

# **Exploring Conflict in Border Trade between India and Bhutan: A Study of Dadgiri-Gelephu Market**

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To

**Sikkim University**



In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the  
**Degree of Master of Philosophy**

By

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**December, 2022**

Date: 23/12/2022

## DECLARATION

I, **Duhita Thapa**, hereby declare that the research work embodied in the dissertation entitled "**Exploring Conflict in Border Trade between India and Bhutan: A Study of Dadgiri-Gelephu Market**" submitted to **Sikkim University** in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Masters of Philosophy**, is my original work. Any content or any part of this dissertation has not been submitted for any degree of this University or any other University.

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SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

SIKKIM UNIVERSITY

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This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "**Exploring Conflict in Border Trade between India and Bhutan: A Study of Dadgiri-Gelephu Market**" submitted to Sikkim University in partial fulfilment of the degree of Masters of Philosophy in the department of Peace and Conflict Studies and Management, embodies the result of bonafied research work carried out by **Ms. Duhita Thapa** under my guidance and supervision. No part of the Dissertation has been submitted for any other degree, associateship and fellowship.

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

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Dadgiri- Gelephu Market”**

Submitted by **Duhita Thapa** under the supervision of **Prof. Nawal K. Paswan**, Head of the Department, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies and Management, School of Social Sciences, Sikkim University, Gangtok.

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*For my loving parents*

*Dhandi Raj Thapa and Bishnu Maya Thapa*

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### List of Abbreviations

CBT	Cross-border trade
NER	North-east region
BTR	Bodoland territorial region
FV	Forest village
CPA	Comprehensive peace agreement
RSCT	Regional security complex theory
NGO	Non-governmental organization
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian nation
BCIM	Bangladesh, China, India, Myanmar
BRI	Belt and road initiative
PDR	People's Democratic Republic
CIQ	Check post of immigration and quarantine
GMS	Greater Mekong Sub-region
BBIN	Bangladesh-Bhutan-India- Nepal
SSB	Sashastra Seema Bal
AD	Anno Domini
BC	Before Christ
INR	Indian rupee
SI	Sub- inspector

## **Executive Summary**

Cross-border trade is the flow of goods and services across international land borders in a particular geographic area. It comes in two types: formal and casual. It comes in two types: formal and casual. The term “Formal” refers to trade in goods or services that is conducted by legally registered traders and complies with all legal requirements of the trading countries, whereas the term “Informal” refers to the movement of goods in which all trading activity is unrecorded or unaddressed by the government and without adherence to all formal institution procedural requirements. In some circumstances, informal trade activities may not be considered illegal since they avoid lengthy licensing procedures and tax obligations, whereas formal trade is subject to limitations and regulations.

Trade is a natural economic activity that involves exchanging products and services to make money and satisfy wants. Between people, human groups, and governments, commodities can be exchanged. Things can be traded in exchange for money or in kind. Border trade is the term used to describe the exchange of goods that occurs between residents who live on or close to an international border. The relationship between Bhutan and India, a close neighbour, is calm and cordial. The Indo-Bhutan Treaty of 1949, which established comradeship, cooperation, and a free trade regime between the two countries, established bilateral links between Bhutan and India in the form of trade and development. A path of peace and mutual prosperity between the two neighbours has been demonstrated by the two nations. In significant ways, border markets are distinct from other markets. One of the least developed parts of the country is India's Northeast. The eight states that make up India's North East are Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, and Sikkim (NER). It is in the farthest easternmost corner of India. The total geographic area of the region is

around 2.62 lakh square kilometers or 7.9% of the size of the entire country. Trade plays a significant role in the relationships between Bhutan and Assam. The purpose of the study is to understand the border trade practices in this region. To further understand border market activities in this area, Dadgiri, a border village in Assam, India, is chosen for the study.

Borderland theory by Emmanuel Brunet Jailly has been employed to better understand the study. This theory is within the parameters of the assigned research. The two-community interaction may now be easily understood through the Borderland theory lens, which examines their culture, economy, religion, etc. It offers a theoretical understanding of the populations of both nations. This idea focuses more on examining how people relate to one another and their emotions rather than on government or trade. According to Jailly, two nations cannot live in peace for a very long period unless both people are content.

In addition to the border market, this study also focuses on issues that have not yet been addressed by any academic studies. Communication can be a challenge for two nations that share a weekly market, which might cause a communication gap to develop when they are trading. Even though these two locations have a long history of border business, the dealers there were outsiders. Since the weekly market is held in Dadgiri, which is in the Indian state of Assam, the presence of two nations using different currencies could also create other issues.

The weekly market is held in Dadgiri, which is in the Indian state of Assam. It is a place where there are no proper bank facilities available that could help them in economic exchange, and there are no currency exchange offices either in the surrounding areas

because of the impact that may cause on the non-local vendors as well. However, India and Bhutan both accept dual currencies.

The study tries to comprehend the issue of border trade from various angles, and since there were no any vendors from Bhutan in the weekly market, Bhutanese people may feel dissatisfied or unhappy with the trading, which could lead to unhealthy relations and, ultimately, pose a threat to the two regions. This has been another significant issue for Bhutanese costumes. This research is required to bridge the gaps, understand the traditions of two different regions, and perceive trade from the viewpoint of the regional market.

The following objectives were formed for the study: (1) to understand the border trade practices between Indian-Bhutanese communities in the border village of Dadgiri. (2) to explore the conflict in the border trade practices between Indian and Bhutanese communities in the border village of Dadgiri. (3) to explore the role played by the market committee and Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) in maintaining peace and causing conflicts in the region and beyond.

Following the research methodology, this study used the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market in India as a case study. To comprehend and investigate the conflict in the weekly market, the market has been chosen for the study. For the proposed study, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected using semi-structured and unstructured interview schedules which included both open as well as close-ended questions. Exploratory research has been conducted to better understand the study topic. A simple random sampling technique was used for the proposed study. The sample size, which is selected for the study, is 150 where 75 Indian vendors and 75 Bhutanese customers were selected randomly.

This study has been organised into five chapters, which deal with the various aspects of the present research. The introductory chapter outlines the nature of the study, rationale, scope, and objectives of the study. The gaps in the existing literature on the role of border trade, peace and conflict, border trade between India and neighbouring countries and border trade between India and Bhutan particularly in Assam and Bhutan have been examined. Chapter two puts light on the historical background of border trade between India-Bhutan has been demonstrated in this chapter. Chapter three talks about the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market: Vendors-Customers profiling, roles and responsibilities of the market committee and SSB. Chapter four is the core chapter that deals with the weekly market in Dadgiri: a field study analysis. It deals with the analysis and interpretation of the field survey conducted for the study. Chapter five, the final chapter deals with the conclusion and summary part. This chapter discusses the findings of the study and recommends future research.

For conceptual framework, **Chapter 1**, this introductory chapter includes the definition of cross-border trade and border trade, which have been discussed and laid down by various scholars. This chapter also highlights the trade relationship between India and Bhutan. The relationship between Assam and Bhutan and its importance in border trade has been made in this chapter. As an introductory chapter, this chapter outlines the nature of the study, the rationale and scope of the study, and the objective of the study. The gaps in the existing literature over the role of border trade, peace and conflict, border trade between India and neighbouring countries and border trade between India and Bhutan particularly in Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, Assam, India have been examined in this chapter.

**Chapter 2** titled “A Historical background of border trade between India-Bhutan” highlights a brief idea about the Border-Trade. An attempt has been made to understand

India-Bhutan and its relations. This chapter talks about the trade relation between India and Bhutan and Assam and Bhutan as well. The ancient history of the trade between Assam and Bhutan has been discussed in detail in this chapter.

**Chapter 3** titled “Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market: Vendors-Customers profiling, Roles and responsibilities of the market committee and SSB” mainly discusses the profile of the market and how it operates as a hub for both the people of the borders. Further, the roles and responsibilities of the market committee members and the imposing of monetary taxes have been discussed in this chapter. The interview taken from the vendors and customers along with the Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) Personnel has been discussed in detail in this chapter.

**Chapter 4** titled “Dadgiri-Gelephu Weekly Market: A field study analysis” contains major findings of the field survey. Attempts have been made to understand the general profile of the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market based on the data collected through schedules. For the same, data have been collected using variables like gender, age, items sold in the market, regularity of visiting the market, functioning of the market, linguistic barrier, dual currency and so on. Attempts have been made to understand the conflict in the market through various lenses. The conflict between the vendors and customers has been discussed in a detailed manner in this chapter. It is observed from the present study that various conflict is prevailing in the market in different forms.

Finally, **Chapter 5**, the concluding chapter, highlights the major finding of the study and tried to give a brief idea about the conflict which is highlighted through this research. The conclusion includes some recommendations and needs and scope for future research that have been discussed in this concluding chapter.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Background**

Cross-border trade (CBT) occurs when goods or services are exchanged across national borders or between people or businesses from other nations (Namgyel, 2020). The flow of goods and services across international land borders within a specified area is referred to as cross-border trade. Formal and informal are the two types of cross-border trade. The formal refers to trade in goods or services that is carried out by legally registered traders and complies with all legal requirements of the trading countries, whereas the other refers to goods movement in which all part of the trading activity is unrecorded or unrecognized by the government, and without adherence to all formal institution procedural requirements (Gulte, Mohammed, Negash, & Sisay, 2016). Informal trade practice may not be illegal in some case as this type of trade take place to avoid lengthy licensing process to avoid tax whereas formal trade has to go through constraints and restrictions (Aung, 2009).

Exchanging products and services to make money and satisfy needs is a natural economic activity known as trade. The transfer of goods between producers and consumers is referred to as a trade. It is possible for people, groups of people, and governments to exchange commodities. Both in kind and in terms of money, things can be exchanged. The exchange of goods between residents who live on or close to an international border is referred to as border trade (Husian, 2013).

Bhutan, a good neighbour of India has a peaceful and friendly relationship. Bhutan and India hold bilateral relations in the form of trade and development through the Indo-Bhutan treaty of 1949, which formulated friendship, cooperation, and a free trade

regime between the both. The two countries i.e., India and Bhutan have demonstrated a journey of peace and mutual benefits between themselves (Taneja, Bimal, Nadeem, & Roy, 2019).

Border markets are different from other markets in important aspects. While regional and national markets draw their wealth from their hinterlands, border markets owe their existence to the presence of border differentials and thrive at the point of convergence of different transnational networks (Walther, 2014).

Bhutan is a small country in comparison to India. Both countries have a long history of solid political and economic cooperation. Bhutan is a landlocked country that is heavily reliant on India.

About 80% of its trade is with India, and that country provides significant funding for each of its five-year plans. On the other hand, India is not as dependent on Bhutan. Bhutan accounts for 0.5% of all trade with India. Bhutan, despite this, is vitally essential to India's strategic interests. India's entire border with China is well-known to be fragile. As a result, Bhutan's strategic location projects India from the Chinese assault. Having strong ties with Bhutan through trade, aid, and other channels will be vital for India from a strategic perspective (Madaan & Singh, 2014).

The North East, India is one of the least developed regions of the country. The states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim constitute the North East Region (NER) of India. The area is situated in Indian Union's far eastern part corner. The region's geographic area is around 2.62 lakhs sq. km or 7.9% of the country's total area. The region has certain unique characteristics that distinguish it apart from other parts of the nation. Only 27% of the territory is

plain, the rest 73% is mountainous regions. Furthermore, only 2% of the region's border is shared with the mainland of the nation, with the rest 98% being connected to international borders with countries like Bangladesh, China, Bhutan, Myanmar, and Nepal. In a developing border area, border trade becomes a growth engine (Chutia, 2015).

The relationship between Assam and Bhutan has its importance in border trade. A Chirang district<sup>1</sup>, Assam along the Dadgiri<sup>2</sup>-Gelephu border point, the market comes to life every Thursday where an uncharacteristic pattern of trade takes place. This is the point where Indian vendors and Bhutanese customers meet. In this weekly market, the price of the products is quite cheaper as compared to other weekly markets. Varieties of products are bought from different regions with the purpose to earn more profits (Ganguli, 2006).

The study attempts to understand the border trading practices in this region. More specifically, the border village of Dadgiri (Assam, India) has been selected to enhance the understanding of border market practices in this region. The theory of borderlands proposed by Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly has been used for a better understanding of the study. This theory meets the scope of the assigned study (Jailly, 2011).

Through the lens of Borderland theory, it has become easy to see the two-community relationship, which studies their culture, economy, religion, etc. It provides a theoretical understanding of the communities of both countries people. This theory more specifically looks at people-to-people relation and their emotion rather than government

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<sup>1</sup>Chirang district is one of the districts located in the Bodoland Territorial Region (BTR) region of Assam

<sup>2</sup>Dadgiri is also known as Hatisar F.V (forest village) village.

or trade. Jaily says until two people are happy, two countries cannot be at peace for a long time (Jaily, 2011).

Thus, the study focuses on understanding the border trade through a different lens and tries to analyze the problem between the two regions' people. Therefore, this study seeks to fill the gap and understand the trade and relations of two peoples from different regions.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

To maintain peaceful Border relations and to prepare the security policy of the region, it is necessary to understand the people-to-people relations, their cultural bondage, economic relations, and religious bondage of the people in the border area (Jaily, 2011). However, there is no such precise work done on the border market of Dadgiri and Gelephu i.e., the India and Bhutan border region. Moreover, through Border trading in these two regions, Peace is prevailing as the movement of people from one country to another is taking place but certain problems cannot be neglected and may cause conflict in near future among these two peaceful regions.

Here two countries are associated with one another directly or indirectly through one the market. Through the history of the Assam and Bhutan trade, we learned that trading between these two regions is not new (Namgyel, 2020). These two different regions share different languages, while they share one weekly marketplace and the traders are non-locals so it would be wrong to say that linguistic barriers cannot be a hindrance for both vendors and customers from both the country.

On the other hand, through this research, the use of Dual Currency has been highlighted as another problem. India and Bhutan both accept Dual Currency but two regions holding different currencies and sharing the same weekly market is another problem as

the weekly market takes place in the Dadgiri which is located in Assam, India, it is an area where there is no proper bank facility available which could help them in exchange of currencies and there is no currency exchange office as well (Jailly, 2011).

Similarly, the vendors in the weekly market are only from India, there are no vendors from Bhutan and that is one of the problems highlighted in the study.

There was a need for research on this market as this market is a centre for both countries to depend on each other for their need and goods as well. The local weekly market, the informal character of interactions, the goods offered, examining conflict via a local market, and the profits produced by vendors have all been the focus of this research. Furthermore, the study seeks to understand the border market via the lens of regional markets.

Therefore, this study has been a necessity to fill the gaps and to understand the people of two different regions and their problems.

### **1.3 Review of Literature**

This section provides a brief idea about the research, which has been previously done. An attempt has been made to organise a thematic review of the literature in the following sub-headings:

#### **a) Role of border trade, peace, and conflict**

Trade increases commercial interdependence between countries and offers strong reasons to prevent war, resulting in peace between the two countries.

Sharma, et al., (2018) in their article “Community perceptions towards tourism development and peacebuilding process” discusses tourism development. The primary goal of this study is to get more knowledge about local perspectives on tourism

development and peace-building in the border region of Jammu and Kashmir, which might be important for both establishing destination development and international peace perspectives. The local community residing close to the Jammu and Kashmir border was the subject of this study. The finding of the study showed that the locals had a positive outlook on cross-border, peace-building efforts and tourist development. In this study, practical ramifications were also looked at.

Carrington (2019) in his study “Cross-border trade: Fueling conflict or building peace?” discusses commercial practices and policies along the border between Uganda and Sudan, which, while often promoting regional peace and socioeconomic recovery, may often exacerbate or create tensions that need to be carefully managed. The Ugandan and Sudanese populations, which had been estranged for a long time, are now able to reunite because of this commerce. Border trade grew after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) for Sudan. The majority of commerce, according to this analysis, was between companies in Kampala and Juba or other significant locations. While the people living in border communities were trying to make ends meet after years of violence damaged their way of life. The cost of food has gone up since 2007. The scarcity of seeds and oxen for cultivation, according to farmers who were questioned, and the rains were the main obstacles to expanding their output. The conclusion of the study was that in order to make the most of trade’s potential to promote peace-building and economic recovery, policy and practice adjustments were required.

Harris (2013) in her article “Trading places: New economic geographies across Himalayan borderland” attempts were made to discuss the oral histories of merchants in the area and show how the rerouting of trade routes has led to several initiatives aimed at making commerce in commodities and locations more coherent in the face of



significant economic upheavals. By using the oral histories of merchants in the region, the author demonstrates how rerouting trade routes has frequently led to a range of steps to make trading commodities and locations more coherent in the face of such drastic economic upheavals. To have a more nuanced understanding of the conflicts and overlaps between larger-scale economic movements and smaller-scale practices in the region, Harris also emphasized that it is important to reject oversimplified “top-bottom” vs. “bottom-up” models of hegemony and resistance.

Akhtar (2014) in his article “India-Pakistan Cross-border peace initiatives: Challenges and prospects” explains the Pakistan-India Forum for Peace and Democracy, the key peace endeavour. The main efforts for peace were developed with the intent of dispelling misconceptions, fostering trust, and raising knowledge of the benefits of peace. Within the border framework of the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT), which was advanced by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, this study seeks to investigate the efficacy of peace efforts between India and Pakistan. A constructive understanding between the two nations can only be achieved by filling the vacuum that this study revealed in the Cross-Border peace movement.

This article focuses on the absence of women in the peace movement and peace effort. The absence of a common conflict analysis, which is critical to establishing peace between two nations, is the second gap.

Medhekar and Mahboob (2012) in their article “A Cross-border trade in healthcare services: Bangladesh to India” tried to show up healthcare services. The rising global medical tourism business gives India the chance to try to draw medical tourists from South Asia, Arab, and other middle-eastern Islamic nations due to its cultural advantage, English language, low cost, and availability of medical care. Through a

questionnaire, 1282 medical patients from Bangladesh who had visited India for treatment one to three times were evaluated.

Based on the findings, which are in line with the literature, Bangladeshis primarily travel to India for medical treatment because of the modern country, state-of-the-art medical facilities and the qualified of the country, experienced doctors and physicians, high-quality nursing care, affordable surgery, and lack of access to treatment there. India is taking the lead in fostering peace, trust, and understanding through cross-border commerce in healthcare services delivery to South Asian nations via medical tourism.

Dowd and McCall (2006) in their study “The significance of the Cross-border dimension for promoting peace and reconciliation” focuses on the role that borders play in fostering peace and reconciliation. The main claim is that cross-border cooperation can help to undermine the territorial arrangement that has been at the root of the problems in Northern Ireland. Beginning with the notion that altering borders and defining new ones are essential to conflict resolution, Down & McCall made their case. It looked at how the containment architecture, which has both limited and intensified communal strife in Ireland, has been challenged by recent border trade rearrangement.

Subsequently, it offers some preliminary conclusions regarding the significance of transnational cross-border cooperation across external and internal borders in reducing the territoriality zero-sum conflict that has long been a feature of Northern Ireland and which now manifests itself in its most overt and hostile manner at the intersections separating the two communities in the province.

Howard (2014) in his book *Transnationalism in ancient and medieval societies: The role of Cross-border trade and travel* this book examines early transnational relationships, with a focus on the significance of long-distance trade over the Silk Road

and sea trading routes. It does so by examining how people interact across empires, tribal confederacies, kingdoms, and city-states. It examines the difficulties that explorers faced, such as their restricted means of transportation and communication and their lack of geographic knowledge. This study demonstrates that international business is not a new occurrence.

Nave and Franco (2005) discuss “Cross-border co-operation in tourism marketing growth strategies” as a study on the cross-border collaboration between Greece and Turkey in tourist marketing growth methods. Numerous recommendations were made to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the joint tourist marketing efforts of the two nations. The study also identified several obstacles to cross-border tourist marketing cooperation. It was suggested that to successfully implement joint tourism marketing growth strategies, it is necessary to establish a joint cross-border tourism organisation, generate enough funding, and increase the participation of business interest groups and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) from both sides of the border.

Harshe (2003) in “Cross-border terrorism: Road-block to peace initiatives” states that the growing terrorist issue in the country must be seen from the perspective of cross-border terrorism of Pakistan. The connections between high-ranking military personnel, government officials, and political figures on the one hand, and terrorists and drug lords on the other, have earned some legitimacy under the guise of Islam and Jihad. Global coalitions are necessary to resist terrorism because of the group of the terrorist international links. The continuing peace attempts between India and Pakistan are still a positive move since they can help to some extent reduce cross-border terrorism.

Pollak (2011) in “Cross-border co-operation as part of the Irish peace process: Opportunities, impacts and challenges” investigates the degree of interaction between the North and South of the Island. Pollak asked what part the EU played in the procedure and what difficulties there are in determining the results of such cooperation. Additionally, he described the activities of the Center for Border Studies and made an effort to foresee the difficulties that cross-border collaboration would then encounter in the face of significant budgetary and economic limits.

Aggelos, et al., (2010) “The role of EU at Cross-border economic cooperation in South East Europe” attempted to illustrate the significance of EU policies and programmes for the political, economic, and social development of South East Europe. Anyone can see how artificial and arbitrary spatial fragmentation leads to significant disruptions and contradictions in everyday life, reality, and the economy in border regions. Even though most issues are common to all nations, border regions in South East Europe show some slight social and economic reality differences. Following the democratisation of the areas and the conclusion of the armed conflicts, they argued that the statement is more accurate now. They asserted once more that cross-border cooperation may be a potent tool for bringing together different or comparable political, social, and economic realities in the modern world.

#### **b) Border trade between India and neighbouring countries**

Singh (2007) “India’s border trade with its neighbouring countries with special reference to Myanmar” argues that empathy, long-standing open borders, ties between the ethnic groups, and cheap transaction costs all have an impact on border trade between India and its neighbours. Legal commerce is inefficient and expensive, and as a result, informal trading has become more and more common since it is simpler and

more practical for dealers. Commerce along the border between India and Myanmar is distinct from trade with other nearby nations since it uses a barter system. Additionally, the northeastern area of India lacks a connection between its border trade and production structure (both in agriculture and industry), notably in Manipur, meaning that traders from elsewhere in the country gain more from trade.

Shahriar (2020) in his study “India’s economic relations with Myanmar: A study of border trade” investigates the nature of border commerce between India and Myanmar. With a rapidly expanding economy, a sizable geographic region, an abundance of natural resources, and a diversified people, India is a rising power. It has a new foreign policy and economic outlook for its Southeast Asian neighbours, particularly Myanmar. China, on the other hand, introduced the belt and road project, a global plan, in 2013. These works examine the geopolitics of the Sino-Indian competition in the context of international power structures and interstate economic ties. This study applies a case study technique to examine Moreh-Tamu border trade in the Indo-Myanmar cross-border region. According to the data, bilateral economic relations and trade between India and Myanmar are rising. Northeastern border issues of India, ASEAN connectivity, the BCIM economic corridor of the BRI, India's neighbourhood policy, and geopolitical dynamics are the key variables affecting India-Myanmar border commerce, among others. Along the Moreh-Tamu border region, significant barriers to border commerce have emerged from the Sino-Indian rivalry, shoddy border infrastructure, and ethnic uprisings. The conclusion of the study show that economic cooperation and cross-border trade between India and Myanmar are growing.

Pommaret (1999) in “Ancient trade partners: Bhutan, Cooch-Bihar and Assam” sought to demonstrate that, starting in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Bhutan engaged in significant

commerce with her southern neighbours Bengal (Cooch-Bihar) and Assam (Kamrup). This article looks upon commerce with the two Indian districts of Cooch-Bihar and Kamrup, which are direct to the west and east of Bhutan's southern neighbours, West Bengal and Assam, respectively. These exchanges are known to have been described in British records and Bhutanese historical documents, however, references to the latter have been discovered scattered over biographies. Due to the scarcity of written materials on Bhutanese literature, a study in this area proved challenging. Pommaret ultimately suggests looking into these routes to get a more full and accurate image of the commercial exchange network in this region. This page provides a clear picture of the Bhutan-Tibet trading routes, which are complementary to the Bhutan-Bengal/Assam connections.

Bhowmik (2012) in his study "Street vendors in Asia: Survey of research" a person who sells things for sale to the general public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell is often referred to as a street vendor. In the research, which made particular allusions to Sharit K. Bhowmik's South Asian street vending study, the idea of street vending was only briefly acknowledged. The idea was investigated in several market settings, but the street sellers social and economic backgrounds were quite similar to the shopkeepers the researcher encountered at the border markets. The comparison only included the Indian side, but entrepreneur class of Bhutan was far more restricted and earned more money. Border markets: An introduction by Allen M. Howard and "Cross-Border Traders in the Age of Globalization" (Walther, 2014). This study cast some doubt on the assertions made in those studies, and an intriguing collection of findings helped to clarify the dynamics at play.

Brass (2010) in his book *Routledge handbook of South Asian Politics-India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal* provides a comprehensive analysis of the political and security difficulties that India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka confront in addition to a basic review of South Asian politics and issues. All border conflicts in South Asia have their roots in the history of the region and the colonial legacy, which is an integral part of that history. Additionally, as nationalism is a valued ideal in each of these nations, politics in these highly ambitious and developing market economies are based on boundary disputes. This rich literature has been crucial in helping us understand how the wider geopolitical context that has shaped South Asia has shaped the Indo-Bangladesh boundary.

Hailemeskel, et al., (2016) in their study “Policy Research on Cross-border trade: Challenges and prospects” examine and familiarize us with the difficulties and potential of cross-border trade in Ethiopia. Which emphasizes the official and informal trade systems. The National Bank of Ethiopia’s time series data has been used to illustrate the official Cross-Broder commerce that occurs between Ethiopia and its neighbours. It is stated that cross-border trade is essential in giving shepherds a different means of subsistence. Women, lone traders, and small businesses all gain from this commerce. However, we learned that there was a failure to execute the tiny peripheral commerce, which was a serious issue for earning the living. The researcher with the aid of a questionnaire gathered replies that demonstrated that trading assisted them in enhancing their livelihood as a source of revenue.

Aung, S (2009) in his book ‘*The role of informal Cross-border trade in Myanmar*’ examines informal cross-border trade of Myanmar, which is not necessarily negative or illegal but is done to circumvent the time-consuming licensing procedure and other

issues. Major commodities for formal or unofficial cross-border trade with China, Thailand, and India through border points include a variety of goods including lumber, gas, and other agricultural items. Since the border regions depend on these trades, the informal trader harms them. According to Aung, current trade rules need to be improved to enrich the lives of those who live close to borders so that border commerce may also help the economy grow. However, it also contributes to the eradication of poverty since cross-border trade offers impoverished border residents and members of racial minorities a chance.

Krainara and Routray (2015) in their study “Cross-border trades and commerce between Thailand and neighbouring countries” investigate the elements that contribute to cross-border trade between Thailand and its four neighbours, Malaysia, Cambodia, Lao PDR, and Myanmar. Cross-Border Trade on a local and regional level was shown to have dramatically increased. Border cities of Thailand serve a crucial role as distribution hubs for the goods that are mostly manufactured in Bangkok, but Thai commerce has not developed to its full potential. Border economic zones can reduce regional differences within Thailand, both inter and intra-regional. Krainara and Rounry thus sought to locate potential sites for cooperative border economic zones around Thailand.

Awang, et al., (2013) in their study “Informal Cross-border trade Sarawak (Malaysia)-Kalimantan (Indonesia): A Catalyst for border community’s development” analyse cross-border informal trade activities by concentrating on the business participation drivers and motives for location selection, notably among Indonesian traders, as well as spillover effects on local communities. To boost tax revenue and promote the construction of transportation-related infrastructure. Inadvertently, this can improve



border settlements quality of life. The amount of cross-border commerce between Kalimantan, Indonesia, and Sarawak, Malaysia, has significantly expanded. Serikin has developed into a small border town with a weekend market that focuses on informal trade despite the absence of a recognised cross-border route and the existence of a CIQ checkpoint for immigration and quarantine. Weekend business meetings between Malaysian customers and Indonesian traders sparked regional growth.

Golub (2015) in his book *'Informal cross-border trade and smuggling in Africa'* the section from the book chapter is concerned with the illegal trade of legal goods. Such legal-goods trade has varying degrees of illegality depending on its objectives and adherence to tax and regulatory laws. Four basic sorts of legitimate cross-border commerce are not tracked. The products themselves and how they are exchanged are the two types of illegality that exist in informal trade. Both types of illegal trading originate in Africa. Organized crime uses West Africa as a major centre to trade drugs internationally, notably cocaine. Although the majority of informal commerce is illegal because it is not disclosed, does not follow the law's tax rates, and other requirements, the items involved are typically not illegal in and of themselves.

Paudel and Niranjana (2018) in their article "Socio-economic influences on small business performance in Nepal-India open border: Evidence from cross-sectional analysis" uses the psychological distance approach theory and econometric analysis with the logit model to study the small business operations of 372 respondents from Sunauli, on the border between Nepal and India. The results demonstrated that the chance of border-side small business operations having an influence is increased by open border access, border blockage and agitation, communication access, and uniformity in customs, customers, and family management. The number of years a firm

has been in operation, the existence of personal and business income, tax-evasion items, and the employment of agents to import goods are additional variables that have a big influence on small business performance in the open border zone. To promote and increase healthy cross-border small-scale firm performance, an open border requires more collaboration, cross-border purchase facilitation, enhanced market knowledge and communication, proper regulation, and border-point monitoring.

Than (2005) in his article, “Myanmar’s cross-border economic relations and cooperation with the People’s Republic of China and Thailand in the Greater Mekong Sub-region” examines the partnership of labour and cross-border trade and investment. This study evaluates the level of economic cooperation between these three GMS nations that border each other on land. Cross-border investment is not outstanding, but formal and informal trade, labour collaboration, and tourism cooperation are all impressive. However, in Myanmar, cross-border commerce has increased employment and revenue while also enhancing social, transportation, and security conditions in bordering areas. Following the conclusion of the cold war, non-traditional forms emerged with an emphasis on removing structural barriers to cross-border flows of people, products, and services. The riparian neighbours do, however, have the political will and are all committed to bilateral, sub regional, regional, and international agreements for economic cooperation. Political, social, and financial obstacles nevertheless hamper Cross-border economic cooperation.

### **c) Border trade between India and Bhutan**

Pommaret (1999) in his article “Ancient trade partners: Bhutan, Cooch-Bihar and Assam (17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup>) century” examines the history of trade and its partners with other states, demonstrates how Bhutan was influenced by trades like weaving and silk

techniques of the North-East because Bhutan played a significant role in commercial exchanges in the region and because trade with Cooch-Bihar and Assam served as a conduit for some Tibetan products. However, because there are not many written sources on the topic in Bhutanese literature, a clear image of the commercial relations between Bhutan and other nations and countries is not presented. The presence of official was justified even though there was a sizable circulation of the commodities.

Ofarid (2013) in his study “Cross-border trade along the river Pyanj in two Badakhshans” Describes how various elements of post-Soviet Central Asia’s development are studied as part of local, national, and international efforts to promote regional integration. The primary goal of this study is to provide an academic analysis of the cross-border economic trade that occurs between different partner governments and other governmental bodies. The case study was conducted using fieldwork in eastern states that meet along international borders and are primarily concerned with cross-border commerce, economic cooperation, and local development initiatives. The conclusion of the study revealed the effects of cross-border collaboration on quality of life of resident and the potential for economic growth in border regions.

Roychowdhary, et al., (2020) in their article “An Ethnographic insight on border-markets: Reflections from the Indo-Bhutan border” this research described the characteristics of the border markets situated between India and Bhutan through a thorough ethnographic analysis of a local market used as a case study: the Dadgiri border market (Hatisar) in India. Along with a meandering description of the Gelephu market, it also provides a thorough account of the journey to the Bhutanese side of the border. This research looked at the market of the Dadgiri as an economic geography, the informality of interactions, the goods offered, and the profits realized by local

vendors. This study looks at boundaries through the prism of regional marketplaces. The theoretical framework offered a summary for looking at the interactions across border market sectors. This article-improved knowledge of cross-border interactions and the function of border markets as diplomatic and economic development tools.

Ray and Sarkar (2005) in their article “Re-constructing nineteenth century trade route between Bhutan and Assam: Evidence from British political missions” try to pinpoint that trade channel in their essay and analyse it from many angles. Due to a lack of adequate source materials, the route has not been properly explored. Using data and facts from two British political papers, Ray and Sarkar try to reconstruct it. The difficulties of the deep woodland barring their way were made worse by the proximity of thieves and other antisocial people. Only three Banska duars, which serviced a long-distance commercial route between Bhutan and Assam and were deemed safe, were present, according to the finding of the study, but all the other duars were hazardous.

Mitra (2013) in his study “‘Yam’ between two boulders: Re-assessing India- Bhutan relationship” prudent foreign policy of India has evaluated its relationship with Bhutan on a realistic paradigm rather than preconceived idealism, taking into account strategic location of Bhutan, local profitability along the borders, trade opportunities, counterterrorism in the northeast corridor, and the new balance of power created by China attempt to become the dominant economic and military power in the Asia-Pacific. Bhutan may seek a new equilibrium by adjusting its alignment due to India’s incorrect assessment of the Himalayan nation’s strategic importance, endangering the interest of India. As a result, India’s approach to Bhutan may change in the future to be much more complex.

Husain (2013) in his study “The nature of border and border trade of Northeast India” tries to discuss how products and services are exchanged across international borders. Things can be traded in return for money or kind. Husain defines border trade as the exchange of products between locals who reside on or close to an international border. Trade is a type of organic economic activity that includes exchanging commodities or services for cash or fulfilling wants. Moving items from producers to consumers is referred to as a trade. Between people, human groups, and governments, commodities can be exchanged.

Taneja, et al., (2018) in their study “Trade facilitation measures to enhance participation of women in cross-border trade in BBIN” examines how neglecting gender-specific restrictions and hurdles within the larger context of trade facilitation has a significant impact on productivity and the potential for growth of South Asian nations as well as empowerment of the women. The study is a component of a larger initiative to develop an analytical framework for figuring out the challenges and obstacles that women face when engaging in cross-border trade, with a particular emphasis on highlighting the importance of gender mainstreaming for trade facilitation measures in South Asia. The research concentrates on cross-border trade with Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal as well as the Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) area, particularly the North-East and Northern parts of West Bengal in India. Finally, actions to facilitate commerce that are gender-responsive are encouraged.

However, there is ample work done on Cross-Border Trade and Border-Trade there is no such precise academic work on the border market in this region of Dadgiri and Gelephu. Thus, this study seeks to fill such an academic gap through this study.

#### **1.4 Rationale and scope of the study**

Given the fact, there is a relationship between India and Bhutan through community cooperation through which a border trade is taking place. It would be wrong to assume that there is no such work on the border trade or border market but it would not be a mistake to claim that there are hardly any studies on the border market in Dadgiri and Gelephu region so far. Nonetheless, a systematic study has been carried out to address the Border trading practice between the Indian and Bhutanese communities in the border village of Dadgiri. Therefore, it has been an opportune time to explore this study. This research seeks to understand the border trade with the help of the use of the Thursday weekly market as a case study by providing a diverse set of observations from locals, Bhutanese customers, and Indian vendors, in the border village of Dadgiri in Chirang district of Assam, India. Dadgiri is also known as Hatisar FV (forest village). More particularly, it covered the Border trade practice between Dadgiri and Gelephu region more precisely.

#### **1.5 Objective of the Research**

- a) To understand the border trade practices between Indian-Bhutanese communities in the border village of Dadgiri.
- b) To explore the conflict in the border trade practices between Indian and Bhutanese communities in the border village of Dadgiri.
- c) To explore the various causes of conflict and the role-played by the market committee and Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) in maintaining peace in the region.

#### **1.6 Research Questions**

- a) How do border trade practices between the Indian-Bhutanese community in the border village of Dadgiri operate?

- b) What are the conflicts in the border trade practices between Indian and Bhutanese communities in the border village of Dadgiri?
- c) What are the various causes of conflict and the role-played by the market committee and Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) in maintaining peace in the region?

### **1.7 Research Methodology**

A search for knowledge is referred to as research in everyday speech. Research could also be described as a systematic and scientific search for relevant data on a specific issue. In actuality, research is a form of artistic scientific inquiry. Therefore, the research adds new information to the body of knowledge that already exists, contributing to its growth. It involves seeking the truth via research, observation, comparison, and experiment. Research is, in a nutshell, the process of seeking information through an objective, methodical approach to solving a problem. Research also includes a systematic approach to extension and theoretical development. An approach for systematically resolving the research challenge is called research methodology. It might be understood as the study of scientific research methodology (Kothari, 1990).

### **Theoretical framework of the study**

Peace is frequently used and misused, and it is imaginary and utopian since it has a clear definition and is difficult to comprehend. In psychological, social, and political terms, the word peace invokes ideas of harmony and happiness. These visuals appear to be at odds with reality, which depicts a chaotic and discordant environment. Galtung broadened the definitions of peace and violence in the 1960s to include indirect or structural violence, posing a direct challenge to popular conceptions about the nature of peace. The broadening of the notion of violence led to a broadening of the definition of peace. Peace research, according to Galtung, is a study of the circumstances for

getting closer to peace or, at the very least, not drifting closer to violence. Negative peace, on the other hand, is defined as the lack of violence, and absence of conflict, while positive peace is defined as the integration of human civilization (Singh G. B., 2003).

Furthermore, Galtung did not refer to structural violence in 1964; rather, he spoke of human integration. Furthermore, these two types of peace must be seen as two separate qualities, one of which is necessary for the other to exist. In a world dominated by one country or the United Nations, both of which have coercive power and are prepared to use it to bring about integration, we see a negative peace (positive peace). Without absolute and complete disarmament, according to Galtung, these strategies will be ineffective (Singh G. B., 2003).

The term “Cross-Border Trade” refers to the movement of products and services across international land boundaries within a given region. Border trade refers to the exchange of products and services between individuals or enterprises from different nations or across international borders (Aung, 2009).

Border trade is the term used to describe the exchange of products that occurs between residents who live on or close to an international border. To make money and satisfy wants, trade is a natural economic activity that includes the exchange of products and services. Moving items from producers to consumers is referred to as a trade. Between people, human groups, and governments, commodities can be exchanged. Things can be traded in return for money or kind (Husian, 2013).



## Study Area

Dadgiri is a forest village (FV) located in the Chirang district of Assam. Dadgiri is also popularly known as Hatisar. It is in the Sidli subdivision of Chirang district in Assam, India. The overall population of Dadgiri is 5,334 in total as per the 2011 census. As the weekly market is in the Dadgiri village. Dadgiri-Gelephu Thursday weekly market has been selected for the study which is a hub for both countries' people. The Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market in India has been used as a case study in this study to better understand the nature of the border markets between Bhutan and India. The market has been selected for the study to understand and explore the conflict in the weekly market through various forms.

**Map 1.1 Map showing the location of Dadgiri (Hatisar)**



Source: <https://images.app.goo.gl/n83VHoexd7fwKn67>

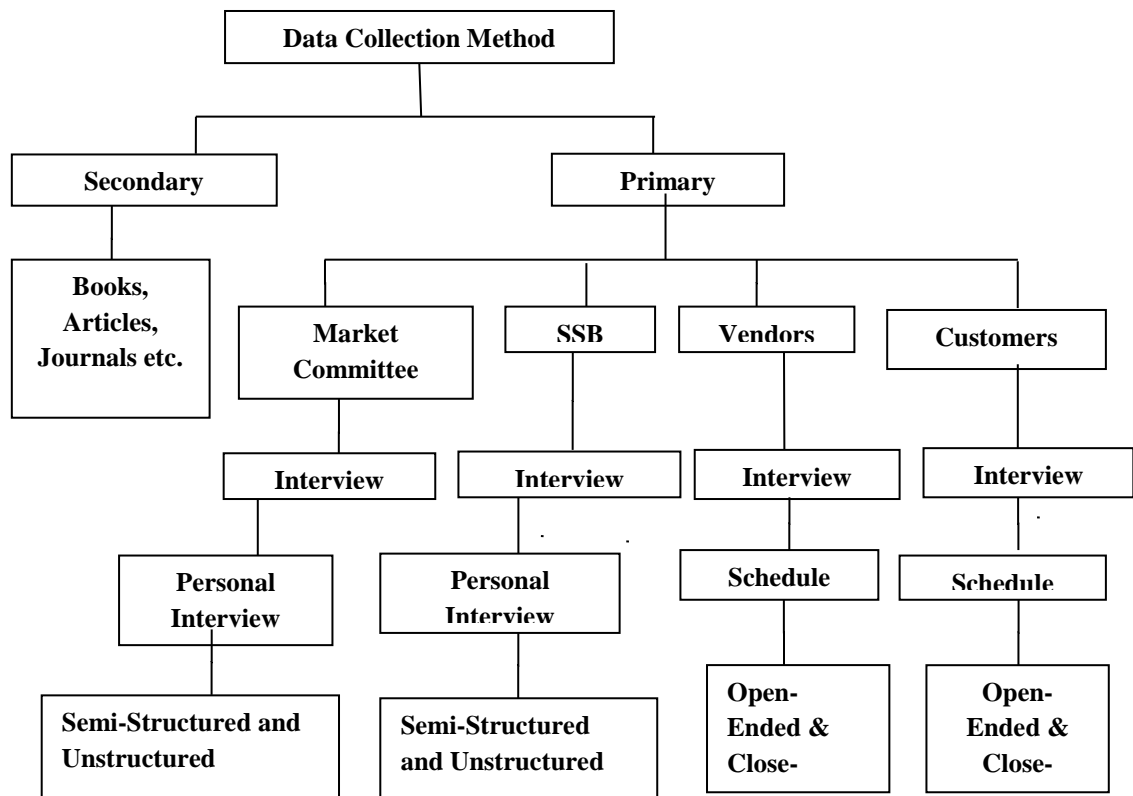
## Research design

A methodology comprised of both qualitative and quantitative methods has been employed for the proposed study. Exploratory research has been done to understand the research area. Qualitative and Quantitative both included primary and secondary data. In both Qualitative and Quantitative research, secondary data included previous studies conducted on the proposed study along with the resources on other border markets for

better understanding, published journals, articles, newspapers, books, etc. However, in Qualitative and Quantitative research, primary data has been conducted through field surveys and interviews.

In Qualitative research, primary data has been conducted through a personal interview where semi-structured and unstructured interviews were taken place. Here, an interview has been taken with the committee members and SSB of the Dadgiri where the check post is located near the border of Dadgiri and Gelephu. In this way, the proposed study has been understood through their lens. But in Quantitative research, primary data has been generated by the researcher himself/herself from the fieldwork through the survey. A structured schedule was used in the form of a survey and both close-ended and open-ended questions were set for the survey. Thus, to better understand the data collection method diagram is presented below.

**Diagram 1.1 Data Collection Method**



**Source:** Diagram has been designed based on data and information collected from the field survey.

## **Sampling design**

The sample size, which has been selected for the study, is 150. Data was collected from both Indian vendors and Bhutanese customers' where 75 vendors are from India and 75 customers from Bhutan were selected randomly. A simple random sampling technique has been employed for the proposed study. The research has been restricted to the weekly market at Dadgiri where the Indian vendors and the Bhutanese and local customers meet. The study has been made to understand the nature of the border market located between India and Bhutan as a research area through a local market identified as a case study: the Dadgiri border market in India. Some of the real names of respondents have been modified as they refused the researcher to reveal their names, while the names of some of the Respondents have been left unchanged. The list of the profile of vendors and customers has been shown in annexures IV and V.

### **1.8 Limitations of the Study**

During the field study, various limitations were faced by the researcher that needed to be considered. Since the vendor's and customer's interviews took place during market hours, there was a lot of interruption in the flow of questions that could not be avoided. During the market hour vendors were little interested in interacting with the researcher. Some of the customers refused to share their point of view as they found it awkward in the middle of the market while shopping. Some of the vendors were least bothered as it was a business and earning hour for them.

## **1.9 Organisation of the Study**

This study is organised under the following five chapters.

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This chapter is primarily the introductory part of the body, which outlined the general overview of the topic. Besides that, a review of the literature, rationale, and scope of the study, the objective of the study, research questions, research methodology, and Organisation of the study is included in this chapter.

### **Chapter 2: A Historical Background of Border Trade between India and Bhutan**

This chapter puts light on the history of the border trade between India-Bhutan. It focuses on the border village of Dadgiri (Assam, India) and tried to enhance our understanding of border market practices in this region.

### **Chapter 3: Dadgiri-Gelephu Weekly Market: Vendor-Customers Profiling, Roles and responsibilities of Market Committee and SSB**

This chapter presented a brief idea about the weekly market situated in Dadgiri, which is a hub for Bhutanese customers and tried to provide a clear view of the roles played by different members in maintaining peace and tried to explore the conflict in the market for the betterment of the people residing in the nearby areas. The primary objective of this chapter is to discuss the market based on the field survey.

### **Chapter 4: Dadgiri-Gelephu Weekly Market: A Field Study Analysis**

In this chapter, field data has been analyzed in terms of Age, Gender, Item sold by the vendors, regularity of the vendors/customers in the market, functioning of the market, Language as a Barrier, Dual Currency, and role of the Market committee and SSB in the market.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusion**

This chapter is the final chapter and it has summarized the study. The entire finding of the study has been discussed in this chapter. The recommendation and scope for future research have been advised in this chapter

## **CHAPTER-2**

### **A Historical Background of Border Trade between India-Bhutan**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The key objective of this research is to better understand border trade through the perspective of a weekly local market in Dadgiri, Assam. Border trade is the trade that takes place on or near the borders through the exchange of goods and services (Walther, 2014). Therefore, this chapter begins with an introduction to border trade. Furthermore, the markets that take place in the local areas near the border take place both formally and informally. Therefore, it is also important to discuss the relationship between India and Bhutan as well. Thus, this chapter further gives a brief idea about the border trade between India and Bhutan. It is stated that India and Bhutan both shares healthy, warm, and friendly relationships with each in every term. Both nations have a long history of solid political and economic cooperation.

Bhutan, as a landlocked country, is heavily reliant on India. India always played an important role when it comes to Bhutan. They have always sustained emotional stability and concern towards each other. Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, West Bengal, and Sikkim are the four Indian states that Bhutan borders. Bhutan serves both as a commodity market and as an investment destination for Indians. India is Bhutan's largest trading partner. India is currently not just key development partner of Bhutan, but also its most important commercial partner (Husian, 2013).

#### **2.2 Evolution of Border Trade**

The exchange of products or services takes place to generate money or satisfy consumer demand. Trade is a natural economic activity that involves the transfer of items from suppliers to buyers, Individuals, human groups, and governments can all exchange

goods. Both kinds and money can be used to exchange items. When people who live there, exchange items across international borders or close by, this is referred to as border trade (Husian, 2013).

Border Trade connects people from two borders and through trading, it becomes easy for the people residing in the border areas to generate their livelihood. The communications between the two borders take place in the border market by the way of exchange of commodities. It is an overland trade in which people residing on both sides of the international boundary exchange goods with each other (Namgyel, 2020).

### **2.3 India-Bhutan and its relations**

Bhutan and India have established historic ties. Apart from a shared cultural and religious background, many Anglo-Bhutanese skirmishes, and wars, followed by treaties and accords, arose during British rule in India. For the first time during this period of contact with the British, trade between Bhutanese and Indians was documented in 1873. For a long time, India and Bhutan have had a cordial relationship built on mutual goodwill and friendship, shared historical links and interests, and close understanding and collaboration. The “Treaty of Friendship” agreed upon between the two countries in 1949, solidified the relationship (Choden, 2004).

#### **2.3.1 India**

India remains one of the most ethnically diverse countries on the planet. History of India begins with the birth of the country. India is a country in Asia with a land area of 2,973,193 square kilometers and a sea area of 314,070 square kilometers. India is a country with a rich and illustrious history of civilizations. Social, economic, and cultural institutions of India are the consequence of decades of regional growth. Indian history begins with the advent of the Aryans and the establishment of the Indus Valley

Civilization. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Europeans came to India for the first time. The Indus Valley Civilization and the arrival of the Aryans are the beginnings of history of India. The Vedic civilization flourished around the river Saraswati, which was called after the Hindu Vedas, which depicted the early literature of the Hindus. The Buddhist period began in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, at the time of the Mahajanapadas, who were sixteen strong powers. After that, various eras arose, each with its history and lessons. The English had defeated everyone else and established themselves as dominating force of India by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. For two centuries, the British ruled India, bringing tremendous social, political, and economic changes to the nation (Spear, et al., 2022).

### **2.3.2 Bhutan**

Bhutan is often considered a physically tiny country with limited economic and military capabilities. Despite these challenges, Bhutan has established a reputation for being a peaceful country free of militancy, terrorism, and economic inequity. Bhutan has fared better than many of its South Asian neighbours in this regard. Bhutan is a small country in comparison to India. Both countries have a long history of solid political and economic cooperation. Bhutan is a landlocked country that is heavily reliant on India. About 80% of its trade is with India, which also funds all the country's five-year programs. India, on the other hand, is not overly reliant on Bhutan. Bhutan accounts for about 0.05 per cent of India's overall trade. Bhutan, despite this, is vitally essential to India's strategic interests. India's entire border with China is well known to be fragile. As a result, Bhutan's strategic location projects India from the Chinese assault. It will be strategically crucial for India to have excellent relations with Bhutan through commerce, aid, and other means (Madaan & Singh, 2014).



Bhutan is frequently regarded as a small country with minimal economic and military power. Despite these constraints, Bhutan has gained a reputation as a peaceful society free of militancy, terrorism, and internal economic inequity. Bhutan has been fortunate in this regard in comparison to many of its South Asian neighbours in this regard. This is due in part to its strategy of self-isolation until the second half of the twentieth century, as well as the preservation and promotion of a strong sense of identity that has ensured social stability and unity. Bhutan has never been colonized, nor has it been directly affected by two world wars or the cold war. It has avoided conflicts and turbulence such as the legacy of animosity and mistrust created by the partition of British India into India and Pakistan (Choden, 2004).

Before the unification and formation of the monarchy in 1907, however, the Bhutanese have always been sensitive to security issues, with repeated disturbances caused by internal warring groups. Several failed Tibetan invasion attempts plagued Bhutan in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the Assam and Bengal duars were lost to British India in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Bhutan has always placed a high priority on maintaining its sovereign independence and geographical integrity. Bhutan re-evaluated the efficacy of its isolationist strategy in the early twentieth century, owing to developments in the Himalayan region. Bhutan began to adopt a political orientation towards its Southern neighbour in this setting, as maintaining a close relationship with India was one way of increasing its territorial security while also improving socioeconomic prospects. In terms of India's tense relations with China, Bhutan's Strategic importance is undeniable (Choden, 2004).

### **2.3.3 The trade relations between India and Bhutan**

Since the renowned Indian saint Guru Padmasambhava introduced Buddhism to Bhutan in 747 A.D., which has since entered all aspects of Bhutanese life, there have been

economic links between India and Bhutan. Bhutan and the British repeatedly engaged in conflicts while the British were in control of India. Several treaties and agreements that encouraged friendly relations and eventually led to reciprocal economic links followed these wars. The first Indo-Bhutan Treaty, which included ten provisions when it was signed in 1949, established the groundwork for improved bilateral ties between Bhutan and India and guaranteed trade, commerce, and peace (Namgyel, 2020).

When compared to other south Asian neighbours, India and Bhutan have a long-standing warm and friendly relationship that has been relatively trouble-free. Standstill agreements with the 1947 conference followed India's independence in 1947 (Malik & Sheikh, 2016).

The Indo-Bhutan treaty of 1949 is the foundation of bilateral relations between India and Bhutan. India has always been Bhutan's largest trading partner and not just the key development partner of Bhutan, but also its most important commercial partner (Walther, 2014).

**Table 2.1: Trends of Trade between India and Bhutan (US\$ million)**

Year	India's Export to Bhutan	India's import to Bhutan	Trade balance	Total Trade
2000-01	1.1	21.1	-20	22.2
2001-02	7.6	23.9	-16.3	31.5
2002-03	39.1	32.2	6.9	71.2
2003-04	89.5	52.4	37.1	141.9
2004-05	84.6	71	13.6	155.6
2005-06	99.2	88.8	10.4	187.9
2006-07	57.7	142.1	-84.4	199.7
2007-08	86.7	194.7	-108	281.5
2008-09	111.2	151.8	-40.6	262.9
2009-10	118.9	153.1	-34.3	272
2010-11	176	201.6	-25.5	377.6
2011-12	229.9	202.6	27.3	432.4
2012-13	233.2	164	69.2	397.2
2013-14	355.6	152.2	203.4	507.8
2014-15	333.9	149.9	184.1	483.8
2015-16	469	281.3	187.7	750.2
2016-17	509.3	307.8	201.5	817.1
2017-18	546.1	377.9	168.2	924.1
2018-19	657.3	369.5	287.8	1,026.80

**Source:** NishaTaneja (2017) Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations

The fact that trade of Bhutan is dominated by India is unsurprising. Bhutan's export and import are both heavily reliant on India. The British Indian government and Bhutan signed a treaty in 1910, which was replaced by this treaty in 1949. Bhutan became a constitutional monarchy after the first general elections in 2008 to elect the National Assembly. Certain adjustments were required in the current connection between India and Bhutan because the structure of government was to be changed, to stay with the spirit of democracy and respect the mandate of the people. A new treaty of peace and friendship was signed between the two countries in February 2007, in honour of the visit of Bhutan's new king Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuk (Malik & Sheikh, 2016).

Even though India acknowledged Bhutan's complete independent status in 1949 and the treaty of 1949 was freely negotiated by Bhutan, calls for its revision have become increasingly common. The core of the argument is that it denies Bhutan complete sovereignty over her external relations regulations. Since the days of Jawaharlal Nehru and King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, the 1949 friendship treaty has guided the Indo-Bhutan relationship. The agreement guaranteed India's non-interference in Bhutan's domestic affairs, and it was particularly crucial because it entrusted India with guiding Bhutan's foreign policy. The India-Bhutan friendship treaty, which was redrafted and signed in 2007, charted a new direction for bilateral relations by demonstrating mutual trust between the two countries (Malik & Sheikh, 2016).

#### **2.4 Assam-Bhutan relations**

India's 15<sup>th</sup> most populous state Assam, which lies in the northeast corner, is an important part of India. Moreover, talking about the relationship between Assam and Bhutan, Bhutanese has always been attracted by Assam and its culture. Bhutanese pilgrims at Sadya, Barhat, Odalguri, Daranga, and Siliambari marketplaces exchanged with locals and imported goods from Assam. The commerce of fabric was especially

significant in the east Bhutan-Assam axis, with cotton, silk, and dyes being traded. Bhutanese woollen blankets, madder, bags, and almost four tones of lacs were swapped for cotton and raw Assamese silk textiles during a fair in Assam in 1875. Textiles were made from woven raw materials with themes according to suit Bhutanese tastes. Assam is said to have had a significant technical and artistic effect on Bhutan. Weaving is a prestige practice in Assamese society, where an accomplished weaver is still regarded and admired, much as it is in Bhutan. Dyeing was also common in Assam, and Bhutan uses the same method. It only included colouring the threads after the cloth had been produced, not the entire cloth. The dyes were made from wild plants that were heated in cauldrons to produce the colour that was used to dye the threads. Bhutan shopped in Assam for cotton textiles, silk, dried fish, and rice (Pommaret, 1999). Through this, we are aware that Assam and Bhutan share a healthy and cordial relationship.

#### **2.4.1 Assam**

India, the seventh-largest country in the world, has been divided into twenty-nine states. Among these twenty-nine states, Assam, the 15<sup>th</sup> most populous state and 26<sup>th</sup> most literate state of the 29<sup>th</sup> state located in north-east corner of India, between 90° and 96° E longitude and 24° and 80° N latitude. The kingdoms of Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh border Assam on the northwest, the states of Nagaland and Manipur on the south, and the state of Mizoram on the far south. Meghalaya and Tripura, as well as Bangladesh, share Assam's western border. The international border region runs in such a way only a small strip of land in the Himalayan sub-mountain region connects to the

Indian mainland. Assam is home to valuable timber like Sal<sup>3</sup>, Sisso<sup>4</sup>, Sonaru<sup>5</sup>, Khair<sup>6</sup>, Nahar<sup>7</sup>, Khokan<sup>8</sup>, and Amri<sup>9</sup>, as well as various bamboo, canes, grass, vegetable plants, and essential oil-producing plants. Chum (Mechilus), Nooni (Morus), Era (Ricinus), Keseree (Helerophanay), Suanlee (Tetrenthera), Champa (Michelia), Mezenkari or Adakari, and other plants aid in the rearing of silkworms, which feed silk industry of Assam. There are also varieties of medicinal herbs. Two essential products are agaru and lac. The forest region is also rich in animals and birds, in addition to its diverse flora (Das, 1998).

One-horned rhinos, wild buffalo, leopard, tiger, elephant, bear, various types of deer, monkeys, black panthar, wild boar, the yellow primula (Floribunda) that is only found in this region, and the painted bat with its red wings, the world's only coloured bat Pelicans, imperial pigeons, green pigeons, blue coots, and various types of parrots can all be found in this area. Oil is discovered in Dibgoi, Duliajan, Naharkotia, Moran, Rudrasagar, Hugrijan, Lakwa, Borhola, Tengakhat, Geleki, and other places, and coal is found in Ledo, Bargolai, Namdang, Tipong, Joipur, Silbheta, and other places. In addition, the state generates a modest amount of limestone and iron. In Assam, Hinduism is the dominant religion. In addition to Islam, other faiths such as Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, and others have followers. Tantra was once practiced in Sakti temple of Assam, such as the Kamakhya shrine in Guwahati and the Kechaikhathi temple in Sadiya. On its way to Tibet, Buddhism stopped in Assam, but its

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<sup>3</sup> A kind of tree species found in India and also known as house of the tribal goddess.

<sup>4</sup> It is also known as shisham and also known as Indian rosewood, which has medical and other various values.

<sup>5</sup> Commonly known as golden shower and its tree's seeds are poisonous and have strong and durable wood.

<sup>6</sup> It is a thorny tree, which grows up to 15m in height its roots are used for medical purpose.

<sup>7</sup> It is known as Indian rose chestnut, which is state flower of Tripura, and it has various local name among which is nageshwar.

<sup>8</sup> It a local name of the tree, which is benefitted, for health purpose.

<sup>9</sup> This tree is used for treatment of gonorrhoea and leukorrhoea. It has yellow fruits on it.

impact on Assamese life was minimal. From (1681-1949), Assam was ruled by the Ahoms (1228-1826), known as the Ahom monarchy, and then by the British, called Assam Province, from 1826 to 1947, before becoming a State of the Indian Union. Following the British takeover of Assam in 1826, Bhutan's lengthy border with British territory was crossed for the first time. Indeed, Governors-General have been aware of the vital role the British would play in contacting the Tibetan people since the days of Warren Hastings (Das, 1998).

Bhutan was compelled to sign a peace treaty with the Company in 1774 and pay a yearly payment of five tanga horses. Following the British conquest of Assam, Bhutan's tribute payments fell behind, and outrages and "decoities" were performed on British soil regularly. The Dev Raja of Bhutan proposed that the British establish a border between Assam and Bhutan in 1870. Sir William Grey, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, ordered the dispute to be settled by the Commissioner of Assam. The Commissioner, on the other hand, was adamantly opposed to any demarcation, claiming that Dewangiri was included in British India in the 1866 demarcation and that the Bhutan government had made no objections. This resulted in a tax collection misunderstanding between the two governments (Das, 1998).

Major J. M. Graham, the then-Deputy Commissioner of Darrang, was eventually appointed a Boundary Commissioner in September 1972, and Dewangiri remained part of the British India territories, settling the Assam-Bhutan border. Due to the interaction of numerous forces and movements at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new awakening occurred. By that time, political change had occurred in the United Kingdom, with the Labour Party taking power. The process of granting India political independence has been accelerated because of the Labour Party proclamation. Lord Mountbatten was appointed as the new Governor-General in this context, and was

tasked with laying the groundwork for a smooth transfer of authority. Because of the Mountbatten Plan, India gained independence in 1947, and Assam became an independent province of India (Das, 1998).

#### **2.4.2 Bhutan**

The sovereign kingdom of Bhutan is located between 26°45' and 28°30' N latitude and 88°45' and 92°10' E longitude, on the southern slopes of the great Himalayan range. It is 47,000 square kilometers in size. The Tibetan provinces of gTsang and lHoborong to the north, and the States of West Bengal and Assam to the south, form the borders of the kingdom. Bhutan lost the entire strip of Duars on the Assam and Bengal borders, as well as the present-day Kalimpong subdivision of Darjeeling, to the British after the war of 1864-1865. This area is currently home to Assam's and Bengal's tea gardens. Bhutan's traditional name is Lho Mon (Lho = "south" and Mon = a corruption of the word "darkness"). Bhutan was known as Lho-Mon Tsangdun Jong, or "south sandalwood country", before Buddhism was introduced in the early seventh century. Bhuta's modern name is derived from "Bhotanta", an old Indian term for all of Tibet. In many Anglicizations such as Bootan, Bhotan, Boutan, and others, the name became fixed as Bhutan towards the end of the last century, and the Bhutanese today recognize it as the official name for their country (Namgyel, 2020).

Modern Bhutanese, on the other hand, refer to their homeland as Drukyul, or Druk Land. The majorities of Bhutan's rivers originate in Tibet and flow into the Bhutan Himalayas. They travel southward, eventually joining the Brahmaputra, as they flow down the hill from north to south. The Manas, also known as Dragmchhu in Bhutan, is formed by the confluence of Nyamjingchhu, Kureechhu, Bumthangchhu, and Mangdechhu. It is largest river of Bhutan. The Amochhu (the Torsa in Assam), the

Wang chhu (the Raidak), and the Mo chhu (the Sunkosh) are the major rivers in Bhutan (Das, 1998).

History of Bhutan as a single political entity is thought to have begun in the seventeenth century. Tibetan Buddhist lamas from eastern Tibet began to reach Bhutan during the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Drukpa sect's Lamas established a huge number of monastic facilities in western Bhutan and converted a big number of people to Buddhism, establishing a unique religious entity in this region of Bhutan. In terms of politics, the entire country was dominated by chieftains who were constantly at odds with one another, preventing any progress. The country's realm is preventing any form of political identity. No leader was able to enforce his authority across the entire country, and Bhutan became an easy target for Tibetan incursions. Drukpa Rampochi, also known as Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, arose from the midst of battles in the early seventeenth century. The issue of Monpa monasteries caused friction between Bhutan and Tibet during Namgyal's reign. The Dalai Lama V wished to impose his will on the Bhutanese, who had refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of Dalai Lama over their isolated valley, particularly Mon Tawang.

As a result, when Gushri Khan's Mongol forces attacked Bhutan in 1644, Bhutan opted to make amends with the Dalai Lama. Bhutan and Tibet came into negotiations in 1646, and an agreement was reached that restored Bhutan and Tibet's original position on Mon Tawang. However, the calm did not last long. When the Mongol-Tibetan armies returned in 1647 and advanced as far as Paro in western Bhutan, where they remained until 1649, the invaders were soundly repelled by Bhutanese warriors. Ugyan Wangchuk, the son of Jigme Namgyal, the Tongso Penlop of Bhutan at the time, became the Para Penlop in 1881 and subsequently the Tongs a Penlop in 1884. He was able to concentrate state authority in his hands, and he remained the de facto king of



Bhutan until 1907. Bhutan's Dharma Raja had died three years before, in 1904 (Das, 1998).

The Tongso Penlop and his Council were in charge of temporal matters. When Chole Tulku, Bhutan's Deb Raja, retired from the position, the monks and their leaders unanimously chose to call Sir Ugyan. To become the hereditary monarch of Bhutan, the British bestowed Ugyan Wangchuk with the insignia of Knight, Commander of the Empire of India in 1905. Ugyan Wangchuk accepted their offer, ushering in a significant socio-religious shift in Bhutan's history, as well as the end of the dual government of the Dharma and Deba Rajas, with the same two high officials being replaced by hereditary royalty. Sir Ugyan Wangchuk died in 1926, and his son Jigme Wangchuk succeeded him as King of Bhutan. Jigme Wangchuk died in March 1952, and Jigme Dorji Wangchuk was formally appointed as the next king in October 1952 (Das, 1998).

**Map 2.1:** Showing the map of Assam, the portion shown in the map with the help of an arrow is the Chirang district of Assam.



**Source:** <https://images.app.goo.gl/KSCjd7VQStuVG3dN7>

### 2.4.3 Assam-Bhutan trade relation

During the period of the Ahom kingdom (1226-1826), the region had a vibrant trade with Bhutan, Tibet, China's Yunnan province, Burma (Myanmar), and the north-eastern tribal communities, importing and exporting a wide range of goods (of present-day Arunachal Pradesh). In these non-industrialized economies, the traditional kind of barter system prevailed, where external trade transactions were consistently carried out by trading items, occasionally goods for services, and vice versa. The basket of trans-border trade composition was shaped by comparative advantage in certain goods and services as well as the economic structure of trading partners. Assam, despite being mostly an agrarian economy, has a vibrant secondary sector of cotton and silk Handloom weaving, brass and bell metal utensil production, and cottage manufacturing, as well as abundant forest resources. Eastern Bhutan's chieftains and Assam's chieftains established political ties. Assamese products, particularly textiles, arrived in Bhutan in ancient times. The Gyelrig' written by historical monk Ngawang<sup>10</sup> in 1728 and relates the ancient history of eastern Bhutan where "a market was established at Bhumpayer and the Atsaras of India, the Tibetans, the Khampas<sup>11</sup>, and all the people of Monyul<sup>12</sup> gathered there". The Bhutanese also travelled to Assam for religious and commercial reasons, which were often combined: "The Bhutanese, the inhabitants of the country of the Gurkha Rajah (Nepal), the people of Lhasa, and those of several other countries located to the northwest of the Brahmaputra carried out uninterrupted trade with Assam" (Bogle & Manning, 1876). The extent of Bhutanese

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<sup>10</sup> Colloquially known as the beard monk who was also known as the Tibetan Buddhist monk and the unifier of Bhutan as a nation- state.

<sup>11</sup> People of Kham are Khampas who is known as the reputed warriors for their marksmanship and horsemanship.

<sup>12</sup> It is known as the sleepy region in the eastern Himalayan slopes on the Indo-Tibetan border.

trade with Assam is understood from the evidence of Seven Duars (doors) between these two places (Pommaret, 1999).

## **2.5 Conclusion**

From history, it has been clear that border trade helps the lives to improve the livelihood of those who are residing near the border areas. In addition, it is also understood that India and Bhutan along with the state of Assam have a friendly relationship with one another in terms of trading. Understandably, Bhutanese used to travel to Assam for various reasons like religious purposes, crafting, weaving, etc. (Das, 1998).

Here every Thursday, the market in Chirang District, Assam, near the Dadgiri-Gelephu border point, comes alive with an unusual pattern of trading. This is where Indian sellers and Bhutanese customers come together. Here people gather during daytime every Thursday to exchange goods and services in the form of trading to earn their livelihood. The market in this open border between Dadgiri-Gelephu is a hub for the locals and non-locals to earn their daily bread and this is an opportunity for them to improve their way of life through this common market.

## CHAPTER 3

### **Dadgiri-Gelephu Weekly Market: Vendor-Customers Profiling, Roles and responsibilities of Market Committee and SSB**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Assam is one of the twenty-nine states of India. It is in the northeastern part of India, between 90 and 96 degrees east longitude and 24 and 80 degrees north latitude. One of the 27 districts of Assam state, located in northeastern India, is Chirang. The former Bongaigaon district has been divided into the Chirang district. It is also said that the name Chirang came from an old spelling for the Tsirang district of Bhutan. The Chirang district and Bhutan have a shared border. By population, it is the most lightly populated district in Assam, which is 4,81,818 according to the 2011 census (Das, 1998).

Dadgiri is a place located in the Chirang district of Assam, India. The place where a weekly market takes place. Every Thursday, the market in Chirang District, Assam, at the Dadgiri-Gelephu border point comes to life. Here, an unusual pattern of trading occurs. This is where buyers from Bhutan and Indian vendors gather. Dadgiri-Gelephu is a hub for both Indian vendors and Bhutanese customers. The uniqueness and beauty of the market are that the crowds from both countries witness the market at the same time. The weekly market is different from the other local market as this market takes place at the border area where two people from different countries can easily interact and get involved in the market and make proper use of the market by both countries. An Indian vendor plays a significant role by providing necessary commodities for daily use to the customers. This market in a way fulfils the need of the people both customers and vendors from two different countries. This chapter will, therefore, present the scenario of the weekly market and its functioning. An attempt has also been made in

this chapter to examine the roles of the vendors and customers and highlights the profiling of the weekly through a different perspective.

### **3.2 Market as a hub**

The weekly market in the border area takes place every Thursday. The market is a hub for people from both countries. They visit the market to fulfil their common needs. The market is the only place where two country people interact with each other to buy and sell goods. Customers visit the market to collect his/her needs whereas vendors come to sell the products to earn their livelihood. The vendor brings the products, which are in high demand from the customers, especially customers from Bhutan. Fresh fruits and vegetables, red meat, fish, handcrafted textiles, apparel, and footwear, as well as a few small retailers and stalls selling spices and plastic and steel utensils, are available from Indian vendors. Furthermore, there are traditional healers and fate tellers, which draw huge crowds of Bhutanese consumers.

In addition, a huge seasonal rush of customers from Bhutan visits this market between December and February to purchase new clothing, shoes, and other necessities. This is largely due to the income people receive from selling their rice during this time, as well as the festival of Bihu<sup>13</sup>.

During this time, vendors can attract customers from Bhutan and earn huge amounts of profit as said by one of the vendors. The vendors have fully relied on the Bhutanese customers as they purchase a huge bulk of products as compared to the local villagers.

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<sup>13</sup> A local Assamese festival.

### 3.3 Role and responsibility of market committee and imposing monetary taxes

While interviewing with the Market Committee it was learned that the Thursday weekly market was formed around 10 years ago by the local people from nearby villages to help the locals earn their livelihood. They said that the market comes to life basically from early 6 am and ends by 7 pm. The president of the market committee said that there is no certain rule for the opening of the market in the morning but the market has to be closed by 7 pm. The market committee member is formed by the public with the help of the committee meeting and discussion for the betterment of the market

There are 33 villages under Dadgiri. Each village has Gaonbura<sup>14</sup> who is known as the head of the village. Along with 33 Gaonbura, there are 33 Secretaries as well in each village. Both Gaonbura and Secretary are selected as members of the weekly market committee by the public. Again, president, secretary and treasurer/cashiers are also selected as active working members of the market committee and are the front face of the market committee. Altogether, there are 69 members of the market committee. Every year new members are chosen to look after the market. The names of members of the market committee are listed in Annexure III.

**Picture: 3.1:** Members of Market Committee



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, June 2022

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<sup>14</sup> He plays the role of the head of the village that is responsible for all the decision-making of the village.

As shown in the picture 3.1, President of the market committee accompanying the Secretary, Treasurer and one of those members at the market. Mr. Basumatary (secretary) added that after the new members were appointed as the member of the committee. There is peace and prosperity in the market and the market is maintained smoothly. He complains that the old members were irresponsible and they were creating chaotic situations in the market because of which the vendors were facing problems. He again added after our arrival, as a market committee member the market is normal and stable. One of the members of the market committee added that due to the Covid-19 pandemic the market is at loss.

The vendors are struggling to survive as the market was closed for more than a year due to the complete lockdown throughout the nation. He again added that due to the restrictions on Bhutanese customers to visit the market, there is still an ongoing lockdown in Bhutan. There is no movement of the Bhutanese costumes in the market because of which there was no huge gathering in the marketplace. Treasurer added that due to the fewer customers in the market they do not collect money from the small stalls as it is difficult for the vendors to manage his/her livelihood.

### **The spices vendor from the market**

The market committee's main responsibility in ensuring a laissez-faire attitude is to allow a smooth operation of the market and a no-conflict situation for trading between any of the vendors. As a result, customers are more inclined to visit these market areas frequently and buy the majority of their household goods from the wide variety of vendors that are set up here. Additionally, during market hours, the committee gives vendors access to drinking water. The committee charges INR 10 for performing these duties, based on the number of goods a seller has in stock at his/her Stall. In addition, each vendor is required to give INR 5 to the sweeper for janitorial services. The

committee does not enforce any taxes nor has to pay any to the local government, as they do not get any assistance from the local government.

**Picture 3.2:** The spices vendor selling a variety of spices in the market



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, June 2022

### **3.4 Interview with the different vendors**

While interviewing with various vendors it was understood that due to the restriction of Bhutanese customers in the market the vendors were at loss. They are facing problems to survive and managing their livelihood as there was very less amount, they earn every week. Some of the vendors coming from nearby areas to earn their livelihood to make their life better are now facing problems even to survive and pay their rents where they stay at the nearby village of Dadgiri. To get their products to the market, a member of the group of five or six vendors hires a truck/taxi and shares the cost of transportation. A list of the profile of the vendors is mentioned in annexure IV. One of the vendors from the nearby area who comes every week by hiring trucks says that now it has become difficult for them to even afford the expenses of the truck/taxis as the market is running at loss. He again added that they would have stopped coming to the market, as they find no profit from the market. However, the market committee and villagers have requested them to continue coming to the market, as they did not want to break the market as this weekly Thursday market is in the middle of the two



countries' border area and this market is the place where the communication between the two countries people take place.

### 3.4.1 Fruit vendors

On interviewing one of the fruit sellers who is also one of the oldest vendors of this weekly market who has witnessed the drastic change in the market in the past few years. He says that he has an emotional attachment to this market as he has spent his entire adulthood in this market and this market is home to him as this market is providing financial support to him through this vending and by which he can feed his family as well. He also says that though it was difficult for him to survive during the time of Covid-19 he did not even leave the place during the time of crisis as he stay at Dadgiri in a rented house. He again added that he did not have to pay any rent to the owner during the time of lockdown. He says that he has a different love for this place and market. Below is a picture of the fruit vendor selling a variety of fruits in the weekly market.

**Picture 3.3:** Fruit seller with his variety of fruits in the market



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, June 2022

He says with a saddened voice that due to the lockdown in Bhutan his business is not in a good position. He says that before the pandemic his fruits were highly in demand

as Bhutanese customers used to take fruits in bulk. He again added that seasonal fruits like Mangoes, pineapple, and grapes were highly sold by him before the pandemic, but after the pandemic, the reopening of the market is not as fruitful for him as there were no customers from Bhutan who would buy their products. The local villagers would not buy many of the products as Bhutanese customers used to buy.

### **3.4.2 Meat sellers**

There were various kinds of meat sellers among which the interesting part about this meat seller who dragged the attention of the researcher was that there were two women selling meat in the middle of the market. While interacting with them it was learned that both the women were locals and they belong to Dadgiri. They say that they have been selling meat for 5 years in the same market. They say that most Bhutanese women come to their stall seeing the women struggling for a livelihood by selling the meat. The woman says that they find this job more fascinating than any other job. One woman added that she knows how to speak the Bhutanese language, which is why it becomes easy for her to interact with customers from Bhutan. She again added that she has a stall at the Dadgiri local Hat<sup>15</sup>. The Hat comes to live from around 2 pm every day at Dadgiri. However, every Thursday she comes to the weekly market for selling the meat and returns by evening. She added that she earns a good amount of money from this weekly market. The pictures shown below are the pictures of the meat sellers along with the two women selling meat in the market.

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<sup>15</sup> Daily Local market, which take place in the local areas.

**Picture 3.4:** The picture depicts the meat sellers in the market



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, June 2022

The left side of the picture shows the women selling meat in the market whereas the left side of the picture is of the other men selling meat in the market. There were many meat sellers in the market where as there were only two women selling meat in that weekly market.

### **3.4.3 Sweet stalls**

The sweets stall seller says that he has been doing this stall for the last 6-7 years and he sells his sweets regularly every Thursday. He comes to the market early in the morning every Thursday in his two-wheeler vehicle. He says that he prepares most of the sweets before one day and the rest sweets are prepared in the market itself. The picture shown below is of the man selling sweets in his stall.

**Picture 3.5:** A young man selling fresh sweets in his stall



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, June 2022

The sweet seller says that he is just 24 years old and is doing his graduation. He says he is doing this side business to support his family's livelihood. He again added that his Jollibee<sup>16</sup> is famous among the Bhutanese customers and local's villagers who come to the market as he serves hot Jollibee to them by preparing it there. He says that Bhutanese customers order Jollibee in bulk so that they can take it to their home for their family and friends. *"I prepare Jollibee here itself because people love to enjoy Jollibee very hot. Jollibee leaves its aroma when it is hot. Bhutanese customers and other local customers stand here and enjoy hot Jollibee"<sup>17</sup>.*

#### **3.4.4 Footwear sellers**

A footwear vendor who comes to market early in the morning from a different place to sell his footwear and returns to his place by evening. Footwear vendor says that he mostly sells female footwear as female footwear is highly in demand. He says that one female customer from Bhutan buys 2/3 pairs of shoes and slippers once she comes to

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<sup>16</sup> Local sweet dish dipped in hot sugar syrup

<sup>17</sup> Interview with the sweet seller in the Thursday weekly market.

his shop. He added that apart from vending in Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market he also has 2 other shops in different places, which are looked after by his two sons. His footwear is in demand according to the season. During the school season, school shoes are in demand and during the rainy season, plastic slippers are in demand as local villagers purchase slippers. The vendor says that he has the best collection and latest fashion of footwear as Bhutanese customers always look for fancy footwear. He says that the locals only buy fancy footwear during the time of the local festival. He says that he earns a huge amount of profit during the time of festival, as people do not have time to bargain as they become busy during the festivals. Whereas a Bhutanese customer does not need any occasion or festival to purchase fancy footwear and Bhutanese customers do not bargain.

**Picture 3.6:** Footwear sellers selling varieties of footwear in the market



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, June 2022

### **3.4.5 Second-hand clothes/thrift clothes sellers**

The most surprising factor about this clothes shop was that the clothes sold here were not brand new. While interacting with the vendor of this shop it was countered that, the used clothes were bought from Jaigaon. Moreover, apart from vending in this weekly market, he has one more shop at Dadgiri and he belongs to Dadgiri. He said that those



clothes were imported from Korea. His friend from Jaigaon sends him clothes, which he sells here apart from that he had no idea how these clothes come to Jaigaon. Bhutanese customers love his collection of clothes as those clothes looked fancy and stylish. They buy clothes from him in a bulk. Even his clothes were in demand among the local villagers, as those clothes were cheap and in good condition as well. He had a fixed price for the clothes as INR 50 were fixed for big clothes and INR 20 for small clothes like tops, vests etc. He again added that his clothes were highly in demand during winter as he sells long coats and woollen sweaters at a very cheap price.

He only sells woman's clothing because women buy more clothes than men do, he added. He is fluent in various local languages, which is an advantage for him to attract customers from different communities along with Bhutanese customers. He again said that he was there in Bhutan for several years before he started this business of clothing so he has a basic idea about the choice of clothes Bhutanese females choose to wear. During the local festival, his clothes get out of stock and he must ask his friend from Jaigaon to send him clothes in huge bulk so that he can earn money. He says that his clothes are very cheap and fancy that is why it is in high demand among Bhutanese customers and local villagers as it is affordable for locals as well.

**Picture 3.7:** Vendors selling second-hand clothes/thrift clothes at the market



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, June 2022

### 3.4.6 Plastics products stalls

This stall had various products like ropes, fishing nuts, plastic bags, tarpaulin, wires etc. He said that the fishery nuts were sold to the villagers in huge numbers as the fisherman takes for fishery purposes. In the same way, Tarpaulin was sold in huge bulk to Bhutanese customers. When he asked one of his customers why she is taking huge bulk of tarpaulin, she replied that she is taking it for constructions purpose. The thick ropes were also taken for the same reason. He said that she again added that the costs of those products are cheaper here than in Bhutan, so she prefers to take from this market rather than buying from Bhutan. He said that when the Bhutanese customers visit his stall he sells the amount of more than INR 10000 customers. However, local customers only buy products not more than INR 100. Therefore, he prefers Bhutanese customers rather than local customers.

**Picture: 3.8:** Picture showing vendor selling plastic products in the market



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, June 2022

### 3.4.7 Vegetable sellers

The vegetable seller comes a long way to sell vegetables with the purpose to earn his living. He belongs to the nearby village and comes every week to this market to sell vegetables. He said that he roams all the nearby villages to collect fresh and organic products to sell in the market. By around 6 in the morning, he comes to market with his

vegetables with the hope to earn a little more amounts. He says that by morning itself, his vegetables get out of stock as the locals and Bhutanese customers buy vegetables every morning. Therefore, in the afternoon his wife again comes with vegetables to the market. Apart from fresh vegetables, he also sells potatoes, tomatoes, garlic, chillies etc. He not only vends to Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market but also goes to different places to sell his vegetables to earn more amount of money for his livelihood.

**Picture 3.9:** Showing the vendor selling vegetables at the market



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

### **3.5 Interaction with the Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) personnel**

This weekly is very close to the international border, and the security concerns involved cannot be ignored. The Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) camp is in the Dadgiri. The market committee also discusses with India's Armed Border Force, Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) if any kind of issues related to security prevails in the market. While interviewing with the SSB Officials at Dadgiri they talked about the recent incident that happened in the market where there was a problem with heavy traffic from both sides of the border on a road that was already in poor condition. The SSB official claimed that after speaking with the Village Headman, they were able to find a solution and created a new parking area near the market where the Bhutanese cars could be parked without causing a traffic



problem. The rough format of the procedure of documentation by SSB in the check-post has been given in annexure VII. While interviewing with the SI (sub-inspector), he explained the detailed procedure for the security check in the check post. The border security forces in Bhutan, he stated, are all in constant contact with the SSB. Bhutan's security forces list the vehicles that enter or pass-through India when they cross the border. The SSB is then informed of this list for any possible references. The SSB is not required to check each vehicle coming into India from Bhutan unless there is a suspicion, as per the Free Trade Agreement between India and Bhutan. The procedure of the security check has been mentioned in annexure VII.

The SSB shares this vehicle list to ensure that the SSB has a record of the number of vehicles entering the country, particularly on the day of the Thursday weekly market. Due to this, it is easier for the SSB and police to ensure that the market operates smoothly. Given the security concerns of an entry of large numbers of people from Bhutan, this makes it easy for the SSB/police to guarantee that the smooth operation of the market is not disrupted. He even added that SSB goes for patrolling every week during market hours.

**Picture 3.10:** The left-hand side picture depicts the SSB check post and the left-hand side picture shows the SSB patrolling in the market during the market hour



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

### **3.6 Conclusion**

This weekly market is an opportunity for the unemployed to earn their livelihood and to look after their family. This market is not only useful for vendors and customers but also useful for the locals who come randomly to sell their rice during seasonal occasions. The market is a hub where apart from buying-selling, this can be an opportunity to create healthy relations between two countries. This chapter, therefore, gave us a clear view of the weekly market and how it runs. An effort had been made to examine the roles of the vendors and customers and highlighted the profiling of the weekly through a different perspective. Pictures shown above in this chapter have been depicted in Annexure VI.

## CHAPTER 4

### Dadgiri-Gelephu Weekly Market: A Field Study Analysis

#### 4.1 Introduction

Dadgiri is one of the village located in the Chirang district of Assam, India. The location of the weekly market is here at this place. The market in the Assam, Chirang District comes alive every Thursday at the Dadgiri-Gelephu border point. Here, an unusual trading pattern reveals itself. Here are where Indian vendors and customers from Bhutan assemble. A gateway for both Indian vendors and Bhutanese customers is Dadgiri-Gelephu. The presence of individuals from both countries at the same time at the market adds to its beauty and distinctiveness. The weekly market is unique from other local markets because it is located along the border where two individuals from different countries can conveniently connect, contribute to the market, and make proper use of the market constructively on behalf of both countries. By providing customers with the essentials they need for daily use, an Indian vendor makes a significant contribution. In a way, this market meets the requirements of individuals from two separate countries both buyers and sellers.

The chapter is based on surveys that have been done at the weekly Dadgiri-Gelephu market. 150 customers and vendors were picked as a Sample size. Where 75 were Bhutanese customers and 75 were Indian vendors. A few things were taken into consideration when choosing the Samples in the Dadgiri-Gelephu market.

Firstly, the survey was done on this Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market only during the market hour. Secondly, data was collected from both Indian vendors and Bhutanese customers randomly. Before conducting the survey, information about the market and its functioning was taken from the market committee members.

## 4.2 General Profile of Dadgiri-Gelephu Weekly Market

Due to familiarity with the location and the local language, as well as the lack of previous academic research in this area, the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market was chosen as the study for this research. This chapter focuses primarily on the analysis of the data to understand the trade practices in this area. The study is confined to the Dadgiri market, a weekly gathering place for Bhutanese customers and Indian vendors. The vendors and customers were given schedules for this research. As depicted in Appendix II, vendors and customers were given structured questions.

As shown in table no. 4.1 it is clear that 150 respondents were chosen from both Bhutan and India. Out of which 75 vendors were chosen from India and 75 customers were chosen from Bhutan. The profile of the vendors and customers are shown in annexure IV and annexure V.

**Table No. 4.1:** Composition of respondents

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Vendors(Indian)	75	50.00
Customers(Bhutanese)	75	50.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Firstly**, it explains about the total number of respondents, the profile of the vendors and customers, which include the age, gender of the vendors and customers.

**Secondly**, it mentions about the Item sold by the vendors.

**Thirdly**, it highlights the regularity of the vendors and customers in the market.

**Fourthly**, it talks about the functioning of the market.

**Fifthly**, it highlights the linguistic barrier.

**Sixthly**, it talks about dual currency.

**Seventhly**, it talks about the role of the Market committee and SSB in the market.

### 4.2.1 Profile of the Vendors (Indian)

In this section, a set of personal characteristics namely the age and gender of the 75 Indian vendors have been examined and presented below.

#### Age group of the Vendors

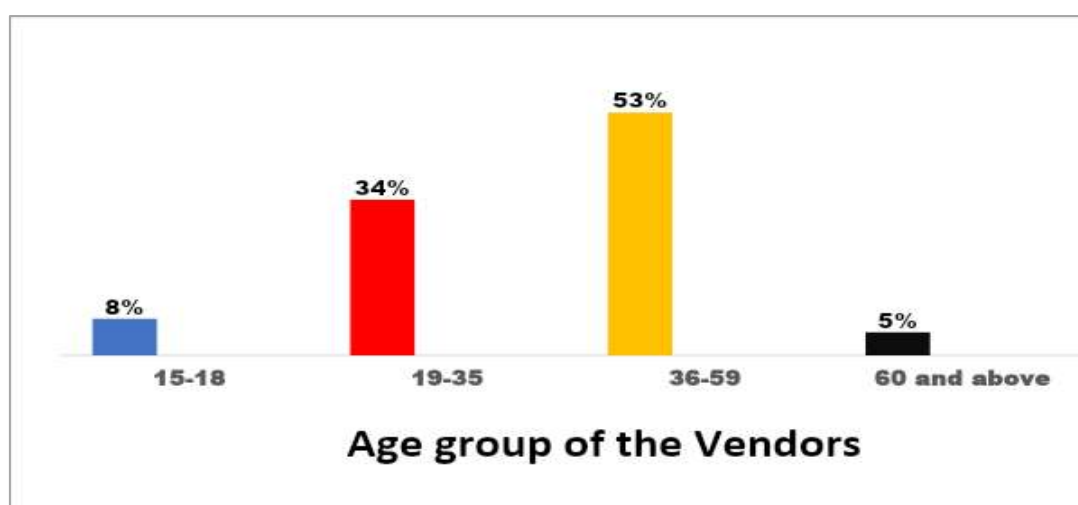
One of the most crucial factors in interpreting a respondent's opinions on a given issue is their age. It reveals a person's attitude, motivation, and level of knowledge as well as their maturity, hence age becomes more significant when analyzing the responses. All vendors and customers ages have been divided into four categories. Adolescence, early adulthood, late adulthood, and old age are all included in this. Based on information gathered during the fieldwork, table no. 4.2 illustrated the age groups of the vendors.

**Table No. 4.2:** Age group of the Vendors

Ages	No. of respondents	Percentage
15-18	6	8.00
19-35	25	34.00
36-59	40	53.00
60 and above	4	5.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.1:** Age group of the Vendors



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

It is evident from table no. 4.2 and figure no. 4.1 that shows the age group between 36-59 has 53% of vendor respondents. In this age group, vendor respondents are the highest in number as compared to other age groups. While 34% of vendor respondents are from the 19-53 age group. Only 5% of the vendor respondents were from the age group of 60 and above. While 8% are between the ages of 15-18 who were adolescence.

While observing we could see from table no. 4.2 and figure no. 4.1 that majority of the vendor respondent are in late adulthood who are at their productive age. At this age, most people are married and have kids. In this situation, they experience pressure to look after their family and earn a livelihood for the survival of their family. According to the data provided above, it is also very disheartening to learn that 8% of adolescents are engaged in work in this sector rather than getting an education.

### **Gender of the Vendors**

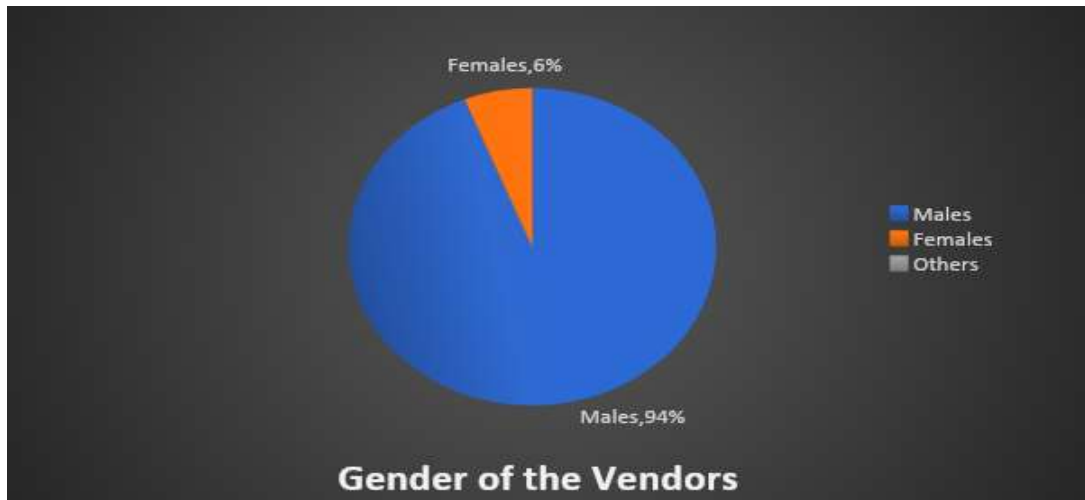
In this study, gender is being studied to determine gender involvement in the market as a vendor. Based on a field survey, data regarding the gender of the vendors is presented with the help of a table.

**Table No. 4.3:** Gender of the Vendors

<b>Gender</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Males	71	94.00
Females	4	6.00
Others	0	0.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.2:** Gender of the Vendors



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

From table no. 4.3 and figure no. 4.2, it is evident that there are more males than females among the 75 vendors. Out of 100%, 94% of all respondents are men, and 6% are women. There is no another gender rather than male and female. We can thus conclude from the data above that there are more male vendors than female vendors in the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market. There are several reasons why female vendors fail to perform in this sector. Regardless of their best efforts, they experience a variety of obstacles at work because they simultaneously take care of their families and children.

#### **4.2.2 Profile of the Customers (Bhutanese)**

In this portion, the profile of the customers has been examined and presented in the data. As mentioned, here also a set of personal characteristics namely the age and gender of the 75 Bhutanese customers have been examined and presented.

##### **Age group of the Customers**

As mentioned in the age group of the customers has also been divided into four categories. Adolescence, early adulthood, late adulthood, and old age are included.

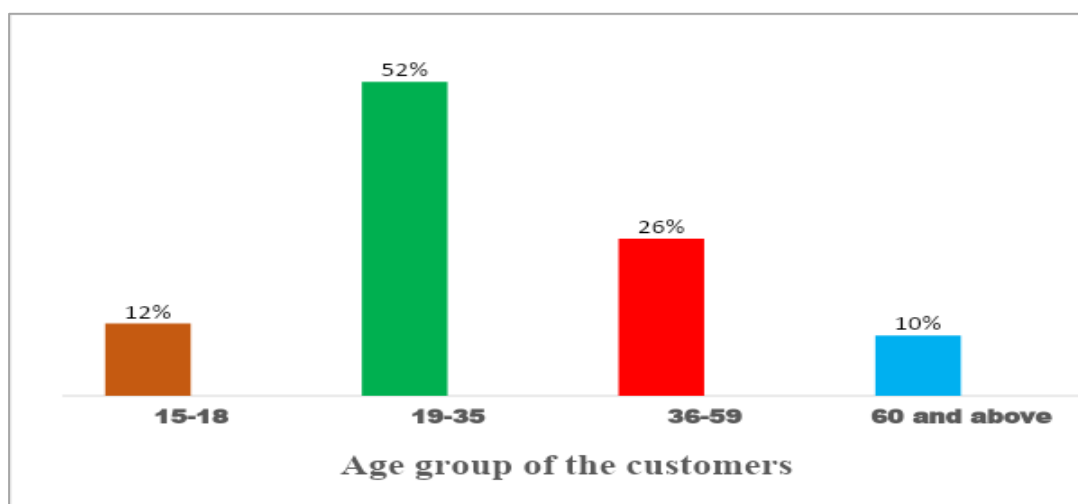
Based on information gathered during the fieldwork, table no. 4.4 illustrated the age group of the customers.

**Table No. 4.4:** Age group of the Customers

Ages	No. of respondents	Percentage
15-18	9	12.00
19-35	39	52.00
36-59	19	26.00
60 and above	8	10.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.3:** Age group of the Customers



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

It is evident from table no. 4.4 and figure no. 4.3 that the age group of 19-35 has 52% of customers respondents, whereas, 26% of customers respondent are from the age group of 36-59. Only 10% are from the age group of 60 and above. While 12% are from the 15-18 age group.

We could see from the above table no. 4.4 and figure no. 4.3 that most of the customer respondents are from the age group of 19-35. This is the age where most people indulge



in family and household chores. One must look after the need of the house. At this age, people are responsible for their families. According to the above data, 10% of people of the age group of 60 and above age also come to the market as a customer. Whereas 12% are from the 15-18 age who are adolescents. It is surprising to observe that even adolescents are also indulging themselves in market as a customer.

### Gender of the Customers

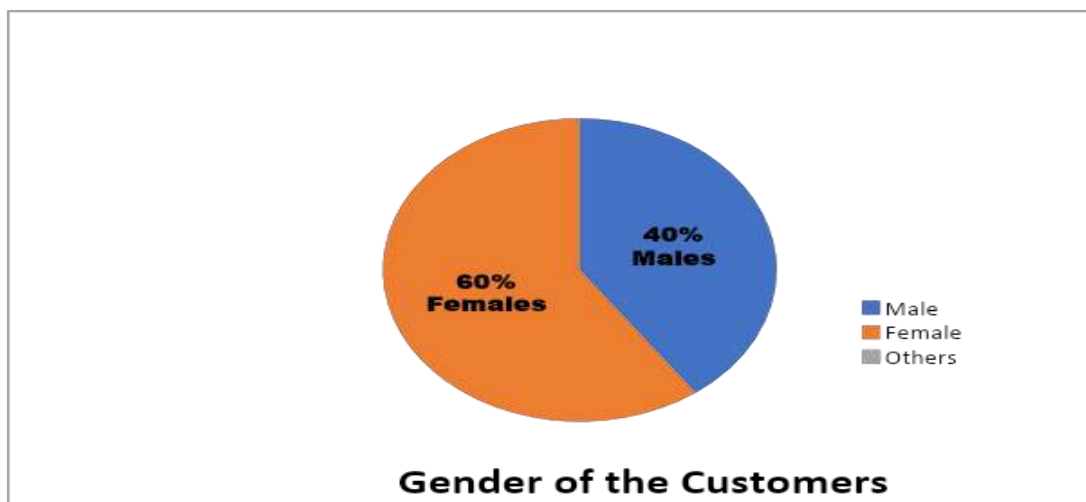
In this study, gender is being studied to determine gender involvement in the market as a customer. Based on a field survey, data regarding the gender of the customers are presented with the help of table no. 4.5.

**Table No. 4.5:** Gender of the Customers

Gender	No. of respondents	Percentage
Male	30	40.00
Female	45	60.00
Other	0	0.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022.

**Figure No. 4.4:** Gender of the Customer



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

It is clear from table no. 4.5 and figure no. 4.4 that out of the 75 Sample Size, out of 100 % of customer respondents there were 60% of female customers whereas there were only 40 % of male customer respondents and there were 0% of other gender respondents. Therefore, we can conclude from the above data that female customers are more indulged in the market as a customer. We can say that women have many ideas about managing the need of the house. They are interested in indulging themselves in shopping.

### 4.3 Items sold by the vendors

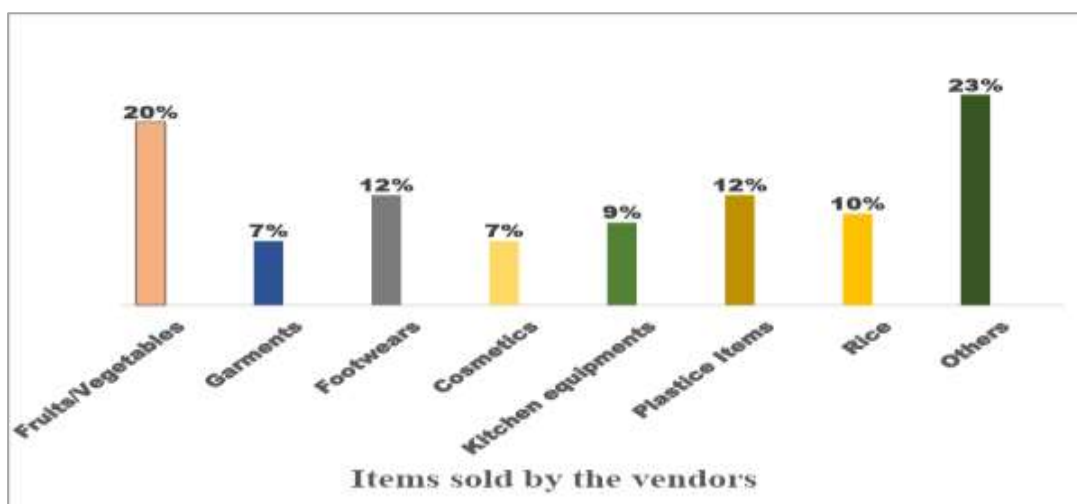
This section discusses the products sold in the market and the products, which are in high demand. Some of the items like fruits, vegetables, garments, footwear, cosmetics, kitchen equipment, plastic items, rice, etc. The vendor generally depends on the items they sell every week in the market. The data of the vendors selling different items are stated in table no. 4.6.

**Table No. 4.6:** Item sold by the Vendors

<b>Item</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Fruits/vegetables	15	20.00
Garments	5	7.00
Footwear's	9	12.00
Cosmetics	5	7.00
Kitchen equipment's	7	9.00
Plastic items	9	12.00
Rice	8	10.00
Others	17	23.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.5** Item sold by the Vendors



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

According to the data provided in table no. 4.6 and as shown in figure no. 4.5, 20% of respondents sell fruits and vegetables, whereas 7% sell garments and cosmetics. 12% of them sell plastics and footwear, however. While 10% of them sell rice, only 9% of them sell kitchenware. The remaining 23% sell other goods.

#### **4.4 Regularity of visiting the market**

To understand the market in a proper way it is important to be a regular visitor. In this section, both the vendors and customers are asked the same if they are regular visitors to the market. Here, an effort has been made to look at the involvement of both vendors and customers in the market. On the other hand, there are also some vendors who vend in different markets. The data regarding this matter is mentioned in table no. 4.7 based on data generated from a field study.

#### **Regularity of Vendors in the market**

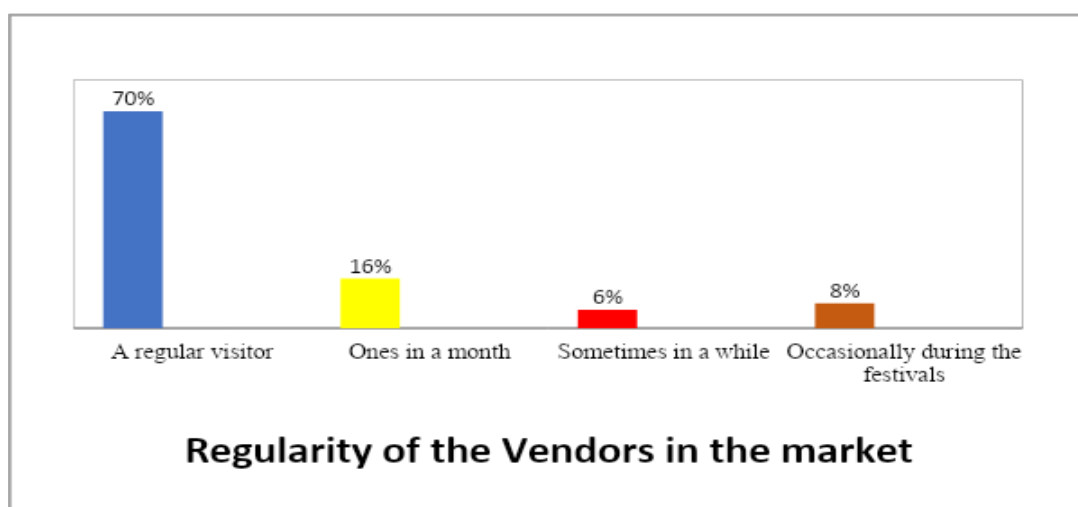
This section tries to show the regularity of the vendors in the market. With the help of table no. 4.7, the data is presented.

**Table No. 4.7:** Showing the regularity of Vendors in the market

<b>Regularity in the market</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
A regular visitor	53	70.00
Ones in a month	12	16.00
Sometimes in a while	4	6.00
Occasionally during the festivals	6	8.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Vend in other different markets</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	6	8.00
No	69	92.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.6:** Showing the regularity of Vendors in the market



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

As shown in table no. 4.7 and figure no. 4.6, with the help of the data it is clear that 70% of vendors visit the market regularly to earn their livelihood. Whereas, 16% of vendors visit the market ones in a month and 8% of vendor visits the market

occasionally during the time of the festival. Only 6% of vendors visit the market sometime in a while.

**Figure No. 4.7:** Showing Vendors vending in other different markets



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

On the other hand, as shown in table no. 4.7 and figure no. 4.7 the data of the vendors shown through the diagram vending in different markets, with of help of figure no. 4.7, it is clear that most of the vendors do not vend in a different place as they have fully relied on the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market for their livelihoods. Data shows that 92% of vendors do not vend in any other different market rather they vend in Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market. Whereas 8% of vendors vend in other different markets for their livelihood as relying on vending in one weekly market may not be enough to sustain their families so they go to other different markets in different places to earn more.

#### **Regularity of Customers in the market**

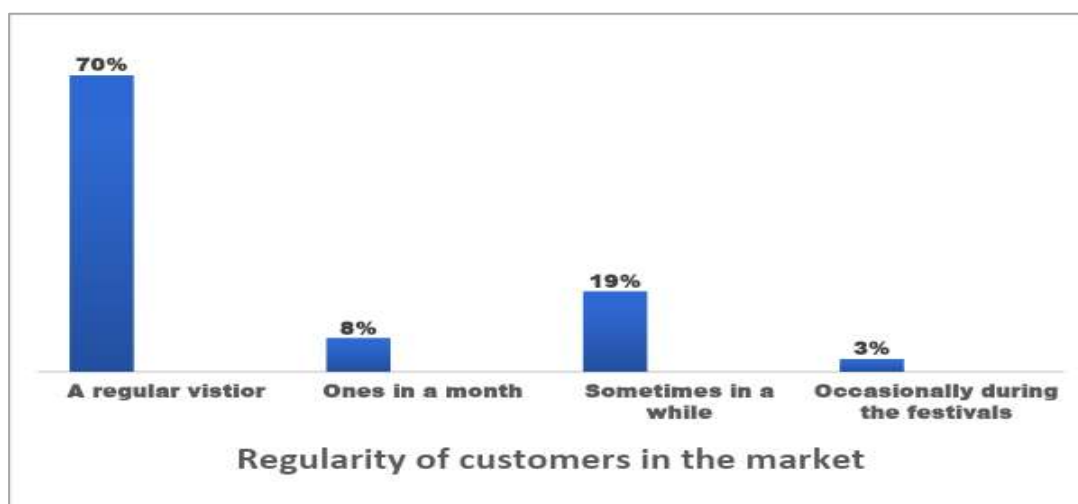
This section tries to show the regularity of the customers in the market. With the help of table no. 4.8, the data is presented.

**Table No. 4.8:** Showing the regularity of customers in the market

<b>Regularity in market</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
A regular visitor	53	70.00
Ones in a month	6	8.00
Sometimes in awhile	14	19.00
Occasionally during the festivals	2	3.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Shop in the different market</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	24	32.00
No	51	68.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

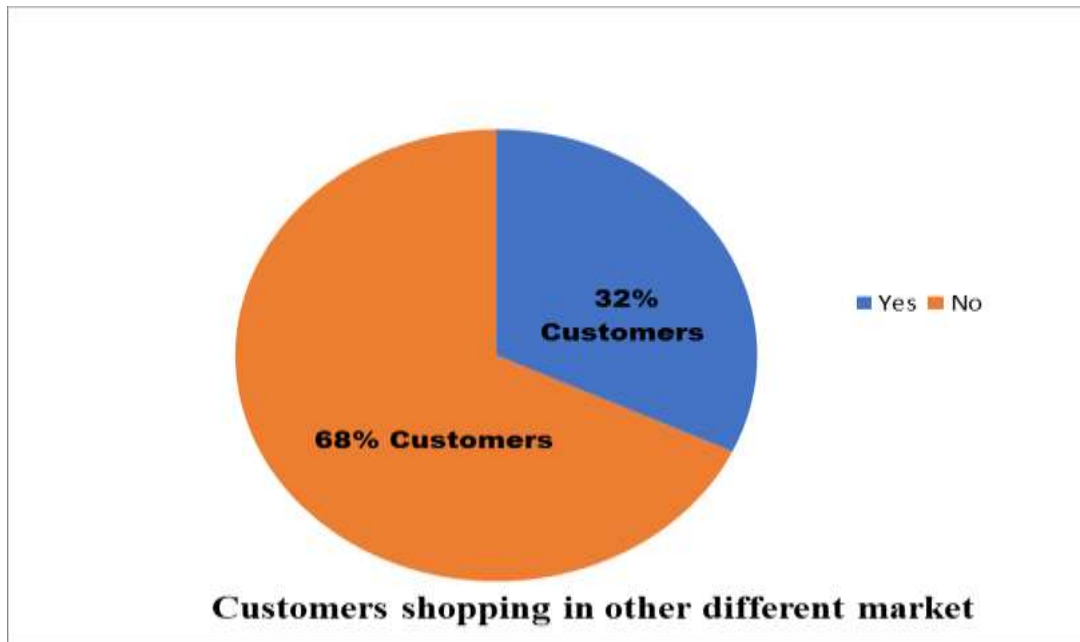
**Figure No. 4.8:** Showing the regularity of the customers in the market



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

From the data presented in table no. 4.8 and figure no. 4.8, it is quite clear that 70% of customers visit the market regularly. Whereas, 19% of customers visit the market sometimes in a while. Moreover, 8% visit the market ones in a month and only 3% visit the market occasionally during the festivals.

**Figure No. 4.9:** Showing Customers shopping in other different markets



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

As shown in table no. 4.8 and from the figure no. 4.9 the customers are also mostly relied on the Dadgiri-Gelephu market for their shopping, as shown in the data 68% of the customers shop from the Dadgiri-Gelephu market and they have fully relied on this market. Whereas 32% are the one who does their shopping from the different market as well. They shop from anywhere they go and purchase products where they find it cheaper and more convenient.

#### **4.5 Functioning of the Market**

For the smooth running of the market, it is necessary to maintain the market and the well functioning of the market is necessary so that it can fulfil the need of both vendors and customers of the market. Therefore, an attempt has been made through this study to analyze the smooth functioning of the market, which is presented in table no. 4.9 based on data collected from the field survey.

### Functioning of the Market (Vendors)

For the smooth and peaceful running of the market, well functioning is important.

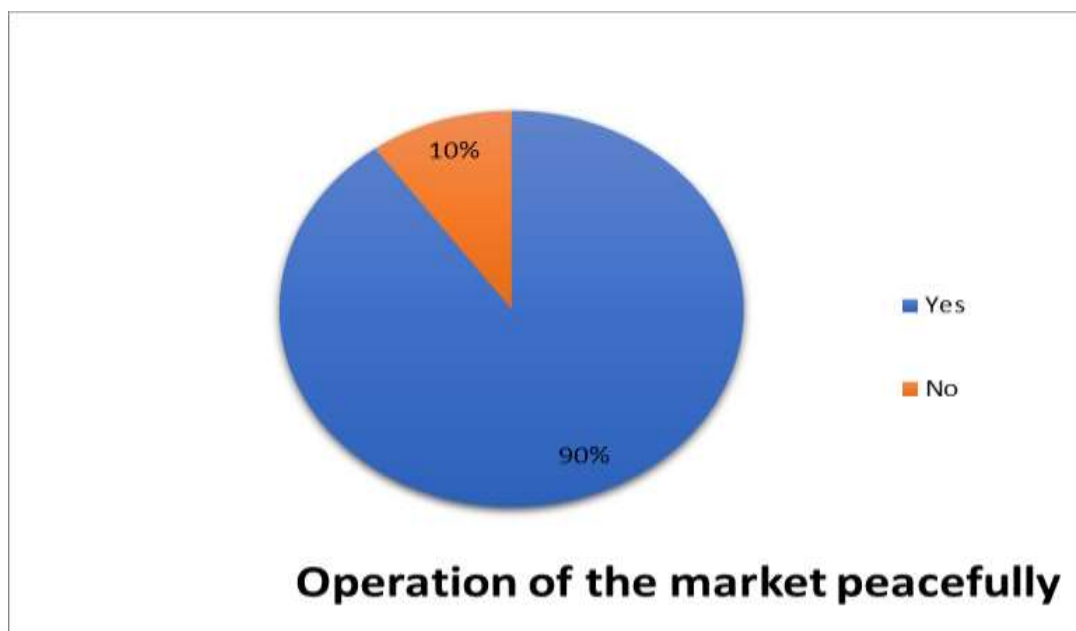
Therefore, with the help of the vendors, the data was collected to understand the functioning of the market as presented in table no.4.9.

**Table No. 4.9:** Functioning of the Market (Vendors)

<b>Market operates peacefully</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	68	90.00
No	7	10.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Market helpful for both the borders people</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	59	78.00
No	16	22.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.10:** Showing operation of the market peacefully (Vendors)

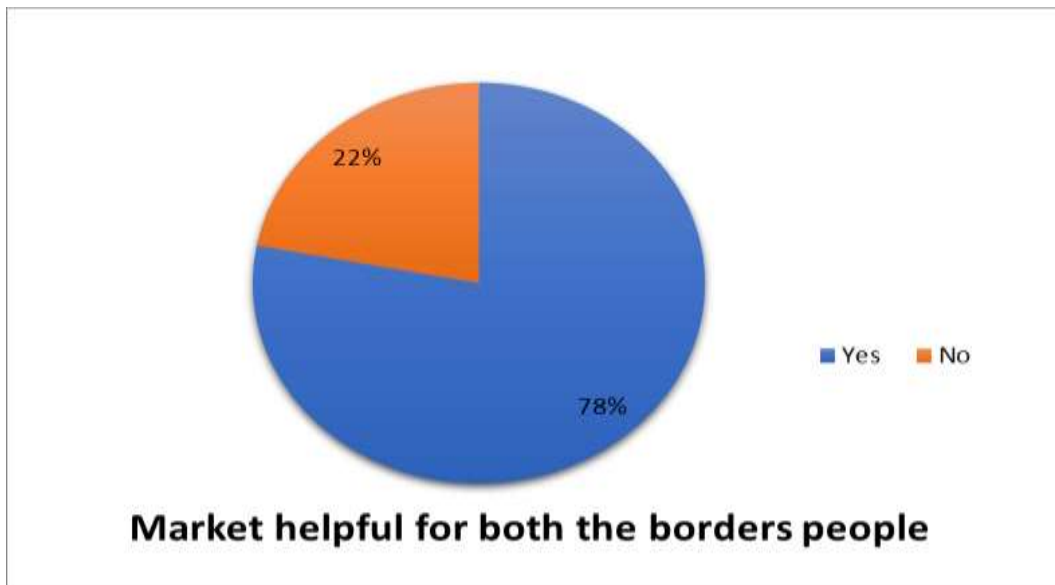


**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022



The data presented in table no. 4.9, figure no. 4.10 is the data collected from vendors, and data is presented through their lens. Given in table no. 4.9 and figure no. 4.10 data shows that 90% of the vendors believe that the market operates in a peaceful manner and there is peace in the market. Whereas 10% of the vendors are not satisfied with the functioning of, the market and they believe that improvement can be done for operating the market in a better way.

**Figure No. 4.11:** Showing the response if the market is helpful for both the people of the borders (Vendors)



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

Again, the second row of table no. 4.9 and figure no. 4.11 shows that 78% of vendors believe that Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market is helpful for both borders as they both relied on the market for their earnings. However, data shows that 22% of the vendors say that Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market is not helpful for both the people of the borders.

### Functioning of the Market (Customers)

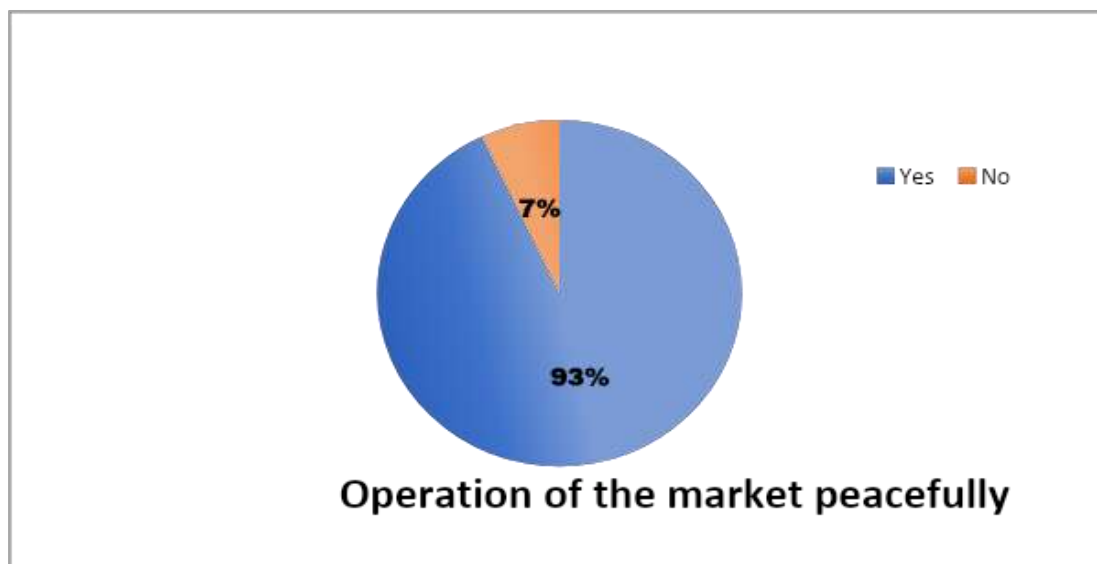
With the help of the data collected from the customers it was understood about the functioning of the market was through the lens of the customers as presented in table no. 4.10.

**Table No. 4.10:** Functioning of the Market (Customers)

<b>Market operates peacefully</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	70	93.00
No	5	7.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Market helpful for both the borders people</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	62	82.00
No	13	18.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022.

**Figure No. 4.12:** Showing Operation of Market Peacefully (Customers)

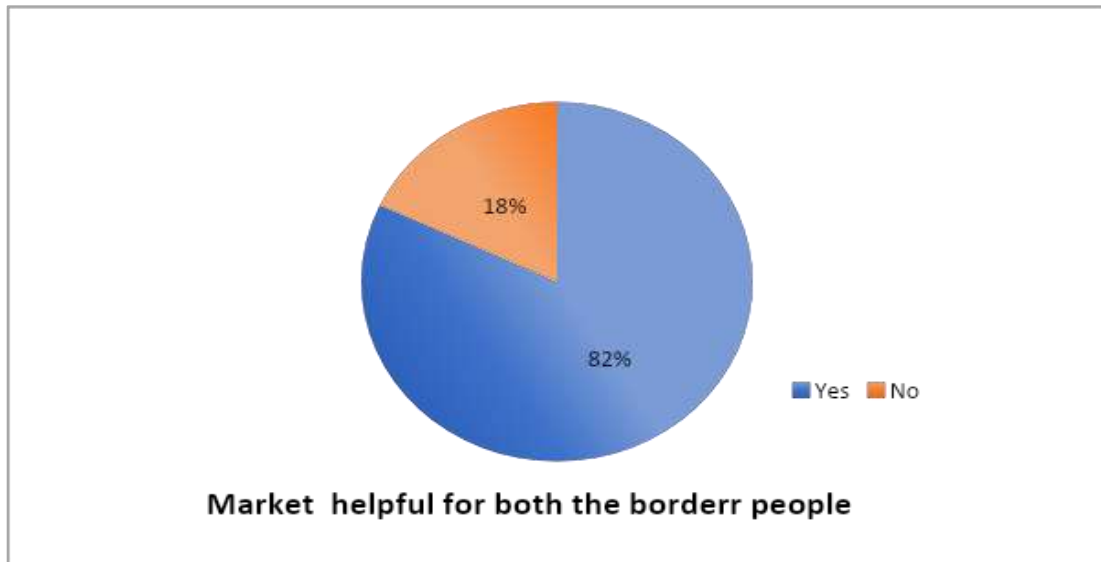


**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

From table no. 4.10 and figure no. 4.12, we can consider that most of the customers are satisfied with the functioning of the market. Out of the total sample, 75 were chosen as

customers so here from the data shown in table no. 4.10 and as shown in figure no. 4.12 shows that 93% of the customers consider the market as it operates peacefully. While 7% of the customers say that markets do not operate peacefully.

**Figure No. 4.13:** Showing the response if the market is helpful for both the people of the borders (Customers)



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

Again, table no. 4.10 and figure no. 4.13 shows the response of the customers if a market is helpful for both the people of the borders, 82% of the customers considered the market as helpful for both the people of the borders, whereas 18% of them does not consider the market as helpful for both the people of the borders. However, those people were not willing to explain why they did not find the market helpful to them.

#### **4.6 Linguistic barrier**

Language can be a hindrance for both the vendors and customers in the market. Due to the language gap between both vendors and customers, there can be a barrier in the market and this can affect the business as well.

### Linguistic barrier for Vendors

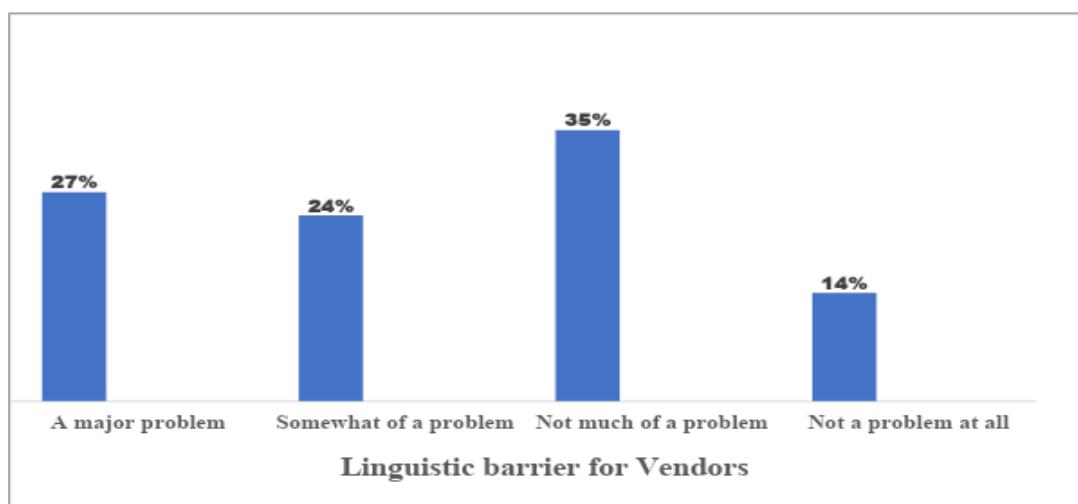
Language plays a vital role in the market, when the vendor is unable to understand the language of the customers there can be hurdles in the smooth business. So, to understand the linguistic problem among the vendor's data is presented with the help of table no. 4.11.

**Table No. 4.11:** Showing the linguistic barrier for Vendors

Language as a barrier	No. of respondents	Percentage
A major problem	20	27.00
Somewhat of a problem	18	24.00
Not much of a problem	26	35.00
Not a problem at all	11	14.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.14:** Showing the linguistic barrier for Vendors



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

From the above table no. 4.11 and figure no. 4.14, we can consider that language is a problem for some vendors whereas language is not a problem at all for some of them. The above data shows that 35% of vendors considered language as not much of a problem as they can interact with a hand gesture and with the help of body language

with the customers. However, for 27% of people language is a major problem for them as they are unable to interact with the customers and they do not even understand how to interact with the customers they do not even understand the local language. For 24% of vendors, language is somewhat of a problem. They say they can easily interact with the customers using their skills with the help of bodily gestures and hands. Among 75 vendors, 14% of vendors do not face any kind of difficulty with the language as they have learned the Bhutanese language and they can interact with customers without any problem so for them, language is not at all a barrier while vending.

### **Linguistic barrier for Customers**

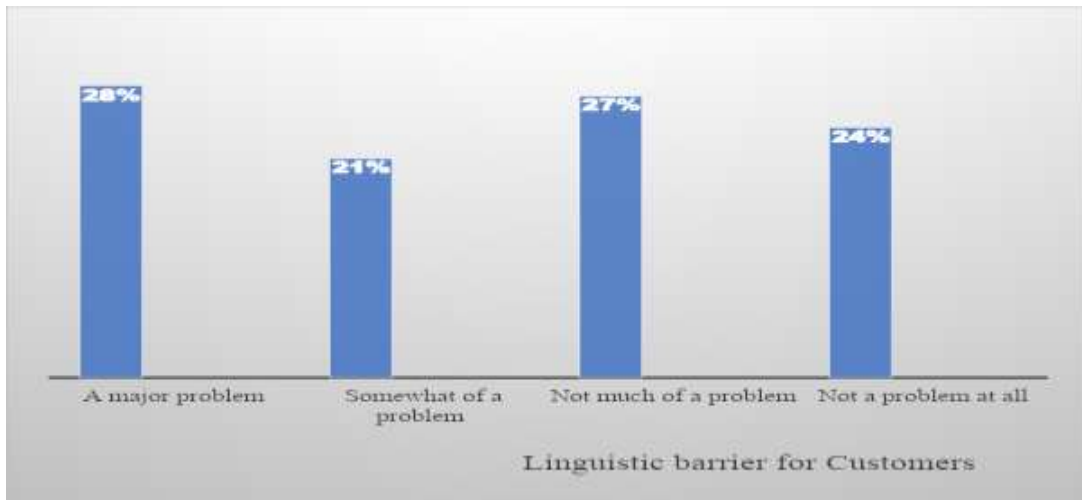
When the customers are unable to interact with the vendor, he/she will not be able to purchase the products from the stall and he/she has to move to another stall that understands his/her language. So, with the help of the vendors data is presented in table no. 4.12.

**Table No. 4.12:** Showing linguistic barrier for Customers

<b>Language as a barrier</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
A major problem	21	28.00
Somewhat of a problem	16	21.00
Not much of a problem	20	27.00
Not a problem at all	18	24.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.15:** Showing language as a barrier (Customers)



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

Based on the data collected during the field survey, it is evident from table no. 4.12 and figure no. 4.15 that 28% of customers face a major problem with the language, as they do not understand the local language. It becomes a problem for them to interact with the vendors in the market. Whereas, 27% of customers do not have much problem with the language as they can interact in a way that vendors can understand their language. 21% of customers have somewhat of a problem with the language as they can somehow manage to interact with the vendors. However, out of 75 customers, 24% of customers do not consider language as a problem as they can adjust and manage to shop easily even without understanding their language.

#### **4.7 Dual Currency**

Exchange of Dual currency takes place in the market, as the market is located in a border area where two countries' people visit the market at the same time. There is no exchange office in the nearby areas. The exchange of currency takes place since a very long time ago. Problems from both vendors and customers are shown below regarding dual currencies. Data in table no. 4.13 and figure no. 4.16 will show the problems faced due to the use of dual currency in the market.

### Uses of Dual Currency (Vendors)

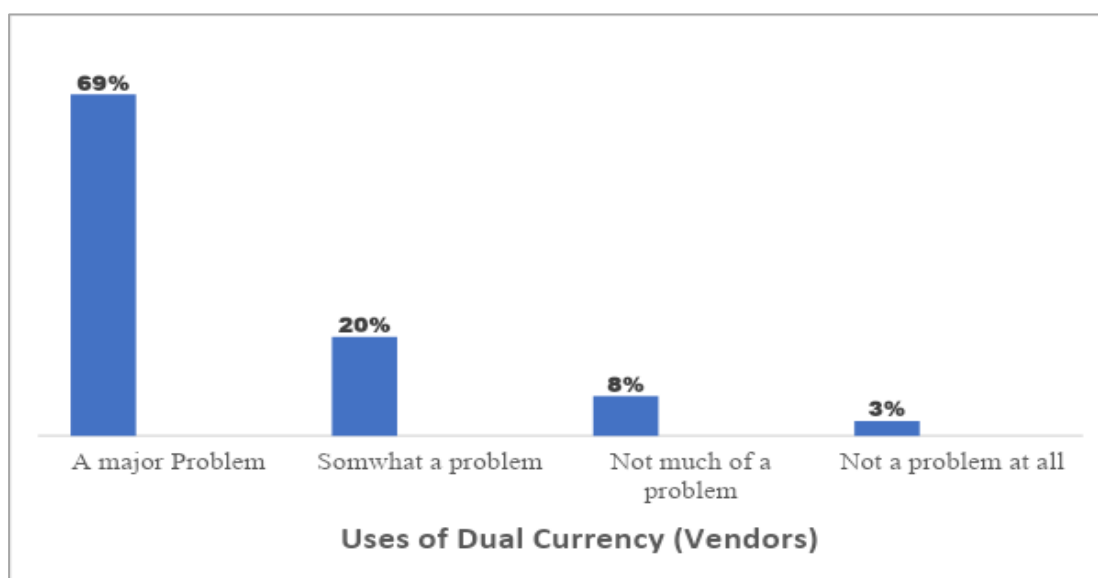
As shown in the table no. 4.13 about the dual currency through the lens of the vendors.

**Table No. 4.13:** Uses of Dual Currency (Vendors)

Dual Currency	No. of respondents	Percentage
A major problem	52	69.00
Somewhat a problem	15	20.00
Not much of a problem	6	8.00
Not a problem at all	2	3.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.16:** Showing the uses of Dual currency (Vendors)



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

Given the fact that the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market has the most customers from Bhutan, this is not surprising. Although the usage of dual currency has been popular amongst market vendors, it became clear from the interviews with the vendors that it was an issue for them. From the above data in table no. 4.13 and figure no. 4.16, it is clearer that 69% of vendors face major problems due to the dual currency. Where 20% of the vendors have somewhat of a problem as they manage to deal with

dual currencies. Where 8% of vendors dual currency is not much of a problem and for 3% of people dual currency is not a problem at all as they often exchange it for Indian rupees for a commission of about 5% to 6%, but they were not willing to say who their agent is where their exchange location point is.

### Uses of Dual Currency (Customers)

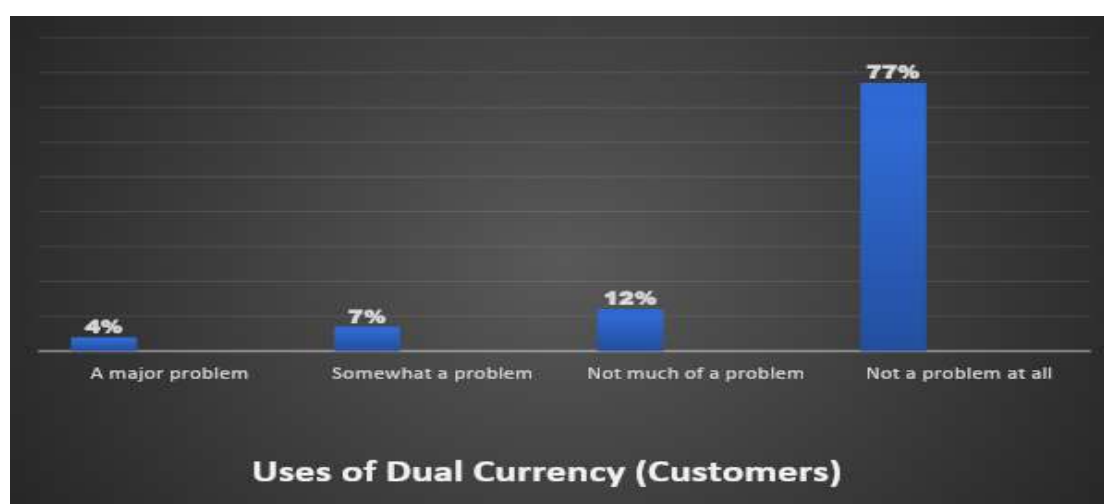
The exchange of dual currency takes place in the market so the below data in the table shows the uses of dual currencies and its problem.

**Table No. 4.14:** Uses of Dual Currency (Customers)

Dual Currency	No. of respondents	Percentage
A major problem	3	4.00
Somewhat a problem	5	7.00
Not much of a problem	9	12.00
Not a problem at all	58	77.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.17:** Showing the uses of Dual Currency (Customers)



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

This is not surprising that dual currency is not a new concept in this border area. Although the usage of dual currency has been popular in the market. From the above



data in table no. 4.14 and figure no. 4.17, it is clearer that dual currency has not affected customers, as they do not have to face the problems of exchange of currency. It is found that only 4% of customers face major problems due to the dual currency as mentioned in the interview one of the customers vendors deny accepting the Ngultrum from them, as it is problematic for them to exchange the money with a certain amount of commission. Where 7% of the customers have somewhat of a problem as they manage to arrange the Indian rupee especially to use in the market. Where 12% of customers do not have much of a problem with dual currency and for 77% of customers dual currency is not a problem at all, as they often buy products in a bulk from the market so vendors cannot deny accepting the Ngultrum from them.

#### **4.8 Role of Market committee and SSB in the weekly market.**

The market committee has a huge role to play in the market, as the market committee are the one who solves the problem, which comes along the way during the market hour with the help of the active participation of the SSB for the smooth running of the market. The roles of the Market committee and SSB is presented through the lens of both vendors and customers as well.

#### **Role of Market committee and SSB in the weekly market (Vendors)**

The significant role of the market committee and SSB are highlighted with the help of the vendors in the weekly market. The data is presented in table no. 4.15.

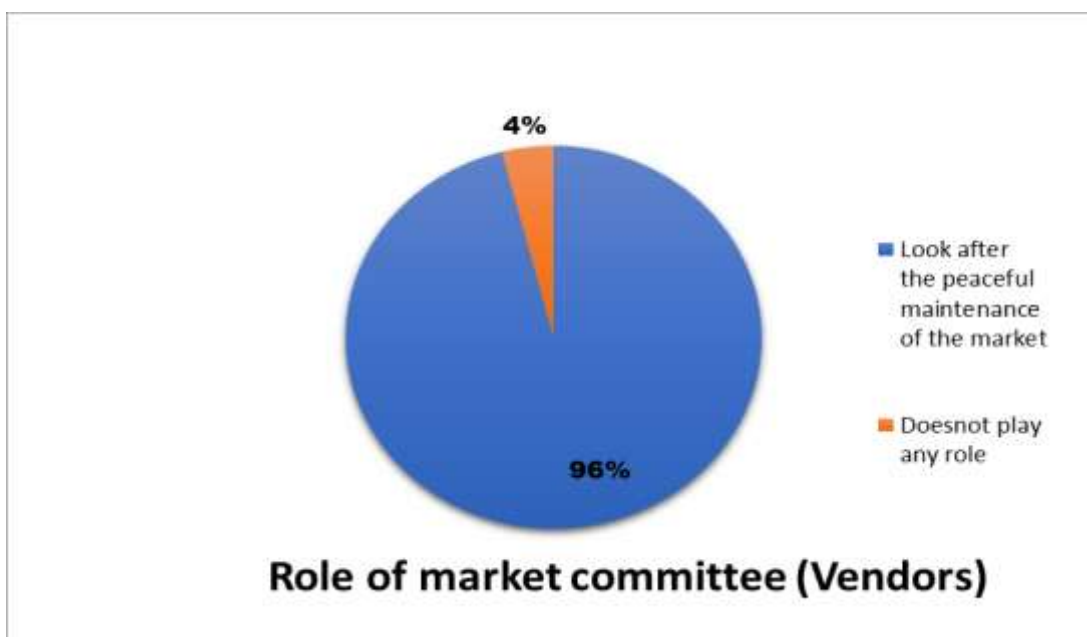
**Table No. 4.15:** Role of Market committee and SSB in the weekly market (Vendors)

<b>Role of Market Committee</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Look after the peaceful maintenance of the market	72	96.00
Does not play any role	3	4.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>Active participation of SSB in maintaining peace in the market</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Security check		
Yes	0	0.00
No	75	100.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Patrolling during the weekly market hour by SSB</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	8	11.00
No	67	89.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.18:** Role of a Market Committee (Vendors)

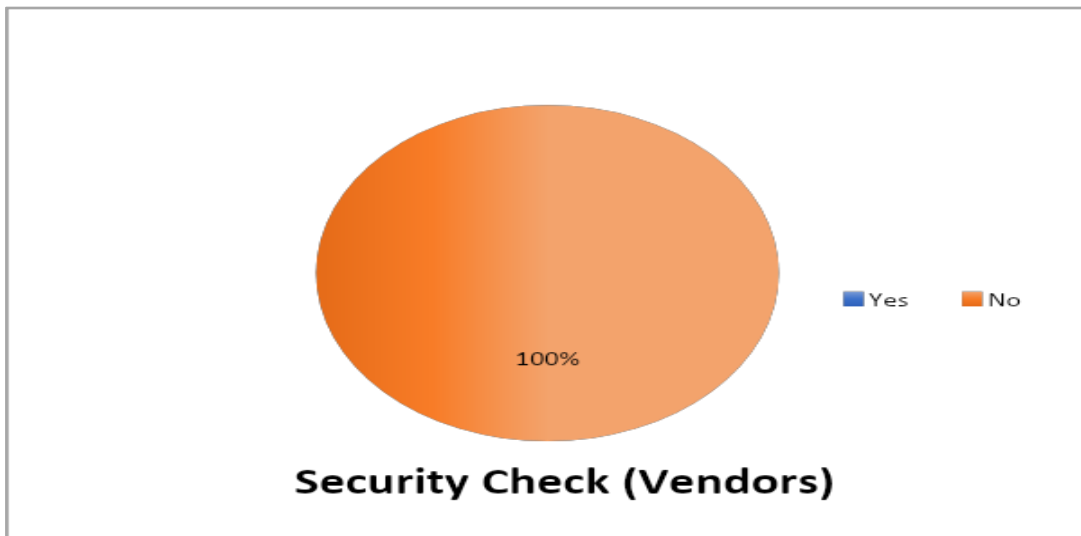


**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

As we can see from table no. 4.15 and figure no. 4.18 that the role of the market committee is highly appreciable as they look after the maintenance of the market in a responsible manner. As we can see data were collected from 75 vendors among which the majority of the vendors responded that the market committee is highly active during

the market hours and they look after the peaceful maintenance of the market as considered by 96% of the vendors as shown from the field survey. Whereas the above data says that only 4% of vendors say that the market committee does not play any role in the market, they are just members of the market.

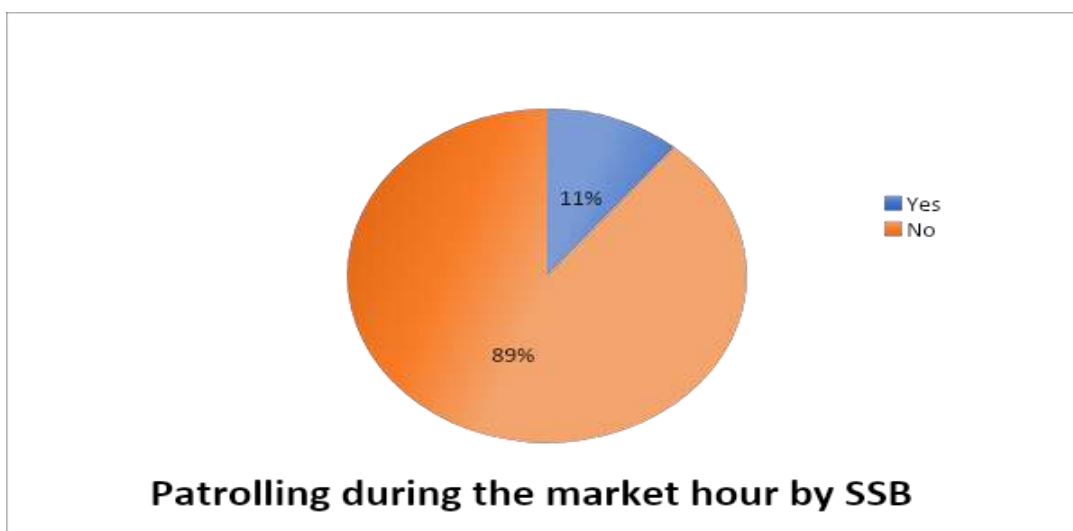
**Figure No. 4.19:** Active participation of SSB in maintaining peace in the market (Vendors)



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

In terms of security checking while coming to vend in the market, we can observe from table no. 4.15 and figure no. 4.19 that, claim that they do not have to go through any security checking by the SSB. 100% of vendors do not need to go through the security check by the SSB in the check post while coming to the market every week to vend. Those vendors even claimed that SSB even does not look at their vehicles while entering the market every week.

**Figure No. 4.20: Patrolling during the weekly market hour by SSB (Vendors)**



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

From the data presented in table no. 4.15 and as shown in figure no. 4.20, it is quite clear that 89% of vendors confirmed that SSB does not come to market every week for Patrolling. Whereas after the above data it is also clear that, 11% of the vendor respondents say that SSB comes to market only when there is any kind of conflict and chaotic situation in the market so when the situation goes out of the control market committee members hand over the case to the SSB to solve it or they solve the case together.

#### **Role of Market committee and SSB in the weekly market (Customers)**

The roles and responsibilities of the market committee and SSB through the lens of the customers and depicted with the help of table no. 4.16.

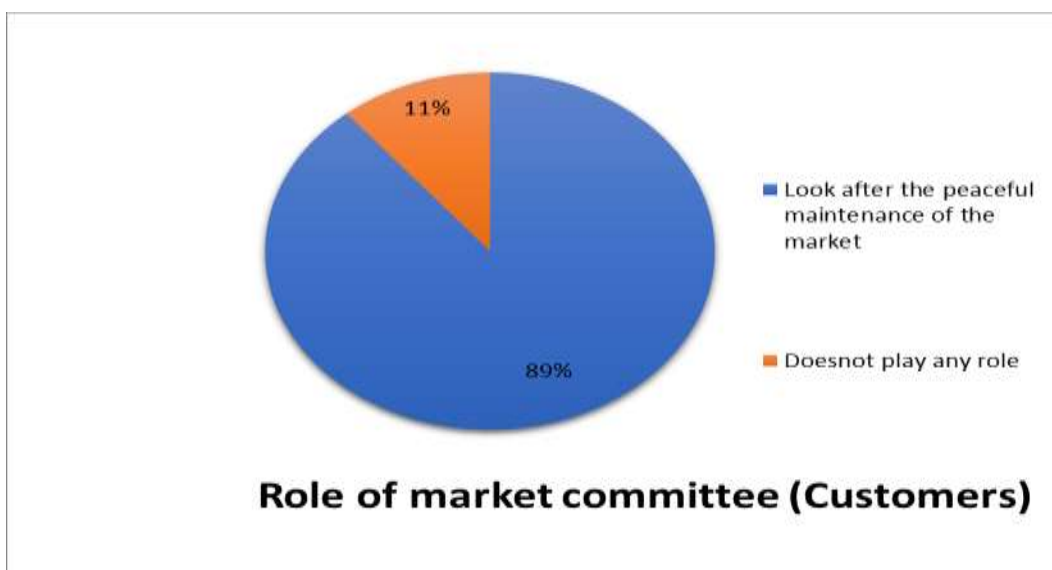
**Table No. 4.16: Role of Market committee and SSB in the weekly market (Customers)**

<b>Role of Market Committee</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Look after the peaceful maintenance of the market	67	89.00
Does not play any role	8	11.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>Active participation of SSB in maintaining peace in the market</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Security check</b>		
Yes	27	36.00
No	48	64.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Patrolling during the weekly market hour by SSB</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	18	24.00
No	57	76.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

**Figure No. 4.21:** Role of a Market Committee (Customers)

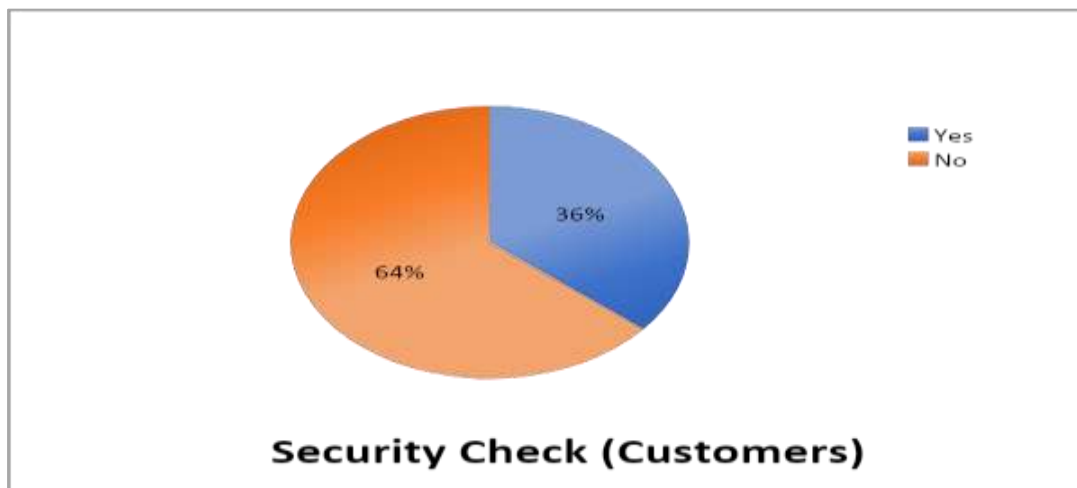


**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

As we can see from table no. 4.16 and figure no. 4.21 that the role of the market committee is highly appreciable as 89% of the customers agree that committee members look after the peaceful maintenance of the market. Whereas, 11% of the

customers say that committee members do not play any role and are unaware of the roles played by the market committee.

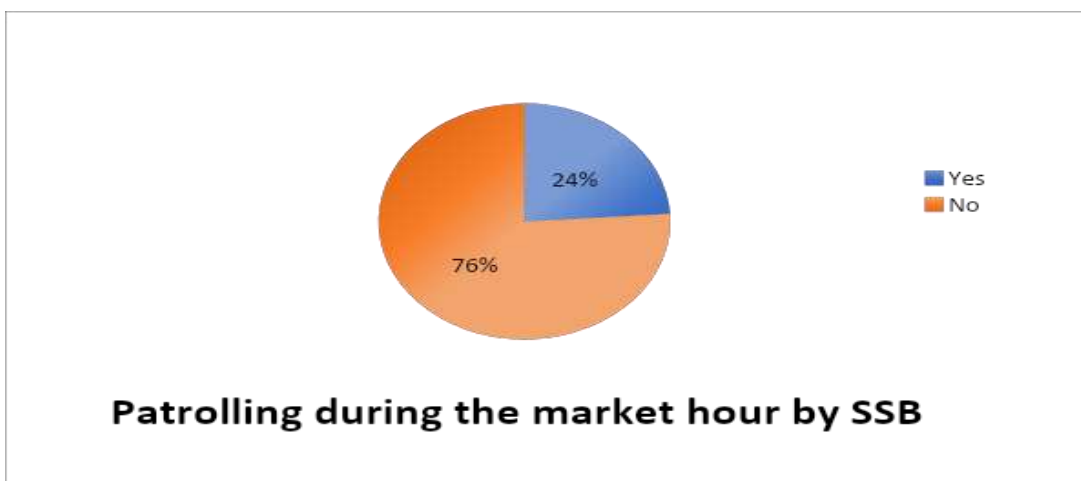
**Figure No. 4.22:** Active participation of SSB in maintaining peace in the market (Customers)



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

From table no. 4.16 and figure no. 4.22, we knew that 64% of customer respondents were unaware of the security check, as they do not have to go through any kind of check while crossing the border during the market hour. Whereas, 36% of the customer respondents claimed that their vehicles are being checked sometimes while crossing the SSB check post.

**Figure No. 4.23:** Patrolling during the weekly market hour by SSB (Customers)



**Source:** Fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market, July 2022

From the data presented in table no. 4.16 and as shown in figure no. 4.23, 76% of the customer respondents confirmed that SSB does not visit the market every week for patrolling on the weekly basis. Whereas 24% of the customer respondents say that SSB visits the market every week when there is conflict and they visit the market as a customer as well sometimes.

#### **4.9 Conclusion**

From the above data Dadgiri-Gelephu Thursday weekly market is not just a market but a place where two country's people meet every week and interact with each other and fulfil each other's needs with the help of the weekly market. But through this study, it is understood that there are lots of problems faced by vendors and customers who indulge in the border market. This was understood when the border trade is studied at a micro level with the help of the small Thursday weekly border market. Borders are human inventions based on many ethical traditions, including boundaries, frontiers, and borderlands (Jailly, 2011). Through this study, it has been observed that knowledge of the border area is required to understand the relations across boundaries. The border theory proposed by Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly has been used in this study to help shape this analysis. However, this theory failed to fulfil the need of this study as this kind of study cannot be fulfilled by such kind of theory. In Brunet Jailly's theory of borderlands, local culture and political influence of borderland communities are important lenses for understanding border theory, but such theory neglect to incorporate the prevalence of market forces near the border areas when looking at the socio-economic characteristics of resident border groups.

The data presented in the chapter and the study conducted makes it clear that the market is essential for bridging the gaps between the two countries. Therefore, it is understandable that the market is not only useful for Indian vendors to earn their

livelihood but it is also useful for Bhutanese customers as they are dependent on the weekly market for buying all their household essentials. After the field survey, it was understood that this weekly market is functioning peacefully but there were various problems where the vendors and customers both were unhappy with it and with heavy hearts, they expressed their sorrow which was to date unexpressed. The data is presented in this chapter with the help of the field survey, which is presented and explained in the form of tables and figures. A thorough explanation of the field survey has been elaborated in the below fifth chapter.



## **Chapter 5**

### **Finding and Conclusion**

Trade that occurs across the border between different jurisdictions is known as border trade. So far, a study has been done on border trade in a huge sector but there was very little or almost no work on border trade in the academic sphere where the study area has been chosen as a remote area. Therefore, it was a new experience for the researcher to explore the untouched area in the research field, especially in the academic domain. This is the reason why the area has been chosen for the study.

This chapter summarizes the entire discussion of the Dadgiri-Gelephu Thursday weekly market in the border area. It also highlights the study's findings and tends to make a few recommendations and suggestions for possible future research areas.

#### **5.1 Summary and Findings of the Study**

Border trade takes place in the nearby border areas where both borders can easily interact with one another. A huge gathering takes place in a border area with a motive to earn and sell products in huge bulk. They sell a variety of goods like fruits, vegetables, garments, cosmetics, plastics products, second hands clothes/thrift clothes, spices, meat soap, footwear, etc. In Dadgiri-Gelephu, the weekly market majority of the vendors sell those products, which are in high demand by the customers and those, which are useful for daily purposes in household chores.

People of almost every age were found vending and shopping in the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market during fieldwork. Talking about the age group of the vendors in the market, 53% of vendors who belong to the age group of 36-59 were seen and were mostly men. In the patriarchal society where man is, superior and head of the family they are considered the bread earner of the family so at this age they have so much

pressure to look after the family. This is the age when they must look after their families. Whereas 34% of vendors were seen from the age group of 19-35 and it was very sad to learn that 8% of vendors were seen vending who belong to the age group of 15-18, at this age, they have to focus on their study rather than engaging themselves in vending and lastly it is not surprising to learn that only 5% of vendors were seen from the age group of 60 and above as this is an old age people who are unable to walk properly without the support so it is difficult for them to come a long way for vending.

In a patriarchal society where gender has a huge role to play in the society when it comes to taking responsibility of the family. Responsibility has always been divided based on gender. Males are always considered the strongest to take the tough responsibilities whereas, females are always considered the weaker. Males are always taught that they are the bread earner of the family whereas; females are given the responsibility to look after the family. Among the total number of vendor respondents, 94% of vendors were male whereas 6% of vendors were females. This shows that patriarchal thoughts still existed in our society where males are always considered as the bread owner and rulers of the family. Despite various reasons why female vendors fail to perform in this sector. They experience a variety of obstacles at work because at the same time they have to look after their husband and Children. From the interview, it was learned that female vendors are not given the same respect as male vendors so females choose to stay at home rather than vending in the market.

Talking about the age group of the customers the majority of the customers, which is 52% of customers are from the 19-35 age group visit the market for shopping. At this age, people are responsible enough to look after the needs of the family. Whereas surprisingly only 26% of customers of the 36-59 age group visit market. And 12% of

customers of the 15-18 age group barely visit the market and 10% of customers of 60 and above age visit markets once in a while as this is considered old age it is difficult for them to visit the market every week. Therefore, with this, we can say that the 19-35 age groups are an age of maturity and understanding where one has to understand the needs of the family.

Among, Gender of the customers, a total number of customers i.e., 60% of customer respondents were females, whereas, 40% of customer respondents were male. Through this, we have learned that female is more likely to engage themselves in household shopping and they know the need of the family members and they are more likely to estimate the needs and goods for the house. Whereas male is less interested in household shopping and less good at managing goods and needs of the house.

During the fieldwork, while interacting with one of the female vendors says that *“I am a meat seller, I have been selling meat in this weekly market for many years and I am happy with my work. Earlier people used to question me for selling meat rather they asked me to do other work than selling meat. I did not care about them and did my work by listening to them. I would face various problems if I had a family, but I am a single mother and I manage to bring my child to work. I have seen my female friends could not survive in this profession because of their family pressure”*.

During the fieldwork, it was seen that this market provides a variety of goods and services, which are essential and needed in almost every house. This market attempt to fulfil the needs of every customer. Only those products are available in the markets, which are in demand. The vendors sell a variety of goods like fruits, vegetables, garments, fast food, cosmetics, utensils, plastic items etc. During the season, a variety of rice is also brought for sell. The majority of the vendors (23%) sell other items, which

they bring every week according to the demand. Secondly, plastic items and footwear were sold equally, which is 12%. As we know, Bhutan bans plastic uses so the Bhutanese take the plastic item from the market for their construction work and other purposes, plastic stall owner also added that he earns a good amount of income from the weekly market. Whereas, 20% of the vendors sold Fruits/vegetables. 10% sold various kinds of rice, 9% sold kitchen equipment's, and 7% sold garments and cosmetics.

Some of the customers who were interviewed added that the main reason why Bhutanese cross the border to buy consumer items from India is that they believe that these products are much "Cheaper" and of "Higher Quality" than those found in Bhutan. The majority of household products bought by Bhutanese customers from the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market are fruits, vegetables, kitchenware, plastic items, thrift clothes etc.

A frequent visitor from Bhutan who has been coming to this market for the past nine years responded that why there are no Bhutanese vendors in the market he says that, *"There is not even one seller from Bhutan in this market because as per I know if we want to sell our things here, we have to go through some of the security checks at the border and also there has to be some lengthy licensing process. Therefore, I am just a buyer I come here to purchase kitchenware and vegetables. I do not have to go through even one check. It's a free and open crossing for me and my taxi simply crosses the border"*.

An attempt was also made through this study to know the regularity of the vendors and customers in the market. Data collected from the vendor respondents shows that the majority of the vendors i.e., 70% of vendors visit the market regularly to earn their

livelihood whereas, 16% of vendors visit the market ones in a month and 8% of vendor visits the market occasionally during the time of the festival. Only 6% of vendors visit the market sometime in a while. This data show that 70% of the vendors are regulars who are mostly males and they fall under the age group of 36-59 vends in the Thursday weekly market.

Here again, most of the vendors have fully relied on the Thursday weekly market for their livelihood as data shows that 92% of vendors do not go for vending in any other place rather than in Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market. This could be a hindrance for the vendors. Whereas 8% of vendors vend in a different market for their livelihood relying on vending in one weekly market may not be enough to sustain their families. Therefore, they choose to vend in various places for earning.

Talking about the regularity of the customers in the market, it is quite clear that 70% of customers' visit the market regularly. Whereas, 19% of customers visit the market sometimes in a while. Moreover, 8% visit the market ones in a month and only 3% visit the market occasionally during the festivals. This 70% of the customers fall under the age group of 19-35 and they are mostly females who visit the market to buy household chores. Women are always given roles, which are confined inside the four walls. Therefore, there is a saying that only woman looks after the house in a better way and we can see that the 19-35 age group women who are having families visit the market with the purpose to buy household chores for their family.

Whereas, 68% of female customers shop from the Dadgiri-Gelephu market and they have fully relied on this market. They say that it becomes easy for them to shop in the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market as this market is within nearby distance and they find the market cheaper as compared to other markets. Whereas 32% are the one who does

their shopping from the different market as well. They shop from anywhere they go and purchase products where they find it cheaper and more convenient. In addition, they love to explore the new market and compare the quality of the products and their prices as well.

Well-functioning of the market is necessary to maintain the smooth running of the market so that it can fulfil the need of both vendors and customers of the market. Therefore, an attempt was made through field study to understand the functioning of the market from the vendor's perspective. Through field study we learned that majority of vendor respondents' i.e., 90% agree that the market operates peacefully where as 10% do not agree that the market operates peacefully. One of the cosmetics sellers added, *"I am not happy with the functioning of the market as the shops are made up of plastics and bamboo which is not in a very good condition. During the rainy season, it becomes difficult for us to vend. I believe government should build permanent shops here so that we can vend without any problem. More improvements must be done on the market for smooth functioning of the market"*.

While asking the vendor respondents if a market is helpful for both the people of the borders, the majority of the vendors' i.e., 78% agree that the market is helpful for both of them as the market is a connection between the two countries people through this weekly market and there is an exchange of goods and services so we can conclude that there is a healthy relationship among both the people of the border. According to one of the fruit, sellers said, *"I feel this market is helpful for both the country's people because we vendors earn money when the Bhutanese customers visit the market, in the same way, Bhutanese customers also visit markets because they get products in a lesser price. So, this market is very helpful for both of us"*. Whereas, data collected from the

field shows that 22% of vendor respondents' do not agree that the market is helpful for both the people of the borders. Two vendors who run the same shop are brothers disclosed that *“we do not earn much profit from the products as we must bring products from a far distance by renting the vehicle this market takes place ones in a week only and Bhutanese customers get to purchase the products at the lowest price so in a way it is more useful and helpful for the Bhutanese customers than us”*.

On the other hand, while interacting with the customer respondents about the market, an overwhelming majority of the respondent i.e., 93% of customer respondents admitted that the market operates peacefully. Those customers considered themselves safe while visiting the market. While interviewing some of the customers they said that *“we visit the market every week, we always get to explore a variety of products, those products are fresh, and we do not face any kind of problem in the market, in case any problem occurs, the committee members and SSB handle those problems”*. A woman added, *“Every week while visiting the market I visit a sweet stall to eat a local sweet and ‘pithas’<sup>18</sup> a local homemade sweet and I pack it for my family members as well”*. Whereas 7% of customer respondents say that, the Dadgiri-Gelephu market does not operate peacefully. Those customer respondent added that *“we only go to the market sometimes early in the morning to buy vegetables and we are not regular visitors of the market we go for shopping where ever we find the price cheaper and whenever we visit a market, we find some kind of problem in the market among the vendors and customers so we don't agree with the fact that market operates peacefully”*.

While asking the customer respondents if a market is helpful for both the people of the borders, a majority of customer respondents i.e., 82% of them agree that the market is

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<sup>18</sup> A local homemade sweet made up of rice flour and sugar in it.

helpful for both the people of the borders, this huge majority visits the market every week. One of the respondents added, *“we find the market very helpful for us because we get the products at the lowest price at our convenient distance. While visiting the market every week we have set a repo with the vendors. So, it becomes easy for us to bargain and sometimes we ask vendors to send the vegetables to our place through the vehicles whenever we are unable to visit the market due to personal reasons”*. Again, on the other side, with the help of the data collected from the field study, it is known that 18% of the customer respondents say that market is not so helpful for both the people of the borders.

One weekly market is shared by two countries so it is obvious that there is a difference in the language. They both share two different languages. For both customers and vendors, language differences are a problem. Through the field-study researcher tried to understand the linguistic barrier between vendors and customers. The huge majority of the vendor respondent’s linguistic barrier is not much of a problem to them, 35% of vendor respondents easily manage to overcome the linguistic barrier. One vendor respondent answered, *“As we have been working here for 7-8 years in the same market and we vend in the market almost every week so we have learned a little bit of Bhutanese language and local language through which we can interact with the customers”*. On the other side, 27% of vendor respondents have a major problem and linguistic barrier is a huge barrier for them in their business. Again some of the vendor respondents responded, *“we don’t understand other languages rather than our mother tongue and we are new in this market as a vendor and we don’t understand the local language (Nepali language) so it has become difficult for us to attract the customers”*. For 24% of the vendor respondents’ language is just somewhat of a problem. One vendor respondent said, *“we do not need language to interact with the customers we use bodily*



*gestures and hands to sell our products to the customers. This way customer also understands what we are trying to say to them”*. Whereas, 14% of vendor respondents have no problem with a language. While interviewing with the vegetable seller added that *“I have been working here in this market for the past 9 years and I have learned the local language and Bhutanese language as well and I have worked in Bhutan for more than 5 years so I know some of the customers from Bhutan personally and this way they come to my stall in a regular basis. So, language is not a hindrance for me in my business”*.

Talking about the customer respondents and how much of the problem they face due to the linguistic barrier. 28% of customer respondents have a major problem with the language, as they do not understand the non-local language (Nepali language). On the other side, 27% of customer respondents do not have much of a problem with the language. The majority of customer respondents said, *“We do not need to worry about the language as we understand local and non-local languages and we can even understand the Hindi language as well”*. Again 24% of customer respondents do not consider language as a problem. One customer respondent added, *“I know Hindi language and local language as well so language is not an obstacle for me to shop in the weekly market and I am a regular customer so I have learned other language as well”*. 21% of customers respondents face somewhat of a problem with a language. They manage to interact with the vendors without even understanding their language.

The two country’s people share one Thursday weekly market. Therefore, the exchange of dual currency takes place here in this market as the market is in a border area where two countries’ people can visit the same market. This is surprising that on Thursdays at the Dadgiri-Gelephu market, most customers are Bhutanese. Another exciting

observation gathered during the market study was 69% of the vendor respondent responded that due to the currency they are facing a major problem. Vendors who were not native to those regions, however, claimed that they travel especially to Dadgiri for the weekly market and their towns and villages do not accept Bhutanese money.

They typically exchange it for Indian rupees for a charge of around 5%–6%. However, they would not reveal their agent or exchange location. Others mentioned that they merely give their suppliers the money they have collected so they can make the necessary arrangements for them. One vendor respondent said with a saddened voice, *“we earn very less every week and we have to exchange money into Indian rupee before going back to our place and we have to pay almost half of our income to the dealer for exchanging it into Indian rupees”*. When asked one of the vendor respondents, if there is any need for a currency exchange office in the nearby area, He replied, *“if there would be a currency exchange office, we need not have to pay the extra charges to the dealer for exchanging the money. There is an urgent need for a currency exchange office so we request the government to establish an office in the nearby area for the betterment of poor people like us who can save a little amount of money we earned if we do not have to pay extra charges for exchanging the money into Indian rupees”*. Whereas, 20% of the vendor respondent faces somewhat a problem because of the dual currency as they are the one who is ok with not having the currency exchange office as they are managing to exchange the money from the dealer. In addition, for 8% of the vendor respondents’ dual currency is not much of a problem. In interacting with the vendor respondent, he revealed that *“I have no problem accepting the dual currency because I stay here in a rented room to vend in the Thursday weekly market so the dual currency is accepted in Dadgiri so whenever I have to go back to my home town, I exchange the money from the dealer and go back to my home I only have a problem*

*sometimes when the dealer charges more for exchanging the money*". When the researcher asked the vendor respondent if there is any need for the currency exchange office he replied, *"I don't think there is a need for any currency exchange office when we can exchange money from the dealer also"*. For the 3% of the vendor respondents' use of the dual currency is not at all a problem. A plastic vendor responded, *"Bhutanese customers take the plastic in huge bulk for construction and other purposes from my shop so every week I earn a good amount of money so there is no problem in changing the money from the dealer with extra charges"*.

On the other hand, during the field survey customers, was also asked about the dual currency problem. This is not surprising that 77% of the customer respondents do not consider dual currency as a problem for them because the reason behind this is they do not have to pay the extra charge while paying for groceries or other items while shopping in the Dadgiri-Gelephu market. While even 12% of the customer respondents also admitted that dual currency is not much of a problem for them. Whereas for 7% of the customer respondents' dual currency is somewhat a problem, one customer respondent replied, *"sometimes vendors do not want to accept the ngultrum from us so we have to move to other shops even if we liked the products, we have to leave the shop and move to another shop where the vendors accept the ngultrum"*. For 4% of the customer respondent's dual currency is a major problem, an old lady added, *"small stalls do not try to accept the ngultrum from us as they also earn less and it may be insufficient for them to pay an extra charge for exchanging the money and we have to move to those stalls where they accept ngultrum and sometimes we have to leave the product we liked because of the currency issue"*.

The market committee members main responsibility is to maintain a laissez-faire attitude to ensure a smooth market operation and a situation in which there is no conflict for trade between any of the vendors and customers. Along with the committee members, SSB also has a role to play during market hours. With the help of the field survey, it is learned that 96% of the vendor respondents agree that committee members look after the peaceful maintenance of the market. Some of the vendors added, *“Earlier we had to face various obstacles during the market hour but now there is no such kind of issue in the market in case anything happens we inform the president of the market committee and he takes over the problem and solves along with the involvement of the SSB officials”*. Whereas, 4% of the vendor respondents claimed that market committees do not play any role. According to the committee member has no role to play in the market they claimed that they do everything on their own without seeking help from committee members.

During the field survey while asked about the participation of SSB in maintaining peace in the market. When vendor respondents were asked about the security check in the check post while coming for vending in the market, it was quite surprising that 100% of the vendor respondents responded that they do not have to go through any security check while entering for vending in the Dadgiri-Gelephu market. One vendor also added, *“We do not have to go through any security check while entering the market as we visit every week and there is no need of checking because we carry products which do not harm anyone so why is a security check needed for us”*.

While asking the vendor respondents about the SSB and their roles. 89% of vendor respondents said that SSB does not come for patrolling during the market hour in the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly markets. Some of the respondents said that SSB visits the

market during the hour to buy the products, not for any patrolling. One vendor respondent said, *“When there is any kind of conflict in the market SSB arrives otherwise why do they need to roam around the market”*. Whereas, 11% of the vendor respondent said that SSB comes to market for patrolling during the market hour. One vendor respondent said that *“SSB visits the market in a uniform and also buys products from their shop but they are unaware if they are doing duty or they are just visiting the market as a customer and also they are present when there is any conflict in the market”*.

On the other hand, customer respondents were also asked about the role of the market committee, 89% of the customer respondents agree the market committee look after the peaceful maintenance of the market. During the interview, some of the customer respondents replied that *“we believe that committee member is the one who is looking after the proper maintenance of the market otherwise this market would have been a conflict area but so far we have not experienced any kind of problem in the market when small problem arise committee member along with the SSB solves the problem together peacefully”*. Whereas, 11% of the customer respondents say that the market committee has no role to play during the market hour.

Again, while asked about the participation of SSB in maintaining peace in the market. When customer respondents were asked about the security check in the check post, it was not very surprising that 64% of customers do not have to go through the security check in the check post while crossing the border. One customer responded, *“We do not have to go through any kind of security check as we are just customers who come to visit the weekly market and return by the evening with our shopping bags”*. Whereas, 36% of customer respondents said that they must go through the security check while crossing when they are in the vehicle. An interesting fact about this 36% of customers

responded that they do not have to go through a security check every week. When asked one customer respondent replied, *“Sometimes they do the checking and sometimes they just don’t even look at our vehicle he even added that according to the free trade agreement between India and Bhutan, SSB is not supposed to check every vehicle entering from Bhutan to India, until and unless there is a suspicion”*. While interviewing with the SSB official at Dadgiri check post said that, *“we keep track of how many vehicles enter the nation, particularly on the day of the weekly market. This makes it simpler for us to make sure that the market is operating normally”*.

While asking the customer respondents about the SSB and their roles. 76% of the customer respondents said that SSB does not come for patrolling during the market hour. Some of the customer respondents replied, *“We see SSB sometimes in the market but we are unaware if they are doing duty or just roaming around but it’s good that they do not come for patrolling every week because we feel very disturbed when we see SSB roaming in the market”*. Whereas, 24% of the customer respondents say that SSB does the patrolling during the market hour. According to them when SSB roam around the market it makes them feel safe and the chances of conflict become less.

## **5.2 Recommendation**

This study has, however, helped the research to suggest a few recommendations based on field analysis. For this purpose, this study has recommended some of the things below:

- a) The construction of the permanent market i.e., Pucca Sheds could be helpful for vendors to vend during the rainy season.

- b) There should be no checking by the SSB during the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market hour because some of the vehicles are checked whereas others are left unchecked. Which seems biased.
- c) Urgent need for the currency exchange office at Dadgiri or a nearby area.
- d) Market committee members along with the other officials should work on improving the condition of the market, as this market is a hub for both the country.

### **5.3 Scope for Future Research**

- a) The Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market area is the only area included in the present research. Therefore, this study has opened the door for further research in this area for those who are interested in it in the future.
- b) Future research on a comparative study of border markets and other common markets between India and other countries has many possibilities.
- c) Future studies can be done to determine how Covid-19 has affected the Dadgiri-Gelephu weekly market.

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## **ANNEXURE-I**

### **Questionnaire for Personal Interview with vendors and customers (semi-structured)**

#### **INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

- 1) As a customer/ vendor what do you, what kind of changes must be bought in this market?
- 2) What kind of products should be added to the market?
- 3) What do you think who earns more profits from this market vendor or customer?
- 4) What are the challenges you face as a vendor or customer in the market?
- 5) How productive is your business at present?
- 6) How useful is this market for you as a vendor/ customer?
- 7) What makes this market different from other markets?
- 8) What is the speciality of this market as compared to other local markets?
- 9) Do you think the market committee is helpful in running the market?
- 10) What role does SSB play in this weekly market?
- 11) What changes would you like to see in this market in the coming days?

## ANNEXURE-II

### Schedule for Vendors and customers (open-ended and close-ended)

Dear Sir/Madam

This Questionnaire schedule is prepared to collect the data for the M. Phil Dissertation on “Exploring Conflict in Border Trade between India and Bhutan: A Study of Dadgiri-Gelephu Market”. This survey is conducted for the partial fulfilment of M. Phil. Dissertation below. The response here will be kept confidential. Please do not hesitate while responding, feel free and be honest while giving the response, as it will help the study to be more effective and appropriate.

Thanking you

Duhita Thapa

#### PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENT

Please fill in the following information: -

Name:

Vendor/customer:

Gender:

Age:

Nationality:

Locality:

- 1) Does the market in Dadgiri-Gelephu border take place every Thursday regularly?  
Yes/No
- 2) Do you visit this market as a vendor or a customer?  
Vendor / Customer
- 3) How often do you visit this market?
  - A regular visitor
  - Once in a month
  - Sometimes in a while
  - Occasionally during the festivals

- 4) Is there any vendor from Bhutan? If not why
- Yes
  - No
- 5) Which are the products, which are only available in this market?
- 6) What are the products/items, which are high in demand in this market?
- 7) What do you think, is this weekly market helpful for both borders?
- Yes
  - No
- 8) Does this market operates in a peaceful manner between the two borders?
- Strongly Agree
  - Agree
  - Uncertain
  - Disagree
  - Strongly disagree
- 9) For this survey, border market/trade helps people generate their livelihood for those who are residing near the border areas. As traders are non-locals, language can be a barrier for two regions' people while trading.

How much of a problem is caused by the linguistic barrier for you?

Is this: -

- A major problem
  - Somewhat of a problem
  - Not much of a problem
  - Not a problem at all
- 10) India and Bhutan both accept the dual currency. However, there is not a single currency exchange office in this market area or anywhere nearby. Does this pose a problem for non-local vendors and customers? If so, would it be
- A major problem
  - Somewhat a problem
  - Not much of a problem

- Not a problem at all
- 11) As we can see most vendors are non-locals (Indian), and there seems to be no vendor from Bhutan. Are the people of Bhutan satisfied with the prevailing system?
- Strongly Agree
  - Agree
  - Uncertain
  - Disagree
  - Strongly disagree
- 12) What kind of role does the market committee play in the smooth and peaceful operation of the weekly market?
- 13) Do you have to go through any kind of security checking by the SSB while crossing the border?

### ANNEXURE-III

#### List of the members of the market committee and Gaonburas of different villages

<p>1. Kanta Nayak (Gaonbari)</p> <p>2. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>3. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>4. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p>
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<p>1. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>2. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>3. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>4. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>5. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>6. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p>
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<p>1. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>2. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>3. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>4. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>5. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>6. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p>
<p>1. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>2. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>3. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>4. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>5. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p> <p>6. Bina Khandari (Gaonbari)</p>

Source: Collected from the Committee Members during the fieldwork.



## Appendix IV

### List of the Indian Vendors

Sl. No	Names of the Vendors	Gender	Age	Nationality	Locality
1	Ramesh Gupta	Male	45	Indian	Dadgiri
2	Dilip Barman	Male	30	Indian	Ranikhata
3	Noor Mahmad	Male	55	Indian	Serfanguri
4	Swarup Kumar Nath	Male	32	Indian	Bongaigaon
5	Gulzar Ali	Male	55	Indian	Basugaon
6	Noor Islam	Male	35	Indian	Bhontola
7	Mintu Modak	Male	36	Indian	Deosri
8	Sangkar Shah	Male	42	Indian	Mujjapur
9	Bijay Rai	Male	37	Indian	Maji Basti
10	Sangkar Mandal	Male	57	Indian	Dhubri
11	Manoj Barman	Male	26	Indian	Runikhata
12	Raju Dutta	Male	38	Indian	Shantipur
13	Rani Wary	Female	32	Indian	Fulbari
14	Ranjan Mandal	Male	37	Indian	Sapatgram
15	Biswajit Mandal	Male	38	Indian	Basugaon
16	Mahamad Faizal	Male	42	Indian	Bongaigaon
17	M.D Jasim	Male	38	Indian	Runikhata
18	Sadupal	Male	62	Indian	Basugaon
19	No Name	Male	43	Indian	Runikhata
20	No Name	Male	45	Indian	Dadgiri
21	No Name	Male	32	Indian	Fulbari
22	No Name	Male	18	Indian	Shantipur
23	No Name	Male	16	Indian	Garubhasa
24	No Name	Male	22	Indian	Runikhata
25	No Name	Male	28	Indian	Shantipur
26	No Name	Male	60	Indian	Fulbari
27	No Name	Male	15	Indian	Basugaon
28	Ram	Male	43	Indian	Fulbari
29	Romila Islary	Female	29	Indian	Dadgiri
30	Samgkar	Male	40	Indian	Khagrabari
31	Donika Narzary	Female	43	Indian	Runikhata
32	No Name	Male	24	Indian	Champa
33	No Name	Male	28	Indian	Deosri
34	No Name	Male	32	Indian	Dadgiri
35	No Name	Male	34	Indian	Fulbari
36	No Name	Male	23	Indian	Basugaon
37	No Name	Male	25	Indian	Samthaibari
38	No Name	Male	35	Indian	Khungring
39	No Name	Male	32	Indian	Lauwati
40	No Name	Male	30	Indian	Bengtol
41	No Name	Male	35	Indian	Tukrajhar
42	No Name	Male	32	Indian	Basuagon

43	No Name	Male	31	Indian	Bongaigaon
44	No Name	Male	21	Indian	Garubhasa
45	No Name	Male	60	Indian	Basugaon
46	No Name	Male	29	Indian	Kokrajarhar
47	No Name	Male	32	Indian	Sidli
48	No Name	Male	18	Indian	Kajalgaon
49	No Name	Male	16	Indian	Fulbari
50	No Name	Male	17	Indian	Tukrajarhar
51	No Name	Male	63	Indian	Basugaon
52	No Name	Male	28	Indian	Dadgiri
53	Sudem	Female	36	Indian	Khagrabari
54	Tanuj	Male	38	Indian	Sidli
55	Nazim	Male	40	Indian	-
56	Sansuma Basumatary	Male	43	Indian	-
57	Ravi	Male	52	Indian	-
58	Ruju	Male	38	Indian	Kachugaon
59	No Name	Male	37	Indian	-
60	No Name	Male	42	Indian	-
61	No Name	Male	36	Indian	-
62	No Name	Male	38	Indian	Dadgiri
63	Sudem	Male	40	Indian	-
64	Dubru	Male	43	Indian	Kajalgaon
65	Fhungkha	Male	55	Indian	-
66	No Name	Male	51	Indian	-
67	No Name	Male	48	Indian	Dadgiri
68	Hafiz	Male	47	Indian	-
69	Subham	Male	39	Indian	-
70	Rajiv	Male	38	Indian	Sidli
71	Rakesh	Male	42	Indian	-
72	Uttam	Male	47	Indian	Dadgiri
73	Nihal	Male	49	Indian	-
74	Satyajeet Singh	Male	52	Indian	-
75	Laimwn Goyary	Male	48	Indian	Shantipur

- Some of the respondents did not mention their names and locality, which were left unfilled.

**Source:** From the fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu Market, July 2022

## ANNEXURE V

### List of the Bhutanese Customers

Sl. no	Names of the Customers	Gender	Age	Nationality	Locality
1	No Name	Female	15	Bhutan	Sarpang
2	No Name	Female	16	Bhutan	
3	No Name	Female	25	Bhutan	
4	No Name	Female	18	Bhutan	
5	No Name	Female	22	Bhutan	Rabdayling
6	No Name	Female	32	Bhutan	
7	No Name	Female	34	Bhutan	Sarpang
8	No Name	Female	25	Bhutan	
9	No Name	Female	61	Bhutan	
10	Kinley Wangmo	Female	28	Bhutan	Jampelling
11	Sangay Choden	Female	20	Bhutan	
12	Rani Maya	Female	29	Bhutan	Sarpang
13	Pem Gyelzom	Female	28	Bhutan	
14	No Name	Female	60	Bhutan	
15	No Name	Female	63	Bhutan	
16	No Name	Female	16	Bhutan	
17	No Name	Female	36	Bhutan	Namkhaling
18	No Name	Female	42	Bhutan	
19	No Name	Female	41	Bhutan	
20	No Name	Female	35	Bhutan	
21	No Name	Female	42	Bhutan	
22	No Name	Female	53	Bhutan	
23	No Name	Female	42	Bhutan	Sarpang
24	Devika	Female	38	Bhutan	
25	No Name	Female	42	Bhutan	Gelephu
26	Kikeelha	Female	38	Bhutan	
27	No Name	Female	45	Bhutan	
28	Kikam	Female	49	Bhutan	Gelephu
29	No Name	Female	19	Bhutan	
30	No Name	Female	22	Bhutan	
31	Sonam	Female	32	Bhutan	
32	Tshering	Female	22	Bhutan	
33	Uden	Female	33	Bhutan	Sarpang
34	Laki	Female	24	Bhutan	
35	Euden Bhutia	Female	22	Bhutan	
36	Shanti Bhujal	Female	26	Bhutan	
37	Laki Doma	Female	28	Bhutan	
38	Chung	Female	29	Bhutan	
39	Nima	Female	32	Bhutan	Jampaling
40	No Name	Female	31	Bhutan	Sarpang
41	No Name	Female	30	Bhutan	Gelephu
42	Eden	Female	34	Bhutan	

43	Palmu	Female	28	Bhutan	
44	No Name	Female	19	Bhutan	
45	Tshering Wang	Female	27	Bhutan	
46	No Name	Male	15	Bhutan	
47	No Name	Male	20	Bhutan	Sarpang
48	No Name	Male	24	Bhutan	
49	Rinzing	Male	18	Bhutan	
50	No Name	Male	26	Bhutan	
51	Zigme	Male	34	Bhutan	
52	Sonam Paden	Male	29	Bhutan	
53	No Name	Male	17	Bhutan	
54	No Name	Male	35	Bhutan	
55	No Name	Male	28	Bhutan	
56	No Name	Male	16	Bhutan	
57	Mingma	Male	27	Bhutan	
58	Shenga	Male	34	Bhutan	
59	No Name	Male	22	Bhutan	
60	No Name	Male	17	Bhutan	
61	No Name	Male	27	Bhutan	
62	No Name	Male	32	Bhutan	
63	Pranay	Male	60	Bhutan	Sarpang
64	Phulman	Male	61	Bhutan	Sarpang
65	No Name	Male	38	Bhutan	
66	No Name	Male	42	Bhutan	Samise
67	Bikash	Male	46	Bhutan	
68	Loday Bhutia	Male	63	Bhutan	
69	No Name	Male	39	Bhutan	
70	No Name	Male	40	Bhutan	Sarpang
71	No Name	Male	64	Bhutan	
72	No Name	Male	45	Bhutan	
73	No Name	Male	52	Bhutan	
74	No Name	Male	60	Bhutan	
75	No Name	Male	56	Bhutan	

- Some of the respondents did not mention their names and locality, which were left unfilled.

**Source:** From the fieldwork, Dadgiri-Gelephu Market, July 2022

## **ANNEXURE VI**

### **Pictures taken from the fieldwork**



**India-Bhutan Gate**



**Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) Check-Post**



**Spices Stall**





**SSB in the Market**



**Sweets Stall**



**Plastic Stall**

## ANNEXURE VII

### Format of the procedure of documentation by SSB in the check post

#### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Date: 11.06.2022

This is to certify that the following drivers were escorted from **Nganglam** to **Gelephu** by the undersigned and while transiting through India, they adhered to the **COVID-19** prevention protocol put in place by the Royal Government of Bhutan.

Sl. no	Vehicles No	Vehicle Type	Name of Driver	Drivers CID No.	Driving License No.	Contact No. of Driver	Type of Goods	Volume of the Goods(w eight in MT)	Chall an No.
1	BP-1-9003	LV	Chimi Dorji	12004001404	T-65831	77668483	Empty		
2	BP-2-A1214	LV	Mindu	11007001031	PD-3039	17600349	Empty		
3	BP-2-B9455	LV	Pema Dorji Sherpa	10067167864	G-8799	17534267	Empty		
4	BP-1-E1360	LV	Wangchuk	11111002708	PD-16540	77432020	Empty		
5	BP-1-B7537	LV	Binod Rana	11806002708	T-1399	17740472	Empty		
6	BP-1-D9518	LV	Teknath	11805001616	S-11203	17269439	Empty		
7	BP-4-A2250	LV	Tshewang	11512002095	T-54809	17844556	Empty		
8	BP-1-1D8901	LV	Tenzin	11603002831	S-3057	17678661	Empty		
9	BP-1-E5759	LV	Pemba	10603001598	T-74691	1784805	Empty		
10	BP-1-E9694	LV	Tashi	10811001838	P-5682	1767799	Empty		

#### PASSENEGER DETAILS

Sl.No	Name	Gender	CID No.	Contact No.	Vehicle No.
1	Tshering	M	11107004033	17410213	BP-1-9003
2	Tenzin	M	10904000178	17999347	
3	Padam	M	11302002616	17614767	
4	Tashi	M	11106002976	17696412	BG-2-A1214
5	Khem	M	10304001127	17593013	
6	Norbula	M	11603003015	17670414	BP-1-E1360
7	Leela	M	11190011115	17863151	BP-1D9518
9	Ginesh	M	Minor	-	
10	Ganesh	M	Minor	-	
11	Sonam	M	11607002843	17790445	
12	Sonam	M	11106003674	77879460	
13	Drukdra	M	11106002949	17715411	BP-4-A2250
14	Ugen	M	10903000093	17456060	
15	Tashi	M	10207001253	17677505	BP-1-D1128

**Source:** Collected from the SSB personnel during the fieldwork, July 2022