

GEOPOLITICAL CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF BANGLADESHI IMMIGRATION INTO INDIA: A CASE STUDY OF WEST BENGAL

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “Geopolitical causes and consequences of Bangladeshi immigration into India: A case study of West Bengal” submitted by me for the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

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

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Md. Obaidur Rahaman

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Chapter 1

Introduction

“The massive Bangladeshi illegal immigration poses a grave danger to our security, social harmony and economic well-being. We have compromised on all these aspects so far. It is time to say enough is enough”. (National Security System, Feb.2001).

1.1 Introduction:

Human migration is one of the most challenging issues facing the world today. It is a global phenomenon; and it will continue to do so in the near future. Migration and movement of human population have always been an integral element in the history of mankind. Human history reveals that man has kept on migrating from one place to another place since quite long. This movement is caused either by adverse social, economic, religious, ethnic, and environmental conditions, and/or other like trade, culture, imperial rule (Tsagarousianous, 2004). Many of these people are also displaced by war, famine, political and religious oppression, and a variety of personal reasons showing their pursuit of ‘better life’. Migration is a dynamic and complex social process due to continuous interaction of economic, demographic, social and geo-political factors. Migration involves (more or less) the permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities. In other way the term ‘Migration’ may be defined as “a form of spatial mobility of population involving a permanent change of residence.”(UN: 1958). Migration is one of the fundamentals to the understanding of continuously changing space-content and space-relationship of an area (Trewartha, 1969). There are two forms of migration: (a) internal migration; and (b) international migration. Internal migration is the movement of people from one area of a country to another area within the same geographical territory. The international migration is movement, either permanently or temporarily, of people from their country of origin or of habitual residence to another country. International migration can be: (a) emigration i.e. people moving out of the country to others; and (b) immigration i.e. people coming into the country from others.

Since September 11, 2001, the politics of immigration has become an extremely hot issue in international politics. Immigration has a great impact on the demography, culture, economy, and politics of a state. Events following 9/11 are very instructive in revealing the connections between geopolitical discourses and practices, assimilation and national space. In general, people have moved either by crossing land borders or across oceans from poorer countries to richer countries and from developing to developed countries. However, the

volume of migration within the developing world that is from some developing countries has become increasingly significant among the patterns of Third World population mobility. Some of the major flows of people in South Asia which still has left bitter memories in the minds of people has been experienced by India; the India-Pakistan refugee flows in 1947-48 about 15 million, the exodus of Burmese Indians numbering about 1 million during 1948-65; the exodus of Sri Lankan Indians and Tamils to the tune of about 1 million since 1954 onwards; the flight of almost 10 million from Bangladesh to India during 1971 Indo-Pak War; flight of about 0.1 million Chakmas from Bangladesh to India in 1981 and everyday flow from Nepal and Bangladesh. Among all population flows, the inflow from Bangladesh has specifically received great attention in the recent times. It is estimated that there are about 15-20 million Bangladeshi nationals living in India illegally. Massive illegal migration poses a grave danger to our national security, social harmony, and economic well-being (Nath, 2003).

Migration of Bangladeshis to India is not entirely a recent. It started centuries ago when Bangladesh was part of undivided India. The partition of Bengal in 1947 was the cruelest partition ever in the history of the world. The border between India and Pakistan known as Radcliffe border after Sir Cyril Radcliffe was drawn which separated Bangladesh from India had ran through the Bengali heartland, separating tens of millions of Bengalis on the one side from tens of millions of Bengalis on the other (Afsar, 2008). Though the border between Bangladesh and India demarcated, for cultural, geographical and historical reasons, free movement across the border is a common phenomenon. India shares 4,095 kilometer border with Bangladesh, the longest among all its neighbors. Of this four north east states- Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Assam-- account for 1,879 km while eastern states of West Bengal has a border running 2,216 km along Bangladesh. An area of 6.5 km has not been demarcated yet. Unclear demarcation of border, illegal migration and trans-border illegal trade has often led to clashes between the Border Security Force (BSF) and the Border Guard Bangladesh (BDR).

Bangladesh has been a major epicenter of the streams of population transfers to India from all sources outside its national boundary. Just after partition in 1947, massive refugee migration took place and later all illegal migration was considered legal by Indian government. In this study by Bangladeshi illegal migrant, it is meant as those who have entered India from Bangladesh without valid document after 25 March 1971. The cut-off date was decided on the basis of a national consensus arrived at the all-party meeting in New Delhi on March 1980. But the process of this type of immigration is continued today. A new

dimension in the political and social arena has emerged in this eastern and north eastern region of India after independence of Bangladesh in 1971. Bangladesh is one of the most populous and poorest countries in the world with an area of 144,000 Sq. km. and with 130.03 million persons in 2001; the country has one of the highest population density, 950 per sq. km. On the other hand, West Bengal, as same cultural affinities and geographical proximity with Bangladesh, a place of destination of poor Bangladeshis, is bounded by Bangladesh in the eastern side with nine border districts i.e., Kolkata, 24 Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad, Maldah, West Dinaj Pur, Darjiling, Kooch Behar, and Jalpaiguri. There are different geopolitical factors that motivate people to leave Bangladesh such as instability and economic depression, poverty, lack of employment opportunity, struggle for livelihood, and lack of industrialization, population explosion, social insecurity, environmental degradation and political instability, geographic proximity of receiving and sending country, the linguistic and cultural similarities, same food habit, homo-ethnic climate, belief of getting shelter, cordiality, fellow-feeling, acceptance power of people of West Bengal have contributed to the movements of population from Bangladesh to West Bengal. This problem hampers not only the overall progress of West Bengal but also India as whole.

Immigration from Bangladesh to India leads to the population increase which creates population pressure on the existing resources. This creates social tension between migrant people and local people as resources getting transferred from local people to migrants. Deforestation, land grab, trade grab, illegal occupancy of pavement and railway platform by these migrants are creating pressure on natural resources. Continuous inflow of migrants enhanced the preexisting slum, increased the density of occupants in certain areas, which influenced the water supply, health facility, and education with utter inefficiency. Migrants are usually poor people, they settle in the slums of towns, vacant government lands, and low land areas. As they live in crime prone slum areas, they are exploited by the mafia, politicians and anti-social groups. Local politicians get an opportunity to strengthen their vote banks by sympathizing with these so called migrants for their short term gains ignoring the long term damage that would be caused to the already poverty stricken country. Illegal migrations from Bangladesh have been a great concern in the border areas of districts in West Bengal. The anti-social activities in the border area have been disturbing normal life and posing security threat to nation.

Among India's neighbours, Bangladesh occupies a special position—not only because of India's role in its liberation but because geopolitically, too, it surrounds Bangladesh from

three sides. Truly Bangladesh is clearly locked by India both in land and water except a little border with Myanmar. Geopolitics may be a disadvantage when a country is landlocked by or shares common border mostly with one country. At many places, the border is porous, making it easy for people to cross over and return to their place of domicile frequently. India and Bangladesh could be natural, healthy and co-operative trade partners due to geographical proximity, cultural and ethnic ties. Geographical proximity of India to Bangladesh necessitates integrated multiple projects. The problem of refugees and minorities further complicated the relations between India and Bangladesh. The birth of Bangladesh has transformed the political landscape of the region. There is no doubt that Bangladesh has a very important role to play in the politics of the sub-continent and Asia in the year ahead. India's relations with Bangladesh are very problematic even today. Several issues have embittered the bilateral relationships. India believes that the illegal migration of Bangladeshi nationals in the eastern and north-eastern states has been encouraged by Dhaka. Bangladesh provides safe to insurgents from the North-East (Nair, 2008). But this was denied by Bangladesh Government and said there is not a single Bangladeshi nationals in India. On the contrary, India's initiation to fence the border to prevent both illegal immigration and insurgent crossing was opposed by Dhaka. Therefore, due to large scale illegal immigration from Bangladesh to India, bilateral relations between the two SAARC countries to become waspish, strained and suspicious, and the two countries all too often set out to obstruct and complain about each other.

1.2 Immigration and Geopolitics:

Immigration and geopolitics are usually treated as separate topics of study, and only a few scholars have used the term 'geopolitics of migration' (Sassen, 1999; Tesfahuney, 1998). But recent events make plain that the regulation of mobility is fundamentally a geopolitical exercise, involving the formulation of spatial strategies and territorial arrangements to preserve the integrity of borders and to contain perceived external threats (Collision, 1996). After the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington DC, The Economist proclaimed September 11, 2001, "The Day the World Changed". It perhaps is more accurate to say that the world- or at least the perception of the world- changed mainly for Americans, whose sense of isolation from foreign conflicts and threats was badly shaken by the attacks. Events following September 11 are very instructive in revealing the connections between geopolitical discourses and practices, public understandings of the assimilability of different immigrant groups, and the regulation of national space. Following September 11, we see that

national security and immigration a rehashing of long-running, radicalized narratives on the penetration of external menaces e.g. demographic explosions, terrorism, disease, and, so on in national space through immigration. These narratives inform not only the regulation and control of borders, but also the treatment of immigrants and minorities within these borders (Teschfahuney, 1998). Since September 11, 2001, the politics of immigration has become an extremely hot issue. It was a central topic of the 2008 election cycle in U.S.A.

Understanding migration as a geopolitical process and a way to evaluate the significance of contemporary migration and the politics surrounding it, it is necessary to understand some key theoretical trends e.g. transnationalism approach, assimilation approach etc. Because transnationalism is fast becoming a new paradigm in migration studies, it is critical to examine its shortcomings and to propose new ways forward. The concept of transnationalism highlights the linkages that immigrants maintain with their homelands and with their compatriots in other host societies. Accounts of transnationalism typically start from the premise that contemporary immigrants face a fundamentally different set of circumstances, rooted in globalization. The transnationalism approach contends, contemporary immigrants must adapt to a global system marked by flux and instability in which economic and cultural flows escape the control of nation-states (Appadurai, 1991), and in which new modes of political membership (e.g. dual citizenship and denizenship) erode traditional, exclusive forms of citizenship (Mandaville, 1999). In this fluid, globalised context, immigrants do not develop firm ties to their host societies, but instead, construct social fields that cross national borders (Basch, Glick-Schiller and Blanc-Szanton, 1994; Kearney, 1995). To its advocates, the transnational approach represents a repudiation of traditional assimilation models, most often applied to the US case, which posit that immigrants over time tend to lose their distinctiveness and to become more like the 'mainstream', as measured by rates of intermarriage, language use, residential location, and so on. But transnationalism advocates do not reject the assimilation model altogether. Like scholars of transnationalism, many politicians, social commentators, and political pundits assert that today's immigrants remain bound to their homelands and ethnic identities, and that they are less inclined to adopt national norms and values than were previous waves of immigrants. As in the past, the current non-assimilation argument is intertwined with assertions (sometimes fearful, sometimes celebratory) of the erosion of sovereignty, the devaluation of citizenship, the permeability of national borders, and the permanence of

newcomers' foreignness. In focusing the debate on whether transnationalism is new or old and whether immigrants assimilate or do not assimilate.

The perception and treatment of immigrants in Western societies reflect two contradictory impulses within the modern geo-political economy. On the one hand, the functioning of capital economies requires the mobility of labour, political actors and economic interests within nation-states routinely stimulate the movement of both skilled and unskilled labour across the borders. This take place directly though requirement programmes, labour permit systems, and the creation of open labour markets, and directly though the purposeful under-funding of immigration enforcement agencies. The flows of labour, commodities, and capital are instigated by colonialism, neo-colonialism, and in the recent decades, the institutionalization of neo-liberal economic policies (Skeldon, 1997). On the other hand, the nation-states system rests upon the state ability to police boundaries, to maintain sovereignty over national territory, and to define and restrict membership in the national society though citizenship and other legal categories (Taylor, 1994). The process of solidifying political-territorial boundaries is profoundly radicalized, resting as it does on the formulation of exclusionary and essentialist notions of national identity and belonging (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). The tension between drive to secure a mobile labour force and the drive to fix nation-state boundaries is an inherent characteristic of core, developed states (Miles, 1993; Samers, 1999; Sassen, 1999). Throughout the history of the modern nation-state system, this tension has given rise periodically to panic about floods of immigrants and the threats they pose to national cohesion and to the citizenship. These panics tend to resolve around notions of assimilation and assimilability. A second international level argument about policy making concerns, the complex relationship between population movements and national security. On the one hand, many migration flows are the result of international conflicts. Civil disputes in Central America and the Caribbean generated large refugee flows to the United States during the 1980s and 1990s, and conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and North Africa were major causes of migration to Western Europe in the 1990s. On the other hand, migration flows can also be source of international conflicts and insecurity. We have seen such type of migration from Bangladesh to India, Palestine to Egypt, and Tamils from Sri Lanka to India etc.

While notions of assimilability reflect the assessment of foreigners within national boundaries, these notions are based upon particular mappings of the world outside one's own borders. Assimilation should be interpreted as a geopolitical discourse through which

political actors make sense of 'our place' in a wider system of political, cultural, and territorial entities (O Tuathail, 1992). As with all geopolitical discourses, assessments of the suitability of immigrants are intertwined with radicalized notions of national destiny and superiority. Today, with overtly racist theories deemed unacceptable in public discourse, conceptions of inherent difference of 'outsiders' and the outside world revolve around ideas of culture and religion, as evidenced in the headscarf controversy in France (Zolberg & Woon, 1999), the Rushdie Affair in Britain (Asad, 1990), and the aftermath of 9/11 attack.

The transnational perspective focuses on the homeland affiliations and border-straddling social networks of contemporary migrants. But I have tried to show that the single-minded attention to transnationalism in recent years has been problematic. It would be very unfair to equate academic approaches to transnationalism with anti-immigrant demagoguery, as most accounts of transnationalism are highly sensitive to the plight of migrants and view transnational practices as a means of coping with marginalization (Rouse, 1991). Assimilation is perhaps best understood as a politics of sameness articulated through the discourses of social membership that circulate in immigrant-receiving contexts. The dynamics of assimilation, I have tried to show, are set in motion by the geopolitical systems in which contemporary migration takes place. The construction of political territory, the spatial enclosure of the nation, and the containment of external threats (including 'floods' and 'hordes' of immigrants) are processes laden with ideological conceptions of self and other. Immigration, in a sense, brings the 'the foreign' into the bounds of the nation, and immigrants are evaluated according to the wider narratives of racial, religious, cultural, and/or civilization differences that inform the host society's perceptions of and relationships with the world outside of its borders (Miles, 1993). Therefore, we have seen that events following 9/11 are very instructive, ordering and systematic in revealing the connection between the geopolitical discourse and practices, public understanding of entry and exit of different scale and regulation of national space.

1.3 Geopolitics of Bangladeshi Migration:

Bangladesh's short history since independence in 1971 has produced several surprises. Economically, it has defied those who dismissed its prospects from the beginning and has even been an innovator in small-scale economic development. Politically, it has moved haltingly towards a democratic framework that has been durable, if turbulent. Bangladesh's society, too, has been notable for its pluralist ethos and religious co-existence. For the most part, it has also managed to remain relatively insulated from major geopolitical upheavals that

have shaken the region and beyond (Ollapally, 2008). Geopolitically also, the issue of the large scale of immigration took place extensively in the bordering states of India, particularly in West Bengal. The most surprising thing is that the immigration is continued today. Bangladeshi trans-border migration is diversified in nature as it involves commuting, seasonal, circular, temporary, and permanent forms of labour migration, movement of refugees, clandestine migration and even trafficking of women and children. Multiplicity in the forms, nature and modalities of cross-border migration from Bangladesh defy distinction between self smuggling, commuting, migration by consent and trafficking (Andreas, 2000; Kyle and Koslowski, 2001).

During the Liberation War of Bangladesh, 1971 millions of Bangladeshi people left Bangladesh for survival. They stayed at different refugee camps and subsequently they merged into the main stream of Indian culture, especially Bengali culture. But on the Indian side a lot of agitations were going on against Bangladeshi migration. In the late 1970s and early 1980s there was a violent protest and anti-Bengali program in Assam, which led to the establishment of the Assam Accord. The mainstream Indian political leaders discussed the issue and placed it on the national agenda in 1985 (Ramachandran, 2002; Weiner, 1985, 1993; Hazarika, 1994). In 1986, the Indian government approved the Indo-Bangladesh Border Road and Fence project to prevent illegal (also called irregular) migration from Bangladesh. However, the progress of that project was very slow (Schendel, 2005). Apart from fencing the border, the All Assam Student Union (AASU) and the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) demanded the enactment of the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunal) Act (IMDT Act), which came into force in 1983. A number of criticisms were made of the Act with a demand for its amendment and abolition throughout the late 80s and 90s by AASU, AGP and sections of Assamese print media (Karlekar, 2005). In response to that the Supreme Court of India set aside the Act in a judgement in July 2005 and ordered the State Government of Assam to constitute a sufficient number of tribunals under the Foreigners Act to deal with illegal Bangladeshi migrants in Assam.

Ramachandran (1999: 236) documented that on 6 May 1997, former Union Home Minister Indrajit Gupta announced in the Indian Parliament that there were nearly 10 million undocumented immigrants, largely from Bangladesh, residing in India⁸ (Times of India, 1997). This was the first official statement by the Government of India regarding the extent of Bangladeshis' migration into the country. In December 2002, an estimation made by the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) in 2004 claimed that Assam had a total of 26,490 foreigners staying illegally. Earlier, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-led National Democratic

Alliance (NDA) Government had claimed that there were 1.20 million illegal migrants living in Assam and around 20 million Bangladeshis living in other parts of India including big cities like Kolkata, Delhi and Mumbai. The number of Bangladeshis varies with each media or official report. The issue of Bangladesh migrants residing in India (apart from North-east) became a concern of the Indian media when it became a political agenda of the Hindu nationalist mainstream political party Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in the 1980s and 1990s. Since the late 1980s, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Shiv Sena have been the main political parties instrumental in the revival of Hindu nationalism. The 1980s and 1990s saw a time of growing fear on the part of the majority Hindu population that the Muslim minority was increasing its presence in India, challenging Indian sovereignty and controlling the politics of the country (Nanadur, 2006). Some social scientists believe that Bangladesh Government legalize the theory of Lebensraum for the future survival of Bangladeshi people.

The Left Front government of West Bengal (Communist Party of India- Marxist or CPI-M) sharply criticised both the Centre and Maharashtra governments for Operation Push Back and for failing to consult the West Bengal administration before using the state border for deportation (Gillan, 2002; Ramachandran, 2002). Operation Push Back is part of an action plan taken and implemented by Narsimha Rao Congress Government in 1992 to deport illegal Bangladesh migrants. The plan had three steps namely: detection, identification and deportation. The first operation took place in September 1992. A group of 132 people were identified as illegal Bangladeshis and removed from a slum in New Delhi and taken to the West Bengal-Bangladesh border for deportation in an inhuman manner and handed over to Indian Border Security force (BSF) to push back to Bangladesh side. Operation push back was suspended in November 1992 as abruptly as it was started. This operation was highly criticised by national and international human rights, religious and non- governmental organisations. The erstwhile Chief Minister Jyoti Basu described the action as “uncivilised” and claimed many of the arrested people were Bengali speaking Muslims from West Bengal with legitimate claims to citizenship. The Left Front Government was held responsible for encouraging and approving Bangladeshi migration in order to capture votes and political support in key electoral constituencies. Though the West Bengal government coordinated with the Centre and announced several policies to curb the influx of Bangladeshi migrants, the state government was perceived to have adopted a comparatively sympathetic stand on the migrants themselves by the BJP (Gillan, 2002). Karlekar (2005) criticised the Chief Minister of the CPI-M government of West Bengal Buddhadeb Bhattacharya for not taking any measure to close unrecognized madrasas in the border areas that have he claims become

centres of anti-India propaganda. The West Bengal government was also considered to be a contributing factor for Bangladeshis to come to West Bengal for its secular values and control on local level administrative structure (Gillan, 2002).

1.4 Review of the Literature:

Immigration is an almost imperceptible process of population movement across national boundaries. But it comes into public focus and informs a debate when its economic, political and social pressures are acutely felt in countries that receive millions of migrants fleeing their countries of origin because of extreme poverty, unemployment, environmental disasters, state repression, persecution and violence. Immigration from Mexico to the USA, from Palestine to Egypt, from Pakistan to Afghanistan, from Bangladesh to India etc. are some important examples of cross-border migration in the International Politics. Immigration is now a global burning issue in the international politics. While much has been written on illegal immigration from Mexico and other Hispanic countries to the United States, and from less developed countries of Eastern Europe to the more economically advanced regions of Europe, very little attention has been paid to unauthorized immigration in South Asia, especially from Bangladesh to India, over the last three decades.

So far analyzing the above mentioned topic the following literatures are reviewed, theme wise as follows:-

➤ **Bangladeshi immigration into India:**

Cross-border migration is not a new phenomenon witnessed by India. India has received immigrants from almost all neighbouring countries since long ago. But the immigration from Bangladesh has raised concern as the flow has been mainly in unilateral and continuous, a flow which is believed to have put pressure on the growth and development of the east and the north-eastern States of India. Though the flow of migration is continuous, the intensity has varied over time and the variations have been due to various reasons. The Bangladeshi immigration into India is one of the debated topics in the academic arena, whether it is sociological, political, demographic, or political geographical study.

Chandan Nandy (2005), in his paper entitled, “Illegal Immigration from Bangladesh to India: The Emerging Conflicts”, has discussed immigration from Bangladesh to India has certain obvious similarities with the Mexico-United States model in terms of the nature and extent of the movement of peoples across international boundaries. In the Indian case,

although there is a lack of reliable data and statistics on the number of Bangladeshi illegal immigrants, various Indian officials have estimated – “guesstimates”,– the presence of 15-20 million illegal immigrants from Bangladesh since 1971. Assuming that this estimate is a close approximation, the influx into India is overwhelmingly Bangladeshi and pales the in-flow of other foreign immigrants into insignificance. The presence of an estimated 2.5-3 million Nepalese, the next largest group of foreign immigrants after the Bangladeshis, or that of Bhutanese is nowhere near as close to that of the Bangladeshis. Illegality marks the very nature of both the Mexican and Bangladeshi immigration into the United States and India, though in the Indian case the estimated numbers are almost two times that of America and is considered a burden in an already overpopulated country. Both the Mexicans and the Bangladeshis cross land borders to immigrate to the United States and India, respectively.

Ashok Swain (1996) in his research paper entitled, “Displacing the Conflict: Environmental Destruction in Bangladesh and Ethnic Conflict in India” was talking that about 3.5 million people in nearly one-third of the total area of Bangladesh are directly dependent on the Ganges basin for their livelihood. The water diversion at Farakka is bound to have an impact as it was an attempt to introduce a new ecological system against the usual course of nature. It has reportedly brought much misery and hardship to the people of the affected south- western parts of Bangladesh. It has disrupted fishing and navigation, brought unwanted salt deposits into rich farming soil, adversely affected agricultural and industrial production, changed the hydraulic character of the rivers and brought about changes in the ecology of the Delta. These negative effects did not take time to reveal themselves, as the government of Bangladesh described the situation way back in 1976 as a ‘-grave crisis’. The populaces, those who belong to the lowest stratum of society in the Farakka affected region, have been forced to move away from their homes and thus their livelihood. The decision to leave one’s homeland is not a simple one. People generally choose to remain in their own country, struggling until their hope of survival wears out. The failure of the ecosystem, which supports the rural economy, might actuate the villagers to migrate eventually to nearby urban areas. However, the dwindling urban economy of Bangladesh has been unable to absorb the huge migration of poor rural Bangladeshis from the Farakka-affected area. The absence of any hope of survival in other parts of their own country has left no other option for them but to cross the porous border and into India.

Samaddar (1999) in his book on ‘The Marginal Nation’ analyses the issues relating to ‘trans-border migration’ from Bangladesh to West Bengal. He has raised questions on ‘illegal migration’ and ‘national security’ within a broad perspective, which accommodates the

historical, cultural and geographic dimensions along with the economic and demographic aspects of the phenomenon. He demystifies the constructs of ‘borders’ and ‘national territory’ by bringing to the fore the viewpoints of the migrants themselves. He has questioned the practical value of these terms by showing how the flow of people across the Indo-Bangladesh border is prompted by historical and social affinities, geographical contiguity, and economic imperatives. Pitted against the natural urge for survival, ‘nation’ and ‘border’ are easily marginalized in the minds of the people who then find ‘illegal’ ways to tackle these man-made barriers obstacle in the path of their well being. The net result is that the very future of transplanted concepts such as ‘nation-state’, ‘national security’ and ‘national borders’ has fallen in doubt in the present-day South Asia. Based on data, reports and travels along the Indo-Bangladesh borders and to the migrants and their hamlets, Professor Samaddar has analyzed the problem of trans-border migration. According to him, depending on class, gender, time of departure and time of return, the concept of ‘nation’ undergoes changes in meaning- *Desh* (nation) is the ‘home’; *desh* is the village/ the district/ the country and often the family; so location of nationhood varies on both sides of the border. Further, in one of his studies - “Cruelty of inside/ outside”, Samaddar has referred the Bangladeshi refugees as special animals, as distinct from aliens (Samaddar, 2004). Political circles in West Bengal saw this human misery as a great chance to build up a vote bank.

Prafulla Chakrabarti (1990) in his ‘Marginal Men’, But it remains unclear how the partition of India and the consequent population movements that followed were naturalised (thus also ‘nationalised’). In spite of the trauma so vividly portrayed by Prafulla Chakrabarti, the immigrants were naturalised in various districts of West Bengal. He has pointed out one reason, that is, the predominantly urban milieu of the phenomenon. In this milieu, the exodus and resettlement both were cataclysmic events; the process of naturalisation in larger context escapes the eyes of the authorities. Peasant migration from Bangladesh to Jalpaiguri, Siliguri, Dinajpur, 24 Parganas and Nadia in the 1940s and 1950s retained the peasant nature of earlier population movement. The study of Nanda in 2006 gives us an overview of the economic aspects, which lead to population of Bangladeshi to West Bengal.

Pranati Datta (2004) in her article “Illegal Bangladesh Migration to West Bengal” has also spoken about illegal Bangladeshi migration but her study is confined to the State of West Bengal in India. She looked at the effects of the migration and the ways and means to check it. She has extensively discussed the factors like the Farakka Barrage, the Enemy/ Vested Property Rights, which was enacted in East Pakistan during 1965 and various other political and religious issues, which led to the inflow of these illegal migrants into West Bengal. She

has pointed out that the political patronage of West Bengal acts as the main pull factor for these migrants. The illegal migration of the Bangladeshis is very serious problem. It is no more regional problem, as they are spreading throughout the country now. They are posing grave problem for our internal and external security. The changing population texture is making Indo-Bangladesh border fluid. Bimal Pramanik (2006) has analyzed the “Illegal Migration from Bangladesh: A Case Study of West Bengal. According to him a new dimension in the political and social arena has emerged in Bangladesh in the Post Liberation War, 1971. A novel phenomenon of demographic pressure started looming larger and larger on the border region centering on Bangladesh. In his paper he attempted to make the emerging picture of the internal demographic changes in the bordering states of India, as well as in the border districts of West Bengal. In this era, Hindus are coming as usual like in the days of Pakistan due to religious persecution and political pressure but a new feature also started emerging as people from majority segment (Muslim) for different reasons and purposes started coming to West Bengal.

Weiner (1978, 1983, 1995) and Teitelbaum (1984) have focused on the Bangladeshi immigration into Assam, leaving out West Bengal altogether from their studies. Although they make for stimulating and refreshing reading, the omission of West Bengal by both Weiner and Teitelbaum is surprising considering the fact that since 1971 the East Indian state has had to take the brunt of the illegal immigration from Bangladesh. Assam was a natural choice for western researchers because the conflict between foreigners and natives was broke out there first in a pluralist Indian society.

There is a body of literature, notable that of Barakat et al (2000), that has analyzed and explained how laws like the Enemy Property Act in East Pakistan and the Vested Property Act in Bangladesh dispossessed millions of Hindus and drove them to seek shelter in India. Others like Goswami and Nasreen have undertaken research to project how cultural prejudices against Hindus contributed toward discrimination. Demographers such as Begum (1979, 1990) have not minced words about the reasons why Hindus population has come down drastically in Bangladesh since 1971. Lately, several leading thinkers, economists and formal diplomats of Bangladesh have been articulating the idea of free movement of people across the international borders. Prof. Ameena Mohsin of Dhaka University asserts that “migration is a normal and natural phenomenon and cannot be stopped; the need today is to evolve ways to legalize it.” According to Prof. Ameena Mohsin, nearly 3.5 million people

disappeared from East-Pakistan between 1951 and 1961, and another 1.5 million possibly entered India between 1961 and 1974.

➤ **Causes of Bangladeshi Immigration:**

Migration is a complex process driven by many factors. As a process migration has important effects on migrants, their areas of origin and destination and with the onset of globalization, the process of migration is likely to get accentuated. Migrants are motivated to migrate by the push or pull factors of possible origin/destination areas and are attracted or tend to go- other thing being equal – to areas where previous streams have proceeded wherein networks of their predecessors making the migration process easier. Networks are particularly important for illegal and undocumented migration.

Pranati Datta (2004) highlights the Push-Pull Factors of Undocumented Migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal. The economic push factors that motivate people to leave Bangladesh are instability and economic depression, poverty, lack of employment opportunity, struggle for livelihood, forced grabbing of landed property from minority group, and lack of industrialization in Bangladesh. She has expressed that lack of industrialization/lack of employment/economic insecurity would be the probable cause of this migration. Among the demographic factors, population explosion in Bangladesh and lowest human development index may be the most important cause of illegal migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal. Hindu minority group faced problems in connection with matrimonial alliances. Educational curricula, which were framed according to Islamic preaching and curtailment of facilities enjoyed by Hindu minority group, were responsible factor for illegal migration of Hindu minority population.

Another cause is social insecurity. Political instability, fear of riots and terrorism in Bangladesh, inhuman attitude and activities of the political leaders, absence of democratic rights, Muslim domination, religious instigation by political leaders, insecurity feeling of Hindus, are the major crucial issues that require to be mentioned as political push factors. According to her, religious fundamentalists/insecurity of the minority group/discriminating law and order against Hindus may be the factors that motivated migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal. In terms of “ethnic cleansing”, one can witness elimination of groups of minorities by dominant ethnic group, curbing their rights controlling their influence in a state’s system. Double standards are observed in punishing criminals. Police officials do not record complaints from minority community. And finally she said that economic opportunity

in terms of job opportunity, economic security prevailing in West Bengal worked as pull factors for migrants to West Bengal. Geographic proximity of Bangladesh and West Bengal, the linguistic and cultural similarities, same food habit, homo-ethnic climate, belief of getting shelter, cordiality, fellow-feeling, acceptance power of people of West Bengal have contributed to the movements of population from Bangladesh to West Bengal.

The article “Population Movement from Bangladesh to India: What Do the Census Data of 1981 and 1991 Reveal?” by Nanda (2006) has also focused on the major determinants of the out-migration from Bangladesh to India. He has made a detailed study of the ecological and economic factors, which were missing in the writings of Pranati Datta. However, the main attempt of this article was to measure the flow at the State level, to pattern the locational spread of Bangladeshi immigrants in India, to identify the specific geographical regions of concentration in terms of sex composition and rural and urban destination. His study was based on the data provided by the Censuses of India 1981 and 1991.

Jyoti Parimal Sarkar (2006) in his “Bangladesh Migration to West Bengal: A Cause of Concern”, has investigated that the Partition of India in 1947 on religious lines is the main stimulant for cross-border migration from Bangladesh to India. The Partition of India followed by riots and religious oppression has led to insecurity to property and life of minorities in Bangladesh, especially of the Hindus. ‘Insecurity of life’ was the first major cause of migration. ‘Riot’ was the second major cause, followed by ‘religious oppression’. So, life insecurity, riots and religious oppression worked together as the major push factors for migration. Social network is the main determinant and the major pull factor that attracted Bangladeshi migrants into India. In the process of the settlement in India also, network theory is found to be relevant. Though the main reason for Bangladeshi migration into India may not be economic, economic considerations did play an important role in choosing their present place of residence (PPR). The presence of relatives or friends at PPR was an important facilitating factor during their preliminary periods of their job search.

Chandan Nandy (2005), in his paper entitled, “Illegal Immigration from Bangladesh to India”: The Emerging Conflicts, said that continuous process of Bangladeshi immigration has its genesis in what has come to be known as the “push” and “pull” factors which may be broadly categorised into socio-political and economic. While socio-political push forces include war, persecution, discrimination and expulsion of unwanted populations, the economic push forces are high unemployment, low wage, high population density, economic

decline, under-development and environmental degradation. On the other hand, socio-political pull forces include peace, family and cultural unification and preferential treatment. The economic pull factors are high wage, attractive jobs, prosperity and a high level of development. This chapter will discuss, mostly through the narratives of the migrants, Hindus and Muslims, what forced them to abandon their homes and hearths in their land of birth to seek shelter in a foreign country.

Miles Joseph Rutkowski (2010) in his paper entitled, “Bangladeshi Immigration and the Farakka Barrage: A Difference-in-difference Analysis”, has analyzed Cultural conflict, ineffective or corrupt government, economic hardship, and environmental degradation are all “push factors” that drive migrants to other countries; in this sense, they certainly can be considered victims. There is no single determinant factor that usually drives someone to migrate, but these factors work in conjunction with one another. He has focused on the effect of a combination of economy and environmental degradation by examining the impact of the Farakka Barrage on migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal. In a country with overpopulated urban centres and a generally weak economy, the ability to sustain an agricultural living is crucial for much of the population. Immense dam projects like the Farakka Barrage have inflicted heavy damages against the ecology, land use, and navigability of river systems in other locations. It is expected that there is a correlation between the construction of the dam in 1975 and population surges to West Bengal in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s

Architesh Panda (2008) in his paper entitled, Climate Induced Migration from Bangladesh to India: Issues and Challenges said environmental crisis along with the increasing impacts of climate change in Bangladesh has become an important cause of cross-border migration to India. The current environmental degradation in Bangladesh coupled with the threats of climate change might induce a large number of people to migrate from Bangladesh to India. However, yet there is neither any institutional and legal agreement at the local level nor any adequate policies to reduce the vulnerability of people arising out of climate change which is inducing people to migrate. The foregoing discussion clearly suggests that Bangladesh is faced with severe environmental crisis and potential threat of climate change. Under this scenario climate migration to India will be an important cause of concern for the region.

M. Amarjeet Singh in his research, “A Study on Illegal Immigration into North-East India: The Case of Nagaland” says that cross-border movement of people is due to a number of interrelated factors: economic, environmental, religious and political. Among them economic and environment factors have been the key drivers. Bangladesh is one of the most populous and poorest countries in the world. With 130.03 million persons in 2001, the country has one of the highest population density, 881 per sq. km. The World Bank had even estimated that unless the average fertility rate drops further, the country will be home to more than 180 million people in 2025 and to 208 million in 2050. Mapping the poverty line by the direct calorie intake (DCI) method at less than 2122 kcal per person per day, altogether 44.3 per cent (or 55.9 million) of the country’s population was ‘absolute poor’ in 2002. Further, the country is also highly prone to natural calamities, such as floods, cyclone, drought, riverbank erosion and landslides.

Hazarika (2000)’s study was limited to the States in the North-East of India. In one of his writings in “Rites of Passage”, he has identified land hunger, population pressure and environmental factors in Bangladesh as the primary push factors, which are responsible for the efflux of people, apart from the attraction of greater economic security and the pressure of ethnic diaspora in India. He has made a distinction between environmental and political refugees and provided valuable information about the paths of migration across *chars* (river islands), the numbers of entrants, and their destinations in India. His study was based on the extensive fieldwork conducted in Assam and Bangladesh, and data were culled from decennial censuses and other statistical records, and also through interviews with the knowledgeable persons in area. He has criticized the vision and the will of the Governments in both the countries and argued against the rights of citizenship given to Bangladeshi migrants in India, an action that has caused instability in the North-Eastern region of India as a whole.

Only recently, some scholars like van Schendel (2005) have taken a more holistic approach to explain the historical and contemporary causes of immigration from Bangladesh to both West Bengal and Assam. Van Schendel’s painstaking effort in compiling an exhaustive study, complete with detailed notes and citations, is yet to hit the stands in India, but his books and articles clearly reveal his grasp of the subject. He should be lauded for his effort to study an issue from the perspective of what he calls “borderlanders” – border communities, including migrants, who, since Partition, have been bound up not only with the struggles of negotiating territorial control over the border, but also “with a multiplicity of

identities, old and new, that borderlanders juggled in their efforts to make sense of a new situation and shape a future for themselves”(Schendel, 2005). Van Schendel’s thesis is that “the state’s pursuit of territoriality – its strategy to exert complete authority and control over social life in its territory – produces borders and makes them into crucial markers of the success and limitations of that strategy...Territoriality actively encourages the ‘zero-sum games’ that characterize geopolitical, national and border conflicts.” Essentially, van Schendel has tried to give a voice to the borderlanders and their daily travails, including their counter-strategy of defiance and ignorance of the border.

Sangeeta Thapliyal (2000) in her article “Bangladeshi Migrants in India: A Cause of Concern” has also examined the various determinants of the inflow of the Bangladeshi migrants into India. She has stressed more on the political problems and factors, which have led to the inflow. She has further highlighted the problems, which arose in the North-Eastern States of India as a consequence of immigration of Bangladeshi migrants. A few other scholars like Ahmad (1995), Zaman (1996) and Khan (1982), besides some government officials have, however, written extensively on the economic and environmental factors within Bangladesh that cause internal (rural-urban) and external (cross-border) migration – extreme poverty, landlessness, rural unemployment, natural calamities, poor agricultural reforms and a general economic backwardness.

➤ **Consequences of Bangladeshi Immigration:**

One of the biggest problems facing the country and having direct bearing on national security is the continuing illegal immigration of Bangladeshis into India. Unfortunately, the problem has been dusted under the carpet by all the political parties even though it has very serious political, social, economic and security implications. The poor and impoverished people who are forced to move out of Bangladesh, in the absence of social and economic rights in India may be motivated to join the insurgent movements or engage in local thefts and crimes. On the other hand, weak political and economic institutions in Bangladesh are likely to aid insurgency activities in the region. The growing organized nature of insurgency could be detrimental to the security in the future for India and Bangladesh.

Pramanik (2005) has looked into the various aspects of Eastern and North-Eastern region of India and Bangladesh, particularly, the demographic changes due to infiltration/ migration from Bangladesh into India and its impact on this sub-region. He has shown that there has been a decline in Hindu population and an extra-ordinary upswing in Muslim population in

all the districts of West Bengal. Further, another study on ‘illegal migration’ has shown that illegal migrations from Bangladesh to India are going on unabated during the last three decades. Anand Kumar (2010): in his article entitled *Illegal Bangladeshi Migration to India: Impact on Internal Security* has analyzed the growing increase in the number of Bangladeshi migrants in Assam that has led to political consolidation on religious lines. There is a general perception that this could lead to a shift in political power from the hands of local Assamese people to the Bangladeshis. Bangladeshis in the northeast are no longer limited only to Tripura and Assam. The Bangladeshi presence in Nagaland, a state protected by the inner line permit, is increasingly on the rise, particularly in Dimapur and Kohima, where a large number are controlling businesses. Many of them are also in menial jobs. But what is concerning, and as reports point out, is that many are involved in various unwanted activities. They are involved in gun running, fake currency rackets and drug running, but not terrorism. Some of them have been trained in Bangladesh and are lying low as ‘sleeping agents’ of the ISI. These forces were suspected to be indirectly involved in the Agartala and Assam serial blasts. The government machinery has been occupied in dealing with the insurgency in the northeast, giving very little attention to the issue of illegal migration. Along with Assam, another state that has been hit by illegal migration has been West Bengal. Identifying Bangladeshi nationals has always been difficult. The growing population pressure in Bangladesh acts as a push factor whereas the growing Indian economy, relatively less pressure on land and weak state resistance act as pull factors. This has continuously resulted in an increase in Bangladeshi population in the border districts, particularly the rural areas. In fact, this has often forced the original residents to move to urban areas. At present, the northeast and India–Bangladesh border has been used as a transit route to strike the heartland of India rather than its periphery. Though the direct participation of illegal Bangladeshi migrants may be limited in terror activities, the threat to internal security can come about because of the radicalisation of this population in West Bengal and Assam. What is more concerning is that illegal migrants have swamped strategically important areas like the Siliguri corridor.

Baruah (1999) focused on the social, economic, cultural and political consequences of immigration from Bangladesh to Assam and how it contributed to the mobilisation of Assamese identity and formation of a distinct Assamese micro-nationalism or sub-nationalism. Baruah’s seminal work (1999) drew the history of immigration in Assam, when it was a part of pre-Partition undivided Bengal, the anxieties of the ethnic Assamese to the

migration of Bengali-speaking Muslims from areas that are now part of Bangladesh. Dr. Jayanta Kumar Ray (2005) has analyzed Migration from Bangladesh to India. While discussing migration from Bangladesh to India, he said it is politically as well as ethnically important to distinguish between refugees, i.e. Hindus and infiltrators, i.e. Muslims. According to him, ruling politicians turn a blind eye. They are too preoccupied with treating infiltrators as vote banks, and winning short-term political gains. They remain oblivious of the long-term cultural-economic-political impact.

Jogesh Chandra Bhuyan (2006) has analyzed in his article named, *Illegal Migration from Bangladesh and the Demographic change in the North- East Region* that there are two types of immigrants: those who came from the neighboring districts of Bengal to take up land for cultivation. The second types were those who came from distant places to work in tea gardens and elsewhere. This flow of migration continued till independence. After the emergence of Bangladesh the immigration pattern has undergone changes. According to him, due to Bangladeshi immigration the proportion of Assamese speakers has come down gradually from 62.36 per cent in 1961 to 57.81 in 1991. Most of the 1971-91 migrants in the Brahmaputra valley returned their mother tongue as Bengali, which accounted for the increase of proportion from 19.71 per cent in 1971 to 21.67 per cent in 1991.

An Indian blogger named Kanchan Gupta described the illegal immigration of Bangladeshis as a “silent invasion of India” and a “grim reality.” Gupta alleged that Indian politicians and media are ignoring the issue of illegal immigration. Yet, the indisputable fact is that Assam and the other states in India’s northeast, as also West Bengal and Bihar, continue to face a relentless tide of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. Illegal immigrants are not only encouraged by the political parties to enter India, they are also provided with ‘documents’ to help them settle on land that belongs to others. Gupta specifically accuses left-wing politicians in West Bengal of encouraging illegal immigration in order to provide more (illegal) support for them during elections. He wrote that their names are entered on voters’ lists, thus creating a vast vote-bank of aliens who legally have no right to vote in India. Gupta focuses on Assam, in India's extreme northeast as a particular battleground. He declared that Assam is facing external aggression and internal disturbance on account of large-scale illegal migration of Bangladeshi nationals and it becomes the duty of the Union of India to take all measures for protection of the State of Assam because it poses a threat to the integrity and security of the North-Eastern region.

Arun Kumar Sharma (2006) in his article, *Illegal Migration in the North-East: The Economic Aspects* has examined microscopically that there is a lot of pressure on our land and also on our several social aspects because of Bangladeshi illegal migration. According to him, they are very cheap labour, they can work day and night, they can work any adverse situation, and they have no fascination for education or good way of living. This has helped them to get employment not only Assam, West Bengal or North-East but everywhere in the country. On account of intimidation, the local cultivators who had a farm house in a particular locality were being uprooted to the urban areas and they become jobless. Thus they have added to the increasing number of unemployment. Secondly, because of the impact of rising population, it is mostly affecting the ethnic groups. There is a crisis of identity in the ethnic groups all over the North-Eastern states. Because of that insurgency started. When insurgency started, it has a manifold impact on the economy. Thirdly, the greatest danger to our society is the threat to our work culture. Now everybody has given up the traditional cultivation work and this gap has been filled by the Bangladeshis, not only in Assam or North-East but all over the country. According to him, mostly they are occupying forest areas. They are very much inclined to do processing and deforestation. Because this is not their country, they have only come to earn money and livelihood. This has great impact on the entire system and also on the Indian society.

R. Gopalakrishnan and C. Joshua Thomas in their article, “*Problem of Immigration in India’s North-East: Aspects of Conflict Resolution,*” have discussed that the impact of immigration, besides population growth, is many. It has led to innumerable socio-economic problems in the region. On the other hand, migrants have their own contribution in the developing the region in various fields of agriculture, trade and commerce, tea plantation industry, jute production, livestock farming. The development in all the above fields was possible with the help of migrants. Their services in facilitative, vocational, utilitarian and constructional enterprises have been of immense value towards the economic growth of the state. But the immigrants who came in the recent time particularly after 1971 have created more socio- economic problems than their contribution. The numbers of immigrants is constantly increasing and if their influx at the present rate continues, the identity of the homeland of Assamese people may be lost in the near future. Because of their presence the local people feel uncertain of their future for they think that their language, culture and economic opportunities are being encroached upon. According to him, the continuous addition of thousands of illegal immigrant since the recent years, is now adding a new

dimension to the problem. Once inside the state, these illegal immigrants get settled and mingle with the earlier settlers from the same origin, it becomes difficult to detect them. These are the places where conflicts are reported to have taken place frequently resulting in communal disturbance and imbalance. Thus many studies have only focused on the various push-pull factors and consequences of Bangladeshi immigration into India and West Bengal. But none of them has mentioned about the geopolitical causes and consequences of Bangladeshi immigration into West Bengal which still remain unanswered.

1.5. Definition, Rationale, and Scope of the Study:

Migration, like fertility and mortality, holds a place of prominence in a geographical analysis of population change in any area. Migration is a dynamic and complex social process due to continuous interaction of economic, demographic, social and political factors. Many hypotheses have been put forward to find out the factors regarding the movement of population from one area to another area. In his hypothesis, Lee (1966) clearly has shown that the efficiency of migration stream varies with the economic conditions, being high in the prosperous time and low in the times of depression. Zelinsky's hypothesis of mobility transition (1971) also supports this relationship that in different economic development levels in the society migration changes accordingly. Clark (1966) also concluded that population mobility has increased with technical and economic progress. It has been observed that the industrialization and economic development attract large scale movements of people from countryside to town and from towns to city or from one country to another (Bogue, 1961). On the other hand some scholars tried to find out the relationship between migration and distance, which is supposed to be covered by migrants. Ravenstein's papers published in 1885 and 1889, entitled "The Laws of Migration" stated that the volume of migration decreases with increasing distance. Zipf (1941) in his "Inverse Distance Law" also expressed the same view that the volume of migration tends to vary inversely with the distance. Heer (1978) opined that 'Since the cost of migration generally varies in direct proportion to the distance travelled, the number of migrants tends to vary inversely with the distance. But some scholars like Stouffer expressed a different view. Stouffer's "Model of intervening opportunities" denies that there is any relationship between population mobility and distance. Rather the number of persons migrating over a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at the place of destination and indirectly proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.

The movement of populations across international borders in recent years, especially from developing to developed countries and between developing countries, is having a significant impact on international relations. Immigration generally plays a very important role behind every geopolitical scenario and has become a major domestic political issue. Immigration tries to build linkages between territorial boundaries and the construction of otherness—linkages enacted at different geographical scales through legal categories, labour and asylum laws, social welfare policies, and public discourses of citizenship. Similar geographical, socio-cultural, and racial-linguistic linkages coupled with easy accessibility of the border have induced the people of Bangladesh to move towards India, especially, to the States bordering Bangladesh. Cross-border immigration has been a cause of concern to India. Efforts to control and prevent illegal immigration remain highly inadequate in India and likely to remain so in the coming years. But the reality is the unabated illegal immigration has enormous demographic and social implications, capable of creating tensions and conflict between the immigrants and the natives; and more so among the natives. This is particularly worrisome in the East and North-East which has been the victim of unabated illegal immigration from across the border in Bangladesh. The issue is much more serious than it seems.

The numbers of illegal migrants into West Bengal have actually created an alarming situation in India. This problem has attracted serious political attention in West Bengal in the recent years, especially, during the time of election to the State Assembly held in 2006. The migrants were the de facto force in the decision-making of more than fifty per cent of the total 294 constituencies of West Bengal Assembly. This special attention is mainly because their inflow has become a one-way traffic and a continuous process. Its intensity is varying with the changing of socio-economic, political or ecological conditions of Bangladesh. Besides, its intensity is varying with the changing of socio-economic, political or ecological conditions of Bangladesh.

Illegal migrants are illegally enrolled in voter list and used as vote banks. Indian politicians have often encouraged Bangladeshi migration to garner their votes. They are forced to involve in various unconstitutional activities at the time of election. Due to lack of good will of political leaders, it is not possible to separate them from original citizens of India. They play a major role in the outcome of election. The result of large number of assembly constituencies, even parliament constituencies is influence by the voting behavior of these migrants. Political parties have made these migrants into readymade vote banks. The

involvement of Bangladeshi immigrants in various terrorisms activities is a serious threat to our security. The problem is significant because Bangladesh is not interested to take back them and offer Bangladeshi citizenship. With the increasing worldwide problems of migration, research into its geopolitical causes and effects become ever more urgent.

So in a comprehensive research should be done to explore the geopolitical causes and the consequences of Bangladeshi immigration into India.

1.6 Research Problems/Questions:

- What are geopolitical causes of the Bangladeshi Immigration into India and particularly in West Bengal?
- What are socio-economic and geopolitical effects of migration, for the West Bengal?
- How does the problem of migration pose a threat to peace, harmony and national security and bilateral relationship between India and Bangladesh?
- What are the steps taken by the Centre Govt. and State Govt. in this regard? And what should be done in response to these issues?

1.7 Research Hypotheses:

The following **hypotheses** are inferred based on the above research question,-

(1) Immigration from Bangladesh to West Bengal is due to geographic proximity and cultural affinities (in terms of language and lifestyle).

(2) Large scale Bangladeshi immigration is posing security threat to India and it has negative impact on the bilateral relationship between India and Bangladesh, because it causes ethnic tension and socio-economic insecurity in bordering states of India and particularly in West Bengal.

1.8 Data Sources and Methods:

The study has an exploratory-cum-descriptive design and is based on a host of primary as well as secondary information. The primary sources are Government documents, reports, country official news, summit reports, seminars, newsletters, interviews, etc. as well as secondary sources like Census of India, books, articles, etc. The secondary data is primarily based on information available from the Census of India, a source with the Ministry of Home

Affairs, Government of India, and offering long term direct statistics on internal as well as international migration once in every ten years. Data from the census are most widely available and the census is a frequently used source of information on international, national, state, and local level migration to understand mobility in India. This study makes use of 1981, 1991 and 2001 census of India, D Series Reports to examine some demographic dimensions of migration from Bangladesh to India. Since the nature of the topic is contemporary, help is taken from newspaper reports, websites & other such tools. The 55th round of survey of the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) conducted during July 1999-June 2000 estimates a total of 0.96 million Bangladeshi in India at all India level. Various government as well as International Labor Organization (ILO) reports are analyzed and interpreted to understand the volume and direction of the flow of immigration.

For answering the research question a descriptive & analytical study of the socio-economic & geopolitical effect of population migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal has been taken up. The demographic, economic and labor force structure of both places is analyzed here. This is to be further supplemented with the study of the migration pattern (legal and illegal) which develops to counter push and pull factors of two countries. So this study intends to involve both theoretical as well as empirical aspects in analyzing the mentioned theme. This study is based on the deductive reasoning method. The approach of study is geopolitical and critical geopolitical point of view. The geopolitics of international migration speaks a key aspects of the repositions of power, society and space along the global local continuum. From a critical geopolitical approach to the study of population flows and migrations that the geopolitics of both space and time expressed through notions such as place of origin and destination plays a central role in making human-cultural mobility. The study of migration has been approached in various ways e.g. time, place and space. The period of study is post Independence period of Bangladesh in 1971, because it was a period of an enormous humanitarian crisis that rendered many homeless in their own land. Influx of such uprooted people to India remains an all time high in the subcontinent. After analyzing the data, these are represented in the form of tables, graphs (line, bar, pie, etc) & choropleth maps for easy representation of the overall scenario e.g. physical geography, population distribution as well as the migration flows, etc of Bangladesh and India. To test the significance of change in the ranking pattern of growth rates, I have used the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (r) and calculated rank correlation coefficient between the decennial growth rates and also

calculated t-statistic for testing significance of the rank correlation coefficient. GIS techniques can also be used for representing maps.

Some of the limitations of the study are: (a) non-availability of reliable data; (b) clandestine nature of the immigrants, who identified themselves as the bona-fide residents of West Bengal; and (c) sensitivity of the issue. The census of India fails to capture fully the scale, intensity and characteristics of migration along with motivations for cross-border immigration from Bangladesh into India.

1.9 Study Area:

This study is based on the state of West Bengal, which is located at the eastern part of India. West Bengal is extended from 21°25' to 26°50' and 86°30'E to 89°58'E and it embraces an area about 80,968 sq.km. It is extending from the Darjeeling Himalaya in the north to the Bay of Bengal in the south and from the edge of Chotanagpur highland in the west to the border of Bangladesh and Assam in the east. According to Census of India, 2011, West Bengal is the fourth most populous state in India with a population of 91,347,736. Majority of the population comprises Bengalis. The Bengali language boasts a rich literary heritage, shared with neighbouring Bangladesh. The state can be divided into three main regions. These are discussed below:

(1) The North-Bengal hilly and plain area: This area is situated in the northern part of Bengal and it consists of the districts of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Bihar and Malda. Most of the Darjeeling district has been formed by the mountainous tract of Himalayas. The other districts form the plain area of the region. This region is still exhibiting the lowest population density with overwhelming rural population. The economy is mainly dominated by primary sector except for urban centres.

(2) The Delta Region: This is relatively low lying region comprising districts mainly Murshidabad, Nadia, 24-Parganas (North and South), Kolkata, Haora and parts of Medinipur. It is the region, where the great industrial conurbation Kolkata has been developed. About half of the population of West Bengal is concentrated here.

(3) The Rahr Plain: The Rahr Plain consists of Birbhum, Bankura, Purulia, western part of Bardhaman and Medinipur districts. This laterite region is characterized by lower population density with predominant agrarian economy, except the Ajay-Damodar interfluence, where the Asansol-Durgapur industrial area is located.

The culture of West Bengal is an Indian Culture which has its roots in the Bengali literature, music, fine arts, drama and cinema. People of West Bengal share their cultural heritage with the neighbouring Bangladesh. West Bengal and Bangladesh together form the historical and geographical region of Bengal, with common linguistic and ethnic backgrounds.

Map1.1



Source: www.probharat.com

Map1.2



Source: www.nationsonline.org

1.10 Organization of the Study:

The structure of this study is basically divided into six chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction, the review of existing literature, statement of the problem, research questions, hypothesis of the study, methods, data sources and study area. The second chapter deals the migration as an issue in International Politics with the help of the theoretical frameworks of international migration. The third chapter deals with the immigration from Bangladesh to India, especially in the state of West Bengal at length on the temporal and spatial dimension basis. The fourth chapter deals with the geopolitical causes for the immigration from Bangladesh to West Bengal. The fifth chapter addressed the consequences of immigration to West Bengal. The last chapter deals with summary and conclusion. This chapter deals with a summary of the research to derive theoretical and policy conclusions and try to present some remedies to the problem.

Chapter 2

Migration as an Issue in International Politics

2.1 Introduction:

At the beginning of the new millennium, migration has become highly politicized and now a pivot issue in both national and international politics. Migration has risen towards the top political agendas in many countries, attracts considerable media coverage, and has become a common topic of public interest more generally. Since September 11, 2001, the politics of immigration has become an extremely hot issue in the international politics. It was a central topic of the 2006 election cycle in U.S. The politics of immigration have become increasingly associated with other issues, such as national security, terrorism (Nichiporuk 2000). Although the political potency of fears of immigration is nothing new, it seems that population movements are taking on increased significance in the context of current global transformations. Migration is both a symptom and a defining feature of globalization. Political dynamics around the globe have been transformed by globalization, new pattern of human mobility, and development of innovative transnational social networks. Processes of globalization have provided openings for new actors and issues to rise to prominence and for novel forms of political action to gain silence. These new political processes are rooted in communities and networks that are not restricted by geographic location. While politics has been delinked from territory with regard to processes and actors, this does not mean that transnational politics generally focuses on universal issue. Rather much of the new transnational politics is intensely focused on specific locations, identities, and political issues. Politics remains fundamentally about local issues even while political processes are increasingly globalised. The body politics may mobilize around the issue that are not to a particular territory but are transnational by nature.

The movement of population across national and international borders has been a topic of serious discussion among social scientists for a long period. A few social scientists, sociologists and anthropologists as well as economists have studied the problem of migration in the lights of demographic transition, ethnicity, racism and globalization, and political characteristics of host countries. Even when the implications of trans-border flows became clear, in terms of territoriality, ethnicity, racism and globalization, the subject did not use to be linked with the theory of the nation, nationality or nationalism. It is the nation, which

defines who its citizens are. The nation also fixes the limits to which participation can stretch. All persons who are willing to be participants to nationhood cannot become its citizens. Only those with whom the nation has the obligation to transactional relationship, both of nation and citizenship, become eligible categories. Citizenship becomes the passport to security within the national boundaries. Migrants demand citizenship to become able to transact, to lead, and to participate peacefully in the democratic process and in the building up of their new nation. Otherwise, the feeling of national insecurity in their new abode is exacerbated in them. Illegal migrants in any nation, therefore, have their own notion of 'rights': they negotiate for citizenship. They join a political party, which they think, could help them in the solution of the issue. They hope to escape their misery with the magic wand of citizenship.

The movement of population across the international borders in recent years, especially from developing to developed countries and between developing countries, is having a significant impact on international politics. Almost daily reports in the press of conflicts between states involving population movement: a Vietnamese offensive in Kampuchea results in a new movement of refugees to the Thai border; Mexican immigration into USA, transport Ethiopian Jews to Israel, Tamils from northern Sri Lanka flee to India, likening their situation to that of Bangladesh in 1971. The international migrants are becoming important political actor influencing both the political process of the country in which they reside and the relationship between their country of residence and their country of origin. Migrants may attempt to promote many types of political intervention. They have become a political factor that governments of both sending and receiving countries need to take into account. Migrants seek to recreate their own religious, social, and cultural institutions and also political organisations. They are often to preserve their cultural heritage and to protect the interests of the community. Ethnic divisions within the migrant community may also shape the relationship of particular nationals with their home country: the attitudes of Tamils from Sri Lanka, Sikhs from India, and Chinese from Malaysia may differ from attitudes of other nationals from these countries.

Refugee crises, human smuggling and attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon by terrorists who resided in the United States on student, business and tourist visas have recently through a spotlight on the role of international migration in the contemporary world politics. The growing role of migration in calculations of policy makers has been reflected in an expanding literature on migration in comparative politics (Hollifield 1992, Miller 1993) and international relations (Weiner 1997). Still, migration is rarely considered in

general works on consequences of migration for international politics is written by scholars with the backgrounds in demography, comparative politics and area studies. Although the role of diasporas in the world politics has been appreciated by foreign policy makers (Mathias 1981) and analyzed by few political scientists (Barth 2003), mainstream neorealist and neoliberals down play the significance of migration as a security issue (Walt 1991) and the factor of the labor migration in the international economy.

Migration's connections to security and counterterrorism also apply to a larger discussion of the impact of human mobility on relations between countries. This can be seen in tensions between host and origin countries surrounding border control and illegal migration between the US and Mexico, between Afghanistan and Pakistan, between South Africa and Zimbabwe, and between India and Bangladesh. Countries often come into conflicts determining respective responsibilities for regulating crossing and dealing with smugglers and traffickers. The security becomes paramount in how states deal with issues of international migration. This is especially so when migrants are considered as a political threat or security risk to the host country. Migration affects international relations because it is often as a zero-sum game in one country loses and one gains.

2.2 Theories of International Migration:

According to the study by the Population Reference Bureau, most people who cross national borders do not go far; most international migrants stay within the same geographic region while migrating to neighbouring countries. One of the most prominent examples of such cross-border migration is the migration of the people from Mexico across its northern border into the United States. Various theories have been developed to explain the phenomenon of cross-border migration. There are two types of theoretical approaches in defining the international migration: one is the theoretical approaches explaining the initiation of migration and the other is the theoretical approaches explaining the continuation of migration (Massey, 1998). In this theoretical overview a similar distinction is also made. The neo-classical economic theory, the dual labour market theory, the new economics of labour migration, and the world systems theory try to explain the initiation of migration. The causes of an international migration flow between two countries are the wage difference between these two countries. It is generally assume that international migration between two countries is for a short space of time. But the wage difference between two countries may persist for decades. This type of initiation of international migration may instigate

international labour flows that persist as long as these wage differences continue. International migration itself may even exacerbate the initiation of migration. Income inequality, for instance, may be the initiation of migration from a country to others countries. Network theory and institutional theory attempts to explain the course of international migration flows over time.

Before going to analyze the different theories for the understanding of the international migration, it is very important to know the various types of migration and they are the very significant in the international politics.

Migration means crossing the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period (Boyle, et al 1998). There are two types of migration, i.e. internal migration and international migration. Internal migration refers to a move from one area to another area within a country. International migration means crossing the international boundary which separate one country from another one. Many scholars argue that internal and international migration is part of the same process, and should be analyzed together. Rigid distinction can be misleading. International migration may be over short distances and between culturally similar people, for example, Bengali people between Bangladesh and West Bengal and Spanish People from Mexico to Northern part of Mexico-USA border, while internal migration can span great distances and bring together very different people from Western province of China to cities in the East. Sometime the frontiers migrate, rather than the people, making internal migration into international one, for instances, the break-up of former Soviet Union turned millions of former internal migrants into foreigners in the successor states and US annexed Mexico's northern territory in 1848.

The great majority of border crossing, however, do not imply migration; most travelers are tourists or business visitors who have no intention to stay for long periods. Migration means taking up residence for a certain period- say 6 months or a year. Most countries have a number of categories in their migration policies and statistics. For instance, Australia distinguishes between permanent immigrants, long-term temporary immigrants who stay at least 12 months usually for work, business or education, and short-term temporary visitors. Yet Australia is seen as a classic country of immigration because of its tradition of nation-building through immigration. Other countries prefer to see immigration as essentially temporary. When the Germany started to recruit so-called 'guest-workers' in the 1960s, some were allowed in for few months only as 'seasonal workers' while others received one-year permits. It became difficult to limit residence so tightly. People who had been resident for

certain time obtained 2-years, then 4-years and continued to increased and finally settled there.

International migration arises in a world divided up into nation-states, in which remaining in the country of birth still seen as a norm and moving to another country as a deviation. That's why migration tends to attract the attention of politicians, strategic thinkers and policy makers. International migrants are divided into various categories to improve the control of the receiving states. These categories are follows:

➤ **Temporary labour migrants:**

Temporary labour migrants also known as guest-workers or overseas contract workers: men and women who migrate for a limited period (from few months to several years) in order to take up employment and send money to home (remittances).

➤ **Highly skilled and business migrants:**

People with qualifications as managers, executives professionals, technicians or similar, who move within the internal labour market of multinational corporations and international organization, or seek employment through international labour markets for scarce skill. Many countries welcome such migrants and have special 'skilled and business migration' programme to encourage them to come.

➤ **Irregular migrants:**

People who enter a country, usually in search of employment, without necessary document and permits are also known as undocumented or illegal migrants. Many labour flows consist predominantly of undocumented migrants. In some cases immigration countries tactically permit such migration since it allows mobilization of labour in response to employer demands without social costs or measures for demands for protection of migrants.

➤ **Refugee:**

According to the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugee, a refugee is a person residing outside of his or her country of nationality, who is unable or unwilling to return because of a 'well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religions, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinions'. Signatories to the Convention undertake to protect refugee by allowing them to enter and granting temporary or permanent residence status. Refugee organisation, especially the United Nations High commission for Refugee (UNHCR), seek to distinguish clearly between refugee and migrants, but they do share many common characteristics with regard to social needs and cultural impact in their place of settlement.

➤ **Asylum-seekers:**

People who move across boundaries in search of protection, but who may not fulfill the criteria laid down by the 1951 convention are called asylum seekers. In many contemporary conflict situations in less developed countries it is difficult to distinguish between flight because of personal persecution and departure caused by the destruction of economic and social infrastructure needed for survival. Both political and economic motivations for migration are linked to the generalized and persistent violence that has resulted from rapid processes of decolonization and globalization under conditions determined by the developed countries.

➤ **Forced migration:**

In broader sense, this includes people who are forced to move by environmental catastrophes or development projects (such as new factories, roads or dams), with refugee and asylum seekers.

➤ **Family Reunification Migrants:**

This type of migration happened when people migrate to join their relatives who have already entered an immigrant's country under one of the above categories. Many countries, including the USA, Canada, Australia, and most European Union (EU) member states recognized in principle the right to family reunion for legal immigrants. Others countries, especially those with contract labour systems, deny the right to family reunion. In such cases, family members may enter illegally.

➤ **Return Migrants:**

People who return to their countries of origins after a period in another country is called return migrant. Return migrants are often looked on favourably as they may bring with them capital, skills and experience useful for economic development. Many countries have especial scheme to make use of this 'development potential'. However, some governments view returnees with suspicion since they may act as agents of cultural or political change.

2.2.1 Theories Explaining the Initiation of International Migration:

There are four types of international migration theory viz. the neo-classical economic theory, the dual labour market theory, the new economics of labour migration, and the world systems theory, which try to explain the initiation of migration. The neo-classical economic theory is the oldest theory of migration. According to this theory, wage differences between regions are the main reason for labour migration. Such a wage differences are due to geographic differences in labour demand and laobour supply. There are other factors also

play very important role e.g. labour productivity, or the degree of organization of workers. Applying neo-classical economics to the international migration it can be said that countries with a shortage of labour relative to the capital have a high equilibrium wage, whereas countries with a relatively high labour supply have a low equilibrium wage. Due to this wage differences labour flows take place from low wage to high wage countries (Borjas, 1989; Massey et al, 1993, 1998).

The dual labour market theory argues that international migration is mainly caused by pull factors in the developed migrant receiving countries. Segments in the labour markets in these countries may be distinguished as being primary or secondary in nature. This is the essence of this dual labour market theory. On the one hand, the primary segment is characterized by capital intense production methods and predominantly high skilled labour. On the other hand, the secondary segment is characterized by labour intensive production methods and predominantly low skilled labour. According to Piore and Massey et al, 1993, the dual labour market theory assumes that international labour migration stems from labour demands in the labour intensive segment of industrial receiving societies.

In regarding to the new economics of labour migration, Stark and Bloom, (1985) argue that the decision to become a labour migrant cannot only be explained at the level the individual workers; but also wider social entities have to be taken into consideration. One of the social entities to which they refer is the household. Households tend to be risk avoiding when the household income is involved. One way of reducing the risk of insufficient household income is the labour migration of a family member. According to the new economics of labour migration, these migration and their remittances have a positive impact on the economy in the poor sending countries as households with a family member abroad lose production and investment restrictions (Taylor, 1999). The relative deprivation theory argues that awareness of others household family members in the sending society about income differences is an important factor with regard to international migration.

The world systems theory considers international migration from the global perspective. The essence of this world systems theory is the interaction between societies is an important determinant of social change within societies (Chase-Dunn and Hall, 1994). International trade is one the best example of interaction between different societies. An incentive for international migration is that the trade between countries with weaker economy

and countries with a more advanced economy causes economic stagnation, resulting in lagging living conditions in the former (Wallerstein, 1983; Amankwaa, 1995).

2.2.2 Theories Explaining the Continuation Migration:

The leading conceptual account of the forces that promote emigration from developing countries is world systems theory. Together, world systems theory, segmented labor market theory, and neoclassical macroeconomics offer explanations for why developed countries attract immigrants. Social capital theory and world systems theory explain how structural links emerge to connect areas of origin and destination. Neoclassical microeconomics and the new economics of labor migration deal with the motivations of the people who become international migrants; and the theory of cumulative causation describes how international migration promotes changes in personal motivations and socioeconomic structures to give immigration a self-perpetuating and dynamic character.

As a result of large inflows of international migrants, migrant networks may be formed, involving interpersonal linkages between (migrant) populations in origin and destination areas. Migrant networks may help potential migrants of the same ethnic origin, for instance, by contributing to financing the journey, helping to find a job or appropriate accommodation, or by giving information about education possibilities or access to social security. As international migration occurs on a large scale it can become institutionalized. According to institutional theory, a large inflow of international migrants induces profit and non-profit organizations, which can be legal or illegal, to provide, for instance, (clandestine) transport, labour contracts, (counterfeit) documents, dwellings or legal advice for migrants (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

2.2.2.1 Neo-Classical Economic Theory:

According to neo-classical economic theory, real wage differences between countries give rise to two flows which will exist whereby a new international equilibrium is created in which real wages are of the same level in all countries. The first is a flow of low-skilled labour from low wage countries to high-wage countries. The second is a capital flow from high-wage countries to low-wage countries. This capital flow comprises mainly labour-intensive industrial capital and will be accompanied by high-skilled labour migration. This mechanism leading to equilibrium is well presented by Oberg (1997). Both net labour migration and net

capital flows will be equal to zero when a new equilibrium is achieved. Thus in this view, net international labour migration is a temporal phenomenon.

2.2.2.2 The Dual Labour Market Theory:

The dual labour market approach divides the labour market into a primary and a secondary segment (Piore, 1979). The primary segment is characterised by a capital-intensive method of production; the secondary segment is characterised by a labour-intensive method of production. Skilled workers in the primary segment, who are (on the job) trained to work with advanced capital goods, have more social status, a higher income and better employment conditions than unskilled workers in the secondary segment. Jobs at the bottom of the labour market are almost always found in the secondary segment.

Piore (1979) gives three possible explanations for the demand for foreign workers in modern industrial societies: general labour shortages, the need to fill the bottom positions in the job hierarchy, and labour shortages in the secondary segment of a dual labour market. The last explanation is also covered by the first two explanations. General labour shortages lead to vacancies at the bottom positions in the job hierarchy. In addition to general labour shortages, there may be specific shortages at the bottom of the job hierarchy arising from motivational problems and demographic and social changes in modern industrial societies (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Motivational problems come about because jobs at the bottom of the hierarchy are often associated with low social status and because the opportunities for upward mobility are generally low. Demographic and social changes in modern societies (i.e. the decline in birth rates and educational expansion) may lead to a relatively small inflow of teenagers who are willing to take jobs at the bottom of the hierarchy in order to earn some money and to gain some work experience. Emancipation of women and the rise in divorce rates too, may be of importance here. In modern societies the aim of working women changed from supplementing family income (which can be earned as part-timer at the bottom of the job hierarchy) into earning primary income. As a result of labour shortages at the bottom of the job hierarchy, employers are compelled to recruit foreign workers. International migrants that eliminate labour shortages in certain branches can contribute to economic growth in receiving countries (Gieseck *et al.*, 1995). Furthermore, international migration can have an impact on economic development in receiving countries because of changing saving and consumer habits or changing forms of investment (Frey and Mammey, 1996; MaCurdy *et al.*, 1998).

2.2.2.3 The New Economics of Labour Migration:

According to the theory of the new economics of labour migration, labour migration has to be studied within wider social entities: i.e. households. Within the entity of the household, the Uncertainty of the household income is the main determinant of labour migration. Migration of a household member is a way to spread the risk of insufficient household income. Subsequently, the household member abroad may send remittances, which may increase (the certainty of) the household income. Moreover, the theory of the new economics of labour migration states that remittances have a positive effect on macro-economic development in sending countries. This perspective on the impact of remittances upon sending economies is called the 'developmentalist' perspective (Taylor, 1999). International labour migration, then, is, according to the new economics of labour migration, a transient phenomenon. Migration in the context of the relative position of a household in the sending society may be seen as a second aspect of the new economics of labour migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Here, the sending society is the wider social entity in which international migration is studied.

2.2.2.4 The World Systems Theory:

World system theory argues that international migration follows directly from the globalization of the market economy (Portes and Walton, 1981). The world systems theory is based on the contention that capitalism is a historical social system. Wallerstein (1983) defines historical capitalism as the system in which the endless accumulation of capital has been the economic objective or 'law' that has governed or prevailed in fundamental economic activity. The drive behind capital accumulation forced capitalist countries to search for new natural resources, new low-cost labour and new outlets. It was within this context that capitalist countries also started to colonize overseas areas. In order to stimulate the economic exchange between colonies and the mother country, transport connections were created. Colonization has also led to cultural exchanges between the overseas colonies and the mother country. However, these two types of exchanges were not equal. With respect to economic exchange a large net flow of capital from the colonies into the mother countries resulted. After decolonization political dependencies disappeared but the economic dependencies of the former colonies, which are regarded as the peripheral countries in the world system, remained and were often even strengthened. These peripheral countries produce predominantly primary commodities and their export base is often dependent on only a few products. In this way peripheral countries suffer from the instability of world producer

prices. Since the world producer prices are determined by the core countries, peripheral countries deal with unfavourable terms of trade which result in slow economic expansion and growing economic dependence on core countries (Amankwaa, 1995). As capitalist countries expand towards developing countries, this market penetration causes large number of people to be displaced from secure livelihoods as peasant farmers, family artisans, and employees of state-owned industries, creating a mobilized population prone to migrate, both internally and internationally (Massey, 1988).

2.2.2.5 Network theory:

Migrant networks help potential migrants, for instance, by contributing to financing the journey, helping to find a job or appropriate accommodation, or by giving information about education possibilities or access to social security. If we put network theory in the context of the microeconomic level of individual choice, we may say that networks lower the costs of migration and increase the probability of employment at the destination and decrease the probability of deportation. In other words, the presence of this form of social capital enlarges the expected net return to migration. Network theory tries to explain why international migration is an ongoing phenomenon. International migrants change the ethnic composition in receiving countries. As a result of large inflows of international migrants, migrant networks may be formed. These networks enhance the probability of employment and a decent income. Together with lower costs of migration, the increased probability of employment and a decent income enlarge the expected net return to migration. This enlarged expected net return to migration increases the volume of international migration, thereby increasing the migrant population.

2.2.3 A Critical Analysis of these Theories of Migration:

Immigration is an almost imperceptible process of population movement across national boundaries. But it comes into public focus and debatable topic when its socio-economic and political pressures are accurately felt in countries that receive millions of migrants fleeing their countries of origin because of extreme poverty, unemployment, natural hazards, state repression, persecution and violence. The major reasons to migrate population from Bangladesh to India can be grouped into two categories: economic and non-economic. Some of the important demand-pull, supply-push and network forces theories relevant in understanding the international migration vis-a-vis cross border migration between Bangladesh and India, especially West Bengal.

According to the neoclassical theory, labour moves from low-wage to high-wage countries where they can expect the highest net gain. It is true that migrants as rational choice

actors who migrate to other countries due to cost-benefit calculations. In the words of Massey et al, “traditional economics views international migration as a simple sum of individual cost-benefit decisions undertaken to maximize expected income through international movement. Generally less cost with higher expected wages promotes migration (Massey, 1994). It is applicable only partially in the Bangladesh-India immigration model. Millions of Bangladeshi people have migrated in search of work and high wage in the 1980’s and later also. Therefore, in neoclassical terms; the regional economic conditions are key determinants of population movement – legal and illegal – between Bangladesh and India.

The new economics of migration appears to be consistent with an economic push force that hypothesizes that “individuals who migrate from one location to another are responding to fluctuations in economic conditions. Individuals are most likely to emigrate when economic conditions decline.” In Bangladesh where a variety of factors – extreme poverty, landlessness among a considerable section of the rural population, rural unemployment and a very high rate of population growth – have caused large numbers of economic emigrants to move to India. The new economic theory holds that migrants, again acting as rational choice actors, move from a less developed to a more developed country to “self-insure against risks to income, production, and property, or to gain access to scarce investment capital”. But this is far from the truth in the case of the Bangladeshi immigrants who barely eke out a subsistence existence doing marginal jobs. Typically, they are not in the lookout for accumulating property or investment capital. “For most, the dominant identity, at least for the moment, is human beings whose basic need is to fill their stomachs” (Nandy, 2005).

Dual labour market or segmented labour market theory which holds that international migration is essentially because of a constant demand for foreign labour and is “built into the economic structure of advanced industrial countries.” Continuous demand for cheap labour from Indian side is one of the major factors behind the flow of Bangladeshi migration to India. Urbanization in New Delhi and Mumbai, cotton and diamond industries in Gujrat, irrigation projects in West Bengal have attracted main ‘sweat labour’ (Samaddar, 1999). Capitalist economies have a segmented labour market in which the primary sector produces jobs with security or tenure, high pay, generous benefits and good working conditions. It is the secondary sector, marked by insecurity, poor pay, limited or no benefits and poor and hazardous working conditions in which foreign immigrant labour is pushed into because these jobs are not taken up by locals or natives. The “ethnic enclave” or a form of ethnic

solidarity that strengthened the social networks and in turn attracted and promoted new immigrants.

The world systems theory which hinges on the argument that migration is caused by sectoral and institutional imbalances between three distinct geographical zones – the core, the semi-periphery and the periphery. According to the world systems theory, international migration “flows directly from the globalization of the market economy.” Pointing out that the “leading conceptual account of the forces that promote emigration from developing countries is the world systems theory,” Massey (1994) argues that contemporary immigration flows originate in the social, economic, political, and cultural transformations that accompany the penetration of capital markets into non-market or pre-market societies. In the context of a globalizing economy, the entry of markets and capital intensive production technologies into peripheral regions disrupts existing social and economic arrangements and brings about the displacement of people from customary livelihoods, creating mobile population of workers who actively search for new ways of earning income, managing risk, and acquiring capital. In the short run, international migration does not stem from a lack of economic development, but from development itself. Bangladeshi migration is the direct consequences of so much inequality in terms of capital accumulation and class differences, within the country.

The networks theory holds that family members of individual migrants move simultaneously or they follow in stages after one member relocates himself in the destination country. Both migrants and their family members are dependent on the networks already existing in host society that help them to adapt to the new conditions in an alien land. In the words of Massey *et al*, 1994, “migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin”. These networks help to lower the costs of movement, raise benefits, mitigate risk factors, such as apprehension by law enforcement authorities, and transmission of information to family members prior to their movement. These networks not only help in strengthening and solidifying diaspora numbers, but also “constitute a valuable form of social capital that people draw upon to gain access to employment and high wages”(Massey, 1994). In the case of unauthorized immigration from Bangladesh to India, migrant’s networks are part of a larger social milieu which prospective migrants draw upon as individuals or groups to cross the international border and to settle down. Once they cross the border illegally, migrants from particular districts of Bangladesh

establish links either with fellow villagers or with those belonging to the same district of origin in Bangladesh.

2.3 Migration and International Politics (IP):

The notions of international politics are constituted by the effects of structural anarchy. Just as international anarchy engenders a security dilemma among states in a self help system, state capacity to control flows engenders a security dilemma that affects attitudes about immigration. With the respect to the conceptualization of world politics, International Relations (IR) theories can be divided into two groups, viz. state-centric theories and non state- centric theories. State-centric theories, primarily Realism and Neo-liberalism, Neo-liberal Institutionalism (Keohane, 1984) and some forms of Constructivism (Wendt, 1999), are pitted against non state-centric theories which developed as alternatives to realism and focus on transnational interactions and non state actors. In the state centric theories, world politics is conceptualized in terms of international systems of territorially delineated states. Due to the existence of government within states, domestic politics is characterized by order and hierarchy; due to absence of world government, politics among states is characterized by anarchy (Waltz 1979, 1988). While both the traditional realism and neo-realism are state centric, neo-liberalist analysis is almost exclusively conducted in the ‘third image’ or the level of international system, rather than the ‘second image’ or at the level of politics within the states (Waltz, 1959). Unfortunately, third image, state centric, capability driven analysis does not deal adequately with the international migration because international migration can lead to change in domestic politics.

An opposed to the state centric approach of realism and neo-realism, a host of theories taking a trans-nationalist approach have been advanced. This group of theories includes, functionalism, neo-functionalism, social communication theory, interdependence theory (Keohane and Nye, 1977), world society theory (Burton, 1972) and epistemic community theory (Haas 1992). Theorists taking a trans-nationalist approach try to understand world politics in its totality. While the early work on trans-national relations includes analysis of international migration, most subsequent arguments challenging state centric theories focused on economic inter-dependence arising from international trade and monetary flows and neglected international migration. However, Keohane and Miller (1996), define internationalization as ‘the processes generated by undertaking shifts in transactions costs that produce observable flows of goods, services and capitals. They did not consider

migration as a part of inter-nationalization 'since the labor moves much less readily across national borders than goods and capital'. They are correct in arguing that labor does not move as readily as goods and capital. However, this should not justify dropping migration from the factors of inter-nationalization and minimizes its impact on domestic and world politics, because migration is often part and parcel of the cross-border movement of services and capital, and the actions of the states nationals who reside abroad often have political consequences that are disproportionate to their numbers.

The neglect of international migration by scholars of trans-nationals and inter-nationals dependence is unfortunate because the international movement of humans is potentially much more politically significance than the international movements of goods and capitals. As opposed goods and money migrants have a will of their own (Weiner, 1989 and Hollifield, 1992) and can themselves become significant political actors. Migrants challenge assumptions of territoriality not just when they cross borders but also when they participate in home country or host country, political influence on the foreign policy making a host or home states, and even develop alternative diaspora political identities which transcend existing borders. The concept of a diasporic polity exist in several states and influence their domestic politics and foreign policies provide another way of understanding the relationship between domestic and international politics that builds on, but goes beyond.

The realist argument is that governments must regulate international migration to protect the national interest, which may encompass a range of issues from population, labor markets and human capital, to issues of ethnicity, race, culture, and religion. Migration has become a dominant feature of the international political economy. States are lax in controlling their borders; therefore immigration simply has got out of control.

Marxists theories suggest that emigration and colonization are a natural consequence of capitalist development. Lenin argued in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* that ever-expanding markets were needed to alleviate periodic crises of under consumption and excesses of savings over investment. In this framework, states are generally seen as political organizations that represent the interests of the capitalist class, and migration is the direct consequence of inequalities that result from the process of capital accumulation and class differences, within and among nations. Migration allows employers to avoid inefficiencies in the process of accumulation and to dilute the power of citizen workers who demand higher wages and better working conditions.

From the liberal perspective, the expansion of markets and the drive to eliminate inefficient sectors in national and global economies lead first to greater mobility of the factors of production, including labor, then to a decline in mobility, the growth of factor endowments and factor-price equalization (Kindleberger and Lindert, 1978). In classical liberalism, from Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill, there is a tendency to fall back on mercantilism to account for international migration, because the movement of people is recognized to be different from other types of international exchange. Liberal economic theory conforms to push-pull logic, whereby stopping migration is seen as a matter of reducing economic inequalities within and among states. While neoclassical economic liberals advocate free trade and the free flow of capitals but no liberals advocating the free movement of peoples.

The theory of hegemonic stability represents an important break from realism. Rather than looking at issues of exchange purely in terms of the interests of the state in an anarchic system. Hegemonic stability posits the necessity of a hegemon to sustain any type of international order mercantilist, liberal or otherwise. John Ruggie (1982) makes the additional point that any international order contains within it the values or social purpose of the hegemonic state(s), hence the notion of an "embedded liberalism in the post-war economic order." Ruggie's argument is complementary to the theory of hegemonic stability, because it is hard to conceive of an international order in the absence of a unifying set of principles and norms. The theory of embedded liberalism is extremely useful for understanding international migration because, in addition to recognizing the importance of markets in international relations, it offers us a more sophisticated theory of international politics.

2.4 Role of States and Foreign Policy:

International migration is an increasingly important phenomenon in world politics, yet our understanding of the determinants of state behavior regarding migration remains extremely limited and generally under theorized. This is particularly the case among international relations scholars who have long ignored migration and its implications. The notions of insider and outsider have become supercharged in the 21st Century, complicating human rights and sovereign states. In reality, all modern states do intervene with greater or lesser effectiveness to influence the size and composition of international movements. While some states seek to affect the potential for migration, or at least claim to do so, most state action is addressed at affecting the actual levels of migration, irrespective of potential. In the

absence of state interventions, the actuality of international migration will grow throughout the world. Until recently, theories of international migration have paid short shrift to the nation-state as an agent influencing the volume and composition of international migration. The causes and consequences of migration and international responses to displacement lie at the very heart of the world politics. As a result, the state's role either in promoting or in limiting international migration is poorly understood and lacks adequate theoretical underpinnings.

The truth is that most theories of international migration drawn from international relations are surprisingly deficient in dealing with the role of states in initiating, selecting, restraining, and ending international migration movements. According to Zolberg (1980), the role of states in shaping international migration has been largely ignored by immigration theorists.” Some argue that international migration is so powerful a force as to overwhelm any efforts by governments to affect them a human tectonics driven by huge economic, demographic, and social forces. For others, inattention to the role of the state reflects merely the boundaries of their disciplinary interests; state action is central to the domain of political scientists.

The relations between states are often influenced by the actions or inactions of states vis-à-vis international migration. The effects are frequently a rise in conflicts, but under some conditions the results may be a growing pattern of consultation and cooperation between governments. It is very important to know that the notion of state's sovereignty is central to understanding the role of states in influencing international migration. On the other hand, sovereignty in matters of international migration, as in so many other areas of state policies, has been eroding. A sovereignty state constitutes the exclusive authority to decide who shall enter and who shall be permitted to become a citizen. Some scholars of migration have taken a straightforward "realist" view that states are sovereign and thereby have the power to protect and defend territorial integrity (Waltz, 1979; Krasner, 1978; Weiner, 1990). The notion of sovereignty includes the legal right of states to regulate entry into the national territory. From this perspective, states will regulate migration according to their "national interests" (Weiner, 1985).

The worldwide phenomenon of migration is to a large extent the result of forces of globalization in world trade, transportation and communication. But the dynamics of state policies that encourage of force emigration in pursuit of various political, economic and

foreign policy objectives. Foreign policies of a state have served often intentionally to stimulate international migration. Political interventions or foreign military, in particular or internal or external responses to intervention, often result in massive migrations. Large scale out migration also takes place when domestic economic or political conditions deteriorate in economic desperation, large scale internal repression, or the rise of totalitarianism. The Liberation War of Bangladesh and the later Indo-Pak war the same year led to the mass exodus of millions of refugees to India followed the pattern of internally generated economic and political instability, or both, followed by externally induced pressures or intervention intended either to exploit or to the reverse that growing instability.

States often encourage out-migration for the remittances generated from the income of migrants living abroad. Between 1976 and 2002, over 3 million Bangladeshis have migrated overseas in search of employment and the “data on remittance flows to Bangladesh show an annual growth of 10 per cent for the past 25 year. A significant portion of remittances also reaches Bangladesh through unofficial channels” called *hundi*. Foreign policy as an instrument favouring international immigration has been employed by the United States vis-à-vis Mexico to attract temporary Mexican labour. Likewise, in the Sixties and Seventies West Germany and other European countries signed treaties with source countries for the admission of guest workers. According to Myron Weiner (1995) that most of the world’s population flows since World War II did not merely happen; they were made to happen. For the governments of sending countries, emigration may serve a variety of political objectives. Emigration can be a solution to the problems of cultural heterogeneity. It can be a device for dealing with political dissidents, including class enemies. And it can be a mechanism for affecting the domestic and foreign policies of other state

Across the globe, examples abound of how states have sought to achieve cultural homogeneity by forcing out ethnic communities. While the expulsion of the Tutsis was an overt form of ethnic cleansing, other states have employed covert or undeclared means to achieve population and cultural homogeneity. Such means were adopted against the Tamils of Sri Lanka, the Kurds of Turkey, Iran and Iraq, and the Chakmas and Hindus of Bangladesh. The ethnic and religious minorities of Bangladesh fled their home country when the integrity of their person was threatened and crossed over the permeable border into India where they expected conditions to be better. Although Bangladesh would deny any such intention of forcing emigration, the out-migration of its population belonging to both the ethnic and religious minorities as well as that of poor and unemployed mass of Muslims amounts to dumping of its unwanted and excess population. A section of intellectuals (e.g. Sadiq Khan) in Bangladesh have ever been legitimizing the theory of *lebensraum*—living

space for the people of Bangladesh (Prakash Singh, 2001). Unfortunately state policy remains lethargic in tackling the problem and Bangladeshi illegal immigrants continue to pour. The masses in the east and northeast are faced with a constant flux of migration, legal as well as illegal (Bose, 1997). The illegal migrants issue in West Bengal continues to fester in the absence of political will from successive State and Union Governments. In the near future climate change is likely to generate a fresh rate of ecological refugees from Bangladesh and in the absence of suitable legal policy, the situation will virtually go beyond control.

2.5 Immigration Policy and Rules of Entry & Rules of Exit:

Immigration policy shapes immigration patterns, which in turn have a tremendous impact on the demography, culture, economy and politics of a state. Immigration control policy is a crucial element in determining immigration patterns: given the large number of people who would like to emigrate to the industrialized countries for economic or political reasons, and the strictly limited opportunities to do so, it is immigration policy that mainly determines the scope of global migration. Immigration policy consists of two parts: 1) immigration control policy or immigration regulation, namely, the rules and procedures governing the selection and admission of foreign citizens; and 2) immigrant policy, namely, the conditions provided to resident immigrants (e.g., work and housing conditions, welfare provisions and educational opportunities) (Hammar, 1985). Immigration control policy concerns the admission and selection of permanent immigrants, temporary migrant workers and refugees, as well as attempts to restrict illegal immigration.

2.5.1 International Immigration Policies:

Immigration policy is an interdisciplinary subject. Immigration policy is the outcome of a political process through which competing interests interact within bureaucratic, legislative, judicial, and public arenas to construct and implement policies that encourage, discourage, or otherwise regulate the flow of immigrants. Shughart, Tollison, and Kimenyi (1986) identify three key interest groups in the political competition to formulate immigration policy: workers, capitalists, and landowners. There are different types of approaches for understanding of immigration policy. The Marxist approach presented by Beard and Beard (1944), Marx (1976), Castles and Kosack (1981), Miles (1989) and Bovenkerk et al. (1991) argues that economic factors and a class-based political process shape immigration policies. It asserts that capitalists import migrant workers in order to exert a downward pressure on wages and thereby increase their own profits. The migrants constitute an industrial reserve

army of labour, and migration is part of capitalist development and of the international division of labour. The "national identity" approach emphasizes the importance of external and "situational" factors. The "national identity" approach focuses on the unique history and traditions of each country and utilizes a historical approach. This approach explains the timing of immigration policies on the basis of social conflicts and debates over national identity.

Society-centered approaches assume that the state serves as a neutral arena for societal interests: interest groups and parties. Policymaking is the result of bargaining as well as of compromises between these interests, or sometimes it reflects the fact that one or more of these actors has succeeded in capturing the state. The pure institutionalist approach argues that political institutions can be autonomous: they can form public policy according to the interests of the state and remain unaffected by societal or interest group pressures. Political choices made by earlier generations create institutions, which shape both policies and ideas for later generations (Goldstein, 1989). Realism depicts international affairs as a struggle for power among self-interested states (Walt, 1998). Liberals offer a more optimistic worldview than the realists. They maintain that international economic interdependence, transnational interactions, international institutions, and the spread of democracy can promote cooperation and even peace between nations. The Neoliberal institutionalist model argues that international institutions and regimes help overcome dilemmas of common interests and common aversions and facilitate collaboration and coordination between countries (Krasner, 1983; Keohane, 1985). During the past decade, some scholars have argued that globalization is challenging the stability and territoriality of the state, as well as its capacity to control its economic and welfare policies (Schmidt, 1995). Sassen (1996) argues that we must accept the possibility that sovereignty itself has been transformed, and that exclusive territoriality - a distinctive feature of the modern state - is being undermined by economic globalization.

Immigration policy is a crucial element in determining immigration patterns and the scope of global migration, especially illegal migration. In India, as long as there was a need for skilled agricultural migrant labour from Bangladesh, the issue of illegal migration was little interest to the host communities in Assam and West Bengal because these societies were quite willing to admit such migrants. Migration has gone on so long period of time that it should be treated as natural and acceptable. The people of minority and ethnic groups were migrated into India as a refugee during the Liberation War of Bangladesh, 1971 and later the Government of India declared them as Indian citizen. When the poorest of the poor and

working class of Bangladeshi were migrated into India, they were treated as labour and used them in their domestic works. Those who tend to underplay the adverse impact of infiltration upon India by overstressing the economic impetus behind infiltration go as far as to plead that India should provide large-scale assistance towards the economic development of Bangladesh, especially when the Farakka barrage and the division of Ganga waters between Bangladesh and India (West Bengal) have diversified a large part of Bangladesh, thereby creating environmental refugees who emerge as infiltrators in India. But the illegal migration from Bangladesh began to resent when political parties as well as officials began to regard immigration from Bangladesh as a threat to India's security, economic well-being, political stability, and cultural identity.

2.5.2 Rules of Entry and Rules of Exit:

Access rules are very important for understanding the international migration. States differ markedly on the ground of their rules of entry and the rules of exit. Where one state promotes entry and another state promotes exit. For example, one country wants to import labor from a country that is willing to export labor. Bilateral arrangements become possible, where two countries are involved in the exchange, e.g. the French-Algerian arrangements. Multilateral arrangements are also possible, where several countries are involve in the exchange, e.g. the case among the Persian Gulf states. These types of arrangements are only possible when the two countries have compatible objectives that enable them to negotiate such matters as wages, conditions of employment, rules for expatriation, arrangements for remittances, and so on. Where one state permits, promotes, or compels emigration to a state that prohibits entry, the situation carries a high potential for conflict. Illegal migrations from Mexico to the United States have an issue between the two countries. Migration from Bangladesh to northeastern India has been a source of conflict between two countries; so has the migration of refugees from Afghanistan to Pakistan. Weiner (1985) developed a way of analyzing the role of entry and exit rules and their impact on flows and the patterning of flows among different countries. He proposed fives rules of entry and exit. Entry rules are:

a) **Unrestricted entry rules:** Although no country freely permits entry to everyone, some countries grant virtually unrestricted entry to citizens of neighboring countries. For example, West Germany permits free access to individuals coming from East Germany, and members of the European common markets allow their citizens to move freely from one member country to another.

b) **Promotional entry rules:** Countries may actively promote entry in an effort to increase their population or to fill a temporary demand for labor. For example, in the 1970s and 1980s the oil producing Persian Gulf States actively recruited labor from other Arab states and from Asia. Israel, in fulfillment of its nationalist ideology to create a homeland for Jews, promotes immigration of Jews irrespective of their country of origin.

c) **Selective entry rules:** Many governments selectively admit but do not actively promote the entrance of migrants. For example, the Australian government permits refugees to enter from the soviet bloc, but it does not so because of the willingness of the third countries to permit permanent entry; its rules of entry are thus conditioned upon the entry rules of others.

d) **Unwanted entry rules:** Some governments that legally restrict or prohibit entry are unable or unwilling to prevent illegal entry. Illegal immigration from Mexico to the United States, from Bangladesh to the Indian Territory is a good example of unwanted migration.

e) **Prohibition entry rules:** A few countries effectively ban virtually all long term entries and make it almost impossible for foreigners to become citizens. For example, Japan almost prohibits for foreigners to become citizens.

Weiner proposed also five exit rules as follows:

a) **Prohibition exit rules:** Democratic states subscribe to the notion that citizenship implies the right to leave. But totalitarian states do not grant their citizens this right, since the mechanisms of political control that characterize totalitarian states would be eroded were such a right granted. Communist states ordinarily prohibit citizens from leaving to seek employment abroad or to change their citizenship.

b) **Selective exit rules:** Governments may selectively allow citizens with some characteristics to leave, but not others. They may restrict the emigration of individuals possessing certain skills: at one time Egypt restricted the emigration of physicians. Or they may give exit permits to some ethnic groups, but not to others.

c) **Permissive exit rules:** Some governments freely permit citizens to leave as long as they have performed the obligations of citizens (i.e., they have paid their taxes; have not broken the law, etc.). Western democracies ordinarily treat the freedom to leave as a fundamental right of citizenship, although in practice such rights can be circumscribed by currency regulations.

d) **Promotional exit rules:** Governments may encourage citizens to seek employment abroad in order to relieve unemployment or to increase remittances. Some governments have developed educational programs to provide citizens with skills that could enhance their opportunities for finding employment abroad. Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India all promote emigration to the Middle East. Earlier, the government of Turkey promoted emigration to Germany, and the Algerian government promoted emigration to France.

e) **Expulsion exit rules:** Governments may expel individual citizens; they may also induce entire groups of people to leave by threatening their safety and income if they remain. The group may be a dissident or threatening social class e.g., the middle class in Cuba after the Castro revolution or it may be an ethnic minority e.g. Indians in East Africa, Chinese in Vietnam.

The pairings of entry and exit rules can usefully indicate something about the political systems of the countries and relations among countries and a possible role for negotiation about migration issues in international relations. The rules of entry and of exit are important variables influencing the magnitude, the composition and the directionality of international migration. There are four clusters of variable that shape international migration. Cluster one can be characterized as differential variables, such as wage differentials, difference in employment rates, difference in land prices, and even differences in degree days. A second group of variables are spatial, such as distance and transportation costs. A third group can be characterized as affinity variables, such as religion, culture, language, and kinship networks. And the fourth are the access variable, the rules for exit and for entry (Myron Weiner, 1995). In fact, the rules of access influence other variables affecting migration, and in turn the other variables influence the rules of access. For example, where differentials are high, affinities are close, and distances are small, a country is usually faced with difficult decisions about its access rules, e.g. the United States in relation to Mexico, and India in relation to Bangladesh. On the other hand, where differentials and affinities are low, even the distances are small neighbouring countries often needed to not be concerned about the rules of entry. The access rules adopted by a government are also likely to have significant consequences both for the movement of capital and for the adoption of technology. Governments are generally better able to control the exit and entry of people than they are of the flow of capital.

Now-a-days, the illegal immigration from Bangladesh to India has put the Indian State on a collision with Bangladesh, leading to the emergence of inter-state and intra-state conflicts. The central issue is the legality of the migration. As a rule, India is the host country that imposes restrictions on illegal immigration and most of its concerns stem from the

undocumented entry of undesirable migrants. In the context of border crossings into India, illegal entrants from Bangladesh simply swim, row, climb or walk over some stretch of the land and riverine border. They cross over as individuals or in groups. In certain cases, for instance when there is a heavy presence of border guards, or when they have to encounter physical barriers such as barbed wire fencing, they take the help of border brokers or human smugglers/traffickers for a monetary consideration. Border crossings were also made by bribing the border guards at the time of exit from Bangladesh and during entry into India. The common characteristic of this group of illegal entrants is that they do not possess appropriate travel documents – passports, visas. Another group of persons described as illegal immigrants are those that cross the border at well-established check posts manned by immigration authorities. They present valid travel documents. But once inside India, they either violate their visa terms by overstaying or simply disappear into the vast multitude of India's population. There are some persons who present forged documents to seek successful entry. The unifying characteristic of these kinds of migration is that they are rarely apprehended. The failure to arrest illegal immigrants from Bangladesh is partly because the porous and riverine border, geographic proximity and the migrants belong to the same ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural, making their detection well nigh impossible as they melt into India's multi-cultural society in which they take advantage of the migrant networks to seek jobs, bring over their families – also by illegal means – and to settle down, never to return.

In the concluding remark, we can say that since the 9/11, immigration has become highly politicized, pivot and extremely hot issue. The notions of international politics are constituted by the effects of structural anarchy. The relations between states are often influenced by the actions or inactions of states vis-à-vis international migration. The immigration policy is a significant element in determining the pattern and scope of illegal migration. A sovereignty state constitutes the exclusive authority to decide who shall enter or exit and who shall be permitted to become a citizen. Both the state and centre governments of India have expressed serious concern over this continuous infiltration from Bangladesh to West Bengal. The government has come forward with various policy prescriptions e.g. border fencing, issuances of identity cards, granting work periods etc. Yet, the process of migration is continued today. The links that develop between migrants and their country of origin may not only shape relations between migrants and their homeland, but may also influence the patterns of cultural pluralism within the countries in which the migrants have settled. Therefore, migration and refugee issues, no longer the sole concern of ministries of labor, are now matters of high international politics, engaging the attention of heads of states, cabinets, and key ministries involved in defense, internal security, and external relations.

Chapter 3

Trends and Patterns of Bangladeshi Migration

3.1 Introduction:

Migration from the geopolitical entity called Bangladesh to India has a long and complicated history (Khondker, 2004). Migration links of Bangladesh with India are age old and have been in operation in different manner in different phases. India has common border with Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar, China and Pakistan. Being the most developed of all South Asian countries; India has been the most sought after destination neighbouring countries. Trans-border migration is diversified in nature as it involves commuting, seasonal, circular, temporary and permanent forms of labour migration, movement of refugees, clandestine migration and even trafficking of women and children. Multiplicity in the forms, nature and modalities of cross-border migration from Bangladesh defy distinction between self smuggling, commuting, migration-by consent and trafficking (Andreas, 2000; Kyle and Koslowski, 2001). Bangladesh inherited disputed border relation with India as a legacy of the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. The border between India and Pakistan known as Radcliffe border after Sir Cyril Radcliffe was drawn within six weeks “on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous areas of Muslims and Non-Muslims.” Partition of colonial India, and formation of two nation states on the basis of religion in 1947, caused a massive population displacement in the sub-continent, involving 20 million people (Butalia, 1998). Arbitrariness is the predominant feature of this partition because it was almost impossible to maintain a Muslim Hindu divide geographically. Thus the border that separated Bangladesh from India had “ran through the Bengali heartland, separating tens of millions of Bengalis on the one side from tens of millions of Bengalis on the other” (Van Schandel, 2006).

The subsequent turmoil in Bangladesh, leading to its independence in 1971, is documented in history as an enormous humanitarian crisis that rendered many homeless and made million refugees in their own land. Influx of such uprooted people to India remains all time high in the sub-continent. Conflicts in Sri Lanka and elsewhere in South Asia and free movement from Nepal also caused huge population shifts to India. Though the share of such an international migrant population may not be high in India, nonetheless, in absolute terms, it constitutes a large chunk. Moreover the wandering rivers of active Bengal delta did not fit in this rigid state border and char lands remained disputed ever since. The border also runs across chars – silt islands formed by banks of silt-laden large rivers that are most difficult to

administer because of their high fluidity causing great mobility among its inhabitants (Afsar, 2008). Thus, immigration from Bangladesh to is a very recent and burning phenomenon.

The Census of India 2001 Report on Migration (D-Series) shows that about 6,051,965 persons who live in India were born in other Asian countries, out of which more than 56 per cent were from Bangladesh, followed by Pakistan (15%), Nepal (8%) and Sri Lanka (3%). Among all population flows from the neighbouring countries, the inflow from Bangladesh has specifically received great attention in the recent times. Different sources put the figure of Bangladeshi migrants between 12 and 20 million. Existing estimates suggest that Bangladeshi migration to India occurs mainly from eastern side of India with three states namely -- West Bengal, Assam and Tripura serving as major conduits of the flow, which also spread further to Bihar, Delhi and Rajasthan and even to Maharashtra. Little wonder then to find disproportionately large share of Bangladeshi migrants borne by West Bengal (40%), Assam (30%), Delhi (11%) and Tripura (7%), compared to the remaining states that have around 3.7% of the migrants (Afsar, 2008). West Bengal is the major destination of such kind of Bangladeshi immigration about more than 30 lakhs persons or 98 per cent were from Bangladesh, according to the 2001 Census of India, D -Series Reports (Sarkar, 2005). Similar geographical, socio-cultural, and racial-linguistic linkages coupled with easy accessibility of the border have induced the people of Bangladesh to move towards India, especially, to the States bordering Bangladesh.

3.2 Dynamics and Dimensions of the World Migration:

The United Nations (UN) defines as an international migrant a person who stays outside their usual country of residence for at least one year. Globally mobility across national boundaries is rising and since 1970 the number of migrants at the world level has doubled. According to latest UN estimates of Global Mobility, in the decade between 1990 and 2000 the number of international migrants increased from 154 to 175 million. UN also estimated in 2005 there were about 200 million international migrants worldwide, including about 9 million refugees. One in every 35 people in the world today is an international migrant. Another way to put this is that only 3 per cent of the world's population today is an international migrant. The number of international migrants has more than doubled in just 25 years, and about 25 million were added in only the first five years of the 21st century. Before the 1990' most of the world's international migrants lived in the developing world; today the majority lives in the developed world and their proportion is growing. Between 1980 and

2000 the number of migrants in the developed world increased from about 48 million to 110 million, compared with an increase from 52 million to 65 million in the developing world. In 2000 there were about 60 million migrants in Europe, 44 million in Asia, 41 million in North America, 16 million in Africa, and 6 million in both Latin America and Australia (Kloser, 2007).

Table 3.1: International Migrants (in Millions) by World Regions (1970-2000).

Year	Developed Countries	Developing Countries	World
1970	35.5	43.2	81.5
1980	47.7	52.1	99.8
1990	89.7	64.3	154
2000	110.3	64.6	174.5

Source: UNDSEA, World Economic and Social Survey, International Migration (UN, 2004).

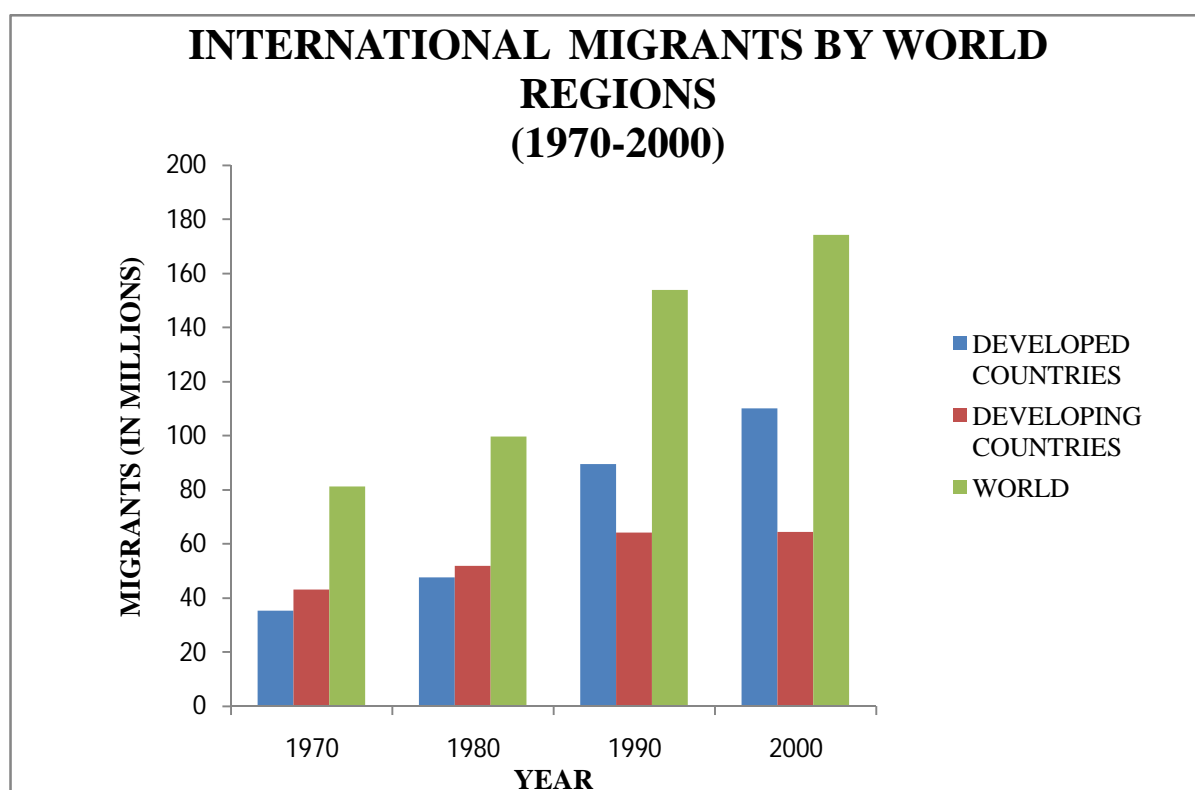


Figure: 3.1

Source: UNDSEA, World Economic and Social Survey, International Migration (UN, 2004).

Almost 20 per cent of the world's migrants in 2000- about 35 million- lived in the USA. The Russian Federation was the second most important host country for migrants, with

about 13 million, or nearly 8 per cent of the global total. Germany, the Ukraine, and India followed the rankings each with between 6 and 7 million migrants. It has been estimated that at least 35 million Chinese currently live outside their country, 20 million Indians, and 8 million Filipinos. There are about 5 million Asian migrants working in the Gulf States. It is estimated that there are also 2.5 to 8 million irregular migrants in South Africa.

Human Development Report (2009) in its estimation reveals that about 214 million people, or roughly 3.1 percent of the world's population, lived and worked outside the country of their birth in 2008, up from 120 million in 1990. Given the difficulties in the definition of a migrant across countries, this may be an underestimation of the real stock of migrants in the world.

Table 3.2: Global Migrants Stocks (In Millions), 2009. (Parentheses in Percentage).

Migrants From	Migrants In			Total
	Developing	High income OECD	High income non OECD	
Developing	73.9 (47%)	61.8 (40%)	20.1 (13%)	155.8 (100%)
High income OECD	3.4 (11%)	25.5 (85%)	1.2 (4%)	30.1 (100%)
High income non OECD	0.8 (17%)	3.6 (77%)	0.3 (6%)	4.7 (100%)
Total	78.0 (41%)	90.9 (48%)	21.6 (11%)	191.0 (100%)

Source: World Bank Working Paper No: 102 (2007).

Table 3.2 shows the movement of migrants from developing and developed countries. Interestingly, the migrants from developing countries to other developing countries constitute 47% of total migrants from developing countries in 2005. Migration therefore may no longer be considered as a 'South-North' phenomenon, as often assumed. Many countries in Southeast Asia, for instance, are heavily reliant on cheap migrant labour from neighbouring countries. However, the extent and issues surrounding migration between developing countries remain poorly understood, largely because of incomplete and unreliable data on migration in developing countries (Rath and Shaw, 2007). Majority of migrants from high-income OECD countries go to other high-income OECD countries (85%). The gap between migrants in developing countries and developed countries is not very wide. 59% of total migrants are based in developed countries as compared to 41% in developing countries.

Country level estimates show that USA has the highest number of immigrants (38.4 million), followed by Russia (12.1 million), Germany (10.1 million), Ukraine (6.8 million),

France (6.5), Saudi Arabia (6.4) and Canada (6.1) (Table 3.3). On the other hand, foreign workers in Gulf countries continue to represent a high proportion of total population. In Qatar and Andorra, 78% of total population constitutes migrants. Spain has recorded 10th rank in the world about 4.4 million immigration in 2005. Our beloved country, India has ranked 8th in terms of immigration in the world about 5.7 million population in 2005.

Table 3.3: Top Ten Immigration Countries in the World, 2005.

Countries	No. of Immigrants (in millions)
USA	38.4
Russia	12.1
Germany	10.1
Ukraine	6.8
France	6.5
Saudi Arabia	6.4
Canada	6.1
India	5.7
UK	5.4
Spain	4.4

Source: UN Population Division, 2005.

Similarly the available latest data on the number of emigrants shows that, Mexico (11.5 million) and Russia (11.5 million) have the highest number of emigration to the rest of the world during the year 2005 (Table 3.4). India stood third in the list, followed by China and Ukraine. However, emigrants as percentage of population is highest for Jamaica (39%) followed by Bosnia (38%) & Herzegovina (38%).

Table 3.4: Top Ten Emigration Countries in the World, 2005.

Countries	No. of Emigrants (in millions)
Mexico	11.5
Russia	11.5
India	10.0
China	7.3
Ukraine	6.1
Bangladesh	4.9
Turkey	4.4
Ukraine	4.2
Germany	4.1
Kazakhstan	3.7

Source: Development Prospects Group, World Bank, 2005.

Besides the dimensions and changing geography of international migration, there are at least three trends that signify an important departure from earlier pattern and processes. First, the proportion of women among migrants has increased rapidly. Very nearly half of the world's migrants were women in 2005; just half of them living in the developed world and just under half in the developing world (Koser, 2007, pp. 6). There are number of reasons why women comprise an increasing proportion of the world's migrants. One is that the demand for foreign labour, especially in the more developed countries, is becoming increasingly gender – selective in favour of jobs typically fulfilled by women- services, healthcare, and entertainment. Second, an increasing number of countries have extended the right of family reunion to migrants- in other words allowing them to be joined by their spouses and children. Most often these spouses are women. Changing gender relation in some countries of origin also mean that women have more independence to migrate than previously. Finally, and especially in Asia, there has been a growth in the migration of women for domestic work (sometimes called the 'maid trade'); organised migration for marriage (sometimes referred to as mail order brides), and the trafficking of women into the sex industry ((Koser, 2007).

Second, the traditional distinction between countries of origin, transit, and destination for migrants has become increasingly blurred. Today almost every country in the world fulfils all three roles- migrants leave, pass through, and head for all of them. For example, about 50 years ago all the countries of the Mediterranean- in both North Africa and Southern Europe- were countries of origin for migrants who mainly went to Northern Europe to work. About 20 years ago Southern Europe changed from a region of emigration to a region of immigration, as increasing numbers of North Africans arrived to work in their growing economies and at the same time fewer Southern Europeans had an incentives to head north for work anymore. Today, North Africa is changing from an origin to a transit and destination region. Increasing number of migrants from Sub- Saharan Africa is arriving in countries like Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia. Finally, it is important to know that today temporary migration has become much more important. Even people who have lived abroad for most of their lives often have a dream to return to the place of their birth, and it is now relatively unusual for the people to migrate from one country to another and remain there for the rest of their lives (Koser, 2007, pp. 8). Therefore, we have seen that in Asia, females are migrated mainly for domestic works, marriage purposes and the trafficking women into the sex industry, whereas in the western countries females are engaged in service, health and entertainment sectors. Today, the

majority of people are temporary migrants who emotionally connected to mother land and involved geographical phenomenon associated with deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

3.3 Trends and Patterns of Migration in South-Asia:

International migration will probably continue to increase in scale and diversity for the foreseeable future and to affect every part of the globe, either directly or indirectly. In the 1970s and 1980s international migration from Asia grew dramatically. The main destinations were North America, Australia, and Gulf States. In 2000 there were over 7.0 million Asian migrants in the USA- China was the second largest source of migrants each year after Mexico. OECD estimates put the Asian born population in Australia at over 1.0 million, or a quarter of the total immigrant population and 5 per cent of the total population. There are at least 5 million Asian migrants working in the Gulf States (Koser, 2007, pp. 110). However, today the main growth is in migration within Asia. In 2000 it was estimated that there were 6.2 million Asians employed outside their own countries but within the Asia region. According to the ILO (International Labour Organisation) migration for employment within Asia has grown at around 6 per cent each year since 1995. The main sources are poorer countries with enormous labour surpluses, especially China and the Philippines, but also Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The principal destinations are the tiger economies or newly industrializing countries (NICs) of East Asia, including Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand (Koser, 2007, pp. 110).

Migration is not new to South Asia and people in the sub-continent have been always on the move. In Asia, South Asia has been home to one of the largest population movement in the 20th century. In 2000, India ranked sixth (6.3 million), after USA, Russia, Germany, Ukraine and France, among the top ten countries in the world with the largest international migrant population (IMO, 2003). However, the sheer size of population in India, crossing 1.2 billion in 2011, drastically dwarfs the share of international migrants in the total population, an indicator often used to reflect the intensity of migration. According to a UN Department of Economics and Social Affairs report, India was projected to rank 9th in terms of the number of international migrants (5,436,012) in 2010 and to account for 2.5 per cent of all international migrants (Behera, 2011). The recent United Nations estimates rank India at the top among all countries in terms of its absolute size of its population. The following table 3.5

reflects the magnitude and extent of international in-migrants in India and its neighbouring countries during the year of 2000.

Table 3.5: International In-Migrants in India and its Neighbouring Countries, 2000.

Country	Total Population (in 000s)	Migrants Population (in 000's)	Percentage Share to the Total Population
Bangladesh	137439	988	0.7
Bhutan	2085	10	0.5
China	1275133	513	0.04
Myanmar	47749	113	0.2
Nepal	23043	619	2.7
Pakistan	141256	4243	3
Sri Lanka	18924	397	2.1
India	1008937	6271	0.6

Source: International Migration Report, United Nations (2002).

However, the absolute size of its population (above a billion in 2001) reduces the share of immigrant population as against the native significantly in relation to other countries in the neighbourhood. A huge immigrant population has been recorded about 6.3 million by UN, for China (0.513 million), for Nepal (0.6 million), for Bangladesh (0.9 million), for Pakistan (4.2 million), is a pioneer to the fact that the country is at the forefront of international in-migration and has been home to many entering from different regions of the world.

3.4 Migration from Neighbouring to India:

In the sub-continent, India is a major destination for immigration, even if the statistics from the census indicate that international in-migration to India from the different parts of the globe did not rise between the early eighties and early nineties. For example, the number of immigrants in India fell in this period, covering between 6.07-7.81 million in 1981 and 5.93-7.22 in 1991, according to the 'place of last residence' and 'place of birth' criteria adopted to define and describe migration in the country (Haider, 2005). Analysis of immigration to India, by the country of origin, indicates that the major chunks of influx are from specific nations in its close neighbourhood states. To examine the data on migration based on last residence from neighbouring countries, which in fact constitutes the bulk of the international migration in India.

Table 3.6: Migrants by Place of Last Residence and Duration of Residence in India from Neighbouring Countries, 2001.

Country	All Duration	Less Than 1 Year	1 to 4 years	4 to 9 years	10 to 19 years	20 & Above	Duration not Stated
Afghanistan	9194	116	622	4057	3004	865	530
Bangladesh	3084826	12839	95539	171518	535795	2096946	172189
Bhutan	8337	412	2194	14436	2044	1662	589
China	23721	383	4853	3457	2360	15588	1060
Myanmar	49086	781	5387	4865	6845	26174	5034
Nepal	596696	36757	137119	89734	128061	160906	44119
Pakistan	997106	2619	18635	16246	34516	847687	77403
Sri Lanka	149300	1380	11502	7019	48001	63722	17676
Total	49118266	55287	275871	298332	760626	3263184	318600

Source: Census of India, 2001.

The above table 3.6 on migration by last residence shows that there were 4.9 million persons who migrated from the neighbouring countries, constituting about 96.9 of the total migrants from abroad. The bulk of these migrants were from Bangladesh who were about 3.0 million in number, the next important group being those from Pakistan (0.9 million) and Nepal (0.5 million) (Census of India, 2001). If we examine the trends of migration from neighbouring countries over the years, a slowing down in migration is evident. Bulk of the international migration shown above relates to 20 years & above category, pointing towards migration at the time of partition or the formation of Bangladesh in 1971 (Shamshad, 2008). Large scale migration from across the border seems to have declined after that, except in case of Bangladesh and it is surprising because Bangladeshi migration has socio-economic and political implication in sphere of Indian people.

3.5 Magnitude and Nature of Bangladeshi Migration:

India has a common border with Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar, China and Pakistan. Being the most developed of all South Asian countries; India has been the most sought after destinations by immigrants from neighbouring countries (Behera, 2011). It is useful to construct the patterns of immigration to India from the neighbouring Bangladesh, as indicated by the successive decadal censuses. The number of Bangladeshi in India, excluding those in J&K in the north, according to census records, stood at around 3.4 million in 1991, growing from around 1.7 million in 1971, virtually doubling in 20 years. However, the exactness of this estimate must be seen against the fact that it leaves out Assam in 1981. Total

population born in India was about 831.3 million as per 1991 census (Haider, 2005). It has increased to 1027 million as per 2001 census records. On the other hand, documented Bangladeshi migrants have decreased from 4.01 million to 3.74 million during the recent decade 1991-2001. This is due to substantial decline in the number of recent migration and death of earlier migrants due to old age. Different sources put the figure of Bangladeshi migrants between 12 and 20 million. Existing estimates suggest that Bangladeshi migration to India occurs mainly from eastern side of India with three states namely -- West Bengal, Assam and Tripura serving as major conduits of the flow, which also spread further to Bihar, Delhi and Rajasthan and even to Maharashtra. Little wonder then to find disproportionately large share of Bangladeshi migrants borne by West Bengal (40%), Assam (30%), Delhi (11%) and Tripura (7%), compared to the remaining states that have around 3.7% of the migrants (Estimates based on Sinha Report, 1998). It is West Bengal which alone is inhabited by a massive three-fourths of all lifetime immigrants in India (81%) from Bangladesh followed by Tripura (8%), and Assam (4%), as well as only one per cent in Uttar Pradesh (Census of India, 2001).

In The absence of a reliable comprehensive census, exact quantification of the extent of infiltration is not possible but the 2001 census data of both Bangladesh and India throw significant light on its magnitude. The total population of Bangladesh was estimated in 1991 at 104.76 million, the annual growth rate being 2.02 per cent against 3.13 per cent during the decade 1974-81. The total population for 1991 was earlier projected by the Bangladesh government between 112 and 114 million. The UNDP projection was 116 million for 1990 and 117-118 million for 1991. The net shortfall, according to Bangladesh Government projection was between 7.24 and 9.24 million, and according to UNDP estimates it was between 12.24 and 14.24 million. Combined with others census statistics we can safely and easily conclude that no less than 7 to 12 million people have infiltrated into India between 1981 and 1991 (Haider, 2005).

Migration from Bangladesh to India can be divided into two parts one documented migration and other undocumented or illegal immigration. From the documented parts, one can have an idea of volume, sex-ratio, trends, growth rate etc. which is obtained from decadal census of India. Since it is recorded, there is no problem of identification of such kind of documented migration. But the issue of undocumented or illegal migration is severe problem for any country, because there is no specific source from where illegal migration can be identified. In India also, it is very difficult to trace illegal Bangladeshi migrants since they

mingle with common mass of West Bengal having same socio-economic, linguistic background, and homo-ethnic features (Datta, 2008). In the recent years various reports and stories have been published in news papers and magazines dwelling on what are alleged to be illegal or undocumented migration from Bangladesh to India. It is noted that often such reports and stories are based on hearsay evidence without support of authentic documents. Presence of common border and geographic nearness with Bangladesh has made it administratively impossible to keep track of such types of Immigration.

3.5.1. Documented Bangladeshi Migration:

Bangladesh has been a major epicentre of the streams of population transfers to India from all sources outside its national boundary (Haider, 2005). In 2001 Census about 5.1 million persons reported as migrant by last residence from across the International border. About 97% of these migrants by last residence were from the eight neighbouring countries (including Afghanistan). Among the neighbouring countries in 2001, Bangladesh is the most sending migrants which shares about 63.0%, followed by that of Pakistan (25.6%), Nepal (8.0%) and Sri Lanka (4.45%), according to the place of last residence criterion, a relatively better indicator of population transfers. Out of 63 per cent of Bangladeshi immigrants, 14 per cent males migrated for employment opportunity; about 24 per cent females migrated due to marriage and a large chunk where 43 per cent female, and 37 per cent male moved with family (Haider, 2005). It is noted that associate migration is due to family migration constitutes an important component of migrants. The number of Bangladeshi in India, excluding those in J&K in the north, according to census records, stood at around 3.4 million in 1991, growing from around 1.7 million in 1971, virtually doubling in 20 years (Haider, 2005). The percentage share of Bangladeshi migration in the same has increased from 23% to 58%. Total population born in India was about 831.3 million as per 1991 census. It has increased to 1027 million as per 2001 census records. On the other hand, documented Bangladeshi migrants have decreased from 4.01 million to 3.74 million during the recent decade 1991-2001 (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7: Summary of Immigration from Bangladesh to India, 1971-2001.

Year	No. of Immigrants from All Countries	No. of Immigrants from Bangladesh	Percentage Share of Bangladeshi Immigrants in Total immigrants in India	Percentage Share of Bangladeshi Immigrants in Total Population in India
1971	7516726	1729310	23	0.32
1981	6073518	3176671	52.3	0.54
1991	5927882	3375829	58.2	0.41
2001	5155423	3712883	56.1	0.37

Source: Census Report of India, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001.

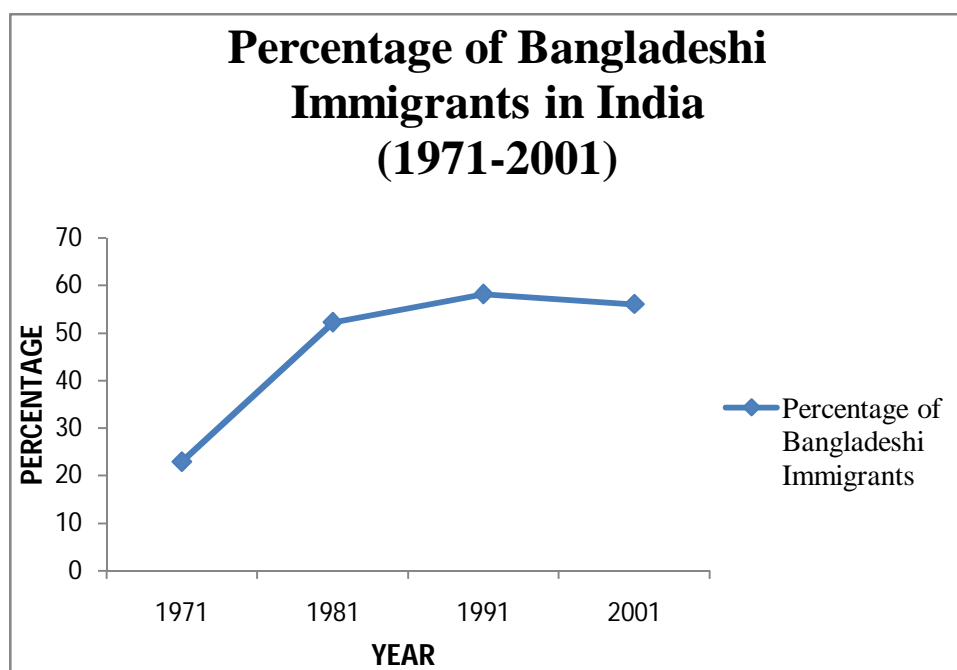


Figure: 3.2

Source: Census Report of India, 1971, 1981, 1991, and 2001.

Table 3.8: Percentage Share of Bangladeshi Migrants (Documented) in Various States of India, 2001.

States/UTs	percentage of Bangladeshi Migrants
West Bengal	80.98
Tripura	7.98
Assam	4.38
Orissa	1.3
Other States/UTs	5.36

Source: Census of India, 2001

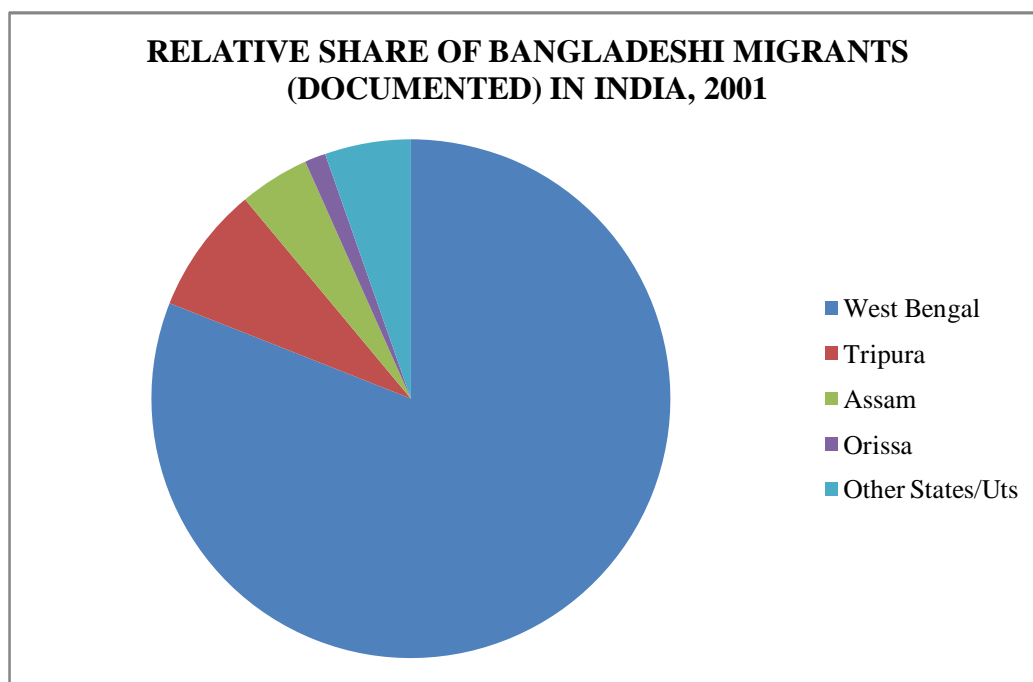


Figure: 3.3

Source: Census of India, 2001.

Table 3.9: Relative Share of Bangladeshi Migrants (Undocumented) in Various States of India, 1998.

States/UTs	percentage of Bangladeshi Migrants
West Bengal	40
Assam	30
Delhi	11
Tripura	7
Bihar	3.7
Rajasthan	3.7
Maharashtra	3.7
Other States/UTs	0.9

Source: Estimates based on Sinha Report, 1998.

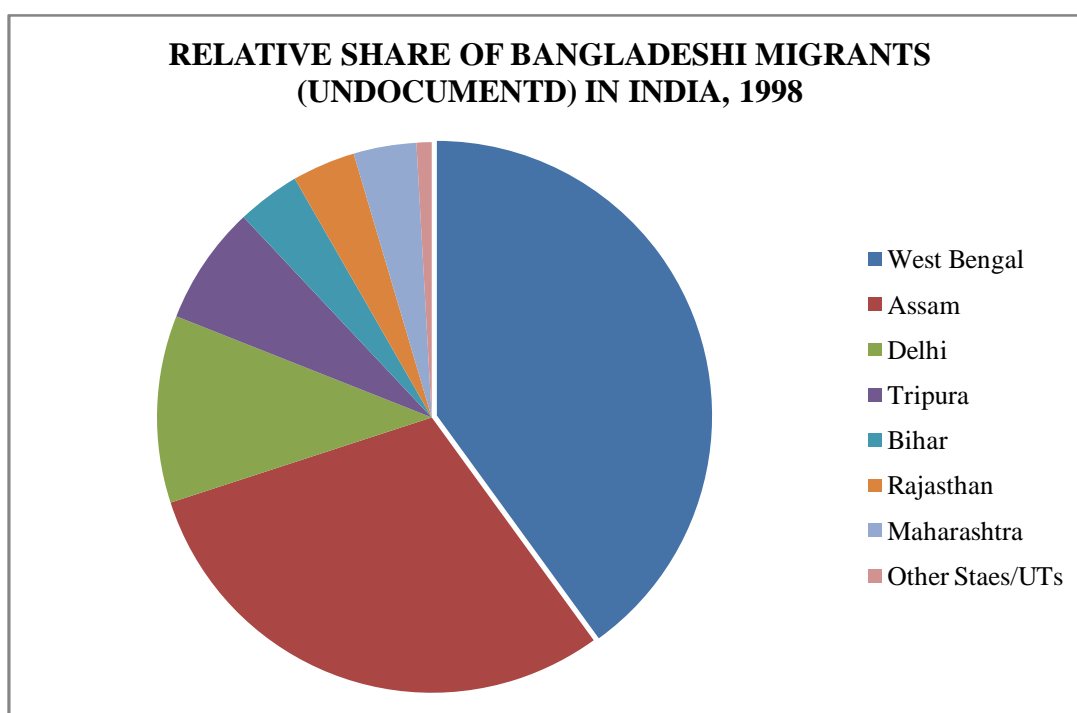


Figure: 3.4

Source: Estimates based on Sinha Report, 1998.

➤ **Rural-Urban Residence:**

Urban areas have always been important in deciding the direction of population flows, and migration theories have tried to capture the movements of towns and cities in different dimensions (Mabogunje, 1970 and IOM, 2003). In This context it is very much interesting to examine the destinations of immigrants' population from Bangladesh within India in terms of rural-urban locations. The Census of India-2001 classifies the immigrants by their place of residence in India at the time of enumeration and it indicates that a substantial majority of Bangladeshi arriving in India head for the rural areas as opposed to the urban locations, though the importance of towns and cities increased significantly as centres of attractions.

Table 3.10: Percentage Share of Bangladeshi Immigration of Rural-Urban Residence in India, 2001.

States/UTs	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Tripura	7.98	7.78	8.29	10.78	10.39	11.22	4.4	4.29	4.52
Assam	4.38	4.43	4.33	5.34	5.44	5.24	3.15	3.13	3.18
West Bengal	80.98	81.49	80.43	75.09	75.96	74.16	88.58	88.59	88.45
Orissa	1.3	1.28	1.32	2.08	2.04	2.12	0.3	0.3	0.3
Other States/UTs	5.36	5.02	5.63	6.71	6.17	7.26	3.57	3.69	3.55

Source: Census of India, 2001 (on the basis of Place of Birth).

If we see the above table 3.10, then we find that the most of the states record an excessive share of Bangladeshi immigrants in the rural areas than in their urban centres. This is interesting in view of the fact that the urban settlements are supposed to offer instant opportunities of livelihood and blur the distinctive identity of immigrants, as compared to challenges faced in a rural set up immediately upon arrival in an unknown land. Finally, we can say that high level of urbanisation in a region in India does not seem to attract the immigrants automatically, except for the South Indian states like Tamil Nadu.

➤ **Sex composition of Bangladeshi Migrants:**

Sex composition of migrants is an important dimension of migration. Women are increasingly migrating, particularly in Asia, for they travel along with men as part of the family, and also increasingly participating in the labour force. Feminization of migration is rapidly becoming an important concern because females tend to be poorly paid, are less skilled, work in low-status occupations and are vulnerable to greater exploitation than men

(Serriere, 2000). Moreover, changing cultural mores between place of origin and the place of destination, challenges of adjustment, and demands of rehabilitation and discrimination are harder for women than for men. Yet, the studies exploring women's involvement and perspective in immigration from Bangladeshi to India are patchy and conflicting (Samaddar, 1999; Hans, 2003; Dasgupta, 2004).

Table 3.11: Sex-Ratio of Bangladeshi Migrants in some selected States/UTs in India, 2001.

States/UTs	Total	Rural	Urban
Tripura	899	899	898
Assam	964	969	946
West Bengal	783	865	911
Orissa	887	878	897
Other States/UTs	927	931	899
India	1002	1066	867

Source: Census of India, 2001.

3.5.2. Undocumented Bangladeshi Migration:

The concept of undocumented or illegal migration can be defined as those who have entered India from Bangladesh without valid documents in post-1971 period. The illegal immigration from Bangladesh into the Eastern and the North-eastern and several other States in the country has become a serious problem. Immigration into border States such as Assam and West Bengal was taking place prior to the formation of Bangladesh but the magnitude of the problem has assumed serious dimensions as large scale infiltration has changed the demographic landscape of the borders and affected Delhi, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra etc. Due to continuous migration, the entire complexion of populations in several districts and areas in the North-eastern States, Bihar and West Bengal has undergone a dramatic transformation. Even in Delhi, the composition of some constituencies for legislative and local bodies' elections has changed.

The most disturbing part of the data relates to variations in the estimates of Bangladeshi population from different Indian sources. For example, Governor of Assam gave a staggering figure of 13.2 million migrants in India (Afsar, 2008). The Supreme Court of India in 1998 estimated a total number of 1024322 Bangladeshi nationals entered into India with valid documents but overstayed and did not return back to Bangladesh during 1972-1998. In 2003, Indian Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandez reported that on an average 1 lakh

Bangladeshi enter illegally to India every month (The Times of India, 29th September 2003). Moreover despite its denial, the 1991 Census Report of Bangladesh mentioned about a unique phenomenon of missing population, estimated initially at 10 million and subsequently at 8 million, of who 1.73 million are Hindus, and 6.27 millions are Muslims (Ray, 2002). The Union Ministry of Home Affairs in 2001 said that over 20 million illegal Bangladeshi immigrants are residing in the country, of which above 10 million are in Assam and West Bengal alone. The large scale illegal immigration is now spreading to newer areas like Tripura, Manipur and Nagaland (Singh, 2009). In 2003, the then Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani, estimated that about 15 million Bangladeshis were in India. The 'Task Force on Border Management', which submitted its report to the Government of India in August 2000, also estimated 15 million Bangladeshis, with about three lakh entering India illegally every year (Ramachandan, 2005). In 2007, about 25,712 out of the five lakh Bangladeshis who came to India did not return after the expiry of their visas while in 2006 more than 24,000 went missing from the 4.84 lakh Bangladeshis who had entered India with valid travel documents. About 12 lakh Bangladeshis, who had entered India between 1972 and 2005 with valid documents, have not returned home. India has managed to push back only 15,000 of them in 2005, 12,000 in 2006 and 11,500 in 2007 (Singh, 2009).

The 'Group of Ministers on National Security' of the Government of India in 2001 stated that "Illegal migration from across our borders has continued unabated for over five decades. We have yet to fully wake up to the implications of the unchecked immigration for the national security. Today, we have about 15 million Bangladeshis, 2.2 million Nepalese, 70,000 Sri Lankan Tamils and about one lakh Tibetan migrants living in India. Demographic changes have been brought about in the border belts of West Bengal, several districts in Bihar, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya as a result of large-scale illegal migration. Even states like Delhi, Maharashtra and Rajasthan have been affected. Such large scale migration has obvious social, economic, political and security implications. There is an all-round failure in India to come to grips with the problem of illegal immigration. Unfortunately, action on this subject invariably assumes communal overtones, with political parties taking positions to suit the interests of their vote banks. The massive illegal immigration poses a grave danger to our security, social harmony and economic well-being" (Singh, 2009). The Bangladeshi government does not officially recognize those migrants and thus does not provide help or support. In fact, Bangladesh authorities have been consistently maintaining that there are no Bangladeshis in India and it has serious impact on bilateral relationship between Bangladesh and India.

Illegal immigrants have become very powerful in India due to the competitive politics of vote bank (Kumar, 2006). West Bengal is one the major destination of Bangladeshi illegal migrants among all the eastern and northeastern states of Indian Territory. Jyoti Parimal Sarkar (2011) said that there are more than 30 lakh immigrants in West Bengal. Illegal immigrants became a political issue in the 2006 state elections. The immigrants were the de facto force in the decision making of more than 50 percent of total 294 constituencies of West Bengal. With the electoral process going momentum, next year's states elections could be a golden opportunity for illegal immigrants and political parties will woo them and leave no stone unturned to expand their vote banks (The India Today, 14th January, 2011).

The situation might have worsened in North-East; especially in Assam is no better (Kumar, 2006). The illegal migration from Bangladesh has seriously affected the security scenario in the North-East. The Assam agitation had been started by AASU (All Assam Students Union) over the issue of illegal migration from Bangladesh in 1974-84. Although there is no definite information on the number of illegal Bangladeshis present in Assam, some regional bodies like AASU, AJYCP (Assam Jatiyatabadi Yuva Chatra Parishad) etc, claim the presence of an estimated five million illegal Bangladeshis in Assam (Roy, 2005). In Assam, illegal migration over several decades has altered the demography of the State and has come to constitute a grave threat to the identity of locals, to the integrity of democratic processes and, increasingly, to national security. In November 1998, the then Governor of Assam, Lt. Gen. S.K. Sinha, submitted a report to the President of India, which estimated the total volume of this infiltration at six million. Most of this increase was concentrated in a few areas with a dramatic impact on the local demography and, hence, politics (Singh, 2009).

In Tripura, the influx of Bengalis from the plains of Bangladesh has reduced the State's tribal population to a minority. According to the 1991 Census of India, the Indigenous tribes of Tripura constituted only 28 percent of the State's population of 2.76 million while three decades earlier; they comprised two-thirds of the population. Earlier in Tripura, the influx from across the border has reduced the state's tribal population to a minority, making it the only state in the country that has been transformed from being a predominantly tribal to a non-tribal state. In the 2001 census, Scheduled Tribes (STs) constituted only 31.1 per cent of the state population of 3.2 million, while six decades earlier they comprised at least 50 per cent of the population (Singh, 2009). Anger over this demographic transformation led to tribal insurgency in the state of Tripura. The situation is becoming alarming in other States of the Northeast as well, particularly Nagaland and Meghalaya. In recent times, Nagaland along

with Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur has attracted a large number of immigrants. Illegal immigration has been taking place in Nagaland, especially in areas bordering Assam, since the early 1970s or even earlier, but it has picked up since the 1980s. Very recently, the issue has generated some attention among a section of the Naga society, who perceives it as a potential threat to their tribal identity. Nagaland recorded the highest rate of population growth in India, from 56.08 per cent in 1981-1991 to 64.41 per cent in 1991-2001. Evidently, the silent and unchecked influx of illegal immigrants in the state has played a crucial role in this abnormal growth (Singh, 2009).

In Mizoram, migration from Bangladesh and Myanmar has become a serious issue. The immigrants sneak in from across the state's border with Bangladesh or Myanmar, and also through Cachar and Karimganj in Assam. The number of such immigrants in the state is estimated to be about 10,000. They were mainly employed as manual labourers. Meghalaya, which shares a 443-km-long border with Bangladesh, has also become another destination for the Bangladeshis. In Meghalaya, illegal migration from Bangladesh has become a serious problem in Boldangre, Kalaichar, Mahendraganj, Purakhasia, Ampati, Garobandh, Rajabala, Selsella, Phulbari and Tikrikilla, all in the West Garo Hills district, the presence of illegal migrants is increasingly noticeable. Mahendraganj is arguably the busiest infiltration route into India. The area has also been witness to two major communal riots since 1992 (Singh, 2009). In Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur too, Bangladeshi immigrants has been reported. The scale, extent and scope of immigration in India's North-East is well documented. Various fora including non-governmental organisations, student bodies, administrators, bureaucrats and political parties, have articulated the consequences of this. It has involved variety of elements that are from the Gangetic delta, from Burma/ Myanmar and other parts of the country. These elements embraced variety of identities. This facilitated their gradual absorption in the region's economy and society. The later, over a period of time, became politically important; as they began increasingly encroach upon strategic and economic security and stability of the North-East (Gopalakrishnan and Thomas, 2005). Therefore, geographic proximity and cultural affinities play very important role for immediate immigration into the bordering States of India, especially in West Bengal, Tripura, Assam. Once they settled in the bordering states of India, they are further subsequently migrated other States of India. People are generally believed that Bangladeshi immigration is confined mainly in the east and Northeast. But this problem is, moreover, no longer confined to India's Northeast. The migrants have now spread in very significant numbers to States such as Bihar, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

3.6: Trends and Patterns of Bangladeshi Migration into West Bengal:

The trans-border immigration either documented or undocumented from Bangladesh into West Bengal is a major political debate in the recent times. One can easily find out the legal migration from Bangladesh into West Bengal, and can also easily analyze the trends, volume, and sex-ratio, spatial distribution of Bangladeshi immigrants, using census records. On the other hand, cross-border immigration from Bangladesh to West Bengal without valid documents in the post Liberation Era of Bangladesh-1971 is called illegal or undocumented migration which is very debatable issues among thinkers, academicians, philosophers, politicians, administrators and policy makers. Due to long and porous border with Bangladesh and also not clear cut border somewhere, West Bengal state is faced with not only trans-border smuggling but also illegal immigration in a big way. There are 160 routes which are reported to be used by illegal immigrants. The Census of India, 2001 Report on migration (D-Series) shows that more than 30 lakhs persons in the state of West Bengal were born in other Asian countries out of which more than 98 per cent from Bangladesh (Sarkar, 2005). Data on population growth rates in various districts have been collected from the Census data as published by the Government of India as well as the Government of West Bengal in its various volumes of Statistical Abstract (Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics). The unnatural rates of growth in population will reflect the immigration of population, mostly from neighbouring places. If the high growth rates occurred in the bordering districts of West Bengal, then it is expected that the migrants are from Bangladesh. The cross-border migrants, normally after crossing the border, try to settle down in nearby villages or towns. Though kinship and friendly relationship determine the paces of migration, geographic proximity is a major inhibiting factor at the initial stages of migration episodes, specially, for cross-border migrants. Therefore, the growth rates in the populations of border districts have been examined firstly.

Higher rates of population growth observed in the State of West Bengal than that in the country as a whole have raised concern for policy makers and administrators. The higher growth rates indicate that immigration from neighbouring areas has been a contributing factor. But the higher increase in population in the border districts of West Bengal certainly reflects the magnitude of cross-border migration from the neighbouring Bangladesh. The trend of recorded Bangladeshi migration since 1951 reflects that the volume of migration has increased from 26.18 lakh in 1951 to 30.68 lakh in 1961. There is gradual increase in the

volume of migration up to 1981. Then the volume of migration gradually decreased. There has been declined the decennial growth rate of West Bengal from 27.73 per cent in 1981-91 to 17.84 per cent in 1991-01. The national growth rate of population was 21.6 per cent during the period 1951-61, whereas the corresponding rate was 32.8 per cent in West Bengal. The same trend was observed in the subsequent decades also. Among the decades, the highest growth rate was, to be sure, in the fifties immediately after the partition of India in 1947. There is gradual increase in the volume of migration up to 1981. Then the volume of migration gradually decreased. There has been declined the decennial growth rate of West Bengal from 27.73 per cent in 1981-91 to 17.84 per cent in 1991-01. However, the national growth rate of 22.7 per cent during the last decade of the Census i.e. 1991-2001 was higher than that of West Bengal (17.8 per cent), which may be interpreted as a sure indication of the reduction of inflows of refugees in the more recent times. If we look at the decennial growth rates in the border districts of West Bengal during the period of 1951-2001, the phenomenon of cross-border migration becomes easy to understand.

Table 3.12: District-wise Decennial Growth Rate of Population of West Bengal (1951-2001).

Districts	1951-61	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91	1991-01
Bankura	26.17	22.02	16.93	18.12	13.79
Burdwan	40.65	27.06	23.46	25.13	14.36
Birbhum	35.55	22.8	18.01	21.94	17.88
Cooch Behar	52.45	38.67	25.28	22.55	14.15
Darjeeling	35.9	25.16	31.02	26.91	23.54
Howrah	26.51	18.58	22.74	25.71	14.6
Hoogly	39.02	28.72	23.86	22.43	15.72
Jalpaiguri	48.27	28.76	26.55	26.44	21.52
Kolkata	8.48	7.57	4.96	33.13	4.11
Maldah	30.33	31.98	26	29.78	24.77
Medinipur	29.26	26.89	22.39	23.57	15.68
Murshidabad	33.46	28.57	25.49	28.2	23.7
Nadia	49.81	29.91	33.29	29.95	19.51
Puruliya	16.33	17.86	15.65	20	13.96
24 Parganas	40.84	34.53	27.1	21.02	21.87
West Dinajpur	35.51	40.5	29.31	30.05	26.12
Total	32.8	26.87	23.17	24.73	17.84

Source: 1) Volumes of Census of India, Registrar General of India, New Delhi.

2) Statistical Abstract, West Bengal 1994-95, BAES, Govt. of West Bengal.

There are ten districts in West Bengal bordering Bangladesh viz. Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, East Dinajpur, West Dinajpur, Malda, Murshidabad, Nadia, North 24 Parganas and South 24 Parganas. It is observed from Table 3.13 that the population growth rates in the bordering districts are more than the overall population growth of the State as whole. In the first decade immediately after partition, all the border districts had higher population growth than the overall growth rate of 32.8 per cent. The highest growth rate was observed in Cooch Behar (52.5 per cent) followed by Nadia (49.8 per cent), Jalpaiguri (48.3 per cent) and 24 Parganas (40.8 per cent). Among the interior districts, Burdwan (40.7 per cent) and Hooghly (39.0 per cent) had high growth rates. The intensity of growth rates has come down in the next two decades viz. the sixties and the seventies. However, there was slight increase in growth rates in the eighties. The border districts maintained higher growth rates except one or two cases such as Darjeeling during 1961-71. But Darjeeling maintained comparatively high growth rates during the next three decades. During the last decade i.e. 1991-2001, West Dinajpur (26.1 per cent), Malda (24.8 per cent), Murshidabad (23.7 per cent) and Darjeeling (23.5 per cent) were the leading growth districts in West Bengal. The higher growth rates are an indication of immigration of population from the neighbouring Bangladesh. In Darjeeling, it might be due to migration from Nepal and Bhutan as well.

The districts ranked according to the growth rates are presented in Table 1.13. It is observed that the ranking pattern has changed over the decades suggesting that the migration pattern has been undergone changes over the decades. For example, Cooch Behar had the highest growth rate of 52.5 per cent during the fifties; the growth rates observed in the district subsequently climbed down to the thirteenth position during the decade of the nineties with a meagre rate of 14.2 per cent. To test the significance of change in the ranking pattern of growth rates, we have calculated the rank correlation coefficient (r) between the decennial growth rates and calculated t-statistic for testing significance of the rank correlation coefficient. The procedure for testing the significance of correlation coefficient is as follows:

$H_0: \rho=0$ (i.e. the population rank correlation coefficient is zero)

$$t = \frac{r \sqrt{n-2}}{\sqrt{1-r^2}}, \text{ with } (n-2) \text{ degrees of freedom (d.f.)},$$

Where n is the number of pairs involved in the test. This test is also known as paired t-test. The values of the rank correlation coefficient (r) and t-statistic are given in Table 1.14. If the correlation coefficient is not statistically significant, it means that ranking pattern of the districts has undergone a change.

Table 3.13: Ranking of Districts according to Population Growth in West Bengal (1951-2001).

Districts	1951-61	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91	1991-01
Bankura	14	13	14	16	15
Burdwan	5	9	10	9	12
Birbhum	8	12	13	13	8
Cooch Behar	7	2	8	11	13
Darjeeling	13	11	2	6	4
Howrah	6	14	11	8	11
Hoogly	3	7	9	12	9
Jalpaiguri	1	6	5	7	6
Kolkata	16	16	16	1	16
Malda	11	4	6	4	2
Medinipur	12	10	12	10	10
Murshidabad	10	8	7	5	3
Nadia	2	5	1	3	7
Puruliya	15	15	15	15	14
24 Parganas	4	3	4	14	5
West Dinajpur	9	1	3	2	1

Source: Derived from Table 3.12.

Spearman's rank correlation coefficient allows us to identify easily the strength of correlation within a data set of two variables, and whether the correlation is positive or negative. Therefore, Spearman's rank correlation coefficient formula follows:

$$1 - \left(\frac{6\sum d^2}{n(n^2 - 1)} \right)$$

With the help of Spearman's rank correlation coefficient formula, result as follows:

Table 3.14: Rank Correlation Coefficients between Decennial Growth Rates of Population in West Bengal, 1951-2001.

Year	1951-61 & 1961-71	1961-71 & 1971-81	1971-81 & 1981-91	1981-91 & 1991-01	1951-61 & 1991-01
Rank Correlation of Coefficient ®	0.72	0.76	0.42	0.42	0.34
t-statistic	3.88	4.37	2.52	2.52	1.35

Source: Compiled from Table 3.13.

There were significant correlation coefficients between 1951-61 and 1961-71 and also between 1961-71 and 1971-81, because the tabulated value of t-statistic with 14 d.f. is 2.14 at 5% level of significance (Fisher and Yates Table). It means the pattern of population growth rates vis-à-vis the pattern of migration in the first three decades were same. However, the pattern changed in the next two decades and the calculated value of correlation coefficient (r) was low, though it is statistically significant. As a result of the overall changing pattern during the past five decades, there was insignificant coefficient of correlation between the ranks of growth rates in the fifties and that in the nineties. That means that the district-wise pattern of migration changed over the past five decades, significantly.

According to the Census of India- 2001, the number of Bangladeshi migrants during the decade 1991-2001 was about 280000, which was a decreased of 53% from almost 600000 migrants between 1981-1991. In case of Bangladesh as the place of last residence, the total numbers of migrants with duration from 0 to 9 years is 279,878 in 2001 and 591, 572 in 1991. The decadal variation during 1991-2001 has been negative a reduction of 52.7 per cent for Bangladesh (Shamshad, 2008). The immigration from Bangladesh to West Bengal is the highest than the other states about 80.98 per cent. It constitutes 81.49 per cent male and 80.43 per cent female. Here male migration is more than the female migration. If we see the rural-urban residential composition of migration, then we find that the rural immigration about 75.09 per cent (male 75.95 per cent & female 74.16 per cent) from Bangladesh to West Bengal is less as compared to urban immigration about 88.58 per cent (male 88.59 per cent & female 88.45 per cent) in 2001 (Census of India, 2001). Sex ratios of Bangladeshi migrants point out that male migrant are predominating female migrants in West Bengal and its various districts. The sex-ratio of Bangladeshi migrant in West Bengal in 2001 was about 887 females per 1000 males and urban sex-ratio about 897 females' pre 1000 males was higher than rural sex-ratio only 878 females per 1000 males. It is very surprising to know that the concentrations of migrants are observed mainly in North 24 Parganas, Nadia, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Kolkata district of West Bengal (Census of India, 2001). The geographic proximity plays a positive role to pull the Migrants (Revenstein, 1989). Disproportionate concentration of Bangladeshi migrants in the bordering districts of West Bengal can be explained by the common language, geographic proximity and cultural affinities (Haider, 2005). Let see the percentage distribution pattern of Bangladeshi migrants in different districts of West Bengal in year of 2001 (Table 3.15).

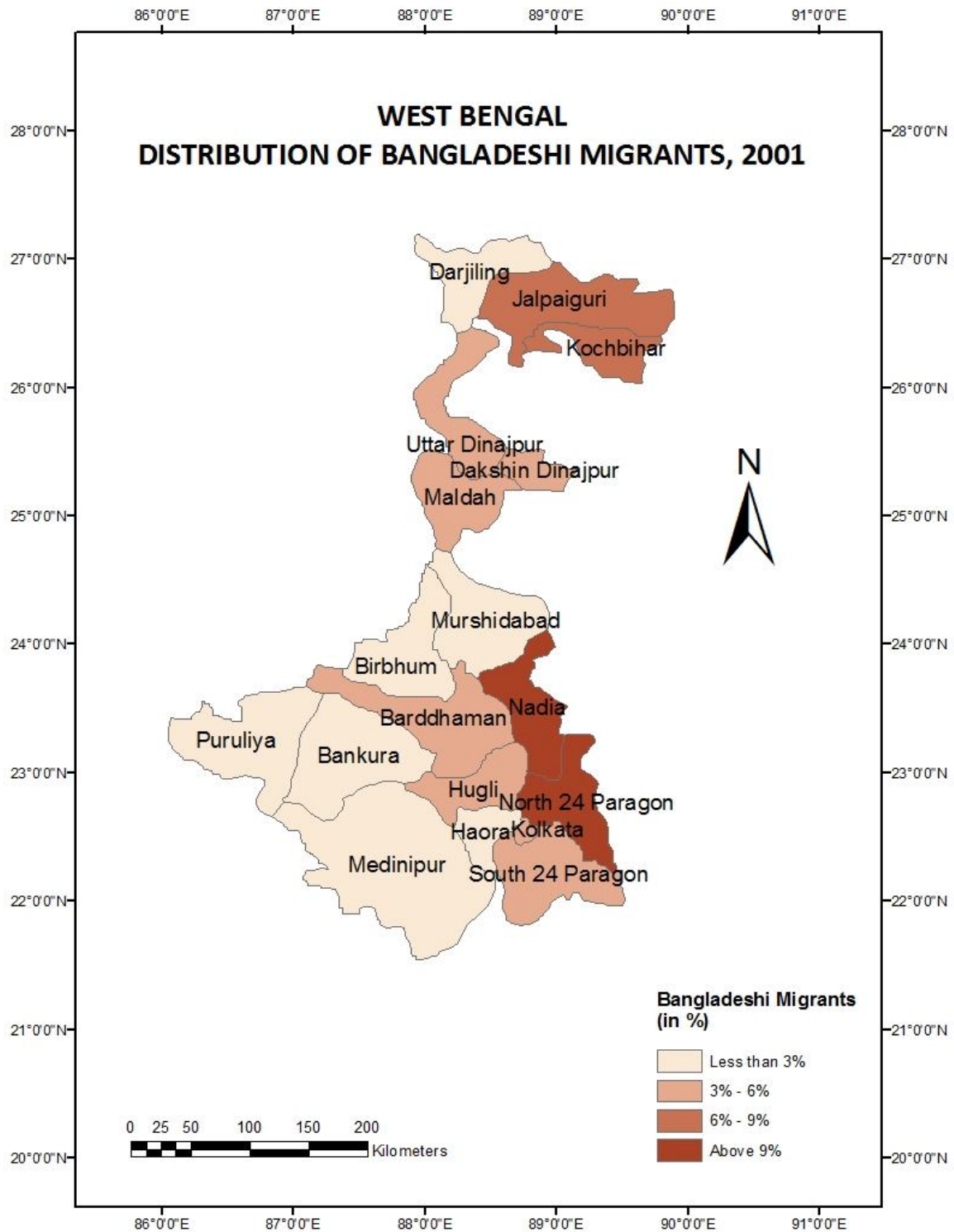
Table 3.15: Percentage Distribution of Bangladeshi Migrants in Different Districts of West Bengal, 2001.

Districts	Total	Male	Female
Darjiling	1.92	1.96	1.86
Jalpaiguri	7.61	7.80	7.39
Koch Bihar	6.48	6.58	6.37
Uttar Dinajpur	3.72	3.78	3.64
Dakshin Dinajpur	5.20	5.20	5.20
Maldah	3.08	3.09	3.06
Murshidabad	1.68	1.64	1.72
Birbhum	0.34	0.35	0.34
Barddhaman	4.97	5.02	4.91
Nadia	19.02	18.92	19.12
North Twenty Four Parganas	29.92	29.59	30.29
Hugli	4.73	4.74	4.71
Bankura	0.28	0.28	0.28
Puruliya	0.05	0.05	0.05
Medinipur	0.61	0.60	0.62
Haora	1.26	1.26	1.26
Kolkata	5.85	5.81	5.90
South Twenty Four Parganas	3.31	3.34	3.29

Source: Census of India, 2001.

Table 3.15 shows that district of North 24 Parganas (29.92 per cent), West Bengal is recorded the highest percentage of Bangladeshi migrants in 2001, followed by Nadia (19.02 per cent), Jalpaiguri (7.61 per cent), Koch Behar (6.48 per cent), Kolkata (5.85 per cent), and Dakshin Dinajpur (5.20 per cent). On the other hand, Puruliya (0.05 per cent) district is recorded the lowest percentage of Bangladeshi migrants during the same year, followed by Bankura (0.28 per cent), Birbhum (0.34 per cent), and Medinipur (0.61 per cent). We can easily understand from the above table that Bangladeshi migrants are more predominance in the bordering districts of West Bengal and with increase of distance from Bangladesh border, the number of Bangladesh migrants decrease. There is a vice-versa relationship between Bangladeshi migrants and distance, more distance less number of migrants and less distance more migrants. Therefore, we can say that geographic proximity between Bangladesh and West Bengal plays a very prominent role in case of Bangladeshi migrants in India.

Map 3.1



Source: Census of India, 2001.

Chapter 4

Geopolitical Causes of Bangladeshi Immigration

4.1 Introduction:

Some people are nomadic and do not settle down in one place for any length of time. But most people prefer to remain in one place and build a stable community there. Movement of population occurs when conditions of life become endangered or difficult and large sections move out from their homeland to a foreign territory that holds the promise for better living prospects. This movement is also caused either by adverse social, economic, religious, ethnic, and environmental conditions, and/or other like trade, culture, imperial rule (Tsagarousianous, 2004). Many of these people are also displaced by war, famine, political and religious oppression, and a variety of personal reasons showing their pursuit of 'better life'. This forced displacement can push people from rural areas into cities or refugee camps, from one region to another region, or across the borders from one territory to another territory. The phenomenon of migration is experienced by the human race for ages. It is a very dynamic process which evolves because of the social, economic, environmental, and geo-political situation of migrants over the time. Migration of people also depends upon cost-benefits and presence of relatives in the receiving countries. "The cost and benefits of migration become cleared and others are induced to move the cost drops, slowly at first and dramatically, as friend and relatives acquire contacts and knowledge in the receiving societies (Mines and Massey, 1985).

As a general principle, people do not leave their homes and hearths for an alien destination unless it becomes absolutely necessary on account of unbearable economic, social or political conditions in their homeland, or they consider it imperative to migrate for enhancing their livings standards or securing their future. In the context of Bangladesh, the vast majority of the migrants come from the lowest economic stratum where lack of employment opportunities and social welfare force starvation on the marginalised people. For the sake of securing sheer existence, starving millions from Bangladesh move out and the destination of this migration is mostly India-specific for reasons of physical proximity, relatively easy and less expensive travel and familiar and friendly socio-cultural milieu that exist across the border. Disproportionate concentration of Bangladeshi in India can be explained by common language, cultural affinities and geographic proximity (Haider, 2005).

In the context of the sub-continent, if the post partition years was the story of the cruelty and violence of nation-building that was epitomised by the intense suffering of millions of uprooted people crossing the border to save their lives. The years following 1971 have been the narrative of infiltration, illegal immigration and demographic invasion from Bangladesh to India (Nandy, 2005, pp. 49). The secession of East Pakistan as a new entity --Bangladesh --in December 1971 and the events that led up to the civil war added to the insecurity among both Hindus and Muslims, forcing millions of them to seek refuge in India, especially in the bordering states of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura – and millions more to escape the economic hardships that the already economically marginalised began to experience in Bangladesh (Nandy, 2005, pp. 37). The main reasons of this massive migration were political instability in Bangladesh due to independence war in 1971, lack of safety and securities of the people mainly, due to war, religious issue and communal tension during regime of Ziaur Rahman (1975-1981), friends and relatives giving shelter in West Bengal to those displaced undocumented migrants. But, it is noted that undocumented migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal is a continuous process. During 1990's, the cause of migration was economic needs. But in the period 1996-2001 (Regime of Sheikh Hasina), the flow of migration was minimum and occurred mainly due to economic reason, which caused both Hindu and Muslim migration (Datta, 2004). From mid 2001 onwards, the reason for migration again has been political including insecurity of life and property of the minority community.

The brutal assassination of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman on August 15, 1975 by a clique of military officers heightened the sense of insecurity among the people of Bangladesh (Nandy, 2005, pp.47) which forced them to flee India, especially West Bengal. On the other hand, in West Bengal illegal migration from Bangladesh since 1977 have remained silent on how political patronage acts as pull force in attracting migrants. However, it is difficult to distinguish different forms migration due largely to political reasons. Apart from historicity the two countries are heavily motivated politically. Indian government branded all sorts of cross-border migration as illegal and Bangladeshi government refuses to acknowledge illegal cross-border movements by Bangladeshi nationals. Besides these incidents and factors, economic depression, lack of industrialization, social insecurity, demographic explosion, political instability, environmental degradation, global warming and climate change in Bangladesh, geographic proximity, cultural similarity, homo-ethnic climate (Datta, 2004), porous and ineffective border control, better socio-economic opportunities and the political

patronage in West Bengal etc. are the main motivating factors behind this illegal migration phenomenon.

4.2 Geopolitical Causes of Bangladeshi Immigration:

There are multiple motivating factors of Bangladeshi immigration into West Bengal. They are more complex and intertwined. People move for a combination of several reasons, and they are not always aware of all the factors motivating their moves. Migration, any type, whether documented or undocumented, forced or voluntary can be explained in terms of push-pull factors (Datta, 1998). Push factors attribute to the negative characteristics operating at the centre of origin whereas pull factors identify the positive characteristics (Datta, 2002) at the centre of destination. There are essentially two types of migrants. One is economic reasons and the other is non-economic reasons. Motivation for migration can be explained by mechanical metaphors----- centrifugal and centripetal forces. The centrifugal impulse does not have strong effect if the centripetal impulse is weak. The centrifugal impulse attribute to the push factors operating at the centre of origin, whereas the centripetal impulse relates to pull factors that identify the positive characteristics at the centre of destination. It appears that economic opportunities in terms of job availability in primary and informal sectors, political stability, and secularism in West Bengal worked as centripetal force for illegal Bangladeshis. Such centripetal forces have been strengthened by centrifugal forces explained such as low level of economic development, insecurity of among people; environmental degradation, political instability etc. have possibly caused illegal Bangladeshi migration to West Bengal. Theoretically speaking the major reasons of Bangladeshi immigration into India and, especially into West Bengal can be grouped into two broad categories: economic and non-economic, and the factors that actually encourage a migrant to move can be categorized as “demand-pull, supply-push and network forces (Nandy, 2005).

Geopolitical factors play a very significant role for the immigration of Bangladeshi people into India, and especially West Bengal. Bangladesh is a South-Asian small country. Its total area is about 1, 47,570 sq kilometres. Three sides of Bangladesh are covered with India and South-East side is covered with Myanmar. Bay of Bengal is situated in the South side of Bangladesh. The West Bengal of India is situated in the West side of Bangladesh. Meghalaya is to the North, Assam, Tripura, and Mizoram is to the East of Bangladesh. So, Bangladesh is enclosing with India largely. Total boundary line of Bangladesh is about 4712 km. The length of boundary line with India is about 3715 km and 280 km with Myanmar. About 716

km is the coast line of Bangladesh. The political sea line of Bangladesh is about 12 nm. Bangladesh is surrounded by the seven land-locked N.E. States of India and small portion with Myanmar, therefore the people of Bangladesh have no option to migrate any other country, the only option for them to immigrate into India because they are living in very poor conditions and insecure life style and they have geographic proximity, homo-ethnic climate and cultural affinities to Indian territory. Thus the geographical settings of Bangladesh and cultural affinities with Indian Bengali are one of the important factors for such kind of immigration from Bangladesh to India, and especially into West Bengal. Therefore, immigration from Bangladesh into India has been prompted by a host of geographic, socio-economic, and environment situations (Haider, 2005). While explaining such out-migration from Bangladesh to India and especially to West Bengal, war and political instability, ethnic conflicts and human rights violation, wide discrimination, natural disasters, structure of economic change and poverty, demographic pressure and economic disparity between the two sides of border, have been seen as a major determinants. On the other hand, geographic proximity of West Bengal and Bangladesh, the linguistic and cultural similarities, same food habit, homo-ethnic climate, belief of getting shelter, cordiality, fellow-feeling, expectation of better socio-economic opportunities, and acceptance power of people of West Bengal have contributed to the movements of population from Bangladesh to West Bengal.

4.2.1 Economic Causes of Migration:

Economic factor plays a very significant in any migration process. There are a large number of economic push factors that motivated to leave Bangladeshi people into West Bengal. The economic causes of migration include, Instability and economic depression in Bangladesh, Poverty, Lack of employment opportunity, Struggle for livelihood, Forced grabbing of landed property from minority group in Bangladesh, Economic insecurity, and Lack of industrialization. Under-development of the national economy in Bangladesh has accelerated the push of its population beyond the national boundary. Slow and stagnant growth of the economy in Bangladeshi has been highlighted to explain the movements to India (Giri, 2003). The economics of migration focus on the expectation of a higher income abroad as a chief cause of decisions to migrate. People displaced from traditional livelihood to assure their economic well-being by selling their labour in emerging markets. In van Schendel's words, "for most Bangladeshi citizens on the move, the search for a better life was now no longer oriented primarily towards finding a plot of land. Increasingly,

Bangladeshi immigrants in India and beyond were looking for cash incomes” (Schendel, 2005).

There are highly interlinked between economic development and population mobility. The socio-economic security perspective views cross-border migration as a strategy in search of better livelihood in view of highly disparate opportunities to earn a living between the two sides of the international border. Sustained transformation from prosperity to poverty initiated by British East India Company and exacerbated by the Pakistani regime, have some causality in the emigration from Bangladesh. Bangladesh in the greater Bengal was the most prosperous region of the Indian sub-continent. The famous and the most demand from around the world for the finest cotton product of the textile industry along with natural bounties once made Bangladesh a seat of aristocracy and literature, drawing pirates, travellers and immigrants from distance cultures. Yet all these changed to ruin and stagnation during the British Colonial period, and course of events that followed (Kabeer, 2000), Bangladesh became one of the least developed countries of the world.

4.2.1.1 Per Capita Income or Real Wage:

Per capita income or real wage between sending and receiving countries for a given scale level: net immigration flows are positively correlated to the real per capita income or real wage in the destination country and that of the recipient country. Increasingly, differential in wages and employment opportunities stimulate the movement of Bangladeshi immigration into West Bengal. Myron Weiner explains, “individuals will emigrate if the expected benefits exceed the cost, with the result that the propensity to migrate from one region or country to another is viewed as being determined by average wages, the cost of travel and labour market conditions...Uneven economic development among states and a severe mal-distribution of income within states may induce individuals and families to move across international boundaries to take advantage of greater opportunities”(Weiner, 1993).

Bangladesh is considered to be one of the poorest countries in the world. Bangladesh is ranked at 139 out of 177 countries in the United Nations’ human development index (HDI) in 2005. Its annual per capita income is \$390 and a GDP per capita of \$1,770 per annum with an annual growth rate of 3.1 per cent. Over 80 per cent of the population depends completely on agriculture. Out of a total population of over 140 million, 36 per cent earn less than a dollar per day and 82.8 per cent earn less than \$2 a day. Fifty per cent of the population lives below the national poverty line (HDI, 2005). The average minimum wage in Bangladesh

(only \$58) is the lowest among all Asian countries, shows the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) Global Wage Report-2010/2011 released on December 15. The United Nations' labour wing that compiled data of 115 countries and territories said the overall worldwide growth in wages was halved in 2008 to 2009 due to global financial meltdown, with some regions like Europe even posting a net drop in salaries. The report shows the average minimum monthly wage in Bangladesh in purchasing power parity (PPP) is only \$58, less than that of the tiny Kingdom of Bhutan and even the war ravaged Afghanistan. The report lists the minimum wages in 28 Asian countries, including those of the Middle East and the Far East. According to the ILO's report, the minimum wage in Vietnam and Laos, the nearest competitors to Bangladesh, is \$84. In South Asia, the minimum wage in Pakistan is \$229, in India \$121, in Nepal \$115, in Bhutan \$108, in Sri Lanka \$93 and in Afghanistan \$89 (ILO, 2010/2011). Therefore, low rate of wages, higher employment and low purchasing power parity in Bangladesh and continuous demand, higher rate of wages and good employment opportunities from Indian side is one of the major factors behind the flow of Bangladeshi migration to India. Lin and Paul (1995) rightly says that the pull of Indian economy is high because job prospects is much higher in large cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and so is the daily wage rate, and over and above, the lower price of food and consumer goods which increases purchasing power of an unskilled agricultural wage earner in India at least five times that in Bangladesh make Indian economy considerably attractive for Bangladeshi migrants (Lin and Paul, 1995).

4.2.1.2 Poverty and Unemployment:

Poverty and unemployment is one of the major cause of immigration into West Bengal from Bangladesh. On the cost-of-basic-needs (CBN) method for estimating poverty, any household with real per capita expenditure below a given poverty line is considered as poor. Analysis of various Household Expenditure Surveys (HES) conducted by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), in 2000, 50 percent of the country's population was poor (as measured by the upper poverty line), compared to 59 percent in 1991-92. Similarly, the extreme poverty rate (below the lower poverty line) declined from 43 percent in 1991-92 to 34 percent in 2000 (BBS, 2000). Thus, according to both measures, the incidence of poverty in Bangladesh declined by about 9 percentage points over the nine-year period. Although the progress is heartening, the overall incidence of poverty (50 percent) remains very high. In terms of the total number of individuals living below the poverty line, the picture is sobering. The total population living below the upper poverty line in 2000 remained virtually unchanged (at

about 63 million) compared to 1991-92, and the number of Bangladeshis living below the lower poverty line declined only modestly from 45.2 million in 1991-92 to 42.5 million in 2000. The headcount poverty rate in Bangladesh declined from 59 percent in 1991-92 to 50 percent in 2000 (BBS, 2000). Bangladesh has made significant, recent progress in reducing poverty but still faces the reality that roughly half its citizens, some 63 million people, live in deprivation. Of the poor, two out of three are caught in hard-core or extreme poverty, as measured by their consumption of food and other basic needs. Progress in reducing poverty incidence was equal across urban and rural areas, with rural areas performing better in lowering the depth and severity of poverty. Dhaka division had the largest decline in poverty over the decade; poverty rates stagnated in Chittagong division. Income inequality in Bangladesh rose considerably over the decade. The poor in Bangladesh tend to have low levels of education, have limited access to land, and are highly concentrated in low paying, physically demanding, and socially unattractive occupations as casual wage labourers. In both urban and rural areas, where the poor lack much access to modern amenities and services, they also tend to live either in houses of inferior quality or tried to migrate in the bordering districts of West Bengal due to geographic proximity and better socio-economic and friendly political environment.

4.2.1.3 Land Fragmentation and Landlessness:

Land is a major source of conflict in Bangladesh. With increasing population pressure, there has been considerable land fragmentation leading to pauperisation of the rural people. Being an agrarian economy, the land is the major source of livelihood in the country. Nearly 85 per cent of Bangladesh's total population lives in rural areas and about 60 per cent of the country's total workforce is engaged in agriculture and related occupation like fishery. Pestilential cyclones, floods and rivers eroding large tracts of inhabited areas are common recurrent phenomena leaving a trail of destruction and destitute every year. The pressure on land is easily gauged from the fact that over 140 million people inhabit 143,998 square kilometre of territory of which cultivable land stands at 59 per cent of the total land area (Nandy, 2005, pp. 73). The remaining area is covered by water bodies, human settlements, forests and roads. In 2001, the land-man ratio was 1:14 decimal. With land increasingly becoming scarce in Bangladesh, the proportion of landless people has been increasing with nearly 50 per cent of rural households functionally landless. In 2000, nearly half (48 percent) of the country's rural population to be effectively landless, owning at most 0.05 acres. Roughly three-fifths of all households in the two poorest quintiles fell into that category.

Landlessness and rural unemployment has, therefore, contributed to growing poverty which, in turn, has forced out millions of Bangladesh's poor to India (Nandy, 2005, pp. 76). Van Schendel describes this as "self-rescue migration": fleeing from poverty, hunger, state repression, governmental apathy and their dark future (Schendel, 2005, pp. 211).

Land reforms in 1983 and land ceiling implementation did little to improve access to land in rural Bangladesh, where small landholdings and sharecropping hurt peasants (Osmani, 1999). According to Kabeer in 2000, that treated as a watershed in rural under development, these events led to rise in landlessness, and poverty. Uncertain changes in the rural labour market, including labour contracts, commercialisation of agriculture, greater initiation and use of wage labour, rather than personalized hiring, along with long time decline in the real wage rate, added to the strains of living in the rural areas (Adnan 1990 and Kabeer, 2000). According to Kabeer (2000), the combined effects of these changes in the rural economy had many consequences, including initial rural out migration from more densely populated areas to less densely populated areas, and then to far-off urban locations inside the country. Chronic unemployment, low wages, high prices of food items, poor industrialisation, low levels of urbanisation, and greater illiteracy seem to have created a situation for moving away from one's settlement to locations elsewhere inside the country, or beyond the national boundary, especially to West Bengal, for better living. On the demand side story, there is a need for cheap labour for India's booming economy. Availability of cheap labour supply is one of the critical factors determining prices of many commodities including construction materials, food, manufactured goods, etc. (Afsar, 2008).

4.2.2 Demographic Factors:

Demographic factors have also appeared in the arguments as stimuli to large scale out migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal. Hazarika (2000) has drawn attention to 'demographic trigger' in the population flight by highlighting the inability of ecosystems in Bangladesh to sustain a soaring population. Though population of a country is an asset, it becomes a problem when the country cannot afford to give people the basic necessities of life. Food, clothing, education, medicine and shelter are the basic necessities of life. The agriculture activity in the Bangladesh is still primitive. So the production of food crops is very low. Moreover, every year natural calamities like flood, tsunami, earthquake, and cyclone damage the crops.

Bangladesh is a small country on the view to its space but its population are highly increasing than its demand, as a result, govt unable to fulfil people's rights. It is a small country of 1, 47,570 square kilometres. But it has a population of 140 million; and every year more than two million people are being added to our population. Bangladesh is not only the eighth most populous country in the world and one of the poorest, but, among major states, it also has the highest population density – nearly 950 people per square kilometre. Bringing the population growth rate down to an annual average of 1.5 percent during the 1990s (lower than India's 1.8 percent level and much lower than Pakistan's 2.5 percent) is a major social achievement. But unless the average fertility rate (now holding steady at around 3.3) drops further, Bangladesh will be home to more than 180 million people in 2025 and to 208 million in 2050. It cannot afford to relax in its efforts to manage population growth. The Population of the country is increasing at an alarming rate. The present growth of population in Bangladesh is 2.36%. The problem is now out of control. The population of the country is increasing day by day. There are many causes of rapid growth of population in Bangladesh. Now-a-days owing to better explosion of medical facilities and import of standard of living the death rates have gone down much but other hand birth rate is on the countries increasing. An elevated natural increase of the population due to higher fertility and lesser mortality is 33 per 1000 and 8 per 1000 respectively in 2003, has built up a strong population pressure in Bangladesh, resulting in high population density and land-man ratio (Nurul Nabi and Krishnan, 1998).

Immediate after the Liberation War of Bangladesh in 1971, the early marriage, illiteracy, and the people did not follow the birth control policy resulted in population explosion in Bangladesh at present. Population in Bangladesh in increasing by geometrical progression but the agricultural production is increasing by arithmetical progression. The production of food cannot keep pace with increasing people. If the population of the country increase at the present rate, the population of the country will be doubled within fifteen years. The quantum of migration from one country to another can never be ascertained with mathematical precision and this is more so in case of Bangladesh and India, which prior to partition was a composite social, economic and political entity inhabited by people with shared ethnicity and language, but belonging to different religious denominations and cultures. The shared markers of ethnicity and contiguity were common for West Bengal, though the same cannot be said of certain parts of East Bengal and Assam. This entailed a natural flow of people within the composite geographical structure.

Moreover, unemployment, illiteracy, child marriage, child labour, imbalance of environment, pollution, corruption, flood etc are highly increasing because of huge of population. As a result there is the shortage of food in our country. People are fighting very hard against hunger and poverty. The high growth rate of our population creates problems in every sphere of our life. It creates problems of food, clothing, accommodation health and education. The price of the necessary things is rising by leaps and bounds. An emigration friendly age structure, with a large young and adult population in the age groups of 10-44 years seeking work, may have provided a demographic initiative for stretching beyond the border. If more recent immigrants to West Bengal from Bangladesh are labour migrants, then Bangladesh has all the battery of necessary push conditions, as the bottomless supply of cheap labour of young men and women (Samaddar 1999). Therefore, we can say that among the demographic factors, population explosion and lowest human development index in terms of literacy, life span period and parity purchasing power are the most important causes of illegal migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal.

4.2.3 Environmental Factors:

Bangladesh is an ecologically most disaster-prone country in the world. Almost every year, the country experiences disasters of one kind or another such as tropical cyclone, storm surges, floods, droughts, coastal erosion-- causing heavy loss of life and property and jeopardizing the development activities. Ecological disasters have been impediments to the development in Bangladesh directly and indirectly, and also have contributed to emigration (Samaddar 1999). As an agent of human displacement, they have led to deterioration in living conditions, particularly for those who survive them. In Bangladesh, where majority live at or below the subsistence level, the capacity to cope with the adverse economic shocks of such disasters is limited (Jahangir et al). The country is already beset with many problems like high population density, i.e. 120 million people living in an area of 144000 sq. km., shortage of land to accommodate the people, food security, human health, illiteracy, and so forth. Physiographic conditions make much of the population extremely vulnerable, given the fact that Bangladesh is the most highly crowded country, 129.25 million people residing in 0.148 square kilometres according to 2001 Census preliminary results. With a density of 834 persons per square kilometres, frequent natural disasters such as cyclones, floods, droughts, riverbank erosions, and tornadoes pose extensive threats to human habitation and sources of livelihood, besides aggravating poverty and hindering efforts of national reconstruction. And finally, in a foreseeable future, Bangladesh is likely to be one of the most vulnerable

countries of the world in the events of climate change. The global warming due to increase in greenhouse gas concentrations in the earth's atmosphere and the consequent sea level rise (SLR) are going to add fuel to the fire. Almost every sector of socio-economic life in Bangladesh is likely to be affected by climate change.

4.2.3.1 Tropical Cyclones:

About 80 per cent tropical cyclone in the world's waters every year (McBride 1995). Of these, about 6.5 per cent form in the North Indian Ocean i.e. Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea (Neumann 1993). Since the frequency of the cyclones in the Bay of Bengal is about 5 to 6 times the frequency in the Arabian Sea (IMD 1979), the Bay of Bengal share comes out to be about 5.5 per cent. Bangladesh is hit by about 0.93% of the world's total tropical storms, India by 3.34%, Myanmar by 0.51%, Sri Lanka by 0.22%, and 0.50% die in the Bay without hitting any country. It would seem that Bangladesh is not a high-risk cyclone-prone area. The situation, however, is otherwise. If the world's tropical cyclones with death tolls in excess of 5000 are considered, it is found that 16 out of the 35 such disasters occurred in Bangladesh and 11 in India. About 53% of the world deaths from these cyclones took place in Bangladesh and about 23% in India. Some of the world's major cyclones that have led to massive loss of life in 1970 and 1991 about 0.300 millions and 0.138 million respectively in Bangladesh have been documented by Islam (1999). Cyclones are viewed as a serious challenge to the self reliance of Bangladesh (Islam, 1999).

Tropical cyclones in the Bay of Bengal have long lasting impact through destruction of crops, damage to infrastructure, home and vital installations. Cyclones bring severe winds, storm surges, and flood that impact on lives, crops and property. Cyclones appear suddenly out of the Bay of Bengal, and their paths are relatively unpredictable. In effect, cyclones pose multiple threats from severe wind, storm surge and heavy rainfall that result in both surface and riverine flooding. The flooding also accelerates the erosion of soils, riverbanks and coasts. Consequently, cyclones are very destructive of property and people and very disruptive of economic activities. The severe cyclone of April 1991 had a surge height in places of over 7 metres and winds of up to 235 km per hour. It killed an estimated 138,868 people and destroyed about 840,000 rural houses in 16 districts. Another 910,000 or so houses were damaged affecting some 12 million people (Talukder and Ahmad, 1992). Storm surges are one of important contributing factors for the pushing of Bangladeshi people into West Bengal. Storm surges are generated by the winds and the atmospheric pressure changes

associated with cyclones. Thus tropical cyclone is one of leading agent which forces people to migrate into the bordering states of India and especially the state of West Bengal.

4.2.3.2 Floods:

Many parts of Bangladesh, except for the hills in north and southeast, lie within 20 metres above the mean sea level (MSL) and are prone to floods., among which low frequency floods are most destructive (Khalequzzaman, 1994). Normal flooding (*barsha*) affects about 25 per cent of Bangladesh each year, but land use and settlement are well adapted to it. Abnormal flooding (*bonyra*) can submerge more than 50 per cent of the land area damaging crops and property, disrupting economic activities, and causing injury and loss of life (Adnan, 1991; Siddique, 1989; and Karim, 1986). Monsoon floods affect one-third of the country and when flooding increases beyond the normal level, it cause losses of crops and cultivable land, infrastructure, and above all, human and animal life.

Flood-prone land is basically of two kinds: active and stable. Active floodplains lie within and adjoined to the main river channels. These are marginal environments for human occupancy and thus highly vulnerable to floods and riverbank erosion. Stable floodplain land provides good crops in normal years, but *kharif* crops are vulnerable to untimely or unusually high floods (*bonyra*). The severe flood of 1988 affected about 61 per cent of the country, and it is the relatively high producing districts of Dhaka, Mymensingh, Tangail, Pabna, and Faridpur that are normally flood-prone (Adnan, 1991). Severe floods in 1988 left more than 23 million people homeless and killed over 1.5 million. Damages were estimated to be around 10 per cent of the GDP (Jahangir et al., n.d.). Floods have also been a factor in economic inequality in Bangladesh, as recurrent floods result in distress sale of land and other properties to large landowners by small landowners and make them leave in search of livelihood elsewhere (Islam, 1999).

4.2.3.3 Droughts:

Droughts are common in Bangladesh. They affect water supplies and plant growth leading to loss of production, food shortages, and for many people, starvation. Drought normally affects *kharif* crops (e.g., *aus* and *aman*), but sometimes also *rabi* crops (e.g., wheat and mustard). This event directly affected about 42 per cent of the cultivated land and some 44 per cent of the population. A severe drought typically affects crop production in about 30 per cent area of the country, reducing crop yields by an average 10 per cent. Depending on the intensity of drought, estimated yield reduction of different crops varies from 10 to 70 per cent (Karim, Ibrahim, Iqbal, and Ahmed, 1990). Drought tends to affect western districts more

severely, especially when the monsoon is curtailed (Karim 1990; Mahtab, 1989). Persistent drought is, however, relatively rare, but has the potential to cause famine. Droughts and famine make the people of Bangladesh extremely vulnerable for livelihood. Therefore, widespread and localised droughts too have been the main cause of crop failures and setback to the rural economy that have been pushing people outside.

4.2.3.4 Erosions in the Riverbanks:

Erosions in the riverbanks of Jamuna, Meghna, etc., are common in Bangladesh, in which huge chunks of lands are lost annually, causing dislocation and loss of sources of living. Erosion in the coastal area of Bangladesh is another big point of concern for Bangladesh. Heavy discharge currents through the Ganga-Brahmaputra-Meghna (GBM) river system, wave action due to strong southwest monsoon winds, high astronomical tides, and storm surges in the Bay of Bengal are the main causes of erosion in the coastal area of Bangladesh. Superimposed on these causes, sea level rise (SLR) has a long-term effect on coastal erosion in the country. Riverbank, char and coastal erosion are localised on-going processes, but tend to accelerate and become more severe during times of floods and cyclones. It is noted that chars are islands within river channels or are the attached land to the riverbanks as a result of erosion and accretion in the rivers. Chars are profusely used for settlement, agricultural activities and animal rearing because of better soil fertility. In spite of the fact that chars are much more prone to disasters like flood and cyclone, yet large number of people inhabit them (0.631 million in 1993) for livelihood (Chowdhury, 2001). According to Chowdhury (2001), growing char-land population in Bangladesh increased by 47 per cent between 1984 and 1993 is a major floating population in the wake of natural threats to dwelling, livelihood and survival. Erosion processes along the rivers render landless many of the one million or so people exposed annually to them (Elahi, Ahmed and Mafizuddin, 1991). In badly affected districts like Faridpur, Barisal, and Noakhali the proportion of landless households due to river bank and *char* erosion is 33, 37, and 42 per cent of total households, respectively, whereas the national average is 28 per cent (Elahi and Rahman, 1991). Most of the affected households seem to move within 3 km of their original home, and become under-employed labourers. Only about 25 per cent of riverbank displaces move much further afield (Ferdous and Husain, 1988; Salaheen, 1991). Thus we have seen that the erosions in the river banks and the coastal area of Bangladesh are one of the significant environmental agents that have been pushing the Bangladeshi people into West Bengal.

4.2.3.6 Absence of Adequate Freshwater Resources:

The main driver of cross border migration has been the environment, which includes the absence of adequate freshwater resources. Approximately 200,000 people in Bangladesh are affected by arsenic induced cancer every year. However, more than 95 percent of the country's population continues to depend on groundwater resources in the absence of access to safe surface water resources. In addition, of the 8.4 million hectares of arable land more than half the land area is under irrigation. Unrestricted exploitation of groundwater for irrigation has caused heavy deposits of arsenic substances in vast tracts of the cultivable land. Continued use of arsenic contaminated water for irrigational and domestic purposes will have adverse impacts not just on crop productivity but also on health. It is estimated that around 85 million people of the country are at risk of exposure to arsenic contamination. This will further motivate people to migrate in search of better livelihood. Moreover, groundwater resources are increasingly contaminated through penetration of surface water pollution in the aquifers, which further threatens the water security in the country.

A large portion of the country is less than 10 meters above sea level. Around 31 subdivision of a district of Jessore, Khulna, Bagerhat and Gopalganj districts already face severe salinity problems, with saline water flowing up to 240km inland during the dry season. Salinity intrusion in the coastal districts of Bangladesh has resulted in loss of existing agricultural land forcing people to permanently migrate in search of employment opportunities. It is estimated that 2-5 percent of Bangladesh will remain permanently inundated due to rise in sea levels in the next 20 to 40 years. As a result, salinity ingress will move further inland affecting more fresh water resources and thereby forcing people to migrate internally and across borders. An estimated 500,000 people migrate from the rural areas to Dhaka city every year due to climate induced factors. The population of Bangladesh which is estimated to be 200 million by 2030 will have over 80 million people living in urban slums. An increase of this magnitude implies that there will be less per capita water availability per person. In addition, there will be a strain on existing natural resources, especially water. Growing water scarcity driven largely by decreasing quantity and quality will exacerbate the problem of cross border migration in the future. Therefore, lack of freshwater resources is a massive threat and will remain a primary reason for cross border migration in the future.

Although Bangladesh is one of the most environmentally disaster prone country in the world, there are variety of responses to disaster that have been put in place in Bangladesh

locally, nationally, and internationally. Disaster management and mitigation plans also have been part of the overall development programmers in Bangladesh. Both the community and government have been mobilized to contain the effects of disasters in advanced and after. The rehabilitation has been cost intensive, fragmented, small scale; irrigation for agriculture has been lacking and recovery extremely slow. But the achievement of such disaster management have been not sufficient and adequate to contain streams of out migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal that are set in motion due to natural disasters in Bangladesh. India has also initiated steps to curtail the illegal movement of people by constructing a fence along the India-Bangladesh border. While the purpose of this is to stop the current illegal migration, Bangladesh's vulnerability to climate change could drive millions across the border. The forced migration of people as a result of water scarcity and climate change will hamper growth and prompt a wide range of security issues for India as well as the region.

4.2.4 Social Causes of Migration:

Social factor often causes of people to migrate from place of origin to the place of destination. Social factor includes social insecurity, marriage, and the presence of relatives in the place of destination, health and education i.e. health care; educational opportunities; malnutrition; waterborne diseases; and vector-borne diseases etc.

4.2.4.1 Social Insecurity:

People of minority, tribal population and some targeted groups of people are generally migrated from Bangladesh to the bordering districts of West Bengal due social insecurity. Insecurity led migration by religious minorities is another dimension of push migration across border. Ever since the birth of Bangladesh Hindu population grew only marginally and their relative share in the total population declined considerably. According to 2001 census the size of Hindu population was 11.6 million which means since the past 27 years only 1.7 million population was added yielding a 0.6% annual average growth rate. By contrast Muslim population almost doubled from 61 million to 111 million and the annual average growth rate was 2.2% during the same period. Therefore, share of Hindu population to the country's total population declined from 13.5% to 9.2% during the same period and by 1.79% since 1991, whilst the relative composition of Christians and Buddhist population did not change. Obviously, it indicates out-migration by Hindu population, which is destined largely to India. During the same time districts in West Bengal bordering Bangladesh showed higher population growth rate than non-bordering districts which tend to suggest population expansion through cross-border migration (Samaddar, 1999).

Insecurity could be one of the major factors behind their migration. This insecurity could be economic due to loss of land and other assets; political and psychological from the point of view of the religious standing in the new or changed religious contour of the old settlement where the threat of communal tensions is high accruing from marginalized status of minority religious group. According to Schendel (2005), for similar reasons reverse flow of Indian nationals to Bangladesh also occurs, for example, in 1998 about 10,000 migrants from Mizoram (India) moved to Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) (The Hindu, 28th March 1998). During Gujrat violence in 2002 several hundreds of Indian Muslims flee to Bangladesh and 200 migrants were recorded by the Times of India (18th May 2002). Ahmad (2001) also noted that there are around 100,000 Indian migrants who have legally migrated to work in different multinational companies in Bangladesh.

4.2.4.2 Marriage and Presence of Relatives:

Marriage and the presence of relatives in West Bengal play very significant pull factor for the Bangladeshi immigration. Most of the matrimonial classified into two categories such as Purba Bangla or "East Bengal" or Bangladesh and Paschim Bangla or "West Bengal." This results from the historical fact that a large number of Bengalis, who were forced to migrate and settle in West Bengal after the partition at the time of India's independence, were original settlers of "Purba Bangla." Since most of these people still bear the pain of up-rooting and migration, they, in search of their ethnic, cultural, and hereditary lineage as well as the linguistic affinities, intend to establish matrimonial relations with the people of same ethnic, cultural and linguistic traits and backgrounds. The reverse phenomenon is also reflected among original inhabitants of the West Bengal, who in the same manner try to maintain their ethnicity, lineage, and heritage in their matrimonial classifieds although inter-cultural marriage and resultant cohabitation between the people of two separate geographical locations is not an altogether an uncommon phenomenon. Moreover, although it is more or less agreed that the marriage between the potential brides and grooms will not be terminated due to difference of geographical location of their respective ancestors, highlighting the names of ancestral location (i.e., Purba Bangla or Paschim Bangla) in the matrimonial classifieds refer to the dormant desire of the advertisers for suitable candidates having close cultural and geographical affinities. Perhaps, this deep psychological inclination will take many more years to fade into oblivion in the present Bengali society.

4.2.4.3 Health and Education:

One of the very important proverb is generally used for the importance of health that the “Health is Wealth.” Good and well health conditions of people of any country reflect the socio-economic development of country. On the other hand, education is considered as the backbone of any society. In a country where many people are poor, mass illiterate, low per capita income, malnourished, and living in crowded conditions with inadequate waste disposal and water supply, many health problems occur (Ericksen, Ahmed and Chowdhury, 1997). There are six interrelated topics for the understanding of the causes of Bangladeshi immigration into West Bengal. They are as health care; educational opportunities; illiteracy; malnutrition; waterborne diseases; and vector-borne diseases.

4.2.4.3.1 Health Care:

A recent report of the Asian Development Bank (ADB, 1989), shows that the health status in Bangladesh is low. Some of the main epidemic and endemic diseases have declined, but communicable diseases are still significant. The main causes of death are diarrhoeal diseases, malnutrition, and pneumonia. In the mid-1980s, respiratory and diarrhoeal infections accounted for 42 per cent of morbidity (disease) and 20 per cent of mortality (death). Life expectancy improved from 45 to 50 years between 1965 and 1985 and infant mortality from 153 to 121 per 1,000 births. The provision of doctors in 1981 was one per 9,690 people and of nurses was one per 19,370. By comparison, in India, it was 3,700 and 4,670 respectively (ADB, 1989). However, the provision of health services has improved over the past decade.

In 1990, there was one doctor per 5,498 people and one nurse per 11,861 people. Hospital bed provision improved from one per 3,740 in 1981 to one per 3,235 people in 1991. These statistics do, however, mask the fact that people in urban areas have much better access to health care than those in rural areas. 88 per cent had inadequate facilities, trained personnel, and equipment. Only about 30 per cent of the population is estimated to be covered by primary health care (ADB, 1989). Bangladesh’s record in improving public health is a composite of heartening achievements balanced or outweighed by grave shortcomings. Halving population growth rates over two decades – from 3 per cent in the 1970s – is a cause for justified congratulation. For the great majority, in addition, drinking and cooking water now come from tube wells rather than from less sanitary surface water, and Bangladeshis’ access to sanitation – though available still to just 35 percent of the population – is more than twice as extensive as in India. Similarly, infant mortality rates have dropped by nearly a

quarter, from 87 to 66 per 1,000 live births, between 1989-93 and 1995-99. More than 92 out of every 100 children fewer than 5 years have received at least one vaccine, poor youngsters almost as frequently as the non-poor.

4.2.4.3.2 Educational and Housing Conditions:

Education is a key dimension of welfare in Bangladesh. Close to three-quarters of the poor population lives in households where the head is illiterate. The incidence of poverty declines as household heads are progressively more educated, such that the incidence of poverty falls by half in urban households whose heads completed primary school and by almost one-third in similar rural households as compared to those headed by illiterates. Housing conditions for the poor in Bangladesh are also generally worse than for the rest of the population and in rural as compared to urban areas. While 7 percent of overall population has access to tapped water supplies in Bangladesh, only 2 percent of the poor had access to this drinking water source. The vast majority of the rural population relies on tube-wells for drinking water supply. Only 38 percent of the poor lived in dwellings with proper toilet facilities compared to 71 percent of the non-poor. Poorer access to drinking water supply and sanitation in turn make it more likely that the poor suffer from worse health than the non-poor. Access to services and amenities such as electricity and phones is much lower among the poor compared to the non-poor, as well as among rural residents compared to those in urban areas. Some social transformation is required before the large number of poor people can perceive value in education and change in the traditional ways of doing things (Malony, 1988).

4.2.5 Political Causes of Migration:

Political factor has been major cause to force Bangladeshi people to the neighbouring districts of West Bengal, a state of India. Political instability, fear of riots and insecurity are as the major political push factor for illegal Bangladeshi immigrants (Datta, 2004). There are different political phases of such kind out illegal migration from Bangladesh into West Bengal. The Bangladesh Liberation War resulted in one of the largest genocides of the 20th century. During the Liberation War, around 10 million people migrated to India from Bangladesh (Nandy, 2007). Under the provisions of the Enemy Property Act (Act, 1965) it was determined that ownership of the property could not be established as there were no surviving members to claim inherited rights, and the land was handed over to the Dhaka

Club. State-authorized confiscation of Hindu owned property under the provisions of the Enemy Property Act was rampant during Mujib's rule, and as per the research conducted by Abul Barkat of Dhaka University, the Awami League party of Sheikh Mujib was the largest beneficiary of Hindu property transfer in the past 35 years of Bangladeshi independence. The lack of attention to the Human Rights Violations of Hindus in the country, the Hindu population of Bangladesh started to decline through migration. President Ziaur Rahman abandoned the constitutional provision for secularism and began to introduce Islamic symbolism in all spheres of national life such as official seals and the constitutional preamble. In 1988 President Hussein Mohammed Ershad declared Islam to be the State Religion of Bangladesh. These kinds of constitutional preamble and declaration by the political leaders created fears and insecurity among the people of Bangladesh.

Inhuman attitude and activities of the political leaders: At least on two occasions one in 1990 and the other in 1992, riots broke out into different parts of Bangladesh, following reports of attack on Muslims in India and demolition of Babri mosque in Ayodhya. Huge damages to the property of Hindus in Bangladesh were reported. Allegations of intimidation of Hindu voters and revenge attacks following elections were reported during last two general elections in Bangladesh in 1991 and 1996 and these led to fresh outflow of Bangladeshi people. After the election of 2001, Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) came to power; many liberal secularist people of Bangladesh were attacked by a section of the governing regime. Thousands of Bangladeshi insecure feeling people were believed to have fled to neighbouring India, especially into West Bengal. On the other hand it is generally believed that during the Gujarat Riots in 2002, a large section of people migrated towards Bangladesh.

The political stability in West Bengal, unlike Bangladesh, has always been under democratic form of government and it is properly maintained. The political patronage plays as pull factor for such kind of immigration (Datta, 2004). The political parties in West Bengal try to encase migrants' wretched conditions by providing patronage from their ends. Illegal migrants are illegally enrolled in voter lists and used as voter banks. Indian politicians have often encouraged Bangladeshi migration to garner their votes. To enrich vote bank political leaders help Bangladeshi people to avail ration card. Ration card is the proof of citizenship. So, a number of facilities can be availed after getting ration card, e.g., Government jobs, processing any articles, purchasing lands, establishing any business, getting basic amenities and facilities etc. It is very easy to get a ration card and then to become an Indian citizen and finally become a voter. Not only that, the Bangladeshi migrants can become a candidate for

the election of three tier panchayet bodies (Gram Panchayet, Panchayet Samittee, and Zilla Parishad), municipalities, assembly and even in the Parliamentary constituencies (Datta, 2002). Schendel (2005) has rightly argued that infiltration theory developed by Indian politicians helped drawing public attention to the cost factor of unauthorized immigration in terms of law enforcement and state services, served as vote getter, on the one hand and on the other, stigmatizing immigrant labour to keep them cheap and pliable. Due to cultural affinities in terms of language, life styles, body-structure and physical straits, homo-ethnic climate, same food habit, cordiality and fellow-feeling, it is not possible to separate them from original citizens of Indian Bengali.

4.2.6 Law and Order in Bangladesh:

Deterioration and discriminating law and order in Bangladesh as a very important push factor for illegal Bangladeshi immigration into West Bengal. The political push factor includes political instability, fear of riots, insecurity, inhuman activities and attitudes of the political leaders etc. An unusual law and order situation is creating violence and insecurity in the security of Bangladesh due to explosion of population. In Bangladesh, intra-religion and inter- religion conflicts and violence are common and creating law and order problem. There is no security, and law and order is not maintained properly.

4.2.7 Porous and Ineffective Control of Border:

Every significant migration problem has two aspects: First is the prevention of migration and on the other hand second is the repatriation of the migrants to their homeland. On both counts, the Indian state has miserably failed in relation to neighbouring Bangladesh which is the main source of illegal migrants in the country. Emigration from Bangladesh is facilitated by poor border management on the Indian side (Nandy, 2005, pp. 78). Part of the problem is inherent in the very unscientific nature of the Indo-Bangladesh border. India has a 4097 km border with Bangladesh. Of this, only around 1500 km is fenced, leaving a major portion of the border porous and easy for in-migration. It is an artificial and porous in the absence of any natural barrier India has a common border with Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar, China and Pakistan. Being the most developed of all South Asian countries; India has been the most sought after destination by immigrants from neighbouring countries. The bordering state of India, especially West Bengal is the centre point for the Bangladeshi migration. In several border villages in Nadia, Murshidabad, and North 24 Parganas districts in West Bengal, and in Karimganj and Dhubri districts in Assam, there are gaping holes in the fences, either because of natural wear and tear or because they have been vandalised by

smugglers, Bangladeshi criminal gangs who cross the border to commit dacoity in Indian villages or Bangladeshi migrants attempting to cross over to Indian territory. At other locations in the same districts, fencing does not exist. Neither the BSF nor the state administration has shown any urgency to get the fences repaired or put up fresh ones where old ones they stood many years ago (Nandy, 2005, pp. 80).

4.2.8 Problems of Enclaves and Migration:

The Bangladesh border is the longest land border that India shares with any of its neighbours. It covers a length of 4,095 kilometres abutting the States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. The existing and emerging threats along this border are conditioned, to a large extent, by the terrain. The border, which was carved out by the Radcliffe Line, was not demarcated on the ground. As a result, the border cuts through the middle of several villages and in some cases, while one section of a house is one country, another is in the other. In West Bengal, for instance, there are more than 100 villages located right on the zero line, and in many villages there are houses where the front door is in India and the rear door opens into Bangladesh. Inadequate demarcation also created the problems of enclaves. There are 51 Bangladeshi enclaves, with a total area of 7,110 acres, in India and 111 Indian enclaves measuring 17, 158.1 acres in Bangladesh. The population figures of these enclaves are not available, as no access to the Indian enclaves in Bangladeshi territory has been provided by Bangladesh for census operations. Similarly, there are about 52 pieces of land, which actually belong to Bangladesh but are in the adverse possession of India and approximately 49 pieces of land belonging to India that are in the adverse possession of Bangladesh.

The Land Boundary Agreement between the two countries in 1974 laid down procedures for joint demarcation of boundaries. Although the survey authorities of the two countries have completed demarcation of over 4,000 kilometres of the India-Bangladesh boundary, they have not been able to resolve differences in demarcation of approximately 6.5 kilometres of land boundaries in the States of Tripura, West Bengal and Assam. The two countries have set up two Joint Boundary Working Groups to resolve all pending issues relating to the implementation of the Land Boundary Agreement of 1974, including exchange of enclaves. The only achievement in this regard is that by transferring Berubari to India, Bangladesh got permission to use the Tin Bigha Corridor, a gateway to Bangladeshi enclaves inside India in 1992 (Yasmin, 2007). However, several border issues remained unresolved that often lead to cross-border confrontations and make the borders potentially explosive as

political forces of either side can exploit them. Though the number of authorized transit points for goods and people are limited along the border, for all practical purposes it has remained open. People continue to cross the borders with consummate ease, and this has also encouraged large volumes of irregular or unofficial trade along the border. The ethno-cultural proximity of populations on both sides of the borders, and the absence of physical barriers and vigilance by security forces have facilitated such illegal border trade. The total volume of unofficial exports to Bangladesh is estimated at Rupees 11.65 billion annually, of which West Bengal accounts for as much as 96 per cent, Assam three per cent and Tripura one per cent. An elaborate network of border agents and other stakeholders has come up along this border.

4.2.9 Geographic Proximity and Cultural Affinities:

Geographic proximity and cultural affinities in terms of life-style and language between Bangladesh to West Bengal play a key and positive role for pushing the illegal migration. West Bengal and Bangladesh have cultural, linguistic and racial affinities (Bengali) which evolved within a common historical legacy and geographical proximity. India received the highest immigrants from the neighbouring countries in South East Asia. According to the 2001 Census Reports, India received immigrants from Bangladesh about 63 per cent, followed by Pakistan about 25 per cent and from Nepal about 8 per cent. Similarly, Indian states adjacent to the Bangladesh i.e. West Bengal, Tripura and Assam experience large share of migrants. Among all the states of Indian States and Union Territories, West Bengal alone is inhabited by a massive three-fourths of life time immigration from Bangladesh. Disproportionate concentration of Bangladeshi in West Bengal, Tripura and other parts of the north-east and the east, as against the southern, western, central and northern regions, can be explained by common language, cultural affinities and geographic proximity.

India and Bangladesh share a common border of 4096 km running through 5 states viz. West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram as well as a shared history and socio-cultural heritage. India's relations with Bangladesh are multidimensional and have traditionally been friendly. Regular high level exchanges of visits and meetings take place side by side with wide-ranging people-to-people interaction. Cultural affinities with India in general and West Bengal in particular and ethnic linkages with India's North Eastern States underpin the people-to-people contacts. Of this four north-east states---Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Assam accounts for 1,879 kilometres while eastern states of West Bengal has a border running 2,216 kilometres along Bangladesh. The districts of West Bengal, which is very closer to the Bangladesh i.e. North 24 Parganas, Nadia, Kolkata and Cooch Behar,

attract large volume of illegal Bangladeshi migrants. Hence from the macro to micro level migration or more specifically from international to local migration the importance of geographic proximity can be denied. In this context one of the important laws of migration explained by Raven Stein (1986) can be cited. It states that most migrants travel short distance and with increasing distance the number of migrants decrease. This law is based upon the assumptions that the higher travel cost and lack of knowledge of more distant places acts against large volume of migration.

There is difference in the religion of the majority of two Bengal. The religion Islam is in Bengal of Bangladesh while the religion in West Bengal of India is Hinduism. Apart from the difference in religion there exists a strong affinity in the sphere of culture of two Bengals. A large number of celebrities of Bangladesh are regularly visiting the epical centre of Bengali culture Calcutta now newly named as Kolkata. Physical and cultural similarities between Bangladeshi migrants and Indians have been a crucial factor. In appearance, Bangladeshis look like Indians, and despite differences in dialect, enjoy a common language, culture and lifestyle with Indian Bengalis. Both the people of Bangladesh and the people of West Bengal use Bengali language as a mother language. They are belonging to the same literature background. They also share common cultural norms with each other. Furthermore, migrants have adapted in various ways to the new locales and contexts in which they have settled. In New Delhi, for example, many Bangladeshis have learned to speak Hindi, and migrant women are wearing salwar kameez instead of sari (worn in West Bengal and Bangladesh). Most Bangladeshis have moved to slums where other Indian Bengalis and Indian Muslim communities live, allowing them to blend in easily. Over the years, Bangladeshis have established kinship bonds with Indian Bengalis through marriage, thereby strengthening their ties to India.

This has emerged a bond of unity between two Bengals shattered by the past events of sectarian interest and exploited by the politics of Indian subcontinent. Given the ethnic and cultural similarities between India and Bangladesh, the ethnic-cultural space of each intrudes into the geographical-territorial space of the others. It is natural that ethno-cultural contiguity and continuity give opportunities and scope to immigrants to India to relate to their respective country of origin. Myron Weiner's model of the "Macedonian Syndrome" helps us to understand better the transnational character of ethnic groups. According to this model, countries having a contiguous border may have to share common ethnic groups but in at least one of these countries, such an ethnic group might be a minority. In that case, the group will

be aware of its cultural distinctiveness in relation to the majority across the border and will also be conscious of the relationship. While the third assumption of this model that one of the states will turn irredentist to incorporate ethnic minorities does not seem to hold in the present context, the “Macedonian Syndrome” explains the relation maintained by migrants with their homeland. Apart from this, links with the home country, and selective remembering of its culture and tradition play an important role among migrant communities in inducing a sense of solidarity and an identity of their own. This, together with the given identity that Bangladeshi and Nepali migrants carry with them, determines the nature and extent of their interaction and relations with the respective home country. So far, very few systematic or exhaustive studies have been done on this aspect of migration.

The war of Independence of Bangladesh in 1971, the deadly famine which hit Bangladesh during 1974, the tragic death of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1975, and the demolition of Babri-Masjid in Ayodhya in India in 6th December 1992 had spill-over its effects on Bangladesh, and the political instability, social insecurity among the minority have accentuated the desire to flee their places of origin. While insecurity of life and religious oppressions dominant push factors, ‘social network’ served as pull factor that attracted Bangladeshi migrants. The main preference of the migrants in choosing their present place of residence was presence of relatives. The migrants’ relatives, who have migrated earlier, actually helped the migrants, first to join them; afterwards they separated themselves from relatives as and when opportunities emerged. Here kin and friendship relationship plays a cardinal role in deciding the initial destinations of immigrants. It is true that the choice of destination of Bangladeshi migrants is regulated by distance (geographic proximity), homo-ethnic climate, common cultural heritage and same language (Bengali). Therefore, geographical proximity, cultural affinities in terms of language and life-styles, homo-ethnic climate, cordiality, fellow-feeling, belief of getting shelter and acceptance power of people of West Bengal have left the Indo-Bangladesh borders vulnerable to migration.

Chapter 5

Consequences of Bangladeshi Migration

5.1 Introduction:

Migration, a worldwide phenomenon, has often been seen as beneficial for the sending and receiving countries. However, post-9/11, the phenomenon is seen as a mixed blessing. It is also being realised that it is impossible to check illegal migration unless the sending country cooperates. In South Asia, India has been at the receiving end of the problem of illegal immigration from Bangladesh. The issue of illegal migration from Bangladesh has been controversial for a long period. In fact, migration had started during the late 19th century when the country was part of British India and subsequently became East Pakistan upon partition in 1947. That mass exodus occurred once more in 1971 with Pakistani atrocities which eventually led to the birth of Bangladesh as an independent nation. It is estimated that post-1971 approximately 12 million Bangladeshis have illegally migrated into various states of east and northeast India. Over the past century, migrants from this region have spread thickly in the West Bengal and northeast, and thinly into cities such as New Delhi, Mumbai. But the process of illegal migration did not stop rather continued in different forms, intensity and magnitude.

The illegal migration from Bangladesh is a serious problem the country is facing today. It is no more a regional problem, as they are spreading throughout the country now (Kumar, 2006).. They are involved in different illegal activities. The Bangladeshi migrants are posing a grave problem for our internal and external security. The changing population texture is making Indo-Bangladesh border fluid. The influx of illegal migration is responsible for very high population growth in certain parts of the country, especially in the West Bengal. Infiltration is disturbing the demographic texture of the population of West Bengal. They are not only sharing the benefits of our development schemes, but also indulge in smuggling, drug trafficking, etc. The illegal migration from Bangladesh is adversely affecting our economy and social environment; creating law and order problems wherever they are present in sizeable numbers. A large number of Bangladeshi migrants find place in the voter lists and their grip over our electoral process is increasing day-by-day. They have become very powerful in India due to competitive politics of vote bank. Their growing hold in our national life is assuming a worrisome proportion (Kumar, 2006). Illegal immigration from Bangladesh is the greatest irritant in the bilateral relationship between India and Bangladesh.

Unfortunately, the Bangladesh Government not only does not make any efforts to stop it; it even denies their presence in this country. Some intellectuals of that country are even trying to legitimise the theory of 'Lebensraum'—living space for the Bangladeshi people in India (Kumar, 2006).

5.2 Consequences of Bangladeshi Migration:

It has been widely recognised that migration affects the area of origins, the area of destination and the migrants themselves. Beaujeu-Garnier, (1966) rightly remark that each migrants, by nature, seek to recreate something of the original milieu in the midst of the new environment and consequently, enriches the civilization. Migrants leave the origins and settle in the destinations and consequently change the economic, social and political characteristics of the both place (Beaujeu-Garnier, 1966). Since the migration is the expression of reallocation of human resources with view to achieving better balance between human resources and physical resources, the population-resource ratio of two area involved in the process of migration get modified significantly (Chandana, 2006). In general, the labour migrants are relatively young. Therefore, it is most likely that labour migration will have an ageing impact on the sending society and a rejuvenating impact upon the receiving society. Furthermore, in the long run international migrants may have a rejuvenating impact on the demographic composition of receiving societies due to their higher fertility rate. The objective of this chapter is to address the various aspects of the consequences of the Bangladeshi immigration to the West Bengal.

Social or family structures may be also affected by the prolonged or repeated absence of the head of the family or the other family members. The migrants of Bangladeshi also face sometimes adaptation problems for example; rural people moving to Indian urban areas suffer from lack of pure air and open space because they generally live in slums. This may cause many type of respiratory diseases. In the countries of destination, migrants are generally regarded negatively or ignored. Migrants have been blamed for or are feared to cause various problems: rise in crime, spread of diseases, taking away jobs from locals or driving down the wages of local workers. The media's tendency to focus on migrants arrested for migration violations or problems they encountered add to the perception of migration as a problem-ridden issue. All countries, even those where large proportions of the citizens are themselves descendants of immigrants, manifest tensions between new arrivals and the parts of the native population. Such tensions are partly invoked by the perception of unchecked flows of new

immigrants as well as overtly anti-immigrants political parties. Opponents of migration fear adverse impacts on the labour market, public finance, and social conditions and on the distribution of income. Therefore, it is necessary to understand how the Bangladeshi immigrants looting our natural resources and consuming basic amenities and facilities of the local people, problems of identification of migrants, destroying the social fabric of the country, capturing the power of politics, and creating national security problems.

5.2.1 Complexities of Stateless Unrecognised Migrants:

There are lot of stateless unrecognised migrants. It is a very complex situation in the borderlands because they do not about their state. Crossing the border between India and Bangladesh (coming and going) is not problem for them. It is natural for them and psychologically they do not feel that there is an international border between Bangladesh and West Bengal. This is only possible when both the borderlands people are connected by geographic nearness; cultural affinity, historic legacy, and so strong emotional attachment. To quote Samaddar (1999) who cites borderlanders' expression on this: "the border means coming and going; '*asha jawa*'; '*okhane chash, ekhane lekhapara*' (cultivation there, studies here); '*opare chash, epare bash*' (land for tilling there, house for living here)". There is also a large volume of commuters and seasonal migrants who travel to and forth across the border (Hossain and Banerjee, 2004). Schendel (2005) put forward three strong arguments to explain transnational character of millions of Bangladeshi migrant in India. In the first place he argued that these migrants are not accepted as Indian citizens either by the government or by the mainstream Indian population. They live as 'floating under-classes and stateless persons whose physical living should not be equated with psycho-social sense of belongingness. Second, pursuance of good life in terms of decent income, freedom from oppressive social control and prospects for a better future are the dominant economic rather than nationalistic motivating factors behind their migration to India. Third, like their counterparts all over the world, they think transnational when they remit money and make occasional visit back home. Unlike their early 'repatriates', they often retain regular contact with relatives in Bangladesh through transnational networks of increasing complexity (Schendel, 2005). For most Bangladeshis in Kolkata and Delhi "the dominant identity, at least for the moment, is human beings whose basic need is to fill their stomachs" (Lin and Paul, 1995). Thus, the people who live in enclaves and different slums and moving here and there are classified as unrecognised stateless migrants. These stateless unrecognised migrants are full of complexities and it is very difficult to deal the problem of such kind of migrants by Government of India.

5.2.2 Problems of Identification of Migrants:

For a culturally and geo-politically diverse country like India it is extremely difficult to distinguish Bangladeshi migrants from the mainstream Indian population because of physical resemblances, cultural and linguistic affinity with Indian Bengalis. The former province of Bengal was divided in 1947 into West Bengal, which went to India and East Bengal, which went to Pakistan; later, East Bengal became the independent nation of Bangladesh in 1971. Although, Bangladeshi people have their national identity within the nation-state framework, they identify themselves as Bengalis and share a common ethno-cultural ethos and heritage within Bengalis across the border. They also share cultural norms with Indian Muslim communities. Therefore, identifying Bangladeshi nationals has always been difficult. In India only 30% to 40% births are registered compared to 12% in Bangladesh. In the absence of large-scale birth registration and any centralized register for citizens, it is both difficult and expensive for the Indian state to identify migrants from Bangladesh and determine their magnitude (Afsar, 2008). Moreover many of them have fraudulently procured ration cards, birth and school certificates, voters identity card and those with money and connections, it is not very difficult to manage even Indian passport. It is not uncommon to find tripartite support networks in the process of migration and aftermath (Afsar, 2008). To quote Schendel (2005): “Unauthorised migration took place within an extended community that transcended the border. Economic and political actors on either side were mutually dependent: earlier immigrants offer newcomers shelter and support, Indian employers were keen to exploit cheap labour, and Indian politicians were interested in expanding their electorate” (Schendel, 2005, pp. 220). Therefore, identification of Bangladeshi migrants is very difficult, because they have common cultural heritage, similarity in physical appearance and living style.

5.2.3 Impact on Demography:

The Human Development Report 2009 (UNDP) on migration is essentially pro-migration in approach and applies human development approach to study of migration. When migrants integrate more and diffuse to a great degree within their adopted homeland, which in turn becomes more diverse, they have a better chance of being valued as enriching society and introducing complementary cultural traits. Ground realities in West Bengal, however, indicate that this has not happened and the influx of Bangladeshi migrants has raised demographic problems. A change in the demographic pattern in any country is an obvious resultant effect of migration, which is as old as human civilization, but if the change

is significantly high in a short span of time, it is bound to arouse a serious social concern in the country experiencing the phenomenon.

A novel phenomenon of demographic pressure emanating from Bangladesh started looming larger and larger in the border region. During the last three decades, illegal migration from Bangladesh to India is going on unabated. For more than three decades (1971-2005) there has been a ceaseless and significant demographic change in the districts of West Bengal, particularly districts adjoining Bangladesh. The demographic impact of Bangladeshi migration in the bordering districts of West Bengal is manifest. There are ten districts in West Bengal bordering Bangladesh Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Uttar Dinajpur, Dakshin Dinajpur, Maldah, Murshidabad, Nadia, North 24 Parganas, South 24 parganas- whose population growth rate (more than 2.5%) is much higher than that of the state as whole (near about 2.10%). The population of West Bengal have increased faster due to the illegal migration from Bangladesh. Most of the Bengali people believe that child mortality of West Bengal has increased due to influx of Bangladeshi migrants. Child mortality has increased mostly due to poverty, illiteracy, social unawareness, new environment, unsettled condition and unhygienic conditions coupled with poor nutrition. Influx of illegal migration from Bangladesh also affected adult mortality of West Bengal. This kind of problem occur among the migrants due to too much hard work, belonging to lower social strata, unawareness, inability to buy medicines, sufferings from disease like TB etc. On June 23, 2005, Chief Minister of West Bengal, Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee said that infiltration had dramatically changed the demographic pattern in certain parts of the country, including West Bengal.

5.2.4 Socio-Economic and Political Consequences:

A new dimension in the socio-economic and political arena has emerged in the eastern and north-eastern region of India, Particularly West Bengal after independence of Bangladesh in 1971. Illegal migration and trade, cattle lifting, drug trafficking and boundary disputes, etc. are some common problem in the bordering districts of West Bengal. These put pressure not only security personnel deployed on the both sides but also create socio-economic problems and tensions for the villagers and people residing in the surrounding areas in both the countries. Deforestation, land grab, trade grab, illegal occupancy of pavement and railway platform by undocumented Bangladeshi immigrants are creating pressure on natural resources. Continuous inflow of migrants enhanced the pre-existing slum, increase the density of occupants in certain areas, which influenced the water supply, health facility, and education with utter inefficiency. India's Farakka Barrage (Saikia, 2003) has become a

disaster for Bangladesh and which ultimately force people to migrate without any travel documents across the border towards Indian side. This Undocumented migration changing the geographic maps of West Bengal and they have also spread themselves over agriculture based bordering districts of West Bengal. Because of strict competition from the local labour, they are forced to work at low wages (Pramanik, 2003). According to Samaddar (1999) migration of people from areas of low-productivity to high productivity areas does not establish equilibrium either for home or for the host country. This is because the wage rate in the economically depressed areas does not improve enough with the shortage of labour supply on the one hand, and on the other, wages do not level off at destination due to abundance of labour supply. Undocumented migrants are illegally enrolled in the voter list and used as vote banks. Indian politician have always encouraged Bangladeshi migration to garner their votes and used them in different unconstitutional activities at the time of election

On the other hand, they have also used the local politicians for obtaining different residential documents e.g. ration card, birth certificates, voter card, etc. and finally they become Indian citizens and consuming all the basic facilities and opportunities provided for the local people. This is not only happened, a large number of Bangladeshi undocumented migrants capturing the administrative and powerful political position through illegal way and working for the settling of Bangladeshi migrants in the Indian soil. The numbers of illegal migrants into West Bengal have actually created an alarming situation in India. This problem has attracted serious political attention in West Bengal in the recent years, especially, during the time of election to the State Assembly held in 2006. The migrants were the *de facto* force in the decision-making of more than fifty per cent of the total 294 constituencies of West Bengal Assembly. Due to lack of good will of political leaders, it is not possible to separate them from original citizens of India (Datta, 2004). This is very serious problem for the Indian Territory.

5.2.5 Smuggling and Trade Links:

Undocumented migration from Bangladesh has been a great concern in the border areas of West Bengal. Though many people are coming with the intention of permanent job, often circumstances force them to grab the opportunities in any manner and to take shelter in underworld economy to derive livelihood. The main anti-social activities they are involved in are smuggling, robbery and associated crime, prostitution, beggary, and trafficking of women and children. They are engaged in smuggling of sugar, drug, gold etc. Cattle lifting have been very common phenomenon in these border areas (Banerjee, 2003). Pathania (2003) argues

that Bangladesh's thriving leather and processed meat industry is booming due to cattle smuggling from India at a throw away price and then exported to the Middle-East countries at almost 3-4 times the cost price. On a monthly basis, value of the smuggled cattle from West Bengal is worked out from Indian sources at about 0.5 million dollars. She further added the cattle smuggling industry provided employment opportunity to the laid off workers of the jute industry in Bangladesh. Whilst one may not argue with smuggling industry's absorption potential the question may be raised as to who were involved in this business prior to laid-off workers of jute industry which took place around 2001-02 where as cattle smuggling has been in vogue for much longer time. The potential of generating employment opportunity in this industry for the border Landers from the Indian side cannot be ignored either.

Table 4.1: Smuggling Between India and Bangladesh (Taka), 1972-1992.

Year	Seized Illegal Goods Entering Bangladesh	Seized Illegal Goods Entering India
1972	57,67,001	33,99,595
1976	83,06,184	41,61,001
1980	1,99,16,160	6,23,99,773
1984	9,07,43,363	4,66,07,145
1988	36,35,41,629	13,67,34,630
1992	62,16,52,045	17,14,14,109

Source: Imtiaz Ahmed, 2000- The Plight of Environmental Refugees.

However, it is not only cattle smuggling but also the entire black marketing across border is highly profitable to traders of both sides. Official estimates from India suggest that the value of goods annually smuggled to Bangladesh from Northeast. India alone exceeded Rs.20 billion or US\$ 450 million (Baruah, 2002). It is often assumed that at least 40 to 50% of the economies of both India and Bangladesh are black (The Daily Star, 21 May 2002; Confederation of Indian Industry, Press Release, and November 2000).

5.2.6 Impact on National Security:

Migration and security have a complex relationship and initial research on linkages concentrated mainly on analysing the range of possible security threats that could emanate from migration. The migration-security nexus was first advocated by Weiner (1993) who, in contrast to the international political economy framework, provided a security stability framework for the role of states in both creating and responding to international migration. For Weiner, 'security' is a social construct, having different meanings and connotations in different societies. According to Weiner, there are five broad categories of situations in which

immigration comes to be perceived as a threat to the host country: 'political threat', 'security risk to the host country', 'cultural threat', 'socio-economic problem for the host country' and 'as hostages against the country of origin'(Weiner, 1993).

Globalisation and the ease of movement have led to unprecedented mass migration at the global level. While at one level such movements have resulted in dividends, at the other, they undermine the security of the host country. A number of studies suggest that there is a growing need to focus on the human aspects of immigrant societies. These relate to language, history, culture, religious affiliation norms, family and/or tribal affiliations, as well as the international and internal relations of the country from which the migrants come. Such large-scale demographic movements have allowed extremist forces, who today are ideologically and not territorially based, to take advantage. The 9/11 incident highlighted that an attack could originate within the nation itself and the perpetrators could be legal or illegal immigrants. Post-9/11, many western countries are taking a fresh look at immigration policies, particularly the need for effective migration control. For example, the US has started compulsory registration of migrants from many countries.

India may face a similar situation if the unabated influx from Bangladesh continues. Sending migrants to other countries is an undeclared objective of Bangladesh. This policy was followed during pre-independence days by the Muslim League. After liberation, Mujibur Rahman wrote that Bangladesh would not be complete without the northeast. Some writers have invoked the principle of Lebensraum to justify Bangladeshi migration to northeast India and other parts of the country. Some Indian analysts also believe that Bangladesh is following this as state policy because 'sending immigrants is the most effective way to colonize countries' and it is also less offensive than sending military expeditions and much less expensive. The Bangladesh government has opposed fencing of the border on many occasions. The ostensible reason is that no defence structure is allowed within 150 metres of the border and Dhaka has often portrayed fencing as an unfriendly gesture of India. The reality is that fencing of the border will create difficulty for Bangladeshis to cross over into India. The Bangladesh government also knows that its most abundantly available resource is human resource. The government follows a pro-active policy of sending migrants to various countries. Bangladeshi migrants are working across the world but are concentrated mainly in the Gulf, Europe, North America and Malaysia. Not surprisingly, Bangladeshi leaders visit many of these countries with the objective of strengthening migrant policy. Both the government and non-governmental sectors are engaged in training Bangladeshis for employment abroad. In these circumstances, it is unlikely that the state will take any step to

check illegal migration. Often different perceptions exist in the 'sending' and 'receiving' countries towards illegal migration. There are two reasons for this. First, policies of migration control directly impinge upon the interests of foreign governments. Second, to check illegal migration, cooperation of foreign officials is essential, but is generally not available.

A similar situation prevails in the case of illegal migration from Bangladesh. The country refuses to acknowledge the existence of illegal migration to India. For Indian state, the security implications of large-scale migration from Bangladesh are very complex nature of migration and the multiple identities that migrants profess. In 2001, the Supreme Court of India also expressed the concern that the 'undocumented Bangladeshi migrants were eating into the economy of the country and had to a large extent become a security threat.' The bench also criticized the Union Government for being indifferent to resolve the issue and recommended that the government take exemplary steps to tackle the illegal migration, including deportation. Cross-border migration is associated with security threats and destination based crime (Ramachandran, 2005). Cross border migration has created many small pockets of illegal Bangladeshis in big cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and adjacent border areas that can be used as bases to harbour terrorists to run militant activities in India and elsewhere (Karlekar, 2005; Wright, 2002). Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan remarked that migration brings with its many challenges. These challenges are of multiculturalism and integration of human security and national security. Therefore, the illegal migration from Bangladesh has assumed dangerous dimensions affecting the security of the nation as whole and especially eastern and north-eastern states as a particular. The main causes are the unrecognised stateless migrants and difficulty of identifying migrants because of their homo-ethnic similarity, same food habits and cultural affinity. The local inhabitants of these bordering areas are constant fear of losing their identity as they have been reduced to minority in their own states. The problem of illegal Bangladeshi immigration has economic implications for the local people and security implications for the country as a whole.

5.2.7 Negative Impact on Bilateral Relationship between Indo-Bangladesh:

Among India's neighbours, Bangladesh occupies a significant and special position-not only India's role in its liberation in 1971 but because geographically, too, it surrounds Bangladesh from three sides land-locked seven North-East states. India shares the longest land boundary with Bangladesh-stretching 4096 km. At many places, the borders porous, making it easy for people to cross over and return to their place of domicile frequently. India and Bangladesh could be natural trade partners due to geographic proximity and cultural affinities in terms of language and life-style between the people of Bangladesh and West

Bengal. There are already exists a bilateral trade agreement between Bangladesh and India which was signed in 1980 and later amended and signed in March 2006; this came into force on April 1, 2006 and is valid till March 2009. At the 14th SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation) summit held in New Delhi in April 2007, India announced that it would grant duty-free access to Bangladesh imports that are on the 'positive' list. India has been giving Bangladesh extensive tariff preferences under SAPTA (South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangement), which is a precursor of SAFTA (South Asian Free Trade Area) and many of the tariff barriers applicable to other countries, have not been faced by Bangladeshi exporters.

But Bangladeshi economy suffers from chronic trade deficit vis a vis India since its formation in 1971 and barring a few years bilateral trade deficit of Bangladesh with India is highest in comparison to the trade deficit with all the other countries. Thus trade deficit with India contributes significantly to the total trade deficit of Bangladesh. While exchange rate adjustment is an aggregative measure to tackle total trade deficit of an economy, it may also be necessary to look at specific demand and production related problem for each trading partner and address the problem by country wise and commodity wise measures in order to improve export performance. Hence, bilateral trade deficit with India, being the most important component of the total deficit of Bangladesh becomes an automatic choice for study in order to achieve balance in total trade account. Again, bilateral trade relations highly affect the political-economic relations of the countries concerned, and hence the trade imbalance between two neighbouring countries assumes importance. If the trade pattern remains one-sided, the country with persisting deficit may harbour feelings of deprivation of the access to the market of the trading partner. Regional cooperation is likely to be disrupted in such a situation. It succeeds only when benefits are mutual and the relatively less developed nations like Bangladesh are also able to get their due share of the gains from expansion of trade in the region. Bilateral trade imbalance between India and Bangladesh with Bangladesh producing a few goods and importing many can lead to deindustrialization and unemployment in Bangladesh. Given the geographical proximity of the two countries development gap between the two countries may lead to the problem of illegal migration from Bangladesh to India. So in the larger socio economic perspective, the problem of trade imbalance deserves attention, both at policy and academic level.

Indo-Bangladesh trade relations are influenced by their geographic proximity, economic complementation, cultural affinity, historic legacy, linguistic and ethnic

homogeneity, in particular with West Bengal. Although the illegal migration from Bangladesh could have a negative impact on Indo-Bangladesh relations, it is now urgent need to handle this problem with great care through bilateral talking. Muchkund Dubey (2003) remarked that relations between India, a big neighbour, and Bangladesh, a small neighbour, need to be nurtured with great care and sensibility. He suggested “All bilateral issues must be taken up and resolved quietly and privately through diplomatic channels by refraining from conducting diplomacy through public statements and media publicity (Dubey, 2003). Banerjee (2001) remarked that “to improve the relationship between the two countries, it is necessary to think beyond the debate over territorial borders” (Banerjee, 2001). Therefore, friendly and co-operative relations with Bangladesh and finally the bilateral dialogue between Indo-Bangladesh is the only way to solve the illegal immigration problem.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh’s visit to Bangladesh, on September 6 and 7 in 2011 deserves a special mention as he was accompanied by a delegation that included Chief Ministers of four bordering Indian states – Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya and Mizoram. This has endorsed the significance these states have in the context of growing relations between Dhaka and New Delhi. The visit was a historic opportunity to open doors, mend fences, and reach out other realising the genuine need of either side. The presence of the Chief Ministers-Tarun Gogoi of Assam, Manik Sarkar of Tripura, Mukul Sangma of Meghalaya and Lal Thanhawla of Mizoram-gave the visit a new dimension, as it had direct ramification for much desired trade and connectivity that India needs to connect its land-locked States-some 2,62,230 sq.km. and about five crore people –through Bangladesh. The geographic proximity between Bangladesh and the east and northeast should be beneficial both. Mr. Tarun Gogoi said, “We want connectivity of not only roads and infrastructure....we want connectivity of minds” (Habib, 2011). The increased trade and investment will not only benefit the northeast but also help Bangladesh’s economy grow faster, creating jobs and higher income which will eventually deter illegal migrants. Undoubtedly, India-Bangladesh friendship and co-operation can be a major force of peace and political stability and overall development in South Asia.

5.3 Measures Taken by Govt. of India and Govt. of West Bengal:

The entry of Bangladeshi immigrants into India has posed a grave threat not only to our democracy also the security of India, especially in the eastern and north-eastern states. In order to curb the menace of Bangladeshi immigration, the Central Government of India and the State Government of West Bengal had making a number of Acts, strategies and measures.

Before going to discuss the different measures taken by the Central Government and the Government of West Bengal to curb the menace of Bangladeshi immigration, I would like to discuss here some existing legal framework for the foreigners to entry into, stay in, and departure from Indian Territory.

5.3.1 Existing Legal Framework:

The existing legislation governing the entry into, stay in, and departure of foreign from India are the Foreigners Act, 1946, the passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920, and the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939. The immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act, 1950 and the illegal migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act, 1983 were enacted especially to control the unabated influx of illegal migrants to the Eastern and North-Eastern Regions. But the process of illegal migration is continued later, and then the draft came to existence in the year of 2000, the Foreigners (Amendment) Bill. There are cognate Acts as well having some bearing on the subjects, namely, the Indian Citizenship Act, 1955 and the Indian Passport Act, 1967.

5.3.1.1 The Foreigners Act, 1946:

It was enacted for the first time in 1946 to enable the government to prevent the subjects of foreigners' starts from residing or sojourning in, or passing through or travelling in the British India without the consent. This made it obligatory on every foreigners to report his arrival in India in certain cases and not to travel in India without a licence which as to be granted by the Governor-General of India or any other local governments or the officers authorised by them so to do. It was amended five times twice in 1947, and also in 1951, 1957 and 1962 each.

5.3.1.2 The Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act, 1950:

This Act was enacted to deal with the serious economics as well as law and order problems created in the States of Assam as a result of large scale migration from erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).The Act conformed power on the Central Government to order expulsion of certain migrants from Assam who has ordinarily residents of any place outside India had come to Assam before or after 1st March 1950, and their stay in the opinion of the Central Government was considered detrimental to the interest of the good public of India or any section of them of or any scheduled tribe in Assam. However, those who

migrated on the account of civil disturbances or for the fear of the same were exempted from the application of the provisions.

5.3.1.3 The Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act, 1983:

It was enacted to make special provisions for the speedy detection, by a judicial process of foreigners who entered India on or after 25th March 1971 without valid passport and other travel documents so as to enable the Central Government of India to expel illegal migrants from India as well as to protect genuine citizens of India. The Act proceeded by an ordinance, was deemed to have come into force in Assam on 15th October, 1983. The Government is, however, empowered to apply the Act in different States through notifications. Somehow, the Government confined it to Assam only which was badly affected by illegal migrants. The IMDT Act, 1983 is concerned only with a limited class of persons, i.e. foreigners who migrated into India across the borders of north-eastern region of the country on and after 25th March 1971. Such persons were sought to be identified and deported from India.

5.3.1.4 The Foreigners (Amendment) Bill, 2000:

The Foreigners (Amendment) Bill, 2000 was first introduced in the Rajya Sabha in 1998 by the Home Minister Shri L. K. Advani and the draft of the bill was finalised in year of 2000. It was drafted to amend the Foreigners Act, 1946 by incorporating proposed provisions in the Foreigners Act, 1946. The main objective of the bill is considered the problem of illegal migration from the neighbouring countries has to be tackled seriously by providing machinery for effective and speedy detection of illegal entrants in the stature. It also brings out the magnitude and gravity of the problem of illegal migration from Bangladesh, causes for the same as also its impact, especially on the security of India.

It enumerates measures taken by the Government of India to curb the menace of infiltration. These include delegation of powers under the Foreigner Act to identify, detect, and deport illegal migrants to States Governments and Union territory administrations and issuance of instructions to them to speed up the process of identification and deportation of illegal migrants. The Central Government has also taken measures to supplement the efforts of States Governments such as strengthening of the BSF, construction of border roads and fencing, function of posts under the Preventing of Infiltration of Foreigners/Mobile Task

Force schemes, mechanized riverine patrolling in certain parts of the country and diplomatic initiatives. Despite these measures, the problem of illegal migration continues unabated.

5.3.2 Some Recent Developments:

After winning the Kargil War (1999), a review committee known as The Kargil Review Committee (KRC) was formed to assess the country's overall security situation and capacity as well as enhance security measures at the national level. The KRC Report found many deficiencies in India's security management system, particularly in the areas of intelligence, border management, and defence management. During Vajpayee Government (NDA), a Group of Minister (GoM) set up four task forces to assess the security situation and make further recommendations. The task forces were: 1) Task Force on Intelligence Apparatus 2) Task Force on Internal Security 3) Task Force on Border Management and 4) Task Force on Management of Defence.

In January 2003, former Deputy Indian Prime Minister Lal Krishna Advani issued a national directive to all provinces to take 'immediate step to identify irregular Bangladeshis, locate them, and throw them out (Ramachandran, 2005). In 23rd January, a two day meeting of India-Bangladesh Joint working group was held in Dhaka to discuss and India conveyed its concern over the presence of illegal Bangladeshis residing in India. In 14th February 2003, India invited the Bangladeshi foreign minister, Morshed Khan to meet his counterpart Yashwant Sinha to discuss ways to defuse tension over the illegal immigration issue. But he rejected such kind of Bangladeshi illegal immigration into India and immigration issue becomes hot topic in India's media. During the same year 2003, 18,801 Bangladeshis were deported by the Government of India and in the previous year, the number was 6,394 (Government of India, 2005). In 17 February 2003, President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam voicing his concern over the problem at the joint sitting of parliament said "The problem of illegal migration from Bangladesh has assumed serious proportions and affects many states. The Government of India is determined to take all necessary steps to check/curb infiltration across the border from Bangladesh as follows:

- Government has decided to complete fencing of the border by 2007, and install neon lights and reduce the distance among watch towers. To date, a total of 2535.8 km. fencing has been completed in phase I and II out of 4096.7 km. long Indo-Bangladesh border. But most of this fence in West Bengal have been damaged by the adverse climatic conditions and repeated submerges.

- Government has also decided to issue National Identity Card scheme to help track down foreign nationals who pose a security risk.
- Government has sanctioned Rs. 435 crores to the BSF for modernization of its communication and formation of a state level standing committee and task force by the Border States having coastline.

There are some other steps taken by the Government of India to Prevent/curb infiltration from Bangladesh across the borders, which also include-

- Effective domination of the border by carrying out round the clock surveillance of the borders by Border Security Force, by patrolling nakas (border ambushes) and by deploying observation posts all along the International Border, or by patrolling nakas (border ambushes) and by deploying observation posts all along the International Border;
- Construction of border fencing, roads and floodlighting;
- Setting up of more Border out Posts (BOPs) along Indo-Bangladesh border;
- Introduction of modern and hi-tech surveillance equipment including night navigation devices;
- Up-gradation of intelligence set up and coordination with the State Governments and concerned intelligence agencies. Central Government is vested with powers to deport a foreign national under section 3(2) © of the Foreigners Act, 1946. These powers to identify and deport illegally staying foreign nationals, including Bangladeshi nationals, have also been delegated to the State Governments/ UT Administrations.
- The steps, inter-alia, been taken by the Government for strengthening the coastal security apparatus and to check infiltration from the sea include--(i) The Indian Coast Guard has been additionally designated as the authority responsible for coastal security in territorial waters, including areas to be patrolled by the Coastal Police, (ii) Enhancement of patrolling and surveillance in coastal areas by Coastal Police, the Coast Guard, Customs and the Indian Navy.(iii) Setting up of 12 additional Coast Guard Stations.

Detection and deportation of such illegal immigrants is a continuous process. A revised procedure for detection and deportation of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants was communicated to the State Governments/ Union Territory Administrations in November, 2009, which was

partially modified in February, 2011. The procedure includes sending back then and there, the illegal immigrants who are intercepted at the border while entering India unauthorised.

The process of illegal migration continues because of the failure of different agencies in checking the menace. For example, the Border Security Force (BSF), which is primarily responsible for guarding Indian borders has not, been effective in preventing infiltration across the border. The concern agencies require to process the cases of alleged illegal migrants encounter numerous difficulties. When police tries to collect evidence, people who are illegal migrants move to another location or disappear. The other agency is the Mobile Task Force (MTF), sanctioned by the Central Government for the States to detect and push the migrants and is reported to be too meagre to deal with the problem.

There was little evidence that the Government of West Bengal was talking or planning determined steps to curb infiltration. Necessary steps were not taken even in the Siliguri corridor framing a strategic link between the rest of India and the north-east region, as also between India, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh (Ray, J.K. 2001). It is surprising and shocking news that even the Madhab Committee Report of 2000 on infiltration remaining unpublished. The West Bengal had only suggested to the Centre Government to introduce changes in the Foreigners Act to strengthen to power of enforcing agencies and to streamline the procedure for deporting Bangladeshis. The Supreme Court's concern about the unabated migration of Bangladeshi and asking the Government to make "honest and serious" attempt to stop the influx assume importance since they posed a threat to India's Security. It is, therefore urgent need to take all possible and necessary steps to prevent/curb the menace of the Bangladeshi migration through friendly, co-operative attitudes, bilateral dialogues with Bangladesh. A good and effective coordination among the departments of food and ration, Census , election, birth and death registration is urgently necessary to work out a mechanism to check illegal migration and The Government of India and Government of Bangladesh should start effective programmes to put an end to this scenario.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Migration is one of the most significant and challenging issues facing the world today. Since the dawn of civilization mankind has been witness to migration. It is a global phenomenon; and it will continue to do so in the near future. The term migration connotes a change of residences, to pass from one place to another, to change one's abode to another country or to change habitat periodically looking for means of survival, living space or better life. Generally, people prefer to migrate from poor countries to rich countries and from developing or under- developed countries to developed countries for better and healthy life. But migration between the developing countries sometimes also plays very significant role for the betterment of life or for survival. Movement of people across the international border in the recent years is having significant impact in the international politics. Since the September 11, 2001, migration has become highly politicized and now a pivot issue in both national and international politics. The international migrants are becoming important political actor influencing both the political process of the country in which they reside and the relationship between their country of residence and their country of origin. Migrants may attempt to promote many types of political intervention. They have become a political factor that governments of both sending and receiving countries need to take into account.

In Asia, South Asia has been home to one of the largest population movements in the 21st century. Today the main growth is in migration within Asia. Migration is not new to South Asia and people in the sub-continent have been always on the move. Among all population flows from the neighbouring countries to India, the inflow from Bangladesh has specifically received great attention in the recent times. Bangladesh has been a major epicentre of the streams of population transfers to India from all sources outside its national boundary. Migration from the geopolitical entity called Bangladesh to India has a long and complicated history. The root cause of such kind of migration from Bangladesh to bordering States of India is the bloody partition of Bengal in 1947 and subsequent turmoil of Bangladesh during the Liberation War in 1971. During the period of Liberation War and immediately after Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's assassination on 15th August, 1975, migration took place extensively in the bordering districts of West Bengal. The Indian

Government declared that the people who are migrated on or after 25th March, 1971, they are considered as illegal migration. But the immigration from Bangladesh continues up to now and that is dangerous.

India and Bangladesh are tied by a common border in border, but the people of the bordering areas of both the countries, especially with the bordering districts of West Bengal and Bangladesh have similar cultural background, common ethnicity and speak same language. They had past association, have present affinities and will continue to have future linkages. Marriages are still taken place among the border areas people of both the countries and infiltration and smuggling are also ongoing. Because of Bangladeshi people is geographically surrounded by Indian land-locked states and of these people-to-people linkages, transactions of goods and boundary problems and geographic proximity, it is difficult to check infiltration from Bangladesh. So, the geographic proximity, cultural affinities and ethnic connectivity play very positive role for such kind of Bangladeshi immigration. While insecurity of life, riots, religious oppressions, economic backwardness, population explosion and natural hazards dominant push factors, 'social network' or kith-and kin, secular and peace political space, political patronage served as pull factor for migration. The migrants' relatives viz. uncles, sisters, brothers, grandparents, etc. who have migrated earlier, actually helped the migrants, first to join them; afterwards they separated themselves from relatives as and when opportunities emerged. So, the presence of relatives at present place of residence has been the main attraction for the second generation and later migrants to their present place of residence. Therefore, it may be asserted that 'kin and friend relationship' plays a cardinal role in deciding the initial destinations of immigrants and those opportunities of employment decide their choice of present place residence. Thus the network theory works more in the case of cross-border migration than economic theories of neoclassical (micro and macro) and new economics.

The illegal migration has strained country's economy generally and especially in the bordering eastern and north-eastern States of India. The illegal influx has dangerous dimensions affecting the security of the nation as well as a whole. There are large scale clandestine movement and smuggling of all kinds of articles by the Bangladeshi immigrants. Local inhabitants of these bordering districts of West Bengal are under constant fear to loss their own identity in their own states. They become jobless and they suffer and bear the burden of the society. The problem has economic implications for the local people and

security implications for the country as a whole. The entry of illegal migrants into India has posed a grave threat not only to our democracy but also security of India, especially West Bengal. There are always clash between local people and the Bangladeshi migrants. The Bangladeshi migrants captured the lands and business of the local people. They suffer during the travelling as well as daily life due shortage of electricity, basic amenities and facilities which are consumed by the Bangladeshi migrants. They are 10 millions Bangladeshi living illegally in India. They created most of areas into slums and their involvement in different illegal activities have posed serious situation in West Bengal. The large number of illegal migration has aggravated the employment situation and has distorted the electoral rolls in the State of India.

Maintaining a healthy relationship is critical to both the countries of India and Bangladesh. All the unsettled border area problems between the countries need to be resolved through broad based dialogue by involving political leaders, Government officials, security personnel, intelligentsia and representatives of local self-government of the border areas in the process. More people-to-people contact will reduce infiltration, and more free trade will curtail smuggling and illegal trade. The urgent need of hour to develop mutual, faithful and co-operative relationship with Bangladesh for the development of both the countries which I think will reduce the menace of Bangladeshi immigration. The major findings of this study are as follows:

- Bangladeshi migration is not a recent phenomenon in India. It has started pre-independence period of Bangladesh as a refugees and in the post independence period as economic migrants. The flow of immigration from Bangladesh has been unilateral and continuous and it is believed to have put pressure on the growth and development of States of India, particularly in West Bengal and the North-Eastern States.
- The pattern of population growth in the bordering districts of West Bengal vis-à-vis the pattern of migration from Bangladesh was not uniform over the decades. It changes with the time, space and situations. The peak period of Bangladeshi immigration was during the Bangladeshi Liberation War in 1971 and immediate after Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's assassination on 15th August, 1975. In the last two decades Bangladeshi migration has reduced but illegal migration continues significantly.

- Geographic proximity and cultural affinities play very important role in case of Bangladeshi migration. Geopolitically important entity, Bangladesh is surrounded by the land-locked eastern and north-eastern Indian States. They have no other options to migrate, the only options to the bordering states of India, especially West Bengal because they share common Bengali cultural heritage, ethnic connectivity, cultural affinities in terms Bengali language and same type of life styles i.e. food habit, dress pattern, celebration of festival, common history of literature etc. and of course geographic nearness.
- There are also other factors which attracted and forced them to migrate. Insecurity of life, riots, religious oppression, population explosion, poverty and natural hazards worked together as the major push factors for Bangladeshi migration. On the other hand, social network, cordiality, fellow feeling, and political patronages have contributed in the movements of population from Bangladesh to West Bengal. Here the social network theory has proved itself to be the most relevant among all the theories of migration. The presence of relatives or friends was important facilitating factor in the initial stage of migration.
- It is observed that a large scale of migrants also came through illegal ways without passports or visas with the help of agents, and faced no problems. It is only possible due to some corrupt security personnel or due to porous and riverine fluvial border.
- There is a combination of factors on the sides, responsible for the continuing influx of illegal migrants. The pull factors on the Indian side includes geographic proximity and kinship, cultural affinities, enabling easy shelter for immigrants, a porous border with Bangladesh, better opportunities and interested religious and political elements who encourage immigration.
- Last but not the least, it is observed that large scale illegal Bangladeshi migration posed a grave threat not only to the demographic, socio-economic, cultural environmental and political life styles of the local people of bordering districts of West Bengal but also to our democracy as well as to the national security because they are involving in different anti-social and anti-national activities, like smuggling, women trafficking, terrorist activities etc.

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