

# Sustainable Development and Environmental Protection

Editor  
**CM Lakshmana**



# Contents

<i>List of Table</i>	vii
<i>List of Figures</i>	x
<i>Foreword</i>	xiii
<i>Message</i>	xv
<i>Preface</i>	xvii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xxi

## Part-A

### Population, Development and Environment

1	Trade-Offs Between Industrial Growth and the Environmental Protection: an Analysis of the Policy Responses and Implementation in Gujarat <i>P K Vishwanathan</i>	1
2	Green Economy for Inclusive Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Tribal Areas in Odisha <i>Debendra Kumar Biswal</i>	31
3	Development and Displacement of Tribal's: A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh <i>Hari Ram Prajapati</i>	43
4	Green or Brown Agenda? Politics, Antagonism and Contradictions of Global/State Policies on Slums in Developing World (With Special Reference to Urban Slums in Delhi) <i>Kangkana Sharma</i>	59
5	A Causality Analysis of Energy Consumption and GDP in India <i>Dr.Gautam Kamble &amp; Parmeshwar Honrao</i>	71
6	Population, Development & Environment: A Study on the Himalayan Dilemma <i>Sherap Bhutia</i>	81
7	Impact of Migration to Bangalore: Significance of the it Sector <i>Suparna Majumdar Kar</i>	93



## Green or Brown Agenda? Politics, Antagonism and Contradictions of Global/State Policies on Slums in Developing World (With Special Reference to Urban Slums in Delhi)

Kangkana Sharma

### Abstract

*This paper try to study the policy initiatives of international organizations like the United Nations and national govt. (taking case study of India) as far as urban slums are concerned. Specific mention will be given to UN Habitat initiative on 'Slum Upgrading Facility' which seeks to improve conditions for residents of slums in Africa and elsewhere. As far as India is concerned, there have been many initiatives made at improving conditions of slum dwellers starting from 'Slum Clearance Policy' (2<sup>nd</sup> five year plan), 'Scheme for Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums' (4<sup>th</sup> five year plan), Urban Basic Services for the Poor (7<sup>th</sup> five year plan), National Slum Development Programme (1996) to Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission of 2005 which will be dealt in largely in this paper. Having set forth the various policies, the larger idea of this paper is to see the 'politics', 'contradictions' and 'antagonisms' of these policies which largely work out at the implementation level both in the global and national arena. The aim is to see if there is any hidden agenda (neo-liberal/elite) as far as governance of slums is concerned and it will be focused both on the external front with regards to policies towards the developing countries (specially in their task of 'upgrading of slums') and internally vis-a-vis the policies of the Indian govt. The purpose is to see the contradiction between creating a 'green agenda' (focusing on environment) and on the other hand emphasizing on 'brown agenda' (i.e. development of slums) and how the dynamics work in choosing one over the other. This work will further take help from the theoretical explanations provided by Foucault, Saskiya Sassen and Partha Chatterjee when they talk about 'a sense of politics' on the part of the state in carving out urban development/policies.*



# HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

**Challenges and Possibilities**



**Dr. D. Parimala**



10. Financing of Higher Education: A Critical Review of Trends in Andhra Pradesh <i>Anugula N. Reddy</i>	87
11. Gender Disparity in Higher Education in India: A Stark Reality <i>Indrani Ghosh</i>	100
12. Examining the Effectiveness of Web based E-Learning in Higher Education: An Investigative Approach <i>Anjali Pathania, Gowhar Rasool and Asif Ali</i>	109
13. Use of ICT among Post Graduate Students: A Sociological Study <i>Sumanth S. Hiremath</i>	120
14. Policy Planning and Governance in Higher Education <i>Kothapalli Thirupathi</i>	126
15. Universities as the Social Guardians <i>M. Saravanan, Vivek Nagpal</i>	140
16. Promoting Excellence through ICTs in Higher Education <i>Bharti Dogra</i>	145
17. Educational Empowerment and Equality: A Scenario of Tribal Women in Rural West Bengal <i>Swati Chakraborty</i>	158
18. Globalisation/Internationalisation of Higher Education in India—A Take on Foreign Educational Institution (Regulation of Entry and Operation) Bill, 2010 <i>Kangkana Sharma</i>	174
19. Employability of Indian Graduates: An Introspection <i>Rajni Jassal</i>	182
20. To Study the Problems and Challenges of Women in Higher Education <i>Aruna Kumari</i>	190
21. Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan: A Revolution in Higher Education of India <i>Pooja Kansra, Rajni Kansra</i>	208
22. A Comparative Study of Democratic Values and Leadership Skills among Social Science and Engineering Students <i>Kshama Pandey, Neetu Singh</i>	215
23. Perceptions of Youth on Education and Employment <i>Meenakshi Chawla</i>	220
24. Role of English in Education of Multilingual Population of India <i>Aarti Yadav</i>	23



# Globalisation/Internationalisation of Higher Education in India – A Take on Foreign Educational Institution (Regulation of Entry and Operation) Bill, 2010

Kangkana Sharma

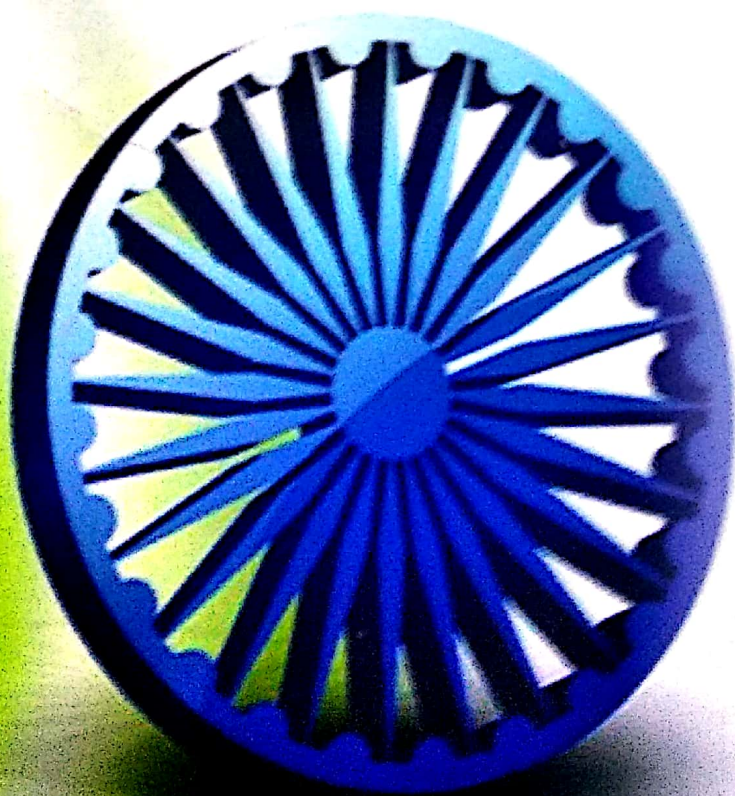
## Introduction

UPA government replaced the NDA regime in 2004 and retained power in 2009. They during their tenure seemed to encourage the entry of private players in higher education. A large number of private universities hence were given the deemed university status. In this context, one should talk about the Foreign Educational Institution (Regulation of Entry and Operation) Bill, 2010, initiated by then education minister Kapil Sibal which was to make arrangements for the opening up of branches of foreign educational institutes. Foreign educational institutes can be recognised by the central government as foreign education provider (FEP) if they have been teaching in the country of its origin for 20 years. As far the provisions FEP under it 'twinning programme' students can finish his studies partly in India and partly in educational institutes abroad. This bill however has come for scathing criticism from many quarters (BJP was also against the bill when it was initiated in UPA's first term) specially from the left parties who claims it to 'provide legitimacy to a commercial enterprise'.

Globalisation of education and opening it up to withstand the pressure of the competitive global world might be a good idea in some respect but it comes along with reduced state funding, high student fee, introduction of capitation fee which mightn't be viable for a developing country like India. The main thrust of this paper thereby lies in the prospects and problems associated with globalisation or internationalisation of Indian Higher Education with a special emphasis on the Foreign Educational Institution (Regulation of Entry and Operation) Bill of 2010.



# MANAGERIAL PERSPECTIVES ISSUES AND CHALLENGES OF SWACHCH BHARAT ABHIYAN 2014



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1.	A TAXONOMY BASED SOCIAL MARKETING STRATEGY FOR ADDRESSING ISSUES OF SWACHH BHARAT <b>T. G.K. Vasista</b>	1-16
2.	SWARCHH BHARAT WHAT IS IT? TOWARDS FORMULATING SANITATION MARKETING STRATEGY <b>T.G.K. Vasista &amp; B. Narendra Prakash</b>	17-31
3.	AWARENESS AND ACCEPTANCE OF SWACHH BHARAT ABHIYAN AMONG MANAGEMENT STUDENTS <b>Nimit Gupta , Sanchita Agarwal and Shreya Gupta</b>	32-40
4.	CSR INITIATIVES IN SWACHH BHARAT ABHIYAN TOWARDS MEETING THE GOAL OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN INDIA: AN EVALUATION <b>Purnima Singh</b>	41-48
5.	ROLE OF PUBLIC SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS IN CLEAN INDIA CAMPAIGN: A CASE STUDY OF OIL AND NATURAL GAS CORPORATION <b>Patiraj Kumari and Shivani Thapliyal</b>	49-54
6.	SWACHH BHARAT ABHIYAN – A CRITICAL ANALYSIS (WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON ITS MARKETING STRATEGIES AND MEDIA USAGE) <b>Kangkana Sharma</b>	55-62
7.	SOCIAL AWARENESS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN INDIAN SOCIETY: AN OVER VIEW OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND ATTITUDINAL CHANGE <b>Shabeer Ahmad Bhat</b>	63-67
8.	TACKLING INDIA'S ACHILLES' HEEL: LEVERAGING CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO SOLVE THE SANITATION CRISIS IN INDIA <b>Nidhitha Sreekumar</b>	68-77
9.	SWACHH BHARAT MISSION: HR ISSUES, CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES FOR MUNICIPAL SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT IN DEHRADUN CITY <b>Karan Singh Negi</b>	78-86
10.	SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA: AN OVERVIEW <b>Atanu Bose</b>	87-98
11.	CONSUMER REACTANCE: A CONCERN FOR MARKETING SWACHH BHARAT CONCEPT <b>Nilamadhab Mohanty and Pankaj Mohanty</b>	99-112



# Swachh Bharat Abhiyan – A Critical Analysis (with Special Emphasis On Its Marketing Strategies And Media Usage)

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## Abstract

*Launched on 2nd October, 2014 by Prime Minister Narendra Modi to make India cleaner by 2019, the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan since its very inception had grabbed headlines. This scheme has invited many types of flak as well as many have also eulogized it. In this context, it is also important to look at the marketing strategy and media usage of this scheme. Thereby, the main aim of this paper is to set forth the various general flaws with the scheme and mainly enquire into and analyse the various marketing strategies (slogans, symbols associated with it and so on) and media usage of this scheme which would help it to reach to people and gather awareness and support for the scheme. This will be done by keeping in mind earlier efforts of central government and their policies in this regard and how they portrayed it (through media marketing) in order to garner support from people. A critical analysis will be done of such strategies carving forth both its pros and cons and concluding with further recommendations.*

**Keywords:** Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, Marketing, Sanitation, Media usage, Total Sanitation Campaign.

## Introduction

India like most other developing nations has been lagging since ages in terms of basic sanitation, hygiene and cleanliness. And one of the apt reflections of such situation is the littered streets in India be it a metro or a village. As fallout of this, Indians are more prone to water-borne diseases which are one of the important causes of unnatural deaths in India. Taking this scenario into account, Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan on 2nd October 2014 to make India cleaner by 2019. The main objectives of this scheme includes providing sanitation facilities including Toilets, Solid and Liquid Waste Disposal Systems, village cleanliness and safe and adequate drinking water supply for all. And the aim is to achieve these objectives by 2019 which also coincides with 150th birth anniversary. However, this scheme is not the only one in this context as there were other cleanliness campaigns as well initiated and the following section will deal with it.

## Government Of India Policies On 'clean India' – A Brief Appraisal

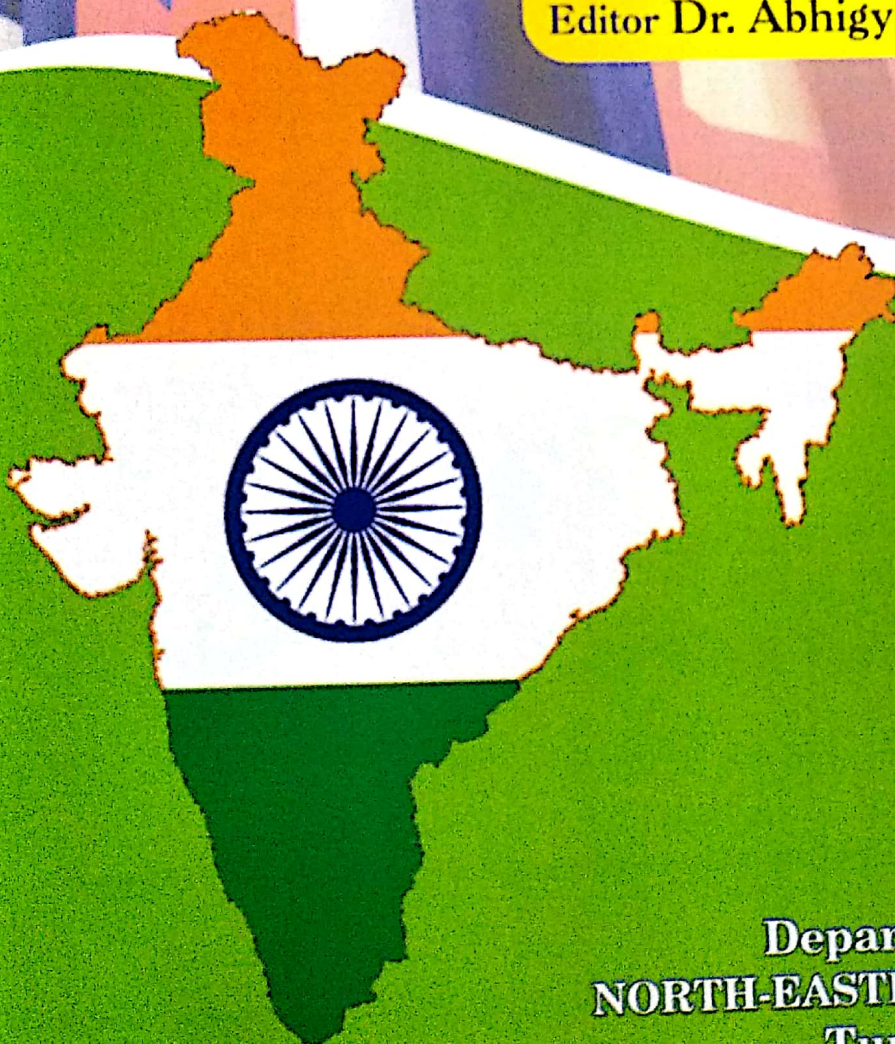
Sanitation is of utmost importance and the World Bank's Water and Sanitation Program has estimated that a dollar spent on sanitation saves nine dollars in health, education and economic development. But the scenario is grim more so in the rural areas of India. The Rural Sanitation Coverage of this country was 1% in 1980s which rose to 22% in 2001 and to 32.7% according to 2011 census<sup>1</sup>. Whereas urban India generates 68.8 million tons of trash a year and more than 6,000



# **LOOK EAST POLICY**

*PERSPECTIVES FROM  
THE SOUTH-EAST ASIAN ARCHITECTURE*

Editor Dr. Abhigyan Bhattacharjee



Department of Management  
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- 13. Political and Economic Ties of North-East India with Neighbor Nations through Manipur: An Analytical Study**  
*Konsam Manitombi Devi*
- 14. BIMSTEC for Regional Growth: Its Challenges and Prospects**  
*Siddharth Nayan Sharma and Suman Sarmah*
- 15. Look East Policy and Tea Trade: An Evidence from the Indian Tea Industry**  
*Mrignka Chakraborty and Mridul Barman*
- 16. Indo-Myanmar Border Trade and Agro-based Industry**  
*Thangjam Chandra Devi and Nameirakpam Bhupendra Singh*
- 17. India's Look-East Policy: Potentialities for the North-Eastern Region of India**  
*Monu Singh and Abhigyan Bhattacharjee*
- 18. Tourism and Ethnic Food Industry of Assam—Opportunities under Look East Policy**  
*Niku Das and Gourab Jyoti Kalita*
- 19. Extent of Agricultural Diversification in Meghalaya with Special Reference to West Garo Hills**  
*Ajanta Deb Kar and Binu Mathew*
- 20. India's Foreign Trade with Myanmar and its Share of North-Eastern India after Look East Policy: An Assessment**  
*Ayekpam Ibemcha Chanu and Joyjit Sanyal*
- 21. A Study of Meghalaya State under the Purview of Potentialities of India's Look-East Policy for the North-Eastern Region of India**  
*K.C. Biswal and Junybirth T. Sangma*
- ✓ **22. Analysing the Impact of the Look-East Policy on the North-East India**  
*Kangkana Sharma*
- 23. Potential of the North-East India's Trade with Neighbouring Countries: An Assessment of the Opportunities and Constraints"**  
*Kongkona Sarmah and Ujjal Protim Dutta*
- 24. Regional Economic Integration and the North-East: Look and Relook to India's Look East Policy**  
*Trailokya Deka*
- 25. The Look East Policy: A Strategy towards Progress and Economic Development of North-Eastern Region**  
*Sajid Ali and Sadik Ali*



# Analysing the Impact of the Look-East Policy on the North-East India

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**Abstract**—The Look East Policy got operational in 1992 with India being admitted to ASEAN as a sectoral dialogue partner. The two broader aims of Look East Policy (LEP) are the encouragement of trade links with individual nations of Southeast Asia and to provide foreign employment for India's own expanding work force. It is also regarded as a policy aimed at uplifting the economic conditions of the North-Eastern region of India. The North-Eastern region of India can be regarded as a bridge between the South Asian countries and the South-East Asian countries. However, it is alleged that while rest of India has benefitted from greater engagement with ASEAN under the LEP, the Northeast, which is the gateway to the Southeast Asian countries has been left behind as it could not utilise the opportunities opened up through the LEP because of weak economic base and lack of proper infrastructure. So the main thrust of this paper is to look at impact of the Look East Policy on the North-Eastern region of India taking into account the problems that plague this region.

**Keywords:** North-East, Look East Policy, South-East Asia, BIMSTEC, Insurgency, Ethnic Violence, Infrastructure

## INTRODUCTION

With the declaration of election results and BJP coming out as the single largest party in the 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha election 2014, major changes are expected in the policy framework and same can be said to follow in the realm of foreign policy as well. Prime Minister Narendra Modi in November 2014 made an announcement that rather than focusing on 'Look East Policy' his government will focus more on 'Act East Policy' signaling at enhanced engagement in the East by underscoring the centrality of the 10-nation ASEAN bloc in India's plan<sup>1</sup> and focused on seeking deeper ties with partners such as Japan, Vietnam, South Korea and Australia<sup>2</sup>. His key goals are to deepen economic ties with the Asia-Pacific in order to boost India's own economic growth, to balance externally against Chinese influence in the Indian Ocean, and to expand India's global role. Nevertheless, it can be said that Look East policy is an important dimension as far as Indian Foreign Policy is concerned. But an interesting field to ponder over in this regard is how does this policy impact the issues (from under-development to escalating ethnic conflict) faced by the North-eastern region of India. This paper will try to study the same.

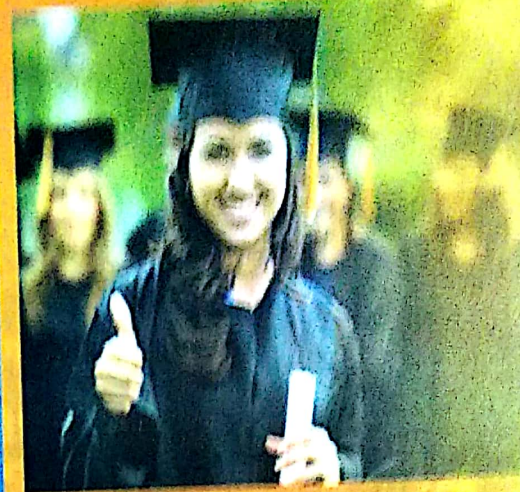
India's economic and financial crisis of 1991 and the collapse of the Soviet Union compelled India to take a fresh look at its foreign policy. Thereby, this policy was initiated during the tenure of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in 1991 to develop cordial relation with the nations of South-East Asia and subsequently followed by the consequent government of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh. Driven in part by India's strategy of counterbalancing China's influence, the policy was initially aimed at diplomatic and economic engagement with this region. With time this policy opened up relation basically on the following arenas-economic and commercial ties, increasing strategic and security cooperation and emphasis of historic cultural and ideological links. In this context, former External Affairs Minister Yashwant Sinha stated that earlier India's relation with the South-east A

<sup>1</sup> The ten nations include Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and Timor-Leste.



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## CONTENT

- EDITORIAL (I)
- WELCOME ADDRESS (V)
- KEY NOTE ADDRESS : EMERGING ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN INDIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM AND ITS REMEDIES/ Prof. Jagat Swargiary/ p. 15
- CHALLENGES FOR EDUCATION -NATIONAL AND STATE SCENARIO/ Dr. Khargeswar Bhuyan/ p.21
- HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES/Dr. Dulamoni Gohain/p. 29
- CREATING A COMPETITIVE STRENGTH OF HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF RURAL AREAS/Dr. Juri Mahanta/p. 39
- THE CHANGING SCENARIO OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA: An Overview / Dr. Moyuri Sarma/ p. 43
- TEACHER EDUCATION AND ITS CHALLENGES / Dr. Brinda Bazeley Khariyymbaal/ p. 52
- HIGHER EDUCATION FOR PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES IN NORTH-EAST INDIA: A CHALLENGE IN THE 21st CENTURY/Kishor Mohan Bhattacharyya/ p. 58
- INTRODUCING SKILL DEVELOPMENT COURSES IN HIGHER EDUCATION: EMERGENCE AND CHALLENGES/Dr. Sikha Bhagawati/ p. 64
- JOB SATISFICATION OF TEACHER IN AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION/ Rita Sarmah/p. 75
- AWARENESS TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING PEACE EDUCATION AMONG POST GRADUATE STUDENTS /Dr. Rita Rani Talukdar/Sukanya Bora/p. 81
- ✓ ● HIGHER EDUCATION IN ASSAM: RECENT CHALLENGES/Kangkana Sharma/ p. 90
- ROLE OF CAREER COUNSELLING AS A MOTIVATING FACTOR FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS/Dr Rita Rani Talukdar/Himashree Kalita/ p. 98
- TEACHER EDUCATION AT HIGHER LEVEL: EMERGING ISSUES AND ITS CONCERNS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ASSAM /Jaisree Devi/ p. 106
- RIGHT TO EDUCATION ACT 2009: IMPLEMENTATION AND CHALLENGES/ Manasweeta Gogoi/ p. 116
- SANKARADEVA'S CONTRIBUTION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIETY/Manoj Kumar Hazarika /p. 128
- VALUE EDUCATION: NEED AND IMPORTANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION (A study of the Colleges of Udalguri District)/Nabanita Deka/Ankur Baria/p. 142
- SEMESTER SYSTEM IN COLLEGE: BOON OR BANE! / Suneeta Khanna Ganguly/ p. 154
- EMERGING ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN INDIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM AND ITS REMEDIES/ Bikash Kumar Bora/ p. 163
- CLASSROOM COMMUNICATIONS IN COLLEGE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MATHEMATICS LEARNING /Dr. Banani Bora Hazarika / p. 173
- RECENT REFORMS IN EDUCATION IN INDIA - ACHIEVEMENTS AND UNFINISHED TASKS /GURU PRASAD UPADHYAY/ p. 183
- POSITIVE SCHOOLING AND ITS COMPONENTS/Kasturi Kotoky/p. 203
- LIFE SKILL EDUCATION: A WAY TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION/Rosemin Akhtara/Almin Benzir/ p. 211
- FINANCING OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA AND OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD/Dr. Pradip Kumar Das/ p. 223
- THE KEY CHALLENGES CONFRONTING EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE RIGHT TO FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION ACT, 2009/Pravek Medhi/Razina Ahmed / p. 237



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## HIGHER EDUCATION IN ASSAM: RECENT CHALLENGES

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### ABSTRACT

India is the second largest higher education system in the world (after China) in terms of enrolment and it is the largest higher education system in the world with the number of institutions it has (British Council Report, 2014). Higher education in India has been growing rapidly and the numbers of universities have doubled since 1990-91, and enrolment has become more than doubled. This has led the Indian Government in 2007 to announce a nine fold increase in higher education spending over the next five years. However, it is still estimated that public spending in India on higher education is one of the lowest. Added to this is the poor scenario of higher educational institutes in most of India in terms of both management and infrastructure and this compels many to seek education abroad. Taking the above scenario into account the main thrust of this paper is to analyse the higher educational scenario in Assam specially



# **Wildlife Trafficking and and Concern to Biodiversity of North East India**



Editor  
**Dr. Ramesh Nath**



13. Foliose Lichen Diversity in  
Resource With Bioprospecting Potential 143  
✍ Pranab Bujarbarua
14. Application of Biotechnological Tools for Conservation  
of Endangered Species of Assam. ✍ Joyashri Das,  
Sukanya Sarmah & M.K Saikia 153
15. Conservation issues of Hahila Beel, Nagaon, Assam. 153  
✍ Jyotismita Das
16. Studies on Physico-chemical Characteristics of  
Six Beels in Morigaon District and its Scope to Fish  
Culture. ✍ B. Kalita, D. Kusre & A. Q. Osmani. 164
17. Wildlife trafficking in Assam : A Critical analysis. 180  
✍ Manikongkona Kataki & Manoj Kr Saikia.
18. Internet as a site of Illegal Wildlife Trade: an Analysis. 188  
✍ Kangkana Sharma.
19. Anthropogenic threat to Biodiversity in North  
East India. ✍ Ujjayanta Das. 196
20. Avifaunal diversity of 'Samaguri beel', Nagaon  
district with special reference to the 'water-birds'. 202  
✍ Chiranjib Bora, Queen Saikia &  
Suranjan Bhowal
21. An Overview of the Distribution of Biodiversity in  
Assam and Its Management. ✍ Sameer Baruah. 212
22. Legislative Combat to Protect Wildlife and  
Prevent its Trafficking. ✍ Beauty Neog. 221
23. Impact of Man on Fish Diversity in Morigaon  
District, Assam. ✍ B. Kalita, D.Kusre, A.Q.Osmani 238
24. Conservation, Development and Sustainable Utilization  
of Forest Resources. ✍ Adrita Bhattacharya 263
25. Impact of Deforestation of Kaki Reserved Forest  
on its Surroundings. ✍ Lakhinanda Bordoloi 274
26. Role of Forest Policy in Biodiversity Conservation with  
special reference to Assam. ✍ Susmita Borthakur 282



# **Internet as a Site of Illegal Wildlife Trade: An Analysis**

**Kangkana Sharma**

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College, Nagaon, Assam

## **Abstract**

Use of internet has been growing in an unprecedented way in the present age of information and digitalisation. Internet is beneficial in the sense it can connect to a whole lot of people in a comparatively less time. But such a process can both be a boon and a bane for the society and it all depends on how one uses the internet. The present paper, while trying to focus on the perils of the usage of internet, will throw light on the menace of illegal trade of various precious organs of animal (illegal wild life trade or wild life trafficking) through the internet. Specific internet sites are also looked at for the same purpose.

**Key Words:** Internet, Trade, Amazon, eBay, trafficking.

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## **Introduction:**

Social media are generally regarded as interactive and dynamic user-generated electronic media that "support the democratization of knowledge and information and allows general users to go from





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**Amal Ch. Das**

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# Contents

1.	A Glimpse into the Religious Transition of Bodos Living in the Sivasagar District of Assam	-	1
2.	Anjali Saikia Feminism and its Anti Male Attitude- An Embedded Problem: A Discussion	-	7
3.	Anurag Borah Plight of the Hills in Ao's "Laburnum for My Head"	-	12
4.	Bidit Kr. Das A Postcolonial Analysis With Special Reference To Salman Rushdie's <i>Midnight's Children</i>	-	16
5.	Debakshi Bora A Comparative Study of The Novels of Mamoni Roisom Goswami and Contemporary Indian English Novels.	-	23
6.	Ganesh Das Metaphysics Is Possible Or Not : Wittgenstein	-	30
7.	Indrani Majhi (Shit) Rural Tourism and Namphake Village of Naharkatia Dibrugarh District (Assam)	-	34
8.	Jinku moni Khound Violation of Women Human Rights in Assam and Role of Education	-	42
9.	Jogesh Changmai Public Library as a Part of E Governance: A Prospective Role of Public Libraries of Assam	-	56
10.	Kakoli Gogoi State and Media Freedom in India : Regulation or Control?	-	63
11.	Kangkana Sharma Postcolonialism and the Concept of the Veil: Its Stereotype and Ambivalence	-	74
12.	Kaushik Dutta Extent of Information Explosion in the Context of a Library: an analysis	-	79
	Dr. Kishore Kumar Sarmah	-	



# State and Media Freedom in India : Regulation or Control?

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## Abstract:

Media is regarded as the 'fourth estate'<sup>1</sup> of Democracy and it is also regarded as a custodian of the collective right of 'freedom of expression' and the vehicle through which the citizen largely exercises his right to know. The link between media and politics is umbilical and this work will try to explore this relationship. In the background of debates regarding autonomy and regulation of media, it is important to throw light on this debate and study the scenario of Indian Media and the changes it has undergone over the years. In order to study the change, evolution of media will be divided into two phases – pre-liberalization and changes in media in the post liberalization phase. An attempt will also be made to study the important role played by media over the years to safeguard the democratic credentials of the Indian state and at the same time focus will be attributed to the abuses made by media, which raises concerns regarding its regulation. This work will try to analyze whether media needs to be regulated or should it go for self-regulation. Assuming that some form of regulation is needed, through this paper, focus will be given on Indian state's attempt at regulating the media. Important provisions inscribed in three bills – *Prasar Bharti Bill* (1997), *Broadcast Services Regulation Bill*<sup>2</sup> (2006) and *Information Technology Bill* (2000 and its amendment in 2008) will be analyzed and the central query of this paper rests in trying to see whether these are real attempts at regulation or attempts of the Indian state to control the media and curbing their freedoms; this time wearing the mask of regulation. Though, the first two of these bills had lapsed, the attempt here is to get a hint of Govt. of India's intention of



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From Feminism to Lesbianism: A study of the Select Poems  
*Gopa Das Talukdar*

The Spinal Chord of the Community: Status and Contribution of the Deori Women of  
Assam in India  
*Guptajit Pathak*

Some Wedding Songs of Bodos: A Folkloric context  
*Hargouri Narzary*

A study on agriculture credit system and socio economic characteristics of farmers  
*Harpinder Kaur*

Health and Hygiene related issues of IDPs Women: A case study  
*Jhanin Mushahary & Dr. Jyotiraj Pathak*

'Conceptual Framework': The Basic need for Research Work  
*Indrani Saha*

Participation of women in higher education: A study  
*Dr. Jayanta Baruah*

State and politicisation of education in India: A comparative study between NDA and UPA regime  
*Kangkana Sharma*

Armed Forces Special Powers Act in North Eastern India: An Evaluation of Intrinsic and  
Instrumental Significance  
*Kirti Arya and Ravi Ranjan Kumar*

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# State and politicisation of education in India: A comparative study between NDA and UPA regime

Kangkana Sharma

## Introduction:

Importance of education was very much taken into account as it was included as one of the eight important development goals in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) ([www.un.org/millenniumgoals/](http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/)) set forth by the United Nations in 2000. It aimed that by 2015, all children will have access to primary education and there will be elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015. Apart from this, UNESCO have been publishing *Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report* ([www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/efareport/](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/efareport/)) since 2002 which stressed on the motto of 'education for all' and thereby it aimed to analyse progress made on this front, suggest policy reforms, tends to throw light on the challenges in the sphere of education and tries to promote international cooperation regarding the same. UNICEF and UNESCO also jointly organised 'The Global Thematic Consultation on Education in the Post-2015 Development Agenda' in 2012-13 to review progress of the Millennium Development Goals (specially related to education) and Education for All (EFA) and to develop ideas of progress to be made in the measurement of quality and equity in education (Sayed, 2013). The agenda also suggested that education needs to be recognised as one of the important indices of development and a sphere which can also help realisation of other goals set forth in the MDG (Sayed 2013, 13). More importantly, it focused on a right-based approach to education (Sayed 2013, 15). However, it pointed out the drawbacks that still exist in this arena including lack of focus on quality, gender disparity, unequal access, underinvestment and so on (Sayed 2013, 8-11). Thereby, the target year of MDGs being December 2015, how much has it achieved is still questionable. In this context, the policies adopted by the Govt. of India in the sphere of education needs to be explored.

Indian sub-continent since its very independence prioritised education and naturally it got sufficient attention in the very first five year plan and likewise in successive five year plans. Likes of Jawaharlal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad envisaged a liberal education policy for India with humanitarian underpinnings and accordingly Government of India had set forth many important policies in the realm of education. In this context, mention should be made National Policy on Education (1968, 1986 and 1992) which focused on universal access and enrolment, universal retention of children up to 14 years of age, and a substantial improvement in the quality of education; Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) which talked of universalisation of education; Right to Education which made primary education free and compulsory for children between 6 and 14 under Art. 21 A of Indian constitution and so on. Despite efforts the educational arena in India provides a dismal picture in terms of inability of access to education (specifying higher education), gender disparity, variation in different states as far as literacy is concerned (Kerala faring most North Indian states provides a bleak scenario in this regard) and with its privatization education has become a commodity making it a reserve of the privileged few. Apart from this, the sphere of education is plagued by the sheer politicization in the manner of changing governments using it for their own political end. A paper stresses on this issue and specifically on the task of revision of the curriculum of textbooks (by NCI apex making body for designing curriculum) on the whims of the party in power.

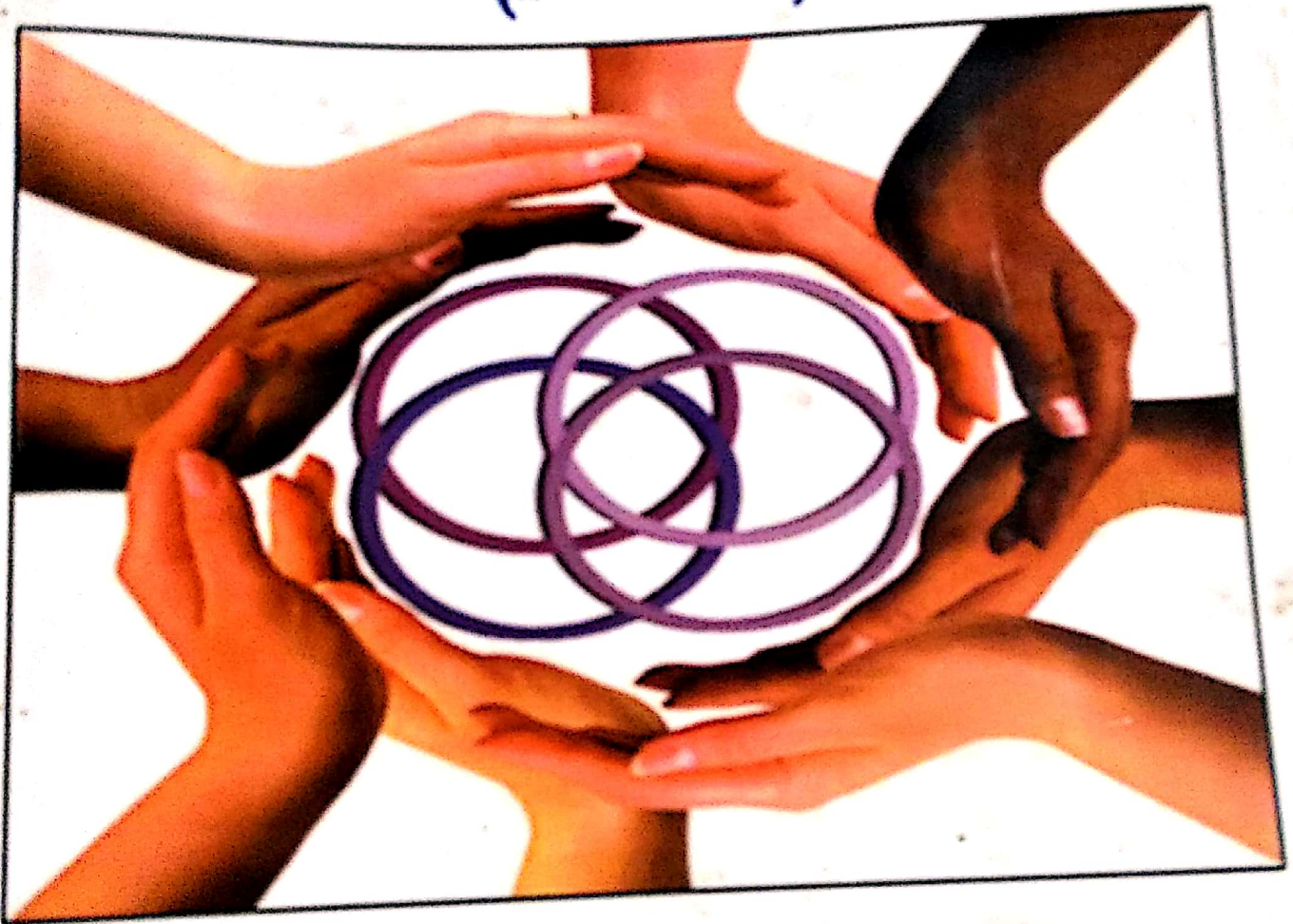
Such practices were done by the Nazis under the statesmanship of Adolf Hitler whereby the entire educational syllabus was changed to make arrangements for racial hatred and maintain Aryan supremacy. But it seems rampant in South Asia specially in Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India. Politicisation of education in Pakistan



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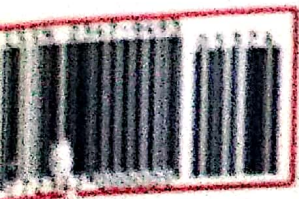
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# CONTENT

1. Study on the Relationship between Collegiate Sports Culture and College Students Psychological Health <i>Wang Hao</i> -----	1100-1102
2. New Protest movements in India: an Appraisal of Democracy, Civil Society and Media in India: With special reference to Anti-Corruption Agitation, 2011 <i>Kangkana Sharma</i> -----	1103-1106
3. Nigeria-Cameroon Cross-Cultural Co-Operation and Development <i>M.O. Bonchuk, S.E. Majuk</i> -----	1107-1114
4. The influence of the social context and the coaching environment on the coaching process and performance evaluation <i>Papailiou Dimitrios, Strigas Ethan, Travlos Antonios K, Kipreos George</i> -----	1115-1110
5. A comparative study of depressive symptoms of the adolescents living with biological parents and those living with non-biological parents in abakaliki metropolis in Ebonyi state. <i>Sylvester O. Okenyi, Matthew Ojone, Ezeruigbo Chinwe FS</i> -----	1120-1125
6. From Integration to Bifurcation: The Internalization of Calabar Boundary Regime in the Context of Border Conflicts and Management in Africa <i>Michael Omang Bonchuk</i> -----	1126-1134
7. Investigate of relationship between moral intelligence and age in Isfahan staff <i>Maryam Khaleghi, Maedeh Moghadas</i> -----	1135-1142
8. A Study of Job Satisfaction among Government and Private School Teachers with reference To Darbhanga District, India <i>Dr. Nathuni Yadav</i> -----	1143-1145
9. The formation process of flying skills during flight training abroad - a case study on Chinese pilots <i>Shouxi Zhu, Wenlai Ma</i> -----	1146-115
10. Gender Based Violence (GBV) and the Academic and Socio-Economic Well-being of Women in Okrika and Etche Local Government Areas, Rivers State. <i>Nnodim AU, Harry AT, Lazarus TS</i> -----	1151-11

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## **New Protest movements in India: an Appraisal of Democracy, Civil Society and Media in India: With special reference to Anti-Corruption Agitation, 2011**

Kangkana Sharma

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**Abstract:** The world in recent years has witnessed protest movements of various kinds and centering around various issues. Some instances that come to mind will be those of Occupy Movement, the famous Arab Spring and the Anti-Corruption agitation in India. Occupy movement represents planned action against corporate power, political corruption and economic inequality. Arab Spring or variously called as revolution, revolt, intifada and so on, which began in Tunisia in December 2010 and then spread to other Arab nations, is a genuine expression of a long-standing desire for freedom and economic justice denied by the autocratic regimes in the region. The Anti-corruption agitation in India on the other hand, emerged amidst the revelation of many corruption scams in India in 2010. Thereby the movement leaders spearheaded by Kisan Baburao Hazare who proposed for a Jan Lokpal Bill, proposes to create institutions called Jan Lokpal and Jan Lokayukta at the levels of the central and state governments respectively, which can facilitate immediate punishment of government officials accused of financial fraud. These three movements though differ from each other in the latter case the political context was different but largely they showed great resonance and reflect the mood of the present time. These movements emerged as a result of the callousness on the part of their respective authorities, a kind of the anti-politics or anti-politicians' tendency, emergence of city space as an important site of protest, street politics with large participation of otherwise indifferent middle class, excessive use of media (specially social media) and a certain drift from representative to an inclination to embrace principles of participatory democracy. But over and above they didn't want to do away with the state but want it to respond to them and cater to their grievances. The present study tries to analyse the Anti-Corruption Agitation as an attempt to understand protest movements of the present time by looking at concepts such as civil society, democracy and media, which played an important role in this movement as well.

**Keywords:** Protest Movements, Anna Hazare Agitation, Media, Civil Society, Democracy

### **Introduction**

In 2010, following major corruption scandals, the Indian government drafted a version of a *Lokpal* bill. Officials convened the Group of Ministers to consider this government measure for tackling corruption. Many citizens and social activists considered the proposed measure weak, as it did not cover the prime minister, members of Parliament, and cabinet ministers. Dissatisfaction gave rise to a national protest movement in 2011. The face of this movement was Anna Hazare, a Gandhian who has led anticorruption protests for two decades. The 2011 anti corruption movement, organized under the name India against Corruption, has by far been the largest he has led. This movement is chosen for the present purpose because of tremendous involvement of media in it. Media's involvement in the Anna Hazare Movement will be studied in three phases – first phase will include Hazare's hunger strike on April 5, 2011 to demand a stronger bill. Large protests erupted in support of Hazare. This protest sparked discussions across news

and social media about whether the bill should include the entire government. It also brought many people to the streets in support of Hazare's movement. After four days of Hazare fasting, the government agreed to form the Joint Drafting Committee, and Hazare ended his fast. The second phase will include Hazare's second hunger strike from 16<sup>th</sup> August till its end on 28<sup>th</sup> August. The third phase will start from December 27, 2011, when the *Lok Sabha*, Parliament's lower house, approved the government's latest version of the bill, which Hazare thought was still too weak. He began another hunger strike in Mumbai to protest the government moving forward with the weaker *Lokpal* bill, and Hazare ended his third hunger strike, claiming health concerns, shortly after the *Lok Sabha* passed a weaker version of the *Lokpal* bill.

This agitation has led to a new kind of trend in Indian scenario – of 'unruly politics', 'politics of chaos' and 'using urban space and street politics' and these have become important ways of venting people's anger.

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### Analysis

Barkha Dutt's Programme on Reservation : A Reflection of Media Biasness

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Feminization of Media: The Beauty Myth in Bollywood

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### Case Study

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## 44

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### Contents

#### Analysis

4. Barkha Dutt's Programme on Reservation : A Reflection of Media Biasness  
*P. S. Krishnan*

#### Research

9. Feminization of Media: The Beauty Myth in Bollywood  
*Navodita Pande*

- ✓ 14. Understanding the Dialogical Relation between Movements and Media  
*Kangkana Sharma*

#### Case Study

23. Communication Technology & Disadvantaged Population  
*Maubani Dutta*

#### Stories That Made News

26. Not Everyone Loves a Good Drought  
*Hemendra Narayan*

#### Media News

29. Media in Media

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# Understanding the Dialogical Relation between Movements and Media

Kangkana Sharma\*

## Introduction

The world has witnessed several movements centering around a wide range of issues and these movements are/were mostly against the state or anti-political and seeking the state to intervene to undo the injustices that common people are voicing their wrath against. The year 2011 has been a watershed year as there had been several movements against the state, specially authoritarian regimes in the Middle East. Various called revolution, revolt, intifada and so on, the Arab Uprising, which began in Tunisia in December 2010 and then spread to other Arab nations, is a genuine expression of a long-standing desire for freedom and economic justice denied by the autocratic regimes in the region. These movements have fostered a budding dialogue about the role of social media and networking as a tool for political mobilisation towards regime change and pro-democracy movements. Special mention in this context should be the movement in the Tahrir Square of Egypt<sup>1</sup>, where the social media had a decisive role to play<sup>2</sup>. The Occupy movements also are important event that occurred in 2011 whereby the occupations across the US and the UK (in 85 countries, on one count) protested against democracy's recent transformation into a "Corporacracy". The Occupy Movement relied heavily on the use of social media as an organizing method to coordinate protest activities and connect individuals. Protestors have created Facebook sites such as 'Occupy Together' to

coordinate mass protests<sup>3</sup>.

Another agitation that brewed up in the Indian sub-continent was the Anna Hazare Agitation against corruption. It featured the same anti-politics tendency and people came down to streets against the mounting cases of corruption which culminated in many corruption related cases coming to the fore in 2010-2011. Media in this event, very much like the other movements, played an important role in informing and mobilizing people.

Such movements develop because there is a perceived gap between the current ethics and aspirations of people and the present reality. Movements in the present time mostly takes place in an urban space, issues mostly effecting the middle class, voicing their vengeance by coming down to the street and most importantly mobilizing people through media specially social media which has been very instrumental. In many instances, movements resorting to media tactics had led the state responding in a much quicker time as compared to the earlier times. Thus media in recent times has played an integral part in social movements. Hence it is important to analyse the relation between media and movement and the present paper tries to focus on the same. Here the term 'dialogical' is used to show how media and movement interact with each other.

But before delving into the relation between media and movement it will be beneficial to throw light on the two concepts (movement and media) that have been used.



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CONTENT

1. The Effect of Training and Development and Quality Management on Organization Performance in Nyeri Technical Training Institute Nyeri, County, Kenya  
*Muthui, Speranza Wambui, Kellen Kiambati, Alice Simiyu*-----194-167
2. Children Literature Education in Nigeria and the Challenges of Readership  
*Dr. Muhammad Aminu Mode*-----198-200
3. The Assessment on the Effects of Financial Resources and Structures on the Implementation of Performance Contract in Tertiary Institutions in Meru County  
*Timothy Nkonge, Kellen Kiambati, Alice Simiyu*-----201-210
- ✓ 4. Manifestation of Power in Media: Analysing From the Perspective of Self and Other  
*Kangkana Sharma*-----211-216
5. Management of Distomolar Pocket With Diode Laser: A Case Report  
*Khan Mohammad Arif, Sanjay Gupta, Tandon Pradeep, Saimbi C.S., Jaishwal Rajeev Kumar, Agrawal Poonam*-----217-219
6. A Non-Monotone Conic Trust Region Method with Fixed Step-Size  
*Baowei Liu*-----220-223
7. A Comparative Study on the Effectiveness of Teaching the Low Achievers in English through Functional Communicative Approach and Traditional Method at Secondary Level  
*Amal Kumar Chakrabarty, Dr. Tuhin Kr. Samanta*-----224-230
8. Research on Sedimentary Microfacies of Member 1 of Yao Formation in Puxi Oilfield  
*Zhong Dan, Ma Shizhong*-----231-234



## **Manifestation of Power in Media: Analysing From the Perspective of Self and Other**

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**Abstract:** Media can be regarded as an important arena through which common people get an opportunity to vent their grievances more so in the recent times. Media has also emerged as a realm which very often indulges in the process of creation of 'power' as Foucault has hinted in his understanding of 'micro forms of power'. For Foucault, power is dispersed across various layers and structures and is not be found in any static locus. Power according to Foucault is not possessed by a dominant agent, but it is distributed through complex social networks. Taking Foucault's understanding in mind one can throw light on the role played by media in modern times in terms of advocacy and agenda setting and thereby normalizing people to accept the dominant culture (and lifestyle) and marginalizing those who don't adhere to the socially set norms. Thereby this paper while taking into the analysis of thinkers like Foucault, Habermas, Chomsky, Gramsci and Baudrillard will try to understand the process of 'creation of power' by the media more so in the Indian context which often leads to discrimination and subjugation of certain sections of the society (LGBT community is taken as a case for analysis). The paper also brings in the concepts of 'self' and 'other' to study this discrimination. Further the concept of radical media is brought to the fore to show that not every form of media practise discrimination but they themselves can sometimes be used as a weapon to fight discrimination.

**Keywords:** Media, Power, Discrimination, Self, Other, LGBT, Radical media.

### **INTRODUCTION**

India is credited to have the world's largest democracy. Democracy in general terms is understood to be a form of government which is subject to popular sovereignty, essentially implying 'rule by the people' and is characterized by features such as honest elections, freedom of speech and expression, active judiciary, religious freedom and accountability of the chief executive towards the common people. India fortunately enjoys all of these. More importantly, India has a free press, an arena through which common people can express their views and opinions regarding different things. Media is a very important forum through which they can critically analyze functioning of govt. and also through media they are also made aware of various programs and policies of the govt. The claim of 'right to know' and making informed choices and holding those in authority accountable have been possible only through the media. Media in a way, has acted as the mediator between the common people and the govt. Thus, it can be regarded as the bedrock of Indian democracy. Even the 1950 enactment has widened the ambit of article 19(2). It enjoined that permissible restrictions on freedom of expression must be 'reasonable' and not arbitrary.

Media is regarded as the 'fourth estate' of Democracy (legislature, executive and judiciary being

the first, second and third respectively) and it is also regarded as a custodian of the collective right of 'freedom of expression' and the vehicle through which the citizen largely exercises his right to know. Several historians credit the coinage of the term to Edmund Burke, who is said to have referenced the fourth estate when discussing the French Revolution, and Thomas Carlyle, a 19th century author, popularized the term. Media affect modern life in nearly every way. Media holds a very powerful capacity to set a social issue for mass audience to assume and talk about. Main work of media is to inform the people. In a democracy the "demos" (people) should know what goes on in the world as they are the one, who decides. A modern democracy cannot work without the media which are an agent between public and state, the Latin word "medius" describes a status in the middle and that is exactly where one can find media: between two entities of communication. Media is the most powerful tool of communication. It helps promoting the right things on right time. It gives a real exposure to the mass audience about what is right or wrong. But whether media is actually catering to the needs of people is still questionable as very often it is criticized of its elitist bias and non-inclusionary nature especially after its increasing corporatization.

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## CONTENTS

	<b>Rural Development through Micro financing: A Study with Special Reference to NRLM in Lakhimpur District of Assam</b>	120
	Dr. Diganta Kumar Das	
	<b>Employment Potentiality of Urban Informal Sector with reference to Guwahati City</b>	125
	Dr. Upasana Chakravarty	
	<b>Tourism Infrastructure Facilities and Services in India : With Special Reference to Kaziranga National Park- A World Heritage Site of Assam</b>	
	Bipin Borah	132
	Dr. Horen Goowalla	
<b>History</b>	<b>The Rise of Islam in Medieval Kamata-Koch Kingdom</b>	137
	Dr. Amiruzzaman Sheikh	
	<b>Foundation of the Ahom Kingdom the Upper Brahmaputra Valley : An Analytical Study</b>	143
	Mrs. Moonmoni Borkoch	
<b>Archaeology</b>	<b>Archaeology of Biswanath District in Assam with Special Reference to Monuments, Icons and Inscriptions</b>	147
	Swapna Kakati	
<b>Gandhian Studies</b>	<b>Relevance of Gandhiji's Satyagraha in Modern Context</b>	151
	Dr. Devajit Dutta	
	<b>Education and Empowerment of women-Relevance of Gandhi's thought and values.</b>	155
	Dr. Azibur Rahman	
<b>Human Rights</b>	<b>Human Rights of Women as a Vulnerable Group</b>	159
	Dr. Dhaneswar Baishya	
<b>Environment &amp; Disaster</b>	<b>Landslide Hazard in Gangtok Sikkim</b>	165
	Dr. Kamaleswar Kalita	
<b>Peace and Conflict Studies</b>	<b>Role of Media in Conflict Resolution in South Asia</b>	168
	Kangkana Sharma	
	<b>Insurgency in North East India and Its External Dimension</b>	175
	Biman Chandra Das	
	<b>Ethnic Conflicts in North East India : A Study of the Garo and Rabha Communities</b>	179
	Dr. Prem Kanta Borah	



## Role of Media in Conflict Resolution in South Asia

Kangkana Sharma

### Introduction:

International relation is based on relationship among countries of the world which in turn is based on communication facilities of each country (media is an important medium in this regard) and how a particular country can set forward its stand in the international realm. Media's role in foreign policy encompasses its capacity from peacekeeping to peace enforcement. However, structural changes in media coverage of foreign affairs and its (media's) influence seek proper analysis. Bernard Cohen very rightly acclaimed media's power to 'move the government'. He also stated that there exist a 'symbiotic' relationship between the media persons and foreign policy makers, but the degree of it depends on the power dynamics between each other<sup>1</sup>. However, some scholar states that media concentrates on domestic policy more than foreign policy<sup>2</sup>. Also the literature available focuses less on the role of domestic factors influencing foreign policy. Among such domestic factors will be the opinion of common people who if not directly can influence foreign policy indirectly by evaluating foreign policy<sup>3</sup>. And an organized way through which information can be communicated to and fro from the public is through the media which needs to be further explored. However, prominent scholar Noam Chomsky while focusing the role of media vis-à-vis US foreign policy talks about how media tends to reinforce the interests of only the dominant section of the society<sup>4</sup>. Bennett on the other hand carved out the phrase 'indexing norm' while referring to the journalistic practice of relying upon the political elites for 'framing' news<sup>5</sup>. Hence while studying the role of media in conflict resolution one should also take into account the changes that media has undergone over the years.

**Media plays a very important role at all the stages of a conflict -**

At the first phase the media as a whole have the following functions during a crisis—in time warning of impending danger, how to avert it if the situation so arises, accurate information without any political guidance for future preparedness, educate public right direction for safeguarding national interest.

In the Second Phase, media coverage events should focus on making sense out of situation. Doing so media should suggest the for long term measures and perspective.

In the Third Phase media should check counter check for media bias by national/international media house<sup>6</sup>.

In this context, the concept of 'peace journalism' can also be invoked and applied. Peace Journalism is defined "when editors and reporters make choices - of what to report, and how to report it - that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict"<sup>7</sup>. The concept of 'peace journalism' was conceived by Johan Galtung and this entails knowing backgrounds and contexts of conflicts; knowing perspectives of all sides; exploring hidden agendas; highlighting peace ideas and initiatives from anywhere at any time. The Canadian based Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS) suggests five kinds of peace intervention, including training, promoting positive images and providing fictional storylines that have a positive peace message. Journalism while covering conflict in South Asia can also adhere to these<sup>8</sup>.

South Asia is known to be a 'hotbed of conflict', despite gaining freedom from the colonial rule. The countries of South-Asian sub-continent have been disturbed by various conflicts since ages which has a both internal and an external dimension.





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## CONTENTS

	<b>Rural Development through Micro financing: A Study with Special Reference to NRLM in Lakhimpur District of Assam</b> Dr. Diganta Kumar Das 120 <b>Employment Potentiality of Urban Informal Sector with reference to Guwahati City</b> Dr. Upasana Chakravarty 125 <b>Tourism Infrastructure Facilities and Services in India : With Special Reference to Kaziranga National Park- A World Heritage Site of Assam</b> Bipin Borah Dr. Horen Goowalla 132
<b>History</b>	<b>The Rise of Islam in Medieval Kamata-Koch Kingdom</b> Dr. Amiruzzaman Sheikh 137 <b>Foundation of the Ahom Kingdom the Upper Brahmaputra Valley : An Analytical Study</b> Mrs. Moonmoni Borkoch 143
<b>Archaeology</b>	<b>Archaeology of Biswanath District in Assam with Special Reference to Monuments, Icons and Inscriptions</b> Swapna Kakati 147
<b>Gandhian Studies</b>	<b>Relevance of Gandhiji's Satyagraha in Modern Context</b> Dr. Devajit Dutta 151 <b>Education and Empowerment of women-Relevance of Gandhi's thought and values.</b> Dr. Azibur Rahman 155
<b>Human Rights</b>	<b>Human Rights of Women as a Vulnerable Group</b> Dr. Dhaneswar Baishya 159
<b>Environment &amp; Disaster</b>	<b>Landslide Hazard in Gangtok Sikkim</b> Dr. Kamaleswar Kalita 165
<b>Peace and Conflict Studies</b>	<b>Role of Media in Conflict Resolution in South Asia</b> Kangkana Sharma 168 <b>Insurgency in North East India and Its External Dimension</b> Biman Chandra Das 175 <b>Ethnic Conflicts in North East India : A Study of the Garo and Rabha Communities</b> Dr. Prem Kanta Borah 179



## Role of Media in Conflict Resolution in South Asia

Kangkana Sharma

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At the first phase the media as a whole do have the following functions during a political crisis—in time warning of impending dangers and how to avert it if the situation so arises, flow of accurate information without any political bias, guidance for future preparedness, educate public in right direction for safeguarding national interest.

In the Second Phase, media coverage of events should focus on making sense out of the situation. Doing so media should suggest the ways for long term measures and perspective.

In the Third Phase media should check and counter check for media bias by national/local international media house<sup>6</sup>.

In this context, the concept of 'peace journalism' can also be invoked and applied. Peace Journalism is defined "when editors and reporters make choices - of what to report, and how to report it - that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict"<sup>7</sup>. The concept of 'peace journalism' was conceived by Johan Galtung and this entails knowing backgrounds and contexts of conflicts; knowing perspectives of all sides; exploring hidden agendas; highlighting peace ideas and initiatives from anywhere at any time. The Canadian based Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS) suggests five kinds of peace intervention, including training, promoting positive images and providing fictional storylines that have a positive peace message. Journalism while covering conflict in South Asia can also adhere to these<sup>8</sup>.

South Asia is known to be a 'hotbed of conflict', despite gaining freedom from the colonial rule. The countries of South-Asian sub-continent have been disturbed by various conflicts since ages which has a both internal and an external dimension.





মুতিগ্রহ

পানীগাঁও দুর্গাবাড়ী সোনালী জয়ন্তী বর্ষ  
২০১৬

সম্পাদক :  
দেবব্রত দেবনাথ  
বিষ্ণুজিৎ পাল চৌধুরী



মা, স্মৃতিগ্রন্থ, পানীগাঁও দুৰ্গাবাড়ী সোনালী জয়ন্তী বৰ্ষ, ২০১৬



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প্রচ্ছদ পরিকল্পনা :

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


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## DEPARTMENT OF BOTANY

### **Proceedings of Seminars, Workshops, Conferences and training programmes organized by Department of Botany, Dhing College.**

1. Proceedings of UGC sponsored National Seminar on **Communicable Diseases in North-east India with emphasis on HIV/AIDS and malaria** held at Dhing College from 24-08-2007 to 25-08-2007.
2. Proceedings of UGC sponsored National Workshop on **Commercialization of Floriculture in North Eastern India** held at Dhing College from 29-09-2008 to 01-10-2008.
3. Proceedings of UGC sponsored National Workshop on **Field Work in Environmental Studies (ISBN: 01-904177-3-0)** held at Dhing College from 18-02-2010 to 20-02-2010.
4. Proceedings of UGC sponsored State-level Conference on **Prospect of Environmental Education in North Eastern Region of India (ISBN: 81-904177-3-8-08)** held at Dhing College on 11-12-2010.
5. Proceedings of UGC sponsored State-level Conference on **Medicinal plants; a re-emerging health aid North Eastern Region of India (ISBN: 978-81-922919-8-7)** held at Dhing College on 26-11-2011. (ISBN: 978-81-922919-8-7)
6. Proceedings of SSA, Nagaon sponsored State-level Workshop on **Curriculum Development for Quality Assessment: A Critical Analysis with special reference to Elementary Education (ISBN: 13-978-922919-0-1)** held at Dhing College on 12 January, 2012.
7. Proceedings of UGC sponsored National Seminar on **Current Issues of Conservation and Wise Use of Wetlands in North Eastern Region of India (ISBN: 81-202-8869-4, 978-81-202-8869-7)** held at Dhing College from 3-4 February, 2012.
8. Proceedings of SSA, Nagaon sponsored **DISTRICT-LEVEL SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS EXHIBITION CUM NIGHT SKY OBSERVATION on Popular Science and Mathematics Article (ISBN: 978-93-82569-13-8)** held at Dhing College 16-17 February, 2013.
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10. Proceedings of UGC sponsored State Level Conference on **Traditional Knowledge Systems for Biodiversity Conservation in North Eastern Region of India** (ISBN: 978-81-925433-1-4) held at Dhing College on 8<sup>th</sup> June, 2013.

11. Proceedings of UGC sponsored National Workshop on **PRESENT APPROACHES AND APPLICATIONS OF BIOINFORMATICS TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES IN BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES** (ISBN: 978-81-925433-1-5) held at Dhing College from 17-18 June, 2013.

12. Proceedings of UGC sponsored State Level Conference on **LIVELIHOOD PROMOTION THROUGH NON TIMBER FOREST PRODUCTS IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NORTH-EAST INDIA** held at Dhing College on 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 2014.

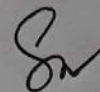
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14. Proceedings of UGC sponsored State Level Conference on **HERBAL MEDICINE: A RATIONAL APPROACH IN HEALTH CARE SYSTEM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NORTH-EAST INDIA** held at Dhing College on 19th June, 2017.

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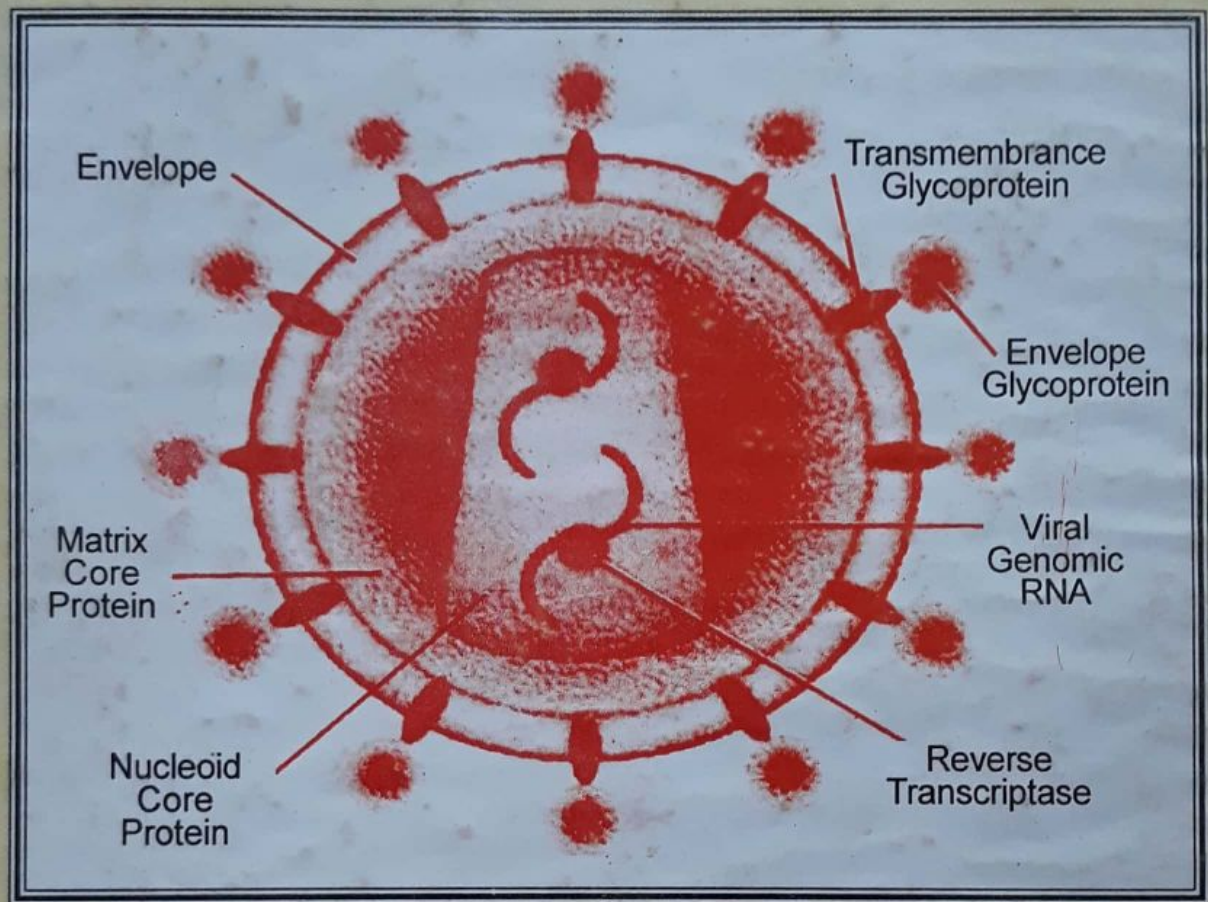


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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE STATE-LEVEL CONFERENCE  
ON  
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# **MEDICINAL PLANTS: A RE-EMERGING HEALTH AID IN NORTH - EAST INDIA**



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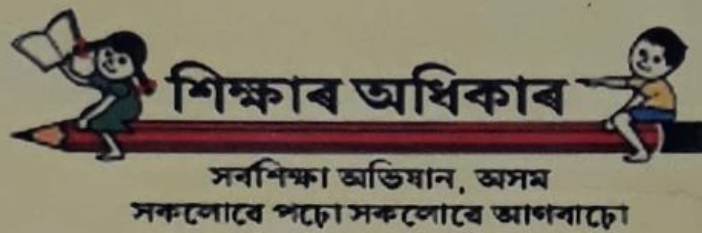
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**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ELEMENTARY EDUCATION**



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# **CURRENT ISSUES OF CONSERVATION AND WISE USE OF WETLANDS IN NORTH EASTERN REGION OF INDIA**



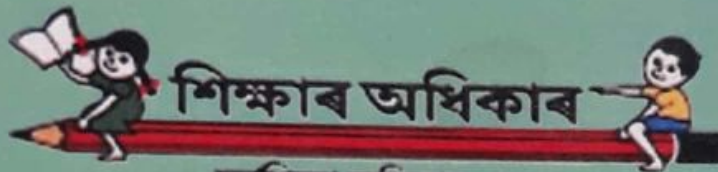
Editors

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Dr. Ramesh Nath



# POPULAR SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS ARTICLE



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সকলোৰে পঢ়ো সকলোৰে আগবাঢ়ো

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**PROCEEDINGS OF SEMINAR ON  
CURRENT ISSUES FOR CONSERVATION OF  
MEDICINAL PLANTS OF ASSAM**  
(NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AWARENESS CAMPAIGN 2012-13)



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# TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS FOR BIODIVERSITY CONSERVATION IN NORTH EASTERN REGION OF INDIA



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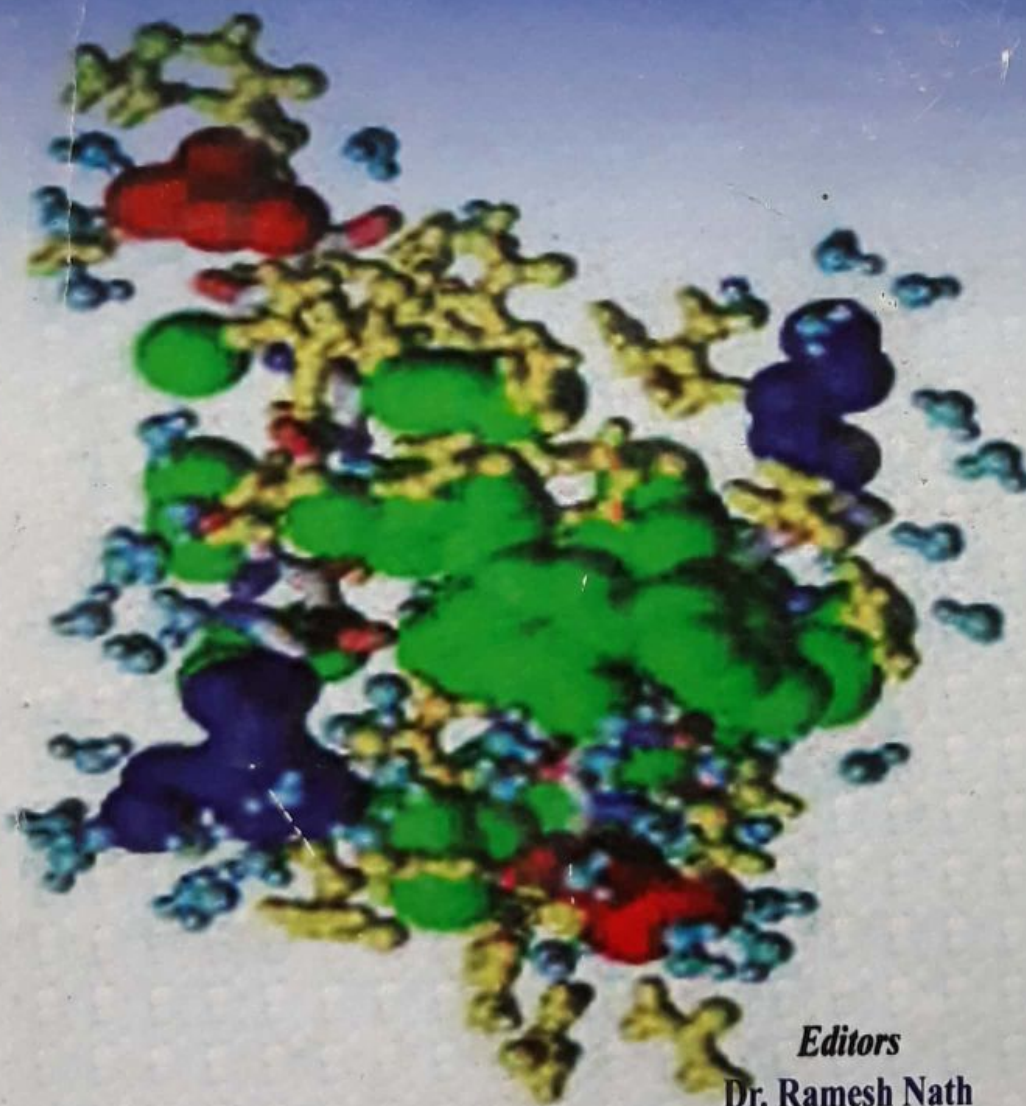
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**PRESENT APPROACHES AND  
APPLICATIONS OF BIOINFORMATICS TOOLS  
AND TECHNIQUES IN BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES**



***Editors***

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# **LIVELIHOOD PROMOTION THROUGH NON TIMBER FOREST PRODUCTS IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NORTH-EAST INDIA**



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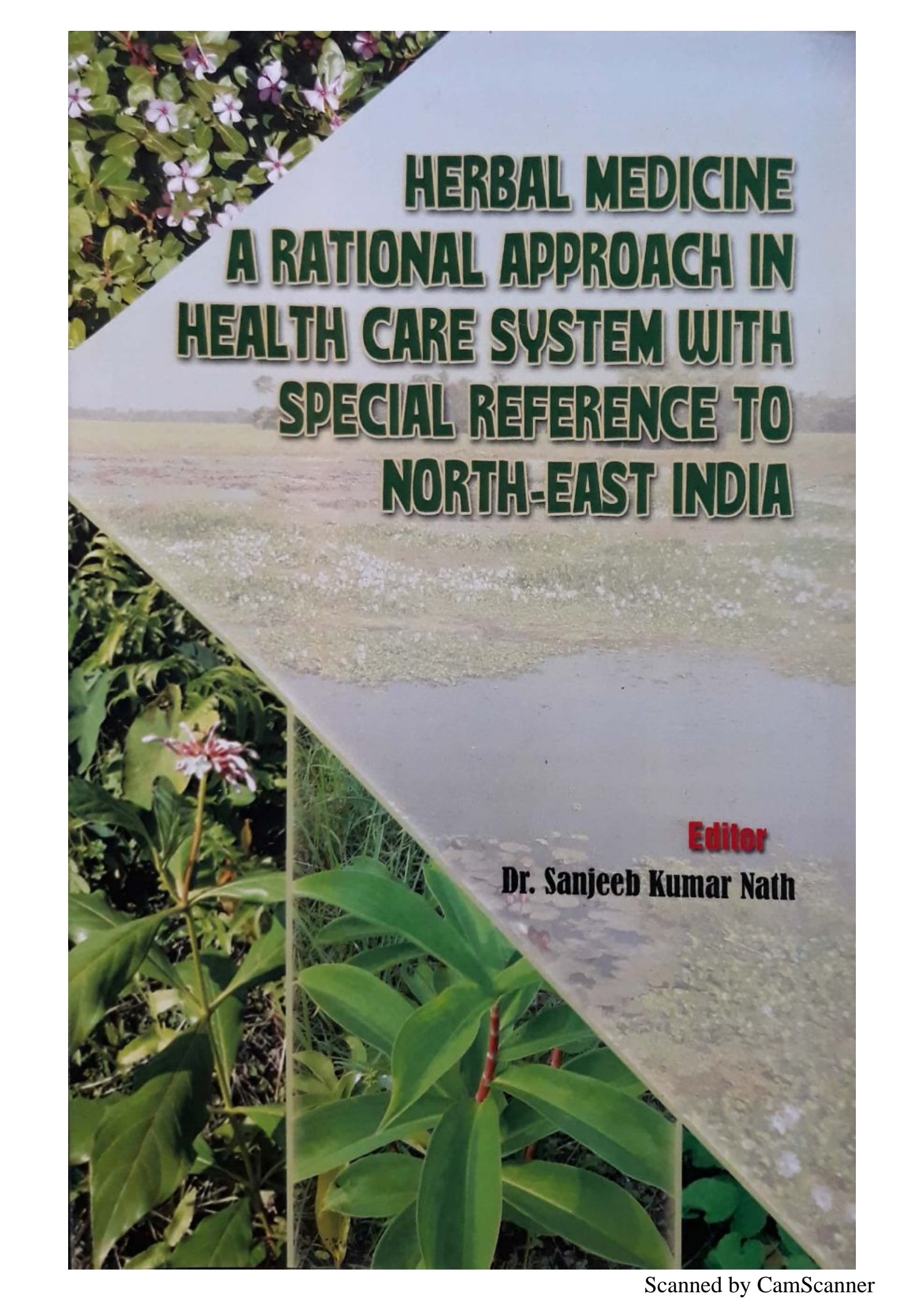
**NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AWARENESS CAMPAIGN 2014-15**  
**THEME: COMBATING DESERTIFICATION, LAND DEGRADATION AND DROUGHT**

**PROCEEDINGS OF STATE LEVEL SEMINAR**  
**ON**  
**Biodiversity and Information on Medicinal and Aromatic Plants of North East India**



**Edited by**  
**Dr. Sanjeeb Kumar Nath**



The book cover features a collage of images. The top left shows a cluster of small pink flowers with green leaves. The bottom left shows a plant with large green leaves and a single white flower with red stripes. The bottom right shows a plant with large green leaves and a red stem. The background is a light blue sky over a body of water with a sandy beach.

# **HERBAL MEDICINE A RATIONAL APPROACH IN HEALTH CARE SYSTEM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NORTH-EAST INDIA**

**Editor**

**Dr. Sanjeeb Kumar Nath**



# **PROSPECT OF APPLIED ETHNOBOTANY IN NORTH EASTERN REGION OF INDIA**

**Editor: Dr. Sanjeeb Kumar Nath**





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**A compilation of webinars held at  
Dhing College during covid-19 period**



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# PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

(PERSPECTIVE & POLICY)



**Ranjit Bordoloi**



# **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

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## CONTENT

<b>I. Public Administration as a Discipline</b>	<b>7</b>
a) Meaning, Dimensions of Role, Scope, Growing Importance	
b) Significance of the Discipline	
c) Public and Private Administration	
d) Evolution of Public Administration	
<b>II. Theoretical Perspectives: Classical: Neo-Classical and Contemporary Theories</b>	<b>20</b>
a) Scientific Management Theory (F. W. Taylor)	
b) Administrative management Theory (Gulick, Urick and Fayol)	
c) Ideal Type Bureaucratic Theory (Max Weber)	
d) Human relations Theory (Elton Mayor)	
e) Rational Decision-Making Theory (Herbert Simon)	
f) Ecological approach (Fred Riggs)	
g) Innovation and Entrepreneurship (Peter Drucker)	
<b>III. Public Policy</b>	<b>32</b>
a) Concept of Public Policy, relevance, approaches	
b) Formulation, implementation and evaluation	
<b>IV. Major Approaches in Public Administration</b>	<b>43</b>
a) New Public Administration	
b) New Public Management	
c) New Public Service Approach	
d) Good Governance, UN	
e) Feminist Perspectives	
<b>V. Policy and Administration in India</b>	<b>54</b>
a) Public Policy Process in India	



- b) Policy making in India
- c) Policy Formulation
- d) Weaknesses in India's public policy making

#### **VI. Personnel Administration**

- a) Concept of personnel administration
- b) Functions of personnel administration

#### **VII. Decentralization**

- a) Centralization and decentralization
- b) Objectives and Determinants of Decentralization
- c) Significance and approaches and types
- d) Similarities and differences

#### **VIII. Budget**

- a) Concept, Meaning and Types
- b) Principles and Significance of Budget
- c) Approaches of Budgeting
- d) Budget Cycle or process in India

#### **IX. Citizen and Administration Interface**

- a) Citizen Centric Administration
- b) Public Service Delivery
- c) Techniques of Control over Public Administration
- d) Legislative, Executive and Judicial Control
- e) Redressal of Public Grievances: RTI, Lokpal, Citizens' Charter and Governance

#### **X. Social Welfare Administration**

- a) Concept, in India and Approaches of Social Welfare
- b) Social welfare policies in India
- a) Education: Right to Education
- b) Health: National Health Mission
- c) Food: Right to Food Security
- d) Employment: MNREGA



<b>I: Local government</b>	<b>122</b>
a) Local Government and Local-Self Government	
b) Significance of Local Government	
c) Local and Rural Local Self-Governance	
<b>XII. Evolution of Local Governance in India-Rural and Urban</b>	<b>130</b>
a) Local Governance in Ancient India	
b) Local Governance in Pre-independent India	
c) Local Governance in Post- Independence India	
<b>XIII: 73rd Amendment and Rural Governance in India</b>	<b>134</b>
a) Assam and Panchayati Raj Institutions	
b) Role of panchayat in social mobilization and participation for development	
c) Zila Panchayat, Anchalik Panchayat, Gaon Panchayat and Gaon sabha	
d) Womens participation and Reservation	
e) PRIs and Micro planning	
f) Weaknesses of 73rd Amendment	
<b>XIV:Local Self-Government in NE states and defects of Panchayati Raj System in India</b>	<b>146</b>
<b>XV: Urbanization</b>	<b>149</b>
a) Problems and challenges of urbanization	
b) Factors responsible for people's non-participation in urban government	
c) Measures to promote people's participation in civic affairs	
<b>XVI. 74rth Amendment and Urban Governance in India</b>	<b>155</b>
d) Municipal Corporation	
e) Municipal Council	
f) Nagar Panchayat	
g) Gauhati Municipal Corporation	
<b>XVII. Role of Committees and Commissions</b>	<b>171</b>
a) District Planning Committee and Metropolitan Planning Committee	
b) State Election Commission	
c) State Finance Commission	



### **XVIII. Strengthening Democratic Functioning of the Panchayats**

- d) Participation at Village level, action plan and participatory method
- e) Gram Sabha & Social Audit
- f) E-Panchayat
- g) Devolution

### **XIX. Panchayat Finance and Accounting**

- a) Constitutional Provisions on Panchayat Finances
- b) Panchayat Accounting System
- c) Fiscal Decentralization and Audit System
- d) Audit of Assam Local Funds Accounts

### **XX. Problems and Needs of disadvantaged group and their Participation**

- a) Women & Panchayats
- b) Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste and Minorities
- c) Panchayat extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act

### **XXI. State Control and Supervision over Rural Local Government**

- a) Executive, Legislative, Financial and Judicial Control

### **XXII. Sixth Schedule administration in North East India: Article 244 (2) 275 (I)**

### **Reference**



## Unit - I

# Public Administration

Public administration has gained immense importance since the emergence of Administrative State. Its functions both in the capitalist and the socialist states have become manifold. It is an instrument not only for protecting and restraining but also fostering and promoting. In the words of L.D. White, "its nature, contents and scope all go to make it the heart of the problem of modern government". In developing democracies millions public administration has become the instrument of change and development and powerful agency for effecting national integration. With the ushering in of era of welfare states the administration is construed as a "moral act" and "administrator a moral agent". Public administration has become the machinery for formulating plans and programs and carrying them out. All this clearly reflects that Public Administration is imperative for all societies-developed or developing, dictatorial or democratic.

The English word 'administer' is derived from a combination of two Latin words *ad* and *ministrare* meaning 'to serve' or 'to manage'. Literally, the term 'administration' means management of affairs-public or private.

### Administration defined

The concept of administration is defined by various writers in the following ways:

Felix A. Nigro: Administration is the organization and use of men and materials to accomplish a purpose".

Herbert A. Simon: "In its broadest sense, administration can be defined as the activities of group cooperating to accomplish common goals."

Pfiffner: "Administration is the organization and direction of human and materials resources to achieve desired ends."

L.D. White: "The art of administration is the direction, co-ordination and control of many persons to achieve some purpose or objective."

The above definitions make it clear that administration has two essential elements, vize.; A collective effort and a common purpose. Administration is universal process and occurs in diverse institutional settings. Based on institutional setting,



## Unit - 2

# Theoretical Perspectives: Classical: Neo-Classical and Contemporary Theories

### Scientific Management Theory (F. W. Taylor)

The first coherent theory of organization is referred to as Scientific management which came to be formulated in the beginning of the twentieth century. Scientific management is a theory of management that analyzes and synthesizes workflows. Its main objective is improving economic efficiency, especially labour productivity. It was one of the earliest attempts to apply science to the engineering of processes to management. Scientific management is sometimes known as Taylorism after its founder, Fredrick Winslow Taylor.

Taylor began the theory's development in the United States during the 1880s and 1890s within manufacturing industries, especially steel. Its peak of influence came in the 1920s and 1930s. Although scientific management as a distinct theory or school of thought was obsolete by 1930s, most of its themes are still important parts of industrial engineering and management today.

### Characteristics

These are basic features of the theory of scientific management:

1. Scientific management is a systematic, analytical and objective approach to solve industrial problems.
2. It implies scientific techniques in methods of work, recruitment, selection and training of workers.
3. This theory attempts to discover the best methods of doing a work at the cheapest cost.
4. This theory discards the age old methods of rule of thumb and hit or trial approaches.
5. Scientific management theory involves complete change in the mental attitude of workers as well as management.
6. It lays emphasis on all factors of production, men, material and technology.



## Unit - III

# Public Policy

Public policy refers to the action or inaction of the government on an issue. It sets hierarchy by carrying out the choices of those with command of authority over the public. This makes public policy change very complex as various individuals, organizations and even the state have conflicting interest and practices.

### Concept public policy

Public policy is the principle guide to action taken by the administrative executive branches of the state with regard to a class of issues, in manner consistent with and institutional customs. Policy is in fact planning for action; it is getting ready, getting the sails to reach the desired destination. Proponents of evidence-based policy argue that high quality scientific evidence, rather than tradition, intuition or political ideology, should guide policy decision.

The foundation of public policy is composed of national constitutional law, regulations. Public policy is considered strong when it solves problems efficiently and effectively, serves and supports governmental institutions and policies, encourages active citizenship. Scholars define public policy as a system of "coordinated action, regulatory measures, laws and funding priorities concerning a given issue promulgated by governmental entity or its representatives". Public policy embodied in constitutions, legislative acts, and judicial decisions.

In the United States, this concept refers not only to the result of policies but more broadly to the decision-making and analysis of governmental decisions. Public policy making can be characterized as dynamic, complex, and interactive system through which public problems are identified and countered by creating new public policy or reforming existing public policy.

Public problems can originate in endless ways and require different policy responses on the local, national and international level. Public policy making is a continuous process that has many feedback loops. Verification and program evaluation are essential to the functioning of this system. Each system is influenced by different public problems and has different stakeholders; as such each requires different public policy. In public policy making, numerous individuals, corporations, non-profit



## Unit - IV

# Major Approaches in Public Administration

### New Public Administration (NPA)

New public Administration is a practiced theory in response to ever changing needs of the public and how institutions and administrations go about solving them. The 1960s and early 1970s were a turbulent period in the West, particularly in the United States. Like other social sciences such as psychology, sociology and political science, public administration was shaken and affected by this revolutionary period. According to T. Golembiewski, for public administrationists the 1960s were like a War. The earlier dogma of public administration-"economy" and "efficiency" were found inadequate and incomplete objectives of administrative activity.

During this period a section of the young scholars laid emphasis on values and ethics in public administration. To them efficiency is not the whole of public administration. The centre of all administrative activity is man- a are symbolized by efficiency. So, public administration must be value-oriented. This trend acquired the name "New Public Administration".

New Public Administration traces its origins to the first Minnowbrook Conference held in 1968 under the patronage of Dwight Waldo. This conference brought together the top scholars in public administration and management to discuss and reflect on the state of the field and its future. New public administration theory deals with the "democratic Citizenship", "Public Interest", "Public Policy", and "Services to Citizens".

### Features of New Public Administration

The main features of the new public administration are:

1. Responsiveness: The administration should bring about certain internal as well as external changes so that public administration could be made more relevant to the social, economic, political and technological environment.
2. Client centrality: This means that the effectiveness of the administrator should be judge not only from the point of view of the government, but from that of the citizens, if the administrative actions did not improve the quality of life of citizens then they are not effective notwithstanding whatsoever rationality and



## Unit - VI

# Personnel administration

Personnel administration is also popularly known as Human Resources Management. However, manpower itself does not contribute to the success or development of the organization, it has to be converted into human resources through systematic planning, adequate training and proper education. Human resource is converted to human capital through adequate administration and human resources are the most important and valuable asset and part of an organization as over time their value never depreciates.

With emergence of democratic institutions and the welfare state, government as well as corporate's tasks are on a steep increase and so there is an increased demand for personnel at every level in terms of efficient discharge of their duties.

Personnel administration deals with recruitment, placement, training, disciplinary measures, curbing nepotism and favouritism, monetary and non-monetary incentives and retirement benefits of the personnel within an organization as well as handle the nature of personnel relationships in the organization as well as assisting the top management in negotiating within labour unions. Personnel administration also includes all those activities and functions relating to policy formulation, planning, policy implementation, social change and modernization, administrative reforms and public relations in an organization.

In the era of welfare and developmental programs, personnel are now expected to be more efficient, effective, systematic and competent.

### Definitions

According to Dimock and Dimock, "Public personnel administration is the staff function which advises and facilitates the work of the programme manager in matters relating to the recruitment, development, motivation and training of employees, so as improve the morale and the effectiveness of the service".

According to Flix Nigro, "Public personnel administration is the art of selecting new employees and making use of old ones in such a manner that the maximum quality and quantity of output and service are obtained from the working force".

The Institute of Personnel Management in U.K. defined personnel management



## Unit - X

# Social Welfare Administration

Social welfare generally refers to states' services designed to protect citizens from the economic risks and insecurities of life. Social welfare is a matter of right rather than of need. Financing of states; social welfare programmes basically comes from public revenue. In this regard, social welfare is in one of the system of transfer payments to bridge the gap between the poor and the rich. In the modern era social welfare is often interpreted with a broad meaning to include public provisions of education, health, housing and public assistance.

Social welfare administration is a process through which social policy is transformed into social services. It involves the administration of public and private agencies.

John C. Kidneigh (1950) defines social welfare administration as the "process of transforming social policy into social services..a two way process: (i)...transforming policy into concrete social services and (ii) the use of experience in recommending modification of policy".

According to Walter A Friedlander (1958) "administration of social agencies translates the provisions of social legislation of social agencies and the aims of private philanthropy and religious charities into action programmes".

Harleigh Tracker (1971) interprets social welfare administration as a "process of working with people in ways that release and relate their energies so that they use all available resources to accomplish the purpose of providing needed community services and programmes".

Therefore, on the basis of above definitions, we find that it is a process which includes definite knowledge, understanding, principles and ways of interaction. Its main focus is on the suitability and accessibility of social services to the needy. Social work enables the process of administration through guidance, planning, stimulation, organization, creating structure, coordinating and research.

Rosemary Sarri (1971) has outlined the activities of social welfare administration as follows:

- 1) Translation of social mandates into operational policies and goals to guide organizational behavior;





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# তিৰা সমাজত এভূমুকি

সম্পাদক  
বিদ্যুৎ বিকাশ সেনাপতি



অসমীয়া সাহিত্য সমিলা



সন্মিলনী কেন্দ্ৰীয় গ্ৰন্থমালা ৫

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কীৰ্ত্তন তথাহি চৰিত্ৰ

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# সূচীপত্ৰ

১। অতীত আৰু বৰ্তমানৰ পটভূমিত তিৰাসকলৰ অৱস্থিতি	ভূপেশ দাৰফাং	১১
২। অসমৰ তিৱা (লালুং) সকলৰ ৰাজনৈতিক পৰিক্ৰমা	মনেশ্বৰ দেউৰী	২৫
৩। প্ৰাচীন 'গোভা ৰজাৰ বাৰি'ৰ ইতিহাস	চিত্ৰৰাম দেউৰী	৪০
৪। গোভাৰাজ্যৰ পুৰাতাত্ত্বিক সমলসমূহ	ধনদা কাকতি (আম্ফি)	৪৬
৫। জোঙালবলহ	মনেশ্বৰ দেউৰী	৫৪
৬। মহন ফাদৰ	হৰচিং খলাৰ	৭১
৭। ছামাদি	মহেশ্বৰ পাতৰ	৭৪
৮। বাৰপূজীয়াৰ তিৰাসকলৰ ন'বাৰ (বৰঘৰ)	সত্যজিৎ পাতৰ	৮১
৯। তিৱা জনগোষ্ঠীৰ ভূমি সমস্যা	ৰণজিৎ বৰদলৈ	৮৮
১০। ভৈয়ামৰ তিৰাসকলৰ জন্ম, মৃত্যু, বিবাহৰ কৰ্ম পদ্ধতি	বলাইৰাম সেনাপতি	৯৫
১১। একুঁকি তিৱা গীত	বিদ্যুৎ বিকাশ সেনাপতি	১২০
১২। পাহাৰৰ তিৰাসকলৰ খাদ্য	লালচিং মাদাৰ	১৭৬
১৩। ভৈয়ামৰ তিৰাসকলৰ লোকখাদ্য	বিদ্যুৎ বিকাশ সেনাপতি	১৮৭
১৪। তিৱা লোকচিকিৎসা	মনোজ কুমাৰ দেওৰজা	২০৩
১৫। তিৰাসকলৰ সাজপাৰ আৰু আ-অলংকাৰ	মনোজ কুমাৰ দেওৰজা	২১৩
১৬। তিৱা জনগোষ্ঠীৰ লোকবাদ্য	বিদ্যুৎ বিকাশ সেনাপতি	২২৩
১৭। তিৰাসকলৰ কথিত অসমীয়া ভাষা এক আলোকপাত	প্ৰদ্যুম্ন প্ৰতীম ৰাজখোৱা	২৩৭
১৮। তিৱা লিখিত সাহিত্যৰ ক্ৰমবিকাশ এটি পৰ্যালোচনা	জ্যোতিৰ্ময় বৰদলৈ	২৪২
১৯। জোনবিল মেলা : অতীত, বৰ্তমান আৰু ভৱিষ্যৎ	ধনদা কাকতি (আম্ফি)	২৫১
২০। ৰজা আৰু গোঁসাই উলিওৱা উৎসৱ	বিদ্যুৎ বিকাশ সেনাপতি	২৬২
২১। তিৱা জাতি আৰু পাতিডোল	চিৰাজ দেউৰী	২৭৬
২২। বৈষ্ণৱ ধৰ্ম আৰু তিৱাসমাজ	গীতাজলী খাটনীয়াৰ	২৮৬
২৩। তিৱা লোকনৃত্য	বিদ্যুৎ বিকাশ সেনাপতি	২৯০



# তিৱা জনগোষ্ঠীৰ ভূমি সমস্যা

ৰণজিৎ বৰদলৈ

অসমৰ গৰিষ্ঠ সংখ্যক তিৱা প্ৰধানতঃ নগাঁও, মৰিগাঁও আৰু কামৰূপ জিলাৰ পূব সমতল আৰু বনভূমিত বাস কৰে। কাৰ্বি আংলং জিলাৰ কাৰ্বিসকল ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ ষষ্ঠ অনুসূচী আধাৰৰ অন্তৰ্গত অঞ্চলত বাস কৰে যদিও গৰিষ্ঠ সংখ্যক ভৈয়ামৰ তিৱা ষষ্ঠ অনুসূচীৰ বহিৰ্ভূত অঞ্চলত বাস কৰি আহিছে। ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ সংশোধন আইনৰ জৰিয়তে ভৈয়ামৰ বড়োসকলৰ বাবে টেৰিটৰিয়াল কাউন্সিল গঠন কৰা ব্যৱস্থা কৰা হৈছে যদিও ভৈয়ামৰ তিৱাসকলৰ তেনে কোনো সাংবিধানিক সুকীয়া প্ৰশাসনৰ ব্যৱস্থা এতিয়ালৈকে কৰা হোৱা নাই।

অসমৰ তিৱা জনজাতিসকলৰ বিভিন্ন সমস্যাৰ ভিতৰত ভূমি সমস্যাও এক প্ৰধান সমস্যা। প্ৰাক স্বাধীনতাৰ কালছোৱাতে পৰা বিশেষকৈ ইয়াণ্ডাবু সন্ধিৰ দেৰ কুৰি মান বছৰৰ পিছৰ পৰাই তেওঁলোকে বিভিন্ন দেশী-বিদেশী শাসকৰ অন্যায়-অবিচাৰৰ বিৰুদ্ধে মাত-মাতি আহিছে। মাটি-বাৰী বলপূৰ্বক বে-দখলক কেন্দ্ৰ কৰি পমুৱা আৰু জনজাতি সকলৰ মাজত হোৱা সঘন মাৰ-পিট, কটা-মৰা সমূহে অশান্তি সৃষ্টি কৰাত বৃটিছ চৰকাৰে জনজাতিসকলৰ ভূমি সম্পত্তি সুৰক্ষাৰ বাবে ১৯২০ চনত নগাঁও, বৰপেটা মহকুমা একোটা ভৌগলিক সীমাৰেখাৰ জৰিয়তে পমুৱা আৰু থলুৱা মানুহ খিনিৰ বসতি স্থান ভাগ-ভাগ কৰি দিছিল। এই ভৌগলিক সীমাৰেখাৰে থলুৱা সকলৰ ভূমি নিৰাপত্তাৰ বাবে লোৱা ব্যৱস্থাকেই 'লাইন প্ৰথা' বুলি কোৱা

তিৱা সমাজত এভূমুকি /৮৮



হৈছিল আৰু এই 'লাইন প্ৰথা' ব্ৰটিছ সকলে যি সৎ উদ্দেশ্যৰে প্ৰবৰ্তন কৰিছিল, পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত সেই লাইন প্ৰথাই কোনো সাৰ্থক ফল নিদিলে। ১৯৪০ চনৰ লোকপিয়লৰ তথ্যৰ ওপৰত ভিত্তি কৰি যিবোৰ জনজাতি অধ্যুষিত মৌজা বা ব্লক আছিল, যি বিলাকত জনজাতি জনসংখ্যা ৫০ শতাংশ সেই সেই এলেকাসমূহক বেণ্ট বা ব্লক ৰূপে ঘোষণা কৰাৰ সিদ্ধান্ত চৰকাৰে গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল। শিক্ষা, সামাজিক, অৰ্থনৈতিক আৰু ৰাজনৈতিক ভাৱে পিছপৰা ষষ্ঠ অনুসূচী বহিৰ্ভূত অন্যান্য জনজাতি সকলৰ লগতে তিৱা জনজাতি অধ্যুষিত এলেকাৰ মাটি-বাৰী সমূহ যাতে কোনো কাৰণতে অ-জনজাতি লোকে অবৈধভাৱে বে-দখল, অধিগ্ৰহণ, কিনা-বেচা আদি কৰিব নোৱাৰে এই উদ্দেশ্য আগত ৰাখি ১৯৪৭ চনত স্বৰ্গীয় গোপীনাথ বৰদলৈৰ নেতৃত্বত ১৮৮৬ চনত অসম ভূমি আৰু ৰাজহ আইনৰ দশম অধ্যায় সংযোজন কৰি তেওঁলোকৰ ভূমি সুৰক্ষা ব্যৱস্থা কৰা হৈছিল। সহজ-সৰল, অনগ্ৰসৰ, অৰ্থনৈতিক ভাৱে পিছপৰা আৰু আদিম সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাবে জীৱন অতিবাহিত কৰি অহা অথচ যথেষ্ট পৰিমাণৰ কৃষি ভূমি তথা বস্তি মাটিৰ গৰাকী এই সংখ্যা গৰিষ্ঠ জনজাতি সকলৰ ভূমিসুৰক্ষাৰ বাবে ৰাজহ আইনৰ ১৬০ নং ধাৰাৰ ২ নং উপধাৰাৰ সংশোধন ঘটাই সমগ্ৰ অসমত ৩৫ টা জনজাতীয় আবেষ্টনী (বেণ্ট) আৰু খণ্ড (ব্লক) গঠন কৰিছিল। ১৯৬৪ চনলৈকে ২৪ টা ব্লক গঠন কৰা হৈছিল। সেই সময়ত প্ৰধানকৈ চৰকাৰী নাইবা বেচৰকাৰী ভাৱে অসমলৈ প্ৰব্ৰজন কৰা তদানীন্তন পূব বংগৰ মৈমনসিং জিলাৰ আৰু ছিলেট জিলাৰ লোক সকলৰ ভূমি আগ্ৰাসনৰ পৰা ৰক্ষা কৰাই আছিল মূল উদ্দেশ্য।

মৈমনসিংগীয়া প্ৰব্ৰজনকাৰী সকলৰ অত্যাধিক জনসংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি পাই অহাৰ লগে লগে চৰ অঞ্চল সমূহ ক্ৰমান্বয়ে সীমিত হৈ অহাৰ লগে লগে চৰকাৰী ৰিজাৰ্ভ, সংৰক্ষিত বনাঞ্চল সমূহ আনকি খিলঞ্জীয়া তিৱা বসতি প্ৰধান অঞ্চলৰ মাটি-বাৰী, গাঁও ভূমি পৰ্যন্ত প্ৰব্ৰজনকাৰীসকলে জোৰ দখল কৰি লৈছে। মৰিগাঁও জিলাৰ শুকুটিপোতা হাবি আজি সন্দেহ যুক্ত নাগৰিকৰ দখলত। জনজাতি আবেষ্টনীৰ ভিতৰত সুৰক্ষিত কেৱল এই শুকুটিপোতা হাবিতে ২৬০০ বিঘা ভূমি আজি আগ্ৰাসনত পতিত হৈছে। তিৱা জাতীয় সংগঠন সমূহ বিশেষকৈ তিৱা সন্মিলন আৰু সদৌ তিৱা ছাত্ৰ সন্থাই এনে আগ্ৰাসন বন্ধ কৰাৰ লগতে বেদখল উচ্ছেদ কৰিবলৈ দাবী জনাই আহিছে। কোৱা বাহুল্য জিলা প্ৰশাসনৰ পৰা যাৱতীয় উচ্ছেদ সম্পৰ্কীয় জাননী জাৰি কৰা হৈছে যদিও বাস্তৱ ক্ষেত্ৰত ই কাৰ্যকৰী হোৱা নাই। এনে অৱস্থা পাইছেগৈ যে, খেতি পথাৰলৈ আহ-যাহ কৰা ৰাস্তা ঘাটতো এই আগ্ৰাসী সন্দেহ জনক নাগৰিকে

তিৱা সমাজত এভূমুকি / ৮৯



আজি অবৈধ ভাৱে ঘৰ সাজিবলৈ সাহস কৰিছে। স্থানীয় সহজ-সৰল আদিম তিৰা সকলে তেওঁলোকক উচ্ছেদ কৰিবলৈ গৈ ওলোটাই নিজেই হত্যাকাৰী, ডকাইত আদিৰে অভিযুক্ত হৈ জেল-হাজোতত দিন অতিবাহিত কৰা আদি ঘটনা ঘটিছে। মৰিগাঁও জিলাৰ সীমামূৰীয়া চৰ অঞ্চল সাতৰবড়ি পাম, বাকলি বড়ি, বামুনজাৰি, বঙাপাৰা, কছাৰীজান, গাগলমাড়ী, গজান(খ), পানী কাউৰী (খ), ১ নং শুকুতিপোতা হাবি, কালিকা জাৰি, হাৰিয়া পাৰ, বৌমাৰী, আদি গাঁও সমূহ লগতে বৃহৎ অঞ্চল আজি এনে নাগৰিকৰ দ্বাৰা সম্পূৰ্ণ ভাৱে আগ্ৰাসন চলিছে আৰু ভূমি পুত্ৰ তিৰা সকল আজি নিজ গৃহৰ পৰাই উচ্ছেদ হৈছে। এইবোৰ গাঁৱত আজি এজনো তিৰা জাতিৰ নাগৰিক পাবলৈ নাই। অতীজৰে পৰা সহজ-সৰল স্বাভাৱিক জীৱন অতিবাহিত কৰি অহা এই কৃষিজীৱি তিৰা জনজাতি সকলে আজি যুগ-যুগ ধৰি পাই অহা জান-জুৰি, পানী, মাছ-কাছ, প্ৰাকৃতিক সম্পদসমূহৰ অধিকাৰ সম্পূৰ্ণ ভাৱে হেৰুৱাই পেলাইছে। কাজিয়া তথা উগ্ৰতাক সদায় এৰাই চলা, আইন, প্ৰশাসনৰ জটিলতাৰ পৰা আঁতৰি থকা, অৰ্থনৈতিক ভাৱে দুৰ্বল ৰাজনৈতিকভাৱে অ-সুৰক্ষিত সহজ-সৰল তিৰাসকলৰ বাবে ইয়াতকৈ দুখ লগা কি হ'ব পাৰে। সোণাপুৰৰ ট্ৰাইবেল বেলেটৰ অন্তৰ্গত যোগদল গাঁৱত ভূ-মাফিয়াই ২০০৯ চনৰ ১৩ ডিচেম্বৰ তাৰিখে একে পৰিয়ালৰ ৬ জনকৈ তিৰা সদস্যক মূৰ কাটি হত্যা কৰিছিল। ভূমি স্বত্বাধিকাৰী হৰকান্ত দলৈৰ পৰিবাৰ স্বপ্না দলৈৰ ভাষ্যমতে এটা ভূ মাফিয়া চক্ৰই তেওঁলোকক অহৰহ আক্ৰমণৰ লক্ষ্যকৰি লৈছিল। এই কথা স্বয়ং অপৰাধ অনুসন্ধান বিভাগৰ সন্মুখত দিয়া স্বপ্না দলৈৰ উক্তি। এখন ইংৰাজী দৈনিক কাকতৰ মতে অসমৰ জনজাতিৰ ১৭ টা বেলেট আৰু ৩০ টা ব্লকৰ ৮২, ১৪, ৯৮৫ বিঘা ভূমিৰ ১,৯৩, ৯৭৮ বিঘা ২ কঠা ৭ লোচা ভূমি আজি বলপূৰ্বক ভাৱে আনে দখল কৰিছে। ভাৰতীয় জনতা পাৰ্টিৰ এজন বিধায়কৰ প্ৰশ্ন উত্তৰত এই তথ্য অসমৰ এগৰাকী ৰাজহ মন্ত্ৰীয়ে বিধান সভাৰ বাজেট অধিবেশনত মুকলিকৈ প্ৰকাশ কৰিছে। ইয়াৰে কেৱল নগাঁও জিলাতে ১, ৬৮, ৯৬১ বিঘা, ১,৩০, ১৯৩ বিঘা; মৰিগাঁৱত ১৮৯ বিঘা ২ কঠা, কামৰূপ জিলা মেট্ৰ আৰু ২২,৫১৬ বিঘা ১ কঠা ৫ লোছা কামৰূপ গ্ৰাম্যত বলপূৰ্বকভাৱে দখল কৰা হৈছে। এয়া মাথোঁ চৰকাৰী তথ্য। জনজাতি বেলেট ব্লকৰ কথা বাদেই অন্য যিবোৰ মূল্যবান কৃষি উপযোগী ভূমি আছে সেই বোৰতো বলপূৰ্বক দখল হোৱা পৰিমাণ আৰু অধিক হোৱাটো নিশ্চিত আৰু ইয়াৰ প্ৰকৃত হিচাপ দিয়াটো বৰ্তমান সম্ভৱ নহয়। ভূমিপুত্ৰ খিলঞ্জীয়া জনজাতিৰ নিজ ভূমিক সংৰক্ষণৰ আইন আছে আৰু থাকিবই লাগিব। তিৰা জনজাতিয়ে নিজ ভূমি ৰক্ষা নকৰিলে অদূৰ ভৱিষ্যতে নৱপ্ৰজন্ম ভূমিহীন হৈ নিঃশ্চিন্ত তিৰা সমাজত এভূমুকি /৯০



হৈ যাব। ই ভাৰতীয় সংবিধানৰ তথা আন্তঃৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় আইনৰ কাম্য নহয়।

একেদৰে ভাৰত চৰকাৰ তথা অসম চৰকাৰে য'তেই ভূমিপুত্ৰ জনজাতি সকল যুগ যুগ ধৰি বাস কৰি আহিছে তাতেই চৰকাৰী তথাকথিত উদ্যোগ, অনুষ্ঠান-প্ৰতিষ্ঠান স্থাপন কৰাকে ধৰি ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় ঘাই পথ নিৰ্মাণ ও সম্প্ৰসাৰণ, বৃহৎ উদ্যোগ স্থাপন, চিমেন্ট ফেক্টৰী, কুক ফেক্টৰী, আনকি যথেষ্ট-মধ্যে কিছুমান অনুমতি বিহীন ইটা ভাটা আদি নিৰ্মাণ কৰিছে আৰু এনেদৰে ভূমি আগ্ৰাসনৰ ফলত আদিম জনজাতি সকল পদে পদে নিজ পৈতৃক ভূমিতে প্ৰতাৰিত হৈছে, উচ্ছেদিত হৈছে। আজি ভূমিহীন কৃষক-শ্ৰমিক সকলে তথাকথিত উদ্যোগ সমূহত বিপদ সংকুল পৰিৱেশত দিন-হাজিৰা কৰিছে। জাগীৰোডত হিন্দুস্থান কাগজ কল স্থাপনৰ নামত হাজাৰ হাজাৰ তিৰা জনজাতি পৰিয়ালক উচ্ছেদ কৰা হৈছে। কামৰূপ জিলাৰ সোণাপুৰ আৰু ডিমৰীয়াত উদ্যোগ স্থাপনৰ নামত এচাম পুঁজিপতি ব্যৱসায়ীয়ে চৰকাৰী নীতি-নিয়ম, আইন-কানুনক উলংঘা কৰি শ-শ বিঘা জনজাতি আৱেষ্টনীৰ মাটি হস্তগত কৰি আছে। কামৰূপ, নগাঁও আৰু মৰিগাঁও জিলাৰ খেতি উপযোগী বহুমূল্যবান তিৰা জনজাতীয় ভূমি সমূহৰ যেনেদৰে আগ্ৰাসন চলিছে হয়তো এদিন তিৰা জনজাতি সকলৰ মাটি-বাৰীৰ লগতে তেওঁলোকৰ ভাষা-সংস্কৃতি, পৰম্পৰা সমূহো এদিন একেবাৰে নাইকিয়া হ'ব। চৰকাৰী তথাকথিত উন্নয়নৰ নামত হাজাৰ হাজাৰ তিৰা জনজাতি উচ্ছেদ হৈছে। বিশেষকৈ কামৰূপ জিলা, জাগীৰোড হৈ নগাঁও শেহতীয়াকৈ কৰা ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় ঘাই পথ সম্প্ৰসাৰণ, জাগীৰোড মৰিগাঁও সংযোগী পথ আদি সম্প্ৰসাৰণে হাজাৰ হাজাৰ বিঘা তিৰা জনজাতিৰ ভূমি অধিগ্ৰহণ কৰা হৈছে। সংস্থাপনৰ নামত তেওঁ লোকক ভূমিৰ পৰিৱৰ্তে ভূমি দিয়াৰ ব্যৱস্থা নকৰি নগদ ধন দিয়া ব্যৱস্থা কৰা হৈছে যদিও কৃষি প্ৰধান জনজাতীয় কৃষক সকল আজি ভূমিহীন, কৰ্মহীন শ্ৰমিক ৰূপত অৱতীৰ্ণ হৈছে। নিজেই জংঘল, হাবি কাটি বাসোপযোগী কৰি তোলা ভূমি এৰি তিৰা জনজাতি সকল পুনৰ পাহাৰ-জংঘললৈ ঢাপলি মেলিব লগা হৈছে। লক্ষ্য কৰিলে দেখা যায় মৰিগাঁও জিলাৰ বঘৰা পাহাৰৰ ওপৰত আজি তিৰা জনজাতি সকলৰ বাসস্থানৰ সংখ্যা ক্ৰমাগত ভাৱে বাঢ়িবলৈ লৈছে এনেবোৰ কাৰণতে। এয়া মাত্ৰ এটা উদাহৰণহে। পাহাৰৰ শিল, গছ-গছনি প্ৰাকৃতিক উৎস সমূহ হৈছে আজি তেওঁলোকৰ জীয়াই থকাৰ একমাত্ৰ সমল। জনজাতি সকলৰ ভূমি সুৰক্ষাৰ হেতু আইনৰ কটকটীয়া ব্যৱস্থা থকা স্বত্ত্বেও ভূমি আগ্ৰাসী পমুৱা আৰু থলুৱা অজনজাতিৰ লগতে চৰকাৰী বিষয়া আমোলা আৰু ৰাজনৈতিক নেতা-পালিনেতাৰ পাকচক্ৰত পৰি জনজাতি সকলৰ ভূমিৰ অধিকাৰ সুৰক্ষা আৰু নিৰপত্তা ব্যৱস্থাত অনেক সমস্যাৰ তিৰা সমাজত এভূমুকি /৯১



সৃষ্টি হৈছে।

কিয় এই জনজাতিসকলৰ ভূমিৰ ওপৰত সকলোৰে ইমান হেঁচা? জনজাতীয় আবেষ্টনী আৰু খণ্ডৰ চৰকাৰী আৰু বে-চৰকাৰী খণ্ডৰ উদ্যোগ তথা প্ৰকল্প স্থাপনৰ নামত আৰণ্টন দিয়াৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত চৰকাৰী বাধা নিষেধাজ্ঞা থকাৰ পিছতো কেনেকৈ এই বৃহৎ উদ্যোগ তথা প্ৰকল্প সমূহ স্থাপন কৰিবলৈ সক্ষম হয়? যি সময়ত সমগ্ৰ অসম আৰু অসমীয়া জাতিৰ জাতীয় অস্তিত্ব অবৈধ বিদেশী নাগৰিকৰ আশ্ৰাসনৰ দ্বাৰা বিপন্ন হোৱা বুলি জন সাধাৰণ ৰাজপথলৈ ওলাই আহিছে সেই একে সময়তে স্বদেশী পুঁজিপতি ব্যৱসায়ী, চৰকাৰী আমোলা-বিষয়া, মন্ত্ৰী-বিধায়ক, ৰাজহচক্ৰ বিষয়া আৰু দালাল শ্ৰেণীৰ আশ্ৰাসনত কিয় খিলঞ্জীয়া সকল অস্তিত্বৰ সংকটত ভুগিব লগা হৈছে? কিয় অসম ৰাজহ আৰু ভূমি আইনৰ দশম অধ্যায়ৰ আধাৰত চৰকাৰ তথা প্ৰশাসনে কোনো প্ৰতিৰোধৰ ব্যৱস্থা ল'ব পৰা নাই?

বনগাঁও আৰু টঙ্গীয়া গাঁওসমূহত বছৰ বছৰ ধৰি বহু তিৱা লোক বাস কৰি আহিছে যদিও উপযুক্ত ভূমি অধিকাৰ আৰু কাগজ পাতি নথকা হেতুকে সেই-সেই অঞ্চলত সামাজিক, অৰ্থনৈতিক, ৰাজনৈতিক, শৈক্ষিক আদিৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত তেওঁলোক অৱহেলিত হৈ আহিছে। অসমৰ অন্যান্য জিলাৰ লগতে মৰিগাঁও জিলাৰ পশ্চিম ধৰমতুল বনাঞ্চলতেই ২৭ খন বনগাঁওত প্ৰায় ১৩০০ ৰো অধিক পৰিয়াল বাস কৰি আহিছে। বছৰ বছৰ ধৰি বনাঞ্চলত বাস কৰি অহাৰ বিনিময়ত তেওঁলোকে প্ৰয়োজন অনুসৰি গছপুলি ৰোপন, জংঘল চাফা কৰাকে ধৰি প্ৰতিটো পৰিয়ালে বনবিভাগক শ্ৰম দান কৰি আহিছে। ২০০৬ চনৰ অনুসূচীত জনজাতি আৰু অন্যান্য পাৰস্পৰিক অৰণ্যবাসীৰ অধিকাৰ আইনৰ জৰিয়তে বংশানুক্ৰমিক ভাৱে অৰণ্য বা হাবিত বাস কৰি অহা জনজাতি আৰু অন্যান্য পাৰস্পৰিক অৰণ্যবাসীক সংস্থাপন নাইবা বাসস্থানৰ সুৰক্ষাৰ চিন্তা কৰা হৈছে। কিন্তু পৰিতাপৰ কথাটো হ'ল তেওঁলোকক প্ৰদান কৰা এনে অৰণ্য অধিকাৰে তেওঁলোকক ভূমি অধিকাৰ দিয়া হোৱা নাই। ফলস্বৰূপে চৰকাৰী ৰাজহুৱা অনুষ্ঠান সমূহ স্থাপন কৰাটো বাদেই বৰ্তমান শিক্ষিত ছাত্ৰ-ছাত্ৰীৰ লগতে সৰ্বসাধাৰণ ৰাইজ চৰকাৰী ঋণ-অনুদান, ৰাজহ অনাদায় প্ৰমাণ পত্ৰ, বছৰেকীয়া আয়ৰ প্ৰমাণ পত্ৰ, স্থায়ী বাসিন্দাৰ প্ৰমাণ পত্ৰ আৰু অন্যান্য চৰকাৰী সা-সুবিধাৰ পৰাও বঞ্চিত হৈ আহিছে। উপযুক্ত শিক্ষানুষ্ঠান বৈদ্যুতিক কৰণৰ অভাৱ, উপযুক্ত খোৱা পানীৰ অভাৱ, স্বাস্থ্য আৰু যাতায়তৰ অভাৱ, কৃষি জলসিঞ্চনৰ অভাৱ আদি ইমান বোৰ সমস্যাৰ মূলতেই হ'ল বনগাঁও ৰাইজৰ ভূমি সমস্যা। ভৈয়ামৰ বেণ্ট ৱকৰ কথা বাদেই, অন্যান্য মুক্ত অঞ্চলতো যুগ যুগ ধৰি পিতৃ-পিতামহৰ দিনৰে পৰা তিৱা সমাজত এডুমুকি /৯২



ভোগ দখল কৰি অহা তিৰা জনজাতি সকলৰ ভূমি প্ৰকৃত ভূমি অধিকাৰৰ পৰা বঞ্চিত তৌজী বাহীৰ একচনা হৈ থকাটো কেৱল তিৰা জনজাতি সকল একপক্ষীয় ভাৱে দায়ী নহয়, ইয়াৰ বাবে তথাকথিত জনপ্ৰিয় চৰকাৰ তথা ৰাজহ বিভাগৰ বিষয়া কৰ্মচাৰীসকলো কোনো কাৰণতে দোষ মুক্ত নহয়।

এতিয়া আহোঁ আন্তৰ্জাতিক সংস্থা আৰু আইনৰ প্ৰসঙ্গলৈ। প্ৰগতিৰ কোবাল সোঁতত টিকিব নোৱাৰি বিশ্বৰ বুকুৰ পৰা এতিয়া লৈকে প্ৰায় ৫০০ টা মান এনে খিলঞ্জীয়া সম্প্ৰদায় বিলুপ্ত হৈছে বুলি ৰাষ্ট্ৰসংঘই থিৰাং কৰিছে। বিশ্বায়নৰ ত্ৰাসত পৰি এই সংখ্যা আৰু বাঢ়িব পাৰে বুলি সংশয় কৰিয়েই হয়তো ৰাষ্ট্ৰসংঘৰ সাধাৰণ পৰিষদে ২০০৭ চনৰ ১৩ চেপ্তেম্বৰত খিলঞ্জীয়া লোকৰ সুৰক্ষা আৰু অধিকাৰ সম্পৰ্কত এখন যুগজয়ী ঘোষণা পত্ৰত স্বাক্ষৰ কৰিছিল। এই ঘোষণা পত্ৰই প্ৰদান কৰা প্ৰধান বিষয় বিলাক হৈছে আন্তৰ্জাতিক মানৱ আইন প্ৰদত্ত সকলো অধিকাৰ-অনুচ্ছেদ-১, সকলো প্ৰকাৰৰ নেতি বাচক বৈষম্যৰ বিপৰীতে সম অধিকাৰ। অনুচ্ছেদ-২, আত্মনিয়ন্ত্ৰণৰ অধিকাৰ যাৰ জৰিয়তে তেওঁলোকে নিজা সুকীয়া ৰাজনৈতিক মৰ্যদা, আৰ্থিক-সামাজিক আৰু সাংস্কৃতিক স্বতন্ত্ৰতা অক্ষুণ্ণ ৰাখিব পাৰিব। অনুচ্ছেদ-৩, নিজা সুকীয়া ৰাজনৈতিক-সামাজিক-সাংস্কৃতিক সত্তাৰ শক্তিশালী আৰু প্ৰতিপালন কৰা অধিকাৰ। অনুচ্ছেদ-৫, ৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় কৰণৰ অধিকাৰ। অনুচ্ছেদ-৬, সুকীয়া সম্প্ৰদায় হিচাবে মুক্ত, শান্তি আৰু নিৰাপদ ভাৱে জীয়াই থকাৰ সামগ্ৰিক অধিকাৰ। অনুচ্ছেদ-৭, নিজৰ পৰম্পৰাগত প্ৰথা আৰু আইন অনুসৰি জাতি আৰু ব্যক্তি হিচাপে বৰ্তি থকাৰ অধিকাৰ, জোৰ-জুলুম বা বলপ্ৰয়োগৰ দ্বাৰা নিজৰ বসতি এলেকাৰ পৰা স্থানান্তৰ কৰাৰ বিৰুদ্ধে অধিকাৰ। অনুচ্ছেদ-১০, নিজা পৰম্পৰা তথা প্ৰথাৰ পুনৰ জীৱিত কৰা আৰু অনুশীলন কৰাৰ অধিকাৰ। অনুচ্ছেদ-১১, নিজা সাংস্কৃতিক পৰম্পৰা- ইতিহাস আৰু আশা-আকাঙ্ক্ষা সম্প্ৰসাৰণ তথা মূল্যায়নৰ অধিকাৰ। অনুচ্ছেদ-১৭, স্ব-জাতিৰ উন্নয়নৰ বাবে প্ৰয়োজনীয় কৌশল আৰু সিদ্ধান্ত গ্ৰহণৰ অধিকাৰ। অনুচ্ছেদ-২৩, নিজা বসতি এলেকাৰ সংৰক্ষণ-প্ৰত্যাহৰ্তন আৰু উৎপাদনশীল শক্তিৰ উৎসৰ প্ৰতিপালনৰ অধিকাৰ। ভাৰতবৰ্ষও ৰাষ্ট্ৰসংঘৰ এখন স্বীকৃতি প্ৰাপ্ত সদস্য ৰাষ্ট্ৰৰ লগতে এই ঘোষণা পত্ৰৰে অংশীদাৰ হিচাপে নিজ দেশৰ ঘৰুৱা আইনত ইয়াক সন্নিবিষ্ট কৰি বলবৎ কৰিবলৈ বদ্ধপৰিকৰ। ৰাষ্ট্ৰসংঘৰ সাধাৰণ পৰিষদে ঘোষণা কৰা এই সকলোবোৰ অধিকাৰ অসমৰ খিলঞ্জীয়া সকলৰ লগতে বিশেষকৈ তিৰাসকলৰ সুৰক্ষাৰ স্বার্থতেই প্ৰদান কৰাটো অতি জৰুৰী হৈ পৰিছে। ইতিমধ্যেই তিৰাসকল ভূমিকে ধৰি নিজা ভাষা, সংস্কৃতি পৰম্পৰা, ৰাজনৈতিক

তিৰা সমাজত এডুমুকি /৯৩



হেঁপাহ হেৰুৱাই পেলাইছে। ভৈয়ামৰ তথাকথিত জনপ্ৰিয় চৰকাৰী আইন আদি যদি ফাইলতে বন্দী হৈ থাকে, বিষয়া কৰ্মচাৰীসকলে সেইবোৰ উচিতাৰ্থত প্ৰয়োগ নকৰে, তেতিয়া কল্যাণমূলক আইন কানুনেও জনগণৰ কল্যাণ সাধিব নোৱাৰে। বিশ্বৰ লুপ্তপ্ৰায় সম্প্ৰদায়সমূহৰ লগত একীভূত হৈ যাবলৈ খিলঞ্জীয়া তিৱা জনজাতিসকলৰ বেছি দিন নালাগিব। তিৱা জনজাতিৰ অস্তিত্ব ৰক্ষাৰ বাবে বৰ্তমান ৰাজনৈতিক, অৰ্থনৈতিক, সাংস্কৃতিক, ভাষা পৰম্পৰা অধিকাৰ ৰক্ষাৰ লগতে ভূমি আৰু প্ৰাকৃতিক সম্পদৰ অধিকাৰ সুৰক্ষা অতিকৈ প্ৰয়োজন হৈ পৰিছে। খিলঞ্জীয়া ভূমিপুত্ৰ তিৱা জনজাতিসকল আজি নিজ অধিকাৰৰ পৰা বঞ্চিত আৰু অৱহেলিত। ক্ষোভত গঢ়ি উঠা বিভিন্ন জাতীয় গণতান্ত্ৰিক আন্দোলনসমূহৰ এক অন্যতম ভিত্তি ভূমি অধিকাৰ কেন্দ্ৰিক আৰু এই গণতান্ত্ৰিক আন্দোলনসমূহৰ যুক্তি-যুক্ততা বিচাৰ কৰিবলৈ চৰকাৰ তথা বুদ্ধিজীৱীসকলৰ সময় সমাগত।



# Local Self Government In India



Ranjit Bordoloi



# **LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA**

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# CONTENT

<b>Unit I: Local government</b>	<b>7</b>
a) Local Government and Local-Self Government	
b) Significance of Local Government	
c) Local and Rural Local Self-Governance	
<b>Unit II. Evolution of Local Governance in India-Rural and Urban</b>	<b>20</b>
a) Local Governance in Ancient India	
b) Local Governance in Pre-independent India	
c) Local Governance in Post- Independence India	
<b>Unit III: 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment and Rural Governance in India</b>	<b>25</b>
a) Assam and Panchayati Raj Institutions	
b) Role of panchayat in social mobilization and participation for development	
c) Zila Panchayat, Anchalik Panchayat, Gaon Panchayat and Gaon sabha	
d) Womens participation and Reservation	
e) PRIs and Micro planning	
f) Weaknesses of 73 <sup>rd</sup> Amendment	
<b>Unit IV: Local Self-Government in NE states and defects of Panchayati Raj System in India</b>	<b>43</b>



**Unit V: Urbanization****48**

- a) Problems and challenges of urbanization
- b) Factors responsible for people's non-participation in urban government
- c) Measures to promote people's participation in civic affairs

**Unit VI. 74rth Amendment and Urban Governance in India****57**

- d) Municipal Corporation
- e) Municipal Council
- f) Nagar Panchayat
- g) Gauhati Municipal Corporation

**Unit VII. Role of Committees and Commissions****82**

- a) District Planning Committee and Metropolitan Planning Committee
- b) State Election Commission
- c) State Finance Commission

**Unit VIII. Strengthening Democratic Functioning of the Panchayats****95**

- d) Participation at Village level, action plan and participatory method
- e) Gram Sabha & Social Audit
- f) E-Panchayat
- g) Devolution

**Unit IX. Panchayat Finance and Accounting****108**

- a) Constitutional Provisions on Panchayat Finances
- b) Panchayat Accounting System



- c) Fiscal Decentralization and Audit System
- d) Audit of Assam Local Funds Accounts

**Unit X. Problems and Needs of disadvantaged group and their Participation** 123

- a) Women & Panchayats
- b) Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste and Minorities
- c) Panchayat extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act

**Unit XI. Sixth Schedule administration in North East India: Article 244 (2) and 275 (I)** 129

**Unit XII. State Control and Supervision over Rural Local Government** 147

- a) Executive, Legislative, Financial and Judicial Control

**Reference** 154



## Unit : I

# Local Government

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Local Government bottom of a pyramid of governmental institutions with the national government at the top and the intermediate government i.e. state government. Local government is an integral part of the three-tier system of government in our country such as, the national government, state government and the local government. Historically too it older than the other levels of government and operates at the lowest grass root level of the society. Local government operates both in urban and rural areas and is therefore designated as urban local government and rural local government, respectively. The former manifests itself in urban local government institutions such as municipal corporations, municipal committees, nagar panchayats and the later in rural local government institutions comprising zilaparishads, panchayat samities, gram panchayat and gram sabhas. Sometimes it is referred to as local self-government.

### **Definition of local government**

Local government has been defined by numerous ways, scholars and political scientist as follows:

It has been defined in the Encyclopedia Britannica as “an authority to determine and execute measures within a restricted area inside and smaller than the whole state. The variant local self-government is important for its emphasis on the freedom to decide and act.”

John J. Clarke define, “Local government appears to be



## Unit - II

# Evolution of Local Governance in India-Rural and Urban

---

### Ancient period

The institution of Panchayati Raj is not new to India. It existed since the earliest times. We have ample references that about the panchayats in Manusmriti, Arthashastra and Mahabharata. During the Muslim rule also the system continued to operate unobstructed. Arthashastra of Kautilya gives a comprehensive account of the system of village administration prevailing in his time. The village was the basic unit of administration in the Vedic period. The Vedic polity consisted of two popular assemblies namely the 'Sabha' and the 'Samiti'. The samiti enjoyed the powers of electing the King, while the sabha indulged in judicial functions. During the period of Mughals, Akbar it was autonomous in its own sphere and exercised powers of local taxation, administrative control, justice and punishment.

### Pre-independence period

The state system, after the advent of the British, emerged as a highly centralized set up the form adopted during the British rule was an admixture of the British and continental pattern. From 1970 Viceroy Lord Mayo's resolution gave the needed impetus to the government policy on decentralization can, however, be attributing to Lord Rippon who, in his famous resolution on local self-government on May 18, 1882,



## Unit - III

### The 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act:

---

The 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional (Amendment) Act. was passed in 1992 by the NarasimhaRao government, came into force on April 24, 1993. It was meant to provide constitutional sanction to establish "democracy at the grassroots level as it is at the state level or national level". Its main features are as follows:

- 1) The Gram Sabha or Village assembly as a deliberative body to decentralized governance has been envisaged as the foundation of the Panchayat Raj System. 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment of the Constitution empowered the Gram Sabha to conduct social audits in addition to its other functions.
- 2) A uniform three-tier structure of panchayat at village (Gram Panchayat-GP), intermediate (Panchayat Samiti-PS) and district (Zila Parishad-ZP) levels;
- 3) All the seats in a panchayat at every level are to be filled by elections from respective territorial constituencies;
- 4) Not less than one-third of the total seats for membership as well as office of chairpersons of each tier have to be reserved for women;
- 5) Reservation for weaker castes and tribes (SC/ST) have to be provided at all levels in proportion to their population in the panchayat;
- 6) To supervise direct and control the regular and smooth



## **Unit - XII**

### **State control and supervision over rural local government**

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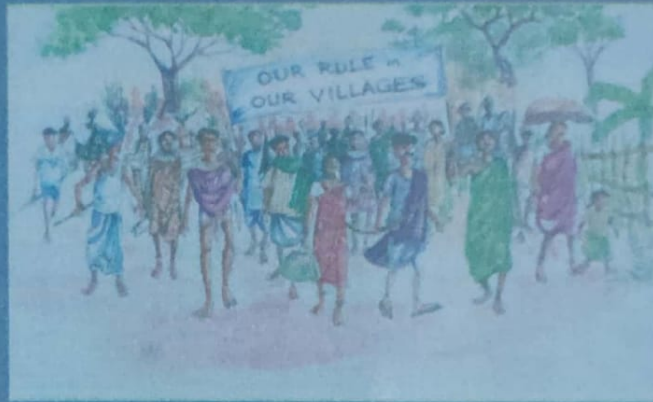
Local Government depends for resources upon state of the system of government from the union to the local level. Therefore, there is a need of control and supervision over them to keep them on track.

Local bodies being the creation of the State or Central governments are non-sovereign bodies; hence, the concerned Government exercises control and supervision over them with a view to securing proper performance of the functions entrusted to these bodies.

The goal as well as the purpose of state control should be the development of local self-governing institutions into efficient instruments of administration, capable of formulating policies and of executing them. State control may be justified on the grounds of efficiency, weaning them away from local interest, minimizing regional imbalances, augmentation of finances, providing expert knowledge and technical skills, safeguarding national interests in their embryonic stages and above all, for facilitating sound socio-economic planning.

An analysis of different views suggests that there should be neither too much control by Government nor total autonomy of rural local Government but there should be a partnership between them so that they can get benefit from each other.





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# **FOLK BELIEFS & ORAL LITERATURE**

*(North East Region of India)*

*Editor :  
Dr. Al Kafil Choudhury GM*



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## CONTENTS

Topic	Author	Page No
◆ Folk culture of Hills Tiwa Tribes of West Karbi Anglong in Assam	- <i>Kangkana Dekaraja</i>	1
◆ Karbi Dirge - Guiding the Departed Soul to the Land of Ancestors and the Role of Karbi Women	- <i>Karon Hansepi &amp; Welsing Hanse</i>	8
◆ The Wanshuwa Festival of the Marjongwali and Amkhawali Tiwas	- <i>Dr. Lakhinanda Bordoloi</i>	29
◆ Namghar: A Traditional Religious and Socio-Cultural Institution of Assam	- <i>Mukut Laskar</i>	39
◆ Folk Way of life of the Tiwa Women: continuity and modernity	- <i>Ranjit Bordoloi</i>	48
◆ The Traditional Folk Medicine used by Various Tribal Groups of Assam for Remedial Purposes of Ailments	- <i>Md. Abdur Rashid</i>	56
◆ A Study on the Cultural Assimilation and Traditional Crafts of The North East India	- <i>Dr. N.I. Barbhuyan</i>	61
◆ Folk Belief And Superstition: A Study Of Mamang Dai's The Legends Of Pensam	- <i>Swastika Nath</i>	71
◆ Oral Narrative and Paradox of Marriage System among the Karbis in Assam of Northeast India	- <i>Ms. Junmoni Hansepi</i>	80
◆ Prevalence of Blind Faith and Superstitions in the Present Day: A Discussion	- <i>Dr. Al Kafil Choudhury Dr. Abu Reja Md. Parvis</i>	97
◆ Rituals and Beliefs of the Karbis	- <i>Bishwarupa Engtipi</i>	104



## **Folk Way of life of the Tiwa Women: continuity and modernity**

Ranjit Bordoloi  
Asst. Prof. in Political Science  
Dhing College

### **Introduction**

Women in Tiwa society enjoy a position of respect and grace both in plains as well as in hills. There is no domination of one sex over the other. Tiwas are matrilineal tribe in hills and patriarchal in the plains of Assam. There are however, some ecological variation between those living in the hills and those in plains. The Tiwa women are skilled, industrious, courageous, and play significant role to their family as well to social life. Though the modern Tiwas strengthened the values of patriarchy the women even today have significant position in socio-cultural, political, and economic activities within the society. Now, the fact is that there is changing of continuity and modernity in the way of life. A number of female workers have been engaged in different local industries especially in plains and as private daily wage labourer for maintaining their family expenditure. What are the ways of folk based traditional life style and how women participate in various social activities along with men? How the modern development affects their socio-cultural and economic activities? The objective of this paper is to understand and analyze the traditional, social, cultural, political, and economic activities of Tiwa women along with men within the society and how modernity



has influenced their position. The analysis is based on secondary sources of information, personal observation together with informal talk with Tiwa intellectuals.

### **Continuity and modernity of Tiwa women:**

Some of the parameters relating to continuity and modernity of Tiwa women are quantum of work load, spinning and weaving, clothing, foods, property inheritance, marriage system, decision making process, education, economic position etc.

### **Daily work load**

Daily works of a Tiwa woman starts from early morning. The work culture is the age-old belief of the Tiwas and women are accustomed with hard working. The Tiwa women prove themselves as self-dependent. The Tiwa women perform primary work as house wife as well as child care duties with men and the girls are required to help their elders in all activities according to their age. Along with agriculture, the allied activities like animal husbandry, piggery, poultry, traders and sellers, expertise sericulture, good weavers etc. are important work done by Tiwa woman and that's also sources of earning for majority of Tiwa woman. With all traditional, cultural rituals functions the women must join with men i.e. both are integral parts of the social life. In contemporary situation, in some areas particularly rural areas the women work in industry as labourer. A very few educated women do government jobs.

### **Spinning and Weaving**

Knowledge of colourful weaving is considered as a qualification for prospective brides. In the plain areas, they are not considered fit for marriage if they do not know the art of weaving such as *Mekhela*, *chador*, *gamucha* etc. In hills, they weave



*phaskai*, *kasong*, *taglaa*, *taanaa*, *aanhola* etc. Mothers generally train their daughters in the art of weaving at a tender age.

### **Clothing**

Both men and women wear different coloured clothes which are generally woven by women. Traditional Tiwa women wear dress comprises of *phaskai*, *kaasong*, *nasash*, *juskai*, and *philing blouse*. Young girls wear frocks, ribbons, hair clips cosmetics etc. Hills Tiwa women are traditionally known to wear clothes of bright colours- red, green and black. Now educated Tiwa girls have started wearing *saalwaarkamiz* like their counterparts in other parts of northern India.

### **Foods**

The Tiwa housewife's another common duty is cooking (*mai*) rice for morning as well as mid-day meal, traditional foods like *khar*, vegetables, and bamboo shoot. They dry fish and put it in long bamboo containers by grinding it and store them for the year. Bitter leaves like *Mohaneem*, *baahaakaa*, *bhui*, *bhekuriteeta sukutaa teeta* etc. are eaten at least two days in a week. Other dishes of Tiwas include green leafy vegetables-*maanimuni*, *maatikaduri*, *narasinga*, *bhebelilotaa*, *posola* etc., rice beer, and pork are common food items.

### **Property inheritance**

The property of the Tiwas includes both movable and immovable items. The movable items include agricultural equipments, musical instruments, utensils, dress and ornaments, livestock etc. while the immovable property refers to the land, both agricultural and homestead which belongs to the family. After the death of the father or even during his lifetime, the land is divided



equally amongst his sons. Both man and woman have equal rights over their hereditary property. Both the sexes contribute towards a cohesive social life and there is no dowry system in this community. In hills area, the women have the right over property. Women in Tiwa community have equal status and rights over property. But these positive aspects have also got eroded with penetration of bourgeois and semi-feudal values of the dominant society.

### **Marriage system**

The Tiwa tribes are an endogamous community but do not marry within the clan. The Tiwas practice four types of marriages i.e. 'BorBiya', 'GobhiaRakha', 'JoronBiya' and 'Paluai Ana'. The GobhiaRakha is popular type in hill Tiwas but in the present day 'elopement' and settled marriage are also noticed; parents have no role to play and educated boys and girls likes to prefer the negotiation marriage and both the sexes has freedom to choice their couples. Monogamy is strictly maintained while polygamy is rare in this community. Widows generally marry with widowers. There is strict restriction on child marriage, wife beating and dowry system. The Tiwa people deeply believe that divorce is a crime. Now, the modern couple has maintained birth control and likes to limit their children within two or three to maintain a more secure, modern, economic, and healthy family.

### **Decision making**

According to Andrew Claw, "the Assamese caste Hindus and Muslims professed solicitude for the tribes, but neither had troubled to study the question nor they showed any real sympathy with the tribes." A considerable number of Tiwa women in Assam are affiliated as a member in different identity based organizations. Growing



expansion of modern education, growth of population, degradation of economic condition, unemployment and identity crisis etc. are leading to the increasing political consciousness among the Tiwas. Some of their political and non-political organizations are- All Tiwa Student Union (ATSU), All Tiwa Women Association (ATWA), Autonomous Lalung District Demand Committee (LDDC) and Autonomous District Struggling Forum (ADSF) etc. in which both sexes can earn membership. All above mentioned organizations emphasized upon development of the society on the basis of equality, socio-cultural, economic, linguistic and political aspiration of the people.

### **Education**

From our experience it is seen that the level of female participation in education starts declining just from after metric and higher secondary level. Parents and guardians believe that boy's education would be an asset to the family in the sense that he would bring substantial income to the family after the completion of his education. But so far as girl is concerned, even if she is educated, after marriage she would be an earning member in her in-laws family. On the other hand, most of time low financial background and poverty also leads to hamper the formal education of people. But there is a general belief that the status of women in the Tiwa society is quite high. Here we would like to mention some problems related to Tiwa women's education are: poverty, distance of educational institutions and lack of awareness, etc.

### **Economy**

The Tiwas who lived in plain areas of Assam cultivate wet paddy, whereas those on hills are used to the Jhum or the shifting



cultivation or terrace cultivation and it is because the culture of Jhum cultivation helps to produce other essential commodities like ground, chilly, potato, ginger, turmeric etc. along with rice. It has benefited them much financially. Now remarkable portion of the land of the tribal areas has been legally and illegally transferred to non-tribals and used for development purposes in this area. It has been tremendously affecting to the economy of Tiwa farming women.

### **Actual treatment to Tiwa woman**

Traditionally, the role of plains Tiwa woman has been confined to the domestic sphere while the public sphere even to-day remains exclusively a male domain. The prevalent socio-cultural ethos excludes women from the decision making bodies, making them less able and they are denied equal opportunities strengthened by the values embodied in patriarchy. Good sign is that women in Tiwa society enjoy a position of respect and grace, there being no domination of one sex over other unlike the pan Indian scenario.

### **Conclusion**

Traditional cultivation and harvesting system by men and women still exist in plains and hills. Allied sectors of agriculture and domestic industry like animal husbandry, poultry, farming, handloom weaving, and handicraft sector also the same but these must be redefined especially for Tiwa women in plains and hills for sustaining development. Due to lack of education, communication and economic degradation the Tiwa women now are engaged in hazardous unhealthy works at various industries and unhealthy wage system especially in plains.



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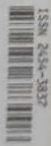
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প্ৰাৰ্থনা দত্ত	236-246
অপূৰ্ব কুমাৰ শইকীয়াৰ গল্পৰ ভিন্ন স্বাদ	
ড° লোকেন্দ্ৰ কাকতি, অৰ্চনা হাজৰিকা	247-254
A preliminary investigation of the sesquisyllabification in Bodo-Garo	
Aleendra Brahma	255-262
Weaving Widowhood: Reflections on Life and Literature of Mamoni Raisom Goswami	
Dr. Rena Laisram	263-270
Journey of Jollywood: A Study in the Context of Napuri Cinema	
Amit Kumar, Dr. Rajesh Kumar, Rashmi Verma & Dr. Rabindranath Sarma	271-280
Negation in Assamese and Deuri: A Comparative Study	
Dr. Dipak Das & Dr. Khirapada Dutta	281-296
The Mising Youth Dormitory: Continuity and Change	
Ajit Konwar	297-305
Lai Haraoba: Indigenous Ritual Festival of the Meiteis of Manipur	
Dr. L. Anupama Singha	306-313
Participation of Women In Panchayati Raj Institutions (Pris) A Case Study In Dibrugarh District of Assam	
Dr. Gitamoni Handique Gogoi	314-322
Nature of Tensions, organizations and movement of the Tiwa Tribe in North East India	
Ranjit Bordoloi	323-333
Voting Behaviour of the Tea Garden Women of Monabari and Shakomato Tea Estate: An Analytical Study	
Dr. Bipul Das	334-340
Title of the paper: Causes of Rural-Urban Migration in Assam to Outside: An analytical study	
Julfair Mazid Kazi	341-350
Introduction of Wet Rice Cultivation In Assam And The Role of The Ahoms: A Vexed Historiography	
Anurag Borah	351-358



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## Nature of Tensions, organizations and movement of the Tiwa Tribe in North East India

Ranjit Bordoloi

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### Abstract

This article like to explore fact on threat to habitat, access and control over land and resources, traditional self-rule and political identity, settlement of foreigners, development force displacement since the British Colonial and thereafter independent administration of India, Assam and the rest of the North East region (Meghalaya); the consequent underprivileged Tiwa tribes are continuously searching for more satisfactory protection and self-identity under the Constitution of India since and after her Independent. The socially, economically and politically minor underprivileged group of Tiwa tribe is starting for organizing reform as well as identity movement to change within the society as well as democratic organizational movement demanding for safeguarding their losing identity within sovereign India.

**Key words:** Tiwa, Tensions, Resources, Organizations, Reforms, Movements.

### Introduction

The Tiwa in North East India constitutionally is known as Lahung tribe and one of the oldest primitive groups inhabiting both in hills and plains having with distinct rich culture and valuable tourist potentialities. They are facing different challenges and uprising since the establishment of the British Colonial and the post-colonial administration because of threats to their habitat, access and



control of resources, loss of traditional self-rule. Now they are searching for new frontier identity and more satisfactory system of organization of community power at all level (M.S.A. Rao-2012), movement for Sixth Schedule under the Constitution of India for more protection their gradual loss of land and forests resources rights, culture-tradition, language, political and economic rights etc. which are considered as parameter of Tiwas movement. The Tiwa have been living on plains district of Nagaon, Morigaon, Kamrup and certain villages in Dhemaji, Lakhimpur, Jorhat and Tinsukia district and on hills district Karbi Anglong of Assam and Ribhoi district (Hills general) of Meghalaya without separate Constitutional administrative system. By the Constitution (S.T.) Order, 1950, Clause (1) of the Article 342 of the Constitution of India has been providing protection and reservation to plains and hills Tiwas but, unfortunately the hill Tiwas of Meghalaya does not yet recognition as ST status even having defining characters by the Constitution of India. According to census report of the Government of India, 2001 the total number of Tiwa populations in Assam is 170,622 which contributed 5.16% of total population of Assam and the total literacy rate is 61.8%; male is 72.3% and female is 51.1%.

#### **Methodological and Review Literature**

The study in this piece of work is based on qualitative analytical method and used both primary and secondary data. Techniques such as participant observation, survey, informal interviews, content analysis and working out social network, reports from different govt. department, references, books and journals, newspaper and monographs is used. Interview with the NGOs, leaders of political and non-political organizations, ethnic social activists and outside is done. This work is representing for Tiwa tribes movement, issues, prospects and problems in north east India, especially Assam and Meghalaya only.

There are many significance studies that placed in many time in India and across the globe regarding movement in general and tribal movement in specific. Few significant relevant literature are such as Rao (2012); Rajni Kothari (1980s); G. Shah (2004); Desai (1986) and David Bayley (1962). The term 'movement' is often used differently by different activists; Rao outlines *"the concept in terms of definition and classification, genesis, ideology and identity, organization and leadership, internal dynamics and routinization and social consequences, considered social movements as being characterized by collective mobilization, ideology and orientation to change"*.

#### **Objectives**

- To know about the root of the Tiwa tribes uprising and movement
- To understand nature and issues, types, methods, leadership organization, mass participation, and
- To endeavor analytical prospects, challenges and reaction of the people about unsettled disputes in parliamentary democratic line

#### **Why the Study is Significance?**

The indigenous vulnerable Tiwa (Lahung) tribe living in North East India (Assam and Meghalaya) is a politically, socially and economically depressed sort of people in the area compared to other non-tribes and tribes of independence India.



The Colonial, the independence Sovereign National Government, the State Govt., International Community and Organization is taking so many protective mechanisms to all round development of tribal people in national and worldwide but; Why the ethnic Tiwa is remain more backward? Why the indigenous ethnic Tiwa tribe takes movement in Assam? Hence there is a serious need for undertaking research from academic discipline to comprehend the different aspects, issues and disputes of Tiwas identity movement.

#### **What are Typologies of Tribal Move in India and the Tiwas?**

Since different scholars have evolved different typologies of tribal movement in India as well as in Northeast. Suraji tSinha and K.S. Singh more or less same classification of movements into: 1. Ethnic movements; 2. Reform movements; 3. Political autonomy movements within the Indian Union; 4. Secessionist movements; and 5. Agrarian unrest. K.S. Singh uses the term Sanskritisation instead of reform movement and cultural movements instead of ethnic movements (G. Shah 2004). The above mentioned typologies do not include the forest rights and environment. The Tiwas movement in Assam is the consequence of loss of ethnic identity, land resources and dissatisfaction about concerned govt. administration during the colonial and post-colonial period; struggle for autonomy to preservation of their identity and traditional culture through non-violent democratic peaceful practices method since earlier stages without extremist compared to other tribes as violence as Santal, Ho, Oraon, Mundas, Bhumij and plains Bodos etc. in northeast India. Tiwas movement may consider reform, preservation of culture, language as well as political identity movement in this area too.

#### **Nature of Tension, Organization and Tiwas Movement**

The Colonization process of British in Assam was started in 1826 and ended in 1898. However, before the British occupation of Assam, the Lalungs (Tiwas) had their own petty kings; the Gobha Kingdoms one of the greatest Kingdom of the Tiwas ruled by the powerful king without surrendered until 1835 (N.K. Radukakoti, 2005), now solely ritual-authority is their common recognition and influence both on hills and plains dwellers. In 1873 the two British administrators J.H. Hutton and N.E. Parry advocated for separation of hill areas from general administrative scheme and introduced 'the inner line' in hill areas. Special tribal administration was created Scheduled District Act in 1874 for the hills tribe. The British captured their Dhum-Chabuk-Chamta i.e. Civil and Judicial power from the Panch Raja Puwalis and as a reaction they resisted and attacked the British on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1861 at Fulaguri Dhewa. The word 'Dhewa' is comes from the Tiwa language 'Tawa' which means hangama, revolt, and war-fight. According to H. Hopkinson that the peasant movement at Phulaguri was predominantly organized and led by the Lalung people (G. Senapati, 2005). The tribal organizations demanded Simon Commission (1928) for separate electorate system and; later the Tribal League demanded land for landless tribal, reservation in Assembly and local Board, appointment in govt. job, scholarship for students etc. In 1945 the Tribal League had withdrawn their support from Sir Saddullah



govt. on because of tribal land policy. In 1947 the Plains Tribal League also demanded as earlier with introduction of mother tongue in school level and tribal land security etc. In 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> September 1949 the Constitutional Assembly discussed about Sixth Schedule and later implements it in hills area. But Abra Malang a Tiwa leader from Ulukunchi, Karbi Anglong (Hill) for the first time in 1951 stands against creation of Sixth Schedule for Karbi Anglong and North Cachar hill district but, demanded separate (Tiwas) constitutional territorial administration to indigenous Tiwas for more constitutional safeguard.

Continuing with the Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA), a first body representing the various tribes of Assam living in the plains, including the Tiwa, expressed Indian authority in 1967 stating, "...the bitter experience of the last 20 years of independence has given rise to a firm conviction among the tribals of Assam that the Assam government is not interested in giving an adequate protection to tribal land. It has deliberately rehabilitated refugees from East Pakistan in tribal Belts and Blocks areas, given settlement to the non-tribal encroachers...in gross violation of provisions of the Belts and Blocks" (S. Borborah-2005). The Tiwa tribe formed a separate group *Lalung Durbur* (1967) led by Hills Leaders Indrasingh Dewrian independent ethnic organization was demanding *Lalung Hill District*, submitted memorandum the same to the State and Union Govt. requesting for keeping free all tribal belt and blocks from encroachment of non-tribal particularly from foreigner's encroachment. Non-co-operation with the government, agitation program, protest of holding election in Assam, program such as abstains from casting vote; memorandums were the weapons of movement in their habitat.

Since 1970's the *Lalung Durbur*, the All Assam Tiwa Jyuba Sanmillan (AATJS) with educated Plains Leader (later All Assam Tiwa Sanmillan) a splited group of *Lalung Durbur* formed another organization with given priority was given to *Lalung Autonomous District*. Ideology and division free from party politics, unity of plains and hills Tiwa and with issues of stop conversion to others dominating class, land rights to landless, revive of loss culture, economy, language, especially systematic language study, preparation of grammar and translation of Bible into Tiwa language was the particular agenda. Mass rallies, cycle rallies, strikes and protest meetings were organized held to achieve goals as followed by *Lalung Durbur* and later the leaders of Sanmillan contested in election from Left Ideology i.e. CPI.

In 1980's the Tiwa Bhasa Unnayan Parishad (TBUP), Sadou Tiwa Sahitya Sabha (STSS) later Tiwa Mathonlai Tokhra (TMT) a Tiwa Literary Organization; United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front (UTNLF), All Tiwa Students Union (ATSU) a powerful non-political nationalist student organizations are formed and starting movement for Autonomous *Lalung District*. Later for Autonomous Sixth Schedule status under the Constitution of India to Tiwas and demanding hills tribal status for Tiwa people living in Karbi Anglong of Assam and Meghalaya as in plains Assam, working on preservation of language and culture, compilation of books, demanding authority to introduce of Tiwa language as an additional subject at class three levels, emancipation of the ethnic people from economic,



political, social and cultural backwardness. Middle Assam Bondh, dharna, protest rallies, hunger strikes, rail way blocks, high way blocks, Rail Rokow, mass rally, memorandums, regular leadership trainings, delegation meetings, workshops etc. is held and observed at different levels as a method of movement in this period.

In 1990's the Tiwas movement continued as vigorous as before During Hiteswar Saikia's regime. Continuous deliberate neglect and deprivation by the leaders of Assam movement, the ATSU, the Autonomous District Struggle Forum (ADSF, a political unit) the All Tiwa Women Association (ATWA) and supporting organizations is transformed movement into more strong in this period which could be termed as the decade of renaissance for the Tiwa Nationality. The Hills Tiwa of Karbi Anglong is getting ST status and after 28 year peaceful movement the Lalung Accord i.e. Lalung (later Tiwa) Autonomous Council (TAC, 1995) is signed between a few inactive political wings with the Assam govt. through 'Divide and Rule' policy. However, ATSU, ADSF, ATWA and associate organizations did not accepted the act because, in this act there will be no specific boundary, no rights and control over land and no recognition under any scheduled of the Indian Constitution and these organizations continued their movement for Sixth Schedule however, the movement became more democratic, but confront, organized and extensive than Durbar and Sanmilan in this time.

Perhaps, the influential organization such as the ATSU which is fragmented into two groups on the basis of ideology, political aspirant and so on. The supporting organization is also fragmented into so many groups. Now the little influential Tiwas movement is in the stage for re-unity among the fragmented groups especially the ATSU which is in confused organizational leadership hegemony that being the Tiwas movement weak and distance from commoners issue and being the movement into very complex one.

#### **Continuous Threat Over Land, Economy and Resources Rights:**

The Tiwa tribe for century they had free access (CPR) land and forest for them, is just more than just a habitat or political boundary, social organization, economic system and cultural identification. Since independence their ancestral territory was declared state land and forest. It is mentioning here that The Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers Act 2006; the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act. 1888 which is amended in 1992 and later Tiwa Autonomous Council (TAC, 1995 not a constitutional body) and other protective mechanism has failed to protect tribal land and forest and other natural resources especially in Tiwa dominated areas. Only in Dharamtul Forest Range, 27 villages of almost 1300 families (90% Tiwa) has been living under backward segment since immemorial. Again due to changes of land use pattern into commodity value, recognition of wetland (large in number in Nagaon and Morigaon, Govt report 2010) as state property which is CPR livelihood of them and continuous land alienation, compulsory displacement e.g. construction of Hindustan Paper Mill, Nagaon, Heart City in Sunapur, Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP), National Disaster Response Force (NDRF) and SeemaSuraksaBal (SSB) etc. by Govt. of



India and construction of private industrialist in Tribal Belt and Blocks which is extremely detrimental to the interest of the tribal people (the Sentinel-Nov. 22, 2013) in this area. In Morigaon and Nagaon District of Assam, 1,68,961 and 5,77,491 bighas of land respectively encroached and; Bakolibori, Bamunzari, Rongapara, Kacharijan Gagolmari, Gajan (A), Panikauri (B), Kalikazari, Raomari and Sukuti Puta Habi, Domal sotulapathar under Tetelia Mouza etc. of tribal Belts and Blocks and other natural resources which is livelihood of them in Morigaon complete under encroached illegally by suspected Mymensingia. Consequently at present no single Tiwa citizen is found in this encroached area. *Historical but continuous Immigration and state settlement of foreigners in this area, lack of individual permanent plot i.e. patta of land, shifting cultivation, migration, land alienation and later gradual transfer of community resources such as traditions, language-culture and economy are the continuous and major ongoing process that faced tension of the ethnic Tiwa populations.* To Akhil Gogoi the president of the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samitee (KMSS) expressed that about 18 percent of the people of Assam are landless. Again comprehensive land survey, settlement of landless Tiwas, recognition of right to free water and forest resources etc. which were earlier of them in ecological and historical context is needed to implement immediately as early as possible.

**Reaction and Impact of Development-Displacement:** Development and displacement of the Tiwa tribes and their inhabitation is the violation over rights and they are being forcibly ousted from one's land and habitat carries with its risk of becoming poorer than before displacement without significance compensation for their lost assets. Alienation and displacement system is also leads to alienate them from economy, culture, social system, political structure, identity and common property resources (CPR) too. Construction of Hindustan Paper Corporation Limited (HPCL) i.e. 1500 acres land of 1,276 families is displaced 70% of them is Lalung (CPR), National Highway, State highway, brick industries, and development projects including dam and land encroachment by Govt. for institutions that leads to increase percentage of landlessness i.e. increasing from 16.38 to 39.54 percent. As a result the people for economy, livelihood and survival have pitted them. The Tiwa Sammilan, ADSF, ATSU, Co-Ordination Committee etc. signed by Sri Tulsi Bordoloi and Dharmasing Bordoloi submitted memorandum to the Local MLA, DC of Karbi Anglong, CEM of KAAC to immediate withdrawal govt. proposal regarding construction of 240 MW Mega Dam the Killing Hydro-Electrical Power Project (KHEPP) proposed at Umswai Pantalu Tikrum Amri Block Karbi Anglong, Assam and Namalong Ribhoi District of Meghalaya by NEEPCO Ltd. It was earlier known as Lower Borapani (Upper Borapani is now modified to Karbilangpi Power Project, which in 1971-72 Indra Singh Dewri, Lalung Durbar also protested) because of possible complete loss habitation (CPR), agricultural land, communication, trade and commerce and impact on environment. Consequently under the leadership of Joanis Lumphuid and Meghalaya local sarder i.e. local head Luish Umsa, the Assam-Meghalaya Killing Hydro Electrical Power Project Protest Joint Action Committee (October, 2013) has been continuous protesting on proposed



destructive KHEPP dam at Karbi Anglong-Meghalaya border (Tiwa habited).

**Reaction Against Immigration and Settlement:** There is a long history of incursion of outsiders, emigration and resettlement in Assam in the Tiwa inhabiting areas. The Assam movement (AASU), the NESO, other nationalist group of organizations, tribal organizations including the Tiwas has been protesting against immigration since earliest. The new religionist group (Mymensing Muslim) is continued to prosper and deepen its root to be a strong contender for political rights, and their growth was much faster than the local ethnic Tiwas and others for three reasons; 1<sup>st</sup> higher birth rate, 2<sup>nd</sup> continuous immigration and; 3<sup>rd</sup> decreasing population by conversion to high caste. Nagaon district witnessed an exceptional percentage increase of by 41.35 percent in 1941 (Dr. S. Baruah) and during the year 2004-05 Roha has registered the growth of 27,295, Jagirad 41,462 Morigaon 32, 599 and Lahorighat 24,890. During the decade 1991-2001, the growth rate of Muslims 36% while the growth rate of the Hindus has declined from 25.1% to 20.3%. (S. S. Harlalka, 2008). This picture is very dangerous that threatening on socio-economic, political identity, language and cultural rights of the indigenous Tiwa populous in this area. Assam Governor Lt. General (retired) S. K. Sinha (1998) has rightly expressed his view that the contributory factors of illegal migration from Bangladeshi such as economic, linguistic and religious commonality in between the illegal migrants and; govt. authorities from both side does not take necessary step to stop such inhuman activities; consequently this silent demographic invasion turning to Muslim majority in the region and this systematic dangerous state activities leads to indigenous Tiwa people being reduced to minority, jeopardize their language and culture, political control, employment opportunity. The Co-ordination Committee, Indigenous Tribal National Organizations (CCITNO, 2012), constituted with different ethnic tribal organizations of Assam, the ethnic Tiwa under the leadership of Robert Lumphuid did participated and conducted Dharma in front of the Parliament, at New Delhi on 27<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2012 demanding to detect property and deport the illegal immigrants on the basis of Assam Accord, 1985; to protect tribal belt and blocks, forest and govt. land; to implement Assam Land Revenue Regulation, 1886 as amended Chapter-X, 1992; to provide Sixth Schedule status for Tiwas and submitted memorandum same to the Home Minister, the Union Minister of State for Tribal Affairs Govt. of India.

**Sanskritization, Institutions Movement:** Continuous adoption of Hinduism since from historic and pre-historic period, conversion to Koch and impact of new vaishnavis movement led by sankarsangha, the sankar Sangha itself (janajati), Krishna saran-saraniya, Anukul Dharma by Satsangha another new form of sanskritization movement (plains Central Assam), etc. which is attributed to assimilation and acculturation with the Assamese society. Adding to Gait (1906) "...Assam in proper, it has become the name of a Hindu Caste, into which are received the converts to Hinduism from the ranks of Lalung (Tiwa) tribe as the process of conversion is still continuing, the number of persons identified himself or herself as Koch is increasing rapidly..." Fact is that



local ethnic Tiwa were followed Sankar Deva in his vaishnavism and others only because of modern simple system could be followed by everybody. As a result due to sanscritization in 1872 and 1891 the number of Tiwa people was 34,859, 52,423 respectively but, in 1901 it is decreasing to 35,513. This is happening only because of conversion, introduction and report as non-Tiwa (Koch) during census report, considered themselves as Assamese and Hindu caste etc. which makes Tiwas into minority one. However Vaishnavism movement some extents has commonality in music, Dogara of Tiwas and Nagaras of Sangkari, dresses like thongali used by Tiwa in dance and Faga used in satriya dance, lalihilali and bargeet has almost similarities. Now the non-saraniyas (non-sanscritized, non-converted)

#### **Agenda for Preservation of Language, Culture and Tradition:**

Language, culture and tradition is valuable tangible and intangible resource as well as potentiality of the ethnic Tiwas. The Tiwa language (popular speak in hills) is a Tibetan-Burman language in North East India having faced with continuous process of linguistic oppression (plains). According to census report of 1991 the Tiwa language speakers were 32,633 and while in 2001 the number of Tiwa speakers is decreasing to 26,480 (mention Assamese as a language during census). In India, we had 1,100 languages in 1961, but nearly 220 of them have disappeared (PLSI-2011) most of the languages belonged to nomadic communities scattered across the country. The Tiwa populous is urging the state government to introduce with implement the Tiwa language in class III and IV as a subject. The organized people demanded that despite conducting interview for the posts of Tiwa language teachers, the Government has not yet appoint a single language teacher till today. The main reasons for the disappearance of the indigenous Tiwa language, culture and tradition is lack of recognition by authorities, displacement of ethnicity, cultural assimilations, conversions, absence of a livelihood option for speakers and lack of effective initiative by the TAC. Powerful influential nationalist ethnic Organizations such as the Tiwa Mathonlai Tokhra (TMT), the Tiwa Student Union (ATSU), Autonomy Struggling Forum (ADSF), All Tiwa Women Association (ATWA), Tiwa National Solidarity Forum (TNSF-2013) and other associate Tiwa Organizations has been demanding same since their forming to preserve their language and culture through legislative, executive and administrative changes and extreme believed in facility of self-administrative system as provided by Sixth Schedule to the hills and now plains of the Indian Constitution.

**Leadership Organization and Mass Participation:** Some members emerge as leaders, those who are able to influence others toward some future direction, even, goal, or purpose. However, leaders may be differs in regard to how they motivate others and what they seek to achieve. Studies show that Tiwas movement and their leadership have come from elite educated people, and there is considerable communication gaps between interest and ideas about ongoing issues and masses they faced in real. Tiwas movement and issues which is political in nature must be solved politically. Various organizations of movement have



organized on the basis of hierarchical forms i.e. central committee and other sub-committee, regional committee and village committee or so on and; but need to more organized form. The various committees including central committees and members portfolios are selected from the masses with presence and consent in a general meeting and; election is rare.

**Urge for Political Representation:** The ethnic Tiwa no single mainstream representation (reservation) in National and Assam State Legislative Assembly (126 ASLC) since long time. In today's, world social justice depends upon more 'redistribution' of resources and goods and secondly, 'politics of recognition'. Separate Electorate System in 1928 and in 1930s, the Tiwa people including the Khasi, Ahom, Naga, Mizo, Bodo-Kachari, Miri and Deuri were the first had demanded 'participative representation' in the principal Legislative Assembly (N.K.Das-2009). And know, the Bodo's of Assam has one MP (reserve) and 10 to 11 other LAC, the Karbis has one MP (reserve in hills) and 5 other LAC, the Missing has 4 LAC and the Rabhas has one LAC reserve constituency in Assam but; the Tiwas are remained outside that type of reserve constituency. They have lost their reservation of political representation (Morigaon Constituency) in 1975 which was effective from 1935 in State Legislature because of political bargaining among non-tribal and political parties with making them division and politically weak. Fact is that reservation is necessary for a socio-economic, educational, cultural, and political and policy making authority and development of backward ethnic group such as Tiwa in Assam.

**Consequent Movement for Separate Administration and Sixth Schedule:** Now with the rise of the international movement of indigenous populous in the post-modernist phase, the indigenous Tiwas movement has also shifted to: Identity-based, Ethnicity, Self-determination or self-management of the resources, reform movement, political Representation to the participatory democracy and movement for separate autonomous space i.e. for Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The Sixth Schedule is originally created in 1952 however, at present it applies in four states in North East India-Tripura, Mizoram, fully covers Meghalaya a hill state where the Tiwa is considered as non-tribal (minority other groups) and Assam covers in hills district now expended to plains (Bodos) where the Tiwa is habited division with plains and hills (Karbi Anglong) with atypical political identity as in Meghalaya. The simple, honest Tiwa living plains and hills in Assam have no own fifth or Sixth Schedule administration even having independent Indian constitutional protective provisions from all forms of social injustice. The Tiwa (Lahung) Autonomous Council (TAC), a non-Constitutional, non-territorial and non-Sixth Schedule council signed an agreement by community leader with the State Govt. in 1995 which is completely unable to provide widespread executive, legislative, judiciary financial protection as the Bodos (BTAD). Prime issues of the Tiwa populous started continuous move in for more political identity and territorial administration as earlier as strong and powerful. Due to internal contradictions,



factions, leadership and ideological differences and other related grounds the Tiwas movement is rarely attracted the attention of the national and the state politics.

### Recommendation and Conclusion

The Tiwas movement for autonomous space, economic and socio-cultural-political identity development is identified mainly into two; A. Internal i.e. reform movement and B. External i.e. movement for extra-legal political authority. 1. Tiwas resist and uprising movement is started in organized form just after independence India and transforming it more political in nature irrespective of pressure group (ATSU), political organization (ADSF), gender (ATWA), individual, leadership and masses and; less preference to cultural values which has more urgency of ethnicity identity in their agenda; 2. Tiwas uprising is not a single issue, but it is multidimensional social, political and economic one. 3. Less importance has given on innovative methods of organizational structure, selection of leadership portfolio, nationalist awareness of the masses, constitutional rights and ongoing issues; 4. It is difficult to express freely their issues and settle disputes in a parliamentary democratic legitimize procedure for sustainable manner and due to non-availability so called democratic system of membership from minorities (Tiwa also) in the legislative mainstream i.e. MLA and MP etc.; 5. No proper policy and effective protective mechanism is being taken and implemented as provided by international laws and organizations; the national and local govt. authority undermining towards the indigenous minority people especially towards burning issues of the Tiwas of Assam and North East India; who have less influential in democratic power politics. 6. Lack of regular programmes, actions about objectives goals, uniform common issues, co-operations and integrity especially among the plains and the hills sharing knowledge between leaders and educated intellectuals of Tiwas and mass participations particularly from peasants side; 'divide and rule policy' by historical state authorities which is also make the movement weak and unsettled. 7. Emergence of new middle class, sanscritization, multiculturalism, anti-ethnicity and detribalization, socio-economic and political backwardness, lack of specific ideology and leadership crisis, lack of communications and share knowledge among individuals make the collective identity movement into very complex one. 8. The political party's use them continuously as vote bank only, on the other side pressure groups, NGOs etc. are undermining about ethnic problems and on the other hand no effective responds from Govt. authorities is seen to settle indigenous Tiwas prime issues and disputes permanently.

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# UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL THEORY

■ RANJIT BORDOLOI



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## Preface

This Understanding Political Theory book is meant primarily help students learn to do and a modest attempt to meet the requirement, especially of Indian Students. The book is prepared for the students of UG Political Science (CBCS-POL HC 1016 & POL HC 2016). It is therefore seeks to combine two sections i.e. Understanding Political Theory and Political Theory- Concept and Debates covering with introducing political theory, traditions of political theory, normative and empirical approaches to political theory, contemporary perspectives in political theory, its practice, history and idea of democracy, citizenship, gender, civil society; and Concept of freedom, equality, justice and rights including major issues and debates.

Every topic included in the book has been dealt within comprehensive and analytical manner. In this book points for discussion about last few examinations questions patterns and models under G.U., A.U. and D.U. are also inclusion for the benefits of the students as a whole. According to the demand comes from the students who are reading in Political Science (B.A. Major-Sem. I & II) covering UG CBCS prescribed syllabus; it is felt and seen very urgency to fulfill demand of the students. Ideas and comprehensive analytical may not claimed original but presented the matter in own way.

In the case of political theory teachers it is important must kept in mind that though they never come or cease to be political, they are always careful not to be over-ideological. Teachers must create an open space not only between themselves and students but also amongst students so that every viewpoint can be articulated,



discussed, debated, and collective deliberated. This textbook marks an attempt to recreate this flavor of the classroom- an open space for conversation and arguments. Now, Political Theory is an increasingly becoming inter-disciplinary. Therefore, it is hope that this book will be readable not only the students but also teachers and other relative disciplines. This book is dedicated to all the students from whom I have learnt during course of my teaching.

Thanks, to all those who gave appreciate and encourage me this book. My thanks to Global Net Publication (An Imprint of Asian Humanities Press) Ground floor, 2/27 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002 for having shown interest in the publication of this book at the right time.

Any suggestions for further improvement will be most welcome.

**Ranjit Bordoloi**



## Contents

### **POL HC 1016: UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL THEORY**

#### **Introducing Political Theory**

##### **What is Political Theory?**

**1**

Introduction: Humans as concept-moving, Concepts firming in practices, Human expressions, Needed and systematic reflections, Word-dependent and word-independent reflections, Varieties of word-dependent reflections; Definitions of political theory, The Distinctive features of theory, Cosmologies and common sense, What is politics? Introduction: what is political? Scope of political theory, Nature of political science, Nature of political philosophy, Conclusion, Nature of politics, Political process, Political situation, Politics as authoritative allocation of values, General characteristics of politics; Points for Discussion

#### **Traditions of Political Theories**

**18**

Introduction: Liberal Theory: Politics as state or group activity, As a process of conciliating interest, As a means of promoting the common good, Few other basic tenets of the theory; Marxist Theory: Conflict economic interest, Politics as an instrument of class domination, Class interests are irreconcilable; Communitarian Theory: Politics is the arena of mutual cooperation, not conflict, Politics is instrumental to the pursuit of the common good; Anarchist Theory: Introduction, Varieties of anarchism, Political anarchism, Religious anarchism, Theoretical anarchism, Applied anarchism, Anarchism in political philosophy, Anarchism and



political activities, Nonviolence, violence, and criminality, Disobedience, revolution, and reform, Utopian communities and non-revolutionary anarchism, Criticism, Conclusion; Conservative Theory: Forms of conservatism, Criticism on conservative from idealistic view, Conclusion; Need of Political Theory: Introduction: Emergence of western modernity, Human and non-human nature, Understanding humans, Difference between human and non-human world; Types of Political Theories: Explanatory theory, Normative theory, Contemplative theory, Little and Grand theories; Theory and Ideology: Significance of Political Theory: Control of social life, Social criticism and reconstruction, Clarification of concepts, Encouragement to mutual respect and toleration, Conclusion; Debate & Decline of Political Theory: Points for Discussion

#### **Approaches to Political Theory**

49

Introduction: Normative approach to political theory: Features of normative political theory, Criticism; Historical Approach to political theory: Criticism; Philosophical Approach to political theory: Legal Approach to political theory: Institutional Approach to political theory: Criticism; Empirical Approach to Political Theory: Introduction: Empirical political theory: Features of empirical political theory, Criticism; Normative and empirical political theory: Marxian approach to political theory: Introduction: Marxist approach: Main tenets of Marxism; Post-Marxist approach to political theory: Introduction: Post-Marxist approach: Criticism; Liberalism: Basic tenets of liberalism, Exponents and streams, Neo-liberalism: Criticism, Contribution; Behavioural Approach to Political Theory: Introduction: Behaviouralism: Criticism; Post-Behavioural Approach to Political Theory: Behavioural and post-behavioural; Points for Discussion

#### **Contemporary Perspectives in Political Theory**

90

Feminist Perspective in Political Theory: Introduction:



Historical development, Feminist approach: contribution;  
Postmodern Perspective in Political Theory: Introduction:  
Postmodern approach, Criticism; Models of Political Analysis:  
Introduction: System analysis: Structural-functional analysis:  
Criticism; Communication theory: Decision-making analysis:  
Interdisciplinary Perspective on Political Science: Introduction:  
Interdisciplinary approach: Genesis, Characteristics features;  
Points for Discussion

## **Political Theory and Practice**

### **The Grammar of Democracy 114**

Introduction: Democracy: Few definitions, Characteristics,  
Direct and indirect democracy: Direct participatory  
Democracy: Criticism: Liberal democracy: Protective  
democracy: John Stuart Mill and Developmental Democracy:  
Policy making and pluralist view, Principles of liberal  
democracy, Characteristics of liberal democracy, Criticism;  
Points for Discussion

### **Procedural Democracy 132**

Introduction: Procedural Democracy: Dahl's ideals of  
procedural democracy: Procedural and substantive democracy:  
Objection to Democracy; Points for Discussion

### **Other Contemporary Theory of Democracy 141**

Deliberative Democracy: Elitist theory: Participatory  
democracy: Criticism; Radical theory of democracy:  
Conclusion; Pluralist theory: Conclusion; Points for Discussion

### **Perspectives on Democracy 154**

Socialist perspective: Indian debates on democracy: Feminist  
perspective; Points for Discussion

### **Key Debates in Democratic Theory 161**

Participation and Representation: Representation:



Representative or delegates, Election and mandates, Territorial and functional, Characteristics of representation, Public interest, Democracy and diverse, Democracy and development, The scope of democracy, Toleration, Toleration and difference, Limits of toleration, Censorship justification and limitation, Conditions for Successful Working of Democracy: Democracy as a Way of Life; Points for Discussion

### **Citizenship**

178

Introduction: What is citizenship? Definition, Historical development of the concept of citizenship, Components of equal and universal citizenship, Limits of liberal citizenship, Marxist critique of bourgeois citizenship, Feminism and citizenship, Differentiated and multicultural citizenship, Civic virtue and good citizenship, Globalization, world citizenship and human rights, Conclusion; Points for Discussion

### **Gender**

189

Introduction: Sex is to nature as gender is to culture, Rethinking sex & gender in feminist theory, Social Democracy; Points for Discussion

### **Civil Society**

195

Introduction: Marxist on civil society: Revival concept of civil society, Civil society in post-colonial, Critical issues of modernity and civil society in post-colonial states, Conclusion; Points for Discussion

## **POL HC 2016 POLITICAL THEORY-CONCEPTS AND DEBATES**

### **Importance of Freedom**

202

Freedom: Meaning and definition of freedom (Liberty); Evolution, Definitions, characteristic features of Freedom, Nature of freedom, Scope of freedom, Freedom and licence,



Freedom and authority; Different kinds of freedom: Natural freedom, Civil or Social freedom, Moral freedom, Personal or individual freedom, Political freedom, Economic freedom, National freedom, International freedom, Religious freedom; Liberal-Individualist view of Freedom: Negative and Positive Freedom (Early Debate); Negative freedom: Features of Negative Liberty, Criticism of Negative Liberty; Positive Freedom: Features of Positive Liberty; Freedom as Emancipation: Freedom as Development: Liberal View, Marxist view; Important Issues of Freedom: Freedom of Belief (Religion), Freedom of Expression (Speech), Origin, Freedom of Speech and Expression in India, Need to protect Freedom of Speech and Expression, Grounds for Restriction, Freedom of Dissent, Safeguards of freedom; The Contemporary Debate: View of Isaiah Berlin (1909-1997), View of F.A. Hayek (1899-1992), View of Milton Friedman (1912-2006), View of Robert Nozick (1938-2002), Marxist concept of Freedom, Move from Necessity to Freedom, Humanist basis of Freedom, Characteristics features of Marxists concept of Freedom, Marcuse's concept of One-Dimensional (1898-1979), Macpherson's concept of Creative Freedom (1911-1987), Conclusion; Liberty and Rights: Liberty in India: Points for Discussion

## **Significance of Equality**

**254**

Equality: Evolution, Meaning and definitions, Few Ideas of equality, Characteristics of equality, Liberty and equality conflict, Liberty and equality complement, Different kinds of Equality; Formal Equality: What is formal equality?, Disadvantage of formal equality includes, Substantive Equality, Equality of Opportunity: What is equality of opportunity?, Different views equality of opportunity, Equality and Justice: Political Equality: Political inequality, Equalizing participation; Egalitarianism: Lockean on Egalitarianism, Marx on egalitarianism, Equality of person, Equality of men and women in rights and responsibilities, Gender equality, Social egalitarianism, Economic egalitarianism, Egalitarianism and



non-human animals, Legal egalitarianism, Anti-Egalitarianism; Background Inequality: Differential Treatment: Justice and Indian Constitution: Equality and Affirmative Action: Justice and Social Disadvantage: What is Affirmative Action?: India and affirmative action, Consequences or limitation of affirmative action in India: Points for Discussion

## **Indispensability of Justice** 294

Justice: Meaning of justice, Definition of justice, Characteristics of justice, Relation between liberty, equality and justice; Kinds of Justice: Legal justice, Political justice, Socio-economic justice; Procedural Justice: Exponents of procedural justice, Conclusion; John Rawls on theory of Justice: Definition of justice, Assessment; Distributive Justice: Scope and role of distributive principles, Principles of distributive justice, Strict egalitarianism, Equality of opportunity and luck egalitarianism, Welfare-based principles, Desert-based principles, Desert-based principles, Libertarian principles, Feminist principles; Global Justice: Principles to guide Global matters, Rawls's Law of People, Global Duties, Cosmopolitan Duty, Human Rights fulfillment, Proper use of force and military intervention, Global Economic Injustice, Global gender justice, Global environmental issues, Global health; Capital Punishment: What is capital punishment?, Historical practices, Philosophical framework, Retributivist approach, Utilitarian approach, Capital punishment as communication, Institution of capital punishment, State authority and capital punishment, Issues of capital punishment: India and capital punishment: History or evolution, The rarest of the rare doctrine, Significance and extent, Judicial discretion and the circumstances of the accused, Constitutionality of the death sentence, Constitutional powers of the Supreme Court, Constitutional powers of the President and the Governor, Safeguards and Protection against capital punishment under the constitution, In favor of Capital punishment, In against of Capital punishment: Points for Discussion



What is universality? All-inclusiveness, Formal acceptance, Historical origin, Formal: norm creation, Anthropological or Philosophical acceptance, Functional acceptance, Multicultural composition of human rights, World-wide observance of human rights, Legitimate concern of the international community, Absence of double standard, Indivisibility of human rights, Uniformity of standards, Universality in time; Rights: Definitions of rights, Characteristics of rights, Categories of rights, Forms of rights, Active and passive rights, Negative and positive rights, The Will Theory and the Interest Theory; Utilitarian theory of rights: Criticism; Libertarian theory of rights: Criticism; Rights and duties, Rights and freedom; Natural Rights: Evaluation; Moral Rights: Legal Rights: Evaluation; Political and Economic Rights: Evaluation; Three Generations Rights: Introduction: First-generation rights: Second-generation rights: Third-generation rights: Conclusion; Rights and Obligations: Rights of the Girl Child: Introduction: Girl-child rights providers: Culture in international arena, Cultural context of rights, Intersectionality and social construction of girl-child, Cultural practices & Girl-child's marginalized status, Trokosi, Female infanticide, Cultural practices Discrimination, Existing tools for protecting the rights of the girl-child, Conclusion; Issues of Rights of the Girl-child in India: What must be done?, Safeguards measure of rights; Human Rights: Characteristics feature of human rights, History of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Preamble: Points for Discussion

**Major Debates****397**

Why State and Political Obligations? Introduction: Socrates on obligation, Divine command, The social contract & obligation, Utility and obligation, Legitimacy and obligation, Obligation and duty, Obligation: political, civil and legal, Obligation, morality and practical reason, Anarchist challenge to obligation, Consent, Gratitude, Fair play, Membership



association, Natural duty; Civil Disobedience: Introduction: Definitions, Features of civil disobedience, Ordinary offences, Other types of dissent and features, Justification of civil disobedience, Theories of punishment, Punishing civil disobedience, Conclusion; Gandhi on civil disobedience: Introduction: Gandhi and Rawls concept, Conclusion: Points for Discussion

### **Are Human Rights Universal?**

**422**

Which rights are human rights? Civil and political rights, Social rights, Rights of groups, Environmental rights, Universal human rights diverse belief and practices; Cultural Relativism: Introduction: Cultural relativism: Truth is relative, Cultural relativism vs. universalism, Adoption of cultural relativism, Asian values, Cultural Relativism: A misguided movement towards pluralism and tolerance, Cultural relativism: illogical conclusion; Points for Discussion

### **Accommodate Diversity in Plural Society**

**435**

How do we accommodate diversity in plurality? Introduction: Diversity in plural society, Conclusion; Issue of Multiculturalism: Introduction: Claims of multiculturalism, Communitarian justification, Liberal egalitarian justification, Freedom from domination, Historical injustice to colonial justification, Criticism; Multiculturalism in India: Minority question since independence, Group-differentiated rights in India, Integrated approach: reservation, Restricted multicultural approach: religious freedom, The normative deficit restricted multiculturalism, Political implications of normative limits; Debates on Toleration: Introduction: Concept and conception of toleration, Conception of toleration, History, Justifying tolerance, Politics of toleration, Religious Tolerance in India: Points for Discussion

### **Reading list**

**459**



# WHAT IS POLITICAL THEORY?

## Introduction

As a theory, political theory may have lots of features in common with the theories of physical or the biological world. However, by virtue of the *political* theory, it must possess characteristics that are distinctive. Few of these *distinctive* features separate it from theories of nature however not from theories pertaining to human affairs more generally. But it is truly distinctive features must follow from its focus on the political. We therefore outline the more general features of any theory and particular elucidate features of a theory of human condition and action.

## Humans as concept-moving

No one denies that we are creatures, part of the physical universe and subject to the same laws as any physical object. Neither will anyone refused to that unlike purely physical objects, but like other *biological* creatures, we are *conscious* creatures: we breathe, we eat, and we grow and have sensory experiences. However, that distinguishes us from most though not all, biological creatures, is that we are concept-moving animals. As based on principle creatures, we are born in a world that is previously arranged thoughtfully in particular ways. Unlike the purely physical, chemical or the biological world, the human world is also conceptual through and through.

## Concepts firmed in practices

Much of our conceptual understanding is available to us as practical skill or is directly firmed in practices. We are not even



## IMPORTANCE OF FREEDOM

### Freedom

Freedom or liberty is a condition or right of being able or allowed to do whatever you want, an *opportunity*, an *act*, *choice* of activities or pursues *happiness* without unnecessary external restrictions. The concept of freedom or liberty denotes a very important principle of political philosophy. It leads to enhanced *expressions*, thought, productivity and quality of life. Therefore the value of freedom can be only understood and appreciated by those who have a sense of past and a highly developed understanding of human nature.

Freedom requires some compromise between the citizen and the goals and obligations of the state. There are Laws, regulations and judicial pronouncements regarding the ideals of freedom and the details of how it is to be practiced in social living and hence freedom is *not* absolute. *Rules* may require some constraints to be imposed on the freedom of individuals but it is recognized that such constraints may also free us from insecurity and provide us with the conditions in which we can advance and develop ourselves. Freedom has therefore focused on trying to evolve principles by which we can distinguish between social necessary constraints and other restrictions.

The World countries like the United States, by the Bill of Rights and India by right to freedom have incorporated carefully as a part of their *constitution*. The most well-known freedoms are freedom of religion, speech, express, press, movement, peaceful assemble and petitioning the government. Freedom is a very precious condition without which neither the state nor the



Hidayatullah, Fakharuddin Ali Ahmed and Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam were the president of India holds the highest office in the country.

Swami Vivekananda is one of the extremely admired religious leaders of India. He was a magnificent believer in Hindu-Muslim unity. Once he expressed his concept in these words: "I see in my mind's eye the future perfect India rising out of this chaos and strife, glorious and invincible, with Vedanta brain and Islam body."

### Points for Discussion

#### Very short answer questions

1. What is pluralism? Pluralism is a state of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial, religious, or social groups maintain an autonomous participation in and development of their traditional culture.
2. According to anthropologists, every person begins immediately, through a process of conscious and unconscious learning and interaction with others, is called—? Culture
3. According to sociologists, inequalities cover a wide range of—. Social life
4. Mention Kymlickas' two ways that ethnic and minorities groups may be accommodated within a framework of democratic citizenship. By protecting the common rights of all citizens, By accommodating cultural diversity through special legal
5. Write Kymlickas' three forms of group-differentiated rights. Self-government rights, Poly-ethnic rights, Special representation rights
6. "A person or group of person can suffer real damage, real distortion, if people or society around them mirror back to



- them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves." Who is associated with? Tatlor
7. Mention two important issues of multiculturalism. Universalist ideal of equality, Challenge to political redistribution
  8. Mention two religious minority communities in India. Muslims and Sikhs
  9. In which Article of the constitution of India have declared freedom of profess, practice and propagate religion? Article 25
  10. Mention two supporter of toleration theory. Baruch de Spinoza, Jon Locke
  11. 'De pace Fidei (1453)' who is associated with? Nicolas of Cusa
  12. Six Books of a commonweal (1576) is associated with? Jean Bodin
  13. Who wrote 'Tractacus Theologico-politicus (1670)'? Baruch de Spinoza
  14. Who wrote 'Commentaire Philosophique (1686)'? Pierre Bale
  15. Who wrote 'A Letter Concerning Toleration (1689)'? Jon Locke
  16. 'On Liberty (1859)' who is associated with? John Stuart Mill
  17. "We believe not only in universal tolerance but we accept all religions at true." Who said? Swami Vivekananda
  18. Write book written by Jawaharlal Nehru? The Democracy of India
  19. "Main Hindu bhi hun, main Muslim bhi hun, main Christian bhi hun", that is, "I am a Hindu too, I am a Muslim too and I am a Christian too." Who said? Acharya Vinoba Bhave
  20. "I see in my mind's eye the future perfect India rising out of this chaos and strife, glorious and invincible, with Vedanta



This book Understanding Political Theory is going to be prepared a fairly wide range of subject concerned as a useful text and modest attempt to meet the requirement of undergraduate CBCS Students in Political Science. The text is covering with introducing political theory, traditions of political theory, approaches to political theory, contemporary perspectives in political theory, its practice, history and idea of democracy, citizenship, gender, civil society; and concept, importance and significance of freedom, equality, justice and rights including major issues and key debates in political theory - are human rights universal? Accommodate diversity in plural society etc.

Now, Political Theory is an increasingly becoming inter-disciplinary. Every topic included in the book has been dealt within comprehensive and analytical manner and hence makes this book reader-friendly. Points for discussion are also inclusion for the benefits of the readers. Therefore, it is hope that this book will be readable not only the students but also teachers and other relative disciplines. This book is dedicated to my late mother and father and all the beloved students from whom I have learnt during course of my teaching.



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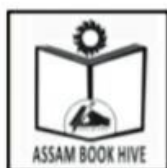
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## EMERGING RESEARCH ISSUES IN GEOGRAPHY OF NE INDIA

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## Content

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- ❖ ASSESSMENT OF SURFACE MORPHOLOGY AND ITS IMPACT ON BARNADI RIVER BASIN USING GIS TECHNIQUES, ASSAM, INDIA  
*Ambika Rabha, Tulumoni Gogoi* 7-23
- ❖ STATUS OF SHIFTING CULTIVATION IN NORTH EAST INDIA: A CASE OF KARBI ANGLONG DISTRICT  
*Rashmi Sarkar And Ashok Kumar Bora* 24-32
- ❖ THREAT TO ETHNIC RICE VARIETY OF ASSAM  
*Sanjay Deuri* 33-42
- ❖ IDENTIFICATION OF ENCROACHED AREAS AND SETTLEMENTS IN POBITARA WILDLIFE SANCTUARY, MORIGAON, ASSAM  
*Tinku Nath* 43-59
- ❖ A CASE STUDY OF RURAL NON-FARM SECTOR IN DIBRUGARH DISTRICT  
*Himadri Changmai<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Sailajananda Saikia* 60-79
- ❖ ROLE OF VARYING LANDUSE-LANDCOVER PATTERN AS A KEY FACTOR UPON ECONOMY AND ENVIRONMENT OF THE BARHAMPUR DEVELOPMENT BLOCK OF NAGAON DISTRICT, ASSAM.  
*Khijumoni Saikia* 80-99



# IDENTIFICATION OF ENCROACHED AREAS AND SETTLEMENTS IN POBITARA WILDLIFE SANCTUARY, MORIGAON, ASSAM

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**Abstract** : Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary is the ecological hotspot of Assam. This supports wildlife conservation and tourism programs. However, these forests are under threat of pruning which converts forest land into other uses, encroachment and degradation of forest vegetation. This is mostly due to immense human pressure in the surrounding areas of the sanctuary. With fast population growth, overall demand for humans is also growing, exerting significant pressure on forest resources and wildlife habitats, i.e. more families are searching for land for housing and agriculture, or are looking for fuel for wood or timber. The main goal of this study was to recognize encroached areas and settlements in the Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary. It is because there has been a large-scale encroachment in and across the boundaries of the sanctuary impacting its biodiversity. The research was focused on extensive fieldwork carried out in selected sample villages very close to the Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary. The key method for this research was the use of a questionnaire that contained a mixture of closed-ended and open-ended questions.

**Keywords:** Pobitara wildlife sanctuary, population growth, encroachment, threats.

**INTRODUCTION** : Encroachment is a serious illegal activity that has a negative environmental effect. It means unlawful access to land, buildings, and other belongings (gradually and without permission). Browns Boundary Control and Legal Principles, defines



'encroach' as "to intrude; trespass; to gradually take possession of the right of another. According to Black Law Dictionary, an encroachment is to enter by gradual steps or stealth into the possessions or right of another; to trespass or intrude. To gain or intrude unlawfully upon the lands, property or authority of another. Lake (2007) defined encroachment as the existence of any structure or item of any kind under, upon, in, or over the project lands or waters and/or the destruction, injury, defacement, removal or any alteration of public property including natural formations, historical and archaeological features, and vegetative growth. It also denotes an illegal activity as one where the person who encroaches is not deemed to have any legal right to do so (Shitima, 2005). This phenomenon of encroachment on wildlife or national park has been increasing in recent times due to population explosion, expansion of settlement and agricultural lands into forest lands. In this study, an attempt has been made to identify encroached areas and settlements in and around the Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary.

In recent years, encroachment has become a globalized threat to biodiversity. Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary is a biological hotspot area that is home to some of the species at risk. There are several fringe villages surrounding this sanctuary. Owing to the growing encroachment of the population within the sanctuary boundaries, destruction of the wildlife habitat within the sanctuary has begun. This study aims to undertake a systematic analysis of the ongoing process of encroachment.

**STUDY AREA :** The Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary is situated in the south active flood plains of river Brahmaputra in the south-western part of Morigaon district of Assam. The area extends over an area of 38.81 sq. km and lies between 26° 12' N to 26°15' N latitude and 91°59' E to 92°05' E longitude. The natural boundary of Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary is the Garanga Beel on the south and the mighty river Brahmaputra on the north, rest of the boundaries are artificial and surrounded by 27 villages.



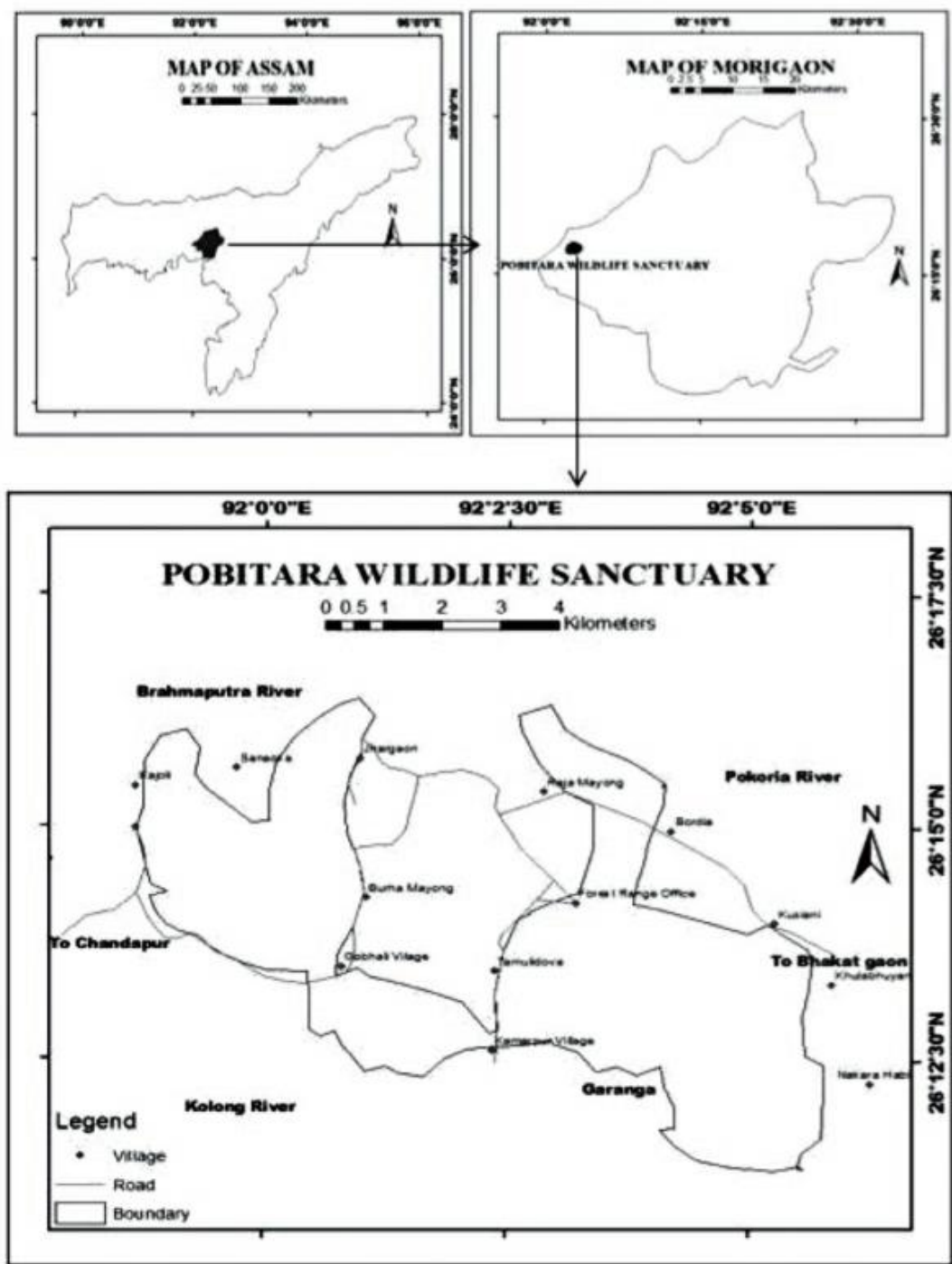


Fig 1: Location of Pobitora Wildlife Sanctuary



Traditionally the area was a grazing reserve of erstwhile Nagaon district and came into limelight during the year 1961-62 for sighting one horn Rhino (*Rhinoceros unicornis*). It was constituted into a Reserved Forest during 1971 within an area of 1584.74 ha. Subsequently, in the year 1987, this Reserved Forest along with Raja Mayong Reserved Forest (1191.80 ha.) and adjoining khasland (1104 ha.) a total area of 3880.62 ha. or 38.81 sq. km was upgraded to a Wildlife Sanctuary for better protection of the flora and fauna of this important area (Pobitara Management Plan). It was primarily intended for the protection of the one-horned rhinoceros, a species that is globally endangered. In addition, Pobitara is a paradise for birds, particularly for waterfowls during winter.

**METHODOLOGY :** As the main objective of this study is to identify encroached areas and settlements in and around Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary data and information necessary for this has been collected from different sources i.e. primary sources and secondary sources.

Personal observation and investigation into various areas of the field are the key data sources. The research is focused on extensive fieldwork carried out in 9 selected sample villages very close to the Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary. The use of questionnaires containing a combination of closed-and-open-ended kinds of questions was the key method for this analysis. The analysis also relied on the use of interviews with a prepared collection of questions and casual interactions with encroachers. Many visits (July, 2014-January, 2015) were also made to the site to understand the nature and extent of encroachments. The interview took the form of an exchange of views and opinions through discussions with people concerned about the issues under discussion. This included some selected developers, farmers, and those who have knowledge about the on-going encroachment process in the study area. Since the people living in the buffer zone are dependent on the agriculture and livestock, this study collected information about their occupation, education, farm size, types of crops farmed, livestock reared, etc. in addition to the dependency of the people on the Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary for different purposes and the damages caused by the interference of the wildlife.

Secondary sources of data were collected from published and unpublished books and journals, census records, topographic map of India and data collected from Circle office, Census of India, Block Development Office, Forest Range Office, Department of Environment and Forest, Government of Assam, Assam Science Technology and Environmental Council and the Panchayat Offices. Further, all the relevant data and information were compiled and



analyzed and represented through quantitative and cartographic techniques, where necessary.

**RESULT AND DISCUSSION :** The surrounding area of Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary is now under encroachment by agriculture, livestock grazing, collection of thatch by villagers and immigrants both Hindus and Muslim coming from then East Pakistan now Bangladesh who travelled upstream the Brahmaputra River on the search of greener pastures (Pobitara Conservation Society). These encroachers are creating the problem of protection of the Park and its resources. Besides resorting to illegal fishing in wetlands inside the Park, felling of trees, these encroachers are suspected to be hand in glove with rhino poachers on the prowl. There are significant problems related to infringement in the extension section that was later applied to Pobitara and included in the final notification.

**LOCATION OF ENCROACHMENTS :** Though there are no major encroachments in the original part of Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary but around the boundary line of the sanctuary encroachment exists. Altogether above 60 families encroached the land in the Dibrangkisam in the southern part of Pobitara (Pobitara Management Plan) and about 30-40 families encroached the forest lands of Raja Mayang Hill, two families in the western part Khulabhuyan or clear are observed in Kukuari, Murkata 1, Nakara Habi where their homesteads are located within the PWLS boundary. Additionally, agricultural encroachment activities are found in the south of DholiBeel, Dubaritoli area, Kholabhuyan, North to the Mayang-Manaha Road.

Table1: Some location of Settlement encroachment

Sl. No.	Name of the village/points	location			Dominant community
		Lat.	Long.	Alt.	
1	Kajoli	26°14'58"	91°58'07"	62	Assamese
2	BurhaMayang	26°15'40"	91°01'19"	55	Assamese
3	Nekerahabi	26°13'11"	92°06'06"	71	Muslim Bengali
4	Khulabhunya No 2	26°13'58"	92°05'44"	55	Muslim Bengali
5	Kusiani	26°14'29"	92°04'32"	49	Assamese
6	Diprang	26°15'34"	92°18'40"	60	Assamese Bengali
7	Murkata	26°15'24"	92°03'39"	53	Assamese Bengali
8	Kuruwari	26°13'09"	92°05'06"	50	Bengali Muslim
9	Bahadoloni	26°11'55"	92°05'58"	53	Assamese Bengali



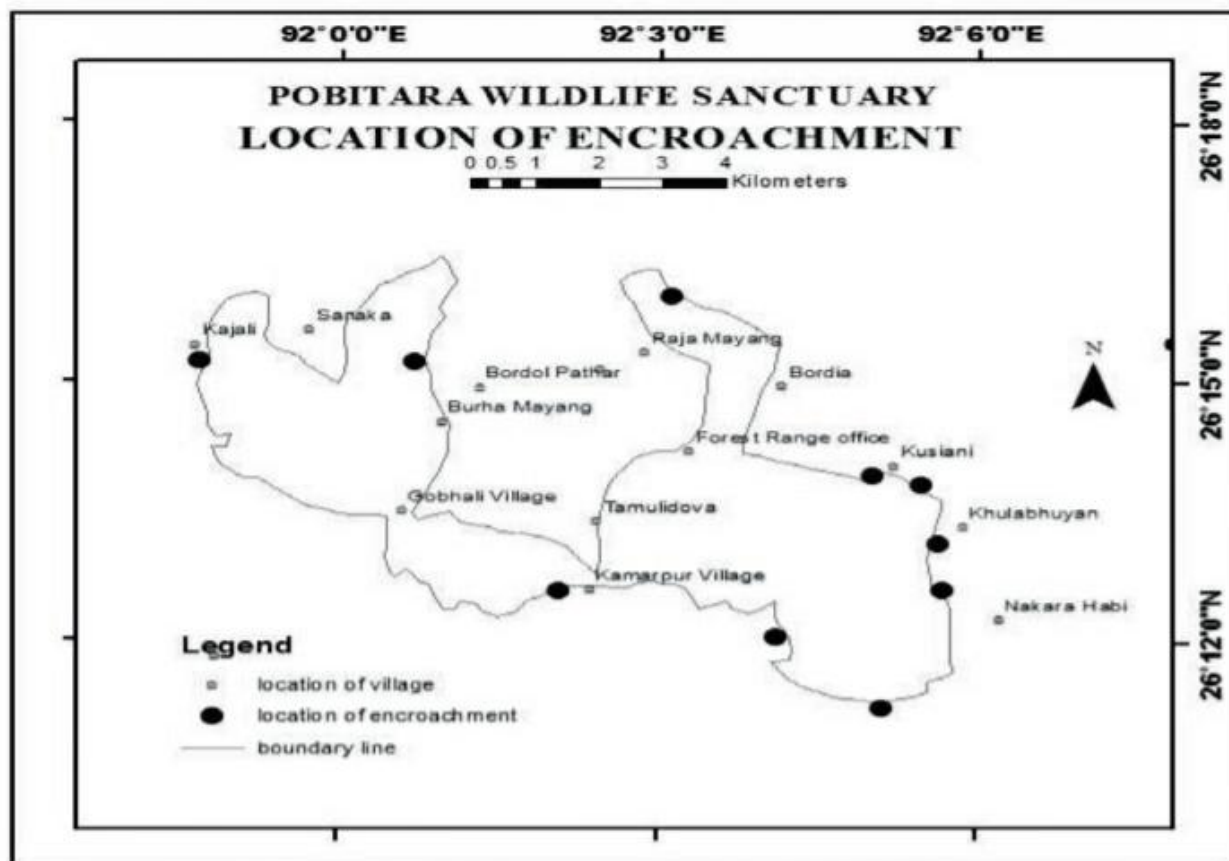


Fig 2: Location of Encroachment in Pobitora Wildlife Sanctuary

#### AREA OF INFLUENCE OF ENCROACHERS :

As pointed out in the map, the encroachers are not concentrated in a specific area. Their influences are felt in the surrounding area of the encroachment because they have to perform various works for their livelihood. As they have no alternative sources of the encroacher livelihood has no other option than to impinge upon the natural resources of the Sanctuary for their livelihood. They depend on the Sanctuary mainly for the collection of fuelwood, fishing in the water bodies, grazing, collection of thatch, grass. The dependency pattern of fuelwood by the encroacher along with the indigenous local people are shown in the following table-



Table 2: Dependency rate on Fuelwood based on a sample survey

Village Name	Source of Fuel	
	PWLS	Own
Khulabhuyan	84.4%	15.6%
Kukuari	79%	21%
Nakarahabi	80.38 %	19.62 %
Bohadoloni	70.96%	29.04%
Murkata	70%	30%
HatigarhKusiani	66.7%	33.3%
BurhaMayang	80.95%	19.05%
Kajalichaki	93%	6.66%
Diprang	88.66%	11.34%
Morobori	85.8%	14.2%

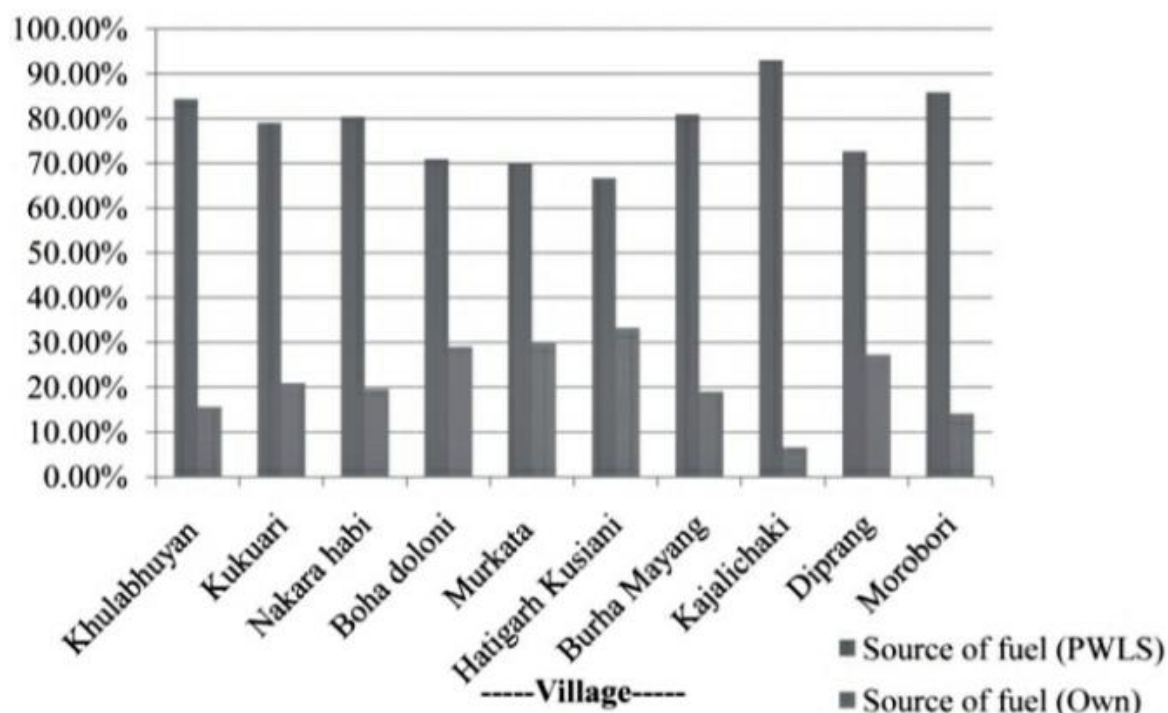


Fig 3: Dependency rate on fuel woods by local people



**LIVESTOCK GRAZING :**

Grazing of domestic livestock has decreased food resources for wild herbivores (increased crop-raiding incidences), shifted nutrient dynamics (increased soil erosion and compaction) and changed overall plant composition (Sekhar, 1998; Middleton, 2003). Grazing has led to local extinctions or emigration of animals dependent on specific vegetation cover (Madhusudan and Mishra, 2003), and increased transmission of diseases and parasites to wild herbivores (Rahmani, 2003).

The people of the fringe villages released their cattle (livestock) within the Sanctuary for grazing because no grazing reserve is located nearby, although it is prohibited in the Sanctuary. It can be seen from the field study in the sample villages that within the Sanctuary, more than 500 livestock (cow, buffalo, and goat) are grazed. More than 10000 cattle grazed daily within the Sanctuary, according to the Pobitara Management Plan. As the livestock follows the trend of intense grazing, substantial grassland destruction is evident. The growth of grasses in Kusiani, Kukuari, NakaraHabi, Bohadoloni areas has become stunted and the grass has become coarse and unpalatable for herbivores in the parks. The burden of grazing comes from all sides of the Sanctuary. It is more on the Kusiani-Khulabhuyan side, however, and on the Kamarpur-Tamulidova side as well. Extensive grazing of cattle within the Sanctuary has resulted in grassland

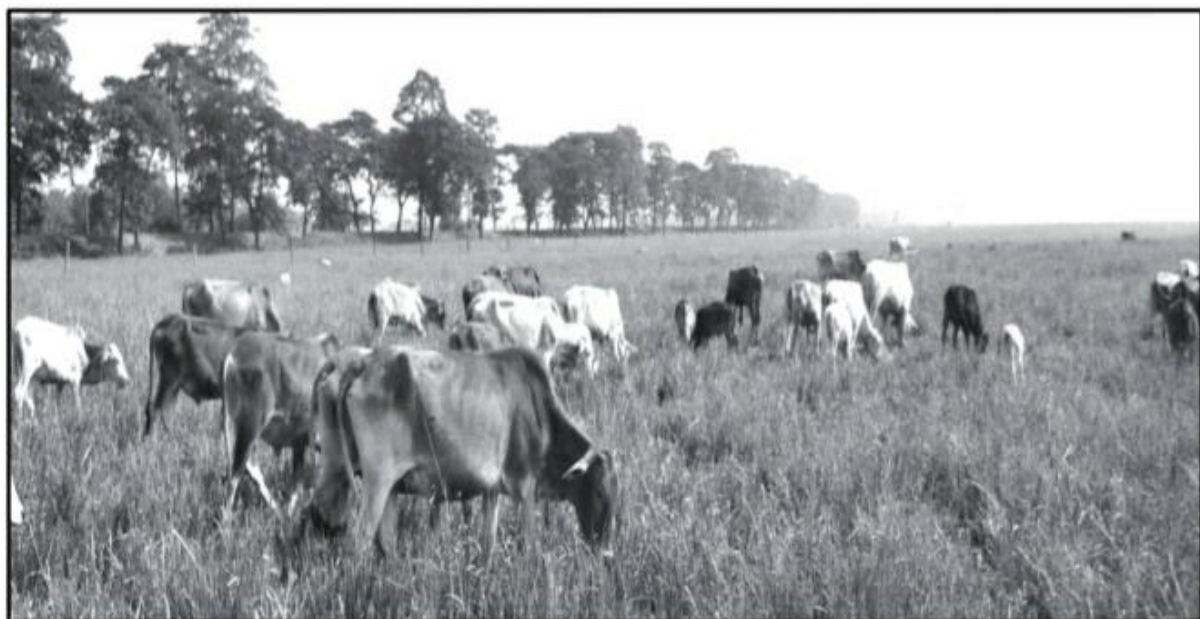


Fig 4: Grazing of animal in Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary



destruction and has resulted in a significant food crisis for wild herbivores like Rhino. Thus, the rhino has to fight for food with cattle. According to Pobitora Management Plan during 2004 the overall grassland declined from 27.31 sq. km in 1977 to 11.71 sq. km in 2004, losing 12.60 sq. km in 27 years (Pobitora Management Plan) and a more recent estimate in this regard is unavailable.

### POACHING :

Poaching is a very serious illegal activity challenging the park management. It is unfortunate that all types of protected areas are vulnerable to wildlife poaching (Newmark, 2008). The magnitude of poaching differs depending on the effectiveness of the anti-poaching measures (Hilborn et al., 2006). Areas adjacent to strictly protected areas, which are also used for tourist hunting, are the most heavily poached (Witemyer et al., 2008) because of the poor law enforcement (Holmern et al., 2007) and human population pressures.

Poaching, not only for the Pobitora Wild Life Sanctuary but also for other Assam National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuary, is always a problem most serious during the 21st century. It is a significant anthropogenic threat to biodiversity and Rhino poaching is a major threat to the Wildlife Sanctuary of Pobitora. Generally speaking, no other pet is killed by poachers other than Rhino. The growth of the rhino population in the sanctuary has been seriously affected by rhino smuggling from the sanctuary for foreign trade. Over the last few years (from 1991 to 2014), for instance, poachers killed as many as 47 rhinos from the sanctuary.

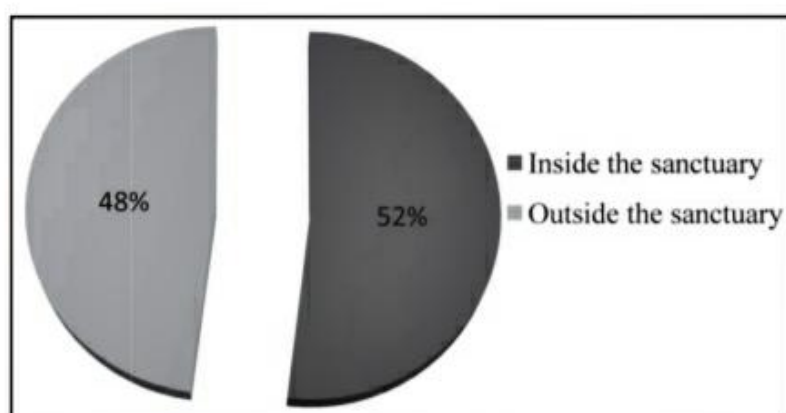


Fig 5: Rhino poaching incidences inside and outside the Sanctuary boundary from 1987 to 2015 (March)



In addition, occasional cases of birds captured in the adjacent areas are reported. Poachers generally come from the outside and with the assistance of local people/villagers commit the offense (Pobitara Conservation Society). Rhinos usually stray out and a network of electric line help passing near the Sanctuary help in poaching. Rhino poaching is carried out by organized groups of poachers who reportedly have ties to the patronage of influential politicians. Sometimes it is said that the member of Forest Range Office, Pobitara has linked with the poacher. Otherwise, it is not easy for poachers to perform their activities within the sanctuary.

Table 3: Poaching of Rhino of Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary

Years	Poaching				Date of detection
	M	F	U	Total	
2000	1	1	0	2	3/6/00 (2)
2001	0	0	0	0	Nil
2002	1	0	0	1	1/9/02
2003	0	2	0	2	23/5/03 (2)
2004	0	1	0	0	19/11/04
2005	1	2	0	3	16/1,25/2,5/6/05
2006	1	0	0	1	2/9/06
2007	0	0	0	0	Nil
2008	0	0	0	0	Nil
2009	0	0	0	0	Nil
2010	0	0	0	0	Nil
2011	1	1	0	2	11/6,8/11/2011
2012	0	1	0	1	7/5/12
2013	2	0	0	2	25/7/13,8/10/13
2014	0	2	0	2	26/3/14,15/11/14
2015	1	0	0	1	31/3/15

Source: Forest range office, PWLS

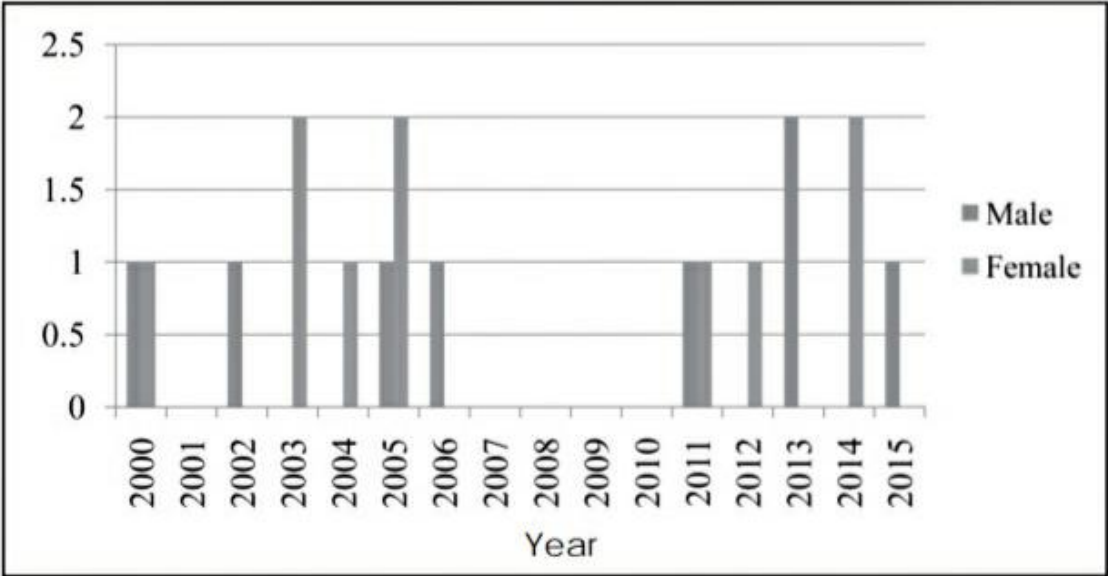


Fig 6: Rhino Poaching in Pobitora Wildlife Sanctuary

It can be said here that in the case of female rhinos, the incidence of poaching is high compared to that of male rhino. The amount of rhino would decrease in the future if it persists at the present pace. In all, 52 Rhinos were poached during the years 1987-2014. Electrocution, bullet injury and poisoning were reported as the primary means of poaching. Poachers take the advantage of crossing high electric transmission line through the Sanctuary.

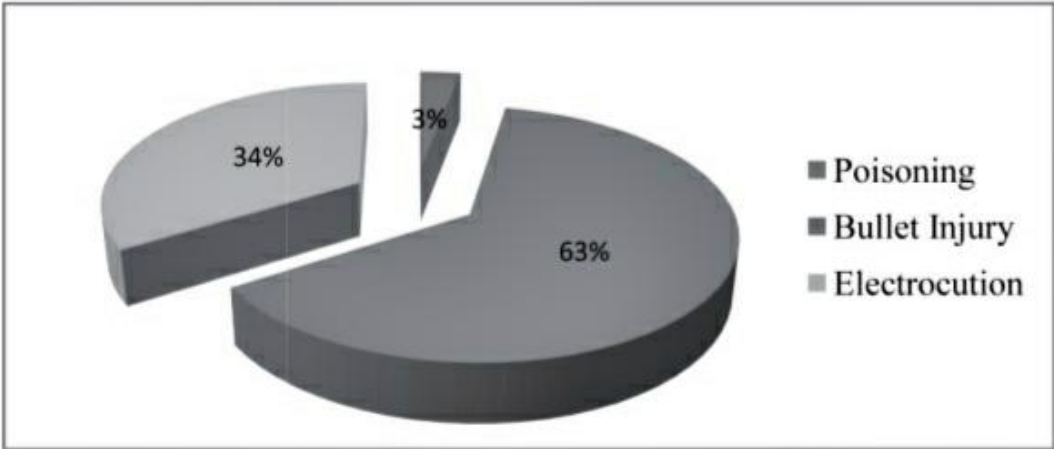


Fig 7: Methods of Rhino poaching incidences in Pobitora Wildlife Sanctuary during 1987 -2015 (March)

Source : Forest range office, PWLS



**COLLECTION OF THATCH :**

The villagers in the sanctuary usually collect thatch. It is collected by the villagers as raw material for kutcha house, fodder for cattle and even also collects as a source of fuel. The local people of Hatigarh, Kusiani, Morisutipam, Khulabhuyan, Kukuwari, NakaraHabi, Bohadoloni, Diprang, Thengbhangra were found to collect a significant proportion of the grass as fodder for cattle and thatch for building houses, which also contributes to the scarcity of food within the Sanctuary for the already crowded population of rhino and water buffalo. The villagers also destroy a major portion of grass by burning improperly during the collection of thatch.



Fig 8: A view of collection of thatch

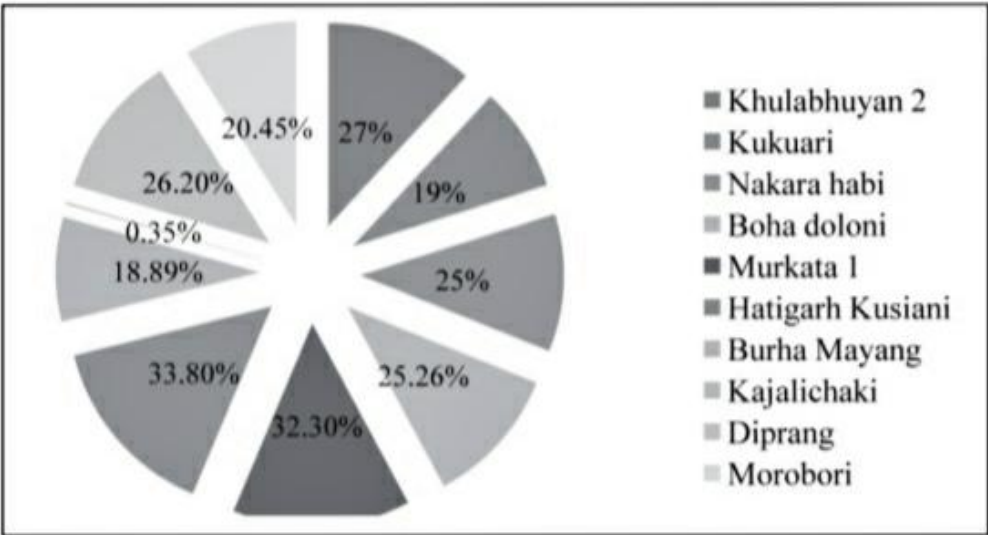


Fig 9: Percentage of thatch households in the sample village

**ILLEGAL CUTTING OF TREES :**

There are also reports of illegal tree cutting, particularly in the Raja Mayang Hill area of the Sanctuary. Around 25 percent of people rely on fuelwood and small timber from the Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary. Sometimes, small-sized timber like poles, posts etc. are reportedly cut by the villagers for their domestic use.



Fig 10: Illegal forest cutting in the Raja Mayang Hill Area



**FISHING :**

During the lean agricultural period, the landless people do illegal fishing inside Sanctuary for their livelihood. Before the declaration of Wildlife Sanctuary, fish mahals were leased out to the public, but now it is banned. While illegal fishing is a perennial problem in Pobitara, a large wetland, Garanga, is used by a commercial contractor who got the lease from the Fisheries Department against the provision of the Wildlife (Protection) Act 1972 as amended in 2002 (Choudhury, 2005). Though it is banned sometimes fishing is done secretly by local people. Now a day, HadukBeel is very closed to the Range Office of Pobitara suffer from illegal fishing because of its famous chitol.



Fig 11: A view of fishing people in Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary

**AREA OF ENCROACHMENT :**

During the study, it was observed that around 10.1 sq. km areas were found to be used by local villagers for agriculture. These areas were later added to the core of the sanctuary but originally Government khasland.

Table 4: Encroachment site and area

Sl. No.	Encroachment Site	Type	Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	Remarks
1	Dubaritoli area	For Agriculture	3.8	Encroach by villagers
2	KamarpurKandulibeel, Burhamayang area	For Agriculture	4.57	Encroach by villagers
3	South to Dholibeel	For Agriculture	1.55	Encroach by villagers
4	Kholabhuyan	For Agriculture	0.18	Encroach by villagers
Total			10.01 sq. km	

**Source:** Forest Range Office, Block Office.

Besides agricultural encroachment, settlement encroachments were also observed during the study time. All the locations of encroachment were noted with the help of held GPS. People coming from different areas of the district or other areas encroached these lands as their settlement place and agricultural land. Muslim and Bengali people have the highest contribution in this process of encroachment. Before the 1960's there was no any other process of encroachment. But, when the human population began to grow with time and people migrated from other places the encroachment process had taken place. The encroachment of agricultural areas in the PLWS has greatly increased from about 0.75 % in 1972 to 18.127 % in 2011.

## CONCLUSION :

Encroachment is a serious problem most of the wildlife habitats of the world. This problem badly affects the biodiversity of the Pobitara wildlife sanctuary. People encroach the land either to avail of new economic opportunities or to avoid risks or to both. The direct causes of encroachment are the social, economic, environmental, biological, cultural, historical and political context around the sanctuary. The major factors accelerating encroachment around the Pobitara Wildlife Sanctuary are population pressure and persistent poverty, migration, expansion of agricultural activities, political pressure, employment, natural hazard, etc. The interfering effect of the human population on the ecology, thus, can prove to be negative in the years to follow.



Though Pobitara was declared as a Wildlife Sanctuary but is not protected with the much required strict regulations and rules today. Thus, there is a need to ensure strict regulation on the use of land, and ensure that human settlements do not encroach upon the faunal civilization that exists alongside. There is a need to implement, the laws, meant for animal protection and conservation into proper action, to prevent the illegal activities. This is urgently required if they are to be protected.

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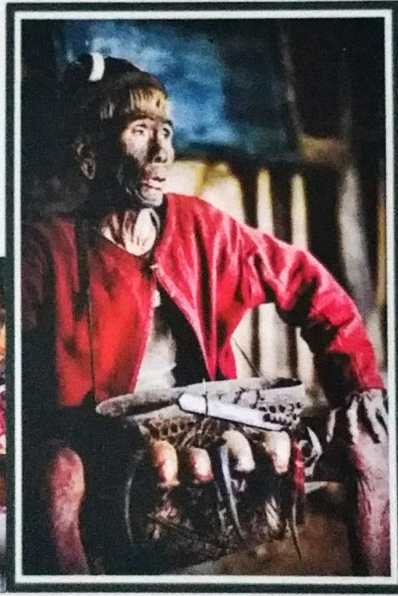
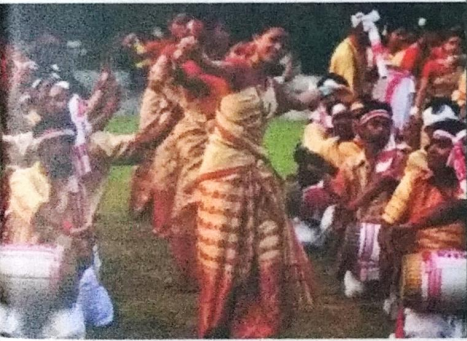
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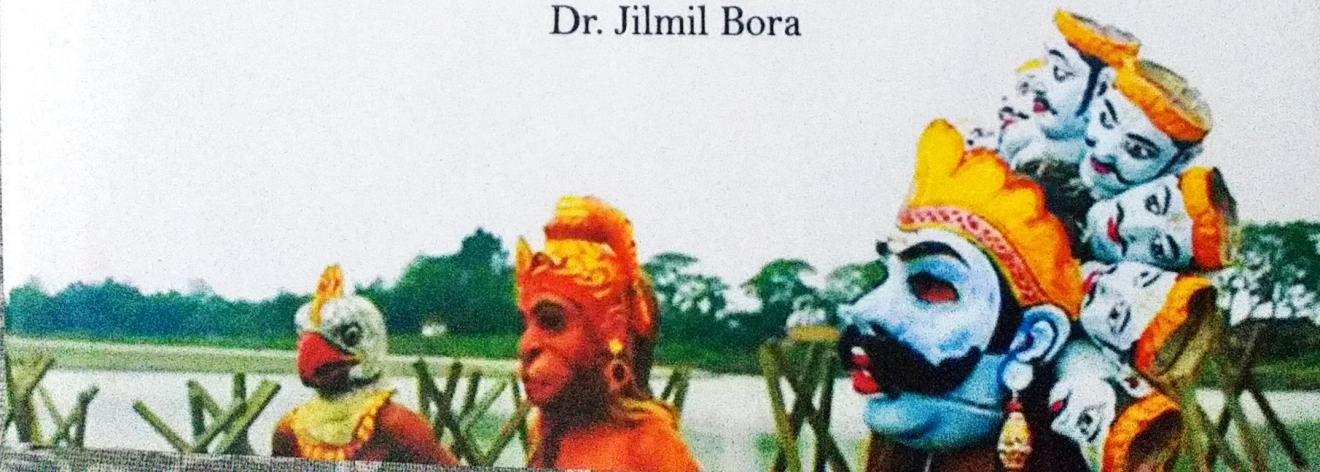




# Integrating Diverse Aspects of **North East India** Contexts and Perspectives



Dr. Jilmil Bora





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## Contents

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<i>Foreword</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Editorial Board</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>List of Contributors</i>	<i>xvii</i>
1. Spiritual Approach to Nature – A Tool for Environmental Protection: Its reflection in the Socio-Religious Beliefs of the Bodos — <i>Dr. Aditi Devi Choudhury</i>	1
2. Empowerment of Women: Policies and Status in India and Assam — <i>Dr. Alaka Hujuri</i>	14
3. Attitude of the Nationalist Leaders towards the Tea Garden Workers during Non-Cooperation Movement in Assam — <i>Anmana Goswami</i>	28
4. Tourism Practises in and around Nameri National Park — <i>Annesha Borah</i>	38
5. Importance of Festivals in the Realm of Culture: A Glimpse of Deori Bisu Celebration of Assam — <i>Atrayee Kashyap</i>	50
6. Flood as a Hazard and its Mitigation Strategies in Assam — <i>Azruddin Khan, Debashree Borah</i>	63
7. Population Pressure and Deforestation in North East India — <i>Dr Bhanu Hazarika</i>	75



- 
- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 18. Scientific Valediction of traditional Phytomedicine of North East India for zero Malaria<br>- <i>Nilakshi Gohain &amp; Mohan Chandra Kalita</i>  | 208 |
| 19. Ethnicity and Conflict in North East India: A Challenge to Identity<br>- <i>Priyanka Gogoi</i>   | 221 |
| 20. The Dhansiri (South) river: A Study on Land use and Diversified livelihood patterns of the People<br>- <i>Dr. Shashwati Nath</i>   | 232 |
| 21. Humanitarian Law <i>vis-a-vis</i> Internal Displacement and strokes on humanity in the context of Assam<br>- <i>Dr. Smita Sarmah</i>   | 238 |
| 22. Uniting Assam with Bharat: Cultural Nationalism in Sankardev's Neo-Vaishnavism<br>- <i>Sourabh Jyoti Sharma</i>  | 248 |
| 23. A Legal Study on the different aspects of National Dimensions upon Climate Change with Specific reference to the River Brahmaputra<br>- <i>Subal Chakravarty &amp; Jahnu Das</i>                                       | 259 |
| 24. Man-Animal Conflicts in Assam: A Study of Man-Elephant Conflict<br>- <i>Tinku Nath</i>   | 273 |
| 25. Progress of Distance Education and Assam<br>- <i>Dr. Utpal Kalita</i>  | 282 |
| 26. A Socio-Economic Survey on Pottery Works in Rajapukhuri Village under Kamrup District (R), Assam<br>- <i>Dr. Kumud Bhagawati, Dr. Archana Mali, Dr. Jonali Nath, Mrs. Chayanika Goswami &amp; Ms. Hiramoni Goswami</i> | 294 |



## Man-Animal Conflicts in Assam: A Study of Man-Elephant Conflict

*Tinku Nath*

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### Introduction

Before human civilization, nature was in balanced state and thus it functions sustainably without any disturbances, apart from some external natural events like earthquakes, floods, etc. As human beings civilized with the passage of time, their demand also increased day by day for which they started to exert pressure on the natural resources. Among all the natural resources, be it land resource or forest resource, the influence of human beings on the forest resource is prominent. Forest is the home for all wild animals but as a result of expansion of human activities into forest areas, their habitat have been getting contracted day by day. As a result of which various environmental problems have been emerging with every passing day. Thus, Man-animal conflicts have gained wider attention during the last few decades because of increasing human interference in their natural settings.

Man-animal conflict is defined as “any interaction between human and wildlife that results in negative impact on human social, economic or cultural life, on the conservation of wildlife populations or on the environment” (WWF for Nature). It is a situation when wildlife comes into conflict with human over common resources (Dutta *et al*, 2015: 245). The phenomenon of man-animal conflict is



accelerating so fast that it has become a threat to the existence of many globally endangered species, in particular to large and rare mammals. The various cases of man-animal conflict all over the state show its severity and hence an in-depth study to understand the problem is essential that may reduce its intensity. So, an attempt has been made in this article to analyse the causes and consequences of man-animal conflict and tried to suggest some remedial measures to minimise its vulnerability.

Different scholars have done their research work in the field of man and animal conflicts. *According to Palita and Purohit (2008), human-wildlife conflict is fast becoming a critical threat to the survival of many globally endangered species. They further discussed various causes responsible for human-wildlife conflict.* Ahmed *et al* (2012) carried out a questionnaire survey to understand the level of human-carnivore conflict in Kanha-Achanakmar corridor of Central India. *In their study they stated that during the monsoon season, the highest numbers of livestock depredation incidents have occurred and the highest number of human causality reported in winter. They also focused on conservation and mitigation measures to minimize human-carnivore conflict.* Dutta *et al* (2015) were of the view that forest villages are the most potent sites for the human-animal conflict as these are the places where human needs intersect with those of the wild animals. Nelson *et al* (2003) did a review of human-elephant conflict management strategies. Udgata (2011) have given a generalized view of man-animal conflict in Orissa. Govind (2015) in his studies on human-animal conflict in central Kerala estimated the extent of crop damage by wild animals, cattle lifting incidences and human casualties and predicted potential areas of crop damage. Lingaraju (2017) studied villager's perception and attitude towards human-animal conflict and tried to identify mitigation efforts of the forest department and farmers. Beside these, Athreya and Belsare (2007), Rusche (2003), Udgata (2011), Borah and Bhuyan (2016), Zimmermann *et al* (2009), Kar *et al* (2016), Sekhar (2018) also carried out their research on man-animal conflicts.

### Study area

Assam is situated between 24° 8'N - 28° 2' North latitudes and 89°42' - 96° 0' East longitudes (Fig. 1). Mighty Brahmaputra river flows through the mid of the state. It is surrounded by Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh in the north, Tripura and Mizoram in the south,



Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland in the east and West Bengal in the west. The state covers a total area of 78,438 sq. km representing 2.39 percent of the total geographical area of the country with a population accounting for 2.58 percent of the total national population.

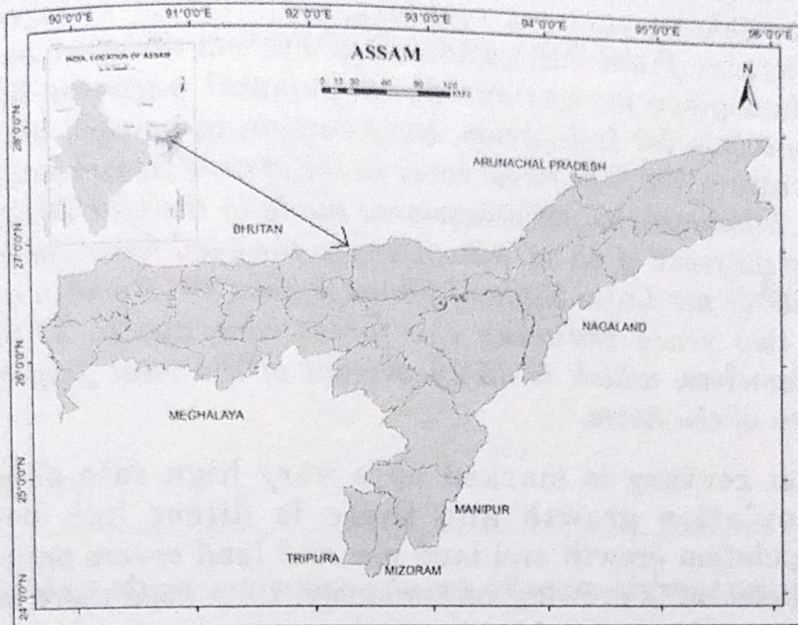


Fig 1: Location map of Assam

## Causes and Consequences

Assam is blessed by the nature and it lies at the centre of one of the world's richest bio-geographic areas. The areas within it, with heavy rainfall support evergreen forest and the relatively dry belt is clothed with deciduous type of forests. But due to various anthropogenic causes these forest have been shrinking day by day resulting conflict between man and wildlife.

Conflict between human and wildlife is an age old scenario in the state of Assam. However, due to rapid growth of population and consequent reduction of natural habitat alike *many parts of the world*, in Assam also people and animals are increasingly coming into conflict over the issue of living space and food (Palita and Purohit, 2008: 90). The man-animal conflict in Assam has been increasing drastically day by day. Man and animals are frequently coming into conflict over habitat and food requirement and this is mainly due to expanding human population and loss of natural habitats (Dutta *et al*, 2015: 245). There are various reasons attributed to this issue, mainly due to -



- 1) Assam is very rich in forest resources. Nature has endowed Assam with a rich potential for the development of forest. The luxuriant evergreen and deciduous forests of the state abound in variety of valuable timber species (Sharma, 2001: 52). But the forest of Assam has been degraded and depleted for reasons such as reckless exploitation of forest and extensive *jhum* cultivation. Exploitation of forest has been taken place for various developmental purposes like raw materials for industries, construction of houses, buildings, furniture, etc. *The forest cover in the state of Assam was 27,671 sq. kilometres as per assessment made in the year 2013. There is a decrease of 48 sq. kilometres in the total forest cover in the state as per India State of Forest Report 2015 within a period of two years reducing the forest coverage to 27,623 sq. kilometres, which is 35.22 percent of the total geographical area of the State.*
- 2) 21st century is marked by a very high rate of human population growth and there is direct link between population growth and land use and land covers pattern. As population is growing continuously, they need more land for their settlement and hence, settlement patterns are expanded close to the forest areas. Process of encroachment has also taken place into the forest areas for developmental purpose. The total population of the state was 26655528 in 2001 which rose to 31205576 in 2011. This increasing population needs more land for their survival which causes starting the process of encroachment into the forest areas. Of the total forest area which was 1733503.10 hectare, 387151.65 hectare was encroached.
- 3) Additionally, the problem of man-animal conflicts is further aggravated by the expansion of agricultural activities in the nearby region of wildlife habitats. Therefore, man-animal conflict has been increased in various parts of the state.

### Areas of conflict

The man-animal conflicts are varies spatially. Most of the districts of Assam with protected areas, national parks, wildlife sanctuaries, and hills experienced man-animals conflict. If it is man-elephant conflict in one place, it is different in another place like human-leopard conflict, human-boar conflict. There are many incidences of man animal conflict in various parts of the state.



Places like Indo-Bhutan border area of Udalguri, Rangjuli and Dhanubhanga in Goalpara, Chapanal and Kondoli area of Nagaon, Dhansiri East and West Sonitpur, Murphulani, Marangi areas of Golaghat conflicts were recorded.

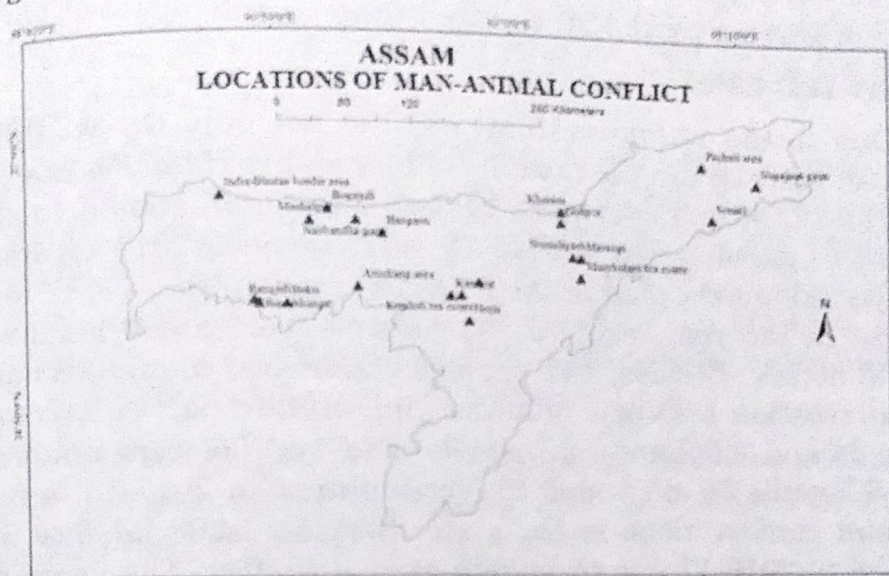


Fig 2: Map showing some places of man-animal conflict

## Consequences

The consequences of man animal conflict are very disastrous. For example crop damage, animal death, loss of human life, and injuries to people and wildlife. Furthermore, it leads to the increases of problem like poverty, debts etc.

## Crop damage

Crop damage is one of the severe causes of man-animal conflict in several parts of the state. Wild animals involved in crop damage are elephant, wild boar, rhino, and monkey. Among them the intensity of crop damage caused by elephant is very high in the state. Elephants destroyed 634.6 hectares of agricultural land in 2016-17 and the figure rose to 1,246.1 hectares in 2017-18.

## Loss of animal lives

Due to constant depletion of forest and wildlife habitat, loss of traditional animal movement paths due to linear infrastructure development projects and also due to human encroachment, wild animals are forced to move towards the human settlement villages or agricultural fields in search of foods. In this process, most of the animal deaths were caused by electrocution, poaching etc.



Among all the animals, elephants are more exposed to the possibility of being attacked or harmed, either physically or emotionally in the states. According to Aaranyak's (a leading wildlife NGO based in Guwahati) assessment 53 elephants were killed in various parts of the state in the year 2018.

### Human casualties

Due to the human-animal conflict not only the wildlife is affected, there occurs the casualty of human lives also. For example, in 2011-12, 93 persons were killed in the man-animal conflict. Around 61 persons died in 2012-13, 80 in the year 2013-14, around 35 reported to have died in the following year. In the year 2015-16, highest in the year, around 151 persons were killed because of animal attack. Besides, 441 persons succumbed to injuries due to the altercation between humans and wildlife particularly with leopards and elephants. 92 people died and 56 were injured in 2016-17 while 57 died and 19 were injured in 2017-18 in man-elephant conflict alone in the state. Besides, 1,208 families were affected in 2016-17 due to human-animal conflict. The figure rose to 2,194 in 2017-18.

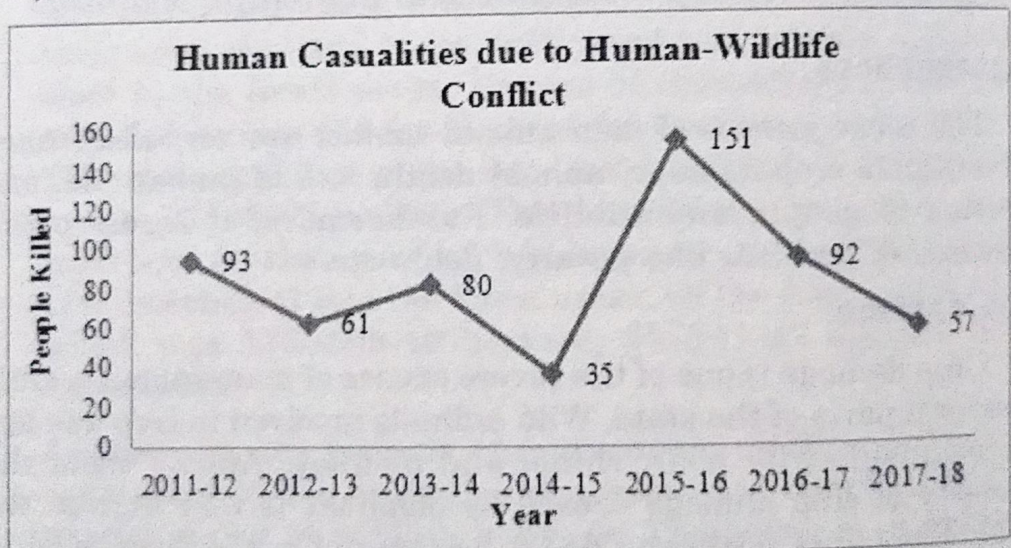


Fig 3: Loss of human lives due to human-wildlife conflict

### Mitigation measures

The problem of man-animal conflict seems to be a never ending one and complete mitigation of man-animals conflict is a distant and impractical reality. But to minimize the problem of conflict, the issue need to be taken sincerely. A few mitigation measures have been detailed in the article, such as



- i) Construction of physical barriers such as barbed wire fence.
- ii) Solar power electric fence is a good control measure for wild animals.
- iii) Bio fencing using cactus to prevent entry of animals in crop fields is one of the important measures to reduce the rate of man-animal conflict.
- iv) Reforestation activities should be carried out on a large scale. To reduce the growing incidence of man-elephant conflict fodder resources should be developed in key elephant's populated areas in the state. For example, a cluster of villages in central Assam's Nagaon district has found a way of keeping crop raiding elephants off their crops by setting aside some land to create a meal zone for them.
- v) The fragmentation of wildlife habitat should be avoided and proper care should be taken so that the connectivity through wildlife corridors is not disturbed.
- vi) Animal's migration corridors should be legally protected. Corridors used regularly by the animals like elephants should be given legal protection (Choudhury, 2004: 268).
- vii) Changing crop pattern near the forest areas.
- viii) Wide reach of LPG connection to the villagers who frequently go to the forest areas to fetch fuel wood, developing risk maps by integrating geographic and landscape factors for better conflict management efforts.
- ix) Beside these, increase awareness campaign among inhabitants around wild habitats and common people. Thus, protection of wild habitats is permanent solution that addresses the problem of man-animal at its root.

## **Conclusions**

The man-animal conflict is not going to end as the human population is continuously growing at an alarming rate and habitat available for wild animals is shrinking and in such situation no mitigation measure is going to work in the state. Therefore, people in Assam should focus on family control measures and reforestation activities on a large scale. Furthermore, due to human-wildlife conflict there is great loss to human as well animal lives, decreasing



agricultural outcome, destruction of human properties. Since the conflict is going to be a permanent feature of the state, a mechanism of broader co-existence should be found out. There is an urgent need to address the conflict problem through the active implementation effective and creative mitigation measures. Therefore, we must think for tangible long term solutions so that man-animal can live together.

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