

**DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN SECURITY IN NORTHEAST INDIA: A CASE
STUDY OF KOKRAJHAR IN ASSAM**

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By

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**Democracy and Human Security in Northeast India: A Case Study of Kokrajhar in Assam**” submitted to Sikkim University for the degree of Master of Philosophy, is my original work. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN SECURITY IN NORTHEAST INDIA: A CASE STUDY OF KOKRAJHAR IN ASSAM

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Abbreviations

AAGSP	All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad
AASU	All Assam Students Union
ABSU	All Bodo Students Union
AFSPA	Armed Forces Special Power Act
ANVC	Achik National Volunteers’ Council
AP	Assam police
APTF	Assam Police Task Force
ASDMA	Assam State Disaster Management Authority

ASEB	Assam State Electricity Board
ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activists
ATTF	All Tripura Tiger Force
BC	Before Christ
BLTF	Bodo Liberation Tiger Force
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BTAD	Bodoland Territorial Area Districts
BTC	Bodoland Territorial Council
CHC	Community Health Centre
CRPF	Central Reserve Police Force
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CVCF	Central Victim Compensation Fund
DHD	Dima Haram Daoga
DNA	Deoxy Ribonucleic Acid
DNSF	Dimasa National Security Force
DoNER	Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region
DOTS	Directly Observed Treatment Short course
EPW	Economic Political Weekly
FIR	First Information Report
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HPC	Hmar Peoples' Conventions
IAY	Indira Awaas Yojana
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Services
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
IPC	Indian Penal Code
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
JSSK	Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakaram
KLO	Kamatapur Liberation Organisation
KNA	Kuki National Army

KYKL	Kanglei Yaol Kanba Lup
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
MDMS	Mid-day Meals Scheme
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MMR	Maternal Mortality Ratio
MNF	Mizo National Front
MNFF	Mizo National Famine Front
MQM	Muttaahida Qaumi Movement
NACO	National Aids Control Organization
NBA	Narmada Bachao Andalan
NCRB	National Crime Records Bureau
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NDFB	National Democratic Front of Boroland
NDFB-S	National Democratic Front of Boroland (Songbijit)
NEFA	North-East Frontier Agency
NER	North Eastern Region
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NLFT	National Liberation Front of Tripura
NRC	National Register of Citizens
NRHM	National Rural Health Mission
NSA	National Security Act
NSCN	National Socialist Council of Nagaland
NWFP	North Western Frontier Province
OBC	Other Backward Class
PDS	Public Distribution System
PHC	Primary Health Centre
PLA	Peoples' Liberation Army
PM	Prime Minister
PMEGP	Prime Minister Employment Generation Programme
PMGAY	Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana

PREPAK	Peoples' Liberation Army Kangleipak
PTCA	Plains Tribal Council of Assam
RKVY	Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana
RNB	Rupnath Brahma Civil Hospital
RNTPC	Revised National Tuberculosis Control Programme
SC	Scheduled Caste/Sub-Centre
SGSY	Swaranajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojna
SJGSY	Swarna Jayanthi Gram Swarozgar Yojana
SJSRY	Swarna Jayanthi Shahari Rojgar Yojana
SLL	Special and Local Laws
SoO	Suspension of Operation
SSB	Sashastra Seema Bal
ST	Scheduled Tribes
SULFA	Surrendered United Liberation Front of Assam
TB	Tuberculosis
TLF	Tripura Liberation Force
TMPK	Takam Mising Porin Kebang
TNA	Tripura National Army
TTVF	Tripura Tribal Volunteer Force
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
UMF	United Minority Front
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNLF	United National Liberation Front
UPDS	United People's Democratic Solidarity
UPP	United Peoples' Party
UPS	Usual Principal Status
UTNLF	United Tribal National Liberation Front
VCDC	Village Council Development Committee
VIP	Very Important Person
WHO	World Health Organization
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

The world today witnesses the issues of human security because of the existence of poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, hunger, disease and many others. Like that the state of human security is also vulnerable in Northeast India with the existence of poverty, underdevelopment, resistance, ethnic conflict, identity conflict, insurgency, militarization, unemployment, health and environmental insecurity. The unending separatist struggle has continued in the region since the late 1940s which are making it the longest-running separatist fight in South Asia. Kokrajhar district of Bodoland Territorial Area District (BTAD), Assam deserves special mention in this regard because the region is very much affected by socio-economic and political problems. It is also the epicenter of ethnic conflict and violence where at least six ethnic conflicts occurred since the 1990s. As a result, a large number of innocent people including women and children were butchered and were left homeless. Hundreds of women became a victim of gang rape and police torture. To be precise, people of the region are not free from fear and free from want. Therefore, the problem under investigation is to analyse the root causes of human insecurity in Kokrajhar district of Assam.

A democratic government which guarantees a number of fundamental rights, broader range of personal freedom, freedom from fear and freedom from want to its citizens reduces the danger of state repression by preventing a wide range of actions which governments use against their own citizen. Democracy and Development both appear to have positive effects on the protection of human rights, since economic development provides countries with resources to alleviate the worst forms of suffering. Democracy provides a mechanism for the expression of grievances. But, the question of the security, safety or rights of the individual in a democracy is not fundamentally new. What is new, however, the increasing number of challenges to human security. The term human security speaks about the security of income, employment, food, health, education and environment. The violation of the physical integrity rights of the people is also common in democracies during political turmoil, involvement in international and civil wars. In

fact, democratic institutions can play an important role in ensuring human security to the people. The role of democratic institutions in ensuring human security in Kokrajhar- the epicenter conflict and violence in Assam will be analyzed here.

1.1 Rationale and Scope of the study

The status of human security in Northeast India is in a critical position, where a huge number of blameless citizens as well as women and children were butchered and thousands were left homeless due to conflict, bombing, killing, kidnapping and counter insurgency operations. Hundreds of women became victim of gang rape and police torture. The level of poverty is increasing in a maximum number of states of Northeast India and witnessing substantial rise in urban poverty. The threats to health security in recent years have enlarged from the spread of infectious diseases, mainly the resurgence of malaria, tuberculosis and more recently HIV/AIDS. To be precise, human security of the people has been threatened at a very high magnitude.

The present study will critically analyze the root causes of human insecurity in the region. Further, it will look more on the reasons for which democratic institutions could not guarantee human security and thereby enable us to find out possible solutions to the problem.

Democratic Peace

Democracies are more likely to be stable, less prone or don't go to war (Bush, 2004) with other liberal societies (Fukuyama, 1992; Pant, 2013) and are not likely to initiate interstate wars against each other (Ray, 1998) or they rarely escalate to war because they accept the other's legitimacy and expects it to rely on peaceful conflict resolution (Kegley, 2009:30) according to the democratic peace theory which emerged in 1980s. The work of Michael Doyle is particularly associated with democratic peace theory (Steans, Pettiford, Diez and El-Anis, 2010). Democratic government strengthens civil society and can provide people with the economic and political opportunities to build their futures in their own homes. The efforts to help build more democracies will make us all more secure, more prosperous (Clinton, 1994).

Daddow in his *International Relations Theory* states that according to liberal tradition, war is not the natural condition of international relations (Daddow, 2009:86). Immanuel Kant states that republican states are more prone to peaceful behavior in comparison to other types of states. There are three definitive articles in Kant's *perpetual peace*, which provides the actual foundations for peace: firstly, the civil constitution of every state should be republican, secondly, the law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states and lastly the law of world citizenship shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality (Navari, 2008). Democratic peace argues that liberal states are peace prone with liberal states, but they are in general conflict and war prone like that of non-democracies (Daase, 2006:89) and seem to be involved in wars as regularly as like that of non-democracies (Nye, 2007). Separate democratic peace argues that liberal states are peace prone with liberal states and their peace proneness is not limited to inter-liberal state relations but is clear more extensively (Macmillan, 2003:241),

Apart from normative and structural model of democratic peace, Maoz and Russett mentioned three possible causes of democratic peace. First, since the maximum democracies in the post-World War II age were rich and are frequently involved in important trading with one another, they do not engage in war with one another because expenses of a war would be huge and the profit would be small by doing so. Second, maximum democratic states experienced fast economic growth and so withhold from conflict with each other, because conflict and war would harm the economic benefits linked with growth. Third, the direct or indirect alliance between the democratic states prevented them from fighting with one another (Maoz and Russett, 1993).

Jegat in his article *Democratic Peace Theory, Power, and Economic Interdependence* argues that Liberal ideology (i.e. freedom and protection of individuals in the society, common law for all, freedom of speech, competitive election etc.), economic interdependence plays an important role in creating peace when together (Jegat, 2014). And Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points also highlight the ideas of a liberal peace which are- economic interdependence, self-determination, disarmament and international organizations (Pruthi, 2006). Placek also in his article *The Democratic Peace Theory* states that worldwide increase of democracy, economic interdependence, international

organizations (Placek, 2012) and the existence of independent nations with elective governments (Babst, 1964) will result in a larger international peace.

Neo-realist assumes that international system is anarchic, which implies international institutions cannot help in achieving peace and security. Some of the writers observe that security dilemma is the essential source of conflict between states. The idea of security dilemma was first articulated by John Herz in 1950s. To Herz security dilemma means increasing security measures by self is defined as defensive even though it may increase security tension in other states. But when the same attempt is made by others then it becomes security challenge for them (Baylis, 2001). Whereas neo-liberalism see international institutions as an important mechanism in achieving international security (Baylis, 2014). Another alternative explanation of democratic peace is known as capitalist peace which says capitalism drives peace between democratic states, not democracy. Capitalism is an economic system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private ownership (Quackenbush, 2015). The authors (Johns and Davies) made a survey to check whether the democratic peace and the clash of civilizations propositions are reflected in United States and British public opinion. And *'the basic findings show small differences across the two cases: both publics were somewhat more inclined to use force against dictatorships than against democracies and against Islamic than against Christian countries'* (Johns and Davies, 2012).

Democratic governments guarantee fundamental rights and ensure broad range of personal freedom to its citizens. It also helps people to protect their own fundamental interests (Dahl, 1998). A democratic government needs to provide maximum opportunities to their citizens to exercise freedoms and ensure that its citizens are free from threat of violence, poverty, destitution etc.

Democratic political institutions reduce the dangers of state repression by preventing a wide range of actions which governments use against their own people, ranging from curtailments of fundamental freedoms and the imprisonment of dissidents to outright violence and even genocide. The leaders of democratic states are typically constrained from using violence against their own citizens, especially in power-sharing democracies

with multiple checks and balances and separation of powers. These keep away from reckless confrontations or the use of excessive force. Cultural argument suggests that the predominant norms and values in democratic states emphasize the belief that it is appropriate to use negotiation, bargaining and compromise to settle internal political disputes, rather than force. Democracies are also more prone to be affected by globalization- including the integration of countries into international and regional organizations. This process is thought to bind democracies to accept international norms, encouraging rulers to resolve internal disagreements through the ballot box rather than the bullet (Norris, 2012). But Haschke in his article *The Not-So-Peaceful Domestic Democratic Peace* argues that the violations of the physical integrity rights and human insecurity of the people are also common in democracies during political turmoil, involvement in international and civil wars (Haschke, 2012). To be precise, people of the democratic countries are also not free from human insecurity.

Human Security in Democracy

The concept of human security emerged in the mid 1990s. Traditionally, security was understood from the point of protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states from the external military threat, which was the essence of the concept of national security. The concept of human security focuses individual as the referent object of security (Kerr, 2007), deprivation of basic human rights (Hampson, 2008) and all subjects that threaten human life and development (Chakma, 2011). Thus, human security speaks about the security for the people, rather than state (Acharya, 2014). And human security will be achieved through development, not through arms (Soherwordi, 2005).

The term human security is pioneered by UNDP 1994 which includes two components: freedom from fear and freedom from want, and is not a concern with weapons- it is a concern with human life and dignity (UNDP, 1994). 'Freedom from fear denoting that people should be secure from the threat of violence; and freedom from want denoting the aspiration that people should be free from poverty and destitution and entitled to basic means of survival' (Peoples and Williams, 2010). The concept of human security can be said to have two main aspects, which means safety from chronic threats- hunger, disease

and repression. And secondly, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development. Apart from that the report also identified seven areas which comprise human security: Economic security (freedom from poverty), Food security (access to food), Health security (access to healthcare), Environmental security (protection from factors such as degradation and pollution), Personal security (physical safety from systematic use of violence), Community security (protection of traditional cultures and physical security of ethnic groups) and Political security (protection of civil liberties and freedom of political expression) (UNDP, 1994).

Nef in his book *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability: The Global Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment* mentions five dimensions of human security. First dimension of human security is environmental, personal and physical security, second is economic security, third is social security, fourth is political security and the last is cultural security (Nef, 1999).

Mahbub ul Haq in *Human Development in South Asia 2005* states that human security means security of income, employment, food, health, education and environment. This concept of human security includes insecurity arising from violence within the household, by the community and sometimes, even the state against women, children and the minorities. And this concept asserts people's rights to protection against the inefficiency and injustice of the institutions of governance (*Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia, 2005*).

According to Kofi Annan, the term Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict, which encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her own potential. Each and every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Apart from that Annan argued that freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment are the

interrelated building blocks of human and therefore national security (Ogata & Sen, 2003:4).

Liberal conceptions of democracy speak clearly about the protection of civil rights, (Norman, 2005) which are directly linked to the question of freedom from fear. Social conceptions of democracy also insist on rights protections necessary for providing freedom from want. Rights to work, health and education all address significantly the main factors related to poverty, malnutrition, social exclusion and ill-health that threaten individual and collective freedom from want (Srividhya, 2012). Social conceptions of democracy therefore address the largest number of features that comprise human security. Democracies have curbed traditional civil liberties such as freedom of movement, freedom from arbitrary arrest and rights to privacy and correspondence in order to track down terror suspects. Healthy relationship between democracy and human rights is being eroded during the war on terror and that individual freedom from fear is being compromised even among some of the oldest and most economically advanced democracies. Development and democracy both appear to have positive effects on the protection of human rights, since increased levels of economic development provide countries with resources to alleviate the worst forms of suffering and democracy provides mechanism for the expression of grievances (Landman, 2006).

1.2 Human Security in Northeast India

Northeastern region is the most volatile region of India, which presents a complex cultural and ethnic variety with more than 200 ethnic groups with distinct languages, dialects and socio-cultural identity and is witnessing unending separatist struggle since late 1940s. There are several parties involved in the struggles with diverse ethnic groups and states, some of them wish for sovereignty from India while others call for a reorganization of the states (Deb, 2015). Besides, the region is in anxiety, fear of being killed, raped and the quality of life is reduced by poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, underdevelopment, ethnic conflict, identity conflict, insurgency, internal displacement, denial of free speech etc. There is inter-link between insecurity, economic underdevelopment and insurgency in India's northeast. Economic underdevelopment

generates unemployment, unemployment creates insurgency and insurgency in turn creates insecurity leading to further economic underdevelopment (Das, 2012). The means employed by insurgents to acquire wealth include extortion, trafficking in narcotics and human beings, contraband etc (Nag, 2008). The prolonged counter insurgency operations in northeastern region of India have eroded the democratic fabric, where the army has institutionalized its authoritarian practices. In order to bring peace and development in the region, India's policy will have to be reoriented and linked to a new foreign policy towards Southeast Asia (Baruah, 2010).

The presence of security forces and enforcement of draconian act like Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) and National Security Act (NSA) in northeastern region created the feeling of insecurity among the masses and numbers of innocent people were being killed in name of national security as well as counter insurgency operations. As a result, violation of human rights, extra judicial killing become a common experience in the region. Besides that, the growing influx of refugees and illegal immigration from neighboring countries like Myanmar and Bangladesh in northeastern region has created a serious demographic change and fear-psychosis in the mind of people and in turn it gave birth to the issue of identity crisis and ethnic conflict. For example, anti-foreigners movement in Assam in 1970s and birth of the present armed conflicts problems in Tripura lies in the demographic destabilization. Supreme Court stated that the right to life which includes right to live with dignity guaranteed by the article 21 of Indian Constitution is literally absent in India's northeast (Singh, 2012).

Malem Ningthouja in his article *The Monster AFSPA in India- Manipur Experienced Withered Democracy* states that India's assurance to democracy has only created contradictory conditions. The deployment of security forces in the region also prevents the people from enjoying fruits of peace and democracy (Ningthouja, 2012). Pandey in his *Critical Analysis of Armed Forces (Special Power) Act, 1958- Human Rights Perspective* states that AFSPA is dangerous for a well established society (Pandey, 2012). N. Joykumar Singh also in his article *Changing Scenario of Insurgency in Manipur* states that the denial of basic democratic rights of the people by the central government is the main reason of the emergence of insurgency in Manipur (Singh, 2008).

Northeastern states have a comparatively high unemployment rate. In Assam there exist more than half of the unemployed literate youth. Not finding any job, not getting a suitable job, not find jobs matching to their prospect, family everyday jobs and not allowing of husband or family to work are the reasons of unemployment in Assam (Youth of North-East India: Demographics and Readership, 2012). Poverty is increasing in a maximum number of states and witnessing substantial rise in urban poverty. The region is failing to substantially reduce poverty because of high level of income inequality. The ensuing economic insecurity has brought ethnic, social, cultural and political tensions in the region (Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region, 2012).

Children and women are vulnerable and at risk of poor health. They bear the burden of these health deprivations and preventable deaths. Nagaland and Tripura have topped among all small states in India in reducing Infant Mortality Rate (IMR). Infant mortality rate is the number of deaths of children less than one year of age per 1000 live births. The IMR in Nagaland is 17 per 1,000 live births while in Tripura it is 21 against the national average of 40 deaths per 1,000 live births. The threats to health security in Northeast India in recent years have enlarged from the spread of infectious diseases, mainly the resurgence of malaria, tuberculosis and more recently HIV/AIDS (Sharma, Vinod and Phookan, 2015).

Floods have caused destruction in Northeast India, especially in Assam, every year causing tremendous loss to crops, infrastructure, economy, livelihoods and lives of the people. Water pollution has emerged as another key environmental challenge. The use of polluted water for drinking, cooking and bathing is causing diarrhea, hepatitis and outbreaks of typhoid and cholera. Air pollution levels continue to be high in Northeast India rendering the inhabitants highly at risk to severe and chronic health effects. Forests are also shrinking in many parts of Northeast India. Deforestation is driven by the quest for food security, demand for wood energy and timber and grazing uses. However, the prime factor remains the poor forest management that triggers large-scale illegal forest activity. The decline in forest area is threatening the flora and fauna, encouraging landslides and floods and damaging irreparably a number of sensitive ecosystems in the region (Das, 2009).

Human security is meaningless without a focus on the security of women. Women face discrimination and violence even before birth in the form of female foeticide. This discrimination against women continues through the years acquiring different forms and degrees: from neglect in healthcare and nutrition in childhood to early and forced marriages in adolescence; from domestic violence to rape and sexual abuse; and from dowry deaths to unwanted pregnancies. Trafficking of young girls and women is also reaching an alarming proportion. During 1991-98, the figure of rape in the northeast went up from 601 to 1001; molestation from 415 to 849; kidnapping and abduction from 1005 to 1288; dowry deaths from 21 to 43; and cruelty by relatives from 240 to 862 (Saikia, 2014).

The status of human security in Assam is in a critical position with the existence of kidnappings, murders, extortions, ethnic violence in everyday life and human rights of the people have been severely threatened in the region due to insurgency problem (Meherin, 2012). It is argued that such incidents of insurgency, human rights abuses by government security forces and insurgents, ethnic violence and a steady slide toward illiberal democracy are largely due to the strong centralizing tendency of Indian federation. Thus, a more decentralized federal structure is required to manage and solve Assam's conflicts (Baruah, 2011).

Anindita Dasgupta in her article *Civilians and Localisation of Conflict in Assam* states that the basic reason of insurgency, armed violence and human insecurity are due to the socio-economic problems, which have been ignored by state and its political elite. Underdevelopment, unemployment, floods and brutal repression of the state are the most important reasons for emergence of insurgency in the state (Dasgupta, 2004). Armed groups, insurgencies and security forces are the sources of human insecurity (Acharya *et al.*, 2011).

Daimari in his work *Status of Human Rights: A Study of Bodoland Territorial Autonomous District* argued that the Bodoland Territorial Autonomous District (BTAD) region is the home of many insurgent groups and known for fratricidal killings, ethnic conflicts and militancy acts of terror and frequent unleash of fear-psycho also by the

Government forces. According to the people of the region- ethnic conflict, insurgent activities and security forces are the source of human rights violation (Daimari, 2016). Besides these, many women became victim of gang raped by Assam police (AP) and Assam Police Task Force (APTF), fake encounter and many were brutally beaten due to the controversial Acts like Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987, Assam Disturbed Area Act, 1955 and Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958. Atrocities in the name of enforcing law and order still exist in the northeastern region of India (Brahma, 2011).

Kokrajhar is one of the most conflict affected district of Bodoland Territorial Areas District of Assam. Time and again the region has been experiencing number of ethnic conflicts, between the Bodos and Santhals in 1996, 1998 and between the Bodos and Bengali Muslims in 1993, 1994, 2008 and 2012. History tells that most of the agitations or movements of Bodoland started in this district. Kokrajhar is located and falling on the direction that connects northeast with mainland India, the strikes in Kokrajhar often interrupts the road and railway linkages. *The Assam tribune* reports that in 2012, the District Administration imposed shoot-at-sight order during the indefinite curfew, in order to bring the condition in control. Fresh incidents of violence were reported from Dotma, Mokrapara, Narabari, Serfanguri and Tulsibil in the same year (“Fresh Incidents of Violence in Assam,” 2012).

Conflict between Bodos and Santhals in 1996 and 1998 in Kokrajhar district had serious fatalities and led to deaths of more than hundred, injured many and displaced. Basumatary marks about the causes and intensity of 2012 violence between Bodos and Muslims. On 6th July, 2012 when two Muslim minority youth were killed, the blame put on the Bodos. The Muslims reacted by killing four Bodo youth near Kokrajhar town. As the news spread out, the situation went out of control and violence broke out in and around Kokrajhar, killing many and displacing lakhs (Basumatary, 2012).

The above literature shows how human security of the people in northeast India is in a critical position with the existence of resistance, ethnic conflict, identity conflict, underdevelopment, insurgency, militarization, unemployment, poverty and health and

environmental insecurity. Particularly, it is the Children and women who are more vulnerable and at risk. Children of Northeast India are also insecure in terms of achieving quality education and there exist a good number of out-of-school children. In this backdrop, issues associated with human insecurity of the people in Kokrajhar district of Assam need to be investigated to understand what factors constitute responsible for human insecurity.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- To analyze how democratic institutions ensure human security.
- To examine the nature and scope of human security in India.
- To explore the root causes of human insecurity in Kokrajhar district of Assam, India.

1.4 Research Questions

- What is the role of democratic institutions in ensuring human security?
- What are the factors that constitute human security debate in India?
- What are the determinants of human insecurity in Kokrajhar district of Assam?

1.5 Research Methodology

The study is both qualitative and quantitative in nature. The study employed both primary and secondary methods of data collection. Primary Data are collected from official records and interview schedule. Questionnaire was prepared for distribution among people from various walks of life, consisting of General People, Political Activist, Academicians Civil Society and Security Forces. Secondary Data are collected from books, newspapers, articles and journals.

Kokrajhar is one of the most conflict affected district of Assam and epicenter of ethnic conflict and violence in northeast India, where bombing, kidnapping, fratricidal killings, extra judicial killings, fake encounter incidents are common in the region. Therefore, Kokrajhar is selected for examining the root causes of human insecurity. According to the

2011 census of India, Kokrajhar district of Assam embraces 887142 populations, covers an area of 3296 Sq. Km. and 1068 villages. And there are 134 Village Council Development Committees (VCDC). It is surrounded by Chirang district in the east, West Bengal in the west, Bhutan in the north and Dhubri district in the south. There are three sub-divisions in Kokrajhar district (Kokrajhar Sadar Sub-Division, Gossaigaon Sub-Division and Parbatjhora Sub-Division). There are eleven Development Blocks in Kokrajhar district-Kokrajhar (Titaguri), Dotma, Kachugaon, Gossaigaon, Hatidhura, Bilasipara (Part), Chapar-Salkocha (Part), Rupshi (Part), Mahamaya (Part), Golokganj (Part) and Debitola (Part). 100 samples were selected through purposive sampling.

Chapterisation

Chapter – I: Introduction

This chapter discusses the Issue under Examination, Rationale and Scope of the Study, Conceptual Framework of the Research, Research Objectives, Research Questions and Research Methodology.

Chapter – II: Democratic Peace: Theoretical Underpinnings

This chapter discusses the conceptual framework of Democratic Peace. First section of the chapter discusses conceptual framework of Democratic Peace, second section discusses the conceptual framework of Human Security and last section of the chapter discusses the status of Human Security in Democracy.

Chapter – III: Democracy and Peace in India

This chapter discusses Democracy and Peace in India with special reference to Northeast India. The first section of the chapter discusses Democracy in India, second section discusses human security in India and last section discusses the nature and scope of human security in Northeast India.

Chapter – IV: Human Security Issues of Kokrajhar District of Assam, India

This chapter examines the issues of human security in Kokrajhar of Assam, India. The data collected through interview schedule is coded, interpreted and analysed to find the determinants of human insecurity in Kokrajhar district of Assam and what constructive role democracy could have played in ensuring human security.

Chapter – V: Conclusion

This chapter presents the summary of the study and its major findings.

CHAPTER - 2

DEMOCRATIC PEACE: THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Introduction

Democratic peace theory argues that democracies do not engage in armed conflict with other democratic states and are peaceful in their relations with other states. Democratic states rarely escalate to war because they accept the other's legitimacy and consider the opinion of the electorate. Democratic leaders rely on peaceful conflict resolution which directly ensures human security. Systemic democratic peace theory argues that the more democracies in the world, the more peace in the region or international system. Neo-realists argue that security dilemma is the essential source of conflict between states. Democracy gives maximum facilities to the citizens to exercise freedoms by ensuring basic needs to safeguard from the threat of violence, poverty, destitution etc. Thus, the democratic state plays an important role in enhancing human security. Human security implies security of income, employment, food, health, education and environment, and it emphasizes the importance of addressing chronic threats to human life. Human security is concerned with human life and dignity but not concerned with weapons, where individuals have access to basic levels of food, shelter, education and health and that with such access they are capable of exercising own autonomy, control over their own lives and participation in the public sphere.

Democracy and human security are closely connected with each other. Democratic state guarantees a number of basic rights and ensures a broader range of personal freedom to its citizens. Liberal democracy protects civil rights that are directly linked to the question of freedom from fear. Social conceptions of democracy insist on protections of rights needed for providing freedom from want. Rights to work, health and education all address significantly the main factors related to poverty, malnutrition, social exclusion and ill-health that threaten human being and collective freedom from want. Thus, social conceptions of democracy address the largest number of features that comprise human security. Hence, it has become clear that liberal democratic institutions encourage elected

officials to give concentration to human security; at the same time procedures of liberal democracy allow citizens of the country to state their demands, to hold public officials accountable for their actions and to free themselves of incompetent, corrupt or ineffective leaders. On the other hand, these systems of liberal democracy encourage democratic leaders to be reactive to social needs and concerns.

The present chapter discusses the conceptual meaning of the democratic peace and human security in detail. So, the main objective of this chapter is to analyse how democratic institutions ensure human security.

2.1 Democratic Peace: Conceptual Analysis

Rule by the people (Demos and Kratia) is the foundational pillar of democracy in the modern age. The philosopher and institutional ancestry of democracy are claimed by Ancient Greeks, where direct democracy was practiced in Athens and in the city-states. That time people directly took part in the process of decision-making, concerning their own affairs. But in the nation-states, political organization of a city-state has become inappropriate ever obsolete and the system of representative democracy became the necessity of modern city-state (Bhambhri, 2007: 1). The idea that liberal democratic governments can reduce the incidence of war is one of the most appealing, influential and controversial idea. Many thinkers have proposed that a world of democratic states would be a peaceful world. Liberal tradition thinking on security dates back to Immanuel Kant who highlights the significance of republican constitutions for peace. According to Kant republican states were peace producers and more prone to peaceful behavior in comparison to other types of states. There were three definitive articles in Kant's *perpetual peace*, which provides the actual foundations for peace: firstly, the civil constitution of every state should be republican, secondly, the law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states and thirdly, the law of world citizenship shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality (Navari, 2008).

According to the liberal tradition, war is not the natural condition of international relations but peace is normal (Daddow, 2009:86) and liberal states have been peaceful in

their relations with other liberal societies (Fukuyama, 1992). The democratic peace argues that democracies do not fight a war against other liberal democracies (Pant, 2013). The democratic peace theory emerged in the 1980s.

Democratic peace theory is based on some principles. First, citizens of the democratic country prevent elected leaders from engaging in war, because citizens are hesitant to bear the costs of the war in respect of human life and financial treasure. Second, democratic political institutions play an important role in settling internal disputes. So, as the conflict occurs against other democratic state, democracies will be more likely to employ international institutions (United Nations, International Court of Justice etc.) to solve their international conflict. Others view that democratic countries create a culture of negotiation and reconciliation, arguing violence is an inappropriate way of conflict resolution that people of democratic countries believe. The argument holds that even though the head of the state of democracy is war-prone, political institutions prevent an aggressive leader of the state from engaging in war. Hence, whether it is common norms, institutional constraints, mutual respect or popular will, democracy is considered as a treatment for war (Sudhamma, 2012: 61-62).

The authors of *An Introduction to International Relations Theory: Perspectives and Themes* say that the work of Michael Doyle is particularly associated with democratic peace theory. The fundamental premise of democratic peace theory is that when states become more democratic, they become more peaceful. This democratic peace theory “is based on a research project called the *Michigan Project* and on David Singer’s work which documented in detail the incidence of wars since 1816. Researchers sought first to establish empirically how many wars had been fought by liberal states and against whom. On the basis of this, they claimed to identify a trend: liberal states fought wars, but not with each other. Thus, they concluded, liberal states do not fight wars with each other” (Steans, Pettiford, Diez, and El-Anis, 2010: 32).

Michael Doyle (1996a) in his article *Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs* states that many times liberal states have fought the war with non-liberal states but a constitutionally secure liberal state has not fought a war with another liberal state. Doyle

observed 416 wars from 1816 to 1980 and found only 12 wars were fought between democratic countries (Doyle, 1996: 3-57). Bruce Russett in his article *How Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations Create a System for Peace* mentions that in the entire twentieth century no established democratic states have fought a war with another democratic state (Russett, 2000: 235). Rummel studies all wars from 1816 to 1991. He found 198 wars between non-democracies, 155 wars between democracies and non-democracies and no wars between democratic states. From 1946 to 1986 there were 6,876 state dyads, where 990 were democratic-democratic dyads. None of these 990 democratic-democratic dyads fought with each other (Rummel, 1997: 13-14). Dean V. Babst also in his work *Elective Governments- A Force For Peace* observes that no wars had been fought between independent states with elective government from 1789 to 1941, but they have fought wars with autocratic states and even with some against their own colonies who sought to become independent (Babst, 1964: 10). Zeev Maoz and Nasrin Abdolali in their article *Regime types and international conflicts, 1816-1976* examined all wars from 1816 to 1976 and found that democratic states have not fought with each other and they are also less prone to engage in lower level conflicts with other democratic states (Maoz and Abdolali, 1989: 21). Stuart A. Bremer also in his article *Dangerous dyads: Conditions affecting the likelihood of interstate war, 1816-1965* accounted similar findings for the years between 1816 and 1965 (Bremer, 1992: 330).

President William J. Clinton highlights that coalition of democracy is good for America. “*Democracies, after all, are more likely to be stable, less likely to wage war. They strengthen civil society. They can provide people with the economic and political opportunities to build their futures in their own homes, not to flee their borders. Our efforts to help build more democracies will make us all more secure, more prosperous, and more successful as we try to make this era of terrific change our friend and not our enemy*” (Clinton, 1994).

The president George Walker Bush states that the reason why he is so strong on democracy is because democracies don't go to war with each other and people of most societies don't like war, and they understand what war means. He states “*I've got great faith in democracies to promote peace. And that's why I'm such a strong believer that the*

way forward in the Middle East, the broader Middle East, is to promote democracy” (Bush, 2004).

Liberal societies have not initiated and are not likely to initiate interstate wars against each other (Ray, 1998) or they rarely escalate to war because they accept other’s legitimacy and expects it to rely on peaceful conflict resolution. These hopes are durable by the transparent nature of democratic states (Kegley, 2009:30). And the spread of democracy would lead to greater international security.

Johns and Davies made a survey to check whether the ‘democratic peace’ and the ‘clash of civilizations’ propositions are reflected in the United States and British public opinion. And “the basic findings show small differences across the two cases: both publics were somewhat more inclined to use force against dictatorships than against democracies and against Islamic than against Christian countries” (Johns and Davies, 2012).

2.1.1 Monadic Explanation: Liberal democracies are prone to be non-violence in their relations with both democracies and non-democracies. Public opinion and interest groups play an important role in resisting the possibility of engaging in war, hence, avoid the costs of war. Considering the opinion of the electorate, democratic leaders are likely to adopt peaceful conflict resolutions to avoid escalation of violence that leads to war. But, in an authoritarian government, power is in the hands of a small group of people, by controlling all coercive resources and the media, controls public opinion and submits interest groups. It is, thus, that liberal democratic states are dragged into a war with non-democratic states as the result of aggression by these (Rummel, 1983).

Involvement of a state in war depends on the domestic structure of that state which characterizes the form of the government. The success of such limitations depends on the domestic stability of the government. But even though it is a democratic form of government, they cannot meet their function if they are unstable (Geller, 1985). Mansfield and Snyder in their work *Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War* come up with the following points that unstable democratic form of governments has higher inclination to conflict than non-democratic states and a state of incomplete and

initial stages of democratization are particularly likely to get involved in wars (Mansfield and Snyder, 2002).

According to Bremer (1992), democratic states have been neither more nor less war-prone than non-democracies. *“War is more likely between more advanced and less advanced states than between pairs of more or less advanced states. This would follow from an admittedly unsophisticated dependencia theory that states that the likelihood of war increases when a more advanced economy attempts to penetrate a less advanced economy, or when a less advanced economy attempts to shake off the yoke imposed by a more advanced economy. If this pattern of conflict were widespread, then one would expect to see a disproportionate amount of war between more and less advanced economies”* (Bremer, 1992: 317).

Kevin Placek in his work *The Democratic Peace Theory* states that the critics view, democratic states are not less prone to war against non-democracies is basically acceptable. The monadic proposition that democracies are less likely to apply force to all states is disproved by the evidence. This is probably because of that the following of incomplete Kantian world. Placek says that democratic states are more prone to go into low-level conflicts, more prepared to refrain from escalating disputes into an actual war, are less prone to initiate the use of violence against another state and are more prone to win than non-democracies. Worldwide spread of democracy will not only reduce war between democratic states but it would bring larger amount of low-level conflicts in proportion to full-scale wars, an increase in the figure of states less prone to either initiate war or escalate non-violent confrontations into war, and a greater number of short, successful wars as opposed to long and prolonged wars (Placek, 2012).

2.1.2 Dyadic Explanation: Dyadic proposition of democratic peace gives a more considerable argument that democratic states make a *separate and joint* peace between other democratic states. The probability of conflict will be less while autocratic-democratic dyad is replaced by democratic-democratic dyad. Evidence suggests that rivalries among the democratic dyads are also very rare and replacement of non-democratic regime to the democratic regime will also reduce the proneness of conflict.

Alliances of democracies will be better able to keep mutual commitment and obligation due to the institutional constraints of liberal democracy, but this predictability is absent in nondemocratic states because of the lack of transparency and openness of their political systems. But still, liberal democratic states must keep military force to prevent or protect themselves from aggression in the current international system, because democratic states are more prone to receive challenges and threats to their security (Placek, 2012).

Liberal states are peace prone only with liberal states, but they are in general conflict and war-prone like that of non-democracies (Daase, 2006:89). Michael Doyle in his two articles published in 1983 supported the dyadic explanation of democratic peace theory that liberal regimes are not peaceful in general, they are only peaceful in their relations with liberal societies but they are conflict-prone and aggressive with non-liberal societies. In his analysis, the author Doyle inspired from Immanuel Kant's theory of perpetual peace. The idea, Republican states establish a peaceful relationship with other Republican states is the core of the dyadic explanation of democratic peace theory (Doyle, 1983a: 205-235; Doyle, 1983: 323-353).

Zeev Maoz and Nasrin Abdolali in their article *Regime types and international conflicts, 1816-1976* states that dyadic hypotheses are usually supported by data. Democracies never fight among themselves and they are less prone to engage in conflicts. Democracies do not involve in many open disputes among themselves, but they do engage in a clash with limited use of armed force and mild violence. The hypothesis that democratic states are less prone to initiate conflict than other regime type is weakly supported by the data due to two reasons. Firstly, as the democratic states are less prone to engage in conflict with other democratic states, but they are excessively prone to initiate disputes with anocracies and autocracies. Secondly, autocratic states are also less prone to initiate disputes with autocratic states. The high level of clash studied in the democratic-anocratic and democratic-autocratic groups propose that democratic governments tended to get involved in clashes with states which are experiencing rapid political changes internally. In the twentieth-century conflict proneness of democracies reduced because of the rise in the figure of the democratic-democratic dyad (Maoz and Abdolali, 1989: 20-26).

2.1.3 Institutional Explanation: The Institutional explanation of democratic peace states that democratic institutions and processes make elected leaders of the democratic states accountable to their citizens that can, in a variety of conditions, oppose the war. Representative (elected officials and decision-makers) of the people are accountable to do for the best interest of the people. As a result, government and its citizens become unattractive to go to war because war directly affects huge sections of the population; it is predictable that voter will remove the present party from office or there are opposition parties who are ready to take advantage if they follow unpopular policies and initiate losing or avoidable war that prevents democratic leaders from going to war. These democratic arrangements (free speech, political pluralism, competitive elections etc.) give citizens control on government decisions and make less likely to initiate war with other liberal states (Placek, 2012). Hence, in order to stay in power, Democratic leaders have to satisfy more supporters than autocrats (Bausch, 2015).

Furthermore, some elements of democratic states like- freedom of speech and open political processes make easy for the electorate to control the elected leaders. Leaders of the democratic states engage in large-scale violence only when they get popular support from citizens because they may possibly be removed from office if they engage in an unpopular war and because society can be likely to resist expensive or losing wars. To support a war, there are some social groups (citizens, those groups that benefit from an open international economy, opposition parties and liberal opinion leaders) which may need to be mobilized because war imposes costs by disturbing international trade and investment. Two democratic states are prone to come to peaceful agreement because elected leaders of both the countries are constrained from engaging in large-scale violence and observe opposing democratic state to be equally constrained. In order to use force, a democratic state against the other democratic state takes a long time in mobilizing the citizens. But according to Rosato democratic leaders are not especially accountable to the electorate, democratic states are not slow to mobilize its citizen to go to war or incompetent of surprise attacks and open political competition does not offer guarantee that a democratic state will reveal private information on its level of resolution (Rosato, 2003: 587-599).

Nye also argues that according to Immanuel Kant and other classical liberals, the citizen of the democratic country can vote against the war. But the fact is that citizens of the democratic state will not only vote against war because “statistically democracies seem to be involved in wars as often as other countries. Democratic electorates have often voted for war. In ancient Greece, Pericles roused the people of Athens to go to war; in 1898, the American electorate dragged a reluctant President McKinley into the Spanish-American war. In 2003, opinion polls and a congressional vote supported President Bush’s calls for war against Iraq, though public opinion later soured as the conflict dragged on” (Nye, 2007:48).

2.1.4 Normative Explanation: The normative explanation of democratic peace suggests that democratic states resolve the political conflicts throughout negotiation but in nondemocratic states, political conflicts are more likely to be performed and resolved through violence and coercion. The democratic norm permits for an environment of live and let live and it results in a basic sense of stability at the personal, communal and national level whereas nondemocratic norms results an environment of distrust and fear within and outside the government. Stability may exist in nondemocratic states only when there is no evident and effective political opposition. The democratic states will follow the nondemocratic norms if their use of democratic norms will endanger their survival while confronting to a nondemocratic state. So, there is more likely to escalate conflicts into a war between non-democracies rather than conflicts between a democratic and nondemocratic state. And the institutional model states that because of the existence of complex political mobilization courses compel institutional constraints on the leaders of both democratic states confronting each other to make violent conflict impossible (Maoz and Russett, 1993: 625).

Democracies affect the political leaders to act on the basis of democratic norms whenever possible, and these norms mandate nonviolent conflict resolution and negotiation. Democratic states rarely fight with one another because they trust and respect with each other. Feeling of respect to other democratic state comes when other democratic state holds the same norms. Trust to other democratic state comes when they are also prone to respect a fellow democracy and do not use force against the other. The clash between

democratic states is generally resolved by mutual trust and respect, but democratic states fight with each other while they do not recognize other to be a democratic state. Sometimes a democratic state is not recognized as such while it is in the early stages of democratization or if it does not meet the norms followed by another democratic state. Apart from that it also explains why democracies are prone to go to war with non-democracies. Non-democratic states are not respected and trusted since their domestic systems are considered unjust, they do not respect the freedom of self-governing individuals and they do not follow the methods of peaceful conflict resolution. *“First, democracies may not respect non-democracies because they are considered to be in a state of war against their own citizens. War may, therefore, be permissible to free the people from authoritarian rule and introduce human rights or representative government. Second, because democracies are inclined toward peaceful conflict resolution, non-democracies may be tempted to try and extract concessions from them by attacking or threatening to use force during a crisis. In such circumstances, democracies may either have to defend themselves from attack or launch preemptive strikes”*. But Rosato argues that according to the available evidence liberal democratic states do not constantly externalize domestic norms of conflict resolution and they do not respect and trust other democratic states if their interest clash, instead they use nondemocratic norms (Rosato, 2003: 586-599).

2.1.5 Capitalist Peace: Another alternative explanation of democratic peace is known as capitalist peace. Capitalism is economic systems in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private ownership. Scholars have mentioned the importance of capitalism and economic issues in explaining peace between democratic states. Gartzke looks at economic development and financial and monetary integration as the key indicators of capitalism. Many studies have revealed that international trade is associated with peace between states. However, Gartzke, Li and Boehmer argue that trade is not the only feature of economic interdependence that should be accounted for. In particular, they argue that financial and monetary integration are still more significant features of economic interdependence because they provide a key way for states to convey credible signals to others and thereby overcome potential bargaining problems. Gartzke finds that

greater levels of financial openness extensively reduce the possibility of conflict in a dyad. Besides, once financial openness and economic development are controlled for, democracy no longer has an effect on the likelihood of wars. Hence, these results signify that capitalism drives peace between democratic states, not the democracy (Quackenbush, 2015: 166-167).

Erich Weede also in an article *Capitalism, Democracy, and Peace* argues that according to the historical evidence-free trade reduces the threat of war. The global encouragement of capitalism (i.e. free trade and economic growth) provides the greatest hope for a peaceful world. Weede also says that the Marshall Plan and American Post War Economic Policies succeeded because they aimed at a capitalist peace instead of a simple democratic peace (Weede, 1999: 67).

2.1.6 Other Reasons for Peace: Maoz and Russett mentioned three possible causes of democratic peace. First, since the maximum democracies in the post-World War II age were rich and are frequently involved in important trading with one another, they do not engage in war with one another because expenses of a war would be huge and the profit would be small by doing so. Second, maximum democratic states experienced fast economic growth and so withhold from conflict with each other, because conflict and war would harm the economic benefits linked with growth. Third, the direct or indirect alliance between the democratic states prevented them from fighting with one another (Maoz and Russett, 1993: 626-627).

Joseph Jegat in his article *Democratic Peace Theory, Power, and Economic Interdependence* says that Liberal ideology (i.e. freedom and protection of individuals in the society, common law for all, freedom of speech, competitive election etc.), economic interdependence plays an important role in creating peace when together (Jegat, 2014). And Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points also highlight the ideas of a liberal peace which are- economic interdependence, self-determination, disarmament and international organizations (Pruthi, 2006: 12).

Neo-realist assumes that international system is anarchic, which implies international institutions cannot help in achieving peace and security. Some of the writers observed that security dilemma is the essential source of conflict between states. The idea of security dilemma was first articulated by John Herz in 1950s. To Herz security dilemma means increasing security measures by self is defined as defensive even though it may increase security tension in other states. But when the same attempt is made by others then it becomes security challenge for them (Baylis, 2001: 257-258).

Liberals believe that peace is natural, but absolutely not an inevitable, conditions for international relations. According to the liberal perspective, war takes place from the following circumstances, each of which is unavoidable. First, like realist analysis, liberal accept that the state egoism in a context of anarchy may lead to conflict and a likelihood of war. On the other hand, liberals believe that an international anarchy can and should be replaced by an international rule of law, achieved through the construction of supranational bodies. Second, as far as the liberal argument is concerned war is often linked to economic nationalism and economic independence or self-sufficiency, the quest for economic self-sufficiency tending to bring states into violent conflict with one another. Peace can, however, be achieved through free trade and other forms of economic interdependence, particularly as these may make war so inexpensively costly that it becomes unlikely. Third, the constitutional character of the state significantly determines the nature of a state of war or peace. Authoritarian states have a tendency to be militaristic and expansionist, accustomed to the use of force in order to achieve both domestic and foreign goals, while democracies are more peaceful, in any case in their relations with other democratic states (Heywood, 2011: 244). Whereas neo-liberalism, see international institutions as an important mechanism in achieving international security (Baylis, 2014).

In Marxian tradition, critical theorists have tended to explain war mainly in economic terms. For instance, First World War, which was an imperialist war fought in pursuit of colonial gains in Africa and somewhere else. Hence, the source of war can be traced back to the capitalist economic system, war, in effect, is the pursuit of economic advantage by other means. Such a study implies that socialism is the best guarantee of peace, socialist

movements often having a marked anti-war or even pacifist orientation, shaped by a commitment to internationalism. Critical theorists in the anarchist tradition, for example, Chosmky, have revealed a particular interest in the phenomenon of hegemonic war, believing that world's most powerful states directly or indirectly use the war in order to defend or expand their global economic and political interests. So, war is directly connected with hegemony, while peace can be built only through a radical redistribution of global power (Heywood, 2011: 244).

Feminists have adopted gender perspective on war and peace. To Feminists, the origin of war stem either from the warlike nature of the male or from the institution of patriarchy. They draw attention to the close association between women and peace, based either on the natural peacefulness of women or on the fact that women's experience of the world encourages an emphasis on human connectedness and cooperation (Heywood, 2011: 244).

Farber and Gowa argue that democratic peace is period specific. And they find that democratic dyads were only peaceful than other dyads during the period of Cold War. Before the First World War, democratic dyads were significantly more prone to get into militarized disputes than other pairs of states. They also argue that common interest between the states leads to peaceful relations between states rather than democracy. They find that before 1945 democratic states tended to ally less and fight more with each other, but since 1945 democratic states tended to ally more and fight less with each other (Quackenbush, 2015: 165-166).

The above discussed literature shows that democratic states are prone to peaceful relations with others. These peaceful relations directly or indirectly guarantee the human security. Human security is concerned with human life and dignity and is not concerned with weapons, where individuals have access to basic levels of food, shelter, education, and health and that with such access they are capable of exercising own autonomy, control over their own lives and participation in the public sphere.

2.2 Security Debates: Traditional to Human Security

The traditional concept of security has changed in the 1990s. Traditionally, the term Security was understood from the point of protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states from the external military threat, which was the essence of the concept of national security. Security was defined largely in militarized terms that studies state as the major referent. Wolfers pointed out two faces of the security concept. To Wolfers, security in an objective sense measures the absence of threats to acquired values and in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked (Brauch, 2011: 61-62).

2.2.1 Security: Conceptual Analysis: The term State security centers largely on the armaments, weaponization and coercive diplomacy and mainly relies on security forces to bring the peace that causes danger to human rights and contribute towards human insecurity (Mahanta, 2009: 60). Patrick Morgan (2007: 14-15) in his work *Security in International Politics: Traditional Approach* argues that:

State security is complex and normally Janusfaced (it faces two ways). A state must sustain security against external threats, such as other states and other international actors for such as terrorists. It must also maintain security against internal threats to its character, rule, or territorial integrity. The security behavior of states is similarly two-sided. On the one hand, states are defensively oriented. When threatened- presently or potentially- they react. Simultaneously, they often pose aggressive threats to each other, and to people in their own societies. They are threatened and threatening fearful while being armed and dangerous (Morgan, 2007: 14-15).

Morgan also mentions that state security contains four basic elements: physical safety, autonomy, development (national development- economic, social, educational, political improvement) and rule. States work to sustain security against external and internal threats.

Thomas Hobbes, Niccolo Machiavelli and Jean Jacques Rousseau, the writers of national security tended to paint a rather pessimistic picture of the propositions of state sovereignty. They see the international system as a rather brutal arena where state tries to achieve security at the cost of others. Relations between states were perceived as a struggle for power since states always tried to take advantage of each other. According to

the writers of national security permanent peace was not likely to be attained. All that states could do was to try and balance the power of other states to prevent everyone from attaining overall hegemony, which was shared by E.H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau, who developed what became known as the realist school of thought in the aftermath of Second World War. Contemporary writers like Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer also shared these view (Baylis, 2001: 256-257). According to the realists' thinkers the most vital duty of the state is to look after its people from both external and internal threats by the military might and to them, military power is the main means to secure all type of security concerns.

The concept of security has got a new feature that comprises chronic hunger, disease, repression, refugees, poverty, environmental degradation, unemployment, migrations as a major source of security threats (Singh, 2012: 151). Barry Buzan also describes a broader map and proposed five sectors where security could be threatened i.e. Military, Political, Economic, Environmental and Societal security. According to Barry Buzan "Military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and states' perceptions of each other's intentions. Political security involves the organizational strength of states, systems of government, and the ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic security concerns access to the resources, finance, and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Societal security concerns the ability of societies to reproduce their traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom within acceptable conditions for evolution. Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend. These five sectors do not operate in isolation from each other. Each defines a focal point within the security problematique, and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web of linkages" (Buzan, 1991: 433). Moreover, Mahanta also says that security discourse has shifted from state security to human security, which talks about the human issues that secure people's life (Mahanta, 2009: 60).

One of the most important critics of the traditional concept of security Barry Buzan argues that state as the security provider sometimes becomes the source of fear and insecurity for its citizen (Buzan, 1991). Mohammad Ayoob, the leading proponent of Third World school of security argues that third world countries are the source of threat and insecurity of their citizen (Ayoob, 1995: 6).

2.2.2 Human Security: The concept of human security emerged in the mid-1990s. The concept of human security focuses individual as the referent object of security (Kerr, 2007) which does not focus exclusively on state security. Fen Osler Hampson in his work *Human Security* argues that human security focuses on the deprivation of basic human rights that stands to the broader concept of human security, which includes economic, environmental, social and other types of harm to the overall livelihood and well being of individuals. Negatively, the term human security can be defined as the absence of threats to various core human values including the physical safety of the individual (Hampson, 2008: 231). According to Alkire (2002: 2) “the objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, and to do so without impeding long-term human flourishing.” Human security focuses on all subjects that threaten human life and development (Chakma, 2011).

Traditionally security which is concerned with the security of the State and human security are complimentary with each other. Human security is concerned with the security of the individual and the community which are the core aspects of the state. These threats to the security of the people have not always been classified as threats to state security. Human security goes beyond the security of the state. Thus, achieving human security is not only the security of the people but it also includes empowering them to defend oneself from an attack or attacker (Ogata & Sen, 2003: 4). Human security states that security of the state is not an end in itself but it is mainly concern with the security of the individual and making them safe from the multitude of threats. These threats are not limited to the personal, local or national however these are growing global. Any threat to human security wherever in the world, all nations are likely to get affected.

Ogata and Sen argue that human security complements state security in four respects and write:

People-centred. State security focuses on other states with aggressive or adversarial designs. States built powerful security structures to defend themselves (their boundaries, their institutions, their values and their numbers). Human security shifts from focusing on external aggression to protecting people from a range of menaces.

Menaces. State security has meant protecting territorial boundaries with-and from-uniformed troops. Human security also includes protection of citizens from environmental pollution, transnational terrorism, massive population movements, such infectious diseases as HIV/AIDS and long-term conditions of oppression and deprivation.

Actors. The range of actors is also greater. No longer are states the sole actors. Regional and international organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society are involved in managing security issues-as in the fight against HIV/AIDS, the ban against landmines and the massive mobilizations in support of human rights.

Empowerment. Securing people also entails empowering people and societies. In many situations, people can contribute directly to identifying and implementing solutions to the quagmire of insecurity. In post-conflict situations, for example, bringing diverse constituents together to rebuild their communities can solve security problems (Ogata & Sen, 2003: 4-6).

Again, they wrote that human security is not an alternative to and separated from national/state security. Rather, *"Human security and state security are mutually reinforcing and dependent on each other. Without human security, state security cannot be attained and vice versa. Human security requires strong and stable institutions. Even today state is the most competent institution to attain human security"* (Ogata & Sen, 2003: 4-6).

The concepts like human security, human development, and human rights are different at a conceptual level but complementary to each other. The founder of the human development model, Mahbub ul Haq, asserted that 'Human development is the process of enlarging people's choices'. And enhancing human abilities (the range of things people can be and do) and freedoms, facilitating them to: live a long and healthy life, have access to knowledge and a decent standard of living, and participate in the life of their community and decisions affecting their lives (Human Development in South Asia 2001, 2002). Human security denotes the condition where people can exercise their choices safely and freely. According to Amartya Sen Human development, as an approach is concerned with the basic development idea: namely, advancing the richness of the life of

human being, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it (Edewor, 2014: 381). Human development is concerned more with removing the various obstacles that restrain and restrict human lives and prevent it's blossoming. Commission on Human Security also in their report writes that progress in one area improves the chances of progress in the other. Likewise, failure in one area also increases the risk of failure in the other.

As a concept, human rights and human security are also different. While human rights indicate the fundamental legal entitlements of individuals, human security involves personal safety. Rights, in general, describe a situation where all people are free to live whereas security deals with the very survival of those people. So, according to the report "Human security and human rights can, therefore, fruitfully supplement each other. On the one hand, since the human rights can be seen as a general box that has to be filled with specific demands with appropriate motivational substantiation, it is important that human security assists to fill one particular part of this momentous box through reasoned substantiation. On the other, since human security as an important descriptive concept demand ethical force and political recognition, it is useful that this can be appropriately obtained through seeing freedoms related to human security as an important class of human rights." Human security and human rights are complementary to each other (Ogata & Sen, 2003: 8-9).

In simple words, human security speaks about the security of the people, rather than state (Acharya, 2014) that is concerned with the protection of people from various threats in social, economic and political life as well as threats from natural calamities. And security will be achieved through development, not through arms (Soherwordi, 2005).

2.2.3 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): There cannot be peace in the world unless people have security in their everyday lives. In future conflicts may not be between states rather it may be within the state in growing socio-economic deprivation and inequalities. Development will bring the security in such a situation, but not arms (UNDP, 1994).

The term human security originated in UNDP report of 1994 that highlights the significance of addressing chronic threats to human life (Large and Sisk, 2006: 17) and includes two components: freedom from fear and freedom from want, and is not a concern with weapons- it is a concern with human life and dignity (UNDP, 1994). 'Freedom from fear denoting that people should be secure from the threat of violence; and freedom from want denoting the aspiration that people should be free from destitution and entitled to basic means of survival' (Peoples and Williams, 2010).

The UNDP report of 1994 states human security as a concept stresses that people should be able to take care of themselves where they should have the opportunity to meet their most vital requirements and to earn their own living. The concept of security must change in two basic ways:

1. From an exclusive stress on territorial security to a much greater stress on people's security.
2. From security through armaments to security through sustainable human development.

The concept of human security can be said to have two main aspects, which means safety from chronic threats- hunger, disease, and repression. And secondly, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. This kind of threats can exist at all levels of national income and development. In fact, the report identified seven areas which comprise human security: Economic security (freedom from poverty), Food security (access to food), Health security (access to healthcare, safe environment etc.), Environmental security (protection from factors such as degradation and pollution), Personal security (physical safety from systematic use of violence from state, gender violence, drugs and other means), Community security (protection of traditional cultures and physical security of ethnic groups) and Political security (protection of civil liberties and freedom of political expression) (UNDP, 1994).

Table No. 2.1: Components of Human Security

Economic security	Assured basic income: access to employment and resources
Food security	Physical and economic access to food for all people at all times. Hundreds of millions of people in the world remain hungry either through local unavailability of food or, more often, through lack of entitlements or resources to purchase food
Health security	Access to medical treatment and improved health conditions. Poor people, in general, have less health security and in developing countries, the major causes of death are infectious and parasitic diseases
Environmental security	Living in a healthy physical environment which is spared from desertification, deforestation and other environmental threats that endanger people's survival
Personal security	Individual security from physical violence. Threats can take several forms, for example, threats from the State, foreign states, other groups of people (ethnic tension), individuals or gangs; threats directed against women or children based on their vulnerability and dependence; threats to self (e.g. suicide, drug use, etc.)
Community security	Most people derive their security from membership of a social group (family, community, organisation, political grouping, ethnic group, etc.). Tensions often arise between these groups due to competition over limited access to opportunities and resources
Political security	Living in a society that guarantees basic human rights and freedom of expression

Source: Hussein, Gnisci, & Wanjiru, 2004:13.

Canada and European Middle Power's views are a little different from UNDP report and put more emphasis on freedom from fear. Canadian approach primarily looks on the protection of civilians during the time of war and resolution of violent conflict (conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict peacebuilding). Japan enlarged the debate on security by stressing on freedom from fear and freedom from want (Mahanta, 2009: 59-60).

Proponents of the enlarged or maximalist conception of human security also argue that threats to human security arise not only from military sources and non-military causes but such as worsening environmental conditions and economic inequalities are also the sources of human insecurity (Hampson, 2008: 232).

Jorge Nef in his work mentions five dimensions of human security. The First dimension is environmental, personal, and physical security, second is economic security, third is social security, fourth is political security and the last fifth is cultural security (Nef, 1999).

2.2.4 Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Centre: According to Mahbub ul Haq, human security means the security of income, employment, food, health, education and environment. This concept of human security includes insecurity arising from violence within the household, by the community and sometimes, even the state against women, children and the minorities. And this concept asserts people's rights to protection against

the inefficiency and injustice of the institutions of governance (Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia, 2005:1).

According to Kofi Annan, the term Human security connects the major agenda items of peace, security and development. In its broadest sense, it embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict, which encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and healthcare and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her own potential. Each and every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Apart from that Annan said that freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment are the interrelated building blocks of human and therefore national security (Ogata & Sen, 2003:4).

According to the proponents, human security challenges the traditional state-centric view that state should be the referent object of security. The concept of human security is contested by the narrow school and broad school:

Narrow school: Mack, an advocate of narrow school, states that the threat of political violence to citizens, by the state or any other organized political actor, is the main focus of the term human security. Mack and his institution say that human security is the protection of individuals and communities from war and other forms of violence. According to Mack, there are many threats to people despite the systematic violence. And other threats are correlated to violence. For instance, violence correlates with poverty and poor governance. This narrow view of human security has been simplified as freedom from fear.

Broad school: According to the broad school, human security is concerned with more than the threat of violence. It is not only concerned with the freedom from fear but also freedom from want, which is the focus of human development. Besides, some other argues that human security goes beyond freedom from want in underdevelopment and involves other human freedoms and values. For instance, Thankur and his institution argue human security is concerned with the protection of people from critical life-

threatening dangers (Kerr, 2007: 94-95). Commission on Human Security defines human security: “to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment” (Ogata & Sen, 2003: 4). Thus, the broad school includes rights, governance, development, environment and health.

Thus, human security as a concept is a safety for people from violent and non-violent threats. It also signifies that people are free from chronic threats- hunger, disease and repression. Apart from that it also signifies that people are free from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities.

2.3 Human Security in Democracy

In the field of academia, it is widely been accepted that democracy means a government of the people, by the people and for the people where the executive, legislative, judiciary as well as press are the main pillars. In order to strengthen democracy, particularly free and fair election, freedom of thought, expression and press and independence of the judiciary need to be ensured. According to Haque, since democracy means a government of the people, by the people and for the people, the participation of mass is vital and the government needs to ensure safety and security including welfare as well as the happiness of the people. Further, Haque says that:

It is known to all that democracy is based on free debate and open discussion. If democracy means the government of the people, by the people and for the people then it is obvious that every citizen must be entitled to participate in the democratic process. Without mass participation, the democracy loses its true essence. The ends of government, according to the modern view, are to ensure security, welfare and happiness of the people. There can be no democratic regime where people do not enjoy the basic civil rights and liberties, though some instances are there where democracies turn into authoritarianism (Haque, 2014: 117).

Richard Youngs in his work entitled *Security Through Democracy: Between Aspiration and Pretence* argues that democracy plays an important role in enhancing security and democratic politics are best sought in pursuit of security. Many have strongly asserted democracy’s value in areas like- soft security, interstate relations, counter-terrorism, conflict resolution but it is also not free from criticism. *In theory, democracy is*

diplomacy's multi-purpose tool, with a logic for each predicament: democracy is the means of smoothing relations with antagonist governments; it is the route to deradicalising terrorists and insurgents within states; it is the way to cement peace deals in civil conflict; it is the remedy to a host of soft security challenges, including migration, economic security and the need for greater transparency in energy supplies. Furthermore, Youngs says that *Democracy provides the political foundation necessary to sustaining all other dimensions of security. It is the bedrock judged necessary to the success of 'mainstream' security strategies. Without democracy advancing and stabilising beyond Europe, Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions, defence capabilities initiatives, counter-surveillance and external military cooperation are all likely to stumble on the stony ground of political obstacles. EU High Representative Catherine Ashton has described the concern with human rights and democracy as the 'silver thread' running through the whole gamut of EU external strategic policy* (Youngs, 2010:1-2). Many of the threats to human security are those which confront states and the role of the state is by no means reduced. Rather, the state is still observed as the core organ to ensure human security.

The successful implementation of human rights demands that people should be conscious about their rights and of those of others, so as to be able to demand their implementation and protection. Human rights facilitate human beings to exist in peaceful coexistence with respect for the human dignity of each other and with tolerance across the boundaries of traditions, religions, cultures, world views and opinions (Kirchschlaeger, 2014: 112). The state which respects human rights at home is likely to have more peaceful interactions with other states that respect human rights (Sobek, *et al.*: 2006). There is close connection between democracy and human security, well-designed and inclusive political institutions and processes are the means to prevent violent conflict and manage conflict constructively. Respect for human rights and public participation are vital for meeting human development objectives. The Broader meaning of democracy that includes human rights concern, capacity for social and economic development, accountability, the building of consensus in settings of high diversity, improving electoral

processes and promoting public involvement are the measures of human insecurity in the 21st century.

Inaccessibility to power and resources are the basis of insecurity. The term human security stresses on the security from the threats to lives, safety from harm and violent conflict and empowerment against societal threats like disease or crime. Democratic practice is essential for realizing human security. Democracy contributes to peace and put the stage for the socio-economic development in order to lessen the core causes of conflict. A democratic state protects its citizens through institutional safeguards, for example - equality before the law and the advancement of human rights. Democratic practice links the empowerment of citizens through education, healthcare facilities and opportunities for livelihood. Democratic practices like electoral competition, debate, representation and popular participation of citizens play an important role in the peaceful negotiation of social and political conflicts. This practice of democracy, social tolerance, coexistence and cooperation are the ways to meet key development goals like-measurable improvements in literacy, health, the ability to earn a livelihood and environmental sustainability (Large & Sisk, 2006: 3-14).

Robert Dahl in his book *On Democracy* argues that a democratic system of government guarantees a number of fundamental rights and ensures a broader range of personal freedom to its citizens. Democracy facilitates people of the state to protect their own fundamental interests. Only a democracy can offer a maximum opportunity to exercise the freedom of self-determination to live under laws of their own choosing. Democracy fosters human development and the high degree of political equality. Modern representative democratic states do not fight wars with other democratic states. The democratic countries tend to be more prosperous than countries with nondemocratic governments (Dahl, 1998). A democratic government needs to provide maximum opportunities to their citizens to exercise freedoms and ensure that its citizens are free from the threat of violence, poverty, destitution etc.

To make their point, Mukand and Rodrik (2015) in their article *The political economy of liberal democracy* distinguishes between three sets of rights: property rights, political rights, and civil rights. They define these three as follows:

- 1 Property rights protect asset holders and investors against expropriation by the state or other groups.
- 2 Political rights promise free and fair electoral contests and let the winners of such contests decide policy subject to the restrictions established by other rights (when provided).
- 3 Civil rights ensure equality before the law, in the administration of justice and the provision of other public goods such as education and health.

In addition, the authors classify political regimes according to which (combination) of these rights are provided. They argue that in a dictatorship form of government only the property rights of the elite are protected. Classical liberal regimes secure property and civil rights, but not essentially electoral rights. It is the Electoral democratic states, the majority of present-day democracies, protect both property and political rights, but electoral democracies do not protect civil rights. Liberal democratic states protect all three sets of rights i.e. property rights, political rights and civil rights. The authors argue that each one of these three rights has a clear, particular beneficiary. Property rights benefit mainly the rich, propertied elite. Political rights benefit the majority- the organized masses and popular forces. And civil rights benefit those who are usually excluded from the spoils of privilege or power- ethnic, religious, geographic or ideological minorities.

Advocates of democracy argue that political institutions reduce the dangers of state repression by preventing a wide range of actions which governments use against their own people, ranging from curtailments of fundamental freedoms and the imprisonment of dissidents to outright violence and even genocide. The leaders of democratic states are typically constrained from using violence against their own citizens, especially in power-sharing democracies with multiple checks and balances and separation of powers. These keep away from reckless confrontations or the use of excessive force. The Cultural

argument suggests that the predominant norms and values in democratic states emphasize the belief that it is appropriate to use negotiation, bargaining and compromise to settle internal political disputes, rather than force. Democracies are also more prone to be affected by globalization- including the integration of countries into international and regional organizations. This process is thought to bind democracies to accept international norms, encouraging rulers to resolve internal disagreements through the ballot box rather than the bullet (Norris, 2012). On the other hand, it is also observed that in democracy as well people are not free from human insecurity. Therefore, Mansfield and Snyder argue that the process of transition from autocracy to democracy increases the risks of internal conflict and civil war (Mansfield & Snyder, 2007). And Haschke also argues that the violations of the physical integrity rights and human insecurity of the people are also common in democracies during political turmoil, involvement in international and civil wars (Haschke, 2012). To be precise, people of the democratic countries are also not free from human insecurity.

Liberal conceptions of democracy speak clearly about the protection of civil rights, (Norman, 2005) which are directly linked to the question of freedom from fear or free from the threat of violence. Social conceptions of democracy also insist on rights protections as necessary for providing freedom from want. Rights to work, health and education all address significantly the main factors related to poverty, malnutrition, social exclusion and ill-health that threaten individual and collective freedom from want (Srividhya, 2012). Social conceptions of democracy, therefore, address the largest number of issues that comprise human security. Democracies have curbed traditional civil liberties such as freedom of movement, freedom from arbitrary arrest and rights to privacy and correspondence in order to track down terror suspects. The healthy relationship between democracy and human rights is being eroded during the war on terror and that individual freedom from fear is being compromised even among some of the oldest and most economically advanced democracies. Development and democracy both appear to have positive effects on the protection of human rights, since increased levels of economic development provide countries with resources to alleviate the worst forms of suffering and democracy provides a mechanism for the expression of grievances

(Landman, 2006). An effective democracy values its people and protects minorities, which is a fundamental strategy for promoting human security. And this improvement of human security (of its people) strengthens the legitimacy, stability and security of a state. A state which is externally aggressive, internally oppressive or as well weak to rule effectively, threatens the security of the people. Where human security exists as a fact rather than an aspiration, these circumstances can be attributed in large measure to state's efficient governance. In this regard, it may be mentioned the agreed conclusion of the International Panel, chaired by Boutros Boutros- Ghali concerning the existence of a close relationship between democracy and development and the fact that justice is the means for democracy and development. Without justice, there can't be a democracy and sustainable development (Caillé, 2004: 11).

Human Security in India

India has been passing through the critical situations. The state has been suffering from problems like poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, unemployment, health insecurity, insurgency, corruption, killing, kidnapping, rape, torture, harassment, repression, arbitrary arrest and detention, extrajudicial killing etc. People have lost their confidence in the quality, integrity and efficiency of the government where they have been witnessing scams. These situations compelled the citizen of the country to believe that the State could not succeed in giving security and meeting the hopes, aspirations and basic needs of the general people. Hundreds of people lost their lives due to conflict and counterinsurgency operations. The cases of torture, harassment, arbitrary arrest and detention, sexual assault, extrajudicial killings and other serious human rights violations during operations against insurgent groups take place in India particularly in Jammu and Kashmir and Northeast India. Women and children are the most vulnerable sections of the society and they have been facing threats like- sexual abuse and rape, psychological violence through insults, humiliation, coercion, blackmail and economic or emotional threats. Apart from that, people of India are not free from environmental and health threats.

Conclusion

The above discussion makes clear that democratic states are more peaceful in foreign relations. Monadic explanation of democratic peace states that liberal democracies are likely to be non-violence in their relations with both democratic and non-democratic states. In liberal democracies, public opinion and interest groups play an important role in resisting the possibility of engaging in war. Considering the opinion of the electorate democratic leaders are likely to adopt peaceful conflict resolutions to avoid escalation of violence that leads to war. Whereas dyadic version of democratic peace suggests that democratic states are more peaceful only with democracies but they are in general conflict and war-prone like that of non-democracies. The dyadic version of democratic peace also states that the probability of conflict will be less while autocratic-democratic dyad is replaced by democratic-democratic dyad. The data suggest that rivalries among the democratic dyads are also very infrequent and replacement of non-democratic regime to the democratic regime will also reduce the proneness of conflict due to the institutional constraints of liberal democracy, but this predictability is absent in nondemocratic states because of the lack of transparency and openness of their political systems. At the same time, liberal democratic states must keep military force to prevent or protect themselves from aggression in the current international system, because democratic states are more prone to receive challenges and threats to their security.

Systemic democratic peace argues that there will be more peace in the region or international system when there exist more democracies in the region or international system. Institutional explanation of democratic peace states that democratic institutions and processes make elected leaders of the democratic states accountable to their citizens to do for the best interest of the people. Elected leaders of the democratic state oppose the war because war directly affects huge sections of the population and it is predictable that voter will remove the present party from office or there are opposition parties who are ready to take advantage if they follow unpopular policies and initiate losing or avoidable war. Therefore, in order to stay in power democratic leaders have to satisfy more supporters. Whereas normative explanation of democratic peace suggests that democratic states resolve the political conflicts through negotiation but in nondemocratic states,

political conflicts are more likely to be performed and resolved through violence and coercion. The democratic norm permits for an environment of live and let live and it results in a basic sense of stability at the personal, communal and national level whereas nondemocratic norms results in an environment of distrust and fear within and outside the government. The democratic states will follow the nondemocratic norms if their use of democratic norms will endanger their survival while confronting to a nondemocratic state. The explanation of capitalist peace states that country's trade and industry plays an important role in maintaining peace between democratic states.

But others still distrust the being of an important connection between democracy and peace. Many thinkers believe that economic interdependence, self-determination, disarmament and international organizations play an important role in creating peace. Democratic peace proposition is associated to numerous other propositions between domestic politics and international relations, as well as that democratic states are prone to help one another, they fight shorter wars and are more prone to win the wars, increasing military victims reduce public hold for war, democratic leaders initiate conflict to save their domestic support on power etc.

Democratic state plays an important role in enhancing human security through guaranteeing a number of fundamental rights and ensuring a broader range of personal freedom to its citizens. Human security means the security of income, employment, food, health, education and environment and it emphasizes the importance of addressing chronic threats to human life. It is concerned with human life and dignity but not concerned with weapons. Human security includes two components: freedom from fear and freedom from want. Freedom from fear denotes that people should be secure from the threat of violence, and freedom from want denotes the aspiration that people should be free from poverty and destitution and entitled to basic means of survival.

Democracy facilitates people of the state to protect their own fundamental interests and ensures safety and security including welfare as well as the happiness of the people. It plays an important role in enhancing security and democratic politics are best sought in pursuit of security. Many have strongly asserted democracy's value in areas like- soft

security, interstate relations, counter-terrorism and conflict resolution. Democracy provides the political foundation necessary to sustaining all other dimensions of security. The state which respects human rights at home is likely to have more peaceful interactions with other states that respect human rights. There is a close connection between democracy and human security, well-designed and inclusive political institutions and processes are the means to prevent violent conflict and manage conflict constructively. Respect for human rights and public participation are vital for meeting human development objectives. Democratic practice is essential for realizing human security. Democracy contributes to peace and put the stage for the socio-economic development in order to lessen the core causes of conflict. The broader meaning of democracy includes human rights concern, capacity for social and economic development, accountability, the building of consensus in settings of high diversity, improving electoral processes and promoting public involvement are the measures of human insecurity in the 21st century. A democratic state protects its citizens through institutional safeguards, for example - equality before the law and the advancement of human rights. Democratic practice links the empowerment of citizens through education, healthcare facilities and opportunities for livelihood. Democratic practices like electoral competition, debate, representation and popular participation of citizens play an important role in the peaceful negotiation of social and political conflicts. This practice of democracy, social tolerance, coexistence and cooperation are the ways to meet key development goals like- measurable improvements in literacy, health, the ability to earn a livelihood and environmental sustainability. The leaders of democratic states are typically constrained from using violence against their own citizens, especially in power-sharing democracies with multiple checks and balances and separation of powers.

Classical liberal regimes protect property and civil rights, the Electoral democratic states, the majority of present-day democracies, protect both property and political rights, Liberal democratic states protect- property rights, political rights and civil rights. Property rights benefit mainly the rich, propertied elite. Political rights benefit the majority- the organized masses. And civil rights benefit those who are usually excluded

from the spoils of privilege or power- ethnic, religious, geographic or ideological minorities.

Liberal democracy protects the civil rights of the people, which are directly linked to the question of freedom from fear. Social conceptions of democracy insist on rights protections necessary for providing freedom from want and address the largest number of features that comprise human security. Rights to work, health and education all address significantly the main factors related to poverty, malnutrition, social exclusion and ill-health that threaten individual and collective freedom from want. But, the condition (human security) of India is somehow not up to the mark due to various reasons such as, poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, unemployment, health insecurity, insurgency, corruption, killing, kidnapping, rape, torture, harassment, repression/oppression, arbitrary arrest and detention, extrajudicial killing etc.

CHAPTER - 3

DEMOCRACY AND PEACE IN INDIA

Introduction

As stated in the previous chapter, democratic states are peaceful in their relations with other democratic states and also play an important role in ensuring human security. India follows a parliamentary form of government aiming to secure socio-economic and political justice; liberty of thoughts, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and opportunity as well as to promote among all, fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual to all citizens which is a direct link in ensuring human security. India has been witnessing a high rate of economic growth in recent decades and the percentage of people living below the poverty line has been declining slowly, but the situation is still painful where one-fourth of the world's poor populations are residing in India. India has been passing through critical situations where people have lost their faith in the quality, integrity and efficiency of the government due to various scams. These situations in the country compelled the citizen to think that the State mechanism is not capable of providing human security and meeting the hopes, aspirations and basic needs of the people in general. The situation of women and children are more vulnerable where they are not free from violence. Women have been facing many physical aggressions for instance, blows of varying intensity, burns, sexual abuse and rape, psychological violence through insults, humiliation and so on. Besides, millions of people in the country do not have any access to the basic necessities of life. They are not free from physical attacks and harassment, theft and robbery, riots and mob violence. Northeastern part of India is the most volatile region due to fear of being killed, raped and the quality of life is reduced by poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, underdevelopment, ethnic conflict, identity conflict, insurgency, internal displacement, denial of free speech etc. The biggest problem of Northeast India is insurgency, where fake encounters and abuse of human rights are very much common in the name of maintaining national security. There exist very few private enterprises, small and medium businesses in the region which is responsible for the problem of unemployment in the region. As regards the health

condition of the people in the region, people are dying of a disease like Diarrhea, Malaria, Acute Respiratory Infection, Japanese Encephalitis and Viral Hepatitis etc. Natural calamities like flood also aggravated the economic condition of the people of Assam. Dense forests are also shrinking in many parts of Northeast India. Shrinking of forest areas is threatening the flora and fauna of the region, encouraging landslides and floods and damaging irreparably a number of sensitive ecosystems in the region. Apart from these, the region is also witnessing food and gender insecurity. Hence, the objective of the present chapter is to examine the nature and scope of human security in India with special reference to Northeast India. It also tries to understand the status of human security in BTAD, Assam.

3.1 Democracy in India

India became a democratic state after the independence from the colonial rule of the British in 1947. India as a parliamentary form of government guarantees the establishment of a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republican state. Constitution grants the ethical foundation of human rights in its preamble aiming to secure to all citizens socio-economic and political justice; liberty of thoughts, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and opportunity and to promote among all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual (Basu, 2013: 20-21). Where justice and human rights are closely related to each other, they are also inseparable concepts. Human rights uphold human dignity, worth and affirm an honored life to everyone. Human beings have a life to live but living without dignity, life becomes meaningless. Part-III (Article 12-35) of Indian Constitution guarantees fundamental rights to its citizens without any discrimination on any ground, which deals mostly with civil and political rights. Part-IV (Article 36-51) of Indian Constitution guarantees Directive Principles of State Policy which deals with socio-economic and welfare functions. Directive Principles of State Policy functions as a guiding principle for the government to run administration (Kashyap, 1994: 91-154). Part-IVA of Indian Constitution lays down Fundamental duties for the citizens of India. It is being increasingly recognized that the rights and duties are closely connected to each other. In Indian Constitution, Fundamental Rights are complimented by Fundamental Duties. Articles 300A of Indian Constitution states that no

person shall be deprived of his property save by the authority of law. Article 325 of Indian Constitution affirms that no individual shall be disqualified for inclusion in, or claim to be included in a special, electoral roll on the basis of religion, race, caste or sex and article 326 of Indian Constitution states that elections to the house of people and to the legislative assemblies of state will be on the basis of adult suffrage. A democratic state like India is meaningless without ensuring the minimum standard of life, health, food, drinking water etc. to its citizens. Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights protects the right to an adequate standard of living, including adequate food and clothing and the continuous improvement of living conditions. But the fake encounters by the Security Personnel and insurgent activities and violence have brought a great challenge to Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. Hence, protection of human rights is of greater importance which is significantly missing in India (Haque, 2014: 115-124). Thus, democracy is closely linked with human rights, because democracy is not merely majority rule rather it is majority rule attached to human rights (Kaur, 2011:117).

According to K.C Suri, the term democratic governance is recently added in the vocabulary of politics. The term democratic governance signifies *“a condition in which the promise of justice, liberty and equality is realized in a democratic political framework, where the government is sensitive to the people’s identities, aspirations and needs and where people feel secure and contended”*. The process of democratic development in India came into being by the merger of the British India and a huge number of princely states and a vast country inhabited by people, where maximum population were illiterate and poor, speaking numerous different languages and holding different social, cultural and religious identities. Primarily India was an agricultural society with no any manufacture worth the name and resources, for instance- capital, technology and manpower to take off. The conditions of India for the introduction of democracy and its survival, for instance- reasonable levels of economic development, education and social homogeneity, were not simply there. Hence, making India as a durable democracy was truly a gigantic and a daunting task. These challenges were to be encountered all and in order to ensure basic civil and political liberties, to promote

equality among citizens, to bring out economic development and eradicate poverty, to forge a nation and a national government and to navigate through the turbulent times of modernity without losing the anchorage in its civilization (Suri, n.d.: 1-2). Thus, it can be said that the objectives of Indian Constitution (justice, liberty, equality and fraternity), fundamental rights, fundamental duties, directive principles of state policy etc. are meant for ensuring human security.

3.2 India from Human Security Perspective

Apart from Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, Fundamental Duties and Constitutional Provisions (Constitutional Framework), India has come up with certain Statutory Provisions (Legal Framework) to look into the enforcement of human rights which are also meant for ensuring human security to the people. Such as, Protection of Human Rights Act, (1993) is an act to give the Constitution of National and State Human Rights Commissions for the better security of Human Rights and for matter connected therewith or incidental thereto. National Commission for Minorities Act, (1992) was also set up to monitor the working of the state for the safeguards of minorities provided in the constitution and in laws enacted by the parliament and the state legislative assemblies. It also looks into specific complaints regarding deprivation of their rights.

National Commission for Women was established in 1992 as per the National Commission for Women Act, (1990) to investigate and examine all matters relating to the safeguards provided for women under the constitution of India and other laws. Similarly, National Commission for Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, (1989) was passed and National Commission for Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes was set up to oversee the implementation of various safeguards provided for the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes under the Constitution. Apart from that, there are other Statutory Provisions (Legal Framework). For instance, Mental Health Act, (1987), Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, (1987), Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, (1986), Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, (1986), Bonded Labour (System) Abolition Act, (1976), Maternity Benefit Act, (1961), Dowry Prohibition Act, (1961), Children Act, (1960) Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, (1956),

Protection of Civil Rights Act, (1955), Caste Disabilities Removal Act, (1950), Child Marriage Restraint Act, (1929) and so on.

Though India has provided the basic rights to its citizens and ensured its protection through certain constitutional as well as Statutory Provisions but the people are not free from the violation of human rights which can most suitably be linked with increasing rate of fatalities due to violence as well as conflict. In this situation, the increasing number of underground militants in the state is also responsible. Further, with an aim to suppress the militant groups the successive governments have come up with certain draconian laws but those laws could not find any solutions to the problem. Rather, it violates human rights of the people and threatens the life and dignity of the people in the country which is the basic concern of human security.

Citizens of democratic states expect a better distribution of nation's wealth as a minimum in terms of fulfilling the basic needs like- food, clothes, shelter and other important facilities such as- education, better health and dignity of the individual which are also the basic concern of human security. Although India has been experiencing high rates of economic growth in recent decades but there are areas where India is still struggling. A good number of people of the country do not have the basic necessities of life till today. In addition to war and terrorist attacks which threatens the very existence of security and humanity, physical attacks and harassment, sexual harassment, acid attacks, domestic violence, honour killing, riots and violent mobs also cause extra worry to people of India in general and women in particular (Suri, n.d.: 5-11).

India has been passing through critical situations, where people have lost their faith in the quality, integrity and efficiency of the government due to scams. For instance, in the late 2010, the state witnessed a number of scams concerning to the Commonwealth Games, the LIC Housing Loans, the Adarsh Society, the Lavasa Hill Station project, the Neera Radia Tapes and the subsidized food grains for BPL families being diverted for sale in open markets elsewhere. These circumstances compelled the citizen of the state to believe that the State could not succeed in providing security and meeting the hopes, aspirations and basic needs of the general people (Kashyap, 2011: 3-22).

3.2.1 Civil Rights

Although Indian Constitution promised to secure justice, liberty and equality of status and opportunity and to promote among all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual but the restrictions on freedom of speech and attacks on minorities are raising concern in India. In 2016, students were accused of sedition for expressing their anti-Indian views. In dealing with violent protests (due to the killing of Burhan Wani and two other Hizb-ul-Mujahedin militants) in Jammu and Kashmir more than 90 people were killed and injured hundreds in July 2016, fueling more dissatisfaction against government forces. Police and security forces were alleged for extrajudicial killings, torture and sexual assault and other abuses in Chattisgarh. Security forces were accused of serious human rights violations including sexual assault in operations against Maoist insurgents, where a good number of tribal villagers were arbitrarily arrested as Maoist supporters. Five tribal villagers and a 2-year-old child in Odisha were killed by security forces in July in claimed crossfire during anti-Maoist operations (Human Rights Watch, 2017: 313-315).

Human rights abuse under AFSPA is common in India especially Jammu & Kashmir and Northeast India. Jammu & Kashmir ranks first in human rights abuse (with 92 complaints against the Indian Army and paramilitary forces in 2016) (Jammu & Kashmir tops list on rights abuses under AFSPA, Assam second, 2017). In India, especially Assam, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Telengana, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra and Odisha have witnessed fatalities due to left-wing extremism since a long time. **Table No 3.1** explains the fatalities due to left-wing extremism in India from 2010 to 2017.¹

¹ The information regarding Fatalities in Left-wing Extremism from 2010 to 2017 in India has been taken from South Asian Terrorism Portal. The information is available at http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/maoist/data_sheets/fatalitiesnaxal05-11.htm

Table No 3.1: Fatalities in Left-wing Extremism from 2010 to 2017 in India

Years	Civilians	Security Force Personnel	LWE/ CPI-Maoists	Total
2010	626	277	277	1180
2011	275	128	199	602
2012	146	104	117	367
2013	159	111	151	421
2014	128	87	99	314
2015	93	57	101	251
2016	123	66	244	433
2017	66	68	88	222
Total	1616	898	1276	3790

Source: South Asian Terrorism Portal (Data till August 13, 2017)

N. B. LWE/ CPI-Maoists = Left-wing Extremism/Communist Party of India (Maoists)

From the above table it can be observed that there is a sharp decline in fatalities related to left-wing extremism and allied activities in the country over the eight year period. In particular, civilian deaths have seen 90% decreases being 625 civilian deaths in 2010 to a significantly low of 66 civilian deaths in 2017. Similarly, the casualties of security personnel also saw a considerable slump of 75% from being 277 fatalities in 2010 to a mere 68 deaths in the year 2017, therefore, bringing down the overall fatality figure by 81%. This significant reduction in left-wing extremism related fatalities can be attributed to various factors such as higher participation in the electoral processes, civilian initiatives like ‘Salwa Judum’ and military operations such as operation ‘Green Hunt’ (South Asian Terrorism Portal, 2018).

3.2.2 Women Security

While studying about the security of women study shows that women have been enjoying different status at different time periods in India. Women enjoyed equal status with men in all fields of life in ancient India but it didn’t last long and women finally settled down to an indoor life. Later on, from 500 B.C, the status of women started to decline with the Smritis, increase of Brahminism and because of contradictory socio-religious thoughts (Halli & Mullal, 2016: 298) and with the Islamic invasion of Babur and the Mughal Empire and later Christianity curtailing women’s freedom and rights. The position of Indian women through medieval period worsened due to Sati system among some communities, child marriages and bans on the practices of widow remarriage prevalent among some communities. The Devadasi or the temple women were sexually exploited

in numerous parts of the state. The practiced of Polygamy was particularly among Hindu Kshatriya rulers (Baran, 2013: 6). In fact, women of India lost their entity and they were forcefully sublimated male superiority, physically and intellectually.

Manifestations of violence against women include physical aggression. For instance, acid attack, burning, attempted hanging, sexual abuse and rape, psychological violence through insult, humiliation, coercion, blackmail, economic or emotional threats and control over freedom of speech and actions. Gender violence is considered as normal and enjoys social sanction in India. In fact, Gender violence is widespread in almost all the developing countries of the world. Women have always been the subject of concern in India where the folks and society at large consider them as second-class citizens. Even if they are admired and preached in the name of Durga, Saraswati, Parvati and Kali, but they are not free from abuse in the form of Child-marriage, Female infanticide, Sati (previously), Sexual harassment, Dowry, Sex-Selective Abortions, Domestic Violence, Trafficking, Eve- Teasing, Rape, Acid attacks and so on (Kalaiyarasi, 2015: 50-55).

According to the studies, women in India which constitute almost half of the populations, have always been ill-treated and deprived of their right to life and personal liberty provided by the constitution of India. Though women are always considered as a physically and emotionally weaker than the males, at present women have proved themselves in almost every field of life-affirming that they are no less than men. Yet, behind closed doors of homes all across the country, women are being tortured, beaten and killed. It is happening everywhere whether it may be in rural areas, towns, cities and in metropolitans. It is crossing all social classes, genders, racial lines, age groups and it has become a legacy being passed on from one generation to another. But offenses against women which reflects the pathetic reality that women are just not safe and secure anywhere (Singh & Negi, n.d.: 160). According to India's National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), a crime has been recorded against women in every three minutes in India. Every 60 minutes, two women are raped in this country. Every six hours, a young married woman is found beaten to death, burnt or driven to suicide (Harbishettar & Math, 2014: 157).

The World Health Organization (WHO), in its research on Violence against women, categorized it as taking place during five stages of the life cycle. In pre-birth they face sex-selective abortion; battering during pregnancy; coerced pregnancy. In infancy period they face female infanticide; emotional and physical abuse; differential access to food and medical care. During girlhood period they face child marriage; genital mutilation; sexual abuse by family members and strangers; differential access to food, medical care and education. In the adolescence they face violence during courtship; economically coerced sex (for example, school fee); sexual abuse in the workplace; rape; sexual harassment; arranged marriage; trafficking. In reproductive age women are also not free from physical, psychological and sexual abuse by intimate male partners and relatives; forced pregnancies by a partner; sexual abuse in the workplace; sexual harassment; rape; abuse of widows, including property grabbing and sexual cleansing practices. Women also face accusations of witchcraft (Kalaiyarasi, 2015: 53-55).

Women face crimes in India such as murder, cheating, robbery etc. Only the crimes which are directed particularly against women are characterized as 'crimes against women'. Crimes against women are broadly classified under two categories: (A) The Crimes under the: Rape (Sec. 376 IPC), Attempt to Commit Rape, Kidnapping & Abduction for specified purposes (Sec.363, 364, 364A, 366 IPC), Homicides for Dowry, Dowry Deaths or their attempts (Sec. 304-B IPC), Cruelty by Husband or his Relatives (Sec. 498-A IPC), Assault on Woman with intent to outrage her modesty (Sec. 354 IPC), Insult to the modesty of Women (Sec. 509 IPC), Importation of girls from Foreign Country (up to 21 years of age) (Sec. 366-B IPC), Abetment of Suicide of Women (Sec. 306- IPC). (B) The crimes under the Special and Local Laws (SLL): The gender-specific laws for which crime statistics are recorded throughout the country are: Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956, Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987 (MHA, 2016-17: 74-76).

The incidence of crime against women in India increased by 43.2% from 2011 to 2014 but decreased by 3.1% from 2014 to 2015. The IPC component of crimes against women has accounted for 96.1% of the total crimes and the rest 3.9% were the SLL crimes

against women. The proportion of IPC crimes committed against women towards total IPC crimes has increased during last 5 years from 9.4% (2011) to 10.7% (2015). Thus, the crime rate committed against women in India was 53.9 in 2015 per one lakh female population (MHA, 2016-17: 74-76).

Indian Government has taken some important administrative measures in order to combat the crime against women. Some of these measures are detailed below (MHA 2016-17: 74-76):

- ❖ Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 2013 came into force (02-04-2013), which has amended different sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Indian Penal Code and the Indian Evidence Act. The amendment has improved penalty for crimes like sexual harassment, rape, stalking, acid attacks, voyeurism, indecent gestures like words and unsuitable touch and so on. This new laws contain provisions for increased punishment for rape convicts, including life term and death sentence, besides providing for stringent sentence for offenses, for instance, stalking, acid attacks and voyeurism.
- ❖ On 04.01.2013 (New Delhi), the Ministry of Home Affairs organizes a Meeting of Directors General of Police and Chief Secretaries on crimes against Women and atrocities against SCs/STs where the representatives deliberated on the diverse measures for the prevention of crime, safety of women and changes in law, organization, investigation procedures and speedy trials in order to advance security and safety of children and women.
- ❖ On 22-04-2013, the Ministry of Home Affairs issued an advisory requesting the States/Union Territories (UTs) to increase the representation of women in Police to 33 percent.
- ❖ Another advisory (10-05-2013) came from the Ministry of Home Affairs concerning registration of First Information Report (FIR) irrespective of territorial jurisdiction and Zero FIR.
- ❖ The majority of the States/UTs have set up 'All Women Police Stations' at the district level and 'Mahila/Children help desk' at the police station level.

- ❖ The Ministry of Home Affairs issued an advisory (22-12-2015) to all State Governments and UT Administrations concerning the elimination of Devadasi System.

Under the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPR&D) has been increasing the efforts of the States/UTs through organizing different programmes and workshops to sensitize police officers at various levels in the States towards prevention of crimes against all vulnerable sections of the society, including women and children (MHA 2016-17: 76-79). For instance-

Nirbhaya Fund: In order to protect the dignity and ensure the safety of women in India, Government has set up a corpus fund called 'Nirbhaya Fund' in the year 2013. The Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Women and Child Development with other concerned Ministries have worked out the details of the structure, scope and the application of this Fund. The Government of India introduced Central Victim Compensation Fund (CVCF) scheme under Nirbhaya Fund in the month of October 2015. The Scheme was notified to all States/UTs on October 14, 2015 and revised guidelines were issued on July 13, 2016. Under the scheme one time grant of rupees 200 crore has been released in 2016-17 to all States/UTs for compensating victims as per CVCF Guidelines.

3.2.3 Children Security

In India, children are also victims of crime, where 94,172 cases of crime against children were registered in 2015 compared to 89,423 cases registered in 2014, which enlightens an increase of 5.3%. Among IPC crimes, the number of cases under kidnapping and abduction increased from 37,854 (2014) to 41,893 (2015) registering an increase of 10.7% over 2014. Among the IPC crimes, the number of cases under procurement of minor girls increased to 3,087 in 2015 from 2,020 cases in 2014, registering an increase of 52.8% during 2015 over 2014. The cases of selling of minor children for the purpose of prostitution have increased in India by 35.4% during the year from 82 (2014) to 111 (2015). Maharashtra, with the highest number of 13,921 cases, reported 14.8% incidence

of crime against children in the country during the year 2015. So, the rate of crime against children was observed as 21.1 during 2015 per one lakh children population (Below 18 years) (MHA 2016-17: 76-79). In order to Combat Crime against Children in India certain steps have been taken by the Government of India such as -

Missing Children: The Ministry of Home Affairs has issued an important detailed advisory on January 31, 2012, in relation to the missing children and the measures needed to prevent trafficking and trace the children. States/UTs have been advised to prevent children from becoming victims of any heinous or organized crimes such as rape, sexual abuse, child pornography, organ trade etc. States/UTs were also advised on various measures needed to prevent trafficking and to trace the missing children. These include computerization of records, DNA profiling, the involvement of NGOs and other organizations, community awareness programmes etc. to facilitate the tracing of missing children.

Anti Trafficking Cell: To deal with matters relating to trafficking in human beings, the Ministry of Home Affairs has set up a Nodal Cell. 'Police' is a State subject and as such registration, investigation and prevention of crime of human trafficking is primarily the responsibility of State Governments concerned. However, the Government of India has taken various steps in order to combat the menace of human trafficking and has adopted a multipronged approach to combat human trafficking. In order to strengthen the process of addressing the issues relating to Human Trafficking MHA has been issuing numerous advisories to States/UTs from time to time.

In relation to Human Trafficking, a Taskforce on Human Trafficking between India and Bangladesh has been constituted. Five meetings of the Taskforce have been held up to now. A Memorandum of Understanding on Bilateral Cooperation for Prevention of Human Trafficking, especially Trafficking in Women and Children, Rescue, Recovery, Repatriation and Reintegration of Victims of Trafficking was signed between India and Bangladesh on June 6, 2015.

Operation Smile-II and Operation Muskaan-II: In order to rescue missing children ‘Operation Smile-II’ and ‘Operation Muskaan-II’ campaigns were launched in the months of January 2015 and July 2016, respectively after the success of the launch of ‘Operation Smile’ and ‘Operation Muskaan’ conducted in January 2015 and July 2015 respectively.

3.2.4 Environmental Security

India has witnessed a number of environmental movements since 1700. For instance, Bishnoi Movement (1700s), Chipko Movement (1973), Save Silent Valley Movement (1978), Jungle Bachao Andholan (1982), Appiko Movement (1983), Narmada Bachao Andholan (NBA) [1985] and Tehri Dam Conflict (1990s). At the same time in dealing with environmental problems and improving environmental quality, India has done a tremendous work. Environmental issues are one of the main sources of disease, health issues and long-term livelihood impact for India (Danthuluri, 2015). The environmental problems in India have turned into more serious in the day to day life with a serious lack of education and more than one billion people, a vast amount of which are in terrible poverty, it's scarcely shocking. The fast-growing population and economic development are leading to a great number of environmental problems in India. Major Environmental problems in India are Forest and Agricultural land degradation. Population growth and economic development are more contributing to a lot of serious environmental tragedies in India like- heavy pressure on land degradation, forests, habitat destruction and loss of biodiversity. Changing consumption pattern has also led to increasing demand for energy. The ultimate results of this are global warming, air pollution, water scarcity, climate change and water pollution (Yadav, 2013: 949-950). India ranked 141 positions in Environmental Performance Index of 2016. India is placed lower neighbouring China, which has garnered the 109th position (Environmental Performance Index, 2016).

3.2.5 Unemployment

Fifth Annual Employment – Unemployment Survey of 2015-16 revealed that only about 24% households benefitted from employment generating schemes like Mahatma Gandhi

National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), Prime Minister Employment Generation Programme (PMEGP), Swaranajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojna (SGSY) and Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojna (SJSRY) etc. In case of number of employed persons in the families only 48.4% of families had only one employed person, 30.6% of families had only two employed persons, 10% of families had three employed persons, 5.2% of households had four and above employed persons and 5.1% of the families did not have employed person/earner. In all India level unemployment rate was estimated to be 5.0% of the persons aged 15 years and above who were available for work could not get work during the reference period. The unemployment rate is high in rural sector (5.1%) than urban sector (4.9%). The unemployment rate of different categories is clearly displayed based on Usual Principal Status (UPS) (Employment-Unemployment Survey 2015-16 Volume I, 2016: ii-v).

India is witnessing a large number of migrations of people because of the lack of employment opportunities. The migration of people is generally caused by the economic cause, although there are many other causes of migration. The migration of people in India is continuing in different forms such as within district, within the state and within the country:

Table No. 3.2: Reasons of Migration in India

Reasons for migration↓	Number of Migrants in Million			Percentage to total Migrants		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Work/ Employment	25.8	3.6	29.4	28.5	1.7	9.5
Business	2.3	0.4	2.7	2.6	0.2	0.9
Education	2.3	0.9	3.3	2.6	0.4	1.1
Marriage	2.1	153.3	155.5	2.4	70.1	50.3
Moved after Birth	9.2	6.5	15.7	10.2	3.0	5.1
Moved with Household	17.0	23.9	40.9	18.9	10.9	13.2
Other	31.6	29.9	61.6	34.8	13.7	19.9
Total Migrants	90.6	218.7	309.3	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Census 2001 (Government of India), cited in Bhagat (2011).

Households, students, workers and so forth are some of the highest number of migrants with varying causes for migration. For example, students migrate as a result of lack of or in search of better institutions for higher studies. The reasons of population migration in India may differ, based on the migrants' last residence. But among these causes, marriage has often been one of the most dominant factors for female migration, followed by

households and many others. Here, **(Table No. 3.2)** shows that a good number of people have been migrating due to economic cause or employment opportunities. According to Sharma (2010) economic, social, environmental and political factors are some of the push factors of population movements in India. Besides, serious abuse of human rights also causes people to leave their homes and families, in search for safety, security and a sustainable livelihood.

3.2.6 Health Security

India has been witnessing a good number of health issues, where India is 3rd among 15 countries of the world having the highest cases of malaria and deaths due to the disease. World Health Organization (WHO) estimates India is among countries which lag (32%) in decreasing malaria incidences (from 2000 to 2015) in comparison to the rest of the world. India is still witnessing severe public health problem despite significant progress in the health sector. In the year of 2015, there were an approximate 214 million new cases of malaria worldwide and approximately 4.38 lakh passed away of the disease (India 3rd in no. of malaria deaths: WHO, 2015). State governments have taken numerous steps to control deadly malaria but could not resolve the issue. Odisha has topped the list of malaria deaths in the country in 2016 with 77 deaths followed by West Bengal and Meghalaya, which have recorded 59 and 44 deaths respectively (Odisha tops number of malaria deaths in India (2017)).

The threats to health security in India in recent years have also enlarged from the spread of infectious disease HIV/AIDS. According to the Annual report of National Aids Control Organization (NACO) 2016-17, India HIV Estimation 2015 report, National adult (15 to 49 years of age) HIV prevalence in India is estimated at 0.26% (0.22% - 0.32%) in 2015. In 2015, adult HIV prevalence is estimated at 0.30% among males and at 0.22% among Females. Among the States/Union Territories of India in the year of 2015, Manipur has shown the highest estimated adult HIV prevalence of 1.15%, followed by Mizoram (0.80%), Nagaland (0.78%), Andhra Pradesh and Telangana (0.66%), Karnataka (0.45%), Gujarat (0.42%) and Goa (0.40%). Apart from these States, Maharashtra, Chandigarh, Tripura and Tamil Nadu have shown estimated adult HIV

prevalence beyond the national prevalence (0.26%), while Odisha, Bihar, Sikkim, Delhi, Rajasthan and West Bengal have shown an estimated adult HIV prevalence in the range of 0.21 - 0.25%. All other States/UTs have levels of adult HIV prevalence below 0.20%. Furthermore, the report reveals that the adult HIV prevalence at national level has continued its steady decline from an estimated peak of 0.38% in 2001-2003 through 0.34% in 2007 and 0.28% in 2012 to 0.26% in 2015. Similar consistent declines are noted both in males and females at the national level (NACO, 2016-17: 340).

In the area of health security the Government of India has launched the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) where they have made considerable progress in the health-care infrastructure of the country. Main improvements took place in the key health indicators, for instance, institutional deliveries, outpatient cases, full immunisation, availability of diagnostic and family welfare services and disease control programmes (Saikia & Das, 2014: 77-99). Besides, certain State Governments such as Assam has come out with Atal Amrit Abhiyan with an aim to address vulnerability faced by BPL population and low income households in the state (Government of Assam Health and Family Welfare National Rural Health Mission)².

3.2.7 Food Security

The Central government (in 2016) have taken significant steps to ensure greater access to financial services for instance- banking, insurance and pensions for economically marginalized Indians and launched a campaign to make modern sanitation available to more households. (Human Rights Watch, 2017: 313). Besides these, India has taken some of the important Poverty Alleviation Programmes for the unemployed or under employed in order to improve purchasing power to improve food security of the poor people of India. Since 1960s India has implemented number of employment schemes such as, Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) and National Food for Work Programme as a welfare measure to provide employment

² The information regarding Atal Amrit Abhiyan is available at <https://nhm.assam.gov.in/schemes/atal-amrit-abhiyan-0>

and improve food security of the poor families. Again in 2005, India enacted world's biggest employment programme i.e. NREGA, aiming to attain double objectives of rural development and employment (Ramachandran, 2015: 3). Food is the most basic of human needs and is fundamental to the debate of human rights, social development (Giribabu, 2013: 001) and human security. Provision of food security is important for maintaining peace and social harmony in a country (Acharya, 1998). Food security refers to the ensuring of food for all, particularly below the poverty line to adequate food necessary to lead a normal life. It is an essential step to eliminate absolute mass poverty and set a foundation for growth and development of a society. The goal of food security is extremely difficult to achieve in India where poverty is huge and the population is still increasing. Although India has taken number of steps to ensure food security Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), in its report the State of Food Security in the World 2000, estimated that more than 800 million people are suffering from hunger worldwide, where in India alone, there are 400 million poor and hungry people (Patgiri, 2013: 210-211). India ranks 75th out of 113, in the 2016 Global Food Security Index, released by the Economist Intelligence Unit. Despite its high rates of economic growth in recent years, India ranked 97th of 118 in Global Hunger Index (India Ranked 97th of 118 in Global Hunger Index, 2016).

3.3 Northeast India: An Analysis from Human Security Perspective

North East, the most volatile region of India (Deb, 2015) is culturally and ethnically diverse with more than 200 ethnic groups having distinct languages, dialects and socio-cultural identities. Northeast India comprises eight States viz. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. This region is geographically and demographically a small portion of India covers 8% of the country's geographical area and about 4% of the national population. Almost all of its borders of about 5,484 Kilometers is international border along Bangladesh (1880 kms), Myanmar (1,643 Kms), China (1,346 Kms), Bhutan (516 Kms) and Nepal (99 Kms) (MHA 2016-17: 13-14). This region is geographically and culturally remote from mainland India. Some of these ethnically and culturally distinct peoples are classified as tribes (Lacina, 2013:147).

The human insecurity situation reflected in the work of Sanjib Baruah *India against Itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality*. In his work he talks about the ongoing problems of insurgency and sub-nationalism in Assam of northeast India. Political and economic history of Assam was explored in this work by Baruah since it became a part of British India. Assam has also witnessed the tension between pan-Indianism and Assamese sub-nationalism since the early days of Indian nationalism. However, the contemporary situation of Assam is much disturbing. Due to the existence of kidnappings, murders, extortions and ethnic violence in everyday life in the regional security of the people has been threatened. It is argued that such incidents of the insurgency, human rights abuses by government security forces and insurgents, ethnic violence and a steady slide toward illiberal democracy are largely due to the strong centralizing tendency of Indian federation. As regards to Bodoland movement, the author identifies three major hurdles in creating a separate Bodoland like- Small population, the absence of geographical contiguity and the opposition of Assamese sub-nationalism to further division of the state. Hence, in order to manage and solve Assam's sub-national conflicts, a more decentralized federal structure is necessary (Baruah, 2011).

The presence of security forces and enforcement of draconian act like Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) and National Security Act (NSA) in the Northeastern region created the feeling of insecurity among the masses and numbers of innocent people were being killed in name of national security as well as counterinsurgency operations. As a result, violation of human rights, the extrajudicial killing has become a common experience in the region. Besides that, the growing influx of refugees and illegal immigration from neighboring countries like Myanmar and Bangladesh in northeastern region has created serious demographic changes and fear-psychosis in the mind of people and in turn it gave birth to the issue of identity crisis and ethnic conflicts. For instance, anti-foreigners movement in Assam in the 1970s and birth of the present armed conflicts in Tripura has lies in the demographic destabilization. Supreme Court stated that the right to life which includes right to live with dignity guaranteed by the article 21 of Indian Constitution is literally absent in India's northeast (Singh, 2012).

India's assurance to democracy has only created contradictory conditions. The deployment of security forces in the region particularly in Manipur also prevented the people of the region from enjoying fruits of peace and democracy (Ningthouja, 2012). Armed Forces (Special Power) Act, 1958 (AFSPA), imposed in northeast India is dangerous for a well-established society (Pandey, 2012). N. Joykumar Singh also in his article *Changing Scenario of Insurgency in Manipur* states that the denial of basic democratic rights of the people by the central government is the main reason of the emergence of insurgency in Manipur (Singh, 2008).

3.3.1 Factors that affect 'Freedom from Fear' in Northeast India

Freedom from fear denotes people are free from the threat of violence such as insurgency, atrocities of insurgents and security forces, women insecurity and environmental insecurity.

3.3.1.1 Insurgency in Northeast India: People of the Northeastern region feel unsafe in their localities due to the fear of police or insurgent actions (Suri, n.d.: 10). This region presents a complex cultural and ethnic variety with more than 200 ethnic groups with distinct languages, dialects and socio-cultural identities (Deb, 2015) and is witnessing unending separatist struggle since the late 1940s (Bhaumik, 2007: 1). There are several parties involved in the struggles with diverse ethnic groups and states, some of them wish for sovereignty from India while others call for a reorganization of the states (Deb, 2015). Gurudas Das in his work *Security and Development in Northeast India* argues that there is an inter-link between insecurity, economic underdevelopment and insurgency in northeast India. Economic underdevelopment generates unemployment, unemployment creates insurgency and insurgency, in turn, creates insecurity leading to further economic underdevelopment (Das, 2012). Insurgents employ extortion, trafficking in narcotics and human beings, contraband etc. to acquire wealth (Nag, 2008).

The Northeast India has been witnessing a sequence of insurgencies almost since independence (Cline, 2006: 126). Large parts of these northeastern states were initially part of the Ahom kingdom, but due to political reasons, Assam was carved up into the

newer states (Cline, 2006: 127). At the time of independence (1947), Northeast India was a combination of only two parts: the state of Assam and North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA). In 1949, Tripura was incorporated into India as a centrally administered area and Manipur as a union territory (Lacina, 2013:147). More recently, the previously independent country, Sikkim was also incorporated with India in 1975, which has not experienced the unrest. This geographically and culturally small portion, the eight states represent almost a separate collection of nations from 'mainland' India. Prior to the independence of India in 1947, the region was ruled by the British as separate colonial territories. Some of the states enjoyed a fair degree of autonomy, being of only peripheral interest to the British. As India got its independence, new government incorporated the region as part of its national territory. Though it did not bring instant armed resistance, some of the local people expressed considerable political opposition to it. The reason for the emergence of the opposition movement in the region is that they do not accept their inhabitants as Indian. They are much more likely to recognize themselves first as members of their ethnic community rather than Indians if they accept 'Indianness' at all (Cline, 2006: 127).

Inter-communal hatreds, brutalities against civilians and the menacing role of coercion in local politics are some of the ugliest features of violence in northeast India (Lacina, 2013:145). Besides these, inter-tribal flare-ups (clashes between Kukis and Nagas, Meiteis and Pangans, Kukis and Zomis, Khasis and Garos, Bodos and Santhals etc.) and a number of movements for self-determination is also very much common in northeast India. For instance, National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) (I/M), NSCN (K), Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA), United National Liberation Front (UNLF), Peoples' Liberation Army Kangleipak (PREPAK), Kanglei Yaol Kanba Lup (KYKL), Kuki National Army (KNA), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), National Democratic Front of Boroland (NDFB), National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT), All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF), Hmar Peoples' Conventions (HPC), Achik National Volunteers' Council (ANVC) etc. are active in the region demanding separate political and cultural identity (Reddy & Reddy, 2007: 60).

Internal security of northeast India is being threatened by insurgencies, terrorism and left-wing extremism. Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh pinpointed these three as the internal security threats at the Chief Ministers' Conclaves on Internal Security in 2009 and 2010. Singh also stated that while the left wing extremism was mainly indigenous, insurgencies in the northeast were promoted by a combination of underdevelopment and external support whereas terrorism was mostly externally supported and funded (Goswami, 2010). These insurgent groups of the northeast India have had training and support links with the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), East Pakistan (present Bangladesh), China and Myanmar (Burma) (Cline, 2006: 133-142). In Northeast India, there are about 18000 insurgents and weapons holding cadres about 8500. They are of the view that problem of insurgency in the region will be resolved if greater political will and commitment are shown (Reddy & Reddy, 2007: 59).

The most lucrative business in the Northeast India is an insurgency. The majority of insurgent groups exist simply to make money through extortions and kidnappings. Their ideology has taken a backseat here. Their criminal activities have become extremely money-spinning (Cline, 2006: 128). Insurgency generally aims at creating group consciousness among the people of the region in order to convince them the reason of their militancy and obtain their support. Besides, it also ventures to project itself that it is imbued with an idea that is common goodness of the people. They stand to oppose the established rule and norms of the state. Insurgent groups apply all the necessary efforts and strategies to internationalize their points of view (Anand, 1996: 45-56).

As far as the report of Ministry of Home Affairs of India (MHA) the security situation in the North Eastern States has remained complex for quite some time because of diverse demands of ethnic groups and various militant outfits, but recently in the year 2016, it has improved to a great extent. The insurgency-related incidents in the region also decreased by more than 15% compared to 2015 (2015- 574, 2016- 484). The year 2016 witnessed the lowest number of insurgency incidents since 1997. Similarly, security forces casualties in the region declined from 46 (2015) to 17 (2016). Civilian casualties declined in all States of Northeast except Assam. Civilian casualties increased from 9 (2015- 9) to 29 (2016- 29) in Assam, thus leading to an overall marginal increase (2015- 46, 2016-

48) in the northeastern region. The number of kidnapping/abduction incidents also declined in the region in 2016 (2015- 267, 2016-168). Counter Insurgency Operation led to the killing of 87 militants, arrest of 1202 and recovery of 605 weapons in 2016 in the region. The profile of violence in North Eastern Region as a whole during the last five years (2012-2016) is given below (MHA 2016-17: 14-15):

Table No. 3.3: Security Situation in the Northeastern Region, 2012 – 2016

Years	Incidents	Extremist Arrested	Extremist Killed	Arms Recovered/ Surrendered	SFs Killed	Civilians Killed	Extremist Surrendered	Persons Kidnapped
2012	1025	2145	222	1856	14	97	1161	329
2013	732	1712	138	1596	18	107	640	307
2014	824	1934	181	1255	20	212	965	369
2015	574	1900	149	897	46	46	143	267
2016	484	1202	87	698	17	48	267	168

Source: MHA, 2016-17: 15.

N.B. SFs= Security Forces

No insurgent-related violence took place in the year of 2016 in the states of Sikkim, Mizoram and Tripura and there was a considerable decline in incidents in Meghalaya (44%) and Nagaland (43%) compared to 2015 (MHA, 2016-17: 15). According to the South Asia Terrorism Portal also no records of Fatalities in terrorist cause violence in Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura states of India's northeast in 2017 up to April 30th (SATP, 2017). The State of Manipur accounted for about 48% of total violent incidents in the region in 2016, and the violent activities increased in Arunachal Pradesh by 38%, mainly due to violence triggered by NSCN-K. In Assam also, insurgency-related violence continued to decline and in the year 2016, the lowest number of insurgency incidents took place since 1997 (MHA, 2016-17: 15).

The turmoil in Northeast India is substantially linked to ethnic political aspirations, fierce pride in distinct cultural-heritage and vehemence to protect ethnic identity, territory and resources (Reddy & Reddy, 2007: 60). Northeast India in general and Assam in particular, is the region of considerable ethno-political unrest armed conflict where important groups in the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural states of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura have never accepted the integration of the state with India. These states remain politically sensitive and prone to

revolt. The roots of northeastern conflict vary with each other but there are some common features. The xenophobic ULFA brought the violent opposition to non-Assamese authority, to legal migration from the rest of India and to illegal migration from Bangladesh. The uprising of Bodos started from the tribal perception of neglect and discrimination by the Assamese community. Meher in his work defined it a discontentment of a group of people use violent activities against the state in order to achieve their goals or demands (Meher, 2012: 135-137).

Northeast India is one of the most sensitive regions with regard to human security. Majority people of the region feel that they were inducted into India against their wishes and aspirations and given step-motherly treatment by the central government. These led to the resistance movements in order to protect their right, socio-economic and cultural identity. Hmar mentions that the root of human security problems in Tripura mainly lies in the tribal discontentment over the demographic imbalance in the post-independent period which shows the ratio of the tribal and non-tribal population is shattered against the will of the tribal. This imbalance of demography was heralded in the form of land alienation and this demographic change laid the foundation of ethnic conflict. According to Hmar one solution to end the problem of Tripura is to stop politicizing tribal arm groups by any political party. Hmar concludes his work by saying Tripura with the words of Subhir Bhaumik “government of the refugees, by the refugees and for the refugees” (Hmar, 2012: 259-266).

Most of the observers and experts agree that the problem of militancy in the state originated from the extensive migration of refugees from East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) since India’s partition in 1947. Due to the constant influx of illegal migrants in the Northeast, the demography has changed and brought much of India’s northeast to the knife-edge of violence (Reddy & Reddy, 2007: 60). Brahma also in his article *Migration, Identity Issues and Ethnic Conflicts: An Analysis of India’s North-East* says that migration has created problems in Northeast India. Because of the large-scale migration, they (the aboriginal or the indigenous people of the Northeast) felt that they are alienated from their own land and threat to their cultural identity and for that many extremist groups came up rapidly and broke out several movements in the region to

protect and preserve indigenous cultural identity. For instance, Assam movement, Bodo movement in Assam, Tribal movements in Tripura and so on. The main objectives of Assam movement were: to detect, deport and disfranchise the foreign nationals of Assam. Tribal movements of Tripura also have similar main objectives (Brahma, 2012: 254). Ultimately these movements resulted in the large-scale violation of human rights in the region. During the period of Assam movement (1979-85), a minimum of 471 cases of bomb blasts was reported to the police resulting in the death of no less than 101 peoples. February 18, 1983, at Nellie in Nagaon district of Assam more than 1200 people were butchered to death, most of whom were women and children. Hussain described this incident of Assam movement as “one of the largest and severest programs that contemporary world has recorded. It has only a few parallels in the post-second world war history” (Hussain, 1995: 141-143). Similarly, at least 1135 Bodo people lost their lives during the period of Bodoland movement from 1987-1993 (Brahma, 2011). In Tripura as well, due to the tribal ethnic conflict, 1300 people lost their lives, 377048 were left 34661 houses were burnt and 189919 were displaced. These violence were so brutal that even children were not spared (Paul, 2009: 76).

The earliest major insurgency in the Northeast India was the Nagas. The fundamental argument of the Naga independence movement was that the area had been administered as a separate area from India by the British and therefore should be a sovereign state when India achieved independence (Cline, 2006: 129). The second oldest insurgency in northeast India started in Mizoram (then a part of Assam) in 1959 with infrequent violent incidents in response to the Assam government’s failure to respond satisfactorily to a famine in the area. (Lacina, 2013:148). Like Naga insurgent movements, the main insurgent group of Assam, ULFA formed on April 7, 1979 (Hazarika, 1995: 167), claims that it never is a separatist or secessionist movement since ‘*Assam was never a part of India at any point of time in history*’. The second important reason was population pressure in the state with the illegal entry of large numbers of East Pakistanis after Partition. The flow increased drastically after the independence of Bangladesh. The issue of illegal migration started assuming significant political importance by 1979. The All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the political movement All Assam Gana Sangram

Parishad (AAGSP) took the lead to detect and deport the illegal aliens from the state (Cline, 2006:135-136). In addition, the origin of Bodo insurgency is also one of the major problems of Assam. The Bodos are the larger plains tribe and among the earliest settlers of Assam. They have been demanding for the better socio-economic and political conditions. There has been a long history of tensions between Bodos and Assamese. Bodos feel that they have been neglected and exploited by the Assamese people. As a result, All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) was formed in 1967 to represent the cause of the Bodos. In the early 1980s, the union came out as a strong force under the leadership of Upendranath Brahma (Reddy & Reddy, 2007: 62-63) and they are still demanding.

Initiatives for Peace in Northeast India: The security situation in some states of Northeast India remained complex for quite some time because of the demands advocated by various militant outfits. A number of essential steps (i.e. peace talks and ceasefire accords) have been taken by the government of India to ensure peace, security, law and order in the Northeastern region of India. The Government has signed a ceasefire agreement with NSCN (I/M) w.e.f. August 1, 1998, which was comprehensive to July 31, 2008 and another ceasefire with NSCN (K) on April 28, 2004, which was comprehensive up to April 28, 2008. Suspension of Operation (SoO) was signed with NDFB w.e.f. June 1, 2005, for one year. SoOs have been signed with Dima Halam Daoga (DHD) (a militant outfit of Assam) w.e.f. January 1, 2003, which was later extended to December 31, 2008 and with The Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC) w.e.f. July 23, 2004, for one year and later on, extended up to July 22, 2008. Ceasefire agreements were extended repeatedly for all and political dialogues are going on at different levels. Consecutively government of India has enlarged the reserve regiments and so far many regiments have been approved for the Northeastern region of India. Apart from that government is also providing schemes like- scheme for compensation of security-connected expenses for those states who have badly exaggerated by rebellion, scheme for the transformation of the state police and armed forces, 100 percent centrally subsidized 'surrender and rehabilitation scheme' (Datta, 2012: 321-322).

There are some positive developments in Northeast India, where some of the northeastern states have seen significant declines in insurgent operations and various negotiations and

ceasefire agreements took place. Counterinsurgency operations also have made steady, if unspectacular, progress. In general, however, there seems to be little reason to be very positive about the security situation in the northeast region (Cline, 2006: 143-144).

3.3.1.2 Atrocities in Northeast India: As a result of the enforcement of AFSPA thousands of lives have been killed in forced disappearances and extrajudicial executions, where arbitrary detention, rape, torture, forced migration and displacement has become part of life. Section 4(a) of the AFSPA violated the right to life in Northeast India by granting the armed forces power to shoot to kill in law enforcement situations without regard to international human rights law restrictions on the use of lethal force. Lethal force is largely permitted by AFSPA if the target is part of an assembly of five or more persons, holding weapons or carrying things capable of being used as weapons. Section 4(c) of the AFSPA violated the right to liberty and security of person, which fails to protect against arbitrary arrest by permitting soldiers to arrest any person only on suspicion that a cognizable offence has already taken place or is possible to take place in the future (Human Rights Watch, 2008).

Sailajananda Saikia made a critical review on AFSPA and human right violation in Northeast India where portrays that experience of AFSPA. Saikia argues AFSPA as well encourages the violation of the right to be free from torture and from cruel or degrading treatment. All the areas share a common experience of widespread human rights abuses due to the imposition of the AFSPA and the armed forces have become only the symbol of oppression and an object of hatred due to arbitrary detention, torture, killings etc. For instance, on June 5, 2002, Indian security forces assaulted villagers of Borduria (Arunachal) in a search of NSCN militants. Children have also suffered sexual violence by the security forces where a 12 years girl was raped by a member of the Assam Rifles in Karbi Anglong (Assam) on February 7, 2005. Torture, arbitrary arrests and extrajudicial executions are common in Manipur. Between 1979 and May 2012, 1528 people including 31 women and 98 children were killed in the name of encounters with militants by security forces. In July 2004, Thangjam Manorama Devi was extrajudicially executed after being detained by Assam Rifles. In Meghalaya also security forces involved in arbitrary detention, rape and torture, which have never been properly

investigated. In Mizoram allegations of torture, rape, extrajudicial killings and arbitrary detention were made on security forces. A woman named Lianthangvuanga was raped by five security forces at the age of 13 years. She managed to escape but then suffered the additional trauma of witnessing her father being tortured by the security forces. An arbitrary gunfire of security forces in Kohima city (1995) killed seven civilians; including girls age three and eight. Further 22 were seriously injured, including seven children. In Tripura, the most commonly known occurrence was 1988 gang-rape of 14 tribal women in Ujanmaidan by the soldiers of Assam Rifles. On February 9, 2006, three tribal women were allegedly gang-raped again by the soldiers of Assam Rifles in Dhalai district during a search operation. Likewise, several girls were also molested. One of the rape victims was pregnant, who suffered a miscarriage following the incident (Saikia, 2014: 270-275).

Since long, the Northeast India region is suffering from low-intensity conflict. Women are living in most vulnerable conditions due to the restrictions on their freedom, the inadequate access to health services and most significantly, the lack of opportunities for education, employment. In internal conflicts, women are targets of constant and often cruel violence. In fact, women have been threatened, raped and murdered during the conflicts. During arm conflict situation, women managed households because the earner of the family has either fled, been killed or joined the ranks of the underground (Das, 2012: 36).

In the name of counterinsurgency operations, the news of fake encounters is also common in Northeast India. For instance, the preliminary report of Ranish Rai (Inspector General, North East Sector) has choked the entire humanity, where he says that two men, suspected members of the National Democratic Front of Boroland (Songbijit) [NDFB-S], were picked up from a house in D-Kalling village, taken to neighbouring Simlaguri village and killed. Weapons were later planted on them. This encounter was carried out jointly by Indian Army, AP, CRPF and Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) on March 30, 2017, in Chirang district of Assam. According to the family with whom the two men were residing at the time of the security operation, they (the two suspected NDFB-S) were unarmed when the soldiers took them (Redraw the Line: Government, Security Agencies Must Urgently Address Questions Raised by the Assam Fake Encounter Probe, 2017).

Abuses of human rights under AFSPA in Jammu & Kashmir and Northeast India are very clear from the data released by home ministry in response to Right to Information (RTI) query filed by Venkatesh Naik, a human rights activist. It shows that Jammu & Kashmir ranks first (with 92 complaints against the Indian Army and paramilitary forces in 2016), Assam ranks second (58 complaints), Manipur ranks third (21 complaints), while Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh follow next at five and six complaints, respectively in human rights abuses. Among these 186 complaints received, 74 were against the Indian Army. Death in army encounters saw 24 complaints. Death in army firings saw 16 complaints, while there were 21 cases of alleged fake encounters and 10 cases of rape and abduction (Jammu & Kashmir tops list on rights abuses under AFSPA, Assam second, 2017).

3.3.1.3 Women Security: Human security is meaningless without a special focus on the security of women. Women face discrimination and violence even before birth in the form of female foeticide. This discrimination against women continues throughout their life cycle acquiring different forms and degrees: from neglect in healthcare and nutrition in childhood to early and forced marriages in adolescence; from domestic violence to rape and sexual abuse; and from dowry deaths to unwanted pregnancies. Trafficking of young girls and women is also reaching an alarming proportion. During 1991-98, the figure of rape in the northeast went up from 601 to 1001; molestation from 415 to 849; kidnapping and abduction from 1005 to 1288; dowry deaths from 21 to 43; and cruelty by relatives from 240 to 862 (Saikia, 2014). The violence against women, mainly domestic violence is rising in the Northeast. The rate of domestic violence in Assam is relatively higher than other of northeast states of India (Das, 2012: 34)

Though women face discrimination and violence in Northeast India, the status of women in the northeastern states is better in some indicators than the status of women in the rest of India. However, puzzling contradictions occur within each state. For instance, the sex ratio is higher in the northeastern states implying more females in the state. However, infant mortality rate for female is higher in Assam. Likewise, the literacy rate is higher but simultaneously high dropout rate shows a different picture of the states of the Northeastern region. In Assam and Nagaland, the female literacy levels are above

average and the gap in literacy levels strikingly low; however, enrolment rates for girls are lower than the national average. Sometimes the different sources of data create the problems of compatibility (Das, 2013: 1-8).

3.3.1.4 Environmental Security: The economic condition of the people of Assam is aggravated due to the flood. Lots of people lost their lives and serious damage to properties occurs due to flood. Floods not only destroy standing crops, but also the stored food grains and as a result affect the quality of food affecting food security. The victims of flood and displaced people of river-bank erosion or environmental refugees do not get the attention that they deserve (Patgiri, 2013:212). Apart from that, history shows that the northeastern region (especially Assam and Arunachal) witnessed major floods in 1968, 1978, 1994, 1997, 1998, and 2000 causing a number of deaths. In Assam, July 1991 landslides took the lives of 300 people and heavy loss to roads and infrastructure. In Nagaland also landslides killed 500 people and more than 200 houses destroyed and about 5 km road damaged in August 1993 (India's worst landslides, and why these might not be the last ones, 2014). *The Hindu* (13th August, 2017) reports that the total number of people losing their lives in the year of 2017 flood-related incidents in Assam went up to 99 till 13th August, 2017 including eight Kuwaiti.

Water pollution has emerged as another key environmental challenge. The use of polluted water for drinking, cooking and bathing is causing diarrhea, hepatitis and outbreaks of typhoid and cholera. Air pollution levels continue to be high in Northeast India rendering the inhabitants highly at risk to severe and chronic health effects. Forests are also shrinking in many parts of Northeast India. Deforestation is driven by the quest for food security, demand for wood energy and timber and grazing uses. However, the prime factor remains the poor forest management that triggers large-scale illegal forest activities. The decline in forest area is threatening the flora and fauna, encouraging landslides and floods and damaging irreparably a number of sensitive ecosystems in the region (Das, 2009).

Northeast India is extremely at risk of earthquakes that cannot be prevented from occurring. Northeastern states of India fall in the Zone –V, the most seismic hazard zone

and due to geo- climatic condition the region is very prone to various natural disasters. The earthquake is the harshest one that causes huge loss of life and property. Earthquakes cause an actual threat to India because 55% of India’s geographical area is vulnerable to seismic disturbance. A number of earthquakes occurred in the past in northeast India.

Table No 3.4: Major Earthquakes in the North Eastern Region of India

Place	Year	Magnitude	Explanation
Cachar	March 21, 1869	7.8	Numerous Earth Fissures and Craters
Shillong Plateau	June 12,1891	8.7	About 1542 People Died
Sibasagar	August 31, 1906	7.0	Property Damage
South-west Assam	September 9, 1923	7.1	Property Damage
Dhubri	July 2, 1930	7.1	Railway Lines, Culvert And Bridges Cracked
Assam	January 27, 1931	7.6	Destruction of Property
Nagaland	August 14,1932	7.0	Destruction of Property
NE Assam	October 23,1943	7.2	Destruction of Property
Arunachal	July7,1947	7.5	Destruction of Property
Patkai Range, Arunachal	August 15, 1950	7.0	Property Damaged
Manipur Burma Border	March 21, 1954	7.4	Property Damaged
Indo Myanmar Border	August 6, 1988	7.5	No Casualty Reported
Sikkim	September 18,2011	6.9	Destruction of Property, Loss of Lives, 67 Dead.

Source: Devi, 2012:80.

The table (3.4) shows the heavy destruction, loss of lives due to the earthquake in the region. The earthquake of 1891 in Shillong Plateau killed about 1542 people and the earthquake of Sikkim in 2011 resulted dead of 67 people and destruction of property (Devi, 2012:79-80). Many areas of the region such as some parts of Kokrajhar district of Assam also suffered from lightning where many people have lost their lives and properties and thunderstorm or hail storm also brought a huge damage to properties including roof sheets and all. *The Hindu* reports that on January 04, 2016, 6.8 Magnitude earthquake which was epicentered in Manipur killed at least seven people and injured more than ninety (“Seven killed, over 90 injured as quake rocks Northeast,” 2016).

3.3.2 Factors that affect ‘Freedom from Want’ in Northeast India

Freedom from want denotes people are free from poverty and destitution and entitled to basic means of survival. It includes unemployment, health insecurity and food insecurity.

3.3.2.1 Unemployment: Private enterprises, small and medium businesses which minimize the unemployment problem of a state are few in this northeastern region. In its report, Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER) shows that poverty is increasing in maximum states of the region and witnessing a substantial rise in urban poverty. The region is failing to substantially reduce poverty because of the high level of income inequality. The ensuing economic insecurity has brought ethnic, social, cultural and political tensions in the region (Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region, 2012). Northeastern states have a comparatively higher in the unemployment rate. In Assam there exist more than half of the unemployed literate youth. The reasons of unemployment in Assam are lack any employment opportunities, lack of suitable job, not find jobs matching to their prospect, restrictions of women by husband or family to work (Youth of North-East India: Demographics and Readership, 2012).

The MGNREGA, which was likely to improve people's employment security on a sustained basis, through developing economic and social infrastructure in rural areas could not do so. As far as Assam is concerned MGNREGA was gaining thrust slowly. The spirit of the programme (MGNREGA) ruined due to faulty implementation approach. Due to biases (religion and street) and favouritism in case of distribution of job card, corruption, the dominance of leading families, defective leadership and improper coordination among the stakeholders have placed as major hurdles in the programme. The main goals of MGNREGA (rural development and employment) have hardly been achieved in Assam. The study reveals that 39, 49,587 families got job cards in 2012–13 in Assam (27 districts). Among these, only 12, 10,427 families got work in the last fiscal, 9,788 families got 100 days of work; 3, 21,391 families got less than 10 days work and 6,90,965 families got at least 15 days work. Apart from that the study also reveals that wages had not been paid for the work done. While evaluations were made of the payments as stated by the pass-book with the payment as per the job card, it was exposed that the job card did not contain the inner pages that record the work done by each person (Saikia & Borah, 2017). As a result, a good number of workers from the Northeastern region have been migrating to other places in India for better livelihood. The Fifth Annual Employment – Unemployment Survey of 2015-16 revealed that only three States

of North East India (i.e. Tripura, Manipur and Mizoram) have more than 70 percent of the households benefited from MGNREGA (EUS, 2016: ii).

Singh (2013) says that labour outmigration from the Northeast India is a recent phenomenon but in general migration is happening because of the lack of educational and employment opportunities and political instability in the region, availability of better education as well as employment prospects in major cities of the country. Chyrmang (2011) also states that out-migration from the region takes place because of work or employment, business, education, marriage, change of residence after birth, change of residence with household and others (**Table No. 3.5**).

Table No. 3.5: Causes of Total Out-Migration from Northeast India (in %)

Reasons→ States ↓	Work/ Employment	Business	Educatio n	Marriage	Moved after Birth	Moved with Household	Others
Sikkim	16.05	1.79	5.95	22.94	1.68	27.97	23.63
Arunachal Pradesh	13.84	1.26	8.98	21.01	1.93	27.72	25.27
Nagaland	8.10	0.56	1.91	60.42	0.80	13.55	14.67
Manipur	18.62	2.46	14.87	13.73	1.11	28.45	20.76
Mizoram	5.55	0.44	4.01	3.77	0.41	23.96	61.85
Tripura	15.82	6.34	3.52	22.68	1.19	30.77	19.68
Meghalaya	17.15	2.46	3.57	23.42	1.80	32.89	18.70
Assam	16.20	2.54	1.53	36.54	1.20	23.99	18.01

Source: Chyrmang, 2011.

Maximum migration of people from Northeast India takes place due to marriage where Nagaland ranks first followed by Assam, Meghalaya and Sikkim. The migration of people due to employment facility in Northeast India is more from Manipur followed by Meghalaya, Assam, Sikkim, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Mizoram respectively.

3.3.2.2 Health Security: India has achieved economic growth over the last decades, the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) launched by the Government of India (2005), has made considerable progress in the health-care infrastructure of the country. Major improvements took place in the key health indicators, for example, institutional deliveries, outpatient cases, full immunisation, availability of diagnostic and family welfare services and disease control programmes. But this growth and development could

not achieve an expected result in the health-care sector and the improvement has been quite uneven across regions, particularly in the northeastern part of the country, with large-scale rural-urban variations and limited accessibility to health-care services in rural areas. India has been lagging behind other developing countries like China, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh in conditions of the state of health-care infrastructure and many other health indicators such as life expectancy at birth, infant mortality and under-five mortality levels etc. Similarly, Northeastern region of India suffers from the shortages of well-trained health workers in the rural health-care sector; be it specialist doctors, nurses or other health workers. Access to public health-care facilities in safe physical reach is a great challenge in rural areas in the northeastern states. In terms of sanitation facility, the northeastern states are better than the national level and in case of access to improved sources of drinking water, all the northeastern states except Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim are better than the national level (Saikia & Das, 2014: 77-99).

People of the Northeastern region suffered a lot during 2012-13 due to different diseases. Except for Nagaland and Sikkim, all the northeastern states witnessed the death of people due to Acute Diarrhoeal Diseases. Except for Manipur and Sikkim, all the northeastern states witnessed the death of people due to Malaria. All the northeastern states experienced the death of people due to Acute Respiratory Infection and highest was in Assam (481). Due to Japanese Encephalitis, 229 people of Assam and 2 people of Nagaland died. Except for Nagaland and Assam, all the northeastern states witnessed the death of people due to viral Hepatitis Mizoram being the highest (NEC, 2015: 331).

Children and women are most vulnerable and at risk of poor health. They bear the burden of these health deprivations and preventable deaths. The two states of Northeast India (Nagaland and Tripura) have topped among all small states in India in reducing Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) (Sharma, Vinod & Phookan, 2015). In the IMR, Assam continues to be the highest in the state, despite significant improvements have taken place. Another important concern of the state (Assam) is Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR). Assam's present MMR is higher than the national ratio (ASHDR, 2014: 185-186). Infant mortality rate is the number of deaths of children less than one year of age per 1000 live births. The IMR in Nagaland is 17 per 1,000 live births whereas in Tripura it is 21 against the

national average of 40 deaths per 1,000 live births. The threats to health security in Northeast India in recent years have enlarged from the spread of infectious diseases, mainly the resurgence of malaria, tuberculosis and more recently HIV/AIDS (Sharma, Vinod & Phookan, 2015). Assam has been giving free medical treatment and free medical camp to the people of the region in order to ensure health security.

Many important steps are taken to ensure health security such as Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHA) in the community to create health awareness and serves as a key communication mechanism between the healthcare system and rural population. Revised National Tuberculosis Control Programme (RNTPC) is one of the most important steps to ensure Directly Observed Treatment Short course (DOTS) to all Tuberculosis (TB) patients. Under the Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakaram (JSSK) launched by the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), Assam, in December 2011, where a pregnant admitted to a government health institution is entitled to free and cashless delivery, diagnostics test for instance blood, urine and ultrasound, free nutritional diet and supplements and free conveyance from home to a health institution and free drop home after delivery. The patient is provided with a free kit of drugs and consumables for the delivery and many others.

3.3.2.3 Food Security: North Eastern Region (NER) is by and large characterized by fragility, marginality, inaccessibility, culturally heterogeneity, ethnicity and rich biodiversity. Agriculture has been the basis of people of this region but the agro-based economy fails to flourish as it should have due to lack of proper involvement and utilization of technological aids (Giribabu, 2013: 001-002). The major issue confronts Northeast India is Food security. Still, the entire northeastern region is witnessing deficit in food production. Food security usually remains unnoticed in the region since the emerging political issues like- identity, migration, conflicts, and insurgency are dominating the politics of Northeast India.

In northeast India gross misuse and random use of the resources have resulted in huge amounts of soil erosion, nutrient loss and environmental degradation in the hills and silting of river beds causing floods, loss of property and life in plain areas. In the field of

overall development, the region has lagged a lot behind in comparison to other states. The infrastructure facilities (roads, transport, communication, industries, health care and agriculture) are inadequate. There is poor growth in the agriculture sector although good potential in the region due to an inadequate supply of inputs, marketing, institutional credit and extension services. Because of lack of modern industries, the majority of the people is still reliant on agriculture and allied land-based activities. Shifting cultivation, also known as slash and burn agriculture is the chief resources of livelihood of tribal people in these areas who have evolved this mode of cultivation in response to the most difficult terrain and topography under most inhospitable environment. The region is lagging much behind the other advanced states as far as the production and productivity are concerned (Patgiri, 2013: 211).

Between 2003 and 2014, all the Northeastern states excluding Mizoram achieved an extensive increase in the production of food grains. This increase was highest in Manipur (66%), followed by Arunachal Pradesh (60%), Nagaland (52%) and Tripura (26%). Though Assam and Meghalaya achieved an extensive increase in production during this period, they have remained as deficit states. As far as the supply-demand analysis is concerned Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura had come under surplus category states, but Meghalaya, Mizoram, Assam and Sikkim will have to do a lot work to become self-reliant in food grains production. Tripura achieved the highest production of paddy (2.82 t/ha) and cropping intensity (185%). In the field of organic farming, Sikkim was leading among all other states, especially in spice crops. (Roy *et al.*, 2015: 260).

The staple food crop of the Northeastern region is Rice. In this field of rice production, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura have been found as surplus states, whereas Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Sikkim are lagging behind. In order to make this region food and pulse secure pulse production should be improved because all the states were deficient in pulses production (Roy *et al.*, 2015: 261).

Non-availability of sufficient amount of quality seeds of improved varieties and lack of use of inputs like fertilizers, weed control and disease and pests protection chemicals

have been identified as the major constraints in food grain production in the region (Roy *et al.*, 2015: 264). One of the most important hindrances of food security and agricultural development is the problem of population explosion in the region (Giribabu, 2013: 005). To make this region food and nutritional secure, proper strategies will have to be evolved. An amount of rupees 400 crores were allocated for the Eastern and NE regions Under Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana (RKVY), of which rupees 332.87 crores have been released to the seven NE states for extending green revolution during 2011-12 (Roy *et al.*, 2015: 264).

Measures for Food Security: Government of India adopted numerous food security measures but their implication represents mixed results. Different employment and poverty eradication schemes [like the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Swarna Jayanthi Gram Swarojgar Yojana (SJGSY) and Swarna Jayanthi Shahari Rojgar Yojana (SJSRY)] aim at raising income and purchasing power of people and help in improving food security. The Public Distribution System (PDS) is perhaps the most significant direct measure to help poor in getting food along with other essential commodities like sugar and kerosene in India. Mid-day Meals Scheme (MDMS) (1995) was introduced in India to improve children's attendance in the school, reduce dropouts from the schools and provide nutritious food to children of the primary section of aided schools. Though PDS and MDMS are adopted to remove poverty from India and to ensure food security, it could not achieve expected results. Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) was launched in 1975 to give several services to pregnant women, lactating mothers and children up to the age of six years. It provides the targeted sections, supplementary feeding providing nutrition; immunisation; public health check-up; referral services (for the attention of experts); education, health and nutrition for adult women; and non-formal pre-school education to children between the ages of three to six years. The scheme provides food security including nutritional security and health security and has been expanding its coverage of women and children. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MG-NREGA) seeks to provide 100 days of guaranteed unskilled wage employment to each rural household that seeks employment under the Act. It was introduced to provide a guarantee of some income to have some

food security. But the corruption in the implementation of MG-NREGA in the official level created major dissatisfaction among the agrarian section of the North-East India (Patgiri, 2013: 212-213).

3.4 Human Security in Assam and Kokrajhar

The status of human security in Assam is in a critical position with the existence of kidnappings, murders, extortions, ethnic violence, insurgency (Meherin, 2012) and many others. The four years between 1998 and 2001 was the horrific story of Assam's darkest period. The newspapers of Assam coined the term "Secret Killings" to describe this state sponsored extrajudicial killing. In fact, the report of the inquiry commission says "Secret Killings" means the extrajudicial killings conducted by the state government using Surrendered United Liberation Front of Assam (SULFA) members and the security forces in the name of counterinsurgency operations. The victims of these killings were relatives, friends and colleagues of United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) militants as a result women became widows, parents lost their sons, sons their fathers and many brothers and sisters could never see their siblings. The clearest justification for the whole exercise was that it was a tit-for-tat to the ULFA sponsored terrorism, particularly the killing of their old SULFA comrades (Talukdar *et al.*, 2011: 3-4). Particularly, the status of human security in BTAD is pathetic due to the existence of insurgencies, underdevelopment, ethnic identity movements and state-sponsored violence. Due to the ethnic violence between Bodos and Muslims and Bodos and Santhals a good number of innocent Bodo, Santhal and Muslim people have lost their valuable lives.

Anindita Dasgupta in an article *Civilians and Localisation of Conflict in Assam* says that communities living in Nalbari district of Assam are of the opinion that the basic reason of insurgency, armed violence and human insecurity are due to the socio-economic problems, which have been ignored by state and its political elite. Apart from that, the author says that according to most of the groups of Nalbari district, underdevelopment and unemployment are the two most important reasons for the emergence of insurgency in the state. Communities of the region say that underdevelopment, unemployment and floods are the main problems in the region. According to the Bodo community, the main

reason of the emergence of Bodo insurgency is brutal repression of the state during the Bodo movement. Communities of the southern areas of Nalbari say that unidentified gunmen are the first source of insecurity, militants are the second source of insecurity whereas security forces are the third source of insecurity in the region. Source of insecurity among Bodos in the Northern side of Nalbari district is more on security forces rather than insurgent. And a source of insecurity among non-Bodos in Northern side of Nalbari district is more on insurgent rather than security forces (Dasgupta, 2004). In short, Armed groups, insurgencies and security forces are the sources of human insecurity (Acharya *et al.*, 2011).

The insecurity situation in BTAD reveals in the work of Gojen Daimari, *Status of Human Rights: A Study of Bodoland Territorial Autonomous District* where he argues that the region is the home of many insurgent groups and known for fratricidal killings, ethnic conflicts and militancy acts of terror and frequent unleash of fear-psycho by the Government forces. The people of the region argue that ethnic conflict, insurgent activities and security forces are the sources of human rights violation (Daimari, 2016). Besides these, Kalidash Brahma (2011) in his article '*Bodoland Movement and the Issues of Human Rights Violation*' argues that initially Bodoland movement was non-violent in nature but it didn't continue for a long time due to the cruel treatment of the state government. On 12th June 1987, Sujit narzary, a Bodo student was killed when some miscreants threw stone on him at Tihu Chock and Subhash Basumatary lost one side of his eyes while they were coming back from a mass rally in Gauhati. The incident of No. 12 Bhumka in Kokrajhar district of Assam is one of the darkest pages in the history of Bodoland movement where 9 Bodo girls and one old woman was gang-raped by AP and APTF on the nights of 25th to 27th January 1988. Another bloody incident occurred in 1989 where some miscreants in support of the AP forces committed a massacre at Gohpur, Rangapara of Sonitpur district, Simlaguri of Lakhimpur district and Kairabari, Bhakhatpara, Phaorupeta of Darrang district. In those incidents more than 300 innocent Bodo women and children were butchered; over 10,000 houses of the Bodos were burned down and a huge number of Bodo people were settled in the relief camps without any governmental relief, rehabilitation and medical care. As far as the report of ABSU to V.

P. Singh (then Prime Minister of India) is concerned, more than 200 Bodo inmates died out of starvation and 93 inmates lost their life due to the lack of medical care in Gohpur.

Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR) in its report states that Assam Riot of 2012 in BTAD “*were absolutely preventable but not prevented because of the criminal dereliction of duty by officials from the Officer-in-Charge of Kokrajhar Police Station to the highest authorities of India’s military establishment i.e. Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, Chief of the Army Staff, Director General Military Operations and the Commander of the Eastern Command*” (Asian Centre for Human Rights, 2012: 2). The report also mentions that the riot of 2012 between the Bodo tribals (religious minorities, about 1.5 million in total in Assam) and Muslims (about 10 million in Assam) in Bodoland Territorial Area Districts (BTAD) and Dhubri district of Assam resulted in displacement of more than 400,000 persons and they took shelter in more than 300 relief camps. Government schools and other buildings were converted into relief camps. The displaced populations had to live in the relief camps with no basic facilities, for instance, adequate food, medicines, doctors, drinking water, clothes, sanitation and hygiene and more people flocking the already overcrowded relief camps, the humanitarian crisis is palpable (Asian Centre for Human Rights, 2012: 22).

Sometimes non-local citizens also become the target of militant groups. For instance, on 17th January 2014, at least six persons were killed by suspected NDFB (S) at Serfanguri in Kokrajhar District of Assam. As far as the AP official is concerned, the bus was on its way from Siliguri in West Bengal to Shillong when a group of armed militants intercepted it on NH-31 at Athiabari under Serfanguri Police Station. And next day on January 18, 2014, suspected NDFB (S) militants killed Bishom Sharma, a Hindi-speaking barber, near his salon at Harisinga in Udalguri District of Assam³.

Looking into the above discussed facts and figures it can be stated that the frequent occurrences of the conflicts are the major source of human insecurity in the district. But

³ The information regarding the killing of non-local citizens by NDFB-IKS has been taken from South Asian Terrorism Portal. The information is available at http://www.satp.org/satporctp/countries/india/states/assam/data_sheets/militenetattack.htm on 12th August 2017.

there are also other sources of human insecurity which is negligible in comparison with conflict such as unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, poor medical facilities.

Conclusion

Study has revealed that India has come up with Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, Fundamental Duties and Constitutional Provisions (Constitutional Framework) and certain Statutory Provisions (Legal Framework) to look into the enforcement of human rights which ensures human security to the people. But, still the people of the region are not free from human rights violation which can most suitably be linked with increasing rate of fatalities due to violence as well as conflict. In this situation, the increasing number of underground militants in the state has helped. Further, to suppress the militant groups the successive governments have come up with certain draconian laws but in return those laws helped in violating human rights of the people. Study has also revealed that India has been passing through critical situations, where the state have witnessed a number of scams, for which citizens have lost their faith in the quality, integrity and efficiency of the government and compelled them to believe that the State could not succeeded in providing security and meeting the hopes, aspirations and basic needs of the general people. The encounters carried out by the Security Personnel in the name of maintaining law and order and insurgent activities of violence have brought a great challenge to Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. Number of abuses of human rights under AFSPA in Jammu & Kashmir and Northeast India is also common. Here, Jammu & Kashmir ranks first, Assam ranks second; Manipur ranks third, while Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh follow next at five and six complaints, respectively in human rights abuses. Hence, of human rights of the people is significantly missing in India.

Almost half of the population of India is women and they have always been ill-treated and deprived of their right to life and personal liberty provided by the constitution of India. Behind closed doors of homes all across the country, they are being tortured, beaten and killed. It is happening everywhere whether it may be in rural areas, towns, cities and in metropolitans. As stated by India's NCRB, a crime has been recorded

against women in every three minutes in India. Every 60 minutes, two women are raped in this country. Every six hours, a young married woman is found beaten to death, burnt or driven to suicide. In India children are also victims of crime, where 94,172 cases of crime against children were registered in 2015 compared to 89,423 cases registered in 2014, which enlightens an increase of 5.3%. Maharashtra, with the highest number of 13,921 cases, reported 14.8% incidence of crime against children in the country during the year 2015. So, the rate of crime against children was observed as 21.1 during 2015 per one lakh children population (Below 18 years). India has witnessed a number of environmental issues, which are the main sources of disease, health issues and long term livelihood impact for India. The fast growing population and economic development is leading to a great number of environmental problems in India. Major Environmental problems in India are Forest and Agricultural land degradation. Population growth and economic development are more contributing to a lot of serious environmental tragedies in India like- heavy pressure on land degradation, forests, habitat destruction and loss of biodiversity.

India is also witnessing a good number of migrations of people because of the lack of employment opportunity. The migration of people is generally caused by the economic cause, although there are many other causes of migration. The migration of people in India is continuing in different forms such as within district, within the state and within the country. The threats to health security in India in recent years have enlarged from the spread of infectious disease HIV/AIDS. Among the States/Union Territories of India in the year of 2015, Manipur has shown the highest estimated adult HIV prevalence of 1.15%, followed by Mizoram (0.80%), Nagaland (0.78%), Andhra Pradesh and Telangana (0.66%), Karnataka (0.45%), Gujarat (0.42%) and Goa (0.40%). The goal of food security has become a mounting task to achieve in India because poverty is huge and the population is still increasing.

The state of human security in northeast India is also very pathetic. The region has witnessed separatist struggle, a sequence of insurgencies and militarization almost and since independence. Due to the fear of police or insurgent actions people of the region feel unsafe in their locality. A number of parties are struggling for separation from India

while others call for a reorganization of the states. Women of Northeast also faced discrimination and violence by security forces during the time of search operations and all. Apart from that discrimination against women continues throughout their life cycle acquiring different forms and degrees: from neglect in healthcare and nutrition in childhood to early and forced marriages in adolescence; from domestic violence to rape and sexual abuse; and from dowry deaths to unwanted pregnancies. Trafficking of young girls and women is also reaching an alarming proportion. The figure of rape, molestation, kidnapping, abduction, dowry deaths and cruelty by relatives in the Northeast went up. The violence against women, mainly domestic violence is rising in the Northeast. The rate of domestic violence in Assam is relatively higher than other of northeast states of India.

Environmental threats also brought great challenges to the people of the region. Because of the flood, lots of people lost their lives as well as the serious harm of properties and as a result affect the fragile food security. Apart from that, history shows that the northeastern region (especially Assam and Arunachal) witnessed floods in 1968, 1978, 1994, 1997, 1998, and 2000 causing number of death. People of the region are suffering from diarrhea, hepatitis, typhoid and cholera due to the use of polluted water for drinking, cooking and bathing. Forests are also shrinking in many parts of Northeast India driven by the quest for food security, demand for wood energy and timber and grazing uses. Many areas of the region also suffered from lightning where many people have lost their lives and properties and thunderstorm or hail storm also brought a huge damage to properties including roof sheets and all.

The region is also experiencing unemployment problem where only a few private enterprises, small and medium businesses are there in the region. The MGNREGA, which was likely to improve people's employment security on a sustained basis, through developing economic and social infrastructure in rural areas could not do so. As far as Assam is concerned MGNREGA was gaining thrust slowly. The spirit of the programme (MGNREGA) ruined due to faulty implementation approach. As a result, a good number of workers from the Northeastern region have been migrating to other places in India for better livelihood. The labour outmigration from the Northeast India is a recent

phenomenon but in general migration is happening because of the lack of work or employment opportunities in the region, although there are other reasons also such as education, political instability and many others. Similarly, the region is also suffering from the shortages of well-trained health workers in the rural health-care sector; be it specialist doctors, nurses or other health workers. Access to public health-care facilities in safe physical reach is a great challenge in rural areas in the northeastern states. Children and women are vulnerable and at risk of poor health. They bear the burden of these health deprivations and preventable deaths. Despite significant improvements took place in Assam the IMR continues to be the highest. Another most important concern of the state (Assam) is MMR. Assam's present MMR is higher than national ratio.

Assam, especially BTAD deserves special mention in security issues. Because the region is the home of many insurgent groups and known for fratricidal killings, ethnic conflicts and militancy acts of terror and frequent unleash of fear-psycho also by the Government forces and most importantly state-sponsored violence popularly known as "Secret Killings" (1998-2001). The people of the region argue that ethnic conflict, insurgent activities and security forces are the sources of human rights violation. The region also witnessed a number of ethnic conflicts between the Bodos and Santhals and between the Bodos and Muslims resulting the killing of many and displacing lakhs of people. The region is also witnessing a huge number of youth unemployment, illiteracy, poverty, underdevelopment, corruption, ethnic conflict, identity conflict, insurgency and many others. Due to these reasons, it appears that India's democracy could not become successful in giving fundamental requirements to its citizens.

CHAPTER – 4

HUMAN SECURITY ISSUES OF KOKRAJHAR DISTRICT OF ASSAM, INDIA

Introduction

The experience over a period of time has indisputably proved that democratic institutions can play an important role in the protection and preservation of human security. Still, the nature and scope of democratic institutions and their role in human security is so far to be discovered. Here, Kokrajhar is taken as a distinctive case, in order to understand the nature of democratic institutions and its impact on human security. Kokrajhar, one of the four districts of BTAD, is one of the worst affected regions of Assam in term of human security. Since long, the region has featured in the headlines of several leading media (print, electronic and social) due to the issues of human insecurity. In other words, Kokrajhar is one of the most conflict affected district of Assam and epicenter of ethnic conflict and violence in Northeast India, where bombing, kidnapping, fratricidal killings, extrajudicial killings, fake encounters, atrocities and issues of socio-economic, health and food insecurity etc. are common. The question that needs investigation is- what are the determinants of human insecurity in Kokrajhar district of Assam? The objective of the chapter is to explore the root causes of human insecurity in Kokrajhar district of Assam, India based on the data collected from the field through interview schedule. In the first part of this chapter, the reasons for choosing Kokrajhar as the area of study have been explained and in the second part, data collected from the field through interview schedule has been interpreted as well as analyzed.

4.1 Human Security in Kokrajhar District of Assam

Literature shows that the initial stage of campaigning or movement for Bodoland started in the Kokrajhar (headquarter of BTAD) and then later on spread out to other Bodo majority regions. Literature also reveals that the status of human security in Kokrajhar (considered to be ‘the conflict zone of Assam’) is in a dangerous position. In this region a large number of citizens were killed and were gone homeless as a result of killing, kidnapping, conflict, bombing and counter insurgency operations. Large numbers of

women became victim of gang rape and inhuman treatment by state mechanism such as Police and Para military forces. Kokrajhar is the home of many insurgent groups and known for fratricidal killings, ethnic conflicts, militancy acts of terror and inhuman treatment by the Government forces. People of the region say that ethnic conflict, insurgent activities and security forces are the source of human rights violation. Time and again the region has been witnessing number of ethnic conflicts, between the Bodos and Santhals in 1996, 1998 (led to deaths of more than hundred, injured many and displaced) and between Bodos and Muslims in 1993, 1994, 2008 and 2012. The violence (2012) between Bodos and Muslims brought a great challenge to human security, where several hundreds of people were killed and displaced in Kokrajhar district of Assam. Government of Assam failed in providing ration to the inmates in the relief camps and baby foods were found insufficient in most of the relief camps of both the communities. Cloths were also distributed to inmates in the camps but it was inadequate (Asian Centre for Human Rights, 2012:22-33).

The people of the region are not free from anxiety due to the existence of armed groups such as ULFA (United Liberation Front of Asom), NDFB (National Democratic Front of Boroland), BLTF (Bodo Liberation Tiger Force). For instance, the serial bomb blast by NDFB (Ranjan) in different places of Assam (Guwahati, Barpeta Road, Bongaigaon and Kokrajhar) on 30th October, 2008 killed and injured many innocent people (Choudhury, 2010), on January 17, 2014 passengers (Hindi speaking people) of night bus (*Swapna*) was attacked by suspected NDFB(Sangbijit) at Athiabari under Serfanguri Police Station. Four out of five Hindi speaking passengers were shot to dead and others were seriously injured (Choudhury, 2014). The killing of Adivasi peoples on December 23, 2014 by NDFB (S) in Kokrajhar, Chirang and Sonitpur (district) was also one of the most unfortunate incidents of the people of the region where children and women were also not left. In that incident 26 women and 18 minor children were killed. As a result of that ‘*Operation All Out*’ was launched to cleanse the militants from the region where many Bodo people were tortured by security in the name of link man and some people were mercilessly bitten sometimes to death but went unreported. The most unfortunate thing for the region is that instead of terming the name of armed groups the term *Bodo militant*

has been used by many to while reporting incidents done by the NDFB (Bhattacharjee, 2014). In 2016, another incident took place at Balajan Tinali, Kokrajhar where 13 civilians lost their lives and another 19 people were seriously injured (Pisharoty, 2016; Talukdar, 2016). Lafiqul Islam Ahmed (36 years), president of All Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) Minority Students Union was shot to dead by unidentified miscreants at Titaguri Bazar of Kokrajhar district (Kashyap, 2017). To counter those activities of armed groups the successive governments have imposed draconian laws (AFSPA, TADA, Disturbed Area Act etc.). But these draconian laws have brought huge human rights violation in the region instead of ensuring security to the people.

The Assam tribune reports that on September 10, 2017 a priest (Nikhil Debnath) of Kokrajhar daily bazaar Sanimandir was brutally killed by four miscreants. This indicates that the life of the people in Kokrajhar district is threatened due to repeated incidents of the killing of student leader, general people etc. by unidentified miscreants (“Prime accused of priest murder case held,” 2017).

The Assam tribune reports that in the name of ‘witch hunting’ many innocent people lost their lives. On 18th April 2011, a woman named Sorak Narzary (50 years) of Samthaibari village was killed by a group of miscreants. In another incident, three women namely Madani Boro and Porni Boro of Belguri village and Bipula Narzary of Borsabil on the night of April 15 and 16 were systematically killed in Kokrajhar district. It may be mentioned here that on the eve of New Year Day, 2011 (“Woman killed in fresh case of witch-hunting,” 2011), two other innocent people were also killed in Serfanguri area. Sensation prevails in many areas of the district following the killing of innocent people in the name of witch hunting. Most recently, in October, 2017 a couple (Mr. Deepu Brahma, 37 years and Mrs. Nashi Brahma) of a remote village (Dabwrgaon, around 14 km away from Kokrajhar town) of Kokrajhar declared outcaste and driven away from village on charge of being allegedly involved in practicing black magic (“Suspected of practicing witchcraft, couple forced to leave village,” 2017).

Hindustan Times reports that as far as the data of National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), 2015 Assam has emerged as the trafficking hub of the country. Saira Khatun

(name changed), 12 years old girl was released from a red light area by the Delhi Police. She was taken by her grandmother from Assam to Delhi and got her involved in sex trade. In 2005, one more minor girl from Kokrajhar Assam was trafficked to Nepal and sent to Saudi Arabia with fake documents. After a long eight traumatic years, the girl was rescued in 2013. Although these two girls were fortunate to get brought back together with their families, there are thousands of other minors and adults from Assam that were not that fortunate. Chairperson of Nedan Foundation said, “*The NCRB figures are only of those which have been reported to the police and FIRs registered. The actual number of trafficking cases in Assam would be much higher*” (“Assam emerges as India’s hub of human trafficking,” 2016).

The region is not free from nature or environment related threats as well. *Assam Times reports* that due to the strong storm on 25th April (Tuesday night) the electricity poles were uprooted which forced to the disruption of power services as well numerous trees and some domestic house and huge properties were damaged badly at Kanthalguri, Shukanjhora village under Fakiragram PS in Kokrajhar district (“Storm hit electricity services, uproots trees in Kokrajhar,” 2017). On 27th April, 2017 (Thursday night) due to the cyclonic storm lashed out in several parts of Kokrajhar, many houses, crops were damaged extensively, uprooting of trees blocked the roads in different places and some government establishments including, government health centers, BSNL tower and Assam State Electricity Board (ASEB) poles were brought down on the ground in Serfanguri area of Kokrajhar district (“Kokrajhar- Cyclonic storm causes extensive damage in lower,” 2017). Similarly, *The Indian Express* on 5th May, 2017 reports that due to thunderstorm across Assam six people lost their lives and 2,500 houses damaged. Apart from that many people lost their lives due to lightning (“Six die, 2,500 houses damaged in thunder-storm across Assam,” 2017).

Subhash Talukdar in his analysis of poverty profile and development of Kokrajhar sadar sub-division of Kokrajhar district found that the number of below poverty line is increasing in maximum areas of the district. He mentioned that a sizable number of the people of the region maintain their household with cultivation where they face many difficulties and many have no electric facilities. The causes of poverty in the region are

rapid growth of population, corruption, unemployment and others (Talukdar, 2016). People of the rural areas said that their income does not cover their needs and they have to face great hardships in their livelihood. The BPL populations are getting subsidized food through PDS.

As far 2011 census report, illiterate population in Kokrajhar district of Assam is 397837. It is one of the most important problems of the region. The average literacy rate is 65.22% where male literacy rate is 71.89% and female literacy rate is 58.27%. The literacy rate of the rural area is comparatively lower than urban areas. 45.95% or 156,753 populations of Kokrajhar district is cultivator whereas only 33.93% or 4,061,627 populations is cultivator in Assam. As regards to the percentage of agricultural labourers, Kokrajhar district has 16.51% which is higher than state percentage of 15.42% (Census of India: Assam, 2011:13). The region also witnesses migration of unskilled workers going to other states for economic cause or for employment opportunities.

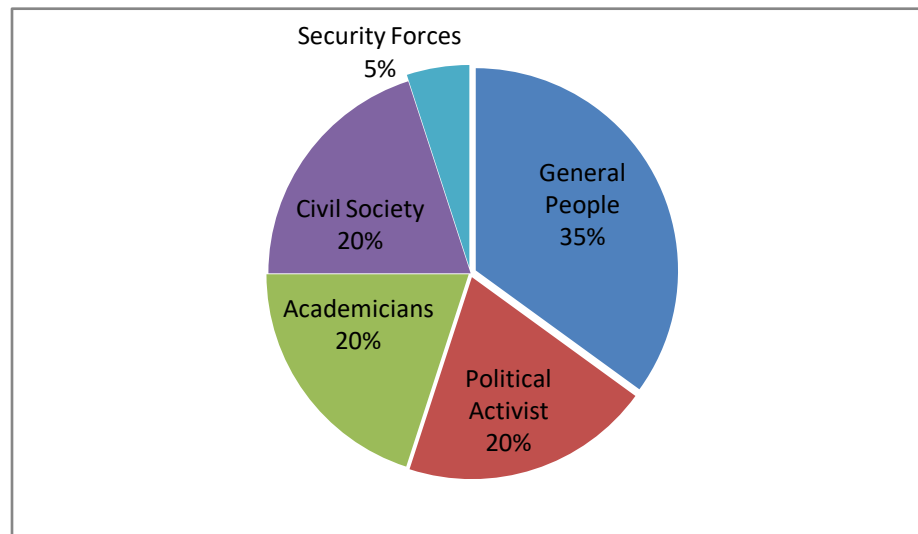
The threats to health security in recent years have enlarged from the spread of infectious diseases, mainly the resurgence of malaria, tuberculosis and more recently HIV/AIDS. To be precise, human security of the people in the region is in threat due to multiples of reasons.

4.2 Data, Interpretation and Analysis

The area of present study is Kokrajhar, one of the 32 districts of Assam. Kokrajhar is located and falling on the direction that connects Northeast with mainland India. According to the 2011 census of India, Kokrajhar district of Assam embraces 887142 populations, covers an area of 3296 Sq. Km. and 1068 villages. And there are 134 Village Council Development Committee (VCDC). It is surrounded by Chirang district in the east, West Bengal in the west, Bhutan in the north and Dhubri district in the south. There are three sub-divisions in Kokrajhar district (Kokrajhar Sadar Sub-Division, Gossaigaon Sub-Division and Parbatjhora Sub-Division). There are eleven Development Blocks in Kokrajhar district - Kokrajhar (Titaguri), Dotma, Kachugaon, Gossaigaon, Hatidhura, Bilasipara (Part), Chapar-Salkocha (Part), Rupshi (Part), Mahamaya (Part), Golokganj

(Part) and Debitola (Part). 100 samples were being selected from the above mentioned population for the purpose of the present study through purposive sampling. The 100 respondents⁴ have been selected from five categories i.e. General People, Political Activist, Academician, Civil Society and Security Forces (See Figure- 4.1). Again the same has been sub-divided into - General People (35%), Political Activist (20%), Academician (20%), Civil Society (20) and Security Forces (5%).

Figure No. 4.1 Profile of the Respondents



Source: Field Work September 1st to October 20th, 2017⁵

Respondents of the study belongs to Bengali, Bodo, Koch-Rajbongshi, Muslim, Nepali, Rabha, Santhal and others communities. Among these 100 respondents 60 were male and 40 were female. The majority of the respondents were general people because they constitute the major portion of the population. Academicians were School Teachers, University and College Teachers. Most of them belonged to the age group of 30 - 55. Some of the respondents didn't want to reveal their community due to various reasons. Most of the respondents didn't want to reveal their identity out of which maximum were men. Majority of the respondents didn't allow me to take a photograph and record of the conversation which I had with them. The fear factors were noticeably clear among the general people. General people of the region believe that there could be violence in

⁴ The names of the respondents kept hidden for their safety and security.

⁵ The data collected from September 1st to October 20th, 2017 (Kokrajhar district) will be term as field work

coming days, if the security forces left of the area. As there is lack of mutual trust between the different communities, people of the region looks at each other with suspicion. The questions of the interview schedule were translated into local languages for the general people.

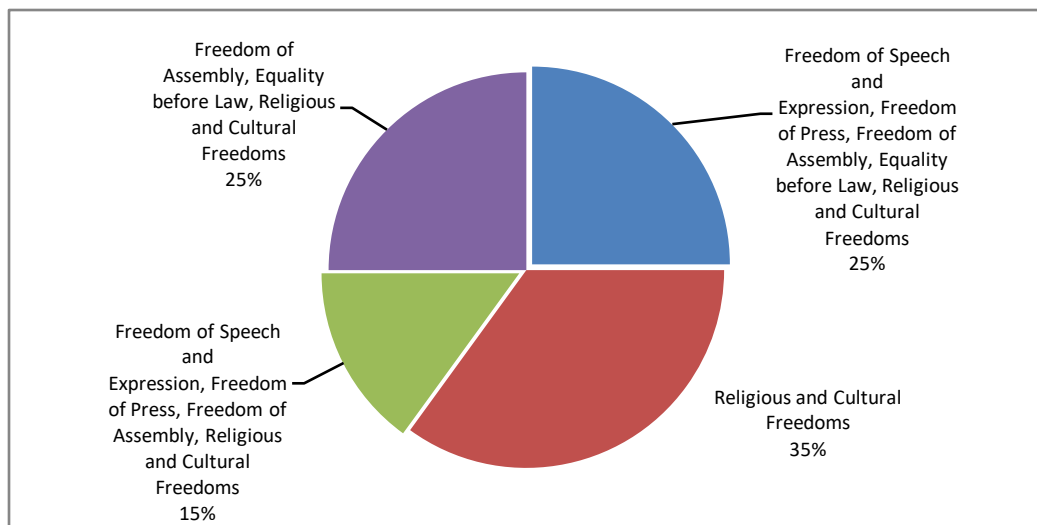
4.2.1 Factors that affect ‘Freedom from Fear’ in Kokrajhar

In order to understand the status of freedom from fear some of the questions were asked to respondents and on the basis of their opinions analysis were made.

Civil Rights

In order to know the status of civil rights in the study area, a close ended question was asked to the respondents and was asked to identify what are the civil rights you enjoy as a citizen of India.

Figure No. 4.2 Civil Rights



Source: Field Work

The figure shows that out of 100 respondents only 25 respondents opted for all the civil rights (Freedom of Speech and Expression, Freedom of Press, Freedom of Assembly, Equality before Law, Religious and Cultural Freedoms) mentioned in the interview schedule (figure 4.2). Most of those respondents were academicians. Although they have

said they enjoy all the mentioned civil rights they are of the view that Freedom of Assembly is in maximum time restricted due to various reasons, for example, operation against insurgent groups, AFSPA etc. Among 25 respondents that opted for all the civil rights 5 (security forces) are of the view that people are enjoying all those civil rights mentioned in the interview schedule. The most negative response came from the general people of remote areas who faced many difficulties in their life. They (out of 100, 35 respondents) are of the view that except Religious and Cultural Freedoms, they do not enjoy any civil rights mentioned in the interview schedule. Out of 100 respondents 15 respondents are of the view that except Equality before Law they enjoy all the civil rights. And remaining 25 respondents opted for Freedom of Assembly, Equality before Law, Religious and Cultural Freedoms. They are of the view that they don't have idea about Freedom of Press.

Though a good number of the respondents of the study area said that they do not enjoy civil rights except religious and cultural freedoms but the study revealed that people of the region enjoy those rights with some limitations. For instance, draconian laws, extra-judicial killing, torture, disappearance and so on. According to a respondent (Nagendra Show) in the name of search operation many people of the locality (remote villages) were picked up by army men and taken to their camps and pierce them (innocent people) with arrows and when their physical condition become very weak, the army men shoot them in their bodies and head. Later security forces hands over their dead bodies to the police and saying they were killed in an encounter. Sometimes even the dead bodies cannot be recovered, just goes like missing. This clarifies that the most important right under the Constitution of India i.e. right to life is threatened in the area.

Rule of Law

Rule of law is expressed through the proverb that no one is above the law, not even the government. It not only guarantees the liberty of the citizens but it also confines the arbitrariness of the government and in that way it makes government more articulate in decision-making. Rule of law is available through formal and procedural justice which makes independent judiciary a very important mechanism of governance. To understand

the status of rule of law an open ended question was asked to the respondents. On the basis of their responses following analysis was made.

Out of 100 respondents, a thumping of respondents (give the percentage, don't give vague analysis) argued that there is no rule of law in the region due to the lack of proper communication, illiteracy or ignorance and most of them are inhabitants of northern part of the districts. A respondent who happens to be a headman of a village said that *“the Rule of Law is only a theory with no practical use. We cannot deny that there exists rampant corruption in the region. The most surprising thing is that in Kokrajhar wearing helmet is prohibited many a time and there are many cases of taking bribe in the name of violation of traffic rules and all.”*

The existence of Very Important Person (VIP) culture, discrimination, intolerance, corruption in administration, poverty, terrorism and gender inequality or gender discrimination are also violating the rule of law. As a result of it people in the region expressively could not enjoy the Right to education (Article 21A) or free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 6 to 14 years given by the constitution of India.

A respondent (Bitul Hasda) of remote village (Pakriguri) says that *“Justice is only for the rich but not for the poor people. Poor people are not getting justice on time due to many reasons. Killing, kidnapping, conflict, ethnic conflict, violence, insurgency etc. leads to the violation of basic rights of the people. Most of the time general people are harassed in police stations by threat of imposing some hideous cases. Rich people get release from police station even though they are culprit by giving bribe.”*

A respondent who happens to be a leader of student organization says that *“due to the existence of draconian laws in Assam particularly Kokrajhar, the basic rights given by the Constitution of India- freedom of speech and expression, freedom of assembly, freedom to form associations, freedom of movement, protection against arbitrary arrest and detention (Article 22) and right to life and personal liberty etc. are violated whereas 44th Amendment of the Constitution has made the right to life and liberty (Article 21)*

inviolable even during the emergency. In other words, it has made Article 21 beyond the scope of powers conferred under Article 359 of the Constitution of India.”

In fact, Democracy and the rule of law are inextricably linked with each other and in all matters for instance - the protection of the rights of the people, equality before the law and protection against excessive arbitrariness Constitution of India has given sufficient mechanisms in order to ensure that the Rule of Law is followed. Through its decisions the Courts have strived to reinforce these mechanisms and ensure smooth justice delivery to all citizens but could not succeed due to many reasons. So, important steps are required in order to establish rule of law in the region, without which our fundamental credentials as a democracy will be badly undermined.

Atrocities of the Security Forces

To know the ground reality whether people are experiencing/witnessing atrocities by the security forces without any guilty or not a closed ended question was asked.

Table No. 4.1: Atrocities of the Security Forces

Have you ever experienced/witnessed arbitrary detention, torture and harassment by the security forces without any guilty?						
Response	General People	Political Activist	Academicians	Civil Society	Security Forces	Total
Yes	16	9	10	10	-	45 45%
No	14	4	8	8	-	34 34%
Don't Know	5	7	2	2	5 (No Response)	21 21%
Total	35	20	20	20	5	100

Source: Field Work

Above table shows that out of 100 respondents, majority (45%) of the respondents said that they have experienced or witnessed arbitrary detention, torture and harassment by the security forces without any guilty in the name of linkman, supporter or informer of the insurgent groups (**Table No. 4.1**). Majority of them who have opted for yes were general people of the rural area. Majority of political activist, academicians and civil society are also of the view that people of the region are not free from arbitrary arrest and detention, torture and harassment by the security forces on suspicion. Respondents are of the view that this is due to the lack of knowledge and presence of draconian law i.e. Armed Forces

(Special Powers) Act. 34% of the respondents said that they have not experienced or witnessed such atrocities by the security forces in the region. 16% of the respondents don't know whether people have been arbitrarily arrested, tortured and harassed by the security forces and 5% of respondents who belongs to the category of security forces didn't give any response on it. An assistant sub-inspector (Jamin Hussain) of AP was of the view that *"sometimes innocent people were also suffered during the time of counterinsurgency operations and in maintaining law and order."* He also termed it as *"natural"*.

The experience of Swapan, Rupam and Brupam of Shialmari under Serfanguri Police Station, Kokrajhar District (Assam) are very strong examples of atrocities of security forces (AP) against innocent people which need a mentioned. Apart from them investigation officer of the Serfanguri police station included Saila of Balatonga, Swaran (elder brother of Swapan) of Shialmari and Lalit of Hazarkia as absconder in the charge sheet.

One day, Swapan (28 years old) of Shialmari, son of a shopkeeper was arrested by police early in the morning from his home in the name of stone pelting on the vehicle of forest guards who were coming from the forest and sent him to jail in the evening. Swapan says that *"the place of the incident (stone pelting) is around 1 Kilometer far from my home and at the time of the incident (around 8 pm) I was taking dinner at home and never involved in the incident"*. Swapan added that *"security forces blindly sent me in jail without knowing whether I was involved on not in the incident."* Rupam (23 years old) and Brupam (26 years old), two brothers of a family were also arrested and jailed on the same ground (stone pelting). They (Rupam and Brupam) say that *"the place of incident is only 100 meters far from our home. We were at home during the time of incident and were not involved in the incident."* The story of Saila (32 years old) (charged as absconder) is the most interesting, who was working as a security guard in Bangalore during the time of incident was also listed as absconder in charge sheet. Saila says that *"from that incident I have lost my thrust towards Police."* Like Saila, Swaran was also listed in the list of absconder, who was working as a labourer in Sikkim at the time of incident. Lalit (35 years old, cultivator) of Hazarkia, who was also listed in the list of

absconder, says that “*I was not involved in the incident because at that time I was sleeping due to illness.*” As a result, they (Saila, Swaran and Lalit) also had to go for trial with those three (Swapan, Rupam and Brupam) who were jailed and lastly the prosecution side could not prove that they were involved in the incident and all of them (Swapan, Rupam, Brupam, Saila, Swaran and Lalit) got acquitted.

A school teacher, who happens to be a journalist of print media said, “*The inhuman treatment of the security forces (Central Reserve Police Force and Assam Police) in the name of search operation against NDFB is very much common in the region. One night security forces came in the house of a Rabha widow (70 years) of a village under Kachugaon police station. In a single night security forces came six times in her house and she was beaten by security forces. In the next morning, as a result of the pressure of Rabha society, two security personals of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) had to apologize*”. “*People should be aware of such incidents. Such incidents should be exposed to the higher authority*” he added.

Although torture of the insurgent groups have reduced a lot with the deployment of huge military personals and enforcement of AFSPA, a good number of people have also experienced or witnessed arbitrary detention, torture and harassment of the security forces leading to the lost of many innocent lives.

Safety and security of the locality

To understand whether people feel safe or unsafe in their locality, a closed ended question was asked to the sample.

Table 4.2: Views on Safety and Security of the locality

Do you feel safe in your locality?						
Response	General People	Political Activist	Academicians	Civil Society	Security Forces	Total
Yes	12	9	18	12	5	56
No	23	11	2	8	-	44
Total	35	20	20	20	5	100

Source: Field Work

The table shows that the majority of the people (42 out of 56 respondents) who feel safe in their locality are more from urban areas where there is enough security and more educated people. They are of the view that illiteracy, lack of mutual understanding and respect are the some of the reasons of insecurity in the rural areas.

Majority of the people (35 out of 44 respondents) who belong to the rural areas feel unsafe in their locality due to insurgency, militarization, illegal migrants, extortion, kidnapping, rape by security forces where widows were also not left. Due to ethnic conflict and violence also many families couldn't return to their home and many had to stay in other places and many innocent people lost their valuable lives in the ethnic conflicts of 1996, 1998 (between the Bodos and Santhals), 1993, 1994, 2008 and 2012 (between the Bodos and Muslims). As a result, large number of innocent people including women and children were butchered and left homeless. Hundreds of women became victim of gang rape and police torture. To be precise, human rights of the people are violated at a very high magnitude during ethnic conflicts.

The most important thing came from the field study is that majority of the Bodo people feel more unsafe due to security forces than insurgent groups but the non-Bodo people are of the view that they feel more unsafe due to insurgent groups than security forces. Paban Murmu, who happens to be an athlete said, *“Insurgent groups are the main source of insecurity of life because they don't skip even widow and children.”*

Most of the people in the region feel unsafe due to insurgency and they are of the view that the root causes of insurgency should be dig out and permanent solutions to the problem should be find out. In addition, they are of the view that due to the prevalence of militarization of the region many innocent peoples were harassed, tortured, killed in the name of linkman, informer of the insurgent groups. Especially, during the time of *Operation All Out* and *Operation All Clear* many people were tortured, arrested, beaten by the security forces. AFSPA has brought a threat to the right to life given by the Constitution of India where school children were also killed in the name of extremists.

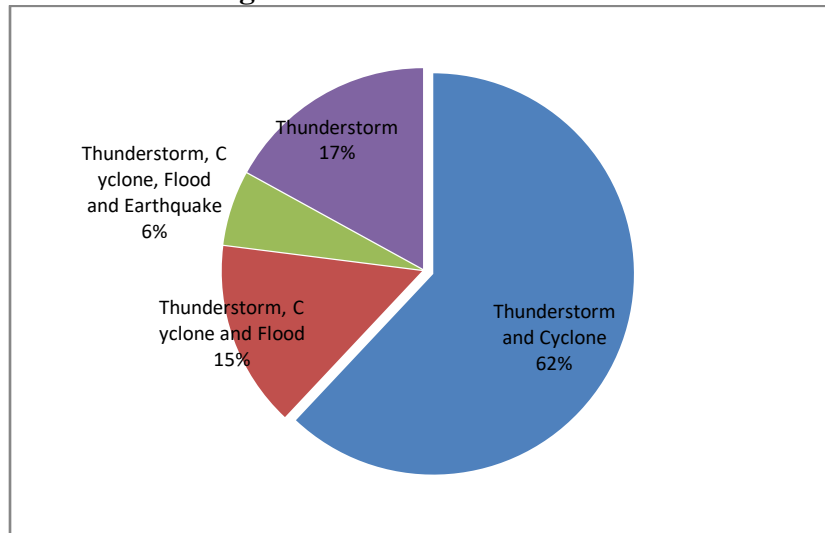
Respondents are of the view that during the time of Bodoland Movement a good number of Bodo people have experienced police atrocities such as gang rape by the Assam Police and central paramilitary forces, mental, physical harassment and many innocent people also have suffered from police torture in the name of linkman with armed groups and many others. Many were killed in fake encounters. Besides that, people have also been facing difficulties like demand of money by insurgent groups (failure to give resulted in kidnapping and sometime killing), disturbances in business, development works, education etc. due to bandh called by different organizations of the region. In reality, high magnitude of human rights violation took place in the region which still continues.

Ground report shows that a thumping amount of people feel unsafe in their locality because they said that they couldn't lead their life with dignity as a result of the inhuman treatment of the insurgent groups, atrocities of security forces and killing of innocent people during the time of ethnic conflicts. Thus, it can be say that in order to ensure safety in the region mutual understanding and respect should be develop among the different communities. Security forces needs to be made more peoples friendly. Apart from that, development and employment facilities will also help in bringing peace in the region.

Natural Threats

To know what are the natural threats faced by the people in the region (Kokrajhar district), a close ended question was asked.

Figure No.4.3: Natural Threats



Source: Field Work

The above data shows that out of 100 respondents 62% of them opted for Thunderstorm and Cyclone, 15% opted Thunderstorm, Cyclone and Flood, 6% opted Thunderstorm, Cyclone, Flood and Earthquake and the remaining 17% opted only Thunderstorm. Respondents also mentioned lightning as one of the most dangerous natural threats of the region because of which many have lost their lives.

Saran Hasda (respondent) of Shialmari aged 50 years says *“the thunderstorm across the region damage houses every year. In my life the storm that came on 4th May 2017 was the strongest. It resulted into the disruption of power services and destroyed several trees including damage of huge properties.”*

Nitish Roy, a farmer of Nepalpara (Serfanguri) said, *“Heavy storm accompanied by hail and rain has caused extensive damage to crops and houses, rendering hundreds of people homeless in Shialmari and the adjoining areas. The poor people of the region suffered extensively by the hailstorm. Government of Assam gave roof sheets to the people whose houses were damaged intensively but it also could not come effectively due to the existing corruption.”* He added, *“in the name of official works and carrying charges officials took money from each beneficiary.”*

Respondents are of the view that every year from April to October Serfanguri area is under darkness as power supply is stopped due to massive lightning, storm etc. People of Kokrajhar are always in misery due to lack of power supply. In fact, the most dangerous natural threat in the region is lightning. Due to lightning many people lost their lives including domestic animals.

In fact, it's true that the region is suffering from natural threats where many people have lost their lives and properties. It has also come to know that the problem of flood is more in southern part of the district in comparison to the northern part of the district.

Personal Security

To know whether people have experienced/witnessed killing, kidnapping, extortion, rape etc. in the region, a close ended question was asked to the samples.

Table No. 4.3: Personal Security

Have you ever experienced/witnessed killing, extortion, rape etc. in the region?						
Response	General People	Political Activist	Academicians	Civil Society	Security Forces	Total
Yes	18	10	8	10	4	50
No	12	4	8	8	1	33
Don't Know	5	6	4	2	-	17
Total	35	20	20	20	5	100

Source: Field Work

The above table represents that among the 100 respondents 50% of them have experienced or witnessed killing, extortion, rape etc. in the region and 33% of them are of the view that they have not experienced/witnessed such incidents in the locality. The 17% of the respondents opted for don't know. Majority of the respondents are of the view that the incidents of rape is not much common in the region but it was common during the time of militarization and was common during the time of Bodoland Movement.

Respondents of the Balajan area said, *“The incident of Balajan Tiniali market was a well planned of security forces where a suspected NDFB was killed. The incident was a fake encounter because the person killed by the forces was already arrested. This type of incidents are very much common in the region in the name of linkman, informer etc.”*

One among them also said that *“during the time of Operation All Out (December 2014) many innocent peoples were killed in the name of insurgency, link man, supporter etc.”*

A respondent who is an academicians said, *“There is no security of life in Kokrajhar town also, even though it is headquarter of BTC, where Basanta Basumatary and Bodosa Narzary were killed by miscreants in the day time.”* He added, *“President of All Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) Minority Students Union (Lafiqul Islam Ahmed) was shot dead by unidentified miscreants at Titaguri Bazar.”* A respondent, one of the renowned personalities of Serfanguri area said, *“Many innocent peoples were killed by the insurgent groups in the name of informer of security forces. The Gami Gwra (village headman) of Padmabil and VDP Secretary Belguri were killed by extremists. In the meantime, the Gami Gwras of many villages (No. 1, 2, 3 Shialmari, Balatanga, Mwinaguri, Dhwnaguri and Kapurgaon) resigned from their posts due to apprehending attacks by the extremists.”* According to another respondent of Thaisoguri under Kochugaon police station, there are many incidents of the killing in his locality where his own family members were killed.

Witch hunting

Rural populations have blind believe in witch. They have killed many innocent lives in the name of witch hunting. Witch hunting is common in the remote tribal society and in tea tribes. Witch hunting is one of the most dangerous superstitions prevailing in India, particularly in Assam where the state has witnessed more than 400 cases of witch hunting in last five years. Field study has revealed that there were many innocent people who had lost their lives in the name of witch, which is called ‘*daini*’ in local language and ‘*daini*’ is usually identified by ‘*ojha*’/‘*deodini*’/‘*kabiraj*’. Killing, outcaste and driven away from the house on charges of being allegedly involved in practicing black magic is very much common in the region. Various organizations and intellectuals of different communities have been organizing many awareness programmes in the affected areas. Intellectuals are of the view that there are many reasons of witch hunting, for instance- lack of education or illiteracy is one of the most effective forceful pressures, which may have different root causes and probable to generate many unsafe situation, health care deficit is also one of

the most important reason because due to lack proper healthcare facilities people are unaware of the various diseases including tuberculosis, cancer, cerebral malaria, typhoid, jaundice etc. Instead, they consider it the handiwork of witch or *daini*. Apart from that, poverty, conspiracy etc. are also the reasons of witch hunting.

Field study revealed that the killing of innocent people in the name of witch hunting is very much common in Bodo, Rabha, Adivashi communities and maximum victims of witch hunting have been women. Basic problems of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment need to be resolved and initiatives of women empowerment are also important to overcome such problems. Thus, it has become clear that people of the region have experienced or witnessed personal insecurities in the region. The establishment of the rule of law, protection of human rights and civil liberties, self-consciousness, rising literacy, reducing conflict and violence will help in ensuring personal security in the region.

4.2.2 Factors that affect ‘Freedom from Want’ in Kokrajhar

In order to know the status of freedom from want, some of the questions were asked and on the basis of these questions following analysis were made:

Government’s Responsibility on Issues and Interest of the People

To understand how policies of the government are taking care of the interests and issues of the people of the region, a closed ended question was placed where they were given to agree or disagree.

Table No. 4.4: Government’s Responsibility on Issues and Interest of the People

Do you think the policies of government take care of your interests and issues? If not, why?						
Response	General People	Political Activist	Academicians	Civil Society	Security Forces	Total
Strongly Agree	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agree	10	4	10	4	2	30
Uncertain	4	7	4	4	3	22
Disagree	7	7	4	2	-	20
Strongly Disagree	14	2	2	10	-	28
Total	35	20	20	20	5	100

Source: Field Work

The majority (30%) of the respondents agreed that policies of the government are taking care of the interests and issues of the people of the region whereas 28% strongly disagreed. However, 22% are uncertain whether policies of government take care of your interests and issues or not. Among the 100 respondents 20% of them disagree the view and no one of the respondents strongly agree the view.

Although government has taken many policies to look after the interests and issues of the people, there are still many problems in this regard due to the poor implementation of the government policies in the region. Government should deal with this problem with sincerity. Jiten Koch, who happens to be a president of a student union, says, “*Corrupt officials are one of the most important reasons for the poor implementation of the government policies.*”

The respondents who agree that policies of government takes care of interests and issues of the people are of the view that policies of the government are worthy of trust if properly implemented. But due to various reasons policies of the government does not reach to the people.

The respondents who said that policies of government don't take care of interests and issues of the people alleged that the governmental policies are not effective and promises of the government to the establishment of Medical College, Central University in Kokrajhar district has not come true till now.

A respondent who strongly disagreed, said, “Policies of government are not giving special attentions to the downtrodden population of the society. They have failed to keep their promises made during the time of election.” Thus, it can be say that the policies made by the government are made for the welfare and interest of the people but it couldn't come to the people effectively due to various reasons like corruption in administration or poor implementation. In order to overcome from these problems government need to deal with these problems with sincerity.

Government's Responsibility in Resolving Societal Problems

To understand whether government is resolving the problems confronted by the society or not, a close ended question was asked.

Table No. 4.5: Government's Responsibility in Resolving Societal Problems

Do you think the government solves the problems confronting your society? If not, why?						
Response	General People	Political Activist	Academicians	Civil Society	Security Forces	Total
Yes	14	4	6	7	2	33
No	16	12	4	7	1	40
Don't Know	5	4	10	6	2	27
Total	35	20	20	20	5	100

Source: Field Work

The above table indicates that amongst the 100 respondents, only 33 percent think that government resolves the problems confronted by the society whereas 40 percent of them are of the view that government is not resolving the problems confronted by the society. 27 percent of them don't know whether governments are resolving the problems and issues confronted by the society or not.

In fact, government has been taking many important steps to resolve the problems faced by the society. Among the 100 respondents majority of the category of general people and political activist are not satisfied with the working of the government in resolving the problems confronted by the society whereas majority of the academicians didn't respond whether governments is resolving the problems and issues confronted the society or not. 7 respondents belonged to the civil society are of the view that government is resolving the problems and issues confronted by the society whereas 7 of them did not agree. Whereas 2 respondents of Armed forces said that government is resolving the problems confronted the society, 2 of them don't know whether governments are resolving the problems and issues confronted by the society or not.

Respondents of the study are not satisfied with the initiatives taken by the government but the field study revealed that government is taking many necessary steps to overcome the problems confronted by the society. People of the region expect a better distribution

of basic needs like- food, clothes, shelter and other important facilities such as- education, health and dignity of the individual etc. The indigenous people of the region wants that governments should give special attention is deportation of illegal migrants and protection of tribal people and land (tribal belt and blocs for the tribal and other backward people).

Respondents were happy with the recent initiative of the government of Assam where a committee was formed on 6th Feb, 2017 for the protection of Land rights of indigenous people. The committee was formed after an order of the Revenue and Disaster Management Department, directing all districts to carry out eviction drives on all government lands under encroachment. Former Chief Election Commissioner of India, Hari Shankar Brahma was the Chairman of the committee and Dr. Rohini Kumar Baruah, Shri Ajoy Kumar Borpatragohain, Shri Srikumar Dohutia and Shri Santanu Bharali were its members. The team visited all the districts of Assam and studied the conditions of the tribal people particularly in regards to their land rights to solve the problems regarding the issue of land Pattas to indigenous people. The team recommended the amendment of the existing Assam Land Rights Act, 1886 and other laws to ensure the land rights of the people, if required. The people who settled or born in Assam before March 25, 1971 will be treated as indigenous people of the region by the committee.

As the region is witnessing a number of violence and conflict, government has also initiated the updation of National Register of Citizens (NRC). It is basically the process of enlisting the names of those persons (or their descendants) whose names appear in 1951 NRC, or any of the Electoral Rolls up to 1971, or any of the admissible documents up to 24th March (midnight) 1971.

Although respondents are not satisfied with the working of the government in resolving their problems but it can be clearly observed that government is working significantly in resolving the problems confronted by the society. For instance, NRC updation, healthcare facilities, development works and many others.

Economic Security

Economic security constitutes one of the most important aspects of human security. To understand whether income can satisfy their basic needs, a closed ended question was asked to the respondents. The truth got reflected in the people's opinion about their income situation. Out of 100 respondents 41% (41) said that their income can fulfill their basic needs (Table-4.5). Of them, 20 said that their income can fulfill their basic needs and they can save a little out of it whereas 21 respondents said that their income is enough to meet their basic needs but they cannot save out it. 48% of the respondents said that their income cannot fulfill their basic needs and hence they have to face great hardships in their lives whereas 11% of them don't know whether their income can fulfill their needs or not. General people who said that their income can fulfill their basic needs also said that due to the continuous rise of prices income could not meet their needs meaningfully. Among the academicians who find it difficult to meet the basic needs out of their income few are working under state government. The proportion of such respondents who find it highly difficult to meet their basic needs is more among rural people, socially backward classes and illiterates.

Table No. 4.6: Economic Security

Do you think your income can satisfy your basic needs like food, clothes and shelter?						
Response	General People	Political Activist	Academicians	Civil Society	Security Forces	Total
Yes	10	10	12	8	1	41
No	14	10	8	12	4	48
Don't Know	11	-	-	-	-	11
Total	35	20	20	20	5	100

Source: Field Work

Due to unemployment problems a large number of people migrated to other states (Bangalore, Kerala, Sikkim, Mumbai, Gujarat etc.) for wage labourer for better livelihood. Among them (migrant workers) maximum workers are youth and unskilled workers. Apart from that, people are of the view that those who are involved in corrupt activities in administrations are richer than the genuine people.

As large majorities of the people are unemployed there is huge dissatisfaction among the people regarding the performance of the government, because prices of the daily goods are increasing day by day although government promised to reduce the prices. As a result, general people are strongly dissatisfied with the working of the government. Arun Saha (businessman) considers syndicate tax as one of the most important contributors of the price rise in Kokrajhar town. As far as the views of the people from Dhubri district that came for study in Kokrajhar is concerned, the prices of the commodities are very much higher in Kokrajhar than the prices of their hometown.

As the general people of the region are fully dependent on cultivation they are not satisfied with their income because they face many difficulties in providing higher education to their children. Many of the respondents are also of the view that there is a huge corruption in distribution of housing scheme like- Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana (PMGAY) which was previously known as Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) among the poor people. The beneficiaries of the scheme need to pay (around five thousand) to the chairman of the VCDC in the name of official work.

In fact, it can be say that development and employment generation are the most important steps that need to be taken for the development of the region. Because, directly or indirectly the problem of unemployment, underdevelopment may emerge as a factor of conflict, violence and joining any underground/armed groups.

Security of Livelihood

Though government has taken an important step to ensure a guarantee of job opportunity to the people, the ground reality tells shocking stories. In order to understand whether MG-NREGA can guarantee a job, closed ended question was also asked. Out of 100 respondents majority (67%) opted for 'No' whereas only 14% said that MG-NREGA is giving guaranteed job but 19% of the respondents 'don't know' whether MG-NREGA is giving guaranteed job or not (Table-4.6). The respondents who opted for yes are also of the view that workers don't get their payment on time. People are not getting regular work and there is huge corruption in the implementation of this Act.

Table No. 4.7: Security of Livelihood

Is Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, (MG-NREGA) giving you guaranteed job opportunity?						
Response	General People	Political Activist	Academicians	Civil Society	Security Forces	Total
Yes	8	2	2	2	-	14
No	19	16	16	16	-	67
Don't Know	8	2	2	2	5	19
Total	35	20	20	20	5	100

Source: Field Work

Majority of the respondents (67%) believed that the MGNREGA, which was expected to improve people's employment security on a sustained basis, through developing economic and social infrastructure in rural areas could not do so in the study area (Table-4.6). As far as Kokrajhar is concerned MGNREGA has failed to fulfill its objectives due to huge corruption. The spirit of the programme (MGNREGA) ruined due to faulty implementation approach. Biasness and favoritism in case of distribution of job card, dominance of leading families, absence of good leadership and improper coordination among the stakeholders are the major hurdles in the effective implementation of the programme. In fact, the main goals of MGNREGA (rural development and employment) have not been achieved in the region.

The guaranteed days of employment under MG-NREGA could not reach to the people. People are also not aware of the provisions of the Act. Similarly, there exists huge corruption. Rajib Barman said, *“it has never been properly implemented in the region.”* *“This programme is not successful in the area.”* he added.

The study revealed that MGNREGA could not give guaranteed job to anyone and found that most of the people didn't get the work. The members and chairman of VCDC collect the labourers who are not the people of the area. They are also paid more wages not according to the wages under this Act. Thus, it can be say that the spirit of the Act has ruined due to huge corruptions, faulty implementation and all.

In order to know the healthcare facilities in the study area an open ended question was posed to the respondents asking the available healthcare infrastructures in their locality. Whether they use them? In Kokrajhar district there are 5 Community Health Centre

(CHC), 37 Primary Health Centre (PHC), 120 Sub-Centre (SC), one Rupnath Brahma Civil Hospital (RNB) and one MRM Memorial Hospital (Private). Apart from that there is Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHA) in the community who creates health awareness and serves as a key communication mechanism between the healthcare system and rural population. Although there exists a good numbers of healthcare centres in the region there is minimum facilities with limited medical equipments.

The ground situation shows that maximum users of the government healthcare facilities are poor families. Respondents said that there are no full time Doctors in sub-centres. Hence, people are compelled to go to Primary Health Centres. It can be made more effective by giving sufficient number of full time doctors and medical equipments.

The ground report also shows that below poverty line (BPL) patients are also forced to buy medicines and surgical equipment in government hospitals. As far as the Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakaram (JSSK), launched by the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), Assam, in December 2011, a pregnant admitted to a government health institution is entitled to free and cashless delivery, diagnostics test for instance blood, urine and ultrasound, free nutritional diet and supplements and free conveyance from home to a health institution and free drop home after delivery. The patient is provided with a free kit of drugs and consumables for the delivery. But, the incident of 12th May (2012) shocked the entire community where Sarmila Basumatary and her husband Suniram Basumatary had to sell their newborn baby to a childless couple in order to clear bill (7,400) at RNB Civil Hospital in Kokrajhar. A Jaynal Abedin (doctor of RNB), that forced the couple to buy medicines from private pharmacy said that necessary medicines were not available in the hospital. Abedin was later arrested after Pradeep Hajela, Director NRHM filed an FIR at the office of the Kokrajhar superintendent of police.

A good number of respondents are of the view that they use government healthcare facilities occasionally because there are no sufficient equipments and doctors also spend more time in private clinic and private hospitals and are not responsive and helpful to the patients. Study also revealed that there exist huge cases of collection of money by the government doctors from the patients directly or indirectly.

In fact, there are many problems in the state healthcare services. But at the same time there are many important works done by the health department. For instance, the main objective of the Revised National Tuberculosis Control Programme (RNTPC) is one of the most important steps to ensure Directly Observed Treatment Shortcourse (DOTS) to all Tuberculosis (TB) patients. Pregnant women are also benefited from JSSK, where they are getting free and cashless delivery, diagnostics test (For instance, blood, urine and ultrasound, free nutritional diet and supplements and free conveyance from home to a health institution and free drop home after delivery). The patients are also provided with a free kit of drugs and consumables for the delivery. However, it is also revealed in the study that the implementation of the government policies needs strict vigilance for its improvement.

Food Security

As it is known that food security constitutes an important element of human security, it becomes utmost necessary to understand the Public Distribution System (PDS) of the country in the study area. Thus, to understand whether Public Distribution System is helping poor people in getting food along with other essential commodities like sugar and kerosene, a closed ended question was asked to the people. PDS is one of the most important services to help poor people in getting food along with other essential commodities like sugar and kerosene. But the field study revealed many issues in this regard.

Table No. 4.8: Food Security

Do you think that Public Distribution System (PDS) is helping poor people in getting food along with other essential commodities like sugar and kerosene? If not, what are the issues?						
Response	General People	Political Activist	Academicians	Civil Society	Security Forces	Total
Yes	16	12	14	11	4	57
No	15	6	4	8	-	33
Don't Know	4	2	2	1	1	10
Total	35	20	20	20	5	100

Source: Field Work

Above table shows that out of 100 respondents, 57 said that PDS system is helping poor people in getting food along with other essential commodities. But at the same time they

are of the view that the dealers are taking extra charges in the name of carrying charges and they are giving low quantity of commodities. Here, the important fact is that of the 35 respondents of general people only 16 said that PDS is helping the poor people in getting food. Among 20 respondents of Political Activist, 12 of them are of the view that this system is helping basic food necessity. Out of the 20 respondents of Civil Society majority (11) of them said that PDS is helping more or less basic food necessity to the poor people. 4 respondents of Security Forces category also accepted the view.

A good number of the respondents (33%) are of the view that PDS is not meaningfully helping poor people in getting food and other commodities like sugar and kerosene due to corruption and all. Of them (33), 15 belong to General People, 6 belong to Political Activist, 4 belong to Academicians and 8 belong to Civil society. Remaining 10 respondents don't know whether PDS is helping poor people in getting food along with other essential commodities like sugar and kerosene or not. Study revealed that the distribution of rice and kerosene are regular but other commodities are almost irregular or distributed only once or twice in a year. The most common complaint against PDS is additional charges taken by the dealers which made the system questionable. Apart from that, respondents are of the view that a good quantity of their due is deducted by the dealers due many other reasons which dealers don't disclose to the beneficiaries.

Apart from PDS, respondents also mentioned about the performance of Mid-day Meals Scheme (MDMS) and Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) in giving nutritious food to children. They are of the view that MDMS has more or less improved children's attendance in the school and in reducing school dropouts and providing nutritious food to children. Although ICDS is working in providing food, pre-school education and primary healthcare to children less than six years of age, pregnant women and lactating mothers to improve nutrition and health status of children; and to reduce the incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school dropouts, there is huge irregularities in distribution of essential things from the authority to ICDS centers.

In reality, it has come to light that PDS has helped poor people a lot in getting basic necessary foods with some loopholes. Apart from that MDMS has improved children's

attendance in the school and reduced school dropouts and succeeded in providing nutritious food to children and ICDS also helped pre-school children in pursuing education etc. But more effective functioning of ICDS is necessary.

4.2.3 Issues of Democratic Governance

To have the idea about the major issues in democratic governance in the region, an open ended question was asked. On the basis of it, analysis was made. Democratic governance is a situation where the guarantee of justice, liberty and equality is realized in a democratic political framework and government is sensitive to the people's identities, aspirations and needs and people experience secure and happy. But the People of the region regularly experienced rampant inequalities, injustice or non-fulfillment of societal expectations. People believe that their government is not keeping pace with their expectations. Many of the respondents said that a more accountable and responsive government is utmost necessary of the region. The moral outrage is fully justified and the factors linked to region's governance woes are well known - an increase in corruption, cronyism and criminalizing among the ranks of elected officials and a crushing government bureaucracy. Region is passing through a complex situation (poverty, unemployment, hunger and widening the gap between the rich and poor) where the economy of the country has been recording high rates of growth in recent decades, poverty in the region still exist. As a result, people of the region are continuously going outside the state in search of employment like – security guard, wage laborer etc.

Soon after its creation, BTC realized the need to have both Rural and Urban Local Bodies. Accordingly, in place of Gram Panchayats, BTC created VCDC having bodies nominated by the BTC. Similarly, Town committees and Municipal Boards were formed. Having nominated members for the local bodies was only the beginning and the next step was to have elected bodies. As Panchayat and Rural Development and Urban Development- Town and Country Planning are departments for which BTC is empowered under Paragraph 3-B of the Sixth Schedule to make laws, BTC passed the Bodoland Municipal Rule, 2009 and the Bodoland Village Council Act, 2012 with provision for elected Urban and Local Bodies. It may be mentioned here that the

Bodoland Village Council Act, 2012 has provision for only single tier elected Rural Local Body (corresponding to Gram Panchayat). Election has not yet held because the Act/Rule passed by the BTC and submitted to the State (Assam) is not yet assented by the Governor. This reflected in respondent's views where they said that the absence of election of VCDC is one of the major problems of democratic governance.

Corruption, favouritism and nepotism are considered as the major obstacles in improving the quality of governance. Apart from it, criminalization of politics, violation of the constitutional provisions in implementing AFSPA, illegal migrants, population explosion, ethnic conflicts, fratricidal killings, lack of awareness of the people, illiteracy, underdevelopment, unemployment, violence sponsored by the state mechanism as well as the insurgent groups/insurgent activities, vote bank politics, intolerance, kidnapping and extortion by the militant groups and Women related issues (rape, murder), lack of proper implementation of governmental schemes, lack of willingness to take up welfare measures etc. are the major issues society is facing in democratic governance.

The people of the region are very much sensitive about their ethnic identity, culture, customs and languages. People are afraid of speaking up against the insurgency and to be threatened by the militants and other sources in terms of money and life. That has to be understood by the government mechanism.

Free and Fair Election

A democracy has not meaning unless and until a free and fare election is held. Thus, to understand whether there exist a free and fare election system in the region, one closed ended question was asked to the samples.

Table No. 4.9: Free and Fair Election

Do you think that people are free to elect their leaders without any kind of influence?						
Response	General People	Political Activist	Academicians	Civil Society	Security Forces	Total
Yes	10	12	12	10	3	47
No	20	8	7	8	-	43
Don't Know	5	-	1	2	2	10
Total	35	20	20	20	5	100

Source: Field Work

Above table shows that 47 out of 100 respondents said that people have freedom to elect their leaders without any kind of influences at present whereas 43 respondents are of the view that people are not free to elect their leaders without any kind of influence due to the lack of awareness about their political rights. 10 respondents said that they don't know whether they are free to elect their leaders without any kind of influence or not.

As a citizen, all populace of 18 years of age have the right to choose their own leader and vote according to their own choice. In India, particularly Assam political leader dominates their voters through various means during the election. Study reveals that money power plays a very important role in the election of the region. During the time of election the distribution of cash, liquor or any other items for gratification of voters are found to common in the region. Many people start scouting for those candidates who will pay the highest for his or her vote. There are many people who take money from all the candidates in the fray and worst so, will never cast the vote after pocketing all the cash. Incidents are also reported by the respondents about the threatening of the extremist groups to vote for a particular candidate or party. Raju Saren said, *“New culture of election started in the region i.e. each and every voter get foods after voting their supporting parties and it is followed by all the parties.”*

According to the respondents who said people do not have the right to elect their leaders without any kind of influence are of the view that as the majority of the populations are illiterate they are easily convinced through money during the time of election as a result undeserving candidates are getting elected in the Council (BTC), State Legislative Assembly and in Lokh Sabha whom they even do not know. One of the most important loopholes of the region is that the grass-root level of democracy (VCDC) is not under the process of election. The party which are forming the government in the council they are the only party who holds the power in the local governments. There is a huge dissatisfaction among the people about the process of local governments as a result their (people) main demand is the elected body (democratization) of VCDC.

Promise of developmental scheme is one of the most common ways of convincing support for their party. Apart from that it is also evident that money and ethnic line has

influenced the majority of the people. The community leaders also play an important role in election. Some of the respondents are of the view that the leader which is to be elected in election is decided by the leaders of the community and the name of the candidate is distributed only one or two days before the election through a meeting in the village. Thus, it has become clear that party affiliation, money, ethnic line, leaders of the community etc. plays an important role during time of election.

Hence, it can be say that the condition of election in the study area has become worse due to the lack of knowledge about their rights and education, vote bank politics, insurgency, ragging, life threatening as well as due to the distribution of cash, liquor or any other items for gratification of voters.

4.2.4 Measures to overcome from Human Insecurity

To overcome from Human Insecurity in the region suggestions were asked to the respondents. Following analysis and interpretation was made on the basis of their suggestions:

Secure access to basic income, public and private sector employment, wage employment, self-employment, government financed social safety nets, diversify agriculture and economy are necessary aspects to ensure economic security. Apart from that, economic capital, human capital, public finance, financial reserves and diversified agriculture, development, skill development, political awareness and employment are the basic necessities to address human insecurities. Entitlement to food by growing it themselves, having the ability to purchase it or through a public food distribution system are the necessary strategies to enhance protection and empowerment food security.

Health security can be more effective by enhancing and giving sufficient number of full time doctors and medical equipments in CHC, PHC, SC and sufficient medicines in the hospitals and all. Universal basic education and knowledge on health related matter is one of the most important steps to ensure health security in the region because majority of the rural population have not sufficient knowledge on health issues.

Respondents said that the region has suffered a lot due to natural threats like-thunderstorm, hail stones and many have lost their lives due to lightning. So, people of the region are of the view that in order to ensure environmental security deforestation should be stopped and the process of forestation is very much necessary of the time which is encouraging.

People of the region have often experienced the violation of rule of law, human rights and civil rights since long time. So, people are of the view that establishment of the rule of law, explicit and enforced protection of human rights and civil liberties, self consciousness, increasing literacy, minimizing conflict and violence are necessary to ensure personal security in the region.

Explicit and enforced protection of ethnic groups and community identity, protection from oppressive traditional practices, harsh treatment towards women or protection against discrimination of ethnic/indigenous groups are necessary steps to ensure community security. Initiatives on Women empowerment, social and communal harmony and human rights educations can help a lot in this regard.

Protection of human rights from political or state repression, torture, ill treatment, unlawful detention and imprisonment are the needed strategies to ensure political security. Accountability, transparency, good governance, corruption free society, quality education and awareness among common people about their rights will do a great in ensuring human security.

In short, it can be say that eradication of poverty, corruption, elimination of all forms of discrimination, generation of employment, achievement of quality education, accountability, transparency, good governance in the administration and proper implementation of all government policies will bring down the level of human insecurity issues in the areas. As the region is epicenter of ethnic conflicts and human insecurity, understanding and respect among the communities are very much important. In order to overcome from human insecurity issues people of the region should be made politically more conscious so that they can elect a very responsible and accountable government.

Conclusion

The condition of human security in Northeast, particularly Assam, is not good due to the existence of insurgency and imposition of draconian laws, huge unemployment etc. There have been a number of strikes, agitations, rallies and violence in Kokrajhar. Kokrajhar is strategically important because it falls in the gateway to other Northeastern states as far as road and rail network is concerned. Trouble in this region badly affects the lives of the people of other Northeastern states. The information regarding the human security from the field study also shows that the status of human security has been threatened since long. The study disclosed the root causes of human insecurity such as- pathetic socio-economic condition of the rural people, poverty, unemployment, insurgency, violence, conflict etc.

The region has often been witnessing the violation of civil rights given by the Constitution of India due to arbitrary detentions, torture and harassments, draconian laws, extra-judicial killings, disappearance etc. Due to the deployment of huge military personals and enforcement of AFSPA insurgent groups are not much active in the region. But a large number of people (of remote villages) have been picked up by the security forces during the time of search operation and many of them were mercilessly beaten and killed in fake encounters. Sometimes even the dead bodies cannot be recovered, just goes like missing.

The area is witnessed large number of killing, kidnapping, extortion, rape in the region in the past and which still happens sometime. As a result, people are worried of their children's future. It is also come to light that the pervasive environment of anger among the people of the region. The killings of innocent people in the name of witch hunting in Bodo, Rabha, Adivashi/Santhal community, of which maximum victims being women, is also a major area of concern. Basic problems of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment need to be resolved and initiatives of women empowerment are also important to overcome from such problems. Besides, the region is also suffering from natural threats where many people have lost their valuable lives due to lightning. Heavy storm

accompanied by hail and rain has also caused extensive damages to crops and houses, rendering hundreds of people homeless where poor people suffered extensively.

Due to corruption in administration or poor implementation of policies government schemes for the welfare and interest of the people could not reached the targeted group. In order to overcome from these problems government needs to deal with this problem with sincerity. People of the region are happy with the process of NRC updation because the present controversy of illegal migrants is expected to be solved with this initiative.

Development and employment generation are the most important steps to be taken to ensure economic security in the region. MGNREGA which was suppose to ensure economic security could not provide guaranteed job to people and the spirit of the Act has ruined due to huge corruption, faulty implementation and all. This problem of unemployment directly or indirectly may emerge as a factor of migration or joining in any underground/armed groups.

Various government programs also helped the people in many areas. For instance, People are getting necessary foods from PDS and MDMS which have improved children's attendance in the school and reduced school dropouts and succeeded to some extent in providing nutritious food to children. ICDS has also helped pre-school children in pursuing education. In the field of healthcare services RNTPC is one of the most important steps of ensuring Directly Observed Treatment Shortcourse (DOTS) to all Tuberculosis (TB) patients. Besides that, ASHA is also creating health awareness and serving as a key communication mechanism between the healthcare system and rural population. Pregnant women are also benefited from JSSK where they are getting free and cashless delivery, diagnostics test (For instance, blood, urine and ultrasound, free nutritional diet and supplements and free conveyance from home to a health institution and free drop home after delivery). The patients are also provided with a free kit of drugs and consumables for the delivery.

The region is also witnessing problems like corruption, criminalization of politics, population explosion, ethnic conflict, insurgency, lack of political awareness among the

people and many others. In fact, eradication of poverty, corruption, elimination of all forms of discrimination and generation of employment, achievement of quality education, accountability, transparency, good governance, promotion of brotherhood among the communities and proper implementation of all governmental policies will bring down the level of human insecurity issues in the areas.

CHAPTER - 5

CONCLUSION

The central objective of the study has been to examine the nature and scope of human security and how democracy can ensure human security in Kokrajhar. The study began with a review of the dominant discourses on the sources and causes of human insecurity. After that, the role of democracy in ensuring human security was analyzed through the theory of democratic peace in order to understand how democracy can ensure human security in Kokrajhar. Therefore, Northeastern region of India that has constantly gone with killing, kidnapping, torture, harassment, and insurgency has been mapped to understand the root causes of human insecurity. The study looked at the human insecurity in Kokrajhar by doing a field work to know what role democracy can play in ensuring human security with the insights from General People, Political Activist, Academician And Civil Society and Security Forces.

The analyses of the literature on the sources of human insecurity reveals that security dilemma, killing, kidnapping, extortion, violation of human rights, exploitation, poverty, illiteracy, underdevelopment, unemployment, militarization, obstacles to prosperity, lack of healthcare facilities etc. are the sources of human insecurity.

Democratic peace theory argues that democratic states are more peaceful in foreign relations and they don't engage in armed conflict with other democratic states and are peaceful in their relations with other states. Democratic states rarely escalate to war because they accept the other's legitimacy and consider the opinion of the electorate. Democratic leaders expect to rely on peaceful conflict resolution which directly ensures human security to the people. Monadic explanation of democratic peace states that liberal democracies are likely to be non-violence in their relations with both democratic and non-democratic states because in liberal democracies public opinion and interest groups play an important role in resisting the possibility of engaging in war. Whereas dyadic version of democratic peace states that democratic states are more peaceful only with democracies but they are in general conflict and war-prone like that of non-democracies.

In addition, it also states that the probability of conflict will be less while autocratic-democratic dyad is replaced by democratic-democratic dyad due to the institutional constraints of liberal democracy, but this predictability is absent in nondemocratic states because of the lack of transparency and openness of their political system. At the same time, it also suggests that liberal democratic states must keep military force to prevent or protect themselves from aggression in the current international system because democratic states are more prone to receive challenges and threats to their security.

Systemic democratic peace argues that there will be more peace in the region or international system when there will be more democracies in the region or international system. The Institutional explanation states that democratic institutions and processes make elected leaders of the democratic states accountable to their citizens to do for the best interest of the people. Elected leaders of the democratic state oppose the war because war directly affects huge sections of the population and it is predictable that voter will remove the present party from office. Therefore, in order to stay in power democratic leaders have to satisfy more supporters. Whereas normative explanation suggests that democratic states resolve the political conflicts throughout negotiation but in nondemocratic states, political conflicts are more likely to be performed and resolved through violence and coercion. The democratic norm permits for an environment of live and let live and it results in a basic sense of stability at the personal, communal and national level whereas nondemocratic norms results in an environment of distrust and fear within and outside the government. The normative explanation states that democratic states will follow the nondemocratic norms if their use of democratic norms will endanger their survival while confronting to a nondemocratic state. The explanation of capitalist peace states that country's trade and industry plays an important role in maintaining peace between democratic states. But, many thinkers consider that economic interdependence, self-determination, disarmament and international organizations play an important role in creating peace. Democratic peace proposition is associated with various other propositions between domestic politics and international relations, as well as that democratic states are prone to help one another. They fight shorter wars and are more

prone to win the wars, increasing military victims reduce public hold for war, democratic leaders initiate conflict to safe their domestic support on power etc.

Democratic state plays an important role in enhancing human security through guaranteeing a number of fundamental rights and ensuring a broader range of personal freedom to its citizens. Human security means the security of income, employment, food, health, education and environment and it emphasizes the importance of addressing chronic threats to human life. It is concerned with human life and dignity but not concerned with weapons, where people should be free from the threat of violence and free from poverty and entitled to basic means of survival.

Democracy facilitates people of the state to protect their own fundamental interests and ensures safety and provides the political foundation necessary to sustain all other dimensions of security. Well-designed and inclusive political institutions and processes are the means to prevent violent conflict and manage conflict constructively. Democratic practice is essential for realizing human security because it contributes to peace and put the stage for the socio-economic development to lessen the core causes of conflict. The broader meaning of democracy includes human rights concern, capacity for social and economic development, accountability, the building of consensus in settings of high diversity, improving electoral processes and promoting public involvements which are the measures of human insecurity. A democratic state protects its citizens through institutional safeguards, for example, equality before the law and the advancement of human rights. Democratic practice links the empowerment of citizens through education, healthcare facilities and opportunities for livelihood. The practice of democracy, social tolerance, coexistence, and cooperation are the ways to meet key development goals like-measurable improvements in literacy, health, the ability to earn a livelihood and environmental sustainability. The leaders of democratic states are typically constrained from using violence against their own citizens, especially in power-sharing democracies with multiple checks and balances and separation of powers.

Liberal democracy protects the civil rights of the people, which are directly linked to the question of freedom from fear from the threat of violence. Social conceptions of

democracy insist on rights protections necessary for providing freedom from want and address the largest number of features that comprise human security. Rights to work, health, and education all address significantly the main factors related to poverty, malnutrition, social exclusion and ill-health that threaten individual and collective freedom from want. But, the condition (human security) of India is somehow not up to the mark due to various reasons such as, poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, unemployment, health insecurity, insurgency, corruption, killing, kidnapping, rape, torture, harassment, repression/oppression, arbitrary arrest and detention, extrajudicial killing etc. Thus, it can say that democratic institution could not ensure the human security of the people.

Chapter 3 examines the nature and scope of Human Security in India, especially Northeast India. Studies reveal that India has been passing through critical situations and witnessing a number of scams and the subsidized food grains for BPL families being diverted for sale in open markets away. As a result, citizens have lost their faith in the quality, integrity, and efficiency of the government and compelled them to believe that the State could not succeed in providing security and meeting the hopes, aspirations and basic needs of the general people. Although there is Constitutional and Legal Framework in India in order to look into the enforcement of human rights to ensures human security. But, still the people of the region are witnessing human rights violation which can most suitably be linked with increasing rate of fatalities due to violence as well as conflict. The encounters carried out by the security forces in the name of maintaining law and order and insurgent activities of violence have brought a great challenge to Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. Abuses of human rights under AFSPA in Jammu & Kashmir and Northeast India are common. Here, Jammu & Kashmir ranks first, Assam ranks second; Manipur ranks third, while Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh follow next at five and six complaints, respectively in human rights abuses. Hence, human rights of the people are in threat in India, especially in Jammu & Kashmir and in Northeast India.

Though Government of India has taken some important administrative measures in order to combat the crime against women, but the studies shows that women have always been ill-treated and deprived of their right to life and personal liberty provided by the Constitution of India. As stated by India's NCRB, a crime has been recorded against

women in every three minutes in India. Every 60 minutes, two women are raped in this country. Every 6 hours, a young married woman is found beaten to death, burnt or driven to suicide. Similarly, children in India are also victims of crime, where registered cases of crime against children were increased in 2015 (5.3%) compared to 2014. Maharashtra, with the highest number cases of crime against children in the country during the year 2015. Despite women and children insecurity, India has also witnessed a number of environmental issues, which are the main sources of disease, health issues and long-term livelihood impact for India. The fast-growing population and economic development are leading to a great number of environmental problems in India. Major Environmental problems in India are Forest and Agricultural land degradation. Population growth and economic development are more contributing to a lot of serious environmental tragedies in India like- heavy pressure on land degradation, forests, habitat destruction and loss of biodiversity.

India is witnessing a good number of migrations of people because of the lack of employment opportunity. Although there are many other causes of migration, but generally migration of people is caused by the economic cause. The migration of people in India is continuing in diverse forms for instance- within district, within a state and within the country. The threats to human security in India have also come from health insecurity. In recent years the threats to health security have bloated from the spread of infectious disease like- HIV/AIDS. Among the States/Union Territories of India in the year of 2015, Manipur has shown the highest estimated adult HIV prevalence, followed by Mizoram, Nagaland, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, Karnataka, Gujarat, and Goa. Apart from those, food insecurity has also brought a great challenge to human security in India. The goal of food security is very difficult to achieve in India because poverty is huge and the population is still increasing.

The status of human security in Northeast India is also pathetic with the unending separatist struggle, a sequence of insurgencies and militarization since a long time. The people of the region are not free from atrocities of police and insurgent actions. A number of parties involved in the struggles with diverse ethnic groups and states, some of them wish for sovereignty from India while others call for a reorganization of the states.

Women of Northeast also faced discrimination and violence by security forces during the time of search operations. The figure of rape, molestation, kidnapping, abduction, dowry deaths and cruelty by relatives in Northeast went up from the previous years. The violence against women, mainly domestic violence is rising in the Northeast and particularly the rate of domestic violence in Assam is comparatively higher than other states. Environmental threats also brought great challenges to the people of the region. Because of the flood, lots of people lost their lives as well as the serious harm of properties and as a result affect the fragile food security. People of the region are also suffering from a variety of diseases due to the use of polluted water for drinking, cooking, and bathing. Forests are also shrinking in many parts of Northeast India driven by the quest for food security, demand for wood energy and timber and grazing uses. Many areas of the region also suffered from lightning where many people have lost their lives and properties and thunderstorm or hail storm also brought a huge damage to properties including roof sheets and all.

The region is also experiencing huge unemployment problem. The MGNREGA, which was likely to improve people's employment security on a sustained basis, through developing economic and social infrastructure in rural areas could not do so due to faulty implementation approach. As a result, a good number of workers from the Northeastern region have been migrating to other places in India for better livelihood. The labour outmigration from the Northeast India is a recent phenomenon but in general, migration is happening because of the lack of work or employment opportunities in the region. The shortages of well-trained health workers in the rural health-care sector; be it specialist doctors, nurses or other health workers, is one of the threats to human security. Access to public health-care facilities in safe physical reach is a great challenge in rural areas in the Northeastern states. Children and women are vulnerable and at risk of poor health. They bear the burden of these health deprivations and preventable deaths. Although significant improvements took place in Assam, the IMR continues to be the highest. Another significant fear of the state (Assam) is MMR where Assam's present MMR is higher than national ratio. Thus, it can say that the region is in anxiety because of diverse reasons for

instance, fear of being killed, raped, illiteracy, unemployment, underdevelopment, ethnic conflict, identity conflict, insurgency, internal displacement and so forth.

Assam, especially BTAD (Kokrajhar) deserves special mention in human security issues. Because the region is the home of many insurgent groups and known for fratricidal killings, ethnic conflicts and militancy acts of terror and frequent unleash of fear-psycho also by the security forces and most importantly state-sponsored violence of Assam popularly known as “Secret Killings” (1998-2001). The people of the region argue that ethnic conflict, insurgent activities and security forces are the sources of human rights violation. The region also witnessed a number of ethnic conflicts between the Bodos and Santhals and between the Bodos and Muslims killing many and displacing lakhs of people. The region is also witnessing a huge number of youth unemployment, illiteracy, poverty, underdevelopment, corruption, identity conflict and many others. Due to these reasons, a good number of people of the region feel that democracy could not become successful in giving fundamental requirements to its citizens, especially human security.

The study reveals that those democratic institutions such as- Universal Franchise, Free Press, Good Governance, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, Fundamental Duties and Constitutional Provisions and certain Statutory Provisions could not ensure human security to the people. People of the region are not free from human rights violation which can most suitably be linked with increasing rate of fatalities due to violence as well as conflict. In this situation, the increasing number of underground militants in the state has helped. Further, to suppress the militant groups the successive governments have come up with certain draconian laws but in return, those laws facilitated in violating human rights of the people.

Chapter 4 presents the field study, interpretation and analyses of the issues of human security in Kokrajhar. The study revealed that Democracy could play their significant role in ensuring human security in Kokrajhar but unfortunately, democratic institutions are largely working to ensure national security without giving more importance in ensuring human security. Hence, the study on Kokrajhar shows that democracy is not successful in ensuring human security.

Information on the functioning of democracy was taken from all the communities living in the area. People of the region are of the view that due to the existence of insurgency and installation of draconian laws or militarization many people have been facing arbitrary detention, torture and harassment, extra-judicial killing, torture, disappearance, mercilessly beaten to death and school children and widow were also not left.

Democracy couldn't succeed in addressing the root causes of human insecurity. While focusing on the immediate events and results, the government frequently unnoticed to engage in long-term resolutions to human rights violations came out of the insurgency, ethnic conflict and militarization. On the other hand, study has shown that democracy have the ability to ensure human security through dialogue with insurgent groups, restoring unity among the different communities and ensuring human rights, political awareness among the people and all. Ensuring better socio-economic condition of the rural people through skilled development, employment facilities etc. will also help in ensuring human security in the region.

The Government can ensure the health security by enhancing and giving sufficient medical staff, medical equipment and sufficient medicines in the hospitals as well as universal basic education and knowledge on health-related matter where Government has been accused of giving limited healthcare facilities. Explicit and enforced protection of ethnic groups and community identity, harsh treatment towards women or discrimination against ethnic groups are necessary steps to ensure community security. Protection of human rights, protection from military dictatorships and abuse, state repression, torture, ill-treatment, unlawful detention and imprisonment are the strategies to ensure political security. Accountability, transparency, good governance, corruption free society, quality education and awareness among common people about their rights will do a great in ensuring human security.

A comprehensive analysis of the problem under examination allows us to represent some important remarks. The analyses of the causes of human insecurity reveals that ethnic conflict, violence against women, children and minorities, inefficiency and injustice of the institutions of governance, violation of human rights, poverty, illiteracy,

unemployment, underdevelopment, identity conflict, insurgency, internal displacement and denial of free speech are the major source of human insecurity.

The study suggests that democracy is the powerful agents of human security. It helps people of the state to protect their own fundamental interests, ensures safety, security including welfare and happiness of the people and it is significant in the areas like interstate relations, counter-terrorism and conflict resolution. Well-designed and inclusive political institutions and processes of democracy are the means of preventing violent conflict and managing conflict constructively. Democratic practice is essential for realizing human security. Democracy contributes to peace and put the stage for the socio-economic development in order to lessen the core causes of conflict. The broader meaning of democracy includes human rights, capacity for socio-economic development, accountability, building of consensus in settings of high diversity, improving electoral processes and promoting public involvement. And these are the measures of human insecurity. A democratic state protects its citizens through institutional safeguards such as equality before the law and the advancement of human rights. Democratic practice links the empowerment of citizens through education, healthcare facilities and opportunities for livelihood. The leaders of democratic states are typically constrained from using violence against their own citizens, especially in power-sharing democracies with multiple checks and balances and separation of powers.

An analysis of the importance of democracy in ensuring human security reveals that the area is filled with human insecurity due to the violation of human rights, violence, conflict, insurgency, unemployment, illiteracy, underdevelopment and so forth. People of the region have noticed as well as experienced killing, kidnapping, rape, ill-treatment in their own land. Therefore, they believe that their misfortunes are caused by illiteracy, unemployment, underdevelopment, violence, conflict, insurgency, ill-treatment of security forces and so on. This undermines the progress or development of the area. Thus, killing, kidnapping, murder, loss of lives, internal displacement, fear, anxiety are the common fact in the region. So as to achieve human security in the region development, access to basic income or creation of employment, empowerment, skill-development, political awareness and protection of civil and political rights, accountability,

transparency, good governance and corruption free society needs to be developed. This can help in ensuring human security forever which is a precondition in support of peace and development in the region.

The analysis of the importance of democracy in Kokrajhar human insecurity makes possible us to suggest that democracy is a comprehensive institution in ensuring human security. However, this comprehensive institution is so far to be fully accomplished. Many times democratic institutions have failed to resolve the issues of human security. In most times democratic institutions have maintained national security rather than the human security. So, the actual causes and sources of human insecurity are not addressed. Although democracy engages in the process of ensuring human security it was not enough to ensure human security.

People are of the view that democracy is an important mechanism to prevent human insecurity through well-designed inclusive political institutions and processes and socio-economic development. Still, they are not concerned to bring out the causes of human insecurity. In short, democracy can play an important role in achieving human security. Since the study is done only in Kokrajhar, further study can be done by extending the area or study can be conducted on the responses of the successive governments in this regard.

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Appendix

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This interview schedule is prepared to collect the data for the study on “Democracy and Human Security in Northeast India: A Case Study of Kokrajhar in Assam”. This present study is trying to understand the status of Human Security in the region. The term human security, pioneered by UNDP 1994, includes two components: freedom from fear and freedom from want, and is not a concern with weapons- it is a concern with human life and dignity. Freedom from fear denoting that people should be secure from the threat of violence; and freedom from want denoting the aspiration that people should be free from poverty and destitution and entitled to basic means of survival. Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict, which encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care. Thus, human security means security of income, employment, food, health, education and environment. This concept of human security includes insecurity arising from violence within the household, by the community and sometimes, even the state against women, children and the minorities.

Thanking You

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To be filled by the Respondents

Part: A

*Please fill with the tick (✓) mark wherever necessary
(Opinion/Suggestion = Write your experience)*

- 1. Name :.....
- 2. Male/Female :.....
- 3. Age :.....
- 4. Qualification :.....
- 5. Occupation :.....

Part: B

1. What are the civil rights (civil rights mean the right of citizens to political and social freedom and equality) you enjoy as a citizen of India? If not, why?

- a. Freedom of Speech and Expression b. Freedom of Press c. Freedom of Assembly
- d. Equality before Law e. Religious and Cultural Freedoms

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

2. Do you think that people are free to elect their leaders without any kind of influence?

- a. Yes b. No c. Don't Know

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

3. What are the areas you face violations of Rule of law (Rule of law means equality before the law)?

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

4. Do you think the policies of government take care of your interests and issues? If not, why?

- a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Uncertain d. Disagree e. Strongly Disagree

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

5. Do you think the government solves the problems confronting your society? If not, why?

- a. Yes b. No c. Don't Know

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

6. Have you ever experienced/witnessed arbitrary detention, torture and harassment by the security forces without any guilty?

- a. Yes b. No c. Don't Know

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

7. Do you feel safe in your locality?

- a. Yes b. No

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

8. What are the natural threats you face?

- a. Earthquake b. Flood c. Thunderstorm d. Cyclone e. Any Other
(Please Specify)

9. Have you ever experienced/witnessed killing, extortion, rape etc. in the region?

- a. Yes b. No c. Don't Know

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

10. Do you think your income can satisfy your basic needs like food, clothes and shelter?

- a. Yes b. No c. Don't Know

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

11. Is Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, (MG-NREGA) giving you guaranteed job opportunity?

- a. Yes b. No c. Don't Know

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

12. Do you think that Public Distribution System (PDS) is helping poor people in getting food along with other essential commodities like sugar and kerosene? If not, what are the issues?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Don't Know

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

13. What are the healthcare infrastructures available in your locality? Do you use them? If not, why?

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

14. What are the major issues you think your society is witnessing in democratic governance?

Opinion/Suggestion:.....

15. what are the solutions you suggest to overcome Human Insecurity (Human Security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict, which encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care) threats in your area?

Opinion/Suggestion:.....