

**Women of the Borderland Community and their Perception on  
Security: A Case Study of Women of India-Nepal Border**

*Dissertation submitted to Sikkim University*

*in partial fulfillment of the requirement for award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**



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Date: 31<sup>st</sup> July 2014

**DECLARATION**

I declare that the thesis entitled “**Women of the Borderland Community and Their Perception On Security: A Case Study of Women Of India-Nepal Border**” submitted to Sikkim University for the award of the degree of **Masters of Philosophy**, is my original work. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.


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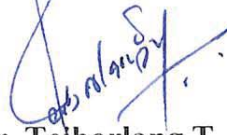
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### CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Women of the Borderland Community and their Perception on Security: A Case Study of Women of India-Nepal Border**” submitted to the **SIKKIM UNIVERSITY** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Philosophy (Social Sciences) in International Relations** embodies the results of *bona fide* research work carried out by **Ms Anuradha Thapa** under my guidance and supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree, diploma, associate-ship, fellowship.

All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledged by her.

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*CHAPTER - I*

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*INTRODUCTION*

## CHAPTER-1

### INTRODUCTION

Borderlands are not just a land or a space created in the process of boundary demarcation. It is the land where the security of any state upholds the immense importance. Hence, borderlands needs to be understood in relation with national security, state's foreign policies, beginning and the end of state's territorial claims so on and so forth. Globalization though has questioned the sovereignty of state and made the state's boundary to loosen up and look as if military and hard core security issues are not of much important, but the fact is that border, boundary and borderlands has always been understood and will be understood in association with national security and the presence of military. However, this does not mean that other social factors are no longer relevance for understanding borderland, in fact, social factors like identities, norms, values, culture and history are gaining more important in borderland studies (Schendel, 2004) In his book, *Bengal Borderland*(2004), William Van Schendel has rightly pointed out that "borderlands are not just associated with the state's struggle over their territorial claim but also associated with a multiplicity of identities, old and new, that borderlanders juggled in their efforts to make sense of their new situation and shape a future for themselves" (Schendel,2004). In this social set up there are events that take place almost every day(Schendel,2004). To be precise, borderlands are transit zones for products, goods and services where both sites take advantage of monetary fluctuations and comparative advantages in products and services (Velez, 2009). People in borderlands are living on the edge on the other side of the border, is constantly, if gradually changing relationships (Zartman, 2010).

The treaty of Westphalia of 1648for the first time in world history demarcates and defines state's territory. The result of history is what we understood as boundary, frontier or border. Since then, border became a major element of not only defining states' territory but also protecting it. In international relations and other disciplines that studies border, theorization of border took place underlying factors such as, military

(mostly men), and relation with the neighboring states, identity and sovereignty (International Relations). When theorization of border was done on this particular fashion, the general implication was that border, as a region where state security is at stake is a realm of men and not for weaker section (mostly women and children), which determined that these weaker section needed security and men were the security provider (Tickner, 1992). Paula Banerjee (2011) stated that, border as the site, is contest over inclusion and exclusion is played out every day (Banerjee, 2011:5). She also argued that this contest, on most occasions, becomes a 'zone of endemic violence where masculinity is privileged and where territories, if required, will be possessed by blood, as they are thought to demarcate the inside from the outside, sovereignty from anarchy and the singular/pure from pluralistic/contaminated spaces'(Banerjee,2011: 5). Hence, it can be argued that social aspects and live experience of people was missing for the earlier discourse on border. It is only through people's narratives that ideas and experiences of borders can be communicated. Thus expanding our understanding of borders and bordering practices beyond institutional discourses, demonstrating the meaning of human creative meaning making and activities (Prokkola,1996).

Women of the borderland form an important part of people's narration, however for a long period of time, and until the end of the 70's and early 80's, women in the border area are often marginalized not only from the state's security framework but also from academia. It is often perceived, that since border is always associated with security of a state, the underlying principle is that only when the state is secure that women and children needs are also secure. Therefore, 'security' is the hegemony of the state and only the masculine state can keep the border safe through patrolling, checking and vigilance. In this whole narrative, women's security that are not only taken for granted, the state in this scheme of thing fail to understand what to be a woman living in the border. Her security is different from state security. To her food, clothing, shelter, health and decent livelihood are primary security concern.

Problematizing this issue is the debate on the structure of gender and security across disciplines of social sciences. For instance, in international relations, traditional theories like realism, pre-determine the binary notion of the state and security. The notion of



'the state', 'security' was understood from the domain of 'power' which can be exercised and exclusive to men (Tickner, 1992, Enloe, 1989). Women are often associated with peace, tenderness, nurturer loving, emotional and consequently, irrational, thus making them incapable of understanding 'security' (Tickner 1992). Therefore, for traditional theories like realism, women's understanding becomes inadequate in theorizing border. However, during the last 25 years, feminists have documented the gross under-representation of women within geography and other disciplines and have demonstrated that most academic scholarship is not only authored by men but expresses a male centered perspective in its outright neglect or stereotypical treatment of women (Bondi,1997).

The term 'border' represents security, it, however, is contested. as the term holds an ambiguous meanings. In *People, State and Fear*, Barry Buzan points out that 'security' in is an essentially contested concept (Buzan, 1983: 45). This ambiguity is the result of the outbreak of human security issues in the discipline of I.R. Within I.R, discussions on International Security, traditionally revolves around issues of war and peace in an international system of sovereign and self-interested nation-states, with a particular focus on issues of military strategy. From this point of view, the provision of security is entrusted to the state with the assumption that state protects and secures the members of the political community from threats emanating from the treacherous foreign realm outside state boundaries (Blanchard,2003). In traditional understanding, security practices are the only one of a number of behaviors, ordinarily associated with states rather than other actors in the global system (Lipschutz, 1995). Since the threat was always considered to emanate from the other side of the boundary, the task of blocking it and protecting the innocent was the task of men. Thus, the provision of national security in most states has been prolonged to be almost exclusive province of the male species (Collins,2010). In this process women and children were considered weak and seek for protection and not fit enough to take decision on security. With the changing scenarios on the nature of conflict, women and children are now considered as the most insecure population during and even after conflict.

The debate over border and security has made it clear, that, these concept scan no longer be comprehended in pure traditional terms, but there is an involvement of other issues as well and which are now considered under the framework of Non-Traditional security issues, or otherwise known as human security. Borders areas have their own problem and peculiarities. Such areas are generally; less accessible which makes the provisions of basic facilities more rare and difficult. Further, the most common problem of borders and its covering areas are the flow of people or population which increases the pressure on the local population as far as the economic and environmental resources are concerned. Sometimes, porous border passage for insurgents and criminals including drug traffickers. Whether porous or non-porous, women form a particularly vulnerable group as they often cross the border in search of livelihood, security or are simply trafficked, and become victims of multiple forms of violence. Yet, women do not only embrace or affirm and identity of victimhood, they are also agents of their lives (Bhaduri, 2011)<sup>1</sup>. In this regard, the concept of state security becomes ambiguous, as the identity of threat has changed its character and the concept of militarized border seems to be challenged if not totally invalid. At the same time porous border facilitates new form of threats to enter border and create insecurity in the borderland. In nutshell, border whether porous or non-porous have equal share of both opportunities and threat. Hence the study would analyze whether border gives opportunity or creates threat for women.

Owing to the fact that Indo-Nepal border is an open border with the standing military, the issues of security are not only prevalent but it also affects the population living in the border areas immensely. This is because of the fact that India and Nepal follow an open border pattern which means that the flow of population not only allows the free flow of trade but also the free flow of disease, illegal trade, flesh trade , etc. In these circumstances the women living in these particular borderlands has to resist with various security issues in their everyday life. It is a known fact, that borderlands are less privileged inthe field of developmental project of any nation state, since the policies of a state are framed as core centric. In an area where proper infrastructure lacks, women

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<sup>1</sup> By placing women as agents of their life, author tries to focus on the daily struggle of women for living in borderland and how they themselves become the agent of their livelihood either through trade or other social activities.

face more difficulties and hence have to adjust with the given environment. Women's perception on security, living in these particular borderlands could give us a clear picture of what borderland is and how its security issues affect the lives of the borderlanders.

## **ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The organization of the study will first forward objective of the study, followed by the theoretical framework, emphasizing on critical feminist stand. Simultaneously, there would be follow up of literature review and methodology. The final section will be taken by the Chapterization of the study.

### **I) Objective of the Study**

Borderlands in South Asia has always been understood through the tools that their colonial masters left for them. Paula Banerjee, 2010. (*Borders, Histories, Existences; Gender and Beyond*) states that the lack of understanding borderlands from their own perspective has created a gap in building the history of borderlands but has also failed to understand the gender dimension of these borders. They failed to realize that women living in these borderlands in many ways defined them. With this understanding the objective of the study is to bring in the perception of women on security living in borderlands. As they not only define borderlands but also has been a part of history making process of these borderlands.

India and Nepal are two closely related neighbors, sharing a special friendship and multi-dimensional relations. The legal foundation of the open border was according to the Article 7 of the Peace and Friendship<sup>2</sup>, signed in the year 1950, which renewed and extended the Sugauli Treaty of 1814 between Nepal and East India Company (Benjamin, 2004). Before the signing of the Sugauli Treaty between Nepal and India and subsequent demarcation of the Nepal, India boundary, there existed free and unrestricted movement of people of Nepal and India across the border. It was almost impossible to

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<sup>2</sup> Article 7 states that: The Government of India and Nepal agree to grant, on reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movements and privileges of a similar nature.

control and regulate the movement of people along more than 1400 kilometers long border. Nevertheless, the main through fare existed for social relations, cultural exchanges (pilgrimages, festivities, fairs etc) and trade and commerce and they constituted the major road junctions and place for levying customs duties (Kansakar, 2012).

With this understanding of India-Nepal border, the study focuses on the perception of borderland women on security, targeting on Panitanki in India and Kakaribhitta in Nepal, as an area of study. The border of India and Nepal in Kakarvitta and Panitanki lies in the north- west from New Delhi and from Kathmandu lies in the eastern side. Since the border is in Jhapa district of Nepal and West Bengal in India, the entrance of border for the field trip was done from Siliguri (West Bengal) from Indian side which takes one to two hours to reach the destination. To enter the other side of the border, that is, Mechinagar of Nepal one has to take East-West Highway (AH2). However the border is divided by Mechi river where the bridge is constructed to join the two sides of the region. The importance of this study would be to investigate upon the question, namely, how women living in a borderland perceive security in the border. As mentioned by Paula Banerjee (2010), that borderlands in South Asia lacks their own understanding in history making process of borderlands and in all this what they lack the most is the perception of women on security living in borderlands. The unique socio-political experience of the border region creates the necessary conditions for the emergence of women-centered subjectivity incites action.

It is self- evident that the concept of border whether open or closed has been understood as an arena of male dominance. Which is due to the fact that border is the representation of strategic spaces, which implies that it is a domain of foreign policy of a state as well. It implies that, there has always been a lack of women representation and empowerment as far as strategic issues and foreign policies are concerned. Consequently, it is important to analyze women's perception on security, living in the borderland of India and Nepal, and the porous border that they share. The borderlands of these countries would give us an opportunity to understand women's security and their perception in

such scenarios. By doing this, the study would facilitate to rethink the concept of security from the perspective of women in India-Nepal borderland as a community.

The study would further leave us a scope for comparison between open and closed borderland in terms of “women security”. The paper can result in adding the knowledge of limited understanding on women security and border in the light of India-Nepal porous border by articulating a critical understanding of conventional feminist literature. To summarize the objective of the study they are

1. To understand women security of the borderland community along the India-Nepal border.
2. To understand how women in this border area perceive security.
3. To re-think the concept of security from the perspective of women in the India-Nepal borderland as a community.

## **II) Theoretical Framework**

The gendered identities of states and the construction of national ideologies should be examined in order to better understand their security-seeking behavior (Lipschutz,1995). While critical studies has emphasized the importance of identity for understanding state behavior, feminist theorizing is distinctive insofar as it reveals how these identities often depend on the manipulation of gender (Tickner, 2001). In this view, the provision of security is entrusted to the state with the assumption that states protect and secure the members of the political community from threats emanating from the dangerous foreign realm outside state boundaries (Blanchard,2003). Hence, military establishment becomes the only option left in the hands of policy makers to protect the state from the external threats. The other obvious argument which could be drawn as the follow up of previous argument is that the term security is thus understood and interpreted through men’s perception, which implies that there is an element of gender biasness in theorizing security.

Feminist are of the view that, despite having so much emphasis on hardcore border security, yet nations are not secure nor the interest of the peoples (Reardon,2010). And this is because of the fact that there are other threats or insecurities that exist within the state. For example, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, shortage of food etc, this not necessarily has to penetrate from the other states. The major dangers are in the daily insecurities of most of the peoples of the world, be they at peace or at war (Reardon,2010). In many conflicts, the systematic invasion of society private sphere through the use of gender based violence is one of the most common tools of war (Reardon,2010). And in any case whether it be war or peace, the major victims has in these scenario are women and children. In these circumstances, feminist put forward their question on understanding security that is, 'security from whom and security from what?'.

While to feminists this view of theory appears thoroughly gendered-and gendered masculine-most international theorists from the traditional paradigm would deny that their theories have anything to do with gender, since gender is usually assumed to be synonymous with women (Tickner, 2004:43-48). And national security is an area where it has been presumed that women have little importance to say.It may also be that women are complicit in perpetuating this stereotype, as the share of women in foreign policy making or security discourse is very less(Tickner, 2004). Through the study of gendered experience of women, a feminist perspective also sheds light on the ways in which human security is destroyed by armed conflict and is systematically weakened by all forms of militarized security (Reardon, 2010). The issue of ethics and human trafficking is first and foremost a violation of human rights, according to the feminist scholars (Lobasz, 2009).

Women that are geographically located in the borders define those very borders as well as themselves (Banerjee, 2010). The low levels of human security and the process of securitization of forced migration has caused many uprooted population fleeing gendered based especially women to continue experience domestic violence, forced labors, sexual exploitation and human trafficking in borderlands. People living in these

borders inhabit multiple worlds (Banerjee, 2011). What such theories<sup>3</sup> often overlook is that borders are products of control and those inhabiting them as daily negotiating with that control (Banerjee, 2011). Presence of border not only creates a circle of control but a circle of insecurities as well. And a close ethnographic research reveals that at the centre of these circles of insecurity are women who are constantly negotiating with borders for their survival (Banerjee,2011).

### III) Survey of the Literature

The study is based on the perception of women on security living in a borderland, so there was a need of conceptual clarity on various concepts like security, border, borderland and feminist critique on security. For this purpose, various books and articles are reviewed. To start with the edited volume of Lipschutz (1995), *On Security*, this has concentrated mostly on various theoretical understanding on security, how the eruption of non-traditional security issues has changed the entire debate on security. Another book which was reviewed during the course of study was again an edited volume of Zartman (2010), *Understanding Life in Borderlands: Boundaries in depth and in Motion*, which highlights the distinct identity and dynamics present in borderland and the inter-actions that occur within and across the community people. It also highlights on the effects of the presence of border on the border community people. Similarly In an edited volume of Wilson and Donan (2012), *A Companion to Border studies*, has highlighted on the shifting trend in understanding border security.

Some articles have also been referred in understanding certain concept that has been mentioned above. Weber's (2012) "Boundaries with Issues: Soft Border Management as a solution" tries to analyze the issues in borders and see if the option of soft border would work. In the same vein, Andreas (2003), in his article, "Redrawing the line: Border and Security" has highlighted the impact of non-state actors in border and security, changing the dynamics of border security in international system. Whereas Walter (2009) in his article, "Borderland" has given conceptual clarity and differences between border and borderland along with the various issues impending in borderlands.

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<sup>3</sup> Security theories has always overlooked the presence of people inhabiting in border areas and how they negotiate their life in terms of security.

Moving on the feminist critique on security, various articles and books has been referred. To start with the edited volume of Reardon and Hana, *The Gender Imperative: Human security v/s State Security*, has brought in the issue of human security into state security debate and has highlighted how the notion of state security has been totally gendered in its nature. In the same vein, Lobasz (2009) in her book, *Beyond Border Security: A Feminist Approaches to Human Trafficking*, has tried to measure the concept of state security along with the issue of human trafficking, where the state security has failed to provide security to women and the inference has been drawn from the rising trend of human trafficking. Another book which has taken care of feminist critique on state security is the edited volume of Sjoberg (2010), titled *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspective*. This book has again brought the deficiency of traditional concept of security by highlighting the fact that state security was understood as the arena of male domains hence lacking in perceptive of women in the debate. Ann Tickner (2001), in her book *Gendering World Politic*, has criticized the concept of war itself. Where she has placed an argument that though war has been justified under banner of providing security women and children but the historical fact proves that women are most in secured when a war is fought.

O'Neill in his/her article, "Justice, Gender and International Boundaries", has highlighted the concept of Justice in understanding the gender imperative in International Boundaries. Whereas Weber in her article "Good Girls and Bad Girls: Male Paranoia in Robert Keohane's critique of Feminist International Boundaries" has criticized the realist understanding of various strands of feminism and has argued how the particular understanding of realism has been dominant in perceiving state security and thus security becomes the sphere of male only.

The study is based on the perception of security by the border community women. So the closest and the best example of border community in India is Kakaribhita and Panitanki, borderlands existing in Indo-Nepal border. So the understanding was required to have clear picture of India-Nepal border and its issues. Kanasakar in his book, *Nepal-India Open Border: Prospects and Challenges* has not only given the prospects and challenges of this particular border region but has also given a historical overview of



India-Nepal Border. Another book by Meenu Roy, *India –Her Sub-Continent Neighbours* though talks about India's relation with its neighbors. Only one article has been referred so far for the study and that would be "Nepal: the problem of Trafficking in Women and Children" by Nayan B. Khatri. Where, he has highlighted that one of the major concern of India-Nepal border right now is that the issue of human trafficking. As far as the study on women and Indian borderland is concerned the book that has been taken is *Women in Indian Borderland*, edited by Paula Banerjee and Anasua Basu Ray Chaudhury. This book has looked at the security issues present in Indian borders and borderlands for example voluminous informal trade, securitized and militarized lines, heavy para- military presence, humanitarian crisis, human rights abuses and enormous suspicion that makes it particularly problematic for women.

The above mentioned books and articles though has been helpful in understanding various aspects on security in terms of borders. And understanding criticism from the critical feminist point of view. Though the writings of Paula Banerjee are useful in understanding perception of security of Indian women in Indo-Bangladesh border, but there is no literature in understanding perception of security from women residing in Indo-Nepal border.

#### **IV) Methodology**

The study employed a critical feminist methodology in understanding women's perception on security. This put gender in the center of social enquiry, making women more visible, while at the same time, understand their perception what security is in this borderlands. The study sees gender as the nucleus of women's perceptions and lives. The question of perception allows the study to adopt qualitative method. It also employed a quantitative approach in collecting and analyzing the data both from the filed and official documents. Using ethnographic method, the study conducted extensive field survey using semi-structured questionnaire, in-depth interviews as the primary sources. The study also use secondary sources that include books, articles and news report was used to understand the problems of women in borderlands.

For the purpose of this study, the primary target groups are women living on both sides of the border of India and Nepal. The site of field survey was done at Gondagol village in Panitanki (Raniganj) of the Indian side and Ward No 10 of Mechinagar of the Nepali side.

There are 21 blocks or *Mauza* in Raniganj of Darjeeling district of India and 12 blocks in Mechinagar or Kakarvitta of Nepal. Due to the limited time it was not possible to cover all the blocks, hence only one block from each area was taken for the field study, thus Gondagol village was indentified from Raniganj and ward no 10 from Mechinagar. The households covered for the study was 25 from each block i.e. 50 households altogether; out of 907 households from Gandagol block and 3060 households from Mechinagar ward no 10. The target group selected for the study was women of the borderland community, from the age of 20 and above. The total number of population in Gondagolis 4363, out which female consists of 2143. Similarly, Mechinagar has total population of 13695 out of which females consists of 6732. These block forms the immediate area of the border region and also maximum numbers of shops and trade are conducted in these blocks only.

Maximum numbers of women of these areas are engaged in trade and business and also have been living the border region for more than two decades. Since the study is based on understanding the experience of women living in borderland, these areas fulfilled those demand of gaining experiences and understating the perception of women on security. Most of the women of these particular locality not only handle their household but are also engaged in one or the other kind of economic activities as well, which makes them to cross border, this again facilitate the study more by providing the experience of women in this border area

Following a similar study on this area done by Sikkim University during winter sojourn in year 2010, this dissertation will focus more on the issues of women, while at the same time supplement the finding of Sikkim University's Winter Sojourn project.

## **V) Research Questions**

1. How do women of borderland community perceive security?
2. What kind of security issues prevail in Indo-Nepal border?
3. How do women's perception of security different from men's perception of security?
4. In a securitized border, how do women, as community, in the Indo-Nepal border negotiates everyday life?

## **VI) Chapterization**

### 1. Introduction

This chapter will give the general introduction of the study. It will cover all the major aspects that will be dealt by the subsequent chapters.

### 2. Borderland and perception of women security: theoretical approach

This chapter will give an overview of all the major theories on border and borderlands and especially how they respond to women security issues. The major focus of this chapter would be on critical feminism.

### 3. Traditional and Non-Traditional Security Issues of Security in Indo-Nepal Border

This chapter will first deal with the historical overview of India-Nepal border and eventually its changing relation. Subsequently it will focus on various traditional as well as non-traditional security issues in border.

### 4. Women in the borderland community and perception of security: A Case Study of Women in India-Nepal border.

The chapter will be totally based on field study, it will bring in the perception of women living in India-Nepal border region on security. By doing so the chapter would bring in the different notion of security which is different from the general notion of security.

### 5. Conclusion.

*CHAPTER - II*

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*BORDERLAND AND PERCEPTION OF WOMEN SECURITY:  
THEORITICAL APPROACH*

## CHAPTER-2

### **BORDERLAND AND PERCEPTION OF WOMEN SECURITY: THEORITICAL APPROACH**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The traditional theories of International Relations considered border as a line which demarcates states territory from the others, and a zone where different kind of interactions is seen between states. Though the effect of globalization shifted the focus from state to individual, but state even today cannot let go of its traditional outlook as far as the security is concerned, and this is more so in the post-9/11 nation states. If viewed, from the national security perspective, border and security is never understood as a two different concepts; rather border is always associated with the term security. In the same vein, the theorization of border and borderlands cannot be done without the reference of the state. State's reference becomes necessary as it would provide two different perspectives in the study of borderlands. In this sense, the study of borderland is not just about studying people's interaction with the border but also how people interact with the state as well. Subsequently, their expectation from the state; the other perspective would be that of evading the state and adopting ways of living that enable survival beyond its reach (Gellner, 2013).

If one trace back to the history of the formation of nation state system, along with the civilization mission the demarcation of boundaries was to distinguish between civilized and uncivilized, bringing in the debate of us and them (Mendoza, 2008). Much of the modern state system, including contemporary notions of borders, territory, and sovereignty, can be traced to political developments of the sixteenth century Europe (Diener, 2010). The demarcation of boundary made the functions and jurisdiction of centralized government more clear and précised. Even though, the justification given for the demarcation was that it was necessary to exclude the state and its citizen from the 'other' but it was clear that whatever came under state's jurisdiction was under the control of state's authority. Hence, making border necessary not only for national security agenda but for its citizens as well. Thus, borders are instruments of state policy in which

one of the principal objectives is to protect and promote the interests of the state and to control mobility in and out of its territory (Prokkola, 2009). From this, the general implication of border would be that, it's not just a mere cartographic line but a weakest zone of a state as well, which needs to be securitized.

As understood, one of the major tasks of the state was to provide security to its citizens by militarizing border. It is through this historical background that the concept of border has been analyzed and understood. Even Willem van Schendal has stated

Borederland studies have been deeply marked by the territorialist epistemology of the social sciences (the tendency to study the world as a patchwork of state-defined societies, economies and cultures) and its corollary, methodological territorialism (the tendency to analyze spatial forms as self- enclosed geographical units). This approach predisposes students of international borderlands to treat these not as units in their own right, but primarily as the margins of states, societies, economies and cultures(Schendal,2004: 9).

In nutshell, there were some underlying principles for theorizing border and borderlands where other social factors were given very little scope. But over a period of time, a change has been witnessed for understanding border and borderlands, as the referral point has been shifted from state to individual. This trend is because of the mingling of various fields, which challenged the very notion of understanding a whole domain by only one concept. Even Lapid(2001), is of the view that, “researchers can now “take advantage of the fact that key concepts are now increasingly flee-floating; they no “longer” belong to any single discipline” (Lapid, 2001: 6).Hence, this chapter tries to make sense of border and borderlands from different theoretical perspective along with women security issues. Further, it purports to explain and understand the women and other kinds of security through the prism of feminist theory of international relations.

The following section will undertake an overview of the various IR theoretical perspectives and locate them in their understanding of border and security.

## REALISM

The understanding of border and borderlands in International Relations (IR), traditionally has been through the prism of security. In fact the traces of history as well make us believe that border is to function according to the security agenda of a state. Hence the underlying principle for the existence of border is for nation's security. And by security, it meant hard core security or military security. This traditional line of understanding of border and borderlands is fully acknowledged by realist approach. For realist, in an anarchic world, state seeks security and the main threat to its security was from the other states. As mentioned above, borders not only marked state's territory but is also a zone where state's security is at high risk, which makes border and its surrounding areas to be highly securitized. Hence, this makes the realist perception on border quite clear, in an anarchic order of international system, self help is the only way to survive.

Historically, modern Realism came into prominence after World War I. This discipline of international relations began its course towards a field concerned mainly with breaking the seemingly inevitable cycle of international war (Jonsson, 2008). With the ending of the World War II that came with even greater devastation became the tipping point for several scholars to devote to what they saw as a more 'realistic' way of dealing with international politics. Hence also claiming that "conflict was inevitable: the best way to assure the security of states is therefore to reparse for war." (Tickner, 1992). A realist casts his or her eye over 700 years of history and sees ceaseless repetition of state competition for power, suspicion and insecurity (Krause, 1996).

According to realism, each state actor is responsible for ensuring its own well being and survival. As states cannot depend on other states to ensure their own security and if states feel threatened, it should seek to augment its own power capabilities by engaging in military arms buildup (Smith, 1996). States in an anarchic system, try to increase their power as the distribution of power impact the behavior of states, particularly their power seeing behavior and power means increase in military capability. Thus realist prioritize military security or hard core security over other security issues like economic security, human security, environmental security, etc gets either sidelined or is understood as

secondary. If one analyze realist understanding on keeping military secured than two arguments could be derived. First, it would create stability among states though for some time because war still is an inevitable option for them. Secondly, securing border would always make states in a better position where the intention of other states is unknown. Apart from seeing border as hard and militarized, realist also focus on expanding their territory through the expansion of border and hence create buffer zone as this would serve the state's goal of being powerful. For example, the case of India-China border, where China has been encroaching LOC the border between India and China in Arunachal Pradesh and this has been a major contestation between both these countries.

A realist conceptualization of security is thus predicated on perpetual inter-state rivalry and conflict, focusing on existential threats to the state which necessarily must be countered by the maintenance and application of military force (Kennedy,2007).Men customarily play the role of provider within families, acting as the head of the household and monopolizing interpersonal authority in the process. This inequality is transposed to the political, economic and cultural spheres, which are overwhelmingly male dominated (Chisem,2011). Masculinity, therefore, is culturally associated with power – a seemingly natural, even biologically determined, quality required to organize society and the state (Witworth,2007). It is unusual then that, in spite of ample theoretical and practical evidence to the contrary, the realist discourse, wedded to a state centric analysis, explicitly denies the existence of far-reaching gender structures which disproportionately and negatively affect women. The underlying reason for this may be related to the patriarchal assumptions which permeate the founding texts of realism and, arguably, inform modern day conceptions of the state and security (Steans, 1998).

According to realist, the state through the act of military force would and should be secured, a primary concern. In other words the state was the referent object of security, this with the notion that security was equal to military security (Jonsson,2008).In many ways Realism is or at least could be regarded as not only state-céntric but male-centric as well (Collins et al,2007).



The realist claim is that the absence of rule makes power, autonomy, the international political system, and its structure significantly different from domestic politics, with anarchy making international security relations particularly system driven. The nature of this system with its pressures and constraints, are the main factors in determining the security goals and relations, in a way the security agenda of the national governments. Within a state, by enhancing its military power a state becomes more secure from threats from others. On the other hand a state is seen as more of a threat by others increasing their security of the state, and increasing insecurity for the others in the international arena (Collins et al,2007).In that sense threats to security have traditionally been defined as threats to national boundaries (Jonsoon,2008).Thus security is understood through that the state covers its citizens, state interests are beyond the interests of the citizens, and by securing the state it is inherently ensuring the security of its citizens (Jonson,2007).Realist has always distinguished the role of men and women in warfare which is based on the natural capacities of both, making men to be security provider and women to be the security seeker.

It is from this background, that realist understanding on women security can be analyzed. They prioritize state security over any other security issues, as it propagate that the real threat exist in outside world and state is there to protect them. It is through this approach that realist claim that so called war is fought for the protection of women as in the case of the US war on Afghanistan and Iraq, where President Gorge W. Bush of United States of America stated that the war in Iraq was fought not just to against terrorism but also to liberate women from the cruelty of Saddam Hussian's realm. In many ways, the theory and practice of international security remain a man's world. Women in privileged positions in international security policy-making remain rare (and are often identified primarily by their gender when they do reach those positions), and entire scholarly texts can be found with no reference to women or gender at all (Sjoberg, 2010).While the figures of war casualties show that in any kind of conflict or war women become the maximum victims. Of all the casualties in post-1945 conflicts, 90% have been suffered by women and children, (Sheehan,2005) a group which also comprises 80% of war refugees (Chisem,2011). Following these figures feminist criticize realist understanding

on security. they argue that security has always been understood taking in the perception of men and not women. This line of security perception not only sidelines women understanding on security discourse but it also makes security discourse to be narrow.

## **LIBERALISM**

While realist carries the baggage of hard core security approach, liberalist tends to take a little soft approach to it. The liberal tradition in thinking about security dates as far back as the philosopher Immanuel Kant, who emphasized the importance of 'republican' constitutions in producing peace. His pamphlet "Perpetual Peace" contains a peace plan, and may fairly be called the first liberal tract on the subject (Navari, 2008: 30). The basic assumption of liberalist was that peace could be achieved through other means and war is evitable unlike what realist claim. Instead of self help, this tradition put forward the concept of cooperation among states, which could be facilitated through economic ties. There is a long debate between realist and liberalist whether cooperation is possible or not in an environment where anarchy is ordering principle of international system and where states opt for its national interest. To the liberalist economic interdependence among states promotes that even though anarchy is an ordering principle of international system, through trade relations among states can be create an interdependence among them and hence create an incentive to further cooperate for mutual benefit while at the same create an atmosphere of peace. With this understanding, liberalist instead of fanaticizing border to be hard and militarized, it opts for soft border where trade, movement of people, capitals, could be facilitated across borders and so the cooperation among states. Economic development, according to liberalist not only secures states but it also paves the way for human development. Hence, liberalist tends to equate economic development with human development. Unlike realist, who were keen in making everyone believe that military security would ultimately bring security to its citizens, liberalist were very much focused in arguing that economic security would provide its citizen their ultimate security.

Liberalist understands border as a zone where cooperation of a state could be derived through economic linkages and as the region where economic interdependence is played out through international institutions. Eventually through the process of economic

interdependence peace could be achieved and border will no longer be understood as a conflictual zone but as a zone where neighboring states could achieve their common interest. For example, the integration of European Union is one of the successful example of liberal project that has soften its borders through a moment of people, common integrative economic program, free trade zone etc.

The demise of the cold war, with its threat of nuclear cataclysm, permitted a shift away from an exclusively state-centered notion of security, toward a notion of human security, under which the fate of individual human beings becomes a legitimate concern for the international community (UNDP 1994 and ICISS 2001). This shift provided the liberals to place their argument even more firmly, as the world now demanded peaceful coexistence among states. The process of globalization on other hand fosters liberalist arguments on economic ties and interdependence. Along with this, the wave of democratization after the end of cold war also made liberals to be genuine and practicable. However such liberalist claims over providing human security through economic ties and interdependence could not answer the rising insecurity for many individuals in general and women in particular. As it can be seen that women are seen mostly in secured in economic sectors, and also consist of lowest paid laborers.. Though, liberalist does facilitate the role and importance of other institutions can play in international forum, but at the same time they never do away the importance of state as well. Underlying these factors, one could assume that liberalist do not give a serious concern to women security issues even though, they promoted the values of human security on economic terms.

## **CONSTRUCTIVISM**

From the two theories discussed above, it is clear that issues like ideas, norms, values and identity and their roles in international system have been sidelined. As realism and liberalism take more of a materialistic turn in their understanding of IR, and so is their understanding of border and borderlands. It is in this regard that understanding of border and borderlands from the perspective of constructivist becomes insightful. Constructivism, focus more on ideational factors in understanding the social reality of world politics. They are of the view that that world is constituted socially through inter-

subjective interactions, and unlike the claims of above two theories, structures are not only determining factor in world politics instead agents and structures are mutually constituted (Wendt, 1987; Ruggie, 1998; Onuf, 1989; Katzentein, 1996). Factors such as norms, ideas and identity are equally important in understanding world politics. So is, constructivist idea of border and borderlands is that of a socially constructed through inter-subjective interactions. Constructivist, fetch in the non-materialistic lenses in understanding border and borderlands and this would therefore provide different perspective in exploring border and its surroundings. While realist and liberalist assume that borders and borderlands functions according to the interest of a state and therefore needs to analyzed from state's perspective, constructivist on the other hand, visualize border and borderlands to be zone of identity creation; a zone where a different kind of inter-subjective understanding is derived. It's not just about economy and security but it's a place where people propose of having different form of norms and values. To them, the term security which is closely associated with border and borderlands is to be understood in this direction. Arguably the central shared assumption of constructivist approaches to security is that security is a social construction (Mc. Donald, 2010:62). Thus, constructivist studies social world from people's perspective, directing towards bottom up approach.

Acknowledging, the relevance of identity to security in constructivist approaches leads to a more fundamental shared assumption for borders and borderlands. In other words, non-material or ideational factors in general are central to the construction and practices of security in world politics (Mc. Donanld, 2010:63). Through constructivism, social interest and ideational factors ideas, norms and values are upgraded, while the materialistic (production) abilities and the importance of external interest decreases. Eventually, constructivist has paved a different root for understanding border, it has represented border as a zone of interactions between different social structures, between borders and their cores, and between neighboring border zones (Strihan,2005).

Traditional theorists view world politics and the history to be non- progressive, whereas a constructivist scholar sees over the 700 years of European history<sup>1</sup> variation, change, evolution and decline. The rise and decline of absolutism, the rise of modern nationalism, imperialism, the advent of self-determination and decolonization, and recent claims for democracy and human rights have all embedded inter-state interactions in a complex web of ideas that gives practical (and shifting) content to understandings of interests (Ruggie,1992). Borders' permeability can be interpreted not only in terms of socio-economic, political, and cultural characteristics of the neighboring territories, but also in terms of patterns of social interactions that integrate or exclude the other side of the border (Sammadar, 2002).

The major focus for the constructivist has been ideational factors, which permitted the scholars of international discourse to analyze social world as not given but created through social interactions in the long backing process of history. In the similar vein, borders and borderlands could also be recastas social constructions created and appropriated by people, rather than as pre-given entities separate from human experiences (Cresswell, 2004: 30). Spatial concepts were now thought to be "the product of social practices and conventions which in themselves are the result of symbolic and discursive acts"(Engel and Nugent, 2010: 2). It is from this understanding that feminist could draw one of its main argument<sup>2</sup> by arguing that there exist a dichotomy which is the base for the traditional theorist for theorization is not given rather created through social interactions. Similarly, the roles and characteristics that have been categorized between men and women are also created in social process following the understandings and experiences of men and less of women.

### **CRITICAL THEORIES, POST-COLONIALISM AND FEMINISM**

Constructivism is one of the most influential IR traditions of the late 1990s and early 2000s (Walt, 1998), it was able to inject ideational factors in understanding world

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<sup>1</sup> European history so far has been understood to be universal, however according to Post-Colonialist even non-western countries too, have their own share of history which was considered to be inefficient in understanding the progress of international system.

<sup>2</sup> There exists a dichotomy at the base of the traditional theories when they accept theory as a set build on pre-given notion or assumption of binaries. For feminist theory is not given rather created through social interaction.

politics. But the success of constructivism was abridged because at the end it makes the state identity to be permanent when they themselves claim identities are in motion of flux (Mendoza, 2008). Hence, the constructivist myth “anarchy is what states make of it” would not function (Weber, 2001:60). Eventually, critical theory came into the debate of IR in 1980’s with an emancipation project, thus bringing up various issues that were earlier sidelined from the lime light. The theorist of this paradigm believes that theories should be built for the purpose of emancipation and in order to do so, the understanding of the marginalized is very much necessary (Cox, 1981). Critical theorist claims that in any kind of knowledge creation the understanding has always been derived from the above or for that matter from the powerful. This kind of knowledge creation sidelines the role or the understanding of marginalized. Foundational theories on the other hand, emphasize that knowledge should be objective in nature and for that fact should be dichotomized from the value. Whereas Critical theorist, emphasize that in social world knowledge creation can hardly be objective in its nature, there is always a presence of subjective elements in any kind of knowledge creation. Therefore, the claims of traditional theorist that laws or knowledge is universal become invalid when the above perspective is taken into consideration.

It is from this understanding only critical theorist tries to understand border and borderlands. They are of the view that traditional theorist, have always understood border from the above. It focused mainly on “the nature of boundaries in terms of their being ‘good’ or ‘bad’ from the point of view,” that is in terms of their capacity to avoid frictions (Minghi, 1963: 408). Border is always seen from the lenses of security of a nation state. When border is understood from the above there is always a negation of other actors who equally are a part of history making process of borders. In simple terms, border for critical theorist is not just a marker of difference, it in fact is a space for the borderlanders where their everyday life is practiced. Hence, the proper understanding of border and borderlands according to the theorist (Cox, 1981; Horkheimer, 1997; Adorno, 1997; Gramsci, 1929) of this paradigm can be derived from the people who practice their everyday life in the region. According to David Newman, the appropriate way of theorizing border is through understanding what border means to the people and how

different types of barrier or interaction functions of the border are understood at the local level and how they materialize in daily practices (Newman, 2006; 154; see also Newman and Paasi, 1998). When people narratize and perform their ideas about borders, they simultaneously engage in practices of bordering and de-bordering (van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer, 2005; Woodward and Jones, 2005). Thus the understanding of border from here gets a different meaning, as critical theorist strongly argues that "identities are infinitely malleable" (Krause, 1996) and so is the concept of security.

Since the end of the Cold War we have in fact seen cases where the state have been secure but the people within the state have been oppressed by their state, fractions of the people have been ignored by their state, or the states have lacked the possibility to provide their people with security from harm (Jonsson, 2008), which force us to analyze how far the individuals are secured under the realm of their of own state. Therefore one might consider a reformulation or re-evaluation of what ought to be the referent object, i.e. the primary concern to secure (Collins, 2007)

The discussion of shift in referent object<sup>3</sup> is one of the building stones in so called, Critical Security Studies, an approach to security that is based on a desire to move away from the structures of security as it was studied and practiced during the Cold War and more so make that move by specific means forms of critique. It could in a way also be seen as an umbrella label for several critical approaches to the state-centric theories, and it is here one could find feminism were a more gender driven approach that is presented from this framework (Jonsson, 2008). More importantly for critical International Relations, since the state is an "abstraction" or construct (states don't choose, people do), the process of endowing states with interests is a social one, whereby particular sets of individuals advocate and develop common understandings of interests in order to motivate collective social action (under the heading of "foreign policy, for example) (Krause, 1996). Where the concept of state itself is not permanent, security here too gets into the criticism of not being stable and hence the security of citizens does not necessarily means being safe from the outside threat but the threat from within the state

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<sup>3</sup> Object over here refers to the concept or issues that have been discussed so far by the traditional theorist as being fixed and permanent. For example state, so far has been understood as permanent or natural entity in the international system but the critique argues that nothing is fixed in international system it is socially constructed.

as well. It is because of the changing nature of security that even so called secured states too are not able to provide security to its citizens, and the perfect example of this could be of the increasing numbers of humanitarian interventions.

Borders and borderlands are thus particularly helpful in generating insight into bounded social fields at the same time are translocal<sup>4</sup> in their actions (Jonsson,2008). People living in border areas have continually involved in transcending the demarcated line of the state, questioning its regulations. The very notion of sovereignty gets a severe setback because of the daily activity of crossing border by the people living in the borderlands.

Critical theorist puts emphasis on human security issues, propagating that theories should be aimed at the emancipation of human kind. As Robert Cox, has rightly said that theory is for someone and some purpose. Following this wave, feminist too could place their arguments and make it heard in the discourse of international relations. Though critical theorist, aims at human security issues and craves for emancipation but it does not take along the concerns of women security issues in particular, leaving the task for the feminist scholars.

### **I) Post-Colonialism**

Post-colonialism as an approach was not a significant approach until 1990's (Basaglia,2012), it was under the banner of critical school that they were able to place their arguments in the debates of I.R. The development of post-colonialism can be traced to the specific era and this is because the period of decolonization did not occur in one particular year. According to post-colonialist, colonialism has a far reaching effect in the social, political and cultural life of a colonized societies. This implies that the effects of colonialism begin with the economic interest that the West defended in their seizure of foreign territories for the exploitation of its natural resources: a situation which had the opposite (negative) effects on the exploited colony (Meredith, 2005: 95-97). Besides the economic imbalance (Western profit at the detriment of the weak: Africa) resulting from colonialism, the social, cultural and political lives of the people and societies in Africa

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<sup>4</sup> The term translocal over here means that the people of borderland either due to their cultural link or economic interdependence forms a community. These people sometimes do not carry emotion of nationality like rest of the citizens does, they are more in relation with the people of the other side of the border.



were greatly interrupted and transformed by the policies applied by the colonial masters during the colonial period (Alamazung,2010).Post-colonialism seeks to explain how identities of the colonized can be understood and applied to an understanding of International Relations. As such, it contributes to the development of International Relations by attempting to comprehend the complexities that a broadening of cultural identities has entailed, while widening the scope through which we view the global stage (Basaglia,2012).

Post-colonial literatures are a result of the interaction between imperial culture and the complex of indigenous cultural practices. As a consequence, 'post-colonial theory' has existed for a long time before that particular name was used to describe it (Ashcroft,2003).According to Seth (2013), post colonialism as a theory:

challenges the centrality accorded to Europe as the historical source and origin of the international order; it queries the universality accorded to moral and legal perspectives which reflects and reproduce the power relations characteristic of the colonial encounter, which are thus far from being universal; and it questions the epistemological privilege accorded to an understanding of knowledge which is blind to the constitutive, and not merely representational, role of knowledge (Seth,2013).

The present world order so far has been understood from Eurocentric line of understanding, simultaneously claiming it be universal and rational. Even the colonized states or the third world countries were perceived and described from the view of Eurocentricism in International system. In simple terms, third world countries were understood as irrational, underdeveloped and a land full of myths. According to Edward Said (1995), western countries perceived all third world countries in a similar plank. In the sense, they thought these societies to follow a similar kind of culture and tradition, however the fact is that all these countries differ not only in culture but in their way of living as well (Said,1995: 54). Post-Colonialist claims that all colonized societies have their own share of experiences and understanding which has been sidelined in the creation of knowledge, making the world history to be biased and most importantly making it to be inadequate for non-westerners.

Similarly, the understanding of border and borderlands has been in a similar vein i.e from the Eurocentric understanding. The other fact about borders in colonized societies is that the border was created for the interest of the colonizers. For example, European powers in Berlin in 1884-1885 to carve out their sphere of influence in the dark continent, “produced lines on map which had little relation to underlying cultural or economic patterns” (Sammadhared, 2002).

According to Paula Banerjee (2002), the west European concept of borders was imposed on, and subsequently internalized, in South Africa, with very definite repercussions on state formations in that region (Samaddar,2002). However, the tools used for demarcating border in western countries were not utilized for the demarcating borders in third world countries. It is from this background, Puala Banerjee argues that even today the tools for the study of border and borderlands in South Asia or for that matter in third world countries has been derived from the western countries and by adopting the parameters of western countries it fails to recognize that borders of South Asia shares a long history of cross-border movements that existed much before the East-India company was born (Samaddar,2002). Underlying the fact that third world countries share a different historical process of border demarcation, post-colonialist argues that it therefore requires a different set of tools for understanding the region. For this, the task of a researcher to study borders in third world countries would be that of considering the historical process of border demarcation and also taking in account of the experiences of the people living in borderlands. It is hardly surprising that the border holds particular resonance for postcolonial critics, since colonial power remains inscribed in the landscape in the form of borders long after the colonial power may have withdrawn, the arbitrary colonial division of Africa’s formerly tribal territories providing only one of many examples of this (Ottoway, 1999).

## **II) Feminism**

National Security discourses are typically part of the elite world of masculine high politics. Statesmen, diplomats, and the military conduct the business of states, and too often war, imbuing the relations and processes of the society of nation-states with an atmosphere seemingly devoid of women and an interest in issues of concern to

women(Blanchard,2003). “The academic discipline charged with theorizing this world, international relations(IR), has only recently made a place for feminist analysis, and then only grudgingly” (Blanchard,2003).

The study of International relations has been from the men’s perspective, which excluded women’s share of experiences. The practice was not only theoretically but in practical level as well. For example, Eric M. Blanchard refers to a ‘catch-22’ situation, in which a candidate seeking political office will highly depend on past military service as qualification for the position, putting women at a disadvantage since they generally have less military experience. This significantly limits a woman’s chances to attain a national government position directly involved with international issues of defense and security (Blanchard, 2003). From this example alone, we can understand how the areas of domestic politics, the military, and even the topic of education (which is directly related to this example), are issues with respect to which feminists would argue that gender and patriarchy do not allow women equal access to power positions in world politics (Ruiz, 2012). Traditional approaches to security have underestimated, or ignored the role played by gender in international relations. As a result, the existence of gender based hierarchies has been obscured, marginalizing the unique security concerns of women(Chisem,2011).Furthermore, J N. Tickner argues that international politics is an arena of men. There is little evidence to suggest that women have played much of a role in shaping foreign policy in any country in the twentieth century (Tickner,1992). All these points us to the fact that gender has played a major role in excluding the lived experience of women in understanding world politics and it is on this ground only feminist criticize all the traditional theories<sup>5</sup>.

Feminism as an academic discipline grew out of the feminist movement of the 1960’s and 1970’s- a movement dedicated to achieving political, social, and economic equality for women (Baylis,2011). More than anything the ultimate aim of feminism was to explain women’s subordination, which exists to varying degrees in all societies, and to seek to seek ways to end it. However, feminist disagree on why women are subordinate and thus,

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<sup>5</sup>Traditional theories refers to realism and liberalism, as these theories has analyzed world politics from men’s perspective.

how to overcome it. Hence there are various feminist strands underlying the above disagreements. They include liberal, radical, Marxist, post-colonialist, stand point and critical. The tradition of feminism goes back to the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is associated with the names such Christine de Pizan, Mary Astell, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Harriet Taylor. Each of these theorist argued that women should have the same chance to develop their rational capacities as men. Most reforms that have benefited women can be attributed to liberal feminism (Tickner,1992). Liberal feminist believes that women's equality can be achieved by removing legal and other obstacles that have denied them the same rights and opportunities as men (Baylis, 2011). They largely believe that state can play the role of neutral arbiter necessary to ensure women's equality. However, the critics of liberal feminism claimed that the removal of legal barriers did not end the discrimination against women in either public or private sphere. Moreover, critics suggest that the liberal emphasis on individual and rationality promoted masculine values (Tickner, 1992).

**Radical feminist** in disagreement with liberal feminist argues that oppression of women exist in the social structure (which is patriarchy in nature) and hence the system of suppression can be removed through legal system. Instead of equalizing men with women, radical feminist endorse the idea of celebrating women's unique virtues that has been disvalued in patriarchal societies. However, the critics argue that by celebrating and valorizing women's uniqueness can perpetuate rather than overcome women's marginalization. Nevertheless, radical feminist can be credited the use of gender as a conceptual category of analysis (Tickner,1992). Marxist feminist on the other hand sees the domination of women from the perspective of materialism. The claim that patriarchy has a material base that is expressed in men's control over women's labor power, argues that modes of production as the primary source of women's oppression. Having the background of Marxist understanding, Stand point feminism presupposes that all knowledge reflects the interest and values of specific social groups, its construction is affected by social, political, ideological and historical settings (Tickner,1992). Hence they claim that since women's lives are different from that of men's lives so would be

their experiences, it is from form this point that women can overcome the subordination and have a vantage point over male supremacy.

**Black feminist or post-colonialist feminist** arose in response to stand point feminist and argues that they fail to recognize difference amongst women based on race, religion, class and particularly the geographical location. For post-colonialist feminist the problem behind the stand point feminist argument is that they generalize the feminist knowledge which is based on the perception and the experiences of western women. It is in this process, women of colonized societies get sidelined in the knowledge creation and hence get marginalized. Chandra Mohanty suggests that woman's subordination must be addressed within their own cultural context, rather than through some universal understanding of women's needs (Tickner,1992). A critical feminist perspective is geared towards addressing the politics of multiple overlapping identities. Since gender is intertwined with other identities such as race, class and nationality, the dichotomy between universalism and cultural relativism is overcome by connecting individual experiences in a particular location to wider regional and global structures and processes (Hudson, 2005). Feminist critiques of so-called natural or depoliticized gender dichotomies within state-centric discourses delegitimize discriminatory practices and institutions as socio-historical constructions and 're politicize' orthodox views on security by challenging the role of the state as provider of security (Hudson, 2005). Despite the need to contest or deconstruct gendered practices, these critical feminist positions do not overly dwell on the regulatory practices of patriarchy. By drawing on their own personal and professional experiences, feminists in the area of gender and literacy (Gilbert, 1993) argue that discourses of patriarchy can be disrupted. For example, Gilbert (1993, August) proposes that feminist literature gives her the language and a set of meanings, to view practices of patriarchy differently. And this different way of reading the word and the world has been and continues to be empowering (Singh, 1997).

Taking the understanding of critical feminism and post-colonial feminism, the study here seeks to explore the experiences of women living in borderland and rethink security discourse in broader perspective. Since, women have always been marginalized from the

knowledge making process of world politics, the ultimate goal of feminism is to emancipate the marginalized from the structures of gender. It is with the goal of emancipation that feminist IR, with its intellectual roots in feminist theory more generally, is seeking to understand the various ways in which unequal gender structures constrain women's, as well as some men's social relations might be eliminated (Tickner, 1992).

### **LOCATING CRITICAL FEMINISM IN UNDERSTANDING BORDER AND WOMEN SECURITY**

The emergence of critical theory and the encroachment of feminist scholarship into the mainstream International Relations (IR) discourse, along with the ratification of resolution 1325 by the United Nations Security Council in 2000, have gone some way toward highlighting the position of women within the international security framework (Witworth, 2008). Hence, it can be argued that feminist used this opportunity to make the world realize how the unequal gender structure played a significant role in marginalizing the women in process of knowledge construction. Though it's a different thing that feminist, have various strands but the goal of emancipating the marginalized remains the end product. Thus, feminist have taken gender lenses in understanding world politics. And it is from this perspective that feminist visualize border and borderlands.

Till date whenever there were debates on border, the general implication that was derived was of war, security, military and territorial demarcation. In nutshell, border was understood nothing more than a space where state's security was at stake. This line of understanding clearly marginalized the other social aspects of border and borderlands but most importantly how people articulate border and borderlands. And according to Pickering, the development of understandings of borders has to incorporate a set of broadly identifiable and broadly applicable common ideas: globalization, sovereignty, human rights, violence, mobility and security, to name just a few (Pickering, 2011:2). For feminist, apart from these aspects the scope of understanding border and borderlands would broaden if they lived experiences of women are taken into consideration. As Paula Banerjee, has rightly mentioned that women living in the borders are the subject of this

series of articles not only because they belong to these perilous territories or the borders but also because in many ways the form them<sup>6</sup> (Banerjee, 2011).

According to Tickner, there has long been an ideational association of the 'international' with conventionally masculine characteristics. Since antiquity manhood and statecraft have been presented as inextricably connected and mutually reinforcing – reaching their pinnacle in the form of 'the citizen warrior' (Tickner,2004). It is from this perspective only that border and borderland too has been analyzed and understood, where women are not only sidelined but associated them to have no knowledge of the particular field. Simone de Beauvoir on the other hand has observed that participation in the armed forces has been socially constructed as the "highest form of patriotism" behaviour, 1949. As, until very recently, this was "an accolade ...women have been systematically excluded from achieving", traditional modes of citizenship have served to strand women at the periphery of international politics (Vaughan,2010). Perhaps it is no coincidence that the key text of realism is called '*Man, the State and War*' (Chisem,2011), where the main emphasis is on the state and its role of security provider to its citizens (mainly women and children) and this task is entrusted to armed forces (mainly men). Indeed, the position of women in international relations has, arguably, been principally defined by the need of the state to reproduce itself as a means of achieving its security objectives. There are countless examples of the state utilizing women as a mechanism to increase national birth rates in order to meet economic, imperial or military national interests. Although this has been particularly evident in dictatorships such as the Soviet Union, in which the authorities coerced the female population to have larger families in reaction to the high death rates the country suffered in the Second World War, it is also a feature of modern liberal democracies – in 2004 the French government offered women financial incentives to have more than one child (Kennedy,2007) and the Polish and Italian governments have considered introducing similar policies( <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4768644.stm>). Attempts to increase state security can therefore be implicit in the proliferation of economic and physical insecurity amongst millions of women – something which state-

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<sup>6</sup> Paula Banerjee has rightly mentioned that women of the borderland community are not just the member of the border region, they are also the ones who have been involved in the history making process of the border.

centric approaches fail to appreciate (Chisem,2011).As security threats are conventionally constructed in solely military terms, government funds which could have been directed into social welfare are instead funneled into defence projects. Due to the high proportion of female-headed households which fall into low income brackets, and thus rely to some extent on welfare provisions and public services, high defense spending has been said to lead to the feminization of poverty (Chisem,2011).Consequently, the analysis and practice of international security has privileged male actions and perspectives whilst sidelining the experiences and views of women (Chisem,2011). Tickner, who has devoted reams of text to this subject, has illuminated the disproportionate impact that war has on women. Tickner underlines the insecurity experienced by displaced women in refugee camps, who are extremely vulnerable to physical and sexual violence (Sheehan,2005) Rather than making women more secure, conflict exposes them to a continuum of violence. For example, rape has been used not only as a means of terrorizing women and subduing the male population, but also as part of a wider policy of ethnic cleansing – something which was particularly evident in the actions of Serbian forces in Bosnia during the mid-1990s (Sheehan,2005).

The discipline of security studies has been dominated by realist approaches to the study of international relations. As the primary referent object in realist thought is the state, it fails to recognise the gendered identities and power relations that exist on a sub-state level, which accordingly influence the identity and actions of the state itself. As a result, traditional approaches to security have internalized the notion that the state and the state system are gender-neutral – leading them to privilege particularly male forms of knowledge and neglect the role of gender in the structural construct of international relations and international security. The exclusion of women from the security discourse and the inability of women to influence the content of the security agenda, along with the supremacy of masculine conceptions of what constitute ‘political’ and ‘private issues’, have served to marginalize the distinct security concerns of women – and in some cases exacerbate them. The gender-blind nature of security studies has been implicit in maintaining and reproducing these processes.



Gender roles are one of the key factors that construct the different security experiences, needs, priorities and actions of men, women, girls and boys (Hendricks, 2010). The discipline of security studies has been dominated by realist approaches to the study of international relations. As state is the primary referent object in realist thought, it fails to recognize the gendered identities and power relations that exist on a sub-state level, which accordingly influence the identity and actions of the state itself. As a result, traditional approaches to security have internalized the notion that the state and the state system are gender-neutral—leading them to privilege particularly male forms of knowledge and neglect the role of gender in the structural construct of international relations and international security. The exclusion of women from the security discourse and the inability of women to influence the content of the security agenda, along with the supremacy of masculine conceptions of what constitute ‘political’ and ‘private issues’, have served to marginalize the distinct security concerns of women – and in some cases exacerbate them. The gender-blind nature of security studies has been implicit in maintaining and reproducing these processes (Chisem,2011). Of all the casualties in post-1945 conflicts, 90% have been suffered by women and children, (Sheehan,2005) a group which also comprises 80% of war refugees (Chisem,2011). Tickner underlines the insecurity experienced by displaced women in refugee camps, who are extremely vulnerable to physical and sexual violence (Sheehan,2005).

Feminist criticism, in Showalter's program, progresses from critiques of sexist texts by men, to the rediscovery of the female literary tradition, then finally, and presumably most advanced, to the revision of literary theories to take into account women's own interpretations, a type of essentialism that assumes the universality of Woman's experience (Saldivar, 1991). In our search for a feminist critical discourse that adequately takes into account our position as women under multiple oppressions we must turn to our own "organic intellectuals."(Saldivar,1991).‘Cultural tyranny" for the Chicana feminist imposes an additional hegemonic power against which she must struggle. She must not only contend with the racism of the dominant Anglo-American restraints, she must also resist the oppressive yoke of the sexist Chicano culture: Culture is made by those in power—men. Males make the rules and laws; women transmit them. How many times

have I heard mothers and mothers-in-law tell their sons to beat their wives for not obeying them, for being *hociconas* (big mouths), for being *callejeras* (going to visit and gossip with neighbors), for expecting their husbands to help with the rearing of children and the housework, for wanting to be something other than housewives' (Saldivar,1991) Anzaldua's "feminism on the border" begins to do just that. It is a feminism that exists in a borderland not limited to geographic space, a feminism that resides in a space not acknowledged by hegemonic culture (Saldivar,1991)The border feminist that Anzaldua presents is a woman comfortable with new affiliations that subvert told ways of being, rejecting the homophobic, sexist, racist, imperialist, and Nationalist (Saldivar,1991). Feminism is a view that is, broadly, committed to the following claims: 1) gender inequality exists and is pervasive and 2) we ought to develop principles and policies aimed at eradicating such inequality (Hartley,2010).Borders emerged as objects of study during the First and Second World War periods when concerns about territorial control were heightened (Kolossoff,2005). Previously, notions of frontiers as edges of civilization held fast in the discourses of politicians and historians, especially in colonial contexts (Curzon,1907). Subsequent academic efforts delineated, categorized, and classified boundaries into typologies (van Houtum, 2005). Prescott (1987) illustrated this systematic approach by compiling case studies spanning land, maritime, and atmospheric boundaries. These were usually characterized by a definite link to physical features. Then, functional approaches concerned with the results of borders replaced identification of the locations and forms of boundaries (Paasi, 2005). Fischer(1949) was one of the first voices calling attention to the relationships between borders and people (Allen,2012).Starr and Mostly viewed borders as 'interaction opportunit [ies]', arguing that "a border creates a certain *structure* of risks and opportunities in which various interactions appear to be more or less likely" ( Starr, 1976, 588).

Feminism today is generally perceived as being in crisis or vast decline, mainly due to the decline of media coverage of Feminism in the 'western world'. If you cannot hear or see it, it is thought to be non-existent. All the same, an idea that Feminism would be irrelevant and outdated could easily be shattered (Bryson, 2003). Feminist theories are constructed in such a way that they are made out of the experiences of women in their countless and varied circumstances, experiences that have tended to be neglected by most

previous intellectual disciplines (Josson, 2008). Being a border woman also implies seeing the borders as ever changing spaces that are not restricted to host power relations, but as also incorporating projects of resistance and liberation. This feature of border spaces makes their study appealing since borders as social, geographical and political constructions can be shaped and reshaped according to the multiple influences from those who are related to them (Mandoza, 2008).

Since militarized states in fact can be of vast threat to the security of their own people, by economic in-equality, poverty etc. and also the fact that a threat of pollution and overuse of resources sees no real state boundaries (Tickner, 1992). Gender roles are one of the key factors that construct the different security experiences, needs, priorities and actions of men, women, girls and boys (Hendricks, 2005).

## **CONCLUSION**

The limitations of traditional theories in understanding border and especially women security issues have paved the way for critical theories to place their perspective in International Relations. It was under the banner of critical theories that, even feminist scholars could put their arguments forward and argue that the structures of gender in International Relations play an eminent role. It is the structures of gender that has made women less visible in international forum. Taking this understanding, the chapter has focused brought in various theoretical debates in analyzing border and women security issues. From traditional theories, it has brought in the arguments of realism and liberalism in understanding border, where their main emphasis is on state security and club issues of human security into the paradigm state' security. Though liberalism, has taken a soft path in analyzing border but they do place the importance of state security at first and other issues after that. Making a different turn from the traditional outlook in perceiving border and women security issues, the chapter has further brought in the perception of constructivism. Border for constructivist, is a place where identity plays an eminent role and it is through the inter-subjective understanding that the general understanding of border is determined. Constructivist though gave a different picture about border, but as far as women security issues are concerned they are not able address them. The issue of human security is dealt extensively by critical theories, where their main focus is on the

emancipation of human kind. Taking emancipation as a major theme, feminist too has concentrated in emancipation of women and the questions related to their subordination. The chapter has mainly focused on critical feminist stand as the study taking their stand will analyze the women of borderland community and their perception on security.

**CHAPTER - III**

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**TRADITIONAL AND NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY ISSUES IN INDIA-  
NEPAL BORDER**

## CHAPTER 3

### TRADITIONAL AND NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY ISSUES IN INDIA-NEPAL BORDER

#### INTRODUCTION

Traditional security is largely concerned with a notion that threat emanates from outside and having a strong military was state's first priority. It is state's security which is first and every other security issues are either given less importance or no importance. In this understanding, securitization of borders is of high significance. Till the end of cold war, armed force was considered both as a source and solution for security threats and protection for the state and its citizens. Military forces, Ayoob<sup>1</sup> (1995) argues that, "begin with, as it has been traditionally used in international relations literature, the term security is based upon two major assumptions: one, that most threats to a state's security arise from outside its borders, and two, that these threats are primarily, if not exclusively, military in nature and usually require a military response if the security of the state is target state is to be preserved" (Ayoob, 1995;126 ). However, the end of the cold war ended the notion that state along with armed forces could provide security to its citizens from the outside threat. Instead, traditional notion of security received a severe setback when the concept of security was broaden up and threats about human was less bounded by territoriality (McMillen,2009) and that security of states has no real meaning if divorced from its human constituents (Dupont,2001).Hence, problems such as the lack of capacity and good governance, as well as the increasing salience of transnational phenomena, challenge the conventional notion of states as single providers of security for their citizen (Wirth,2010). It is in the challenge of non-traditional security issues such as poverty, environment, food, human-trafficking, drug-trafficking, health, illiteracy etc that traditional understanding of security was found lacking of

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<sup>1</sup>MohamoodAyoob in his article "Security in the Third World :the worm about to turn" has argued for traditional form of security which emphasis more for the military strategies that plays an eminent role in securing third world countries.

explaining the phenomenon. In 1994, the United Nations Programme (UNDP) Human development Report (HDR) presented a new way of thinking about the integration of security issues and globalization. This report defined human security according to seven dimensions: personal, economic, political, environment, community, health and food security (UNDP, 1994; 24-25).

Non-traditional security is associated with human security and that there is a change of priority, that is, from state centric to human centric. The human security paradigm is designed to provide a more holistic comprehensive definition of security and protection from all forms of harm (Muthien, 2000). It is the importance of human security that provided a theoretical foundation for the development of other related concepts of human security framework like humanitarian intervention and responsibility to protect (Evans, 2008), which was officially endorsed in the 2005 World Summit Outcome (A/RES/60/1, 16 September 2005; 138-139). One of the aspect of the concept is that human populations, as distinct from sovereign states and the international community, are recognized as objects to be protected from threats of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity (Nasu, 2011). This it can be seen like the Copenhagen School, it today acknowledge that war and force are not the only core elements of security studies and therefore a broader definition a catchment in conceptualizing security by including many different types of threats is necessary (Haefner, 2013).

Human security is a human or people-centered and multi-sectoral approach to security. It mainly concerns with the protection of people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, and the empowerment of people to develop their potential through concerted efforts to develop norms, processes and institutions that systematically address insecurities (Nasu, 2011). Unlike traditional notion of security, non-traditional form of security is multi-dimensional, and it recognizes that state alone cannot provide security and it also understood that insecurity of one state is insecurity for all. The diversity of security threats that gave rise to

trans-national security concerns makes the involvement of non-state actors and other institutions inevitable. The inefficiency of understanding of hard core security in responding the challenge and dynamics of security threats has led the involvement of non-state actors and other institutions in responding to diversity of security threat that gave rise to transnational security concerns. For example, the concern of environment, which is degrading by every passing day, has become a concern of every nation state. It has become a threat which does not limits itself with one particular boundary or territory or as Alexandre S. Timoshenko (1987), has pointed out that, nearly thirty years ago at the World Commission on Environment and Development where he observed that

we cannot secure security for one state at the expense of the other. Security can only be universal, but security cannot only be political or military, it must be as well ecological, economical, and social. It must ensure the fulfillment of the aspirations of humanity as a whole(Timoshenko,1987; 487).

However, existence of various non-traditional threats does not necessarily means that there is a negation of state's role and the importance of armed forces. In fact, the definition of non-traditional security along with other issues such as environment, personal, energy, food, political etc encompasses military security as well (Buzan,1983). Taking this definition and understanding of security the chapter will see presence of both traditional and non-traditional security issues in India-Nepal border.

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF INDIA- NEPAL BORDER**

Nepal is a landlocked country nestled between two Asian giants; India to the South, East and West, and Tibet, part of China to the North. Nepal-China boundary is as old as the history of the two countries, but in contrast to the very ancient cultural, social, political and economic relations, Nepal-India boundary has a comparatively recent origin and its present boundary demarcation and delimitation took place after the Anglo-Nepal War of 1814-16 (Kansakar, 2001). While tracing the border development of India-Nepal, there are some essential facts which is not directly related to India and Nepal only. The involvement of





other players<sup>2</sup> in the demarcation history itself proves the external influence during the process. The following paragraph therefore will focus on two factors determining the process of demarcation of boundary i.e. British East India factor and Sikkim factor.

### **I) Treaty of Saugali 1816**

Prior to the domination of India by the British East India company, both India and Nepal were divided into petty kingdoms and principalities. As such, very little information is available regarding the extent of border as well as border disputes between Nepal and India (Orton, 2010). It is largely stated that even though social, cultural and economic relations between Nepal and India took place since immemorial but the political relation between Nepal and India took place during the period when colonization of India was taking place under the British East India company, and the expansion and unification of Nepal was taking place under King Prithivi Narayan Shah (Kanaskar, 1997). The Anglo-Nepal war of 1814 and the subsequent treaty of peace signed between East India Company and Nepal on December 8, 1816 resulted in delimitation and delineation of India-Nepal border. Accordingly, political relation between Sikkim and Nepal also plays an imminent role in the demarcation of border of India and Nepal. Sikkim, before being a part of India was an independent territory till 1975. It is in 1642 that Sikkim got its first Chogyal and ruled till 1975. The political relations between Nepal and Sikkim were not cordial down from the eighteenth century. Both the trans-Himalayan countries were engaged in hostilities and tried to extend their territory by resorting to force. On many occasions Sikkim captured some portions of what is now eastern Nepal and even extended her influence up to Chainpur (Sharma, 2002). However, Sikkim's occupations over these territories generally remained short lived. The Sena kings of Bijaypur had to struggle hard to encounter the Sikkimese intrusion. With rise of Gorkhas under Prithvi Narayan Shah, a military campaign under him marched up to Illam and his successors even

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<sup>2</sup> By other players the phrase over here means the involvement of British East India company and the erstwhile kingdom of Sikkim as well.

moved further east and captured the area up to the Tista River and were thus able to control some territory of Sikkim (Mishra, 2011).

The period between 1770-1825 was a phase when Nepal had adopted a confrontational approach in the eastern Himalaya region and in the process consolidated itself as a distinct polity (Sinha, 2008). The Gorkha generals vanquished the weak Namgyal authority in Sikkim when generals Kazi Damodar Pande and Jahar Singh Thapa crossed in to Sikkim and captured territories west of river Tista in 1789. The king of Sikkim, Tenzing Namgyal (1780-1793), ran away to Tibet and seek asylum ([http://www.ide.go.jp/English/Publish/Download/Jrp/pdf/133\\_10.pdf](http://www.ide.go.jp/English/Publish/Download/Jrp/pdf/133_10.pdf)). Intoxicated with the success in eastern Nepal, the Nepalese armed bands continued raiding. However all this ventures were not rewarded with success. Meanwhile, the advent of Nepal-Tibet-China crises, Sikkim openly stood in favour of Tibet and China, anticipating getting back her territory for the presence of Gorkhali, on the border posed a great threat to the Sikkimese ruler (Mishra, 2011). Furthermore, during Anglo-Gorkha war, Sikkim supported the East India company and joined the anti Nepal camp (Acharya, 2011). The Saugali Treaty of 1816 ended the war, which besides other clauses obliged Nepal to cede the territories east from Mechiriver to the East India Company (Mishra, 2011).

The political history of Sikkim and Nepal is one of the crucial factors in the boundary demarcation, similarly the history would be incomplete without emphasizing the role of British East India company in it. The British colonial rule in India was extremely eager to open the trade routes to Tibet from Indian plains across the Himalayas and it was felt that routes through Sikkim would be a feasible one. Nepal on the other hand was eager to expand its territory and invade Sikkim, unfortunately the Chogyal of Sikkim who did not have strong arm forces requested the British East India Company to intervene and hence the Anglo-Gorkha war was fought leading to the treaty of Saugali. The East India company delineated and demarcated the southern boundary on its own, but no demarcation was made for the Tarai region lying between the Mahakali river and the ArrahNala, which was ceded to the British India in 1816 (Orton, 2010).

A straight line between the two pillars was drawn for the demarcation of the border in the forest areas, while demarcation in the cultivated land was made on the basis of village boundaries on the principle of mutual give and take, major disputes and problems arose in the case of river boundary due to erratic changes in the river courses in the Tarai region. However, in recognition of assistance of Nepalese army in quelling the 1857 mutiny in Lucknow, the western Tarai was handed over to Nepal, which was earlier ceded to India under the treaty of 1816. The Boundary Commissions of the two Governments met in North Oudh at Bhagura Tal in February 1860 to survey and demarcate the boundary. After the completion of the survey and demarcation, the King of Nepal and the British Resident signed a formal treaty on November 1, 1860<sup>3</sup> (Kansakar, 2001). Even after the signing of the treaty the dispute over the river boundary between Mondia Ghat to Bunbasa along the Mahakali (Sharada) river arose immediately but was resolved in December 1864. Nepal made the claim over the Dudhawa Range up to the foot of the hills, while the British insisted on the Range watershed forming the boundary and the area along the Southern slopes of the watershed belonging to India (Orton, 2010). The Agreement endorsing the claim of Nepal was ratified on June 7, 1875 (Tyagi, 1974:88-98). The agreement also stipulated that territory of 2800 acres from Nepal ceded to India for the construction of the Sharada Barrage in the early 1900s and a total of 4000 acres in Taratal area to the south of Bardia district was given to Nepal.

The actual scientific demarcation of Nepal-India boundary started during the topographical survey of the whole of Nepal carried out by the Survey of India in 1926-27. As the survey was carried out from the lower altitudes in the mountain areas in the north, it failed to delineate Nepal-China boundary in the north. This

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<sup>3</sup> The treaty of 1860 was signed between British resident and King of Nepal as British Company government was highly impressed by the service provided by the Nepal's commander in chief Jang Bahadur Rana in suppressing the revolt of 1857 in India. It is through this treaty that British east India Company returned the semi-colony between Mahakali and Mechi river to Nepal (<http://madhesi.wordpress.com/2008/09/18/all-original-people-of-the-terai-working-for-liberation-unite/>).

survey produced topographical maps for Nepal indicating Nepal- India boundary including the location and number of each boundary pillar together with topographical details of the Indian side in the maps as well. Under the Sugauli Treaty, Nepal withdrew from all the territory it had occupied in Sikkim as Nepal had no formal treaty with Sikkim regarding Nepal-Sikkim boundary. The British East India Company, under the Treaty of Titalia on 10 February 1871 with the Government of Sikkim restored the territory ceded by Nepal. A Sunnud (A charter or Warrant) dated 7 April 1817 regarding the granting of the territory to the Rajah of Sikkim stated:

The honorable East India Company, in consideration of the services performed by the Hill tribes under the control of the Rajah of Sikkim, and of the attachment shown to him to the interest of the British Government, grants to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, his heirs and successors all that portion of low land situated eastward of the MeitchieRiver , and westward of the MahaNuddee, formerly Possessed by the Rajah of Nepaul, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the Treaty of Segoulee, to be held by the Sikkimputtee Rajah as a feudatory, or as acknowledging the supremacy of the British Government over the said lands, subject to the following conditions.(Aitchison, 1993).

The British Government though kept the surveillance of boundary every year but they were determined to keep the border open and in doing so they had two main motives. The first was gain easy access to the Nepalese hill people for facilitating their recruitment in the Indian army, as also to protect food grains, forest products and raw materials from Nepal. The second motive was to have easy access to Nepal for the manufactured goods from Britain and India (Kanaskar, 2001).

## **II) India-Nepal Friendship and Peace Treaty of 1950**

The Peace and Friendship Treaty between India and Nepal was signed after prolonged deliberations on 31<sup>st</sup> July 1950. The treaty though not a formal military alliance, the treaty was almost a defence pact between the two countries (Singh, 2009). The treaty of 1950 was kept secret until 1959, but the clauses of the treaty of the letter exchanged became operational much earlier (Kanaskar,

2011). By Article 2 of the treaty, the two governments undertook *“to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring states likely to cause any breach in friendly relations substituting between the two Governments”* (<http://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/6295/>). The treaty of 1950, in effect, brought Nepal within the security system the Indians were attempting to build for South Asia in response to the growing Chinese influence in Asia, and consolidation of its territories by China (Rose, 1980). An exchange of letters on the same day made the binding more specific by further laying down that *“neither Government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the others by a foreign aggressor. To deal with any such threat the two governments, shall consult with each other and advise effective counter measures”* (<http://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/6295/>).

After 1947, India signed such a comprehensive Treaty with the oligarchic Rana regime (1942-58) when this regime was facing mounting pressure from pro-democratic forces and was itself about to collapse. The economic clauses in the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 refer to the national treatment which will be given to the nationals of the other regarding participation in industrial and economic development, residence, ownership of property, etc. As a result of this treaty, the people of Nepal are free to take up employment, buy property (like Indians can in Nepal) and even be part of the government services in India except in the limited seats of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS), Indian Police Service (IPS) and Indian Foreign Service (IFS). This clause is important to Nepal because of the low level of economic development in Nepal, thus diplomatic relations between the two countries was established. Likewise, Nepal and India concluded an Arms Assistance Agreement in 1965, under which India undertook to supply arms, ammunition, and equipment for the entire Nepalese Army. It was this treaty which resolved the two countries' long-standing border disputes, including the question of Mount Everest (Bhattarai, 2007).

Thus the Treaty of Peace and Friendship provided for joint action for mutual security and defence between the two countries. It cancelled all the previous treaties, agreements and arrangements which had been regulating India-Nepal relations till then and laid the foundations of a fresh relationship. It included new clauses promising the furtherance of friendly relations between the two countries on popular level. Articles 6 and 7 of the treaty bound the Government of India and Nepal to grant to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other “the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movements and other privileges of a similar nature” (<http://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/6295/>).

### **INDIA-NEPAL BORDER SECURITY ISSUES**

The open border between India and Nepal has contributed significantly towards a feeling of certain belongingness, particularly at the border, with unrestricted flow of people and goods across the border. Common values, culture, way of life and the availability of market therefore became stronger than building restriction along the border and it is through the open border system that India-Nepal relation can be best defined (Kumar, 2003) In essence, the relationship between these two countries is much more than the sum of treaties and agreements concluded between them. Open border stands out as the cornerstone in widening and deepening their bonds of ties through people to people contact. The overwhelming presence of people of Indian origin in and the presence of Nepalese population in the Terai region contiguous to the Indo-Nepal border has made socio-cultural intercourse indispensable. The 1751 km long Indo-Nepal open border has not only facilitated socio-cultural exchanges that date back to centuries but also has been strengthened by age old historical ties. The geographical proximity and socio-cultural affinity have determined the contour of the relationship between both the countries. However the socio-cultural affinity has not been able to negate the presence of traditional and non-traditional security issues in the region.

## **D) Traditional Security Issue between India and Nepal**

Even though India-Nepal follows the open border policy, this does not imply that there is an absence of border security in the region. This implies that the traditional notion of security does not dilute just because the border is open in nature. In the case of India and Nepal, there is an external threat which forces the state to securitize its mutual border. According to Padamji Murthi (1998), Threat perceptions to India do not directly arise from Nepal per se. They arise from:

1. the possibility that through Nepal's northern borders any power (emphasis on China) upon entering Nepal, can easily access the Indian mainland since Indo-Nepal borders are not separated by any natural barrier and in this sense are open;
2. that a Nepal which is not stable politically and economically would be more vulnerable to such an eventuality, and this would consequently result in the Indian mainland also being exposed;
3. that Nepal may adopt policies (internally and externally) which would be detrimental to the security interests of India.

It is in this apprehension only that soon after the conclusion of the treaty of 1950, New Delhi proposed to Kathmandu that checkpoints be established along Nepal's Tibetan border for strengthening the border defence of that country as also for strategic and military intelligence purpose (Mullick,1971). Ginesberg and Malhoz, who made a pioneering study of Communist China and Tibet wrote:

“He who holds Tibet, dominates the Himalayan piedmont, he who dominates the Himalayan piedmonts, threatens the India sub-continent, and he who threatens Indian sub-continent may well have all of South Asia within his reach and with that all of Asia” (Jha,1997).

In this direction, in 1958, the Indian Military Mission(IMM)was downgraded and reorganized as the Indian Military Training and Advisory Group (IMTAG)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> IMM was considered as an extension of Indian interference and an affront of Nepal's dignity and King of Nepal announced the end of the tenure of Mission. IMTAG was formed after the reduction of 42 Indian defence personnel, however continued to advice Royal Nepal Army (RNA)



(<http://www.idsa-india.org/an-dec9-8.html>). With the elections being held and the Nepali Congress coming to power, convergences were once again visible not only in the political arena but also in the economic field. In 1960, the Treaty of Trade and Transit was concluded, whose provisions indicated towards a free trade area and also additional facilities for transit (Bhasin,1994). The 22 routes agreed for mutual trade along India-Nepal border are as follows

1. Pashupati Nagar/SukhaiPokhari
2. Kakerbhitta/Naxalbari
3. Bhadrapur/Galgalia
4. Privat Nagar/Jogbani
5. Setobandha/Bhimnagar
6. Rajbiraj/Kunauli
7. Siraha/Janakpur
8. Jaleswar/Birtamod/Sursand
9. Malangwa/Sonbrsa
10. Gaur/Bairagania
11. Birgunj/Raxual
12. Bhairahawa/Nautanwa
13. Taulihawa/Khunwa
14. Krishnanagar/Barhni
15. Koilabas/Jarwa
16. Nepalgunj/Neoalgunj Road
17. Rajapur/Kalerniyagat
18. Prithivipur/Sati (Kailali)/ Tikonia
19. Dhangadhi/Gauriphanta
20. Mahendra Nagar/Banbasa
21. Mahakali/Jhughat
22. Darchula/Dharchula

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on training and organization (see, Thapliyal, Sangeeta, 1998, Mutual Security; The Case of India-Nepal Lancer and Publishers and Distributers) .

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The 1751 km open border, of which close to 1600 kms are in the open Terai, poses obvious security concerns. Border problem between the two countries in Susta and Kalapani, exist even today. Susta is situated in the Nawalparasi district in west Nepal, while Kalapani is in the far west of Nepal in the Darchula district. Though the tension between India and Nepal over a few disputed pockets along the border have persisted for more than three decades, the first half of 2009 witnessed an increase in the frequency of border disputes. The fallout of the disputes was the drumming up of anti-India feelings in Nepal and tensions in bilateral relations. However the two countries exchanged the diplomatic note on setting a boundary working group to seek amicable technical solution for these unsettled boundaries (Paudyal, 2014)

The first event in the latest series of border tensions can be traced to January 30, 2009, and the second to June 1<sup>st</sup> 2009, when some sections of the Nepalese media claimed that Shahastra Seema Bal (SSB) had encroached upon Nepalese land and constructed camps. News reports claimed around 1800 Nepali villages were driven out of around 22 border villages in Dang district by SSB ([http://www.nepalnews.com/mobile/view\\_article.php?id=19](http://www.nepalnews.com/mobile/view_article.php?id=19)). Subsequently reports pointed up the number of displaced villagers from 'Dang-Kapilvastu border area to Dang-Banke point' to more than 6000 (Das, 2012). India though had rejected any claims of such kind but rejecting the official statement, a team of eighteen parliamentary parties of the Constituent Assembly of Nepal headed by legislator Amik Sherchen inspected 22 border points from Bera to Dang to investigate the allegations. A second team comprising members of the Foreign Relations and Human Rights Committee of parliamentarians of Nepal headed by lawmaker Padma Lal Bishwakarma also visited the 'affected' areas. Both teams concluded that SSB personnel had indeed violated the international border, encroached upon Nepalese territory and had also harassed Nepalese villagers. Similar incidences of Nepalese people encroaching upon Indian land in the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have been reported in the Indian media in the past few years (Das, 2012).

At present, thousands of Nepalis cross this border every day and enter India and/or come back to Nepal from the five major transit points (Kakadbhitta-Siliguri, Biratnagar-Jogbani, Bhairahawa-Sunauli, Nepalgunj-Rupediya and Dhangadhi-Gauriphanta); 22 trade transit routes;16 and numerous unguarded border transits (Sharma, 2013). One of the major problems is there exist no record of how many individuals cross the border, where they go, and for what purposes and this has been major problem for the Indian side, where they have stated that four routes (from India) has been designated for the people of Pakistan to enter India, however border crossing has not been taking place through those routes and instead a large number of and individual and families from Pakistan cross border via Nepal. Thus the problem lies not in the issue of people of Pakistan entering in India but the entrance through Nepal which is unrestricted. It is through this new route that the infiltration of terrorist cannot be stopped(The Hindu, December 13, 2011).

## **II) Non-Traditional Security Issues in India-Nepal Border**

Apart from the issues of land and external threat, the border between India and Nepal also face many non-traditional security problems as well. For example, drug trafficking, human trafficking, illegal trade, health, education, poverty. Open border though facilitates the people of both these countries with many opportunities but it has also been a passage for various crimes as well and among them, one is human trafficking. The issue of human trafficking is a burning issue at present, and among various other reasons behind human trafficking, the open border concept between India and Nepal further facilitates the process. Nepal is one of the source countries for sexually trafficked women in South Asia. According to the government official, the number of girls or women trafficked every year range between 5000 to 7000 (Khatri, 1999). It is estimated by some NGOs that between 100,000 to 200,000 Nepalese women and girls are currently working in the brothels of India (ADB,2002)and approximately 25% are below the age of 18 (Kumar et al 2001). While many Nepali women have been

trafficked to India for sexual purposes, new destinations<sup>5</sup> facilitated by the traditionally open border between the two countries are emerging (Laurie, 2011). India has recently become a transit route for trafficking on to the Middle East in particular and South East Asia in general. Much work on trafficking examines the process and flows of trafficking in Nepal (Bal Kumar 2001, Beshford 2006, Brown 2000, Chen and Marcovici 2003, Hennick and Simkhada 2004, Human Rights Watch 1995, MWCSW 2001, Poudel 2011, Richardson et al. 2009; more widely, AWHRC 2003, GAATW 2004, Kangaspunta 2006, Kempadoo, Kim and Chang 2007, Pattanaik and Sanghera eds. 2005, United Nations 2003, US State Department 2010). Though strict measures has been taken by the Nepal Government to address the issue of human trafficking but according to Maiti Nepal (largest NGO in Nepal for stopping human trafficking) about 12000 girls get trafficked every year from Nepal (<http://www.maitinepal.org/#>). This figures itself proves that Nepal is facing serious problem as far as human trafficking is concerned. According to Anuradha Koirala, head of Maiti Nepal, said that earlier India acted as the receiver of the trafficked but there is shift of trend and the role of receiver has been played by other countries. Nevertheless, India still remains its crucial role as a main transit zone where women gets trafficked in other countries.

Along with this, the rate of drug trafficking is increasing. According to Pushpita Das (2012), Hashish and marijuana/ganja are the two cannabis derivatives that have been traditionally trafficked from Nepal into India. Figures indicate that the share of Nepalese hashish has steadily increased in the eighties from 7.2 per cent in 1986 to 16.6 per cent in 1989 (Annual Reports 1989, 1990, Narcotics Control Bureau, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, New Delhi). In the 1990s, as trafficking of hashish from Pakistan decreased, the share of Nepalese hashish trafficked into India increased substantially from (GOI, NCB, 1989, 1990), 5 per cent in 1991 to 40 per cent in 2000 (GOI, NCB, 2000-2001; 9). While hashish and

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<sup>5</sup>It has been observed that new destination has been found by human traffickers that is, in Gulf countries where the earlier destination was India ([www.maitinepal.org](http://www.maitinepal.org))

marijuana/ganja are smuggled from Nepal, pharmaceutical preparations containing psychotropic substances prescribed as painkillers and anti-anxiety drugs such as diazepam, alprazolam, nitrazepam, lorazepam, proxyvon, buprenorphine, etc. are trafficked from India to Nepal and Bhutan (Das, 2012). Trafficking of cannabis and its derivatives from Nepal into India and brown sugar and codeine-based pharmaceutical drugs from India to Nepal takes place mainly through the Bihar and Uttar Pradesh borders. Since the border is open, there are no travel restrictions and smuggling of drugs can take place through any point along the border (Das, 2012).

The other issue which holds importance as far as border region is concerned are the issues of health and education as these are also the factors which indicate the social development of the region and these issues hold immense importance for the people living in the border region. There is no denying of the fact that generally marginalized region gets less attention as far as national policy is concerned and the India-Nepal border region represents one of the example of those marginalized region. In the case of India-Nepal border, the people of the border region not only cross the border for economic benefits but for the proper treatment and proper education as well (Gellner et al, 2013). However, the facts remains that these people cross border for the mentioned purpose is due to the lack of proper hospitals and educational institutions in the region itself. The region have one small dispensary which can address only basic case of illness but for some major case people of this region have to cross border to get better treatment. Hence like any other open border, India-Nepal border also constitutes of many opportunities and challenges and like any other border region it has analyzed and understood from the discourse of men. The annexation of Tibet by China in September 1949, intensified the security concern of India, India and Nepal concluded Peace and Friendship in 1950. Some of the important clauses of the treaty and the letter spell out that the two countries would inform each other of any misunderstanding with any neighbouring state likely to cause a breach in the friendly relations between the two countries; that the two countries would not

employ a foreigner whose activities would be prejudicial to the security of the other; that arms or warlike material which Nepal imports through the territory of India shall be with the assistance and agreement of India. This particular clause could be incorporated not only because Nepal is a landlocked country but more important because it is for all practical purposes India-locked (Das, 2012).

## CONCLUSION

Though India and Nepal share traditional and cultural ties and hence follow open border approach but the present border between these countries is a part of colonial hangover. However, like other post-colonial borders, the border between India and Nepal has not witnessed serious land disputes but there is a presence of some small issues which according to the officials of the Government of Nepal and Government of India can be resolved through dialogues. Apart from the hard core security issues India and Nepal come across various non-traditional security threats which needs some serious attention, as these issues hampers the relation of both the states at large and the livelihood of the people living in borderland in particular.

The issue of security for the people of this region does not end here, the lack of basic necessities in the region hampers the development of the region more, which in turn hampers the cross-border trade as well. India-Nepal border, as mentioned by Housner and Sharma (2013), "Issues surrounding the regulation and the flow of people across the border have become areas of public debate in Nepal with growth of civil society and NGOs since 1990s: discussions on economic consequences on migrants on either side of the border; the harassment of the people face while crossing border", along with the issues of drug and human trafficking has made India-Nepal border have a unique characteristics where the people of this region have learnt to handle in their daily activities.

***CHAPTER - IV***

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***WOMEN OF THE BORDERLAND COMMUNITY AND THEIR  
PERCEPTION ON SECURITY***



## CHAPTER 4

### WOMEN OF THE BORDERLAND COMMUNITY AND THEIR PERCEPTION ON SECURITY

#### INTRODUCTION

Border is a space where state's security is at its maximum demonstration. It is a place where individuals and communities living around the border are restraint and monitored constantly. India-Nepal border is no exemption to that. India-Nepal border is no exemption to that. As discussed in previous chapter, India-Nepal border demonstrate itself to be a perfect example where both traditional as well as non-traditional forms of security issues are found. The presence of national security<sup>1</sup> has already reduced the space of women living in this borderland. In addition the presence of human security issues like migration, human trafficking, drug trafficking, diseases transformation, illegal trade, poverty, illiteracy has made women of this particular area negotiate their everyday life in terms of security.

The chapter deals with how women of the borderland community perceive security that is different from that of male's perspective. The chapter would also bring in the security issues that prevail in the India-Nepal border and how women of this particular community negotiate it in their daily life.

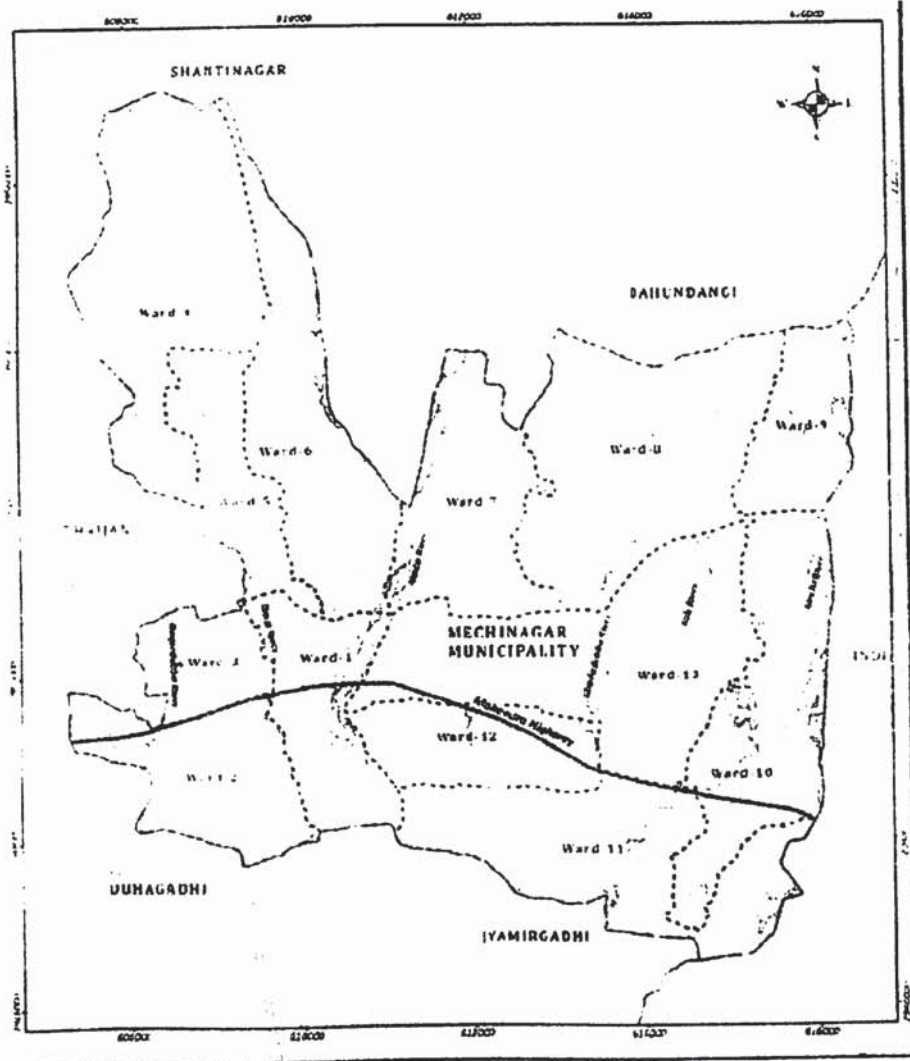
#### INDIA-NEPAL BORDER: AN OVERVIEW

For the purpose of the study, this section will give an overview description of the India-Nepal border that is located at Darjeeling district and Jhapa district of India and Nepal respectively. The field study that was conducted in these two districts was mainly concentrated as Panitanki-Raniganj of the Indian side and Mechinagar of Nepal. This border between India and Nepal in this area is divided by the Mechi River which is a tributary of the Mahanandariver.

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<sup>1</sup> India-Nepal border though has been facilitated by open border concept, however there is a presence of security forces in both sides of the border. It is ShahastraSeemaBal from Indian and Nepal Armed forces from Nepal side.

# मेचीनगर नगरपालिकाको नक्शा



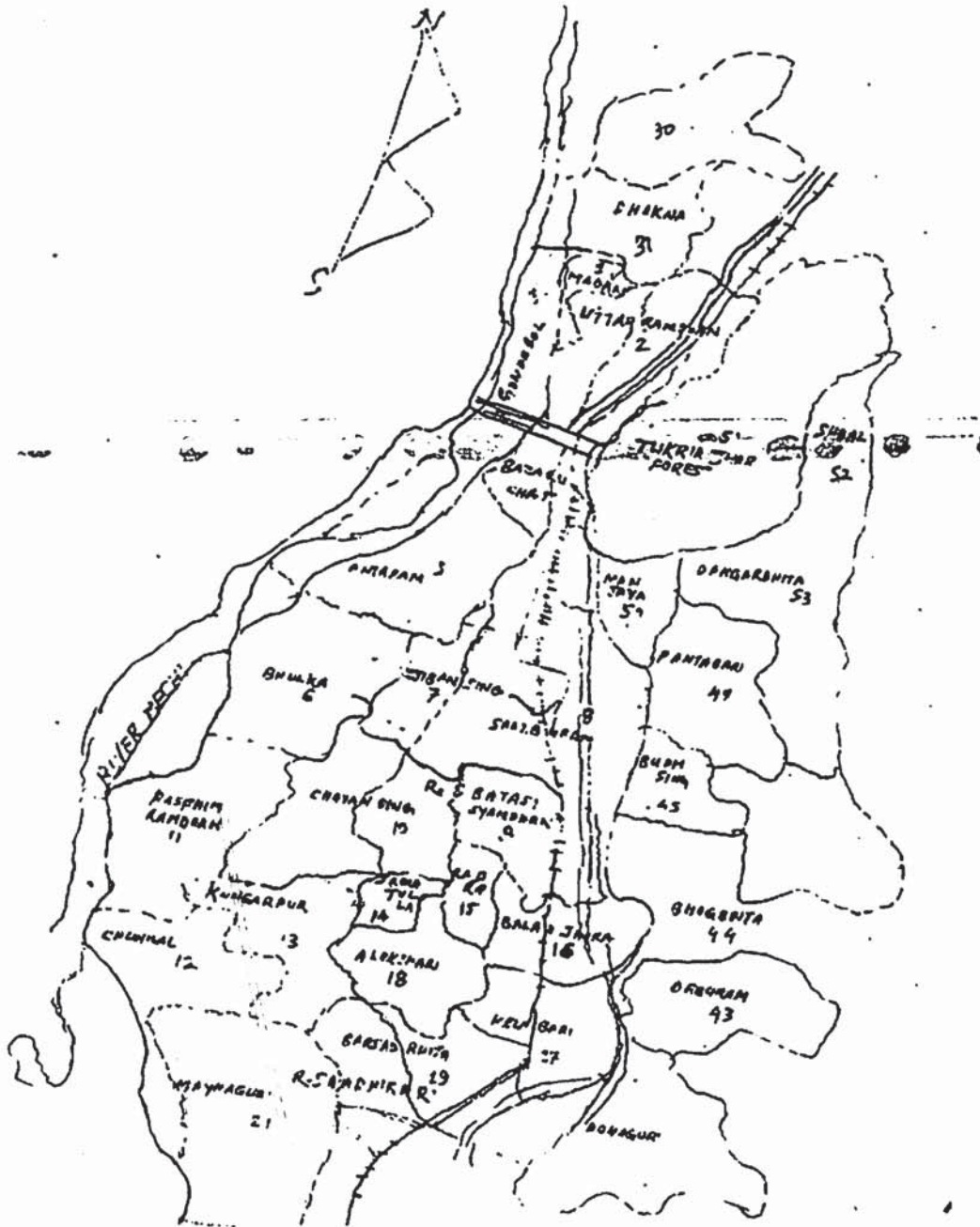
Source: Office of Municipal Corporation of Mechinagar, Jhapa District, Nepal

The nearest and major commercial town that connects this border area is Siliguri town in India which is located 70 km from the border area. Like any international border, this is highly demonstrated by the existence of security establishment and its process of surveillance that takes place every second of the day. It is in this pattern of surveillance at the border that makes people crossing the border to experience a moment of fear and distrust. Their bag gets checked and their goods get seized whenever officials at the border are not satisfied with the answer given by people who wants to cross the border. This practice of surveillances is not only targeted to address traditional security threat but also addresses issues of other nontraditional security threat like human trafficking, drugs and arms trafficking that passes through this border. The process of inspection is such that every person crossing the border is interrogated. People consider this as way of harassing them. Even the rikshaw puller knows the usual pattern of surveillance; in order to avoid any kind of trouble they alert the passengers while crossing the border. Even after strict inspection by the armed formed forces and custom officials, people still cross the border and carry on with their daily activities.

Since the people of both the region are totally dependent on each other, they have established not only the business link with each other but have also developed a cultural and friendly relation among each other. While open border has benefited the local people, but at the closer look those benefits involves various risks. Majority of people in this area are engaged in both formal and informal trade and they cross border every day for their livelihood. For the people living in this borderland, trade and business involves bribing security agencies, custom officials who are stationed along this border area. Nevertheless, some people take the risk of not paying the officials and bring the goods either through unauthorized routes or by involving smugglers

Either traditional or non-traditional, India-Nepal border sets a perfect example for the existence of both the forms of security threats in the region. Underlying the presence of security threats in the region, 25 battalions of SSB have been deployed as the Border Guarding Force (BGF) on this border and also 450 Border Out Posts ([www.mha.nic.in/](http://www.mha.nic.in/)). It is with this understanding of the region, that the perception of the women of this community on security will be analyzed in the following paragraphs. Women of this

# RANIGAJ PANISHALI G.O.P



Source: Municipal Corporation of Raniganj, Darjeeling District, West Bengal.

community, have witnessed both kind of insecurities in their region. It was after 1962 India- China war, that SSB was deployed in the region, hence it was the traditional security notion of India that made it to securitize India-Nepal border.

### **WOMEN AND BORDER: EXPERIENCE FROM THE BORDERLAND**

Border, as a zone of conflict, has on one than more occasions been portrayed as a domain of male chauvinism. This portrayal of male chauvinism is more particular in countries of South Asia where conflict over border (India-China 1962), or conflict over the region's history (India-Pakistan, 1948, 65,71) is hijacked by various groups. For example, few movies and advertisement portray border as a zone where only the male members are most affected by such conflict and subsequently only the same male members have the right not only to discuss but also to respond to such conflict. In such a scenario, women and communities near the border out of the frame of such conflict. Take the example of a Bollywood movie "Border" that was released in 1987. The movie portrayed the battle of Longewala fought in the border of the state of Rajasthan between India and Pakistan in 1971. The movie, totally focused on the war scenarios and the border being safeguarded by the men on the Indian armed forces. Similarly, in advertising domain, the advertisement of an alcohol brand, "Blender's Pride" shows that a normal person should be like an army man and live in dignity.

This is not to say that all movies or advertisements are portrayed in the light of the above mentioned movie and advertisement. There are a number of movies and advertisements that focus on building relationship between India and its neighbors. However, even in such movies or advertisement, women are, mostly, either kept out of the frame or exist only in the background and therefore becoming just a prop to the story.

Without discounting the importance of border security, the question that keeps exploding is, how local at the border region makes sense of state security. Is border security meant only to include the concern of the government at the centre, say, Delhi or Kathmandu? If this is the case, what about the issues that affects people in the border, particularly women. Women in the borderland area, especially in developing countries, constitute the main fulcrum of socio-economic activities and also at the forefront of the receiving end in case of political disorder and chaos. For example, in the borderland, while women are

at the forefront of cross border trade, they are also at the immediate risk of being victims of sex trafficking, or victims of war and ethnic conflict.

With such background, it is therefore important to shift the narrative of border security away from the state's sponsored narratives. This can be done by taking into account of the narratives of women's experience of what it meant to be 'secure' in the borderland; in other word, women perspectives of security.

### **A) Traditional Security**

As an open border, people, though benefited by this openness, but priorities and perception of the borderland often function according to the interest of the central government (Schendel, 2004). Security interest of the state often control cross-border process and restrict the local residents of any interactions that deems detrimental to the state. Thus opening and closing of border gate within a particular time frame (in this case 8am-8pm) discipline border communities into submission and thereby creates an element of insecurity among the people living in this region. This is more particular in the case of women. Women are under extra pressure to abide by this disciplining action. For them sunset is where their daily life ends. Thus we can see that that living in border is conditioned by the state.

This sense of insecurity can be pictured from Nita Chettri's observation on her first arrival in this border area seven year ago.

I like my birth place, even though I'm married now and have to live in this place only. At first I was so surprised to see that shops getting closed around 5 to 5.30 evening and every one getting inside by that time. But I'm used to it now.

Furthermore, she adds...

My husband said that since this is a border region there is security issues due to which shops gets closed by this time.

It is this context that this study sought to explain how women of India-Nepal borderland perceive border vis a vis their security. To these women, border is more than a place where nation's security is at stake or an arena for foreign policy. To Sunita, age 28, resident of Gondagol block, who lives in a *kuccha* house, border is a place where she lives and she does not fear border. She is happy of the fact that, her home is in India-

Nepal border as her husband who is engaged in cross border trade is able to earn and run his family. Sunita's optimism of her life in this border area, and the opportunity that the place provide her and her family can be summarized from her statement:

if we were to be in another place than, it would have been very difficult us to survive. At least people over here know us and allow us to buy things in credit

For Sunita living in border area is much more comfortable and beneficial, as people of this region live their life on the basis of trust and friendship among each other. For her, moving to other place, away from the border, would be difficult for her to survive. So is the case with any other women here. Hence border over here not only becomes a place of conflict but a home for so many. It is a place where they have established good relation not only with people in their side of the border but with those of the other side of border as well. It is in this place that they earn their livelihood and carry on with their daily activities. Thus to Sunita and many other like her, borderland is a centre of their world, and not a periphery; for they hardly think of themselves as living in the margin (Schendel, 2004).

If Sunita perceived this border as a zone of opportunity, to some this is also the place where they have built an experience of living in an environment of fear and distrust. To them, fear and distrust are directed mainly towards security forces and other government agencies like custom. As maximum numbers of women in this region are engaged in cross border trade, crossing the Mechi bridge is an everyday task. It is in this daily task that most of them witness and experience how state's security functions through various agencies like custom officials, intelligence, border security forces and local police. It is also in this multiple layers of security arrangement that determine and dictates their daily bread.

Moreover, encounter with armed forces is not only while crossing the border but also during the inspection of the area as well. While inspection is done by security forces to check whether people who live in this region are involve in any kind of illegal activities, the insecurity perceived during inspection is well explained by Jyoti, age 34, a resident of Gondagol block. According to her:

CID<sup>2</sup> of border police comes every two or three weeks to check whether we have some illegal goods hidden in our homes or not and in the process we have to show our identification proof each time they come for such checking.

It is during such inspection that women felt the maximum threat. They have no choice but to face them regularly as they cannot fight back as most of them are poor, illiterate, and lacks institutional support in the form of adult education or legal aid and awareness. Many families in Gondagol, come across the same situation and let the so called CID to carry on with their inspection. The insecurity perceived while bringing goods from the other side of border is well described by Kamala Rai, resident of Ward no 10 of Mechinagar. To her:

After the death of my husband the responsibility of family came to me. I started running restaurant, thinking that I will earn some money but I have to get everything from the other side of the border, even small items like masalas and in doing so I have to bribe the border police, If I refuse, they will make me to pay tax which is more costly.

Similarly,

Shanti Thapa, age 27, from the same ward, explains how the people of this region has to negotiate state security.

I been running this shop for last 10 years and its been 10 years only that I have been crossing border. All these years, I have learnt one thing; we cannot take risk by arguing with the border police.

Furthermore, the presence of border security forces and police also depicts the inevitability of war, which makes Puspakala age 53 resident of Gondagol to declare that:

I have been living in this region since birth, still I don't have any confidence about the region nor the border police who have been deployed over here, especially those with their guns. It may get closed any time, if anything goes wrong at top (talking about the central officials, politicians) the border might be sealed forever. Not only is our life threatened but our livelihood as well.

By this statement, Pushpakala, recognized border not only as an issue of high concern to state's security, but alsoborder as an unstable phenomenon. More than being dynamic in its nature, Pushpakala, reflects how India-Nepal border still continue to demarcate

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<sup>2</sup> CID is actually is an abbreviation of Central Investigation Department, however the term has been used in different connotation among the people of the India-Nepal border region, but generally means security and intellengenad border forces.



sovereignty. It is in the process of demarcation that her life is being constantly shaped. This despite the promises of globalization and its attention towards a borderless world (Omahe, 1995; Lanie, 2013)

Like Jyoti, Shanti, Pushpakala and other women living in this region, live is a constant challenge and a risk. Such challenges and risks that this community is facing rarely emanates from across the border, but rather from within. According to the resident of Gondagol, the fear of being arrested or harassed is more likely to be from the Indian security forces, police and custom officials rather than that of Nepal security forces, custom or police officials. This observation only indicates that to the people of this borderland, security is as Paula Banerjee rightly observed that “borders are understood to be marker of control not only over territories but over bodies as well” (Banerjee, 2010: 2). Thus women encounter security forces and officials almost every day and they do not question, argue or refuse to bribe borders police. In doing so, they assure that they survive for another day, but they problematize the whole notion of border from the state’s security perspective (Schendel, 2004).

## **B) Non-Traditional Security**

The struggle for survivability does not only limit to how women negotiate their everyday life against state’s security agencies. Threats can be manifested in many forms, be it poverty, lack of basic amenities like roads, water, electricity, health care or education. The absence of these are what precipitate a sense of insecurity of living in the borderland for the lack or absence of these amenities are deprive to ‘human capabilities’ (Naussabum and Sen, 2012; Naussaubm, 2003; Sen, 1992). In the case of border region, dangers of illegal trade, human and arms trafficking along this open border further multiply women’s insecurity.

### **i) Poverty**

Poverty has been another major concern of this region. According to the human poverty index of Darjeeling district is 35.8 percent as compared to Jalpaiguri which has 36.3. As compared to Kolkata, which score an index of 17.4 the poverty index of Darjeeling district is high (Table 1). While 80 percent of the population of Panitanki-Gondagol area

of Raniganj block are involved in cross-border trade, it is to be noted that most of the resident in this area are engaging not on actual border trade, but rather on allied services like ferrying passenger between Panitanki and Kakarvitta on cycle rickshaw. In the case of Ward 10 of Mechinagar, poverty is more evident. For example, Mira Devi Subba's husband is a rickshaw puller and earns Rs 50.00 per day. According to her, this amount could never support her family, and thus forces her to engage in illegal trade for which she earns Rs 100.00 per day. It is in the daily struggle for livelihood that people living in this border area risk their life to meet their daily needs. Like Mira Devi, Seema laments her insecurity and how illegal trade that her husband engaged is the only way out. However she also cautioned by saying:

...it gets very difficult when the rikhsaw gets caught. He pulls rikshaw and bring goods for other people at his own risk. Last time we had to pay 1000 rupees to the shopkeeper when his goods were caught.

**Table 1: Human Poverty Index (HPI) in West Bengal**

District	Knowledge deprivation	Provisioning deprivation	HPI
Kolkata	10.8	22.2	17.4
Medinipur	13.2	54.3	23.9
Hoogly	13.1	31.2	23.9
Howrah	12.7	40.5	30.0
24 Paragans (north)	11.9	39.7	29.3
Bardhaman	15.6	41.0	31.0
<b>Darjeeling</b>	14.2	48.5	35.8
Bankura	18.4	44.9	34.3
Nadai	16.9	40.0	30.7
24 Paragans (south)	16.1	55.7	41.0
Jalpaiguri	18.6	47.9	36.3
Birbhum	19.8	53.7	40.5
Cooch Behar	16.9	57.4	42.3
Purulia	22.7	51.2	39.6
Dinajpur (south)	18.3	52.1	39.0
Murishidabad	23.4	62.9	47.4
Dinajpur (north)	26.6	67.4	51.2
Malda	25.5	60.0	46.1

Source: Census of India 2001 and district level household survey (DIHS) 2002-2004.

The threat to their livelihood, is more acute when this border is closed. For instance, in 1989<sup>3</sup> as a result of its diplomatic standoff with Nepal, India closed its borders for a period of 10 weeks. During this period, trade and business came to a standstill in this border area, except for illegal trade and smuggling. Nepal which subsequently face with shortage of basic necessities was forced to renegotiate with India and only then that the border was open again. Similarly, during the election, the border gets sealed for a period of 48 hours. Such events greatly affect people living on both side of the border. Reekha, age 31, a resident of Mechinagar recollected such events by saying that “during those days we cannot cross border, hence we cannot earn for two days”. During such events, women face the brunt the most since they are the one who run the day-to-day affair of the household. Problems of inflation and price rise are what make poor family and those living below poverty line even more difficult. According to Hemkala,

When border gets closed, the price of the goods increases but we don't have any other option than to buy it. People who earn from border trade can buy goods without any hesitation but people like us have to live in minimum.

Thus for women of this region not only cross border every day and transcends the territoriality of a state (Eilenberg 2009, Schendel 2004, Samaddar,2002) they at the same time struggle with security notion of a state to earn their livelihood. Their security is often threatened by the policies of the government and hence has to make their living accordingly. They perceived insecurity not just through the presence of armed forces in the region but also when the border gets closed in the eve of election and through the illegal trade, which creates instability in the rates of goods and commodities. Borderland for them is beyond a line which demarcates state's territorial claim and follow the policy of exclusion, for them it is a place through which cross border interaction and knit of interdependence (Laine, 2013) allows them to earn every single day.

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<sup>3</sup>In 1988, Kathmandu signed treaties with Beijing to purchase weapons soon after the contract was given to China for connecting Nepal with China. On the other hand, India took it as security threat to India and eventually called off both the treaties which was signed in 1950 and hence sealed the borders (<http://countrystudies.us/nepal/65.htm>)

## ii) Road, Water and Electricity

Along the border area of India and Nepal, roads are one facilities that has made the life of women of this region easier. To the women of this region, connectivity is essential to connect people to hospitals and schools. Today, along this border region an international road project under the Asian Highway<sup>4</sup> project and supported by United Nation Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific is constructed (see Table No.2). Besides, highway AH2 that cross between India and Nepal has enable women to imagine the prospect of participating in cross border trade, thus empowering and provide them an equal opportunity to function independently.

Besides, this highway, district roads are constructed under the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojna (PMGSY). The village of Gondagol, falling under Kharabari, is one of the main beneficiary of this scheme. especially the villages in Gondagol block (Table 3). With the existence of proper road network, women of this village felt that somehow their life have been made easier and faster in commuting to different part of the district and the state. For example, Tapati, a resident of Koribari, pointed out that road is the biggest asset of the region. Her opinion is based on her experience when she says,

As soon as I open the door, I can see roads and vehicles which relief me that I won't be late for home. Being an ICDS teacher, I have to travel every day to Gondagol to open the center, if proper roads were not there than I had to stay away from home or leave the job.

While improvement in road quality and network have given women like Tapatia sense of living in a secure place, other problems, like lack of proper supply of water and electricity still persist in this border region. The area lacks clean portable water, and the main water source is mostly from open well, thus exposing them to water borne diseases

Besides the problem of clean water, irregularities in electricity supply are the main concern of people living in this area. Despite the implementation of rural electrification schemes under the Rajiv Gandhi Gram Vikas Yojna (RGGVY) scheme, the region continues to face shortage of electricity supply. The implementation of Rajiv Gandhi Gram Vikas Yojna (RGGVY), for the electrification in the district has no doubt been a

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<sup>4</sup> The Asian Highway project was initiated in 1959 and AH2 highway which connect India and Nepal is a 13.177 km roadway. It passes through Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Iran ([www.roadtraffic-technology.com/](http://www.roadtraffic-technology.com/)).

major contributor in linking this region with the rest of the world. Kharabari block under which Raniganj falls has been a beneficiary of this rural electrification project in West Bengal (Table 4). However, problem of poor transmission, maintenance, load shedding is common in this area and the result is frequent power shortage. According to Angoli and other residents living in Gondagol village, the village sometimes is without electricity for two to three days. Similarly this is the same in Mechinagar. Nepal for the last decade has been facing a severe power supply. Cities like Kathmandu faces a minimum of 10 hours load shedding during peak seasons. According to Goma Pradhan, a school teacher, electricity in her village is erratic and irregular as it is in the Indian side. The unavailability of uninterrupted electricity supply deprive women of this region to be connected and receive information of various states sponsored social programmes and awareness. For women like Goma Pradhan and Angoli, though entertaining themselves with daily soap serials is one way to pass time, but it can also be seen that TV itself is a medium for them to not only get connected to events but also gather information. As Suman Chettri of Mechinagar rightly pointed out on issues of the importance of electricity, and information on girls education.

Panchayats do not organize any programs for creating awareness in the region for education, it is through T.V only that we learn the importance of educating girl child and the various schemes.

To other, problem of electricity is not just related with the connectivity, it is about conducting a smooth business as to earn their livelihood. For example, Sunanda of Mechinagar who owns a restaurant says that proper supply of electricity helps her business to run smoothly but at the same time added that irregular electric supply hampers her daily earnings. Hence, to people living in this border region, security is more than just armies, guns, patrolling. For them roads, water and electricity are also essential elements that would give them a sense of security by earning their daily livelihood and being connected with the rest of the world.

**Table 2: Selected Road Corridors (Asian Highways, AH)**

SHC1	Lahore-New Delhi-Kolkata-Petrapole/Benapole- Dhaka-Akhaura/Agartala	Pakistan, India and Bangladesh	Potential to carry major intraregional traffic and providing shorter route leading to transport cost saving
SHC2	Kathmandu-Birgunj/Raxual-Kolkata/Haldia	Nepal and India	Access to landlocked Nepal to Indian ports
SHC3	Thimpu-Phuentsholing-Jaigoan-Kolkata/Hadai	Bhutan and India	Access to landlocked Bhutan to India ports
SHC4	Kathmandu-Kakarvitta-Phulbari-Banglabandu-Mongla/Chittagong	Nepal, India and Bangladesh	Access to landlocked Nepal to Bangladesh ports
SHC5	SandropJongkhar-Guwahati-Shillong-Sylhat-Dhaka-Kolkata	Bhutan, India and Bangladesh	Potential to providing shorter route leading to transport cost ssving
SHC6	Agartala-Akhawa-Chittagong	India and Bangladesh	Shorter access to Chittagong port for Indian North Eastern States
SHC7	Kathmandu-Nepalganj-New Delhi-Lahore-Karachi	Nepal, India and Pakistan	Potential of the corridor to carry future traffic
SHC8	Thimpu-Pheuntsholing-Jaigoan-Burimari-Mongla/Chittagong	Bhutan, India and Bangladesh	Access to landlocked Bhutan to Bangladesh ports
SHC9	Maldha-Shillong-Jamuna Bridge (Bangladesh)	India and Bangladesh	Potential to provide direct connectivity to carry future traffic
SHC10	Kathmandu-Bhairahawa-Sanauli-Lucknow	Nepal and India	Potential of the corridor to carry future traffic

Source: National Transport Development Policy Committee, Final Report Vol no 02,

2014

**Table 3:PMGSY implementation in West Bengal, district Darjeeling, 2006**

Block	A		B		C		D	
	N	U	N	U	N	U	N	U
<b>Kharibari</b>	17.55	0	21.05	24.26	0	0	0	0
Matigara	21.24	0	20.98	18.82	0	0	0	0
Naxalbari	18.72	0	22.78	18.59	0	0	0	0
Phansidewa	17.88	0	22.08	21.21	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>18.46</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>21.55</b>	<b>20.11</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

Source: [www.trendswestbengal.org/pmgsy/1901/1901.htm](http://www.trendswestbengal.org/pmgsy/1901/1901.htm)

Note: N= New Connectivity, U=Upgradation and A, B,C and D= depicts first, second, third and fourth stage.

**Table 4:Status of village electrification in Darjeeling district of West Bengal, 2013**

District	Names of the blocks	No.of villages Under RGVVY	No.of electrified villages (RGVVY)	Percentage of villages electrified	No.of un-electrified villages	Percentage of un-electrified villages
<b>Darjeeling</b>	<b>Kharibari</b>	71	69	97.2	2	2.8
	Matigara	56	41	73.2	15	26.8
	Naxalbari	69	61	88.4	8	11.6
	Phansidewa	90	84	93.3	6	6.7
<b>Total of all blocks</b>		<b>286</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>89.2</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>10.8</b>

Source: <http://www.vasudha-india.org/wp>

### iii) Health and Education

Health and education has been the major concern for women. Along this India-Nepal border the major diseases in this area is mainly water borne disease, anemia, malaria etc. According to the National Family Health Survey of 2005, infant mortality rate in West Bengal is high at 48 per 1000 birth. Similarly, antenatal care during pregnancy and child immunization stands at 62 percent respectively. On both count, in comparison to other states like Goa, Sikkim, Maharashtra and Delhi, women in West Bengal still lack access to basic health care. In border areas, this scenario is more grim as this area are deprived of any good health care system. The nearest health care facilities that people from this region can avail is located at Korabari and Naxalbari which is about 54 kms from the

border respectively. In time of emergency and complication, the only available specialty health care is available at Silliguri town for which they have to travel for almost two hours to reach Silliguri. The absence of a good hospitals in the area compelled women like Anju and Nirjala from Mechinagar to travel to Silliguri for better treatment. The anxiety over the absence of basic facilities like health care forces Nirjala to observed to take her husband and daughter (who met with an accident two years ago) to travel to Silliguri every month for their treatment. This she says "cost me a lot but hospitals over here do not have proper facilities." Nevertheless, the open border has benefited women from Mechinagar and its surrounding area to avail health facilities in India. For women of these areas, survivability is above the sovereignty of the nation state (Schendel 2004; Laine 2013; Samaddar, 2002).

**Table No.5 Health status of India, state wise 2005-2006**

States	Infant Mortality Rate	Antenatal Care Visits	Immunization Coverage
States	15	95	79
Goa	15	94	75
Kerala	30	69	47
Manipur	30	96	81
Tamil Nadu	34	70	70
Sikkim	34	59	47
Mizoram	36	63	74
Himachal Pradesh	38	75	59
Maharashtra	38	33	21
Nagaland	40	75	63
Delhi	42	59	65
Haryana	42	75	60
Punjab	43	80	55
Karnataka	45	54	33
Meghalaya	45	74	67
Jammu and Kashmir	48	62	64
West Bengal	50	68	45
Gujarat	50	60	50
Tripura	52	85	46
Andhra Pradesh	54	36	28
Arunachal Pradesh	61	27	23
Uttar Pradesh	62	17	33
Bihar	62	62	52
Orissa	65	41	27
Rajasthan	65	39	31
Assam	66	41	40
Madhya Pradesh	70	41	34
Jharkhand	69	36	

Source: National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) India, 2005



The other issue that seeks attention is education. Women of this community are well aware about the importance of education and hence try to enroll their children in public schools. In Darjeeling district itself total percentage of school going students in the year 2011 is 59.06 percent, out of which boys consist of 58.43 percent and girls consist of 59.69 percent (Table 6). Gondagol which comes under Kharibari block, has 132 primary schools and 20 junior and higher secondary schools (Paul, 2012). Under Gondagolmauza, there are four public schools, and two government schools. However, most of the schools in this area are only upto the primary level while few of them are till Class X. For Higher secondary, students have to go Karabari block. Thus, while, children of this area are able to access to basic education, however the lack of higher educational institutions like colleges and technical institute forces students from this area to either move to other town for higher education or drop out of studies altogether. Other problems that are related to education in this area are the lack teachers, proper sanitation and other basic infrastructure like electricity and drinking water for children.

**Table No.6 Net Enrollment rate by districts in West Bengal -2007**

District	Primary Level		Upper Primary level		Elementary Level	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	girls	boys	Girls
Bankura	98.9	98.9	95.3	94.3	97.3	97.0
Bardhaman	99.4	99.4	80.8	80.4	83.3	83.2
Birbhum	98.7	98.7	72.2	72.3	93.7	93.7
DGHC	98.1	95.9	126.3	65.9	99.6	94.3
DakshinDinajpur	96.4	96.4	74.9	75.0	90.2	90.1
Howrah	96.9	96.9	69.2	69.2	94.2	94.3
Hooghly	99.5	99.5	89.2	89.6	91.8	91.7
Jalpaiguri	99.1	99.1	70.4	70.4	82.5	82.3
Cooch Behar	97.2	97.2	72.6	74.0	83.0	82.6
Kolkata	99.6	99.6	96.5	96.5	91.0	91.1
Malda	98.3	98.3	66.5	66.2	84.2	84.6
Murshidabad	98.4	98.4	61.4	61.4	3.5	-31.1
Nadai	99.7	99.7	90.5	90.7	94.7	94.7
24 Parganas (north)	98.9	98.9	95.1	95.1	87.7	87.4
Medinapur (west)	97.9	97.9	68.9	66.5	61.2	60.8
Medinapur (east)	99.0	99.0	94.9	94.9	95.7	95.7
Purulia	98.8	98.8	66.2	65.7	90.5	91.2
Siliguri	98.7	98.7	96.7	96.7	99.4	99.5
24 Parganas (south)	97.6	97.6	62.5	62.5	31.0	29.6
Uttar Dinajpur	96.8	96.8	42.1	42.5	84.9	82.7
Total in West Bengal	98.5	98.5	78.1	77.0	80.5	88.0

Source: West Bengal State Development Report, 2008

border respectively. In time of emergency and complication, the only available specialty health care is available at Silliguri town for which they have to travel for almost two hours to reach Silliguri. The absence of a good hospitals in the area compelled women like Anju and Nirjala from Mechinagar to travel to Silliguri for better treatment. The anxiety over the absence of basic facilities like health care forces Nirjala to observed to take her husband and daughter (who met with an accident two years ago) to travel to Silliguri every month for their treatment. This she says "cost me a lot but hospitals over here do not have proper facilities." Nevertheless, the open border has benefited women from Mechinagar and its surrounding area to avail health facilities in India. For women of these areas, survivability is above the sovereignty of the nation state (Schendel 2004; Laine 2013; Samaddar, 2002).

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Maharashtra	38	33	63
Nagaland	40	75	65
Delhi	42	59	65
Haryana	42	75	60
Punjab	43	80	55
Karnataka	45	54	33
Meghalaya	45	74	67
Jammu and Kashmir	48	62	64
West Bengal	50	68	45
Gujarat	52	60	50
Tripura	54	85	46
Andhra Pradesh	61	36	28
Arunachal Pradesh	73	27	23
Uttar Pradesh	62	17	33
Bihar	65	62	52
Orissa	65	41	27
Rajasthan	66	39	31
Assam	70	41	40
Madhya Pradesh	69	36	34
Jharkhand			

Source: National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) India, 2005

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Purulia	98.8	98.8	66.2	65.7	90.5	91.2
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Uttar Dinajpur	96.8	96.8	42.1	42.5	84.9	82.7
Total in West Bengal	98.5	98.5	78.1	77.0	80.5	88.0

Source: West Bengal State Development Report, 2008

#### **iv) Human Trafficking**

South Asia ranks as a region that has the highest number of woman trafficked and Nepal is one the main origin countries of human trafficking. The India-Nepal border is one area where most of the trafficking of girl child and women takes place. While the exact estimate on the number of girls trafficked from the region is difficult to arrived at, however according to the government official of Nepal he number of girls or women trafficked every year range between 5000 to 7000 (Khatri, 1999). It is estimated that as of 2002, between 100,000 to 200,000 Nepalese women and girls are working in the brothels of India (ADB,2002). Of these, approximately 25% are below the age of 18 (Kumar et al 2001).The border at Panitanki-Kakarvitta serves as a transit point for trafficking (Khatri, 1999), and as such the women of this area are vulnerable to be victim of human trafficking. According to Maiti Nepal, the major source of human trafficking in Nepal has been from Sindu Palchok and Nuwakot, (eastern Nepal), ([www.maitinepal.org/](http://www.maitinepal.org/)). According to the government officials of Nepal and NGO's these regions are becoming major source of trafficking from Nepal.

#### **v) Illegal Trade**

According to Schendel (2004), "Illegal trade can be defined as all cross border economic activity that is not authorized by the government of either sending or the receiving country" (Schendel, 2004). Cross border trade is the main economy of the people of this area and people of this region have been engaging in cross-border trade for many decades now, however, with restriction on the imports and exports of few items like rice, dal and beetle nuts, the lure for illegal trade has been on the rise in this corridor. Sita Maya Devi of Mechinagar gives an insight about her getting involved in cross border illegal trade. According to her,

Earlier we used to bring dal (pulses), rice, sugar, vegetables, masalas everything from the other side of the border but now border police don't allow us to bring many of those things.

Every day in the Mechi bridge, one can observe the multitude of activities of illegal traders wanting to smuggle goods to both side of the border. While beetle nut from Malaysia and Indonesia, and clothes and electronic items is smuggled to India, Lentil (dal) is smuggled to Nepal. It can be also observed that women constitute the majority of

these illegal traders in items like beetle nut, electronic, clothes and cosmetic items. Various methods of smuggling is adopted that include crossing the river bed under the Mechi bridge at night in winter. Other women like Lela would employ re-packaging *dal* inside the packet of sugar. The whole operation of this trade, involves building networks, the risk of being caught, and bribing police, border security force, and custom officials. To Sushma, the importance of network can be understood from her statement.

we have to build a good relation with the people of this side (Indian side), as they help us in hiding goods which are not allowed by the border police.

Thus in this illegal trade, relationship and network are established between actors and agencies, or as Schendel observed, "Illegal cross border trade not only included the bulk of transnational commercial activities in the borderlands, it also covered a wide range of goods and trade relationships" (Schendel,2004).

## CONCLUSION

Taking in account of women in this borderland, one cannot define security in one dimension. To the women of this area, border constitutes threat as well as life. Threat can be multitude, ranging from war to health, trafficking etc. Border, thus is not just a line of territorial demarcation, it is a place where they live, experience and earn their livelihood. Taking a more human centric approach, these women perceive the presence of security forces in this region not necessarily as a threat to their existence, what threatens their existence is the loss of their livelihood; be it war, or the closing of the border, or the arrest and harassment by officials while smugglings items across the border, or even the absence of a good road, electricity and health care.

*CHAPTER - V*

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*CONCLUSION*

## CHAPTER-5

### CONCLUSION

Traditional debate of I.R on security has been that of war and peace and of various forms of military strategies. It is from the traditional discourse that state is assumed to be the security provider to its citizens from the threat that prevails outside the state's territory. Hence there is no scope of letting other security issues that is, human related security issues to come under the discourse of security. However, the end of cold war allowed these issues to get recognized in the security discourse and eventually broaden up its scope. These issues which are considered irrelevant in traditional discourse are now getting relevance due to its human centric approach. Since these issues are of human centric they come under the banner of non-traditional security issues or human security issues. It is under the banner of human security that feminist too could bring in their arguments in security discourse and get acknowledge in I.R.

Traditional notion on security is such that it emphasized on securitizing its border so that it could provide security to women and children. It is under the paradigm of state security that borders are securitized. It outlines state's legitimate claim over its territory, resources and population. Traditional notion, theorize International Relations from the sphere of binary opposition and argues that framing foreign policy and dealing with other states is exclusively men affairs. As seen in India-Nepal border, where insecurity perceived by India forced it to securitize its border after 1962 war. Consequently, this line of understanding also assumes that women are incapable of understanding foreign affairs and handling diplomatic relation. Hence the study has brought in various theoretical debate for understanding borders and simultaneously women security issues. Border too has been analyzed from a similar traditional perspective where armed forces (mostly men) have been deployed for the security of a nation state. Thus understanding of bordersidelined women experience as we can see from the experience of the India-Nepal border.

While analyzing the perception and the experiences of women living in India-Nepal border this study has tried to understand the issues of women security and border from different theoretical perspectives. However the major focus has been on critical feminist stand in visualizing border and women security issues. The study on women of India-Nepal border has brought in various other perspectives on security, like issues of electricity, roads, water, education, health etc. Since the border between India-Nepal also has problems of non-traditional security issues like illegal trade, human and drug trafficking issues, it is these issues that affect the everyday life of the women of this community. These women have defined border in their own terms and understanding, from the various problems that exist in the border to opportunity that these border has offered them. It is from their experiences that the understanding border is through the people living in borderland and not through the state centric approach. The understanding derived from the women of this community on border and security could be more like what Lapid (2001), said, the people of border region identify border from very different perspective.

People who are engaged in cross-border trade activity have to face the strict pattern of surveillance that was increased due to the rise in human trafficking issues and other issues like illegal trade and drug trafficking in the region. The presence of issues of drug and human trafficking along with the pattern of surveillance constrains the movement of women in this particular region. It is because of these issues that the women of this particular region not only have to face border police but the active role played by the NGO's who in order to prevent human trafficking has also become the part of surveillance. However, restriction would do little in India -Nepal border region as the people of border region are totally dependent on the other side of the border even for small things. Thus, women of this community not only show the cultural linkages with each other but also the picture of economic ties that they have with each other.

Living in borderland as David Gellner has argued, is not just about feeling the presence of military and traditional security issues only but also the absence and the presence of many things in the region. For example, the enduring presence of military in India-Nepal



border would always make the people crossing the border feel some aspect of threat, it is through this wave of threat that women of this community practice their daily activities. Even after the strict pattern of surveillance, the women of this region still manage to bring goods from the other side which though is considered to be illegal but for them is a necessity (Schendel, 2004). However, restrictions on importing/exporting goods and commodities through cross border trade have hampered the flow of trade in the region. According to Laine (2013), since there is a lack of understanding on the importance of goods and commodities among states which makes them to restrict on certain goods. The issue of cross-border illegal trade is thus the result of these restrictions that state imposes on the people who follow cross-border trade.

Furthermore, the absence of basic necessities in the region makes these women struggle more for their livelihood. The lack of proper supply of water and electricity makes women of this region not only cut off from the world outside but it hampers their livelihood as well. It is due to the lack of water supply that the region has a maximum number of water borne disease. Though there are hospitals nearby the region but the women of this particular region, have to cross border for serious illness and travel till Siliguri. Like addressed by one of the respondent during the study, road is the only and the main asset of the region, other than that this region even lacks the proper educational institutions. However, women of this community do understand the importance of education and try and send their children schools. It is the everyday practice and the necessity of these women which force them to cross border for their livelihood and challenge the very notion of state's sovereignty.

India and Nepal though follow the pattern of open border, the recent development on border encroachment in the region however has made the people of the region to think otherwise and argues that the instability of the border challenge their everydayness and eventually, their livelihood. It is through this instability the study got in the experiences and the struggles of the women of this region in terms of negotiating and challenging state's security paradigm. Though the women of this region are free in conducting cross-border trade but lack of basic facilities restrict their everydayness. When women on this

region cross the border, it is a process that has become part of their life. It is through this process that they not only challenge state' territorial claim but the whole notion of nationhood also. They link themselves more with the people from the other side of the border region than with the rest of the people from their respective states. However, women of this region like in any other patriarchal society are subordinated to their male counterparts. For example, during the course of field study of this dissertation, instances of women relying on their husbands for answers is at time visible. In such cases, answers are generally oriented towards male perspective, with women as a background. However, in cases where women on their own can answer and participate in the interview, a clear picture of their hope, anxiety and difficulty of living in the border emerged. From the observation of this study, it is evident that women of this region not only have to negotiate with the security (both traditional and non-traditional) but the existing system of patriarchy also. This further curbs women to lay down the experience and struggles living in the border region and make them speak the existing language laid down by men.

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*APPENDIX*

## Appendix-I

### Treaty between the Raja of Sikkim and Government of India, 10 February 1817

TREATY, COVENANT, or AGREEMENT entered into by CAPTAIN BARRE LATTER, AGENT on the part of HIS EXCELLENCY the RIGHT HONORABLE the EARL of MOIRA, K.G., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c., &c., &c., &c., and by NAZIR CHAINA TENJIN and MACHA TEINBAH and LAMA DUCHIM LONGDOO, Deputies on the part of the RAJAH Of SIKKIMPUTTEE, being severally authorized and duly appointed for the above purposes, 1817.

#### ARTICLE 1.

The Honorable East India Company cedes, transfers, and makes over in full sovereignty to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, his heirs or successors, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the eastward of the Mechi River and to the westward of the Teesta River, formerly possessed and occupied by the Rajah of Nepaul, but ceded to the Honorable East India Company by the Treaty of peace signed at Segoulee.

#### ARTICLE 2.

The Sikkimputtee Rajah engages for himself and successors to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against the Goorkhas or any other State.

#### ARTICLE 3.

That he will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between his subjects and those of Nepaul, or any other neighbouring State, and to abide by the decision of the British Government.

#### ARTICLE 4.

He engages for himself and successors to join the British Troops with the whole of his Military Force when employed within the Hills, and in general to afford the British Troops every aid and facility in his power.

#### ARTICLE 5.

That he will not permit any British subject, nor the subject of any European and American State, to reside within his dominions, without the permission of the English Government.

## Appendix-I

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That he will not permit any British subject, nor the subject of any European and American State, to reside within his dominions, without the permission of the English Government.

ARTICLE 6.

That he will immediatley seize and deliver up any dacoits or notorious offenders that may take refuge within his territories.

ARTICLE 7.

That he will not afford protection to any defaulters of revenue or other delinquents when demanded by the British Government through their accredited Agents.

ARTICLE 8.

That he will afford protection to merchants and traders from the Company's Provinces, and he engages that no duties shall be levied on the transit of merchandize beyond the established custom at the several golahs or marts.

ARTICLE 9.

The Honorable East India Company guarantees to the Sikkimputtee Rajah and his successors the full and peaceable possession of the tract of hill country specified in the first Article of the present Agreement.

ARTICLE 10.

This Treaty shall be ratified and exchanged by the Sikkimputtee Rajah within one month from the present date, and the counterpart, when confirmed by His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor-General, shall be transmitted to the Rajah.

*Done at Titalya, this 10th day of February 1817, answering to the 9th of Phagoon 1873 Sumbut, and to the 30th of Maugh 1223 Bengallie.*

BARRE LATTER.

NAZIR CHAINA TINJIN.

MACHA TIMBAH.

LAMA DUCHIM LONGADOC.

MOIRA.

N. B. EDMONSTONE.

ARCHD. SETON.

**Treaty of Peace and Friendship**

July 31, 1950

**TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
AND THE GOVERNMENT OF NEPAL**

**Kathmandu,**

**31 July 1950**

The Government of India and the Government of Nepal, recognizing the ancient ties which have happily existed between the two countries; Desiring still further to strengthen and develop these ties and to perpetuate peace between the two countries; Have resolved therefore to enter into a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with each other, and have, for this purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries the following persons, namely,

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

His EXCELLENCY SHRI CHANDRESHWAR PRASAD NARAIN SINGH,

Ambassador of India in Nepal.

1. THE GOVERNMENT OF NEPAL MOHUN SHAMSHER JANG BAHADUR RANA, Maharaja, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, who having examined each other's credentials and found them good and in due form have agreed as follows:—

**Article 1**

There shall be everlasting peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal. The two Governments agree mutually to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other.

**Article 2**

The two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two Governments.

**Article 3**

In order to establish and maintain the relations referred to in Article 1 the two Governments agree to continue diplomatic relations with each other by means of representatives with such staff as is necessary for the due performance of their functions. The representatives and such of their staff as may be agreed upon shall enjoy such diplomatic privileges and immunities as are customarily granted by international law on a reciprocal basis: Provided that in no case shall

## Treaty of Peace and Friendship

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these be less than those granted to persons of a similar status of any other State having diplomatic relations with either Government.

**Article 4**

The two Governments agree to appoint Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and other consular agents, who shall reside in towns, ports and other places in each other's territory as may be agreed to. Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and consular agents shall be provided with exequaturs or other valid authorization of their appointment. Such exequatur or authorization is liable to be withdrawn by the country which issued it, if considered necessary. The reasons for the withdrawal shall be indicated wherever possible. The persons mentioned above shall enjoy on a reciprocal basis all the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities that are accorded to persons of corresponding status of any other State.

**Article 5**

The Government of Nepal shall be free to import, from or through the territory of India, arms, ammunition or warlike material and equipment necessary for the security of Nepal. The procedure for giving effect to this arrangement shall be worked out by the two Governments acting in consultation.

**Article 6**

Each Government undertakes, in token of the neighbourly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development.

**Article 7**

The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature.

**Article 8**

So far as matters dealt with herein are concerned, this Treaty cancels all previous Treaties, agreements, and engagements entered into on behalf of India between the British Government and the Government of Nepal.

**Article 9**

This Treaty shall come into force from the date of signature by both Governments.

**Article 10**

This Treaty shall remain in force until it is terminated by either party by giving one year's notice.

DONE in duplicate at Kathmandu this 31st day of July 1950.

(Signed)

CHANDRESHWAR PRASAD NARAIN SINGH

For the Government of India.

(Signed)

MOHUN SHAMSHER JANG BAHADUR RAN,

For the Government of Nepal