## BANGLADESHI MIGRATION TO NAGALAND

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the Degree of

#### **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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#### CERTIFICATE

Certified that dissertation entitled Bangladeshi Migration to Nagaland submitted by Emnakeyie Jamir in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) of this University, is his original work. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this or of any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation

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For my father & mother

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#### **PREFACE**

The study is an attempt to explore and understand the pattern of Bangladesh immigration to North East and particularly in Nagaland. It also seek to examine how migration has affected the demographic, economic, social, political and cultural structures of the indigenous people of the state.

Influx of illegal migrants have changed the demographic nature of North East particularly in Assam and Tripura. In Tripura, the immigrants population have reduced the indigenous tribal to a minority. Similarly, the study of immigration of Bangladesh in Nagaland is taken up because there is the possibility in future that the indigenous tribal population would be turned into a minority due to the unchecked follow of Bangladesh population. It is also a threat to the development of Nagaland. Since migration of population is a universal phenomena and it has intra-regional, inter-regional and international application.

It the first chapter, the theoretical aspect of migration in general is discussed. It analyses the factors of migration at intra-regional, inter

regional and international level.

Second Chapter is the study of migration of people in Nagaland both within and outside India. The impact on socio economic political status and the issue of 'Inner live Permit' is discussed.

Third chapter deals with migration from Bangladesh in the state. It looks into the historical and present status of Bangladeshi immigration in Nagaland. The Centre and state's policy towards Bangladesh immigrants is discussed in the chapter.

Fourth Chapter examines the impact and effect on the demographic, social, economic, political and cultural structures of the indigenous tribal population of Nagaland due to influx or infiltration of illegal bangladesh migrants.

The Final Chapter is an overview of the topic. Measures are suggested to stop the influx of Bangladesh immigration to Nagaland and India, in general.

#### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

#### Introduction

Migration of population is a universal phenomenon. Migration is known as the movement of people from one permanent residence to another permanent or temporary residence by breaking age old social and cultural ties. The term 'migration' connotates a change of residences, to pass from place to another, to change one's abode to another country or to change habitat periodically looking for means of survival and living space etc. It indicates symptoms of social and economic changes and can be regarded as a human adjustment to economic, environmental and social problem. Migration is closely related with the spatial redistribution of population and have a considerable bearing on population growth and distribution throughout the world.

The movement of people within and across national boundaries has been enduring component of human history, and have a number of distinct though complex consequence for both origin and receiving countries, and also for the people involved in the process. Trans-border migration denotes the territorial movement of people from one region to another, crossing the adjacent or neighbouring countries. It is closely linked with the process of socio-economic, political, technical and industrial development, and also the policies and programmes of the sending and receiving countries and of the world, in general.

Migration is of different types and forms which are not uniform in nature. Due to variety of reasons and compelling situations like population imbalances, economic disparities, wars etc, there are significant trans-border crossing of population in different parts of the world. Movement of the people may be within the national state, inter-regional or trans-border, intra-constinental and inter-continental, from less developed countries to developed countries, and from an insecure to secure place. Further, the term migration refer to out-migration from the country to another and immigration refers to entry from across an international border into a country and is used generally in international migration.

Migration has often been classified into various types on the basis of motivation, distance and time. On the basis of motivation, migration has been classified as economic migration, social migration depending on the factors that makes the migrants move. And on the basis of distance, distinction has been made between long-distance and short- distance migration. Similarly, short-term and long-term migration have been recognized depending upon the period of stay. There are also seasonal, temporary, periodic and permanent migration, of spontaneous, forced, impelled, free and planned migration, external, as well as of international migration.

International migration can be distinguished into different types, those whose presence / or employment in the receiving country is illegal or without legal sanction, and those who have been admitted as refugee.<sup>3</sup> It

R.C. Chandra, <u>The Geography of Population</u>, (New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers, 1992), p.151.

John. I. Clarke, <u>Population Geography</u>, (New York: Pergamen Press, 1972), p.130.

<sup>&</sup>quot;International Migration". <u>The world population situation in 1983</u>, (New York: United Nations, 1984), p.39.

can be generalised and categorised into Regular and Irregular migration.<sup>4</sup> Regular migrants are non-nationals who possess the authorization of the state in whose territory they are, that are required by law in respect to entry, stay or work, and fulfill the condition to which their entry, stay or work are subjected. They are shaped by economic, political and social forces primarily those of migrant receiving countries. The irregular migrants differ from regular migration. They are also non-nationals entering the state without possessing the authorization in which territory they are. They are unplanned mainly causes due to political events, national disasters, war, etc.

Another important type of migration is the undocumented or illegal migration and refugees movement. The movement of undocumented migrants and of refugees are increasing in numbers.<sup>5</sup> The undocumented movement very often occur between neighbouring countries, either where

W.R. Bonning (1984) "International Migration: Implication for development policies", <u>International Economic and Social Affairs</u>, <u>Hammamet</u> (Tunsia) 21-25 March 1983, (New York: United Nations, 1989), p.384.

<sup>&</sup>quot;International Migration" World Population Trends and Policies 1979 monitoring Report Vol II, Population Policies, (New York: United Nations, 1980), p.67.

the frontiers is very extensive or where frontier areas are not well-defined, relatively unguarded and thinly populated. The migrants who have entered the neighbouring countries are without visas, appropriate travel documents or due authorization. Undocumented migration may occur without the approval of either the sending or receiving countries.

The other type of migration in regular situation is refugee movement. The refugee is an unvoluntary migrant, a victim of politics, war or natural catastrophe and refuge movement is witnessed in different regions of the world in different periods of time. All refugees have in common these characteristics: they are uprooted, they are harmless, and they lack national protection and status.<sup>6</sup>

Various important combination of factors like economic, demographic, cultural, political, social, geographical and insecurity, etc, determines large scale migration of people from one place to another, and are difficult in the analysis of the process of migration.

Louse. W. Holborn, "Refugee: World Problem". Divid. L. Sills (ed). International Encyclopedia of the Social Science. vol. 13, R. (New York: The MacMillan Company and the Free Press, 1968), p.362.

With regard to the determinants of population movement, distinction has been made between 'Push' and 'Pull' factor. 'Push factor' cause pushing out of population from their region due to increase of population, unemployment, poverty, food storage, religion and social oppression, ethnicity, drought and flood, insecurity, political causes, etc. These factors operates in area of out migration and compels the people to move to other areas. 'Pull factor' on the other hand, attracts population for inhabitants which includes better job opportunities, employment facilities, better living condition in general, favourable economic and environment, security etc, and operates in area of in-migrations and attracts the people to these areas. Both factors explains the migration at the national as well as in the international level and migration in the manifestation of both factors.

The process of migration have various consequences and impact which can be observed and measured in demographic, economic, socio-cultural and political terms. The process of migration have impact on: the area experiencing in-migration, the area experiencing out-migration and the migrant themselves. In another word, it modifies the area of origin, the area of destination as well as the way of life of the migrants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> R.C. Chandra n.1, p.149.

Migration have bearing on the relationship of both sending and receiving countries. The most common impact is the growth of population on the recipient country and decrease of population of sending country. Geographically, the consequences are more spatial and numerical as it brings physical changes to both sending and receiving countries. On one hand there is expansion, opening of new lands, statistical changes in members, increased density, etc, and on the other hand decrease of population, vegetation, forestry, field etc. going to waste. Demographic changes like population, density, sex-ratio, growth, fertility, morality, age, literacy and occupational structure gets transformed due to migration.

Migration can be beneficial and advantageous for the receiving country by bringing economic development in countries like Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, etc. Inter-group friction and event to open sterile, linguistic differences, religion, physical appearances, social uniform and cultural tradition are serious consequences of migration to the reveiving countries.

One of the striking long term impact of trans-boarder migrations is over the issue of development, ethnic conflict and political conflict which results in political instabilities in the receiving country and leave scope for political movement within the country. There is fear on the receiving population because the feeling of immigrants dominating in political, economy etc. These leads to tension and conflicts among the two groups like Tamils in Sri-Lanka and Nepalese in Bhutan.

The universal phenomenon of migration is being felt even in the farflung eastern sector of India--The North-East India, compressing of seven states namely, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Tripura, and have major social and political consequence. These states are inhabited by people belonging to various ethnic groups, cultures, religions, etc. Compared to other state of India, the North Eastern region is backward inspite of its rich natural resources such as forest products, coal and oil. Besides inter-state migration there is influx of population from other countries like the Chakmas,

B.L. ABBI. <u>NorthEast Region</u>. <u>Problem and Prospects of Development</u>. (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 1984), p.81.

Bangladeshis, Nepalies and Tibetans. Thus there is high growth rate of population pressure on land, fear of losing cultural and social identity of the local people, etc. This has resulted in serious social, cultural, economic and political crisis and problem in North East.

Nagaland, like the rest of North East States, have over the years experienced influx of immigrants, particularly from Bangladesh and Nepal, apart from the in-migration from different parts of India. This has led to high growth of population and density, tension among ethnic groups, socioeconomic, cultural and political problems.

The state of Nagaland is a remote, mountainous region in the extreme North-East of India, with an area of 16.579 Sq. K.M. The state is bordered by Assam in the West and North, by Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmar in the East, by Manipur in the South and runs more or less parallel to the left bank of Brahmaputra. The state is strategically significant and almost equidistant from trijunctions of Indo-China and

Statistical Atlas of Nagaland. 1991, (Kohima: Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Nagaland, 1991), p.8.

Myanmar in the East and Indo-Myanmar and Bangladesh in the South.<sup>10</sup> The topography is an extension of the Himalayas with high hill ranges except for a few expanses of plains in the west part of the adjoining plain of Assam.

The population of Nagaland is almost entirely tribal and is categorised as Scheduled Tribes. There are many separate tribes and sub tribes amongst the Nagas with definite and distinctive languages, cultural features and characteristics. The state is mainly rural in character with only a few urban centres like Kohima, Dimapur, etc. The total population as per 1991 census is 12,15,573 and its density of population is 73 persons per sq. km. She recorded the highest decadal growth of 56.86 percent in India. The high growth rate population is due largely to the influx of immigration, a large portion of which is believed to be from foreign countries, thus leading to substantial increase in non-tribal population and significant change in the demographic feature of the state.

Imkonglemba, "Nagaland: A Profile", (Kohima:Government of Nagaland, No Year).

Statistical Atlas of Nagaland n.9, p.8.

ibid., n.9, p.10.

Nagaland attracts people from outside because it offers easy facilities for the migrants to settle and earn their livelihood. The common boundaries with Assam, lack of strong government vigilance in this border, failure to effectively implement 'Inner line permit' regulation, turmoilic situation in Assam and in other North Eastern States, lack of awareness among local people and its implication on the future prospect of the state contributes to influx of illegal immigrants sneaking into Nagaland. Migrants see Nagaland, as an ideal place of 'libensraum' or 'open space' for their survival and for better socio-economic living condition. There are two-fold impacts of migrations from outside. The migration at one hand helps modernisation of the tribes and on the other hand, it adds fuel to on going socio-economic tensions.

There is an apprehension that the indigenious people may be one day alien to their own land due to influx of immigrants who are culturally and linguistically more homogeneous. In order to protect the indigenous people and their culture, the flow of people from outside is required to be restricted. Nagaland, presently one of the most disturbed state-politically

and economically backward faces the prospect of subjugation numerically as well as culturally.

Due to the influx of migrants there is significant demographic changes, pressure on land, ethnic conflicts, tension is mounting up from time to time due to the fear of losing indigenous cultural identity, land, etc. It has led to backwardness of the state economy, living condition, encouraged trans boarder insurgency and added problem to the socio-political turmoil of the state.

In this chapter, land and the people, conceptual frame work, methodology and the scope of the study is focussed. In the second chapter the process of migration like migrants from outside Naga hills, from and within India as well as formal and undocumented migration is discussed. It also looks into the pertaining issues created out of their migration like socio-political, economic impact and the issues of Inner line permit. Third chapter looks solely on the Bangladeshi migrants, government policy and analysis of figures and numbers living in Nagaland. The overall scenario and significance of Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland is discussed in the

fourth chapter. Issues such as occupation pattern, local perception towards the population of immigrants, insurgency, etc, are look analysed. Finally, the concluding chapters looks into the overall scenario of migration, the finding and suggestions on the issues of migration is highlighted.

#### **CHAPTER II**

## PROCESS OF MIGRATION AND PERTAINING ISSUES

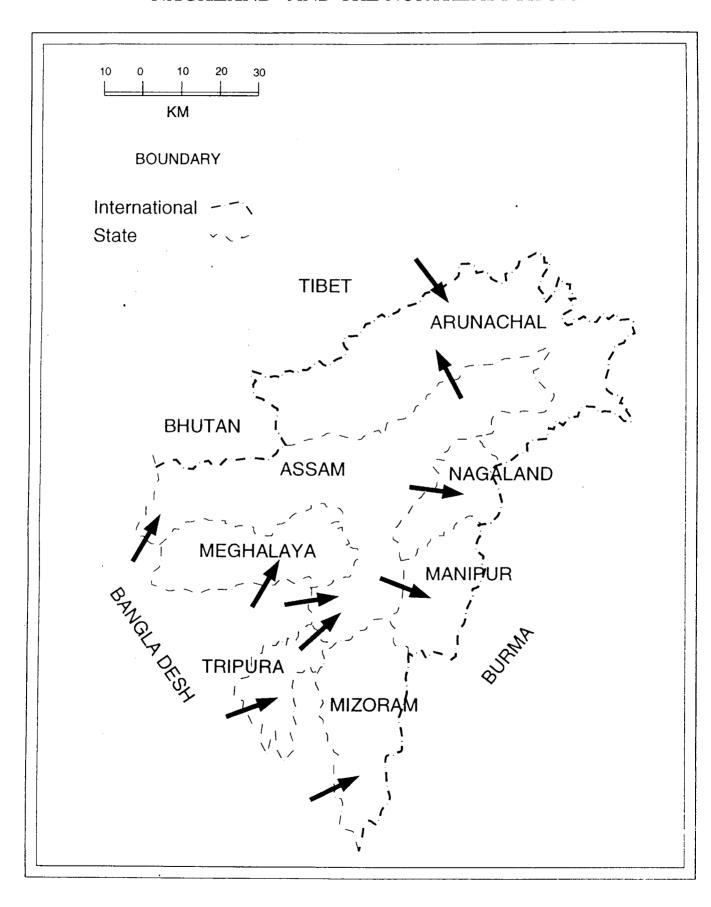
In India's North-Eastern state of Nagaland, migrants and infiltrators are both from across international border and from within the other states of India. The common border with neighbouring states of Assam (one of the worst affected states by immigration) and Manipur have contributed in the flow of migrants to Nagaland. Improved roadways, railways, communication and better economic opportunity like better livelihood, cultivation, opening trade and business, etc are also some reasons for migration to Nagaland.

Most of the migrations from outside Indian borders are mostly from countries like Bangladesh, Nepal, China-occupied-Tibet, Myanmar, Bhutan, etc. These migrants are mostly settled in the capital town of Kohima, in Dimapur (the main commercial town of the state bordering Assam) and in other district Head Quarters of the state.

Side by side with these migrants, people from other parts of Indian also migrate or come into the state. They mostly come from Assam, Orissa, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Kerala, West Bengal, etc. Usually, these

MAP-1

# FOREIGN CIVILIAN INVASION OF NAGALAND AND THE NORTHEAST REGION



people from other parts of India fall under two categories - (1) permenant settlers and (2) seasonal migrants. The seasonal migrants are mainly labourers from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa. They earn for their living and return to their own states. Permanent settlers, though settled permanently had heavy remittances to their kith and kins. They settle mostly in urban areas of the state.

TABLE I show the total migrants of Asian populations in the state. Most of the migrants into Nagaland are from Nepal and Bangladesh. The migrants from Bangladesh has settled in urban areas, whereas Nepalis and other Asian population has settled mostly in the rural areas. The census figure of 1991 shows that there is considerable decrease in the migrantion of population in the state. It is possible that prevailing political tension, law and order problem and students' agitation against foreign nationals and outsiders were found by the migrants the state unsafe and insecure. It may happen that many foreign nationals and outsiders tried to hide their identity from the enumerators during the census. It is believed that enumerators also face many problems to cover all the areas of the state due to lack of facilities. There are therefore, reasons to believe that the census figure does not show the exact number of migrants in the state.

## TABLE I: TOTAL ASIAN POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN NAGALAND (1981-1991)

Total Population	1961	1971	1981	1991	1961	1971	1981	1991	1961	1971	1981	1991
(Born in	6,673	11,805	12,361	5,164	1,658	4,703	4,692	2,497	5,015	7,102	7669	2667
Countries in Asia						ļ						
beyond India (incl						5	1	}				
former USSR)								1				
a) Bangladesh	1,682*	1,979*	2,191	311	1,251	570*	1,599*	258	431*	309*	591	53
b) Nepal	4,962	9,278	9,234	4,245	393	2,918	2,707	2105	4,533	6,360	6,527	2140
c) Other Asian	65	548	5,934	608	14	115	386	134	51	433	550	474
Countries												

Source:

Census of India - 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, Series-15. Migration Table. Directorate of Census operation, Nagaland.

Indicates figures of the then West (Pakistan) and East Pakistan (Bangladesh).

## TABLE II: SELECTED STATES POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN NAGALAND (1961-1991

	1961	1971	1981	1991
ASSAM	3404	10,100	27,868	21,973
BIHAR	993	7598	12,365	8329
KERALA	883	2151	2356	1765
MANIPUR	605	3006	7207	5100
ORISSA	82	411	1050	797
RAJASTHAN	432	1316	2179	1676
UTTAR PRADESH	2128	6865	6142	3548
WEST BENGAL	616	1785	3526	2851

Source:

<u>Census of India</u> - 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, Series - 15

Migration tables. Directorate of Census operation Nagaland.

## TABLE III: SELECTED STATES AND COUNTRIES DISTRICT WISE SETTLEMENT PATTER IN NAGALAND

		Kohima Di	strict	•		Phek District				Wokha [	<b></b>	Zunh	Zunheboto District				
WITHIN		61	71	81	91	61	71	81	91	61	71	81	91	61	71	81	91
INDIA						ļ		-				ļ		ļ			<del> </del>
Assam	Total	2455	6548	2094	16145		_	468	427	-	-	380	321	-	-	327	148
	Urban	942	3203	8127	3024	. <del>-</del>			232	-	-	224	156	-	-	201	70
	Rural	1513	2346	12827	7121		-	468	195	-	-	157	165		-	125	78
Bihar	Total	855	4720	8820	5614			228	323	-	-	150	121	-	-	243	220
	Urban	694	3603	4965	4165	-	-	-	146	-		116	18	-	-	143	130
	Rural.	161	1117	3855	1449	-		228	177	-	-	34	40	-	-	100	90
Kerala	Total	789	1042	1240	965			139	99	-		86	77			70	25
	Urban	627	849	608	695	-	-	-	60	-		59	57	-	-	22	9
	Rural	162	193	632	270			139	39	-	-	27	20	-	-	48	16
Manipur	Total .	402	2316	6208	4373		-	331	378	-		119	28		-	78	43
	Urban	236	1286	1659	1517	-	-	-	164			84	19	-	-	47	11
	Rural	166	1033	4549	2856	-		331	214	-		36	9	-	-	31	32
Orissa	Total	40	337	876	571	-	-	12	7	-	-	4	10		_	16	3
	Urban	7	164	387	364	-	-	-	5	-		1	1	-	-	6	0
	Rural	33	173	480	207	-	-	12	2	-		3	9	-		10	3
Rajast-han	Total	304	765	1256	1128	-		127	119	-	-	48	31	-		64	28
	Urban	195	608	1015	1010				35	-	•	46	27	-		24	11
	Rural	109	157	241	118			127	84	_	_	2	4	_	_	40	17

Uttar	Total	1091	3650	3879	2387	_		276	129			82	47			67	44
Pradesh	Urban	415	2626	1985	1790		-		87	-		47	17		-	32	14
	Rural	676	1024	1894	597	-	٠	276	42		-	35	30	-		35	30
West	Total	341	928	2494	2202	_	-	95	130	-	-	74	72	-	-	90	69
bengal	Urban	156	639	1545	1855	-	  -		54	-	-	61	41	-		69	30
	Rural	185	289	948	347			95	48	-	-	13	31	-	-	21	39
Outside	,									<u> </u>	[					!	
India															ļ		
Bangl-	Total	14591*2	1823*	2013	290	-	-	17	0			14	0			5	1
adesh	Urban	15*	1595*	1504°	246	-			0	· -		13	0	-	-	4	0
	Rural	208*	228*	509	44	-	<u>.                                    </u>	17	0	-	-	1	0	-	·	1	1
Nepal	Total	1792	4240	5519	2928		-	441	184	-	-	344	91		-	123	65
	Urban	352	2408	1661	1536				72	-	-	154	80		-	62	32
	Rural	14,40	1823	3857	1392	-		441	112	-	-	189	11		-	60	33

	!	Mokokchung	g District			Tuensang	District			Mon Distric	Mon District				
		1961	1971	1981	1991	1961	1971	1981	9191	1961	1971	1981	1991		
Assam	Total	417	1760	2117	1808	532	1792	1338	1362		-	2283	1762		
	Urban	3	886	991	752	0	0	706	695	-	-	681	232		
	Rural	414	874	1126	1056	532	1792	632	667	-	-	1602	1530		
Bihar	Total	59	2621	979	837	79	257	1510	914	-	-	435	300		
	Urban	-	2251	509	433	0	-	281	634	-	-	196	58		
	Rural	59	370	470	404	79	257	1229	280	-	-	239	242		
				940	123	62	391	281	356	_		201	120		
Kerala	Total	32	718 487	240 68	35	0	- 201	209	182			86	46		
	Urban	31	487   231	173	88	62	391	172	174		_	114	74		
	Rural	- O I	2.01	173	- 00	02	001	112							
Manipur	Total	17	334	130	83	186	359	241	89	-	-	126	106		
	Urban	3	107	62	42	0	. •	128	63	-	-	49	24		
	Rural	14	227	68	41	186	359	86	26	-	-	77	82		
Orissa	Total	1	51	85	95	41	23	35	45	-	-	32	66		
	Urban	-	31	10	5	0	0	7	39	٠ _		3	11		
	Rural	1	20	75	90	41	23	28	6			29	55		
Rajasthan	Total	18	354	283	169	20	197	171	126	-		229	75		
,	Urban	-	203	236	121	0	0	126	67	-	-	157	25		
	Rural	18	151	46	48	20	197	45	59	-		72	50		
Uttar Pradesh	Total	729	2360	450	397	108	850	771	356	-		617	188		
	Urban	11	1723	199	185	0	0	288	213	-	_	99	26		
_	Rural	718	637	330	121	108	850	483	143	-	-	518	162		
		101	400	400		,,,,	950	290	119			134	46		
West Bengal	Total	121	496	420	228	154	358	220	113	•	-	}	15		
	Urban	1	274	271	59	0	0	128	74	-	} -	52			
	Rural	120	222	149	169	154	358	92	39	-		82	49		

-

Outside India													
Bangladesh	Total	13*	100*	31	8	210*	56*	47	7		-	65	5
	Urban	-	75*	14	6	0	0	41	6	•	-	24	0
	Rural	13*	25*	17	2	210	56*	6	1	-	-	41	5
Nepal	Total	1,680	2762	683	295	1454	2276	1210	338	-	-	916	344
	Urban	41	1086	226	98	0	0	456	223		-	148	64
	Rural	1639	1676	457	197	1454	2276	754	115	-	-	769	<b>2</b> 80

Source: Census of India 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, Series 15. Nagaland. Directorate of Census operation Nagland

Indicates figure of the then East (Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (Pakistan)

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Streams of Marwaris from Rajasthan have spread themselves all over Nagaland, in towns and urban areas specially in Dimapur town. They engage in trade and commerce, opening shops and business houses. Most of the labour force, rickshaw and cart-pullers are migrants from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Bangladesh. The migrants like Bengalis of West Bengal, Biharis and Bangladeshis have taken up occupation such as carpentry, house-construction semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Large number of people from southern states of India, Assam and from West Bengal are employed in government offices and teaching profession in school and colleges. Nepalis are employed in cattle grazing and supply milk to local communities for they keep small herds of milch cattles. Large number of Bangladeshis and Nepalis are also employed in cultivation and agriculture sector by local people of the state.

Besides migration from outside and within India, there are many illegal or undocumented people migrating to Nagaland. Unfortunately, without any kind of visas or legal documents, unrestricted immigration of foreign persons especially from Bangladesh and Nepal continued to enter

into North Eastern region of India<sup>1</sup> and have spread all over the seven states. According to an estimate there are around 516,000 foreigners in Nagaland.<sup>2</sup> Large number of illegal migrants are found all over the state especially in Kohima, Dimapur and Mokokchung towns. Areas bordering Assam like Dimapur town and Wokha district have huge population of illegal infiltrators. According to Kuldip Nayar, an estimated 2 lakhs Bangladeshis migrants have settled in Dimapur alone.<sup>3</sup> People from within the rest of the country have also settled in Nagaland without legal documents.

At the time of census, the illegal migrants give false statements or hide from the enumerators. Due to poor vigilance in the border and failure to check influx by state administration, there are unprecedented infiltration of illegal immigration into Nagaland. These illegal immigrants try to immediately register themselves as voters in order to establish

Amiya Kumar Das. <u>Assam's Agony</u>, (New Delhi: Lancers Publication, 1982), p.31.

B.L. ABBI. North Region Problem and Prospects of Developments, (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural Development, 1984), p.291.

Kuldip Nayar. 'Nagaland: A State under Seige' <u>Hindustan Times</u>, 20th October, 1995.

bonafide residence status.

Migration from outside the state of Nagaland have serious impact on the socio-economic and political system of the state. It has resulted in population explosion, pressure on land, cultural identity in the light of threats or perceived threats leading to serious law and order problem in the state. It affects and have serious consequences on the socio-economic life of the people.

Nagaland is witnessing tremendous increase of population for the last three decades. Table IV shows that in the census figure of 1991, she has recorded the highest decadal growth rate of 56.86 percent in the country, which is extremely high as compared to the National average of 23.50 percent for the same period. Population growth of any region is the function of birth rate, death rate and migration. Though migration does not pose a serioius threat for the increase of population in India<sup>4</sup> butfor an open region like Nagaland and North-East region, the three reasons functions for the growth of population, since these regions after

Gita Jaiswal. "Population Growth" Seminar Paper 22nd September, 1992.

independence have been experiencing heavy and continuous influx of population from Bangladesh and Nepal, apart from in-migration from different parts of India.

TABLE IV: POPULATION INCREASE IN NAGALAND AND INDIA

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION IN NAGALAND	GROWTH RATE OF POPULATION DURING THE DECADE					
		INDIA	NAGALAND				
1901	1,01,550	-	-				
1911	1,49,038	5.75%	46.76%				
1921	1,58,801	-0.31%	6.55%				
1931	1,78,844	11.00%	12.62%				
1941	1,89,641	14.22%	6.04%				
1951	2,12,975	13.31%	8.60%				
1961	3,69,200	21.51%	14.07%				
1971	5,16,449	24.80%	39.88%				
1981	7,74,930	24.66%	50.05%				
1991	12,09,546	23.50%	56.86%				

Source: <u>Census of India</u>, 1991, Series-18, Nagaland. Provisional population totals. Directorate of Census Operation Nagaland.

In the economic field, specially in trade and commerce, the local people who are mostly based in agriculture are not in a position to compute with others from outside the state. The people from outside the state have strong financial position, more articulate and have business links with other parts of the country.<sup>5</sup>

From the social point of view, like the rest of North East India, Nagaland too have common phenomenon of wide spread identity crisis due to massive influx of population from outside and within the country. This has made the local people feel outnumbered and swamped with the people of different cultural origins. This results in the problem of assimilation of the local and outside inhabitants due to distinct cultural, religion and language differences. Further, the gradual increase in theft, social crimes like murder, arson, etc. have some relations to the influx of people from outside. All these factors has created tension between communities, ethnic and religious group, creating law and order problem in the state.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> B.L. ABBI n.2, p.91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> ibid., n.2, p.92.

It also creates ecological, civic and hygenic problem in the state, specially where they have set-up small villages. There are fear of epidemic and diseases spreading in these areas because the living condition where migrants live have unhygenic surrounding and locality. Migrants specially from Bangladesh, Nepal and Bihar have set up cluster and villages which cause fragmentation of land, exploring virgin lands and damaging ecological system of the state. Like Assam and rest of the North-East states, the people from outside the state are used as vote banks by the local politicians of Nagaland. Politically, they play an important role in the electionering process of the state and they vote for candidates who would cater to their needs and security.

Like in Assam, where local people have bracketed interstate migrants along with foreigners,<sup>7</sup> the same is the conception among the local people of Nagaland. The local people have labelled the people from the rest of the country as foreigners along with population from outside the country adding confusion, tension and misunderstanding in the state.

VIK Sarin, <u>India's North-East in Flames</u>, (Ghaziabad: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1982), p.53.

The flow of migrants from outside the state is being opposed by the state government and different organisation in the state. It has been vigilant about the flow of people specially the infiltrators, but without much success. Organisation like Naga Students' Federation (NSF), one of the seven constituent of North East Students organisations (NESO) is spearheading the move against the influx of people from outside the state. There have been numerous bandhs and agitations against infiltrators and these have on many occassions caused serious misunderstanding between state machinery and NSF creating tensions and law and order problem in the state.

The underlining factor arising out of migration in the state is over the crucial issue of 'Inner Line Permit'. The state of Nagaland and rest of North East comes under 'Restricted Area' and persons outside this area should obtain a permit for the visit or stay in this area. The 'Inner Line' is a line beyond which no persons outside the state can travel without an 'Inner Line Permit' issued from a competent executive authority.

It was introduced as early as in 1873, when British official were seen to have worked with an expansionist out look to encroach on Naga inhabited areas. British planters expanded areas of their tea estates to include Naga soil. Nagas resented the move fearing they would be driven away from their soil. In view of preventing deteriorating relationships and clashes with the Nagas, the Britishers decided to promulgate a Law, defining the limit of its boundary by what was called the 'Inner Line Regulations'.

The Regulation states that beyond the Line the tribal should be left to manage their own affairs with only such interference politically on the part of the British officers as may be considered to establish personal influence among the chiefs and tribes. This regulation was extended to serve dual purpose of the government, namely, the protection of all tea gardens from the Naga raids and the protection of the interest of the Nagas from the socio-political and economic exploitation from the outsiders.<sup>8</sup> The ILR has been revised several times since 1873. At present it is in vogue in Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> V. Elwin. Nagaland, pp. 43-44.

Apart from this, there is also the 'Restructed Area Permit' (RAP) which regulates the entry of foreign visitors, including diplomatic personnel to North-East region of India. Despite such restriction of entry, there are numerous illegal and undocumented immigration entering the whole of North-East region from outside and as well as within the rest of the country. Time and again central government have been requesting the state government to lift the permit system to enable economic development and to boost tourism. But the state fearing influx of immigration is opposed to such move. State's position creats tension and conflict between centre and state governments. The student organisation such as All Assam Students' Union (AASU) in Assam, Naga Students' Federation (NSF) in Nagaland, Khasi Students' Union (KSU) in Meghalaya and North-East Students' Organisation (NESO) in North East Region is dead against lifting of permit system. This has created in the people misunderstanding, tension, feeling of alienation and step-motherly treatment by the central government towards the North-East Region. This results in two way conflict between the central and state government on one hand, and between state government and the student organisations on the other.

The migration of population into Nagaland should be looked into earnestly and seriously. Moreover the continuous flow of immigrants should not be allowed and should be stopped. The poor and backward Nagaland and North East in general have become frustrated over the issue. Necessary steps should be taken to prevent further aggravation of such frustration and despair.

#### **CHAPTER - III**

# THE PROBLEM OF BANGLADESHI INFILTRATION IN NAGALAND

Immigration from Bangladesh into Nagaland since the beginning of the twentieth century had not ceased even after independence. Unabated migration has altered the demographic, socio-culture, economic and political structure of the state. The state of migration from Bangladesh in Nagaland can be understood better when we take into account the overall immigration scenario in the North East region.

North - East India is located in the corner most region of the Indian union and is bounded by Bhutan in the west, Tibet and China inthe North and East, Myanmar in the South - East and Bangladesh in the South. With the partition of India into India and Pakistan in 1947, Muslim majority Sylhet went to East Pakistan, but Assam was saved by Gopinath Bardoloi and Sardar Patel from going to East Pakistan. Also, with the partition of India, there was a diluge of refugees who fled East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) to take shelter in India especially in neighbouring West

Bengal, Assam, Tripura and Bihar. This ought to have been stopped after things settled down, but it was not, and there was an unending stream of foreigners into Assam, clandestinely all the while. Under legal process most of these refugees were rehabilitated and given Indian citizenship. Taking advantage of the presence of their own relatives and acquaintances in Assam and religious persecution in East Bengal, a considerable number of Bangladeshis came to North - East<sup>2</sup> and settled in the region as cultivators and agricultural labourers.

Even as streams of immigrants were steadily pouring into Assam, Tripura, West Bengal, etc. all the while and particularly again from 1960, when there was its reaction in the form of a language agitation in Assam, history was also on the move on another front - leading to a political reorganisation of Assam's territory. The North - Eastern region which was composed of Assam, Tripura and Manipur states, gradually transformed

D.P. Kumar. <u>Challenge to India's Unity</u>, (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1990), pg.2.

B.L. ABBI. North East Region: Problem and Prospect of Development, (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 1984), p.38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ibid., p.85.

Manipur and Tripura which were princely states, the rest of the regions were originally within the administrative jurisdiction of Assam. There were pressures for political and linguistic reasons to separate from Assam as ethnic groups of Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh could not become socially and culturally integrated as one.<sup>4</sup>

When India became independent, Assam was actually a state full of diversity and heterogeneity in terms of race, religion and Language. These diverse elements had not coalisced and became cohesive identity. Large portions of former Assam inhabited by different tribes were now separated from it to form new politico - geographical entities. Assam's area of 223, 590 square mile shrunk to 78, 523 square miles. The former Assam thus became divided in five parts - Nagaland was carved out of old Assam into a separate state in 1963, Meghalaya in 1971, Mizoram in 1971 and Arunachal Pradesh in 1972.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> D.P. Kumar. n.1, p.72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ibid., pp.72-73.

War of 1965 between India and Pakistan also led to influx of people from East Pakistan into Assam, West Bengal and different region of North - East India due to communal killings., Another factor which led to mass exodus of Bangladesh population and illegal migration into North-East region was in 1970, when Bangladesh came into existence.

Large population of Bangladesh migrants have come and settled in Nagaland since its statehood in 1963. There is also a number of Bangladesh infiltrators sneaking into the state without legal documents. Table V show the number of Bangladesh migrants in the state. The table show Bangladeshi migrants are mostly settled in areas of Kohima District which have some factors which pulls the migrants into the district. Factors like Dimapur town which is the main commercial town of the state provides better business avenues. It has better road and railway linkages. It is also due to the fact that it has common border with Assam and it is easy for migrants to sneak into these bordering areas.

TABLE V: BANGLADESH POPULATION IN NAGALAND

	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total Population of Nagaland	1,682*	1,979*	2,191	311
District wise				
Kohima	1,459*	1,823*	2,013	290
Phek	-	-	17	-
Wokha	-	-	14	-
Zunheboto	-	-	5	-
Mokokchung	13*	100*	31	1
Tuensang .	210*	56 <sup>*</sup>	47	8
Mon	-	-	65	5

Source: <u>Census of India</u> 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, Series-15, Nagaland.

Directorate of Census operation Nagaland.

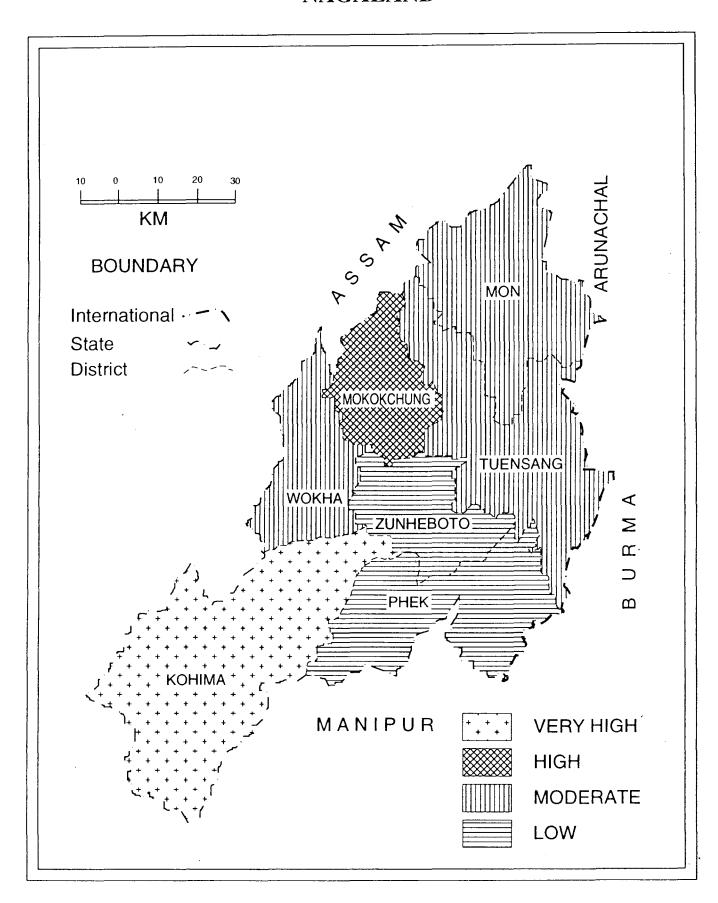
Indicates figure of the then West (Pakistan) and East Pakistan (Bangladesh).

Various factors in the state have attracted Bangladesh population to migrate into Nagaland. One of the foremost reasons is the location of the state. Situated in the North - eastern region of India, which have a common border with Bangladesh, naturally attracts Bangladeshi migrants. The state also share a common border with the neighbouring state of Assam. This has led to Bangladesh population living in the border areas of Assam to migrate into Nagaland. The improvement in transport and road communication have also led to influx of Bangladesh migrants, since they could easily avail themselves the facilities of buses and trains coming into the state.

Like the rest of the North - East states, Nagaland too have open space or 'libensraum' and Bangladeshis see this as an ideal place for their survival and for better socio-economic living conditions. The state also offers opportunity and avenues to open up small petty business and shops for the migrants from Bangladesh who are basically from low-income strata. Local community engage them in house hold activities like maids and servants, as labours to cultivate in their paddy fields and land. Poor

MAP-2

# MAP SHOWING DISTRICT-WISE BANGALADESHI CONCENTRATION IN NAGALAND



vigilance and security by state administration and failure to check, movement of people have also led to influx of Bangladeshi infiltrators into the state.

Agitation against foreign immigration in Assam by All Assam Students' Union creates fear among the Bangladesh population and this force them to move out to neighbouring states looking for safer place where they would feel secure. Ethnic clashes as a reaction against immigrants have resulted in brutal massacre of Nellie - (1983) and Barbeta in Assam. Such incidents have forced and compelled Bangladesh population in Assam to flee to neighbouring states like Tripura, Nagaland, Meghalaya, etc.

There are many local factors in Bangladesh that contribute to and catalysing migration into India specially to North - East region. The food shortage, absence of food security, poor economic and environmental conditions within Bangladesh which seem to lurch through an unending cycle of flood, cyclone, drought and famine have led to influx into the North East region of India. Bangladesh is the world's most densely populated

Sanjoy Hazarika. 'Far Eastern Himalaya. The search for Distance and Dignity. <u>Hunal</u> May/June 1995.

country with a density of 969 per square kilometer, and also the fourth largest peasant society in the world but its landlessness is rising at a faster rate than its population growth, forcing migrations that will spill over into India.<sup>7</sup>

Another factor that have led to influx is the religious prosecution and atrocities being perpetiated by the majority community i.e. muslim on the minority mainly Hindus in Bangladesh. This cause substantial Hindus to migrate to India in search of physical security and freedom. Historically, partition of India into two nations in 1947 have also led to mass exodus to different parts of India due to the religious prosecution. Another factor was the Indo-pak war in 1965, whose aftermath was a trail of refugees treking their way to Assam, West Bengal and the rest of North East India to take shelter.

Another factor which led to exodus of Bangladesh migrants moving into India was during emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 as a result of

Sanjoy Hazarika. <u>Strangers of the Mist Tales of War and Peace from India's North East</u>. (New Delhi: Penquin Books India (P) Ltd., 1994), p.11.

conflict between Pakistan and India. India going all out to help the creation of Bangladesh, and freeing it from the hegemony of Pakistan. But in 1970-71 already 10 million from East Pakistan had taken refuge in different states in India. The bulk of the refugees went back after Bangladesh came into being but at least one million of the refugees remained and permanently settled down in Assam, which slowly led to migrants spilling over the neighbouring states in the North-East.

### CHAPTER-IV

## SIGNIFICANCE OF BANGLADESH MIGRANTS IN NAGALAND

Migration of people from Bangladesh have significant impact on the demography, political, socio-economic and cultural status of the state. Both pull and push factors cause people to migrate to Nagaland. Pull factor like open space, job opportunity, better livelihood in Nagaland coupled with push factor of religious prosecution, partition of 1947, emergence of Bangladesh in 1971, over population, poor economic condition, etc, in Bangladesh have all constituted to be the reasons for immigration of people. Prof. Lewis states that "Political difficulties raised by migration are indeed insoluble if the migrants refuse to be assimilated, or if the countries from which they have migrated seek to interface in the domestic affairs of the sovereign countries to which their people have gone". It has resulted in overpopulation, social tensions, conflict and law and order problem in the state.

Prof. W. Arthus Lewis. <u>The Theory of Economic Growth</u>, 1955, p. 352.

One of the striking impacts of Bangladesh migration into Nagaland is the abnormal growth of population it has experienced. According to the Indian Census Report of 1991, the state have recorded the highest decadal growth of 56.86 per cent in the country as compared to the National average of 23.50 per cent for the same period. The growth of population of the state during 1901 to 1911 was high as 46.76 per cent as the country's growth of 5.75 per cent since then, the state's growth rate remained steady up to 1960.<sup>2</sup>

The population growth rate of 39.88%, 50.05% and 56.86% for the decade 1961-71, 1971-81, 1981-91 was very high compared to all India figures of 24.80%, 25.00% and 23.50% respectively. The district of Kohima have witnessed the highest decadal growth rate in the state from 1961 to 1981. Table IV, (page 11), shows the provisional figures of the decadal variation in population since 1961 in the state. The density of population of Nagaland has increased from 47 per sq. Km. 1981 census to 73 per sq. Km in 1991 Census. India's density population works out to 276 per. sq. Km in 1991.

Miss Gita Jaiswal. Seminar Paper "Population Growth" 22nd September 1992, p.3.

Kohima district has the highest population since it is the main business centre of the state. Dimapur town, which is situated in the foothill of the state is the only main business place, which is linked with railways, national highway and air-ways, is also the only industrialised town of the state where people come from within the state and outside the state. In the Census figure of 1991, Kohima district recorded the highest density of population at 98 persons per sq. km followed by Mokokchung district at 97 person per. sq. km. This increase is not only due to the change in the birth rate and death rate but also due to intra state migration, inter-state and international migration.<sup>3</sup>

Bangladesh migrants are settled mostly in urban areas of the state specially in areas of Kohima district like the capital town Kohima and the commercial town of Dimapur bordering Assam. Table VI. shows high concentration settlement of migrants from Bangladesh in urban areas of Kohima and Mokokchung. Since these areas generally have land which are fertile and productive, climate is congenial, economic resources are easily available, better transport and road communication thus providing

ibid., p.6.

easy accessibility to facilities for economic development. It also offer better job opportunity and livelihood. Since most of the Bangladeshis are mostly from low economic strata, they settle in urban areas of the state where the prospect of earning daily wages are available. Urban areas, specially in Dimapur areas-also offers better space and areas for settlement.

TABLE:VI DISTRICT WISE BANGLADESH POPULATION
SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Name of the Districts	1961	1971	1981	1991
Kohima				
Total	1,459	1823	2,013	290
Urban	1,251	1,595	1,504	246
Rural	208	228	509	44
Phek				
Total	-	-	17	-
Urban		-	-	-
Rural	-		17	-
Wokha				
Total	-	-	14	-
Urban	-	-	13	-
Rural	-	-	1	-

Zunheboto					
Total	-	-	5	1	
Urban	-	-	4	-	
Rural	-	-	1	1	
Mokokchung					
Total	13	100	31	8	
Urban	-	75	14	6	
Rural	13	25	17	2	
Tuensang					
Total	210	56	47	7	
Urban	• :	-	41	6	
Rural	210	56	6	1	
Mon					
Total	-	-	916	344	
Urban	-	-	148	64	
Rural	-	-	769	280	

Source: <u>Census of India</u>- 1961,1971,1981,1991. Census-15. Nagaland

Migration Table. Directorate of Census operation. Nagaland.

\* Indicates figures of the then West (Pakistan) and East Pakistan (Bangladesh).

Bangladesh immigrants are basically community based immigrants i.e. they settle or flock together in areas where they are secure and can easily earn their livelihood like in areas of Kohima, Mokokchung and Dimapur town. They have close remittances to their kiths and kins<sup>4</sup> and develop close links where they bring in relatives and family member into the state gradually. If relatives or friends are available in the state, they like to join them instead of going to other new places. However, there are many cases where migrants venture out into rural or interior areas like Wokha, Mon and Tuensang district of the state and have settled in these areas. Despite having common border with Assam, the district of Wokha have an average Bangladesh population because of regular tension and conflict for the border areas and territory between Assam and Nagaland. They find these areas insecure and unsafe.

The Bangladeshi population settlement pattern is largely concentrated in Kohima district specially since Dimapur township provides

B.L. ABBI, North East Region Problem and Prospects of Development, (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 1984), p.39.

ibid., p.40.

better road ways, railways and communication linkages. It has a common border with Assam and since there is no proper vigilance to check the inflow of outsiders or adequate security in the border areas, the Bangladeshi migrants can easily enter into the state without proper legal documents to stay or without the knowledge of the state administration.

The state is also faced with the infiltration and influx of large number of illegal Bangladesh citizens into the state. According to an estimate the number of Bangladeshi in Dimapur alone is around 2 lakhs. Most of the shops in Kohima are run by Bangladeshis who have infiltrated into the country. The census figure does not, in totality, show the exact figure of the Bangladesh population. The migrants at the time of census hide their identity or avoid the enumerators. There are also certain short comings with the enumerators since they cannot properly cover the whole state and lack facilities to identify the migrants, etc.

Kuldip Nayar, "Nagaland: A State under Seige" <u>Hindustan Times</u>, 20th October, 1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> ibid.

Like the rest of North East Regions, Nagaland too is faced with the problem of illegal and undocumented influx of Bangladeshi migrants leading to serious demographic imbalances, abnormal population growth pressure on land, ethnic tension and conflict and law and order problem in the state.

The unabated influx of illegal Bangladesh migration have added more problem to the ongoing political, social and economic instability of the state. The state which is basically backward, have an overwhelmingly, rural and agrarian economy. There are large number of educated unemployment alarmlingly unemployed youths, rising opportunities few in the state. Since the local people lack entrepreneurship in business and trade, the influx of Bangladesh migrants is taken as a threat by the local people particularly by the youth who perceive that the ongoing influx would generate unemployment problem. It is perceived that the Bangladeshi who are more articulate and organised have depreived them of trade and business avenues and cannot compete with them. The backwardness of the state is further aggravated by the lack of Centre and State policy to check the influx of Bangladeshi population into the state.

Further, the problem of assimilation between two different and distinct cultures have further aggravated ethnic and social tension in the state. The Bangladeshi culture which is traditionally an old and rich culture, has problem assimilating into the tribal culture of the local indigenous population. The local people perceive the foreign culture as a threat which endanger their culture and this has led to tension and perceived threat in the future. Like in Assam, where incidence of massacre and bloodshed have been experienced in Nellie, (1983), Barpeta, the recent Kokrajhar violence in May 18, 1996, and students unrest against outsiders in Meghalaya due to ethnic clashes, the problem of assimilation would, in future, may lead to violence and bloodshed.

The local population perceive that the unabated influx from Bangladesh have drastically changed the demographic profile of the state. Moreover it has put pressure on land, specially in open and fertile areas of Dimapur and its surrouding areas. The possibility of clash with the immigrants over the control of this fertile lands is not remote.

Sanjoy Hizarika. "The Eastern Himalaya. The search of Distance and Dignity." <u>Himal</u>, May/June, 1995, p.15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Times of India, May 19, 1996.

The Bangladeshis are mostly occupied in petty business, open up small shops, sell vegetables and fruits etc. Most shops in areas of Kohima and Dimapur are owned by Bangladesh infiltrators. The local people employ them in agriculture sector for paddy and sugarcane cultivation and share their food grains with the Bangladeshi cultivators. They have also taken up unskilled or semi-skilled profession like house and road constructions, carpentry, cattle rearing and are employed as maids or servants by the local people. Fertile soil in the state and lack of competition from the local people induce people to come to such competition-free new areas.

The presence of large number of Bangladesh population in Nagaland encouraged the incidence of crime and group conflict in recent years. There is increase number of arson, robbery, murder, etc., in areas like Dimapur and Kohima where large number of Bangladeshi population are found. There are recent cases of inter-marriage between local and the Bangladesh migrants which deepens the roots for migrants population to hold and settle permanently in the state. The state have witnessed tension arising out of corruption in the officials of state government who issue 'Inner Line

Permit' or legal documents for the migrants to stay in the state. The Bangladesh citizens bribe the government officials, and security forces in the border, who in return issue permit and help the Bangladeshis to enter and stay in the state.

The misuse of legal document or permit to stay in the state have led to tension and hostile attitude towards the Bangladesh citizen in the state specially by students organisations like the Naga Students' Federation (NSF). Like All Assam Students' Union in Assam, agitating against the influx of foreigners<sup>10</sup> and by student organisations and different political parties offensive against outsiders in Meghalaya,<sup>11</sup> the NSF in Nagaland is also spearheading the anti-foreigner or outsider issue in the state. NSF have accused the government both at the Centre and State for its failure, lack of policy to check the influx of Bangladeshi infiltrators and the misuse of issuing innerline permit by the state officials.

KML CHHABRA. <u>Assam Challenge</u>, (Delhi: Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1992) p.67.

VIK SARIN. <u>India's North-East in Flames</u>, (Ghaizabad, Vikas Publishing, 1982), pp. 105-109.

There is constant misunderstanding between NSF and Election Commission viz-a-viz the state government over the electoral roll in the state. It has created conflict and tension since the NSF have been demanding intensive revision of electoral rolls in the state to detect foreigners in the electoral list. Table VII shows the change in the electoral list of the state. The increase in votes may indicate inclusion of foreigners like Bangladeshis and Nepalis in the state list. Decrease in the year of 1977 and 1989 may be due to the reason of threat against the foreigners and detection of foreigners in the electoral list. The Bangladesh population are encouraged and made as vote banks by politicians of the state. They play a very crucial and deciding factor in the election process of key constituency like Dimapur I, II, III, Ghaspani I and II constituencies of the state.

TABLE VII: CHANGE OF VOTERS IN NAGALAND

OVER THE YEARS

Election Year	Number of Voters	Percent change of voters between elections
1964*	1,24,231	-
1969 <sup>*</sup>	1,76,931	7.33 (in 5 yrs)
1974	4,06,587	18.11 (in 5 yrs)
1977	4,03,460	-0.26 (in 5 yrs)
1982	5,96,453	8.13 (in 5 yrs)
1989	5,82,426	-0.34 (in 7 yrs)
1993	8,12,950	9.69 (in 4 yrs)
1996 <sup>+</sup>	8,74,518	2.46 (in 3 yrs)

Source: <u>Election Commission Office Government of Nagaland</u> Kohima, Nagaland.

- \* There were 3 (three) districts in 1964 and 1969 in the state, namely Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang districts. Tuensang was exempted for 10 yrs and was kept under special provision under Article 371(A) of the constitution. It nominated 6(six) members in the Nagaland legislative assembly. Since 1974, there is election for the all existing seven district of the state.
- + Figures of 1996 Lok Sabha election.

It has adds confusion to the ongoing tensions in the state since the state officials are unable to properly detect foreign national from the electoral list. In many cases genuine Indian citizens are harassed and mistakely taken as foreign nationals, and many genuine citizens are shocked to find their names deleted from the electoral list. There are many anti-infiltration drive and agitation by different political parties and organisation in Nagaland which creates serious law and order problems in the state.

Migration of Bangladesh people into Nagaland cause serious impact on the demographic nature of the state. It has put pressure on land and there is unprecidented growth of population in the state. The state would not be able to sustain such large number of people and this have put serious constraints on the development of economic backwardness of the state. There is a serious threat to the political and socio-cultural structures of the state, and to the poor and backward people of North-East in general.

Amzad Hussain. 'Alien Paronoia'. <u>Nagaland Post</u>, Monday, September 18, 1995.

#### CHAPTER - V

#### CONCLUSION

The immigration of Bangladesh population have significant impact in Nagaland and the rest of north east region. It changes the demographic natural and political set-up of the region. The state of Nagaland comprises of seven districts, viz. Kohima, Phek, Wokha, Mokokchung, Zunheboto, Tuensang and Mon districts. It is basically a backward state with an agrarian economy. The migration from outside the state have created serious population explosion, increase scarcity of land, threatened socio-economic life of the indigenous tribal and there is fear of ethnic violence in the state.

Many factors in the state make people to migrate from outside the state. The state provides large open space or 'lebensraum', which attracts people specially migrants of low income strata specially from Bangladesh and Nepal to migrate and earn their livelihood. The common border with Assam and poor vigilance in these areas have allowed people to sneak and infiltrate into the state.

The state provides facilities and easy avenues for setting up trade and business. Fertile soil in Nagaland and lack of competition from the local people, induce people to come to such competition free areas. Improved communication system, roads and railways are factors and means used by migrants to come into the state. Agitation, antioutsiders attitude and ethnic violence in neighboring states of Assam, Tripura and in the rest of north east states have also forced people to move out and seek for safer areas in the state.

Political and economic hardship faced in Bangladesh also forced out people to migrate to neighbouring areas of India. Absence of job, over population, growing landlessness at a faster rate than its population growth, political and minorities prosecution force people to migrate and spill into India to earn their livelihood. The common international border shared between Bangladesh and India is another factor that allow people to move into this region.

Nagaland has been witnessing tremendous increase in population in the last three decades. It recorded the highest decadal growth rate of 56.38 per cent in the country as compared to the National average of 23.50 per cent in the latest census of 1991. Population growth in the state is due to the function of birth rate, death rate and migration. The number of non-tribal people have increased more than two fold during the past three decades. Such abnormal increase is undoubtedly due to immigration largely from foreign countries and influx of illegal migrants from Bangladesh and Nepal, apart from in migration from different parts of India.

The rate of unusual growth of Bangladesh population has not been as alarming as in Tripura and Assam. The statistical status of the local population in Tripura has been drastically out numbered to a mere 20 per cent, and in Assam where all spheres of life in atleast 4-5 districts are completely dominated by illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. But the state of Nagaland is close at the heels of the kind of situation in both these states, where the present status of the illegal migrants in Nagaland is certainly alarming. The indigenous

population fear that they would be out numbered specially in urban areas of the capital town-Kohima and the main commercial town of the state-Dimapur. It is therefore, not surprising that Dimapur alone has a total Bangladeshi population of more than 2 (two) lakhs.

With the unprecedented influx of Bangladeshi immigrants, the state have been witnessing like the rest of North east region, the issue and question of preserving local identity. It has been a prime agenda for the local people from all walks of life. The problem of assimilation of the two distinct culture have pose serious threat on the local inhabitants. The local feel threatened that their language and culture would one day be swayed by the culture of the immigrants, which creates serious social tension in the state.

There is an alarming pressure being put on the demographic nature of the state. There is increased in scarcity of cultivable lands and open space with the immigrants occupying lands in the state. Large area of forest areas are cut down to set up villages by immigrants. Cramped in unhealthy and squalid living conditions they

also are a cause of major health hazard of epidemical proportion across the state.

With the rapid increase of population resulting out of influx of illegal immigrants, the state is not in a position to sustain large number of people. It has further aggravated the pace of underdevelopment and unemployment in the state. The problem of finding jobs for the unemployed and underemployed is already acute in Nagaland. The proportion of landless and marginal farmers is increasing in recent years. With the scarcity of jobs, cultivable lands and the likelihood that the local people would not be able to compete with more articulate and resourceful Bangladesh immigrants, the influx have adversely affected the economic well being of the local people.

There are no serious policies to check and stop the movement of population from neighbouring countries, the need for which in respect of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Nagaland and Mizoram is already recognised by the government of India. The indigenous people

feel threatened and see the danger that within a few years, the people in the region will lose their cultural identity and the area will become a colony of the neighbouring countries. In such an eventuality, the indigenous people, in sheer frustration, would take recourse to violent and other means. This would further aggravate the present ongoing insurgency and law and order problem in the state and rest of north east region.

The problem of the presence of large number of Bangladesh population in the state is also due to the indifference and apathy of the public and encouragement from politicians and state's administrations in Nagaland. The police and state administration allow the entry of Bangladesh and foreign national into Nagaland on illegal consideration like taking bribes, resorting to corruption and other malpratices. Politician encourage illegal settlement of foreigners with a view to get block votes at the time of elections. The Bangladesh migrants after staying for sometime easily club themselves with the influential middle class and politicians to become culturally organised and politically threatening to the political set up of the state.

The presence of Bangladesh and foreign nationals, without valid permit from the government is a security risk. Their presence in India and particularly in the north east region create, contribute to or exacerbate conflicts, tensions and insecurity situation. The presence of such thousands and millions of immigrants in north eastern region have security implication. It creates conditions for destabilisation and disruption of political, economic and social systems in the region, as it pose serious threat to the cultural security of the nation.

North Eastern Region is witnessing anti-foreigners or outsiders agitations and movements which creates serious law and order problems on the region. The most striking feature of the movement in different parts of the region over the foreign nationals issue is that it is initiated and led mainly by students organisations. We find that All Assam students union in Assam, Khasi student union of Meghalaya and Naga students Federation are activity involved over the issue. There are also conflicts among the immigrants due to variations in their respective socio-economic strata, religion, ethnic identities, etc., which in turn create law and order problem.

The Bangladesh immigrants have also shown tendency to indulge in petty crimes, drugs and arms trafficking, arsons, etc. They became a part of the underworld and criminal group in the region. There are tension and conflicts between local and Bangladesh immigrants, since the local had to share resource in area of essential supplies and service, health, water, sanitation facilities, power and transport with the Bangladesh population. The articulate and more resourceful Bangladeshi immigrants also get themselves involved in local politics for advancing their political and economic objectives.

The movement of population from Bangladesh have generated tension and precipitated conflict between India and Bangladesh, creating problems of external security. The border tension and misunderstanding resulting from the movement of population do have a tendency to create conditions for large international armed conflict between the two nations. It also creates conflict at bilateral, regional and global levels.

The prevailing volatile situation in Nagaland and the rest of North-East region of India highlights the urgent need for finding out some solution to discourage influx of foreign nationals. Serious thought and policy should be worked out by national and state leaders, intellectuals and the people in general. There is a strong feeling that a step-motherly treatment and attitude is shown to this region by the Govt of India. The intracability of the problem of the North-East and Delhi's ad-hoc policies towards its people have complicated an already difficult situation. A concrete and right practical solution to the menacing problem of foreign nationals in the region would also pave the way to a solution of large socio-economic problem on a national basis keeping in view the interest both of the country and of its units, as a real partner in progress and development.

In totality of the issues presented, an emergent necessity of settling the foreigner's issues is needed in the region, on the basis of the constitution and existing laws. Steps should be taken for restructuring centre - state relations, as in a true federation in the interest of political stability, substantial economic development and

social harmony.

The problem of migration can be tackled in several ways, if it is approached in a uniform and common forum. Strong and firm messages should be send to Bangladesh and Nepal that further infiltration will not be accepted. India should work with other South Asian countries to bring about a solution to this problem. To tackle migration, India must develop new immigration law and develop enforcement mechanism. It should review her citizenship rules of granting citizenship to foreigners. Granting of Indian citizenship to persons of foreign origin or without permanent residence and permanent occupation, must be stopped.

Fencing and strict vigilance should be carried out in the border, both at international and state territory. Erecting barbed wire fence and sealing the border areas should be taken up. The method applied would be very expensive and there are practical problem of fencing mountainous terrains, rivers, paddy fields and forest areas. Strict enforcement of Border security force (BSF) in border areas should be

carried out. The security forces should sincerely check the movement of illegal migrants. If necessary, issuance of identity cards and maintenance of both, marriage and death register in border areas should form part of the steps taken to halt infiltration.

Slowing down or stopping the flow of immigration from Bangladesh lies in helping Bangladesh improve her economic conditions. India must help and seek cooperation from the West to improve and stimulate economic growth in Bangladesh to make life more attractive for average Bangladeshi. It would also mean that the South Asian regional organisation, SAARC, should take up bilateral and contentious issues to tackle this complex issue. Since almost all South Asian countries are afflicted by the problem of migration and refugee issue, SARRC should allow and look for solution to be solved bilaterally among the nations.

According to some scholars, it is viewed that setting of groups of people who are opposed to alien along the border would help curbing the follow of outsiders. These people would be given some power to

seize suspicious persons or foreigners and hand them over to local police, though it would involve the risk of violence and conflict escalating between infiltrators and these group of people.

Issue of citizens identification cards should be taken up in Nagaland and the rest of the North-Eastern states. Granting of Indian citizenship without permanent residence and occupation should be stopped by the state government. State government of Nagaland should sincerely revise the electoral list for detection of foreigners in the list. Identity card should be issued to voters in the state as this measure would help the identification and misuse of voting right in the state by foreign nationals.

Census operation in the state and the region should not be done in a half hazard way since this would give wrong information, figures and datas. These would also lead to confusion and show a wrong picture of the status of migration and population in the state. Enumerator should be given strict and proper guidelines that they should cover the whole state and proper census information is taken

to avoid any misinformation of the census.

Both central and state government should take measures for preservation and development of language and cultural heritage of the indigenous population of Nagaland. There should be proper safeguards for protection of the economic interest of the backward tribal people of the state.

At the regional level, the North-Eastern Council (NEC) should earnestly take up the infiltration issue since all the North-Eastern states are afflicted by the foreigners problem. Joint effort should be made not only to detect foreigners, but there should be solution to deport them and insure that they don't return back. Joint vigilance on border areas should be taken up in the border to check infiltration from one state to another state.

State government should enforce the 'Inner line Permit' strictly and income that the permits are not misused by foreigner to gain entry and stay in the state. State administrators and officials who indulge

in bribery, corruption and issue permit illegally should be sternly punished as these malpratices are means used by foreign nationals to enter the state. A major effort should be made by officials and non-official bodies to create harmonious relationship between the local people and non-locals settled in Nagaland.

To discourage further influx of foreign nationals, proper steps should be taken to check all immigrants who came to Nagaland for earning their livelihood. It would be very difficult to identify or detect foreigners unless a close watch is kept on all immigrants whether from foreign countries or from other Indian states. Some solution is required urgently, since the unrest and agitation against foreigners which have been non-violent would soon turn violent and encourage secessionist movement and armed militancy and the very integrity of the nation will be in danger.

A practical and constructive approach must be made to solve the present unrest. Both government at the centre and state along with student organization and non-official bodies should come forward to

detect the foreigners. And this detection should be made legally and constitutionally, the process would be long and time consuming. Inorder to speed up the process, cooperation from all, the local level is necessary. India cannot claim the pride of a great nation by keeping some parts like North East backward. The poor and backward people of North-East are frustrated. Every conscious citizen will agree that influx and continuous flow of foreign infiltrators and immigration should be stopped to prevent further aggravation of frustration and despair.

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