Rural Development in Asia-Pacific Region (Vol. I)



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(Vol. I)

Dr. Jayanta Choudhury Dr. Narayan Sahoo Dr. Rongsentemjen Ao





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CHAPTER 80

Border Trade and Rural Development: A Tale of Two Bordering Villages in Mizoram

Lily Sangpui & Easwaran Kanagaraj

Introduction

The Look East Policy(LEP) rechristened as the Act East Policy (AEP) was formulated on the backdrop of looking towards the east, with the drive to integrate with the economies and in strengthening relations with the Southeast Asian (SEA) countries in the varied fields of security, trade and energy (Thomas, 2000; Haokip, 2015). As a part of India's external policy under AEP, bilateral trade agreement with Myanmar, considered as a gateway to SEA, was signed in 1994. Bilateral trade was seen as a rapprochement with Myanmar to mark India's new engagement in a pragmatic manner rather than banking on idealist manoeuver that had continually ill- placed India in the past (Routray, 2011). It is in the domestic consideration of the AEP, to help transform the geographical constrained of Northeast region (NER) by taking advantage of its geo-strategic location, that generated much hype and attention.

The opening of borders for trade, where the troubled frontiers of NER aggravated it to be more receptive towards security, has assumed a new narrative in the light of the AEP. The connotation of border trade as a linkage to development changes the way how development narrative is seen for the NER. This ostensibly posits border trade not just as a strategic tool to build relations but also as a tool for development. As a strategic tool border trade helps in forging relations across countries especially with neighbouring countries within the objective for greater economic ties. Another aspect is that it helps draw the line of control and recognition of border line demarcation. At a local level, border trade is viewed as part of a larger border development plan, one that has the potential to usher in the much needed development in border regions. As part of border area development plan border trade provides alternative means of livelihood to border residents, generate employment opportunities, and inject infrastructures that are critical to boost the local economy. From these perspectives, border trade acts not just as a strategic tool on its own, but also as a catalysing agent for regional development.

Understanding the role of border trade in the development process is rarely taken care of by economic and trade reforms. Let alone its impact at micro level, focusing on border communities, who are placed at the heart of policy are dealt sporadically. Patgiri & Hazarika (2016) have observed that the relation between policy formulation and concerns of border areas of a state received scant attention due to the common assumption that national interest already incorporates the interest and concerns of all the regions. This development intricately positioned borderlands at the interjection of marginalising their narratives (Kurain, 2019). At this intersection, focusing on the narratives of border communities the paper attempts to examine how bordering villages on the Indian side respond to the formalisation of border trade, and draw benefits from border trade.

This paper is positioned to understand border trade from development connotation. Rather than focusing on frontier politics and placing border trade within the sub component of policy(AEP), the paper focuses on the role of border trade within the discourse of rural development. It attempts to understand liberalisation at the ground by placing border communities at the center of analysis.

Locating Zokhawthar-Rih Border Trade Zone

The Governments of India has opened up 40 Land Custom Services (LCS) in and around the borders of NER to facilitate economic linkages through border trade by taking advantage of its strategic location (MoDONER)1. In 1994, the Governments of India and Myanmar signed the Border Trade Agreement (BTA) where it was agreed upon to open up border trade zones along the Indo-Myanmar border following which four border trade points were opened subsequently at Moreh-Tamu in Manipur, Zokhawthar-Rih in Mizoram, Longwa in Nagaland, and Pangsau Pass in Arunachal Pradesh. Till date, only Moreh and Zokhawthar trade centers function officially although trade is carried out unofficially across the other two trade centers.

The state of Mizoram is located in the extreme east of India, and shares its boundary with Myanmar in the east and south, in the west with Bangladesh and in the north with Assam and Manipur states respectively. Mizoram shares 450 km length of its international boundary mostly with the Chin Hills of Myanmar, where people on both sides of the borders share the same ethno-linguistic and cultural affinity. This greatly shapes the way borders are viewed by the borderland people. In view of the import driven economy of Mizoram and deficits in terms of basic infrastructures, inaccessibility coupled with slow growth of economy, facilitating trade across its border could inject the much needed market linkages and development. This was well recognised that the development of border trade was included in one of the clauses that were enshrined in the Mizoram Peace Accord of 1986 between the MNF leaders and the Government of India (Songate, 2010).

In 2004, the second Indo-Myanmar border trade point was opened at Zokhawthar. River Tiau which flows in between Zokhawthar, the last bastion village on the Indian side, and Rih (also known as Rihkhawdar) village of Myanmar acts as a natural boundary between India and Myanmar. In order to facilitate trade, Bailey bridge was

constructed over river Tiau in 2002. The Government of Mizoram acquired 126.96 acres of lands at Khawnuam in Melbuk Village, which is 8 km from Zokhawthar for the establishment of border Trade Township to accommodate customs officers and staff. Residential quarters of Type 1, Type II, Type III and Type IV and other basic amenities and provisions along with one helipad have been constructed (Zokhawthar LCS report, 2018). In addition to it, Composite Land Customs Building situated at zero points at a distance of 30 meters from the border was constructed to accommodate different traderelated departments and agencies. Subsequently on account of border trade, bordering villages of Zokhawthar and Melbuk were elevated to border trade townships.

Border Trade Mechanism across Zokhawthar-Rih Trade Zone

Under the BTA, it was agreed upon three types of trade across the Indo- Myanmar border viz.,

- Traditional/Free Exchange of items not exceeding US \$ 1000 or its equivalent, a)
- Barter Trade of items up to the value of US \$ 20,000 or its equivalent, and
- Normal Trade against payment for the supplies. c)

Taking into consideration the importance of exchange of goods for the locals, traditional exchange and barter systems were permitted. Under these two mechanisms, trade is conducted without any documentation and in a non-monetised mode of transaction. However, contemplating on the difficulties and problems associated with barter trade system, the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) on November 5th, 2015 abolished it and laid down for the functioning of normal trade (Das, 2016). In a barter system the problem persisted in finding goods to export that are equivalent to the value of imported goods.

Methodology

The study was conducted in two border villages of Zokhawthar and Melbuk situated adjacent to the Indo-Myanmar border trade on the Indian state of Mizoram. With the formalisation of border trade, it placed these two villages at the heart of the Act East Policy (AEP) which are subsequently identified as border trade towns. Employing both qualitative and participatory methods the study captured narratives of border communities through Key informant interviews(KII) and timeline mapping of villages. KIIs was conducted with 30 informants representing sample across community leaders, government officials, and members from different associations/ groups emerged on account of border trade. Timeline mapping was facilitated with members from respective village councils.

Review of Literature

Trade theory tends to suggest that trade fosters growth. It was considered as a driver for growth and development. Economists like W. Arthur Lewis, Nurkse, Myrdal and others have propagated trade as a strategy for growth (Riedal, 1984). As pointed out by Hanson (1994) and Krugman (1993), trade liberalisation strongly affects the economy of the border region. Study by Brülhart, Cadot, & Himbert (2019), observed that trade liberalisation stimulated economic activities around the border regions where expansion in trade boosted population growth and income of the border region.

The Sustainable Development Goal number 17 (SGD 17) recognised trade as an engine for inclusive economic growth and poverty reduction contributing towards for the promotion of sustainable development. Bird (2004) in examining the linkages of trade, poverty and sustainable development draws the need to analyse the impact of trade in the areas of intangible elements that are center to people's livelihood. LEAD Pakistan (2019) study on the social impact of border trade across the Pakistan-Afghanistan border region refocused the need to interlink trade and social development goals which can be achieved by making trade more inclusive where benefits are widely shared.

Trade liberalisation, along with the rise of regional cooperation heightened the process of globalisation that the concept of shared border began to take a forefront agenda in the politics of the nations. Borders which were once seen as liabilities are now seen as geo-economic potentials (G. Das, 2006). Borders were subsequently opened for bilateral trade which revitalised the potentials of border areas. According to P. Das (2014), as part of the AEP, the promotion of border trade played a dual role, one as a strategic policy of building diplomatic relationships with neighbouring countries and two as a development tool to advance border area development. Commenting on this, Thomas, Das & Singh (2005) and Baruah (2004) argued for the need to consider 'border trade' as a strategy for the development of border areas. At the local level, numerous studies have indicated that border trade generates employment opportunities and revives the local economy by providing a basket of livelihood opportunities (Whiteside, 2001; Aung, 2009; Gumbo, 2012; Awang, Sulehan & Bakar et al, 2013) and similar findings are also reported by several authors in the context of border trade in the northeast Indian context (Romalsawma, 2011; Sikder & Sarkar, 2005; Das, 2014; Singh, 2011). At this juncture, Taz Barua (2020) noted that since the advent of AEP, it has striven in placing physical infrastructures that are critical for the function of border trade over social development. This aspect creates imposition among the locals to view the AEP as a risk that makes the Northeast merely as a logistics transit hub. The development model that is centered around physical infrastructure development needs to be accompanied with visions for social development of the locals. However, a common feature indicative of border region where its economy is driven by trade is characterised by contestation and negotiation of resources, and where belonging is shaped by border practices with the adoption of exclusionary measures (Hansen, 1981; Flynn, 1997; McDuie-Ra, 2016; Rohluapuia, 2019).

It is seen that studies underpinning policy and border trade reclined more towards broader economic aspects, that the implication on border region development and narratives of the locals are scantily represented. In view of this, this paper attempts to bridge the gap by understanding the impact of border trade in the process of development of border regions through narratives of border communities.

Results and Discussion

To have a comprehensive understanding on the impact of border trade on bordering villages, it was examined on three major areas viz., Timeline development of bordering villages, livelihood promotion and community response to border trade. The first section deals with the development timeline of bordering villages of Zokhawthar and Melbuk. It captured chronological key events that help to assess changes over a period of time. The second section discusses along the line of livelihood promotion while the last section examines how border communities' response to economic opportunities generated by the formalisation of border trade.

Border Trade and Tale of Two Bordering Villages

Timeline mapping was conducted to understand the chronological development of Zokhawthar and Melbuk villages. Chronological mapping provides information as well as understanding on the making of villages and importantly pre and post border trade situation across the villages.

(1) Zokhawthar Village

Zokhawthar village is located at the extreme east of Champhai District at a distance of 30 km from the District Headquarter and situated at a distance of 228 km from Aizawl, the state capital. It came into existence partly on account of the formalisation of border trade. Earlier it was under the jurisdiction of Melbuk village and was known as 'Tiau Vaikai' meaning on the bank of river Tiau. As more people came to settle for the first time the inhabitants constituted a village committee in the year 1992. Later, Tiau Vaikai was renamed as Zokhawthar in 1994. It became a full-fledged village with a separate village council in the year 2002, however, with limited jurisdiction over forest land surrounding the settlement area.

Prior to the opening of border trade, cross border trade was in existence and to this day it continues to run parallel with formal trade. Free movement of goods and people continued to persist as well. Rope boat was used to cross river Tiau before the construction of weighbridge. There was no proper road and what existed was just a foot trail and it took two days to reach Champhai town on foot from Zokhawthar. According to Mr. Rinduma, who was among the first to migrate down to Tiau Vaikai (now called as Zokhawthar) narrated in this manner;

I shifted down to settle temporarily near the bank of river Tiau and opened up a hotel for boarding and loading. It was a thriving business as travelers often wished to cross over to Mizoram before dusk. There was also an urgent need for porters to carry the loads. Initially, I never assumed I would settle down permanently, but as trade expanded and business grew it attracted more people to Zokhawthar. Looking back, I can't never imagine it would grow in size. As of now we are around 3000 people here.

Cross border traders and travelers alike wanted to cross over river Tiau before nightfall. There was a considerable need for tea stall and hotel for travelers, and porters

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Cross border traders and travelers alike wanted to cross over river Tiau before nightfall. There was a considerable need for tea stall and hotel for travelers, and porters

to carry the loads. Sensing the opportunities, initially 5 households form Zotlang and 3 households from Champhai migrated down to the river bank of Tiau². In the words of Mr.Rinduma, "the speculation that border trade would open up greater opportunities attracted people to shift down to Zokhawthar even before the formal commencement of border trade has happened". Population continued to rise and in course of time as the momentum of trade increased more households migrated. In 2018-19 it is estimated that the population of Zokhawthar reached 3000 approximately, where the rise in population is accorded due to influx of migrants from Myanmar and from several part of Mizoram (Zokhawthar LCS Report, 2018).

As per the record of the village health worker, the population of Zokhawthar showed an increase yearly and continued to receive a host of migrants mostly from Champhai district and from Myanmar. The spur in population as commented by the health worker is added mostly by migrants. Considering the development of the village since the formalisation of border trade, schools, religious institutions and offices of importance have tripled. Despite being located away from main production centers and towns, it attracted the people and it is the growing employment opportunities that attract and pull people to this place and visitors alike.

Time Line of Zokhawthar Village

Year of inhabitation:1987

Year when the village first constituted village committee: 1992

Year when the village name was renamed as Zokhawthar: 1994

Year when the village was conferred with separate Village Council and first election of Village council held: 2002

No of schools and year of establishment in Zokhawthar

- 1. Government Primary School: 1991
- 2. Zokhawthar Middle School: 1995
- 3. M P High School: 2005 (changed into Zokhawthar High School in the year 2010)
- 4. Zokhawthar Primary School: 2010
- 5. Zokhawthar English Middle school: 2011
- 6. Zokhawthar Higher secondary school: 2013
- 7. Presbyterian English school: 2017 (till 8th standard)
- 8. St Joseph School: 2013
- 9. Baptist English School:2014

No. of Churches and year of establishment in Zokhawthar.

- 1. Zomi Baptist Church: 1991
- 2. Presbyterian Church: 1994
- 3. Baptist Church of India: 2003
- 4. Evangelical Free Church of India: 2008
- Catholic: 2013
- 6. United Pentecostal Church: 2015

Offices/Institution of Importance and year of establishment in Zokhawthar

1. Police out post: 2000

2. Sub Centre: 2000

3. Year of completion of construction of Bailey bridge over river Tiau: 2002

4. Mercy Clinic: 2014

5. Composite Land Customs building: 2007

6. Tourist Lodge: 2008

7. State Bank of India (SBI): 2016

(2) Melbuk Village

Melbuk village is located 8 km away from Zokhawthar and about 21 km away from the District Headquarters, Champhai. It consists of around 160 households with an approximate population of 600³. Despite being relatively older than Zokhawthar village, development at Melbuk village is slower considering the development of various institutions. However, the village has indicated growth, and along the same line as Zokhawthar village it saw additional establishment of educational institutions. It attracts migrants but lesser in magnitude than Zokhawthar village.

Meluk village holds a place as a route in channelising informal trade mainly in exporting goods over to Myanmar. Commercial vehicles parked along roadside engulf the sight as one passes through Melbuk village. Melbuk's residents alone could contract freight service of exported goods indicating improvement is directed towards physical endowments of households.

Time Line of Melbuk Village

Year of establishment: 1976

Churches in Melbuk

1. Presbyterian Church: 1985

2. Salvation Army: 1989

3. United Pentecostal Church: 1995

Number of educational institutions

Government Melbuk primary school: 1980

2. Government Middle School: 1990

Melbuk High School (ADHOC): 1997

Lalrampana Memorial English School: 2013

5. Presbyterian English School: 2019

Offices

1. Melbuk Sub Centre: 2000

Completion of construction of border township (quarters and helipad): 2001

The formalisation of border trade has in many ways contributed to the growth of bordering villages. Improvement is seen majority in the number of educational

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Offices

1. Melbuk Sub Centre: 2000

2. Completion of construction of border township (quarters and helipad): 2001

The formalisation of border trade has in many ways contributed to the growth of bordering villages. Improvement is seen majority in the number of educational

institutions established post border trade. Apart from it, numerous infrastructures development has been initiated and constructed to which Taz Barua (2020) termed the LEP/AEP to follow a physical development model. To facilitate trade, a composite building (trade and commerce center) was constructed equipped with a plant quarantine building, toll gate and a weighbridge that began to operate in 2004. The composite building accommodates various trade related departments and agencies such as immigration office, custom office, veterinary office, bank (State Bank of India) and other offices of importance. Not only in terms of development, it attracts visitors boosting local business.

The AEP has opened up the NER for trade and investment that gave an impetus for placing infrastructure requirements and promoting connectivity to facilitate trade and market linkages. This invariably bestowed bordering villages, located along the trade zone, with infrastructures critical to shred off their remoteness. Injection of infrastructures remain an important instrument for economic development in India and in Southeast Asia, particularly in the construction of roads (Barua, 2020). Road connectivity takes precedence and multiple projects have been initiated and one such ongoing project is the widening and upgradation of 27.5 km road between Champhai and Zokhawthar into two lanes funded by the World Bank. This road has become a lifeline for the people residing along the trade route. It is proposed that once it is completed it will connect Rih and other important towns of Myanmar like Tahan, Tedim and Kale.

For decades long, despite the existence of cross border movement of goods and people it remains underdeveloped with no proper connectivity. Road that linked Champhai town and Zokhawthar village, the last bastion village on the Indian side, was connected by unpaved jeepable road. It was only after widening works carried out on the existing road in 1996 following the implementation of Border Trade Agreement (BTA) that heavy/big vehicles like trucks could enter Zokhawthar. One senior border resident gave an account on the conditions before border trade and described it in this manner;

There was no regular transport service that ply along the route except few vehicles that ferry goods. The conditions of the road deterred people from venturing into transport service. In the absence of regular transportation, it was more convenient to travel on foot to reach the nearest village or town. From Zokhawthar, it took us almost two days to reach the nearest town Champhai on foot. As of now, there are vehicles services between Zokhawthar to Champhai after every hour. We could easily reach Champhai within an hour.

Apart from road construction, other critical infrastructures were subsequently built up. Weighbridge was constructed over river Tiau to facilitate trade with a load capacity intake of fewer than 15 tons (Chakraborty & Ray, 2015). Composite Land Customs Station (LSC) was constructed on 18.5 bighas of land at Zokhawthar acquired by the Government to accommodate various departments and agencies. Initially, the LCS was situated in Champhai. During the acquirement process, it was mentioned that few households were reluctant but as majority welcomed the idea on the thoughts that it will bring development, the community readily accepted the offers⁵. Border communities are opened to the transformational nature of trade viewing it as a vehicle

to help transform their region from the shackles of underdevelopment, isolation and remoteness. With the commencement of border trade and development works, it has to some extent lessened Mizoram's dependence on Silchar for their day today requirements and lowered the prices of goods considerably. One could comprehend the importance of Zokhawthar-Rih border trade considering the imported goods that arrived in Zokhawthar ranging mostly consumable goods from agriculture products to cattle, and other goods like household articles and electronic goods.

Border Trade and Livelihood Promotion

Prior to the formalisation of border trade, the main occupation of the borderland centered around Jhum cultivation and people adhered to migrate to nearby town Champhai for employment and education.6 However, with the formalisation of border trade, there is an occupational shift and cultivation becomes a secondary occupation. It has escalated non-farm income generation and provides income to a large number of the population working mainly as porters, drivers and in other trade related activities. Trade economy has the capacity to absorb a large number of population with less skills and educational level who would otherwise be left without a proper source of income and employment.

Border practices of engaging around trade activities and of crossing borders, and development of border markets exposed border communities to experience forces of globalisation and liberalisation at local level that invariable marked border livelihood vulnerable to changes in policy, contestation and seasonality. Despite the capacity to induct large number of border population to engage in trade, their livelihood remains vulnerable. In any eventuality where the smooth transaction of trade is halted, it renders majority of the people vulnerable to lost their daily wage. This pushes people to seek alternative means of income, and exerted the need to rely on another source of income and porters are worst affected. This reverberates that development of physical infrastructures should be backed by development in other forefront of social, and human capacity vital to sustain livelihood of the border regions.

Occupational health hazard is another area of vulnerability, pronounced among porters and drivers. Coupled with lack of health care services it posed a challenge as growth means human as well as material development. Occupational health hazards and dwindling health conditions on account of the nature of workload continued to form the biggest challenge towards securing a sustained livelihood. Lack of social security in the face of accidents escalate the situation further to which a porter narrated their plight and concern as,

We earn a decent income no doubt, but how long can we go on carrying heavy loads where work accidents are unavoidable. We are ageing earlier than others. It's either health or money but we needed both. Do we have a choice? A slight accident can render us incapacity to work with no security in place except receiving a paltry sum of contribution from fellow workers. Border trade brought a positive impact on the lives of those residing in the border through improved access to physical assets. Improvement in access to physical capitals have invariably created a multiplier effect in terms of paving

access to other capitals like human, social and financial, and in promoting livelihood options. However, the transferability of capitals/assets remain inadequate when emphasis is concentrated singularly unless supported by investment in other arenas. For border communities, labour remains an inextricable asset in terms of both tangible and intangible assets. Existence of reserved labour acts as a household security. It provides elasticity for border households the ability to search for alternative income either by using extra labour to carn wages or rendering help to family members in a non-remunerative way. As Barua (2020) observed there is an ardent need to ready the people of the region to take advantage of the development of connectivity. Alongside physical infrastructures, social development of the region needs equal emphasis.

Border Communities' Response to the Formalisation of Border Trade

The drive for economic integration through border trade has driven border communities to respond in multiple ways. One such response is through the formation of both formal and informal groups centered around trade activities. Secondly, border communities centralised their marginality by locating themselves with the border, and thirdly, through engaging in contestation of resources.

Formation of Border Trade Based Groups

Drawing on the transformational nature of trade, various trade related formal and informal groups have been formed. In and around Champhai district several groups have been associated with border trade. Four (4) local traders' associations have sprung up with members constituted mainly from Champhai town. Three (3) transport associations have been formed of which Champhai Transport Union (CTU) is the oldest and for decades have dominated and controlled all freight services, while the other two are based in Zokhawthar. Regarding porters' associations all the 3 (three) associations are located in Zokhawthar.

Table 1: List of Associations formed After Border Trade

The of Crown	Types of Association	Location
Type of Group		Zotlang
Trader	Pig Traders' Association	Champhai
	Export and Import of Mizoram(EXIM)	Champhai
	Champhai Export and Import Trade Union (CEITU)	
	Champhai Bazaar Association	Champhai
	Towntrip	Zokhawthar
Transport	Champhai Transport Union(CTU)	Champhai
	Zokhawthar Transport Union(ZTU)	Zokhawthar
Porter	Centre of Indian Trade Union of Mizoram(CITUM)	
101111	Porter Society	Zokhawthar
	Multipurpose	Zokhawthar
Community Level	Zokhawthar Welfare Association	Zokhawthar
Community Devel	Melbuk Development Charitable Society	Melbuk

Source: Field Survey

In addition to them, at community level groups were constituted to channelise the benefits of the trade opportunities to the community. For instance, in Zokhawthar village, Zokhawthar Welfare Association (ZWA) channelises resources and funds from trade for the progress and welfare of the community. Majority of the contribution came from local traders' association of and donation from individual members alike. Under the aegis of ZWA, it sponsors for the running of one high school, and looks into the requirement of additional teachers. Apart from this, it caters towards the welfare of the poor and needy supporting them financially, moreover, numerous developmental initiatives have been initiated for the locality with support from ZWA. These groups played an important role in decentralising benefits and help border communities to partake in the economic drive of border trade. It helps build social institutions that are vital to derive and forge new identity with more bargaining power.

Belonging and Contestation of Resources

In centralising their marginality of locating at the periphery region, bordering communities take advantage by identifying themselves as to what Flynn ascribed it as 'we are the border'(1997:319). Border communities legitimised their claim to control border by identifying themselves with border through their everyday practices of negotiation with border. In constructing their political claim to control mobility through their territory, they challenge the dominant elite groups that once dominated and controlled trade. Located at the extreme border, they take advantage of bridging two economies and political systems by positioning themselves with traders and the state for their economic advantage. For nonlocal traders, they provide their resources and mediate passage for their goods. At the same time, they maintain reciprocal relations with law implementing agencies as both of them require mutual support in managing the borders. It is alongside engaging in community building and building resources for the locality that border communities could rise to make a claim on border and trade across border.

Contestation of resources and conflicts have become a common feature in border regions where the economy is driven by trade (Hansen 1983; Flynn 1997; Mcduie-Ra, 2016) and that Zokhawthar-Rih is not an exceptional case. Territory has its own reservation with spatial control becoming more acute when it is centered around economic drive. In 2007, a dispute erupted between Zokhawthar Welfare Association (ZWA) and Champhai Transport Union (CTU). ZWA challenged the monopoly of freight service from Zokhawthar to Champhai by CTU following which Zokhawthar took advantage of its location and prevented entry of Myanmar's goods beyond Zokhawthar. As border trade progressed, with Zokhawthar residents being able to own a considerable number of commercial vehicles, they began to move out from the control of CTU and partake independently in transporting goods. Vehicles transported goods based on seniority (rotation base) and Zokhawthar vehicle owners feel that CTU is partial towards Champhai vehicles. Champhai District Collector, representatives from Young Mizo Association (YMA) and some eminent persons intervened as arbitrators and the dispute was resolved after six rounds of talks between ZWA and

CTU. Demands for inclusion in the management on equal footing was met along with monthly donation of rupees of 10000/- towards construction of school at Zokhawthar (OneIndia, 2007).

However, another dispute erupted again on march 2019. This time CTU calls for indefinite blockage of all vehicles that transported imported goods at the entry point of Champhai town. The bone of contention was in the management of vehicles. Zokhawthar Transport Union (ZTU) which managed vehicles at zero point has set additional fees without engaging in negotiation with CTU (Khonumthung News, 2019). Beneath it all, the move was intended to control transportation of goods by Zokhawthar as border trade falls within their jurisdiction. This has always been the bone of contention. This resulted in goods piling up in zero point and rendered a huge loss to traders in perishable items. The fight to dominate and control border trade often creates friction between different trade related groups. Disputes also arise among various porter's organisations. Whenever there is dispute it is the people who depended on trade for their livelihood that are worst affected. They had to forgo their earning, employment and have to fine recourse to sustain themselves during the period of conflict.

Locating at the transaction of two national economies, political systems and cultures, border communities bridge these differences and instead forge a new identity that at times contradict with State's policy and rules or at times with official and non-state officials. This results in contestations and conflicts. In such situations, border residents respond by developing client patronage, involved in border control and negotiations.

Suggestions

According to Kravis (1970) trade alone will not promote growth unless it is supported by other institutional changes. There is a need to focus on development of local capitals along with community development to produce assets. Conflicts, irregular trade, health and spread of disease, and policy change are some factors that placed border livelihood at risk. Lack of enterprising skills, market related knowledge, and lack of capitals act as a wet blanket to seek out the vast potentials trade has opened up. Development ready community is a prerequisite for pursuing economic development in order to have positive change as there can be a plausibility where a community can have growth without development and vice versa (Phillips & Pittman, 2009). As such, in order to direct a positive change across border communities of Zokhawthar and Melbuk, which are at a transitional stage of moving towards from village to towns, requires a holistic community building. Building local capitals remains at the core of development as it is the element that directs growth and development. Conflict resolution, leadership training, development of local entrepreneurship and expanding marketing skills of locals are the keys to sustainable change rather than emphasising singularly on physical infrastructure development (Barua, 2020).

Conclusion

The opening of trade has provided Zokhawthar and Melbuk with road linkage and other services such as banking services, better communication services, and transport services. Offices of importance have come up, roads have been widened and upgraded into two lanes, with road side businesses began to spring and flourish. Given the opportunities, people respond to opportunities in multiple ways, some of which may not necessarily prove to be beneficial. Diverse groups and educational institutions have sprung up catering to the much needed social and human development. However, institutions that will cater to human and social development need strengthening. At a micro level, it can be seen that trade has facilitated the development of villages and promoted livelihoods for people residing enroute trade zone. The multiplicity of responses exposed the complex nature of community building and the dynamics border trade brings into the region signifying the symbolic significance bordering communities bestowed on border and border trade.

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(Endnotes)

- https://mdoner.gov.in/list. The list includes all the existing border trade points along the NER which are functioning, non-functioning or yet to function as on the time retrieved on November, 2020.
- 2 Interview with Rinduma, whose family was among the first to migrate down to Tiau Vaikai (Zokhawthar).
- 3 Interview with Secretary, Village Council of Melbuk.
- 4 Interview with Mr. Rinduhma who was among the first to migrate and settled down at Zokhawthar.
- 5 Interview with the President of Zokhawthar Village Council.
- 6 Interview with an elder resident of Zokhawthar on 11 October 2017.