

**SECURITIZATION OF BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS: A STUDY OF DIMAPUR IN
NAGALAND**

*Dissertation submitted to the Department of International Relations,
Sikkim University in the fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the
Degree of*

Master of Philosophy

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(भारतके संसदके अधिनियमद्वारा स्थापित केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय)

SIKKIM UNIVERSITY

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February 5, 2016

Declaration

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “**Securitization of Bangladeshi migrants : A Study of Dimapur in Nagaland**” submitted to **Sikkim University** for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is my original work. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree or diploma in any other university.

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Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**Securitization of Bangladesh migrants : A Study of Dimapur in Nagaland**” submitted to **Sikkim University** for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** in International Relations, embodies the result of bonafide research work carried out by Ruth V. Kiho under my guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation is submitted for any other degree, diploma, associate-ship and fellowship. All the assistance and help receiver during the course of investigation have been deeply acknowledged by her.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

DMC- Dimapur Municipal Council

CHT- Chittagong Hill Tract

ILP- Inner Line Permit

IMDT- Illegal Migrants Determination Tribunals Act

NEFA- North East Frontier Agency

NHTA- Naga Hills and Tuensang Area

NSF- Naga Student's Federation

NPC- Naga People's Convention

RAP- Restricted Area Permit

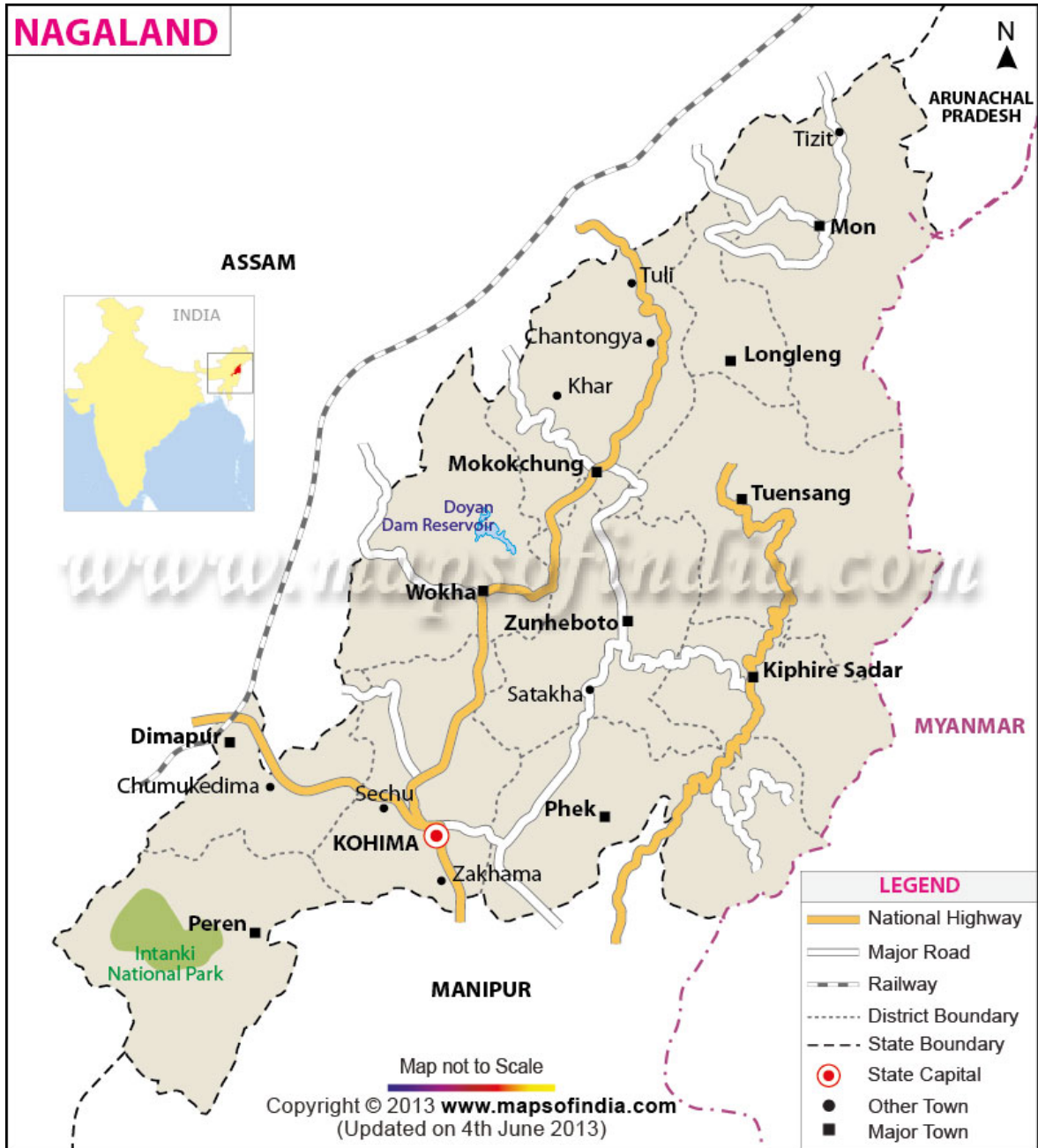
TVN- Tripura National Volunteers

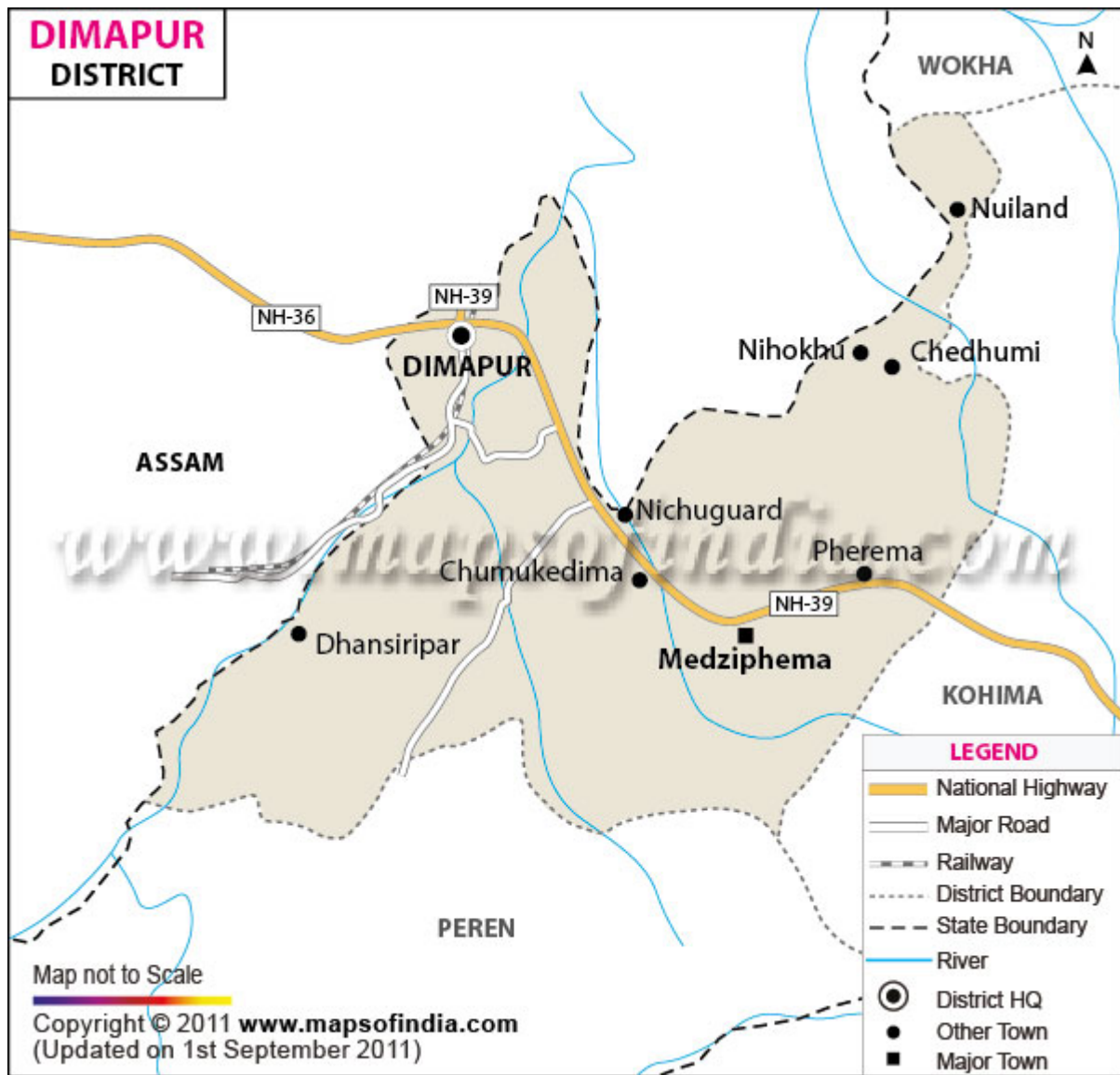
SM- Survival Mokokchung

SN- Survival Nagaland

WMD- Weapon of Mass Destruction

NAGALAND





CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION

The study of migration in the International Relations discipline gained importance during 1980s and 1990s. With the expansion of European notion of nation-state system through conquest, colonization and then decolonization spread the ideals of sovereignty, citizenship and nationality in the world. The fundamental question revolving around, on the role of the nation-state in establishing rules of the entry and exit of the migrants in its territory which emerged in the study of the politics of international migration were: to what extent it can control its borders from migrants? What are the factors that define its capacity and limits of control? And the most recent one is the security of the nation-state from migrants (a question that has gained new urgency after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001) attain much importance.¹ There is an argument that the idea of controlling entry and exit to one's territory goes much beyond twentieth century and some even claim that it is as old as human kind itself but for most part of the history, migration has been a part of life, as territories were not owned but shared or borrowed, and people moved in groups cyclically or periodically, following hunting, gathering or pastoral cycles. This was how the world was populated.²

DEFINING MIGRATION

Human migration today is described as the movement of an individual or families across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and boundaries. There are two types of migration: (a) internal migration- internal movement of people from one area to another within a state for the purpose or with the aim of establishing new residence. (b) International migration- movement of people, either temporarily or permanently, from the country of origin or

¹ James F. Hollifield and Caroline B. Brettell(2000). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. Routledge, New York. P.184-185

² Jonathon W. Moses(2006). *International Migration: Globalization's Last Frontier*. Books for Change, Bangalore. P.37-38

of habitual residence to another country. International migration can be: (a) emigration (people moving out of the country; and (b) immigration (people coming into the country).³

MIGRATION IN NORTHEAST INDIA

Migration is an irrepressible human urge and they move where there is more spiritual freedom, greater political liberty or higher standards of living. The more tolerant the receiving state, the more attractive its spiritual freedom and political liberty: the richer it is, the stronger its economic pull. When tolerance and wealth go hand in hand, man-made laws can attempt to regulate migration but cannot suppress it.⁴ For more than fifty decades, the Government of India has been trying to manage unsuccessfully the Bangladeshi migrants in its North-East region. In the beginning there was no issue but gradually the native people of Assam and Tripura felt threatened. The Malthusian nightmare of “too many people on too little land” has been stalking across the country which has led to the anti foreign movements in Assam from 1979 to 1985. The classic overpopulation versus natural resource base conflict is best seen in Bangladesh.⁵ An Illegal Migrants Determination by Tribunals Act 1983 (IMDT) was formed to seek a solution but it was a complete failure. In Tripura, the tribal population has reduced to minority by the influx of Bengalis from erstwhile East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. The issue of migrants from Bangladesh is also seen in Tripura, where the population of the tribal has reduced to minority. The formation of Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) was formed to fight against the settlers from Bangladesh. Thus killing hundreds of innocent people every year. The migration of the Chakma refugees from Chittagong Hill Tracts to Tripura also created a dual problem.⁶ The Chakmas refugees from Bangladesh is also seen in Arunachal Pradesh and its infamous mass boycott of Chakmas by the local people of Arunachal and the more recent one is the issue of Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland.

³ Amarjeet Singh(2009). *A study on Illegal Bangladeshi Immigration into North-East India: the case Study of Nagaland*. Institute of Defence and Analyses, New Delhi. P.9

⁴ W.R. Bohning(1984). *Studies in International Labour Migrants*, St. Martin's Press, New York. P.12-13.

⁵ Sanjoy Hazarika(1994). *Strangers of the Mist: Tales of war and Peace from India's northeast*. Penguin, India. P.9

⁶P.R. Chari, Malika Joseph and Suba Chandra(ed.)(2003), “*Missing Boundaries: Refugees, Migrants, Stateless and Internally Displaced Persons in South Asia*”, Manohar, New Delhi, Wasbir Hussain, “Bangladeshi Migration in India: Towards a Practical Solution- A view from the North-East Frontier, Chapter-7.

MIGRATION IN NAGALAND

The migration of Bangladeshis in Nagaland has been taking place since 1960's in and around Dimapur and recently this issue has come to the forefront because of socio-economic, cultural and political reasons. Being the active commercial centre of Nagaland, Dimapur attracts migrants not only from other states within India itself but also from neighboring countries like Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal. In spite the lack of proper documents of how many Bangladeshi migrants are there in Nagaland, out of eleven districts, Dimapur district counts to be the place of having the highest number of Bangladeshi migrants.

It is well known fact that Nagaland does not have border with Bangladesh and so many of the Bangladeshi migrants enter Nagaland via Assam. It is the nature of migration and refugee/migrant movements that people move to the places nearest them where there is a friendly environment and where they can work and survive.⁷ They migrated to Assam from Bangladesh over different periods of time. The Bangladeshi migrants in Assam can be trace back to the 18th century when British took control over the administration Assam in 1829. The British rulers recruited and employed the Bengalis who were mostly from Sylhet. These early migrants consist largely of educated middle class Bengalis. Huge wave of migrants from Bangladeshi also came to Assam as tea plantation labors during the early 1890's. The flow of migrants from Bangladesh was consistent after the establishment of British Tea Company which did not stop even after the partition of India and Pakistan.⁸ After few decades, when land in Assam could not sustain the huge migrants from Bangladesh, the migrants started to migrate in the nearby place where they can survive.

The migration in Nagaland started with the development of railway station in Dimapur. Usually, for building rail tracks the British hired tea coolies from East Bengal. So even in Dimapur while building the rail tracks, they hired Bangladeshi migrants as labors. They made a colony around the railway station. There are three types of Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland-(a) laborers, (b) traders, business persons, and (c) professionals. The major contributions are labors and traders.⁹The Naga population was less in Dimapur and so there was no problem

⁷ Hazarika(1994). *Strangers of the Mist: a Tale of War and Peace from India's North-East*. p.6.

⁸ K.R. Dikshit and Jutta k.Dikshit(2014). *North-East India: Land, People and Economy*. Springer.p.459.

⁹ U.A. Shimray(2007). *Naga Population and Integration Movement: Doumentation*, New Delhi, Mittal Publications. p.35-36.

accommodating migrants. They set up small business and thrive in Dimapur. That was how the trends of Bangladeshi migration started in Nagaland. When they first entered Nagaland, they were mostly day labors, earning daily wages and went back in Assam. During 1960's the trend of Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur increased. Land in Assam could no longer sustain their growing population and it was then they started entering Nagaland because of the easy accessibility through rail transport and also they were in demand by the Naga land owners since the local labor was in scarce to work in the vast plain area. While interviewing with one Muslim migrant from rural area of Dimapur district, he said that his father was from Bangladesh. They migrated to Assam during the war. It is said that they had no land in Assam and so their option was to migrate to Nagaland and survive. There are so many migrants like him who had migrated to Assam from Bangladesh and later to Dimapur during 1960's. The anti- foreigner movements during 1979-1985 in Assam also forced them to entre Nagaland. That is the push factor of the Bangladeshi migrants from Assam.

The migrants from Bangladesh view Dimapur as a land of opportunities. One well known leader from Muslim community said that migrants in Nagaland never go hungry. During the British period few Muslim migrants settled in Dimapur. With the development of rail transport, mobility was much easier. The Bangladeshi migrants from Assam started venturing in Dimapur as a day laborer and went back to Assam. The Naga population was less and they needed labors to work in their fields as land was in abundance. Dimapur is the most urbanized district in Nagaland. Because of the recent industrial growth many people are attracted to Dimapur.¹⁰ Majority of the Nagas were self sufficient and were not engage in doing manual jobs and so Nagas were more than happy to heir migrants who work for them in cheaper rate. In urban areas, the migrants usually were pulling rickshaws. In rural areas, males usually work in the paddy field and women were of great help for doing domestic chores in the Naga house. Nagas were never hostile to these new people; instead they encouraged them to migrate. This was how huge population of the migrants flood in Dimapur district.

When Assam was agitating against the illegal movements of Bangladeshi migrants during 1980s, Nagas view migrants as beneficial and gladly welcomed them in their society. The migrants were really a boon in the Naga society and as matter of fact, Dimapur city was built by

¹⁰Atoho k. Chopy(2012). *Muslim Migrants in Dimapur: Missiological Challenges to the Baptist Church*. Dimapur. p.41.

the sweat of the migrant. From road construction to house building, it was the migrants who built it. From cleaning the Naga's house to farming their lands, it was the migrants. Migrants were the one doing all the manual labors in Dimapur which Nagas do not usually care to do. After few decades of peaceful coexistence and comfort living, some issues started to surface. In the rural areas, the migrants cheat their Naga land owners who trust the migrants. The migrant farmers are poor people with huge family to look after. Usually they remain in debt and when they could not repay to their Naga land owners they ran away. There was the case of theft, robbery and cheat which did not alter the peaceful coexistence among the migrants and the Nagas. The populations of migrants were increasing and this was when some educated Nagas and researchers from India view this as a threat in the Naga society. The Census 2001 shows the decadal growth of 64.53 per cent during 1991-2001. In spite the flaws in Census 2001 about the population growth in Nagaland; the abnormal population growth was attributed to the growing population of the migrants. The Naga organizations, Naga Student's Federation (NSF) and NGOS took initiatives to spread awareness about the Bangladeshi migrants by stating that Nagas should stop depending so much on the migrants and so it was of immense importance to promote Naga work culture in Dimapur. Adding with this issue, the assault of the Naga women by the migrants took place one after another. The infamous March 5 incident in 2015 in Dimapur where a criminal was lynched to death by the angry mob was the outcome of anger and frustrations of the Nagas against the migrants.

With these issues relating with the Bangladeshi migrants, it is of immense importance to examine the nature and extent of the Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur. Migration issue in Nagaland has not been studied extensively. It is actually a virgin area for research in migration from a 'securitization' perspective.

FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSES

To examine the issue of migrants in Dimapur, the study will attempt to exploit securitization theory as developed by the Copenhagen school. The term Securitization was conceived by Ole Weaver in 1995 under the constructivist paradigm. The Securitization theory is being hailed as one of the most innovative, productive, and yet controversial avenues of research

in contemporary security studies.¹¹ After the cold war, state centric notion of security was irrelevant because societal issues became more predicaments which not only threaten the existence of the state but also groups and individuals and other non state actors which constitute the very existence of the state itself. The “post-bipolar renaissance” in security studies is generally attributed to the surfacing of such new challenges as the violent upsurge of ethno-nationalism, collapsing states, large migrations across frontiers, transnational crimes and health hazards, human rights violations, gender and environmental concerns, food and water security etc.¹²

After the cold war, the realist state centric notion of security studies was questioned due to the rise of economic and environmental agendas in international relations during 1970’s and 1980’s and also issues concerning identities and transnational crime during the 1990’s. There was debate between the traditionalist and the non-traditionalist. The traditionalist were of the view that the progressive widening of securities studies would endangered the intellectual coherence of security, putting so much into it that its essential meaning becomes void. As Stephen Walt argues that security studies is about the phenomenon of War and that it can be defined as “the study of threat, use and control of military force.” Against those who want to widen the agenda outside this strictly military domain, he argues that doing so “runs the risk of expanding “security studies” excessively: by this logic , issues such as pollution, diseases, child abuse or economic recessions could all be viewed as threats to “security.” Defining the field in this way would destroy its intellectual coherence and make it more difficult to devise solutions to any of these important problems.” The wider concept of security not only extend the knowledge concerning about security studies but it also adds political function to the word security which extends the call for state mobilization to the boarder range of issues. Deuney argues that this may be undesirable and counterproductive in the environment sector has pointed and the argument could easily be extended to other sectors as well. He is also of the view that wider agenda of security studies tends to elevate “security” into a kind of universal good thing. But Waever, who is the prominent figure of expanding security studies, argues that this is a dangerously narrow view as security at best is the stabilization of conflictual or threatening relations often through

¹¹ Priyankar Upadhyaya, “Securitization Matrix in South Asian: Bangladeshi Migrants as Alien”. At www.ris-ntsasia.org/resources/publications/research-papers/migration/priyanka%20upadhyaya.pdf

¹² Andreas Themistocleous(2013). “Securitization Migrants: Aspects and Critics”, *The Globalized World Post* at www.thegwpost.com

emergency mobilization of the state. But traditionalist reasserted the conventional arguments about the enduring primacy of military security.¹³ On balance, one can agree with Peter J Katzenstein that: “Security Studies should not be narrowly restricted to states and questions of military security only. But neither should it be broadened so much that it comes to encompass all issues relating directly nor indirectly to the violence between individuals and collectivities. Broader security studies can add to the traditional analysis of national security if the actors and issues it studies have some demonstrable links to states and questions of military importance.” The wider agenda of security studies though criticized heavily by its counterpart is helpful in incorporate non-traditional security concerns within a viable framework of security studies.¹⁴

In a conventional sense, traditional security was defined from military a term which was state centric and thus, unable to comprehensively reflect reality. Classical theories approach security based on the interactions between "objective" materialistic factors, such as military power, economic and political capabilities and so on. Instead, for securitization, the concept of security is constructed by relative and subjective norms, and depends on the political purposes of each actor in each case. In other words, “the word security is (by itself) the act”, a security which is determined by a sequence of "speech acts".¹⁵ The “securitising speech acts” raise the level of issues to “existentialist threats” warranting “emergency measures” and thus legitimize actions beyond the normal spectrum of political process. The conceptualization of security as a “speech act” involves “a particular set of historical discourses and practices that rest upon institutionally shared understandings”. Waever thus, remarks: “By uttering “security” a state representative moves a particular development into a specific area, and thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it”. The securitization framework hence creates possibilities of criticizing and transforming the act of securitization within the ambit of political argument and discursive legitimation. Accordingly, the desecuritization offers a panacea for the exclusionary, violence-prone ‘society of security’. Highlighting its binary relation with securitization, Claudia Aradau finds that the term desecuritization has been “endowed with positive connotations, the good practice to be endorsed over the ‘evil’ securitizing one.”¹⁶

¹³ Priyankar Upadhyaya, “Securitization Matrix in South Asia: Bangladeshi Migrants Enemy Alien”.

¹⁴ Andreas Themistocleous(2013), “Securitizing Migration: Aspects and Critiques” , *Globalized World Post*.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Priyankar Upadhyaya, “Securitization in South Asia: Bangladeshi Migrants as Enemy Alien”.

Securitization is a process in which an issue normal or typical political is being transformed by the speech act of an actor (which may be an individual, a group, or various political, social, and economic elites, including but not limited to political parties, governments, or religious leaders) into a new security threat. That is, the moving of an issue from the realm of typical politics to the realm of exception (e.g. the new migration policy of the US due to 9/11), so as to create conditions for "legitimate" or/and "non-legitimate" action, avoiding this way the bureaucratic rules that normally apply. This process involves three basic phases:

- a) The securitizing actor or agent: an object which securitizes an issue.
- b) Referring to the object: an object that is being threatened and needs to be protected.
- c) The acceptance of an audience: the acceptance by an audience that the securitized issue is really a security threat.¹⁷

The securitization process begins with a verbal statement or a reference by the securitizing actor or agent to a specific actor as a potential threat. Subsequently, the potential is specified as a real threat that requires immediate countermeasures, and finally the successful cultivation of fear and /or acceptance by the audience, in both the existence of the threat and the need to respond. The securitization subject can be various political, economic, and social issues such as terrorism, immigration, or a possible war. The securitization of a subject can be characterized as successful or unsuccessful depending on the degree of fidelity of the audience. The war in Iraq in 2003 for instance, can be considered as a failed example of securitization because of the unsuccessful attempt of the U.S.A. to securitize the existence of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) in Iraq, in order to convince the audience (general public and international community). As a result of the failed WMD securitization process, the U.S. and U.K. changed their tactic, transforming the nature of the threat as a substantial lack of democracy, and human rights' violations by the authoritarian regime.¹⁸

Though of Euro-centric origin, this theory is also instrumental in studying non-conventional security studies in the South Asian region as non-traditional security issues have always been a part of this region. The end of the cold war was a world-transforming event and it brought substantial changes but it was not so important even in the South Asian's perspectives. The regional politics of South Asia shows considerable continuity. The regional cooperation

¹⁷ Andreas Themistocleous, "Securitizing Migration: Aspects and Critics".

¹⁸ Ibid.

remains limited besides. Issues like ethnic violence, environmental problems, issues of cross border migrants and refugees and so on. These issues have been continuing till date which plagues the South Asian region.¹⁹

Securitizing of migration can be studied at three levels, i.e. international, regional and local level. The securitizing of migration is different in each level. At the global level, because of the dissimilar institutional regulations and political conditions, the securitization of migration occurs in a limited extent. The emergence of migration as a security threat does not constitute a common strategic priority, for all actors. It could be said that after the terrorist attacks on 9/11, the securitization of global migration, had been achieved to a relative extent. This is due to the direct reaction of the U.S. through the infamous War on Terror declaration. In this way, combined with the unipolarity that characterizes the international system, the U.S. managed to securitize international terrorism.²⁰

However, the securitization of terrorism by the U.S. had the "incrimination" of Arabs and Muslims in the developed world as indirect result, cultivating the perception that every Muslim or Arab constitutes a potential terrorist threat. At the regional level, although migration is securitized to a larger extent, the institutional and political situation slightly differs in comparison to the international circumstances. In addition, the determination to "regional level" refers to entities and actors which act within a prescribed policy framework, with common institutional provisions. A perfect example of a regional actor is the European Union. In which the process of securitization takes place within a common institutional framework which is formed jointly among various members of the Union. However, in the case of migration the possibilities for a successful securitization process are extremely limited, for three main reasons.²¹

The first reason is the different political and economic interests that exist among individual actors, making the creation of a common line extremely difficult. The second reason results from the different impact degrees of migration in each state, due to the asymmetry created by the migratory flow. The third reason is the heterogeneity among the audience. The

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

heterogeneity is due to the fact that locally, the securitization of issues varies greatly from one country to another, thereby creating different perceptions among the audience.²²

In contrast to the global and regional level, the securitization of migration locally is observed as an event that occurs in most states. Admittedly, the securitization of migration as a process occurs mainly in countries with intense migratory flows. In the local level, the securitization actor could be the state through the intrastate and intergovernmental institutions, political parties, individuals and so on. In the case of migration, it has been observed that securitization occurs either by one actor, for instance a political party, or by a group of actors such as a political party, the media, and a religious organization. The most common arguments used by the internal securitizing actors, are related with the fields of economic, social cohesion and political stability. More specifically, regardless of the different types of migrants that are entering in the host country, the most common argument that presented, is the extremely negative effects on the economy. That is, the increasing unemployment due to the unfair competition against to the domestic labors, given that immigrants are a cheap labor force. Simultaneously, the securitizing alarmist includes a number of other sectors related to the social and political structures, such as the risk of changing the demographic and cultural traditions of the country. Nevertheless, in several cases, it has been argued that there is a potential for the spread of diseases among the local populations, and also the potential increase of violence and delinquency.²³

Keeping this in mind, the study will analyze securitization of migration at the local level, i.e. securitization of Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur district. Being the most active commercial centre in Nagaland, this district attracts migrants more than any other district in Nagaland. It is also the only district which is not covered by Inner Line Permit (ILP). This study will analyze the question of who securitize migrants in Nagaland or to be particular in Dimapur and to what extent it has been successful in securitization the migrants. It will also look into the question of whether desecuritization process will be instrumental in managing the problems of Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur.

²² Ibid

²³ Ibid.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature review is divided into three sections, i.e. the concept of security, international migration and Bangladeshi migrants in the North-East. The first part deals with the discourse of concept of security and the second part focuses on the international migration. The last section concentrates on the Bangladeshi migrants in the North-East of India.

The narrowness of traditional view of confining security studies only in the political and military arena lead to the dissatisfaction of the scholars which led to the debate between the narrow versus wider agenda of security studies. During 1970s to 1990s, with the growing issues of economic, environment and identity concerns lead to the irrelevance of confining the security studies only to the military and political sector. In the article, *The Concept of Security* written by David A. Baldwin tries to disentangle the concept of security from the normative and empirical concerns. He is of the view that most of those who want to redefine the security concept are concern with redefining the policy agendas of the nation- state rather than the concept of security itself.

In *People, State and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, Barry Buzan tries to examine the concept of security in a much wider level. He divided three levels of analysis into regional, national and international but this book could not explain how to blend the security complex theory which will not only include the traditional notion of security but also the wider agenda of security studies. The book *Security: a New Framework for Analysis*, written by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap De Wilde, tries to update regional security complex theory which could not be answered in Barry Buzan's book. This book examines the distinctive character and dynamics of security in five sectors: military, political, economic, environmental, and societal. These two books introduce us to the new framework for security studies by coming out from the conventional view of thinking and broadening security studies areas to economic, societal and environmental issues.

In the article, *Securitizing Migration: Aspect and Critics* by Andreas Themistocleous, tries to critically analyze the phenomenon of different types of migration and study whether migration is a securitizing product or not and see to what extent securitizing process can cause political and ethical implications. In this article, he also raises an issue of looking all the migrants as potential

threaten instead of differentiating them. In the article, *Securitizing Matrix in South Asia: Bangladeshi Migrants as Enemy Alien*, written by Priyanka Upadhyaya explicitly discusses about the Bangladeshi migration issue from securitizing perspectives. With the problems related to securitization of migrants in South Asia, he tries to desecuritize this issue and is of the view that in order to avoid securitization of migration and labeling as potential threat to the nation-state it is important to develop peace and human development.

In *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* written by Peter J. Katzenstein, gives us the knowledge of how political transformation of 1989's and 1990's has changed the national and international security. When we look into the history of human kind, migration was never considered to be a security problem. As a matter of fact, it was a part of life as stated in the *International Migration: Globalization's Last Frontier*, written by Jonathan W. Moses. He is of the view that migration is never a threat but in fact it is beneficial to the host country. America is the most developed country in the world which consists of people from all over the world and so it is considered as a melting pot of human civilization. The book *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* written by Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller tries to analyze the migration in modern day in international level. This is so important today that extensive study is needed in order to sort out the issue of migration. *Global Migration: Challenges in the Twenty First Century* written by Kavita R. Khory gives us an insight about the challenges and opportunities of migration but at the same time raises the questions of identity, belonging and citizenship.

Security in the South Asian- Trends and Directions by Vandana A. and Ashok C. Shukla deals with illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in India besides other problems in South Asia. In *Security and Governance in South Asia* by P.R. Chari gives an idea about the security and governance in South Asia which also deals with the issue of Bangladeshi Migrants in India. *Bangladesh Cooperation: Broadening measures* written by Borhanuddin Khan Jahangir, Jayanta Kumar Ray and K.P. Bagchi tries to analyze the problems between the two countries and bring some solutions in the Indo- Bangladeshi relations. In *Rites of Passage: Border Crossings, Imagined Homeland, India's East and Bangladesh* written by Sanjoy Hazarika gives us detail account of the Bangladeshi migrants in India. His understanding of the migrants issue in north-East is explicit. The incident of February 1983 massacre at Nellie is the tragic incident resulting out of migrant's issue. In *Peace and Development in Northeast; a Virtuous Spiral* written by

P.L.Sanjeev Reddy and P.C. Shekar Reddy and in *The Northeast Complexities and its Determinants* written by Sreeradha Datta discusses about the issues and conflict in Northeast. It gives us many strategies which can be use for the development in the under develop region of Northeast.

Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future written by Hokishe Sema. He is one of the few educated Nagas during the past who took interest in writings. This book is some of the early writings about Nagaland by the Nagas themselves. This book gives us the history of Nagaland from the perspectives of the Nagas themselves. He gives us information of how Nagas lived before and after the British invaded the Naga Hills. The Literature about Nagaland is limited to its political struggles. The history of insurgency in Nagaland is abundant. Scholars in Nagaland are coming up. *Geography of Nagaland* written by Soyhunlo Sebu is very informative book. It gives us knowledge about geographical information of the state. This book is meant for geography students but it is also useful to the wider readers. It introduces us to administrative divisions, physical setting, resources, economy, transport and communication. These are some of the literatures about the Nagaland.

RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF STUDY

Migration issue in Nagaland has not been studied extensively. While one can find numerous studies in other parts of Northeast India, Nagaland is actually a virgin area for research in migration from a securitization perspective. Out of the eleven districts of Nagaland, Dimapur district counts to the place of having the highest number of migrants in Nagaland. Dimapur being the most active commercial centre in Nagaland, it attracts migrants not only from India itself but also from its neighboring countries like Bangladeshi, Nepal and Bhutan. Lately, an anti-foreign sentiment has formed in the Naga society especially against the migrants coming from Bangladesh. Fears of changing the demography of the Nagas, unemployment in the young Naga generation, inclusion of illegal migrants in electoral roll and increased rate of crime rates committed by the migrants against the Nagas are some of the factors which trigger the Naga society to develop a sense of insecurity to live with the migrants. Since there is no proper mechanism to control and regulate migrants in Nagaland or in India, the migrants cannot be

identify because of the kinship and cultural ties from the past and so sometimes a genuine Indian citizen becomes the victim of the anti-foreign aggression. The lynching in Dimapur on 4th March 2015, took a twisted turn of the anti-foreign aggression which shook the nation. With the issue of Bangladeshi migrants escalating in Nagaland, it is of immense importance to study and examine the Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland and see the nature and extent of this issue. The scope of this research is limited to Nagaland, particularly in the district of Dimapur from the security perspectives. This research will focus on the issues arising out of the Bangladeshi migrants and its impact in the Naga society.

OBJECTIVE OF STUDY

1. To study the nature and extent of illegal Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur.
2. To examine the push and pull factor of the Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur.
3. To discuss the relation between the migrants and the Naga people.
4. To analyze how the securitization of Bangladeshi migrants causes social upheavals in the Naga society.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Why there are Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur?
2. What is the security impact of the migrants?
3. Is it necessary to desecuritize Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The framework of this study is constructed on both the quantitative and qualitative research methods. An understanding of this research is developed from the secondary sources like books, journal articles, news reports, etc. The researcher carried out an interview with some public leaders from Naga community as well as from Muslim community in Dimapur. The informants were expected to provide relevant information with regards to their attitudes and approaches towards the Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur. These interviews were conducted by using semi-structured questionnaires in which flexibility was used in number of questions so that the interviewer has more freedom to make some changes in the question to suit a particular situation. The purpose of choosing the semi-structured interview was that informal discussions

create congenial atmosphere that allowed effective communication. The location selected for the purpose of this study is conducted in Dimapur district of Nagaland to generate data.

CHAPTER II

PATTERNS OF BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS IN NORTH-EAST

INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a general overview of patterns of Bangladeshi migrants in North-East region. Further, it looks into the patterns of Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland, specifically into the district of Dimapur. Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland have not been well documented and so the number of their population is controversial, but their presence can be felt even in the remotest area of the district of Dimapur.

In the last decades of the twentieth century, international migration has been increasing in every region of the globe, feeding the fears of some political and intellectual elites, who gave voice to a sense of crises- a crisis that is as much as political as social and economic. Yet the political aspect of international migration has, until recently, received little attention from the political scientist, perhaps because the crisis is so recent or because migration is viewed as essentially an economic and sociological phenomenon. The expansion of the European system of nation-states through conquest, colonization and then decolonization spread the ideals of sovereignty, citizenship and nationality to the four corners of the globe. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, pass and visa system developed and borders were increasingly closed to non nationals, especially those deemed to be hostile to the nation and the state. And, with the issues of security after 9/11 in US, the migration as the security studies in the international arena became more important. ²⁴Though non-traditional agenda like migration as a security studies is perceived as Euro centric, in South Asian this factor has always been an issue. Environmental problems, issues of migrations or refugees, communal violence and so on has always been a part of South Asian region.

²⁴ James H. Hollifield and Caoline B. Brettell(2000), the Politics of International Migration. P.186.

MIGRATION IN NORTH-EAST INDIA

The North-East region of India consists of eight states i.e. Assam, Tripura, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Sikkim. This region lies between 22° and 29°25' N. latitude and 82°42' and 97°25' E. longitude. The North-East region contributes 8.006 per cent of the India's territory and accounts for 3.7 per cent of the country's population. This region connects with the rest of India only by 22 km called the 'Siliguri corridor' or the 'chicken's neck' between Bhutan and Bangladesh but shares more than 4,500 km with the international border with China to the north, Bhutan to the north west, Myanmar to the east and Bangladesh to the south west. Four states in the northeast shares 1,879 km border with Bangladesh: Tripura 856 km, Meghalaya 443 km, Mizoram 318 km and Assam 262 km. This region also shares a unique land boundary with Bangladesh called the enclaves in the states of Tripura, Assam and Meghalaya.

Table 1 Area and Population of North-Eastern states in 2011

States	Area (sq. km) and in %	Total population	Density of population (per sq. km)	Decadal growth rate (per cent)	Literacy rate (per cent)
India	3,287,263 (100%)	1,210,193,422 (100%)	382	17.64	74.0
Assam	78,438 (2.386)	31,166,611 (2.576)	397	16.93	73.18
Nagaland	16,579 (0.504)	1,980,602 (0.164)	119	-0.47	80.11
Meghalaya	22,429 (0.682)	2,964,067 (0.245)	132	27.82	75.48
Manipur	22,327 (0.641)	2,721,756 (0.225)	122	18.65	79.85
Tripura	10,486 (0.318)	3,671,032 (0.303)	350	14.75	87.75
Mizoram	21,081 (0.641)	1,091,014 (0.090)	52	22.78	91.58
Arunachal Pradesh	83,748 (2.547)	1,382,611 (0.114)	17	25.92	66.95
Sikkim	7,006 (0.213)	607,688 (0.050)	86	12.36	82.20
North-East	263,176 (8.006)	45,588,381 (3.767)	159		

Source: Census of India 2011

After the partition there were hundreds of ‘enclaves’ unresolved between India and Bangladesh. There were 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh (17,160.63 acres) and 51 Bangladesh enclaves in India (7,110.02 acres). However decades of years this issue has finally been resolved under the Modi government with Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister of Bangladesh on June 07, 2011.²⁵

The North-East region is mostly inhabited by tribal people and so has been known as one of the largest concentration of tribal people in India. This region is inhabited by three distinct groups of people: the hill tribes, the plain tribes and the non-tribal population of the plains.²⁶ Most of the Northeastern states are small in terms of size and population. Landlocked with hilly regions and international borders, this region suffers with poor communications and transportation infrastructure in spite the efforts made by the central government. In 1971, the North Eastern Council (NEC) was established as an agency for the economic and social development of these states but without much success. Almost all the consumer goods are imported from outside the region and in all the states non-government employment opportunities are at minimal and so they dependent on government jobs.²⁷

If this region has been known for the insurgent activities, it is also better known for the influx of illegal migrants from the neighboring countries especially from Bangladesh. This region is deeply affected by the high flow of unabated trans-border migration which has changed the demography of some of the state like the state of Tripura. In Tripura, its tribal population has reduced to minority because of the Bangladeshi migrants. In the 2011 census, Scheduled Tribes (STs) constituted only 1,166,813 out of the state population of 3,671,032, while seven decades earlier they comprised at least 50 per cent of the population. In some states this trans-border migration is threatening the demography of the native people like the state of Assam. From 1979 to 1985, There had been an anti-foreign uprising rising slogans such as ‘our land, their living space’ when the rate of population growth grew continuously from 1901 to 1971. In 1901, its population constituted only 1.38 per cent of India’s total population. However, by 1971, it shares nearly double at 2.67 per cent.²⁸

²⁵ Ministry of External Affairs, *India and Bangladesh Land Bound Agreement*. P.13.

²⁶ B.P. Singh, *North-East India: Demography, Culture and Identity* Criss. P.258.

²⁷ Amarjeet Singh, *a Study on Illegal Bangladeshi Immigrants into North-East India: The Case of Nagaland*. P.14

²⁸ Wasbir Hussian, *Bangladeshi Migrants in India: Towards a practical solution- a view from northeastern frontier* in P.R. Chari and others. P.129.

It is not surprising to see the huge number of Bangladeshi migrants in Assam and Tripura as it shares several hundred kilometers of a porous border with Bangladesh but a state like Nagaland which does not have direct border with Bangladesh is also facing the influx of Bangladeshi migrants. During 1970s and 1980s, the anti-foreign agitation in Assam might have lead them to migrate in Nagaland because it was during these years the abundance flow of Bengali Muslims in Dimapur came into picture. In Naga society, like in Assam during the earlier years, encouraged the migrants so that they can help in looking after the agricultural field. Lack of agricultural implements makes it so hard to work in the fields so these migrants were thought to a boon in the Naga society. Over different periods of time, more migrants moved into Dimapur for labor and Business opportunities that promised them a better economic life. As their population grew, availability of cheap labors was in abundance and over the years the Nagas were heavily dependent on these migrants and so more migrants flooded in thus creating a sense of uneasiness in the Naga society.

From Assam, the immigrants are going not only to Nagaland but other states of the region as well, such as Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur. 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 laborers. Meghalaya has also become another destination for the Bangladeshis. In Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur too, Bangladeshi immigrants has been reported. In February 2004, altogether 20 Bangladeshi nationals were arrested from a hotel in Imphal for entering Manipur without proper documents.²⁹

Influx of Bangladeshi migrants in this region has been a matter of concern and its roots can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century when British were ruling over India. With the recruitment of tea plantation workers, which degenerated into migration of East Bengal peasants reclaiming and colonizing vast tracts of land in the western parts of Assam, followed by a trail of refugee migration after the partition of the country and finally perpetuating itself as illegal migration from Bangladesh.³⁰

²⁹ Amarjeet Singh, A study on Illegal Bangladeshi Immigrants: A case in Nagaland. p.17.

³⁰ K.R. Dikshit and Jitta K. Dikshit, *North-East India: Land People and Economy*. P. 459.

HISTORY OF MIGRATION IN NORTH-EAST

In the Indian North-East region, the most important migration is the immigration in the region of people from other parts of India especially the Neighboring states as well the adjoining countries such Bangladesh, Nepal, Myanmar, Bhutan and Tibet. The history of immigration in northeast can be classified into five phases:

- a) Early immigration of Bengali officials.
- b) Immigration of tea plantation.
- c) Immigration of Bengali peasants.
- d) Refugees from East Pakistan.
- e) The post-partition illegal migration from East Pakistan.³¹

There were also Nepali immigrants who were not in huge number as in the case of Bangladeshis. They were all over the Northeast region though they were mainly concentrated in Assam. There are also Bhutia's and Tibetans immigrants who are very few in number. Besides other states, majority of them are in Sikkim and Nagaland. They are engaged in small business activities like selling of clothes and running a restaurant.

Early immigration of Bengali officials

The British rulers recruited and employed the Bengalis right after they took over the administration of Assam in 1829. They came largely from Sylhet. These early migrants consist largely of educated middle class Bengalis, though relatively small in number, wielded considerable influence in administration and in the course of time grew in strength, large enough to assume an independent socio-cultural identity in the province. This can be seen in 1830s, when Bengali became the official language and making it a medium of instruction in schools in Assam. It was only in 1874 that Assamese could resume its rightful place through the pioneering efforts of Anandaram Dhekial Phukan who convinced the authorities, particularly the Sadar Diwani judge of Calcutta, A.J. Moffat Mills, of the point that Bengali was alien to the culture of

³¹ Ibid.

the people in Assam and its use as a medium of instruction was an imposition of a foreign language.³²

Immigration of tea plantation:

Recruitment and immigration of tea plantation workers labeled as ‘tea garden coolies’ from Bengal and the neighboring provinces continued almost over 50 years from 1880 to 1930. During the mid-nineteenth century, the region of Assam then was presented itself as a region with ‘vast expanses of uninhabited land’ as said by the British officials such as Major John Butler of the 55th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry, who had travelled widely in Assam between 1837 and 1851. One can find the reality of the depopulated condition of the Assamese society in the arguments of Ananda Ram Dhekial Phukan, one of the first well known modern Assamese personalities. In the early 1850s, he requested the authority to improve the precarious condition of agriculture in Assam by introducing European technology and also import a sufficient number of men power from the Europe and Upper India into Assam. In the mid nineteenth century the possibility of large-scale production of tea in Assam on a commercial basis was confirmed. In addition with this, oil was also discovered. With this economic transformation, migration was encouraged by the British colonialists into Assam and this trend continued through much of the twentieth century.³³

After the Assam Tea Co. was formed in 1839, a number of tea garden emerged in Upper Brahmaputra and Barak valleys which attracted labour force for large tea plantations. In 1881, the present day Bihar and Orissa was under the province of Bengal and North-West Frontier Province and Oudh was the present day Uttar Pradesh. So the main source of labour was from Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, especially its eastern districts. With the demand for labour in the tea garden, there appeared a progressive and accelerated increase in recruitment and immigration.³⁴ The field of recruitment also expanded which included, besides Bengal and U.P., other areas like Central Provinces, Madras, Nepal, Rewa, Rajputana and several other districts of Central India Agency. In 1881, the year of first Census of India, out of the population of nearly five million, 281,000 people were born outside the province of Assam. In the early twentieth century, the

³² Ibid.

³³ Wasbir Hussian, *Bangladeshi Migrants in India: Towards a Practical Solution- A view from North-Easter Frontier*. p.127.

³⁴ K.R. Dikshit and Jutta K. Dikshit, *North –East India: Land, People and Economy*. p.461-462.

population of the immigrants increased from 281,000 in 1881 to 775,844 in 1901. This includes the other northeastern state as during this time it was under the constituent units of Assam. While the population of the princely states of Manipur and Tripura grew between 1881 and 1901 from 4,881,426 to 6,126,348, showing an increase of hardly 25% over two decades. This shows that the population of immigrants born outside the Assam province multiplied almost three times.³⁵

Immigration of Bengali peasants:

This group of immigrants was colonist and they migrated with a clear intent of settling in Assam. They were largely from the District of Mymensingh district. They reclaimed and cultivated the wasteland and develop their permanent settlements in Assam. Here we can identify two types of migrants- tea plantation laborers who were not interested in settling down and the other were the land-hungry peasants who were looking for the land to be reclaimed and cultivated. Many of them arrived in Assam as tea laborers from the bordering districts of Assam like Mymensingh, Rangpur, Dacca and Tipperah (now Tripura) but soon settled down in rural areas as farmers. The Revenue Department of Assam estimated that 95,091 acres of land were held by ex-tea laborers in 1900-1901. This was a considerable increase over 23,953 acres, the area that was occupied by tea laborers in 1890-1891. The immigration of Bengal peasants with an intent to reclaim and colonies the land started in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and what started as a trickle in the general stream of tea garden laborers grew into an uninterrupted stream for several decades that not only transformed the character of land use in the Brahmaputra Valley bringing more land under plough but also resulted in a gradual change in the demographic composition of the population giving rise to social tension manifest in the occasional eruption of violence and riots.³⁶The rate of population in Assam during 1901-51 was the second highest (137.80 per cent) in the world. This trend of high rate of population growth continued in Assam in the years that followed India's independence. Population watchers in Assam were beginning to get restive. Slogans such as 'Our land, their living space' were spreading quickly among the indigenous Assamese, Making them uneasy. It was during the early years of 1980's that the anti-foreigner movement in Assam started which is known as Assam Agitation. In order to curb this problem, a tribunal was formed in accordance with the Illegal Migrants Determination Tribunals

³⁵ Ibid. p.462-463.

³⁶ Ibid. p.463.

Act in 1983 making it the only Indian state where the IMDT Act was in forced to deal with the foreigners.³⁷

Refugees from East Pakistan:

After the partition in 1947, waves of Hindu refugees entered India from the then East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. They migrated specifically into the district of Assam, Tripura and west Bengal.³⁸ The worst case scenario of Hindu refugees was in Tripura. The maharaja of Tripura enacted legislation in 1917 and 1925 to acquire lands for tea cultivation which encouraged migration and on top of this the ruler of Tripura adopted Bengali for running their administration. This attracted Bengalis from East Bengal. Poverty, famine, landless and the exploitation of landlords drove Bengali peasants and others in distress to Tripura. By 1931, the number of migrants from various regions had risen to 114,383, the vast majority from Bengal or Assam. Even at that time, the ruler of that day had anticipated trouble for the states' tribal people. So the Maharaja in 1931 and again in 1943 reserved land for the use in agriculture by the five tribal groups in the state: the Tripuris, the Reangs, the Jamatias, the Noatias and the Halams. In 1940s, the British also introduced provisions like 'Excluded Area' and 'Inner Line' in order to protect the tribals from the migrants. Fears came into reality with the partition of India and Pakistan which brought about a dramatic transformation in Tripura's demographic profile. Tripura acceded to India on 13 August 1947 and a complete merger with India took place on 15 October 1949. Waves of Hindu refugees from what became East Pakistan started to enter into Tripura. This in-migration forced the government to seek the de-notification of the lands reserved earlier for the tribals. The systematic process of the land alienation had begun, and with it the bloody conflict between the natives and the aliens or settlers started. By mid-1960s, the tribals became more restrictive. In 1967, a tribal political party was formed, known as Tripura Upajati Juna Samity (TUJS). In 1978, Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) was also formed by Bijoy Kumar Hrangkhwal. By mid-1979, the TNV started a series of attacks on the settlers. Tripura had also witnessed a great infiltration of Buddhist Chakma refugees from Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh because of human right violation. Tripura is in chaos because of this issue. From 10 April 1993 to 31 December 1999, a total of 1,018 persons (656 non-tribal

³⁷ Wasbir Hussain, *Bangladeshi Migrants in India: Towards a Practical Solution-A View from the North-East Frontier*.

³⁸ K.R. Dikshit and Jutta K. Dikshit, *North-East India: Land, People and Economy*. p.459.

and 362 tribal) were killed and 2,001 (1,663 non-tribal and 338 tribal) were kidnapped in the state. In the following years of 2000 and 2001, as many as 692 civilians, 47 security force personal and 87 militants were killed.³⁹

In 1962 in the aftermath of India-Pakistan war, Kaptai hydro-electric power dam was constructed across the river Karnaphuli, the main river of CHT. This resulted into inundation of a vast fertile valley of CHT and displacement of a large number of Chakma tribe without any significant compensation and plan of rehabilitation. This led them to migrate to North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) now Arunachal Pradesh. Since the natives and the Chakma refugees had a common religious faith and practices there was no conflict but however, in 1986, conflict in Tripura about the Chakma refugees created issue in Arunachal Pradesh also.⁴⁰

The post-partition illegal migration from East Pakistan:

This was the most dangerous phase of immigration and they were mostly peasants. It became more serious after 1971 war in East Pakistan as hordes of Pakistanis migrated to Assam on the pretext of escape from the brutality of Pakistani army. It continued till 1980s of the last century, when anti-foreign movement in Assam vigorously opposed and resisted illegal immigration. In wake of partition of India in 1947, the disturbances that followed lead an influx of immigration from East- Pakistan (now Bangladesh) though not in great number as compared to that of Assam, affected Meghalaya, the then United Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Garo Hills, North Cachar Hills, Lushai Hills (now Mizoram) and even Naga Hills and some penetrated as far as Mishmi Hills and Tirap and Balipara Frontier areas of Arunachal Pradesh. Since Mizoram borders with East Pakistan, and Barak Vally provided a natural passage for the immigrants to reach Nagaland. Garo Hills and Khasi and Jaintia districts being on the borders of East-Pakistan had the maximum impact. In 1951, about 7% of the total population of Meghalaya consisted of immigrants of whom about 4.5% were of Pakistani origin. With the anti- foreigners movement taking place in Assam, there was the decline in the immigration in Assam. It appears that based on the residence length of zero to 9 years in the state, there were only 5,053 immigrants in

³⁹ Wasbir Hussian, *Bangladeshi Migrants in India: Towards a Practical Solution- A View from the North-East Frontier*. p.136-137.

⁴⁰ Mrinal Kanti Chakma(2014), “The State of being Stateless: Experience of the Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh”. *Asia Connect*, Issue No.3: p.15.

Assam who arrived between 1991 and 2001 but one would not dispute the fact that that there could be a larger number of illegal immigrants.⁴¹

After the Anti-foreign movement in Assam during 1970s and 1980s, now the flow of Bangladeshi migrants is diverted to Nagaland mainly in the district of Dimapur as it shares border with Assam and moreover migrants in Nagaland are encouraged but after decades later the Naga society are perceiving the growing number of Bengali Muslims as a threat. Keeping this in mind in the next few pages we will look into the questions regarding why the migrants are attracted to Nagaland and why they are perceived as a threat in Naga society. Most of the migrants in Nagaland are of East Bengali extraction and could be second or third- generation settlers in India and have moved out of Assam to settle in Nagaland.

BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS IN NAGALAND

The illegal migration in Nagaland has been taking place since 1970's in and around Dimapur and recently this issue has come to forefront because of socio-economic, cultural and political reasons. The Dimapur district is bounded by Kohima in East, Peren in South, Karbi Anlong district of Assam in the West and Golaghat district of Assam in the North. It comprises of Medziphema block, Dhansiripar block, Nieuland block, Kuhuboto block and 11 agricultural circles with an area of 927 Square kilometers. According to 2011 census, it has the population of 3,79,769 and its population density is 410/ kilometer square.

To examine and understand the population of migrants in Nagaland, it is important to look into the decadal growth of population in the last half of the 20th century in Nagaland. The chart of the last seven censuses substantiates the fact of a growing Naga population and the emigrant's population in Nagaland. (Table 1.1)⁴²

YEAR	POPULATION	GROWTH RATE %	ILLEGAL MIGRANTS GROWTH RATE %
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⁴¹ K. R. Dikshit and Jutta K. Dikshit, *North-East India: Land, People and Economy*. p.474-487.

⁴² Ahoto K. Chopy, *Muslim Migrants in Dimapur City: a Missiological Challenges to the Baptist Churches*.p.36.

1941	185,641	6.09	-
1951	212,975	8.60	-
1961	369,200	14.07	2.52
1971	516,449	39.88	9.23
1981	774,930	50.05	12.63
1991	1,209,546	56.08	15.95
2001	1,988,636	64.41	18.17

However, 2001 census was rejected by the government of India because it was an abnormally large growth ever recorded in the history of India and so it is not possible for a small state like Nagaland population as indicated in 2001 census. In between 1981 and 2001, and which registered a decadal population growth rate of 56.08 per cent during 1981–91 and of 64.53 per cent during 1991–2001, recorded negative population growth between 2001 and 2011. The point here is the struggle among the tribes for political power and development funds made the Naga people to include the migrants in the 2001 census without realizing the consequences of their action.⁴³ Moreover, this data is not reliable as in Nagaland there is no valid document of how many migrants have entered Nagaland.

Dimapur is the most urbanized district in Nagaland and it has the only railway station and the only functional airport in the state. So it is not surprising to see the rapid growth of population of both the Nagas and the migrants which had an impact on socio-economic, cultural, political and religious of its society. Immigration in Nagaland has not been well documented and so the number of Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur is controversial. The Union Home Ministry in its 2000 report estimated about 75,000 illegal immigrants in the state. In 2001, Pucho, a Naga researcher, estimated that the total Bangladeshi population in Nagaland is about 3.73 lakhs out of which around 2 lakh are in Dimapur. In 2002, Khate, another Naga researcher has estimated that there are about 4 lakh Bangladeshis in Nagaland and the figure around Dimapur alone could be

⁴³ Ankush Agrawal and Vikas Kumar(2012), “Nagaland’s Demographic Somersault”. p. 4.

more than three lakh. In 2003, the Nagaland government estimated approximately one lakh illegal immigrants who had settled in the foothills of the state bordering Assam.⁴⁴

The migration from Bangladesh to the Northeast region of India has been continuous throughout the twentieth century due to the reasons of historical links, geographical and physical proximity. The better employment opportunities and availability fertile agricultural land in Assam act as a pull factor while the poverty, subsistence living, ravages caused by floods and other natural calamities in Bangladesh act as push factor. Since Nagaland is not connected either by land and water with Bangladesh, immigrants have been coming via Assam after obtaining fraudulent documents, such as ration card, voter identity card and driving license, from places like Karimganj, Nagaon, Golaghat and Sibsagar in Assam; and then settled along the foothills of Assam-Nagaland border as well as areas around Dimapur.⁴⁵ Another reason for the Bangladeshi migrants to move in Nagaland could be that during the 1970's and 1980's, there was an agitation against the influx of illegal Bangladesh migrants in Assam. Consequently, large infiltration took place in Nagaland and particularly to Dimapur because it borders Assam. Thus, over different periods of time, these migrants have moved into Dimapur for labor and business opportunities that promise them a better economic life. Dimapur is also the most urbanized district in Nagaland and because of the recent industrial growth many people are attracted to Dimapur. On the other hand, the need for more agricultural laborers to work in the fertile land in the plains of Dimapur attracts many to move into this area. Various resources and manpower are needed in the process of development, and since the average Naga does not involve in the manual jobs, the Bangladeshi migrant groups find easy access in the form of manual labors. This provides opportunities to people seeking to survive. Today, immigrants, legal or illegal have dominated the work force particularly in the district of Dimapur.⁴⁶

In a small state like Nagaland, the presence of large number of immigrants is normally perceived as a potential demographic threat. Assuming that there are 1,00,000 illegal immigrants, several Naga tribes are less populous than the population of illegal immigrants. The unprecedented population growth, more particularly in areas bordering Assam, is believed to be

⁴⁴ Amarjeet Singh, *A study on Illegal Bangladeshi Immigrants into North-East India: A case of Nagaland*. p. 20 and Ahoto k Chophy, *Migrants in Dimapur City: a Missiological Challenges to the Baptist Churches*. P.36.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

due to their unabated influx. There is also a false allegation that a new Naga tribe called 'Sumias' have emerged because of the intermarriage between the Sumi Naga tribe and the Muslim migrants. There is also a fear among the Nagas about the activity of the politicians of including the migrants in the electoral roll. They are of view that this could give them the voting rights and thereby giving them the power to have a claim of indigenouness.⁴⁷

With the realization of issues related with the migrants from Bangladesh, an NGO was created by the educated Nagas called 'Survival Nagaland' in order mitigate the illegal Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland. They are of the view that Naga work culture should be protected and promoted and strongly suggested that Nagas should stop depending so much on the migrants. They also encouraged the Naga landlords to give rent to the young Nagas instead of giving to the migrants for running business such as shops.

CONCLUSION

This is how Bengali Muslims in Dimapur have started to flourish both in population and their economy. The Nagas perceived this as a threat in their society but if we look closely the migrants has also helped Nagas in many ways. They were of great help in building the Naga society especially in the Dimapur district. During the 1950's population of the Naga people in Dimapur district was less and so they needed more people to work and develop their vast land. This is when the hard working Bangladeshi migrants came to an aid. The migrants were cheap labors and so they were in demand. They were considered as a boon in the Naga society. In the hills of Nagaland, Nagas still had to work hard but in plain areas of Dimapur, migrants helped Nagas to develop their areas. The Nagas no longer had to work in the paddy field. Ever single household of the Nagas had two or three migrants families resided in their fields as the Nagas have fields in different locations. The migrants also help in household chores like washing clothes, cleaning the piles of dishes after party in Naga house, and what not. In simple terms, migrants became the part of Naga life in the western areas. The Nagas were never considered themselves as equals with the migrants. But of out of humanitarian love the Nagas adopts migrant's children as some of the migrants especially women when their husbands leave them behind with many children, they cannot look after them out of poverty and so they gave away

⁴⁷ Amarjeet Singh, A study on Illegal Immigration into North East India: A Case of Nagaland. p. 39-40.

their babies to Nagas. That is how the adoption of migrant's babies began in the Naga society. This act is still in practice today especially in *Sumi* tribe.

CHAPTER III

BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS IN DIMAPUR

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on Bangladeshi Migrants in Nagaland specifically into the district of Dimapur. In order to achieve this, the nature, trend and extent of Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland will be discussed in the first part of this chapter. The push and pull factor of Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur will be discussed. The push factor from Assam will be discussed because they enter Nagaland through Assam. The pulling factor of the migrants in Dimapur district will be analyzed in this chapter.

MIGRATION IN NAGALAND

The Nagas have a unique history. Their origin remains mystery till today but it is said that they migrated to present day Nagaland from the eastern side of Myanmar. The contact of

the Nagas with the Brahmaputra valley started in the 13th century during the Ahom invasion across the Patkoi range. Naga contact with the British began with the annexation of Assam in 1828 which was later followed by the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826.⁴⁸ In 1866, the British Government of India decided to establish the district of Naga Hills with its headquarters at Samaguting now Chumukedima.⁴⁹ The need for redefining administrative areas became important after the construction of the Assam Bengal Railway in and around 1899. Thus, for the sake of administrative convenience, large portions of Naga territory were transferred to the adjoining districts of Assam in 1898, 1901, 1902-3 and in 1923.⁵⁰ In 1873, under the Bengal Eastern Regulation Act, Inner Line Regulation was formulated where restrictions of free movement were imposed on the outsiders from going the inner line demarcation without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. In 1912, the Naga Hills was made part of Assam which lasted till 1921 which lasted till 1921 under the administration of the Chief Commissioner as in 1919, the Government of India Act 1919 declared the Naga Hills District as a 'Backward Tract' and was treated as a separate entity from the British Indian Empire. Under the Government of India Act 1935, the Naga District Hills became an 'Excluded area' administered by the Governor of Assam.⁵¹ When India got independence in 1947, Naga Hills was also included in Indian Territory against the wishes of Nagas. There was political unrest in Naga Hills demanding the sovereignty of the Naga Hills. With the aim of finding solution to the Naga political problem, the moderate Naga leaders with the help of Church leaders formed the Naga People's Convention (NPC) in August 1957 and so with their efforts on 1st of December 1957, the new administrative unit known as the Naga Hills and Tuensang Area (NHTA) was inaugurated. Amidst protest by the Naga underground, fifteen man Naga delegation headed by Dr. Imkongliba Ao reaches Delhi and met the then Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, who was also the Minister for External Affairs 26th of July 1960. On 27th July 1960, the sixteen point Memorandum was accepted in principle by the Government of India after making a few modifications. On 1st of December 1963, Nagaland, the sixteenth State of Indian Union was inaugurated in Kohima by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India. The Nagaland state includes the former Naga Hills District of Assam and the Tuensang

⁴⁸ Soyhunlo Sebu, *Geography of Nagaland*. p.2.

⁴⁹ Inato Yekhetto Shikhu(2007). *A Re-discovery and Re-Building of Naga Cultural Values*, Regnecy Publications, New Delhi. p.53

⁵⁰ Hokishe Sema(1986). *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future*, Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD, New Delhi. p.69.

⁵¹ Inato Yekhetto Shikhu, *a Re-Discovery and Re-Building of Naga Cultural Values*. p.55.

Division of the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). Nagaland consists of three districts viz., Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang.⁵²

Railway was unknown in Assam until the third quarter of the third quarter of the 19th century. The construction of Assam-Bengal railway started in 1892 and railway line between Chittigong and Badarpur was opened to traffic in 1898. With the introduction of the railways, the tea plantation became economically profitable in the remotest area of Assam as the district was benefited by this cheap and quick means of transportation which quicken it's all around development.⁵³ During this time, Dimapur was under Nowgong district of Assam. For building rail tracks they hired tea coolies from East Bengal. So even in Dimapur while building the rail tracks, they hired Bangladeshi migrants as labors. They made a colony around the railway station (Shimray 2007).⁵⁴ The British officers were experiencing some problems of the shifting the headquarters to Kohima but it is evident from the letters they exchanged that they employed coolies to develop rail tracks. A letter from Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Commissioner of Assam Valley No.432. R-3675, DATED Shillong, the 3rd August, 1898 says:

At present the greater part of the Rengma, Mikir Hills and the whole of the Nambor forest reserve are included within the jurisdiction of the Naga Hills district, and this arrangement was convenient so long as the headquarters of the district were at Samaguting, but it has become very embarrassing since the transfer of the headquarters to Kohima. Proposals were accordingly made some years ago to exclude this territory from Naga Hills district, but they allowed to remain in abeyance pending the extension of the Assam Bengal Railway to this locality. The railway is approaching completion and the necessity of exersing large gangs of coolies employed on construction works was bought prominently to notice during the last cold weather. Encouragement has also been offered to the extension of tea cultivation in the Mambor Forest along side of the railway, and if practical effort is to be given to this policy, it is necessary that this tract of the country should be transferred to districts in which the Labour and Emigration Act and other laws and regulations affecting labour and the tea industry are in force. It is with regard to these considerations that the proposals which were submitted by Mr. Davis in 1891 (vide correspondence ending with Mr. Wace's letter No. 28118-B, dated the 28th November, 1891)

⁵² Soyhunlo Sebu, *Geography of Nagaland*. p.2.

⁵³ (2006), *Socio-economic and Political Problems of Tea Garden Workers: a Study of Assam*, Mittal Publications.

⁵⁴ U. A. Shimary(2007). *Naga Population and Integration Movement: Documentation*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

have now been renewed by the present Deputy Commissioner, Captain Woods, practically without any modification.⁵⁵

From this we can see that with the tea plantation and the development of railways, migration in Nagaland was started. British employed coolies who were the labors in tea plantation. The coolies were largely from Bengal province. In 1881, Bengal province was a much larger entity and included the adjacent province of Bihar and Orrisa. North-West Frontier Province and Oudh was the proviencie known presently as Uttar Pradesh. Thus, even as early as 1880, the principle source of labour was Bengal (the subsequent British provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orrisa) and Uttar Pradesh, especially its eastern districts. As the demand of labour in the tea gradens grew, there appeared a progressive and accelerated increase in recruitment and immigration. The field of recruitment also expanded which included, besides Bengal and U.P., other areas like Central proviencs, madras, Nepal, Rewa, Rajputana and other districts of Central India Agency.⁵⁶

They migrants started a colony around Dimapur railway station. Gradually, the pattern of Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland was accelerated during 1960's. During this time, the migrants were day labors since they were mostly from Assam, they went back to Assam after working as the labors in the cutting the logs or doing manual jobs in Dimapur. The Nagas came in contact with the migrants as there were no local labors in Naga society. The migrants were in huge demand by the Nagas as there was plenty of land to be cultivated whereas the population of Nagas was less in numbers to cultivate the vast land. Today the migrants are mainly concentrated in the district of Dimapur. There are also a good number of migrants in Kohima, the capital of Nagaland. The migrants are also in the district of Wokha, bordering Golaghat in Assam⁵⁷ and in Mokokchung district. With the issue of illegal Bangladeshi migrants in Northeastern region in India, Nagaland also joined in the trends of securitizing migrants as potential threats. In a speech at a meeting of north-eastern chief ministers with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in Shillong in January 2000, Jamir had warned: "Unless steps are taken to prevent the entry of people of dubious nationality into our state, Nagaland may face the same problem as that of

⁵⁵ Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future*. p.68.

⁵⁶ K.R. Dikshit and Jutta K. Dikshit, *North-East India: Land, People and Economy*. p.462

⁵⁷ Ahoto K. Chopy, *Muslim Migrants in Dimapur City: a Missiological Challenges to Baptist Churches*. p.38.

Assam."⁵⁸ The 2001 Census of India started it all. It showed the decadal population growth of 64.53 per cent during 1991-2001. The Times of India declared Nagaland to have the highest population growth not only in Northeast region but also in the entire country. The increase of migrant's population was attributed to the abnormal growth of population in Nagaland.⁵⁹ The flawed population was later attributed because of the lack of public awareness about the importance of Census and politically motivated to increase the vote bank and thus get more Village Development Funds as the payment is made on the basis of population and household of the village population.⁶⁰ It was also found that in the State electoral roll, 63,700 multiple/double entries and 3,874 cases of images of non-local appearing against local names were detected.⁶¹ In 2002, Naga Students Union organized a two day seminar in Dimapur on the "Impact of Transmigration on the Nagas" in order to spread the awareness of the "influx of illegal immigrants" in Nagaland stressing the need to have a proper mechanism to identify illegal immigrants and also to promote Naga work culture. In 2007, under the name "Survival 2007" later changed to "Survival Mokokchung" conducted a campaign to detect Illegal Bangladeshi migrants in Mokokchung town. It was said that there were more than 15,000 to 20,000 Illegal Bangladeshi migrants in Mokokchung. The Mokokchung police reported the deportation of 259 migrants without ILP from Mokokchung. It was said that some genuine Indians were also affected. There was a mass movement of the non-locals from Mokokchung to Dimapur. The police in Mokokchung town later released in press the number of non holders of Inner Line Permit who were deported from Mokokchung from 1999-2014 was 259.

Submission of Detection and Deportation of Non-ILP Holder W.E.F 1999-2014.⁶²

Sl. No	Year	No. Of ILP-Defaulters
1	1999	06
2	2000	33

⁵⁸ Wasbir Hussain, "Bangladeshi Migrants in india: Towards a Practical Solution- A view from the North-Eastern Frontier. p.126.

⁵⁹ Amarjeet Singh, *A study of Illegal Immigrants into North-East India: A case of Nagaland.*

⁶⁰ Soylhunlo Sube, *Geography of Nagaland.*

⁶¹ K.V. Numri, "'Survival Nagaland' Group formed to Check Influx of IBIs". *Nagaland Post.*

⁶² Correspondent(March 2014), "200+ illegal Immigrants Deported from Mokokchung", *Nagaland Post.*

3	2001	Nil
4	2002	Nil
5	2003	Nil
6	2004	39
7	2005	19
8	2006	36
9	2007	19
10	2008	25
11	2009	06
12	2010	04
13	2011	09
14	2013	36
15	2014	08
	Total	259

The detection drive was not only held in Mokokchung town but it was also held in Kohima town by the Angami students union. In 2012, The Public Action Committee (PAC) on illegal immigrants was formed by Naga Council Dimapur in order to undertake a "pledge campaign" in view of threat posed by illegal Bangladeshi immigrants to the survival of the Nagas with the sole objective of freedom from alien and economic independence.

The issue of Bangladeshi migrants became more intense in 2012, when five migrants from Assam rape a married Naga woman. Four of them were apprehended who were residing in East Block in Dimapur. They were from Assam but the fifth person could not be apprehended as he was not residing in Dimapur. When interrogated to the four, they confessed to the crime but could not trace the fifth person as he was new in Dimapur. It was said that the fifth person was an illegal Bangladeshi migrants.

In 2014, under the leadership of the educated Nagas, 'Survival Nagaland' was formed in order to mitigate the migration problem in Nagaland which is quite active in Dimapur district. Unfortunately in 4th March 2015, a man was lynched to death in Dimapur for his criminal act. But the reason behind the mod agitation was growing concern of the Illegal Bangladeshi

Immigrants (IBI) as it is called in Nagaland. The illegal Bangladeshi migrants were label as Muslim. So under the Muslim Council Dimapur which consisted of Indian Muslim changed the name as IBI along with Naga Council, which will not only include Muslims but also Hindu Bangladeshi migrants in Dimapur if they were to be found in Nagaland. The agitation of the young Naga people and their act of lynching a man became a talk in the national level. Questions were raised on humanitarian grounds and so on, which lasted for about a month. Keeping this in mind, the next part will focus on Dimapur district.

BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS IN DIMAPUR

On 21st December 1997, Dimapur sub-division was bifurcated from Kohima district. Presently, the district lies between 93⁰32' to 94⁰2'E Longitude and 25⁰38' N to 25⁰58' N Latitude of 260 msl. The district is bounded by Assam in the North-West, Kohima district in the East and Peren district in the South. It is divided into three blocks namely Medziphema, Dhansiripar, Kuhuboto and Niuland. As on 29-05-2012, the district has two ADC Headquarters viz., Niuland and Medziphema; Two SDO (C) viz., Dhansiripar and Kuhuboto; three EAC Headquarters viz., Sithekema, Nihokhu and Aghunhaqa. It is the only plain area in Nagaland which covers 8% of the total area. This district is also the only commercial centre of the state.⁶³

Unlike other state in Nagaland, Dimapur is derived from Kachari word 'Dimasa'. 'Di' means 'big river' and 'pur' means 'city.' The root Di or Dui has some significance in nomenclature, since names of important of important rivers such as Dibru, Dikhu, Dihong, Dibong, Disang, begins with Di, as do some main places such as Dibrugarh, Digboi, Diphu etc. Dimapur is such derivatives, which was an erstwhile kingdom of Dimasa Kacharies. So it is no doubt that the name Dimapur was originated from this group of Dimasa Kacharis.⁶⁴

The history of Dimapur can be traced back an early as 1536 under the Kachari ruler named Detsung.⁶⁵ His capital was at Dimapur but after his defeat by Dihingia Raja, the Ahom king, Dimapur was destroyed. The Kacharis started moving out from Dimapur to Maibang in the

⁶³ Soyhunlo Sebu, *Geography of Nagaland*. p.21.

⁶⁴ Atoho K. Chopy, *Muslim Migrants in Dimapur City: A Missiological Challenges to the Baptist Churches*. p.7-8.

⁶⁵ B.C. Allen and others(1979), *Gazetteer Bengal and North-East India*, New Delhi: Mittal Publications. p. 30.

North Cachar Hills as their possessions in the valley of the Dhansiri and the North of the Kalang River in Nowgong were taken away. The Kacharis began to move out from Dimapur towards the south and established their capital at Maibong (present North Cachar).⁶⁶ This was how the Kachari kingdom ended in Dimapur. But however a small number of Kachari people stayed back in Dimapur. Till today we can find some villages of Kachari people in and around Dimapur. We can also find walls and fortresses made of stone blocks and bricks which testify to the existence of a Palace in Dimapur.

The Britishers' advent into the Naga Hills was a slow expeditional movement. The British expeditions in Naga territory have been divided into three periods.⁶⁷ The first period from 1832-1850, saw the British come undertake military promenades under the command of Captains Jenkins and Pamberton. During this period the British came into contact with the Nagas over the issue of opening up communication between Assam and Manipur.⁶⁸ During the second period, from "1851 to 1865, the British followed a non-intervention policy with regard to the Naga tribes. The Britishers suffered heavy casualties because of Naga's hostility against them." They decided to withdraw from the hills and to abstain from oppression of any kind towards the Nagas. During the third period, which began from 1866, the British steadily extended and established their control and authority over the entire Naga Hills.

In the same year, Lt. Gregory establishes his headquarters at Samagutting, now called Chumukedima, which is seven miles away from Dimapur. The British advent to the then Naga Hills was not because of their interest in the people but primarily because of their political purpose to protect their tea estates and to find a route to Manipur that would serve their political agenda. However, this served the well-being of the then warrior by banning intertribal war.

THE PUSH AND PULL FACTORS OF MIGRATION IN NAGALAND

⁶⁶ Ibid. p.34.

⁶⁷ Prakash Singh(1972). *Nagaland*, New Delhi: National Book Trust. p.12.

⁶⁸ Ibid.p.13.

Dimapur is one of the fastest growing towns in India. According to the 2011 census, of all the towns in the State, Dimapur records the highest population of 379,769. Over the past few years, large numbers of Naga people have moved into the city for economic reasons such as, business opportunities, agricultural cultivations and job opportunities and so on. Since then it is increasingly a center of attraction both for the local and non-locals. Besides the dominant Naga population, other prominent groups include Dimasas, Bengalis, Assamese, Oriyas, Nepalese, Biharis, Marwaris, Punjabis and also Tamils and Keralites. In the last two decades Tibetan traders have also settled in the city. This district is the only district in Nagaland where lakhs of migrants from Bangladesh have settled in through different periods of time. The state's capital Kohima also faces the same problem but not like Dimapur as Dimapur is not covered by ILP.

Before discussing anything let us first look into the population growth in Table 2.1 and decadal growth (1901-2011) in Table 2.2, in all the eleven districts of Nagaland viz. Dimapur, Kiphire, Kohima, Longleng, Mokokchung, Mon, Peren, Phek, Tuensang, Wokha and Zunheboto.

Table 2.1: Population in Nagaland, Census 2011

SL.NO	STATE/DISTRICT	TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
	Nagaland	1,980,602	100
1	Dimapur	379,769	19.17
2	Kiphire	74,033	3.74
3	Kohima	270,063	13.64
4	Longleng	50,593	2.55
5	Mokokchung	193,171	9.75
6	Mon	250,671	12.66
7	Peren	94,954	4.79
8	Phek	163,294	8.24
9	Tuensang	196,801	9.94
10	Wokha	166,239	8.39
11	Zunheboto	141,014	7.12

Source: Census of India 2011

The spatial distribution of population of any region is directly or indirectly influenced by three factors.

- a) Physical set up i.e., terrain topography, climate, natural vegetation, minerals and soil.
- b) Socio-economic i.e., religion, custom, culture, education, awareness, per capita income and standard of living.
- c) Political factors i.e., government policy towards its citizen.

Any part of the state/region having suitable climate, high fertility of soil, adequate availability of portable water, mineral resource, good connectivity of road, railways and flight have a high concentration of population.⁶⁹

The growth rate in Dimapur district is higher than any other state in Nagaland is because of many reasons. It is the most urbanized districts comparing to other districts as it is the only district having both the air ports and railway station. It is also well connected by road with the neighboring states of Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram along the National Highway No.39, thus making it accessible for the commercial to flourish attracting not only the Nagas from the hilly areas but also the people from other states of India as well as from neighboring countries. That is why it is called the getaway of Nagaland. Now let us look into the decadal growth of Nagaland and the eleven districts.

Table 2.2: Decadal growth from 1901 to 2011

State/ District	1901- 1911	1911- 1921	1921- 1931	1931- 1941	1941- 1951	1951- 1961	1961- 1971	1971- 1981	1981- 1991	1991- 2001	2001- 2011
State	46.76	6.55	12.62	6.04	8.6	14.07	39.88	50.05	56.08	64.53	0.47
Mon	N.A	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	28.34	22.52	58.98	70.12	3.83
Mokokchung	43.71	11.13	13.67	14.17	18.7	16.79	41.49	25.88	52.39	46.54	16.77
Zunheboto	44.79	9.48	13.3	11.34	15.35	15.94	25.93	29.61	32.68	60.01	8.79
Wokha	43.71	11.13	13.66	14.17	18.7	16.79	30.56	49.92	42.8	95.16	3.11
Dimapur	49.09	3.19	11.79	0.49	0.7	11.08	161.78	165.28	59.01	86.13	22.89
Phek	49.09	3.19	11.8	0.49	0.69	11.08	32.5	58.36	44.66	45.07	10.19

⁶⁹ Soyhunlo Sebu, *Geography of Nagaland*. p.172.

Tuensang	N.A	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	31.44	12.61	72.57	69.2	2.60
Longleng	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	34.98	118.77	59.34	79.58	30.54
Kiphire	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	17.67	57.25	79.2	95.64	27.01
Kohima	49.09	3.2	11.8	0.48	0.7	11.08	76.62	59.41	65.28	32.88	23.14
Peren	49.07	3.2	11.79	0.48	0.7	11.08	48.93	52.17	113.82	60.62	4.61

Source: Census of India 2011

The decadal growth rate of population for the last three decades has not been more than 50 per cent in the state. The population of Nagaland as recorded at each decennial Census from 1901 has grown steadily till 1961. This period can be considered as the steady growth of population in Nagaland. The reason can be attributed to high birth rate accompanied by high death rate. Population started growing at a faster pace from 1971 to 2001. This period can be considered “the period of rapid growth in population.” Nagaland has stood out for having the highest decadal growth rate of population during the decades 1981-1991 and 1919-2001. In the census 2001, the state registered an abnormal growth of 64.53 per cent. This can be attribute to the lack of public awareness about the importance of Census, and the politically motivated to increase the vote bank and thus to get more Village Development Funds as the payment is made on the basis of population and household of the village. Most observers also attribute this phenomenal increase to the illegal immigration from Bangladesh especially in the District of Dimapur and Kohima.

CONCLUSION

The influx of illegal migrants is a social problem in the Naga society and so with the efforts of the governments as well as the individuals should come together to tackle this problem. In Naga society, NGOs are very strong like the Naga Hoho, Tribal Hohos and students union and most importantly the churches. They can play a vital role in spreading the awareness of this problem. Although there are existing Acts and Regulations dealing with this issue immigrant both legal and illegal, yet the state government is made competent to deal matters arising only out of BEFR 1873. The state government can be willing partner to mitigate this problem if the central governments so directs. Naga work culture should also be promoted among the young

Nagas who are used to on depending the non-locals. This problem cannot be solved over night but with hard work without depending on the non-local, the Nagas can stand on their own feet.

CHAPTER IV

CONTROLLING MIGRATION: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

This chapter attempts to examine the issues and challenges of Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland. In order to achieve this, the relations between the Nagas and the migrants will be discussed and examine how their relations drifted apart with the passage of time. The Bangladeshi migrants are perceived as potential threat in the Naga society due to number of reasons like increased rate of crimes committed by the migrants, demographic change in Nagaland, unemployment problem among the Naga youths and degradation of Naga cultural and social values. This discussion will suffice the security impact of migrants in the Naga society. Finally, the last part of this chapter will examine polices of controlling the migrants in the Protected Areas of North-East i.e. Protected Area Permit (PAP) and Inner Line Permit (ILP). During the British period, with the rapid extension of tea cultivation within the Naga territory,

the 'Inner Line' was pushed deeper inside the Naga Hills. Dimapur was thus excluded from this policy. Dimapur is the only district where 'Inner Line' is relaxed.

RELATIONS BETWEEN NAGAS AND BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS

The rate of population growth during 1901-51 in Assam was 137.80 per cent which was the second highest in the world. In the following years this trend of high rate of population growth continued in Assam. In 1901, the population of Assam constituted 1.38 per cent of India's total population but in 1971 it increased to 2.67 per cent.⁷⁰ The population of Bangladeshi migrants increased in Assam during 1950's and 70's. The most affected district was Goalpara, Kamrup, Nagaon, Darrang, Barpeta and Lakhimpur (Table4.1).⁷¹

(Table 4.1) Table 4.1 Total number of Pakistani immigrants in 1951 and 1971

1951		1971		
State/districts	No. of Pakistani immigrants	Percentage of total Pakistani migrants	No. of Pakistani immigrants	Percentage of total Pakistani migrants
Assam	833,388	100	903,427	100
Goalpara	135,268	16.23	178,761	19.79
Nagaon	172,704	20.72	176,294	19.51
Kamrup	186,774	22.41	167,000	18.49
Cachar	129,573	15.55	145,361	16.09
Darrang	84,277	10.11	96,963	10.73
Lakhimpur	60,976	7.32	88,388	9.78

⁷⁰ Wasbir Hussian, "Bangladeshi Migrants in India: Towards a Practical Solution- a View from the North-East Frontier. p.128-129.

⁷¹ K.R. Dikshit AND Jutta K. Dikshit, *North-East India: Land, People and Economy*. p.482.

Sibsagar	26,481	3.18	29,882	3.321
Others	37,335	4.48	20,778	2.30
Total	833,388	100	903,427	100

Sources:

Census of India (1951)

Census of India 1971, Assam, Series 3, pt. II-D, Migration tables

With the increased population of Bangladeshi migrants in Assam, the empty unused lands were transformed into cultivable land. The vast empty tracts of land were occupied by with the migrants. Assam was no longer a destination for migrating and more over the native people of Assam started to be hostile against the migrants. During this time, some of them entered Nagaland especially in the district of Dimapur in search of job as there was not enough job or cultivable land to look after their families in Assam. We can say that these were first wave of Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland. When life was quite peaceful in Nagaland even though they had to work hard, they started settling with their families as farmers in the native land. The migrants first came to Nagaland as laborers. During 1950's new Naga villages were establishing in the forest area in and around Dimapur town. The Nagas had already cleared the jungles for making their homes but for tiling paddy fields the Nagas needed the help of migrants as the availability of land was enormous while Nagas were few in numbers. The migrants helped the Nagas as laborers during the ripping season in the paddy field and whenever needed they cut logs as log business was in trend during that time. The employment opportunities for the migrants were plenty in Nagaland. As the migrant's population grew in Dimapur district, there was a demand in goods like cheap clothes or foods which they consume, as few Nagas those who were engaged in doing business cannot satisfy their demand. Some of these farmers started doing small business and gradually they succeeded in establishing business in Dimapur as most of the Nagas do not engage in doing business. Today in urban area of Dimapur, 75% of the economy is controlled by non-Nagas which include the genuine Indians as well as the Bangladeshi migrants.⁷² In rural areas, small markets were open in villages for the migrants to do small

⁷² Amarjeet Singh, *A study on Illgeal Immigrants into North-East India: a case of Nagaland*.p.23.

business which helped the Naga people to get income from the taxes and the migrants were able to sale the goods. In this way it fulfilled the interest of both the parties. Today some markets in rural area runs smoothly on a weekly basis earning worth 20 lakhs approximately.

The second wave of Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland maybe after 1970s when there was Assam Movement against immigrants from 1979-1985. It was said that during this time there was thinning or complete stoppage of immigration to Assam, legal or illegal which is supported by the Census 2001 records of migration. There was also decline of migration from Bangladesh as well as from other countries in the Northeastern state but the credibility of Census can be questioned.⁷³ In Nagaland 1970's and 80's was the highest period of migration of Bangladeshis from Assam. They entered Nagaland with or without the help of those migrants who have already settled in Nagaland. It was easy for them to enter Dimapur because it is connected by railways. The land was in abundance to easily accommodate these migrants as well. These migrants are mostly agricultural laborers concentrated in the fertile plain areas of Dimapur. Their extreme poverty is the most compelling reason for their migration and so basically most of them are low class landless laborers. Therefore they migrated to Dimapur primarily to earn their livelihood. Since few Nagas are engaged in labor works and business, it provides better opportunity for the migrant communities to earn their livelihood from different types of business and labor.

We must take note that migration among the upper and middle class people is also undertaken for a better economic life. J.P. Singh states that most rural migrants come from two major economic classes:

- a) Very poor-landless and illiterate peasants who are predominantly 'pushed' into towns.
- b) Relatively well-off better educated workers who are more likely to be 'pulled' into urban areas by attractive economic opportunities.⁷⁴

Both the cases are to be found in Dimapur District. It is also interesting to know that there are more migrants in the rural areas than in the main Dimapur town. Various resources and man power are needed in the process of development, and since the average Nagas do not involve in

⁷³ K.R.Dikshit and Jutta K. Dikshit, *North-East India: Land, People and Economy*.p.485-487.

⁷⁴ Ahoto K. Chopy, *Muslim Migrants in Dimapur City: A missiological Challenges to the Baptist Churches*.p.40

manual jobs, these migrants group find easy access in the form of manual labor. This provides opportunities to people seeking a means to survive. Today, Bangladeshi migrants have totally dominated the work force particularly in Dimapur district. Today, most of them are engaged in manual jobs such as road constructions, house building, domestic works, pulling rickshaws, looking after the fields of the Naga people, etc. It is also worth mentioning that there are Indian non-local in Dimapur city who are engaged in business like hardware shops, shoe shops and grocery shops. They have their own land property from the British times. From this we can see that Bangladeshi migrants were never considered as a threat in the Naga society. They shared a mutual relationship which was based on trust and understanding. That is why the migrants found Nagaland to be the ideal place for migrating.

The peaceful co-existence of the Nagas and the migrants for few decades has taken a different course. The open doors and the good gesture towards the migrants have now turned with bitter feelings. Several incidences broke the relations that Nagas and migrants shared for the past decades. The dwindling of the Naga work culture because of depending so much on migrants is taken as warning sign among the young generation of Nagas. The Nagas once described as hard working, great traders and honest people have degenerated to its lowest ebb. Therefore Nagas felt that the older generation of Naga work culture should be revive by knowing the dignity of labor and by taking up responsibility to ensure that the illegal migrants are discouraged by not depending on them.⁷⁵ The increased rate of crime rates committed by the migrants against the Naga women is also responsible for straining the relationship between the Nagas and the migrants. Before the lynching act in 4th march 2015, there was several rape case committed by the migrants against the Naga women. The some of the most famous incident which made Nagas felt threatened in their own land the raping of married Naga women by five migrants on February 2012. The Nagas were peace loving people but they could not tolerate the crimes committed by the migrants to them. The increased rate of unemployment in the younger generation of the Nagas has also lead to the frustrations against the migrants as almost all the shops are owned by the migrants thus leaving no room for the Nagas in doing business in small sectors. There exists clear distinction between the immigrant workers and native workers. Jobs that are generally unattractive to the natives are being taken up by the migrants. And, the migrant

⁷⁵ Ibid. 145

workers come at cheaper rates as compared to the local ones. In big towns, like Dimapur or Kohima, migrant workers can be easily located and engaged unlike the local ones. This clearly shows the aversion of the Nagas towards manual work. This easy availability of migrant workers also raises the question of who will fill the vacuum if the migrants are deported. It is also usually assumed that the migrant workers are more skilled than the local ones. In addition, they are more hard working and can be easily handled. As they charge less, local contractors also prefer to employ them. Such scenarios pave the way for large-scale migration. Thus, Nagas are dependent on the migrants.⁷⁶ The plight of the younger Naga generation is miserable and one can blame the migrants but the fact is that there is no sector which can give jobs to the young educated people. The educated system in Nagaland has also its loopholes as it is not offer job-oriented course, thus producing hundreds of graduates without jobs. Few students who have good grades are able to find a job in educational institutions as this is the only suitable part time job found in Nagaland. After the lynching act, the migrants are scared to enter Nagaland. The result will be seen in the upcoming Census in 2021.

The young generations of the Nagas are coming up. In the Dimapur Municipal Council (DMC) the trade and license issued to the various people for setting up business is filled with the Nagas. Few decades back, there was hardly Nagas issuing for the license in trade sector. The Nagas are also becoming bolder as few decades back there were hardly any Nagas working as a sales person or working in a restaurant as waiter but now the scenario has changed. The young Naga generations are coming up but it will take some time to fill the gap that was created few decades ago.

WHAT MIGRANTS DO IN DIMAPUR

As mentioned earlier, the subsidiary occupations of the Bangladeshi Muslim include selling vegetables, fish, chicken, beef and egg. A section of traders among them deal in shoes and clothes. As seen above they are landless people, thus they do agricultural works on a share holding basis with the Nagas. The Nagas engage mostly Mymensinghia (Bangladeshis) as agricultural laborers. There are also few sylheti laborers who considered themselves as upper class of the society and take pride but because of their poverty they are forced to work in the

⁷⁶ Amarjeet Singh, *A study on Illegal Immigrants into North-East India: A case of Nagaland*. p.53.

fields. They say that they feel ashamed to work in their place so they have no choice then to migrate to Nagaland for survival. A man's daily wage is between 150-200 depending upon the work they do. Cultivation is a major means of survival. It is clearly seen that local administrators, bureaucrats and 'landowners' hire the migrants to work in their agricultural fields, particularly in the plains of Dimapur area because they are cheaper labor than the Nagas. While in the employment of landlords, the migrants enjoy the protection of the landlord and may even run the business and gradually take control of the establishments. Dimapur has been the most attractive town for all the people both from within the state and from other parts of the country and neighboring countries. According to survey conducted by the Department of Evaluation, Government of Nagaland in 2006 on the employment in the private or unorganized sector in three district headquarters of Kohima, Dimapur and Mokokchung, altogether 13,380 establishments/shops were surveyed. The total number of non- Naga workforce earning their livelihood in these three sample districts was 45,815, with an annual income of Rs 450.60 corer. According to this survey, Dimapur had the largest non-Naga workforce of 32,700 persons, followed by Kohima (10,900) and Mokokchung (2,215). The survey covered 78 different trades ranging from agriculture, trading and manufacturing to the service sector. The annual income of non-Nagas in Dimapur was the highest at Rs 351.85 corer followed by Kohima at Rs 89.98 corer and Mokokchung at Rs 8.77 corer. But we should also keep in mind that there are Indians who are non- Nagas. Immigrants not only provide cheap labor, but are more willing to take up jobs which native workers normally avoid. As a result, unemployment among unskilled and semi-skilled natives has also gone up. The Nagas view this as the threat to Naga work culture because the once described Nagas as hard working, great traders and honest people have degenerated to its lowest ebb.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the phenomenon of migration from one settlement or nation to another is as old as humankind itself. People move as a measure of historic necessity. The history of the world is migration. The key question is how to manage the inflow of migrants.

MERITS AND DEMERITS OF BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS IN DIMAPUR

⁷⁷ Ibid. p.24.

‘We have contributed a lot in the Naga society’ says a sylheti migrant from Bangladeshi who has been living in Nagaland for more than thirty years. He says that when he grew up there were no concrete buildings and roads in the Dimapur especially in the rural areas. It was their people who build them all. His father and grandparents migrated to Assam from Bangladeshi because they were too afraid to live in war stricken zone in the then East Pakistan. His father later moved to Dimapur with his family because there was no land to cultivate in Assam. From his comment we can see that with the migrants in Nagaland, Naga people not got resources but also got cheap labors who know how to build roads and buildings in Nagas society. Since Nagas were alien to these kind of work they could easily cheat the Naga people. Unlike Nagas, the migrants were hard working with many different kinds of skills of earning their livelihood. Along with them they brought new techniques of agricultural method. Markets in the rural areas could be well established. They made the lives of the Nagas more comfortable than before and on the other hand they were also started living a decent life even though they had to work hard in the fields. But since most of the migrants families are poor and illiterate they produce more offspring thinking that they will get more helping hand in the field with more children but they are not able to fulfill the needs of their children. In order to fulfill their needs some of them go after easy money. They do some kind of lucrative business like smuggling drugs, guns, stealing car and sale it in black market and so. Dimapur is also a place known for its black market. It is being said that there is a market in Dimapur where we can get everything and anything like from needle to bullets and guns. Spreading awareness of family planning is the need of the hour to this under privileged community. Today, Bangladeshi migrants dominate the work force. The migrants have edged out the Hindu labor class with their willingness to work for the low wages. From *thelas* to rickshaws pullers, vehicles owners prefer to hire affordable migrant’s drivers. They also dominate ration shops, meat and vegetable markets. The influx will continue as long as there is demand for cheap labors.

It must be state that, with the easy access of Bangladeshi migrants in the Indian northeast, it is indicated that these large numbers makes it easy for the ISI agents to infiltrate in the country and cause security problems. Some of the migrants involved in criminal cases like raping of Naga women. As a result there was misunderstanding between the Nagas and the non-locals. One man was lynched to death by the angry Naga mob on the charges of raping a Naga college girl. As this incident became national news, the flow of migrants in Dimapur maybe decreased

but those who have already settled in Nagaland are protected by their land owners and they will never leave Nagaland. Awareness of the negative consequences of the continual influx of migrants should be causing more problems in Dimapur or anywhere else in Nagaland as there is no proper mechanism to check illegal Bangladeshi migrants and who is not as the non-local genuine Indians shares the cultural ties with the Bangladeshi migrants. The policy of 'detection and deportation' has not been working as it is difficult to identify the foreign national legally since there is no process for identification of refugees in the state. While pursuing a policy of detection and deportation, officials had to also consider whether their actions overrule the very law of legitimizing the status of migrants who have ration cards, voter identity cards and certificates from magistrates regarding their citizenship status. Also politicians have shown disinclination to pursue a clear policy on this issue. In this case, it would be like Maharashtra government who once tried to deport the migrants. In the case of Dimapur many migrants are patronized by the native people and manage to escape from detection or deportation. Some blame the politicians as they support the migrants to live and do business in the city in order to tap their votes in the election. A very large number of shops and business establishments in Dimapur are run or owned by Bangladeshi migrants through the help of the local people and politicians.⁷⁸ Dimapur is not covered by Inner Line Permit making the job even tougher. Keeping this mind let us examine the policies controlling the migrants.

POLICIES CONTROLLING MIGRANTS IN NAGALAND

INNER LINE PERMIT

Inner Line Permit (ILP) is an official travel document issued by the Government of India to allow inward travel of an Indian citizen into a protected area for a limited period. This is an offshoot of the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations, 1873, which protected Crown's interest in the tea, oil and elephant trade by prohibiting "British subjects" from entering into these "Protected Areas."

⁷⁸ Ahoto K. Chopy, *Muslim Migrants in Dimapur City: A Missiological Challenge to the Baptist Churches*. p.145.

The word “British subjects” was replaced by citizens of India in 1950. Despite the fact that the ILP was originally created by the British to safeguard their commercial interest, it continues to be used in India, officially to protect tribal cultures in North- eastern India.

There are two different kinds of ILP’S, one for the tourists and the other for the people who intended to stay for long-term periods, often for employment purposes.

Dimapur is the only place in Nagaland which does not require an ILP.

FOREIGNERS (PROTECTED AREAS) ORDER 1958

The Foreigners (Protected Areas) Order 1958 states that a Protected Area Permit (PAP) is required for the non-Indian citizens to visit certain areas in India (mainly North-East). It is an addition to getting an Indian Visa. In order to get this permit, you must meet certain requirements, such as restriction in due to security reasons. Foreign from other nationals can apply through agency but citizens from countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, China and Myanmar can get PAP only with the approval of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The protected areas in Nagaland are as follows:

- a) Dimapur District: Dimapur town, Chumukidima, Sethekhima and all places on the National Highway No.39 en route to Kohima.
- b) Kohima District: Kohima town, Khonoma. Dzulakie Kigwewa, Jakhama, Viswema, Khuzama, Jahufu, Dzuku Valley.
- c) Mokokchung District: Mokokchung town, Lungkhum, Ungma, Inpur, Mopungohukit, Chuchlyimlang, Tuli, Chani
- d) Wokha District: Wokha town, Doyang, Vankhosad, Tsunki, Governor’s Camp and Mount Tlyi.

The APA system has been suspended for Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram since 2011 to present (2015) but this keeps on changing. The reason for suspension of the APA Permit maybe to promote culture and traditions of the indigenous tribes of these states to the outside world.

Dimapur is the only district which is not covered by ILP even though it is covered by PAP which makes it even harder to detect the illegal migrants since they obtain fraudulent documents, such as ration card, voter identity card and driving license, from places like Karimganj, Nagaon,

Golaghat and Sibsagar in Assam.⁷⁹ Thus, over different periods of time, these migrants have moved into Dimapur for labour and business opportunities that promise them a better economic life.

SECURITY IMPACT OF MIGRATION IN DIMAPUR

With the realization of issues related with the migrants from Bangladesh, an NGO was created by the educated Nagas called 'Survival Nagaland' in order to mitigate the illegal Bangladeshi migrants in Nagaland. They are of the view that Naga work culture should be protected and promoted and strongly suggested that Nagas should stop depending so much on the migrants. They also encouraged the Naga landlords to give rent to the young Nagas instead of giving to the migrants for running business such as shops. This NGO was conceived after the successful drive carried out by the 'Survival Mokokchung' in 2007 in order to drive out the illegal Bangladeshi Migrants. The district of Mokokchung is protected by ILP so this quick-fix solution was successful but a place like Dimapur is impossible to do away with the problem of illegal migrants. The issue of Bangladeshi Migrants comes under the APA but the problem is the illegal Bangladeshi migrants cannot be identified as they are easily assimilated with the Indian society and moreover they have fraud documents produced not only in Assam but also from Nagaland as well.

This district cannot solve its problem of illegal migrants with quick-fix solution of deporting the migrants away. It needs a more tangible solution. Due to its geographical, political, commercial and social factors remains a strategic place for Nagaland. The migrants make half the population of Dimapur controlling the economic nerve of the state which amounts to economic drain as they do not bring back remuneration they earn from the state. As they control business in Dimapur the young Nagas find it hard to get jobs. Nowadays, with the problem of unemployment these young Nagas are starting to set up small business. Since small businesses were controlled by the non-local over decades of years ago, the Nagas are facing tough competition with the non-locals to run their business.

Commodities for running business like opening clothes shops, groceries or any kinds of shops in other parts of the districts are transported from Dimapur. The problem faced by the

⁷⁹ Amarjeet Singh, *A study on Illegal Immigrants in North-East India: A case in Dimapur*. p.21.

Nagas is that the whole sale rate given to the Nagas are higher than the rates given to the non-local people. In this way they control the business market in Dimapur. With the increase of their wealth, they are becoming more powerful. But since they cannot purchase land in Dimapur, they invest money in building big buildings in the land of Nagas and they share the profits but the bigger share goes to them. So Nagas in Dimapur are the owners of their land only for name's sake. This is how non-locals have strong economic control in Dimapur.

Governmental services preserved only for the schedule tribes of Nagaland are also shared with the migrants. They make fake documents of schedule tribe certificate by bribing some greedy Nagas with some amount of money and appear in competitive exams. One such incident was the case filed by one non-local student who filed a case against the State of Nagaland & others and 44 aspirant local candidates (belonging to Naga tribes) at Gauhati High Court claiming his right as one of the meritorious candidate against the Nagaland State reserved seat (quota) conducted for MBBS & BDS test 2015-2016.⁸⁰

Under the Foreigners (Protected Areas) Order 1958, Nagaland is protected as an indigenous land of the Naga tribes. Non-Naga community those who have been living in Dimapur and have property in Nagaland since the British period have the rights to have land property but other than that it is illegal to purchase land in the protected area by the non-local, even the Indian citizen. Dimapur is not covered by Inner Line Permit. This reason maybe trace back during the British period. After Assam Tea CO. was formed in 1839, a number of tea gardens emerged in Upper Brahmaputra.⁸¹ The effects of tea cultivation also reached the Naga life. Singphos were the first Nagas who allowed Robert Bruce, brother of A.C. Bruce who was appointed to the command of a division of gun-boats in 1824 and ordered up to Sadiya during the first Burmese war, to start tea research on their land and it was the Singphos who were the first to lose their fertile tea-producing areas to the British in return for meager considerations.⁸²

But it is easier said than implementing it because an area like Kohima, the capital of Nagaland which has ILP cannot do way with illegal migrants let leave alone Dimapur which is thriving with the economies of the migrants illegally or legally. There is also no proper recording system

⁸⁰ Dr. Tali Longkumer "on NSEE 2015 and the Writ Petition- thoughts of a concerned Parents," *Nagaland Post*, 26th September.

⁸¹ K.R.Dikshit and Jutta K. Dikshit, *North-East India: Land, People and Economy*. p.461.

⁸² Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future*. P.59-60.

in the offices dealing with PAP (Protected Area Permit) or ILP and as such influx of immigrants legal or illegal cannot be maintained. The PAP or ILP offices must be computerized to program and centralize all aspects for easy access and availability of data for monitoring and management. The IPL is not being extendable or renewable and so the present method of technically fulfilling these provisions by way of issuing a fresh ILP to the persons seeking ILP while still being inside the area of Inner Line Demarcation is not appropriate. So there is a need to evolve a system to avoid the present practice of technical solace against pragmatic lapse.

As far as Nagaland is concern, in the grass root level, the councils of the respective villages regulate laws and orders so they can be delegated with certain responsibilities bearing sanctions of the government and to improve coordination amongst the various social organizations like students body for monitoring effective APA system as well as the ILP system. Since the migrants are more in the rural areas, the village councils can check the population of migrants from their own respective villages. In this way it will not be complicated to handle the migrants in the rural areas.

CONCLUSION

Most of the migrants enter illegally in Nagaland. Sometimes, it so happens that human rights are being violated towards them by the Nagas but they cannot raise their voice since they are alien in this new society. Their main motive is to survive. They are voiceless and disappear in the Census. They are present everywhere but they are neither of Assam or Nagaland. But their population is going out of proportion and there seems to imbalance of population if we compare it with the Naga population. But the thing is the Nagas still need them and they need the Nagas to survive. So there should be proper and effective regulations of managing the migrants in order to serve the interest of both the parties.

CONCLUSION

In the past migration was a part of life. Human migration was never considered a threat in the host country. They were viewed as a human capital resource which is very essential for the development of the host country. United States of America is considered to be the melting pot of all the cultures in the world. This does not mean that it has opened its doors to all the migrants. In fact it also has its share of Mexican migrants issue but after the terrorist attack in 9/11, the whole perspective of migration was changed forever. Its policy towards migration has now been associated with migration. Being the super power, it has the ability to spread its ideals. Most of the countries today view migration from the security perspective and their policies to control their border are becoming rigid. The citizens from the host country are threatened by the migrants and they are of the view that the migrants bring new diseases, create unemployment and all the social evils in the society because of their poverty. The migration was securitized thus creating fear in the society. But migration can help individuals and their families to increase their incomes, develop new skills, improve their social status, build up assets and generally improve their quality of life. The UK Department for International Development has noted: "If well managed, migration has the potential to support the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and to improve poor people's lives."⁸³

Generally, migration is viewed from the perspective of people migrating to developed countries. But this is not the case in the South Asian region. People also migrate from south to south and not to developed countries only. Migration issue in the South Asian region is not a new phenomenon. Since the inception of its sovereign nations in this region, migration issue has been an intrinsic part of it. A region sharing common cultural and kinship ties cannot be separated on the basis of religious community. But unfortunately, there was partition and with it the lives of the ordinary people were disturbed. The Bangladeshi migrants issue in the Indian North-Eastern region cannot be solved due to various reasons. The worst affected districts are Assam and Tripura. The native population of Tripura has reduced to a minority and so there was a clash between the native and the migrants forming an insurgency group as the government could not help solve the problem of the migrant issue. This has also led to an anti-foreign agitation in Assam during the 1970s. After few

⁸³ Frank Laczko and Lars Johan Lonnback(ed.)(2015). Migration and the United Nations Post-2015 Development Agenda, *International Migration Organization*. p.9.

decades, the same problem is facing in Nagaland. By securitizing migration as a security threat in Naga society, people tend to view migrants from negative perspectives. Their rational thinking is being blinded by the security threat it might cause in the society. As mentioned above, migration can help individuals and their families to increase their incomes, develop new skills, improve their social status, build up assets and generally improve their quality of life. If Dimapur is compared with other districts in Nagaland, it is the most urbanized district. It is the active commercial centre in Nagaland. Of course the credit goes to the development of infrastructure like national highways, railways and airport, but it is also the place where different ideas and cultures meet. When new ideas from the migrants and the native people amalgamate, new skills are developed, thus improving social status with buildup assets and improve the quality of life.

Dimapur has the highest population comparing to other districts. The population growth in Dimapur has attribute to the growth of illegal Bangladeshi migrants. There is a fear among the Nagas that they might be reduced to minority and become strangers in their own land as it in the case of Tripura. The worst case is Bangladesh itself. The Malthusian theory has come into reality in Bangladesh. With the less availability of land, there is environmental degradation which is swallowing up the land, thus leaving people landless and in poverty. Adding to this problem there is population explosion which compels people to migrate to foreign land risking their lives for survival. The NGOs like Survival Nagaland and Naga Students Federation are demanding to redefine the 'Inner Line' and include Dimapur which will control the illegal migrations. But it is not feasible as Dimapur is not land lock area like other districts. The migrants can enter Dimapur either by foot or public transportation. And more over it can hamper its economic growth. With the insurgency issue hampering economic growth in Nagaland, government cannot take the risk of adding more problems to it. The Dimapur Council being aware of the problem tried to issue ID to the migrants in Dimapur in order to avoid the genuine Indian migrants being targeted as Bangladeshi migrants but it was a complete failure. The issues with the price of the ID to identifying the genuine citizens hampered this process. The illegal migrants can be controlled with the initiative of the central as well as the state with combine efforts apex body of Naga organizations and along with churches which are very active in the Naga society. The village heads can also play an influential role. But above all each and every individual can contribute their part to control this problem. Human migration is a nature

phenomena and it cannot be stopped with artificial means. The only solution is to manage the entry and exit of the migrants. Dimapur districts consist of villages even in urban areas, so the village heads can play an effective role and manage migrants in their respective areas by issuing an ID cards to the migrants. But most importantly social peace and harmony should be imparted in the society.

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APPENDIX

(AMENDED UPTO 31ST MARCH, 1987)

FOREIGNERS (PROTECTED AREAS) ORDER, 1958

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

ORDER

New Delhi, the 19th August, 1958

G.S.R. 713-In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 3 of the Foreigners Act, 1946 (31 of 1946), the Central Government hereby makes the following Order, namely -

(1) *Short title, commencement and application:* -

- (1) This Order may be called the *Foreigners (Protected Areas) Order, 1958*.
- (2) It shall come into force at once.
- (3) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Foreigners (Exemption) Order, 1957 it shall apply to all foreigners except the subjects of Bhutan.

2. Definitions: -

In this Order-

- (a) **“Protected area”** means any border area falling beyond the inner line as described in Schedule I. (Amended vide Notification G.S.R. 300(E), dated 24th May, 1978).
- (b) **“Schedule”** means a Schedule to this Order.

3. Restriction on entry into protected areas: -

No foreigner shall enter into or remain in any protected area except under and in accordance with a permit issued by the Central Government or any Officer authorised by the Central Government in this behalf.

4. Form of permit: -

A permit issued under paragraph 3 shall be in the form specified in Schedule II and shall contain the following particulars, namely: -

- (a) the place of entry into the protected area,
- (b) the place of residence, if any, in the protected area,
- (c) the period for which the permit shall be valid,

(d) the conditions subject to which the permit is granted.

5. *Foreigners Order, 1948 not affected:* -

The provisions of this Order are in addition to, and not in derogation of the provisions of paragraph 9 of the Foreigners Order, 1948.

“SCHEDULE I”

The Inner line runs as follows: -

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

From the point where National Highway 1A crosses the Punjab/Jammu and Kashmir State boundary along National Highway 1A upto JAMMU- along RANBIR CANAL road to AKHNUR- along CHENAB River upto junction of CHENAB and ANS River ($30^{\circ} 10' 45''$)-Eastwards along CHENAB or ($74^{\circ} 46' 11''$)

CHANDRABHAGAR upto its junction with BICHIARIR ($33^{\circ} 15' 57''$)
along ($75^{\circ} 10' 20''$)

RIASI/ANANINAG District boundary upto ($33^{\circ} 30' 28''$) following
($74^{\circ} 34' 30''$)

PIRPANJAL RANGE to point 12947-($33^{\circ} 32' 28''$) KHABI KI GALI-
($74^{\circ} 31' 52''$)

($33^{\circ} 33' 56''$) – PIRPANJAL PASS- ($33^{\circ} 37' 54''$) point 15569
($74^{\circ} 31' 39''$) ($74^{\circ} 31' 16''$)

($33^{\circ} 40' 52''$) CHOTI GALI – ($33^{\circ} 42' 56''$) point 15560 ($30^{\circ} 45' 02''$)
($74^{\circ} 32' 29''$) ($74^{\circ} 30' 19''$) ($74^{\circ} 28' 04''$)

point 15357 (33° 45' 26") – ASDHAR MARG GALI (33° 46' 21")
(74° 27' 15") (74° 27' 45")

NURPUR GALI (33° 47' 52") –PATHRI KI GALI (33° 49' 22")-point
(74° 27' 32") (74° 26' 30")

14756 (33° 49' 48")- KHARA KI GALI (33° 51' 29")- CHINNA-
(74° 25' 38") (74° 24' 45") MHGALI

(33° 52' 50")- JAMIAN WALI GALI- (33° 55' 29") –
(74° 24' 18") (74° 24' 04")

CHORPANJAL PASS (33° 57' 27")- DEVAHARI GALI (33° 57' 14")
(74° 21' 53") (74° 20' 22")

Point 12890 (33° 57' 27")- NILKANT GALI (33° 59' 02")
(74° 19' 02") (74° 18' 33")

Point 13780 (34° 00' 06")- ZAJSUR GALI (34° 01' 04")
(74° 18' 38") (74° 18' 07")

GURDALI GALI (34° 01' 44")- KHANPATHRI (34° 03' 02")
(74° 16' 52") (74° 15' 48")

MARPATHRI (34° 04' 03") Point 11385 (34° 04' 39")
(74° 15' 42") (74° 15' 20")

Thence Northwards along URI-BARMULA Boundary upto

(34° 08' 09")- (74° 15' 55")	Road Boundary crossing	(34°10' 54") (74° 16' 26")
Village ZAINPUR	(34° 11' 16") (74° 15' 55")	-Northwards along track to
Point 8000	(34° 13' 34") (74° 16' 39")	- along road to Road
Junction	(34° 14' 33") (74° 16' 45")	-along road to read track
Junction	(34° 15' 35") (74° 16' 48")	- South West along track to KANWARN and
Track crossing	(34° 15' 25") (74° 16' 28")	- Northwards along KANWARN upto
Nala Junction	(34° 16' 19") (74° 16' 48")	- Village TAKIA
KAMASHAH	(34° 16" 36") (74° 16' 21")	- West-wards along track to village
PAZALPUR	(34° 17' 25") (74° 13' 59")	- Northwards along track to village

SHAEIKHPURA-	(34° 19' 36") (74° 13' 55")	- along track to village
DRANGSO-	(34° 20' 35") (74° 12' 50")	- along track to road track
junction	(34° 21' 11") (74° 12' 45")	- along track to road track
junction	(34° 23' 53") (74° 11' 46")	- NALA Junction (34° 24' 02") (74° 11' 37")
Westwards along Nala to Nala Junction		(34° 24' 03") (74° 10' 10")
Northwards along track to point 6288		(34° 25' 35") (74° 09' 38")
along track to village KAKROSA		(34° 27' 03") (74° 09' 47")
Westward along track to village TRAT PURA		(34° 28' 0") (74° 06' 55")
track Junction		(34° 28' 22") (74° 06' 21")
North East to Village SHULUR		(34° 29' 08") (74° 07' 02")

along track to road junction		(34° 29' 58") (74° 07' 13")
Northwards along LAWODUGURN up to its Source		(34° 33' 58") (74° 07' 50")
along ridge line to point 10639		(34° 34' 39") (74° 07' 55")
PUTAKHAN GALI	(34° 29' 58") NAWAN GALI	(34° 36' 22") (74° 11' 16")
	(74° 07' 13")	
KANARI KHAN	(34° 37' 35")-Point 11824	(34° 38' 45") (74° 12' 20")
	(74° 12' 05")	
SAFA WALI GALIE	(34° 37' 57") KRUPANWALI	(34° 38' 12") (74° 15' 00")
	(74° 13' 48")	
ATHAM GALI	(34° 38' 29")-Point 11443	(34° 39' 04") (74° 21' 49")
	(74° 17' 09")	
PURA GALI	(34° 39' 07")-ZIMINDARKHAN	(34° 37' 14") (74° 25' 20")
	(74° 23' 19")	
NAO GALI	(34° 36' 19")-GRANG	(34° 34' 57") (74° 31' 53")
	(74° 27' 19")	

Point 11485 (34° 33' 20") -Point 11472 (34° 31' 40")
(74° 31' 33") (74° 32' 08")

Point 11397 (34° 30' 44") -along foot track (34° 29' 01")
(74° 34' 16") to point 7106 (74° 36' 50")

via PINGRATHARI (34° 30' 26") -and village (34° 29' 47")
(74° 35' 34") KHORI (74° 36' 09")

along BONAR upto its Junction with MADMATTIR (34° 26' 46")
(74° 39' 09")

Northeast along MADMATTIR upto its Junction with (34° 29' 35")
VIJUNAR (74° 42' 07")

Along MADMATTI Stream upto River Nala Junction (34° 30' 02")
(74° 50' 52")

along SALNAI Nala and SHONSHPHALL NALA upto (34° 27' 51")
(74° 56' 27")

thence East along the rest line of SOGPUTDHAR (34° 24' 10")
ridge to point 13750 (75° 05' 38")

Nala Junction (34° 24' 26") along LOKUT (34° 22' 40")
(75° 08' 13") BAIB NAR upto (75° 11' 55")

Northwards along crest line to point 14670 (34° 28' 11")
(75° 12' 12")

Point 15630 (34° 21' 54") following District boundary to
(72° 17' 45")

BOT KULANGAN (34° 22' 35") along the same boundary to
PASS (75° 17' 45")

Point 14850 (34° 17' 17") and point 15310 (34° 17' 08")
(75° 24' 08") (75° 27' 09")

thence one mile North of road ZOJILA-DRAS-KARGIL-
BODKHARBU-KHALSI-NIMU-LEH (upto and including GOMPA in
area (34° 11' 00")
(77° 35' 09")

KARU.UPSHI upto 1 mile South of UPSHI-thence West of Road
UPSHI MANALI upto CHUMIKGIARSA on LADAKH/HIMACHAL
PRADESH border.

STIPULATIONS

Notwithstanding anything contained here in above, a foreigner
shall be permitted to: -

- (a) travel along National Highway 1A between the border
of Punjab/Jammu & Kashmir and Jammu-Akhnur

road subject to his complying with the following conditions: -

- (i) his movement from Jammu to Akhnur shall be confined to the road west of Ranbir Canal; and
 - (ii) his movement in Jammu and Akhnur towns shall be restricted to the Municipal limits of these towns.
- (b) visit Gompas at Tia Timosgam, Rizong, Likir, Phyang, Sankar, Chemre, Gya, Miru and Runtse subject to such conditions as may be specified by the Central Government in this behalf.

HIMACHAL PRADESH

From CHUMIKGIARSA NZ 79 (32° 56' 48") along the
(77° 35' 56")

HIMACHAL PRADESH/JAMMU & KASHMIR boundary upto
SARCHU SARAI NZ 79

(32° 54' 50") and along SARCHU RIVER upstream to LINGTI
(77° 34' 58")

(Point 19121 in NZ 88)

(30° 51' 48")

(77° 37' 48")

along the ridge to POINT 20020 in NZ 96	(32° 38' 04") (77° 41' 36")
along the ridge to POINT 20050 in NZ 85	(32° 35' 32") (77° 38' 20")
along the ridge to POINT 19981 in NZ 95	(32° 32' 38") (77° 41' 30")
along the ridge to SHILATAKAR (Point 17244 in NZ 93	(32° 25' 30") (77° 42' 15")
to Point 20570 in NZ 92	(32° 21' 16") (77° 43' 20")
along the ridge to POINT 20830 in SE 99	(32° 06' 24") (77° 40' 48")
along the ridge to Point 21350 in TA 08	(32° 01' 31") (77° 47' 17")
to Point 20482 in TA 08	(31° 59' 06") (77° 48' 00")
to Point 18836 in TA 07	(31° 56' 36") (77° 46' 04")
along the District Boundary to Point 19640 in TA 17	(31° 52' 55") (77° 51' 50")

to Point 15754 in TA 15	(31° 46' 45") (77° 49' 59")
to PIN PARBATI PASS TA 15	(31° 46' 38") (77° 49' 55")
along the District Boundary to TARIKHANGO PASS TA 36	(31° 46' 35") (77° 59' 41")
along BHABA KHAD TA 35' upto WANGTU TA 33 where it meets the SUTLEJ RIVER (31° 32' 36") along SUTLEJ RIVER to the point (78° 00' 54")	
where PANVI KHAD meets SUTLEJ RIVER	(31° 32' 20") (78° 01' 12")
and along PANVI KHAD upstream at Point 14781 in TA 32	(31° 28' 46") (77° 58' 39")
along the ridge to HANSBESHAN PEAK POINT 17190 in TA 21	(31° 25' 12") (77° 55' 38")
via SHATHAL PASS TA 31	(31° 23' 48") (77° 48' 40")
to SHARANG CHU PASS TC 63	(31° 24' 50") (78° 06' 14")

to BURAN PASS TC 73 (31° 23' 10")
(78° 08' 53")

RUPIN PASS TC 72 (31° 21' 16")
(78° 09' 25")

along RUPIN GAD STREAM TO SEWA DOGRI (31° 10' 42")
(78° 04' 20")

on the border of UTTAR PRADESH AND HIMACHAL PRADESH.

UTTAR PRADESH

From SINGA ghati (31° 16' 47") N along the ridge to point 5424
(78° 18' 48") E

metres, (31° 16' 48") N along the same ridge to point 5890
(78° 20' 30") E

metres, (31° 11' 45") N along the same ridge upto its junction with
(78° 29' 30") E

spur, (31° 13' 20") N thence South along the spur to point 5959
(78° 37' 37") E

metres, (31° 08' 55") N along the spur to the small top
(78° 36' 30") E

(31° 07' 14") N It then descends along a small spur and meets
(78° 40' 25") E

SIYAN GAD at point (31° 05' 50") N along left bank of SIYAN GAD
(78° 39' 10") E

to its junction with BHAGIRATHI R. (31° 02' 20") N along right
(78° 48' 20") E

bank of BHAGIRATHI R to its junction with a (31° 02' 33") N
small Nala (78° 47' 47") E

thence along Nala northwards upstream to point 4515 metres,
(31° 04' 04") N along the spur to top (31° 05' 30") N; it then
(78° 48' 21") E (78° 51' 26") E

turns southwards along the ridge to point 4573 metres,
(31° 01' 40") N; then descends along the spur to JADH GANGA
(78° 52' 27") E

(31° 03' 04") N; crosses the river and ascends along the spur to
(78° 52' 40") E

point 4710 metres, (31° 01' 10") N; along ridge eastwards to
(78° 55' 05") E

KALI DHANG 6373 metres, (31° 02' 33") N; along the ridge to
(79° 00' 35") E

CHIRBAS PARBAT, (31° 02' 12") N; along the ridge to
(79° 03' 15") E

MATRI, 6721 metres, (31° 00' 52") N; along the ridge to
(79° 04' 25") E

SRI KALIASH, 6932, metres, (31° 01' 04") N; south eastwards
(79° 10' 46") E

along the ridge to point 6796 metres, (30° 57' 58") N; to its
(79° 12' 40") E

junction with MANA DHAR along the ridge southwards to
CHAUKHAMBA III. 6974 metres (30° 43' 30") N; along the ridge
(79° 16' 35") E

Eastwards to NILKAN-THA 6596 metres, (30° 43' 45")N; along the
(79° 24' 35") E

Ridge to point 5965 metres, (30° 45' 35") N; it then descends
(79° 26' 35") E

along the ridge to ALAKNANDA R.(30° 45' 45") N; crosses the river
(79° 29' 55") E

and ascends to point 5564 metres (30° 45' 20")N
(79° 32' 10") E

along the ridge to point 5485 metres (30° 46' 41")N
(79° 37' 42") E

along the ridge to PATABAN, 6127 metres, (30° 45' 15")N
(79° 42' 27") E

along the ridge to HATHI PARBAT, 6727 metres, (30° 41' 07")N
(79° 42' 20") E

southwards along the ridge to point 5780 metres,(30° 37' 37")N
(79° 43' 40") E

along the ridge to small top (30° 38' 10")N
(79° 45' 28")E

It then descends along the spur to DHAULI GANGA (30° 36' 15") N
(79° 48' 20") E

along DHAULI GANGA to point (30° 35' 25")N
(79° 47' 00") E

thence upto the spur to top (30° 35' 00")N
(79° 50' 06") E

along the ridge to CHANGABANG (30° 30' 00")N
(79° 66' 26") E

along the ridge northwestwards to point 6992 metres,(30° 32' 24")N
(79° 59' 50") E

along the ridge southwards to BHAMCHHU, 20680 ft.	(30° 26' 58")N (80° 01' 2") E
along the same ridge to point	(30° 19' 00")N (79° 59' 17") E
southeastwards along the ridge to NANDAKOT, 22510 ft.	(30° 17' 10")N (80° 03' 37") E
to LASPA DH RA, 19850 ft.	(30° 13' 24") N (80° 05' 08") E
south-eastwards along the ridge to KAGUDI BHEL,	(30° 10' 28")N (80° 09' 25") E
down the spur north-eastwards to Nala junction 6820 ft.	(30° 11' 20")N (80° 15' 10") E
Thence northwards along the ridge to point 16286 ft.	(30° 17' 40") N (80° 14' 55") E
along the ridge to point BAMBA DHURA, 20780 ft.	(30° 26' 29") N (80° 17' 00") E
south-eastwards along the ridge to point 19630 ft.	(30° 22' 10") N (80° 22' 52") E

Thence along the ridge to RALAM DHURA 18470 ft.	(30° 18' 05") N (80° 23' 14") E
along the ridge to RAJRAMBA, 21446 ft.	(30° 15' 15") N (80° 22' 34") E
along the ridge southward to point 22650ft.	(30° 1 ½ '52") N (80° 25' 40") E
along the ridge to point 21120ft.	(30° 11 ¹ / ₂ '25") N (80° 28' 24") E
southwards along the ridge to point 19920ft.	(30° 09'34") N (80° 27' 50") E
along the ridge to point 18940 ft.	(30° 07' 14") N (80° 29' 00") E
along the ridge to BAISI KHAL 12830ft.	(30° 03' 26") N (80° 28' 34") E
along the ridge southwards to top	(29° 57' 40") N (80° 26' 10") E
thence southwards point 12492 ft.	(29° 56' 06") N (80° 23' 58") E
Thence along then spur south- westwards to point	(29° 47' 05") N (80° 23' 05") E

it then descends along the spur to the junction of (29° 45' 00")N
KALI R. AND GORI GANGA. R. (80° 22' 46") E

On the INDO NEPAL BORDER

SIKKIM

The inner line follows the southern border of Sikkim.

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

The inner line follows the southern and western borders of Arunachal Pradesh upto the point of tri-junction of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Assam.

NAGALAND

From the tri-junction of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Assam, the inner line follows the western border of Nagaland upto the point of tri-junction of Nagaland, Manipur and Assam, except that in Dimapur Railway Station area, the inner line lies along the Dhansiri River where it leaves the border of Nagaland in the north upto where it joins the border in the South.

MANIPUR

From the tri-junction of Nagaland, Manipur and Assam the inner line follows the western border of Manipur upto the point of tri-junction of Manipur, Mizoram and Assam.

MIZORAM

From the tri-junction of Manipur, Mizoram and Assam the inner line follows the Northern and Western borders of Mizoram upto the International border.

SCHEDULE -II

PERMIT

Registration No.

(Under para 3 of the Foreigners (Protected Areas) Order, 1958)

Mr./Mrs./Miss.....a.....National
residing at.....holder of passport
No.....dated the.....is hereby permitted to
enter the protected areas via.....and to reside in the
protected area for the purpose ofat place (s)
from.....to.....

2. He/She shall, while residing in the said Areas, comply with the conditions* specified below.

3. Mr.....shall not remain in the said areas after theunless he/she has obtained the prior Permission of authority who issued the permit. Application for any extension of the period of this permit must be made at least seven days before its expiry.

Place:

(Issuing Authority)

Date:

Seal

*Conditions, if any, to be specified by the Issuing Authority.
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FOREIGNERS (PROTECTED AREA) ORDER, 1958

Amendment Notifications

<i>File Reference</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Gazette Reference</i>
1	2	3
6/49/56-F.I.	29-12-1958	-
6/8/59-F.I.	20-3-1959	-
6/38/60-F.I.	9-8-1960	-
6/3/61-F.I.	25-201961	-
6/2/62-F.I.	10-1-1962	-
6/9/62-F.I.	3-2-1962	-
6/81/62(iii) F.I.	22-6-1962	-
6/107/63-F.I.	20-3-1964	-
6/118/64-F.I.	8-10-1964	-
6/146/68(I) F.I.	17-11-1868	-
15011/6/73-F.I.	4-6-1974	-
15011/1/74-F.I. (I)	26-6-1974	G.S.R. 285(E)
15011/2/74-F.I. (i)	26-6-1974	G.S.R. 285(E)
25022/25/73-F.I.	21-10-1974	-
25022/110/76-F.I. (i)	30-7-1976	G.S.R. 1215
15011/10/75-F.I.	24-5-1978	G.S.R. 300(E)