CHAPTER II
CONCEPTUAL CONCERNS:
VIOLENCE AND HUMAN SECURITY

The nature of violence has undergone a transformation in the last few decades. Contemporary violent conflicts, especially of armed nature are fast adopting alternative methods of warfare, penetrating into towns, villages and even the homes of civilian.\(^1\) Quest for space and politics of identity accelerated the process of different resistance movement in North East India in general and Assam in particular. In the micro level perspective within the territory of Assam, ferocious and aggressive movement of Bodos along with other tribes, insurgent activities by the rebel forces, violations of human rights, armed violence sponsored by both state and non-state actors etc have resulted in perpetuating fear and insecurity and thereby dismantling the emotional fabric of greater Assamese society.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, a theoretical framework of Human Security in a larger context of violence will be discussed. Many a times, violent conflict between different ethnic groups determines the status of human security scenario of a particular society. This ethnic violence jeopardise the lives of the civilian in an armed conflict situation which created a dilemma in case of human security. Before going into the details of the kind of violence and human insecurity that engulfs the State of Assam in general and BTAD in particular, the concept of violence and human security shall be discussed.

The definition of violence is indeed very broad. Generally, the term violence has been interpreted as the opposite of peace and non-violence. Violence can occur
between individuals, within families, among communities and most likely between ethnic groups. It is due to because of antagonistic ideas, frustration, differences among people, relative deprivation\(^2\), psychological hostility, intolerance behaviour, institutional deregulations, absence of co-operation etc.

Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist and a principal founder of the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies developed a theoretical schools which speaks of four levels at which conflict can emerge: Conflicts internal to a person or between persons i.e inter-personal and intra-personal; Conflicts between races, sexes, generations or classes; conflicts between the states; and conflicts between different civilizations of the world.

Galtung uses six dimensions while analysing the concept of violence: (1) violence can be physical or psychological, (2) it can use negative or positive means of influence, (3) it can have an objector not, (4) it can have a subject or not (personal vs. structural), (5) it can be intended or not,(6) it can be manifest or latent.\(^3\) Psychological or potential violence which also can be considered as ‘latent violence’ in the words of Galtung. Johan Galtung brilliantly explained about this kind of violence. According to him psychological violence inject upon the psyche of human being. For example, When a nation conducted nuclear explosion on its own territory without hurting single individual, but as a threat directed to the other parts of the world, the explosion itself has no object, but the threat does have one which ultimately results in latent violence.

Galtung, who had significantly defined structural violence as the systematic ways in which a given regime prevents individuals from achieving their full potential. The term ‘structural violence’ for the first time, commonly used by Johan Galtung in 1970. Structural violence is a systematic ways of violence in which a particular social
structure or institutional mechanism kills individuals by depriving them from minimum needs. We can categorised institutionalised elitism, ethnocentrism, classism, racism, sexism, adultism, nationalism, heterosexism etc as the notable examples of structural violence. Due to the socio-political and economic exploitation and domination, life spans of the individuals are reduced. In different occasions, structural violence often culminate into violent conflict or direct form of violence including family violence, racial violence, hate crimes, terrorism, genocide and war.

In 1984, Petra Kelly in her first book ‘Fighting for Hope’ wrote, “A third of the 2,000 million people in the developing countries are starving or suffering from malnutrition. Twenty-five percent of their children die before their fifth birthday [...] Less than 10 percent of the 15 million children who died this year had been vaccinated against the six most common and dangerous children’s diseases. Vaccinating every child cost £3 per child. But not doing so costs us five million lives a year. These are classic examples of structural violence”.

In some cases, Ethnocentrism acted as a source of structural violence. It entails a belief system that one’s own race or ethnic group is the most important and all aspects of its culture thought to be superior in comparison to those of other. Most likely ‘racism’ also denotes a race-based prejudice, violence, discrimination or even worst form of exploitation and oppression. There are lot of contestation arise due to the meaning of ‘Racialism’. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, racism is a belief or ideology that all members of each race possess characteristics or abilities specific to that race, especially to distinguish it as being either superior or inferior to another race or races. The Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary defines racism as a belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial
differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race, and that it is also the prejudice based on such a belief.

An encyclopaedia article provides an explanation to the much-discussed term of ‘Structural violence’, “Violence is built into the social system and expresses itself in the unequal distribution of power and, as a result, unequal opportunities (i.e inequality in the distribution of income, education, opportunities etc). So far as Galtung is concerned, structural violence is synonymous with ‘Social Injustices’.

In the last decade of 20th century, Galtung popularised another typology of violence which can be commonly considered as cultural violence. In the words of Galtung, ‘Cultural violence should be understood as those aspects of culture that can be used to justify or legitimate the use of direct or structural violence’.

The violence in structural form not only inject on the human body but also impacts on the mind and the soul. In analysing the very concept of structural violence, Galtung aptly discussed about Negative and positive Peace. The kind of peace which may be more than just the absence of overt violent conflict is considered to be negative peace. On the other hand positive peace includes a range of relationships up to a state where nations might have collaborative and supportive co-ordinations. The destructive level of Structural violence goes beyond the degree of direct violence. This kind of violence does injustices to the individual at higher level. For example from economic point of view, we can consider Neo-colonialism as one kind of structural violence. In a conflict prone area, the possibilities of this kind of violence is greater in comparison to peaceful region.

Johan Galtung developed a theoretical model popularly known as ‘Galtung conflict triangle’ or ‘the violence triangle’. He analysed the causes of violence in three
phases: before violence, during violence and after violence. Johan Galtung’s classifications of violence can roughly be categorised into three categories: direct violence, cultural violence and structural violence. In the words of Galtung, “The visible effects of direct violence are known: the killed, the wounded, the displaced, the material damage, all increasingly hitting the civilians. But the invisible effects may be even more vicious: direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence. According to Johan Galtung, “cultural and structural violence cause direct violence, using violent actors who revolt against the structures and using the culture to legitimize their use of violence as instruments... The direct violence may be the lesser evil, at least in the longer term, than the structural and cultural damage brought.” In a structural violence there is less possibility of win-win situation and always the underdog loses the game in competing with the top one.

If we analyse the concept of nonviolence it can be helpful to clarify the concept of violence. Because it offers an opportunity to analyse the first two dimensions of Galtung's framework, his distinctions between physical and psychological violence, and between positive and negative means of influence. Nonviolence was never considered as a purely negative concept in true sense of the term. It is not something which is not violence, or pure passivity, but rather a kind of action which, without being violent, can be used instead of violence. Nonviolence is a short formula used for nonviolent action, or nonviolent strategy, or nonviolent ways of dealing with conflicts, or even nonviolent fight. If the definition of violence as being accepted as 'the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual', a large amount of what is usually called nonviolence is in fact a particular form of violence.\(^4\)
Nonviolence, defined as non-biological violence because it includes civil disobedience, passive resistance, strike, etc in its domain. It can purposefully limit the possibilities of action of the opponent, and so it can be considered as one form of violence according to the working definition. But despite we cannot consider them as nonviolent, but at least they are less violent than active form of violence. On a scale of decreasing violence, civil disobedience is less violent than biological violence, as deterrence is less violent than actual fighting.  

There are lot of problem of fear raises in analysing violence as a discourse. For example, Galtung opposes death from tuberculosis which can be analysed in terms of violence, to death from earthquakes which cannot, as long as earthquakes are technically unavoidable and as far as the probability to be killed by them is not related to social inequality. It is so because according to him, dying in an earthquake is a ‘violent death’ and dying from tuberculosis is not as violent death is considered to be a ‘sudden or unexpected death’ where problem of fear is minimum in comparison to the kind death due to disease like tuberculosis. According to Wolff, ‘Violence is the illegitimate or unauthorized use of force to effect decisions against the will or desire of others’. The concept of political violence depends upon the concept of de jure, or legitimate authority.

If we develop a hypothesis that human beings have a violent brain, it is considered to be scientifically incorrect because violence is neither in our colonial legacy nor in our genes. All the human values have been continuously eroded in the society and in the long run human categories culminated the kind of structural and other forms of violence in the societal perspectives. Since human species invented war which begins in their mind so also they are capable enough to inventing peace
since the later also begins in the human mind as well. These are nothing but certain aspects of biological pessimism and we need to focus upon societal aspect of human being so that individuals can able to develop optimistic bent of mind which is very much conducive for human security. Violent conflict especially armed violence completely undermine the issue of human security for which security dilemma arise in large part of the world. The gap between the increasing aspirations, expectations and capabilities lead to violence followed by frustration. In order to analyse the effect of violence on human security, we have to understand the discourse of human security as well.

After the end of cold war or technically after the end of bi-polar system, the complex nature of threats has been changed and it conceptualising itself in different shifting dimension. In analysing dilemma regarding the security discourse, the concept of insecurity may define as a form of structural violence. If we simplify the definition of security, it symbolizes absence of insecurity and threats. Human Security basically stressed upon two notions i.e freedom from fear and freedom from want. Freedom from fear basically focussed upon freedom from physical, sexual or psychological abuse, violence, persecution or death. Similarly Freedom from want highlighted in terms of gainful employment, food and health. Japan included the paradigms of Human Security in their foreign policy and to add credibility to its initiative, Japan established a Commission on Human Security and set up the largest trust fund in the United Nations. The goals of the Commission on Human Security are to provide public understanding, engagement and support for the realisation of human security. In an important work, People, State and Fear, Prof Buzan demonstrated the linkages between individual, national and international security. According to him, individual security must be the basis of national security, and
national security must be the basis of international security. For pursuing Research
work, Researchers may take the discourse of “Human Security” as an essential tool
for understanding contemporary challenges to people’s well-being and dignity. Prof
Amitav Acharya argues that democratization empowers new actors, such as civil
society, that must be accounted for in the security framework.

The paradigms of human security dilemma gather attention in the writings of
Dwight D. Eisenhower. He basically focussed upon human insecurity in conflict
prone areas due to armed violence. For Eisenhower,

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies in the
final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not
clothed.

In different occasions, human security has been placed differently. In some
cases, it can be presented as a strategy of the governments to address basic human
needs and as an understanding conceptual framework for providing social security to
people belonging to marginal section. Human Security is thus a significant concept
and makes it as a crucial instrument of a just world.

Some of the political and economic analyst criticise the western societies for
enforcing this new paradigms i.e human security upon the non-western basically third
world countries. Like liberalism, according to the critiques, human security is also a
values which to impose upon non-western societies by so-called imperialist focus due
to individualistic ethos of liberal democracy.

Surin Pitsun, a major advocate of human security in Asia and a former foreign
minister of Thailand, has explicitly linked the concept to the need for social safety
nets in the wake of the regional economic downturn.8
Though a need-based human security approach generally preferred by different States in Asia, differences among them prevail regarding the issue of freedom from fear. The human security paradigm rejects the kind of development which proceed at the cost of human rights violations. Due to their wider spectrum of security threats, the concept human security has a close relationship with comprehensive security which was developed by Japan. Comprehensive Security in Japan reflected a concern with economic issues, including the supply of international energy and food.\(^9\)

Theory of just war can be analytically use for addressing the prospects for human security. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan who explicitly linked human security and intervention together. Thomas Aquinas in his ‘Summa Theologica’ in the thirteen century examined the concept of ‘Just War’ to justify the cause of war. For example in 1999, NATO intervention in Kosovo was undertaken to achieve human security goals by stopping the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The terrorist attack on the 11\(^{th}\) of September 2001 made the world speak about international terrorism as one of the main threats to global security. The whole concept of ‘Global Security’ symbolically signifies the very nature of non-traditional security dimension along with the already existing paradigms of traditional security. US president Bill Clinton prefaced the 1997 National security Strategy by saying that “protecting the security and our way of life- is my foremost mission and constitutional duty. Security is the basic condition for life and freedom with overriding human value. United States describe al-Qaeda and the Taliban as ‘the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20\(^{th}\) century—Fascism, Nazism and Totalitarianism’.\(^{10}\)
The concept of Human Security gained momentum in the 1994 United Nations Human Development Report where it boldly stated that, “The idea of human security, though simple, is likely to revolutionize society in the 21st century.” The post-cold war phenomena experienced with proliferation of intra-state conflicts. The issues like human rights violations, refugees and internally displaced persons, landmines and small arms, terrorism, environmental degradation, problems of infectious disease like HIV/AIDS etc more alarming red signal and surfaced along with conflict situations. The very concept of human security distinguishes it from national security. In the words of Bruderlein, “Human Security is about recognizing the importance of the people’s security needs side by side with those of states, minimizing risks, adopting preventative measures to reduce human vulnerabilities and taking remedial action when preventive measures fail”. Despite widespread insecurity in and around the globe, interestingly, a Human (In) Security Index (HIS) has not yet been developed.

To protect people from threats to their lives, livelihoods and dignity, both Japan and Canada have played key roles in promoting human security in the international community. There are lot of goals projected by Commission on Human Security to be achieved by all member and non-member state of United Nations Organization

1. To promote public understanding, engagement and support of human security and its underlying imperatives.
2. To develop the concept of human security as an operational tool for policy formulation and implementation; and
3. To propose a concrete programme of action to address critical and pervasive threats to human security.
Commission on Human Security offers two general strategies for human security realisation: protection and empowerment. The Report of the Commission on Human Security outline a number of policy initiatives -

a. Protecting people in violent conflict.
b. Protecting people from the proliferation of arms.
c. Supporting the security of people on the move.
d. Establishing human security transition funds for post-conflict situations.
e. Encouraging fair trade and markets to benefit the extreme poor.
f. Working to provide minimum living standards everywhere.
g. According higher priority to ensuring universal access to basic health care.
h. Developing an efficient and equitable global system for patent rights
i. Empowering all people with universal basic education.
j. Clarifying the need for a global human identity while respecting the freedom of individuals to have diverse identities and affiliations.

Under the ‘Freedom from Want’ initiative, Commission on Human Security 2003 stipulated that, “The developmental aspects of human security focuses on insecurities related to poverty, health, education, gender disparities and other types of inequality. It also works on problems that cut across these themes, including institutional arrangements for reducing insecurities, new vulnerabilities associated with the current global situation, and an analysis of the magnitude and distribution of various types of insecurities”.

In Canada, human security emerged as a foreign policy paradigm in the 1990’s. Lloyd Axworthy, the then Canadian Foreign Minister had given a speech to the UN General Assembly on 24 September, 1999 and raises voice for human security
initiatives. In the words of Axworthy, “Improvements in human security is a necessary pre-condition for success in the other important actions that we take to advance human, economic, aid and trade development. Farmers cannot work in fields strewn with landmines. Children cannot learn where they are abused and brutalized by war. Investors will not send money to regions racked by conflict. Societies cannot flourish when resources are pillaged to fuel violence and people are victimized by terror. Ultimately, freedom from fear is intimately connected to the freedom from want.” Canada has played a key role in a number of international initiatives linked to ‘freedom from fear’ such as anti-personnel mines and small arms reduction.  

Multifaceted characteristics of contemporary armed conflict have diverse impact in present day world politics. BTAD of Assam also characterised with this multiplicity of armed conflict due to presence of different ethnic and religious groups. Different kinds of problem solving mechanism can be used to minimise tensions regarding Ethno-political Conflicts. In most cases, political violence remains prevalent in intra and inter-societal relations. According to Tedd Robert Gurr, the rise of intra-state conflicts is actually a continuation of a trend that began in 1960’s. For example, he discovered 233 significant ethnic groups in the 1980s which were politically mobilised and prone to ethnic protest. We can consider ethnicity to be a form of identity. If we throw light to the analytical explanation of Fredrik Barth who regards ethnic groups as categories of ascription and identification, it become clear enough to consider them as “imagined communities”.

Seven forms of human security which signified by Mahbub-Ul-Haq basically focussed upon some specific parameter.
(1) Economic Security: It symbolised threats from poverty, unemployment, indebtedness, lack of income etc.

(2) Food Security: It focussed upon threats from hunger, famines and lack of physical and economic access to basic food.

(3) Health Security: It throw light on threats due to inadequate healthcare, diseases, other health hazards.

(4) Environmental Security: It highlighted on threats from environmental degradation, natural disasters, pollution and resource depletion.

(5) Personal Security: It include threats due to crime and violence.

(6) Community Security: This security paradigm include in its domain about the threats from discrimination and abuse of various groups, armed conflict and also threats to the integrity of cultural diversity.

(7) Political Security: Here, threats come due to political or state repression, human rights violations, including torture etc.

Human Security provides helpful impetus for understanding international relations and security in an individualistic manner extracting from state’s domain. The concept of human security incorporates a wide range of actors as potential providers of security within the new institutional arrangements.

The notion of human security tries to safeguard all human lives from different kinds of critical threats which are essential for proper human development. The whole concept of human security is protective in nature. The human security approach basically put emphasis upon institutionalised protection. Since human security itself is a more people-centred approach, therefore effort must be made for effective political, economic, social, cultural and natural environment.
Human Security is a multifaceted concept which put emphasis upon certain vital core of human being. The fundamentals of human rights have a close relationship with the concept of ‘vital core’. The issues of survival, livelihood, dignity etc are basic parameter of vital core. The human security approach placed human being at the end point of ‘development’ as a means to increase economic productivity in a people-centred way. In a nutshell, “human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced”.12

Human Security must include all the basic material needs, human dignity and democratic norms into its ambit. Human Security can be studied as a category of research which focuses traditional and non-traditional security dimension relating to societies, groups and individuals.

The post-cold war era signifies with changing military configurations. Different types of humanitarian, civilian and even military agencies have changed their integrative approach significantly. Human Security is not a concern with weapons- it is a concern with human life and dignity.13 Human security is people-centred. It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities- and whether they live in conflict or in peace.14

The 1999 UNDP Human Development Report on Globalization deliberately put emphasis upon certain crucial issues like economic crises, global crime, environmental degradation, communication etc. Universality, interdependence, prevention, people-centeredness etc are some of the key premises of the 1994 UNDP Report.
Kofi Annan in his 2000 Report to the United Nations describes, “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 health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step 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 inter-related building blocks of human- and therefore national security.

Canada, Norway and Japan have incorporated human security into their foreign policy frameworks. Canada has taken Human Security as the paradigm for its foreign policy and has taken a leadership role in operationalizing it. Norway likewise focuses on the freedom from fear aspects of human security and identifies a core agenda of preventive action, small arms and light weapons control and peace operations.

According to Roland Paris, “Human Security is like ‘sustainable development’—everyone is for it, but few people have a clear idea of what it means. Existing definitions of human security tend to be extraordinarily expansive and vague, encompassing everything from physical security to psychological well-being, which provides policymakers with little guidance in the prioritization of competing policy goals and academics little sense of what, exactly, is to be studied.” According to the working definition of human security, “The objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, without impeding long-term human fulfilment. The Commission on Global Governance
likewise argues that, “Global Security must be broadened from its traditional focus on the security of states to include the security of people and the planet.”

There is always a debate arise between human security and state security because state security undermine the very concept of human security. For example in 2001, John Mearsheimer in his book “The tragedy of great power politics” defends the concept of ‘offensive realism’ which basically focuses on the distribution of World power and legitimizes actions which are against the basic norms of human security.

A human security debate arises along with the paradigms of liberalism. With the liberal innovations of global institution though the threats expanded, but individualistic tendencies expanded which are free from their realist state-centric chain.

Constructivist approach criticised both realism and liberalism for their over emphasis upon material objective it sought to provide more light on individuals, groups, NGOs and transnational civil society actors. An attempt can be made to reconstruct the interpretation of the roots of insecurity by narrating human security analytically.

Critical theory basically seeks to provide an alternative to the realist paradigm of security and structure. This theory favours on primordial change in the institutions and power structure which realist security framework trying to preserve.

The post-modernist like Derrida, Booth etc put emphasis on the inter-dependency and trans-nationalization of non-state actors, for broadening the concept of security by expanding it both vertically and horizontally to boost the concept of human security over state security.
The idea behind the evolution of the paradigms of human security gathers strength after World War I and gradually after the Depression of the 1930’s and during World War II. If we look back further, the origin of Human Security can be traced back to the early religious and social sentiments of different community.

According to Eleanor, wife of Franklin D Roosevelt, ‘four freedom expressed by Roosevelt were the highest aspirations of the common people’. She had provided a lecture on Four Freedom during the time of UN’s 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights Initiative. Article 25 of UDHR stipulated that, “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.”

Due to its individualistic orientations, human Security is potentially a useful connotation for realpolitik. In 2003, the UN Commission on Human Security, chaired by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen, reported that the world needed ‘a new security framework that centers directly on people’. The commission sought to develop a global framework focused on ‘survival’, ‘dignity’ and livelihood; freedom from fear; and freedom from want: Of particular concern were the most vulnerable individuals who need protection from violent conflict; those people who are on the move; those people who are economically insecure because the global economic system has failed them; or whose lives have been destabilised by forces for beyond their control (Commission on Human Security 2003).

UNDP Human Development Report 1994 showed the paradigmatic shift from state security to human security thus—“For most people today a feeling of insecurity
arises more from worries about daily life than the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Job security, income security, health security, environmental security and security from crime—these are emerging concerns of human security all over the world.”

Since both the concept of human development and human security are multi-sectoral and multi-dimensional in character, so they are concern about people’s dignity as well as material and physical needs. The human development provides long term objectives of human fulfilment so that human security must be attainable for broader perspectives of the society. Due to the delimited nature of human security, it differentiated itself from Human Development.

In the transitional world of political environment, the concept of human security is bound to characterized by uncertainty and increased vulnerability. In Amartya Sen’s words, this “simple recognition of vulnerability in growth makes it absolutely obligatory to see security as a central part of development” (Sen, 1999:28). In his Development as Freedom (1999), Sen expanded on individual freedom as a social commitment that builds on entitlements and enhances people’s capabilities and quality of life.

The idea of human security as a guarantor of the continuation of human development as well as a prioritization of its most urgent variables, was introduced in 1994 by Mahbub-Ul-Haq in the annual UNDP Human Development Report. According to Amartya Sen, human development is “growth with equity” whereas human security is “downturns with security”. Human insecurity results directly from existing power structures that determines who enjoys the entitlements to security and who does not (Thomas; 2000). The discourse of Human Development can be summarised as a pre-requisite for human security and vice versa. Due to its integrative
nature of encompassing security, development and rights, human security could be a three-dimensional notion which louted for freedom from fear, want and freedom to life in dignity.

The international aid system plays a significant role in short-term humanitarian relief and long-term economic development by raising war against poverty. Vulnerabilities regarding human security in the underdeveloped region can be minimised by providing international or foreign aid. According to Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Japan had been the largest donor of aid during 1990’s and after US retook this position.

For some, such as the UN human rights expert Bertrand Ramcharan, human rights actually define human security. To him, the essence of human security is to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms while “upholding human rights is the way to achieve individual, national and international security.” (Ramcharan, 2002: 5)

The state must have lot of responsibilities towards the issue of human security. The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty with its 2001 report The Responsibility to Protect (RTPR) urged that, “The commission believes that responsibility to protect resides first and foremost with the state whose people are directly affected” (ICISS, 2001). The state must adopt a human security framework for people ensuring ‘freedom from fear’, ‘freedom from want’ and ‘human dignity and rights’.

All the post 9/11 events undermine the issues of human rights and human security. We need to respect both the issue human rights and human security along with national security concern. Prof. Mahbub-Ul-Haq introduced the very concept of Human Security by broadening the scope and parameters of security away from
traditional state security. According to Lloyd Axworthy, “Human Security is in essence, an effort to construct a global society where the safety of the individual is at the centre of the international priorities and a motivating force for international action; where international human rights standards and rule of law are advanced and woven into a coherent web protecting the individual; where those who violate these standards are held fully accountable; and where our global, regional and bilateral institutions-present and future- are built to enhance and enforce these standards.21

Since human rights have been described as the core of human security, so by creating the environment to respect human rights of each and every individual, effort has to be made to shape a new, holistic approach to understand human security issues.

A dilemma arises between human right and human security, because there are lots of violation of Human Rights cases are going on in the name of security. On the path of establishment of peace and security i.e Human Security, lots of States Sponsored violent activities are gradually increases. For example, the human rights abuses cases of Manipur, Kashmir, Punjab etc in the name of security.

In Manipur, the torture, rape and extra judicial killing in July 2004 of 32 year old Thangjam Manorama by members of the Assam Rifles has become an emblematic case of abuses committed in the North East under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA).22

In September 2006, Human Rights Watch, another leading international human rights group released a 150-pages report titled, “Everyone lives in Fear: Patterns of Impunity in Jammu and Kashmir” throw light on numbers of cases of killings, disappearances, torture, arbitrary detentions etc which in the long run culminated in gross human insecurity.23
Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the United Nations, pointed to the relationship between human rights, national security and human security in the context of the fight against terrorism—“We should all be clear that there is no trade-off between effective action against terrorism and the protection of human rights. On the contrary, I believe that, in the long term, we shall find that human rights, along with democracy and social justice, are one of the best prophylactics against terrorism.”

In the whole development model initiated by the central government, the peripheral regions face a lot of trouble due to the unequal distribution of resources. Apart from the developmental deregulations, the north eastern India in general and Assam in particular experiencing political instability due to the problem of insurgency since the time of India’s independence. Security was the primary problem of Indian State since the dawn of independence and ceases to be remaining constant till date. The Indian state would like to tackle the problem of security by treating it as a military phenomenon and fail to address the non-military dimensions of Security. The traditional dimension of international politics basically analysed the concept of security from military perspective to acquire more power. From realist point of view the concept of security symbolises the protection of the power of the nation-state. But this traditional dimension of security failed to define the complex nature of modern nation state system in the 21st century. There are lots of complex problems like-populated society, global warming, inter and intra-state conflicts such as protracted social conflicts, extremist nationalism, nuclear warfare in the age of weapons of mass destruction, economic inequities etc become more prevalent in the new millennium.
The state of Assam also experience with different kinds of homeland discourses. As such the non-traditional dimensions of security discourses become more significant in the wake of 21st century. Issues such as environment, food, social, political and cultural rights of individuals are tried to be included within the security discourse and arguments are being articulated to expand, deepen and widen the scope of security to make the discourse of security responsive to the many realities of the contemporary world.25

Barry Buzan’s work entitled, ‘People, State and Fear’ have argued for broadening the scope of security by including issues such as politics, economy, society and ecology within the parameter of security analysis. Buzan’s advocacy for social security measures is the effective path for realising the non-traditional dimensions of security agenda. Ken booth put more emphasis on the relationship between the notions of security and deeper analysis of the nature of politics i.e ‘emancipation’ in the following words—

‘Security means the absence of threats, Emancipation is the feeling of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do. War and threat of war is one of those constraints, together with poverty, poor education, political oppression and so on. Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin. Emancipation, not power or order produces true security.’26 To extend the concept of non-traditional dimensions of security, individuals must be provided utmost importance by considering the ethno-nationalistic issues and religious issue into the forefront. Huntington in his work ‘Clash of Civilizations’ also very aptly focussed upon these ethno-religious questions for an amicable solution of the issue of security dilemma.
Due to the presence of lots of centrifugal forces and extra-territorial elements, the traditional dimensions of security fail to address the nagging problems confronted by different social groups in this part of the polity. In analysing the security discourses in North East India in general and Assam in particular, focus is to be made upon the activities of the insurgent groups operating in different regions of this part of the world. Assam has been experiencing with lots of conflict induced insecurity dilemmas over the last few decades. North Eastern region is characterised with different colours regarding the issue of insurgency- such as ideological, ethno-religious, separatism or secessionism, cultural complexities etc. Inspite of the cultural mosaic of ethnic identity, hostilities gradually increases between different caste and ethnic communities. Trans-border linkages of different insurgent groups further aggravated the situation into a boiling one.

The problem of illegal migration of people basically from Bangladesh also created lots of insecurity for the state of India by affecting the socio-political, economic and geographical landscape of the region. Demands such as creation of ‘Islamistan’ or the ‘United States of Bengal’ comprising the border districts of Assam and Bangladesh pose serious and real challenges to the ideological basis of the Indian Union.\(^7\) In the perspective of Assam in general and BTAD in particular lots of violent conflicts are going on now-a-days between Immigrant Muslims (EBO) and tribal groups. Preservation of culture of each caste and communities are very much essential in order to create a new paradigm for security discourses. Different kinds of identity movements like cultural identity, ethnic identity movements are very much pronounced in the land of Assam and so has happen the emergence of non-traditional security dimension. The kind of sub-national assertions can be minimised in a particular region by effective implementation of different kinds of developmental
plans and projects. Similar kinds of techniques may apply in Assam as well. Though the centre has expense a requisite amount of fund for the North Eastern region as a whole, but nevertheless it remain in the periphery for long decades. Alternative approaches to security needs to be implemented in this part of the world. Non-traditional dimension of human security is one kinds of alternative approach in this regard. In the words of Bill McSweeney---

*Security only makes sense if individual human beings are seen as its primary referent, or subject... The basic need for security,... is that which expresses itself as such in everyday life and in all social actions. It is the security of social relations.... It is from this elemental experience, by definition common to all individuals, that we derive the social order as the general condition of ontological security.*

Some of the major approaches that can be operated in this part of the world as a security measures which can be considered as cooperative security, comprehensive security, human security etc. Cooperative security defines security in terms of social, economic and environmental issues. Under Cooperative security initiatives, effort is to be made to change the mentality and attitude of the stakeholders to ensure better cooperation beyond border to overcome the problems of narrowly constructed national interest of the state apparatus. This type of security is a kind of process in which the sub-state groups peacefully attain independence and later on would become part of the regional arrangements to solve the various security problems of the region. In order to deepening and extending the concept of security, cooperative security is considered to be an important tool.

Comprehensive security which became the foreign policy of Japan can also be adopted by different nation-states as a non-traditional security aspect. In order to expand the concept of comprehensive security, it includes principles of ‘balanced national development through endeavours in every aspect of life: ideological,
political, economic, socio-cultural and military’. The prescribed methodology under comprehensive security basically stressed upon the stability of political and economic international environment.

Human security seems to be more alternative pro-human model to ensure non traditional security at large number. The whole concept of human security can be look from two perspectives—freedom from fear and freedom from want. In 1945, the then US Secretary of States argued:

“The battle of peace has to be fought at two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace.... No provision that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their job”.

A Human Security Audit as proposed by Kanti Bajpai would able to address different kinds of human security issues and can able to rediscovering emerging discourses of human security paradigm. In this sense the functional capability of the institutional mechanism must be develop to the utmost level so that they can able to become capable enough to accelerate the process of facilitation in order to satisfy the deepest aspiration of each and every caste and community in a very individualistic manner. But the ultimate solution regarding conflict induced insecurity perhaps may arise from deepening of democracy in the state, which does not merely end at creating a few more autonomous councils, but ushers in a culture of dialogue, interactions, tolerance and trust among groups, in which different groups find the space to pursue and develop their own language, literature and culture so that identity aspirations are fulfilled without posing a threat to the existence of the others.
2.1.1 Impact of violence on Human Security

‘In the years since the end of the Cold War, humankind has leap frogged ahead and stumbled backwards simultaneously. New possibilities for co-operation, community and well-being have opened. At the same time we have witnessed the proliferation of conflicts, an upsurge of intolerance and hatred, and callous abandonment of the most elemental notions of human rights and human dignity’ – James Grant, Executive Director of UNICEF at the World Conference on Human Rights 1993.

The growing violent form of armed conflict especially by ethnic assertion and tames of violence due to ethnic rift completely violates the very norms of non-traditional dimension of security i.e human security. The issue of insecurity of human being due to armed violence can be looked into through the conceptual tool of human security.

The agenda of human security can be practiced through two approaches- freedom from fear and freedom from want which are derived from the Atlantic Charter of 1941. The whole issue of human security in the context of armed violence can be looked into through the approach of freedom from fear. This approach stresses on protection of common people caught in war zones. It also advocates ending the use of weapons that contributes in making war more deadly and brutal. It emphasises on safety of people from both violent and non-violent threats. Freedom from fear approach firmly advocates that people should lead life in an environment which is free from fear of any kind. Canada has adopted the freedom from fear approach as an integral part of its foreign policy to fulfil the basic norms of human security paradigm. Canada has adopted the view that human security means freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, safety and life. The Canadian Foreign Ministry developed a human security agenda with the following five themes – protection of civilians, peace support operations, governance and accountability,
public safety and conflict prevention. This agenda emphasises on building a world where universal humanitarian standards and rule of law effectively protect all people; where those who violate these standards and laws are held accountable; and where global, regional and bilateral institutions are equipped to defend and enforce these standards\textsuperscript{36}. Freedom from fear approach to human security emphasises on protecting individuals from violent conflicts while recognising that these violent threats are strongly associated with poverty, lack of state capacity and other forms of inequities. Human security of common people has been greatly undermined in societies and states which are affected by armed violence. Civilians are severely affected and become the prime victims of armed violence. It is they who are paying the highest price as they suffer disproportionately from the armed violence. In violent armed conflict situation innocent civilians lose their lives without any crime of their own. People living in conflict zones have to cope up with an environment of fear as widespread fear usually accompanies armed violence. People in conflict prone areas witness fear for life and physical well-being as well as fear to freely exercise religious, cultural, political, economic rights and entitlements. They have to live in an atmosphere of fear, anxiety, suspicion and insecurity. People in conflict areas are seen to be in constant anticipation of trouble, be it threats from the militants or harassment by security forces. They have the fear of being caught in the crossfire. Fear of being targeted or becoming incidental victims of armed violence is very much prevalent among the people living in conflict zones\textsuperscript{37}. The insecurity perpetrated by prolonged period of violent conflicts leaves adverse effect on the psychology of the people. They have to often suffer from deep psychological trauma. This psychological trauma causes serious health problems and disturbs mental peace. In violent conflict situation displacement is triggered by armed violence and ensuing heightened insecurity.
Displacement from one’s home and habitat is very pathetic because when the displacees move from their original habitats, they incur immense losses in life sustaining resources including social networks, neighbours and access to common property resources\textsuperscript{38}. Displacement leads to specific vulnerabilities to women and children. Because of displacement normal social life and productive activities come to a halt. Displacement stigmatises people as camp dwellers. It leads people to a situation where they have lost their land— which was not only their source of income but also their cultural attachment to heritage, lost the status associated with land ownership and become labourers on others’ land and have shifted from being self-sufficient to dependency on government’s welfare assistance\textsuperscript{39}. In this way violence affects the social and financial status of the people living in conflict prone areas. The displaced people who stay at the camps often express their unwillingness to return to their homes for the fear of further violence. Education of child is also affected because of armed violence. As in violent conflict zones, schools are often converted into relief camps, education of children gets adversely affected. Again a significant numbers of parents in conflict areas hesitate to send their children to school because of insecurity associated with travelling long distances to attend schools. Thus education which is assumed as a key component of human efficiency and human development has been denied to the children of the societies which are prone to armed violence. Health care facilities are also negatively affected by armed violence. Many a time due to the fear of armed groups, medical personnel don’t want to go and do their jobs in conflict prone rural areas. Because of such lack of medical staff common people have to suffer severely. Children, women and girls have to face particular difficulties in such situation. More particularly absence of reproductive health care facilities results in negative consequences for women and their children. In conflict
areas people themselves impose restrictions on their mobility due to the fear of violence both from the state security force and armed groups. Restriction on mobility has adverse effect on financial condition of people. Development activities are also severely hampered in such situation as the state invests more and more fund to counter the armed groups.

One of the major threats that the people have to face in armed conflict situation is threat of sexual violence. Both men and women are sexually assaulted in conflict situation; more particularly women have to face sexual violence very often. In a situation where the problem of violence is related to the question of ethnicity and identity, greater attempts are made to control the mobility and sexuality of women. Women are expected to become the custodian and promoter of honour and culture and tradition of the community. Because of it, in violent conflict situation, the opposite side try to harm the community’s strength and honour by targeting women sexually. During violent moment, sexual violence against women is used as an instrument of coercion and suppression against enemy. The belief that the rape of women is part of humiliation and destruction of the enemy stems from a patriarchal construction of a women’s body symbolising the territory or property of the enemy which has to be violated. In armed conflict situation women have to face sexual violence, trafficking and sexual slavery, domestic violence, and even trauma of children born of rape and sexual exploitation and the societal taboos related to it. Human Trafficking in conflict situation particularly in case of women and children is very much widely practised in different parts of the world. International Organization for Migration (IOM), one of the main Europe-wide actors in developing counter-trafficking defines the act of trafficking in migrants as occurring when a migrant is illicitly recruited and/or moved by means of deception or coercion for the purpose of economically or
otherwise exploiting the migrant, under conditions that violate their fundamental human rights. It means the exploiter get the chance to exploit and harass the abuse due to later's disadvantage position or former's hegemonic control over resources. Accordingly trafficking involves the smuggling of humans for sexual purposes, including acts of sexual exploitation perpetuated by any parent, family members, middlemen and women, strangers and kinsmen and women. Trafficking in Persons Report 2004 states that between 70 and 90 percent of contemporary traffic in women and children in Europe and Asia is related to prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation (mainly the pornography industry). The standard view, such as it is, argues that collective sexual violence is only the frankest expression of men’s power over women. Different non-governmental organizations such as Nidan, Prayas Bharati Trust, Chirag Centre, Samajik Kalyan Sansthan etc has been working in India since long against women and child trafficking. Amnesty (1993), said that army and police regularly engage in sexual violence towards the families of insurgents in Assam, and throughout India against low-caste and tribal-communities. A research study conducted by North East Network (NEN) found out that many women in the relief camps in the violence affected areas of Assam have gone through devastating experiences. Women have to live in fear of sexual abuse both from state armed groups and state security force. Similar kinds of insidious physical and psychological harm also inflicted on children i.e upon the girl child during the time of intra-state conflict by both the government soldiers and rebel troops. In conflict situation, the civilian children are killed outright as a result of torture, firearms, bombs and landmines. As a result, children get psychologically scarred which is also an epitome of human insecurity. After losing the male member of the family due to violence who happened to be the sole bread earner of that family, the responsibility of looking after
their family fall directly on the women which leads to some difficulties for them. Because of increasing household responsibilities many women migrate to urban centres. This displacement to urban centres, increased poverty and economic burden often results in forcing the women to turn to prostitution when they don’t find any other means of livelihood. Displaced people particularly the women face a lot of troublesome period due to absence of a concrete rehabilitation scheme.

2.2 Ethnic assertion and the issue of Human Security:

India is considered to be a land full of ethnic and tribal groups. Inequalities in the society seem to be more vibrant along with the growth of education, employment and modernization process. Due to the unequal development of economic process, regional imbalances become more pronounce in character. Ethnic groups residing in the peripheral line finds it difficult to sustain because they gets deprived in the hands of already advantageous groups of individual. It results in dissatisfaction on the part of the deprived. Political mobilization of the ethnic groups accelerates the process of unity among them for social change. Geo-political identity is a growing demand by these ethnic groups often through political mobilization on ethnic line and formation of ethnic states within the Indian Republic. Strategic location of North eastern region across the international border is very much significant along with its cultural background.

Max Weber defines ethnic group as a human collectivity based on an assumption of common origin, real or imagined. It has at least some values which contrast with those of the larger society, and it maintains some separate institutions and rituals. Shibutani and Kwan (1965) define ‘ethnic group’ as ‘people’ who conceive of themselves as being of a kind and are united by emotional bonds and
concerned with the preservation of their type. Clifford Geertz (1963) does not define ethnic group but describes it. In his words, “the new states are abnormally susceptible to serious disaffection based on primordial attachment. By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the assumed ‘givens’- of social existence; immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the given-ness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language or even a dialect of a language and following particular social practices.... The general strength of such primordial bonds, and the types of them that are important; differ from person to person, from society to society, at almost all times, some attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural- some would spiritual- affinity than from social interaction”.

There is a paradigm shift in the field of multiculturalism for political economic milieu through unity of power elite. The process of economic development which slowly and gradually accelerated in the tribal society may be in near future can able to provide a base for the upliftment of their own people alongwith the mainstream developmental path. But trajectorily they are in the backfoot.

Ethnic identity is a subjective articulation of beliefs, values and symbols of culture by a group of people to differentiate themselves from others. Regarding ethnic identity formation, two basic approaches prevails- primordialist and instrumentalist approach. By developing different kinds of approaches these groups evolve their own criteria for inclusion and exclusion from the group. In the initial period, different primordial elements are mobilized by these groups to consolidate ethnic identity, but later on it turns into an instrument of economic and political benefits. While the primordialist suggest that ethnic identity is ‘given’, because it is

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essentially based on elements like cultural forms, values and practices, race, language, religion and so on, the instrumentalists, on the other hand, say that identity in ethnic terms must be seen in the context of the use of values, beliefs and values of ethnic groups become political resource for the people in competition for political power and economic gains. There are certain peculiarities among the ethnic groups such as nomadic habitat, same language, wear similar kind of clothes, same religion, eat same kind of food and even sing the same song among them. The transformation of all those cultural forms and practices help them to create bases for political gaining. Very often the elite and the influential person in the group carry political differentiation between people by attributing upon certain beliefs and values which have political motives than the other motives.

In a particular democratic polity, each and every individual has the equal right to participate in decision-making. The principle of equal respect for persons, equality of law and equal protection of law, civil and democratic rights etc are primordial loyalty for all democratic states. In a multicultural society, the interest of both larger and smaller identity groups need to be address to harmonize differences without losing its social cohesion. The democratic government must be capable enough to reconcile the conflicting claims of the ethnic groups to provide equal opportunity to them along with the other section of the society.

The relationship between ethnicity and democracy has lots of contestation. Ethnicity which is an alternative form of social organization based exclusively on primordial attributes presupposes community identity which bind individual together. In case of economic upliftment, political and educational opportunities, these ethnic groups seek the well-being of group members as individuals by acting as political
groups. On the contrary, the democratic ideal is tied to the idea of the individual, the free-standing individual, one who is assumed to have acquired the capacity to make whatever decisions and choices face her or him without needing such crutches of authority as the family elders, sacred texts, or a great leader. The identification of individuals in ethnic point of view restricts their choices, as because neither it is based on reasons nor knowledge rather based upon the divine guidance of religion, race and castes (R.K Bhadra and Mita Bhadra, 2007, 53).

In modern day perspectives, groupings and collectivities seems to be growing extensively in different parts of the world based on racial, religious, linguistic and regional identities. As a result multi-ethnicity becomes the reality for most of the countries of present world for which the importance of democratic polity increases significantly. Civil society has to play a pivotal role in bridging the gap between the identity groups and state apparatus. It provides certain condition for which individual receives lots of space to minimize tension they get both from the state as well as from community. The institutions of the civil society can offer persons some protection against the mindless application of general rules or worse of the power of the state (Saberwal, 2001). Politics of ethnicity and identity accelerated its activity through the formation of civil society which in the long run provides helpful impetus for the creation of a fully democratic society. Civil society tries to solve different problems face by various ethnic groups. It develops awareness among the discontented sections for their future. In North East Indian perspective, uneven pace of economic development among various tribes has led to growing competition causing simmering discontent and tension towards relatively developed larger groups. The process of nationality formation is said to be riding high in this part of the world among different ethnic groups.
Ethnic tension in the north-eastern part of India is not a new phenomenon. It can be traced back from the British period onwards. With distinct cultural diversities, north east region is homeland of various tribal societies. Different religious practices such as Animism, Buddhism, Vaishnavism Christianity etc practise by various caste and communities which also reflects the process of cultural diversity in North Eastern region. With certain egalitarian social values, seeds of feudalism and division of population rapidly increase tension among the tribes which results in a number of secessionist movements. All these movements are aiming to achieve freedom from the alien rulers and their culture to establish their own rules by their own government (R.K. Bhadra & Mita Bhadra, 2007, 59).

Among lots of protest movement, Bodo Movement can be considered as one of the significant one so far as frequency and magnitude of the movements are concern. The Bodos of Assam represent a Tibeto-Burman linguistic group. The Bodos are represented by a number of tribes, namely- Kacharis, Meches, Garos, Rabhas, Tripuris, Koches, Morans, Chutiyas, Lalungs, Sonowals, Dimasas and Hazongs. Five Year Plan implemented after independence also fail to solve the problem of land alienation for which tribal people have to face a lot. In spite of the creation of thirty-three belts and blocks under the Assam Land and Regulation (Amendment) Act 1947 to protect the tribal from alienation of their land, fail to solve nagging problems face by these communities. The language issue and the alienation of tribal land to the immigrant peasant is the source of dissatisfaction among the Bodos. The formation of Bodo Accord provided the right to self-determination to the Bodo people in social, economic, educational, ethnic and cultural advancement within the Indian Constitution.
Ethnic self-consciousness which is the central to ethnicity manifests itself either in the demand for the right to cultural survival or for political sovereignty. Presence of a reference group comprised of majority section need to be essential to provide fuel for ethnicity to take shape. Modern day nationalism basically focuses upon ethnic nationalism. In a heterogeneous society, due to cultural complexities, smaller group face a lot of threats to cultural survival. Homogenization of representation need to be implemented through the process of standardised education and effective role of print media. In the post-cold war phenomenon, ethnic ideologies in the form of nationalistic ideas came into existence and smaller national sentiment grows among the ethnic communities. But nationalism postulates the existence of an ‘abstract community’. Benedict Anderson (1991) rightly has spoken of the nation as an ‘imagined community’. The processes of homogenization, large scale communication, cultural standardisation etc are some important features of nation-building.

From the perspective of north east India, the concept of ethnicity gain more importance for the culturally diverse social groups turning the entire region into a mosaic of ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural diversities. North eastern region which has a predominant tribal character with contested ethnic problems have been carrying out sustained movements to attain their political objectives. Within the fold of a larger political union, these ethnic groups demand various privileges ranging from sovereignty to autonomous status. To establish peace and security in all over the North eastern region, institutional mechanism must focus upon individual equality, human rights and minority rights.
From ethnicity point of view, North-East India provides a situation where one has communities organised in the mould of ‘ethnic communities’.

An ethnic community which is considered to be an ethnic group with a requisite amount of territorial arrangement with sufficient members sharing interests in their ethnic identity, their ethnic networks, their associations and their shared territorial estate (R.K Bhadra and Mita Bhadra, 2007, 76). But due to the transfer of resources from their hand to other groups, these ethnic groups likely to pervade more in the field of politics.

The kind of violence that carries by ethnic assertion has galvanized the issue human security of the common people in a contested society. Quest for human security in conflict prone areas of ethnically exhausted society basically urge for freedom from fear. But the trajectory of armed violence due to ethnic assertion invokes the plethora of security dilemma. The rebel forces of different ethnic rift have fought for complete and in some cases partial autonomy which in the long run undermine the issue of human security. Ethnic violence instigated different contested groups to indulge in practising violent techniques to dominate others which are a psychological instinct of each and every member of ethnic groups being a member of human categories. Human security which is a key theme for human development, human rights and human well-being has been greatly suppressed by ethnic assertion in large part of underdeveloped society e.g Indian Society. The Human Development Report 2005 of the UNDP links violent conflict to low human development countries and provides figures which are reliable. It says that 9 out of 10 lowest human development index (HDI) countries have experienced conflict at some point since 1990. The civilian in a violence affected areas has been confronting with destructed
situations ranging from displacement, killing, livelihood etc which aggravated the further process of their insecurity.

2.3 Roots of violence

Conflict... is a theme that has occupied the thinking of man more than any other, save only God and love. - Anatol Rapoport

'Conflict is like sex. It is widespread, necessary and ought to be enjoyed'. Conflict is not always bad. In some cases, conflict is good with certain constructive ideas. Similarly we consider violence as evil, but from just war perspective it raises lots of questions. By following constructivist approach conflict can be minimised with proper timely and effective efforts such as – resource mobilization, affirmative action, autonomy and devolution and precipitating safety valves etc. Almost each and every part of the world among human community conflict prevails with varied degree. The structural features of the social, economic and political system determine people’s interest in conflict and cooperation. Conflict and violence is always omnipresent in the political life of the individual as well as the society as a whole. Now a days different kinds of cultural theories came into existence in order to define the root causes of conflict and violence. Since civilizations are nothing but a cultural group of identity in large number, so different kinds of violence i.e going on in and around the world is nothing but a ‘clash of civilization’ which accelerate the degree of global violence. The kind of violence that gradually spread in international arena is due to because of several factors such as – Rising China, unstable muslims, declining west, The Budhist World, the Hindu World etc. Regarding global violence, love-hate relationship provides fuel in intensifying clashes among the hostile opponents. A tale ‘hate at first sight’ instigated each and everyone to aggravate against the interest of
the other. The kind of clashes between different civilizations occurs due to because of cultivating targeted differences. Both in micro and macro level, clash occur among different groups. The fault-line clashes further aggravated the situation to a worst one. At the micro level in a multicultural society like India, we have been experiencing with various forms of conflict and violence due to variety of factors such as – linguistic, religious, ethnic etc. To solve the kinds of problem relating to micro level clashes we can use solidarist approach as a remedial measure.

Ethno-nationalistic sentiments of each and every caste and community and Xenophobic identity issues provide fuel in increased number of structural and physical violence to create new world disorder. After the end of cold war the ethnic violence becomes more brutal and destructive in character which jeopardise the political order of a society. Recent increase in the incidence of ethnic and nationalist violence have certainly contributed to an increase in the share of ethnic and nationalist violence in all political violence- that is to what might be called the ethnicization of political violence. Post-cold war phenomena further weakened different regions economically which increased their miseries and accordingly social unrest and ethnic strife threatened the social order of different societies. Violence is considered to be an ambiguous and elastic concept due to because of its direct use of force with the help of different notions of symbolic violence. Violence is always intermingled with social complexities of which in the long run results in violent conflicts. In some occasions, ethnic bias may lead to the enormous ethnic strife and violence in different parts of the world. Culturalist approach invoke ethnic dimension of violence both theoretically and methodologically. Integrated theory of political violence as provided by Tedd Robert Gurr basically deals with the discontentment of the individual arising out of relative deprivation.
From economic point of view, the theory of political economy sees poverty and inequality as the root cause of violence. The plethora of economic crisis in different parts of the world in different circumstances also damages the economic status of an advanced society. The established political regime by initiating privatization of economic activities make people economically and politically paralysed which further culminate into political carnage on the part of the individual in the hands of the state actor. A plausible analysis of political economy of a particular polity can able to define the socio-economic causes of conflict and violence by trans-locating new theories beyond greed and grievances model.

Regarding collective violence in case of political violence, discontent on the part of the individual which arise out of relative deprivation is the basic condition for instigating huge masses into definite action. Relative deprivation is defined as a perceived discrepancy between men’s value expectations and their value capabilities.\(^5^7\) Value expectation signifies the goods and conditions of life which people believe to be entitle and on the other hand value capabilities signifies the goods and conditions which they think to be capable enough for attaining (Gurr, 2016,13). Psychological theory and group conflict theory follows the proverb ‘deprivation-induced discontent. It signifies that greater the degree of discontent, more will be the result of violent conflict. Widespread discontent provides a general impetus to collective violence.\(^5^8\) Politicized discontent which instigated individual to violence is always determined the magnitude of political violence in a particular system.

Relative deprivation provides lots of impetus to violence. In this sense Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels quoted,
“Our desires and pleasures spring from society; we measure them, therefore, by society and not by the objects which serve for their satisfaction. Because they are of a social nature, they are of a relative nature.”

Conflict or tension which is considered to be unpleasant in character is the fundamental source of both innovation and destruction in human affairs (Gurr, 2016, 23). Therefore, human being always needs to avoid or overcome that kind of destructed situation. Very often human being gets frustrated by following the principle of relative deprivation and in the long run conflict become indispensible between the aggressor and the deprived. Social and psychological behaviour of the individual and non-realistic attitude on the part of the human being provides lot of impetus to violence which are basically political in character. The frustration-aggression relationship provides psychological dynamism to accelerate the process of collective violence. In different circumstances the degree of collective violence varies along with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among the individual. 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. The concept of relative deprivation was first used by the authors of ‘The American Soldier’ in the 1940s. Aberle’s writings also reflect the concept of relative deprivation. He quoted ‘relative deprivation is the negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and actuality.’ Aascriptive values which are more relevant to a theory of political violence need to be restructured so that the degree of collective violence can be minimised. Human instinct and the goal oriented values presumably postulated human motivation which ultimately results in violent conflict to gain more.
Human aggression increases along with the increased level of relative deprivation. In some cases, the maladaptive socialization process remains the sole reason for different kinds of political violence. From psychological point of view aggression on the part of the individual is to some extent instinctive in character. If human instinct which is an innate behaviour of each and every individual gets activated by frustration, automatically society at large number experienced with conflict situations. If we consider the human nature as depicted by Thomas Hobbes in his state of nature, we can able to narrate the complex behaviour of human being. The causes of violence at societal level are considered to be purposive in character. It depends upon the innate attitude of the individual. In different societies the causes of violence is also different. For Morrison, in developing countries the level of relative deprivation is more due to rural discontent and strife (Morrison, 1966, 06). The frustration-aggression theory which was popularised by Dollard and his colleagues at Yale in 1939 considered ‘frustration’ as an interference to accelerate the aggressive behaviour of the person who get frustrated to attack the frustrating agent. If the threat of life is perceived to be greater, response also occurs violently in a very aggressive manner. Along with the increase number of threat, the degree of fear and anger also rises. To get freedom from that kind of fear human being instigated by violent conflict mechanism. 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. For Dale Yoder, the end of adaptation is the beginning of revolution.59

Relative Deprivation which accelerates the process of political violence needs to be defined. For Gurr it is nothing but the perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capacities. For Aristotle the principal cause of revolution is the
aspiration for economic and political equality on the part of the common people who lack it, and the aspiration of oligarchs for greater inequality than they have, i.e. a discrepancy in both instances between what people have of political and economic goods relative to what they think is justly theirs. Edwards identified ‘repression of elemental wishes’ of the common people as the analogous causes of political violence. Due to such types of repression, individual react vehemently which is also proportional to repressive mechanism. The sense of repression, or ‘balked disposition,’ develops when ‘people come to feel that their legitimate aspirations and ideas are being repressed or perverted, that their entirely proper desires and ambitions are being hindered and thwarted....’ Sometime people develops a kind of revolutionary attitude if they find difficult in their basic needs for liberty and security. As Gurr said that “A revolution takes place when the great majority of the society feels cramped beyond tolerance.” Sometimes people get dissatisfied due to their differences between the nature of achievement and aspiration. Needs and aspiration of every individual is considered to be endless as because they have endless desires. Due to their highest level of aspiration, sometime they get frustrated if they fail to achieve what they want. Though they progress smoothly towards their desired goal, but somehow they can only able to manage a minimum which increased their degree of dissatisfaction and in near future it may turn into a revolutionary attitude on the part of those deprived masses. Crozier says that the one element common to all rebels is frustration, defined as “the inability to do something one badly wants to do, through circumstances beyond one’s control.” Expectation and aspiration of the individual which have close relationship with deprivation leading to revolution. Hoselitz and Willner very aptly distinguish between expectations and aspirations. According to them, “Unrealized aspirations produce feelings of disappointment, but unrealized
expectations result in feelings of deprivation. Disappointment is generally tolerable; deprivation is often intolerable. The deprived individual feels impelled to remedy, by whatever means are available, the material and psychic frustrations produced in him. Whereas disappointment may breed the seeds of incipient revolution, deprivation serves as a catalyst for revolutionary action.\textsuperscript{64}

In different parts of the world, different deprived community follow the sense of ‘relative deprivation’ as a reference group to address their vulnerability. Although Johan Galtung does not use the concept of ‘relative deprivation’ in analysing the theory of violence, he focuses upon the structural theory of aggression.\textsuperscript{65} To analyse the disruptive collective behaviour of the individual three other concepts namely dissonance, anomie and conflict also used by Gurr along with relative deprivation. But these three new concepts are not directly analogous to Relative Deprivation. Dissonance is a psychological concept signifies the discrepancies between two clusters of element. Dissonance may arise among the minds of the people due to because of inconsistency between two cognitive elements. Cognitive elements, “the things a person knows about himself, about his behaviour and about his surroundings,” are dissonant if “the obverse of one element would follow from the other.”\textsuperscript{66}

In a much generalised sense Durkheim used the concept of Anomie. He gave the term ‘Anomie’ in his ‘The Division of Labour in Society’ and Robert K Merton also popularised this concept in his “Social Structure and Anomie”. According to Merton, “Anomie is a breakdown of social standards governing social behaviour, or normlessness. It is specifically a sociological concept: the degree of anomie in a social system is indicated by the extent to which there is a lack of consensus on norms
judged to be legitimate, with its attendant uncertainty and insecurity in social relations.” Gordon Rose in his “Anomie and Deviation” identifies three kinds of anomie: weakness of norms, the existence of several strong but conflicting norms and ignorance of norms. According to him, all these three situations lead to the pervasive sense of uncertainty to which is attributed much deviant behaviour, including criminality, suicide and drug addiction and gang behaviour (Gurr, 2016, 42). Anomie could lead to widespread deviant behaviour and the establishment of alternative norms, which constitutes ‘rebellion’.68

In different circumstances conflict can be defined in a variety of ways. Sometimes it can be conceptualised in a definite way as a process, in some occasion as a condition and sometimes as an event. Johan Galtung in analysing his concept of structural violence defines conflict as a condition: “An action-system is said to be in conflict if the system has two or more incompatible goal-states.” For Coser conflict is a process which is a struggle over values and status (Gurr, 2016, 44). Sometimes conflict can also be considered as an event with violent and non-violent clash between two groups.

The intensity of individual’s anger injected by psycho-cultural environment of the surrounding where they live. Along with the greater degree of discrepancy between the expectations and capabilities of individual, the level of discontent also increases. Availability of alternative option minimize the degree of tension and discontent of the people, but due to the lack of proper alternative, in certain circumstances anger and frustration reached the peak point which leads to the destruction of the society at large scale.
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. Sometimes the social and political processes that systematize in different parts of the world are likely to generate widespread and intense discontent. Men always remain fortunate to be a member of a society which provides them lots of opportunities to fulfil their desires in the form of expectations. In this sense the concept of value capabilities of the individual needs to be re-examined with the help of intensifying data from the field. It is essential to examine whether each and every individual become capable enough to response very well to all those fortunate expectations. Aspiring to be more sufficient enough by following a material form of culture led individual to search for self-fulfilling path to gain new goods and new way of life. Blanksten defines this process as one in which “People on a lower standard of living become acquainted with the benefits of a higher standard, and in consequence of this ‘demonstration effect’ come to desire or demand the goods of the higher level.”

As a consequence of such kind of exposure which can be regard as ‘revolution of rising frustrations’ that led to increasing aspiration unmatched by achievement (Gurr, 2016, 94).

Literacy and Western education are often asserted to be major sources of rising expectations. With the help of western education system, individual invests his time and energy towards new goal to achieve more success. Along with the inculcation of values from this new form of society individual also develops their increase level of value expectations. If individual fail to get proper recruitment according to their desire to earn more after the completion of distinct educational progress, frustration and anger are likely to arise. Desire for economic goods, personal
development, status, pleasure of urban life etc provides fuel for demonstration effect to raise the level of expectations of the common people. Sometimes demonstration effect operates with power values. This kind of political demonstration effect can overthrow the prevailing autocratic system to establish a new political order. Due to the success of rebellions against the political regime in some regions of the world further aggravated political violence to each and every corner of the globe.

Very often the demonstration effect of one social group’s increasing mobility can be referring as a source of rising expectations of other groups. Here the value expectations of the deprived group follow the advantageous social group as a reference group to gain value. From psychological point of view, relative deprivation is said to arise when individuals compare their own situation with that of a reference group which has what they want and think they should have. Along with the increase level of individual’s negative discrepancy, relative deprivation of the same also increases. By putting someone as a reference group, individual may set their value expectation to develop their standards.

Value Capabilities which is considered to be a relative term have lots of determinants in order to analyze the social origin of deprivation. A society full of resources and human being with capacity can able to share the benefits of life, but if they have the problem of lack of resources and capacities automatically their performance will be decrease. In this sense Manfred Halpern cited,

“Man and all the political, social, economic, religious, intellectual, aesthetic and psychological systems by which he has so far organized his life, are persistently being rendered incoherent.... This breaking of connections, and therefore the destruction of the capacity to deal with the most basic issues of social life, is the persistent and permanent challenge of the modern age.”
Due to the effects of power value, political violence seems to be occur. Citizen’s power value capabilities are likely to be high if the opportunities for political participation remain high (Gurr, 2016, 143). Desire for gaining power and leadership motivation attract some individual to deliver service towards the society. But during the course their service if power values are not widely shared, a sense of participatory relative deprivation is likely to be develop. In contemporary period power can be used as a remedial measure to solve the problem of discontent. It also can be used to increase the societal and political value opportunities of discontented groups, economic goods, participatory and status values, maintain security etc for the greater purpose of the society.

When in a political system institution become weak in comparison to the opposition organization, discontentment is likely to arise which leads to political violence. Due to the aggressive nature of the individual society confronted with violence. Regarding aggression, Gordon Allport writes,

"Aggression breeds aggression. One comes to expect aggression to be a way of solving all problems.... Thus aggression is pretty much of a habit; the more you express it the more you have of it."

Regarding the perspective on violence and politics different hypothetical explanation needs to be analysed. From psycho-cultural point of view socialization pattern determines the upward and downward motive of aggression. The attitude of the people of different nation is different according to the process of socialization and kind of political culture they follow. The experiences that men come-across in their daily life in a particular polity help to develop a kind of attitude towards the system. All those good and bad experiences provide justification in front of the individual to address the doctrine of violence at large scale. In response to their immediate political
circumstances these justifications which also can be considered as ‘ideologies’ provide helpful impetus to inculcate values and awareness among the discontented fraction of people (Gurr, 2016, 160). Different kinds of utopian objectives led individual to fanaticism. The ideas which immediately justify violence for most participants in most acts of political violence have the character of slogans, rumours, prejudices, or simplified fragments of ideologies, not of integrated belief systems. Klineberg focussed upon two approaches namely ‘individual aggressiveness’ and ‘cultural approaches’ to explain the aggressive and violent behaviour of individual. The ‘individual aggressiveness’ approach refers to explanations of aggression in terms of the actual experience of the individual in their early life which motivate them to express aggressive behaviour whereas the cultural approach stressed upon the mores or folkways of a community through which acceptations and rejection of aggression is to be determine (Gurr, 2016, 161). For Ted Robert Gurr, ‘individual aggressiveness’ symbolize individual’s aggressive behaviour and attitude during the whole socialization process. In a most complex society different section of people manifest different magnitude and degrees of violence. Sometimes violence occurs by following a self-fulfilling prophecy. In a conflicting situation the discontented groups always to follow some disturb norms of whom they consider as a reference group. Mosca calls it as ‘mimetism’ defining it as ‘the tendency of an individual’s passions, sentiments, and beliefs to develop in accord with the currents that prevail in the environment.’ In other words if discontent is widespread in a society, anomie (normlessness) common, and political violence frequent, there is a tendency for attitudes of expectancy of violence to be converted into norms justifying violence. By examining the cost and benefit ratio of violent activity of the participants and desired gain received by them to alleviate deprivation, the process i.e violence-expectancy-justification-violence
tends to be reinforced or terminated (Gurr, 2016, 170). But if people get benefited by violence either receiving the goal or showing anger without any harm of their own, they would like to continue those violent activities in future as well.

In the contemporary world, each and every kinds of civil strife characterised with certain political motives and tries to the extent to fulfil their desired political demands by setting some targets. Due to the politicization of discontent, violent turmoil situation has to be faced by greater part of the society. Ethnic hostilities in different parts of the world also shows greater degree of violence in contemporary period in comparison to the past due to the role played by state apparatus, non-state actor and other centrifugal forces. The political system is the agent most likely to be held responsible in the modern and modernizing nation, not simply by default but because of widespread organizational ideological, or elite-generated expectations that the state has ultimate responsibility not only for a narrow set of security and regulatory functions but for the general welfare of its citizens. In contemporary circumstances due to the rapid social and economic change, the social life become so integrated that all the problem either local or national need to be solved on wider national scene by taking decisive action. The only institution that seems to command the resources and authority is the state i.e the political system which becomes the chief means as well as the chief end of action (Gurr, 2016, 180). In this way private problems of the individual transform into public issues. Subsequently through radicalization of conflict people in the developing society want to transform the entire societal norms. Politicization of discontent becomes more vigilant in developing and underdeveloped region. The contention is that due to social and political restrictions imposed upon individual by the state apparatus, their economic success declined and they radically increases aspirations in political terms (Danziger, 1963, 33).
Regarding the perspective of violence, the legitimacy of political system also gains importance. Men’s attitude towards their ruler and political institutions has been discussed by different schools of thought. Different scholarly works provide lots of literatures regarding the sources, nature and consequences of people’s attitude and beliefs towards the political system. All those perspectives and conditions associated with them have been variously described as ‘legitimacy’ by Max Weber, ‘political community’ by Sebastian de Grazia, ‘Political myth’ by Harold Lasswell, ‘support’ by Richard Rose, ‘authoritativeness’ by Kim, ‘political trust’ by William Gamson, ‘system affect’ by Almond and Verba, ‘political allegiance’ by Robert Lane and ‘loyalty’ by Gurr etc to cite some representative concepts (Gurr, 2016, 184). If the regime is good, people always willing to support and obey and do not want to attack the political system. But sometimes violence occurs in legitimate system if the compliance of the people in that system based on coercion. Almond and Verba, for example, suggest a structural correlate of high input affect in democracies: “an effectively functioning democracy implies that a substantial proportion of its members are involved in the political system through the meshing of the more diffuse structures of the community with the more differentiated ones of the polity.” If there is inadequate structural articulation, “the polity may lose touch with the intimate moods and needs of its members. People may withdraw emotionally from the political system or relate themselves to it by passively accepting the displacements, projections, and other irrationalities of extremist movements.”

From cultural heritages of peace or conflict and the learning of managing aggressive impulses, we gradually acquire our norms about violence (Gurr, 2016, 193). In this context, Antoine de St. Exupery cited, “New truths are always being prepared in the cellars of violence.” The kind of attitude that develops discontents
considered to be responsible for political violence. Ideologies, Utilities and Communication also play a significant role in justifying political violence. Ideologies are “frameworks of consciousness” which provide men with an interpretation of the world for purposes of acting in it.\(^7\) Political ideology, in Dion’s view, “is a more or less integrated system of values and norms, rooted in society, which individuals and groups project on the political plane in order to promote the aspirations and ideals they have come to value in social life.”\(^7\) In Smelser’s term ‘Generalized beliefs’ that develop in situations of social strain which cannot be managed within the existing framework for action (Gurr, 2016, 194). Such beliefs mobilize people for collective action by explaining ambiguous situations and creating a “common culture” within which leadership, mobilization, and concerted action can take place.\(^8\) Certain revolutionary ideology attributes normative justification to political violence. In this sense, Leon Dion hypothesizes that, “the more acute the social tensions and conflicts, the more likely to be extreme the political ideologies that express them.” The degree and propensity of violence depends upon the ideology in general and slogans used during the course of revolution in particular. Repetition of slogans like, “Liberty, equality and fraternity”, “Workers of the world arise, and you have nothing to lose but your chains” and “Burn, baby, burn” serve this function for the angry man become effective during the time of violence at large number (Gurr, 2016, 196). This kind of energizing slogan follows by the working class which describe Sorel as general strike. He regarded the general strike as a myth, ‘a body of images capable of evoking instinctively all the sentiments which correspond to the different manifestations of the war undertaken by Socialism against modern society.”\(^8\) In the words of Frantz Fanon, “violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect.”\(^8\)
To mobilize people for political violence the nuances of diverse ideologies, slogans and rumours can play a significant role. The effectiveness of ideologies depends on the circumstances of the audience. The effectiveness of new justificatory beliefs about political violence also varies with the extent to which they provide the discontented with a sense of community.\textsuperscript{83} Schwartz says that revolutionary appeals are successful to the extent that they provide a sense of “prideful historical community”, even if it is a fictionalized one; explain alienation in terms of a loss of that community; and assert that the community can be re-established through a revolutionary movement.\textsuperscript{84} Such mutual awareness is fostered by symbols of inclusiveness, like the Marxist dictum that all workers are exploited.\textsuperscript{85}

To demonstrate symbolically the demands of the deprived, sometimes a common indirect use of violence may occur. Nieburg writes that “the ‘rational’ goal of the threat of violence is an accommodation of interests” and that “the ‘rational’ goal of actual violence is demonstration of the will and capability of action, establishing a measure of the credibility of future threat.” The occurrence of violence within the state, even if it is sporadic and unplanned, and even if it has non-political targets, can be used by leaders and regarded by rulers as evidence of the intensity of the discontenteds’ demands for change, and as threat of further disorder if those demands are not satisfied.\textsuperscript{86} During the period of revolution if the dissidents believe that without transforming the system their objectives cannot be fulfilled, they are likely to use violent and terroristic tactics to show their existence (Gurr, 2016, 212). Thornton, in an analysis of terror as a rebel weapon, refers to this as an “advertising” function: terror calls attention to the dissidents’ activities, programmes and goals.\textsuperscript{87}
The communication system also provides fuel regarding the genesis of collective violence. The modern communication system which accelerates in a rapid way is considered to be an index as well as an agent of change in a particular social system (Gurr, 2016, 223). In dispersing aggressive political symbols the communication system have to open numbers of Channels or media and also to be focus upon the information flow over them to reached to doorsteps of requisite amount of people. Lifton points out that political control of communication can be used to facilitate ideological conversion, and demonstrates the effectiveness with which the Chinese Communists used communication control to create what he calls a “thought reform environment.” With the greater number of audience in communication media, the number of discontented people also increases. Because the kind of messages that provided by media likely to be affect great portion of people in a polity. Thus aggressive political symbols are the graphic or verbal representations of violence against the established political regime to overthrow them from power. Sometime state authority blackout news channels from news coverage to eliminate the problem of demonstration effect. But in most cases it proof to be futile. For example, Cultural Revolution 1966-68 in China was accompanied by nation-wide turmoil despite tight censorship (Gurr, 2016, 229). It seems that the discontented people can learn about violence through other means if the formal communication media fail to disseminate the news of violence. Roving bands of Red Guards and their poster campaigns in china can effectively spread the violence related news.

In a conflict situation hypothetically the principle of coercive balance can be apply. Regarding coercive balance principle, force vis-a-vis counterforce is a natural corollary. Force which threatens and angers men specially if they belief that the existing system practice certain unjust law. As the most fundamental human responses
to the use of force are considered to be counterforce, so they want to retaliate vehemently. In this respect Roy Pearson\textsuperscript{89} cited,

"Force empowers its own adversaries. It raises up its own opposition. It engenders its own destruction."

The effective role played by the political regime during the time of turmoil situations determines the future of particular polity. If the regime applies coercive method to suppress the dissidents, violence is like to occur. By recognizing mutual interest which makes bargaining possible may establish normalcy for a long period. In the absence of that kind of cooperation, political regime and the dissidents are likely to engage in violent conflict to the level of their capacities (Gurr, 2016, 232).

The effectiveness of a regime’s coercive forces and resources depends upon their size in comparison to those rebels or opponents. In most cases, revolution commonly breaks out when both the parties have equal possibilities of victory and this relationship is applicable to both turmoil as well as revolution (Timasheff, 1965, 158). Depending upon the relative capabilities of the opponents towards an equilibrium, the intensity and duration of the conflict increases to the extent. Sometimes dissidents fail to organize and sustain an internal war for long time if they have substantially less coercive control in comparison to the regime. But with certain imagined ideas dissidents operates their activities in the hope of influencing the policies of governmental regime. Even in the absence of utilitarian motivations, and in the face of greatly superior force, intensely discontented dissidents sometimes initiate violent clashes and thus turmoil is more likely to occur when dissidents are weak in comparison to the regime (Gurr, 2016, 234). Like Gurr, other scholars like Sorokin cited that,
“If the social groups who defend the existing order are strong, the result of ‘repressed instinct’- absolute deprivation- is only a series of spontaneous suppressed riots. But when the groups which stand for order are unable to exercise that restraining influence, a revolution is inevitable.”

Conspiracy- plots, coups d’etat, terrorism etc also systematically related to the concept of balance of coercive control (Gurr, 2016, 236). Sometimes dissidents want to form organization in hope of increasing their capabilities if they considered as weak in comparison to the regime. The success of any revolution depends upon the organizational capability on the part of the dissident masses. They are especially likely to resort to clandestine operations if the regime makes repressive rather than adjutitive responses to demands made through conventional channels or by public protest because inflexible repressive responses intensify the hostility of dissidents and reduce their hopes of obtaining reform except through revolutionary transformation.90

Regarding military loyalties in case of coercive control, Ted Robert Gurr cited that,

“The capacity of a regime to exercise any kind of persistent coercive control over its citizens, at any level of threat or severity of sanctions, depends ultimately on the loyalty of its military and internal security forces. The greater their loyalty, the more effective the regime is likely to be, other things being equal, in exercising coercive control. The less their loyalty, the more likely they are to use their force against the regime itself, and the more likely civilian dissidents are to think they can succeed in attacks on the regime.”

The stability of a regime’s power position depends upon the ability to use it according to the circumstances and not necessarily always. In this sense Lasswell and Kaplan propose that the elite’s control over the instruments of violence is a fundamental determinant of regime stability. For them, exclusive reliance on violence for maintenance of rule is an index of weakness rather than of strength (Lasswell and
If a regime does rely primarily or exclusively on force to maintain itself in power, any condition which weakens military loyalty is likely to precipitate revolution.\textsuperscript{91}

The balance of institutional support between regime and the dissident is very much essential. Only with the help of coercion a particular regime cannot able to maintain stable pattern of social action. Dissidents can increase the scope of their support and their effectiveness by creating the rewarding patterns of action that regimes fail to provide, if regimes rely primarily on force (Gurr, 2016, 274). The existence of politicized discontent, magnitudes and forms of political violence vary with the balance of institutional support between regimes and dissident organizations. The extent of institutional support is determined by such structural characteristics of regime and dissident organizations as scope, cohesiveness and complexity; and by the organization’s capacity to provide their members with value opportunities, satisfactions, and means for expressive protest.\textsuperscript{92} In this sense, Robert Southey cited, \begin{quote}“If at any former time the mob were inflamed with sedition, they were a headless multitude, bound together only by the momentary union of blind passion; they are now an organised association, with their sections, their secret commissions, and their treasury.”\end{quote}

But different scholars provide contradictory propositions regarding the presence of organised associations among the dissidents. Lasswell and Kaplan propose that the greater the degree of organization among the counter-elite, the greater is political instability.\textsuperscript{93} Mosca writes that “one of the principal agencies by which revolutionary traditions and passions have been kept alive in many countries in Europe has been the political association, especially the secret society.”\textsuperscript{94} Templeton concludes a survey study of alienation in the United States with the statement that the
stability of the American Political System “seems to rest ... upon the absence of institutionalized channels through which discontent can be effectively expressed.”

Almost each and every part of the globe has been experiencing with the problem of political violence which is episodic in the history of most organized political communities and chronic in many (Gurr, 2016, 317). From biological point of view, violence always inherent in men not as a need but as a capacity. But it does not necessarily mean that violence is the inevitable consequences of the existence of political community. Rather it shows a kind of specific response to particular social circumstances. In this sense Jayaprakash Narayan cited,

“If we eschew violence it is not because of any moral imperative, but it is because violence cannot change human beings.”

The societies which rely on coercion to maintain order in lieu of providing adequate patterns of value-satisfying action, civil violence may occur gradually (Gurr, 2016, 317). Despite the availability of effective nonviolent means for satisfying their expectations, requisite amount of people likely to resort violence. On relative ground, men always feel deprived and due to relative deprivation they get frustrated and take the path of violence in the long run.

Revolutions and insurgencies typically are preceded by popular discontent over many issues: absolute or relative decline in economic conditions, breakdown of established patterns of community organization and belief, the demonstrated incapacity of governments either to maintain social order or to take remedial action. Mosca writes that revolution is possible only if “the masses are stirred” by “great spiritual unrest”. Political violence is not always uniformly destructive of human well-being. Many groups have resorted to political violence at one stage or another in their historical development with positive long-range results: the resolution of divisive
conflicts, defence of threatened interests, and attainment of means by which their members could work effectively and peacefully towards their own security and well-being.  

2.4 Violence and Human insecurity in BTAD: A narration

The notion of violence is considered to be subjective and relative in the sense that the degree of tolerance and intolerance has changed according to the changing circumstances. The kind of concept like slavery which have been considered as a source of violence, generally accepted, approved and justified by the great philosophers in different occasions. Since the moral conscience of men is changeable in different situations, therefore the kinds and degrees of violence are also multifarious in character. Due to the seeds of anxiety that carries by every violent act further accelerate the degree of violence.

Violent activities are harmful to the physical, psychic and moral aspirations of others in totality. All types of psychic aspirations of violence have deeper connotation in comparison to the other forms of violence- as because it always remain silent and violence occur suddenly without any clue and create unstable situation. Originally both physical and psychological forms of violence targets opponents to destroy completely in the hope of getting a sadistic pleasure. The very idea of torture has a close relationship with the concept of violence. Physical torture and psychological torture in the form of interrogation and brainwashing respectively used by both the hostile parties during the time of violence. In the age of weapons of mass destruction, human being has inflicted by psychological as well as physical violence for which no man can remain secure in case of his personality as well as his conscience. In the era of modern technology, outside elements which are irresistible in character can able to
change the existing social structure. Due to the multifarious effects of violence, it is difficult to concentrate on a straitjacket of a hard and fast definition of violence.

Since India is still in the continuous process of nation-in-the-making, therefore different parameters of violent conflict has been seen in Indian context. As a worst affected areas within the Indian territory, Assam in general and BTAD in particular experienced with violence induced human insecurity dilemma. Ethnic violence in BTAD reconfigures certain unfolding contradictions which is problematic for the realisation of the norms of human security.

While discussing about the violence in Bodoland, we can say that the violent conflict of Bodos 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. The first major attack by the Bodos on Muslims took place in October 1993 in Western Assam. This violent conflict led to the displacement of about 3568 families consisting of 18,000 persons. In early 1994 Bodos burnt over 60 villages in Barpeta district predominantly inhabited by Muslims. They also attacked one refugee camp in Barpeta district. In these attacks, about 1000 persons were killed. These attacks on Muslims were not one-sided; there were revenge killings of Bodo people too. In May-June 1996 ethnic conflict between Bodos and Adivasis took place where about 1000 persons were killed (Hussain, M, EPW, Dec16-22, 4522) and almost 42,214 families consisting of about 2, 62,682 persons were displaced by this conflict. In 1998 and 1999 ethnic violence broke out in Kokrajhar in which more than 50 persons lost their lives (Mishra, U, EPW, Sep 15, 2012) and over 3,15,000 people were displaced. After the creation of BTAD, violence again occurred in 2008. This time violence took place between Bodos and Muslims in Udalguri and Darrang districts which resulted in the death of more than 100 persons and displacement of about 2,15,000 people.
the recent violence in BTAD more particularly in Chirang and Baksa in 2012 nearly 50 persons have lost their lives and 1,70,000 rendered homeless.\textsuperscript{104} Due to these violent conflicts a large number of people (including Muslims, Adivasis and Bodos) continue to live in camps as IDPs. They have to survive without proper and adequate food, nutrition and medical facilities. Different political party and civil society organizations give concern about the seriousness of the issue of insecurity in BTAD area and searching for remedial measure for overcoming this destructed situation. Congress party and BPF which were in power in the state during that time, tries to cope up with the situation, but failed to tackle the worst situation in BTAD area. Opposition parties namely AIUDF and AGP blamed the state and BTC government for these deregulations. Jamsher Ali, president of BTAD citizen Rights Forum who represented the state in the “Insaf Sab Ke Liye” all India Convention for immediate tabling of the Prevention of Communal and Targeted Violence Bill 2011, said that, “The BTAD in Assam is witnessing day to day killings, kidnapping and extortion by militant groups like National Democratic Front of Bodoland/NDFB(surrendered) /NDFB(Songbijit group)/ NDFB(ceasefire)/ Ex-Bodo Liberation Tiger (BLT) members which are in power in the Bodoland Autonomous Council and are part of the Congress-led government in Assam.”\textsuperscript{105} The resolution taken in the seminar said that the state and central governments in the name of furthering the peace process are giving general amnesty to the militants from time to time. This has encouraged them to involve themselves in terrorist activities. But, now BJP come to power in Assam with the association of AGP and BPF. This new government need to design a roadmap for ensuring peace, security and development for BTAD.

With a large number of people displaced in the ethnic violence between Bodos and Bengali Speaking Muslims in the Bodoland Territorial Autonomous Districts (BTAD) still living in relief camps, the All India United Democratic Front(AIUDF)
has asked the state government to come out with a white paper on the status of security measure it has taken so far. At the same time the president of Sadou Asom Gariya Moria Desi Jatiya Parisad (SAGMJP), an influential body of about 25 lakh Assamese Muslims, Sahiruddin Ali Ahmed said, “Ajmal is trying to consolidate his political position by indulging in communal politics. All muslims are not involved in the clash.” So in this way the process of politicisation of the situation is going on BTAD. But the solution yet to come. On 26th November, 2013 several non-bodo groups moved to governor of Assam J.B. Patnaik, seeking his intervention to check the increasing incidents of extortion, abduction and violence in BTAD. Sanmilita Janagosthiya Sangram Samiti, an umbrella organization of non-bodo groups and AMSU, a student organization of Minority also warm up their nerves regarding the issue of insecurity and the process of ethnic cleansing in the BTAD area. In the Lok Sabha election held in 2014, the non-bodo nominated candidate Hira Sarania won in the Kokrajhar Lok Sabha Constituencies. This very fact symbolizes the presence of large number of non-bodo people within the BTAD area. So the state apparatus have to constantly remain vigilant in addressing the nagging problems of the people residing in BTAD. Freedom from fear which is a distant cry in BTAD, need to be ensure for each and every inhabitant of the area by restoring the life, security, dignity and worth of human being. Structural capability of the institutional mechanism carries lots of significance in realising the norms of Human Security. The structural causes of violence in society are given in a table below:

Table No 2: Structural Causes of Violence in BTAD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of violence</th>
<th>Key Characteristics</th>
<th>Case of BTAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Disproportionate equity, Exclusionary social structure, unrepresentative</td>
<td>Educational insecurity, awareness for resource mobilization, ethnic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Quest for identity and space, Ethnic contestation and the issue of multiculturalism</td>
<td>Strong ethnic affiliation, Bodo ethnic rift and assertion has dismantle the greater Assamese fabric and they use to call them as Bodo, not as Assamese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>Legal-institutional mechanism somewhat maintain partiality towards the few groups, basically majority</td>
<td>Absence of regulatory mechanism for providing remedial measure for the victims of violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Economic facilities and power sharing mechanism have certain soft corner towards few sections of the society</td>
<td>Exploitation of the local people from economic perspective, Ignorance of local interest by the policies of the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Ideological clashes, discriminatory policies and biasness on the part of the political party</td>
<td>Discrepancy due to hegemonic rule of the political bosses of Bodos versus other non-bodos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Upreti, Bishnu Raj Armed Conflict and Peace Process in Nepal: The Maoist Insurgency, Past Negotiations and Opportunities for Conflict Transformation, New Delhi: Adriot Publishers, 2006, pp-62 (case of BTAD has been supplemented and is not in the original text)

**References and Notes:**


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