CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION
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1.1 INTRODUCTION

Democracy, at present can be considered as the pre dominant form of government. The rationale behind this predominance of the notion is that the institutions of democracy propel a political dynamic favourable to the needs and interests of the less advantaged citizens in a society.\(^1\) It could be also understood as the only form of government that addresses the basic human needs and desires like living life with dignity, freedom from fear, equal share both in the economic and political field, etc. Conventionally it was assumed as only a form of government but gradually it has got expanded to a holistic concept that encompasses social, economic and such other aspects of life along with political aspect. A democratic society is called an open society where there is space for all voices: majority and minority. In a democracy it is assumed that political power should be distributed equally among all the groups of the society. But the problem with this is that equal distribution of political power, however, does not mean that everyone manages to have equal influence on the decision making process. Therefore, the world has experienced proliferation of only structural democracy. Real democracy still remains a dream for them.

Governance is a political process involving exercise of different forms of power within various institutional arenas.\(^2\) Decentralization is the only path through which a system can involve each of the citizen in its decision making process or in governance. It helps a larger number of people to get involved with their own government. Thus decentralization helps in both participation and development. It can bring development to the local people because it is the local people who are the better judge of their problems that need solution. So it is said that democratic decentralization is that way of governance that brings popular participation and accountability to local governance and therefore makes local governments more responsive to the citizen’s desires and more effective in delivering services.\(^3\) As decentralization becomes one of the tools to make
democratic process more deepening so, most of the country includes some provision of decentralization in their Constitution to strengthen their democratic process and system. When the Indian Constitution was adopted, it envisaged strong democratic institution at the grass root level as well as concerning the affairs of the tribals. For the general people they made the provision of Panchayati Raj however, as tribals have a separate type of livelihood so the decentralization process regarding the tribals was made separately. The Constitution makers also recognized the necessity of a separate political and administrative structure for the hill tribal areas of the erstwhile province of Assam by enacting the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. (Though one may not recognize Sixth Schedule as a provision of democratic decentralization yet there is no scope to think beyond that because Sixth Schedule which was initiated exclusively for the hill tribes, is nothing but admitting a self governing mechanism with some special rights which can be considered on the basis of affirmative action). However, the conditions of the plain tribes were not considered in the earlier years of independence which created massive violent movements in Assam in later period. Bodo, one of the major plain tribal groups of Assam, started a violent movement for the provision of self governance. As a result of massive movement, the Indian state had to recognize the self governing rights of the Bodos under the provision of Sixth Schedule in 2003. Government of India has initiated lots of laws of decentralization separately for the tribes and non tribes. Yet these laws and provisions lies only in documents. Democracy itself has some core values. Without fulfilling these values, democracy cannot be successful. Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) has identified seven core values of democracy. These are-

- Participation of the citizen in the true sense. Without proper participation the popular control of the government cannot be realized.
- Authorization of the public representatives through free and fair election.
- Responsiveness of the representatives to public needs
- Accountability of all official both to the public directly and through different institutions like parliament, ombudsman etc.
- Transparency of the offices.
- Solidarity of the citizen and respect to everyone by everybody.
Like other democratic countries India also tries best to function as a democratic country. After independence, the leaders of the Indian nation wanted to bring an end to all sorts of exploitation and make a participatory democratic culture through the structure. During that time they realized that it would not be fair to administer the tribal areas under pan Indian administration as the tribals are self dependent and self-styled people. So the leaders of the Constitution Assembly thought about alternative solution for the tribals. They thought about decentralizing some power to the tribal areas and to provide them a self management system. After a long debate in the Constituent Assembly, this provision came into force and it enlisted as the Sixth Schedule in Indian Constitution. In the provisions of the Sixth Schedule the Constitution of India has declared most of the goals of democracy to make it an affective system of governance by encompassing all sections of people living in it. But once it came in to the field of experiment it had to face lots of problems. In most of the Autonomous Councils the rural people have hardly got chance to participate in real sense. Their participation has been limited only in casting vote and attending party meetings. The whole fruit of the decentralization or autonomy are swallowed by a rural elite class people. The marginalized group of people for whom these provisions are allotted, are deprived from all sorts of opportunity. But no electoral democracy can long survive without protecting the interests of the powerful, whether these may be propertied groups, groups with high status or groups with effective political organization. Long term exclusion of weaker groups is not healthy for democracy. In most cases the systems are enriched with procedural democracy but problems lie with the substantive part. As a result of it on the one hand democratic systems are spreading worldwide and on the other hand dissatisfaction level of the people with the performance of democracy is also growing up. Under such a situation the notion of democratic deficit has come into existence.

Analysis of a system or an institution from democratic deficit perspective does not mean finding out loopholes or the problem of a system. Rather it refers to analyze the democratic nature of a system. The democratic deficit perspective unpacks the concept of democracy and measures it both from structural and functional point of view. In case of India, discussing local governmental institution as well as the Autonomous Councils under the perspective of Democratic Deficit will help in understanding the true nature of decentralization of the Indian State.
Bodoland Territorial Area District (BTAD) is one of the Autonomous Councils granted under Sixth Schedule and the first Autonomous Council granted for the plains tribes. In the initial stage, the Constitution makers granted Sixth Schedule for the hill tribes because the main aim behind the Sixth Schedule is mainstreaming the tribal people to the Indian nation through an intermediary administrative setup. As most of the plain tribes assimilated with the nation building process so they did not consider plain tribe for that special system. However, after passage of time, plains tribes also started raising their voices for a separate system of self governance. The Bodos were the most prominent among the plain tribal groups. As Bodos started massive movement for autonomy, the Indian state was bound to make arrangement for Autonomous Council for the Bodos. Accordingly Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) was formed in 2003. BTC was the result of a long historic movement which is known as Bodo Movement. Formation of BTC brought new expectations and aspirations among the Bodo people most of which remained unresolved since the time of independence. It compelled them to think about their own system of governance. So, for a self styled ruling system they came up in large number and accordingly got BTC in 2003. But, after more than a decade of its formation, it has been observed that BTC has not been able to bring political and economic development for the people. Another important matter that has been raised against BTC is that it has made the non Bodo people (who constitute majority in the area) more insecure. As a result of it, BTC has experienced the emergence of another movement led by the Non Bodo under the banner of Ana Bodo Suraksha Samiti (ABSS). This clearly implies failure of BTC towards the fulfillment of its promises made during the time of formation of BTC. Not only this, the Bodos too have started another movement for a separate Bodoland on the ground that BTC has failed totally towards the protection of their culture and identity. Thus it appears that BTC has failed in the protection of life and culture of both the Bodos and Non Bodos. Under such a situation, study of BTC from democratic deficit perspective has become a cry of the present situation. Democratic deficit perspective analyses the structure and function of a system from the norms of democracy. So, the present study is an attempt to study BTC from the Democratic Deficit perspective.
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Democracy is considered as the most popular system of government as it enables justice, liberty and equality to all sections of the people. However the real challenge towards the democratic process comes from its practices. In reality, the democratic practices are subverted by the political and economic elites. Survey after survey indicates that in spite of having a democratic form of government, constitutional recognition towards various rights of the citizens, some marginalized or peripheral people are not getting proper recognition of their rights. To address such types of problems the makers of the Indian Constitution has kept some provision to fulfill the needs of specific minority groups by giving some special status. The Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution is an example of one such provision. However such type of provision again violates the cultural and political rights of some other groups. The present BTAD of Assam also faced such type of criticism. The present study intends to examine the nature and level of democracy in BTAD areas of Assam.

1.3. OBJECTIVES

The study is based on the following objectives:

1. To understand and examine the democratic structure of BTAD Administration. The study will encompass the structural as well as functional aspects of BTAD from Democratic Deficit perspective.

2. To understand and examine the political participation of the people living in BTAD.

3. To examine and understand the level of human development in BTAD

4. To find out the measure to overcome the problems in BTAD.
1.4. HYPOTHESES

On the basis of the objectives taken, following hypotheses have been incorporated to have proper direction for the study

1. Higher the level of democracy, higher the political participation.
2. Decentralization is not the only way of deepening democracy if grassroot level people are not empowered.

1.5. METHODOLOGY

The study is based on both theoretical and empirical methodology. Hence, along with secondary sources, primary sources have been used for the study.

1.5.1. Theoretical Part-

For building the theoretical part, survey on existing literature both in the form of books and journals and various data sheets prepared by the governmental and non-governmental organizations have been done to develop a theoretical and in-depth knowledge of the area or to have knowledge on the existing works on the area. This has helped both in finding out the knowledge gap and the existing status of the work.

1.5.2. Empirical Part-

For the empirical study of the work primary data were gathered from schedule interview to test the hypotheses taken. Data were collected at various time within the period of the research work. First a pilot survey was done and after that the final survey was conducted at various phases.

The whole process of data collection can be divided into various parts;

First-Selection of samples, and
Second –Collection of data from those respondents by using various methods of social science research.
1.5.2.1. Design for Sample Selection-

The study requires selection of sample at various stages. First, from the four districts that constitute BTAD, two were taken randomly as sample for the study; second, from each district two subdivisions have been selected randomly. Third, from each subdivision two villages were taken purposively as sample. Purposive sampling of the villages has been done with a view to have both Bodo and Nonbodo village as the study requires people from both the communities. At the fourth stage, respondents from the sampled villages were selected. From each village, 40 respondents were selected randomly. In this way altogether 320 respondents, were sampled and their views were recorded for using in the study.

FIGURE: 1.1

MODEL OF SAMPLING METHOD
TABLE 1.1
SAMPLED DISTRICTS, SUB DIVISIONS AND VILLAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>SUB-DIVISION</th>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kokrajhar</td>
<td>Dotma</td>
<td>Tetiliguri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Angthihara</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kokrajhar</td>
<td>Balagao No-1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Titaguri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chirang</td>
<td>Bijni</td>
<td>Dangaigaon</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kashdoha</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sidli</td>
<td>Ulubari</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kathalpara</td>
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</tbody>
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1.5.2.2. *Data Collection Method*

**For Quantitative data:**

Questionnaire both in structured and semi-structured formed was used keeping in mind the complexity of the problem because most of the questions related to the study were very controversial and needs use of technique for getting the proper answers. As most of the respondents were illiterate so schedule interview was conducted with semi structured questionnaire. Structured questionnaire many a times do not help in bringing out the reality and one must be flexible enough to include necessary and relevant questions to continue the conversation. In the questionnaire open ended questions were also included so that the respondents can express freely their views along with close ended questions.

**For Qualitative data:**

Along with the quantitative data, qualitative data or information were also gathered by using methods like focused group discussion, observation method etc. This has helped greatly in moving towards the right direction for getting proper information.
1.6. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK: Democratic Deficit perspective

The present study is guided by the theory of Democratic Deficit. Democratic Deficit as a theory, examines the structure as well as function of a democratic system. In the initial period it was used as a concept to examine the formation and functioning of supra national organizations like European Union, IMF, World Bank etc. Later it got appreciation from the other scholars and became a perspective to measure the national and regional governmental structure. Democratic deficit as a perspective examines the democratic value in two stages. Firstly it examines the structural provision of a system like provision for the representation of minority groups, transparency, provision for audit, accountability etc. Secondly it also measures the functional aspect of a system like behavior of the authority, corruption, nepotism, use of unfair means in election, violation of minority rights, level of people’s participation, public distribution system etc. The theory of Democratic Deficit was first developed by David Marquand to study the legitimacy of European Union. Later it was applied and developed by Andrew Moravisck, David Beetham, Pippa Norris etc. They applied this theory to understand the local and national level institution’s democracy. Thus the Democratic Deficit theory reflects the sustainability of a system by giving emphasis on system support and legitimacy problems. BTAD, the study area was also formed under the Sixth Schedule to strengthen the democratic values of the Indian state. Yet in recent past, many crises have emerged in BTAD areas. No doubt all the crises emerged in the recent past reflect some type of deficiency or shortage of democratic values. So, it is expected that this democratic perspective will be successful to bring out the shortage wherever it exists.

1.7. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Mihail Milev in his article *A Democratic Deficit in the European Union* defines the concept of Democratic Deficit in terms of the European Union. He justified each institution of the European Union as democratic institution. European Union as a institution of unique structure working mechanism is under democratic control.
Thomas S. Axworthy in his article *The Democratic Deficit: should this be Paul Martin’s Next Big Idea* describes that Paul Martin has identified three critical issues of democratic deficit: low election turnout among youth generation, non-accountability of the representative institution and international governance and also stated how Martin put some provision to remove deficit.

Nani Gopal Mahanta in his article *Politics of Space and Violence in Bodoland* went to the root cause of Bodo movement and also clarifies the structural deficiency of the bodo accord which create problem in aftermath.

K.N. Pannikar in his article *Democracy Deficit* has examined the nature of Indian democracy in practical aspect. He argues that from structural point of view India is completely a democratic country however in practice it is far behind. He clarifies his view from political, cultural and economic point of view. The electoral process which supports the first past the post system is not based on majority in real sense. Besides he also discussed how political aspect is dominated by affluent, educated and socially powerful section of the society. In cultural aspect, religion and caste plays a very dominant role which itself is undemocratic. Economic inequality in Indian society is so high that democracy cannot be practiced in real sense.

Udayan Mishra in his article *Bodoland the Burden of History* tries to define the causes of the present clashed occurred in BTAD. He clearly stated that it is not a communal clash but a clash between majority and minority people. The clash is the outcome of the wrong policies pursued by the Indian government since Independence, which resulted marginalization of plains tribe in their own belt.

Joseph S. Nye in his article *Globalizations Democratic Deficit: How to Make International Institution more Accountable* explained multilateral aspect to reduce democratic deficit in international organization like IMF, World Bank etc. For him democratic deficit is closely related to accountability.

Mark E Warren in his article *Citizen Participation and Democratic Deficit: Considerations from the Perspective of Democratic Theory* explains the concept of democratic deficit from different perspectives. He deals with the participatory deficit of democratic institution with reference to the European Union.
Democratic Deficit in South Asia\textsuperscript{14} constitutes another important work written by Huma Baqai that points out the weaknesses of democratic structure of the South Asian states like India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The writer specially mentions about two incidence as undemocratic and these are non secular practices in politics, conflict resolution method etc.

Andrew Moravcsik in his article \textit{In Defence of the Democratic deficit : Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union}\textsuperscript{15} opposed the concept of democratic deficit in EU. Rather he establishes EU as a legitimate institution and argues that the decision making procedure is in line with the general practice of most modern democracy. He concludes his study by saying “ who considers EU as undemocratic , he gives his remark from casual observation.”

Evelyne Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and John D Stephens in their article \textit{The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory and Social Dimension} \textsuperscript{16} have made a historical investigation of the roots of democracy in capitalist development. They were of the view that formal democracy helps in establishing social and participatory democracy.

Democratic Deficit in Bangladesh: A Cause for Concern by Amita Choudhury\textsuperscript{17} has made an attempt to recount the journey of democracy in Bangladesh since its inception touching upon the hindrance of Bangladesh to a stable democracy. She pointed out the ongoing political party system, islamic fundamentalism, corruption as the major hindrance of Bangladesh to become a democratic country in the real sense. She also suggests some measures to overcome those problems.

Nirmal Mukherji in his article \textit{Strengthening Indian Democracy}\textsuperscript{18} opined that the main weakness of Indian democracy is the vast gap between the people and power. So to strengthen Indian democracy it is important to bring power down or to the people. For this he advised for the strengthening of local governance.

Banjamin Goldfrank in his article \textit{The Politics of Deepening Local Democracy : Decentralization , Party Institutionalization and Participation} \textsuperscript{19} emphasized on the arena of local democracy giving example of three cities-Caracas, Montevideo and Portoalegre. For deepening democracy, he emphasized on three criteria -
decentralization of power, party institution from bottom to up and participation in terms of opportunities to take part in decision making process rather than the more occasional election.

Manoj Kr. Nath in his article *Bodo Insurgency in Assam: New Accord and New Problem* made an attempt to find out the historical reason behind the upsurge of Bodo movement and the plot of the BTC Accord to mitigate the problem.

Sekholal Kom and Chintu Brahma in their article *Sixth Schedule: Negotiating Ethnic Autonomy: Discourses in North East India* addressed the background of the provision of Sixth Schedule. The later part examined the experiences of Autonomous Council formed under the Sixth Schedule in different states of North East India. It also deals with the problems faced by Autonomous Council under the Sixth Schedule provision and put some measures to come out from these problems.

Atul Kohli’s (ed) book *The Success of Indian Democracy* is collection of ten articles related to different aspects of Indian democracy. The central theme of this book is how the Indian state deals with a variety of politicized social groups – class, caste, and ethnicity that periodically create some problems in terms of distribution of resources, autonomy and political power. In an article Kohli himself says that “Indian democracy is best understood by focussing mainly not on its socio economic determinant but on how power distribution in that society is negotiated and renegotiated.” Summit Sarkar in his article discussed the role of British colonialism and Indian nationalism in the origin of nation building. Pranab Bardhan in his article “Sharing the spoils: group equality development and democracy” underlines some of the severe consequences for development and democracy of equality politics what is described as “passion for group equality that rages the common people of India” Myron Weiner in his article clarifies the relationship between caste and Indian democracy which are overlapping each other. Subrata Mitra analyzed the role of local governments in Indian politics and come out with suggestion that local governments are most effective when local institutions enjoy the trust and confidence of local elites and those local elites are accountable to the people. Thus the book offers a clear and coherent approach about the nature of Indian democracy.
Victor Bekkers, Gaske Dijkstra, Arthur Adward and Merno Fenger in their book *Governance and the Democratic Deficit: Assessing the Legitimacy in Governance Practices* has discussed the democratic legitimacy of the governance practices and empirically examines it by studying different systems of the world. The book has four parts. The first part of the book deals with the theoretical framework. In this part they have clarified some theoretical concepts like governance, democracy, legitimacy and explore the relationship between democracy and legitimacy. Here they also mentioned that the success of a democratic system can be measured through the legitimacy given by the people. Part two of the books begins by examining two types of governance: governance at a distance and market governance. Part III of the book is devoted to network governance and societal governance.

The book identified the relationship between different aspects of governance and models of democracy in relation to the different aspects of legitimacy. The book contributes to a better understanding of the relation between governance and democracy and provide relevant inputs to both the scientific and practical debate in legitimacy problems in current governance practices.

Sanjib Baruah in his book *India Against Itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality* traces the history of conflicts in Assam and tension between pan Indian nationalism and Assamese sub nationalism. Baruah has discussed the causes of the sub national conflicts of Assam like Bodo movement, movement for separate state by United Liberation Front of Assam, language movement. Baruah has discussed the issue of ethnic conflicts and question of identity from historical as well as geographical point of view and later come to the problems of the nation building process of Indian state which ultimately caused the instability of North Eastern India. He argues human rights abused by security forces and insurgents, ethnic violence.

Pippa Norris in her book *Making Democratic Governance Work: How Regime Shape Prosperity Welfare and Peace* argues that Democracy and state capacity need to be strengthened to protect the security and development of the people. He also examines how lack of one dimension can put threats to the regime. Empirically she
examines how China and Singapore are comparatively strong in state capacity but due to their weak democracy they cannot protect human rights. Again Ghana and Mali have developed significantly in democratic field but they are not capable to deliver public goals and services. She again point out that democracy should be promoted to ensure that leaders are responsive to the social needs and accountable to the citizens for achieving better school (education), clinic (healthcare), wage (income) at the same time the capacity of the state should also improve to meet the needs.

In another book “Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizen Revisited” Norris analyses the theoretical aspect of democratic deficit. She examines how contemporary democracies are struggling with major legitimacy crisis. Initially she justifies the notion of democracy with the help of David Easton’s theory of system support on the basis of it he later developed his notion ‘Democratic Deficit’. In the conclusion part she summarizes her thesis by examining the significant consequences arising from broader process of democratization and legitimacy.

Kusumbar Bhuyan in his book Sixth Schedule in North East India : A case study in Karbi Anglong District historically and empirically analyzed the socio economic condition of the Karbi tribes under Karbi Anglong Autonomous District Council. In the first part he has given a historical background of Sixth Schedule and Karbi as a tribe. In the last part of the book he empirically studied the development work taken up by Karbi Anglong Autonomous District Council to promote the needs of the people. From his findings he has drawn the conclusion that Autonomous District Council is mere by a mechanism as it fails to fulfill the demands of the people. The autonomy which has been granted to district council is not adequate to fulfill its objective. Inadequacy of fund, too much interference of state mechanism in the functioning of District Council has limited its success.

Amalesh Chandra Banarjee and Subhas Sing Roy in their book Problems and Prospects Of Bodoland analyzed the scenario of present BTAD areas in the initial stage of the formation of BTC. They captured the socio economic status of the Bodo people through extensive field survey in all the districts of BTAD. They studied the economic aspects like agriculture, industry and financial institution as well as social aspects like health, education etc and came out with the conclusion that irrespective of
tremendous potentialities the development of BTAD areas is very limited. On the basis of their study they have given some short term as well as long term measures to overcome those problems.

Niraja Gopal Jayal and Sudha Pai’s book *Democratic Governance in India: Challenges of Poverty, Development and Identity* is a collection of nine seminar papers. It seeks to explore the impact of globalization and identity politics on Indian Democracy in the 1990s. The first part of the book seeks to evaluate the functioning of the state through the development policies and scheme of poverty reduction. Bob Currie in a paper analysed the role of political culture and types of politics in establishing social equality. Kuldip Mathur in his article examines the importance of the role of bureaucrats in strengthening the democratic process. He pleads for making “bureaucracy more accountable to the political system and curb its dominance in the sphere that clearly should be democratic”. There are three papers on the issue of dalits. Thus the whole book devoted to strengthen the democratic process.

Garry Bland & Cynthia J Arnson’s Book *Democratic Deficit: Addresses Challenges to Sustainability and Consolidation around the Work* deals with the quality and stability of the democratic government around the world and also brings out some difficulties and challenges faced by the present democratic government. Through the examination of diverse sets of countries it highlights on the obstacles faced by the countries and seek to eventually consolidate their democracies.

The book is a compilation of essays on democracy and governments contributed by different authors. All the essays are centred round some questions which the author describes as “how are democracies around the world addressing the deficits? What causes are viewed as successful in dealing with poverty or social services? Have institutional reforms- anti corruption measures, participatory mechanism, judicial and ministerial reform, decentralization are useful to tackle the problems of deficit?

L.S.Gassah’s book *The Autonomous District Council* is a collection of some articles related with different aspects of Sixth Schedule as well as Autonomous Councils. The book deals with all the Autonomous Councils prevailing in North East India. It analyses different provisions of the Sixth Schedule and find out the structural
deficiencies of Sixth Schedule. Some of the articles question the relevance of Autonomous Council as in most cases they have failed to fulfill the ultimate goal of self-government for safeguarding the traditional custom rights and preserve distinct identity.

Akhil Ranjan Dutta in his edited volume Human Security in North East India – Issues and Policies incorporates some very important papers which extensively deal with the issue of security of the people of North Eastern region of India and it includes some important analysis on various aspects of human security starting from food security to environmental security.

1.8. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The present study looks at the people of marginal group very comprehensively. The outcome of the study will help to bring a better mechanism for the upliftment of marginal community. The present ongoing conflicts in BTAD areas are the reflection of suppression of minority issues. The present study will go to the root of these problems. Thus we can assume that it will help in bringing better governance to tackle those problems.

Identity formation dominates the contemporary political and social discourse in North East India. Ethnic assertion, revivalism and quest for separate space are major trajectories for which such identity struggle revolved. The Autonomous District Council is one of the solutions of these problems. Some of the tribes could justify their position by gaining autonomous district council and some others are still struggling for that. But such demand can be justified if the workings of the present district councils are found to be satisfactory in terms of solving the minority problems and development. From this point of view the present study has got immense value. The findings of the study will justify the demands of other tribal group for autonomous council.

The proposed work will bring some facts related to peoples dissatisfaction towards the government’s activity. Ultimately this will help the administrator and policy makers to review their development policy and in making these people centric.
1.9. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study has been organized in the following manner.

The whole study is divided in seven chapters.

The first chapter ‘Introduction’ deals with the core concept related to the problems of the study, the objective of the study, the methods of analysis, sources of data, scholars contributions to best understanding of the problems and the significance of the study.

The second chapter ‘Democratic Deficit: A Conceptual Analysis’ deals with the theoretical concept of democratic deficit. Here it is tried to unpack the concept of democratic deficit by taking different parameters.

The third chapter ‘Sixth Schedule: Analysis From Democratic Deficit Perspective’ has given an account of the history of the Sixth Schedule and working of the Autonomous District Council in North East India to find out whether they have been successful in giving development to the people for whom this is meant.

The fourth chapter ‘Btad: A Structural and Functional Analysis’ carried a discussion on BTAD. In this chapter a historical analysis of Bodo movement in different phases of identity assertion that led to the creation of BTAD and the administrative structure of BTC as well as its functions has been done.

The fifth chapter ‘Political Participation and Accountability in BTAD’ is based on statistical analysis of data gathered during field work. It deals with the participation of the people of BTC area and accountability of the bureaucrats.

The sixth chapter ‘Human Development in BTAD’ gives a pen picture of human development of the people living in BTC areas. To measure the human development three parameters were taken.

The seventh chapter, ‘Conclusion’ tries to give a brief account of the findings and gives some suggestions to strengthen and vitalize the democratic procedure generally in Sixth Schedule areas and particularly in BTC areas.
1.9. LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

There exists some limitation in each and every study. The present study is no exception to that. The most important limitation of the study is that it does not have enough supporting and relevant literature. Although there exists a large number of literature on Sixth Schedule and BTAD yet Democratic Deficit as a concept falls under the category of those concepts where sufficient work is yet to be done.

Second important limitation of the study is that as BTAD was created in 2003, one has to depend on the census data of 2011 only.
References and Notes


5 ibid


