

TRIBAL STUDIES IN INDIA: INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES

Lecture35

Lecture 35: Tribes in Post-Colonial India II: Tribal Administration and Autonomy Provisions: Part 1

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Good evening, everyone. Welcome back to the NPTEL online certification course on Tribal Studies in India: Interdisciplinary Perspectives and Approaches. Today, we will be doing lecture number 35, and in this lecture, we will specifically look at the constitutional provisions pertaining to tribal communities in India, and within that, we will examine the administrative and autonomy provisions. Now, before I go into the details of the lecture, in the last several lectures, we have talked extensively about the history of tribes, the context, and the way in which the term 'tribe' has been used.

and, most importantly, we have looked at the interaction or the encounter between the colonial state and the tribal communities. Now, the period of colonialism was very important, as you know, in terms of how the colonial state or the British responded to the tribal question in India. They responded to the tribal question in India. In doing so, they charted out several laws and regulations pertaining to tribal communities in India. Now, one of the most important questions, particularly in the context of tribal communities in India, is the question of autonomy.

Now, in the colonial period, as we have already seen, tribal communities in India have been gradually dispossessed of several kinds of resources, such as land, water, forests, and so on. Now, this dispossession from different kinds of natural resources resulted in rebellions, unrest, and social movements, and it continues even in the post-colonial period. Now, the colonial state introduced several legislations, and in post-independent India, one of the most important central

questions pertaining to tribal communities was the question of autonomy. Now, in this context, the question of autonomy, particularly for the tribes, becomes very pertinent because of their experience during colonialism, where they saw that they had been gradually dispossessed of their habitats. They had been gradually denied customary ownership of land, forests, water, and so on, and that resulted in severe pauperization and immiseration of tribal communities.

So to really understand and situate a context in which the post-colonial Indian state decided to grant autonomy provisions, it is important to go a little backwards in terms of trying to really understand why tribal communities in India, particularly during the period of the drafting of the Indian constitution, fought actually for the provisions of autonomy. . Now two very important provisions that we will discuss in this lecture are the Fifth Schedule and the Sixth Schedule. Now as you know, the Indian Constitution is one of the most renowned constitutions in the world. And in the last, you know, several lectures, we have really looked at how tribal communities themselves have participated and contributed to the making of the Indian constitution.

Now, one thing that is very special and unique about a constitution is that India, being a diverse country, the constitution tries to cater to the needs of this diverse population. By coming up with, you know, specific provisions to safeguard the interests of different communities across caste, religion, region, and community-wise. So, in terms of tribes, a constitutional arrangement in the form of autonomy provisions was inserted in the Indian Constitution. Now this insertion definitely came with the kind of pressures that the Indian nationalist leaders were exposed to, or in some sense they were forced to listen to the voice of the tribal communities. But then this insertion of autonomy provisions also came with a commitment...

to assure the tribal communities that their rights and their interests will be protected under the Constitution of India. So, it was in this spirit that the Indian Constitution or the Constitution of India has provided a special system of administration for the tribal-dominated areas in the form of the Fifth and the Sixth Schedules. Now, these schedules are very important because they continue to be the foundation or the foundational structure of autonomy provisions for tribal communities in India. So, the Sixth Schedule provisions are basically for the administration of tribal areas in the northeastern part of India, particularly in the

states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram. Now, to go a little backward again, you know that at the time of independence, northeast India was essentially Assam and the two princely states, that is, Tripura and Manipur.

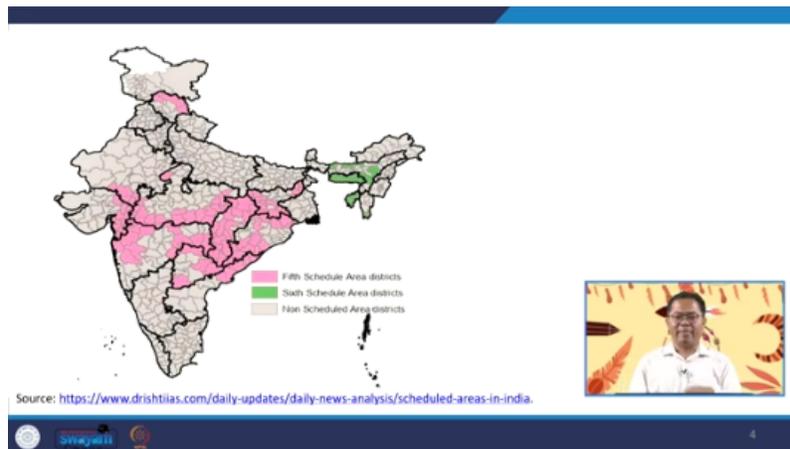
Over a period of time, from 1963, many of today's states like Mizoram, Meghalaya, and even Nagaland were part of Assam districts, just one district for a long period of time. So, Nagaland broke away from Assam in 1963, Meghalaya was granted separate statehood in 1972, and Mizoram was also granted separate statehood in 1986, along with Arunachal Pradesh. Over a period of time, we see that there has been a reorganization of the northeastern region. Now, on independence, it means that the Sixth Schedule provisions were established. You know, they were implemented in the larger Assam, particularly in the tribal-dominated districts of today's Meghalaya and Mizoram.

So, in the case of the Fifth Schedule, the schedule deals primarily with the administration of scheduled areas, particularly in mainland India or in central India. So, currently, we have 10 states which come under the fifth schedule, such as Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, and Telangana. Now, the spirit behind the introduction of autonomy provisions may vary between the two regions. We are looking at the northeastern region and mainland India in a very broad category. This does not mean that the communities in the Northeast and mainland India, in terms of their aspirations, are different.

Definitely, there are some differences, but then what combines, you know, the kind of commonalities and similarities one can observe when it comes to tribal communities all over India is the question of autonomy. Now, before I proceed, I also wanted to remind you that it is not that all tribal communities in the Northeast or all tribal communities in the mainland part of India are under the schedules. There are many tribal communities that are not under any Fifth or Sixth Schedule. For example, in the state of Manipur in northeast India, although the hill tribes or the tribal communities inhabit 90% of the total geographical area of the state, the Sixth Schedule was not extended to the state of Manipur. Likewise, in the case of Nagaland, they have rejected the idea of the Sixth Schedule.

In Arunachal Pradesh, the tribal communities have begun to demand the Sixth Schedule. But in Assam also, there are certain communities who are being

granted the Sixth Schedule in today's Assam. But for a long period of time, many tribal communities in Assam itself were not under the Sixth Schedule. Likewise, one can also say the same for many tribal communities in the mainland part of India. Now, this is just a kind of diagrammatic representation of where the two schedules are in force.



The green shade mostly represents the Sixth Schedule area, and the pink shade mostly represents the Fifth Schedule areas. So, the insertion of the Fifth and the Sixth Schedule was, in some way, a realization of the aspirations of tribal communities. So, whether or not the tribal communities were satisfied with it, whether or not the schedules worked in terms of their promise, that is a different matter altogether. But then, what it actually does is, the idea behind the insertion of the Fifth and the Sixth Schedule in the Constitution of India is essentially to assure the tribes that their rights and their interests will be protected by the Constitution of India. Despite that, the Constitution has not actually been defined, in constitutional terms, a clear definition of how to identify Scheduled Areas.

But one can say that there are certain criteria that have become well-established in declaring any area a Scheduled Area. For instance, every important criterion that is being used is that before an area is declared as a scheduled area, one has to identify whether a particular area has a tribal population in majority; the area should be of a reasonable size. The economic backwardness of the area with respect to other states. So, scholars like David Stuligross argue that these autonomy provisions in the form of the 5th and 6th schedules work effectively as a policy of integration of communities into the multicultural Indian nation. Now, this idea is particularly important in the sense that, on independence, there are

so many communities in India and definitely it was a challenge to meet the aspirations of all the communities.

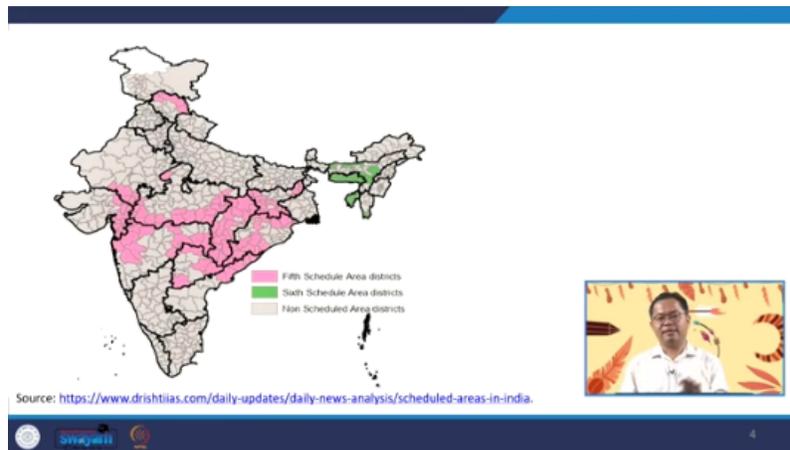
On independence, there are so many communities in India, and definitely it was a challenge to meet the aspirations of all the communities. But then the kind of promise that these schedules bring to the communities, particularly when one talks about tribes, is important because it serves as a tool of integration of communities by assuring them that they are part of this larger multicultural Indian nation. Now, in the next few slides, we will take a glance at the kind of autonomy provisions in terms of the powers that are enshrined under the fifth schedule and also the powers enshrined under the sixth schedule. What actually are they? How do they work?

What is the structure of governance within the two schedules? So, the origin of the fifth schedule in the Indian constitution goes back to the colonial period when the British government identified some areas as backward tracts and partially excluded areas. Now, I think some of you might have recalled this idea of backward tracts and partially excluded areas. Now, like I said you know this on independence It was not that the entire colonial legislation; the post-colonial Indian state did not entirely neglect the kind of laws and legislation that were introduced by the British.

Many of them were being taken forward, of course, with some kind of modifications and adjustments. Now, in the case of autonomy provisions in the Fifth Schedule as well, what we are seeing is that most of these Fifth Schedules are being implemented in regions which were identified by the colonial state as backward tracts and partially excluded areas. Now, you know that this idea of backward tracts came up with the Government of India Act of 1935, but before that, the idea was already in circulation, particularly with the coming of the Government of India Act of 1919. They specifically designated areas which were dominated by tribal communities as backward tracts and partially excluded areas. The Indian Constitution adopted this idea by classifying certain regions with large tribal populations as Scheduled Areas.

These are the areas where Fifth Schedules are applied. Now, one of the criteria, as I said, to define or to declare any area a Scheduled Area is in terms of population. Now, if you look at this map, you will see that in the Sixth Schedule,

which is the pink shade here, they are mostly concentrated in the central part of India, particularly in the Chhattisgarh area. You will see that they are mostly concentrated in the central part of India, particularly in the Chhattisgarh area. Now, if you look at today's Chhattisgarh area—Jharkhand, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, and all—you will see that these states, including Madhya Pradesh, and one can go till Gujarat as well, Maharashtra also.



You will see that these states have a very significant tribal population. Now, up in the north as well, like in Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh, there are significant tribal populations. But then, the vast majority or the concentration of tribal communities, when it comes to mainland India, is mostly in these states, right? Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, and parts of Rajasthan as well. So, the Fifth Schedule is an important mechanism when it comes to understanding tribal governance in mainland India.

And this schedule outlines how the scheduled areas should be governed. First, it is the President of India who has the authority to declare a region as a scheduled area and can also later decide to remove the status. Now, in many ways, any kind of laws and legislation under the Constitution of India have to be assented to by the President. The President has to give assent to the law. Likewise, whether or not a region or an area needs to be declared as a scheduled area, the President of India is the one who has the authority to declare any such region as a scheduled area.

And in case there are some changes in terms of demographic or other changes, the President can also remove that status. Second, the Governor of a state that has scheduled areas must send regular reports at least once a year or as

directed to the President about how these areas are being managed. Currently, the Fifth Schedule is enforced in parts of 10 Indian states. So, we have already briefly talked about the states where the Fifth Schedule is currently enforced. Now, in areas or in states where the Fifth Schedule is enforced, the role of the Governor is very important because the Governor has the duty to send regular reports, maybe in the form of annual reports, at least once a year, about the status of these scheduled areas that will specifically deal with the tribal communities there.

Now, Part B of the Fifth Schedule has provisions for setting up Tribal Advisory Councils (TAC) in each state with scheduled areas. A TAC can also be created in other states with significant tribal populations if the President deems necessary. Now, the first structure of governance that we have seen is the Governor. The Governor has a very important role to play in trying to assess and understand the issues and problems concerning scheduled areas and also to point out the kind of development challenges in tribal areas. Another important structure of governance that we have under the Fifth Schedule is the Tribes Advisory Council.

Now, under this TAC, the council should have 20 members, with at least three-fourths of them being scheduled tribal MLAs or MLAs from scheduled tribe backgrounds in their particular state. The main role of the TAC is to advise the Governor on issues related to the welfare and development of tribal communities. Now, this schedule gives the Governor significant powers. He or she can decide that certain central laws should not apply to the scheduled area or apply them with specific changes. Now, the TAC, the Tribes Advisory Council.

Now, if you look at the tribal situation today, as I said, in the past, during the pre-colonial period and particularly during the colonial period. What we see is that tribal communities in India are continually dispossessed of their resources or the regions they inhabit. Now, this dispossession resulted in significant marginalization of tribal communities. Now, what happened is that the question of autonomy is very closely tied to the question of socio-economic development of tribal communities. Now, therefore...

The role of the TAC is very important here in terms of advising the Governor of a state on issues pertaining to the welfare and development of tribal communities.

Likewise, as I said, the Governor has a very important role to play when one talks about the Fifth Schedule because by now, it is understood that tribal communities—most of them, or even all—have their own distinct cultural language. Many times, the kind of constitutional legislations introduced in the state can work against the interests of the tribes by undermining their customary rights and traditional institutions. Now, in such situations, the Governor can intervene and decide whether a particular state or central law should be directly applied in the scheduled area. So, these protective mechanisms were designed to serve the interests of the tribes—not only preventing the cultural erosion of tribal communities but also countering the dominance of the larger dominant communities in whichever states tribal communities live.

However, this can also be done after consulting the TAC and with the president's approval. The Governor also has the authority to make special rules for the governance of these areas, especially to stop or limit land transfers involving members, control how land is allotted to tribal people, and regulate money-lending activities to prevent exploitation of tribal communities. These protections were included because historically, tribal communities heavily relied on land for their survival, and during colonial times, they suffered greatly due to land loss and resource exploitation. Now, this is the point that I've been coming back to again and again. This point is important essentially because it resulted in a lot of unrest.

It resulted in a lot of movements. If you look at all the tribal movements, many of them happened during the colonial period. More than 100 movements, big or small, occurred during the colonial period. Not only in mainland India but also in the northeastern part of India. Now, why did these things happen?

Essentially, because they see that the resources are being taken away, and it is leading to a lot of socioeconomic deprivation. At the same time, the entry of the colonial city into tribal territories means that they are losing their political sovereignty. Now, in that kind of situation, therefore, the demand essentially made by tribal communities at the dawn of independence is that they want autonomy that will guarantee them social, cultural, economic, and political rights. Now, in this context, within the fifth schedule areas, the Governor has a very, very important role. Like I said, one, the Governor can actually decide whether

certain state or central laws should be applied to tribal areas which are under the scheduled areas.

Second, the Governor also has authority to make special rules for the governance of these areas, for instance, in terms of land transfer. Now, one of the most pressing concerns of tribal communities today is the question of land in the nation, that is, the transfer of lands owned by the tribal communities to non-tribals or for any other purpose. Now, in that kind of situation, the Governor has a very, very important role to play in terms of ensuring that land transfer is being stopped or controlled, which essentially will also control the alienation of land that is happening. Another important issue is in terms of money lending. Now, many tribal communities in many parts of India face severe exploitation essentially because of money lending, where moneylenders charge exorbitant rates.

And, many times, they also end up losing their properties, their lands, and so on and so forth. Now, in this kind of situation, the Governor can actually intervene and set up a kind of mechanism that will protect the tribal communities from economic marginalization. Now, the role of the TAC extends to providing consultation to the state Governor to repeal or amend any act of parliament or the state legislature which applies to the scheduled areas. The Governor, in consultation with the TAC, can make regulations on issues such as the regulation of land transfer, allotment of land to the scheduled tribes, and regulation of money-lending activities. However, all such regulations must be consented to by the president.

Now, this is something that, you know, I have discussed quite extensively already. So, I am not, you know, going to explain it again. But what is important for us to really understand, in the context of the Fifth Schedule, is the role of the Governor. Now, let us come to the Sixth Schedule. What about the Sixth Schedule?

What is the nature? What is the structure of, you know, administration? What is the structure of governance when it comes to the Sixth Schedule? How is it different from the Fifth Schedule areas? Now, like I said, the Sixth Schedule was the provision that was essentially introduced specifically for the tribal communities in Northeast India, particularly in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram.

Now, as I mentioned earlier, during independence until 1962, all these states like Nagaland, Mizoram, and Meghalaya were part of Assam. They were later bifurcated from Assam with the reorganization of the Northeastern region. And it was in these states that today are merely districts. But during that period, the Sixth schedule was already enforced. Now, even after they became states, like in the state of Meghalaya, the Sixth Schedule was retained.

In Mizoram, in the southern part, there are three autonomous district councils under the sixth schedule: the Lai Autonomous District Council, the Chakma Autonomous District Council, and the Mara Autonomous District Council. Now, these three councils are under the Sixth scheduled areas. So, the Sixth Schedule as a provision was essentially designed for the northeastern part of India. So, the idea behind providing different provisions for governance to these states comes from the understanding that the tribes residing in these four states are less adapted to the culture of mainstream society and still largely rooted in their own culture, customs, and civilizations. So, here again, the question of difference plays a very prominent role in understanding the Northeast and tribal communities.

Now, in mainland India, since the tribal communities are exposed to the larger cultural world of the dominant communities, there are far more socio-cultural interactions. But in the case of Northeast India, I am not saying that these communities have lived in complete isolation. But then the nature of interaction with the culture of the larger Indian society was something that was very minimal. It was not something that was by choice also. Geography also plays a very important role, and furthermore, colonial policies in the form of the Government of India Act, in terms of segregating this population within certain administrative areas by isolating them, also reinforce in many ways.

The isolation of the tribal communities in the northeast. Now, therefore, the idea of granting Sixth schedule to tribal communities in the northeast essentially arises from this understanding that tribal communities in the northeast have a distinct culture, distinct language, distinct customs, and traditions which require state recognition and protection. Now, under the Sixth Schedule, there are these autonomous juristic councils, or the Schedule has provisions for autonomous juristic councils in the tribal-dominated regions in the four states. And initially, like the fifth schedule, it was proposed; the idea of the sixth schedule was essentially

proposed for the formerly excluded areas. Now, these formerly excluded areas are what I have talked about, like the state of Mizoram and Nagaland in particular.

So, they were declared as the excluded areas, considered to be one of the most backward regions under the colonial state. The importance of ADCs for tribal governance stems from, first, how the colonial government indirectly ruled the tribal-dominated region. Dominated regions where general laws and legislations were not applicable, and second, the dominance of tribal population in this region is significantly higher with respect to the central tribal regions. Now, like I said, one very important part of why these laws were introduced was that the colonial state, the colonial policies in terms of governing these regions in an indirect manner, or sometimes more popularly known as indirect rule. In a sense, provincial laws were not directly applicable to the areas which were declared as excluded areas.

Now, likewise, there are different kinds of legislation, such as the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act, 1873, which was enforced in the states of today's Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and Mizoram. and in these states, a special permit needed to be acquired to visit them, not only by Indian citizens but also by the British themselves. So therefore, a special kind of layer, administrative layer, different layers of administration were enforced that actually limited the possibility of getting inside these areas, which further reinforced their exclusion. Now, in the post-colonial period also. There was this idea that certain forms of provisions needed to be introduced, needed to be inserted in the constitution that would guarantee these communities some level of autonomy.

So, as such, the integrationists viewed the autonomy of tribal-dominated regions as essential for maintaining their distinct socio-cultural practices. The ADCs are mostly demarcated based on the territories of tribal units, which Tully Gross argued is the only instance of governmental boundaries being drawn in congruence with social identities. Now, in many parts of northeast India, you will see that northeast India is also peculiar because, unlike many parts of mainland India, in the northeastern part of India, you will see that it is the tribal communities who are the dominant communities. Like in Mizoram, more than 80% of the population are tribes. In Meghalaya, it is the same thing.

In Nagaland, it is the same scenario. In Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh, it is like 65% of the entire population; they say the tribes, tribal communities. In Manipur, it is about 35 to 40. So, you will see that, although there are some variations in Tripura and Manipur, in the larger part of the northeastern states, the tribal communities are the dominant ones, which is a situation that is very different when one looks at where tribal populations are concentrated in the mainland part of India. So, under this Sixth Schedule, like I said, there are provisions for setting up autonomous jurisdiction councils.

Now, its autonomous districts and regions have district and regional councils consisting of 30 members who administer the areas under their jurisdiction. Now, today in Assam, where are these, you know, Sixth Schedule areas enforced? If I say that the Sixth Schedule is enforced in the state of Assam, it does not mean that the entire Assam is under the Sixth Schedule. The entire state of Mizoram is under the Sixth Schedule. That is not essentially the case.

So, over a period of time, what happened is that the Sixth schedule has been enforced, or the areas under sixth schedules have gradually increased. Initially, it was only Meghalaya and Mizoram, but now it has expanded to new areas like Tripura and many parts of Assam. So, for example, today the areas where the Sixth Schedule is enforced include Assam, the North Kachar Hill districts, the Karbi Anglong district, and the Bodoland Territorial Areas district. In Meghalaya, we have the Khasi Hills district, the Jaintia Hills district, and the Garo Hills district. In Tripura, we have the Tripura Tribal Areas district.

In Mizoram, we have the Chakma, the Mara, and the Lai. Now, all of this—when a Sixth Schedule is enforced specifically for a particular community—means they can create their own autonomous district councils under which members are elected. Now, these autonomous district councils—one important thing to understand—is the difference in autonomy provisions between the Fifth Schedule and the Sixth Schedule. In the Sixth Schedule, we see more decentralization of power, where authority goes to the people, allowing them to elect their own representatives through autonomous district councils. Now, under these autonomous district councils, communities under the Sixth Schedule can make laws on local matters such as land distribution and use for farming, grazing, housing, or other purposes benefiting villagers or town residents; management of

non-reserved forests; use of canals or water systems for agriculture; regulation of jhum cultivation; formation of village or town councils and defining their powers.

STATES	TRIBAL AREAS
Assam	North Cachar Hills District Karbi Anglong District Bodoland Territorial Areas District
Meghalaya	Khasi Hills District Jaintia Hills District Garo Hills District
Tripura	Tripura Tribal Areas District
Mizoram	Chakma District Mera District Lai District



Village and town administration includes police, sanitation, and public health. Appointment and succession of tribal chiefs or headmen. Inheritance, marriage, divorce, and local social customs. So essentially, you will see that these autonomous councils are endowed with a lot of powers and a lot of responsibilities. At the same time, although they are responsible for the management of local resources, such as land and forests, they also play a very important role in protecting the customs and traditions of the tribal communities.

And the moment that, you know, the six edulis and fours and edisis are constituted, it means that the tribal communities have the provisions and the protection to safeguard their rights and to safeguard their interests. In addition to this, they can also make laws about basic services like primary schools, clinics, markets, livestock shelters, ferries, fishing, roads, and waterways. Now, you can see that the Autonomous Division Councils have a plethora of provisions. Not only in terms of customs and traditions but also in terms of the management of infrastructure and the possibility of managing developmental schemes, such as looking after primary schools, clinics, and markets. Livestock shelters, and so on and so forth.

Now, they also have the authority to regulate money lending and trade by outsiders or non-tribal people, collect taxes on property, trades, animals, pots, goods entering local markets, ferry services, among others, grant licenses and leases for exploring and extracting minerals, and receive a portion of the mineral royalties earned by the state. Importantly, the state laws do not automatically

apply in these autonomous districts. The district council must approve them first. Now, under the autonomous district councils, they have their own assembly. Now, for example, let me explain this important point.

This point is very important with the example of Mizoram. Now, in Mizoram, you will see that the dominant community is the Mizo. Now, Mizoram at one point in time also had its own Sixth schedule. But once, you know, the state of Mizoram was upgraded to full statehood, was granted full statehood, the Sixth schedule was no longer enforced in the larger part of the state. Now, the Sixth Schedule was continued only in three autonomous district councils, that is, the Chakma Autonomous District Council, the Lai Autonomous District Council, and the Mara Autonomous District Council.

Now, these communities always wanted to protect their interests from the dominant communities, culturally, linguistically, and so on. Now, whenever, you know, the State Assembly passes legislation, it cannot be directly implemented in these areas. First, it has to be approved by the district council themselves. So, therefore, it gives them a kind of layer that actually protects their interests from the dominant communities. So the Governor decides whether or not laws made by parliament or the state legislature should be applied in these areas, particularly in Assam, Tripura and Mizoram.

In states other than Assam, even the President of India can decide on the application of such laws. Likewise, apart from the different administrative powers that are being endowed to the Autonomous District Councils, they also have judicial powers to handle legal cases and operate a two-tier, two-level system. One is the village councils that deal with cases between tribal people, while district-level courts handle appeals. These councils follow procedures under the Civil Procedure Court. And the Criminal Procedure Court for handling certain legal matters.

Its autonomous district and region also have their own fund where all government allocations are pooled for local use. So now you can see that the sixth schedules are far more powerful and far more capable compared to the tribes advisory council in the fifth schedule areas. Essentially, here, because the kind of roles and responsibilities, the provisions, the powers which are enshrined are clearly delineated. And there is a structure in place that will actually ensure that the

rights and provisions are followed. In a sense, the communities under the Autonomous District Councils have the right to protect themselves from the dominant communities within the state they live in.

But at the same time, the Governor plays a very important role. For instance, it can suspend or dissolve a council, temporarily take over its powers, and then report the matter to the state legislature. This suspension can last up to one year unless overturned by the legislature. Moreover, the Governor can set up a commission to study any issue related to the administration of these autonomous areas. Based on the commission's recommendations, the Governor also has the power to dissolve a district or regional council.

Now, again, you will see that there are some commonalities between the fifth schedule and the sixth schedule in terms of suspending or dissolving a council. But at the same time, the Governor can also play a very positive role in studying any specific issues pertaining to the administration of the autonomous leadership council areas. Besides the Sixth Schedule, the Indian Constitution also provides special provisions for some northeastern states to give them more autonomy. For example, Article 371 A applies in Nagaland and gives the state control over matters like religion, traditional customs, its own civil and criminal laws, and ownership of land and natural resources. The state of Mizoram also has special protections under Article 371 G, although parts of the state are also governed by the Sixth Schedule.

As I mentioned earlier, in the southern part, the three Autonomous District Councils are governed under the Sixth Schedule. In the case of Manipur, Article 371C is enforced, and there is also a state legislation—a state law—under which autonomous councils or district councils are created under the Manipur Hill Areas District Council Act. However, the level of self-governance granted here is not as strong as the autonomy provided under the Sixth Schedule. The Sixth Schedule is a constitutional provision. Now, autonomous district councils in states such as Manipur are not necessarily created under the Sixth Schedule because they are established under state law.

So, there is a significant difference in terms of power and responsibilities. There is a huge difference in terms of what an autonomous district council can do. Now, in the case of Manipur, if a law is passed by the state legislative assembly, it can

be enforced throughout the entire state. However, in Sixth Schedule areas, the laws are not directly applicable unless the district councils themselves consent to them. With this, I will conclude this lecture, but I believe we now have a fair understanding of the Sixth Schedule—two very important structures of autonomy and two critical autonomy provisions that cannot be ignored when discussing autonomy in the context of tribal communities.

Thank you so much.