

Environmental Conservation and Community Activism: A Case Study the Chakrashila Wild Life Sanctuary of Assam

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Abstract: This article analyses community-based environmental governance through efforts to protect the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary in Assam. This essay argues that the conservation of Chakrashila is an example of how grassroots participation, civil society organizations, student groups, and government institutions influence environmental protection and public policy. The research is based on secondary sources including books, journal articles, government reports, policy documents and relevant literature. The article studies the historical context of the movement, its leading figures and its political process. This project has fostered local environmental awareness and democratic participation and helped save wildlife, especially the endangered golden langur. The article argues that sustainable conservation should be supported by increased community participation, institutional coordination and government support. It should also incorporate ecological preservation and local livelihoods to encourage long-term sustainability and participatory governance.

Keywords: Environment Conservation, Chakrashila, Sanctuary, Golden Langur, Deforestation, Civil Society, Deep Ecology.

Introduction

Environmental conservatism is a movement that promotes sustainable living, ecosystem protection, and natural resource conservation to protect the environment. It tends to emphasize personal responsibility and local community engagement, market-based solutions, and sound government policies rather than huge governmental intervention. Environmental conservation is one of the most serious challenges of the twenty-first century, as ecological degradation is rapidly damaging biodiversity, human livelihoods, and sustainable development (AIU. n.d.). In India, various environmental groups have been formed to protect forests, wildlife, and ecosystems from fast deforestation, habitat destruction, encroachment, and unsustainable exploitation of natural resources. These movements are not only ecological activities but also important political processes, showing the interaction dynamics among citizens, civil society organizations, local communities, and governments in the production of environmental governance. A case in point of community-based environmental activism is the campaign for the protection of the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary in Assam, which successfully combined public participation and state intervention to save biodiversity, especially the endangered Golden Langur. This article contends that the struggle for the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary is a narrative of the capacity of grassroots environmental movements to affect government policy and enhance democratic environmental governance in India. The movement shows that the best conservation occurs when local communities have a stake in the conservation programme process. People of the Chakrashila region, through collective action, public awareness, negotiation, and sustained campaigns, influenced the decision-making of the government, got the sanctuary declared, and institutionalized conservation measures. This study proposes that environmental protection is a political process of involvement, negotiation, policy formation, and institutional cooperation. The present study is a qualitative case study of the history, political context, and environmental significance of the Chakrashila movement. Data were collected from secondary sources such as books, journal articles, government documents, official notifications, and studies on wildlife conservation and community participation. The case study method allows for a deeper understanding of how local communities, civil society organizations, and government institutions interact in the making of conservation policies. This article consists of several sections. The first section presents the theoretical basis for environmental conservation. The second section is devoted to the geographical



background of Chakrashila sanctuary. The third section discusses and analyses the campaign for Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary and the role of civil society organizations. The fourth section discusses the theoretical analysis of the cases. The last section concludes the discussion by providing appropriate recommendations for the conservation of the environment. The findings of the study revealed that the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary was the outcome of sustained community activism supported by student groups, civil society organizations, environmentalists, and responsive government engagement. Campaigning was in favor of the level of environmental awareness of the local population and was vital for the protection of golden langurs. The research also shows that participatory conservation strategies enhance the public's sense of ownership of environmental resources, reduce friction between communities and authorities, and promote more sustainable conservation in the long term. Our results underscore the importance of enhancing community engagement in wildlife conservation, scaling up environmental education and awareness programs, improving coordination among government agencies and local bodies, providing sustainable livelihood opportunities to forest-based communities, and effectively implementing conservation policies through continuous monitoring and participatory governance. The Chakrashila example shows that successful environmental conservation requires not only legal protection but also public participation, democratic decision-making, and cooperative governance. Thus, this study adds to the understanding of environmental movements as significant tools of public policy, political participation, and sustainable development in contemporary India.

Theoretical Foundation of Environmental Conservation

Environmental conservation is the protection and responsible use of natural resources for the needs of the present without compromising the needs of future generations. The objective is to reconcile human development with ecological sustainability, protect biodiversity, mitigate climate change, and conserve ecosystems. Through conservation, we have clean air, safe water, fertile soils, food security, and long-term health. For people and the environment. Deep ecology theory The purpose of the research is to assess the environmental theory that was proposed by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess in 1973. Deep ecology theory holds that every living organism has its own value, irrespective of its usefulness to human beings, and thus deserves equal moral consideration. This philosophy is in contrast to shallow environmentalism, which is concerned with pollution control and resource management for human benefit. Deep ecology advocates a radical shift in the way humans view nature, proposing that humans are merely a part of the Earth's ecological community and not the dominant species (Naess 1973). This theory favours biodiversity, ecological balance, and conservation of ecosystems through the reduction of human interference in natural processes. This is a plea for less overconsumption, to live sustainably, and to recognize the interconnectedness of all life forms. Bill Devall and George Sessions (1985) believed that the environment should be preserved in light of ecological wisdom and not economic growth. They support policies that promote the conservation of wilderness, endangered species and natural habitats. The philosophy also supports decentralized societies, population stabilization, and the use of environmentally sensitive technologies to limit the impact of humans on ecosystems. Deep ecology has significantly impacted environmental ethics and conservation movements today, as it advocates for a biocentric perspective in which humans and nonhuman organisms are interconnected and equally important parts of the biosphere. Although critics argue that its principles are difficult to implement in modern industrial societies, the theory provides a robust framework for the long-term conservation of the environment and biodiversity (Drengson & Inoue, 1995). The environmental philosophy used in this study is deep ecology, which was introduced by Naess in 1973. The theory holds that all organisms have value in themselves, apart from their usefulness to humans, and should be taken into ethical consideration. Deep ecology calls for a radical change in human-nature relations. Shallow environmentalism focuses on pollution control and resource management to serve human needs. It states that humans are not the superior species in the ecological community of the Earth but simply a part of it. The conservation effort was aimed at protecting an entire ecosystem, not just one species, making deep ecology a fitting lens for studying conservation in the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary. The movement was rooted in the idea that forests, wildlife,



and biodiversity are of intrinsic value and should be protected irrespective of their economic value. The Chakrashila campaign is an ecological vision that asserts that the survival of the endangered golden langur is inseparable from habitat protection and regional ecological balance. Reducing human interference with natural processes is also a part of this philosophy, which fosters biodiversity, balance, and protection of the ecosystem. It also encourages sustainable living and recognizes the interdependence of all beings (Naess 1973). These principles were exemplified in the Chakrashila movement, where communities, student organizations, environmental groups, and government bodies worked together to stop habitat destruction, illegal extraction of resources, and the decline of wildlife. The movement did not regard the forest as an economic asset but encouraged communities to appreciate its ecological and lasting value. According to Devall and Sessions (1985), environmental conservation should be guided by ecological wisdom rather than economic growth. They support policies that safeguard wilderness, endangered species, and habitats. In the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary, it is evident that conservation goals guide policy and administration. Community initiatives, awareness campaigns, and government collaborations promote practices that prioritize sustainability and local participation. Deep ecology also advocates decentralized societies, population control, and eco-friendly technologies to reduce human impact (Devall and Sessions, 1985). The Chakrashila case is a practical example of these principles through community-based management, where stakeholders are involved in conservation, awareness, and resource management. The engagement of local and civil society is key to common responsibility for biodiversity and democratic decision-making. These participatory approaches increase public ownership and help diffuse conflicts between communities and authorities. Deep ecology also impacts environmental ethics, promoting a biocentric view that sees humans and non-human organisms as connected and equally significant components of the biosphere. Deep ecology has been criticized as difficult to implement in industrial societies, but the philosophy provides a strong basis for biodiversity conservation and sustainability (Drengson and Inoue 1995). This is best exemplified by Chakrashila conservation. This movement shows that successful conservation relies on legal protection, government intervention, public engagement, ecological awareness, and collective responsibility. Thus, deep ecology theory provides a conceptual framework for conservation at Chakrashila. It explores the relationships between community participation, ethics, democratic governance, and the conservation of biodiversity for sustainable protection. This theory supports the argument that effective conservation requires a shift from an anthropocentric perspective, in which nature is valued for human benefit, to a biocentric outlook that recognizes the intrinsic value of all life and promotes cooperative governance for present and future generations.

Geographical Profile of Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary

The Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary is located in western Assam in the Kokrajhar and Dhubri districts. The park is one of the most important protected areas in the state because of its rich biodiversity and role in the conservation of the endangered golden langur. It is situated in an area of approximately 45.568 km² and was declared a Reserve Forest in 1966 and later notified as a Wildlife Sanctuary on 14th July, 1994. The topography consists of undulating hills, tropical mixed deciduous and semi-evergreen forests, sal-dominated patches, grasslands, rocky slopes, and two major wetlands, Dheer Beel and Diplai Beel, which offer diverse habitats supporting a rich assemblage of flora and fauna; Forest Department, Assam, 2020; Government of Assam, 2007). Chakrashila is an important ecological wildlife corridor between the plains of Brahmaputra and Bhutanese foothills. The sanctuary is known internationally as the second protected area of India, created for the conservation of the Golden Langur, an animal found only in the region between the Manas and Sankosh rivers along the Indo-Bhutan border. The population survey in 2006-2007 registered 474 golden langurs in 64 groups with an average group size of 7.4 individuals, indicating a positive population trend and the importance of the sanctuary for the long-term survival of the species (Chetry et al., 2010). Apart from Golden Langur, the sanctuary is also home to a variety of wildlife, including barking deer, wild boars, leopard cats, jungle cats, seasonal sightings of Himalayan black bears, different species of bats, reptiles, amphibians, and more than 130 species of birds, including hornbills, woodpeckers, barbets, bulbuls, herons, kingfishers, and migratory birds (Choudhury 2002; Das and Medhi 2018). The flora of



Chakrashila comprises indigenous tree species such as sal, teak, khair, simul, ajhar, bamboo, and various fruit-bearing plants, which provide food and shelter to the fauna and flora and help in soil conservation, carbon storage, and stability of the ecosystem (Forest Department, 2020). The sanctuary also shares its boundaries with the villages of Bodo, Koch-Rajbongshi, Assamese-speaking Hindu, Muslim, Garo, and Rabha communities, for whom the forests have long been a source of sustenance for their livelihoods and cultural traditions. These communities have traditionally relied on forest resources such as firewood, bamboo, medicinal plants, wild fruits, and grazing land. Traditional practices and religious beliefs have played a role in the sustainable use of natural resources and in preventing their overexploitation of natural resources (Government of Assam, 2007; Choudhury, 2002). The surrounding villages are still agricultural in nature, with paddy, vegetables, jute, and livestock farming as the basis of their economy. Since the declaration of the sanctuary, access to forest resources has been regulated, allowing livelihood diversification through wage employment, small businesses, and government-sponsored development programmes. Women play an important role in agriculture, livestock management, and gathering resources for the household, while the youth and local schools are involved in plantation drives and awareness programs on the environment (Wildlife Institute of India, 2014; Das & Medhi, 2018). Collaborative conservation efforts by the Assam Forest Department, local communities, and organizations such as Nature's Beckon have resulted in increased habitat protection, reduced poaching and forest degradation, and increased public awareness of the species. The collective efforts and ecological services of the sanctuary, such as watershed protection, climate regulation, soil conservation, and eco-tourism opportunities, such as birdwatching and nature-based recreation, have added to community participation and played an important role in the long-term conservation of the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary and its unique biodiversity (Chetry et al., 2010; Barua, 2010).

Campaign for Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary – Role of Civil Society Organisations

The Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary in western Assam is an example of successful collaboration between NGOs, civil society organizations, local communities, and government agencies for its conservation. The conservation area was declared a protected area in 1994, but it really took off through awareness campaigns, community mobilization, habitat restoration, and participatory management, led by NGOs and community-based organizations. They have been vital in safeguarding the biodiversity of the sanctuary, especially the endangered golden langur, and in promoting community participation. One of the influential initiatives was the late 1990s started Golden Langur Conservation Project. This brought together NGOs, such as Nature's Foster, Green Forest Conservation, and other local organizations, under the Manas Biosphere Conservation Forum. The aim was to secure the fragmented habitat of the golden langur with community involvement instead of the state enforcement of laws. The project acknowledged that long-term conservation requires local communities to become active stakeholders (Horwich et al. 2010). NGOs primarily generate environmental awareness among people living around the sanctuary. They conducted village meetings, school programs, workshops, street plays, and rallies to educate communities about the ecological importance of the sanctuary and the endangered status of the golden langur. These programs have changed the perception of wildlife from a forest resource to a symbol of the region's natural heritage. Environmental education has also increased the involvement of younger generations in conservation and reinforced the conservation ethics. NGOs also helped organize and strengthen community-based forest protection. Local organizations under the Joint Forest Management (JFM) programme formed village forest committees and forest protection groups. The committees called on the villagers to keep a watch on the forests, report illegal logging, stop encroachments, and work with the Assam Forest Department to save wildlife habitats. Community patrols have stopped illegal logging and hunting and fostered a sense of ownership of conservation. By incorporating local knowledge and collective responsibility, this participatory approach is more effective than purely regulatory measures (Horwich et al., 2010). Poverty and dependence on forest resources are the main causes of degradation; therefore, NGOs are promoting sustainable livelihood programs to reduce pressure on the sanctuary. Women's Self-Help Groups (SHGs) were established to encourage savings and income-generating activities such as weaving, livestock rearing, vegetable cultivation, handicrafts, and small enterprises. Livelihood



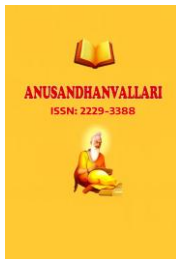
initiatives have increased household income, reduced dependence on illegal logging and fuelwood collection, and increased women's participation in the conservation. NGOs have demonstrated the compatibility of conservation and socioeconomic development. They have shown that biodiversity protection and rural livelihoods need not be at odds with one another (Community Conservation n.d.; Horwich et al., 2010). Another important aspect of NGO-led conservation is habitat restoration. Community-based afforestation programs have restored degraded patches of forest in the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary. Villagers were involved in raising tree nurseries, planting indigenous species, protecting young plantations, and restoring the ecological corridors used by golden langurs and other wildlife. Reforestation helps connect habitats and provide food for primates. It also helps reduce soil erosion and improve ecosystem stability. They are essential for improving habitat quality across the Manas Biosphere Reserve (Community Conservation, n.d.). Equally important was the advocacy of civil society organizations, which promoted stronger conservation policies and encouraged coordination between local communities, researchers, forest officials, and policymakers. NGOs provide workshops, consultations, and platforms for stakeholders to help them resolve conflicts over the use and conservation of forests. They highlighted the ecological importance of Chakrashila as the habitat of the endangered golden langur and called for improved legal protection and management of the area. Their advocacy has led to institutional attention to the sanctuary and better conservation planning (Horwich et al., 2010). Working with NGOs on joint scientific research has improved the conservation efforts. Aaranyak and other organisations working with researchers and academic institutions have systematically surveyed the populations, habitat conditions and threats to the golden langur in Chakrashila. These studies have produced robust data for tracking population trends, identifying threats such as habitat fragmentation, illegal logging, and human disturbance, and informing adaptive management strategies. These findings helped assess the effectiveness of community-based conservation and guide policy (Chetry et al., 2011; Chetry et al., 2020). The joint work of NGOs, civil society, and local communities has borne fruit. Research has shown that community-based protection has reduced illegal logging, improved habitat restoration, increased participation, and aided the recovery of golden langur populations in western Assam. The formation of volunteer Forest Protection Forces and raising public awareness have improved forest governance in many villages around Chakrashila. These successes demonstrate that community-based models can succeed when coupled with institutional guidance, scientific research, and local participation (Horwich et al. 2010). Notwithstanding these successes, challenges remain. The ecological integrity of the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary is under threat from the increasing human population, habitat fragmentation, agricultural expansion, infrastructure development, and limited financial resources. NGOs, therefore, continue to call for more conservation at the landscape scale, better connectivity of habitats, longer-term funding, climate-resilient management strategies, and more involvement of Indigenous and local communities in decision-making processes. The long-term sustainability of conservation efforts will continue to depend on partnerships between government agencies, research institutions, NGOs, and civil society organizations. In conclusion, NGOs and civil society organizations played an integral part in the conservation campaign of the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary. Through environmental education, community mobilization, participatory forest management, habitat restoration, promotion of sustainable livelihoods, scientific research, and policy advocacy, these organizations have transformed conservation from a government-led activity into a collective social movement. Their contributions illustrate how community-based approaches to conservation can successfully conserve biodiversity while improving local livelihoods and enhancing environmental stewardship. One of the most successful examples of community-based wildlife conservation in India is the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary (CWS) in western Assam. Government agencies, NGOs, researchers, and local communities have played key roles in conserving biodiversity and restoring the ecological integrity of the sanctuary (Chetry et al., 2010; Chetry et al., 2020). One of the major achievements of the conservation movement was the declaration of Chakrashila as a Wildlife Sanctuary, which gave legal protection to one of the most important habitats of the endangered Golden Langur. This recognition brought the kind of institutional backing, conservation financing, scientific surveillance, and administrative care that had been missing until then (Forest Department, Assam, 2020). One of the most important initiatives was the Golden Langur Conservation



Project, launched in the late 1990s, which saw the active participation of organizations such as Green Forest Conservation, Nature's Foster, Community Conservation, and local village institutions. The project was geared towards the reduction of illegal logging, prevention of habitat degradation, restoration of degraded forests through tree plantations, and increasing community participation in forest protection. Under the Joint Forest Management programme, Village Forest Protection Committees were formed to allow local communities to play a direct role in habitat restoration and wildlife monitoring (JFM). They also conduct educational programs, nature camps, and rallies to create awareness of biodiversity and hold community meetings to stress the ecological importance of the golden langur and promote forest conservation. Such initiatives have contributed to reducing hunting, illegal felling of trees, and unsustainable extraction of forest resources and promoting sustainable livelihood practices compatible with biodiversity conservation (Horwich et al., 2010). Notwithstanding persistent anthropogenic pressures, long-term population surveys suggest that the golden langur population in Chakrashila has remained relatively stable and is showing signs of recovery. Previous surveys have identified 474 individuals in 64 groups. Later studies recorded an increase in troop numbers and overall population, indicating the effectiveness of continuous conservation measures (Chetry et al., 2010; Chetry et al., 2020). The campaign also changed conservation policy from species-specific management to ecosystem-based management, recognizing that protecting the golden langur means protecting forests, water resources, and habitat connectivity (Barpeta District Administration, 2019). Consequently, the decrease in illegal logging, restoration of degraded forest patches, and improved connectivity between habitat patches have been beneficial not only for the golden langur but also for many other mammals, birds, reptiles, and plant species, thereby increasing the overall biodiversity of the sanctuary (Barman & Gupta, 2015). The campaign also promoted eco-tourism and environmentally compatible livelihoods to promote sustainable development (Wildlife Institute of India, 2014). Chakrashila has been increasingly used by educational institutions as a model for community-based conservation, helping to increase awareness of the environment among the younger generation (Assam State Biodiversity Board, 2016). However, threats such as habitat fragmentation, encroachment, and growing agriculture and infrastructure development remain. Therefore, we recommend improving the restoration of ecological corridors, increasing community participation, enhancing scientific monitoring, and establishing long-term habitat management programs for sustainable conservation of the species (Chetry et al., 2020). Overall, the Chakrashila conservation campaign is a living example of collaborative management as an effective tool to protect endangered species while promoting biodiversity conservation and sustainable management of resources.

Theoretical Discussion

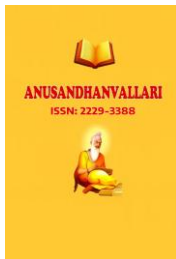
The campaign to protect the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary represents Arne Naess's (1973) deep ecology theory. In deep ecology, all living things have inherent worth, independent of their usefulness to humans. Conservation should be directed at entire ecosystems, not at the extraction of resources for economic gain. This lens is relevant to Chakrashila, where the movement was aimed at saving the endangered golden langur while conserving its forest habitat, ecological balance, and biodiversity as interdependent parts of one ecosystem. The campaign epitomizes the central premise of deep ecology: humans are members of nature, not its masters. Over time, local communities, environmental groups, and government agencies came to value the ecology of the sanctuary, and they changed their perception of forests from seeing them as a source of timber to seeing them in their natural state. This movement called for a move away from an anthropocentric view that values nature for its usefulness and towards a biocentric view that recognizes the inherent value of wildlife and ecosystems (Naess, 1973). Deep ecology theory emphasizes ecological interconnectedness and collective responsibility. Chakrashila's conservation activities – habitat restoration, afforestation, awareness programs, scientific monitoring, and participatory management – demonstrate that the golden langur's survival depends on habitat protection and local participation. This supports Devall and Sessions (1985) argument that policies and sustainable lifestyles should be based on ecological wisdom, not merely economic growth. The movement also shows that conservation is a democratic and social process, not merely a technical or administrative one. Decision-making, education, and protection were



conducted in collaboration with civil society, students, village committees, researchers, and governmental institutions. This participatory governance model increases local ownership, reduces conflict between the community and authorities, and ensures more long-term sustainability, thus supporting the argument that environmental decisions should be made at a decentralized level, including communities. The Chakrashila case shows that deep ecology theory needs to be practically adapted in developing societies where livelihoods depend on forest resources. The campaign has been associated with sustainable livelihoods through self-help groups, eco-friendly income generation, and community-based management. This balanced approach considers conservation objectives and local socioeconomic realities. Deep ecology theory provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the Chakrashila campaign. This case demonstrates that successful conservation depends on recognizing the intrinsic value of nature, connecting with communities, building ecological ethics, and linking biodiversity protection with democratic governance and sustainable development. Thus, the Chakrashila movement demonstrates how ecological theory can be translated into practical conservation through collaboration, institutional support, and public participation.

Conclusion

The Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary campaign demonstrates that conservation is most successful when ecological values are combined with community participation, democratic governance, and institutional support. Chakrashila, the study says, was saved through the continuing collective efforts of local communities, civil society, activists, researchers, students, and the Assam Forest Department. Their partnership transformed a habitat-degrading area into a critical landscape for the endangered golden langur and other species in Western Assam. The results indicate that community-based conservation enhances biodiversity protection and encourages public participation in the environmental governance. Awareness campaigns, participatory management, habitat restoration, scientific monitoring, and sustainable livelihood initiatives have made local communities active stakeholders and not passive beneficiaries. Such techniques help reduce illegal logging, habitat destruction, and resource extraction and raise awareness of environmental and social responsibility. The Chakrashila movement, therefore, demonstrates that long-term conservation requires sustained collaboration among the government, civil society, researchers, and residents. This study also highlights the importance of deep ecology theory. The campaign represented a transition from an anthropocentric perspective that valued forests solely for their economic utility to a biocentric perspective that appreciated the intrinsic value of ecosystems and biodiversity. Thus, the habitat of the golden langur is an example of how human well-being depends on a healthy ecosystem, as do ecological systems. The Chakrashila case thus reinforces the argument for conservation to be guided by the principles of ecological integrity, ethical responsibility, and sustainable coexistence. However, these successes are challenged by threats to the sustainability of the sanctuary. The major threats include habitat fragmentation, agricultural expansion, infrastructure development, climate change, encroachment, and pressure on forest resources. These problems require flexible policies that balance ecological protection and the livelihood needs of the local population. Future actions should aid landscape-scale planning, enhance ecological connectivity, and encourage greater public engagement in decision-making. The following measures are proposed. 1) First, enhancing community-based forest governance by expanding Village Forest Committees and ensuring the meaningful participation of indigenous and local communities in planning. Second, environmental education should be incorporated into the curriculum, and awareness campaigns should be conducted to instill a conservation ethic in younger generations. Third, governments should allocate more funds to habitat restoration, corridor development, research, and monitoring. Fourth, there is a need to extend programs on sustainable livelihood such as eco-tourism, agroforestry, non-timber forest products, and women-led groups to reduce dependence on forests and increase rural income. Fifth, institutionalise better coordination among government, research institutions, NGOs and local communities through collaborative management frameworks. Finally, conservation policies should be based on ecosystem-based climate-resilient approaches that synergize biodiversity conservation with sustainable development goals. The Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary is an example of community-led conservation.



Its experience shows that long-term environmental protection can be achieved not only through legislation and administrative measures but also through ecological consciousness, participatory governance, scientific knowledge, and social responsibility. The lessons of Chakrashila serve as a model for conservation efforts across India and other biodiversity-rich regions to balance sustainable and inclusive growth.

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