic clashes in North Eastern part of India. But there is little study on ethnicity and development. Thus, this study is a new attempt to explore and find out the link between development and ethnicity.

A review of the following sources will give an insight to the researcher about the study of ethnic issues and identity.

2.2 Books Review

2.2.1 Identity issues in North-eastern part of India.

The northeast crux of the problems is always been facing the identity issues, as the tribes in the hilly areas expressed the national identification as „Indian“. The north eastern part is always unimaginable, as these people force them self to be accounted as Indian after 1962's Chinese aggression. But even after the independence, the region in north eastern part unable to join the Indian mainstream of life due to the British policy, so they become alienated in the diverse culture of India. The gap between the hilly tribes and rest of country got increased as they aren't aware of the recent developmental changes, so they force to face identity issues (Shodhganga, n.d).

2.2.2 Seven sisters- cultural and ethnic issues.

In the north eastern part of India, the region comprises of the seven Indian states also known as the "Seven Sisters", they are Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. They cover a region of 254,645 square kilometers with combined population of 38,495,089 people, which are largely composed of the "Tribals", Even though Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland has 60% ethnic people, the other three states have Christian

majority. This causes the cultural and ethnic issues with the various religions, culture and linguistic diverse groups, along with 220 languages spoken here. This creates the geographical distinctions in the north-eastern mainland, so the ethnic clashes have always been on fire in the north eastern part of India (Bhaumik, 2007).

2.2.3 Insurgency in Tribes and ethnic identity.

During British rule, the India's north-Eastern part is administered as imperial frontier and it is treated as buffer zone. As these zones are under multi ethnic, tribal and polyglot people, only Assam is known to been administered with imperial province due to tea investment. But after British rule, the post colonial areas wanted the tribal and non tribal group of various ethnic values in the „national mainstream“. So under the guerrilla warfare, more than seventyinsurgency group started the ethnic conflicts due to the identical issues faced by these states. So the ethnic rebel army fights against other for the demands of their homeland, and the insurgency adds the fuel to the growing fire of ethnic identity (Varghese, 2004).

2.2.4 Immigration syndrome in Meghalaya.

Meghalaya is bounded by Bangladesh in the south and west with a border of 443 km, so the India-Bangladesh border is known for porosity and activities of illegal cross border which is been of major challenges due to the migration from Bangladesh. So the issues increased with the migration activities and the conflicts began with the tribal classes like Khasis and Garos for their homeland. So the Meghalaya in 1980's, started movement against dkhar or outsiders for the socio economic cause (Sharma, 2016)

2.2.5 Inter tribal issues in Meghalaya.

Meghalaya acquired a peaceful statehood in the year 1972, January 21st by the combined leadership of tribal leadership of the Khasis, Jaintia and Garos. The tribal identity reclaimed in the Meghalaya's new state made the gnawing scarcities ended in the conflicts. There are two tribal communities like Khasis and Garos been predicated for the superiority of the culture over the non- tribal population for the identity issues made a dreadful conflict in Meghalaya. The Khasis are known to be the most dominant in political force challenges against the hitherto ascendancy of

branded Bangladeshis called as the non tribal. In 1992, the tribals of Khasis made fear psychosis violence over the non tribal's for the fights gradually increases for identity in India (Upadhyaya, et al 2013).

2.2.6 Inter-communal issues in Meghalaya.

Across the society of Meghalaya, there is frequent violence by those who extol violence by the state or individual that does not distribute their wealth equitably. So there is lack in the political and social institutions that links their member in the communal obligations. But these complexities in the communal issues make the political violence in the root of the criminal violence, where the homicide rate raises and led to the actual war in the Meghalaya. Thus the terrorism enhances the communal identity even after some members of the community support the political violence consciously in Meghalaya for proving their identity value (India armed violence assessment, 2011).

2.2.7 Factors that led to ethnic conflict among the Tribals and Non-Tribals in Meghalaya.

The north east part of India is ethnically diverse region and is home for 40 million people including 213 tribal groups. The urban population is very low, so it is clear that the population is predominantly rural. So the tribal and non tribal conflicts in the Meghalaya are the usual ongoing scenario in the north eastern India. After 2011, the Indian central government has identified 79 armed insurgent groups and half are the tiny groups of splinters and the ethnic militants. So the tribal groups has maintained a revolutionary politics forethnic conflicts against the non tribal group of Bangladeshis who have a diverse culture, ethnic, religious and languages for identity in their homeland (Deka, 2012).

2.2.8 Meghalaya after independence.

After the independence, the Khasi, Garo and Jaintia became the new state of Meghalaya, but previously it was one of the parts of Assam. Meghalaya being an autonomous state but been witness with incidents. As the modern history of Meghalaya maintained from 1971 re-organisation act conferred autonomy and it was declared as separate state with the Jaintia hills and Khasi hills under its

administrative unit and the non tribal communities vacated to other part of India. Since 1980's after the attack of ethnics in „Durga puja“ 35,000 Bengalis left Meghalaya as end of Bengal exodus. Ethnic conflict of Rabha and Garo displaced 10,000 people to Assam and 50,000 people displaced from those communities in 1990's (Bhaumik, 2005).

2.2.9 Colonialism and violence.

The north eastern part of India has brought to colonial rule in the nineteenth century. But this region failed to meet the British expectations. So the Khasis of Meghalaya was brought under colonial rule, but the strong political power, racial purity and authentic ethnicity made them against colonial power and violence activities started gaining weight. The colonial powers in the north eastern part of India has given rise to many national liberation movements like terrorists tactics, guerrilla warfare and other political conflicts of the tribal group. Despite the various use of terrorist methods in Meghalaya and other states that some liberation movement got the considerable support from the constituencies and international public opinion (Diengdoh, 2014).

2.2.10 Demand for homeland in Meghalaya.

India's north eastern part is the meeting place of many communities, cultures, faith etc and Meghalaya is called as the „abode of clouds“ as it is the home of bewildered diversity and magical beauty. But there are many migrants from the south east part to the north east for over century and the ethnic population increases drastically, along with the Christian and Muslim population. So the ethnicity in Meghalaya turned to create the ethnic conflicts among the various groups for the demand in the homeland in the tribal and non tribal people. Since 1993, the conflicts for the fights of home land and territory clashes started by the Khasis tribe in Meghalaya with ethnic armies (Down To Earth, 2007).

2.2.11 Efficacy of the Sixth Schedule.

The administrative measures in the north east part of India after the exclusion of the British policy, after independence has greater autonomy in the different ethnic groups and has effective effect in the areas of plains, the hills in the Meghalaya and

other part of north eastern plains ended in the category of the “excluded” or as partially excluded areas and so, it reminded in the developmental process. So the commencement of administrative machinery in the Sixth Schedule form which provides the administration of district and regional councils in the excluded areas as well. The sixth schedule system has formed by the integration of modern system of administration by preserving the local self governing and traditional autonomy for the tribal people (Status Of Governance In The Sixth Schedule Areas, n.d).

2.2.12 Provisions of the Sixth Schedule.

The sixth schedule has been dragged into the provisions for relying on the building up of conventions in Meghalaya and other states. It has provisions for autonomous districts and region formation. The provisions in the constitutions speaks for the discretion and reads acted by advice of the governor, namely council of ministers to advice governor, article 163 constitution of India, and A.I.R 1974, Gauhati 20 (shodhganga, 2005).

2.2.13 Conflict of sixth schedule power.

The conflict in the north eastern part is common, there are also frequent conflicts between the state legislatures and the district councils in the sixth schedule. In Meghalaya, despite the formation of whole state, the state cause continuous conflicts with state government under sixth schedule (Constitution, n.d).

2.2.14 Disparity among Autonomous Bodies and Local Bodies.

Another important area in the north eastern part of India that is under conflict is the disparity among the tribal as autonomous bodies and local that establishes the 73rd amendment which is funding of liberty via state finance commissions. As there are more autonomous council, each one claims they are less favourably treated than the other, so the clashes starts with the autonomous and local bodies (Nird, n.d).

2.2.15 Judicial Powers and Legislative Powers of the Sixth Schedule Council.

Any law made by the state legislature comes under the council jurisdictions, it cannot extend within the autonomous jurisdiction council unless the council directed by

notification of the public. This council has been endowed with civil as well as criminal judicial powers in Meghalaya. All the laws of the state need the assent of the governor even for laws roads, bridges, animal husbandry, education etc. The main judicial function of the sixth schedule, that it entitles the council to constitute districts and also village's council courts in the autonomous areas to adjudicate customary laws if both are tribal (Prasad, 2004)

2.2.16 The problem of change - A study of North East India.

The writer describes that problem of ethnic conflict in the North Eastern State of India were due to its history geographical areas, existing political system, economic problems, security requirements and the aspiration of the people of the region. The writer also mentioned the lack of socialization between these groups especially the tribal and non-tribal.

Though the writer briefly discussed about the various issues of the ethnic conflict in Northeast India, an in-depth study about the issues of conflict between various groups in Meghalaya had not been discussed properly. (B.P Singh, 1987)

2.2.17 Politics of Culture, Identity and protest in Northeast India” Volume (1).

Describe about a cultural identity politics which assumes that identity is always the product of relationship and therefore never an essential aspect of a person's identity. Whereas identity politics which has been important in the development of inclusive identity based social political movement both at home and abroad. To further their aims of identity it leads to serious waves of protest which may destabilization of social relation within the polity. Identity, protest and Culture are intertwined nature of the complex relations between and among the three makes it highly challenging task to locate which among the three contributes or oscillates social changes and consciousness. (Padam Nepal and Anup Shekhar Chakraborty, 2002)

2.2.18 Ethnic conflicts in North East India. Its vulnerability.

The various ethnic problems in North East India which started getting Momentum during the past Independence period especially the ethnic groups for fear of vanishing in canvas of a larger identity. These groups started demanding separate protectionist rights from India. The major ethnic identity movement in Northeast

later on took a separatist and violent form. The major problem is that the Northeast is territorially organized in such a manner that ethnic and cultural specification were ignore during the process of delineation of State boundaries in the 1950s giving rise to discontentment and assertion of one's identity.

Moreover, the politico-administrative arrangements made by the centre have been also lacking. The introduction of the Sixth Scheduled Autonomous Council ending up creating multiple power centre instead of bringing in a genuine process of democrat section or autonomy in the region. (Dr. Anuradha Prakash, 2011)

2.2.19 Problems of ethnicity in the Northeast India.

It has been argued that the Northeast India manifested with multiplicity of human collectivises each claiming an overriding identity cantered on linguistic affiliations, communities and so on.

The economic self confidence of the region must be strengthened, so that there must not be a gap between the mainland and the Northeast. It is also noteworthy that the Britishers sowed the seed of separateness and secessionism in the region. Their policy of gradual segregation of the tribal and non tribal, hills and the plain, segregation of the tribal population lay introduction of Inner Line Regulation, creation of no- regulated, backward and excluded areas / tracts was able to break centuries of historical, cultural, social and religious continuum and connectedness. (B.B. Kumar, et al, 2007)

2.2.20 Ethnic Issues, Secularism and Conflict Resolution in North East India.

It describes about the ethno-Nationalism and self determination of the North East India, ethnicnational identity is relatively remain more meaning and promoting than other identities more because is fulfil the test of stability. The post colonial India State is structurally a federal one but contains strong unitary elements in many spheres. The Indian Government had provided several positive discriminatory constitutional provisions for the tribal people but instead of that ethnic separatism is largely prevalent in the Northeast India.

(Bimal J. Deb, et al, 2006)

2.2.21 North East India: Quest for Identity: A Collection of Essays on Socio Political Topics.

It stated that before the British come and occupied this region, the different kingdoms and principalities of the North East India had been in different stages of development. The British Policy of affording “Specialized government” to the hill areas was not prompted by any urge to protect the hill people’s identity as was later made out of to be but by the need to ensure efficient administrative control at the minimum of costs.

The British “excluded status” of the hill districts prevented political parties and organizations from working in these areas. By this policy it prevented the wave of national freedom struggle to reach the hills areas and once they lift, they had made an impression on the hill people’s that their areas would be free, and they can determine their own future. It is also intriguing that the Indian Government adopted the same policy of segregating the different Tribes from the mainland people. By this policy of the Government many ethnic demanded self rule or self determination or even secession from the Indian dominion. (Udayon Misra, 1988)

2.2.22 Coming out of violence: Essays on Ethnicity, Conflict Resolution, and Peace Process in North-East India.

The paper presented the connection of various struggle for self determination, the question of smaller ethnic minorities in a large democracy like India. As the democratic voice of ethnic minorities in Northeast fail to reach the center of India’s large democracy, the smaller ethnic groups very often use violence as a political mode of communication in order to assert themselves vociferously.

In Meghalaya, the origin of non-tribal population within the overwhelming tribal population could be traced to the nineteenth century when Shillong was set up as the Capital of Assam. The non-tribal population consisted of soldiers, police personnel’s and other personnel attached to the various government department, the Bengalis, the Marwaris and the Nepali. The conflict between the tribal and non-tribal were based on the issues of influx of non-tribals which feared by tribal of being reduced to minority and also safeguard the interest of tribal’s related to economic and employment. (Monirul Hussain, Edited, 2005)

2.2.23 Ethnicity Movement and Social Structure- contested cultural identity.

The paper presented Ethnic identity as the subjective articulation of beliefs, values and symbol of culture by a group of people to different invoices claim to the higher status as a collectively in relation to other collectivises. The root cause of social tension and movement lies in inappropriate policies adopted by the British Colonial rulers and the Independent Indian Government followed the footstep of those colonial policies. (R.K.Bhadra and Mitra Bhadra, et al, 2007)

2.2.24 Sixth Schedule and Autonomous District Councils (ADCs)

As per the Sixth Schedule, the northeast states such as Meghalaya, Assam, and Mizoram are provided with three Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) each, while Tripura is provided with one ADC. It is specified under the Sixth Schedule that all the ADCs and the Regional Councils that are located in the northeast states are empowered to institutionalize rules and regulations as per the specific needs of the state. The laws can be made regarding the allotment of land, use of land for agriculture, the establishment of town councils, and social customs laws. The Councils and ADCs are also empowered to make decisions related to areas under the jurisdiction, control over jhuming, property inheritance, non-agricultural use of land, occupation, and forest management activities. The ADCs have been provided special governance authority and power to carry out activities related to jurisdiction, legislation, and execution. The ADCs are also empowered to make collections of land revenue and impose certain taxes such as trade, occupation, and calling within the district. The ADCs can also exercise control over the lending of money and trading activities that are carried out by the non-tribal communities (Laskar, 2015).

2.2.25 Functions Entrusted to District Council

Under Article 244(A) of the Indian Constitution, Meghalaya has been awarded the status of Autonomous Statehood in the year 1970. The District Council is required to act as the agent of the State Government and execute the rulings as provided by the governing authority. The major functionaries of the District Council included carrying out activities related to public work, animal husbandry etc. The District Council will be collecting revenues from various sources such as revenue received from forests, taxes on vehicles, occupation trade tax, professional tax, land revenue, grants, market taxes, and others (Haokip, 2014).

2.2.26 Minority ethnic groups in Meghalaya

Meghalaya is known as the home state of several tribal communities such as Khasi, Jaintia, and Garo. It is also home to other tribal communities such as Mizos, Mikirs, Nagas, Hmars, and others. The state also provides shelter to non-tribal communities such as Nepalis, Bengalis, Marwaris, Punjabis, and other communities in minorities. Due to the presence of a wide range of communities and cultural groups, there is a constant threat of eruption of ethnic conflicts amid the several indigenous tribal and non-tribal communities. As Khasi occupy the major strength in the state, they regard themselves as a non-indigenous group and play a major role in carrying out governing and administrative activities. The notion of self-dominance is observed in the Khasi tribal communities that lead to the creation of policing differences with non-indigenous counterparts. As a result, there is the creation of self-ascription acts as a significant marker of the identity of the Khasi people. It also leads to the development of asymmetrical associations that allow the Khasi tribal community to exercise dominance over other minority non-indigenous people (Lehtonen, 2005).

2.2.27 Identity Politics and the Outsiders Discourse in Meghalaya

A matrilineal system is practiced in Meghalaya that is occupied by three major tribal communities Khasi, Jaintia, and the Garo. The historical context of Meghalaya asserted that the state received autonomous governance power in the year 1972. The major factor that led to the achievement of the statehood position was the spearhead activities conducted by the pan-tribal movement under the leadership of the All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC). It led to the withdrawal of the governance of the hill tribe identity. However, with time, APHLC lost its authoritative powers and gave way to the governance of tribal communities such as Khasi, Jaintia, and Garo. The emergence of tribal governance led to the creation of ethnopolitical conditions and created violence between the non-Khasis and non-tribal post-1972. It also led to the formation of civil society organizations such as the Federation of Khasi Jaintia and Garo Peoples (FKJGP) and the Khasi Students' Union (KSU). The organizations were not in favor of non-tribal communities which led to the migration of many non-tribal families from the state (Sen Gupta, 2005).

2.2.28 Meghalaya Transfer of Land (Regulation) Act, 1971

Meghalaya Transfer of Land (Regulation) Act, 1971 was introduced to exercise control over the transfer of land in the state. As per the Act, the land that belongs to the tribal community households and individuals could not be transferred to the non-tribal. However, the Act was restricted in the application as it could not be implemented in certain regions such as Monza VI of West Garo Hills and Police Bazar of Shillong Municipality. The execution of the Act is bestowed on the shoulders of the Deputy Commissioner and Sub-Divisional officers that act as the main governing authority to determine the transfer of land. The Act also prevented the alienation of the Tribal Land and safeguarded the customary rights of the tribal communities over the land. The Act was amended in the year 1991 and specified that the land from a tribal can be transferred to a non-tribal if the land is to be used for constructing a religious worship place, a cremation ground or promote interests of the tribal communities by building schools or industry (Tripathi, 2016).

2.2.29 The lineage of the Meghalaya Khasi community

As per the customary lineage of the Khasi community, the youngest female member of the family possesses the inheritance rights of the parental and ancestral property including land and other property. There is practicing of succor in the family according to which the unmarried siblings are required to take care of their aged parents. Apart from this, it is also essential that 'kur' is practiced within the Khasi household to gain identity and kinship in the case of a common female ancestor. The 'kur' name is also described as the family name and marriages in the same clan are prohibited in the Khasi community. As a result, after the marriage of the youngest heir of the Khasi community, the responsibility of the aged parents and ancestral property lies in the hands of the maternal uncle. The uncle also plays a vital role in carrying out social activities and executes responsibilities related to marriage ceremonies (Nongbri 2003).

2.2.30 Discourses on identity among the Khasi

The identities are created through representations that are based on realities. The discourse plays an important role in establishing connections with the individuals as they are generally based on lived experiences. However, over few years, Meghalaya has been experiencing spates of communal violence, riots, and tension that emerged between the tribal and non-tribal communities. The differences between the

communities could be witnessed in the different realms such as personal, social, and political which led to the emergence of ethnocentrism attitude. As a result, there was the creation of an outside discourse that threatened the identity of the Khasi people amongst the non-tribal communities. The non-tribal people were ‘othered’ by the Khasi people in different media platforms and created a communal divide with the state in the form of ‘othered’ by the indigenous Khasi people (McDuie-Ra 2007).

2.2.31 Khasi Students Union (KSU) role in Meghalaya Assembly

After the formation of Meghalaya as a separate state after the introduction of the Sixth Schedule, it led to the formation of the Meghalaya Assembly. There was the emergence of social groups such as the Khasi Students Union KSU whose workings extended to the Inner Line Permit (ILP) to other states such as Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland and ensured that there was no marginalizing of the tribal communities in the state. The violent revolts by ILP led to the creation of communal riots and ousting of Bengalis from the state. As a result, against the revolt of assaults that were bestowed on Bengalis in the state, there were killings of Khasi people in the village of Ichamati which shared common borders with Bangladesh. Under such conditions, a resolution was passed by the Meghalaya Assembly that helped in reducing the violent activities and restoring peace in the state (Nongbri & Shimreiwung, 2017).

2.2.32 Challenges in implementing Sixth Schedule in Meghalaya

The major challenge in implementing the provisions of the Sixth Schedule in Meghalaya was related to the disparity in the workings of the autonomous bodies and local bodies. The local bodies came into form as under the directives prescribed under the Seventy-third Amendment. They received funds from more flexible resources such as State Finance commissions. However, the attainment of funds from State Finance commissions created conflicts as the autonomous units also demanded a share in the funds and lamented that the local bodies were favored at the time of distribution of funds. Apart from this, discrepancies were also recorded in the functionaries of district councils as well as regional councils as they did not perform their roles and responsibilities well. There was a violation of rules and regulations to carry out activities that favored self in place of making favorable arrangements for the tribal communities. It was also witnessed that the Members of the Councils were

often indulged in self beneficiary or favoritism activities that did not comprehend the actual motive of the Council (Sen, 2013).

2.2.33 Durable Disorder in Northeast India

Sanjib Baruah, (2005) book discusses the durable disorder that helps in developing a greater understanding of the political conditions in northeast India. The major focus of the book is to enhance the learning of the individual about north-eastern states along with developing a better understanding of their culture, diversities, and complexities in the execution of colonial power. The book has been categorized into five parts (sections). The first part (section) includes chapter 1 (Introduction) that describes articles from the published scholars that provide information about issues that are faced in the north-eastern regions. It includes providing information about the historical relevance of the north-eastern regions along with the current challenges that are faced by the states. According to Baruah, the major issue that is faced by the state is dissonance between the ethnic homeland models. The chapter includes a discussion about the concept of nationalizing space that creates conflicts between different ethnicities that are residing in the Northeast and other states. The second part (section) includes chapter 2 that describes the structures of governance practices and cosmetic federalism. It includes the example of Arunachal Pradesh to highlight the conceptualization of frontier space. The issues that keep on emerging between central government and governance bodies in the northeast regions over years are also discussed in this chapter. The facts related to the insurgency in the state of Manipur have been discussed in section 3. Section 3 is further categorized into two chapters (four and five) that highlight the political and military implications on the lives of the people living in Manipur. Additionally, chapter four deals with the colonial regime that was prevailing in Assam during the Naga war. Chapter five includes several themes from different segments and sectors. However, all the themes have been categorized under one broad-head.

The fifth section of Baruah's book includes chapters 6, 7, and 8 that majorly discusses the state of Assam and the formation of the United Liberation Front in Assam. Section 5 highlights facts related to the concepts of nationalism and sub-nationalism concerning the Northeastern states. The facts about political and community physiology prevailing in the states of the northeast are also discussed in

this section. Baruah also discusses the different cultures and ethnicities that are practiced in the northeast in the sense of nationhood. The differences in ethnic and communal practices create conflicting situations in the north-eastern states. Additionally, Baruah also describes the north-eastern states as nation provinces by focusing on the specific nationalities that are constituted by the majorities. It helps in defining the public identity and issues that are faced by the minorities in the north-eastern states. The discrimination that existed between the majority and minority groups created issues in the implementation of the strong federalist system in the north-eastern states. It created a divide between the northeastern and other states and disrupted the formation of uniform political and communal practices in all parts of the country. The epilogue of the book provides great ideas about the imperative conceptions related to 'Look East Policy'. However, the limitation of this concept to epilogue creates criticism against the book as it should have been included in one of the sections of the book. The major drawback is that throughout the sections and chapters of the book, Baruah describes the Northeast as a backward region that is deprived of all the necessities in terms of political contribution, economic growth, or social development. Amidst all these, the 'Look East Policy' highlighted by Baruah provides a bright opportunity to the Northeast state to bring peace and prosperity to the state and enhance security systems in India.

2.3 Journal Review

2.3.1 Ethnicity in north-east India: A challenge to identity.

North East India is home to large number of ethnic groups who came from different directions at different historical times. These groups belong to different racial stocks, speak different languages and have varied socio-cultural traditions. However the alienation of ethnic people in different socio-economic and political sphere led to the emergence of ethnic assertion and ethnic conflict in northeastern region. An ethnic group is a group, whose members identify with each other, through a common heritage, often consisting of common language, common culture, common religion and an ideology that stresses common heritage or endogamy. Ethnic group within a diverse society may vary from one another in terms of numerical strengths, political inclination, socio economic connections, impact of national affairs and communal cohesion. This relationship face setback when there is the essence of distrust, disagreement, contest and inharmoniousness. The tension of ethnic conflict emerged

through the feeling of deprivations and unreturned expectations towards communities concerned. This insight is normally associated with the feelings of political, social, economical and cultural insecurities and apathy (Neha Gupta,2018)

2.3.2 Ethnicity, colonial legacies, and post independence issues of Identity politics in North-East India

The idea of indigenusness has been evoked to legitimize group exclusive claims including separate territories in North-East India. By analyzing experiences in Meghalaya and Manipur, the article argues that the colonial ethnic categorization that produced “ethnic conglomerates” has generated a number of problems leading to conflict in the post independence period (Bijen Meetei,2014)

2.3.3 The impact of Insurgency activities in Northeast India on Socio-Economic Development and its solution thereof.

The broad racial differences between India and its Northeast and the tenuous geographical link (the chicken neck Siliguri Corridor) contributed to a sense of alienation, a feeling of „otherness“ that subsequently gave rise to a political culture of violent separatism. Further, Northeast India is home to more than 50 ethnic rebel groups – a few demanding complete secessions from India, others fighting for ethnic identities and homelands and some running the insurgency as an industry to spin easy money without any political ideology. Despite their resilience the narratives of rebel organizations are often vague and confused. The unsaid but universal truth about an insurgency situation is that there is always much more than meets the eye behind its dynamics. The contributory causes are many including inconsistencies in history, economic structures, development and identity alienation. It is also closely related to administrative weaknesses and incompetence, but above all official corruption that continually trample upon all sense of fair play and justice (Binod Koijam,2010)

2.3.4 Inter-ethnic relations in Meghalaya.

The Indian state of Meghalaya, since its creation in 1972, had been raven by ethnic conflicts between the indigenous tribes and settler non-tribal communities. The domination of business establishments, labour force and other employment opportunities by settlers who are mainly economic migrants from Bangladesh, Nepal and other parts of India resulted in anxiousness among the native locals, resulting in

three ethnic riots between indigenous tribals and settler non-tribal communities. By the turn of the twentieth century the state witnessed a relative change in relations between the ethnic communities. While the relations between the indigenous tribals and settler communities have relatively improved, ethnic tensions shifted to the indigenous tribes. This article uses the perceived threat hypothesis and a combination of rational choice theory and interpretivism to explain empirically observed realities in Meghalaya. Emphasis is placed on the post-1992 period, focusing on the emerging ethnic relations between the indigenous tribes of Meghalaya (Thongkhohal Haokip, 2013)

2.3.5 Identity Politics and Social Exclusion in India's North-East: The Case for Re-distributive Justice.

This paper examines how various brands of identity politics since the colonial days have served to create the basis of exclusion of groups, resulting in various forms of rifts, often envisaged in binary terms: majority-minority; sons of the soil"-immigrants; local-outsiders; tribal-non-tribal; hills-plains; inter-tribal; and intra-tribal. Given the strategic and sensitive border areas, low level of development, immense cultural diversity, and participatory democratic processes, social exclusion has resulted in perceptions of marginalization, deprivation, and identity losses, all adding to the strong basis of brands of separatist movements in the garb of regionalism, sub-nationalism, and ethnic politics, most often verging on extremism and secession. It is argued that local people's anxiety for preservation of culture and language, often appearing as „narcissist self-awareness“, and their demand of autonomy, cannot be seen unilaterally as dysfunctional for a healthy civil society. Their aspirations should be seen rather as prerequisites for distributive justice, which no nation state can neglect. (NK.Das, 2009)

2.3.6 Article 13(2) of the Constitution and fundamental right

As per the rulings specified under Article 13(2) of the Constitution, none of the northeastern states, ADCs, and Councils possess the authority to institutionalize any law or regulation that violates the fundamental rights of the individuals. The individuals are also to be provided with the fundamental right to settle anywhere. However, each state has introduced certain restrictive laws regarding the transfer of

land from tribal communities to non-tribal. Considering, northeastern states, only Meghalaya and Nagaland have introduced restrictive land transfer laws in the entire state, according to which the tribal land could not be transferred to non-tribal. In Meghalaya, the transfer of tribal land to non-tribal is allowed only in a small area known as the European Ward that too is the case, when there is no tribal available to buy the land. The use of restrictive land transfer policies has also been commenced by the Supreme Court in its various judgments. For example, in the Niyamgiri case of Odisha (2016) and the Samatha case of Andhra Pradesh (1997), the rights of the tribal communities were preserved over the tribal land (Krishnan & Naga, 2017).

2.3.7 The poor condition of the State of Meghalaya after the formation of ADCs

The survey conducted by the Meghalaya Human Development Report indicated that the state observed poor growth conditions and a downfall in its economic and social wellbeing conditions. The major reason behind the poor condition of the state was mismanagement by the ADCs as they did not use the government funds appropriately to carry out development activities. Apart from this, there was always a presence of conflict between the workings of the district councils and legislatures which created disparities in the work outcomes. As per Sixth Schedule, Meghalaya was considered as a separate state in place of a combination of different constituencies. It raised conflicts on different administrative works as the directives that were given by the state governing agency were different from the regulations mentioned under the Sixth Schedule. Para 12 specified that in the case of conflicts between the Sixth schedule and the state legislature, the rulings that are provided as under the State legislature would be prevailed and authorized state legislature to be more empowered as compared to District Councils (Roy 2005).

2.3.8 Colonialism in Khasi and Jaintia community in Meghalaya

The presence of colonialism was observed in the state of Meghalaya among the Khasi and Jaintia communities which led to the creation of imperialist polity. In the meantime, the tribal community such as Khasi developed apathy towards the non-tribal communities owing to their perceptions towards lived experiences and colonialists approaches. It created an environment of savages for the inhabitants and encouraged them to adopt anti-modern techniques such as immoral sexual practices in forest dwellings. As a result, there was trickling down of the tribal communities

after the implementation of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. It also led to the creation of differentiation between the tribal communities that were residing in the hilly regions of Assam and central India (Xaxa, 2005).

2.4 Articles

2.4.1 Unrepresented Tribes and the politics of exclusion in Meghalaya.

The Sixth Schedule makes special provisions for the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes and the tribal areas residing in the parts or the whole of the four northeastern states namely, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Tripura. The District Council and the Regional Council under the Sixth Schedule have real power to make laws, possibility on the various legislative subjects, receiving grants-in-aid from the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the costs of schemes for development, health care, education, roads and regulatory powers to state control.

Meghalaya's bid to exclude "unrepresented tribes" from the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution has left minor tribes upset. The five minority tribes - Hajong, Koch, Rabha, Boro and Mann are clubbed together as "unrepresented tribes" and they fear that once the proposed amendment is implemented, their rights will be violated. (North East Today, 2020)

2.4.2 ARC Observations of Second Administrative Reforms Commission

The representatives of the Councils expressed great discontent towards the interface and activities of the state government in the Second Administrative Reforms Commission. The Schedule provisions specified that the Governor is responsible to act as an aiding agent to the Council of Ministers and exhibit functionaries at their discretion. Under Paragraph 14(3), the Administrative Reforms Commission is designated to execute responsibilities that are in line with the members of the state council. It specifies that one of the members of the Minister Council is empowered with authority to act as the Governor so that the Commission performs duties as Autonomous Councils (Bhattacharjee, 2015).

2.4.3 Article 244(2) and 275(1) of the Indian Constitution

The major reason behind the introduction of the Sixth Schedule was to empower tribal communities and allow them to play a central role in carrying out

administrative activities in state governance. Article 244(2) and 275(1) of the Indian Constitution also highlight the similar concise as stated by the Sixth Schedule and focuses on facilitating tribal communities to carry out administrative work. The provision laid down under the Sixth Schedule extends to the North-eastern states of Tripura, Meghalaya, Assam, and Mizoram in which Meghalaya and Mizoram are regarded as tribal states owing to the large presence of tribal communities. Concerning Meghalaya, it is specified in the Sixth schedule that all the regions of the state are covered under the Schedule provisions (Akoijam, 2012).

2.4.4 Customary practices among Khasi communities in Meghalaya

The Khasi community in Meghalaya followed matrilineal customary practices in which the administrative powers were transferred to the women from the Khasi males. It increased the freedom among the males and females to choose their partners and gave rise to intermarriages. As a result, there was an increase in the percentage of women that married outside the tribal community. It led to the creation of a diluted community known as the Khasi-Jaintia community and created chaos on the acceptance of the clans of this community in the mainstream communal activities. The women that married outside the community were termed as traitors and not welcomed in the Khasi community again. Such women were also barred from political benefits, land benefits, and working opportunities (Mukhim, 2014).

From the above literature, it is clear that the story of ethnic identity remains countersign of several aspects functioning behind and it becomes an issue that people have to deal with. Apart from these, it was noted that ethnic problem rises due to the various factors like inhabitants of people with racial stock difference, speak various languages and also have various types of socio-cultural tradition.

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CHAPTER :3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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- 3.3 Efficacy of the Sixth Schedule:
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3.1 Introduction

The fundamental motivation behind leading an exploration for any field of scholarly staff is to enhance humanities and to tackle the general public's issue. In the new logical world information data can be assembled any place utilizing the current method of research (Denscombe 2007). The present section examines on the methods followed in the research to find the outcome for the aim and objective framed in the study.

The multicultural and multiethnic background of India and struggle of India to label its nationhood as the nationalist movement provided a rich soil for the upliftment of ethno-nationalism and other kinds of identity-quest (Pachua, n.d). Racially and geographically, the region called as Northeast India is located between the two immense Traditions of the Mongoloid Asia and Indic Asia. Such cultural-geographical state of "in-between-ness" is an essential factor for the identity crisis. Several leaders of the modern day "underground outfits" of the area might disagree that the political assimilation of the area to India was completed devoid of the endorsement and support of the people themselves. The need for cultural relatedness, particularly of the "tribal" civilization, declines the new political union, and the cultural and racial difference, hence, appeared to play significant role in stating the self-identity.

Differentiated by extraordinary cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity, north-eastern India comprising the seven sisters' states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, and Tripura is a compressed region of sub-national states featuring too high levels of ethnic-violence (Shivananda, 2011). Normally recognized to be the area of tribal belt, the north-east is not a tribal-majority area. But tribal hold a mainstream of the non-productive terrain in the hills and two-thirds of the provincial population lives on one-third of the terrain. The area is occupied by three different groups of people; the plain tribes the hill tribes, and non-tribal people of the plains. This has largely produced a manifold cause for destabilizing social, economic, political, communal ethnic tensions in the area.

Table – 3.1**Total & Tribal Population, Urban/Rural in the North Eastern States, 1991**

No. State	Population	% of		Tribals	% of Tribals as		% of
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Arunachal	864558	12.80	87.50	550351	05.84	94.16	63.66
Assam	22441322	11.09	88.89	2874441	03.38	96.62	12.81
Manipur	1837149	27.52	72.48	632173	08.42	91.58	34.41
Meghalaya	1774778	18.60	81.40	1517927	13.56	86.44	85.53
Mizoram	689756	46.10	53.90	653565	45.21	54.79	94.75
Nagaland	1209546	17.21	82.79	1060822	12.04	87.96	87.70
Tripura	2757205	15.30	84.70	853345	01.65	98.35	30.95

Source: Registrar General and Census Commissioner 1992: 13-17.

Table 1 illustrates the tribe and overall population of the rural and urban areas in the North Eastern States.

North-eastern area of India has been observing chapters of insurgency and secessionist associated conflict and violence, since India's independence. The issue or problem has become more intricate, as the area is occupied by people belonging to diverse racial stock, speak various languages and have differed socio-cultural convention and practice (Phukan, 2013). Such people are at present struggling for the similar geographical gap to preserve and protect their culture and identity. Unlawful migration from neighbouring countries, particularly from the state of Bangladesh has exaggerated the issue or problem as it has decreased the number of native people to marginal in certain parts of the area. Even though the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India has become an essential tool in order to give exceptional protection to native people in North-eastern states, the issue or problem lies in the statement that several of such ethnic groups do not live in different regions and their need for ethnic native soil frequently extend beyond with other groups. Consequently, their need for ethnic motherlands has led to disagreement and sequentially internal displacement.

The Sixth Schedule provides for supervision of some tribal regions as self-governing entities. The supervision of a self-ruling region is to be vested in a District Council and of an independent area, in a Regional Council. Such Councils are bestowed with judicial, legislative, financial and executive powers. The Indian Constitution offered various kinds of defends to the tribal communities (Choudhury, 2016). There are the Protective Provisions in order to prevent them from all the kinds of social exploitation and injustice, the Developmental Provisions endorse developmental activities and education, the Reservation Provisions make sure their depiction and demonstration in government jobs and legislative bodies, and the Administrative Provisions under the Fifth and Sixth Schedules offer for extraordinary administrative group in order to give independence of self-governance in relation to their customary culture and traditions. The tribal people exist in nearby regions not like other communities.

The Indian Constitution's Sixth Schedule provides a separate managerial system for the tribal regions of the North-eastern region in order to save and prevent the tribes from economic, social and political exploitation and mistreatment. On the other hand, a contradictory and conflicting condition or position appears in the state of Meghalaya between the state associations of the Municipal Corporations, the District Council, etc., and the conventional, social, economic and political systems of Nokmas (in the Garo Hills), Syiems (in the Khasi Hills), and Dolois (in the Jaintia Hills). Despite continuing a look over one another, such institutions obscure the political practices and discourse in the region because of the need for appropriate articulation of duties, rights, and extent and span of authorities in addition to the efficient and functional extend beyond between various institutions (Dev, 2007). The particular stipulation and condition for the institution and concern of district councils also directs to ethnic elimination and omission, allowing the checking and surveying of the traders of the non-tribes in such tribal regions and intentionally not including authentic citizens of „non-tribal“ of the state from contribution and involvement in the political practice and process of the councils. Such institutional elimination and omission actually strengthens and supports dominant and prevailing prejudices, repeatedly cleared in efforts to disagree with political and civil privileges to the groups who are observed and recognized as „Other“.

3.2. Factors Led to Ethnic Conflict among the Tribals and Non-Tribals:

Political expressions as the reflections of parochial sentiments have become unworthy of modernizing nation seeking to realize the objectives of the development. Communal separatism, cultural differences and competition among ethnic groups for social status, jobs and political power have resulted in violent and bitter struggles (Gosselink, 1994). In Assam, these conflicts have compounded by the problems of immigration and change of demography. These have pitted indigenous Assamese against central government of India. The ethnic tension erupted into violence have led to deaths of over eight thousand persons. Various steps have taken to protect and preserve the viability of different ethnic groups in Assam. Race, ethnicity and tribal conflicts have focused by Musvosvi (2010). Ethnicity has become a rallying and mobilization point and the ethnic conflict have resulted in political, economic and institutional problems. Political factor have created the negative impact and this has further led to ethnic conflict among the tribals and non-tribals. Ethnic consciousness and disease have become more common among groups. These conflicts have created by agents who manipulate the ethnic consciousness as the strategy of mobilization.

Social exclusion and ethnicity in Northeast India has studied by Bijukumar (2013). The ethnic mobilization has led to virulent form of extremism in a society. Extremism is considered as a tactic adopted by a group to achieve the goal and these are not reflected through normal channels of liberal democracy. Race, ethnicity, gender, religion, language, caste and religion are some of the basis of exclusion. The social exclusion issue has related to the equal opportunity problem. Apart from these, territory, history, kinship and descent are some of the factors associated with the ideas of primordialism identified the ethnicity effectively. Instrumental and symbolic ethnicities are the two groups of ethnicity created an impact on the society.

Ethnicity, conflict and population displacement in northeast India has studied by Phukan (2013). The demand for ethnic homelands leads to conflict and internal displacement. Displacement has generally taken place without the direct conflict. In this way, the conflicts have caused internal population displacement in most of the northeastern states. Population displacement has caused by the violent conflict between the forces of security, groups of insurgent, different dissident armed groups and security

forces with counter-insurgency operations. There is a linguistic conflict between the migrant tribal people and native population and this in turn creates social cultural conflict between the two groups in an effective manner. Ethnicity and ethnic conflict with special reference to northeast India has studied by Joseph (2015). Ethnic conflicts based on the formation and crisis identity has become a part of human civilization. The huge influx of immigrants has created the tension between tribals and non-tribals. The northeast Indian tribals like ethnic groups have affected by the identity crisis, social, cultural and political fields. Lack of proper boundary demarcation between Assam and Nagaland has one of the major causes for ethnic conflict. Preservation, prevention, elimination, distribution and exploration are the five heads linked with transforming identity crisis and ethnic conflicts. Satisfaction of people and happiness are considered as the main important keys to overcome the identity crisis. Tribal people have inherited the rich cultural heritage and traditions from the ancestors. This is important to explore possibilities for the activities of development which does not disturb the cultural heritage of tribal. According to Shodhganga (n.d), struggle for recognition has become the political conflict in the paradigmatic form. Tribal and non-tribal people have needed some political autonomy extent within the composite state of Assam. Moreover, they have found the sixth schedule provisions to safeguard the social, economic and political features in the society. The resultant tenure system and the land occupation are considered to be utmost importance of the tribal people. Laws and power of autonomous district councils have created the confusions and conflicts between the tribal and non-tribal people.

3.3 Efficacy of the Sixth Schedule:

According to Rajesh (2007), the Sixth schedule of the Indian constitution has provided the separate administrative system for the region of Northeastern tribal areas. This has played an important role to protect the tribes from the exploitation of economy and politics. However, the conflicting and contradictory situation has emerged in the Meghalaya state between the institutions of the district council. The provision for the district council establishment has led to ethnic exclusion in which it enables the checking and surveying of non-tribal traders in the tribal area. According to the Status of governance (2012), the Sixth schedule has provided for administration of tribal areas as

the autonomous entities. In this way, the sixth schedule areas have governed through the autonomous district council in which it has a wide range of legislative and executive powers when compared to other areas. The Sixth schedule has provided for an executive committee (EC) and this has also carried on its executive functions. The village level plan from the sixth schedule area are scrutinized, compiled and consolidated at the level of blocking into the block plan. The Sixth schedule has prohibited the land transfer from a tribal to non-tribal. In particular, the Sixth schedule has used to concentrate the holdings of vast land in the hands of few well-off tribals.

Sixth schedule and tribal of north east India has focused by Deepshikha and Bhattacharjee (2013). The design and content of Sixth schedule have been failed to inspire the democratization process in the tribal society of North east India with higher expectation. The sixth schedule has provided for the autonomous district council constitution with the autonomous district councils in certain hill districts. The Sixth schedule has the capability to provide the legal framework for the protection. In addition to these, the Sixth schedule has the ability to protect the hill and other tribal communities from the power and control of the plain groups. Moreover, the Sixth schedule has given the self-government to the people living in hill area but the laws and regulations to be made by the district councils.

Most of the researchers have found out that the Sixth schedule of the Indian constitution has considered as an important factor to empower and function the district council in the tribal areas administration of North –East India (Singh, 2014). Additionally, the Sixth schedule has contributed to the unsatisfactory council performance and the nomination power has abused for narrow party gains effectively. It can be evident that the autonomous council under the Sixth schedule has not in a position to deliver the good service towards people. This have further failed to live up to the tribal people expectations. As per the Sixth schedule, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram are the four states which contain the tribal areas technically different from the scheduled areas (Choudhury, 2016). The Sixth schedule also has provided for the certain tribal areas administration as autonomous entities. Moreover, the Sixth schedule has provided for the special administrative setup to provide self-governance autonomy according to the customary tradition. Some areas have designated to protect the Scheduled Tribes interests

regarding their land and these are also governed through Sixth or Fifth schedule provisions. The Northeast scheduled areas have covered under the provisions of Sixth schedule. The Sixth schedule of the Indian constitution has termed as a contrivance embedded with the decentralization idea from the structure of existing state with certain autonomy provisions (Kom and Brahma, n.d). The Sixth schedule in the North east had basically framed to placate competing aspirations of ethnic minorities for self-governance. The Sixth schedule extension demand in Manipur has referred as common tribal political assertion since the independence of India. BTC, KAAC and NCAC are the certain autonomous councils related to the Sixth schedule and these councils have greater powers granted by the specific amendments. Finally, the Sixth schedule has been evolved to meet the aspirations of politics in the tribal region.

3.4 Theoretical Framework

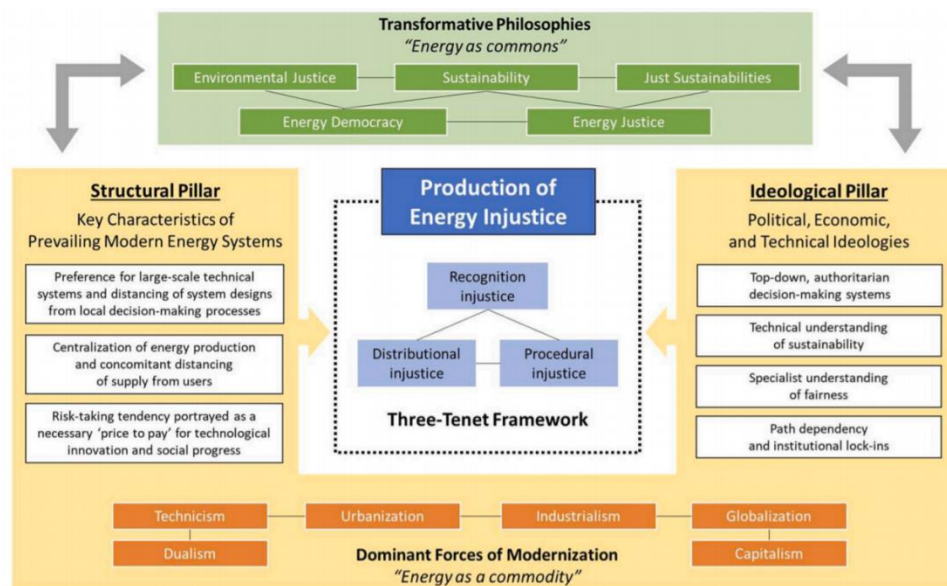


Figure 1: Structure, ideology, and philosophy in the production of energy injustices, Lee and Byrne

The energy justice research is based on social justice theory that focuses on underlying principles (availability, affordability, due process, transparency and accountability, sustainability, intragenerational equity, intergenerational equity, responsibility) and social analysis (Structure, ideology, and historical change, Cultural differences across societies) for the conduct of cultural practices in the community. The

above framework is based on the Three-Tenet Approach in which major focus is given on themes of market commodities, structure, ideology, and transformation (Healy, N., Stephens, J. C., & Malin, S. A. 2019).

The structural pillar of the Three-Tenet Approach includes key features that contribute towards the formation of the modern energy system that facilitates the growth of the backward and tribal communities. It is related to the preferences of the large-scale technical systems that allow the local bodies to make decisions for the governance of the communities. It is responsible for decision-making and centralizing the economic activities so that there is urbanization and modernization in the conventional energy and administration practices. Another major aspect of the Three-Tenet Approach is the dominant forces of modernization that include aspects such as technician, dualism, urbanization, industrialism, capitalism, and globalization. These aspects highly contribute towards bringing a shift in the traditional thinking practices by the tribal communities and encourage them to adopt means to bring improvements in the state governance. The adoption of new technologies and digital compliance devices allow the tribal leaders to think along with the community development along with maintaining traditional cultural values and beliefs (Sovacool, B. K., Hess, D. J., & Cantoni, R. 2021).

The ideologies form the most important pillar of the Three-Tenet Approach as it includes all the three aspects such as political, economic, and technical within the energy justice formulation. It is based on aspects such as top-down and authoritarian decision-making approach, technical understanding of sustainability, specialist understanding of fairness, and path dependency & institutional lock-ins. By executing governance practices as per the ideological pillar, there will be the establishment of a strong governance authority that would regulate the society's workings by focusing on institutional, technical, and economic concerns. It would help to develop an environment of fair governance in the community in the form of sustainable and independent regulations and governance. The transformative philosophies of the Three-Tenet Approach include aspects of environmental justice, sustainability, democracy, just sustainability, and justice. When there is the execution of just practices and an unbiased decision-making process, there is the promotion of sustainable growth opportunities in the state in the form of economic and social progress. Based on the above facts, it can be

said that when there is a practice of efficient governance practice under the Three-Tenet Approach, there is recognition or injustices in the state and appropriate measures are taken to eliminate unjust practices. It leads to the distributional and procedural injustices that are supervised by the higher authorities. It helps in the promotion of equitable justice and the flow of power in all the communities that are prevailing in the state (Sovacool, B. K., Hook, A., Martiskainen, M., Brock, A., & Turnheim, B. 2020).

The Three-Tenet Approach also focuses on creating an understanding between the old and new cultural practices so that there is the development of a concise structure that meets the traditional as well as modern needs of the backward and tribal communities. The introduction of the policy measures that support the modern as well the traditional theories will help in bringing advancements in the tribal communities that have been ousted from the mainstream political, social, and economic activities. The Three-Tenet Approach may also include the concept of bicolouration that is responsible for bringing dynamism among the minority groups and allow them to practice their culture and ritual in the modern governance setup (Huffman, 2001). The bicolouration concept highlights the supplementation and exhalation of certain practices by the tribal leaders so that there is the adoption of new cultural characteristics and avoidance of certain practices that are not beneficial for the growth of the tribal community. It includes the transculturation aspects according to which changes in the cultural parties are an ongoing process and must be constructed to ensure the growth of the community in terms of realignments and understandings. It would also help in developing a bicultural and hybrid cultural practice in the community that will an individual to experience varied cultural encounters by relating to individuals outside the community restrictions. It is will promote the development of co-cultures and help in the formation of the larger society that connected with the mainstream dominant culture. It will allow the minority tribal communities to connect with larger communities and develop an environment in which there is the practice of different cultures in a just and uniform manner. The cooperation and collaboration of the different minority and majority communities will help in the promotion of uniform economic and social practices that allow all the individuals to grow and progress within the country. It will not only lead to the formation of a strong tribal identity but also help in the facilitation of academic success of the individuals that belong

to tribal communities. The strong tribal identity acts as a cultural anchor to the wellbeing of the individuals and helps them to develop a sense of self-worth, self-assurance, and self-confidence. It will ensure all-round development of the individuals and provide them a strong foundational basis to survive not only in their community but also outside their community boundaries (Lilgendahl, J. P., Benet-Martinez, V., Bishop, M., Gilson, K., Festa, L., Levenson, C., & Rosenblum, R. 2018).

3.5 Problem Statement

As stated by the Indian government, the conceding of statehood and independent district prominence and significance is a way to delegate decision making and continue the „demographic exceptionality“ of Northeast India, to all intents and purposes, in fact giving ethnic „homelands“ to convinced and definite groups (Kolas, 2015). As regimented by the Sixth Schedule of the Indian constitution, district councils have been provided wide-ranging powers of administration and legislation of integrity and justice, powers to institute primary schools, consider and gather land income and entail taxes, issue hires for prospecting for or mining minerals, and build regulations for the control of trading and money-lending by the non-tribals. Strong delegation of powers merged with fragile law monitoring and enforcement, and a „winner-takes-all“ political civilization, has position the step for aggressive motherland politics.

3.6 Statement of the study

North Eastern states and Meghalaya is a home of various ethnic tribes having distinct language, culture etc. The statement of the study is to examine and identify the factors that led to ethnic conflict between tribals and non-tribals and tribals vis tribals in Meghalaya.

3.7 The Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to find out the reasons that led to ethnic clashes between members of community of tribals and non-tribals in Meghalaya. The researcher will evaluate the different issues related to various ethnic clashes.

3.8 Aim

The key intention of this study is to examine and explore in detail about the politics of ethnicity and issues of development in Meghalaya Vis-a-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970s.

3.9 Objectives

- a. To identify factors that led to ethnic conflict among the Tribals and Non-tribals.
- b. To study the efficacy of the Sixth Schedule.
- c. To study the role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes.
- d. To elaborate the role of Tribal students and pressure groups of Meghalaya toward othercommunity
- e. To suggest remedies for the better cooperation between different tribes vis a vis non-tribals.
- f. To elaborate the role the role of different political parties and their ideology to Sixth Schedule in general and Meghalaya in particular

3.10 Hypotheses

- a) Conflict is evitable because people are denied of their identity.
- b) Role of Traditional self-governance in diffusing tension.
- c) Lack of economic development under the Sixth Schedule area
- d) Insurgency groups have not played a critical role in inflaming ethical clashes in Meghalaya
- e) Students and Pressure groups are in hands in inflaming ethnic division in the state.

3.11 Research Questions

1. What are the factors that led to ethnic conflict among the Tribals and Non-tribals?
2. What is the efficacy of the Sixth Schedule?
3. What is the role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes?
4. What are the remedies for the better cooperation between different tribes vis a vis non-tribals?

3.12. Importance of the study

This study discusses in detail about the politics of ethnicity and issues of development in Meghalaya Vis-a-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970's. The Sixth schedule of the Indian Constitution which is also termed as a „mini constitution within a Constitution“ is a special rule made particularly for the protection and the upliftment of the tribal's people of India mostly inhabited in the hills areas of North-East India. This study also discusses about the efficacy of the sixth schedule and the role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes. This study suggests some remedies for the better cooperation between different tribe's vis a vis non-tribals. This study would serve as a future reference for the researchers on the subject of the identity issues and the development of Meghalaya. There are only a few studies which have been conducted on this research area. This study analyses the factors that led to various ethnic conflict, development and relevance and efficacy of Sixth Schedule. With this study, people who might benefit are the individual, future researchers and the entire community in general. This study will be an eye-opener for the future researchers to know more about this particular area of research. For others, this study could be a source of valuable up-to-date information and data which could be very valuable for their own similar studies on the subject matters well.

3.13 Limitations of the study

- a) The findings of this research are restricted to Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution alone
- b) This study is limited to Meghalaya alone
- c) This study focuses primarily on “Examining The Politics of Ethnicity And Issues of Development In Meghalaya Vis-A-Vis Sixth Schedule Since 1970's”

3.14. The Period of study and the area selected:

The study envisaged from the year 1970s till date, the study area include the wholestate of Meghalaya in which the three Autonomous District Councils function, the Khasi Hills Area, the Jaintia Hills area and the Garo Hills area.

3.15 Research Gap:

This study examines about the identity issues and development of Meghalaya of Indian constitution with the sixth schedule context. The research gap predicted in this study is that there is no study on the above topic. Gosselink (1994) has studied the minority rights and ethnic conflict in Assam. Then, social exclusion and ethnicity in Northeast India has analyzed by Bijukumar (2013). Musvosvi (2010) studied about the social exclusion and ethnicity in North east, India. Ethnicity, Conflict and Population Displacement in India has studied by Phuka (2013). Apart from these, Deepshikha and Bhattacharjee (2013) focused on sixth schedule and tribal of North East India. Choudhury (2016) analyzed about the Sixth Schedule of the Indian constitution with special reference to Bodo and Territorial Council of Assam (BTC). Singh (2014) studied the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution with special reference to the Dima Hasao autonomous council of Assam. From the above studies it can be evident that there is no study on the issues and the development of Meghalaya. Therefore this study tries to bridge the gap between these researches by examining the identity issues and development of Meghalaya in the sixth schedule context of the Indian constitution.

3.16 Research Paradigm followed

The main aim of study is to find the whole on the identity crisis and development of Meghalaya in the context of Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Ethnic clashes in light of character arrangement and emergencies have been a piece of human development. From one viewpoint, ethnicity has helped the groups to be joined together, and then again, it has prompted to disarray and strife. There have been various ethnic developments in the upper east with a specific end goal to safeguard ones' ethnic character. In this manner, there is a linkage between ethnic personality and ethnic clash (Hussain 1993). Ethnic clash primarily happens when an ethnic gathering either searches for a character or when they are in personality emergency. Meghalaya the 'Residence Clouds' is the home of the Khasis, Jaintias and the Garos tribes. They are relatives of the exceptionally antiquated tribes having a particular social quality and ethnic cause. Meghalaya got statehood in 1972. It is a territory of extraordinary picturesque excellence with Shillong as its capital. The Khasis of the Khasi Hills and their kindred tribes,

Jaintias and Garos, were presented to Christian Missionaries in the nineteenth century. Throughout the years, under the kind eye of progressive British governors, systems of Christian preacher schools also, doctor's facility and in addition schools among the best in the nation were set up. In the express the Khasis, Garos and Jaintias are matrilineal social orders where ladies are powerful and the most youthful young lady in the family acquires the property (Mahanta 2013). Hence Spouses run and live with their wives and kids take the surname of the mother, not of the father.

To know further, the research is based on interview method of data collection that will yield the higher amount of data from the interviewees. In this way, the researcher of this study uses interview type of data collection as the tool for getting data from various sources. Primary data has been collected from interviews and secondary data is also collected by means of records and notes from government officials.

Significantly, the research approach and the design followed in the study is qualitative approach and the type of design followed is descriptive research design.

3.17 Sampling methods in research

Sampling is the way toward selecting units (e.g., individuals, associations) from a populace of intrigue so that by contemplating the specimen we may reasonably sum up our outcomes back to the populace from which they were picked. The sampling is differentiated into probability as well as non-probability sampling method (Churchill and Lacobucci 2009). The probability sampling method support and is used in quantitative data collection and whereas the qualitative data collection carried out using the non-probability sampling method.

In this research, the sampling method used is convenience sampling method. Convenience sampling method allowed the researcher to make his/her own time and can be convenient enough in collecting the primary data. In this study the officials of the government of Meghalaya. Members of district council had been examined and interviewed in the research. The study is important as it evaluates the factors led by various ethnic conflict and development and relevance and efficacy of the sixth schedule.

The sample size for the interview study is 10 respondents who are officials of

government of Meghalaya, Members of ADC"s, Writer etc.

3.18 Data collection

As Anderson et al (2008) says in a fundamental organization of collection of data, two data sources are required with a specific end goal to support a given thought written in a system. A logical thought is not a substantial thought if the surmising is not very much upheld with the secondary and primary data. In this study, the author might want to confer the yielding and the relatedness of both secondary and primary data source. In the present study, both the primary as well as the secondary data collection is used.

3.18.1 Primary data

The research study will be based on collecting Primary data with a selected structured Questionnaire had been prepared and asked to the respondents. A formal indepth discussion has been taken place with like minded and expert persons. With the support of the secondary data to demonstrate that the derivation is justified regardless of the time and exertion in completing the exploration extend, primary data then again will assess thereal input of the sought respondents in a given land scope. To have the quality data assembled from a given primary respondents, one must consider in making the powerful poll material for quality primary data (Reason 2006).

3.18.2 Interview type of data collection

The study makes use of interview method as the primary data collection tool. Interviews are among the most difficult and remunerating types of estimation. They require an individual affect-ability and versatility and also the capacity to remain inside the limits of the planned convention. Here, the researcher uses open-ended questionnaires to collect the primary data from the respondents of 452 and for the interview study is 10 respondents who are officials of government of Meghalaya.

3.18.3 Secondary data

Basing from the extent of the exploration, secondary data must identify with the real situation of the examination issues characterized and the examination destinations.

Secondary data in a general scholastic comprehension is a secondary reference that will give hand with the idea of the real research point or structure. Additionally, secondary data are connected research data to your present research errand (Morgan and Gliner 2000).

The collected data from various sources of information will be evaluated by using text analysis method. This is to make the output more understandable.

3.19 Validation measures

Validation is the procedure utilized by established researchers to gain the important data to survey the capacity of a method or strategy to dependably acquire a craved result. Approval decides the conditions under which results can be obtained and decides the restrictions of the system or methodology (Bryman 1984). The approval procedure distinguishes the basic parts of the system or strategy that must be precisely controlled and checked. In this research, ethical considerations are also followed.

3.20. Data Analysis and Interpretation

Since the researcher is using qualitative and descriptive research design a primary and secondary data has been collected to analyse the collected data. The data analysis will help in drawing conclusion and testing the hypothesis.

3.21 Chapter Scheme:

The Chapter scheme clarifies briefly about the work to be done in each chapter dealing with the topic of study “Examining the Politics of Ethnicity and Issues of Development in Meghalaya Vis-a-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970’s.”

3.21.1 Chapter 1 – Introduction

In this chapter, the study is about Meghalaya its history, social, political and economic development which also deals with the study of Examining the Politics of Ethnicity and Issues of Development in Meghalaya Vis-a-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970’s.

3.21.2 Chapter 2 – Review of Literature

This Chapter review the various work done by other researchers, scholars and writers and define or identify the topic, issue, or area of concern and point out some evidence or gap in research.

3.21.3 Chapter 3 – Research Methodology

The fundamental motivation behind leading an exploration for any field of scholarly staff is to enhance humanities and to tackle the general public's issue. The present section examines on the methods followed in the research to find the outcome for the aim and objective framed in the study. This study examines the politics of ethnicity and issues of development in Meghalaya Vis-a-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970's.

3.21.4 Chapter 4 – Data Analysis and Interpretation

This Chapter reveals the results accomplished by analyzing the data. Further, the data will be interpreted to get the final results.

3.21.5 Chapter 5 – Conclusion

In this Chapter findings from the data analysis and interpretation, will be discussed. In this section, the Researcher would suggest research areas which can be researched in the future to get a better understanding of the research areas; the above discussions will be summarized. Also, this section will provide a concise summary of the findings of the study.

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CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction:

4.2 Respondent Profile Table Part A

4.3 Frequency Table Part B

4.4 Reliability Testing

4.5 Hypothesis:

4.1 Introduction:

Once the data has been obtained, a range of closely related procedures are needed to interpret the data by drawing statistical inferences through the application of various well-defined statistical formulas. Relationships or discrepancies that endorse or disagree with initial or new theories are subject to significance checks in the research process to decide with what validity evidence may be said to suggest any inference.

The presentation of previous data has been briefly underlined in the previous chapter. In this Chapter the primary data which is essential for research findings is qualitative research and techniques like interview, questionnaires and field work has been used.

This chapter deals with the following topics. The First section shows the respondents profile and the Second section relates to the Analysis of the data which have been collected. The 3rd segment relates to the Reliability testing of data and the Fourth section relates to the Testing of the Hypothesis. Respondents expressed in the tables or graphs, charts in this chapter will give a clear understanding to the problem of the statement.

4.2 Respondent Profile Table Part A

For this research the researcher selected 452 samples out of that sample 152 from Khasi Hillsarea (KHADC), 150 from Jaintia hills (JHADC) and 150 from Garo hills (GHADC).

Table 4.1 Classification of the Respondents by Sex

Area	Male	Female	Total
Khasi Hills (KHADC)	100	53	153
Jaintia hills (JHADC)	108	41	149
Garo hills (GHADC).	124	26	150

From the table 4.1 Male participants comprises of 332 and female participants comprises of 120 in numbers took part in this research.

Table 4.2 Classification of Respondents by Profession

Sl.no	Respondents' Designation	Number
1	Teachers	58
2	Government Servant	120
3	Students	152
4	Others	122

From the Table 4.2 most of the participants are above 18 years, students respondents were 152 in numbers, Government servant 120 in numbers, others comprising of labourers, businessman, farmers etc with 122 respondents and 58 respondents belong from the teaching community.

4.3 Frequency Table Part B

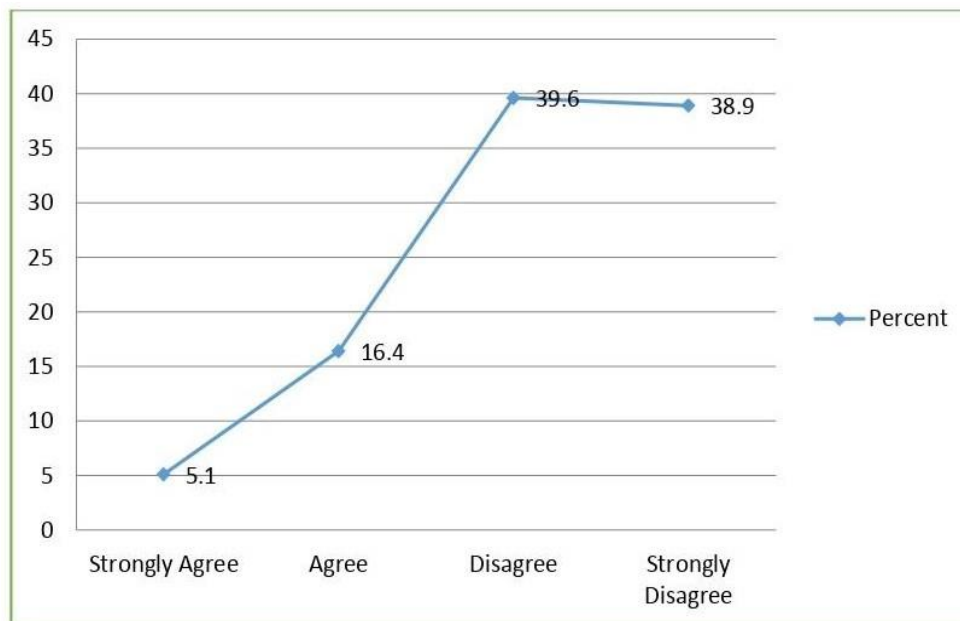
Q1. Ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

Table 4.3

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	23	5.1	5.1	5.1
Agree	74	16.4	16.4	21.6
Disagree	178	39.6	39.6	61.1
Strongly Disagree	175	38.9	38.9	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 39.6 percent of the respondents chosen from the population disagree with the statement that, 'Ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country'. The bar chart given below also depicts the taller bar corresponding to the same.

Figure 4.1



Q2. Insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

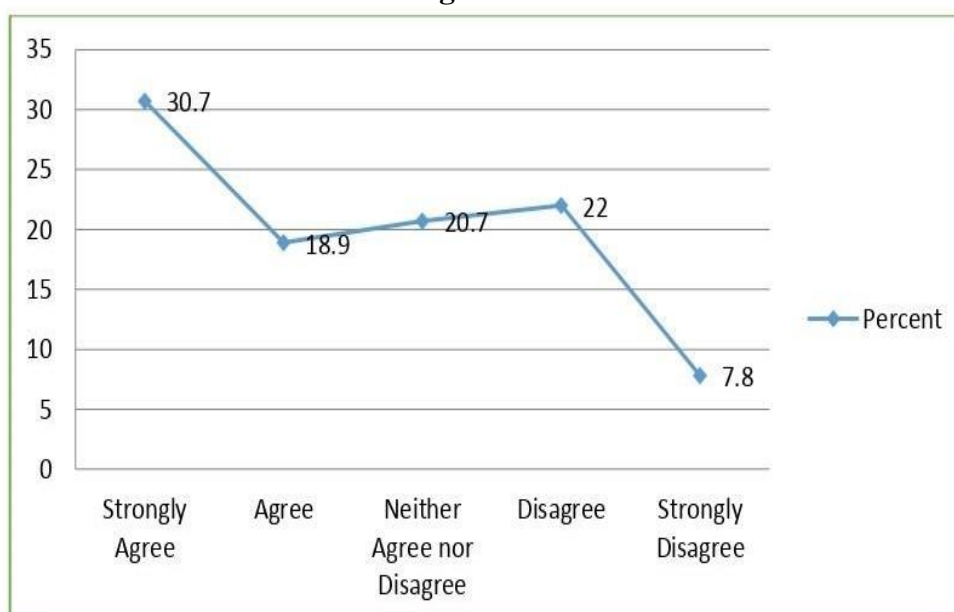
Table 4.4

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	138	30.7	30.7	30.7
Agree	85	18.9	18.9	49.6
Neither Agree nor Disagree	93	20.7	20.7	70.2
Disagree	99	22.0	22.0	92.2
Strongly Disagree	35	7.8	7.8	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 30.7 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya’. In the bar chart given below, taller bar correspond to the same.

In Meghalaya in the year 1979, 1980, 1987, 1992, 2002 and 2011 there were ethnic incidents which led to the death toll of 38 and more than 1082 injured persons. (RTI-Office DGP, Shillong)

Figures 4.2



Q3. Autonomous district councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

Table 4.5

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	13	2.9	2.9	2.9
Agree	31	6.9	6.9	9.8
Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	.2	.2	10.0
Disagree	405	90.0	90.0	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

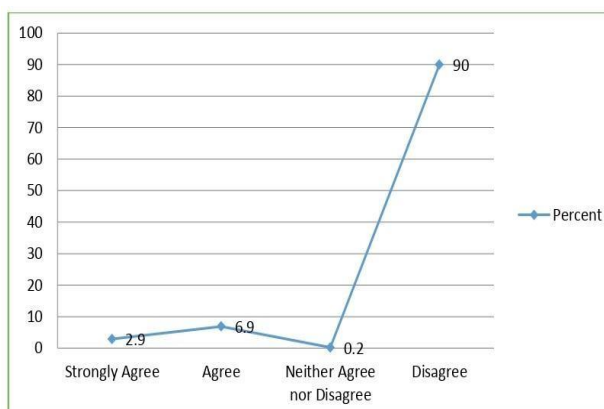
The table given above reveals that 90 percent of the respondents chosen from the population disagree with the statement that, ‘Autonomous district councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya’. The bar chart given below also shows the taller bar depicting the same.

The ADC may establish, construct or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads, road transport and waterways in the district (Meghalaya Institute of Governance) but due to financial constraint it hampers development work as it had to depend on the Government of India and state government to finance the various development projects.

The Autonomous District Council Budget allocation of Rs. 2913703000 crores from 2010-2021 by the central Government for the development purposes have not properly utilized.(RTI-Department of District Council Affairs, Govt. of Meghalaya 2021)

The Comptroller & Auditor General of India in its Auditor Report on 31st March 2020 shows that the three ADCs i.e., Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council, Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council and Garo Hills Autonomous District Council has been allocated 567.71 Crores for the year 2015-20 by the Central Government but could only utilized 302.12 Crores (53%) only. It is also stated that the utilization certificate had not been properly submitted (Mawphor,21). This shows that there is a lack of transparency in the utilization of the fund.

Figure 4.3



Q4.The sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the hills and the plain?

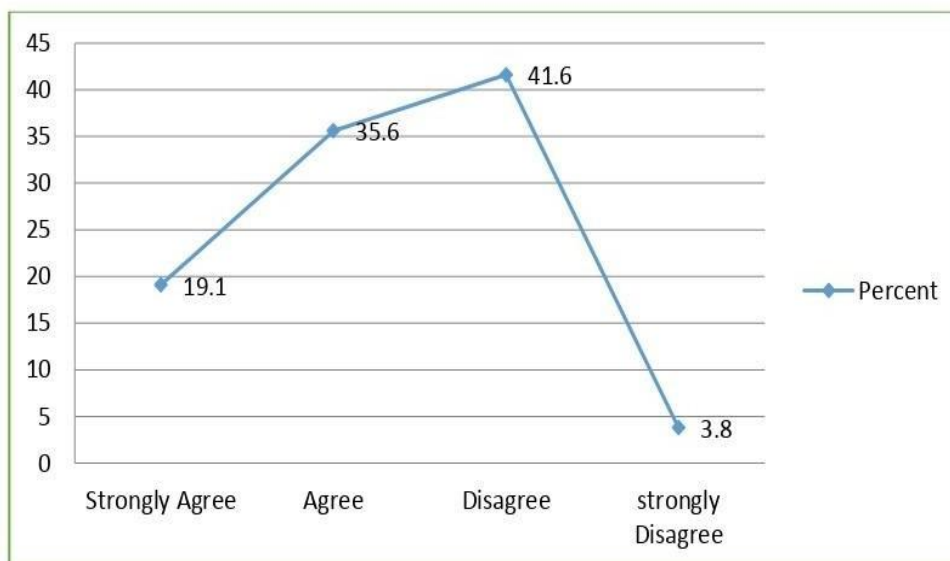
Table 4.6

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	86	19.1	19.1	19.1
Agree	160	35.6	35.6	54.7
Disagree	187	41.6	41.6	96.2
Strongly Disagree	17	3.8	3.8	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 41.6 percent of the respondents chosen from the population disagree with the statement that, ‘The sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the hills and the plain’. The bar chart given below also depicts the taller bar corresponding to the same. Thus, the sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the hills and the plain.

Date from the Office of DIG, Shillong shows that there were ethnic clashes in the year 1979, 1980, 1987, 1992, 2002 and 2011 between the tribals and non-tribals. There were ethnic clashes between Khasi and Bengali, Khasi and Nepali and Garos with others non-tribals. (RTI- Office DGP, Shillong)

Figure 4.4



Q5.The state legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?

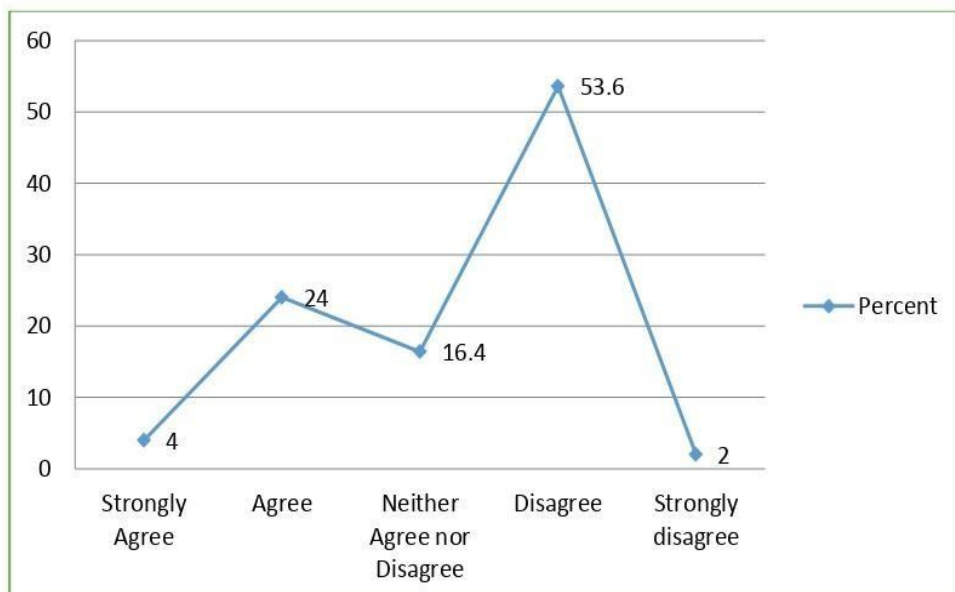
Table 4.7

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	18	4.0	4.0	4.0
Agree	108	24.0	24.0	28.0
Neither Agree nor Disagree	74	16.4	16.4	44.4
Disagree	241	53.6	53.6	98.0
Strongly Disagree	9	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 53.6 percent of the respondents chosen from the population disagree with the statement that, ‘The state legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices’. In the bar chart given below, the taller bar also depicts the same.

Under List II, Para 5 of the 7th Schedule of the Constitution read with Para 12 A of the 6th Schedule, the State Government can step in to bring in Legislation for a uniform standardized format for the role and function of grassroots institutions throughout the state of Meghalaya. It will streamline governance. It will uplift our grassroots institutions. It will bring in modernity to tradition (Toki Blah).

Figure 4.5



Q6. The functions of the autonomous district councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas.

Table 4.8

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	87	19.3	19.3	19.3
Agree	234	52.0	52.0	71.3
Neither Agree nor Disagree	5	1.1	1.1	72.4
Disagree	110	24.4	24.4	96.9
Strongly Disagree	14	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

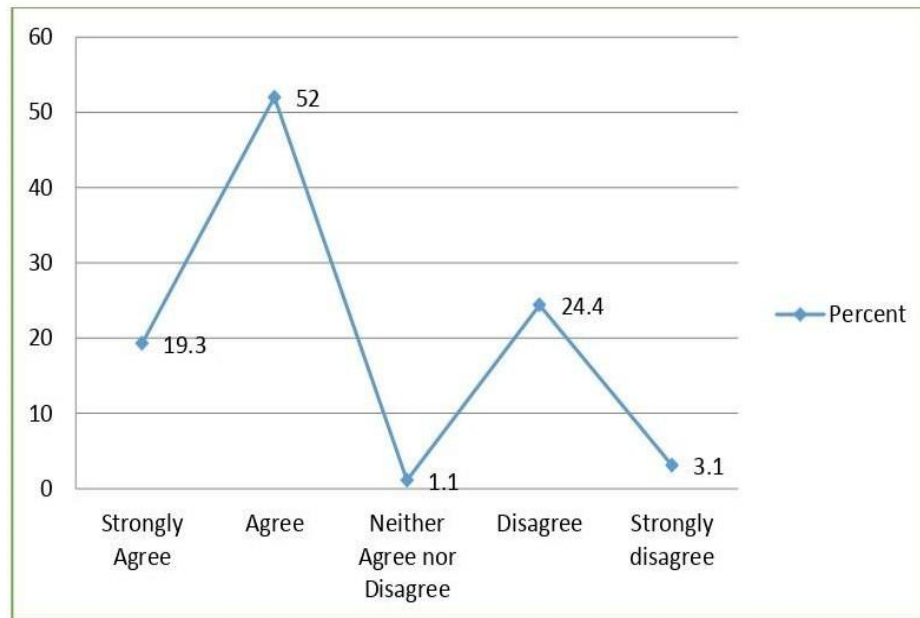
The table given above reveals that 52 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘The functions of the autonomous district councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Article 244 (2) and Article 275 (2) along with the provisions in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution outline the legislative, judicial, executive and financial powers of the ADC. One key historical event, which has reduced the ADC’s legislative autonomy, was the amendment to the Constitution in 1972. The inclusion of Paragraph 12A in the Constitution mandated that, in the case of conflict, the State Government laws would prevail over the legislation passed by the ADCs. From thereon, the enactment of ADC laws required close co-ordination with the State Government and, ultimately, the amendment allows the State Government a much greater say in the passing of legislation compared to the past. As per this procedure, any bill passed by the legislature of an ADC is sent to the District Council Affairs Department of the Government of Meghalaya for clearance prior to forwarding it to the Governor. Some suggest that this has empowered the State Government at the expense of the ADCs. (Meghalaya Institute of Governance).

The above Constitutional amendment leads to delays in the passage of the bills/laws like the Village Administrative Bill. The Bill was first passed by the Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council on July 1, 2014, but it was returned to the council by the

Governor through the state government and again passed on 30 May, 2015 and still pending with the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs (North East Division).

Figure 4.6



Q7.The ADC’s are able to discharge the legislative function effectively?

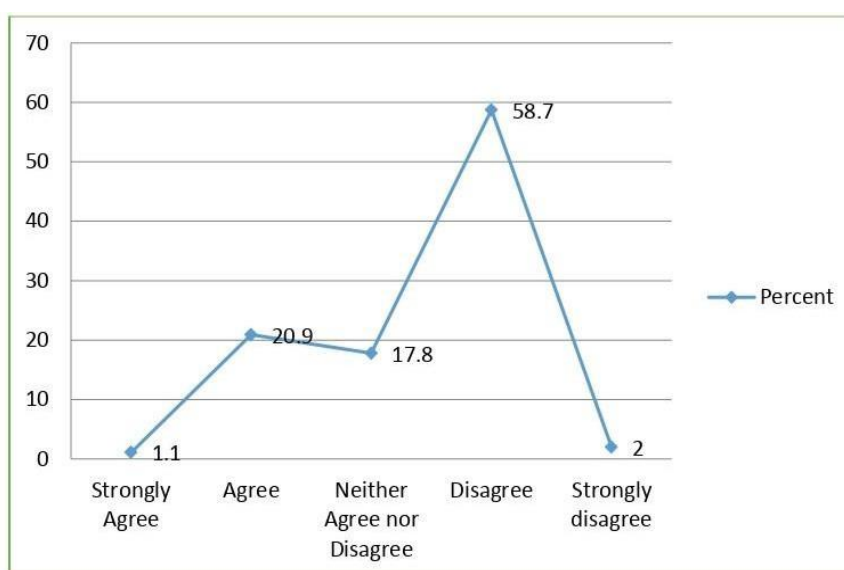
Table 4.9

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	5	1.1	1.1	1.1
Agree	94	20.9	20.9	22.0
Neither Agree nor Disagree	80	17.8	17.8	39.8
Disagree	264	58.7	58.7	98.4
Strongly Disagree	7	1.6	1.6	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 58.7 percent of the respondents chosen from the population disagree with the statement that, ‘The ADC’s are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

The Legislative Functions of the District and Regional Councils are empowered to make laws with respect to land, forest, agriculture, social customs, appointment or successions of chiefs and village administration. However, the bills passed by the Council require consent of the state government and assent of the Governor to be formally recognized as law

Figure 4.7



Q8.The ADC’s are able to perform the judicial functions effectively?

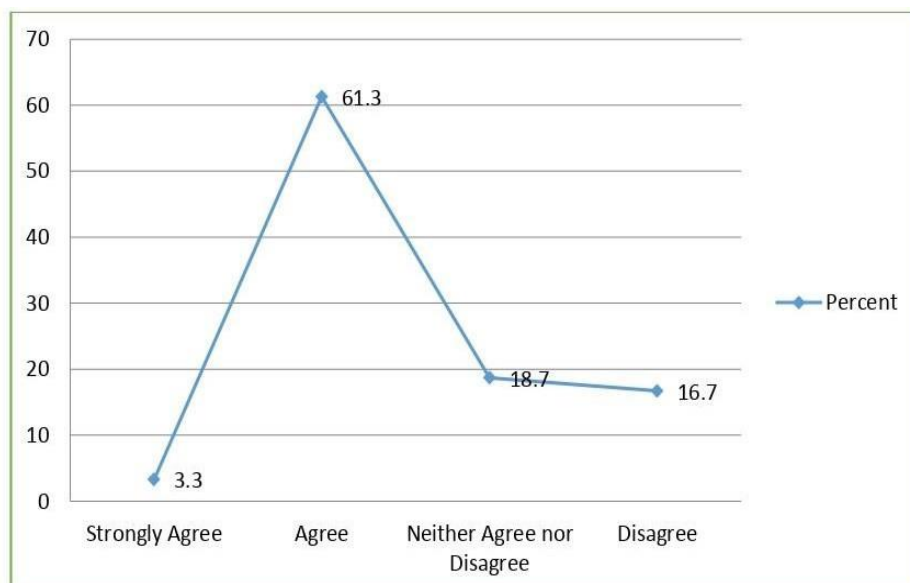
Table 4.10

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	15	3.3	3.3	3.3
Agree	276	61.3	61.3	64.7
Neither Agree nor Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	83.3
Disagree	75	16.7	16.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 61.3 percent of the respondents chosen from the population disagree with the statement that, ‘The ADC’s are able to perform the judicial functions effectively’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

The ADC can constitute village councils or courts for the trial of suits and cases between Scheduled Tribes, with certain exceptions. It can appoint members and presiding officers of such village councils, and are also empowered to act as, or constitute separate courts of appeal. Under the three ADCs there are District Courts to look after civil, criminal cases.

Figure 4.8



Q9.The ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly?

Table 4.11

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	24	5.3	5.3	5.3
Agree	103	22.9	22.9	28.2
Disagree	87	19.3	19.3	47.6
Strongly Disagree	236	52.4	52.4	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 52.4 percent of the respondents chosen from the population strongly disagree with the statement that, 'The ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

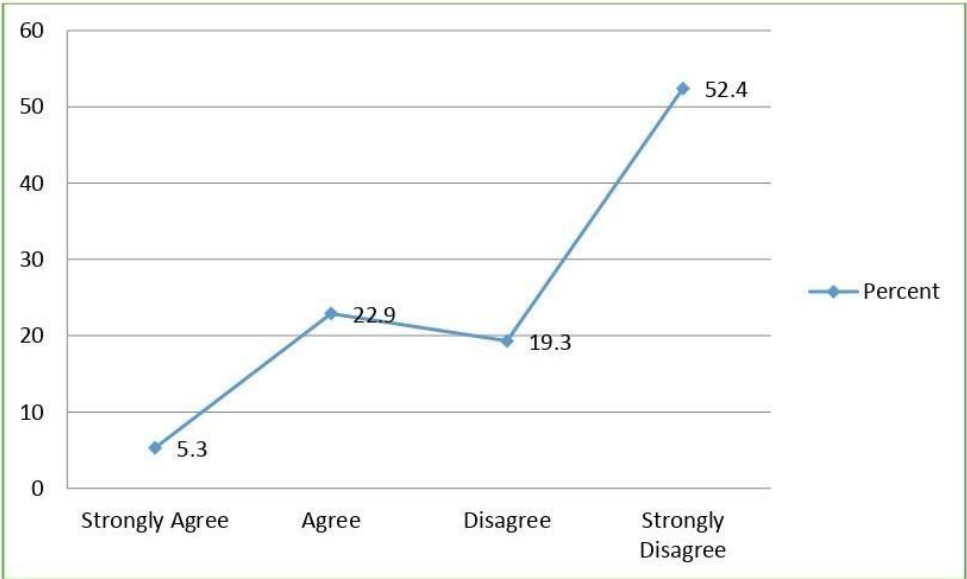
The Budget Speech 1973-74 by Shri. Brington Buhai Lyngdoh, Finance Minister of Meghalaya on 20th March, 1973 allotted Rs. 40 Lakhs to the District Council. In 1993-94 under "Aid to District Councils", the state government allocated fund Rs. 250 Lakhs. From 2010-11 to 2012-13, the total expenditure increased from approximately Rs.35.3 crore to Rs. 41 crore (Budget Speech, MLA). For example the revenue from 2010-11 to 2012-13, the total revenue for the KH-ADC declined by 31 percent from Rs. 393,241,789 to Rs. 271,113,598.

The three ADCs is financially accountable to the GoI and GoM via mandated financial audits, however such audits are only partially implemented. The Constitution provides for budget autonomy of the ADC with financial audits by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG). In addition, the State Government's auditing agency is also responsible for verifying the financial accounts of KH-ADC. However, it has been observed that these audits are not conducted regularly. Available evidence suggests that the last audit by the CAG was in 2009-10 (Meghalaya Institute of Governance).

For example, information on actual KH-ADC revenue and expenditure is not publicly disclosed. While budget documents are available on request, the breakdown of revenue and expenditure lacks clarity and is presented in a non-standard format. The initial share of royalties on minerals was decided to be 60:40 between the State

Government and the KH-ADC respectively. In 1995, it was revised to 75:25, ostensibly due to revisions in royalty rates by the Government of India, and loss of revenues. Reportedly, the State Government demanded an increase in the share of revenue from the royalties in order to cover the cost of primary education, which was transferred from KH-ADC to the State. There is also no redress mechanism in place in case the State Government fails to remit tax revenues to the KH-ADC regularly. The officials at the KH-ADC mentioned delays in receiving the share of revenues from the government. These delays create uncertainty and make it difficult for the KH-ADC to do long-term planning. It is also not clear whether there is a third-party audit to confirm the veracity of the tax revenues. (Meghalaya Institute of Governance).

Figure 4.9



Q10. The ADC's under the sixth schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people?

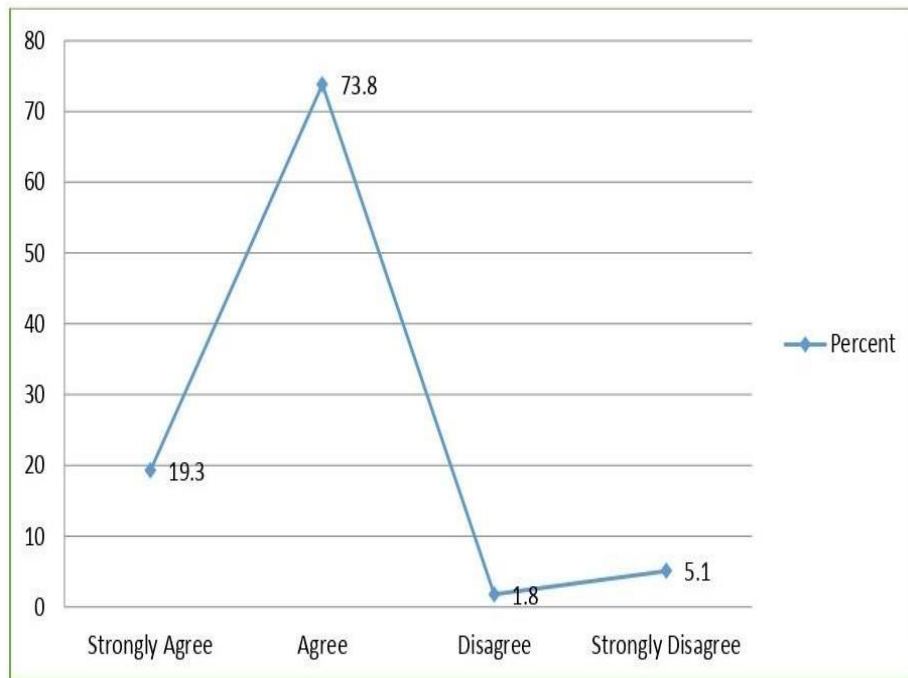
Table 4.12

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	87	19.3	19.3	19.3
Agree	332	73.8	73.8	93.1
Disagree	8	1.8	1.8	94.9
Strongly Disagree	23	5.1	5.1	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 73.8 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, 'The ADC's under the sixth schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

The ADC's retains important functions in supporting and regulating tribal customs and practices, which allows it to reach down to the grassroots. But, for example, there is limited available evidence to suggest that the interaction between the KH-ADC and grassroots tribal institutions is particularly strong or frequent. Tribals approach the KH-ADC when they need certificates for land or have to register cases against other tribals. However, as key service delivery functions were taken over by the State Government, the relevance of the KH-ADC in the day-to-day socio-economic affairs at the grassroots has declined. In addition, the limited funding available with the KH-ADC has made the tribal institutions more predisposed to interact directly with the State Government for public services such as health, employment and education (Meghalaya Institute of Governance).

Figure 4.10



Q11. The members of the district council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

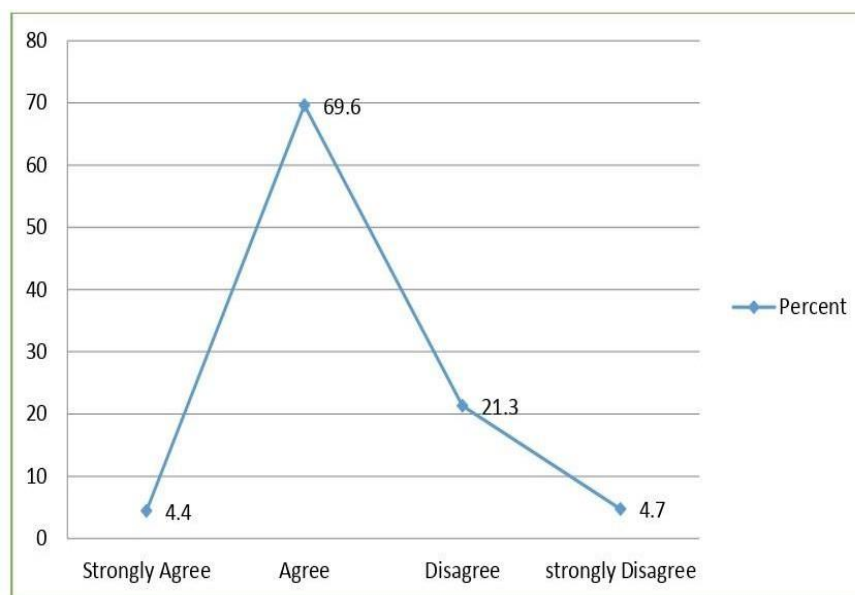
Table 4.13

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	20	4.4	4.4	4.4
Agree	313	69.6	69.6	74.0
Disagree	96	21.3	21.3	95.3
Strongly Disagree	21	4.7	4.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 69.6 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘The members of the district council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

The Member of District Council (MDC) meets the heads/chiefs of village council to discuss the issues related to villages without significant consultations with the citizens. Moreover these MDC meetings with chiefs/headmen are reportedly infrequent. These factors have allegedly created distance between tribals and the KH-ADC as well as fuelling negative popular perceptions of the ADC (Meghalaya Institute of governance).

Figure 4.11



Q12. The state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

Table 4.14

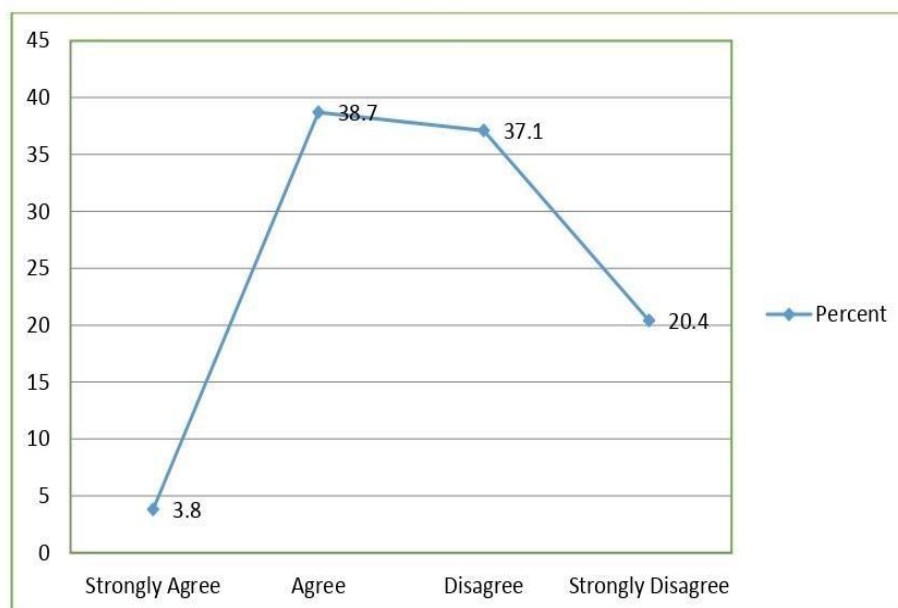
	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	17	3.8	3.8	3.8
Agree	174	38.7	38.7	42.4
Disagree	167	37.1	37.1	79.6
Strongly Disagree	92	20.4	20.4	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 38.7 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘The state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

The main revenue sources of ADCs as specified by Paragraph 8 of the Sixth Schedule are:

Taxes on professions, trades, callings, employment, taxes on animal, vehicles, boats, taxes on the entry of goods into a market and sale therein, and tolls on passenger and goods carried on ferries, taxes for the maintenance of school, dispensaries or roads (Rules & Act of KHADC). The ADC’s financially depends on the state government and Government of India assistance or grants for implementing various projects.

Figure 4.12



Q13. The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

Table 4.15

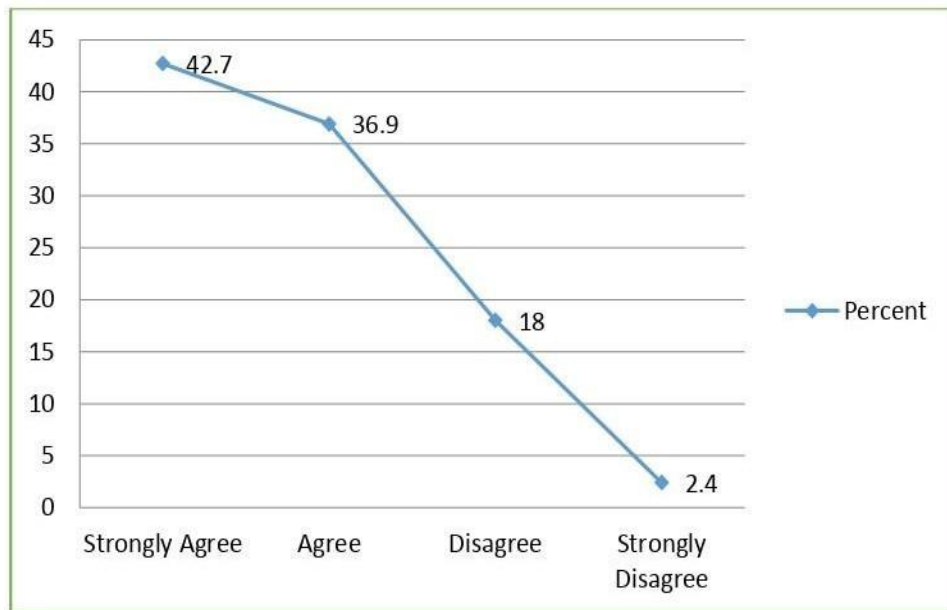
	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	192	42.7	42.7	42.7
Agree	166	36.9	36.9	79.6
Disagree	81	18.0	18.0	97.6
Strongly Disagree	11	2.4	2.4	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 42.7 percent of the respondents chosen from the population strongly agree with the statement that, ‘The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

As per the constitutional mandate, the ADC was responsible for primary education in Khasi Hills. This was arguably its key social policy function. The ADC was fully responsible and the State Government provided financial resources for management of schools such as staff salaries. However, in 1982-83, it was observed that despite the availability of financial assistance, KH-ADC did not pay monthly salaries to primary school teachers (Meghalaya Institute of Governance).

In 1984, the S.K. Dutta Committee presented the findings with recommendations that management and control of primary education be transferred to the State Government for a temporary period. However, Meghalaya enacted the Meghalaya Act, 1993 to permanently take over the function. The financial position of the ADC’s depends on the Government of India and state government.

Figure 4.13



Q14.The amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

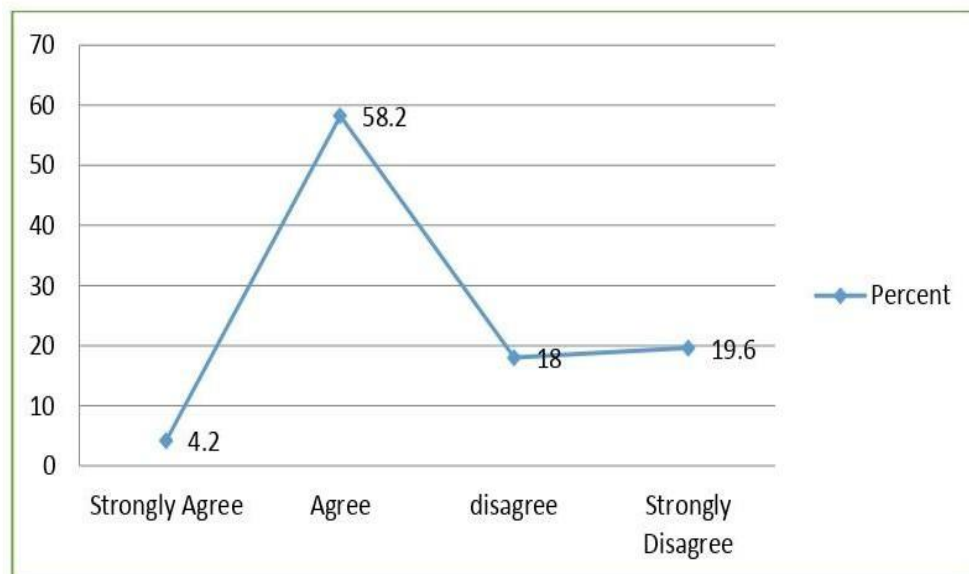
Table 4.16

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	19	4.2	4.2	4.2
Agree	262	58.2	58.2	62.4
Disagree	81	18.0	18.0	80.4
Strongly Disagree	88	19.6	19.6	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 58.2 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘the amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

The inclusion of Paragraph 12A in the Constitution mandated that, in the case of conflict, the State Government laws would prevail over the legislation passed by the ADCs.

Figure 4.14



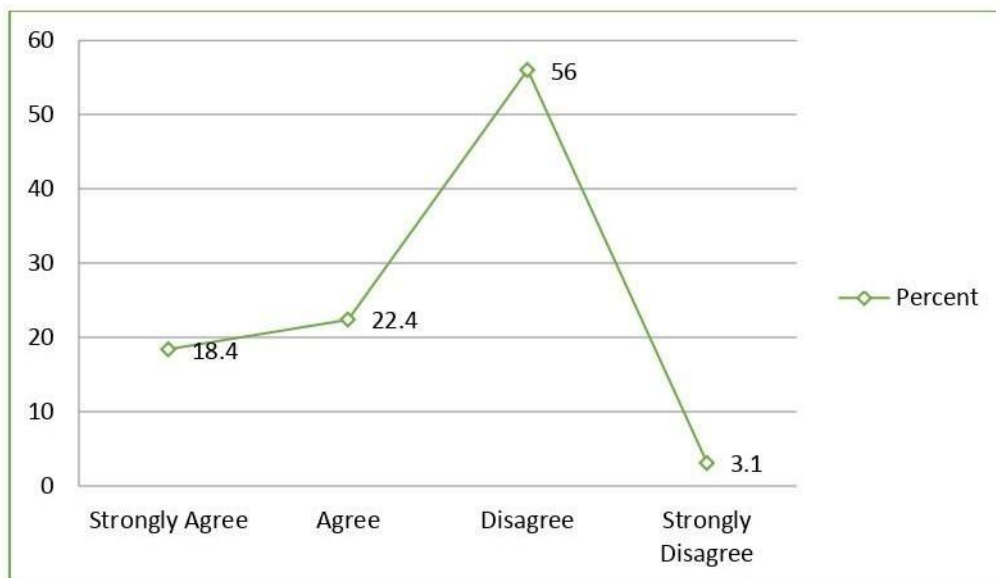
Q15.The sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

Table 4.17

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	83	18.4	18.4	18.4
Agree	101	22.4	22.4	40.9
Disagree	252	56.0	56.0	96.9
Strongly Disagree	14	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 56 percent of the respondents chosen from the population disagree with the statement that, ‘the sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.15



Q16. There should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

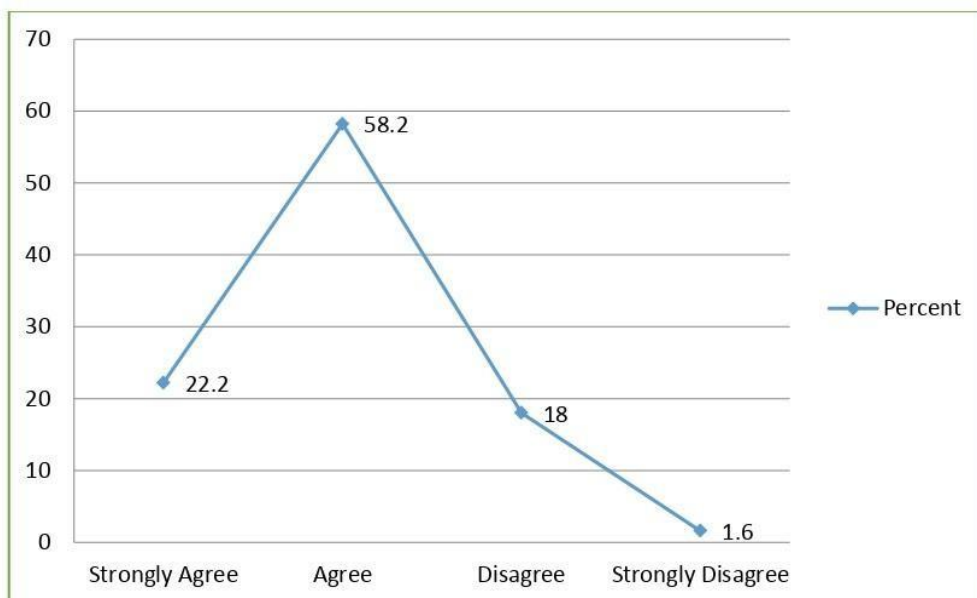
Table 4.18

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	100	22.2	22.2	22.2
Agree	262	58.2	58.2	80.4
Disagree	81	18.0	18.0	98.4
Strongly Disagree	7	1.6	1.6	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 58.2 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘There should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

The three ADC’s must perform according to the mandate vested on it and there should a major reform else it may cease to be a relevant institution. It must strengthen its relevance and retain the trust of various constituents.

Figure 4.16



Part C. Role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes.

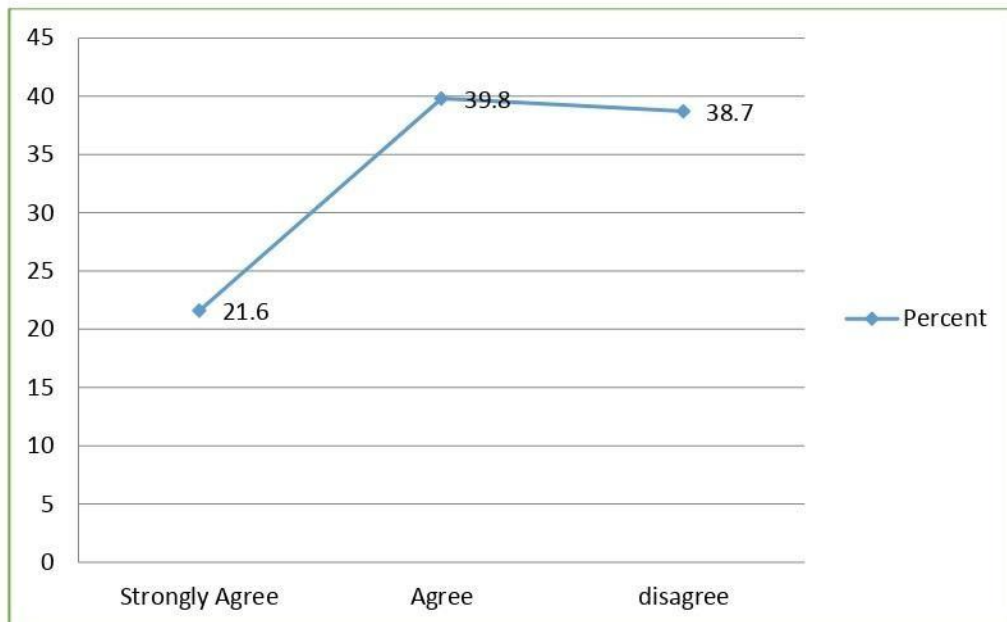
Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.

Table 4.19

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	97	21.6	21.6	21.6
Agree	179	39.8	39.8	61.3
Disagree	174	38.7	38.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 39.8 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, 'Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.17



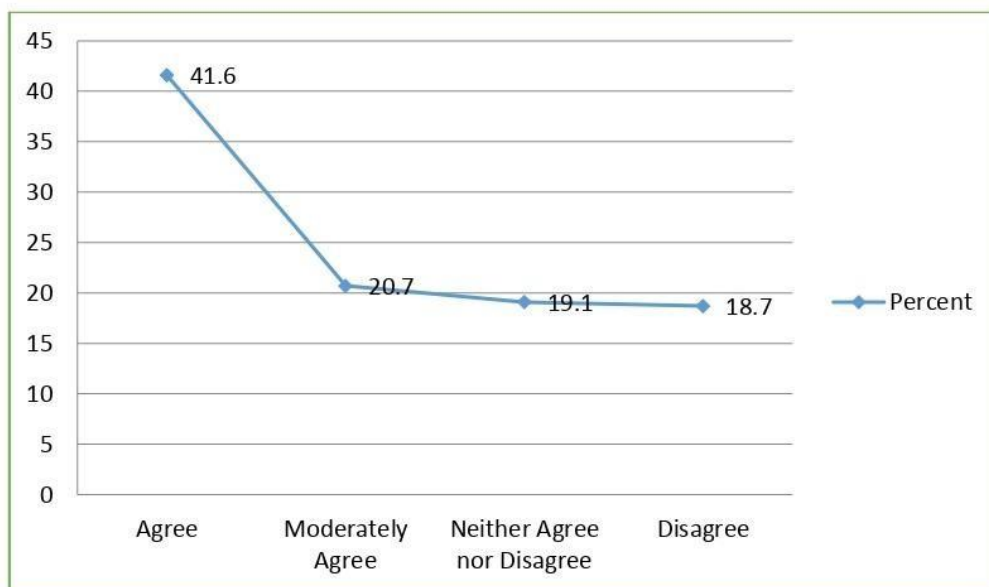
Q2.It was as early as in the colonial period when the people of Northeast began to be aware of their ethnic identities, and demand for their rights.

Table 4.20

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	187	41.6	41.6	41.6
Moderately Agree	93	20.7	20.7	62.2
Neither Agree nor Disagree	86	19.1	19.1	81.3
Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 41.6 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘It was as early as in the colonial period when the people of Northeast began to be aware of their ethnic identities, and demand for their rights’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.18



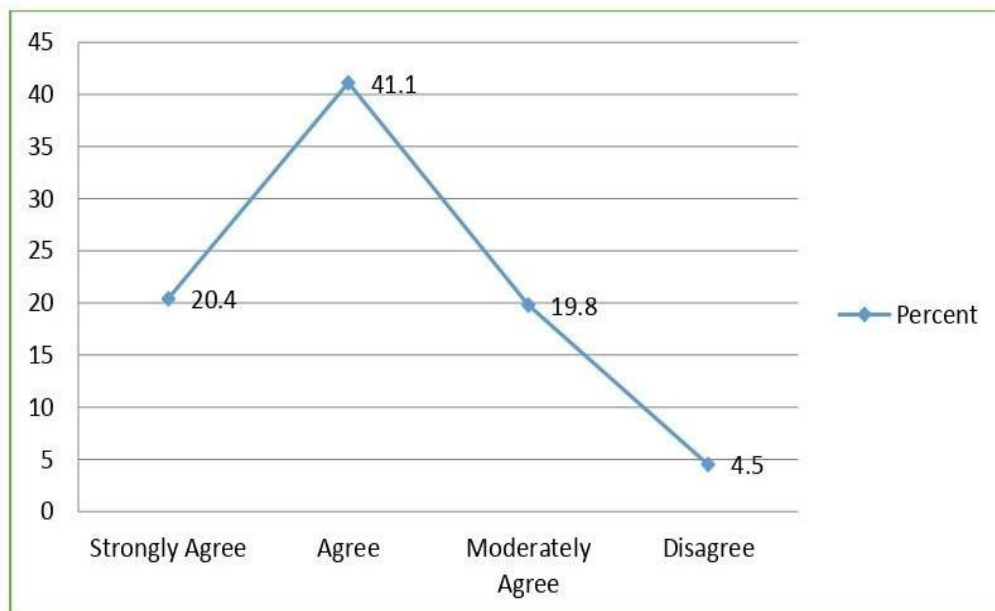
Q3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peaceand prosperity of the region.

Table 4.21

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	92	20.4	20.4	20.4
Agree	185	41.1	41.1	61.6
Moderately Agree	89	19.8	19.8	81.3
Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 41.1 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.19



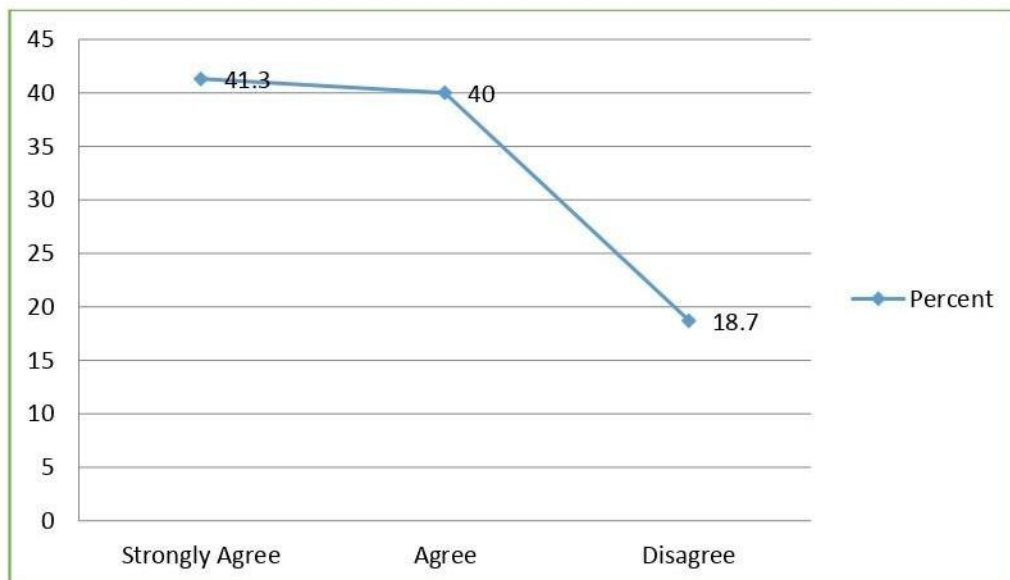
Q4. There have been a number of efforts to de-escalate these conflicts on many occasions by government and non-government organizations.

Table 4.22

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	186	41.3	41.3	41.3
Agree	180	40.0	40.0	81.3
Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 41.3 percent of the respondents chosen from the population strongly agree with the statement that, ‘There have been a number of efforts to de-escalate these conflicts on many occasions by government and non-government organizations’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.20



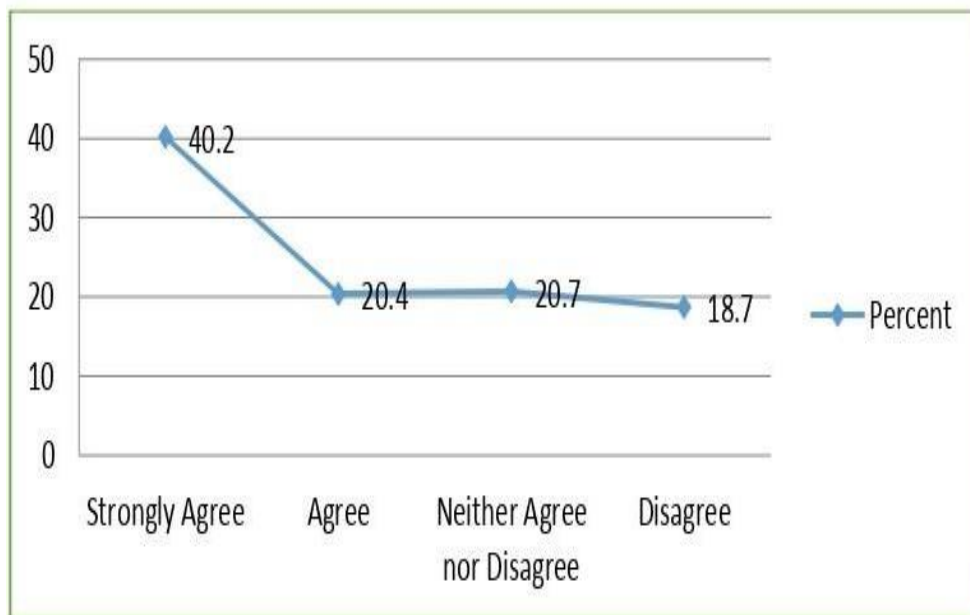
Q5. During the early post-colonial period, traditional self-sufficient economy of the minority ethnic communities was replaced by money economy that made way for competition, social stratification, social mobilization, and changes in the traditional power.

Table 4.23

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	181	40.2	40.2	40.2
Agree	92	20.4	20.4	60.7
Neither Agree nor Disagree	93	20.7	20.7	81.3
Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 40.2 percent of the respondents chosen from the population strongly agree with the statement that, ‘During the early post-colonial period, traditional self-sufficient economy of the minority ethnic communities was replaced by money economy that made way for competition, social stratification, social mobilization, and changes in the traditional power’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.21



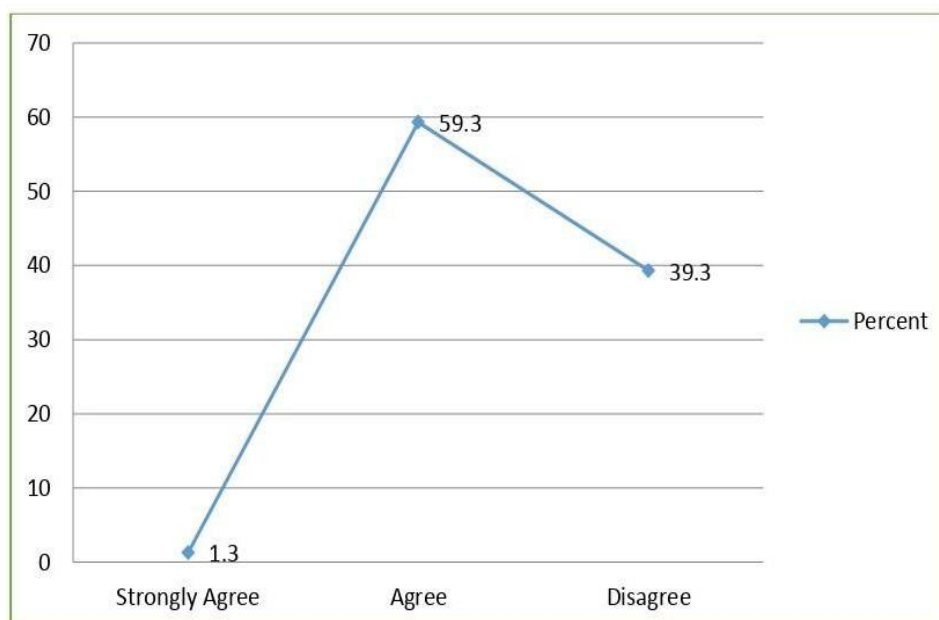
Q6.Each ethnic group makes a demand, and when it is not materialized, they form an insurgent group to 'fight for their rights'.

Table 4.24

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	6	1.3	1.3	1.3
Agree	267	59.3	59.3	60.7
Disagree	177	39.3	39.3	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 49.3 percent of the respondents chosen from the population strongly agree with the statement that, ‘Each ethnic group makes a demand, and when it is not materialized, they form an insurgent group to 'fight for their rights'’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.22



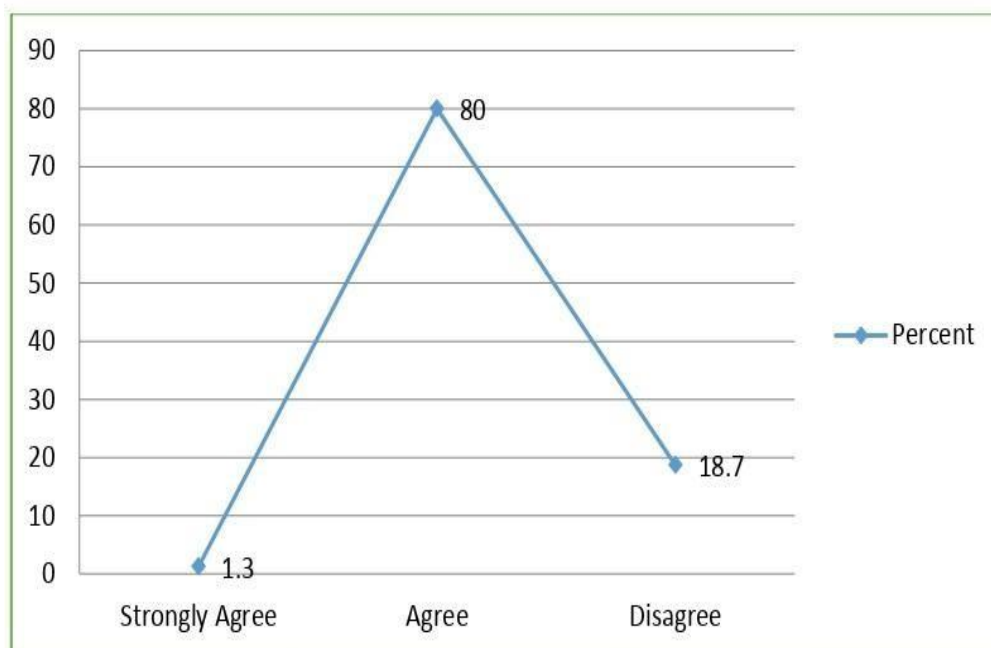
Q7. One of the reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping, killing and extortion.

Table 4.25

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	6	1.3	1.3	1.3
Agree	360	80.0	80.0	81.3
Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 80 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘One of the reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping and killing’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.23



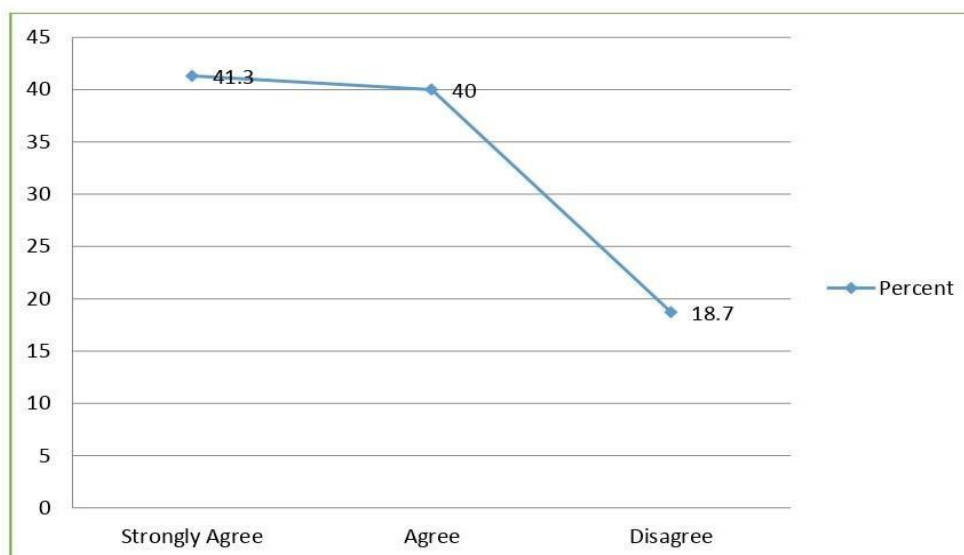
Q8. Often, innocent civilians become victims of conflicts who are harassed by both the state and non-state actors.

Table 4.26

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	186	41.3	41.3	41.3
Agree	180	40.0	40.0	81.3
Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 41.3 percent of the respondents chosen from the population strongly agree with the statement that, ‘Often, innocent civilians become victims of conflicts who are harassed by both the state and non-state actors’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.24



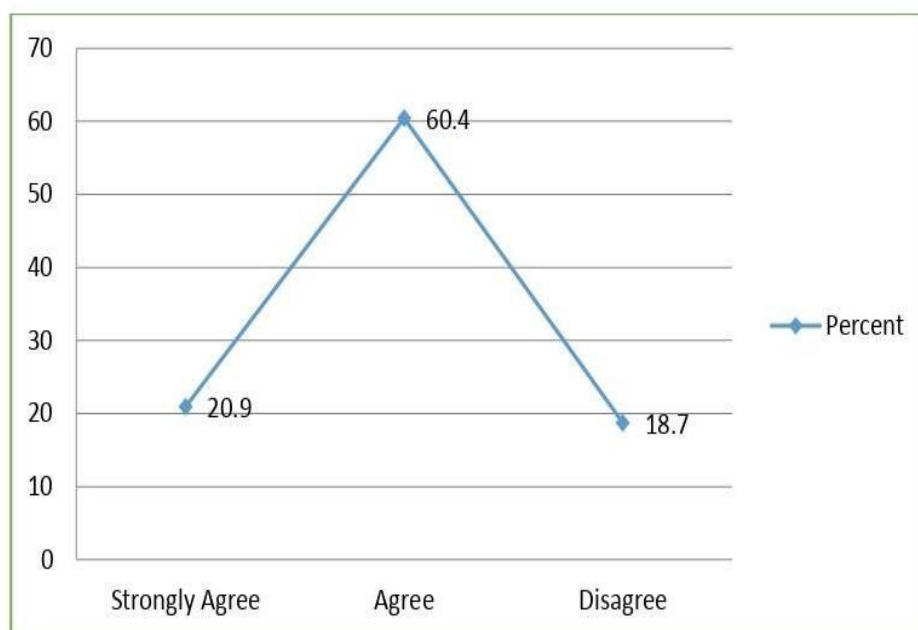
Q9. In order to have dominance in a particular territory, each tribe wanted to get rid of the other groups, staying in the locality which escalated into an ethnic tension in the region leading to violence and genocide.

Table 4.27

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	94	20.9	20.9	20.9
Agree	272	60.4	60.4	81.3
Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 60.4 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘In order to have dominance in a particular territory, each tribe wanted to get rid of the other groups, staying in the locality which escalated into an ethnic tension in the region leading to violence and genocide’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.25



Q10.Ethnic group formation in the Northeast is based on certain social problems, historic-cultural legacies and political aspirations.

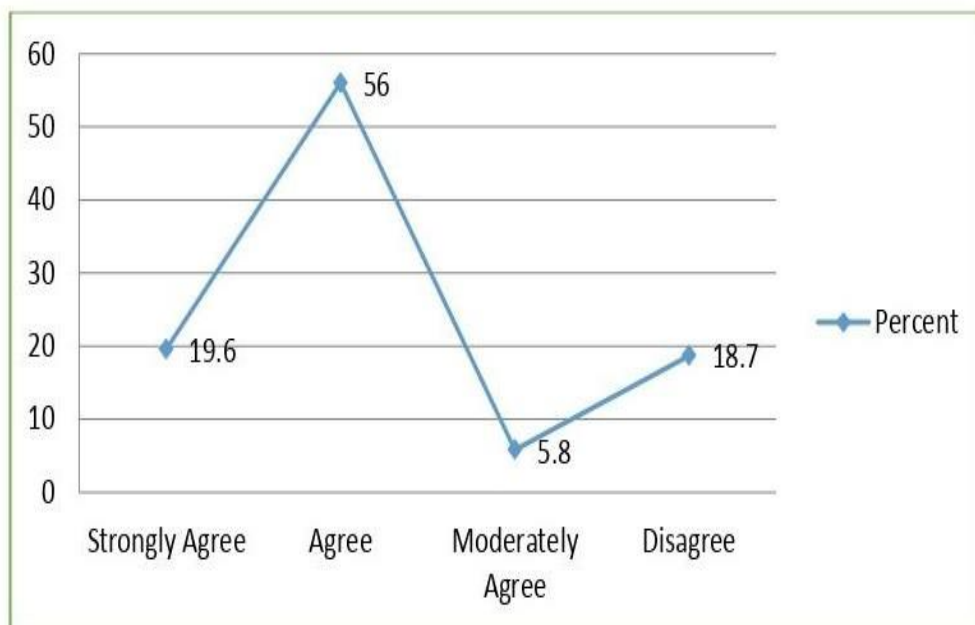
Table 4.28

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	88	19.6	19.6	19.6
Agree	252	56.0	56.0	75.6
Moderately Agree	26	5.8	5.8	81.3
Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 56 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Ethnic group formation in the Northeast is based on certain social problems, historic-cultural legacies and political aspirations’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

The table given above reveals that 56 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Ethnic group formation in the Northeast is based on certain social problems, historic-cultural legacies and political aspirations’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.26



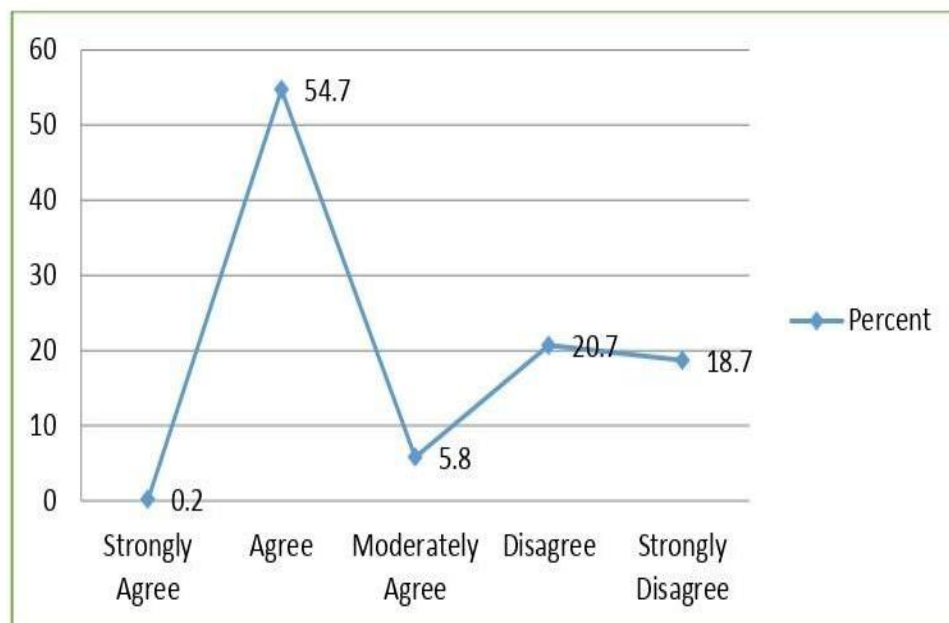
Q11. There are also occasions, wherein the elites in the group manipulate the members to fight against other groups for their political and economic advantage.

Table 4.29

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	1	.2	.2	.2
Agree	246	54.7	54.7	54.9
Moderately Agree	26	5.8	5.8	60.7
Disagree	93	20.7	20.7	81.3
Strongly Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 54.7 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘There are also occasions, wherein the elites in the group manipulate the members to fight against other groups for their political and economic advantage’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.27



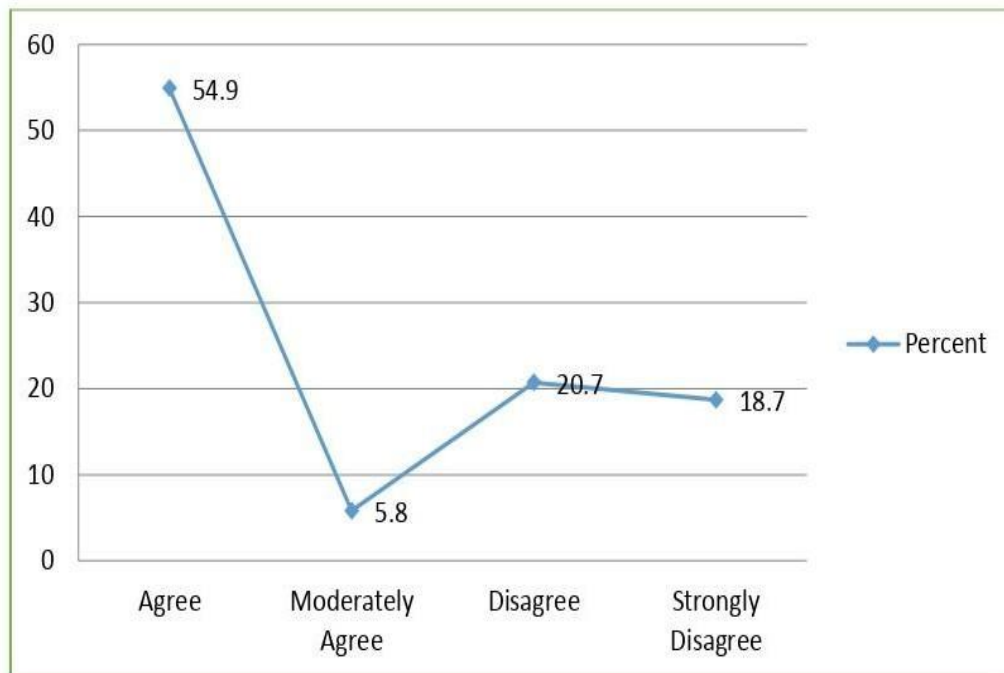
Q12.The unemployed youth engage in anti-social activities to make easy money and indulgin extortion and militancy.

Table 4.30

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	247	54.9	54.9	54.9
Moderately Agree	6	5.8	5.8	60.7
Disagree	93	20.7	20.7	81.3
Strongly Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 54.9 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘The unemployed youth engage in anti-social activities to make easy money and indulge in extortion and militancy’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.28



Part D. Challenges faced during coffee shop start-up

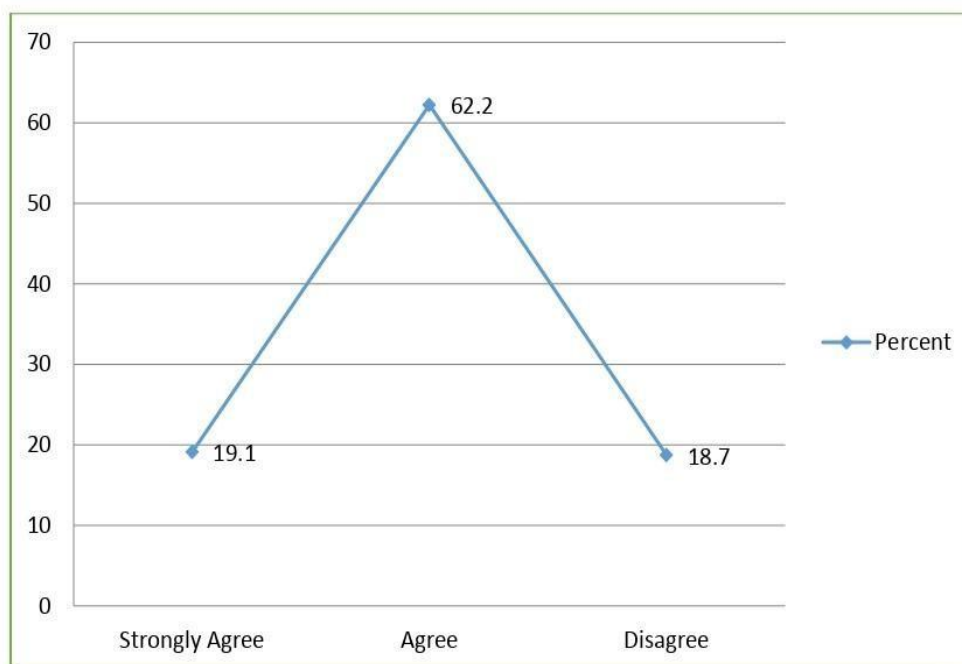
Q1. Tribal rights with regards to lands and forests should be respected

Table 4.31

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	86	19.1	19.1	19.1
Agree	280	62.2	62.2	81.3
Disagree	84	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 62.2 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, 'Tribal rights with regards to lands and forests should be respected'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.29



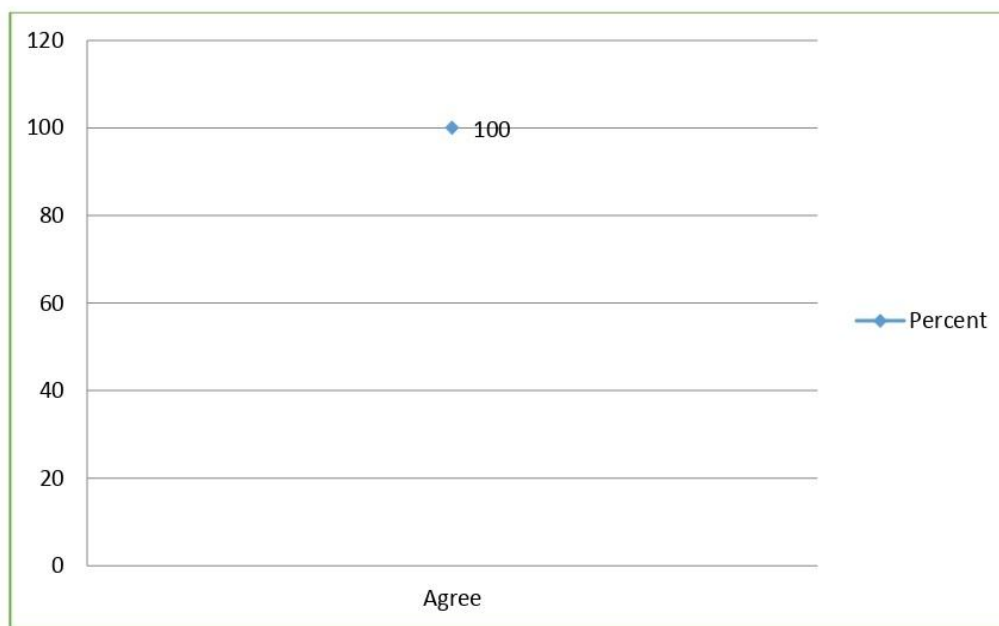
Q2. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them

Table 4.32

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	450	100.0	100.0	100.0

The table given above reveals that 100 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, 'People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.30



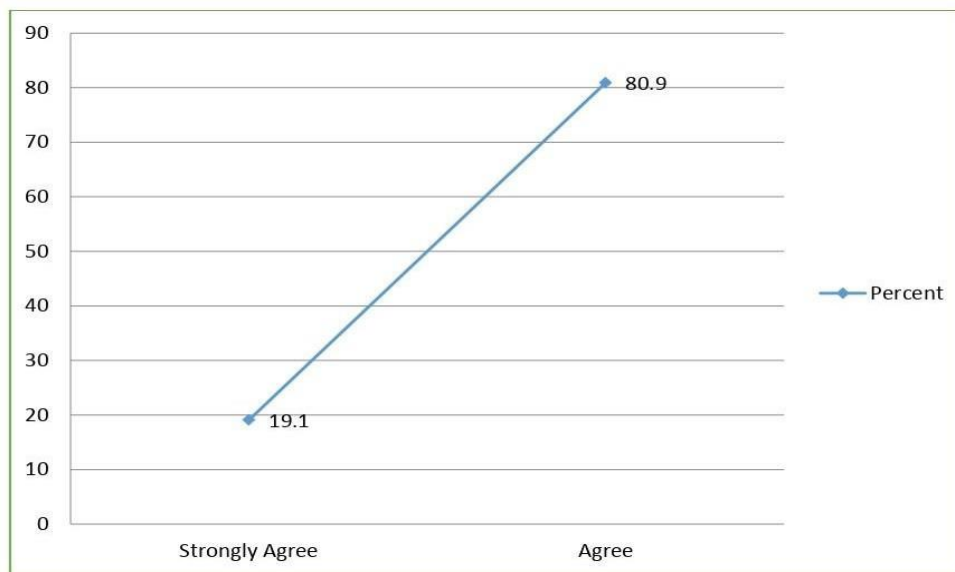
Q3.Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected

Table 4.33

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	86	19.1	19.1	19.1
Agree	364	80.9	80.9	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 80.9 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.31



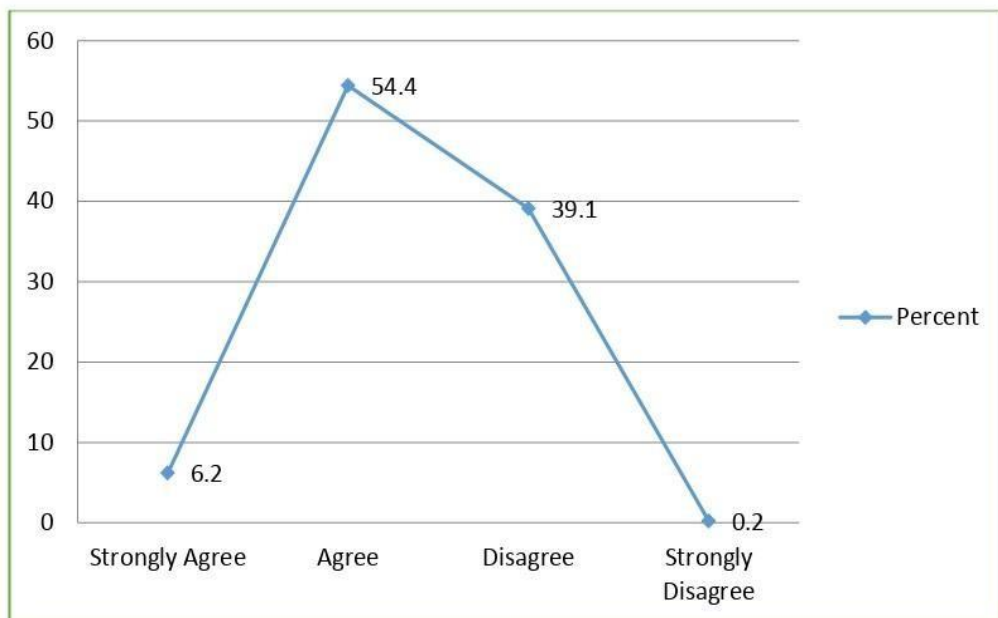
Q4. Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.

Table 4.34

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	28	6.2	6.2	6.2
Agree	245	54.4	54.4	60.7
Disagree	176	39.1	39.1	99.8
Strongly Disagree	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 54.4 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.32



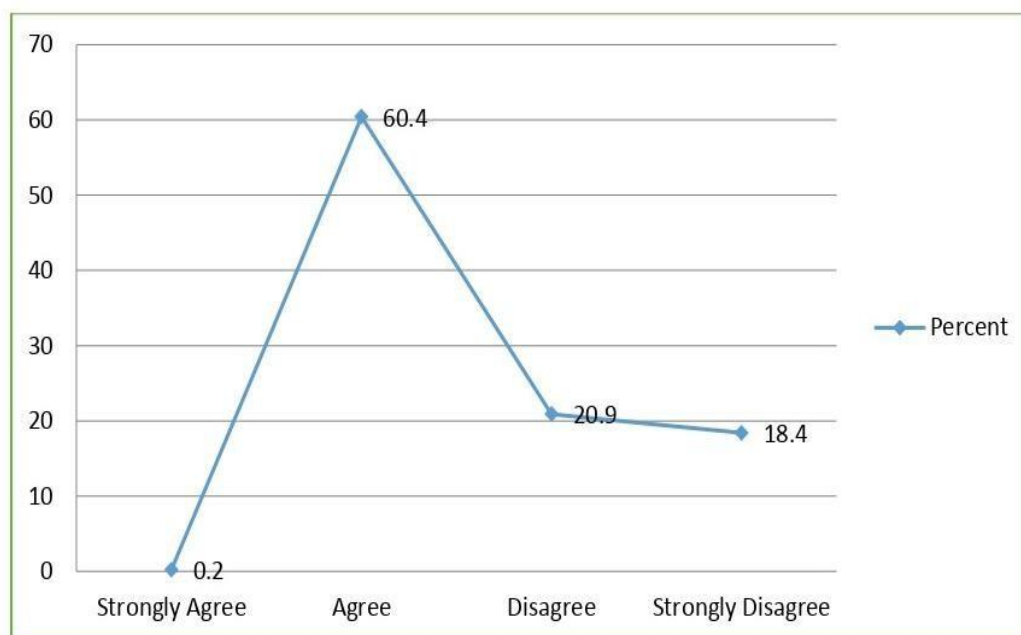
Q5. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development.

Table 4.35

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	1	.2	.2	.2
Agree	272	60.4	60.4	60.7
Disagree	94	20.9	20.9	81.6
Strongly Disagree	83	18.4	18.4	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 60.4 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.33



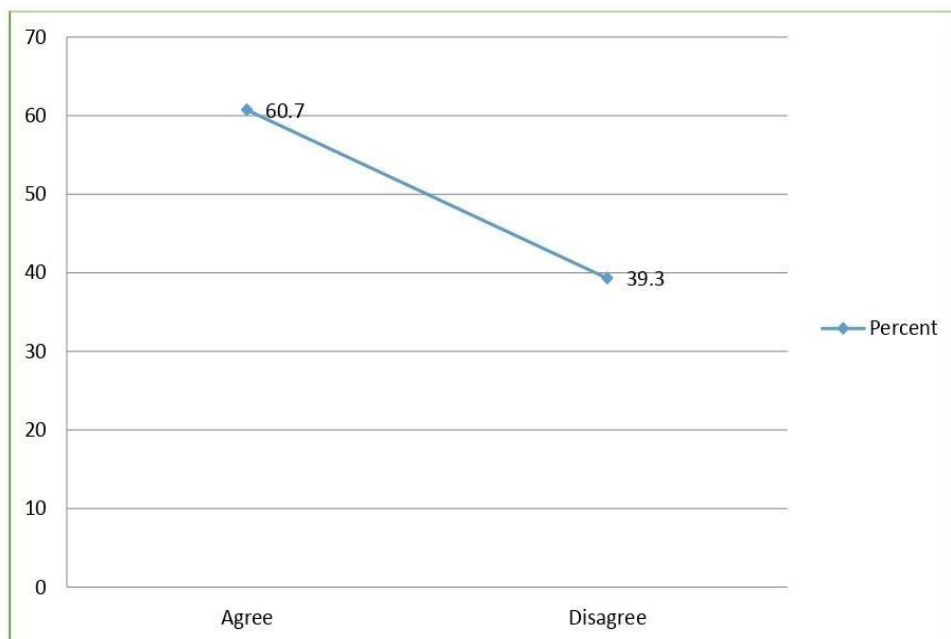
Q6. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes.

Table 4.36

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	273	60.7	60.7	60.7
Disagree	177	39.3	39.3	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 60.7 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.34



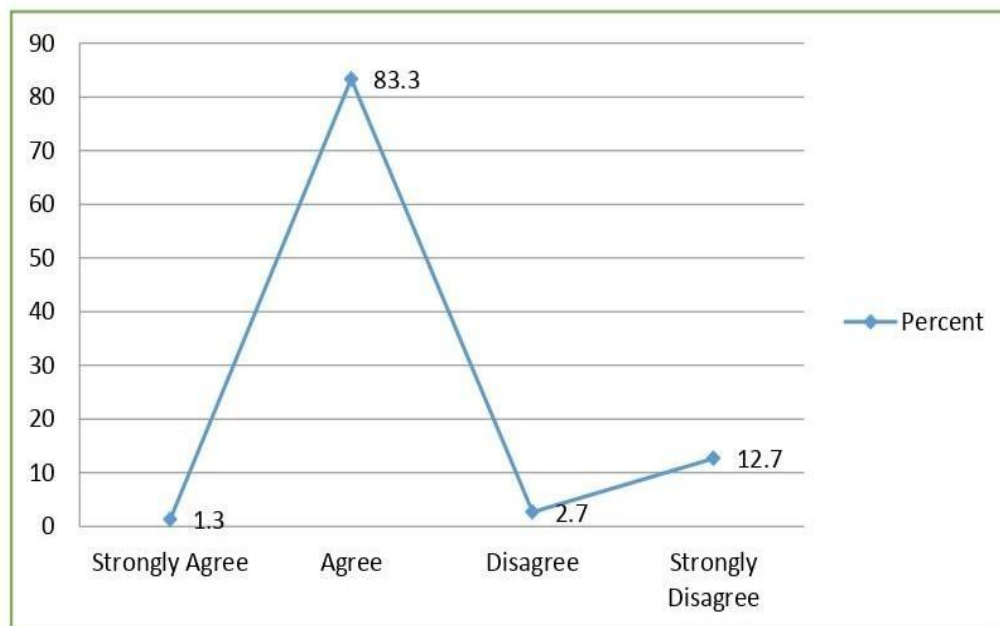
Q7.We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to their social and cultural institutions

Table 4.37

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	6	1.3	1.3	1.3
Agree	375	83.3	83.3	84.7
Disagree	12	2.7	2.7	87.3
Strongly Disagree	57	12.7	12.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 83.3 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to their social and cultural institutions’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.35



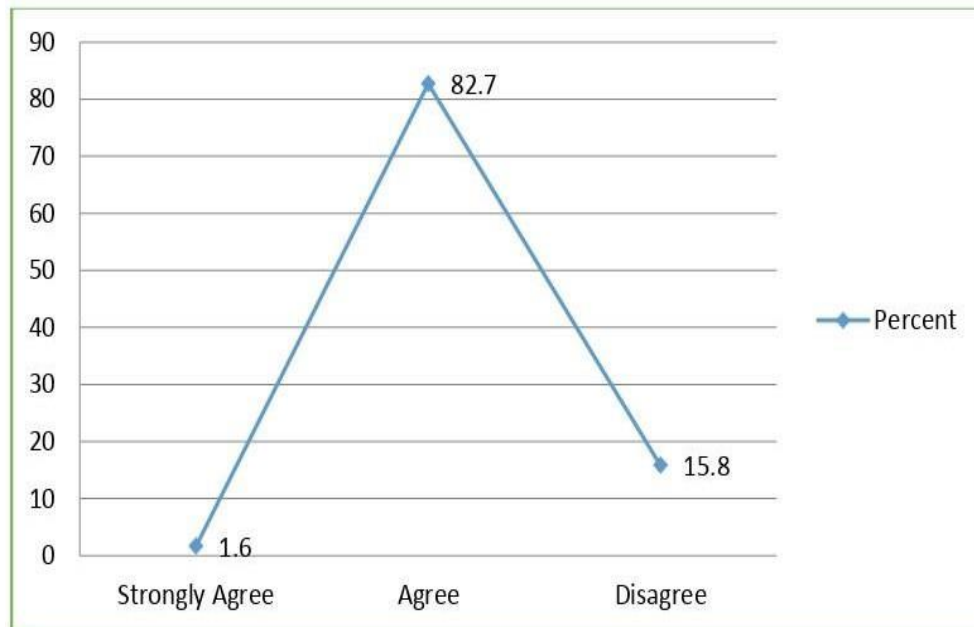
Q8. We should judge results, not by statistics of the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

Table 4.38

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	7	1.6	1.6	1.6
Agree	372	82.7	82.7	84.2
Disagree	71	15.8	15.8	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 82.7 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘We should judge results, not by statistics of the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.36



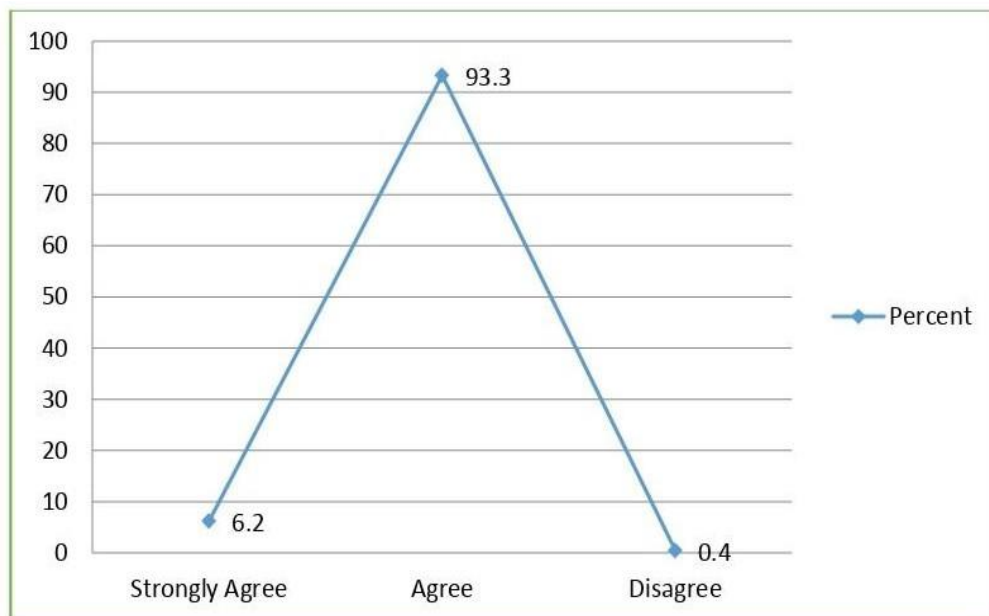
Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development.

Table 4.39

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	28	6.2	6.2	6.2
Agree	420	93.3	93.3	99.6
Disagree	2	.4	.4	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 93.3 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.37



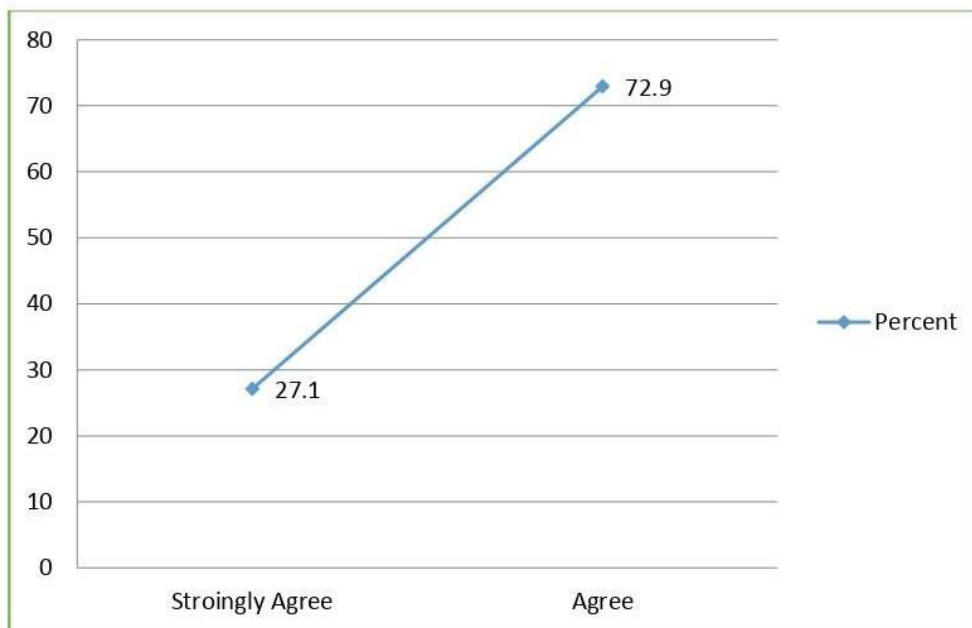
Q10.Protective- special legislations for protecting economic, interests and eliminatingexploitation.

Table 4.40

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	122	27.1	27.1	27.1
Agree	328	72.9	72.9	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 72.9 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Protective- special legislations for protecting economic, interests and eliminating exploitation’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.38



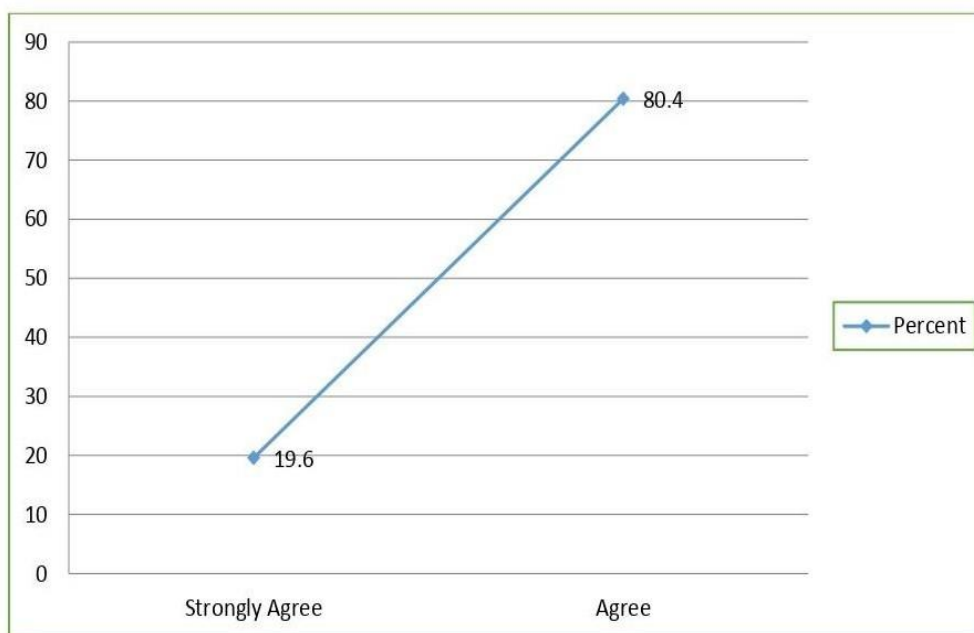
Q11.Political reservation of seats in legislatures and local bodies.

Table 4.41

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	88	19.6	19.6	19.6
Agree	362	80.4	80.4	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 80.4 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Political-reservation of seats in legislatures and local bodies’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.39



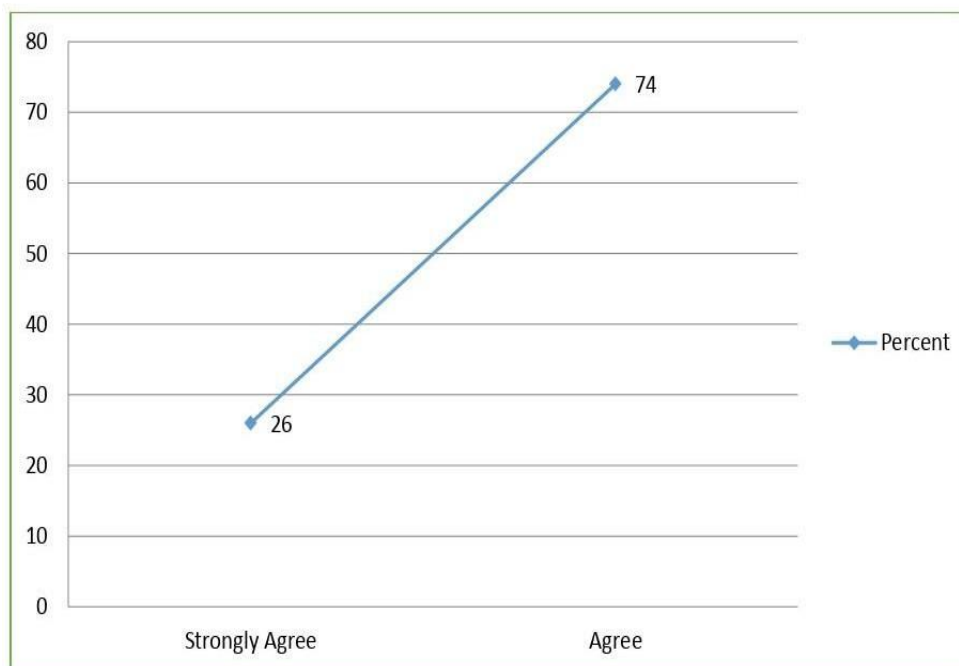
Q12.Schemes/opportunities for employment and self-employment.

Table 4.42

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	117	26.0	26.0	26.0
Agree	333	74.0	74.0	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 74 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Schemes/opportunities for employment and self- employment’.The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.40



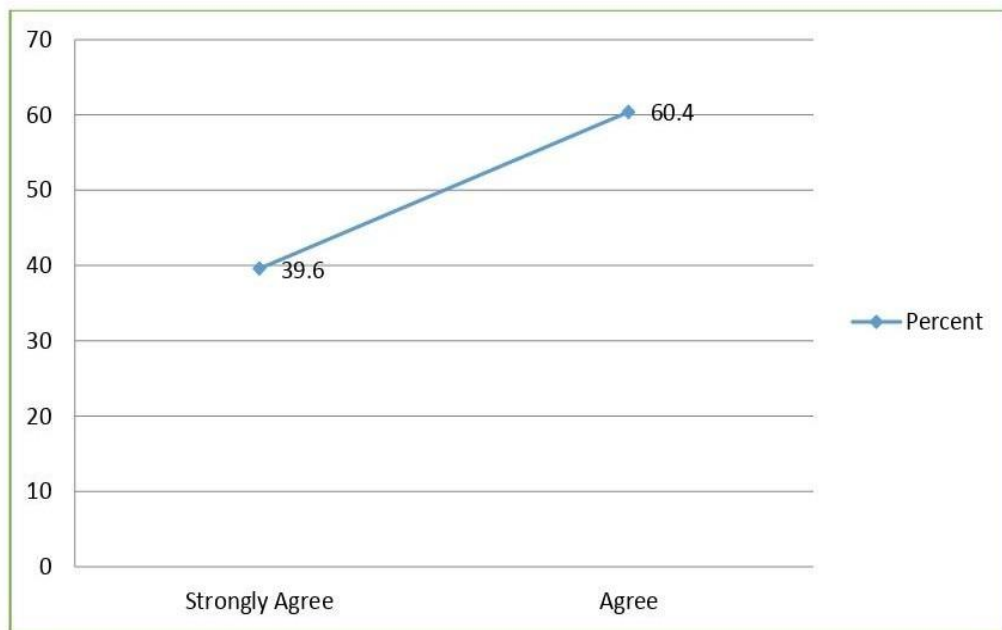
Q13. Recruitment in Government and semi-government services

Table 4.43

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	178	39.6	39.6	39.6
Agree	272	60.4	60.4	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 60.4 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, 'Recruitment in Government and semi-government services'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.41



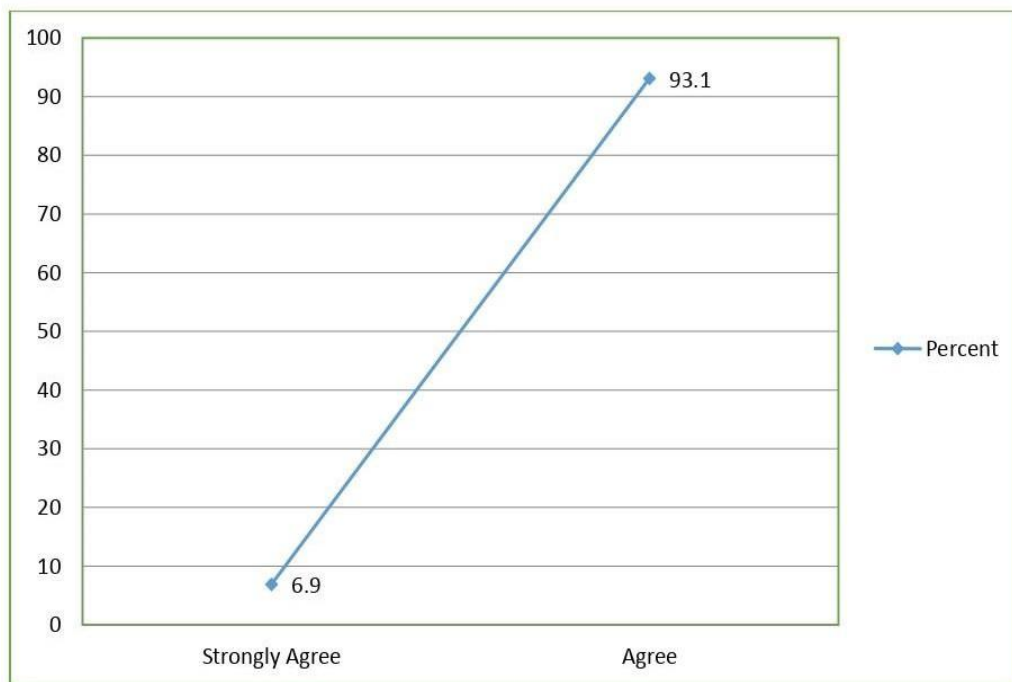
Q14.Seed money assistance to educated unemployed

Table 4.44

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	31	6.9	6.	6.9
Agree	419	93.1	93.	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.	

The table given above reveals that 93.1 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Seed money assistance to educated unemployed’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.42



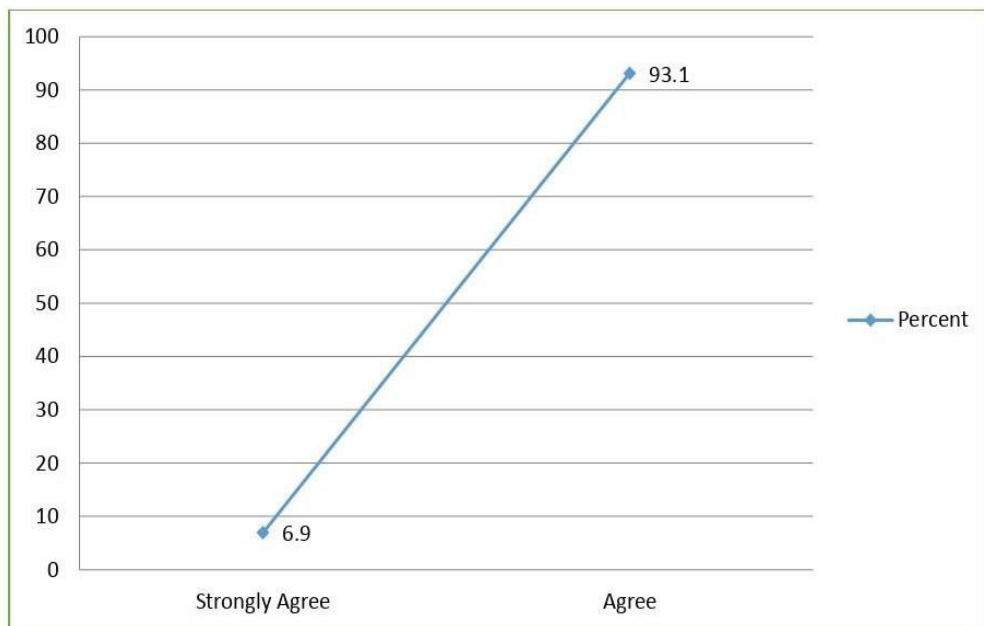
Q15.Entrepreneurial training program should be increased.

Table 4.45

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	31	6.9	6.	6.9
Agree	419	93.1	93.	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.	

The table given above reveals that 93.1 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, 'Entrepreneurial training program should be increased'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.43



Part E. Efficacy of the sixth schedule

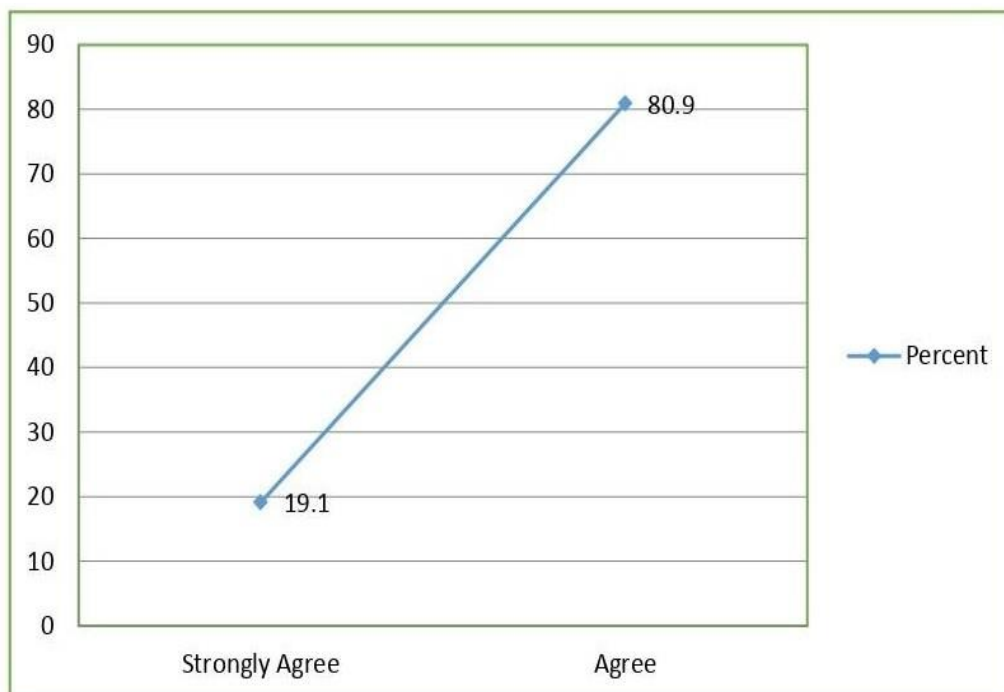
Q1. In a single Sixth Schedule area more than one tribal community inhabits along with a sizable non-tribal population.

Table 4.46

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	86	19.1	19.1	19.1
Agree	364	80.9	80.9	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 80.9 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, 'In a single Sixth Schedule area more than one tribal community inhabits along with a sizable non-tribal population'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.44



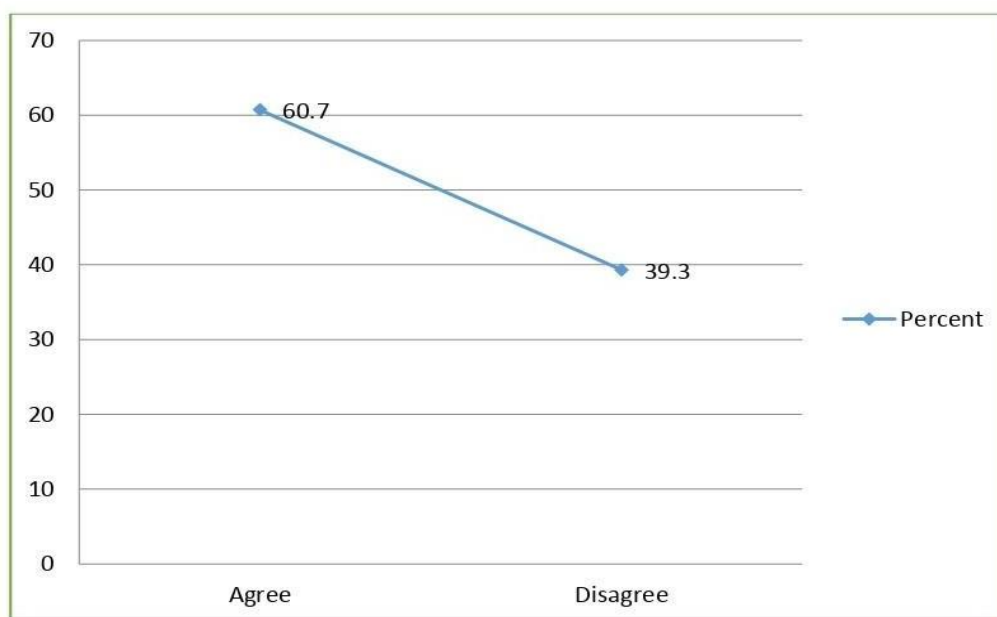
Q2.A tribal community within an Autonomous District Council may enjoy further autonomy by forming its Autonomous Regional Council

Table 4.47

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	273	60.7	60.7	60.7
Disagree	177	39.3	39.3	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 60.7 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘A tribal community within an Autonomous District Council may enjoy further autonomy by forming its Autonomous Regional Council’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.45



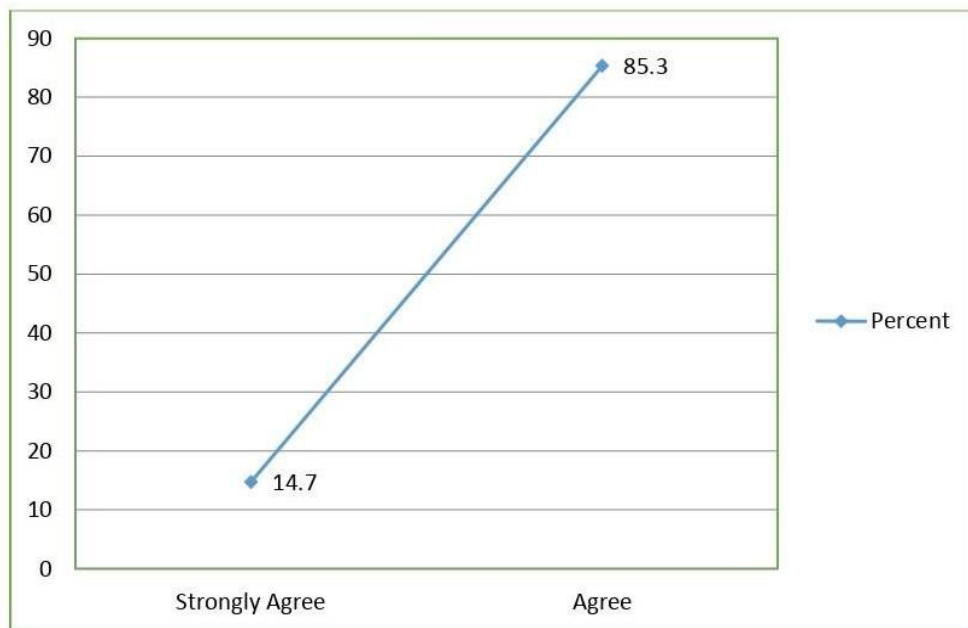
Q3.This Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Regional Councils were authorized to some special powers.

Table 4.48

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	66	14.7	14.7	14.7
Agree	384	85.3	85.3	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 85.3 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘This Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Regional Councils were authorized to some special powers through’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.46



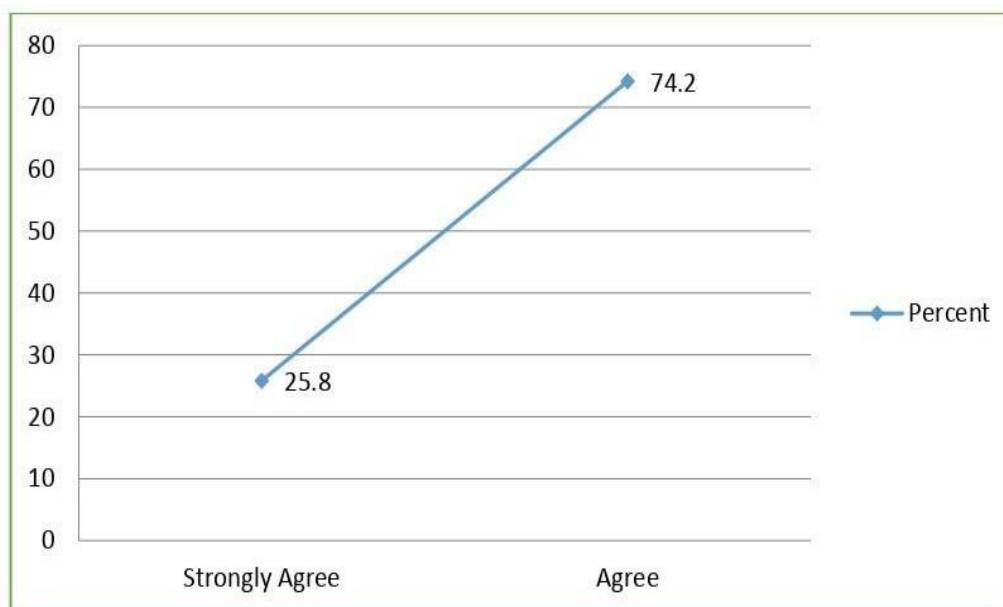
Q4. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart, of land, other than any land which is a reserved forest for the purposes

Table 4.49

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	116	25.8	25.8	25.8
Agree	334	74.2	74.2	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 74.2 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, 'Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart, of land, other than any land which is a reserved forest for the purposes'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.47



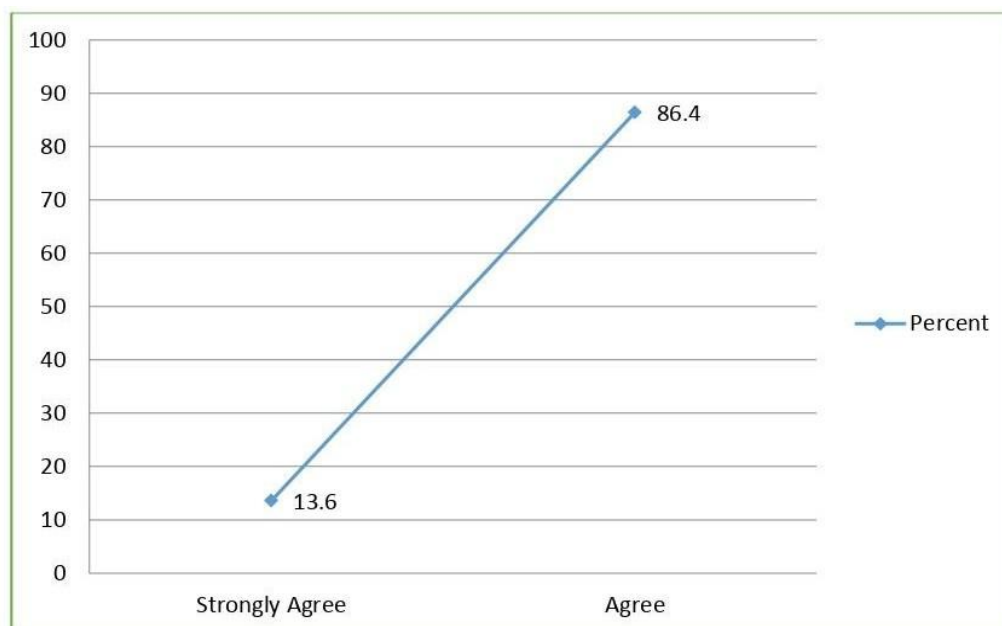
Q5. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the management of any forest not being a reserved forest.

Table 4.50

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	61	13.6	13.6	13.6
Agree	389	86.4	86.4	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 86.4 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the management of any forest not being a reserved fore’s’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.48



Q6. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the use of any canal or water course for the purpose of agriculture.

Table 4.51

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	450	100.0	100.0	100.0

The table given above reveals that 100 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the use of any canal or water-course for the purpose of agriculture’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.49



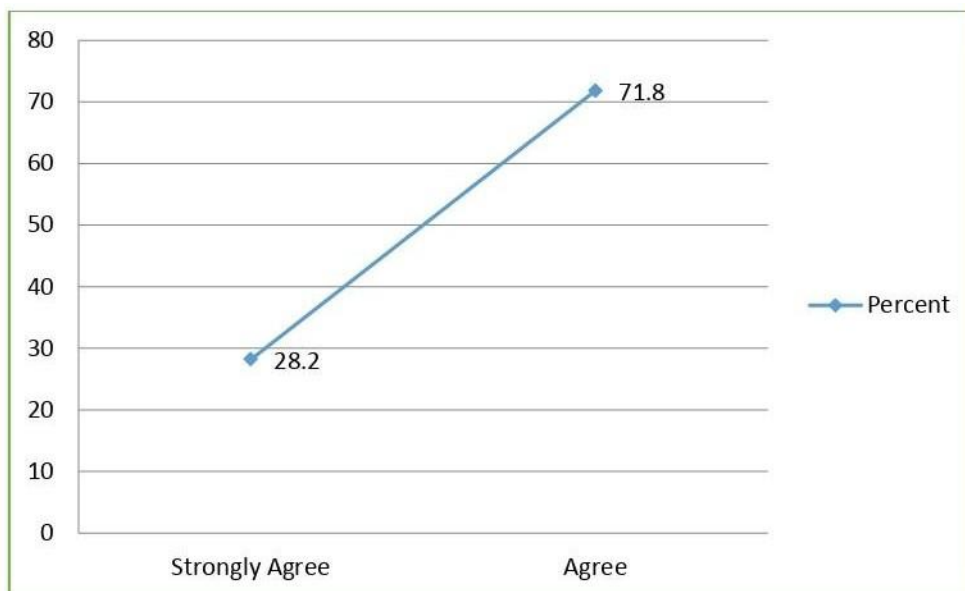
Q7. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the regulation of the practice of jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation.

Table 4.52

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	127	28.2	28.	28.2
Agree	323	71.8	71.	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.	

The table given above reveals that 71.8 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the regulation of the practice of jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.50



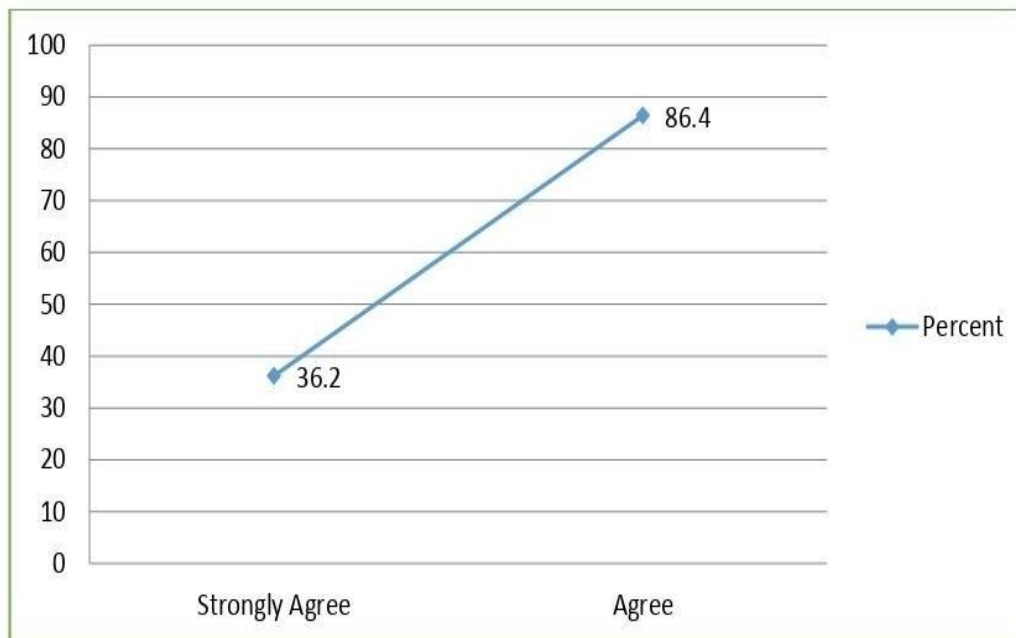
Q8. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to any other matter relating to village or town administration, including village or town police and public health and sanitation.

Table 4.53

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	163	36.2	36.2	36.2
Agree	287	63.8	63.8	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 63.8 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to any other matter relating to village or town administration, including village or town police and public health and sanitation’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.51



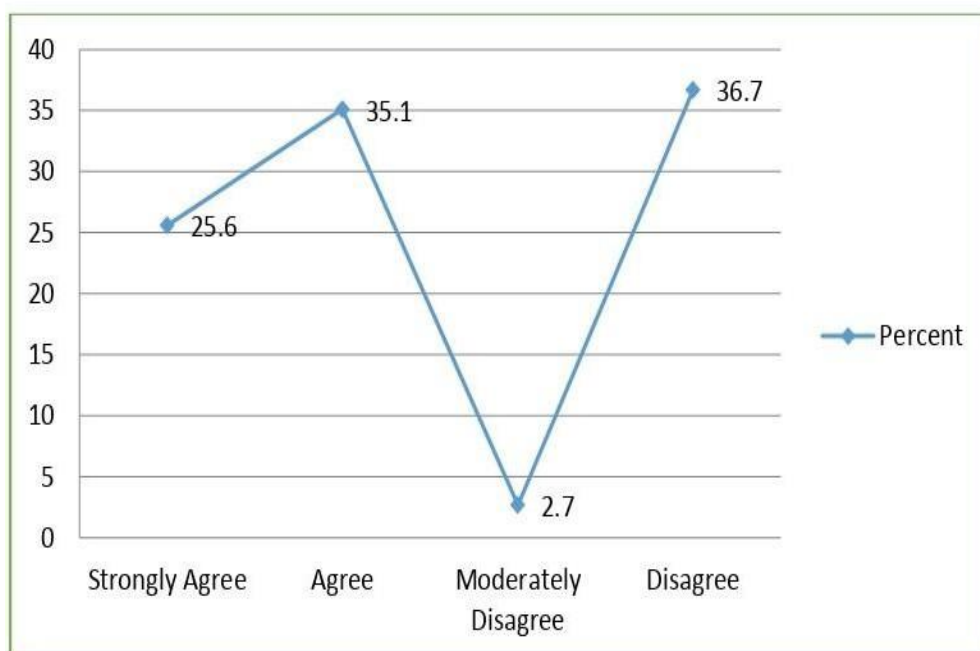
Q9. Autonomous Councils may constitute village councils or courts for the trial of suits and cases between the parties all of whom belong to Scheduled Tribes

Table 4.54

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	115	25.6	25.6	25.6
Agree	158	35.1	35.1	60.7
Moderately Disagree	12	2.7	2.7	63.3
Disagree	165	36.7	36.7	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 36.7 percent of the respondents chosen from the population disagree with the statement that, ‘Autonomous Councils may constitute village councils or courts for the trial of suits and cases between the parties all of whom belong to Scheduled Tribes’. The following bar chart also shows taller bar corresponding to the same.

Figure 4.52



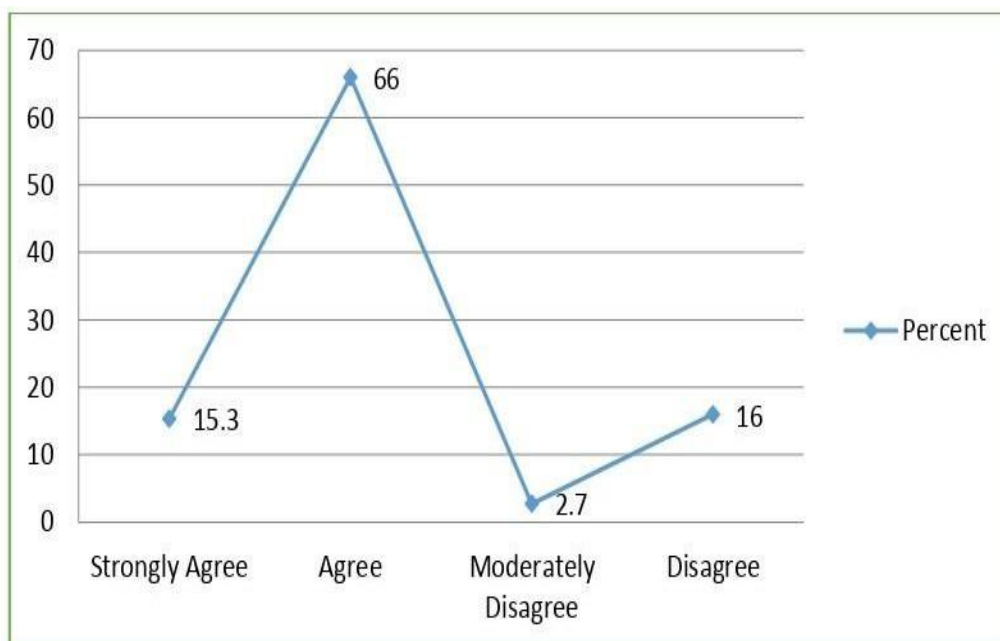
Q10.The District Council or the regional Council may exercise the powers of a court of appeal in respect of all suits and cases triable by a village council or court constituted.

Table 4.55

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	69	15.3	15.3	15.3
Agree	297	66.0	66.0	81.3
Moderately Disagree	12	2.7	2.7	84.0
Disagree	72	16.0	16.0	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 66 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘The District Council or the regional Council may exercise the powers of a court of appeal in respect of all suits and cases triable by a village council or court constituted’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.53



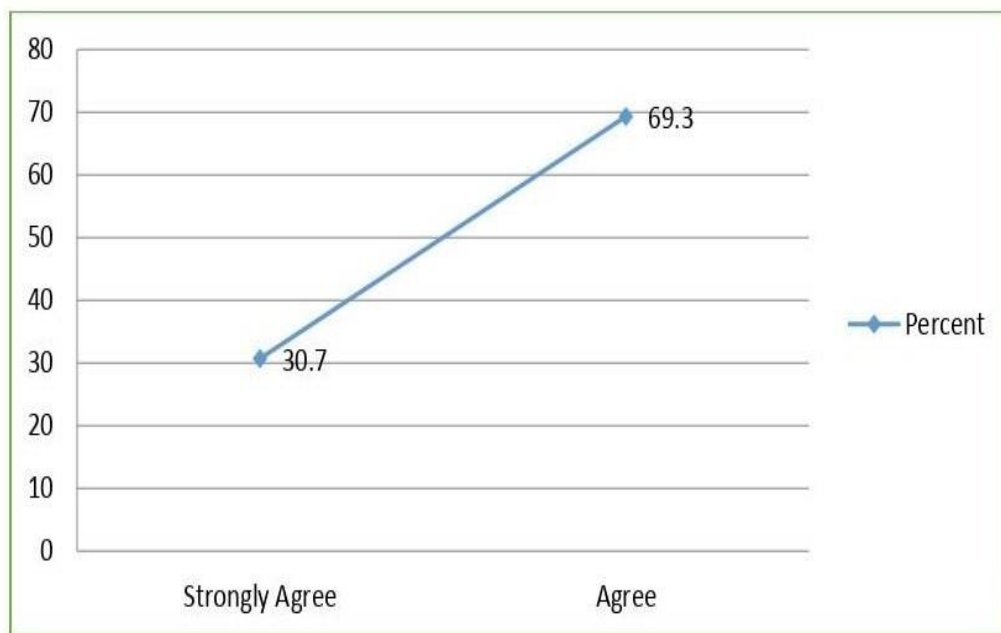
Q11.The District Council for an autonomous district may establish, construct, or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads, road transport and waterways in the district

Table 4.56

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	138	30.7	30.7	30.7
Agree	312	69.3	69.3	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 69.3 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘The District Council for an autonomous district may establish, construct, or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads, road transport and waterways in the district’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.54



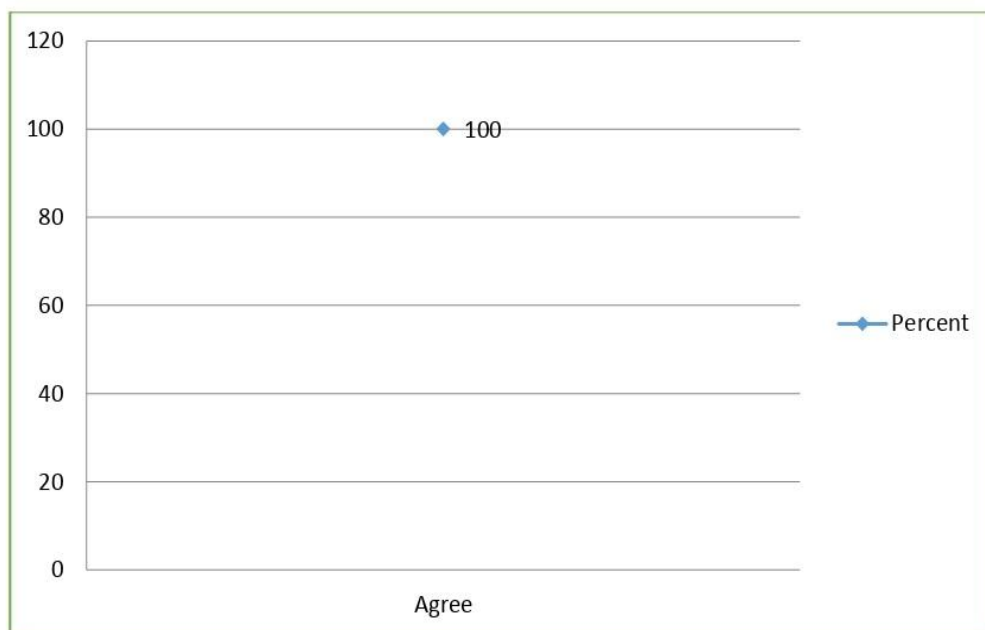
Q12.It also can make regulations for the regulation and control thereof and, in particular, may prescribe the language and the manner in which primary education shall be imparted in the primary schools in the district.

Table 4.57

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	450	100.0	100.0	100.0

The table given above reveals that 100 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘It also can make regulations for the regulation and control thereof and, in particular, may prescribe the language and the manner in which primary education shall be imparted in the primary schools in the district’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.55



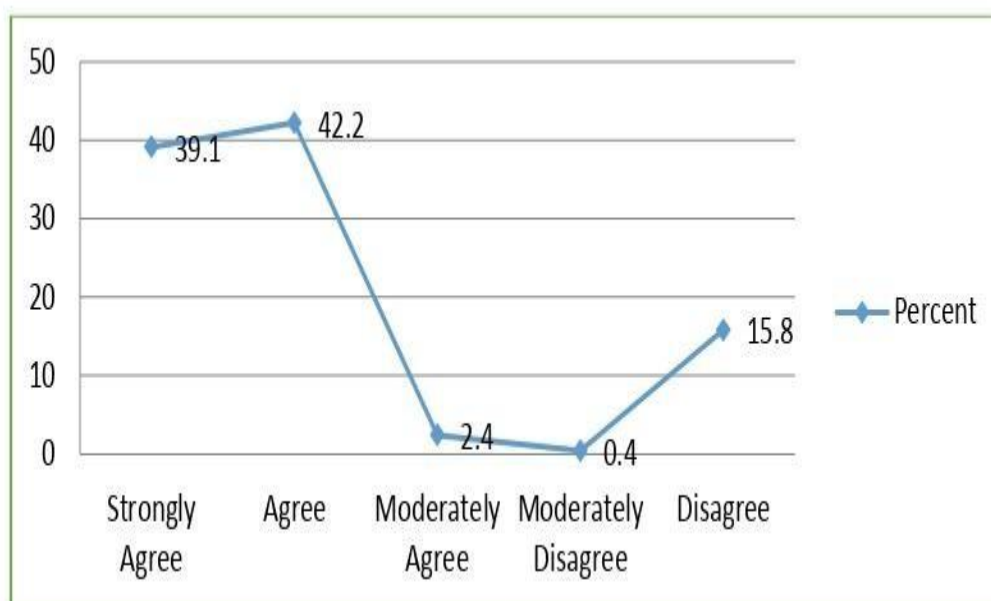
Q13.The District Council of an autonomous district may make regulations for the regulation and control of money lending or trading within the district by persons other than Scheduled Tribes resident in the district

Table 4.58

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	176	39.1	39.1	39.1
Agree	190	42.2	42.2	81.3
Moderately Agree	11	2.4	2.4	83.8
Moderately Disagree	2	.4	.4	84.2
Disagree	71	15.8	15.8	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 42.2 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘The District Council of an autonomous district may make regulations for the regulation and control of money lending or trading within the district by persons other than Scheduled Tribes resident in the district’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.56



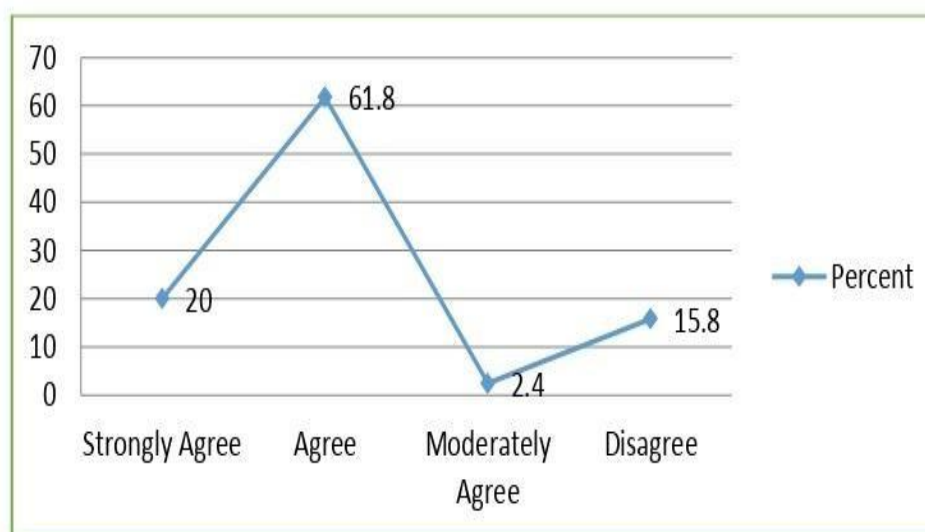
Q14. Autonomous Councils have the power to assess and collect revenue in accordance with the principles followed by the Government of the State and have power to levy and collect taxes on lands and buildings, and tolls on person's resident within such areas.

Table 4.59

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	90	20.0	20.0	20.0
Agree	278	61.8	61.8	81.8
Moderately Agree	11	2.4	2.4	84.2
Disagree	71	15.8	15.8	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 61.8 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, 'Autonomous Councils have the power to assess and collect revenue in accordance with the principles followed by the Government of the State and have power to levy and collect taxes on lands and buildings, and tolls on persons resident within such areas'. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.57



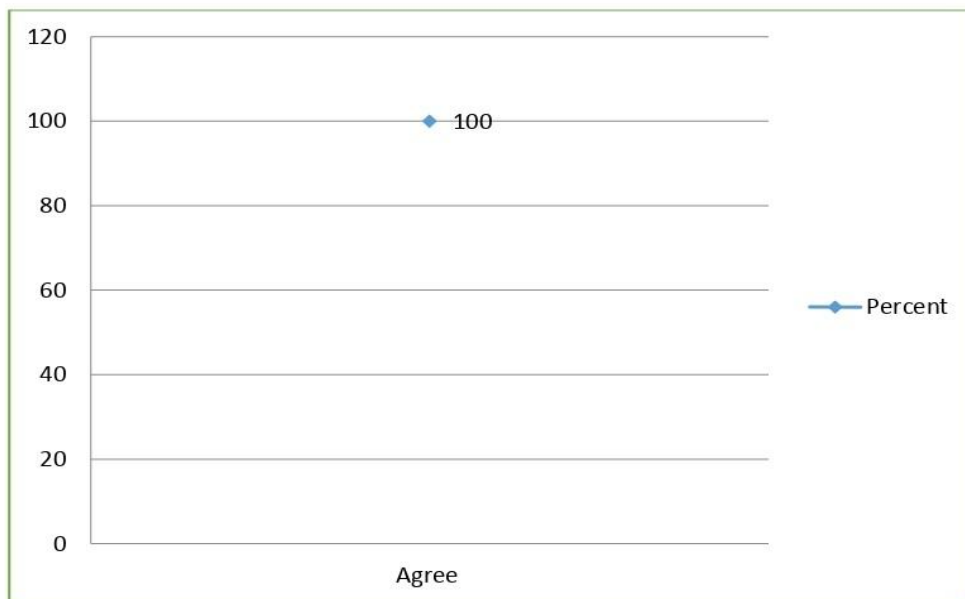
Q15.Sixth Schedule says that if the state government and the District Council make laws on the same subject, the legislation or laws of the state government shall prevail over those of the District Council.

Table 5.60

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	450	100.0	100.0	100.0

The table given above reveals that 100 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘Sixth Schedule says that if the state government and the District Council make laws on the same subject, the legislation or laws of the state government shall prevail over those of the District Council’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.58



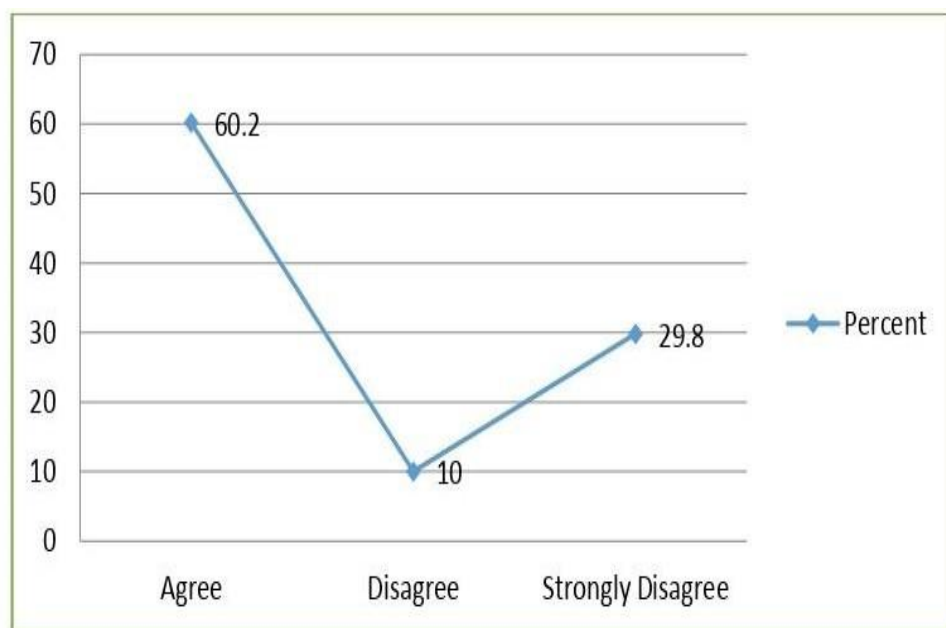
Q16.The Governor may also take over the executive functions from the councils through a public notice if s/he is convinced that the administration of the council is not in accordance with the provisions of the schedule.

Table 4.61

	Frequency	Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	271	60.2	60.2	60.2
Disagree	45	10.0	10.0	70.2
Strongly Disagree	134	29.8	29.8	100.0
Total	450	100.0	100.0	

The table given above reveals that 60.2 percent of the respondents chosen from the population agree with the statement that, ‘The Governor may also take over the executive functions from the councils through a public notice if s/he is convinced that the administration of the council is not in accordance with the provisions of the schedule.’. The taller bar in the corresponding bar chart also depicts the same.

Figure 4.59



4.4 RELIABILITY TESTING

In order to assess internal accuracy, i.e. the reliability of the measurement instrument (Questionnaire), Cronbach Alpha is a reliability test performed within SPSS. It is most widely used where the questionnaire is generated using several statements of the likert scale and thus decides whether or not the scale is accurate.

Reliability Analysis for Part:B

Reliability Statistics Table 4.62

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	No of Items
.716	.730	16

Cronbach's Alpha is *above 0.7* which means *reliable data*

The Cronbach's a value here is 0.716 which shows the high reliability of the instrument used for measurement. Additionally, it reveals a high level of internal consistency for the decision making variables.

Item-Total Statistics Table 4.63

	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q1.Ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?	.716
Q2.Insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?	.709
Q3.Autonomous district councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?	.689
Q4.The sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the hills and the plain?	.732
Q5.The state legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?	.686
Q6.The functions of the autonomous district councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas?	.702
Q7.The ADC's are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively?	.705
Q8.The ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively?	.718
Q9.The ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly?	.690
Q10.The ADC's under the sixth schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people?	.691
Q11.The members of the district council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?	.723
Q12.The state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?	.698

Q13.The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?	.710
Q14.The amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?	.709
Q15.The sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?	.663
Q16.There should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?	.695

Reliability Analysis for Part C. Role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes.

Reliability Statistics Table 4.64

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.967	.970	12

Cronbach's Alpha is *above* 0.7 which means *reliable data*

The Cronbach's α value here is 0.967 which shows a very high reliability of the instrument used for measurement. Additionally, it reveals a high level of internal consistency for the decision making variables.

Item-Total Statistics Table 4.65

	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	.974
Q2.It was as early as in the colonial period when the people of Northeast began to be aware of their ethnic identities, and demand for their rights.	.965
Q3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region	.962
Q4.There have been a number of efforts to de-escalate these conflicts on many occasions by government and non- government organisations. _x000D_	.962
Q5.During the early post-colonial period, traditional self- sufficient economy of the minority ethnic communities was replaced by money economy that made way for competition, social stratification, social mobilisation, and changes in the traditional power	.962
Q6.Each ethnic group makes a demand, and when it is not materialised, they form an insurgent group to 'fight for their rights'.	.966
Q7.One of the reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping, killing and e	.961
Q8.Often, innocent civilians become victims of conflicts who are harassed by both the state and non-state actors.	.962

Q9.In order to have dominance in a particular territory, each tribe wanted to get rid of the other groups, staying in the locality which escalated into an ethnic tension in the region leading to violence and genocide.	.961
Q10.Ethnic group formation in the Northeast is based on certain socialproblems, historic-cultural legacies and political aspirations.	.962
Q11.There are also occasions, wherein the elites in the group manipulate the members to fight against other groups for their politicaand economic advantage.	.964
Q12.The unemployed youth engage in anti-social activities to make easy money and indulge in extortion and militancy.	.964

Reliability Analysis for Part D. Challenges faced during coffee shop start-up.

Reliability Statistics Table 4.66

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.760	.753	14

Cronbach's Alpha is *above 0.7* which means *reliable data*

The Cronbach's a value here is 0.76 which shows a high reliability of the instrument used for measurement. Additionally, it reveals a high level of internal consistency for the decision making variables.

Item-Total Statistics Table 4.67

	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q1.Tribal rights with regards to lands and forests should be respected,	.702
Q2.Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected	.756
Q3.Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.	.660
Q4.We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development	.648
Q5.We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes.	.662
Q6.We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to their social and cultural institutions	.829
Q7.We should judge results, not by statistics of the amount of moneyspent, but by the quality of human character that is Evolved	.721
Q8.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development	.767
Q9.Protective- special legislations for protecting economic, interests and eliminating exploitation.	.757
Q10.Political-reservation of seats in legislatures and local Bodies	.764
Q11.Schemes/opportunities for employment and self-Employment	.759
Q12.Seed money assistance to educated unemployed	.768
Q13.Entrepreneurial training programme should be increased	.768

Reliability Analysis for Part E. Efficacy of the sixth schedule.

Reliability Statistics Table 4.68

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.789	.844	13

Cronbach's Alpha is *above 0.7* which means *reliable data*

The Cronbach's α value here is 0.789 which shows a high reliability of the instrument used for measurement. Additionally, it reveals a high level of internal consistency for the decision making variables.

Item-Total Statistics Table 4.69

	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q1. In a single Sixth Schedule area more than one tribal community inhabits along with a sizable non tribal population.	.791
Q2. A tribal community within an Autonomous District Council may enjoy further autonomy by forming its Autonomous Regional Council	.714
Q3. This Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Regional Councils were authorized to some special powers through	.791
Q4. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart, of land, other than any land which is a reserved forest for the purposes	.780
Q5. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the management of any forest not being a reserved forces	.791
Q7. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the regulation of the practice of jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation	.780
Q8. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to any other matter relating to village or town administration, including village or town police and public health and sanitation	.795
Q9. Autonomous Councils may constitute village councils or courts for the trial of suits and cases between the parties all of whom belong to Scheduled Tribes	.706

Q10.The District Council or the regional Council may exercise the powers of a court of appeal in respect of all suits and cases triable by a village council or court constituted	.736
Q11.The District Council for an autonomous district may establish, construct, or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads, road transport and waterways in the district.	.781
Q13.The District Council of an autonomous district may mark regulations for the regulation and control of money lending or trading within the district by persons other than Scheduled Tribes resident in the district	.732
Q14.Autonomous Councils have the power to assess and collect revenue in accordance with the principles followed by the Government of the State and have power to levy and collect taxes on lands and buildings, and tolls on persons resident within such areas	.735
Q16.The Governor may also take over the executive functions from the councils through a public notice if s/he is convinced that the administration of the council is not in accordance with the provisions of the schedule.	.867

4.5 Hypothesis:

The qualitative methodology has been used in this research in gathering primary data to give clear understanding of the research for the study entitled, “**Examining The Politics of Ethnicity And Issues of Development In Meghalaya Vis-A-Vis Sixth Schedule Since 1970’s**” After 49 years of statehood since Meghalaya attained statehood on 21st January, it is still lacking in the development process and gap between tribals and non-tribals is still prevailing which might hamper the progress of the state.

This area will address these inquiries, which guided the study as-

Objectives

To identify factors that led to ethnic conflict among the Tribals and Non-tribals.

To study the efficacy of the Sixth Schedule.

To study the role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes.

To elaborate the role of Tribal students and pressure groups of Meghalaya toward other community

To suggest remedies for the better cooperation between different tribes vis-a-vis non-tribals.

To elaborate the role the role of different political parties and their ideology to Sixth Schedule in general and Meghalaya in particular

Hypotheses

Conflict is evitable because people are denied of their identity.

Role of Traditional self-governance in diffusing tension.

Lack of economic development under the Sixth Schedule area

Insurgency groups have not played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya

Students and Pressure groups are in hands in inflaming ethnic division in the state.

This section interprets and describes data into each hypothesis with the help of respondent’s questionnaire and interviews.

From the data gathered it is found that-

a) Conflict is evitable because people are denied of their identity.

H0: There is no association in between series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities Northeast India and ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region.

H1: There is a strong association in between series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities Northeast India and ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region.

Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.

*** Q3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region Cross tabulation**

			Q3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Moderately Agree	Dis agree	Total
Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	Strongly Agree	Count	6	91	0	0	97
		Expected Count	19.8	39.9	19.2	18.1	97.0
	% within Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	6.2%	93.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	% within Q3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region	6.5%	49.2%	0.0%	0.0%	21.6%	
		% of Total	1.3%	20.2%	0.0%	0.0%	21.6%
Agree		Count	86	93	0	0	179
		Expected Count	36.6	73.6	35.4	33.4	179.0
	% within Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	48.0%	52.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	

	% within Q3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region	93.5%	50.3%	0.0%	0.0%	39.8%
	% of Total	19.1%	20.7%	0.0%	0.0%	39.8%
Disagree	Count	0	1	89	84	174
	Expected Count	35.6	71.5	34.4	32.5	174.0
	% within Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	0.0%	0.6%	51.1%	48.3%	100.0%
	% within Q3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region	0.0%	0.5%	100.0%	100.0%	38.7%
	% of Total	0.0%	0.2%	19.8%	18.7%	38.7%
Total	Count	92	185	89	84	450
	Expected Count	92.0	185.0	89.0	84.0	450.0
	% within Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	20.4%	41.1%	19.8%	18.7%	100.0%
	% within Q3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region	0.0%	0.5%	100.0%	100.0%	38.7%

	% within Q3. The ethnic conflicts, resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %
	% of Total	20.4%	41.1%	19.8%	18.7 %	100.0 %

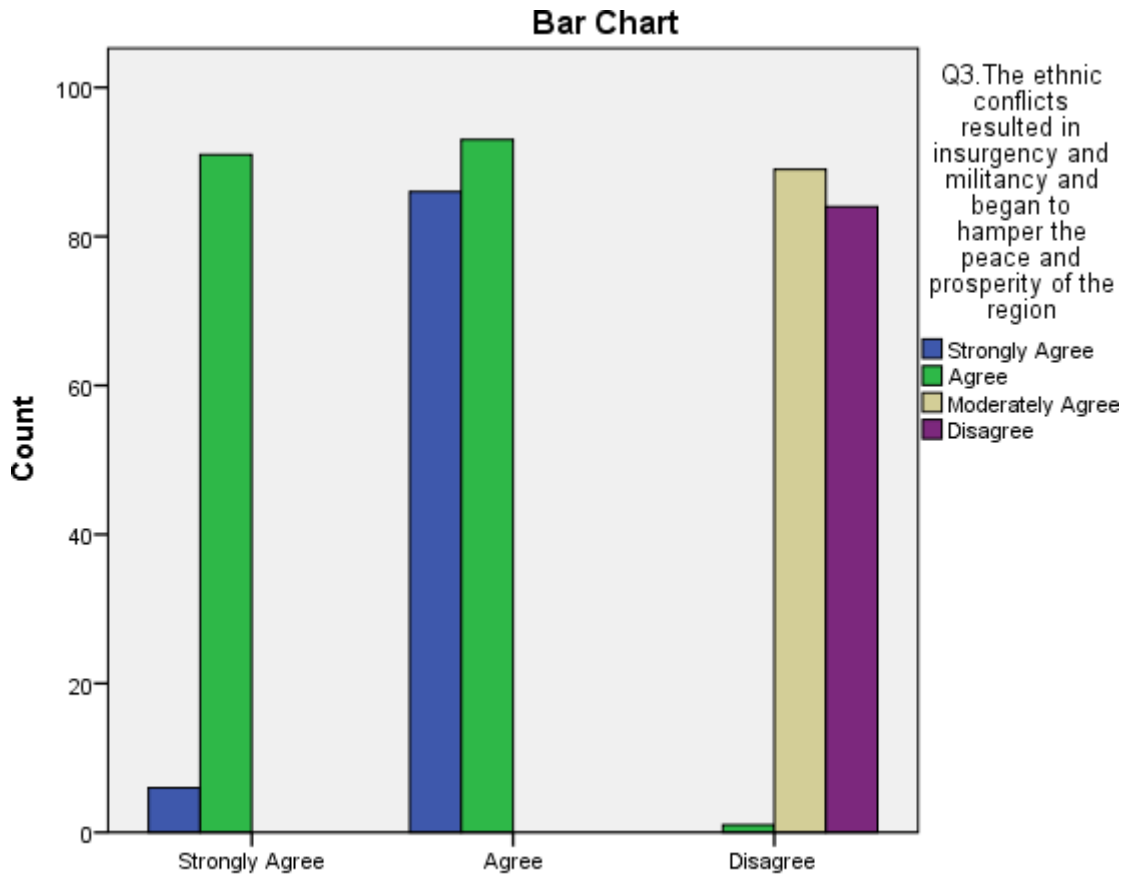
From the above table we can see that 39.8% responders were agree with ‘Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.’ and out of that 52% responders were agree with The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	526.535 ^a	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	646.542	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	268.731	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	450		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.11.

From the above tables of chi square test, we can see that person chi-square value 526.53 with low p value 0.00 ($p < 0.05$). This shows us that, **there is a strong association in between series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities Northeast India and ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region.**



Q1. Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.760	.753	14

		Q3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region				Total	
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Moderately Agree	Dis-agree		
Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	Strongly Agree	Count	6	91	0	0	97
		Expected Count	19.8	39.9	19.2	18.1	97.0
		% within Q1.Northeast Indiahas experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	6.2%	93.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within Q3.Theethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region	6.5%	49.2%	0.0%	0.0%	21.6%
	% of Total	1.3%	20.2%	0.0%	0.0%	21.6%	
	Agree	Count	86	93	0	0	179
		Expected Count	36.6	73.6	35.4	33.4	179.0

	% within Q1.Northeast Indiahas experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	48.0%	52.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %
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b) Role of Traditional self-governance in diffusing tension.

H02: There is no association in between ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities in Northeast India and the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping and killing.

HA2: There is strong association in between ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities inNortheast India and the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping and killing.

	% within Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within Q7.One of the reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping, killing and e	0.0%	49.7%	0.0%	39.8%
	% of Total	0.0%	39.8%	0.0%	39.8%
Disagree	Count	0	90	84	174
	Expected Count	2.3	139.2	32.5	174.0
	% within Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	0.0%	51.7%	48.3%	100.0%
	% within Q7.One of the reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping, killing and e	0.0%	25.0%	100.0 %	38.7%

	% of Total	0.0%	20.0%	18.7%	38.7%
Total	Count	6	360	84	450
	Expected Count	6.0	360.0	84.0	450.0
	% within Q1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.	1.3%	80.0%	18.7%	100.0%
	% within Q7.One of the reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping, killing and e	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	1.3%	80.0%	18.7%	100.0%

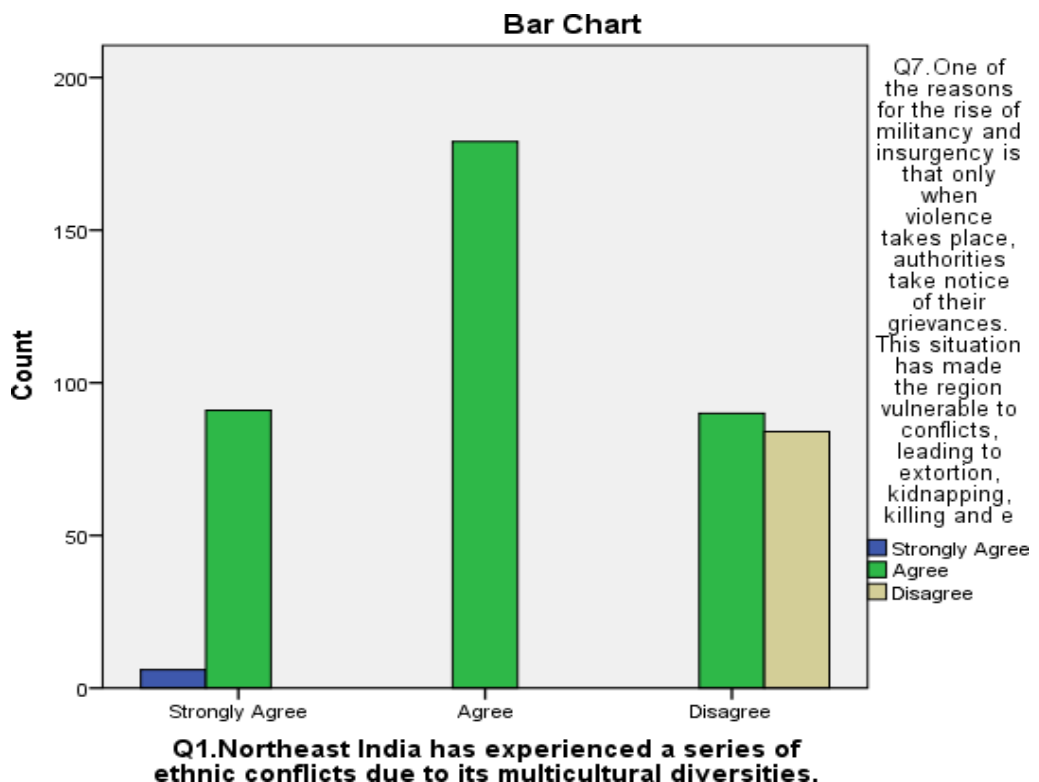
From the above table we can see that 39.8% responders were agree with ‘Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.’ and out of that 100% responders were agree with One of the reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping, and killing.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2 sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	183.730	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	208.425	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	161.310		.000
N of Valid Cases	450		

a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.29.

From the above table it can be observed that the pearson chi-square value is 183.73 with low p value 0.00 ($p < 0.05$). This shows that, **there is strong association in between ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities in Northeast India and the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping and killing.**



c) Lack of economic development under the Sixth Schedule area

H03: There is no association in between Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development and the district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmers.

HA3: There is a association in between Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development and the district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmers.

Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development *

Q13.The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes? Cross tabulation

		Q13.The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?				Total	
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree		
Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio- economic development	Strongly Agree	Count	10	0	14	4	28
		Expected Count	11.9	10.3	5.0	.7	28.0
		% within					
		Q9.Development- implementation of special programs for educational and socio- economic development	35.7%	0.0%	50.0%	14.3%	100.0 %

	% within Q13.The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?	5.2%	0.0%	17.3%	36.4%	6.2%
	% of Total	2.2%	0.0%	3.1%	0.9%	6.2%
Agree	Count	182	166	65	7	420
	Expected Count	179.2	154.9	75.6	10.3	420.0
	% within Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio- economic development	43.3%	39.5%	15.5%	1.7%	100.0%
	% within Q13.The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?	94.8%	100.0%	80.2%	63.6%	93.3%
	% of Total	40.4%	36.9%	14.4%	1.6%	93.3%
Disagree	Count	0	0	2	0	2
	Expected Count	.9	.7	.4	.0	2.0

	% within Q9.Development t- implementation of special programs for educational and socio- economic development	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	0.0%	100.0 %
	% within Q13.The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?	0.0%	0.0%	2.5%	0.0%	0.4%
	% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.4%
Total	Count	192	166	81	11	450
	Expected Count	192.0	166.0	81.0	11.0	450.0
	% within Q9.Development t- implementation of special programs for educational and socio- economic development	42.7%	36.9%	18.0%	2.4%	100.0 %

	% within Q13. The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	42.7%	36.9%	18.0%	2.4%	100.0%

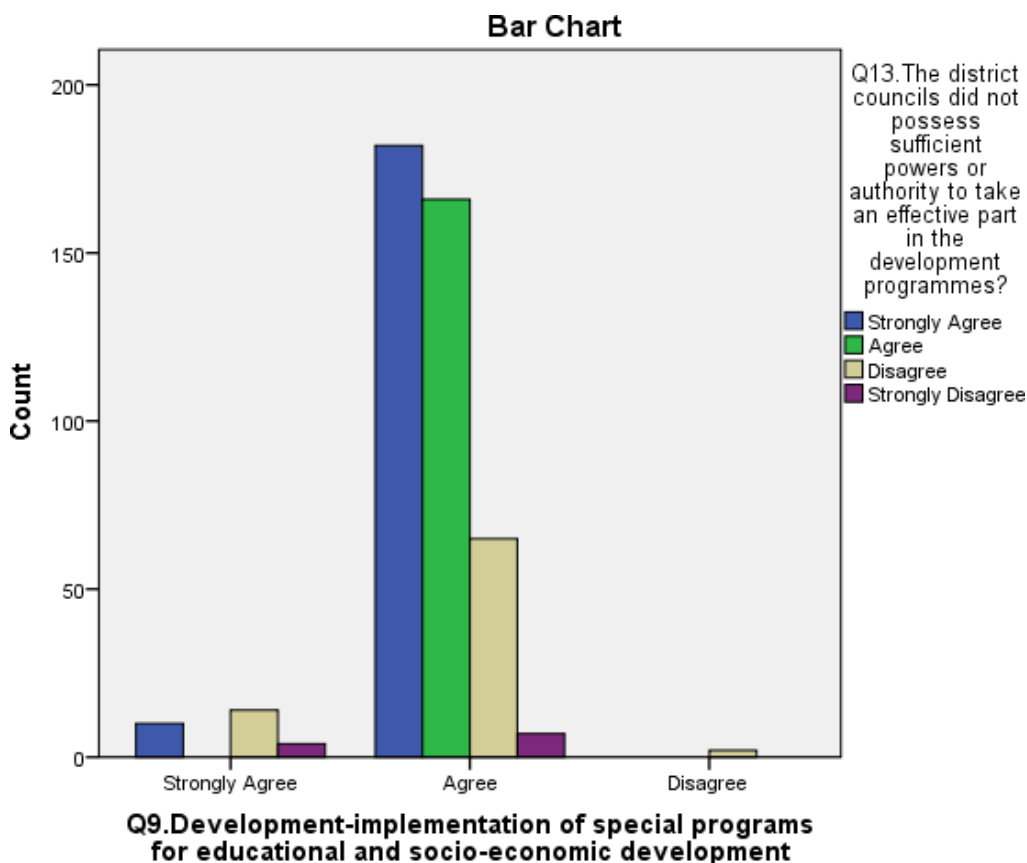
From the above table we can see that 93.3% responders were agree with ‘Development- implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development’, and out of that 39.5% responders were agree with The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programs.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	55.107 ^a	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	49.580	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.375	1	.123
N of Valid Cases	450		

a. 5 cells (41.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .05.

from the above table, the person’s chi square value id 55.10.. With low p value 0.00 ($p < 0.05$) it can be concluded that, **There is a association in between Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development and the district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmers.**



d) Insurgency groups have not played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya

H04: There is no association in between attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development and Development- implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development.

HA4: There is an association in between attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development and Development- implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development.

Q4.Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development. * Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development Cross tabulation

		Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development			
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Total
Q4.Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.	Strongly Agree	0	28	0	28
	Count				
	Expected Count	1.7	26.1	.1	28.0
	% within				
	Q4.Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%

	% within Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development	0.0%	6.7%	0.0%	6.2%
	% of Total	0.0%	6.2%	0.0%	6.2%
Agree	Count	6	239	0	245
	Expected Count	15.2	228.7	1.1	245.0
	% within Q4.Attempts should be made to train and buildup a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.	2.4%	97.6%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development	21.4%	56.9%	0.0%	54.4%

	% of Total	1.3%	53.1%	0.0%	54.4%
Disagree	Count	22	153	1	176
	Expected Count	11.0	164.3	.8	176.0
	% within Q4. Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.	12.5%	86.9%	0.6%	100.0%
	% within Q9. Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development	78.6%	36.4%	50.0%	39.1%
Strongly Disagree	% of Total	4.9%	34.0%	0.2%	39.1%
	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.1	.9	.0	1.0
	% within Q4. Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%

	% within Q9.Development-implementation of special programs foreducational and socio-economic development	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.2%
	% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%
Total	Count	28	420	2	450
	Expected Count	28.0	420.0	2.0	450.0
	% within Q4.Attempts shouldbe made to train andbuild up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.	6.2%	93.3%	0.4%	100.0%
	% within Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	6.2%	93.3%	0.4%	100.0%

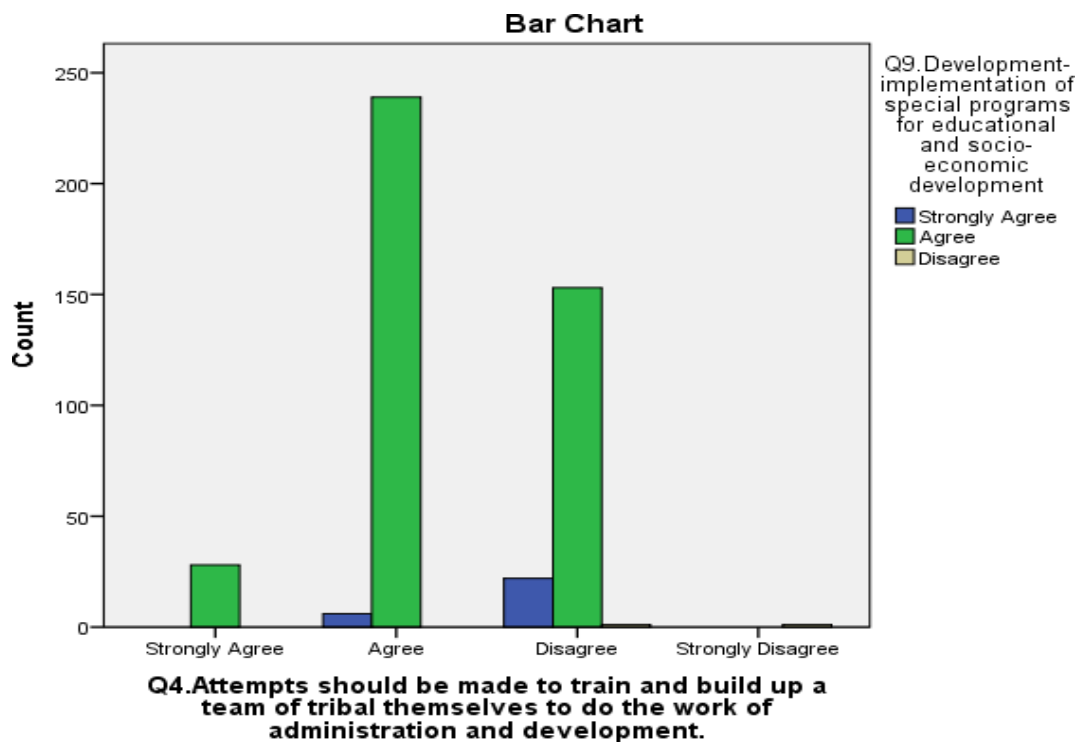
From the above table we can see that 39.1% responders were agree with ‘Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.’, and out of that 86.9% responders were agree with Development-implementationof special programs for educational and socio-economic development.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2 sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	245.143	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	34.07	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.95		.162
N of Valid Cases	45		

a. 7 cells (58.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.

From the above table, it can be observed that pearson chi-square value 245.14 and with low p value 0.00 ($p < 0.05$) it can be concluded that, **there is strong association in between attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development and Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development.**



e) **Students and Pressure groups are in hands in inflaming ethnic division in the state.**

H05: There is no association in between development-implementation of special programs foreducational and socio-economic development and try to train and build up a team of their ownpeople to do the work of administration and development.

HA5: There is an association in between development-implementation of special programs foreducational and socio-economic development and try to train and build up a team of their ownpeople to do the work of administration and development.

Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development *

Q5.We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development Cross tabulation

		Q5.We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development				Total	
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree		
Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic Development	Strongly Agree	Count	0	6	0	22	28
		Expected Count	.1	16.9	5.8	5.2	28.0
		% within Q9.Development-implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development	0.0%	21.4%	0.0%	78.6%	100.0%

	% within Q5.We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	26.5%	6.2%
	% of Total	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	4.9%	6.2%
Agree	Count	1	266	93	60	420
	Expected Count	.9	253.9	87.7	77.5	420.0
	% within Q9.Development - implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development	0.2%	63.3%	22.1%	14.3%	100.0%
	% within Q5.We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development	100.0%	97.8%	98.9%	72.3%	93.3%
	% of Total	0.2%	59.1%	20.7%	13.3%	93.3%
Disagree	Count	0	0	1	1	2
	Expected Count	.0	1.2	.4	.4	2.0

	% within Q9.Development - implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within Q5.We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	1.2%	0.4%
	% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%
Total	Count	1	272	94	83	450
	Expected Count	1.0	272.0	94.0	83.0	450.0

	% within Q9.Development- implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development	0.2%	60.4%	20.9%	18.4%	100.0%
	% within Q5.We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	0.2%	60.4%	20.9%	18.4%	100.0%

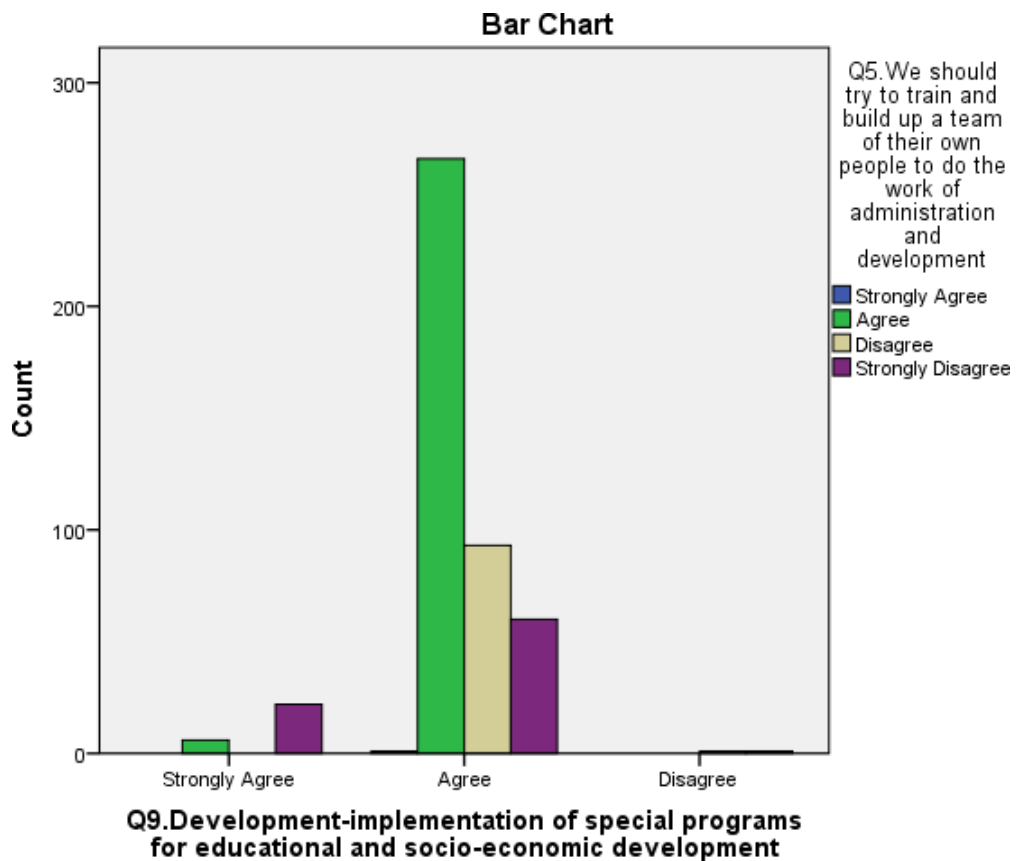
From the above table we can see that 93.3% responders were agree with ‘Development- implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development’, and out of that 63.3% responders were agree with We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2 sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	75.788	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	60.221	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.238	1	.022
N of Valid Cases	450		

a. 6 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.

From the above table, it can be observed that Pearson chi-square value 75.78 and with low p value 0.00 ($p < 0.05$) it can be concluded that, **there is strong association in between Lack of economic development under the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Development implementation of special programs for educational and socio-economic development and try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development.**



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CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION, FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1. Introduction:

5.2 Findings:

5.3 Suggestions:

5.4 Conclusion

5.5 Scope for further Study:

5.1. Introduction:

The current chapter was developed with the aim of exploring and examining the Politics of ethnicity and issues of development in Meghalaya Vis-a-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970's, by focusing on the specifics such as the ethnic disputes among the Non-tribals and the tribals, the efficacy of the Sixth Schedule, the role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes and to suggest remedies for the better cooperation between different tribes vis a vis the non-tribals. The study explores the politics of identity issues and development of Meghalaya Vis-a-vis 6th schedule since 1970's. The 6th schedule of the constitution of India which is also termed as a mini constitution within a constitution" is a special rule made particularly for the protection and the upliftment of the tribal people of India mostly inhabited in the hills areas of North-East India. This study also discusses about the efficacy of the sixth schedule and the role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes.

This study suggests some remedies for the better cooperation between different tribes Vis a vis non-tribals. This thesis will serve as a potential guide for the scholars on the topic of the identity issues and the growth of Meghalaya. There are only a few studies which have been conducted on this research area. Therefore, the current study attempts to explore and analyze the factors that led to various ethnic conflict, development and relevance and efficacy of Sixth Schedule. The participant, potential researchers and the whole society at large are the individuals which may gain from this analysis. This thesis will grab the attention of potential researchers to learn more about this field. This research could, for others, be a source of important up-to-date information and details that can be very useful for their own related studies on the concerned topic. Consequently, the study has only focused on the 6th Schedule pertaining to issues of development in Meghalaya.

The fundamental motivation behind leading an exploration for any field of scholarly staff is to enhance humanities and to tackle the general public's issue. In the new logical world information data can be assembled anyplace utilizing the current method of research. On exploring the various facets of the current study, it can be pointed out that this study is the first study ever to focus on Examining the Politics of Ethnicity and Issues of Development in Meghalaya Vis-a-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970's. As aforementioned, Gosselink (1994) has studied the minority rights and ethnic conflict in Assam. Then, social exclusion and ethnicity in Northeast India has analyzed by Bijukumar (2013). Musvosvi (2010) studied about the social exclusion

and ethnicity in North east, India. Ethnicity, Conflict and Population Displacement in India has studied by Phuka (2013). Apart from these, Deepshikha and Bhattacharjee (2013) focused on sixth schedule and tribal of North East India. The Indian Constitution's sixth schedule was studied by Chaudhary (2016) with special emphasis on Bodo and Territorial Council of Assam (BTC) Similarly, Singh (2014) comprehended the 6th Schedule of the Constitution of India highlighting the Dima Hasao autonomous council of Assam.

From the above reports, it is obvious that no research has been carried out on Meghalaya's problems and development. The thesis then attempted to fill the gap between these research studies by exploring Meghalaya's identity and growth and development under the Sixth Schedule. The main aim of study was to find the whole on the politics ethnicity, identity crisis and development of Meghalaya in the context of Sixth Schedule since 1970's because, ethnic clashes in light of character arrangement and emergencies have been a piece of human development.

From one viewpoint, ethnicity has helped the groups to be joined together, and then again, it has prompted to disarray and strife. There have been various ethnic developments in the upper east with a specific end goal to safeguard ones' ethnic character. In this manner, there is a linkage between ethnic personality and ethnic clash (Hussain 1993). Ethnic clash primarily happens when an ethnic gathering either searches for a character or when they are in personality emergency. Meghalaya the 'Residence Clouds' is the home of the Khasis, Jaintias and the Garos tribes. They are relatives of the exceptionally antiquated tribes having a particular social quality and ethnic cause.

Meghalaya got statehood in 1972. It is a territory of extraordinary picturesque excellence with Shillong as its capital. The Khasis of the Khasi Hills and their kindred tribes, Jaintias and Garos, were presented to Christian Missionaries in the nineteenth century. Throughout the years, under the kind eye of progressive British governors, systems of Christian preacher schools also, doctor's facility and in addition schools among the best in the nation were set up. As the current study was based on the interview method of data collection, it has helped in gathering a large amount of data therefore aiding the researcher in assimilating the reactions of a larger section of the selected group to reach an understanding on the objectives pertaining to the study.

In this research, the sampling method used is convenience sampling method. Convenience sampling method allows the researcher to make his/her own time and can be convenient enough in collecting the primary data. In this study the officials of the government of Meghalaya, members of district council will be examined and interviewed in the research. The study is important as it evaluates the factors led by various ethnic conflict and development and relevance and efficacy of the sixth schedule. The sample size for collection of data is 452 people through questionnaire and the interview study were 10 respondents who are officials of government of Meghalaya. The study made use of questionnaire data and interview method as the primary data collection tool. The researcher used open-ended questionnaires to collect the primary data from the respondents. The collected data was evaluated by using text analysis method. After that, the validation process was carried out to gain the important data to survey the capacity of a method or strategy to dependably acquire a craved result. Approval decides the conditions under which results can be obtained and decides the restrictions of the system or methodology. Also, the approval procedure distinguishes the basic parts of the system or strategy that must be precisely controlled and checked. In this research, ethical considerations are also followed.

5.2 Findings:

In the previous Chapter it has been analyzed the various data collected from different respondents of the people of Meghalaya. On exploring the information gathered from the respondents of the study, the main finding of this chapter can be summarized below:-

- i.** It can be gathered that while asked about the impact of ethnic identity as a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country, a majority of 39.6% of the respondents from the selected population disagreed with the question, pointing out that ethnic identity is not a threat to the national identity of the country and only 21% of the population agreed to the statement.
- ii.** While enquiring the role played by insurgency groups in inflaming the ethnic clashes in the state, a majority of the population agreed to the statement (30.7%), asserting the strong role played by the groups in creating social, ethnic and political clashes within the state.
- iii.** Majority, 90% of the respondents disagreed to the fact that autonomous

district councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya, pointing out the fact that the councils have not been a contributing factor in the political growth of the state.

iv. 41.6% of the respondents from the selected population disagree with the statement that the 6th schedule failed to stimulate amity and peace among the plains and hills, suggesting that it helped in comparison to the autonomous district council.

v. A majority also disagreed to the aspect that the state legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices.

vi. 52% of the respondents from the selected population are agreed that the functions of the autonomous district councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas, thereby indicating that it could have contributed towards the conflict in the state, especially in the tribal plains.

vii. 58.7%, majority of the respondents from the selected population are disagreed to the assertion that the autonomous district councils are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively, there again pointing out the incapability of the autonomous district councils, they also pointed out that the ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly.

viii. In the same line, 73.8% (majority) of the respondents from the selected population are agreed that the ADC's under the sixth schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people. They pointed out this to be due to the fact that the members of the district council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for.

ix. The responses indicated the effective role played by the state government in improving the political setting of the state, that is, 38.7%, a majority agreed that the state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils and that 42.7% of the respondents from the selected population strongly agreed with the assertion that the district councils did not possess adequate authority or power to engage successfully in the development programmers.

x. Considering the Legislation of 1971, an amendment Act, of 1971, abolished most of the constitutional independence of Meghalaya's district councils and reduced them to the status of the city council, which the majority decided on, suggesting its effect on the state's political system.

xi. A majority, that is, 56% of the respondents from the selected population are disagreed with the assertion that the 6th Schedule failed to recognize the goals of

development, integration, and autonomy for which it was framed, indicating that it had indeed functioned in the state and had contributed towards the betterment of the political setting of the society in Meghalaya. Consequently, the Constitutional founding fathers of the Indian Constitution incorporated the 6th Schedule for the benefit of North East tribals. The first Autonomous District Council known as the United Khasi Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council (UKJHADC) was inaugurated in 1952 at Shillong which had made an unexpected result amongst the educated tribal elite of Khasi Jaintia, as the Sixth Schedule nominated three non-tribals in the UKJHADC which was thought to be purely a tribal Regional Council for the tribes of Khasi and Jaintia only. A protest was staged by the tribals against the nomination of non-tribal in the UKJHADC which was the first confrontation by the Khasi-Jaintia tribals against the non-tribal which led to discord between the non-tribals and tribals.

xii. Probably due to this, the researcher gathered a majority of 58.2% of respondents who asserted that there should be a perpetuation of the District Council and Sixth Schedule in Meghalaya. As per the Indian government, the independent district prominence and its importance is a way which delicately handles the decision making and continues the demographic expression of its expectation and reality of North East India by providing and giving ethnic Homeland to the convinced and defined groups. Establishment of 6th schedule of Indian Constitution district Council has been provided large number of powers of Administration and legislation of integrity and justice and also ensure the power of Institute primary schools by making focus on the land income in mining, minerals and building regulation so that they could make effective control of trading and money lending by on travel and also make a strong delegation of power which was merged with guide law monitoring and enforcement and have positioned the step of aggressive motherland politics. And also, on exploring the role of the sixth schedule in the state of Meghalaya in the light of the ethnic clashes, it has to be pointed out that the sixth schedule has been dragged into the provisions for relying on the building up of conventions in Meghalaya and other states where it had provisions in the constitutions speaks for the discretion and reads acted by advice of the governor.

Even though Meghalaya has an autonomous district in the council, it stands differently from other states in Sixth schedule. As the Garos, Jaintias, and Khasis have been performing well by themselves, by the political system with the wide

extent of authority and powers. The main reasons for the development are the well-developed traditional institutions, super imposed district council systems, and formalized system through sixth schedule in the system.

xiii. The researcher went on to explore the role of insurgency in the ethnic clashes in Meghalaya by assimilating the reactions of the government employees selected for the study. 39.8% of the respondents from the selected population are agreed that the Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities and also agreed that it was as early as in the colonial period when the individuals belonging to Northeast began to be aware of their ethnic identities, and demand for their rights.

The respondents agreed to the reality that the ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region, thereby impacting the political as well as the social structure of Meghalaya, as per the state government and its ruling.

xiv. 41.3% of the respondents from the selected population are strongly agreed that, in spite of all the political and economic dilemma, there have been a number of efforts to de-escalate these conflicts on many occasions by government and non-government organizations. As a consequence, the findings of the study also revealed that in the

Consequently, the results also pointed out that during the early times in the post colonial era,, the conventional independent economy of the ethnic communities of the minorities was replaced by a money economy that made way for competition, social mobilization, social stratification and alterations in the conventional power, thereby completely shattering the political structure and power distribution within the traditional ruling systems of Meghalaya.

xv. Also, 59.3% of the respondents from the selected population also agreed that each ethnic group makes a demand, and when it is not materialized, they form an insurgent group to 'fight for their rights', as it had become necessary for the ethnic minorities to raise their voice to gain what was rightfully theirs.

xvi. A large majority of the study agreed (80 per cent) with the assumption that one of the major reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping and killing. And often, innocent civilians become victims of conflicts who are

harassed by both the state and non-state actors. Therefore, with the intention of acquiring dominance in a particular territory, each tribe wanted to get rid of the other groups, staying in the locality which escalated into an ethnic tension in the region leading to violence and genocide. It was the need to be free off the chains of political subjugation and discrimination that further led to the heated clashes in the state of Meghalaya.

xvii. It was also observed that 56% of the respondents from the selected population are agreed that ethnic group formation in the Northeast is based on certain social problems, historic-cultural legacies and political aspirations. And, there are also occasions, wherein the elites in the group manipulate the members to fight against other groups for their political and economic advantage – which was supported by a majority of 54.7%.

xviii. 54.9% of the respondents from the selected population are agreed that the unemployed youth engage in anti-social activities to make easy money and indulge in extortion and militancy as well. As per the studies and the findings, it can be further stated that during the British rule, the India's north-Eastern part were administered as imperial frontier and was treated as buffer zone which were under British rule.

xix. With respect to the specific aspect of the study, the researcher also explored the challenges faced during the establishment of the coffee shop and a majority of 62.2% agreed that the rights of the tribal communities regarding forests and lands must be respected and that people should be aware and must learn to work as per their own genius and the practice of imposing things on them must be avoided, which can only be understood as a respectable claim and nothing more in the defensive line. The researcher observed that 80.9% of the respondents from the selected population are agreed with the aspect that the rights of the tribals regarding their forests and lands must be preserved and respected and that attempts should be made to build up and train a group of tribal communities themselves to perform the work of development and administration. Majority of the people (60%) agreed that ones in power or the government for that matter must try to develop and train their own individuals to perform the work of development and administration. 60.7% of the respondents from the selected population agreed that it is not right to disturb the peace of the forests and the tribals and that these areas must not be overwhelmed with multiple schemes and also should not be over administered. A large majority of the

respondents, with a value of 83.3% agreed that they must work in coordination and not in competition to the cultural and social institutions, and thereby not creating or lighting any spark of ethnic clashes and troubles within the land of the tribals.

The research also acquired an appreciation that outcomes should be measured, not by data on money invested, but by the consistency of the changing human nature. In this sense, researchers were able to gain insight and it was not surprising that 93.3 per cent of respondents accepted that it is more attractive to improve special education and socio-economic development programmes. In addition, the remainder is focused on other ideological implementations, such as protective-specific legislation for elimination of exploitation and defending of the economic interests, political reservation of seats in legislatures and municipal bodies, jobs and self-employment schemes/opportunity, employment in semi-government and government services, and allotment of seed money assistance to educated unemployed and improvement of entrepreneurial training programs.

xx. On understanding the efficacy of the sixth schedule in the state of Meghalaya, which opted for the practice that one tribal community inhabits along with a sizable non-tribal population, a majority of the respondents agreed to the assertion that it is indeed effective that, in a single Sixth Schedule area more than one tribal community inhabits along with a sizable non-tribal population.

The majority also supported the assertion that a tribal community within an Autonomous District Council may enjoy further autonomy by forming its Autonomous Regional Council, a high number of the respondents also agreed that this Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Regional Councils were authorized to some special powers through, wherein the autonomous authorities, own the power of developing laws regarding the use, occupation or allotment, or putting aside, any land, other than the land that has been classified as a reserved forest. It was also understood that the Autonomous Councils own the power to develop laws pertinent to any forest management not being a reserved forest, and also that the councils possess the ultimate power to develop laws pertinent to the usage of any water-course or canal for the agricultural purposes. The study further acquired the data that the autonomous councils own the power to develop legislatures regarding the regulations of shifting cultivation or the jhum practices and also owns the power to develop laws regarding any other discussion related to the town administration or village matters, involving the town police, sanitation, public health, and the village in

general.

Consequently, autonomous councils in Meghalaya may include village courts or councils for the trial of cases or suits among all the Schedule tribe parties, thereby opening up the possibilities of expansion as well as acceptance without the need to begin any ethnic clashes. The researcher also gathered the data that the District Council or the regional Council may implement the court's powers regarding all the cases and suits that are tribal by the court constituted or the village council. In addition, the District Council for an independent district may manage, construct or establish dispensaries, primary schools, cattle pounds, markets, fisheries, ferries, road transport, waterways and roads in the district as well.

It is to be noted that, all of the selected respondents of the study had agreed to the assertion that the District Council own the right to make laws regarding the control and regulation and particularly can dictate the manner and language in which education must be imparted in the district's primary schools, which was supported by 100% agreement from the respondents of the current study. Also, the District Council of an independent area can draw laws for the control and regulation of money trading or lending within the area by individuals excluding those belonging to Schedule tribes in the area as well.

xxi. In the case of Autonomous Councils, it was pointed out that, 61% of the respondents agreed that the councils own the power to collect and assess the revenue in regards with the regulations followed by the state government and also own the power of collecting and levying taxes on buildings and lands and also levying tolls on individuals residing in such districts. It was also observed that 100% of the respondents from the selected population are agreed that the Sixth Schedule says that if the District Council and the State Government make laws on the same subject, the legislation or laws of the state government shall prevail over those of the District Council, thereby giving the Sixth Schedule the ground power in the political decisions involving the tribals in Meghalaya.

xxii. A majority, 60%, of respondents agreed that in some cases the Governor may also take over the executive functions from the councils through a public notice if s/he is convinced that the administration of the council is not in line with the schedule's provision, thereby giving the Governor a sense of power in the political structuring of the state of Meghalaya. Because, the independent districts and auto region mainly include the classification and the power of the Governor by

dividing into four states such as Meghalaya, Assam, Mizoram, and Tripura, and are empowered to declare some tribal dominated district areas of these states where the governor has the power to include other areas, exclude any area, increase, decrease, diminishes these areas, unite two district and regions and alter their name and boundaries respectively which is applicable in the state of Meghalaya.

Likewise, the autonomous district councils in Meghalaya faced many issues majorly because of the lack of adequate financial resources and administrative expertise, which created great barriers in the effective functioning of the councils. As the councils were solely and entirely dependent on the state government, the councils of Meghalaya failed to undertake any welfare and developmental programme. Apart from that, although they were given the complete freedom and authority, the dependence on the state government, with the time limiting the efforts from the side of the councils, which resulted in the relationship between both the parties being strained – further paving way for clashes that ultimately result to become ethnic clashes that lead to the political derailment of the state. The demand for ethnic homelands leads to conflict and internal displacement, which have resulted in the internal population displacement in most of the northeastern states that has also resulted in displacement of people as well. The tribals were faced with various issues with the unexpected entrance of the political shifts, which did not respect the traditional setting of the society and continued to exploit the un-educated or the primitive localities of the region. The northeast Indian tribals like ethnic groups have affected by the identity crisis, social, cultural and political fields. Lack of proper boundary demarcation between Assam and Nagaland has one of the major causes for ethnic conflict. Preservation, prevention, elimination, distribution and exploration are the five heads linked with transforming identity crisis and ethnic conflicts. Satisfaction of people and happiness are considered as the main important keys to overcome the identity crisis; which were not met by the state government.

However, the implementation of the District council instead of the Autonomous councils has indeed proven to be effective in structuring a proper political structure for the Meghalayan society. Tribal and non-tribal people have needed some political autonomy extent within the composite state of Assam. Moreover, they have found the sixth schedule provisions to safeguard the social, economic and political features in the society. The resultant tenure system and the land occupation are considered to be utmost importance of the tribal people. Laws

and power of autonomous district councils have created the confusions and rivalry between non tribal and tribal people. As the 6th schedule of the Indian constitution has provided the separate administrative system for the region of Northeastern tribal areas, it has indeed played an important role to protect the tribes from the exploitation of economy and politics. But like any political form or structure, there are bound to be some limitations or restrictions that would attempt to overthrow the existing and prevailing social and political peace. The implementation of the Sixth Schedule, although done with the aim of protecting the interests of the tribal community in Meghalaya, gave rise to conflicting and contradictory situation between the institutions of the district council. The provision for the district council establishment has led to ethnic exclusion in which it enables the checking and surveying of non-tribal traders in the tribal area. According to the Status of governance (2012), the Sixth schedule has provided for administration of tribal areas as the autonomous entities. In this way, the sixth schedule areas have governed through the autonomous district council in which it has a wide range of legislative and executive powers when compared to other areas. The village level plan from the sixth schedule area is consolidated, compiled, and scrutinized at the level of blocking into the block plan, which seemed to serve in favor of the rich section of the tribal community.

Researchers have pointed out that the design and content of Sixth schedule have been failed to inspire the democratization process in the tribal society of North east India with higher expectation and has contributed to the unsatisfactory council performance and the nomination power has abused for narrow party gains effectively. It has indeed failed to deliver positively to the need of the people.

5.3 Suggestions :

The current study only focuses on exploring the identity issues and development of Meghalaya of Indian constitution with the sixth schedule context. Other researchers have studied the minority rights and ethnic conflict in Assam. Then, social exclusion and ethnicity in Northeast India has been. The social exclusion and ethnicity in North east, India, ethnicity, Conflict and Population Displacement in India also has been studied. Apart from these, researchers have focused on sixth schedule and tribal of North East India and have analyzed about the 6th Schedule of the Constitution of India with special reference to BTC of Assam.

The 6th Schedule of the Constitution of India with special reference to the Dima Hasao autonomous council of Assam and now, the aspects of Meghalayan political structure with reference to ethnic clashes between the tribes and non-tribes have also been explored. However, the findings of this research are restricted to the Indian Constitution's 6th Schedule alone, and the study is limited to Meghalaya alone and also that the study focuses primarily on **“Examining The Politics of Ethnicity And Issues of Development In Meghalaya Vis-A-Vis Sixth Schedule Since 1970’s”** So, there are various options and open-ended topics not only within the context of Meghalaya but other Northeast states. Also, the conflict within the tribal community of Meghalaya and other Northeast states in India can also be explored.

On exploring the plight of the tribal community in Meghalaya, with the advent of the political shifts in the country, there have been various changes that have been established with the support of both the Central government and the State government. In accordance to the reactions and answers gathered from the respondents and the collective reaction of the tribal community in the Meghalaya region, it can be asserted that the following can be considered as some plausible suggestions that could improve the situation in Meghalaya:

1. Ensuring better rules and regulations by implementing courts at villages and districts to the tribal societies by the three Autonomous District Councils.
2. Removing the inequalities among the state, central, and council functions by taking the effective steps by the central government.
3. Provide more accessible institutions and processes of dispute resolution that are rooted in or have inclinations to the tradition and cultural values of the tribal community.
4. Appropriate tax implementation to the communities of Tribes, along with right explanations.
5. Implementation of better association and infrastructure and maintaining the infrastructure to fulfill the needs within the state.
6. Ensuring healthy government system by the trained members of ADC.
7. Managing income disparities between the contending ethnic groups due to mining and dam projects to avoid internal and external conflicts.
8. The traditional institutions and non-traditional institutions should join hands with the civil society organizations in promoting awareness about different sections of society.

9. Checking similar situations in other states and analyzing the peace options adopted by their government and its applicability in Meghalaya etc.
10. To minimize conflict between groups, the government should share its development plan to all the citizens.
11. Political parties should dissuade themselves in flaring any communal hatred against community.
12. Traditional institution at the grassroots level can play an important role in diffusing tension between groups.
13. State Government should remove Paragraph 12A which hamper the functioning of the Autonomous District Councils.
14. Direct financial power to the ADC"s and the local institutions from the Central government.
15. Need of monitoring committee and a team to decrease the corruption problems in the societies.
16. Monitoring the activities in the budget allocations in distinct parts of the state so all areas can receive same amount of opportunities in the state development and growth.

5.4 Conclusion

On examining the analysis and the findings of the current study, it can be pointed out that the researcher has indeed gained a deeper understanding and examining the politics of ethnicity and issues of development in Meghalaya Vis-à-vis Sixth schedule since 1970's . The aspect of ethnic clashes has been explored in the light of character arrangement and emergencies have been a piece of human development, where peaceful arrangement and distribution of different ethnicities have indeed aided in the process of joining different sections of people together.

However, the researcher does not shy away from the truth that the difference in ethnicity has contributed towards clashes as well. Ethnic clashes have turned out to be an important concern in current political exploration. Since 1950s ethnic clashes have been prompting the northeastern region and its people. In country like India, ethnic clashes in current history have spiritual, financial and socio-cultural and administrative character. Nowadays, ethnicity turns out to be an essential method not only for the compilation but also in the exertion for conserving one's civil power, region, natural and substantial resources.

The element of insurgency within ethnic and cultural differences remains countersign of several aspects functioning behind and it becomes an issue that people have to deal with. The followers of these counter insurgent groups become secluded in the long period and remarkably it is ignored that even they were in a group the inseparable segment of the entire political society. Apart from these, it was noted that ethnic problem rises due to the various factors like inhabitants of people with racial stock difference, speak various languages and also have various types of socio-cultural tradition as well.

Consequently, every state in the northeast region has inimitable and various ethnic, social, language, financial and political custom of its own. And also the geography of each is dissimilar from the other region. These influences have harmfully influenced the method of expansion in the Northeastern part. Every single insurgency is being well-defined by the beliefs, ethnic, and political background in which it takes place. To recognize the undercurrents of the ever exploding clashes in the Northeastern region, which used to have their origins in ethnic range, it is also essential to examine the story of ethnic clashes which are not a different occurrence in the cultures of the Third World republics which are basically multi-ethnic.

The main ethnic clash in the region is the protest against the professed invasion of immigrants that is residents with a linguistic and beliefs substantively different from the existing group. In the current study, it is the emergence of the political rules and government intervention into the traditional ruling systems and structure of the tribe community of Meghalaya. Current concerns of counter-insurgency including the attrition of esteem for human and political moralities and the excavating partisan divide in society pay out for the development of an intolerant or semi-democratic civil system, categorized by the growth of a separate administrative party and its invincible leader to dominance power.

The sudden unequal distribution of power as well as the stripping of power from the hands of the tribal heads and leaders resulted in the sudden upheaval of the tribal community, who refrained from following the subjugate as well as the forcefully discriminative power imposed by the state government in Meghalaya. Though, it is obvious that some groups remain the primary performers in the counter-insurgency and even that there is no essential power of the insurgents. Meghalaya, from the year 1972, had been struggled by the traditional clashes among the immigrant non-tribal community and the native tribes. The control and authority

of business formations, personnel and workforces and other work prospects by colonizers who are mostly financial immigrants from Bangladesh and other regions of India led to unrest amongst the local tribes, gives rise to three ethnic clashes among native group and immigrant non-tribal groups.

In its twentieth century these region experienced a comparative variation in the nature of links among the ethnic groups. Though the interactions among the native group and immigrant groups have fairly enhanced, ethnic clashes and pressures moved to the native tribes; which we had explored through the responses and actions from the respondents of the study. As per the study findings, it can be gathered that Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities with one of the main reasons being the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping, and killing.

Upon examining the factors that led to ethnic conflicts among the tribals and the non-tribals in Meghalaya, it has been ascertained that as mentioned before, multicultural diversities is understood as being one of the primary reasons, where militancy and insurgency have also been linked to it. During the colonial period, the people of Meghalaya were made aware of their ethnic identities, and demand for their rights which had inherently paved way to insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region.

There have been a number of efforts to de-escalate these conflicts on many occasions by government and non-government organizations but the entrance of money economy that made way for competition, social stratification, social mobilization, and changes in the traditional power worsened the already prevailing condition in the state. With each group being made aware of their rights and demands, all in the bad light, resulted in the groups making demands without giving any head to the power or hierarchy and upon lack of materialization of the demand, they formed insurgent groups to 'fight for their rights'. One of the reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping and killing and also made it to a trend or a misguided understanding that only when they raise their voice in the violent manner, will they gain any demand from the rule makers.

The lack of attention and awareness amongst the ethnic groups in regards of power distribution and rights resulted in the rampant rise in the ethnic clashes within the state. Often, innocent civilians become victims of conflicts who are harassed by both the state and non-state actors, hindering the overall peace of the state. In order to have dominance in a particular territory, each tribe wanted to get rid of the other groups and staying in the locality this escalated into an ethnic tension in the region leading to violence and genocide. It is the lack of rightful use of police force or political power that has resulted in the state being tormented by the need of the less informed section of the tribal community to kill and be killed, in the name of identity crises and cultural demands.

Ethnic group formation in the Northeast is based on certain social problems, historic-cultural legacies and political aspirations and there are also occasions, wherein the elites in the group manipulate the members to fight against other groups for their political and economic advantage. That is, even within one section of the ethnic group, there were possibilities of the rich manipulating the poor. The unemployed youth engage in anti-social activities to make easy money and indulge in extortion and militancy, as that seemed to be the better and easier way for them.

Upon exploring the efficacy of the Sixth Schedule in the state of Meghalaya, it has been gathered that a tribal community within an Autonomous District Council may enjoy further autonomy by forming its Autonomous Regional Council and that this Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Regional Councils were authorized some special powers. The implementation of Sixth Schedule was to give the different ethnic groups their own form of power and ruling, which would allow them to raise their demands at a level which would not affect the social or the political structure of the other ethnic group.

The autonomous councils were allotted various powers such as possessing the right to make regulations regarding the use, occupation, and allotment or the putting aside of any land apart from the land reserved for the purpose of forests and the management of any forest which is particularly not a reserved forest and usage of any water course or canal for agricultural purposes, proceedings related to town administration, village administration, involving town police or village and sanitation and public health. Further, the District Council, which is specific to certain districts within the state of Meghalaya possessed the power to implement the court of

appeal's powers regarding the cases and suits triable by the constituted court and village council and to manage, construct, and establish dispensaries, primary schools, ferries, cattle pounds, roads, fisheries, waterways, and road transport in the area concerned and also make laws for the control and regulation thereof and specifically may authorize the manner and the language in which the education may be imparted to the primary educational institutes in this district, and make laws for the control and regulation of money trading or lending within the area by the individuals apart from the Schedule Tribes residing in the area.

In other case, the Autonomous Councils within the districts own the power to collect and assess revenues in line with the principles adopted by the State Government and own the power of levying and gathering the taxes pertinent to buildings and land and the tolls pertaining to the individuals residing in such districts and make laws on the same subject, the legislation or laws of the state government shall prevail over those of the District Council. The economy of Meghalaya flourished with the incoming surplus which is still continued with the traditional councils of the state having the free power to exercise their rights.

The partition of India in 1947 drifted the nature and landscape of the border and the age old traditional trade connection between the North East and East Bengal, resulting in the state facing one of the most dreaded times, socially and economically. But, the new and reformed traditional governance system of the state helped in changing the course of the history repeating. One of the largest exporters of various things from clothes to coal and limestone, Meghalaya as a state was able to develop independently without the intervention of the state and the central government. Also, one of the other major contributions of the shifts to the society and its people is the traditional trade that had been followed in the Khasi hills.

In the historical perspective, the Meghalayan communities have had age-old relation among themselves and with neighboring countries in the areas of trade, commerce, and investment, which all indicate the growth surplus the connection with the neighboring states and other countries brought forth and the means through which it had impacted the growth of the state. The regulations laid by the District Council prohibits the other community members except for the Scheduled Tribes residents from practicing any kind of wholesale or business activity without taking a license from the District Council. It helps in bringing between the different communities by providing fair chances of growth to the deprived segment.

This in turn promotes the overall growth of the community, which is also reflected in the conduction of tribal community upliftment work will be executed in an enhanced manner. It was that the minority groups are to be provided with membership and should be allocated money at the earnest so that necessary improvements will be brought in the backward communities, which in turn can allow for a peaceful structuring and understanding between the different sections of the ethnic minorities. In this light, it was not surprising that the researcher garnered that respondents agreed that implementation and development of special programs for socio-economic and educational development is more aspiring.

The majority also rooted for other ideological implementations such as special protective legislations for eliminating exploitation and defending economic interests, political- reservation of seats in legislatures and local bodies, schemes/opportunities regarding self-employment and employment, absorption in semi government and government services, allotment of seed money assistance to educated unemployed and improvement of entrepreneurial training programs. Across the society of Meghalaya, there is frequent violence by those who extol violence by the state or individual that does not distribute their wealth equitably. So there is lack in the political and social institutions that links their member in the communal obligations. But these complexities in the communal issues make the political violence in the root of the criminal violence, where the homicide rate raises and led to the actual war in the Meghalaya, where the terrorism enhances the communal identity even after some members of the community support the political violence consciously in Meghalaya for proving their identity value.

The clash of culture and ethnic identities between the different groups led to the clashes, which were only fueled by rigorous groups that attempted to gain from the turmoil in the state. The north eastern parts of India has brought to colonial rule in the nineteenth century, but had failed to meet the British expectations and were brought under colonial rule, but the strong political power, racial purity and authentic ethnicity made them against colonial power and violence activities started gaining weight. The colonial powers in the north eastern part of India ultimately gave rise to the many national liberation movements like terrorists' tactics, guerrilla warfare and other political conflicts of the tribal group. Despite the various use of terrorist methods in Meghalaya and other states the some liberation movement got the considerable support from the constituencies and international public opinion.

Consequently, instead of prying into the lives of the tribal community, one should be guided to respect as well as to conserve and maintain the natural resources and plan for other feasible options that wouldn't hurt the ethnic, cultural, social and political structure of the tribal community of Meghalaya.

5.5 Scope for further Study:

The scope of study for “**Examining the Politics of Ethnicity and Issues of Development in Meghalaya Vis-à-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970's.**” is very broad and the present study is limited to the Sixth Schedule of Constitution limiting to the three ADCs in Meghalaya.

Some of the Scope for further study of ethnic identity are:

1. A study of ethnic relation between the Khasi and Garo Community.
2. A study of minor ethnic group's prevalence in the state.
3. A study of ethnic reservation policy between different tribes in Meghalaya.
4. A study of sub-ethnic tribe in Meghalaya like the War etc.
5. More study on the development issue under the ADC's

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX - A

This is certified that work entitled, “Examining the Politics of Ethnicity and Issues of Development in Meghalaya Vis-à-vis Sixth Schedule since 1970’s”

QUESTIONNAIRE

Part A

Name: _____ Designation: _____

Occupation: _____ Place: _____

Part B

Q.1. Ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.2. Insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.3. Autonomous district councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.4 The sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the hills and the plain?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.5. The state legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices.

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.6. The functions of the autonomous district councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas.

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.7 The ADCs are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.8. The ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.9. The ADCs are able to perform the financial function smoothly?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.10. The ADCs under the sixth schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people?

A. Strongly Agree

B. Agree

C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree

E. Strongly Disagree

Q.11. The members of the district council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

A. Strongly Agree

- B. Agree
- C. Neither Agree nor Disagree
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

Q.12. The state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Neither Agree nor Disagree
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

Q.13. The district councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Neither Agree nor Disagree
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

Q.14. The amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Neither Agree nor Disagree
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

Q.15. The sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

- A.Strongly Agree
- B.Agree
- C.Neither Agree nor Disagree
- D.Disagree
- E.Strongly Disagree

Q.16. There should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

- A.Strongly Agree
- B.Agree
- C.Neither Agree nor Disagree
- D.Disagree
- E.Strongly Disagree

Part C. Role of insurgency groups in flaming ethnic clashes

On a scale of 1-5, please indicate the degree to which you agree to the statements given below based on your experience. (1=Strongly Agree,2=Agree,3=More or less agree,4= Undecided ,5=More or less Disagree, 6=Disagree,7=Strongly Disagree).

Statements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Northeast India has experienced a series of ethnic conflicts due to its multicultural diversities.							
2.It was as early as in the colonial period when the people of Northeast began to be aware of their ethnic identities, and demand for their rights.							
3.The ethnic conflicts resulted in insurgency and militancy and began to hamper the peace and prosperity of the region.							

4. There have been a number of efforts to de-escalate these conflicts on many occasions by government and non-government organisations.							
5. During the early post-colonial period, traditional self-sufficient economy of the minority ethnic communities was replaced by money economy that made way for competition, social stratification, social mobilisation, and changes in the traditional power relations between tribal and non-tribal groups							
6. Each ethnic group makes a demand, and when it is not materialised, they form an insurgent group to 'fight for their rights'.							
7. One of the reasons for the rise of militancy and insurgency is that only when violence takes place, authorities take notice of their grievances. This situation has made the region vulnerable to conflicts, leading to extortion, kidnapping, killing and even genocide							
8. Often, innocent civilians become victims of conflicts who are harassed by both the state and non-state actors.							
9. In order to have dominance in a particular territory, each tribe wanted to get rid of the other groups, staying in the locality which escalated into an ethnic tension in the region leading to violence and genocide.							
10. Ethnic group formation in the Northeast is based on certain social problems, historic-cultural legacies and political aspirations.							
11. There are also occasions, wherein the elites							

in the group manipulate the members to fight against other groups for their political and economic advantage.							
12.The unemployed youth engage in anti-social activities to make easy money and indulge in extortion and militancy.							

Part D.Remedies for the better cooperation between different tribes vis a vis non-tribals

On a scale of 1-5, please indicate the degree to which you agree to the statements given below based on your experience. (1=Strongly Agree,2=Agree,3=More or less agree,4= Undecided ,5=More or less Disagree, 6=Disagree,7=Strongly Disagree).

Statements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Tribal rights with regards to lands and forests should be respected,							
2.People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them							
3. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected							
4.Attempts should be made to train and build up a team of tribal themselves to do the work of administration and development.							
5. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development							
6.We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes.							
7. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to their social and cultural institutions							
8.We should judge results, not by statistics of the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved							

9.Development-implementation of special programmes for educational and socio-economic development							
10.Protective- special legislations for protecting economic, interests and eliminating exploitation.							
11.Political-reservation of seats in legislatures and local bodies							
12.Schemes/opportunities for employment and self-employment							
13.Recruitment in Government and semi-government services							
14.Seed money assistance to educated unemployed							
15.Entrepreneurial training programme should be increased							

Part E.Efficacy of the sixth schedule

On a scale of 1-5, please indicate the degree to which you agree to the statements given below based on your experience. (1=Strongly Agree,2=Agree,3=More or less agree,4= Undecided ,5=More or less Disagree, 6=Disagree,7=Strongly Disagree).

Statements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.In a single Sixth Schedule area more than one tribal community inhabits along with a sizable non tribal population.							
2.A tribal community within an Autonomous District Council may enjoy further autonomy by forming its Autonomous Regional Council							
3. This Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Regional Councils were authorized to some special powers through the Sixth Schedule which is incomparable with the other parts of the country. Autonomous Councils have							

(1) the Law making power, (2) Judicial power, (3) Regulatory power and (4) Executive powers.						
4. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart, of land, other than any land which is a reserved forest for the purposes of agriculture or grazing or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes or for any other purpose likely to promote the interests of the inhabitants of any village or town:						
5. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the management of any forest not being a reserved forest						
6. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the use of any canal or water-course for the purpose of agriculture						
7. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to the regulation of the practice of jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation						
8. Autonomous Councils have power to make laws with respect to any other matter relating to village or town administration, including village or town police and public health and sanitation						
9. Autonomous Councils may constitute village councils or courts for the trial of suits and cases between the parties all of whom belong to Scheduled Tribes within such areas and may appoint suitable persons to be members of such village councils or presiding officers of such courts.						
10. The District Council or the regional Council may exercise the powers of a court of appeal in respect of all suits and cases triable by a village						

council or court constituted							
11.The District Council for an autonomous district may establish, construct, or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads, road transport and waterways in the district.							
12.It also can make regulations for the regulation and control thereof and, in particular, may prescribe the language and the manner in which primary education shall be imparted in the primary schools in the district.							
13.The District Council of an autonomous district may make regulations for the regulation and control of money lending or trading within the district by persons other than Scheduled Tribes resident in the district							
14.Autonomous Councils have the power to assess and collect revenue in accordance with the principles followed by the Government of the State and have power to levy and collect taxes on lands and buildings, and tolls on persons resident within such areas.							
15.Sixth Schedule says that if the state government and the District Council make laws on the same subject, the legislation or laws of the state government shall prevail over those of the District Council							
16.The Governor may also take over the executive functions from the councils through a public notice if s/he is convinced that the administration of the council is not in accordance with the provisions of the schedule.							

Part F

Q.1 What should be the role of Tribal students and pressure groups of Meghalaya toward other community?

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Q.2 What should be the role of different political parties and their ideology to Sixth Schedule in general and Meghalaya in particular?

APPENDICX -B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name:.....

Designation:.....

Occupation:.....**Place:**.....

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Q.1. In your opinion what are the factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribals and non-tribal groups?

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Q.2. What are the factors that have created discord among the inter-tribal groups?

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Q.3. What is your opinion regarding the contribution of ADC towards the development of Meghalaya?

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Q.4. What in your opinion are the critical areas where the functions of the autonomous district councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature?

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Q.5. What special protective clauses do the district councils offer to the present tribals which the state legislature does not?

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.....Q.6. Kindly suggest any measure/ remedies for reducing the gap of hatred between the various ethnic groups in the state?

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Q.7. What is your opinion regarding the threat to ethnic identity in Meghalaya?

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Q.8. How is the land system in Meghalaya different from that in other parts of India?

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Q.9. What may be the probable reason for the lack of clear objectives in the Government's proposals and intentions with regard to grassroots governance?

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Q.10. Do you think dorbarshnong has fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed? If no, then kindly specify the reason.

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Q.11. What are the factors which resisted the District Council to the initiatives taken by the Central or State Government to streamline the village administration on democratic lines?

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Q.12. Do you think that the State Government had taken away most of the financial resources under the jurisdiction of the ADC's? If yes, kindly specify the reasons for the same.

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Q.13. What according to you may be the probable reasons for witnessing insurgent activities in Meghalaya?

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Q.14. What in your opinion may be the peace policies adopted to endure sustainable settlement in the state?

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Q.15. Do you think it was the right move by the Central Government to bring a comprehensive bill for the amendment of the sixth schedule to the Constitution?

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APPENDICES –B- I

Name: Hispreaching Son Shylla

Designation: Ex- C.E.M-K.H.A.D.C

Place: Shillong

Q.1.Do you think that ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

Ans: No, Unity in diversity is a beautiful thing that we had in our country. As a Khasi community we are also a part of that diversity that flourish together.

Q.2. In your opinion what are the factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups?

Ans: Fear factor is the main reasons which give rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups. The tribal feel that the non-tribals are more in numbers compare to their number, they might swallowed or dominated them.

Q.3.What is the factors that have created discord among the inter-tribal groups?

Ans: Inter-tribal discords arise due to encroachment by other tribe and try to take advantages on other.

Q.4. Do you think insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

Ans: Any groups can demand from the government to fulfil their needs through Constitutional procedure. Bloodshed is not a solution to solve the issues or problems.

Q.5.Do you think Autonomous District Councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

Ans: No, only a nominal. Development is not a subjects under the ADC's, it belong to the state government to do that. The ADC's is meant for the protection of customs and lineage of the particular tribe.

Q.6.Do you think the sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the various ethnic groups in the State?

Ans: No, under the Sixth Schedule, separate ADC's has been given to most ethnic groups.

Q.7.What special protective clauses do the District Councils offer to the present tribal which the State Legislature does not?

Ans: Some of the special protective clause under the ADC's are Reservation, Land, Trading License, law on the protection of Customs and rights of the tribal of the state.

Q.8. Do you think that the State Legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?

Ans: Yes, the ADC's have right to make their own rule.

Q.9. Do you think that the functions of the Autonomous District Councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas? If yes, then in your opinion what are those critical areas?

Ans: No, there is a separate subject for the state and the ADC's to make laws or pass a bills on custom, culture etc.

Q.10. Do you agree that the ADC's are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the reasons behind it?

Ans: Subjects given in the Sixth Schedule and application of law 1952, paragraph III etc are within the jurisdiction of the ADC's to make laws. By inserting **Para 12 (A) of the Sixth Schedule**, any bills pass by the ADC's need to be assent by the Governor. The problem arises that the bills consumed a time period to be assented and pending with the state government for a long period of time. This shows that the ADC's had done it legislative function well but the hurdle is the state government.

Q.11. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the probable reasons behind it?

Ans. The ADC's perform effectively related to the judicial system. The ADC's take up case related to the Tribal issue, the Indian Penal Code, the code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC) etc.

The number of Magistrate must be increase in the ADC's especially in K.H.A.D.C.

Q.12. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly? If no, then kindly identify the reasons behind it?

Ans: Financial position in the ADC's must be completely overhauled.

Q.13. Do you think that the ADC's under the Sixth Schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people? If yes, then what are the probable reasons behind the same?

Ans: Yes, people cannot see the bill passed by the ADC's due to the state government hurdle not allowing the Governor to assent the bill, so that the ADC's can implement for the benefits of the people.

Q.14. Do you think that the members of the District Council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

Ans: The ADC's is not allowed by the state government to perform its function as it was meant for. If the state government allow the ADC's to function, the ADC's can setup a Village Police in the village to take care peace and justice in the rural area.

Q.15. Do you think that the state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

Ans: No, the Government has no power. The ADC's are autonomous body.

Q.16. Do you think that the District Councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

Ans: Development is not part of the ADC's, it is a secondary part.

Q.17. Do you think that the amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

Ans: Spirit of 12 (A) between State and the ADC's should be there.

Q.18. Do you think the Sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

Ans: The autonomy which the ADC's suppose to enjoy was taken away by the state.

Q.19. What may be the probable reasons for the lack of clear objectives in the Government's proposals and intentions with regard to grassroots governance?

Ans: The Eleventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution which covers important topics such as Panchayat's powers, rural development, poverty alleviation, market, roads and drinking water etc. fail to appreciate by the public and the Government.

Q.20. Do you think Dorbar Shnong has fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed? If no, then kindly specify the reason.

Ans: The Dorbar Shnong was not for the development, eradication of poverty. Its purpose to bring peace and justice, gender equality, transparency and accountability etc.

Q.21. What are the factors which resisted the District Council to take the initiatives taken by the Central or State Government to streamline the village administration on democratic lines?

Ans: If the ADC's has the power to implement the subjects under the Eleventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution it will be helpful for both the state and Central governments.

Q.22. Do you think that the State Government had taken away most of the financial resources.

Ans: Yes. The Resources which were with the ADC's had been reduced or snatched away by the state government. Even the royalty had been favourably with the state government.

Q.23. Do you think that there should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

Ans: Yes.

Q.24. Kindly suggest any measure/ remedies for reducing the gap of hatred between the various ethnic groups in the state?

Ans: Non-interference on other places that will minimise the conflict.

APPENDICES –B- II

Name: Mr. Martle Mukhim Designation: Ex- Minister & MDC KHADC

Place: Mawlat

Q.1. Do you think that ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

Ans: According to me, ethnic identity is a backbone for uplifting and strengthening the national integration in the country, provided that the humble daily life of the people is not being disturbed. I may say varieties are one of the most beautiful things in the world.

Q.2. In your opinion what are the factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups?

Ans: Conflict arises due to encroachment by the others in the domain of the Tribal.

Q.3. What are the factors that have created discord among the inter-tribal groups?

Ans: Protection of their own identity may create a discord among inter-tribal groups.

Q.4. Do you think insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

Ans: Yes, Insurgency groups played a critical role in inflaming clashes in our state. The Insurgent groups inflamed the youth to fight against the invasion or domination of the non-tribal in our state.

Q.5. Do you think Autonomous District Councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

Ans: Yes, the Autonomous District Council had contributed a lot with regard to the development in its jurisdiction. For instance, Lower Primary Schools were supported by the Autonomous District Council before taken away by the State Government but still there are some schools which got some grants from the Autonomous District Council.

Q.6. Do you think the sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the various ethnic groups in the State?

Ans: We never failed, whatever had been in our jurisdiction, we try to bring peace and tranquillity among different groups in the state.

Q.7. What special protective clauses do the District Councils offer to the present tribal which the State Legislature does not?

Ans: The Sixth schedule lays down a framework of autonomous decentralized governance with **legislative** and **executive** powers over subjects like water, soil, land, local customs and culture. These bodies have also been given **judicial** powers to settle certain types of civil and criminal cases also. Also by issuing Trading Licence to the Non-Tribal who settle under its jurisdiction. The **Assam Reorganisation (Meghalaya) Act of 1969** and the **North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act, 1971** had diluted the power of the Autonomous District Council vested in Para 12 (A) of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

Q.8. Do you think that the State Legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?

Ans: Yes, like laws to tribal rights and customs must be legislated by the Autonomous District Council within their jurisdiction.

Q.9. Do you think that the functions of the Autonomous District Councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas? If yes, then in your opinion what are those critical areas?

Ans: The function of the State Government overlapped to those of the Autonomous District Council because state never communicates to the District Council on matters

subjects to the schedule of the Autonomous District Council but encroached on schedule area.

Q.10. Do you agree that the ADC's are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the reasons behind it?

Ans. Yes effectively. The Autonomous District Council takes up a lot of Bills for the protection and development of the people living in Schedule area. But unfortunately the bills passed and amended by the District Council are sent to the Government to get the assent of the Governor but mostly pending with the State Government for many years.

Q.11. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the probable reasons behind it?

Ans: Yes, the judicial function of the ADC's runs smoothly. But there should be an expansion of Judicial Officers.

Q.12. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly? If no, then kindly identify the reasons behind it?

Ans: Yes, they are doing well but there are some deficiencies in controlling of financial due to non-availability of financial rules. The ADC's need to strengthen its financial position.

Q.13. Do you think that the ADC's under the Sixth Schedule are not able to live to the expectations of the people? If yes, then what are the probable reasons behind the same?

Ans: In some cases yes, they are trying their level best to uplift the schedule with the expectation of the people. The main reason is due to financial constraints which arise in some cases due to lack of cooperation and co-ordination mainly from the state Government. The ADC's need to boost its financial position strongly.

Q.14. Do you think that the members of the District Council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

Ans: They have done justice as far as possible. They discuss important Bills by amending, modification and pass it.

Q.15. Do you think that the state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

Ans: No, they can. They can give idea and suggestion only.

Q.16. Do you think that the District Councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

Ans: Sufficient power is there but as stated in so many cases, we could not take effective part due to financial constraints. For Example, 80% of the forest come under the jurisdiction of the ADC's but the State Government encroached by using national or International under its jurisdiction snatching away the power and financial position of the District Council.

Q.17. Do you think that the amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

Ans. Yes, **Para 12 (A) of the Sixth Schedule clearly states that**, whenever there is a conflict of interest between the District Councils and the state legislature, the latter would prevail.

Q.18. Do you think the Sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

Ans: I don't think we failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, Integration and development, because of political interest the state government must guide the ADC's not by forcefully taken away the subjects under the schedule area.

Q.19. What may be the probable reasons for the lack of clear objectives in the Government's proposals and intentions with regard to grassroots governance?

Ans: There are clear probable reasons for lacking clear objectives by the state government. For Example, the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGA) to develop the rural areas in our state in which almost not less than 80% of the areas falls under the jurisdiction of the ADC's. The State while framing bills for the implementation of the schemes instead of placing the scheme to ADC's it implements itself by passing the jurisdiction of the District Council. The Government should channelize according to the provision of the Constitution to the ADC's as it is the right authority to develop the schedule areas in the grassroots level.

Q.20. Do you think Dorbar Shnong has fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed? If no, then kindly specify the reason.

Ans: Yes. In spite of many hurdles and omission, the Dorbar Shnong is like a tree of many fruits in which almost all the people living in rural areas have their high hope on the existence of this traditional heads or Dorbar Shnong.

In some case, the Dorbar Shnong fail because lack of knowledge of how to maintain proceedings and accounts.

Q.21. What are the factors which resisted the District Council to take the initiatives taken by the Central or State Government to streamline the village administration on democratic lines?

Ans: We will be far better than Panchayat in so many cases provided we streamline and upgrade the standard and system of working of the Dorbar Shnong.

Q.22. Do you think that the State Government had taken away most of the financial resources.

Ans: Yes, Royalty, Resources, taxes tolls etc mostly taken away by the Government. The sharing ratio between the state and the district councils after deduction of the cost of collection is 75:25 in respect of coal and 40:60 in respect of other minerals. Government grants in almost all subjects, state government hesitate to pump funds to the ADC's for the various welfare schemes or grants which means that the state government are not encouraging to boost the financial resources of the ADC's.

Q.23. Do you think that there should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

Ans: If we loss the ADC's or Sixth Schedule, the tribal people may disappear from this world at any moment. ADC's is now the only Constitutional body to prevent and protect us.

Q.24. Kindly suggest any measure/ remedies for reducing the gap of hatred between the various ethnic groups in the state?

Ans: They should try at all cost to live, cooperate, co-ordinate with the local tribal people peacefully which is a part of measure and remedies to reduce the gap of hatred between various ethnic groups in the state. There should good rapport, economically, socially and politically between ethnic groups in the state.

APPENDICES –B- III

**Name: Mr. Jansing M Tyngsong
K.H.A.D.C**

Designation: Ex- M.D.C & E.M -

Occupation: Business

Place: Wakhhen

Q.1. Do you think that ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

Ans: No, I don't think that ethnic identity is a threat to the unity of the country as every ethnic has a right to protect their identity.

Q.2. In your opinion what are the factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups?

Ans: Feeling of oneness.

Q.3. What are the factors that have created discord among the inter-tribal groups?

Ans: Not respecting others sentiments.

Q.4. Do you think insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

Ans: No.

Q.5. Do you think Autonomous District Councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

Ans: Partially it had contributed to the development of the state under its jurisdiction.

Q.6. Do you think the sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the various ethnic groups in the State?

Ans: Doesn't arise.

Q.7. What special protective clauses do the District Councils offer to the present tribal which the State Legislature does not?

Ans: Trading by Non-Tribal, Administration of Social custom and Tradition and usage.

Q.8. Do you think that the State Legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?

Ans: No.

Q.9. Do you think that the functions of the Autonomous District Councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas? If yes, then in your opinion what are those critical areas?

Ans: No, there is a separate subject for the state and the ADC's to make laws or pass bills like subjects of appointment and removal of Chief, Sirdar and Headman etc.

Q.10. Do you agree that the ADC's are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the reasons behind it?

Ans: Yes, under special provisions.

Q.11. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the probable reasons behind it?

Ans. Yes, only on the areas mostly under the Sixth Schedule.

Q.12. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly? If no, then kindly identify the reasons behind it?

Ans: No. The ADC's had to depend fund from the Central or State Governments.

Q.13. Do you think that the ADC's under the Sixth Schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people? If yes, then what are the probable reasons behind the same?

Ans: Partially no, the ADC's is not able to live to the expectation of the people in the state due to many reasons like Party System, unstable Council.

Q.14. Do you think that the members of the District Council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

Ans: Yes as most of the provisions, development cannot be implemented.

Q.15. Do you think that the state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

Ans: No, the Government cannot make rule as the ADC's have their own Financial Rule.

Q.16. Do you think that the District Councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

Ans: No. Development lay with the state government.

Q.17. Do you think that the amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

Ans: No.

Q.18. Do you think the Sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

Ans: yes. It failed due to interference by the state Government.

Q.19. What may be the probable reasons for the lack of clear objectives in the Government's proposals and intentions with regard to grassroots governance?

Ans: No Political will by the government.

Q.20. Do you think Dorbar Shnong has fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed?

If no, then kindly specify the reason.

Ans: No. The Dorbar Shnong has not fulfilled its purpose due to interference by the ADC's and it is not fully empowered.

Q.21. What are the factors which resisted the District Council to take the initiatives taken by the Central or State Government to streamline the village administration on democratic lines?

Ans: It might dilute the functioning power of the ADC's.

Q.22. Do you think that the State Government had taken away most of the financial resources.

Ans: Yes.

Q.23. Do you think that there should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

Ans: Yes.

Q.24. Kindly suggest any measure/ remedies for reducing the gap of hatred between the various ethnic groups in the state?

Ans: Determine boundary issues.

APPENDICES –B- IV

Name: Mr. Lamphrang Blah

Designation: Member of Opposition-

K.H.A.D.C

Place: Mawngap

Q.1. Do you think that ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

Ans: No, ethnic identity is an identification of culture, custom, practices that the people follow in everyday life and it will not affect the unity of the country.

Q.2. In your opinion what are the factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups?

Ans: Fear that the non-tribal groups may snatch away their land, economy and assimilate them.

Q.3.What is the factors that have created discord among the inter-tribal groups?

Ans: Interference on others group.

Q.4. Do you think insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

Ans: No.

Q.5.Do you think Autonomous District Councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

Ans: Yes, to some extent.

Q.6.Do you think the sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the various ethnic groups in the State?

Ans: No.

Q.7.What special protective clauses do the District Councils offer to the present tribal which the State Legislature does not?

Ans: Trading License issue to non-tribal's and appointment of Chief and Headman of a traditional institution.

Q.8. Do you think that the State Legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?

Ans: Yes.

Q.9. Do you think that the functions of the Autonomous District Councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas? If yes, then in your opinion what are those critical areas?

Ans: No.

Q.10.Do you agree that the ADC's are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the reasons behind it?

Ans: Yes.

Q.11. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the probable reasons behind it?

Ans. Yes, they have their own judicial officers who trial cases related to tradition and custom and also Indian Penal Code etc.

Q.12. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly? If no, then kindly identify the reasons behind it?

Ans: No, the ADC's lack financial viability.

Q.13. Do you think that the ADC's under the Sixth Schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people? If yes, then what are the probable reasons behind the same?

Ans: No.

Q.14. Do you think that the members of the District Council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

Ans: Yes, they have done a great service.

Q.15. Do you think that the state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

Ans: No.

Q.16. Do you think that the District Councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

Ans: Yes.

Q.17. Do you think that the amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

Ans: Yes.

Q.18. Do you think the Sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

Ans: No, development is not under the provision of ADC but with the state.

Q.19. What may be the probable reasons for the lack of clear objectives in the Government's proposals and intentions with regard to grassroots governance?

Ans: Vote bank politics.

Q.20. Do you think Dorbar Shnong has fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed? If no, then kindly specify the reason.

Ans: To some extent the Dorbar Shnong has fulfilled its purpose for which it formed but they need to modernise with the changing of time.

Q.21. What are the factors which resisted the District Council to take the initiatives taken by the Central or State Government to streamline the village administration on democratic lines?

Ans: The traditional institution in our state is different from the plain, so rule implement in the plain is not applicable here.

Q.22. Do you think that the State Government had taken away most of the financial resources.

Ans: Yes, especially mineral and forest resources.

Q.23. Do you think that there should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

Ans: Yes.

Q.24. Kindly suggest any measure/ remedies for reducing the gap of hatred between the various ethnic groups in the state?

Ans: Development and Non-interference.

APPENDICES –B- V

Name: Mrs. Wansuk Syiem Designation: Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha)

Place: Shillong

Q.1. Do you think that ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

Ans: No, ethnic identity recognised within the purview of the Constitution is not a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country.

Q.2. In your opinion what are the factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups?

Ans: Elite manipulation of the issue, Fear and security factors, economic disparity, competition over scarce resources, histories of animosity.

Q.3. What are the factors that have created discord among the inter-tribal groups?

Ans: Inter-tribal discords arise due to demographic change and competition for political gains.

Q.4. Do you think insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

Ans: No.

Q.5. Do you think Autonomous District Councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

Ans: No, it has not contributed.

Q.6. Do you think the sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the various ethnic groups in the State?

Ans: Yes.

Q.7. What special protective clauses do the District Councils offer to the present tribal which the State Legislature does not?

Ans: Only appointment and removal of Chief and Headman.

Q.8. Do you think that the State Legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?

Ans: No, if the state wishes to do so it can make law on tribal practices.

Q.9. Do you think that the functions of the Autonomous District Councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas? If yes, then in your opinion what are those critical areas?

Ans: Yes related to financial provisions.

Q.10. Do you agree that the ADC's are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the reasons behind it?

Ans: No. The Bill pass or amend by the ADC's stagnate without implementation.

Q.11. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the probable reasons behind it?

Ans. Not effectively.

Q.12. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly? If no, then kindly identify the reasons behind it?

Ans: Financially the ADC's lack fund and had to depend from the state or central governments.

Q.13. Do you think that the ADC's under the Sixth Schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people? If yes, then what are the probable reasons behind the same?

Ans: Yes, no development can be seen under the jurisdiction of the ADC's.

Q.14. Do you think that the members of the District Council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

Ans: No, the members of ADC's have not been able to live to the expectation of the people and many members lack foresightedness.

Q.15. Do you think that the state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

Ans: No.

Q.16. Do you think that the District Councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

Ans: The ADC's lack financial position, so developmental work was done by state.

Q.17. Do you think that the amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

Ans: No.

Q.18. Do you think the Sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

Ans: Yes, it had failed in all aspect.

Q.19. What may be the probable reasons for the lack of clear objectives in the Government's proposals and intentions with regard to grassroots governance?

Ans: The ADC's is vested with the authority to look after and streamline the grassroots governance; the state government did not interfere on this matter.

Q.20. Do you think Dorbar Shnong has fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed? If no, then kindly specify the reason.

Ans: The Dorbar Shnong lack transparency and accountability in its functioning.

Q.21. What are the factors which resisted the District Council to take the initiatives taken by the Central or State Government to streamline the village administration on democratic lines?

Ans: The ADC's afraid of losing its authority on the village administration.

Q.22. Do you think that the State Government had taken away most of the financial resources.

Ans: No.

Q.23. Do you think that there should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

Ans: Yes.

Q.24. Kindly suggest any measure/ remedies for reducing the gap of hatred between the various ethnic groups in the state?

Ans: There are many kinds of policies, laws, Rights, Laws to reduce ethnic conflict.

APPENDICES –B- VI

Name: N. Syngkon

Designation: Advocate Meghalaya High Court

Place: Shillong

Q.1. Do you think that ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

Ans: No.

Q.2. In your opinion what are the factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups?

Ans: Suppression of one community on others.

Q.3. What are the factors that have created discord among the inter-tribal groups?

Ans: Job and Reservation.

Q.4. Do you think insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

Ans: No.

Q.5. Do you think Autonomous District Councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

Ans: No.

Q.6. Do you think the sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the various ethnic groups in the State?

Ans: Yes. By issuing oppressive Trading License to others non-tribals, the ADC's create an atmosphere of discomfort between ethnic groups.

Q.7. What special protective clauses do the District Councils offer to the present tribal which the State Legislature does not?

Ans: The ADC's acting themselves as third organ of government is violating the Federal Structure provided in the Constitution.

Q.8. Do you think that the State Legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?

Ans: No. The State Legislature are competent enough to legislate laws related to tribals practices.

Q.9. Do you think that the functions of the Autonomous District Councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas? If yes, then in your opinion what are those critical areas?

Ans: Yes, when the state has an overall jurisdiction on all state matters, the ADC's is not necessary now since it means to protect the tribals (Khasi, Pnar and Garos) under the Government of Assam but now it has got its own state and rule by the tribals only.

Q.10. Do you agree that the ADC's are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the reasons behind it?

Ans: No, the District Councils had not discharge its legislative function but its contradict with the state laws.

Q.11. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the probable reasons behind it?

Ans. No. All the sections of Indian Penal Code etc can be discharge by the District and High Courts of the State.

Q.12. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly? If no, then kindly identify the reasons behind it?

Ans: No. It is a burden to the Government Exchequer.

Q.13. Do you think that the ADC's under the Sixth Schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people? If yes, then what are the probable reasons behind the same?

Ans: Yes. The District Councils cannot make laws to preserve and protect the indigenous tribes, cannot legislate laws and there is no development under its jurisdiction.

Q.14. Do you think that the members of the District Council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

Ans: Yes. It just a place where they can trained themselves to take part in the Legislative Assembly.

Q.15. Do you think that the state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

Ans: No, it is a burden to the government.

Q.16. Do you think that the District Councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

Ans: No

Q.17. Do you think that the amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

Ans: No.

Q.18. Do you think the Sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

Ans: yes.

Q.19. What may be the probable reasons for the lack of clear objectives in the Government's proposals and intentions with regard to grassroots governance?

Ans: Un-willingness.

Q.20. Do you think Dorbar Shnong has fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed? If no, then kindly specify the reason.

Ans: No. The Dorbar Shnong is not a democratic institution where eligible persons are allowed to take part in the functioning or administration of the village but it is a traditional institution based on clan or kinship.

Q.21. What are the factors which resisted the District Council to take the initiatives taken by the Central or State Government to streamline the village administration on democratic lines?

Ans: The ADC's felt that by streamlining the village administration, the village will get direct funding from the government and it will not be able to have much say on the village matters.

Q.22. Do you think that the State Government had taken away most of the financial resources.

Ans: No.

Q.23. Do you think that there should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

Ans: No.

Q.24. Kindly suggest any measure/ remedies for reducing the gap of hatred between the various ethnic groups in the state?

Ans: By abolishing the ADC's there will be peace within the ethnic groups in the state.

APPENDICES –B- VII

Name: Mr. Shankar Pandey

Designation: Advocate

Place: Shillong

Q.1. Do you think that ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

Ans: There has to be a balance but yes.

Q.2. In your opinion what are the factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups?

Ans: The factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups are:

a. Economic Exploitation b. Regionalism c. Lack of strong willed action.

Q.3. What are the factors that have created discord among the inter-tribal groups?

Ans: Vested interest of the leaders.

Q.4. Do you think insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

Ans: Yes, they have.

Q.5. Do you think Autonomous District Councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

Ans: No, I think they have become a hindrance to overall development of the state.

Q.6. Do you think the sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the various ethnic groups in the State?

Ans: Yes, it has failed.

Q.7. What special protective clauses do the District Councils offer to the present tribal which the State Legislature does not?

Ans: It regulates trading by non-tribals.

Q.8. Do you think that the State Legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?

Ans: No.

Q.9. Do you think that the functions of the Autonomous District Councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas? If yes, then in your opinion what are those critical areas?

Ans: Yes. Trade and commerce, mining, Municipal laws such as residents Act, building laws and town planning.

Q.10. Do you agree that the ADC's are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the reasons behind it?

Ans: No.

Q.11. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the probable reasons behind it?

Ans. No, lack of trained judicial officers and corruption.

Q.12. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly? If no, then kindly identify the reasons behind it?

Ans: No.

Q.13. Do you think that the ADC's under the Sixth Schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people? If yes, then what are the probable reasons behind the same?

Ans: I think so; they have failed to protect the tribal culture of their forefathers, corruption and lack of vision.

Q.14. Do you think that the members of the District Council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

Ans: I don't think so. I think ADC should not have existed once Meghalaya became a state.

Q.15. Do you think that the state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

Ans: No.

Q.16. Do you think that the District Councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

Ans: Yes, I think so.

Q.17. Do you think that the amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

Ans: I am not sure.

Q.18. Do you think the Sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

Ans: It has failed miserably. It should be disbanded.

Q.19. What may be the probable reasons for the lack of clear objectives in the Government's proposals and intentions with regard to grassroots governance?

Ans: Vote bank politics.

Q.20. Do you think Dorbar Shnong has fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed?

If no, then kindly specify the reason.

Ans: Powers of Dorbarshnong have to be redefined.

Q.21. What are the factors which resisted the District Council to take the initiatives taken by the Central or State Government to streamline the village administration on democratic lines?

Ans: Vested interest of leader unfounded fear of non-tribal's.

Q.22. Do you think that the State Government had taken away most of the financial resources.

Ans: No.

Q.23. Do you think that there should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

Ans: No, its time to do away with it. Its redundant.

Q.24. Kindly suggest any measure/ remedies for reducing the gap of hatred between the various ethnic groups in the state?

Ans: Measure/remedies:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| i. Development | ii. Strong government with political will. |
| ii. Dialogue between State holders | iv. Punitive actions against perpetrators of violence. |

APPENDICES –B- VIII

Name: Phelinto Rynjah Designation: Retired- Ex- Sirdar Elaka Nongjri

Place: Nongjri

Q.1. Do you think that ethnic identity is a threat to the national integration and national identity of the country?

Ans: No. Every ethnic should preserve and protect their own identity within the Constitution.

Q.2. In your opinion what are the factors that have probably given rise to conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups?

Ans: Communalism.

Q.3. What are the factors that have created discord among the inter-tribal groups?

Ans: Religion.

Q.4. Do you think insurgency groups have played a critical role in inflaming ethnic clashes in Meghalaya?

Ans: No.

Q.5. Do you think Autonomous District Councils have contributed to the development of Meghalaya?

Ans: Not at all.

Q.6. Do you think the sixth schedule failed to promote peace and amity between the various ethnic groups in the State?

Ans: yes.

Q.7. What special protective clauses do the District Councils offer to the present tribal which the State Legislature does not?

Ans: Issuing of trading license to the non-Tribal.

Q.8. Do you think that the State Legislature is incompetent to legislate on laws relating to tribal cultural practices?

Ans: No.

Q.9. Do you think that the functions of the Autonomous District Councils have overlapped with those of the state legislature over some critical areas? If yes, then in your opinion what are those critical areas?

Ans: Yes, subjects related to revenue.

Q.10. Do you agree that the ADC's are able to discharge the legislative functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the reasons behind it?

Ans: No.

Q.11. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the judicial functions effectively? If no, then what in your opinion are the probable reasons behind it?

Ans. Yes, only on some areas.

Q.12. Do you think the ADC's are able to perform the financial function smoothly? If no, then kindly identify the reasons behind it?

Ans: No. The ADC's had not perform its financial function properly as there is no transparency and proper Audit system..

Q.13. Do you think that the ADC's under the Sixth Schedule is not able to live to the expectations of the people? If yes, then what are the probable reasons behind the same?

Ans: Not at all.

Q.14. Do you think that the members of the District Council have not done justice to what the ADC was meant for?

Ans: Yes. The Member of District Council treated the Council as a stopover only for their aspiration to become the Member of the Legislative Assembly of the state.

Q.15. Do you think that the state government was able to enforce financial discipline among the District Councils?

Ans: No, the Government cannot enforce financial discipline among the ADC's.

Q.16. Do you think that the District Councils did not possess sufficient powers or authority to take an effective part in the development programmes?

Ans: No. They lack funding from the state and Union government.

Q.17. Do you think that the amending Act of 1971 deprived the District Councils in Meghalaya much of their legislative independence and reduced them to the position of the local boards?

Ans: No.

Q.18. Do you think the Sixth Schedule failed to realize the objectives of autonomy, integration, and development for which it was framed?

Ans: yes.

Q.19. What may be the probable reasons for the lack of clear objectives in the Government's proposals and intentions with regard to grassroots governance?

Ans: Non-Cooperation between the MLA and MDC.

Q.20. Do you think Dorbar Shnong has fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed? If no, then kindly specify the reason.

Ans: No. The Dorbar Shnong is not fully empowered by the ADC's or State and Union government..

Q.21. What are the factors which resisted the District Council to take the initiatives taken by the Central or State Government to streamline the village administration on democratic lines?

Ans: The ADC's afraid of losing its grip on the Traditional Institutions.

Q.22. Do you think that the State Government had taken away most of the financial resources.

Ans: Yes.

Q.23. Do you think that there should be a continuance of the Sixth Schedule and District Councils in Meghalaya?

Ans: Yes.

Q.24. Kindly suggest any measure/ remedies for reducing the gap of hatred between the various ethnic groups in the state?

Ans: Government while amending the Sixth Schedule must make rule that the ADC's can make and implement that rule in the interest of the citizens.

**R.T.I.
MATTER**

**OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE
MEGHALAYA *.*.* SHILLONG**

Letter No .C.37/2015/5

Dated Shillong, the 27th July, 2015.

From : Smt. J. G. Momin, MPS,
Asstt. Inspector General of Police, (Admn),
Meghalaya, Shillong.

To : 1. The Superintendent of Police, West Garo Hills, Tura.
2. The Superintendent of Police, West Jaintia Hills, Jowai.
3. The Superintendent of Police, South West Garo Hills, Ampati.
4. The Superintendent of Police, East Garo Hills, Williamnagar.
5. The Superintendent of Police, North Garo Hills, Resubelpara.
6. The Superintendent of Police, South West Khasi Hills, Mawkyrwat.
7. The Superintendent of Police, East Khasi Hills, Shillong.
8. The Superintendent of Police, West Khasi Hills, Nongstoin.
9. The Superintendent of Police, South Garo Hills, Baghmara.
10. The Superintendent of Police, Ri-Bhoi, District Nongpoh.
11. The Superintendent of Police, East Jaintia Hills, Khliehriat.

Sub : Information U/S 6 of RTI Act, 2005.

Sir,

Under provision of Section 6 (3) and 5 (5), I am re-directing to enclosed herewith the RTI application received from Shri. Periousstone Khongthohrem, PHD Tilak Maharashtra University Pune which speaks for itself. I am to request you to kindly furnish the required information directly to the applicant with intimation to Police Headquarter.

Yours faithfully,

Encl :- As above,

Asstt. Inspector General of Police (Admn),
Meghalaya, Shillong.

Memo No .C.37/2015/5-A
Copy to:-

Dated Shillong, the 27th July, 2015.

➤ Shri. Periousstone Khongthohrem, Dewsapathaw – Rangthylliang, P.O. Pynursla – 793110, East Khasi Hills, Meghalaya for information.

Asstt. Inspector General of Police (Admn),
Meghalaya, Shillong.

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE
WEST GARO HILLS TURA



M/No. CR/IV-13/9-15/V/2436

Dtd. 30 July/2015

To,

Shri Periousstone Khongthohrem, PHD,
Tilak Maharashtra University, Pune

Sub:- Information u/s 6 of R.T.I. Act, 2005.


Ref:- Your application dated 23.07.2015.

Sir,

With reference to the subject cited above, I am furnishing herewith the required information in a format in connection with various ethnic clashes since 1972 to till date for your information and necessary action.

Encl:- As stated above.

Yours faithfully,


Superintendent of Police,
West Garo Hills, Tura.
~~Superintendent of Police,
West Garo Hills, Tura.~~

M/No. CR/IV-13/8-15/V/

Dtd. July/2015

Copy to:- The Asstt. Inspector General of Police (A), Megh. Shillong
for favour of information to your ref. L/No. C.37/2015/5
dt. 27.07.15

Superintendent of Police,
West Garo Hills, Tura.

Details of various ethnic clashes since 1972 to till date in West Garo Hills District.

1987

SL No	Details of cases registered	Culprit arrested/ Identified
1	In the month of August/1987, two college students belongs to non tribal were assaulted by some Garo students in Tura Govt. college. One of the non tribal belongs to Muslim community passed some derogatory remarks on Garo community mainly on women. The news flares up. Demanding the arrest of Muslim person and so on. Hence, the incident turned into the communal violence. As a result of which four persons were killed and twenty persons were injured. N.B. since there is no any official records at present, however, the information is collected from the sources.	Nil

2012


No	SL	Details of cases registered	Culprit arrested/ Identified
1		P/bari PS C/No.33(5)12 u/s 341/325/307/506/427/34 IPC. On 08.05.12 at about 06:30pm one Md Nurut Zaman went to Sakmal village by an bullock cart to carry paddy chaff and on the way back while passing through the paddy field, his bullock cart destroyed the field which belongs to some Garo people and on seeing that some Garo people came and assaulted him and criminally intimidated him dire consequences. Hence the case. FR No.27/12 dtd.06.10.12	Nil
2		P/bari PS C/No.34(5)12 u/s 147/148/149/120B/325/307/506 IPC. On 08.05.12 at 07:30pm one Shri Williamson Ch Momin and Shri Pollinus Sangma were coming from Hallidayganj to Rajabala bazaar by an auto rickshaw in on reaching at Rajabala bazaar a suspected violence mob of NGOs attack an assaulted them with rods, lathis and blows as a result they sustained injuries on their persons. Hence the case and is pending for further investigation.	Nil
3		P/bari PS C/No.35(5)12 u/s 436 IPC. On 08.05.12 at about 11:00pm while the police personnel were on mobile patrolling duty at Sakmal village found an old abandon brick kiln but was set on fire by some unknown persons which was completely burned down. Hence the case. FR No.28/12 dtd.06.10.12	Nil
4		P/bari PS C/No.36(5)12 u/s 436/511 IPC. On 10.05.12 at 12 noon telephonic information received from some public of village Masangpani that some unknown persons tried to set fire over the PWD wooden bridge at Masangpani with an intention to cut off the communication in between P/bari to D/gre Sub Division. Hence the case. FR No.19/12 dtd.27.08.12	Nil

Contd...

2013

Sl No	Details of cases registered	Culprit arrested/ Identified
1	Tura PS C/No.114(6)13 U/s. 353/336/326/327/34 IPC On 21.06.2013 @ 9.20 pm the complt. vehicle B/R No.ML-08-A-0757 (Bus) under requisition by Govt. of Meghalaya for emergency deployment at Tura Civil Hospital, the violent mob attacked by throwing stones at the vehicle as a result the driver sustained face injuries and the Vehicle was damaged. Hence the case. CS No.125/13 dtd.05.11.13	(1) Benhur M Sangma @ Gogo. (2) Todik Carrie N Marak (3) Saul M Sangma (4) Sengrik T Sangma @ Sonur (5) Maliwar Ch Marak (6) Nikman Ch Marak and (7) Balkarin Ch Marak
2.	Tura PS C/No.115(6)13 U/s. 147/148/149/447/353/336/427 IPC On 21.06.2013 @ 7.30 pm the violent mob came to Tura Civil Hospital demanding custody of the three injured Muslim persons, the mob became more violent and started pelting stones,bricks,bottles etc.to the security personnel and medical officer and damaged the Hospital premises . Hence the case. CS No.126/13 dtd.05.11.13	- do -
3.	Tura PS C/No.116(6)13 U/s. 147/148/149/447/353/336/427/436/511 IPC On 21.06.2013 @ 11.00 pm the violent mob gathered at Tura Civil Hospital and attacked the security personnel by pelting stones bricks bottles etc. the complt. SI A Phawa and staff while discharging lawful duties, the violent mob damaged the windshield of the departmental vehicle (Gypsy) and tried to light up the vehicle. Hence the case.	-do-
4	Tura PS C/No.117(6)13 u/s 147/148/149/302 IPC. On 21.06.13 @ 11:30pm one person namely Akibur Ali @ Munshi was coming from Hawakhana side towards New Tura and reaching at Dermile near Tura Civil Hospital, the violent mob caught him and beaten him to death at the spot. Hence the case.	-do-
5	Tura PS C/No.120 (6)13 u/s 147/148/149/353/336/436/326/427 IPC. On 21.06.13 the complt. and one platoon of E/67 BN.CRPF from Baljak airport while proceeding towards Tura Civil Hospital by two civil requisition vehicle suddenly the violent mob blocked the road by pelting stones, bricks, bottles glass etc. and beaten up the driver seriously by the mob and damages some govt. properties. Hence the case.	-do-

As of now there is no communal tension prevailing in West Garo Hills District.


Superintendent of Police,
West Garo Hill, Tura.



GOVERNMENT OF MEGHALAYA
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE : SOUTH WEST GARO HILLS :: DISTRICT
:: AMPATI ::

Letter no. SWGH/CB-19/19-2015/52\

Dated, Ampati the 18th August 2015

From : **The Superintendent of Police,**
South West Garo Hills, Ampati

To : **Periousstone Khongthohrem**
Dewsawpathaw- Rangthylliang
Pynursla – 793110
East Khasi Hills, Meghalaya.

Subject: Information u/s6 of RTI Act 2005

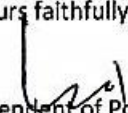
Sir,

With reference to the subject mentioned above the following information sought under section 6 of RTI Act are as follows :-

1. Name the years of various Ethnic clashes happened In the District since statehood i.e. 2012 till June, 2015 :- **NIL**
2. Name the places/areas where the various Ethnic clashes took place :- **NIL**
3. The years and name of communities which were a part of these ethnic clashes since 2012 - 2015 :- **NIL**
4. Name of the group which inflamed the Ethnic clashes :- **NIL**
5. Number of persons injured in this Ethnic clashes year wise :- **NIL**
6. Quantum of death where clashes occurred year wise :- **NIL**

Submitted for favour of your kind information and necessary action.

Yours faithfully,



Superintendent of Police
South West Garo Hills, Ampati

M/no.SWGH/CB-19/19-2015/

Dtd, Ampati the 18th August 2015

Copy to:-

1. The Assistant Inspector General of Police (A), Meghalaya Shillong for favour of kind information to your ref L/No. C.37/2015/5 Dtd Shillong the 27th July 2015.


Superintendent of Police
South West Garo Hills, Ampati

GOVERNMENT OF MEGHALAYA
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, Ph. No. 03659-295516
NORTH GARO HILLS, RESUBELPARA. Fax No. 03659-295517
Email: spresu2012@gmail.com

No NGH/Resu/ RTI/Vol-II/2015/ 724

Dated Resubelpara, 11th Sept' 2015.

From : The Superintendent of Police,
North Garo Hills, Resubelpara.

To : ✓ Shri Periousstone Khongthohrem,
Dewsawpathaw-Rangthylliang,
P.O – Pynursla – 793110,
East Khasi Hills, Meghalaya.

Sub : *Information under the RTI, Act 2005.*

Ref. : *AIG(A) L/No. C.37/2015/5 Dtd. 27/07/2015.*

Sir,

With reference to the above, I am to furnish the required information pertaining to North Garo Hills District, Meghalaya since the creation of the District w.e.f, 27/07/2012 :-

1. The detail of year(s) in which ethnic clashes happened in this District – NIL.
2. Name of the places/areas where the various ethnic clashes took place – NIL.
3. Name of the communities which were involved in the clashes – NIL.
4. Name/details of groups which inflamed those ethnic clashes m – NIL.
5. No. Of persons injured in such ethnic clashes – NIL.
6. Quantum of death where ethnic clashes occurred year wise – NIL.

Submitted for your information and necessary action.

Yours faithfully



Superintendent of Police
North Garo Hills, Resubelpara

Memo No NGH/Resu/ RTI/2015/

Copy to:-

1. The Asstt. Inspector General of Police (E)/ (A), Meghalaya, Shillong for favour of kind information and necessary action.
2. The Spl. Superintendent of Police (CID), Meghalaya, Shillong for favour of kind information.

Dated Resubelpara, 11th Sept' 2015.


Superintendent of Police
North Garo Hills, Resubelpara.

GOVERNMENT OF MEGHALAYA
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE::SOUTH WEST KHASI HILLS DISTRICT
:: MAWKYRWAT::

L/ No: CB/MWT/RTI/1/37-2015/ 565

Dated Mawkyrwat the 5th August, 2015.

From : Shri L.W. Nongpluh, MPS,
Dy. Superintendent of Police, (HQ)
Cum PIO, S.P. office.
South West Khasi Hills, Mawkyrwat.

To : ✓ Perioustone Khongthohrem
Dewsawpathaw – Rangthylliang
PO: Pynursla – 793110
East Khasi Hills, Meghalaya.

Sub : Information sought under section 6 of the Right to Information Act, 2005.

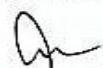
Ref : AIG (Admn) Megh. Shillong Letter No. C.37/2015/5 Dated 27.07.2015

Sir,

Please find herewith the required information sought under RTI Act 2005. As the District of South West Khasi Hills, Mawkyrwat was inaugurated on the 3rd August, 2012; the information furnished is from the date of creation of this District till date.

1. Name the year of various Ethnic clashes happen in the state since statehood i.e. 1972 till June, 2015 – NIL
2. Name the place / areas where the various Ethnic took place. – Dose not arise in view of question No. 1 above.
3. The year and name of communities which were part of these ethnic clashes since 1972 – 2015. – Dose not arise in view of question No. 1 above.
4. Name of the group which inflamed ethnic clashes. – Dose not arise in view of question No. 1 above.
5. Number of person injured in this ethnic clashes year wise. – Dose not arise in view of question No. 1 above.
6. Quantum of death where the clashes occurred year wise. – Dose not arise in view of question No. 1 above.

Yours faithfully


Dy. Superintendent of Police (HQ)
Cum PIO, SP Office
South West Khasi Hills, Mawkyrwat.
Dated Mawkyrwat 5th August, 2015

M/ No: CB/MWT/RTI/1/37-2015/

Copy to:-

1. The Asstt. Inspector General of Police, (Admn), Meghalaya, Shillong for favour of your kind information.
2. The Asstt. Inspector General of Police, (E), Meghalaya, Shillong for favour of your kind information
3. The Dy. Superintendent of Police Cum PIO, CID, Meghalaya, Shillong for information.

/
Dy. Superintendent of Police (HQ)
Cum PIO, SP Office
South West Khasi Hills, Mawkyrwat

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE: EAST KHASI HILLS: SHILLONG:

Letter No. RE/GEN/RTI/2014-15/63

Dated Shillong the 4th August, 2015.

To

✓ Mr. Periousstone Khongthohrem, PHD,
Dewsawpathaw- Rangthylliang,
PO: Pynursla-793110,
East Khasi Hills, Meghalaya
Mobile No: -91-98561-38567.

Subject: Information U/S 6 of R.T.I. Act, 2005.

Reference: No. Nil Dated 23rd July, 2015.

Sir,

With reference to the subject cited above, this is to inform that the required information which was asked by you under R.T.I. Act, 2005 vide your R.T.I. application dated 23rd July, 2015 are as follows which is self explanatory for favour of your kind information.


Particulars of information:

1. Point No. (i) : 1979, 1980, 1992.
2. Point No. (ii) : Enclosed herewith.
3. Point No. (iii) : (a) 1979 & 1987 - Bengali,
(b) 1992 - Nepali.
4. Point No. (iv) :: NIL.
5. Point No. (v) :: 1979- 123; 1980- 33; 1981- 33; 1982- 16; 1983- 37; 1984- 41; 1985- 43;
1986- 24; 1987- 59; 1988- 21; 1989- nil; 1990- 2 ; 1991- 12; 1992- 10.
6. Point No. (vi) :: 1979- 8; 1980- 01; 1981- 04; 1984- 05; 1985- 02; 1986- 01; 1987- 10;
1988- 01; 1989- 01; 1990- 01.

This is for favour of your kind information.

Encl: As stated above.

Yours faithfully,


4/8/15
Dy. Superintendent of Police (Gen)
Public Information Officer
East Khasi Hills, Shillong

**GOVERNMENT OF MEGHALAYA
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE :: WEST KHASI HILLS
::NONGSTOIN::**

No.E/IV-22/56-2006/Vol.II/ 1972

Dated Nongstoin, the 27 July, 2015.

To,

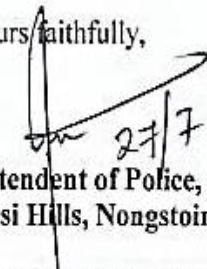
✓ Shri Periousstone Khongthohrem,
Dewsawpathaw – Rangthylliang, P.O. Pynursla – 793110,
East Khasi Hills, Meghalaya.

Subject : **Information under section 6 of the RTI Act, 2005.**

Dear Sir,

With reference to your application Under RTI Act, 2005, I have the honour to inform you that the information under section 6 may kindly be treated as NIL from this Office.

Yours faithfully,


27/7
**Superintendent of Police,
West Khasi Hills, Nongstoin.**

Memo No.E/IV-22/56-2006/Vol.II/

Dated Nongstoin, the July, 2015.

Copy to :-

1. The Asstt. Inspector General of Police (A) Meghalaya, Shillong with reference to your L/No.C.37/2015/5, Dt. 27.7.2015.

**Superintendent of Police,
West Khasi Hills, Nongstoin.**

**:::GOVERNMAENT OF MEGHALAYA:::
::OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE::
:::SOUTH GARO HILLS:::**

Letter No. CRB/IV-4/42-2015/ 1439

Dated Baghmara the 10TH July 2015.

From : The Superintendent of Police
South Garo Hills, Baghmara.

To : Shri Periousstone Khongthohrem
Dewsawpathaw – Rangthylliang,
P.O. Pynursla, 793110
East Khasi Hills, Meghalaya.

Sub : Information U/S 6 of RTI Act. 2015.

Ref : L/No.C.37/2015/5

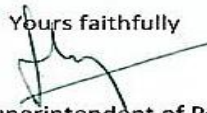
Dated: 27/07/2015

Sir,

With reference and the subject cited above, regarding information on various Ethnic clashes happened in the State since Statehood i.e 1972 till June 2015. There is no Ethnic clashes reported in this District since 1972- June 2015 hence the required informataion may kindly be treated as Nil from this concern district for SI Nos 1 to 6.

Submitted for your kind information and necessary action.

Yours faithfully



Superintendent of Police
South Garo Hills, Baghnara

Dated Baghmara the 10TH July 2015.

Letter No. CRB/IV-4/42-2015/

Copy to:


1. Asst. Inspector General of Police (A) Megh. Shillong, for favour of kind information.


Superintendent of Police
South Garo Hills, Baghnara

Copy to:-

1. The Asstt. Inspector General of Police (Admn) Meghalaya Shillong for information.

Yours faithfully,


Shri C M Sangma MP
Dy. Superintendent of Police-Cum-PIO,
O/o Superintendent of Police, South Garo Hills,
Baghmara

GOVERNMENT OF MEGHALAYA
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE: SOUTH GARO HILLS DISTRICT, BAGHMARA.

Memo No B/1-2013/RTI / 1000 .

Dated Baghmara the 10th August 2015

TO: - SHRI PERIOUSSTONE KHONGTHOHREM,
DEWSAWPATHAW –RANGTHYLLIANG
P.O:- PYNURSULA-793110
EAST KHASI HILLS, MEGHALAYA,
+91-985-61-38567.

Subject: - RTI Application.

Sir,

Reference your RTI application dated 23/7/2015; please find herewith the following information.

1. The information sought may be treated as 'nil' from this district
2. The information sought may be treated as 'nil' from this district.
3. The information sought may be treated as 'nil' from this district.
4. The information sought may be treated as 'nil' from this district.
5. The information sought may be treated as 'nil' from this district.
6. The information sought may be treated as 'nil' from this district.

In the event that you are not satisfied with the replies submitted by the undersigned, you may appeal to the 1st Appellate Authority as per the rule laid down under RTI act 2005.

Name and Address of 1st Appellate Authority

Shri Lakador Syeim MPS
Superintendent of Police
South Garo Hills, District
Baghmara.

Yours faithfully,
signed
10/8/15
Shri C M Sangma MPS
Dy. Superintendent of Police-Cum-PIO,
O/o Superintendent of Police, South Garo Hills,
Baghmara

GOVERNMENT OF MEGHALAYA
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE
RI BHOI DISTRICT NONGPOH



Letter No.RBD/CB-93/2015/ 1084

Dated Nongpoh, the 18th August/2015

To,

Shri Periousstone Khongthohrem,
Dewsawpathaw – Rangthylliang,
P.O : Pynursla – 793110
East Khasi Hills, Meghalaya.


Subject : Information under R.T.I Act 2005.

Reference : Your Application dtd 23-7-2015.

Sir,

With reference to the subject cited above, I am furnishing herewith the information sought for under R.T.I Act 2005 point wise of Ri Bhoi District are as follows :

1. 1987
2. Umsning : Umraling, Mawkhap Umran Diary, Raitong, Dewlieh
Nongpoh : Nongpdeng, Mawsyntai,
Umiam : Umbir
3. 1987 : Khasi and Nepali
4. KSU
5. NIL
6. NIL



Superintendent of Police,
Ri Bhoi District, Nongpoh.

Memo No.RBD/CB-93/2015/

Dated Nongpoh, the 18th August/2015

Copy to:

1. The Asstt. Inspector General of Police, (A), Meghalaya, Shillong for favour of information.


Superintendent of Police,
Ri Bhoi District, Nongpoh.

GOVERNMENT OF MEGHALAYA
☆☆☆ OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE ☆☆☆
EAST JAINTIA HILLS DISTRICT ☆☆☆ KHLIEHRIAT

Letter No. CRB/KLT/RTI/2014-15/

Dated Khliehriat the 4th of August 2015.

From : The Public Information Officer,
Office of the Superintendent of Police,
East Jaintia Hills District, Khliehriat.

To : Shri Periusstone Khongthohrem,
Dewsawpathaw – Rangthylliang
PO – Pynursla – 793110
East Khasi Hills, Meghalaya.

Subject: INFORMATION SOUGHT UNDER SECTION 6 (1) OF RTI ACT, 2005.

Reference: Letter No. NIL Dated 23/07/2015.

Sir,

With reference to the subject cited above, I am furnishing herewith the required information as asked for as follows:-

1.	Name the years of various Ethnic clashes happened in the state since statehood i.e. 1972 till June 2015.	⇒	N.B. :- East Jaintia Hills District, Khliehriat was declared a district since August 2012. -Nil-
2.	Name the places/areas where the various Ethnic clashes took place	⇒	-do-
3.	The years and name of communities which were part of these ethnic clashes since 1972 – 2015.	⇒	-do-
4.	Name of the Groups which inflamed ethnic clashes.	⇒	-do-
5.	Numbers of persons injured in this ethnic clashes year wise.	⇒	-do-
6.	Quantum of Death where the clashes occurred year wise.	⇒	-do-

Yours faithfully,


Encl: As stated above.

Public Information Officer,
Office of the Superintendent of Police,
East Jaintia Hills District, Khliehriat.

Memo No. CRB/KLT/RTI/2014-15/906(A)

Dated Khliehriat the 4th of August 2015.

Copy to:- The Asstt. Inspector General of Police(A), Meghalaya, Shillong with reference to letters No. C.37/2015/5 dated 27/07/2015 for kind information.


 Public Information Officer,
Office of the Superintendent of Police,
East Jaintia Hills District, Khliehriat.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Baruah, S. (2003). Citizens and denizens: Ethnicity, homelands, and the crisis of displacement in Northeast India. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 16(1), 44-66.<https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/16/1/44/1620745>
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