CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION: AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

1.1 Introduction:

"Human Security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and healthcare and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her potential. Every step in this direction is also a steep towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment- these are the interrelated building blocks of human- and therefore national-security."

—Kofi Annan

After the end of cold war, though the prospect of inter-state war has been receding in global perspectives, but armed violence has been proliferating in different regions of the world in diverse socio-political context. There has to be incompatibility of interest between at least two contesting groups in a violent situation and it continues as long as its causes remain unresolved. The North East region of India has been experiencing armed violence since last 6 decades. The state of Assam has also witnessed grave violent situation. In Assam armed violence has its roots mainly in the urge of protecting indigenous identity or lack of economic development or both. Assam has to face the burns of violent situation in various forms, such as insurgency movements led by various groups, intra-tribal clashes, ethnic clashes between two or more ethnic communities etc. All these conflict have created a culture of violence in the state and have caused greater insecurity for the common people. In this context we may suitably cite Mahbub Ul Haq’s statement who stresses upon realisation of Human Security:

"We need to fashion a new concept of human security that is reflected in the lives of our people, not in the weapons of our country"

Human Security has been interpreted in different ways. Sometimes as a global template, in some cases as a means of reducing the human costs of violent conflict
and so on (Achary. A 2001; 442). The UNDP’s 1994 Human Development Report’s definition of human security argues that the scope of global security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas. It includes- Economic Security, Food Security, Health Security, Environmental Security, Personal Security, Community Security and Political Security. Since then, human security has been receiving more attention from the key global development institutions, such as the World Bank. While analysing the security discourse in the context of North East India in general and Assam in particular, we need to focus on the upliftment of the condition of vulnerable groups. Because, armed violence has absolutely undermined the whole issue of human security. The state of Assam has witnessed different violent situation since long decade due to presence of different armed groups namely United Liberation Front of Assam(ULFA), National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), Adivasi National Liberation Army (ANNL), Adivasi Cobra Militant Force(ACMF), Birsa Commando Force(BCF) etc. The Bodoland Territorial Autonomous District (BTAD) of Assam has also been severely affected by armed violence. It has been experiencing armed violence between various groups such as between Bodos and Muslims, Bodos and Adivasis and even between two groups of the Bodo people having different sets of ideologies. Because of all these violent activities BTAD is marked by gross human insecurity.

1.2 Statement of the Problem and research questions:

In contemporary time armed violence has adversely affected various aspects of the society and lives of the people; their security and rights are seriously endangered by it. Violence have claimed and affected lives of millions worldwide. People living in violent conflict zones have to suffer multiple troubles from all sides. Infect we can
say that the most palpable cost of armed violence is the threat to human existence. In North East India too armed movements led by various ethnic groups have created a culture of violence. The straight forward violent conflict between the armed groups and the state armed forces has affected the way of life of ordinary people. Late Edward Azar, studied a large number of violent conflicts in 1990s and he identified a class of conflict which he named ‘Protracted Social Conflict (PSC). North East India which has also been witnessing protracted conflicts for last four- five decades. These types of violent conflicts are particularly belonging to identity related needs of ethno-religious and ethno-national groups. An identity-group feeling insecure in a polity may construct their identity as a nation and develop a doctrine of separatism. As a result armed violence becomes the flagrant reality due to ideological mooring. The state of Assam is also being affected by armed violence led by various groups. One of such major armed violence which is posing serious threat to the security of common people is led by Bodo group. The nature of violence perpetrated by Bodo conflict is multi-dimensional. Socio-cultural and economic aspiration of the Bodo people helped them a lot in developing semantic ideas of space and identity. Of late it culminates into Bodo imbroglio with certain fanatic templates. The chauvinism on the part of the mainstream Assam and certain conflicting enforcement of the political regime provide fuel in Bodo’s stir for political milieu. Efforts were made to impose Assamese language over all communities living in Assam. This created feeling of insecurity among the tribes of Assam, including Bodos, about the future of their identity and culture. This official imposition of Assamese language made the Bodo people suspicious about the motive of the Assamese leaders. They became conscious about the hegemonic nature of the Assamese leaders who were trying to make Assamese language and culture to be dominant over other communities. Urge to preserve the
Bodo identity has been a major cause behind the Bodo Movement. In late 1960s the Bodos under the banner of Bodo Sahitya Sabha began their agitation for the introduction of Bodo language as the medium of instruction by including in the 8th schedule of the constitution. Since Bodo economy was mainly agrarian which depended mainly on land, the migration of non-tribals into Bodo areas reduced the size of their land which adversely affected their economy. Landlessness and poverty became their main problems. Meanwhile the spread of education raised political consciousness among the Bodos. The Bodo leadership in 1967 formed a political party called the Plains tribals Council of Assam (PTCA), which demanded a union territory called Udayachal for Bodos and other plains tribes of Assam. All Bodo Students’ Union (ABSU) was also formed in 1967 representing the Bodo interest and it gave its support to PTCA in its demand. But due to the failure of PTCA in fulfilling the deepest aspiration of the Bodos for a separate state during the time of reorganisation, the ABSU withdrew its support from PTCA in 1979. To protect the Bodo interest, ABSU on March 2, 1987 launched a movement for the creation of a full-fledged state of Bodoland outside Assam. ABSU demanded to state apparatus for formation of a separate state namely Bodoland on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, establishment of autonomous district councils in the tribal dominated areas on the south bank of the Brahmaputra and incorporation of the Bodo-Kacharis of Karbi-Anglong in the 6th Schedule of the Constitution. The Bodo Movement which continued for 6 years came to an end with the signing of the Bodo Accord on 20th February 1993. The Accord provided for a Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC). It provided maximum autonomy to the Bodos for their social, economic, educational, ethnic and cultural advancement within Assam. The territory of BAC included an area of 5,186 km² with a population of over 2,100,000 of which about 38% are plain
tribals\textsuperscript{2}. However the Accord failed to solve the political aspiration of the Bodos. Most of the Bodo leaders rejected the BAC terming it anti-democratic and anti-Bodo as it did not include 515 villages of Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon where Bodos lived along with non-tribal population. To incorporate these 515 villages into BAC the Bodo militant group Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) resorted to ethnic cleansing in these villages of Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts in September and October 1993. The Bodo militants resorted to violence to drive-out non-Bodos and ensure that the Bodos would form a majority group in the BAC area. In the ethnic cleansing campaign the Bodo militant group targeted non-Bodo people including immigrant Muslims, Assamese and Adivasis. Due to seriousness of the situation negotiation process was initiated. The process of talk between BLT and Government started after the outfit declared a unilateral ceasefire in June 1999; following a series of negotiation a ceasefire agreement was signed with the Centre in March 2000. BLT gave up its demand for separate state of Bodoland after the Government assured to fulfil its demands under the 6\textsuperscript{th} Schedule of the Constitution by creating an autonomous self-governing body Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) on 10 February, 2003. Though peace was expected after the formation of BTC, lots of violent conflicts are still going on in BTAD. The problem in BTAD lies in the fact that the ethnic mix of people living in the area makes it impossible for the Bodo group to declare the autonomous district an exclusive Bodo zone. Violence in the Bodo areas emanates from the failure of the conventional groups to derive certain benefits from the state, which is detrimental to their identity and existence.\textsuperscript{3} Violence by the NDFB and BLT in the Bodoland areas could be seen as a part of “contentious politics”\textsuperscript{4} Infact the violence on the part of the Bodos has given rise to an urgent need to rigorously re-examine the nature and working of Indian democracy where violence and oppression
of all forms whether social, inter-personal, economic, political and institutional are structures. It also reveals bitter and unspoken truth how human dignity has been undermined.

The study has been undertaken in the background of violence and human insecurity that persist in BTAD of Assam. The present work is an effort to understand the dynamics of violent conflict induced human insecurity on the people of BTAD in General and the effect of the same upon the religious minority group residing in BTAD i.e Muslims (E.B.O) in particular. Religious minority as a category of analysis is itself an important tool to examine the position of muslims (E.B.O) in violent situations. Human security, identity, ethnicity etc are some important aspects to understand how the tension between equal rights and respect for different identities are played out in the lives of both majority and minority differently in the time of violence. The most pertinent issues are how minority’s space and freedom from fear are being impeded by violent conflict situations. In this study, the concept of violence and human security are taken in its broader sense to express power relations between majority and minority and between the state, majority and minority in armed conflict situations. The BTAD of Assam which has been chosen for this study is one of the most vulnerable regions of Assam in terms of armed violence.

In BTAD people have to live in constant anticipation of fear and violence. Their security, rights and freedom have been greatly undermined. In BTAD, one of the most adversely and violently affected conflict area of North East region of India, basic norms of human security have been clearly violated. Concerted action to enhance the protection of all civilians living in such conflict prone area is urgently required.
We would like to see the co-relationship between violence and human insecurity in BTAD. Basically we would like to design certain broad research questions during the course of study. We would like to see how do Bodos hegemonies the security scenario in BTAD? What are the dilemmas regarding quest for identity and space? What are the state’s responses to this radicalism? Along with the broad research questions we would also like to see the following questions in our research-

- How insecurity is generated in BTAD area? What are the forms of insecurity? What are the complex natures of insecurity generated by armed violence? How the transformations of violence in inducing insecurity by armed groups occur in the last two decades? How the lives of the common people in BTAD have been impacted?

- Who are the most insecure people in BTAD area from the period of 1990’s and why? Are there any cultural, political factors for their insecurity? What makes them insecure? What are those manifestations of violence that makes them insecure? How do they respond to insecurity? These research questions are extremely important in the sense that it seeks to highlight the different trajectory of religious minority in armed conflict situations.

- What is the role of civil society groups/political parties in those issues? What are the institutional initiatives in order to find out the status of non-Bodos in the discourse of human security in BTAD? We will critically review the discriminatory attitude of the institutional devices which act differently in terms of community to community.

- Over the period whether the indicators of insecurity has increased or decreased? What are the possible measures through which security of the
people can be ensured? We will analyse whether in the long run, the political spaces for religious minority further aggravated hostilities between Bodos and Muslims.

- What is the role of the state? How does it respond towards the issue of Freedom From Fear in BTAD? How the state handles the issue of Bodos Vs Muslim in BTAD will be analyse during the whole course of study.

In our research, we shall provide a critique of homeland discourse of Bodos and shall argue how to represent the interest of each and every caste and community residing within the BTAD area. An indepth plausible analysis is to be made in order to resolve the complexities by putting emphasis upon certain remedial measures. In a society with multicultural representation like BTAD, ethnic chauvinism vis-a-vis religious intolerance issue become itself a burden for the people of Bodoland. Enforcement of hegemonic role by the dominant group and the process of ethnic cleansing in BTAD is problematic.

1.3 Conceptual meaning: Violence Vis-a-Vis Human Security

Each and every region experienced with violent forms of civil and political conflicts either in its formative or in the age of rapid development. Throughout the history of political life the rulers and the common people as well practised and inspired by violent wrath of their indoctrination. All kinds of violent activities has a negative impact on the political life of the individual as well as the nation and enormously destructive for human potentiality. By indulging in mass rebellion which sometimes results in political violence may change the existing order and can establish a new political order with some radical consequences. Political violence basically refers to all types of attacks in collective basis within a political community
against the established political regime. The political violence includes different kinds of activities such as guerrilla warfare, military coup, rebellions, violent forms of riots etc. Through the use or threat of violence any groups or institution either political or social focussed upon political violence to attain desired ends. Political scientists have expected to be greater concern with political violence in comparison to others. Schattschneider sees conflict, which subsumes violence, as the central concept of political science. Due to greater degree of deprivation on the part of the individuals, the magnitude of violence also increases gradually. These prolonged degrees of deprivation lead to frustration and ultimately results in violent conflict. These severe forms of exploitation and deprivation gradually would like to galvanize large sections of a political community into rapid action. In a turmoil situation, a highly organized political violence occurred with limited participation which aims to assassinate, want to overthrow the existing state apparatus in order to bring drastic change by establishing particular political order. The whole concept of violence undermines the issue of human security. Due to large scale violent conflict among the state and non-state actors as well as two different social groups representing majority and minority, common civilian have to live an insecure life residing in the conflict zones.

The issue of insecurity of human being due to armed violence can be looked into through the conceptual tool of human security. Dr. Mahbub Ul Haq first drew the global attention to the concept of human security in the United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report. The UNDP Human Development Report 1994 defined human security as providing safety for the people from hunger, diseases, oppression and other chronic threats as well as protecting them from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life. It has identified seven dimensions of human security – economic security, food security, health security,
environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. The Commission on Human Security which was formed in 2000 UN Millennium Summit also defined human security as “protecting fundamental freedoms- freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situation. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.” So, human security is a very comprehensive concept which includes security of all individuals and groups against every kind of threats. It emphasises on security of people in their daily lives. Sanctity of human life is paramount in human security domain. It stresses on protection of entire mankind from threats, oppression and violence. Human security does place a premium on human dignity. In short we can say that human security is all about security and welfare of people. It is all about how common people feel safe and free in their daily lives. Human security emphasises on an environment in which people can lead live with the freedom from want, fear and humiliation.

While judging human security as a concept, it carries lots of meaning. Security is a secure condition or feeling. According to S. Smith, “Security is essentially a contested concept”. The definition from the Oxford English Dictionary, “Human Security stressed upon the condition of being protected from or not exposed to danger, safety- Freedom from care, anxiety, or apprehension; a feeling of safety or freedom from an absence of danger.”

Kofi Annan defining peace as ‘much more than the absence of war’ and he called for human security to encompass economic development, social justice,
environmental protection, democratization, disarmament and respect for human rights and the rule of law.⁹

Bary Buzan offers a critique on Human Security and in his view; no clear analytical value is derived from the concept of Human Security which confuses international security with social security and civil liberties. Due to its integrative nature, human security provides fuel for bridging and interconnecting specific threats to people in the international system rather than states. Hampson visualizing Human Security by providing triangular definition of Human Security resting on three parameter i.e Safety of people (freedom from fear), equity and social justice (freedom from want), and rights and rule of law (liberty). To establish these three pillars of Human Security effort must be provided for conflict prevention, human development and human rights.

The concept of Human Security throws more light on paradigmatic shift in security studies by transforming itself from traditional dimension to non-traditional security dimension. Traditional notion of security dimension has been contested by constructivists, critical theorists and feminists. Theories of International relation specifically classical security paradigm of realism derives elements from ‘just war’ (Thomas Aquinas) and ‘necessary war’ (Machiavelli). The structural dimension of neo-realism sought to provide scientific element into its theory by analysing the security dilemmas after 1980’s. Buzan criticised the straightjacket militaristic approach to Security that dominated the cold war led to the underdevelopment and he broadened the concept of security to include political, economic, social and environmental threats and proceeded to examine security from three perspectives of the international system, the state and the individual.
Emma Rothschild, who rooted the concept of “Extended Security” in European Political Thought consider human security as one of the key premises. Freedom from need or vulnerability aspect of human security also gathers lot of attention in the intellectual brain of King and Murray who define “human security as an individual’s expectation of a life without experiencing the state of generalised poverty.”

According to Hampson and Colleagues, “The concept of ‘Security’ can be defined as the absence of threat to core human values, including the most basic human value, the physical safety of the individual.” Roland Paris argues that Human Security can be identified as a broad category of research on military and non-military threats to societies, groups and individuals.

In December 2001, an International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty released their report entitled “The Responsibility to Protect”. This report basically focuses upon Human Security. According to the Report, human security is an emerging concept. It means the security of people—their physical safety, their economic and social well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings, and the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The shifting concept of paradigms of Human Security focuses on shielding people from critical and pervasive threats and empowering them to take charge of their lives. Due to increased level of deregulation in developed as well as developing regions like Australia, Canada, USA, India, China, Latin America etc, the security agenda extended beyond territory and non-traditional security dimension such as terrorism, structural violence, hunger, environmental degradation, poverty, crime etc gather more attention.
While discussing about the Bodo conflict, we can say that the Bodo conflict has resulted in greater insecurity for the common people. The inter-ethnic clashes between the Bodos and Muslims and between Bodos and Adivasis have resulted in the death and displacement of a large number of people. Violent activities perpetrated by different social group results in greater human insecurity. Smaller identity group gradually develop sub-national sentiment due to because of homogenizing principles initiated by state apparatus. The marginal section residing in the peripheral region automatically gets frustrated due to deprivation and they develop the sense of aggression. Subsequently, it results in violence which violates the very norms of human security.

1.4 Review of related literature:

As human security is a highly debated issue, plenty of literatures on this issue are available in the Social Sciences in the form of books, articles, seminar papers etc. A survey of the available literature shows that a lot has been written on conflict related human security.

The book “Human Security: Concepts and Implications” by Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh and Anuradha M. Chenoy has analysed the phenomena of human security from multi-dimensional aspects. The authors have said that the phenomena of human security has evolved during a very critical time of world politics, such as – end of cold war, acceleration of globalisation, arrival of new non-state actors etc. The world began to face new kinds of threats during this period. Under these circumstances, the traditional role of the state underwent drastic change. This necessitated new thinking on the issue of development and security and evolution of human security has been a step in this direction. The emergence of human security, i. e. people centred security
approach is also associated with the centrality of the individual in the evolution of liberalism.

The UNDP in its 1994 Human Development Report introduced the concept of human security and it defined human security as safety from such chronic threats as hunger and diseases and repression and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life. The authors have said that human security can be defined as the protection of individuals from risks to their physical and psychological safety, dignity and well-being. Human security indicates an environment in which individual can lead a stable and self-determined life. It implies a shift from traditional safety of state to the safety of individual and community. However, the concept of human security is also criticised by scholars on the ground that human security issues can be easily manipulated by the government for their own interest.

The authors have said that human security has given some ethical norms to the international relations. It accords moral priority to the security of individual than that of the state. It also advocates that universal values like fundamental rights, dignity, rule of law, good governance must be respected.

To understand the changes brought by human security to the entire phenomena of security, the authors have discussed it in the context of various theories of international relation, such as- realism, liberalism, post modernism, feminism etc. The advocates of human security criticised realism by saying that it undermines human rights and dignity of individual by giving over- emphasis on sovereignty and security of the state. Regarding liberalism the authors have said that though there are some similarities between liberalist approach of security and human security concept, the human security approach differs from liberalist view of security since it adopts a
narrow state-centric vision of international relation. The post-modernist approach also gives emphasis on the inter-dependency and trans-nationalisation of non-state actors rather than on the state as the primary actor of security. It gives more importance on human security than on state security. Human security concept also includes feminist elements since it emphasises on equality, security, justice of both men and women.

The book has discussed the interrelation between human development and human security. It has mentioned that both human security and human development are complementary to each other and they are interlinked, progress in one enhances the choices of progress in another. Human security is a necessary condition for human development; human development is also a sufficient condition for human security. Human security and human development both are concerned with human freedoms both seek to address the root causes of inequalities and insecurities. Regarding the relation between human security and human rights, the authors have mentioned that both reinforce each other. Human rights enrich the concept of human security make human security more operational. Again human security gives a direction to the state to realise the human rights. The authors have said that human security provides a synthesis of development, security and human rights.

The authors have also discussed about the inter-link between underdevelopment, conflict and human security. The relation among these can be mentioned in this way that while conflicts can be caused by underdevelopment and grievances, they certainly cause human insecurities. Conflict threatens dignity of people and brings insecurities in conflict and post-conflict situations. Therefore development process must be accelerated in post-conflict situation to ensure human security. Human security approach reflects that conflict outbreaks because of human insecurities which are reflected in unequal development pattern, denial of rights etc.
The authors have stressed that the human security does not mean the end of state’s role; rather it reinforces its role and responsibilities towards its citizens. The authors have also mentioned that all the states cannot perform their responsibilities in this regard; rather some states become the sources of threats to human security. Some steps are being suggested through which the states can serve their duties towards achieving human security such as efficient governance and rule of law. To achieve human security, the state should adopt equitable development agenda. However along with the state individuals, civil society, NGOs, international and regional organisations also have to take the responsibilities to ensure human security for all.

The book has recognised human security as global public good, as it emphasises on universal, absolute and inviolable rights of everyone. Threats to human security have global consequences. So, the international community should take the responsibility for the achievement of human security. The international community through global justice approach, humanitarian intervention and collective security can contribute in this regard. However collective security and humanitarian interventions are viewed by many as motivated intervention for fulfilling national interest of some powerful states. The authors have said that foreign aids also play a crucial role in short-term humanitarian relief and long-term economic development and achieving human security. However, the conditionality in development aid creates some problems and it leads to an assumption among the recipient countries that the development aids serve the interest of the donor countries. Again the condition of development aid based on military imperative have more adverse impact, which is specially happening in post 11 September period. The War against Terrorism has compelled the countries to increase their expenditure on military budget instead of other development areas. The human security approach demands that development aid
must be properly utilised, evaluated and monitored so that sustainable development and human security can be achieved. The authors have also mentioned the role of the UN and various regional organisations such as the Organisation of African Unity, ASEAN, NATO which are very actively involved in securing human security for all.

The authors have concluded by saying that human security ultimately strengthens democratic values and norms. The book has suggested that much more research should be done on different dimensions of human security; especially its common and regional specific threats should be explored.

The book “Confronting the State: ULFA’s Quest for sovereignty” by Prof. Nanigopal Mahanta deals with the issues of violence, insurgency, quest for identity, human security, sustainable peace etc. Prof Mahanta has discussed very beautifully about ULFA’s violent movement and their quest for sovereignty. For the attainment of durable peace in this part of the world the author has provided lots of remedial measure. The politics of identity prevailed during and after Assam movement has been clearly discuss by the author of this book. He also highlighted the process of institutionalization of violence during Assam Movement. In the eleventh chapter of the book, the author focuses upon the issue of Human Security, Development and Sustainable Peace. Prof Mahanta highlights the issue of immigration and the politics of identity which is going on BTAD. He suggested a lots remedial measure to overcome the problem of citizenship. According to the author, Assam needs a proper immigration policy where immigration issue needs to be frozen once for all. The author also stress upon the effective implementation of ‘Look East’ policy. The author regards insurgency, violence, cultural displacement, Road blockades, Bandh culture etc as the root causes of human insecurity in this part of the world i.e North East.
Human rights violations and harassment of the civilians during violent conflict situations further aggravated the issue of human insecurity. The author also focuses upon conflict induced displacement, loss of education, traumatic stress, rape, gender inequality, arms proliferation, drugs, and prostitution as the negative effects of violent conflict which leads to more human insecurity in conflict zones. To cope up with the situation of human insecurity, the state much deliver services by establishing good governance. But ironically governability capability of the state apparatus is lacking behind which utter the insecurity of the common people.

‘Human Security in North East India: Issues and Policies’ edited by Akhil Ranjan Dutta focusses on the concept of human security which is very broad and comprehensive concept aiming at human growth, development and security. This concept of security is related to environmental rights, livelihood rights, rights of the peasantry and forest dwellers over land and resources, rights of the development and conflict induced displaced persons for appropriate and adequate resettlement and rehabilitation, gender security, health security, educational security and many others. The author says about the quality of governance. This book states that the north-east India is marked by gross human insecurity because of Indian state’s obsession with territorial security and poor governance. Second part of the book which includes the paper “From State Security to Human Security” by Dr. Nani Gopal Mahanta discusses the transitional debate regarding the paradigmatic shift from state security to human security in the context of NE India. While the author highlighted the importance of the issues put forwarded by Human Security School, he also provide a critical analogy about the activities of the global financial institutions. The author says about the easy availability and accumulation of light weapons which has become an important factor in armed conflicts. In conflict situation, basically in case of battle between the state
and non-state actor, civilians are used as pawns and asylum-givers by non-state actors and as informants and collaborators by the state-actors. The author put emphasis upon trans-border economic cooperation, non-territorial social and cultural relationships across borders and intra-state boundary etc for the cause of ensuring Human Security in NE India and also in South-Asian region.

The book ‘Why men rebel’ by Ted Robert Gurr has analysed the concept and nature of violence especially political violence from different perspectives. He regards relative deprivation as the main source of aggression which provides impetus to violence. In his analysis of violence, there is a close relationship between value expectation and value capabilities. He regards relative deprivation as a perceived discrepancy between value expectation and value capabilities. The frustration-aggression relationship also provides psychological dynamism in Gurr’s views on collective violence. Regarding the perspectives on violence and politics Ted Gurr stressed upon certain aspects such as socialization, tradition, legitimacy, ideologies, utilities, communication etc. Though the primary source of the human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration-aggression mechanism, but for Ted Gurr, aggression is only one kind of instigation produces by human being due to frustration. Since the sense of relative deprivation on the part of the individual is psychological in nature, therefore any increase in the level of men’s value expectations without a comparable increase in their value capabilities results in frustration, anger and discontent of the masses. Relative deprivation which is a crucial issue has been beautifully depicted by Ted Robert Gurr as “Relative deprivation is defined as actors’ perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities. Human instinct and the goal oriented values presumably postulated human motivation which ultimately results in violent conflict to gain more.
The book “North East India: Development, Communalism and Insurgency” by Ramashray Roy, Sujata Miri and Sandhya Goswami (Anshah Publishing House, Delhi, 2007) focuses on relation between development or modernization process, communalism and insurgency in the context of North East India. The book has taken the cases of Assam and Meghalaya in this respect. The book is divided into 8 chapters.

The first chapter deals with theoretical perspective of insurgency. The book has looked at the issue of insurgency from three theoretical frameworks. The first framework considers primordiality as the important cause that culminates into insurgency in due course of time. This viewpoint argues that people’s specific ethnic, religious and cultural identity give them a sense of unity and they see themselves as different from others and for this reason these people want to achieve the right to self-determination for protecting their identity and interest through both violent and non-violent methods. Second framework deals with structural factors such as inequality, inequity, exploitation and oppression that exist in our society. These result in the rise of the feeling of deprivation, resentment, frustration, anger among various groups which ultimately lead to insurgency. Third framework deals with instrumentalist explanation which views insurgency as a way of protecting rights and opportunities or as a way of gaining access to new opportunities. Apart from these there is another perspective, i.e. politico-economic that gives emphasis on material conditions of individual. Unequal distribution of economic benefits in the society creates sense of injustice. So people who feel economically being discriminated resort to political actions, which may be non-violent. The authors have also mentioned that insurgent movements also have roots in the concepts of nationalism and sub-nationalism. Nationalism acts as a unifying force which inspires various groups to come together
& act unitedly for their well being as a whole. However, spread of political consciousness and rising consciousness about socially and culturally being different gives rise to sub-nationalism among various groups which inspires them to demand separation or secession to protect their own identity and interest. The authors have also observed that the processes of modernization and development have also generated conflicts in contemporary society. With the process of modernization radical changes have taken place in the society. Material conditions have to come to occupy a dominant position in the live of people. For this competition takes place among people for getting more and more resources. In such competition people who are in a weaker position have to depend on the community and government. They take traditional socio-cultural values as the basis to form their own community identity and resort to collective action for achieving advantageous position. So people use community identity as a tool for achieving their demands from the Government. Failure of the Government to fulfil their demands creates resentment among people and in due course of time this resentment transforms into insurgency.

Rest of the chapter deals with the problem of insurgency in Assam and Meghalaya. The authors observe that the genesis of the problem of insurgency both in Assam and Meghalaya can be traced back to the colonial period. During colonial period, there was migration of different communities such as Hindu Bengalis, Muslim Peasants, Marwaris, tea plantation labourers etc at large scale to Assam. By allowing this migration, the Britishers created the ground for cultural conflict in the state. This large-scale migration generated fear among Assamese people that they would become minority in their own land. This migration also led to competition for social and economic resources between local people and outsiders. The Britishers also tries to suppress Assamese language and they introduced Bengali as official language in the
state from 1836 to 1871. This introduction of Bengali as official language led to the rise of sub-nationalism among Assamese on linguistic line. The migration of outsiders to Assam continued even after independence. Illegal migration of foreign nationals specially from Bangladesh to Assam had become to serious that it created a sense of identity crisis among Assamese. To save distinct socio-cultural identity and economic and political interest of Assamese, Assam Movement started in 1979. The Movement came to an end with the signing of Assam Accord between the Government of India and leaders of the Movement on 15 August 1985. However, the Accord has failed to solve the issue of illegal immigration.

Assam movement paved the way of insurgency in Assam. ULFA is the radical offshoot of the Movement. The aim of ULFA is to establish scientific socialism in independent Assam. Initially the support base of ULFA among the people of Assam was very strong. But gradually the involvement of ULFA in indiscriminate violent activities has reduced its support base. The Government has also launched various counter-insurgency operations in the state.

In Assam other ethnic and tribal communities like Bodo, Tiwa, Rabha, Karbi are also demanding autonomy and separate homeland. The authors have opined that this is the fall out of attempt of Assamisation of Assamese leaders. Assamese leaders after gaining power attempted to make Assamese language and culture to be dominant over other communities. They tried to imply Assamese nationalism through Assamese language and culture everywhere. This hegemonic nature of Assamese leaders has created a sense of insecurity among other tribal and ethnic communities living in Assam. To protect their own distinct identity and interest against the dominance of Assamese these communities have also formed their organizations and some of these
organizations are involved in violent activities. For example NDFB the Bodo militant outfit, is involved in insurgent activities which is demanding independent Bodoland to protect cultural identity and interest of the Bodo community.

The authors are also of the view that along with the issue of self-identity, economic backwardness and feeling of economic deprivation have also led towards radicalization of Assamese sub-nationalism resulting in insurgency.

The authors have also mentioned that proliferation of small weapons, unrestricted transborder movement of the militants, the availability of safe heaven for them in Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar and the hilly terrain of neighbouring states- all have added fuel to the problem of insurgency in Assam.

So, from the analysis of this book, it can be said that with the acceleration of the process of modernization in North East India, politics is used by people as a way of getting access to societal and material resources. In this respect people often take the help of communal identity. At the same time because of the forces of modernization these communal identities of the people of North East are also facing crisis. So, various groups of this region are trying to protect their distinct identity. All these have contributed in the radicalization of politics, which ultimately leads to the emergence of insurgency in the North East region of India.

‘Perilous Journey; Debates on Security and Development in Assam’ edited by Rakhee Bhattacharya and Sanjay Pulipaka deals with development Vis-a-Vis Security dilemma in Assam. It considers Development and security as the two most basic concerns of the modern world. The book beautifully depicted that the development in the modern world has not been able to address the challenges of poverty, inequality and miseries of the underprivileged. This book states that human security forms an
important part of people’s well-being and is therefore an objective of development. According to the author lack of human security has adverse consequences on economic growth and poverty and thereby on development; and such lack of development or imbalanced development leads to horizontal inequalities, which is an important cause of conflict. The book also focuses upon ethnic, religious, economic, political and sub-national identities which also create an environment of insecurity especially in North East India. 14th chapter of the book ‘Searching through theories: Developing a Human Security Paradigm for the North East by Binoda Kumar Mishra reviews the entire concept of security, which has emerged now with new dimensions through a deeper, broader and extended understanding. He looks into the security scenario of North-East India. The author look for a new paradigm in the region with an alternative approach to the security scenario to evolve towards a permanent solution. He emphasizes the need to explore the new security dimensions like comprehensive, cooperative and human security paradigms for North East India, encompassing environmental, economic, political, community, health and food security.

One of the prolific writer on contemporary politics of Assam and the North East is Prof Sanjib Baruah. His three important books on the contemporary politics of Assam are- ‘India against itself’, ‘Durable Disorder’ and ‘Beyond Couter-insurgency’. Among the three books, first two is authored and the third one is edited. The first chapter of the book “India against itself” provide a critique of the paradigm of nation-building and make a case for designing structures of policy-making. Second and third chapter deals with historical and geographical background to understand Assamese sub-nationalism. These two chapters provide an analysis of Assam’s political, economic and demographic transformation that began under British colonial
rule. Baruah’s book also deals with the dilemma between Assamese sub-nationalism and pan-Indianism. It also focus on Assam’s politics in the 1960s and 1970s and also the period of Assam movement. Separatist insurgent activities are also clearly elaborated by the writer. Chapter eight of the book discusses the political mobilization among Bodos for cultural and political autonomy and the challenge it presents to the Assamese sub-nationalism. In the concluding chapter the author put emphasis upon a more decentralized federal structure to solve the sub-national assertion.

Another important book ‘Durable Disorder’ by Prof Sanjib Baruah too carries lots of significance in the contemporary politics in Assam and North East. This book basically focus upon looking east policy as a panacea for all the problems faced by North East India. But ironically this policy can be utilised as only an economic policy whereas at the societal level, North east India has lots of problem. Professor Baruah highlighted the relationship between ethnic rift and insurgent militia in North East.

This book also focuses upon the clashes between Indian State and ULFA. Baruah regards Assamese society as a nationality sentiment and consider the idea of ‘sub-nationalism’ as their politics of identity. According to him, the politics of sub-nationalism can be located in the theoretical space that is usually referred to as civil society. He considers civil society as the root from where sub-nationalist politics derives much of its power to generate political turmoil situation. Chapter 9 of the book deals with the problem of ethnicity and homeland discourses. The politics of sixth schedule also beautifully analyse by the writer.

‘Beyond Counter-insurgency’ edited by Prof Sanjib baruah states that only concerted efforts to establish the rule of law, a system of accountability and a faith in the institutions of government can break the cycle of violence. This book basically
reflects on new ways of approaching and resolving different conflicts to be faced by North East India. In chapter 11 of the book, Samir Kumar Das entitle ‘Peace sans Democracy? A Study of Ethnic Peace Accords in North East India’ reviews India’s ‘peace policy’: that is the approach towards armed rebels. Das believes that Indian State’s approach to negotiations with rebel groups- is still alive and well. The book basically put emphasis upon pro-human centric approach which the state apparatus needs to pursue for the well-functioning of the democratic principles.

‘The Periphery Strikes Back’ by Udayon Misra deals with the Naga struggle and Ulfa’s quest for sovereignty. This is one of the important book in the analysis of sub-regional politics in Assam. Misra tries to find out certain root causes of ssessionist movement in Assam in the post-independence period. He raises some important questions like ‘why Assam, with its centuries old socio-historical and cultural links with the rest of India, should be today in the grip of an armed movement led by ULFA and whose prime objective is to secure a sovereign, independent Assam which would be part of a confederation of independent north eastern states’. He again raise question on ‘Why has the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), despite its ideological weaknesses and aberrations, been able to strike a responsive chord in the hearts of the Assamese masses is a question which has no easy answers’.

Prof Misra identifies unemployment, identity crisis due to immigration, land alienation for indigenous people etc as the root causes of dissatisfaction on the part of the periphery. According to him, ‘the threat to linguistic and cultural identity which was the main plank of the Assam movement and Bodo movement is actually to be seen in the context of the land question.’ In the sixth chapter of the book, Misra highlighted the process of ‘ethnic cleansing’ initiated by Bodos in order to free the
Bodoland area from the encroachment of non-bodos basically Santhal, Orang and muslims (E.B.O).

The book ‘Troubled Periphery’ by Subir Bhaumik deals with different insurgent and ethnic problems of North East India as a periphery. He has beautifully analysed the root causes of different kinds of troubles faced by the periphery. He expresses serious concern regarding the vulnerability of North East India and the problems of ethnic cleansing, insurgency, forced migration, language issues etc. In the fourth chapter ‘Insurgency, Ethnic Cleansing and Forced Migration’ of the book basically deals with insurgent activities of NSCN in Nagaland, MNF in Mizoram, PLA in Manipur, and Bodo, Dimasa, Karbi in Assam. He also focus upon ULFA’s movement for sovereignty and independence. Subir Bhoumik highlighted the genealogies of Bodo conflict, history of formation of BTAD and Bodos quest for sovereignty. He has provided academic insights by analysing the issue of religious minority in BTAD. Bodos attack on minority in 1994 carries special attention in Bhoumik’s book. Bhoumik put emphasis upon proper plans and policies to bridge the gap between centre and the periphery. According to him, “The geographical distance from the mainland has translated into a psychological distance that can both be bridged now. The physical distance can be reduced by development of transport infrastructure and modern technology; the psychological distance can be bridged by changes in attitudes, policies and a vision of a shared and prosperous future.” He also stressed upon the proper implementation of Look East Policy to make it into reality.

‘Blisters on their feet’ edited by Samir Kumar Das has analysed the vulnerabilities of internally displaced persons from multi-dimensional perspectives.
Prof Das tries to articulate various problems faced by IDP’s of North East India. He also addresses the issues of home, homeland and territoriality. For Prof Samir Kumar Das, displacement induced by ethnic conflict brings hitherto unknown forms of conflict. In the tenth chapter of the book ‘The displaced Santhals of Western Assam’ by Biswajit Chakrabarty focuses upon the ethnic cleansing operations of Bodos in order to overthrow the other caste and community from the BTAD area. A large number of Santhals have to displaced from their own place due to dominance of majority over minority in BTAD. In the 11th Chapter of the book ‘IDPs of Western Assam: A Study of conflict-induced displacement’ by Subhash Barman deals with the displacement of Santhals, Nepalis, Rabhas, Bodos etc for majority Vis-a-Vis minority clashes which is going on in BTAD. In the 12th chapter of the book “Nobody’s people: Muslim IDPs of Western Assam” by Uddipana Goswami analyses the plight of the Muslims in the conflict prone areas of western Assam i.e BTAD. Due to immediate creation BTAD in 2003, a large sections of muslims population have to internally displaced Within the region of Bodoland. The political deregulations and various lucanas are found to be mostly responsible for demographic changing in BTAD. During the time of colonialism those muslims (E.B.O) basically concentrated in the undevided Goalpara districts. But after the formation of BTAD, Kokrajhar and Chirang carved out from Goalpara district and those people used to settle down in the BTAD area in the hope of economic profit. Its create lots of tension in BTAD later on and the process of ethnic cleansing accelerated by the dominant Bodos to free BTAD from the scourge of outsiders. This book clearly analysed the plight of different ethnic, linguistic and religious minority which have to face a lots of troublesome period due to conflict induced displacement.
‘Insurgency in North East India’ edited by B. Pakem, deals with the insurgent movements that are going on in North East India. It defines insurgency as an armed struggle which aims at overthrowing the existing system. This book states how some ethnic groups in North East India feel that their identity and culture are being neglected by the mainstream India. North East India is characterized by the presence of poor governance, socio-political instability and economic backwardness which are responsible for the widespread conflict in this region. This book suggests that there is a need to create conditions for effective community participation at the grass root level through greater decentralization of power and ensuring equitable distribution of excess to sustainable use of productive resources.

The book ‘Women In Armed Conflict Situation : A Study by North East Network’ published by North East Network is outcome of a study on women in armed conflict situation in North East India. It deals with the impact of armed conflict on the lives of women of North East region of India which has been experiencing unprecedented violence ever since independence. It focuses that in the situation of insurgency women’s rights are grossly violated both by the state machinery and militant groups. In conflict situation patriarchal values are very strong which results in gender insecurity. This book makes case study in different parts of North East where women experience insecurity because of insurgency. It also states how the excessive presence of armed forces in the North Eastern states leads to the violation of women’s rights. In North East the Armed Forces Special Power Act is the biggest cause which is responsible for gross human rights violation. The study conducted by NEN reveals how woman are denied their rights to personhood and to an expression of their individuality.
Anuradha M. Chenoy in ‘Militarism And Women in South Asia’ has looked at the issues of militarism and national security from the perspective of feminism. Through this book the author has questioned as both men and women are affected by militarism and armed conflict, then why women are not included in the process of formulating security policies. She has focused on the experiences of women in the course of armed conflict and militarism in South Asia especially in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The author has said that militarism and armed conflict reinforce patriarchal hierarchies in our society. Issues of national security and militarism are contextualised within the system of gender based power hierarchies which are associated with masculinist images. Again she has also said that from feminist view point peace is not just restricted to public sphere but peace is also absence of domestic, social and public violence. Security for women is also security within the home beside national and public security. The author has also observed that in South Asia ideologies of patriarchy, fundamentalism and militarism have, combinely, reinforced patriarchal forces that legitimise the oppression and violence against women.

The article “Civil Society In India’s North East: Can It Still Help Resolve Conflict In The Region” by Particia Mukhim in Wasbir Hussain’s ed(2010), discusses about the role of civil society in north east region of India in resolving conflicts and peace building process. Civil society is a non-state entity which is committed to protect people’s rights and freedom. Civil society is independent from the state but not completely since it closely interacts with the state. Civil society helps in democratic socialisation of people. The author has said that since North East India is heavily affected by armed insurgency, the civil society of the region has to play a very important role in conflict resolution and peace process. The writer has said though in
Assam several civil society groups have emerged and engaged themselves in peace-building efforts, but there some doubts about their democratic nature. Without representativeness and inclusiveness civil society cannot enjoy credibility or trust and confidence of people and is rejected by the state. The author has mentioned about the success of civil society groups of Nagaland in peace building process. Civil society groups of Nagaland have given a common platform for the people of Nagaland to raise their voice of protest against violence. At the end the author has stressed the point that in North East India a truly inclusive and representative civil society is required to find out some peaceful solution of the problem of armed insurgency.

In the article “Conceptualising Gender, Peace and Conflict: The Assam Case” Dolly Phukon has discussed about the vulnerable position of women in the wake of armed insurgency in Assam. The author has said that though every section of the society is affected by armed insurgency, women become more vulnerable because of gender inequalities which are deeply inherent in our society. Women have to face physical, sexual and psychological violence both from the state and non-state armed groups in armed conflict situations. Armed insurgency has led to greater human insecurities for women. In post-conflict situation also women have to face difficulties. Women are not adequately represented in reconstruction and rehabilitation policies of the government. This results in underestimation of women’s needs and concerns. The writer has mentioned about feminist scholars’ views about conflict and peace process. They view that a major cause of conflict is the socialisation process of men to be aggressive. On the other hand, women are socialised in such a way that they become seeker of non-confrontational method of conflict resolution, they want to work for collective good and these qualities indicate the potentiality for peace-building. So gender and socialisation of men and women into gender role should be addressed in
the context of conflict and peace process. The author has also discussed about the gender relation or gender hierarchy which is operating within both the insurgent groups and the government’s counter action policies. In our society there exists a kind of hierarchy between men and women and women are treated as subordinate to men. This kind of hierarchy also exists within insurgent groups of Assam such as ULFA, as no woman cadre is assigned any higher rank within the outfit. The author has said that gender hierarchy that exists in the Indian state as well as insurgent groups puts a question mark on the condition and position of women in a democratic country. The writer has stressed that to empower women and to bring sustainable peace, conflict researches must be done with a gender perspective. She has also said that women have the right to be part of discussions on conflict resolution and peace initiatives that deeply affect their lives. Gender equality is one of the most important democratic principles and it should be apply in peace-building process also.

Article ‘Civilians and Localisation of Conflict in Assam’ by Anindita Dasgupta deals with the impact of armed violence on civilians living in the conflict zones. It states that proliferation of small arms has helped in raising the number of low intensity conflict which in turn leads to greater human insecurity. The communities living in the conflict zones have to face violence both from the state and non-state actors. The author makes a study in Nalbari District where insurgent movements led by ULFA, NDFB are very strong. The study focuses that root causes of insurgency are acute socio-economic problems. This article stresses the need of political solution to the problem of insurgency in Assam. It also suggests people’s initiative towards initiating dialogue for peace and security.
1.5 Hypotheses:

1. Armed conflict causes great sense of insecurity among the common people.
2. The discriminatory institutional devices are also responsible for causing insecurity among people by providing certain incentive to few sections of people.
3. Muslims face a double discrimination or insecurity which is under scanner both from the bodos and other non-bodos.

1.6 Methodology:

The research work, which is both theoretical and empirical, is based on qualitative and quantitative methods. For quantitative data, an exhaustive field survey was conducted. However a pilot survey was conducted in the very beginning to clearly identify the targeted population and met the officials of the study area i.e. BTAD. The field survey was conducted over a purposefully selected sample through structured interview schedule. It promotes standardization of both asking of questions and the recording of answers and thereby it is helpful for the survey researchers (Bryman, et al, 2008). In the words of Goode and Hatt, structured interview schedule is a set of questions which are asked by an interviewer and filled in on the spot in face to face interaction with another person. It leads to more responses and fruitful in collecting accurate information. The reason behind in adopting this particular tool as a collection of data was that it helped us in selection of sample size. Through this method one can decide whom to take in the sample and whom to not. With the help of this method researcher can take the sample size according to his/ her own convenience. The major benefit of this method was that this method relied on interviewing key individuals who then introduce the researcher to others in the
community/locality who are knowledgeable and willing to be interviewed. Although this method is a non-random way of selecting people to interview, it is often the most effective method for identifying a wide variety of people. The questionnaire was designed in such a way that along with the information about the damage caused by conflict, the aspirations of non-bodos regarding their security can be studied. The number and name of the affected people were collected from the Police Station of the district and the list was prepared on the basis of urban and rural area. As the nature of study is related to the status of religious minority in armed violence situation in this particular region i.e BTAD, so for sampling the purposive sampling method was applied covering a cross-section of the population of affected villages, two from each Kokrajhar and Chirang districts of BTAD. The sample size was fixed at 180. Official documents and reports of the various NGO’s which are working on the issue were also taken into account as the source of primary data. Besides in depth interviews were conducted with human rights activists, journalist, army and police personnel, intellectuals and activists. Informal networking was also given importance to go to the interiors of the BTAD where the sample for this study was located.

Questionnaire and schedules were designed on the basis of pilot survey. Three types of questionnaires were being employed, one for Government officials, journalists, political leaders, social activists operated in and around BTAD, second was designed for respondents (victim of armed violence directly or indirectly) of BTAD and third was for the police personnel. Most of the questions are open-ended or semi-structured and the interviews were conducted with a fairly open framework which allow for focused, conversational, two-way communication. They were used both to give and receive information on the chosen topic.
Focus Group Discussions which is a rapid assessment, semi-structured data gathering method were also conducted to obtain qualitative judgement of the concerned people of different categories, such as bodos, non-bodos basically muslims (E.B.O) through participatory method. A purposively selected set of participants gathered with us to discuss the issues of insecurity which is the key theme and provided concern regarding the issue. In the context of analysing qualitative data, we can cite Judith Okely,

“Qualitative can refer to research using only a small sample of interviews, whether structured or unstructured. In either case, the qualitative material is bounded by the cultural conventions of the interviews......(because) there are theories, theme, ideas and ethnographic details to discover, examine or dismiss.”

A content analysis of one national weekly journal namely Economic and Political Weekly and one regional dailies namely Assam Tribune and some reports of a specific period from 2012 to 2014 which deals with this issue i.e Violence and human insecurity were taken up for a comprehensive understanding of the problem. Since content analysis is a use of replicable and valid method for making special inferences from text to other states or properties, so it used in our research for gathering qualitative judgement. By conducting content analysis researcher can develop sound theoretical assumption thereby making valid inferences. In the words of Jennifer Mason,

“Our sampling strategy for the qualitative study was guided by theoretical principles, and our express intention was to use it to help to develop a sound theoretical analysis of our data, rather than to produce a representative sample of population.”
Schedules were more helpful than the questionnaires in the field as the target population in Bodoland Territorial Administrative Districts (BTAD) area were largely illiterate and they were comfortable with informal interaction rather than the filling up the questionnaires. Ethical issues involved in social science research were followed.

The secondary data were drawn from books, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, journals, newspapers, magazines, press reports, relevant internet sources. Different electronic tools were used in analysing the data. Certain analyses were made through computer and some were manually. A digital camera, an electronic tape recorder and a field work notebook was being maintained during the course of field survey.

1.7 Conceptual Clarification of Insecurity: The argument

Shahabanu Tajhbaksh, perhaps the most celebrated writer on human security said security means absence of insecurity and threats. To ensure human security, it is essential to be free human being from fear and want. Human security encompasses all the nuances of insecurity in order to highlight the social safety nets thereby guaranteeing social security. The role of the state is very much crucial while dealing with the paradigms of human security. Addressing the issue of insecurity is significant so far as the people’s quest for security is concern. Human security entails--

- the recognition of new threats to security beyond those that are military, including factors such as underdevelopment and human rights violations;
- the recognition that efforts to provide security have to go beyond dealing with state governments to deal directly with the people concerned;
- the recognition that intervention can have positive effects, but that it can also have negative effects if not properly conceived and carried out.
The possible damage of political violence directly linked with the issue of insecurity of the people. For Paul Wilkinson, Political violence represents the various streams and nature of violence like terrorism, insurgency, organized violence etc. It always aim to create a climate of fear which ultimately build up a terror industry. The presence of large number of arms due to its proliferation further worsens the situation especially in a heterogeneous society. In the context of increase numbers of security dilemmas, identification of indicators of insecurity and their measurement carries great significance. Democratic deficit Vis-a-Vis the issue of human development is considered to be crucial while analysing the whole gamut of insecurity in the sense that the later has some relationship with the political economy of the state. The role of the neo-liberal state in delivering welfare services must strictly maintain. Because, of late any discriminatory attitude on the part of the institutional mechanism may creates the environment of warfare. The shifting dimension of security in the post-cold war phenomena urges the nation state to stress more on identifying the indicators of insecurity so that a plausible solution can be found.

Table: 1: Showing State Security Vis-à-vis Human Security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security Referent (object)</th>
<th>State-centered Security (a neorealist vision)</th>
<th>Human-centered Security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In a Hobbesian world, the state is the primary provider of security: if the state is secure, then those who live within it are secure</td>
<td>Individuals are co-equal with the state. State security is the means, not the end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Value</td>
<td>Sovereignty, power, territorial integrity, national independence</td>
<td>Personal safety, well-being and individual freedom. 1) Physical safety and provision for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Security Threats | Direct organized violence from other states, violence and coercion by other states | Direct and indirect violence, from identifiable sources (such as states or non-state actors) or from structural sources (relations of power ranging from family to the global economy)   
- Direct violence: death, drugs, dehumanization, discrimination, international disputes, WMD   
- Indirect violence: deprivation, disease, natural disasters, underdevelopment, population displacement, environmental degradation, poverty, inequality |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By what means</td>
<td>Retaliatory force or threat of its use, balance of power, military means, strengthening of economic might, little attention paid to respect for law or institutions.</td>
<td>Promoting human development: basic needs plus equality, sustainability, and greater democratization and participation at all levels. Promoting political development: global norms and institutions plus collective use of force as well as sanctions if and when necessary, cooperation between states, reliance on international institutions, networks and coalitions, and international organizations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Shahrbanou Tadjbaksh, Human Security: Concepts and Implications, with an application to post-intervention challenges in Afghanistan
One of the prolific writer on Human security, Prof. Amitav Acharya put emphasis upon human dignity by considering certain major developments in the post 1990s phenomena. These major developments are—

(1) The growing incidence of civil wars and intra-state conflicts which now far outnumber conventional inter-state conflicts (with the former more likely to cause civilian suffering than the latter);

(2) The spread of democratization (democracies constitute a majority of state actors in the international system today);

(3) The advent of humanitarian intervention, or the principle that the international community is justified in intervening in the internal affairs of states accused of gross violation of human rights; and

(4) The widespread poverty, unemployment and social dislocation caused by the economic crises of the 1990s which have been blamed on the dynamics of globalization.

To ensure security of the people, the notion of Human Security always run across the core question i.e. ‘whose security’ thereby stressing upon the issue of justice and emancipation of the people. By highlighting on the issue of certain inclusive agenda, cooperative security also envisage upon the broad parameters of security. David Dewitt and Amitav Acharya defined the term cooperative security which has a close link with human security thereby stressing upon the issue of security discourse. For them,

“There are three principal themes which form the core of cooperative security. The first is the acceptance and practice of inclusivity, referring both to participants - the non-like-minded as well as the like-minded - and to subject matter, thereby broadening the security discourse beyond direct and traditional military threat to
encompass nonconventional security challenges such as environmental, ecological, and demographic phenomena that can exacerbate inter-state relations and even promote the application of armed force. The second is the promotion of "habits of dialogue" whereby the regional actors acknowledge the long-term benefits of undertaking regular consultations with the possibilities of establishing more formal and even official decision-making multilateral meetings on a regular schedule. The third is the premise that many - perhaps most - questions of security no longer are amenable to unilateral action but require cooperative approaches across actors within a country and as well as cross-national and intergovernmental."

For kanti Bajpai, the central issue in the context of human security is to judge the degree of safety and freedom of the individual. In 1980 two Independent Commissions came out under the leadership of Willy Brandt and Olof Palme respectively which focussed on the issue of development and security in a changing dimension. Willy Brandt Report starts with, “Our Report is based on what appears to be the simplest common interest: that mankind wants to survive, and one might even add has the moral obligation to survive. This not only raises traditional questions of peace and war, but also how to overcome world hunger, mass misery and alarming disparities between the living conditions of rich and poor.” The second Independent Commission under the chairmanship of Olof palme drafted the ‘common security’ report which highlighted in alternative ways of thinking about durable peace and security. Regarding the question of security and insecurity, David Baldwin, the political scientist cited that, “To conceptualise the term security, it requires at the very least, two things: agreement on the root meaning of security; and greater specification of the term, with reference to a series of questions: security for whom, security for
which values, how much security, security from what threats, and security by what means?²⁷

Mahbub-Ul Haq, the architect of human security outlines a long list of proposal for global human security in his paper New Imperatives of Human Security. These are²⁸—

- **Developmentally**: sustainability; equity of opportunities (better distribution of productive assets, including land and credit; open access to market opportunities; job creation; social safety nets); and global justice via a “a major restructuring” of the world’s income, consumption, and lifestyle patterns

- **Militarily**: reducing arms expenditures; closing all military bases; converting military aid to economic aid; stopping arms transfers; eliminating arms export subsidies; retraining workers in defense industries

- **North-South restructuring**: equitable access to global markets for the poor countries built on the removal of trade barriers (especially in textiles and agriculture); financial compensation from the rich countries in return for immigration controls and for overuse of global environmental resources; and a global payment mechanisms for various services rendered (e.g. environmental services, control of narcotics and disease), for “damages” in cases of economic injury, and for bad economic conduct (e.g. encouraging the brain drain, restricting migration of low-skill labour, export restrictions)

- **Institutionally**: the resuscitation and restructuring of the IMF, World Bank, and UN to focus more on human development; economic adjustments which target the rich more than the poor; new governance patterns everywhere which empower the poor; new institutions such as a world central bank, a
global taxation system, a world trade organization, an international investment trust, a world treasury, and above all, a representative and veto-less Economic Security Council in the UN which would be the “highest decision making forum” to deal with “all issues confronting humanity” including food and environmental security, poverty and job creation, migration and drug trafficking

- *The evolution of a global civil society:* all of the above would require grassroots participation and a change from authoritarian to democratic government.

On the basis of the UNDP Human Development Report 1994, Kanti Bajpai summarised certain threat perception to the seven values of human security. These are 29 ---

- Threats to economic security: lack of productive and remunerative employment, precarious employment, absence of publicly financed safety nets
- Threats to food security: lack of food entitlements including insufficient access to assets, work, and assured incomes
- Threats to health security: infectious and parasitic diseases, diseases of the circulatory system and cancers, lack of safe water, air pollution, lack of access to health care facilities
- Threats to environmental security: declining water availability, water pollution, declining arable land, deforestation, desertification, air pollution, natural disasters
- Threats to personal security: violent crime, drug trafficking, violence and abuse of children and women
- Threats to community security: breakdown of the family, collapse of traditional languages and cultures, ethnic discrimination and strife, genocide and ethnic cleansing
- Threats to political security: government repression, systematic human rights violations, militarization

To ensure human security, identification of threat perception and indicators of insecurity is considered to be an essential task. We can locate insecurity under the whole spectrum of political violence, as conflict induced insecurity thereby creating social and economic insecurity of the common people. In the context of BTAD, fear of becoming outnumbered in their ancestral place is one of the sources of insecurity in terms of Bodos. Increase numbers of muslim population in the Bodo inhabited area whose citizenship is in doubt create lots of contradiction and here arise the rationale behind the question of territorial settlement of migrant population. Of late, it increases the degree of insecurity for both side Bodos Vis-a-Vis Muslims.

1.8 Interdisciplinary relevance:

The proposed research work has immense inter-disciplinary relevance. Concern for human security itself is an inter-disciplinary concern. It is due to major interpretation that involved in the analysis of human security paradigms. It includes other securities like health security, environment security, economic security, food security etc, which automatically invites an inter-disciplinary approach and findings of such research work obviously, will have an inter-disciplinary relevance. The theme of research in the present work i.e violence and human security, which invites lots of debate in terms of good governance and public policy as well.
The study of human security not only benefits the students of politics but also the policy makers, practitioners, activists and also the law enforcing agencies. It would also greatly contribute towards economic and human resource development of the nation along with providing the foundation of vibrant democratic political structure. Thus it’s a relevant issue in a federal polity and the present research carries lots of inter-disciplinary character by addressing the role of the state in the context of insecurity of the common people.

1.9 Limitation of the Research:

Since it is not possible to write everything in single research work, therefore some limitation always exist in each and every study. There are wide varieties of meaning and interpretations as well as theoretical and empirical evidences prevail in each research. The present study is also not an exception to this prevailing notion. Violence and human security is a multifaceted concept. It is not possible to cover all the aspect of the theme in one single research work.

1.10 Organization of the Study:

This study has several components such as nature of violence and human security persistent in Assam in general and BTAD in particular, issues related to identity and space for different ethnic groups, effects of armed violence on religious minority, Question of human security of the effected people, relevance and applicability of policy and institution in analysing state response to insecurity. The research study focuses on different aspects of violence in BTAD and its impact on human security. It deals with more particularly how the violent conflict in BTAD has violated security, rights and freedom of common people. The following chapterisation has been designed for this purpose:
Chapter Two examine the nature of contemporary armed violence. It presents an overview of the theoretical and conceptual framework to analyse the concept of human security and understand violent conflict situations followed by situation prevail in BTAD in the light of Ted Gurr’s political violence, Galtung’s structural violence and Mahbub-Ul Haq’s Human security paradigm.

Chapter Three deals with the genesis of Bodo conflict. The question of identity and sociopolitical history of BTAD has also been analysed. A plausible analysis about Bodoland basically quest for identity and space are being made. A general discussion on the effect of armed violence in BTAD and its effect on religious minority in particular is also discussed followed by an introduction of BTAD.

Chapter Four focuses upon causes of insecurity regarding displacement and killing. Here, an indepth empirical study is made to understand the insecurity of muslims. Since Muslims are the largest minority in the BTAD area and posses challenge to the agrarian economy of the Bodos and also the most vulnerable side in the last decade, so our research will mainly focus the vulnerability of the Muslims.

Chapter Five reflect on state response to insecurity. Here, we try to see the whole issue in terms of policy and institution. The role of institutional mechanism and the trajectories of different policies implemented in BTAD have been discussed throughout this chapter.

Chapter Six is a conclusion which offers concluding remarks of the study. In addition, a few suggestions and recommendations are also been made which may have policy relevance in future. Along with recommendations, an effort is made to connect the theory i.e. Freedom From Fear.
References and Notes:


6. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_Security, extracting on 01/03/13,11.45 pm


22 Ibid, p-11


25 Ibid, p-06

26 Ibid, p-06


28 Mahbub-Ul Haq, New Imperatives of Human Security, p-3-17

29 Kanti Bajpai, Op cited, p-15-16