

CHAPTER – III

STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS OF TTAADC

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In the preceding chapter, detailed discussions have been made on various approaches and policies of tribal development administration in India. It emphasises the key Acts and Amendment of Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, and various provisions for tribals enshrined in it. The present chapter deals with the structure and function of TTAADC in the backdrop of approaches and policies of tribal development outlined in the previous chapter. ADC of Tripura is constituted as part of a policy of tribal development administration in Tripura to safeguards constitutional rights of tribals.

3.1 Profile of Tripura

Before merger with the Indian Union, Tripura was a Princely State and it was ruled by the Maharajas (Kings) of Tripura for an uninterrupted period of thirteen hundred years (approximately). The rulers of the Princely State have done many welfare works. After Indian independence, Tripura was merged with India on 15th October, 1949. In 1950, Tripura was given the status of ‘C State’¹ and was administered by Chief Commissioner

¹ After India became independent from the British Empire in 1947, the constituent units of India were classified into distinct categories. Those former princely states and provinces were put under ‘C’ State, administered by Chief Commissioner.

appointed by the Government of India. The Government of India declared Tripura, a full-fledged state on 21st January, 1972 under the North-Eastern Areas Reorganisation Act, 1971.

The State of Tripura is situated in north-eastern region of India. It is both bounded by national and international boundary. It is bounded on the north, south and west by Bangladesh, and in the east it meets with Karimganj district of Assam and Mamit district of Mizoram. The territory as it stands now, situated between 22.56 degree and 22.32 degree north latitude and between 91.10 degree and 92.20 degree East longitude, with an area of 10,491,69 sq. km. The extreme length from North to South is 183.5 km; while extreme width from East to West is 112.7 km. Sixty percent (60%) of the total area consists of hilly land while the remaining 40 percent constitutes a flat level.

It comprised of 8 (eight) revenue district 23 (twenty three) Sub-Divisions and 52 (fifty two) Rural Development Blocks. Agartala is the capital city of Tripura and its official languages are Bengali, Kokborok and English. The State is connected by National Highway No. 44, which runs through Barak Valley of Assam and is the only lifeline of Tripura. However, the capital city is connected by air route with many important cities of India and Broad Gauge railway has been introduced from August, 2016, till the capital city of Agartala. The State has 60 (sixty) Assembly Constituency and 30 (thirty) Constituency is being reserved for ST.

According to 2011 census, the total population of Tripura is 36, 73,917. Out of the total population, male population consists of 18, 74, 376 (51 %) and female population consists of 17, 99,541 (48.98 %). The overall literacy rate is 87.22 percent. Out of this, male literacy is 91. 53 percent and female literacy rate stand at 78.98 percent. The population Density (per sq. km) is 350 and the sex ratio between men and women is 960.

3.2 Tribal Communities of Tripura

At present, as many as nineteen tribal communities in Tripura are recognised as STs under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1976. They are *Tripuri, Reang, Jamatia, Chakma, Halam, Noatia, Mog, Lushai, Uchai, Kuki, Garo, Munda, Orang, Santhal, Khasia, Bhil, Chaimal, Bhutia and Lepcha*. Among them, aboriginal tribes are *Tripuri, Reang, Jamatia, Noatia, Lusai, Uchai, Chaimal, Halam, Kukis, Garos, Mog and Chakma*. Other tribes like *Bill, Munda, Orang, Santhal, Lepcha,*

Khasia and Bhutias are the immigrant tribes who came and settled in Tripura for economic reasons from different parts of India.²

Linguistically, the tribes of Tripura could be divided into three groups (1) Bodo Groups, (2) Kuki-Chin Groups and, (3) Arakan Groups. Tripuri, Reang, Jamatia, Uchai and Noatia are Mongoloid tribes belonging to a Bodo linguistic group. Kukis, Lusai and most of the tribes under Halam community, linguistically belongs to Kuki-Chin group and speak in Kuki-Chin language. Mog and Chakma speak in Arakan Language. By religion, most of the Tripura tribes profess Hinduism, which is animistic in nature. But Halam, Lusai and Kukis are mostly Christian. Chakmas and Mogs follow Buddhism. The following section discussed a brief profile of tribal communities on Tripura.

3.2.1 *A brief profile of tribal communities of Tripura:*

Tripuri: The Tripuri community constitutes the largest section of the entire tribal community. They live on the slopes of hills in a group of five to fifty families. Their houses are built of bamboo and raised five to six feet height to save themselves from dangers of wild animals. Nowadays a considerable section of this community is living in the plains, constructing houses like the plain people, adopting their methods of cultivation and following them in other aspects of day to day life. Tripuri women wear a dress called ‘Pachra’, which reaches down just below the knee. They weave loom cloth which they call ‘Risha,’ and they wear this piece of cloth on the upper portion of their body. Garia and Lebang Bumani are the two main dances of Tripuri tribes.

Reang: It is generally believed that this particular community migrated to Tripura from somewhere in Chittagong hill Tracts, towards the middle part of fifteenth century. The Reang are much disciplined community. The head of the community enjoys the title ‘Rai’ whose word is supreme in all matters of internal disputes and is to be obeyed by all Reang community. The Reangs are very backward, both educationally and economically. Therefore, they are still considered to be a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG). ‘Hozagiri’ is the famous dance of the Reang community.

² Information collected from website of Tripura Tribal Research Institute, Agartala. (www.tritripura.in)

Chakma: Chakma Community in Tripura is found mostly within the revenue sub-division of Kailasahar, Amarpur, Sabroom, Udaipur, Belonia and Kanchanpur. They are followers of Buddhism. Although the Chakmas are divided into several groups and sub-sections, no major differences are notice in the manner of customs and traditions practiced among different groups. The Chakma chiefs are generally called ‘Dewans,’ and they exercised great authority and influence within the community in all internal matters. The Chakma women, like all other tribal women, are experts in weaving. The Chakmas are very neat and clean in their domestic life. ‘Bizu Dance’ is the most popular dance among the Chakma community.

Jamatia: The Jamatias are mainly found in southern part of Tripura. Their language is similar to that of Tripuri. So, they speak in ‘Kokborok,’³ which is a language of Tibeto-Burman family. Jamatias used to be the major strength of Royal Army of Tripura Kingdom for which they were exempted from taxes during princely regime. Earlier, Jamatias had to live on Jhum Cultivation. But, they are now accustomed with plough cultivation. At present most of them depend on plain land cultivation beside allied economic activities. Most of the Jamatias are animistic Hindus. ‘Hoda Akra’ is their supreme traditional social institute which has power to look after to preserve and promote their social taboos, customs and religion. All sort of social and criminal disputes among the community members are also sorted by the ‘Hoda’. They are fond of traditional singing and dance with all sorts of merriment among themselves.

Halam: The Halam is divided into several sub-tribes. There is controversy in the number of sub-tribes of Halam community. They are originally divided into twelve sub-tribes known as ‘Bara Halam,’ though they appeared to have increased at a later stage. So, in course of time, the numbers increased to thirteen, then sixteen and nineteen. The Halam community includes *Ranglong, Molsom, Kaipeng, Rangkhoh/Hrangkhawl, Chorei, Bong, Morsephang, Dap, Saimar, Sakachep, Thangachep, Langkai, Bongcher, Nabeen, Korbong, Koloji and Rupini*. Of these, Ranglong, Molsom, Kaipeng and Chorei are comparatively major sub-tribes. According to Rajmala of Tripura, ‘Halams are divided into thirteen Sub-tribes, namely, *Ranglong, Molsom, Rangkhoh/Hrangkhawl, Koloji,*

³ Kokborok is a tribal language spoke by major tribes of Tripura Tribals. It is also recognised by Government of Tripura as one of its Official Language. Majority of Tripura tribals can speak and follow this language.

*Kaipeng, Rupini, Dap, Khulong, Chorei, Langkai, Bongcher, Morsephang and Korbong.*⁴ Among them Ranglong, Bong, Korbong, Dap, Thangachep, Sakachep, Morsephang, Langkai, Chorei and Saimar used Halam as their surname. The Koloï and Rupini do not fall under Halam group. In fact, they are small independent group of Tripuri community. 'They had been classified as Halam group during 1901 census because their numbers were very small to be classified as an independent group.'⁵ The 'Parual-anthum' meaning 'three brothers,' is the apex administrative and judicial structure of Halam community. The supreme head of the Parual-anthum is known as 'Halamasa' meaning 'Chief Judicial Magistrate.' Conversion to Christianity started among the Halams from the middle part of twentieth century. It could be point out that, at present, there is high percentage of Christianity among the Halams.

Kuki: The Kukis are mainly found in northern Tripura under Dharmanagar and Kailasahar revenue sub-division. Their main livelihood is jhum cultivation and producing fruits. Nowadays, they are also accustomed with plain land cultivation and rearing of animals. Kukis are very much expert in hunting of wild animals. Linguistically, they belong to Kuki-Chin linguistic family. Kukis are fond of music and dance. They work hard in chum field and enjoy dance and music at the community level. Traditionally, they were not Christian, but from the last fifty years, the majority of them have embraced Christianity. 'Lal' is a term to denote the village chief. This is the reason for which Kukis use the syllable 'Lal' to start their name. The village chief generally meets up all sorts of social and religious disputes, including dispute relate to marriage and divorce. They are a small tribe in Tripura and are now accepted as advanced tribe, in terms of socio-economic condition.

Garo: The Garo community basically lives in South and Dhalai districts of Tripura. Originally they used to live in a hut made of bamboo to save themselves from wild animals like the other tribals of Tripura do. But now they prefer houses made of mud wall with tin roof. They are believed to have migrated to Tripura from Garo Hills in Meghalaya. The life style of the Garos living in Tripura is almost like that of other tribes. The Heads of the community are known as 'Sangnakma' and the priest of the community is known as 'Kama'. They put on the dress as same as the Khasis.

⁴ K.C. Singha, (Ed). *Rajmala*, p.129

⁵ [Http:// www.halam in Tripura.com.](http://www.halam.in.Tripura.com)

Lushai: The Lushais (Mizos) were originally inhabitant of the hills lying in east and north-east of Tripura and also in the adjoining hilly areas. They have migrated from neighboring Mizoram and have settled down in Jampui Hills situated on the north-east boundary of Tripura under Kanchanpur sub-division in North Tripura district. Their number is small compared to the total population of the state. Their social life and customs have been of great attraction to others. The principal means of livelihood of the Lushai still remain to be jhum cultivation. Of course, this can be considered chiefly due to dearth of plain land in the hills. They prefer living in high altitude and hills. They are also accepted as advanced tribes in term of socio-economic conditions. They have fully embraced Christianity and their main cultural dance is called ‘Bamboo Dance.’⁶

Mog: The Mog community claimed to have come from Arakan in Myanmar and settled down in Tripura around 957 A.D. They are mainly found in south Tripura. Almost all the Mog community is followers of Buddhism. Sangrai (last day of the month of ‘Chaitra’, which is the last month of the Bengali Calendar Year) is the occasion of special festival. The Mog community in general and young boys and girls in particular celebrate the day through cultural programs to invite the New Year. Cakes are prepared in every home and people move from house to house to eat cakes. On this occasion, water is carried through auspicious pitchers and respected persons are allowed to take a bath with this water. Paste of fragrant sandalwood and water of green coconuts is sprinkled in every house. The festival continues for three days. The traditional dance of the Mog community is known as ‘Way Dance’ or ‘Lamp Dance.’

Other aboriginal tribal communities in Tripura are more or less akin to Tripuri community in terms of language, culture and tradition. They are very small in population and can be broadly merged with Tripuri community. Besides, there are some other tribal immigrants who came to Tripura for economic reasons. They are akin to mainland Indian cultures and traditions. Their language is also largely related to Sanskrit linguistic groups and mainly settled in urban areas outside TTAADC, working as labourer.

⁶ Bamboo Dance is popularly known to be associated with Mizo dance and is officially recognized as Mizo dance. However, it is the traditional dance of not only Mizos but the entire Mizo-Kuki-Chin linguistic groups of Myanmar and Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura State of India. Up till now, all the communities of this group perform the dance in all kinds of their cultural programmes.

3.3 Tribal population of Tripura

As per 2011 census, the total population of STs comprised of 11, 66,813 (31. 7%). Among them 5, 88, 327 are male and 5, 78, 486 female. Out of this total populations, 11, 17,566 (95.7%) of them live in rural areas and only 49,247 (4.2%) of them live in urban areas. The overall ST literacy rate reached to 79.5 percent in 2011, from an earlier 56.5 percent in 2001. Table 3.1 shows the trends in ST population as against the total population of Tripura since 1941.

Table 3.1
Trends in ST population as against total population of Tripura
(In Lakhs)

Sl. No.	Year	ST	Total	ST %
1	1941	2,56,991	5,13,010	50.09
2	1951	2,37,953	6,45,707	36.85
3	1961	3,60,070	11,42,005	31.52
4	1971	4,50,544	15,56,342	28.94
5	1981	5,83,770	20,53,058	28.43
6	1991	8,52,191	27,57,205	30.90
7	2001	9,93,436	31,99,203	31.05
8	2011	11,66,783	36,73,917	31.75

Source: Census of India, 1941-2011

When the table is examined, there is decreased in tribal percentage since 1941. While it was 50 percent in the year 1941, it goes down to 31percent in 2011. Besides, due to influx of Bangladeshi refugees, there is inconsistency in population growth over the years. In this connection, reports of the ‘Group of Ministers on National Security,’ Government of India, 2001, may be cited:

‘Illegal migration from across our borders has continued unabated for over five decades. We have yet to fully wake up to the implications of the unchecked immigration for the national security. Today, we have about 15 million Bangladeshis, 2.2 million Nepalese, 70,000 Sri Lankan Tamils and about one lakh Tibetan migrants living in India. Demographic changes have been brought about in the border belts of West Bengal, several districts in Bihar, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya as a result of large-scale illegal migration. Even states like Delhi, Maharashtra and Rajasthan have been affected. Such large scale migration has obvious social, economic, political and security implications. There is an all-round failure in India to come to grips with the problem of illegal immigration. Unfortunately, action on this subject invariably assumes communal

overtones, with political parties taking positions to suit the interests of their vote banks. The massive illegal immigration poses a grave danger to our security, social harmony and economic well-being.’⁷

3.3.1 *Distribution of tribal population according to community:*

Distribution of tribal population over the years is presented in table 3.2.

Table 3.2
Community-wise population distribution of tribals in Tripura since 1981

Sl. No.	Tribal Communities	Year			
		1981	1991	2001	2011
1	Tripuri	3,30,872 (56.67)	4,61,531 (54.15)	5,43,848 (54.74)	5,92,255 (50.75)
2	Reang	84,003 (14.38)	1,11,606 (13.09)	1,65,103 (16.61)	1,88,220 (16.13)
3	Jamatia	44,501 (7.62)	60,824 (7.13)	74,949 (7.54)	83,347 (7.14)
4	Chakma	34,797 (5.96)	96,096 (11.27)	64,293 (6.47)	79,813 (6.84)
5	Halam	28,969 (4.96)	36,499 (4.28)	47,245 (4.75)	57,210 (4.90)
6	Mog	18,231 (3.12)	31,612 (3.70)	30,395 (3.05)	37,893 (3.24)
7	Noatia	7,182 (1.23)	4,158 (0.48)	6,655 (0.66)	14,298 (1.22)
8	Garo	7,297 (1.24)	9,360 (1.09)	11,180 (1.12)	12,952 (1.11)
9	Kuki	5,501 (0.94)	10,628 (1.24)	11,674 (1.17)	10,965 (0.93)
10	Lushai	3,734 (0.63)	4,910 (0.57)	4,777 (0.48)	5,384 (0.46)
11	Uchai	1,306 (0.22)	1,637 (0.19)	2,103 (0.21)	2,447 (0.20)
12	Munda	7,993 (1.36)	11,547 (1.35)	12,416 (1.24)	14,544 (1.24)
13	Orang	5,217 (0.89)	6,751 (0.79)	6,223 (0.62)	12,011 (1.02)
14	Santhal	2,726 (0.46)	2,736 (0.32)	2,151 (0.22)	2,913 (0.24)
15	Khasia	457 (0.07)	358 (0.04)	630 (0.06)	366 (0.03)
16	Bhil	838 (0.14)	1,754 (0.20)	2,336 (0.23)	3,105 (0.26)
17	Lepcha	106	111	105	157
18	Bhutia	22	47	29	28
19	Chaimal	18	26	226	549 (0.04)
	Generic	0	0	7,098 (0.60)	48,356 (4.14)
	Total	5,83,770	8,52,191	9,93,436	11,66,783

(Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage)

* There are few differences in year-wise total numbers ranging from 30-40 compared to table 3.1

Source: Census of India: New Delhi

⁷ Report of the Group of Ministers on National Security, Government of India, New Delhi, 2001, p. 60.

Tripuri community is the largest tribal group, which comprised of about 50 percent of the total tribal population. It is followed by Reang, Jamatia, Chakma, Halam etc. The population of few communities like Khasia, Lepcha, Bhutia etc, is negligible in numbers. One interesting fact found from the table is a huge increase in the generic population. Generic indicates to those citizens who are nonspecific about their category, but are not non-tribal. They have been found since census 2001, and has constituted 4.14 percent of the total tribal population in 2011 census.

3.3.2 Population of TTAADC according to Zone and Category (ST, SC, General):

The following table 3.3 presents a detailed population distribution of TTAADC according to Zone and ST, SC and General. When Zone-wise ST population is examined, West Zone constitutes the highest percentage, and North Zone constitutes the lowest. Among SC and General category, the highest percentage is found in Dhalai Zone and North Zone respectively, and for both SC and General category, lowest is in West Zone.

Besides, category-wise percentage of total population also shows that the highest is ST (85.42%) followed by General (9.95%) and SC (4.67%). The average Zone-wise distribution of total population shows the highest in West Zone (35.47%), followed by South Zone (27.42%), Dhalai Zone and North Zone.

Table 3.3
Population of TTAADC according to Zone and Category

Sl. No.	Name of Zone	No. of V.C	Population			
			ST	SC	General	Total
1.	West Zone	187	4,67,418 (93.18)	10,281 (2.04)	23,928 (4.77)	5,01,627 (35.47)
2.	South Zone	165	3,36,095 (86.67)	13,246 (3.41)	38,435 (9.911)	3,87,776 (27.42)
3.	North Zone	79	1,73,462 (71.84)	19,015 (7.87)	48,973 (20.28)	2,41,450 (17.07)
4.	Dhalai Zone	96	2,31,039 (81.58)	22,789 (8.04)	29,373 (10.37)	2,83,201 (20.02)
Total		527*	12,08,014 (85.42)	65,331 (4.67)	1,40,709 (9.95)	14,14,054 (100.00)

Source: Compiled from record of Tripura Panchayat Department on District-wise population figure in Gram Panchayat and ADC Village Committee, till 2015.

3.3.3 Population distribution of Tribal and Non-Tribal within TTAADC:

The following table 3.4 presents the population distribution of tribal and non-tribal within TTAADC. If Zone-wise data are examined, higher numbers of tribal population as against non-tribal is found in West Zone (93.1%), followed by South, Dhalai and North Zone. Among non-tribals, highest numbers of population as against tribal is found in North Zone (28.15%), followed by Dhalai, South and West Zone. Including all four Zones, non-tribal population constitutes 14.56 percent and tribal constitutes 85.52 percent.

Table 3.4
Population distribution of Tribal and Non-Tribal in TTAADC

Sl. No.	Name of Zone	No. of V.C	Population		
			Tribal	Non-Tribal	Total
1.	West Zone	187	4,67,418 (93.1)	34,209 (6.81)	5,01,627 (35.47)
2.	South Zone	165	3,36,095 (86.67)	51,681 (13.32)	3,87,776 (27.42)
3.	North Zone	79	1,73,462 (71.84)	67,988 (28.15)	2,41,450 (17.07)
4.	Dhalai Zone	96	2,31,039 (81.58)	52,162 (18.41)	2,83,201 (20.02)
5	Total	527	12,08,014 (85.42)	2,06,040 (14.56)	14,14,054 (100.00)

(Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage)

Source: Compiled from record of Tripura Panchayat Department on District-wise population figure in Gram Panchayat and ADC Village Committee, till 2015

3.4 Rationale for Establishment of TTAADC

Successive wave of migration of Bengalis from Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan) have reduced tribal population to a minority. The huge influx also created pressure on the land and economy of Tripura. So, there has been concerted demand for setting up of Tribal autonomous council to provide self government to the tribal and thereby protect their socio-economic and cultural interest. It is against this background that the state government as well as the central government decided to set up an ADC for the areas having a predominant tribal population and to introduce internal autonomy in tribal compact areas. Accordingly, the Legislative Assembly of Tripura passed Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council (TTAADC) Act, 1979 (Vijay Hansaria, 2010).

So, with a view to fulfil the aspirations of the tribals, to have autonomy and to administer themselves, the Tripura Legislative Assembly passed a resolution on 19th March, 1982 and again on 11th February, 1983 urging the Government of India to apply the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the tribal areas of the state of Tripura. Accordingly, the constitution was amended by the Constitution 49th Amendment Act, 1984 and the provisions of the Sixth Schedule were made applicable to the tribal areas of Tripura (Vijay Hansaria, 2010).

The objective behind setting up the autonomous district council is to hand over certain administrative and legal authority to the Council in order that it may devote concerted efforts to all aspects of cultural, social and economic improvement of the tribal people who for historical reasons presently belong to the weaker sections of society and thereby to free them from all kinds of social injustice.

Unlike district council in other north-eastern State of India, TTAADC is not geographically location specific. The Council is unique as its jurisdiction is not contiguous with revenue district boundaries. It straddles across ‘eight revenue districts.’⁸ The Council is a large body and covers an area of 7132.56 sq km (i.e., 67.98% of the geographical area of the State). 73.4 percent of the area comprises forests. Consequently, only 38.7 percent of the State's population resides in the TTAADC area. All commercial centres and district headquarters fall outside the areas of TTAADC. The Council and its Assembly are situated in Khumulwng town, 26 km away from Agartala, the State capital.⁹

3.5 Organisational Structure of TTAADC

In line with state government, TTAADC has also well established organisational structures. It has various administrative departments executing various developmental tasks. This section, therefore, discusses elaborately on the structures and compositions of TTAADC.

⁸ For administrative purposes, the State of Tripura has been divided into eight districts, from earlier four districts, with effect from 21 January 2012. The name of four new districts is Khowai Unakoti, Sipahijala and Gomati.

⁹ Report of the Expert Committee (2006), ‘Planning for the Sixth Schedule Areas,’ Ministry of Panchayat Raj, Government of India, New Delhi, p. 58.

3.5.1 *Administrative Set-up:*

TTAADC is divided into four Zones – *West Zone, South Zones, North Zone, Dhalai Zone*, each coterminous with revenue districts of Tripura and they straddle across entire Tripura. Each Zone is further sub-divided into 33 (thirty three) Sub-Zones extending to eight revenue districts in the State – *North Tripura, Dhalai, Unakoti, West Tripura, Khowai, Gomati, Sepahijala, and South Tripura* They are, except for a few, coterminous with the boundaries of ‘R. D. Blocks.’¹⁰ Officers belonging to Tripura Civil Service Cadre are posted on deputation as Zonal Development Officers.

Zone-wise location of Sub-Zonal Office: Table 3.5 shows numbers of Sub-Zone in each Zone. Thus, 11 (eleven) TTAADC Sub-Zones, which is also highest, comes under West Zone, and is followed by South Zone which have 10 (ten) Sub-Zones. In case of North and Dhalai Zone, each of them has 6 (six) Sub-Zone.

Table 3.5
Zone-wise location of Sub-Zonal Offices of TTAADC

Name of Zone	Name of Sub-Zone
North Zone	Noagang, Damcherra, Vangmun, Machmara, Dasda, Rajkandi
Dhalai Zone	Maharani, Ambassa, Ganganagar, Manu, Chawmanu, Gandchhera
West Zone	Bachaibari, Baijalbari, Daski, Mugiakami, Khumulwng, Mandai, Hezamara, Abhicharan, Mohanbhog, Takarjala, Bishramganj
South Zone	Garjee, Killa, Ompi, Dalak, Karbook, Kaladepa, Manubankul, Kalashimukh, Ratanpur, B.C. Manu

Source: Compiled from information collected from TTAADC Headquarter, Khwmulwng, 2016

District-wise location of TTAADC Block: Again, as mentioned in the first chapters, there are 52 (fifty two) Rural Development Blocks in the State. 23 (twenty three) R.D. Blocks are entirely within TTAADC known as TTAADC Blocks, and 23 (twenty three) R.D. Blocks are within the jurisdiction of both TTAADC and non-TTAADC. The remaining 6 (six) R.D. Blocks are entirely outside TTAADC areas. The 23 Blocks that falls entirely within TTAADC areas are presented in table 3.6.

¹⁰ For the purpose of development activities in rural areas, revenue Sub-Division is again divided in to Rural Development Block (R.D. Block). It is basically for rural areas and comes under the Department of Rural Development, Government of Tripura. R.D. Blocks implement development Central and State project/scheme/program.

Table 3.6
District-wise location of R.D. Block that falls fully within TTAADC

Name of Revenue District	Name of R.D. Block
North Tripura	Damcherra, Jampui Hill, Laljuri, Dasda
Unakoti	Pecharthal
Dhalai	Chhawmanu, Dumburnagar, Manu, Ganganagar, Raishyabari
West Tripura	Hezamara, Mandwi, Belbari, Lefunga,
Khowai	Padmabil, Tulashikhar, Mungiakami
Sepahijala	Jampuijala
Gomati	Killa, Ompinagar, Karbook, Silachari
South Tripura	Rupaichari

Source: As per information collected form R.D. Department, TTAADC, Khumulwng, 2016

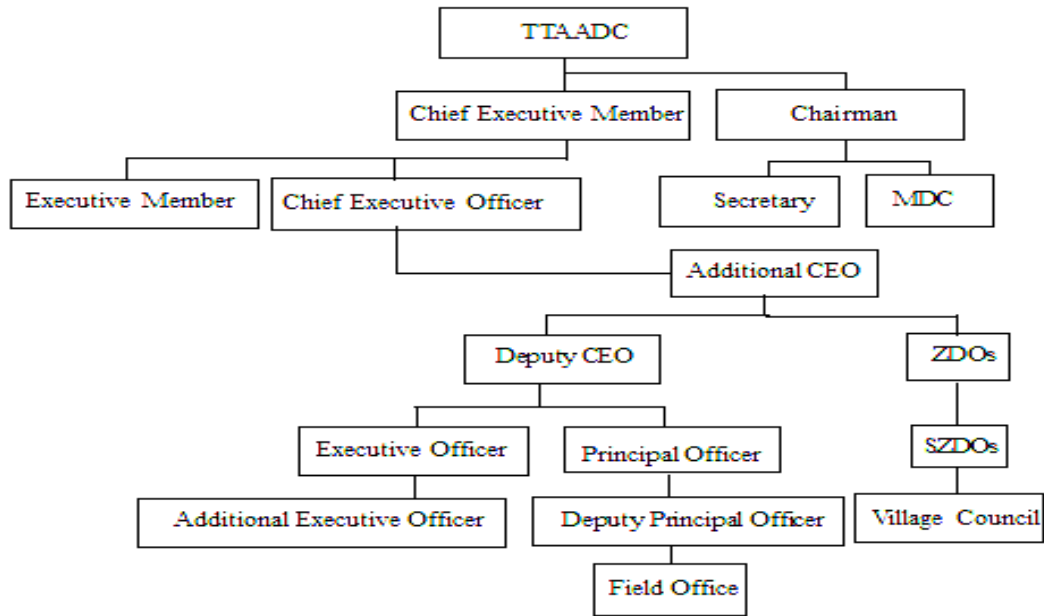
As seen in table 3.6, the highest numbers of TTAADC Blocks are found in Dhalai District. North Tripura, West Tripura and Gomati District have four Blocks each and rest districts, that is, Unakoti, Jampuijala and South Tripura Districts have one Block each. In fact, the three revenue district shows larger intermixes in the habitation between tribals and non-tribals.

3.5.2 Organisational hierarchy of TTAADC:

Administration of TTAADC and its subsidiary offices are administer from its headquarters in Khumulwng, West Tripura. The administrative set-up of TTAADC is presented in diagram 3.A.

As shown in diagram 3.A, the Council is headed by Chairperson who is chosen by the elected MDC. Beside Chairperson, there is one Vice-Chairperson who generally acts in the absence of the Chairperson. The Chairperson summons the meeting of the Council time to time in connection with approval of budget, discussion on bills, rules and regulations submitted by the treasury bench, and passing them thereof. In comparison, between the State Government and District Council, Chairperson of TTAADC is a replica of a Speaker of State Legislative Assembly.

Diagram 3.A
Organisational hierarchy of TTAADC



Source: Administration Section of TTAADC website 'www.ttaadc.nic.in'

Executive function of TTAADC is administered by the Chief Executive Member (CEM), who is supported by eight more Executive Members (EM). CEM performs all kinds of executive functions. He/she is generally selected from the majority a political party. Within the Council, CEM is a replica of Chief Minister of State Legislative Assembly, and EM for Minister of the concerned departments. In exercising the executive powers, the District Council has its own powers to appoint its own staff according to requirement and appointment rules.

The Chief Executive Officer (CEO) is the Principal Executive Officer of the District Council. All other Council's Officers and servants are subordinate to him under the provision of 'TTAADC (Administration) Rules 1988.'¹¹ CEO of the Council is responsible for day to day administrative function who is further assisted by Additional CEO, Deputy CEO and a number Executive Officers and Principal Officers.

¹¹ TTAADC Administration Rules 1988 is an Act passed by the District Council pertaining to rules and regulations of the Council's administrative machinery.

Principal Officers are in-charge and head of a department. He/she executes and administered the entire working process of a department and is also responsible for it. He/she is a replica of Departmental Director of State Government. Principal Officer is assisted by several Zonal Development Officers (ZDOs), working as his/her subordinate.

ZDO is in-charge of Zonal Development Office of the Council. Each Zonal Development Office, headed by ZDO, controls several Sub-Zonal Development Offices straddle across the District Council. He/she is a replica of District Magistrate in State Administration, controlling the entire Zone. He/she is assisted by Sub-Zonal Development Officers (SZDO), in-charge of Sub-Zonal Development Offices.

At grassroots level, there are 587 (five hundred eighty seven) Village Committees (VCs) functioning as primary units as institutions of local self-governance similar to *Gram Panchayats* in non-TTAADC areas. Elected Members of VCs are responsible and in-charge of the overall administration of VCs. To carry out secretarial works, VC Secretary is posted in each VC.

3.5.3 Committees functioning under TTAADC:

TTAADC has several Committees functioning at various levels of the Council. There are five committees functioning under TTAADC - Council Level Monitoring and Review Committee, Zonal Advisory Committee (ZAC), Block Advisory Committee (BAC), Sub-Zonal Advisory Committee and Village Committee. Among them establishment of Village Committee comes under Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council (Establishment of Village Committee) Act 1994. The other committees are formed as per guidelines. The basic functions and compositions of those Committees are discussed below.

Council Level Monitoring and Review Committee: District Council Level Monitoring and Review Committee of TTAADC have been constituted on 19th July, 2016, as per the direction of the Government of India, Niti Aayog. The Committee is entrusted for conducting regular monitoring and review of implementation of development projects. The committee is chaired by CEM, and other selected MDCs, Departmental Officers and ZDOs. Deputy CEO would be Member Secretary.

Zonal Advisory Committee (ZAC): At the Zonal level there is ZAC. It allocates funds for implementation, fixed physical target for different schemes, finalised list of individual agencies for awarding works and scrutinised and finalised works to be taken up. The Committee also makes an overall supervision and review implementation of various schemes implemented by functionaries at a lower administrative level. Based on the result of supervision the Committee suggests modification and change of pattern of any schemes as per necessity. Besides, ZAC constitutes an Education Sub-Committee to look after the work of the Education Department, taking members from all Sub-Zonal Offices. The Chairperson of the Education Sub-Committees will be nominated by the Chairperson of the ZAC.

Block Advisory Committee (BAC): In all RD Blocks that fall fully or partially within TTAADC, the State Government has constituted Block Advisory Committees (BAC) comprising of Chairpersons of all elected Village Committees chaired by MLAs or MDCs. In the absence of either MLA or MDC, any elected VC Chairperson among them could be selected as BAC Chairperson. The quorum for formation of BAC, in those R.D. Block comprising of both areas of TTAADC and non-TTAADC areas is 5(five) VCs. The Committee plays an important role in regards to allocation of development schemes and projects of State government in TTAADC areas. However, after creation of new 13 (thirteen) R.D. Block in 2013, 12 (twelve) R.D. Block could not form BAC, as the numbers of VC do not reach the quorum. Those R.D Blocks are Kalachara, Jubarajnar, Panisagar, Gournagar, Chandipur under North Zone, Dukli, Old Agartala, Nalchar, Boxanagar under West Zone, and Rajnagar, Bharatchandranagar, Poangbari under South Zone.

Sub-Zonal Advisory Committee (SZAC): At the Sub-Zonal level there is again SZAC. The Sub-Committee re-allocates funds to VCs for implementation of schemes, select numbers of beneficiaries, sites for implementation and recommends to ZAC regarding list of works to be undertaken. Further, the SZAC has constituted two Sub-Committees namely, *Poverty Alleviation Sub-Committee*, which is to look after all employment generation schemes like Council Rural Employment Programme (CREP), State Rural Employment Programme (SREP), jhumia rehabilitation, agriculture, horticulture, and *Work Sub-Committee* which is to look after rural water supply, communication and other construction work of the District Council.

Each sub-committee comprises five members and they may be selected from the members of the SZAC or from outside. But if any person who is not a member of the SZAC is nominated for a Sub-Committee, he or she must be a resident within the local limits of the Sub-Zonal area. The president of the Sub-Committee is nominated by Chairperson of the SZAC. The Sub-Committee should meet once a month and if required, more than once a month with prior approval of the Chairperson of the SZAC.

TTAADC Village Committee: Elections to the Village Committees were conducted after every five years since February 2006, in place of nominated Village Committees practiced earlier. One third of the total seats are reserved for women members (the reservation of women is extended to 50%). Reservations are made for Schedule Tribe and Schedule Castes in proportion to the percentage of their population. The Chairperson and Vice Chairperson are elected by the Members of Village Committee. All the Villages derived their power and responsibilities from the provisions of TTAADC (Establishment of Village Committee) Act 1994 and discharge their functions according to the provision of TTAADC Village (Administration) Rules 2005. The Village Committees are assisted by the Village Secretary of the Village Committee in all matters.

From the committees discussed above, BAC and Village Committee is found to be important in TTAADC. BAC plays an important role in regards to allocation of development schemes and projects of State government in TTAADC areas. VC is an elected body at grass root level and is an important body in the process of decentralisation. However, the three other committees – Council Level Monitoring and Review Committee, Zonal-Advisory Committee and Sub-Zonal Advisory Committee are merely entrusted to do monitoring and supervisory works. They are rather a ceremonial body performing ceremonial works.

3.6 Trends of representation within TTAADC

The following section discusses in details the trends in the reservation and representation system within TTAADC.

3.6.1 *Reservation of MDC seats according to Constituency:*

TTAADC consists of thirty Members of District Council (MDC), out of which 28 (twenty eight) members are elected by adult franchise and 2 (two) members are nominated by the Governor of Tripura. Out of 28 (twenty eight) elected members, 3 (three) seats are kept unreserved and rest (25) twenty five seats are kept reserved for ST. Accordingly, the 3 (three) unreserved seats are usually captured by non-tribals. The Governor nominates candidate from minority community considering the un-represented communities (see table 3.10). The name of the constituencies and their distribution according to category is given in table 3.7.

Table 3.7
Reservation of MDC seats according to Constituency

Sl. No.	Name of Constituency	Category of Constituency	Sl. No.	Name of Constituency	Category of Constituency
1.	Dhamcharra-Jampui	(ST)	2	Machamara	UR
3.	Dasda-Kanchanpur	UR	4.	Karamchara	(ST)
5.	Chaumanu	(ST)	6.	Manu-Chailengta	UR
7.	Damcharra-Kachucharra	(ST)	8.	Ganganagar-Gandacharra	(ST)
9.	Halahari-Ashrambari	(ST)	10.	Kulai-Champahaour	(ST)
11.	Maharani-Teliamura	(ST)	12.	Ramchandraghat	(ST)
13.	Simna-Tamakari	(ST)	14.	Budhjongnagar-Wakhinagar	(ST)
15.	Jirania	(ST)	16.	Mandainagar-Pulinpur	(ST)
17.	Pekuarjala-Jonmejoynagar	(ST)	18.	Takarjala-Jampuijala	(ST)
19.	Amtali-Golaghati	(ST)	20.	Killa-Bagma	(ST)
21.	Maharani-Chelagang	(ST)	22.	Kathalia-Mirza Rajpur	(ST)
23.	Ampinagar	(ST)	24.	Raimavalley	(ST)
25.	Natunbazar-Malbasa	(ST)	26.	Birchandanagar-Kalshi	(ST)
27.	Purba Muhuripur	(ST)	28.	Silachari-Manubankul	(ST)
29.	Nominated Member	MG	30	Nominated Member	MG

ST: Schedule Tribe, UR: Unreserved, MG: Minority Group

Source: Compiled from information collected from Khumulwng, TTAADC headquarter.

3.6.2 *Sharing of MDC seats according to community:*

The following table 3.8 shows the sharing of MDC seats according to community. The Tripuri community comprising of 50.75 percent tribal population is having the highest share of MDC seats. It is followed by the Reang and Jamatia community, having 16 and 7 percent tribal population respectively. The Mog community, having about 3 percent tribal population could have one elected MDC. The Halam community, having about 4 percent tribal population is also having one elected MDC from 2015. Interestingly, the Chakma

community, having about 6 percent tribal population could manage to have only one MDC. The three unreserved MDC seats are represented by non-tribals and this trend continues since the inception of TTAADC.

It could be asserted that the overall trend in sharing of MDC seats within TTAADC follows a democratic norm. Even if, all the nineteen tribal communities could not be represented, major tribal communities in Tripura have their share with variations as per population.

Table 3.8
Sharing of MDC seats according to community

Sl. No.	Name of Community	Year				Total No. of Seats
		2000	2005	2010	2015	
1	Tripuri	16	17	17	15	28
2	Reang	4	3	3	4	
3	Jamatia	3	3	3	3	
4	Chakma	1	1	1	1	
5	Halam	--	--	--	1	
6	Mog	1	1	1	1	
8	Bengali	3	3	3	3	

Source: Compiled from information collected from Khumulwng, TTAADC Headquarter.

3.6.3 Sharing of Executive Member portfolios according to Community:

The following table 3.9 shows the trend in the distribution of Executive Members (EM) portfolios since 2005 TTAADC general election. The Executive Council of TTAADC constitutes one Chairperson, one Chief Executive Member (CEM) and other eight EMs (their functions have been discussed in section 3.5.2 of this chapter). The distribution shows that largest tribal community (Tripuri) generally has the highest numbers of portfolios, followed by Reang, Jamatia and others. As Tripuri Community constitutes 50 percent (table 3.2) of TTAADC tribal population, the share is also the highest. The trend indicates that a deliberate attempt has been made for equal distribution among various communities. Interestingly, Bengali Community having three MDCs in TTAADC Council is also given one portfolio in the Executive Council.

However, smaller communities like Halam, Kuki, Mog etc., could not have portfolio in the Executive Council of TTAADC. The Halam which is the fifth largest tribal community in TTAADC, managed to have their representation of MDC form 2015,

TTAADC general election, but do not have any EM portfolio in the Executive Council, since the inception of TTAADC.

Table 3.9
Sharing of Executive Member portfolios according to Community
Total: (1 Chairperson, 1 CEM, 8 EM)

Name of Community	2005			2010			2015		
	Chair Man	CEM	EM	Chair Man	CEM	EM	Chair Man	CEM	EM
Tripuri	--	1	3	--	1	3	1	1	2
Reang	1	--	2	--	--	2	--	--	2
Jamatia	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	2
Chakma	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	1
Mog	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
Bengali	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	1

Source: Compiled from information collected from TTAADC Headquarter, Khwmulwng, 2016

3.6.4 Nomination of MDC seats according to Community:

As stated earlier, out of total 30 MDC seats, 2 seats are left to Governor's discretion for nomination. Accordingly, the Governor nominated MDCs considering the representation of different tribal communities of TTAADC. When the nomination trend is examined since 2000, the Governor has been nominating candidates from two communities – Lushei and Garo. While the Lushei community, having only 0.46 percent of tribal population, is nominated in every MDC election, the Halam Community, having 4.90 percent tribal population, and having no representation in TTAADC, has been nominated only once in 2005. Excluding 2005 TTAADC general election, there is also a regular nomination of MDC from Garo community. Interestingly, Halam community managed to capture one MDC seat from TTAADC general election 2015.

The Governor is inclined in nominating MDCs from only two communities. As per discussion with few political leaders, both from ruling and opposition party, it is found that although nomination is done officially by Governor in his personal discretion, he is always bound by the instruction of the State Council of Minister. Thus, those communities having political bargaining power are found to be continuously nominated. There are several communities like Kuki, Munda and Orang etc, who are not having any MDC representation since the inception of TTAADC. It is desirable that nomination of MDC should encompassed all the small tribal communities in alternative manner or any other system that ensures the representation of unrepresented tribal communities of TTAADC.

Table 3.10 indicates community-wise nomination to MDC seats from the year of 2000, TTAADC general election.

Table 3.10
Nomination of MDC according to Community

Sl. No.	Name of Community	Year				Total No. of Seats
		2000	2005	2010	2015	
5	Halam	--	1	--	--	02
9	Lushei	1	1	1	1	
10	Garo	1	--	1	1	

Source: Compiled from information collected from Khumulwng, TTAADC headquarter.

3.6.5 Distribution of community according to elected VC Chairperson and Vice Chairperson, in TTAADC VC Election, 2016:

At VC level elected body, one of them is selected as Chairperson and the other as Vice Chairperson. VC Chairperson is overall in-charge of VC and is also responsible for it (detailed powers and functions of VC Chairperson as per the TTAADC Act is discussed in chapter 5). The following table 3.11 shows the distribution of community according to elected VC Chairperson and Vice Chairperson. Smaller communities like Lushai, Kuki, Orang, Munda, Santhal, Uchai etc, were put under one category (others), for the convenience of tabulation, as they are small in population and their representation at VC level is also minimal. As per data, the largest community (Tripuri) is having highest representation (53.32%), followed by Reang (15.16%). Surprisingly, if community wise percentage is taken into account, Bengali Community comes in third place (8.77%) next to Jamatia, at VC level representation. Chakma and Halam, the fourth and fifth position in terms of tribal population in TTAADC, were in fifth and sixth place respectively, so far as representation at VC level is concerned.

When the percentage distribution of Chairperson and Vice Chairperson in a particular community is examined, it is found that most of them, except Bengali community, have more or less equal representation. In case of Bengali community, representation of Vice Chairperson at VC level is very much higher and is near about double than Chairperson. In general, the entire system of representation at VC level follows a normative pattern of democratic system of representation, where political representation is attributed as per population.

Table 3.11
Distribution of community according to elected VC Chairperson and Vice Chairperson

Name of Community	Numbers		Total
	Chairperson	Vice Chairperson	
Tripuri	319 (50.95)	307 (49.05)	626 (53.32)
Reang	92 (51.68)	86 (48.32)	178 (15.16)
Jamatia	33 (50.76)	32 (49.24)	65 (5.53)
Chakma	40 (55.55)	32 (44.45)	72 (6.13)
Halam	28 (58.33)	20 (41.67)	48 (4.08)
Mog	11 (44.00)	14 (56.00)	25 (2.12)
Garo	07 (50.00)	07 (50.00)	14 (1.19)
Noatia	06 (50.00)	06 (50.00)	12 (1.02)
Bengali	36 (34.95)	67 (65.05)	103 (8.77)
Others	15 (48.38)	16 (51.62)	31 (2.64)
Total	587	587	1174 (100.00)

(Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage)

* **‘Others’** include Lushai, Kuki, Orang, Munda, Santhal, Bishnupriya, Uchai etc.

Sources: Tripura Gazette, Agartala, Friday, April 22, 2016

3.6.6 Distribution of elected Chairperson and Vice Chairperson according to gender, in TTAADC VC Election, 2016:

The following table 3.12 presented the representation of Chairperson and table 3.13 presented Vice Chairperson, according to gender at VC level among various communities.

VC Chairperson: Among the Tripuri community, percentage of female Chairperson is found to be higher than their male counterpart. This trend is followed by Reang, Jamatia, Mog, Garo and Bengali community. However, female representation is lesser in case of Chakma, Halam, Notia and *Other*, community. When the average representation of male and female in the post of Chairperson is examined, female percentage is higher than their male counterpart (51% and 48% respectively).

Table 3.12
Distribution of elected VC Chairperson according to Gender

Name of Community	Chairperson		Total
	Male	Female	
Tripuri	151 (47.33)	168 (52.00)	319 (54.34)
Reang	43 (46.73)	49 (53.26)	92 (15.67)
Jamatia	15 (45.45)	18 (54.54)	33 (5.62)
Chakma	24 (60.00)	16 (40.00)	40 (6.82)
Halam	17 (60.71)	11 (39.28)	28 (4.77)
Mog	05 (45.45)	06 (54.54)	11 (1.87)
Garo	03 (42.85)	04 (57.14)	7 (1.19)
Noatia	04 (66.66)	02 (33.33)	6 (1.02)
Bengali	16 (44.44)	20 (55.55)	36 (6.13)
Others*	09 (64.28)	06 (35.71)	15 (2.55)
Total	287 (48.89)	300 (51.10)	587 (100.00)

(Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage)

* 'Others' include Lushai, Kuki, Orang, Munda, Santhal, Uchai etc.

Source: Tripura Gazette, Agartala, Friday, April 22, 2016

VC Vice Chairperson: However, there is a sharp cut-down of female representation in the post of Vice Chairperson. Table 3.13 clearly shows that female representation is minimal and male representation is considerably high. This trend is found among all communities except Garo, where the representation of male and female is more or less same (57 and 42% respectively). The average percentage shows that 85 percent of them constitutes male, only 15 percent of constitutes female.

After careful examination of table 3.12 and 3.13, question could arise why average male percentage in the post of VC Chairperson is lower, and very high in the post of VC Vice Chairperson to their female counterpart. The fact is that, majority female elected candidates are given the post of Chairperson, basically to cope with government's reservation policy. In practice it is found that female Chairperson lacks political awareness to administer the functioning of VC. Most of them got nomination through direct party

selection, having not much self interest. Thus, Vice Chairperson, that is, a male Member would perform and executes all the functioning of VC and is the de facto Chairperson.

Table 3.13
Distribution of elected VC Vice Chairperson according to Gender

Name of Community	Vice Chairperson		Total
	Male	Female	
Tripuri	261 (85.01)	46 (14.98)	307 (52.29)
Reang	79 (91.86)	07 (8.13)	86 (9.54)
Jamatia	26 (81.25)	06 (18.75)	32 (5.45)
Chakma	27 (84.37)	05 (15.62)	32 (5.45)
Halam	18 (90.00)	02 (10.00)	20 (3.40)
Mog	12 (85.71)	02 (14.28)	14 (2.38)
Garo	04 (57.14)	03 (42.85)	7 (1.19)
Noatia	05 (83.33)	01 (16.66)	6 (1.02)
Bengali	56 (83.58)	11 (16.41)	67 (11.41)
Others	11 (68.76)	05 (31.25)	16 (2.72)
Total	499 (85.00)	88 (15.00)	587 (100.00)

(Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage)

* '**Others**' include Lushai, Kuki, Orang, Munda, Santhal, Uchai etc.

Source: Tripura Gazette, Agartala, Friday, April 22, 2016

Data in table 3.12 and 3.13 further substantiates that there is huge differences in numbers between male VC Chairperson and VC Vice Chairperson among Bengali community. There are 56 male Vice Chairperson, and only 16 male Chairperson. It is further found that, in 56 VCs, where non-tribal male is VC Vice Chairperson, 44 VCs is Chaired by tribal women. Taking the argument in the preceding paragraph as fact, it could be concluded that huge numbers of VC in TTAADC are being under the political control of non-tribals.

3.6.7 Distribution of VC Chairperson and Vice Chairperson according to category, in TTAADC VC election, 2016:

Category-wise reservation of seats for ST, SC and General, determines the representation of their groups in an elected body in India. In Tripura, there are three broad categorisation of population –ST, SC and General for the election of Council.

Distribution of VC Chairperson and Vice Chairperson according category: In addition, it would also be interesting to find out the percentage of Chairperson and Vice Chairperson in each category. Table 3.14 therefore, presented the detailed information.

Table 3.14
Distribution of Chairperson and Vice Chairperson according to Category

Category	Chairperson	Vice Chairperson	Total
ST	550 (51.44)	519 (48.55)	1069 (91.05)
SC	24 (50.00)	24 (50.00)	48 (4.08)
General	13 (22.80)	44 (77.19)	57 (4.85)
Total	587	587	1174

(Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage)

Source: Tripura Gazette, Agartala, Friday, April 22, 2016

Distribution Chairperson and Vice Chairperson according to ST and non-ST:

Finally, as per table 3.15, percentage distribution of Chairperson and Vice Chairperson within tribal shows marginal higher percentage of Chairperson. But in sharp contrast, in case of non-tribal, the percentage of Vice Chairperson is much higher than Chairperson. Thus, while 35.23 percent of them are Chairperson, 64.76 of them constitute Vice Chairperson.

Table 3.15
Distribution of ST and non-ST according to Chairperson and Vice Chairperson

Category	Chairperson	Vice Chairperson	Total
Tribal	550 (51.44)	519 (48.55)	1069 (91.05)
Non-Tribal	37 (35.23)	68 (64.76)	103 (8.77)
Total	587	587	1174

(Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage)

Source: Tripura Gazette, Agartala, Friday, April 22, 2016

As per data, the percentage of Chairperson is slightly higher than Vice Chairperson among the ST category. In case of SC, the percentage distribution is exactly the same between them. However, percentage distribution of Chairperson and Vice Chairperson among General shows a sharp contrast to other two categories. While percentage of Chairperson is only 21.81 percent, Vice Chairperson constitutes 78.18 percent.

3.6.8 *Sharing of MDC seats according to gender and political party:*

Table 3.16 shows the year-wise sharing of MDC seats according to gender and political party. Political parties like Communist Party of India (CPI), Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), Nationalist Socialist Party of Tripura (NSPT) and All India Forward Block AIFB are in alliance with CPI(M). Similarly, Indigenous Nationalist Party of Tripura (INPT) was in alliance with Indian National Congress (INC), but their alliance come to an end on the eve of TTAADC general election, 2015.

Again, when the election results of consecutive four years are examined, it is found that, excluding TTAADC general election 2000, the ruling political party CPI(M) and its allies continuously captured all MDC seats. This trend has continued since 2005. The opposition could not even open their account. It clearly indicates the inclination of tribals in Tripura toward the leftist political party. Tripura was once the most insurgency affected state. Both tribals and non-tribals were worst affected. At that juncture, the leftist political party in Tripura had immensely counterbalanced the entire insurgency activities. Hence, there is general inclination of peoples towards the party in search of peace and harmony.

However, representation of female is very weak within TTAADC. Only three MDC seats are allotted to female candidate in the year 2010 and 2015 general election. A record of female representation in the year 2000 and 2005 general election is not found. But, it clearly indicates the anomaly in the distribution of MDC seats, so far as gender is concerned.

Table 3.16
Sharing of MDC seats according to Party and Gender

Sl. No.	Name of Political Party	Year								Total No. of Seats
		2000		2005		2010		2015		
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	CPI(M)	8	--	21	--	22	3	22	3	28
2	CPI	1	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	
3	RSP	1	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	
4	AIFB	--	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	
5	NSPT	--	--	4	--	--	--	--	--	
6	INC	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
7	INPT	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
8	IPFT	18	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	

M: Male, F: Female, IPFT: Indigenous People Front of Tripura.

Source: Compiled from information collected from Khumulwng, TTAADC headquarter.

3.6.9 Percentage share of votes of different political parties:

Table 3.17 shows the percentage vote share of different political parties in 2010 and 2015 TTAADC general election.

Table 3.17
Percentage sharing of votes of political party

Sl. No.	Name of Political Party	Year-wise percentage			
		2010		2015	
1	CPI(M)	63.8	68.32	48.88	54.21
2	CPI	2.83		2.18	
3	RSP	--		1.42	
4	AIFB	1.69		1.73	
5	INC	22.00	33.2	5.49	46.6
6	INPT	11.02		10.77	
7	IPFT	--		18.06	
8	BJP	--		7.87	
9	AITC	--		1.03	
10	Others	--		2.57	

INC: Indian National Congress, IPFT: Indigenous People Front of Tripura, BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party, AITC: All India Trinamool Congress

Source: Compiled from information collected from TTAADC headquarter, Khumulwng, 2015

Data presented in table 3.17 indicates the absolute majority captured by ruling CPI (M) in both the general election. But, so far as percentage is concerned, the vote share of CPI(M) considerably declines to 48 percent in 2015, from 68 percent in 2010. The IPFT, which was not found in 2010 election, captured 18 percent in 2015. Another notable figure is the vote share of INC. While it was 22 percent in 2010, it managed to capture only 5 percent in 2015. The trend as a whole shows the general decline of vote share of CPI(M) and its alliance, and increased in other parties like IPFT and BJP. The decline in vote share

of CPI(M) is related to the emergence IPFT, a Tripura's tribal based political party and BJP, whose activity has increased at grass root level after capturing power at the national level.

3.7 Powers and Functions of TTAADC

The powers and functions of autonomous district council under the Sixth Schedule are enshrined in different paragraph of Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. In total, there are 21 paragraphs, containing various sub-paragraphs. Major power and functions of district council could be specifically found in paragraph 3, 3A, 3B, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10th of the Sixth Schedule. When the powers and functions of different district councils under the Sixth Schedule are thoroughly studied, it could be found that there are some variations among them. Legislative history of autonomous district councils, in north-east India shows that, additional powers and functions are given to particular district council as per demands made. Bodos of BTC were not satisfied with Bodoland Autonomous Council Act, 1993, and demanded further autonomy. Accordingly, a new memorandum was signed in 2003, giving additional legislative powers to BTC. In the same line, Dima Hasao District Autonomous Council, and Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council of Assam are also given additional legislative powers under paragraph 3A of Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

Thus, when the powers and functions of TTAADC are thoroughly analysed it could be found that the Council is delegated with wide and extensive responsibility. It has been given with legislative, executive, judicial and financial powers. The following sections therefore, discussed in details the powers and functions entrusted to TTAADC.

3.7.1 *Legislative Powers and Functions:*

Paragraph 3 of the Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution empowers TTAADC to make laws for allotment, occupation and use of lands, other than reserved forest, for the purpose of agriculture, grazing and other residential and non-residential purposes or for any other purpose which is likely to promote the interests of the inhabitants of any village or town. Accordingly, the District Council has power of management of forest other than reserved forest, use of any canal and water-course for the purpose of agriculture and the regulation of the practice of jhum cultivation or other forms of shifting cultivation.

Besides, the Council also has powers to make laws pertaining to establishment of village council or town committees and their subsequent powers. Further, it can frame laws on any other matter relating to village and town administration, including police, public health, sanitation, social customs and marriage and divorce.

However, the District Council, unlike the Parliament and State Legislature do not enjoy plenary power of legislation. The power to make laws is expressly limited by the provisions of the Sixth Schedule and can do nothing beyond the limits which circumscribes their power. The laws enacted are to be submitted to the Governor for his assent. The Governor of Tripura while granting assent to the laws enacted by the District Council acts in his personal discretion in view of provision contained in paragraph '20BB of the Sixth Schedule.'¹² However, the Governor is required to consult the concerned State Council of Minister or the District Council according to necessity. The same mechanism, as applied in Tripura, is applicable in Mizoram. However, the Governor of Meghalaya has no such personal discretion and has to act on the aid and advice of the concerned state council of minister.

In case of district councils in Assam, there are two separate mechanisms for grant of assent by the Governor. Firstly, if any particular law, under paragraph 3 of the Sixth Schedule, relates to matters specified in 'List III of the Seventh Schedule (it is about Concurrent List in the division of power between Union and State in India), it requires the Governor to reserve such laws for the consideration of the President. In such case the President may give assent or withhold the assent, or suggest the District Council to reconsider the law. Secondly, if the law does not relate to matters specified in List III of the Seventh Schedule, the law enacted is required to be submitted to the Governor and give assent in his personal discretion. But he is required to consult the Council of Ministers, before taking decision, or respective District Council, if he thinks it necessary.

The following table 3.18 categorically clarifies the powers and functions of TTAADC in relation to State Legislature in terms of law making process.

¹² Paragraph 20BB of the Sixth Schedule to the Indian Constitution discussed and analysed about the exercise of discretionary powers by the Governor in the discharge of his functions.

Table 3.18
The applicability of Union/State Laws within TTAADC

Sl. No.	Category of Laws	Applicability within TTAADC
1.	Laws of the State Legislature on the subjects mentioned in paragraph ‘3, 3A and 3B’ ¹³	Not applicable unless District Council so directs with or without modification.
2.	Laws of the State Legislature on the subjects other than those mentioned in paragraph 3, 3A and 3B of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.	Governor may direct not to apply or may apply with or without modification.
3.	Laws of the State Legislature on the subjects mentioned in paragraph ‘8 and 10.’ ¹⁴	There is no special mention meaning thereby that the District Council’s regulations shall prevail.
4.	Laws of the State Legislature prohibiting or restricting the consumption of any non-distilled alcoholic liquor.	Not applicable unless District Council so directs with or without modification.
5.	Laws made by Parliament.	President may direct not to apply or may apply with or without modification.

Source: Sixth Schedule to the Constitution by Vijay Hansaria.

From the above table 3.18, the relationship between the State Government and District Council in terms of law making process, and the applicability of Union and State Laws within TTAADC are clearly shown. It signifies the extent of powers and functions delegated to the Council under the Sixth Schedule. Laws of the State Legislature are not applicable within TTAADC without the consent of District Council, in consultation with Governor. Only in case of laws made by the Parliament, the President of India can direct to apply or not to apply within the District Council.

So far as legislative power is concerned, district councils in Assam are given additional powers. Thus, Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) is conferred with ‘forty additional subject’¹⁵ by Sixth Schedule of the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003, and

¹³ In Paragraph 3,3A and 3B of the Sixth Schedule, powers of the District Councils and Regional Council to make laws are found. It has been explained in chapter two.

¹⁴ Powers of the District Council to assess, collect land revenue, impose taxes and powers to make regulations for the control of money-lending and trading by non-tribals.

¹⁵ They are: Agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, cultural affairs, higher education, fisheries, flood control, food and civil supply, forest, handloom and textiles, health and family welfare, drugs, irrigation, labour and employment, plan and revenue, library services, lotteries, markets and fairs, municipal corporation, museum and archaeology, panchayat and rural development, planning and development, printing and stationary, public health engineering, public work department, publicity and public relation, registration of birth and deaths, relief and rehabilitation, sericulture, cottage industries, social welfare, soil conservation, sport and youth affairs, tourism, and transport.

North Cachar Hills Autonomous Council and Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council are conferred with 'fifteen additional subject'¹⁶ by Sixth Schedule of the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1995. With the additional powers, it is obvious that those Councils would enjoy greater powers in comparison to TTAADC. Question arises as to why they are given additional legislative powers. History of district councils, in north-east India shows that additional powers and functions are given to particular district council as per demands made. For instance, Bodos of BTC were not satisfied with Bodoland Autonomous Council Act, 1993, and demanded further autonomy. Accordingly, a new accord on 2003 was signed, giving additional legislative powers to BTC. In the same line, Dima Hasao District Autonomous Council and Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council are also given additional legislative powers under paragraph 3A of Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

3.7.2 *Executive Powers and Functions:*

Paragraph 6 of the Sixth Schedule conferred large executive powers and functions to District Council. It has powers to establish, construct and manage primary school and the manner in which primary education will be imparted. Similarly, the Council is also conferred with the same power to establish and manage dispensaries, markets, cattle ponds, ferries, roads transport and waterways. In addition, the Council is empowered to make regulations for the regulation and control of those subjects as per necessity.

However, prior approval of the Governor is necessary for the District Council to make regulations under those subjects. While granting approval, the Governor acts in his personal discretion as per paragraph 20BA and 20BB inserted in their application to the State of Assam, Tripura and Mizoram by the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1995. The Act relates to exercise of discretionary powers by the Governor in the discharge of his functions. But in case of Meghalaya, the Governor has to act on the aid and advice of the State's Council of Minister.

¹⁶ They are: Industries, road and inland water ways communication, preservation of stock and prevention of animal diseases, agriculture, drinking water, cultural affairs, primary and higher education, fisheries, social security and employment, flood control, theatre and dramatic performance, public health and sanitation, minor irrigation, trade and commerce, libraries and museums including controlled of ancient of historical monuments and alienation of land.

In connection to executive powers of the Council, the Governor may, with the consent of District Council or its any Officers, entrust any executive functions available to State Government to District Council. This means that District Council can be empowered with any or all the powers available to the State Government under ‘List II of the Seventh Schedule’¹⁷ of the Indian Constitution. Accordingly, the Councils are more or less entrusted with functions relating to agriculture, animal husbandry, community projects, co-operative societies, social welfare, village planning, fisheries, plantations and any other matter to which the executive power of the State extends.

3.7.3 Judicial Powers and Functions:

Judicial powers and functions of the Council can be seen in paragraph ‘4 of the Sixth Schedule.’¹⁸ The Council is conferred with powers to constitute Village Council Courts for trial of suits and cases in which all the parties are members of STs. The appellate powers over the Village Council Courts are vested with the District Council, constituted in this behalf. Except the High Court and the Supreme Court, no other court has any jurisdiction over the suits and cases triable by the Village Council Court.

District Council Court have jurisdiction for the trial of suits and cases only to ST members. The State and administrator cannot sue or be sued in District Council Court as they cannot be termed as persons belonging to ST. Besides, all the persons under trial must belong to the same District Council. It implies that if two persons belonging to ST, comes from two different areas of District Council, District Council Court would have no jurisdiction. Likewise, if a party to a suit is the State, District Council Courts would have no jurisdiction, since the State cannot be described as a Tribal.

Same is the case to criminal cases. Firstly, both the complainant and the accused must belong to same District Council. If both the complainant and accused belong to different areas, Council’s Court would have no jurisdiction.

Secondly, a complaint lodged, even by a tribal, with the police as regards mischief to a government property is not triable by District Council Court as the aggrieved party is

¹⁷ List II of the Seventh Schedule relates to State List in the division of powers between the Union and State Government.

¹⁸ Paragraph 4 of the Sixth Schedule to the Indian Constitution discussed the administration of justice in autonomous district council and autonomous regions.

‘State’ who cannot be described as a Tribal. However, complaint lodged for mischief to a property of tribal is triable by Council’s Court, if the complainant and accused belong to ST of the same area.

Thirdly, a complaint lodged by a public servant (even though tribal) in his capacity as a public servant and in the discharge of his official duties, against a tribal, would be outside jurisdiction of District Council Court as the case will be between a ‘Tribal’ as the accused and the ‘State’ on the other. Nevertheless, a complaint lodged by a tribal public servant in his personal capacity and not in his capacity as a public servant, against another tribal, would be within the jurisdiction of the District Council Court, as the case will be between two tribals.

Finally, a complaint lodged by a tribal on behalf of a non-tribal, against a tribal, would not be triable by a District Council Court, since the person aggrieved, in reality, will be non-tribal.

It is pertinent to note that, though the officers of the District Council Court are appointed by the District Council, they have no administrative and disciplinary control over those officers. It is the High Court which exercised disciplinary control over the officers of the Council’s Court. This is to render free and impartial justice and to maintain independence of judiciary, which is the basic feature of Indian Constitution.

Administration of justice is adopted and codified, as per Sixth Schedule, within the District Councils of Meghalaya, Mizoram, North Cachar Hills Autonomous Council and Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council of Assam. Thus, those District Councils have well established Village Council Court, since their inception. However, sub-paragraph (6) of paragraph 4, inserted in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2013, states that it has been made inapplicable to BTC. Accordingly, administration of justice is not found within BTC.

But in case of TTAADC, although the Council is conferred with powers to constitute Village Council Courts it has neither Village Council Court nor District Council Court for trial of suits and cases within the jurisdiction of the Council, and customary law has not been codified.

So, although extensive judicial powers and functions have been conferred to TTAADC, under the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, it still remains a prescription which is yet to be put into practice. In fact, issue of customary law is one of an important point highlighted by IPFT, a regional tribal political party in Tripura, in their ‘Election Manifesto for the TTAADC general election, 2015.’¹⁹

3.7.4 Financial Powers and Functions:

Finance is another important element to run and administered an institution. To delegate and confer extensive legislative, executive and judicial powers, would not serve the purpose if financial issue is not considered. In view of these, the Council is entrusted with the responsibility to constitute ‘District Fund’ to which all the funds received by the District Council are to be credited. The account is to be kept in the form prescribed by the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India who is required to cause the Council’s account to be audited. The report is to be submitted to the Governor who is to place it before the District Council. In exercise of powers under paragraph 7, Fund Rules have been framed by TTAADC namely, *Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council Fund Rules, 2005*. ‘Other district councils have also framed their respective Fund Rules.’²⁰ The BTC, however, has yet to be framed the said Fund Rules as empowered under the paragraph.

The Council has been given taxing provision whereby the District Council is authorised to levy taxes on land revenue, taxes on lands and buildings, persons and resident, professions, trades, employments, animals, vehicles, boats, taxes on the entry of goods into market for sale, taxes on passengers and goods carried in ferries and taxes for maintenance of schools, dispensaries and roads.

¹⁹ The information could be further collected from Election Manifesto of IPFT, for TTAADC general Election, 2015. It clarifies that customary law would be introduced within TTAADC if the party comes in to power.

²⁰ They are: Karbi Anglong District Fund Rules, 1952; North Cachar Hills District Fund Rules, 1953; United Khasi - Jaintia Hills District Fund Rules, 1952; Mizoram Autonomous District Council Fund Rules, 1996.

Under paragraph '9 of the Sixth Schedule²¹ of the Indian Constitution, the Council is also authorised to share the royalties on the licenses or leases for the extraction of minerals within the District Council. In case of any dispute as to the share of royalties, the matter should be referred to the Governor whose decision will be final (sub-paragraph 2).

In addition, paragraph 10 of the Sixth Schedule states that, the Council has power to make regulations for the control of money-lending and trading by non-tribals. Firstly, the District Council prescribes that no one except the holder of a license issued in that behalf, shall carry on the business of money lending. Secondly, the Council prescribes the maximum rate of interest which may be charged or be recovered by a money-lender. Thirdly, the Council provides for the maintenance of accounts by the money-lender and for the inspection of such accounts by officers appointed in that behalf by the District Council. Finally, the Council prescribes that all the non-tribal residence must obtain license for carrying on business in the District. Financing of TTAADC and the revenue resources at its disposal is discussed in the next section.

Excluding BTC, paragraph 10 is applicable to all District Councils under the Sixth Schedule. BTC is debarred from paragraph 10, by insertion of a new sub-paragraph (4), in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003.

The fear of exploitation of the moneylenders was one of the anxieties which the tribals had expressed to the members of the Sub-Committee which was constituted by the Constituent Assembly to report on the north-east frontier (Assam) tribals and this provision has been inserted to take care of such fear expressed by the tribals. However, the major tribal problems in north-east India and for that matter District Councils under the Sixth Schedule is still the fear of economic exploitation of non-tribals. This brings into question the viability of those Acts and Amendments of Sixth Schedule in protecting the tribals.

²¹ Paragraph 9 of the Sixth Schedule to the Indian Constitution deals with share of royalties accruing from licenses or leases granted for the purpose of prospecting or extraction of minerals in respect of any area within the concerned autonomous district council.

From the analysis of the powers and functions of district council under the Sixth Schedule, some few things could be noticed. The reason for giving additional legislative powers to district councils of Assam under the Sixth Schedule is because of continuous demands made by them. This indicates that that district council having the bargaining power is given more power.

In regards to judicial powers and functions, TTAADC do not have village council court or district council court, despite given powers by the Sixth Schedule. In this case, district council in Mizorama and Meghalaya has a well established system.

Besides, TTAADC could be further empowered by increasing the numbers of departments, which is rather less compare to other district council. For instance, district council like Mara Autonomous District Council (MADC) and Lai Autonomous District Council (LADC) of Mizoram, which are comparatively very small to TTAADC, have greater numbers of department at their disposal (28 and 23 department respectively).

However, TTAADC has well established elected body at VC level. Election is conducted after every five year with 50 percent women reservation. This is an important achievement of TTAADC, in fulfilling the demand of decentralisation of power at grass root level. District council in Assam like BTC, Karbi Anglong Autonomous District Council has no elected body at VC level. Mizoram has elected body, but few representations of women.

3.8 Functions of Departments under TTAADC

TTAADC performs several administrative and developmental functions through departments that are attached to it under rule 3 of the TTAADC Administration Rules 1988. There are 19 (nineteen) departments functioning under TTAADC, which administered various developmental activities. They are (1) Agriculture Department; (2) Animal Husbandry; (3) Co-operation Department; (4) Education Department (including Social Education); (5) Finance Department; (6) Fisheries Department; (7) Planning and Statistic; (8) Forest Department; (9) Health and Family Welfare; (10) Industry Department; (11) Land Record and Settlement; (12) Law Department; (13) Public Works Department; (14) Information, Cultural affairs and Tourism; (15) Tribal Welfare Department; (16) Village Committee Department; (17) Science and Technology; (18)

General Administration and (19) Horticulture. An attempt is made to discuss and explain their basic functions.

Agriculture: Agriculture is the main sources of income of Tripura tribals. The District Council, therefore, laid stress on agriculture and its allied activities. The department carries out several functions like agricultural production and extension, promotion of agriculture based settlement project, introduction of intensive agricultural projects, reclamation of wasteland for agriculture, construction of minor irrigation, protection against pest and prevention of plant diseases etc.

To fulfil those functions, the department of agriculture has initiated several schemes and programs like integrated scheme for improved method of jhum cultivation (implementation of jhum cultivation is analysed in the next chapter), system of rice intensification scheme in jhum land (SRI), farm mechanisation scheme and farmer's awareness program. The first two schemes are implemented to augment rice production through new methods of cultivation and improved varieties of paddy seeds. The latter two schemes intended to put special emphasis on farm mechanisation and impart awareness by giving training to farmers.

TTAADC has about 20 percent geographical area which is available for cultivation. About 13 percent areas of cultivable lands are under assured irrigation. The main crops grown are paddy, maize, pulses, oil seeds, jute, vegetables, etc. The department is headed by Principal Officer, Deputy Principal Officer, Agriculture Officer and other ministerial staff. As per TTAADC record of 2016, there are 164 (one hundred sixty four) own TTAADC staff and 755 (seven hundred fifty five) deputed staff from State government. The detailed composition of staff is presented in table 3.19, which is as follows.

Table 3.19
Staff composition of Agriculture Department of TTAADC

Sl. No.	Name of Post	Own Staff	Deputed Staff
1	Principal Officer	01	--
2	Dy. Principal Officer	06	--
3	Superintendent of Agriculture	--	04
4	Assistant Director	--	09
5	Agriculture Officer	15	39
6	Agriculture Inspector	80	31
7	Agriculture Assistant	42	104
8	Mali	20	--
9	Accountant	--	07
10	UDC	--	10
11	LDC	--	12
12	Class IV	--	56
12	Driver	--	03
13	Farm Worker	--	348
14	Permanent Labour	--	101
15	Power tiller Driver (PTD)	--	06
16	Plant Protection Operator (PPO)	--	03
17	Assistant Marketing Secretary	--	02
18	Junior Mechanic	--	01
19	Daily Rated Workers (DRW)	--	08
20	Part Time Worker (PTW)	--	05
21	Others	--	06
	Total	164	755

Source: Information collected from, Khwmlwng, TTAADC Headquarter

Animal Resource Development Department (ARDD): ARDD is another important department of the District Council. Hundreds of families were dependent on the incomes generated through schemes implemented by ARDD. Some of the major functions include extension of animal husbandry programs and initiating animal husbandry based settlement projects. The Department also works on implementation of schemes relating to development of cattle, sheep, goats, poultry and piggery.

Thus, some of the development programs implemented by the department are cattle development program through artificial insemination, milk diary and operation flood program, duck and Kuroiler (poultry) development program for augmentation of egg and meat production (implementation of Kuroiler farming is analysed in the next chapter). Besides these programs, the department has also implemented piggery and Goatery development programs for augmentation of meat production.

The department is headed by Principal Officer who is assisted by Deputy Principal Officers. They are again assisted by Veterinary Assistant Surgeon posted at different Zonal Offices. At Sub-Zonal level, departmental assistant are posted to assist the implementation of development programs. There are 54 (fifty four) own staff and 253 (two hundred fifty three) deputed staff from State government. There composition is presented in table 3.20.

Table 3.20
Staff composition of ARD Department of TTAADC

Sl. No.	Name of Post	Own Staff	Deputed Staff
1	Principal Veterinary Officer	01	--
2	Senior Veterinary Officer	05	03
3	Assistant Director	05	01
4	Veterinary Assistant Surgeon	13	18
5	ARD (Extension Officer)	--	09
6	Senior ARD Assistant	12	19
7	ARD Assistant	12	126
8	Helper	06	--
9	LDC	--	02
10	Group-D	--	61
11	Livestock Farm Worker (LFW)	--	06
12	Permanent Labour	--	08
Total		54	253

Source: Information collected from, Khwmulwng, TTAADC Headquarter

Co-operative Department: The Co-operative Department has a distinct role for socio-economic development of tribals. With its limited scope, the department has been making serious efforts to help Large Size Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society (LAMPS) introducing new schemes within the District Council. The basic objective of the department is to promote income generation among the tribals and developed their standard of living through co-operative movement. Accordingly, through schemes like grant-in-aid toward working capital, the department undertakes diversified activities like supply of essential commodities, running Fair Price Shop (FPS), dietary supply to hospitals and government offices etc. Besides, the department, through LAMPS, also undertakes construction of consumer store, repairing of building, renovation of godown etc. The department consists of 28 ministerial staff, and out of them 7 (seven) are TTAADC own staff and 21 (twenty one) deputed staff from State government.

Finance Department: The financial activities of TTAADC are being maintained by the Finance Department of TTAADC through three branches. The first is called

General Branch. All correspondence in connection with rules and regulation like pension proposal, family pension, pay fixation, post creation proposal, revised pay rules, gradation of employees and other employee and salary related matters are administered by the branch.

Budget Branch is another wing of the department. This branch look after all correspondence in connection with budgetary control like preparation of council budget, allocation of fund to all DDO's, receipt of fund from State Government etc. Alongside, preparation of annual budget estimates of TTAADC and submission thereof to the Council as well as State Government is being dealt with in the Budget Branch.

The third wing, which is called Audit Branch conduct internal audit of the accounts of DDOs of TTAADC and accordingly submit the Audit Reports to the authority under the provision of TTAADC Fund Rules, 2005. There are 11 (eleven) own staff and 31 (thirty one) deputed staff.

Forest Department: Forest Department of TTAADC has taken active steps to change the practices of shifting cultivation of tribals to settle and sustainable cultivation. So, several schemes have been introduced and implemented for better management and conservations of forest within TTAADC. To discharge the works, three new Forest Divisions have been created, namely, District Forest Office (DFO), Khumulwung, West Zone, DFO, B.C. Manu, South Zone and DFO 82 Miles Dhalai Zone.

Some of the schemes and programs being implemented are 'Anganvan Prakala' to promote plantation in private land holdings, park and gardens upgradation, wayside and block plantations, social forestry to encourage afforestation, soil and moisture conservation and awareness and motivation programs etc. The department of forest constitutes a total of 214 (two hundred fourteen) staff. Out of them 133 (one hundred thirty three) are TTAADC own staff and rest 81 (eighty one) staff are deputed from State government. So far as forest composition between TTAADC and State government is concerned, State government is having larger areas of forest reserved. The following table 3.21 shows the nature of forest exists in the entire State and within TTAADC.

Table 3.21
Nature of Forest exists in Tripura and within TTAADC

Sl. No.	Nature of Forest	Area (sq.km)		Total
		State	TTAADC	
1	Reserve Forest (RF)	3588.20 (57.00)	3129.57 (60.05)	6717.77 (58.38)
2	Proposed Reserve Forest(PRF)	663.70 (10.54)	114.28 (2.19)	777.98 (6.76)
3	Unclassified Govt. Forest (UGF)	2040.80 (32.42)	1966.63 (37.73)	4007.43 (34.83)
4	Protected Forest (PF)	1.60 (0.02)	0.75 (0.01)	2.35 (0.02)
Total		6294.30 (54.70)	5211.24 (45.29)	11505.54 (100.00)

(Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage)

Source: Compiled from Departmental Report on Forest Activities, TTAADC, 2014

Health and Family Welfare Department: Health Department of the District Council is created to provide health care services to remote and inaccessible areas of tribal villages. The main objective is to provide antenatal care and safety delivery of pregnant mother including services in obstetrics and child care to reduce infant and mortality rate. Besides, the department has also been extensively working on organising health camps and awareness programs at different tribal localities and school health program at remote primary schools.

At present the department is running two health centres, one at Kherengber, Khumulwng (West Zone), with fifty bedded accommodation and the other at Twikarma, B.C Manu (South Zone), with ten bedded accommodation. There is no deputed staff from State government in Health department. Thus, all the staffs are own TTAADC staff. The composition is presented in table 3.22, as follows.

Table 3.22
Staff composition of Health Department of TTAADC

Name of Post		Number of Staff
1	Medical Officers (Allopathic)	6 including 1 on contractual basis
2	Medical Officer (Homeopathic)	1
3	Dentist	1
4	Staff Nurse	8
5	ANM	2
6	Pharmacist	3
7	GDA	22
8	X-Ray Technician	1
9	Lab-Assistant	1
10	LDC	1
11	Night guard	3
12	Driver	2
13	Peon	1
14	Cook	1
Total		53

Source: Compiled from Reports of Health Department, TTAADC

However, as per information gathered from different sources, it is found that huge malpractice is taking place within the department. ‘Although crore of rupees have been spent to buy necessary equipment for those health centres under TTAADC, it does not materialise in practice. For instance, X-ray machine has been installed at Kherengber (Khumulwng) health centre under West Zone, with an amount of Rs. 8 lakhs, but it has not been made functional. No investigation has been done for the problem. Again, for installation of blood bank, an amount of Rs. 19 lakhs has been spent, but not functioning in practice. Besides, Rs. 12 lakh (approx.) has been spent for repairing of old government buildings at Sikaribari Bari, under Dhalai Zone for the purpose of health centre. But till date, no health centre is functioning in that location.’²² In this connection, it could be mention that, every year there are cases under Dhalai Zone, who died of malaria.

When the cause of mismanagement is asked to few local political leaders, they report the negligence of officials. When asked whether they complaint, they reported that investigation is being undertaken.

Department of Industry: Due to inadequate infrastructures and power supply for construction of factory and industries within the District Council, emphasis is given to the

²² Daynik Sambad, a daily reputed paper in Tripura, reports on 11th June, 2015, regarding corruption within health department of TTAADC.

development of small cottage industries, including other agro-based industries like sericulture.

Thus, the department has implemented and encouraged on the following schemes like industry training centres, construction / repairing of existing training centres, weaving production centres, assistance for self-support of ex-trainees, sericulture scheme and organising awareness programs etc. There are 106 (one hundred six) staff with no deputed staff. Thus, all the staff attached to the department is TTAADC own staff. The department is headed by Principal Officer, 1 (one) Additional Principal Officer, 3 (three) Superintendent of Industries, 1 (one) Handloom Development Officer, 7 (seven) Sericulture Development Officer and other subordinates staff.

Law Department: Law department is the nodal department of the District Council. The most important role of the department is to aid and advice the Council's authority on various important legal issues and to appoint, supervise and coordinate the functioning of the advocates. The department also investigates any proposal from the concerned department as to formulation of law and to supervise the legislation of any law.

The present Chief Executive Member himself looks after the Law Department. The department is headed by a Principal Officer (Law). He looks after the works of the law department under the overall supervision of the Chief Executive Officer, TTAADC. He/she is assisted by ministerial staff of the Council. Cases filed are received by law department from the other departments of TTAADC for seeking legal views. However, the function of Law Department in TTAADC is very minimal.

Public Work Department (PWD): Public Work Department has implemented various developmental works within the District Council. The main objective is to uplift the living standard of tribals by developing infrastructure. A good number of development works like rural road connectivity, building, innovation of drinking water supply, irrigation and power supply have been successfully executed by the department.

The department consists of 541 (five hundred forty one) TTAADC own staff, and have no deputed staff from State government, as per 2016 record. It is again divided into four sections – Civil PWD Section, Mechanical Section, Electrical Section, Drinking Water Supply (DWS) section. The department is headed by Chief Engineer, 2 (two)

Superintending Engineers, 11 (eleven) Executive Engineers in Civil PWD Section, and 1 (one) Executive Engineer each for other sections. Below them, there are Assistant Engineers and Junior Engineers in each section, who are subordinated by others managerial staff.

Land Record and Settlement Department: Since the District Council has not framed separate land act, the revenue district administration of State government is authorised for allotment of land in Sixth Schedule areas under ‘Tripura Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act and rules 1960. In order to exercise control over the allotment of *khas* land within the Sixth Schedule areas, the District Council constituted TTAADC Land Allotment Committee for each revenue sub-division. The district administration of State government made allotment of *khas* land in Sixth Schedule areas, after obtaining the recommendation of Allotment Committees with approval of the District Council.

The administrative set-up of the department is more or less similar with other departments. There are total 14 (fourteen) ministerial staff (as per 2016 record), headed by Principal Officer who is subordinated by Assistant Survey Officer, Junior Surveyor, Amin and Chainman. There is no deputed staff and all of them are TTAADC own staff. As per budget estimate of 2012-2013, the department has been allocated with an amount of Rs. 15.35 lakhs, from plan fund of State government. By and large, the powers and functions in connection to this department are under State government.

Rural Development Department: Rural Development department is an important department working at grass root level. The department is conducting training for skill upgradation of unemployed tribal youth on different trade like motor driving and mobile repairing. Besides, the department is providing fund to various localities of the Council for rural infrastructure development. Thus, the department funded for construction of Sub-Zonal Office, rural markets, re-construction of schools, minor irrigations etc.

Through the initiative of the department one new scheme, namely, *Nukhung Hamari Credit Card (NHCC)* has been implemented. The scheme is being implemented with an objective to provide credit support to the unemployed trained tribal youth and Self Help Groups. Under the scheme, bank loan has been provided ranging from Rs. 1 lakhs to Rs. 5 lakhs.

The State government has also shared Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) fund to the department for diverse rural works. Accordingly, the department has implemented works like rubber plantations and other horticulture plantation, construction of household toilets, re-excavation of canal, brick soling etc.

Information Cultural Affairs and Tourism (ICA&T): The basic aim of ICT&A Department is to promote and disseminate the traditional tribal cultures of Tripura by way of organising tribal folk cultural programs in different places. In the process, the department is preserving all the traditional dresses, ornaments and other household items of all tribes in a museum.

The department comprised of three main branches and all the activities of the department is executed by them. They are information services, cultural affairs and tourism. These three branches coherently co-ordinate the day-to-day functions of the entire department. The department consists of 113 (one hundred thirteen) staff, of which 49 (forty nine) of them are TTAADC own staff, and 64 (sixty four) of them are deputed from State government. It is headed by Principal Officer, 1 (one) Additional Principal Officer, 6 (six) Assistant Principal Officer, and other subordinate staff.

Tribal Welfare Department: The establishment of Tribal Welfare Department is intended to take intensive care of Tribal people for their welfare, maintaining social security by removal of social disabilities, providing economic empowerment and ensuring proportionate representation with enjoyment of human right in various developmental activities.

The department consists of 115 (one hundred fifteen) staff, and all of them are TTAADC own staff. It is headed by Principal Officer assisted by 6 (six) Special Officer (Tribal Welfare), 1 (one) Research Officer, 22 (twenty two) Extension Officer, Supervisors, Project Assistants and ministerial staff. The department has initiated various development schemes. They are Integrated Jhumia Re-Settlement Scheme, Rubber Plantation Scheme and Tea Plantation Scheme, etc. In addition, assistance for medical treatment, construction of tribal rest house, business and training were also given to tribals according to requirement.

Department of Science, Technology and Environment: The department is a small wing working for the tribals to ensure sustainable economic development and upgrade them from conventional primitive method of livelihood. The major activities include organising awareness programs and trainings, providing solar lantern and encouraged the use of bio-gas plant etc.

Fisheries Department: The Fisheries Department of TTAADC is playing a vital role with its limited resources for enhancing fish production by adopting different kind of beneficiary oriented scheme such as distribution of fingerling and distribution of fish nets to poor tribal fish farmers. The major schemes implemented by Fishery department comprise of comprehensive program to increase level of fish productivity and fishery extension information, education and training (implementation of fish productivity scheme is discussed in the next chapter).

The training programs for fish farmers are being organised in different Sub-Zonal sectors for upgradation of skill and to impart technical know-how towards the poor tribal fish farmers. At present, there are three numbers of Fish Farm under the control of two ZDO's. They are Belbari fish farm and Khumulwng fish farm (West Zone), and Garjee fish farm (South Zone). The District Council contributes 50.6 percent of the total State fish production having 53 percent of water area in the entire state of Tripura.

The department of Fishery has a total of 379 (three hundred seventy nine) staff. Out of them 292 (two hundred ninety two) of them are TTAADC own staff and remaining 87 (eighty seven) of them are deputed staff from State government. It is headed by Principal Officer, 1 (one) Additional Principal Officer, 1 (one) Deputy Principal Officer, 9 (nine) Superintendent of Fisheries, 43 (forty three) Fishery Officer, and other subordinate staff.

Education Department: To uplift the educational backwardness of large tribal populations, TTAADC has established separate department. As per the provision of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, Government Junior Basic Schools (Primary) located within the Council's jurisdiction has been transferred to TTAADC. Further, under Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA), a Central project to impart education to every Indian child, several new Primary Schools were also established within the District Council. At present

TTAADC have 1622 Primary Schools, including 687 SSA Schools, and one English Medium Residential High School.

Attached to schools, boarding facilities are being given to students who are from remote and inaccessible areas. Boarding fees for students, in the form of stipend, is fully funded by the Central government and accordingly students are exempted from boarding fees.

To ensure proper implementation of Mid Day Meal (MDM), SSA programs and other education related matters, community participation is extensively encouraged. As a result, twenty three Inspectorate Level Education Committees have been formed. They perform various activities like monitoring the proper functioning of schools within their respective jurisdiction, supervised all kinds of civil works in schools, supervise implementation and progress of SSA activities and ensure regular implementation of MDM program in all the schools.

The department constitutes one of the highest numbers of staff, compare to other department functioning under TTAADC. It has a total of 5050 (five thousand fifty) staff, out of which 3008 of them are TTAADC own staff and rest 2042 (two thousand forty two) of them are deputed from State government. The department is headed by Principal Officer (Education) who is assisted by 2 (two Deputy Principal Officer, 2 (two) Linguistic officer, 22 (twenty two) Inspector of School, 27 (twenty seven) Deputy Inspector of School, Head Master, Post Graduate Teacher, Graduate Teacher, Assistant Teacher and other subordinate staff.

Despite much achievement, the audit reports of the CAG of India, 2011-12, stated that the Department of Education has many irregularities. Although the numbers of teachers are far in excess of SSA norms, but irrational deployment of teachers has been a concern. For instance, in Balaram Chowdhury para JB school 16 (sixteen) teachers were posted where only 8 (eight) students were enrolled. In contrast, in 18 (eighteen) schools, students ranging from 52 (fifty two) to 123 (one hundred twenty three) were enrolled, in which one/two teachers were posted. The training status of teachers is also poor, having only 32 percent of trained teachers. Besides, non-availability of Headmaster in 72 percent schools also constrained the success of elementary education in the Council (CAG Reports, 2011-2012).

Social Welfare and Social Education: It is an important department of TTAADC. The department works with direct cooperation with State's Social Welfare and Social Education Department. It executes various welfare schemes which are Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS), like child welfare, disabled welfare, women welfare, older person's welfare, Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls (RGSEAG) etc. There are 741 (seven hundred forty one) TTAADC own staff and 5645 (five thousand six hundred forty five) deputed staff from State government. The department is headed by Principal Officer, 1 (one) Additional Officer and other subordinate staff. The detailed composition of staff is presented in table 3.23.

Table 3.23
Staff composition of Social Welfare and Social Education Department of TTAADC

Sl. No.	Name of Post	Own Staff	Deputed Staff
1			
2	Principal Officer	01	--
3	Additional Principal Officer	01	--
4	Junior Social Education Organiser	363	276
5	School Mother	376	270
6	CDPO	--	06
7	Supervisor	--	52
8	Aganwadi Worker	--	2386
9	Aganwadi Helper	--	2378
10	Adult Literacy Teacher	--	247
11	Peon	--	11
12	Daily Rated Worker	--	01
12	Part Time Worker	--	02
13	Head Clerk	--	01
14	UDC	--	03
15	LDC	--	08
16	Driver	--	02
17	Social Education Organiser (Group-D)	--	02
	Total	741	5645

Source: Information collected from, Khwmulwng, TTAADC Headquarter

Department of Village Committee: In accordance with the provision of paragraph 3(1) (v) of the Sixth Schedule to Indian Constitution, the TTAADC has been introducing the election of local bodies at village level which constitutes an elected VCs, since February, 2006. As a result, elected VCs came into existence in place of nominated VCs. It derives power and responsibilities under section 20 and 21 of Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District (Establishment of Village Committee) Act, 1994. This Act has been enacted with an objective to establish and develop local self government and to make

better provisions for administration of village into well developed administrative unit. Fifty percent (50%) women reservation has also been implemented since 2010, VC general election. As per election result of TTAADC VC Election 2016, 51.1 percent Chairperson constitutes female and rest 48.8 percent constitute male candidate. However, in case of Vice Chairperson only 15 percent constitute female and rest 85 percent is male candidate.

The District Council also conferred power and duties to elected VCs for implementation of development schemes of state government and central government. Thus, VCs made selection of beneficiaries, sites of projects and monitored such schemes and programs. Besides, VC is also entrusted with the functions to maintain sanitation and conservation of village areas, cleaning and maintaining of village roads and paths, construction and maintenance of rest house in the village and maintenance of children, adult and women's education (detailed powers and functions as per Act, is discussed in chapter 5).

Constitution of elected local bodies/VCs within TTAADC is an important step towards decentralisation. Comparatively speaking, elected local bodies in the form of VCs have not been constituted in other district councils, except district councils in Tripura and Mizoram. Again, in Mizoram also there is question of limited women's representation of elected local bodies. But in case of TTAADC, one of the important aspects of elected VCs is the good representation of women both as VC Member and as Chairperson of VCs. Village Committees are assisted by village secretary in all matters. Thus, extensive powers and functions are delegated to local elected VCs. It is suggested that other district council could also follow TTAADC pattern and constitutes elected local bodies, in line with panchayat. This would obviously help in further decentralisation of powers to tribals who usually settled in remote areas. However, TTAADC have no own staff of VC Secretary. So, all the VC Secretaries posted in TTAADC is deputed from State government. As per 2016, record of TTAADC, there are 494 (four hundred four) deputed VC Secretary in TTAADC.

General Administration: The Department of General Administration is the most important department of the District Council. In fact, the department has been given the highest amount in the departmental allocation of fund. The department deals with

recruitment, posting, transfer, deputation of officers and Staff of the District Council. It also controls the service rules, regulations and service conditions of its entire staff. Besides, the department also maintains assets of the District Council, including purchase of new vehicles and its maintenance. There is no deputed staff in the department of General Administration as per 2016, record of staff composition. A total of 1716 (one thousand seven hundred sixteen) ministerial staff, has been posted in the department holding different post. The Department is headed by Chief Executive Officer, 2 (two) Additional Chief Executive Officer, 1 (one) Deputy Chief Executive Officer, 2 (two) Executive Officer (Administration), 5 (five) Additional Executive Officer, 4 (four) Additional Principal Officer, 5 (five) Zonal Development Officer, 10 (ten) Additional Zonal Development Officer, and other lower subordinate staff.

When the composition of staff of all departments is summed up, there is a total of 16594 staff at the disposal of the Council. Out of the total staff, 7644 (46.6%) of them are TTAADC own staff and rest 8950 (53.93%) of them are deputed from State government. Maximum staff is found in the department of General Administration, School Education, and Social Welfare and Social Education Department. The three departments alone constitute 13152 (79.25%) staff of TTAADC. The highest percentage of department-wise deputed staff is found in ARD Department. Out of the total 6386 staff of ARD Department, 5645 (88.39%) of them constitute deputed staff and rest 741 (11.6%) of them constitute TTAADC own staff. In case of transfer of deputed staff, State government, could make any arrangement with prior consent of the District Council. However, few officials of TTAADC reported that, the transfer guideline is often violated by State government. Thus, transfer of deputed staff is often made by State government without informing the District Council. The implication of deputed staff would be further discussed in chapter 5.

3.9 Finance of TTAADC

The following section analysed the financial status of TTAADC. It therefore, presents TTAADC budget estimates, approved budget by State government, budget allocations of various departments etc.

Revenue resources of TTAADC: The Council's primary resources of revenue are mainly based on three components. They are – 1) ADC Plan Fund received as Grants; 2)

Share of taxes and other revenue receipts assignable to ADC by the State Government on agreed percentage and; 3) Transfer of funds from various departments of the government of Tripura on transfer of schemes (basically CSS) for implementation by the autonomous district council. It indicates that the District Council could not take into account the transferred funds for development planning, because State government may or may not transfer scheme to District Council.

Besides the above three different resources, the District Council has its own fund generated from various sources. The Council's own sources are primarily based on trade license, market auction, bank interest, sale proceeds of industry, fishery, ARDD and levy of PWD etc.

Thus, the major revenue resources of TTAADC could be sum up as shown in table 3.24.

Table 3.24
Break-up of TTAADC Revenue Resources

1.	Plan Grant of the State Government	
2.	Scheme related Funds Transferred from State Departments or the DRDAs	
3.	Share of State taxes (Non-Plan)	Forest Revenue – 75%
		Agriculture Income tax – 50%
		Land Revenue tax – 40%
		Professional tax – 25%
		Motor vehicle tax – 25%
		Industries – 30%
4.	Own Source	Trade License
		Bank Interest
		Auction of Village Markets
		Sale proceeds of Fishery Farms
		Sale proceeds of Piggery Farm

Source: Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India on TTAADC, 2011-2012, p.5

Table 3.24 clearly indicates the revenue sources of the TTAADC. Although the Council has its own sources of income from different sectors, it still faces financial crisis, if State government reduces the Plan Fund. The TTAADC has been given a higher share of taxes (75 percent and 50 percent, respectively) from two sectors, i.e. forest and agriculture. But, 'outlays in the Special Central Assistance, Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS) and North Eastern Council (NEC) Schemes are not directly given to the District Council. Hence, the District Council has to depend mostly on the resources made available

through the State Plan by the State Government.’²³ However, TTAADC budget over the years has shown that, it also receive CSS and other Special Central Assistance through transferred fund from the State government. Budget estimates and allocations are discussed as follows.

Break-up of sources of fund as per budget estimates of TTAADC: The following table 3.25 illustrates the break-up of sources of fund from various resources of the TTAADC as per budget estimates of 2011-12 and 2012-13 financial years. The objective of presenting the table is to study the sources of fund realised by TTAADC from various resources. The break-up is divided into two parts – Part A and Part B. Part A indicates revenue resources from TTAADC own sources and part B from State government, share of taxes and grant from Finance Commission, Government of India.

As per data, an amount of Rs. 250.10 lakhs in 2011-12 financial years, and Rs. 273.55 lakhs in 2012-13 financial years, has been estimated to be realised from TTAADC own sources. When the estimated percentage share of own sources of TTAADC total budget estimates is examined, it is a meagre 0.87 percent in the year 2011-12, and 0.81 percent in 2012-13 financial year. This illustrates TTAADC’s total dependence on State government.

Estimated break-up of sources of fund shows highest in transferred fund in 2011-12, but in 2012-13 financial year, it is highest in plan fund. In addition, TTAADC also received a considerable amount of fund from 13th Finance Commission. Details reports on proposed budget and fund received by TTAADC over the years are given in table 3.C.

²³ Draft 12th Five Year Plan 2012-17 and Draft Annual Plan 2012-13, TTAADC Khumulwng, Tripura, p. 3

Table 3.25
Break-up of sources of fund as per budget estimate of TTAADC
(As per 2011-12 and 2012-13 financial years)

Sl. No.	Sources of Fund	Estimates	
		2011-12	2012-13
1	2	3	4
	Part A		
2	Market License fee & other Revenue receipt etc.	95.00	99.10
3.	Interest Money	125.10	129.45
4.	Miscellaneous (Stock Suspense, loan & advances book adjustment etc.)	30.00	45.00
	Sub-Total	250.10	273.55
	Part B		
1.	Plan Fund	10,480.97	14,260.61
2.	Share of Taxes (Non-Plan)	4,427.50	4,870.25
3.	Transferred Fund	13,334.46	12,811.40
4.	13 th Finance Commission	Nil	1,267.00
	Sub-Total	28,170.93	33,209.26
	Grand Total	28,421.03	33,482.81

Source: Compiled from the Budget Estimate of TTAADC, 2011-13, collected from Head Office, Khumulwng, West Tripura

Department/Sector-wise budget estimates of 2012-13 financial year: Table 3.26 again shows the detailed department/sector wise budget estimates of TTAADC for the year 2012-2013. Few sectors like resource mobilisation, mechanical cell, planning etc, is not included in the table and hence, an amount of Rs. 1240.87 lakhs is lesser in table 3.28, as compared to total budget estimate of 2012-2013, which constitute Rs. 31942.26. The objective of presenting the table is to show the allocation of budget in different important departments of TTAADC.

Department-wise sources of fund estimates also illustrated another interesting fact. In two key departments – Education and Social Education, the percentage share of sources of fund shows maximum budget estimated from transferred fund. In Social Education Department 97.13 percent budget is estimated from transferred fund and rest 2.87 percent from plan fund of State government. Similarly, in Education Department, 89.57 percent budget is estimated form transferred funds and rest 10.43 percent from plan fund from State government. The issue is that, fund from CSS are maximum in those two key departments and State government is merely transferring CSS fund to District Council.

This further implies that State government's fund contribution in those two key departments is minimal.

Table 3.26
Department/Sector-wise budget estimates of TTAADC for the year 2012-2013
(Rs. in lakhs)

Sl. No.	Name of Depts./ Sectors	Sources of Fund			Total
		Plan Fund	Non-Plan	Transferred Fund	
1	Agriculture	330(17.34)	0.00	1573.10 (82.65)	1903.10
2	Horticulture	97.95 (20.23)	0.00	386 (79.77)	483.95
3	Tribal Welfare	375.46 (77.34)	0.00	110 (22.66)	485.46
4	Fishery	233.58 (38.11)	0.00	379.25 (61.89)	612.83
5	Industry	241.12 (95.44)	0.00	11.50 (4.56)	252.62
6	ICAT	188.37 (40.97)	0.00	271.4 (59.03)	459.77
7	ARDD	188.37 (38.37)	0.00	302.50 (61.63)	490.87
8	Health	385(78.35)	0.00	106.35 (21.65)	491.35
9	Forest	143.16 (40.91)	0.00	206.75 (59.08)	349.91
10	School Education	517.50 (10.43)	0.00	4443 (89.57)	4960.5
11	Social Education	53.13 (2.87)	0.00	1793.2 (97.13)	1846.33
12	Language Cell	30.14 (100.00)	0.00	0.00	30.14
13	PWD (R&B)	1097.25 (35.90)	647(21.16)	1312 (42.92)	3056.25
14	Co-operation	52.47 (41.40)	0.00	74.25 (58.6)	126.72
15	Rural Devt.	216.65 (39.63)	0.00	330.00 (60.37)	546.65
16	Power	100(100.00)	0.00	0.00	100.00
17	Science & Tech.	60.28 (100.00)	0.00	0.00	60.28
18	Village Committee	30.14 (3.07)	0.00	951 (96.93)	981.14
19	Minor Irrigation	200(75.97)	0.00	63.25 (24.03)	263.25
20	Sports	37.67 (46.97)	0.00	42.35 (53.03)	80.02
21	Land Records	15.34 (100.00)	0.00	0.00	15.34
22	Administration	8418.66 (67.66)	4023.25 (32.34)	0.00	12441.91
20	Town Development	463(69.83)	200(30.16)	0.00	663.00
Total		13475.24 (43.89)	4870.25 (15.86)	12355.9 (40.24)	30701.39 (100.00)

(Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage from total departmental allocation)

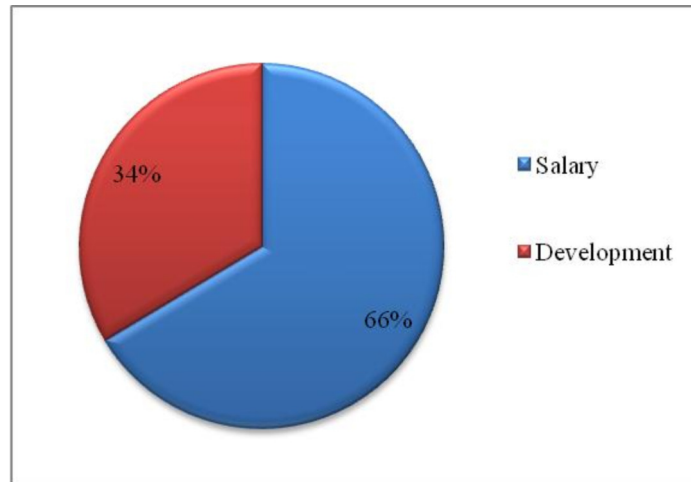
Source: Compiled from the Budget Estimate of TTAADC, 2011-13, collected from Head Office

As per data presented in table 3.26, there are five departments which received maximum fund. They are Agriculture, School Education, Social Education, P.W.D. and General Administration. In fact, major development activities of TTAADC take place in those five departments. Among them, few departments/wings like language cell, science and technology and land records has received minimum fund allocation, which are from

plan fund of State government. Their activities are also very minimal in TTAADC. The last row (town development) indicates the allocation of budget estimate for development of Khwmulwng town, headquarter of TTAADC. Interestingly, department-wise allocation of budget estimate shows that the amount allocated for Khwmulwng town development is the seventh highest amount from 20 (twenty) departments/sectors. If the amount of transferred fund is not taken into account, budget estimate for Khwmulwng town development constitute the third highest amount next to PWD and General Administration Department. It is somewhat illogical to allocate a big amount for mere development of Khwmulwng town at the cost of departments, whose development works are more associated with rural tribals. For instance, while Rs. 663 lakhs is allocated to Khwmulwng town development from plan and non-plan fund, some key department of TTAADC like agriculture, tribal welfare, school education etc, are allocated with meagre amount of Rs. 330, 375 and 517 respectively. Thus, budget allocations indicate the indifferent attitudes of EMs and MDCs in developing rural tribals.

Besides, department-wise break-up of sources of fund estimates shows only in three departments/sectors – PWD, general administration and Khwmulwng town development, estimated by District Council to be realised from non-plan fund. It implies that maximum non-plan fund realised from share of taxes is utilised for general administration of TTAADC rather than rural development purpose. The average percentage distribution of sources of fund estimates, comprising all departments/wings, shows highest in plan fund (43.89%), followed by transferred fund (40.24%) and non-plan fund (15.86%). Diagram 3.B shows the estimates of the percentage distribution of transferred fund into salary and development purpose. As per data, 34 percent of total transferred fund would be utilised for development purpose and rest 66 percent for the salary of deputed staff. It implies that although State government is transferring a huge amount of fund to TTAADC in the form of transferred funds, maximum of them are utilised for a salary of deputed staff. Diagram 3.B would further make clear the aggregate utilisation of transferred fund into salary and development purpose over the years.

Diagram: 3B
Percentage distribution of expenditure of transferred fund into salary and development purpose (As per 2012-13 budget estimates)



Source: Compiled from the Budget Estimate of TTAADC, 2011-13, collected from Head Office

Expenditure from transferred fund over the years: 13th Finance Commission of India (2010-2015) also reported about the huge utilisation of transferred fund for meeting salary of deputed staff. The reports on the total transferred annual fund flow from State government and salary expenses from it over the years are presented in table 3.27.

As per the table, it is found that maximum transferred fund is diverted towards salary expenses rather than development purpose. In the year 2005-2007, transferred fund does not even meet the requirement. Accordingly, expenditure for salary of deputed staff is higher than the transferred fund received by TTAADC. Thus, it is proof that, approved budget of TTAADC by State government is mainly utilised for meeting salary of deputed staff and own staff. Audit reports of the CAG of India (2011-2012), also clearly reported that during the year 2011-2012, revenue expenditure was 29,415 lakhs, of which salary and wages accounted to 16,818 lakhs, that is, 57 percent of the entire revenue expenditure.

Table 3.27
Year-wise expenditure for salary of deputed staff from transferred fund
(Rs. in lakhs)

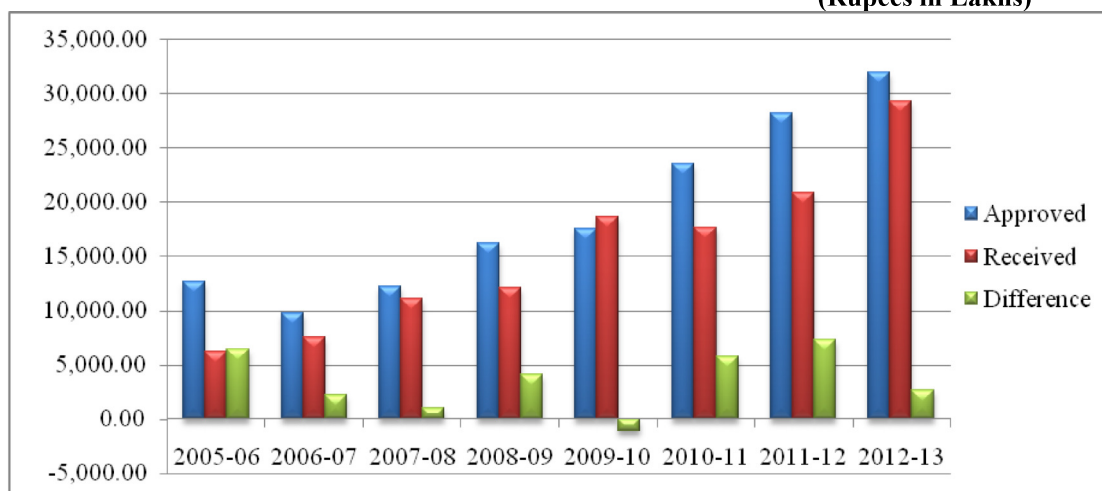
Sl. No.	Year	Transferred Fund	Expenditure for Salary of deputed Staff	Percentage
1.	2003-04	4587.90	3215.24	70.08
2.	2004-05	4375.50	3073.17	70.23
3.	2005-06	2203.36	2334.77	105.96
4.	2006-07	2399.74	2599.72	108.33
5.	2007-08	4287.90	2951.04	68.82

Source: Reports of 13th Finance Commission (2010-2015), Government of India

Approved Council budget over the years: There is always huge gap in the approved Council's Budget and fund received from State government. To substantiate the argument, it would be worthwhile to emphasise the receipt of funds from the government of Tripura as per Council's budget proposal. The following diagram 3.C clarifies the gaps and differences between proposed budget and approved budget from the year 2005 -2013.

When diagram 3.C is carefully examined, it could be found that there are always huge differences between the Council's proposed budget and approved budget by State government. It further shows that, while the percentage of funds received from the approved Council budget in the year 2005-06 is merely 49 percent, there is an upward trend from the year 2006 and the average percentage stick within 70-80. Interestingly, in the year 2009-10, the percentage of funds received from an approved budget of the Council jump to 106 percent. The overall trend in budget sharing illustrates that State government is indifferent towards the District Council in providing adequate funds. TTAADC has not so far criticized or complaint to State government for reduced allocation. In both TTAADC and State government, the ruling party is CPI(M) and the State government has taken TTAADC for granted that with whatever amount of fund allocated, there would not be criticism.

Diagram 3.C
Approved Council Budget and Fund received from Government from 2005- 2013
(Rupees in Lakhs)



Source: *Compiled from the Budget of TTAADC: Fund flow since 2005 – 2013 financial year, collected from Head Office, Khumulwng, West Tripura*

In connection to this, CEM of TTAADC has stated that, in the year 2015-16, TTAADC had passed a budget of Rs. 51,561 lakhs, and the State government has approved Rs. 46,782 lakhs from the total proposed budget. He further stated that, he has also tabled a budget of Rs 55,857 lakhs for 2016-2017 financial years. He placed the budget for consideration upon discussion in the Council. While presenting the budget, he made detailed estimates on the realisation of TTAADC fund, and said that out of the total budget proposal, Rs 18,552 lakhs would be realised from plan expenditure, Rs 6,792 lakhs from share of taxes, Rs 30,354 lakhs as transferred fund and Rs 460 lakhs as miscellaneous fund. Debbarma further said that TTAADC expect to receive Rs. 22,607 lakhs under MGNREGA and SSA. If the expected outlay is received, the total budgetary figure would be increased to Rs. 78,465 lakhs.²⁴ The reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG), 2012, would further make clear the financial condition of TTAADC.

3.9.1 Audit reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India for the year 2011-2012:

As per audit reports, the Council is very weak in generating its own revenue. In fact, the TTAADC's own revenue resources decreased considerably by 53 percent during 2011-2012 financial year. In the year 2010-2011, the Council could generate Rs. 696

²⁴ A Statement Published in the Website, [http:// www.tripurainfo.com](http://www.tripurainfo.com) , dated: 15th March, 2016.

lakhs, but dipped to only Rs. 325 lakhs in the year 2011-2012. Audit reports also pointed out that, out of the total Rs. 53,582 lakhs availability of fund in 2011-2012 financial years, the Council could utilise only 66 percent. Thus, Rs. 18,153 lakhs was lying as closing balance (audit report, p. 6). This indicates the inability of TTAADC officials in executing the work of the Council. While tribal base political party like IPFT and INPT demands financial empowerment, TTAADC could not even utilise the fund received and hence does not make much sense of further demand.

Further, it has been noticed that 12 departments did not furnish Utilisation Certificates (UCs) for an amount of Rs.1064 lakhs pertaining to the year 2011-2012 as of June, 2014. Major pendency of UCs against some major departments is – Rs. 86 lakhs in ARDD department, Rs. 134 lakhs in Agriculture, Rs. 265 lakhs in Education, Rs. 200 lakhs in Social Education, and Rs. 337 lakhs in PWD department. Thus, audit report expresses doubt whether those grants were utilised by those departments for the purpose for which it is sanctioned.

In regards to department-wise allocation of fund, CAG reports that, expenditure increased on Village and Industries by 133 percent, Sports and Youth Affairs by 23 percent, Animal Husbandry by 18 percent, Forest and Wild Life by 45 percent, Fisheries by 15 percent, General Education by 24 percent, Cooperation by 267 percent, Mid Day Meal by 81 percent, and Social Welfare Security by 353 percent. However, it is found that expenditure in three significant departments – Rural Development, Welfare of Schedule Tribes, and Public Health Schemes, has been considerably reduced to 52 percent, 41 percent and 71 percent respectively (CAG Reports, 2012).

In addition, audit reports of the CAG of India, point out many irregularities in the account management of TTAADC. Interest amounting to Rs. 492 lakhs, earned from eight saving bank accounts, maintained by Executive Officer (Finance), has not been taken into account as receipts. Hence, interest earned on those saving accounts has been understated towards revenue receipts and the closing balance is also understated to that extent. The same irregularity lies in non-maintenance of account of fixed deposits by Executive Officer (Finance), amounting to Rs. 1719 lakhs; non-maintenance of account of closing balance lying with Sub-Zonal Office, amounting to Rs. 1044 lakhs; and irregularities in closing cash balance shown in the annual accounts and the actual balances as per Cash

Book of the DDOs, which resulted in the difference of Rs.1660 lakhs in the closing balance of 15 DDOs, that remained un-reconciled (CAG Reports, 2012).

The compliance audit reports also highlighted several misappropriations of funds of TTAADC. For instance, a payment of Rs. 10.35 lakhs has been made in excess to the contractors. The work has been rescinded and to get the balance work done, an extra expenditure of Rs. 11.43 lakhs is being incurred by the Executive Engineer (PWD), West Zone. Similarly, expenditure of Rs. 4.83 lakhs has been made by Sub-Zonal Officer, Takarjala towards tea plantation, which turn wasteful due to wrong selection of beneficiaries (further discussion on implementation of development program has been discussed in chapter 4). Again, expenditure of 29.48 lakhs has been made on construction of Markets Stalls, namely, Paglabari and Shanitala under West Zone, and Chailengta under Dhalai Zone, which remain idle till June 2014. The reports also said that due to high mortality, there has been loss of Rs.31.26 lakhs by raising of rubber, tea and bamboo nurseries by the Zonal Development Office of West Zone and North Zone (CAG Reports, 2011-2012).

3.10 Assessment of the Structures and Functions of TTAADC

From the discussion on the structures and functions, it shows that TTAADC has a well established system substantiated by relevant Act and Rules of the Council. It is also the second biggest and largest Council under the Sixth Schedule, next to BTC, which constitutes a huge population of 14, 14,054 lakhs. Interestingly, it is also found that percentage of non-tribal population in TTAADC areas has decreased to 14.62 percent in 2015, from 16.03 percent in 2005. This is in sharp contrast to the allegation made by some sections of tribals regarding huge increased of non-tribal population in TTAADC. However, Zone-wise percentage of non-tribal populations shows very big composition (28.15%) in North-Zone.

One interesting fact is found in the functioning of Block Advisory Committee (BAC). The quorum for formation of BAC, in those R.D. Block having both areas of TTAADC and non-TTAADC areas is 5 (five) VCs. However, after creation of new 13 (thirteen) R.D. Block in 2013, 12 (twelve) R.D. Block could not constitute BAC, as the numbers of VC do not reach the quorum. An important question is who would supervise those VCs where BAC has been dissolved. When this question is put to Principal Officer,

R.D. Department of TTAADC, he reports that he has no idea, but acknowledged the validity of the question. This proof that these VCs would directly comes under the administrative control of Panchayat Samity, which is against the norms of sixth schedule.

By and large, it is found that community-wise and category-wise representation in different political platform shows equal representation. But so far as female representations is concerned, only 3 (three) female MDCs are represented out of 28 (twenty eight) elected MDC seats. Thus, more numbers of female representations would be preferable. In regards to nomination of MDC, the Governor is inclined in selecting from only two communities – Lushai and Garo. After interacting with some political leaders it is found that, nomination is done by Governor with the advice of the council of minister. Thus, those communities having bargaining power are found to be continuously nominated.

Regarding reservation of MDC seats, 25 (twenty five) of them are kept reserved for ST and 3 (three) are kept unreserved. It is found that in both jurisdictions of district council and non-tribal areas, there is cross-settlement of tribals and non-tribals population. In view of this, tribal groups are expressing apprehensions of losing their reserved seats in future in case delimitation of MDC constituencies is undertaken.

In matters of judicial powers, it is found that the District Council could not initiate proper functions. Although, under the Sixth Schedule, TTAADC is the sole custodian of and entrusted with the task of preservation of society and culture of indigenous people within its territorial jurisdiction, customary laws have not been codified.

When the function of different departments is examined, it is found that there are few departments which have been created but without any or minimal function. Mention could be made that department like Law, Land record and settlement and Health Department etc, have very limited functions. Initiatives could be further taken to strengthen them, because they are the most important department to preserve tribal culture, tradition, protection of land alienation, and to improve their health status. Besides, powers could be further delegated by addition of more departments at the disposal of TTAADC. For instance, district council like Mara Autonomous District Council (MADC) and Lai Autonomous District Council (LADC) of Mizoram, which are comparatively very small to

TTAADC have greater numbers of department at their disposal (28 and 23 department respectively).

The condition of the District Council is even worse in matters of financial powers. It fully depends on the State Government to run the administration. Despite certain powers to levy taxes the Council could not generate funds, because entire commercial activities of Tripura take place outside the Council's jurisdiction. Besides, the State government would not release funds to the District Council as per the budget approved by the Council. This further creates economic instability which makes the Council a titular body. Further, it is proof that, approved budget of TTAADC by State government is mainly utilised for meeting salary of deputed staff and own staff. 'Most of the resources of the council are incurred for the payment of salary and allowances of the staff. Little fund is left for utilisation in development programmes.'²⁵ However, audit reports pointed out that, out of the total Rs. 53,582 lakhs availability of fund in 2011-2012 financial years, the Council could utilise only 66 percent. Thus, Rs. 18,153 lakhs was lying as closing balance. This indicates the inability of TTAADC officials in executing the work of the Council.

Thus, the analysis reveals that TTAADC has many weaknesses. Its autonomy has been undermined and the real power rests with the State Government. While interacting with some officials, they pointed out the inadequacy of funds and felt that autonomy means financial powers. In the absence of devolution of financial powers, the District Council is not able to work as an elected institution for taking care of the welfare of tribal people, especially tribals living below poverty line within its jurisdiction. 'Despite the Sixth Schedule transferring certain matters fully to the District and Regional Councils, state governments have not complied fully. Not only have the state governments been slow in transferring agreed departments to the Councils, they have persisted with parallel development and administrative machinery in council areas, even in vital areas such as rural development, education and health. This overlap not only waste financial resources, but also creates unnecessary confusion.'²⁶

²⁵ Report of the Expert Committee (2006), 'Planning for the Sixth Schedule Areas,' Ministry of Panchayat Raj, Government of India, New Delhi, p. 62.

²⁶ North East India: Status of Governance in the Sixth Schedule Areas, Retrieved from <https://socialissuesindia.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/sixthschedule.pdf>

As per Paragraph 4 of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, the District Council can constitute Village Council Court for the trial of suit and cases between the parties all of whom belong to Schedule Tribe within such areas. But it is found that system of VC Court is not encouraged within TTAADC. 'Though under the Sixth Schedule, the TTAADC is also the custodian of and entrusted the task of preservation of the society and culture of indigenous people within its territorial jurisdiction, customary laws have not been codified.'²⁷ It is suggested that, State Government should consider delegating judicial power to TTAADC. The tribal society is generally guided by their customary laws. These laws need to be codified. The age old system of crime and punishment or settlement of matters related to land issues and so on, within the village has a tremendous cultural and social impact, which would be lost if such petty cases are taken to the tribunal of the district court for a decision.

Admitting the weaknesses of the District Council, Chief Executive Members CEM of TTAADC in a press conference on Jan 29, 2014, reports on broad development initiatives of the Council. Thus, CEM stated to relieve the struggle of the state's tribal community and relocate the tribal dominated villages in the hilly interiors of the State to areas close to main road in planned cluster villages with all amenities of life. Besides, as per the reports, a plan has been formulated to proper utilisation of land allotted to the tribal families under the Right to Forest Act. 2006, through rubber cultivation as well as to reorganise the Council's administrative structure has also been finalised. CEM stated that 15 percent increase in allocation would be sought in the ADC's budget for 2014-15 financial years. The ruling party CPI(M), stands for further empowerment of ADC and in this regard the Left Front's positive response has already been communicated to the Union home ministry for amending the 6th schedule of the constitution. He further said that demand for incorporation of 'Kokborok' (main tribal language in Tripura) language in the 8th schedule of the constitution has already been placed. It is now for the Centre to decide on what kind of power they intend to bestow on the ADC and the tribal communities. He also stressed on the importance of qualitative improvement of education system in ADC area and further development of the school education system.²⁸

²⁷ Ibid. p. 63

²⁸ A Statement Published in the Website [http:// www.tripurainfo.com](http://www.tripurainfo.com) , dated: Jan. 29, 2014.

But regional political parties in Tripura like INPT and IPFT make a continuous demand for direct funding and empowerment of the Council. IPFT even went to the extent of demanding separate statehood by upgrading existing TTAADC. This is in fact, an act of dissatisfaction expressed by tribal wing, on the current functioning of TTAADC.