

**Dynamics of India-Bangladesh Trans Border Mobility:
A Case Study of Dhupguri Block, West Bengal**

A Dissertation submitted
To
Sikkim University



In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy

By

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February 2018

Declaration

I, Tushar Sarkar, hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “**Dynamics of India-Bangladesh Trans Border Mobility: A Case Study of Dhupguri Block, West Bengal**” is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and this dissertation has not been submitted by me to any other University or Institute.

This is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the **Degree of Master of Philosophy**, to the Department of Geography, School of Human Sciences, Sikkim University.

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All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledged by him.

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“Dynamics of India-Bangladesh Trans Border Mobility: A Case Study of Dhupguri Block, West Bengal”

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Introduction

I.1. Introduction

Spatial mobility is an integral part of human existence and one of most important aspect of social science (Kumar, 2011). Because of the complexity of human life and fast-changing socio-economic condition, human mobility is gaining its importance day by day. From the antiquity, people are found to move from one place to another in search of better opportunities when they found some of their needs and desires are not fulfilled adequately. On the other hand, it has been observed that hunger, poverty, security threats recognise no border. People cross the border in a documented and undocumented way to reach their desired nations. Sometimes often in an unintentional way. In fact, Balagopal (1999) opines that the population of any country is mainly altered by three factors namely fertility, mortality and Spatial mobility, which are undoubtedly universal experienced factors. Among these, spatial mobility is considered difficult to measure as it is fluid, continuous, non-discrete and poorly defined measure.

In general, spatial mobility of population is an important keyword that almost all social science disciplines work on. The scholars of different approaches, disciplines and traditions have tried to define the concept of spatial mobility in their own ways. Wherein the Geographers have emphasized on the spatial and temporal context of mobility; sociologist have laid stress on the social consequences of mobility and the economist have given priority to economic aspects of it. These bits and pieces understandings of spatial mobility have created certain process of mobility, yet the larger components remains complex and contested.

The Oxford dictionary defines migration as ‘migration means to move from one Place country or town to another, Thus migration is the movement from one place to

another within the country or outside it'. On the other hand, the United Nation (UN) defined, 'migration as a form of geographical or spatial movement between one geographical unit and another. It involves a change in residence from the place of origin or departure to the place of destination'. National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO, 2008) defined migration as 'household member whose last Usual Place of Residence (UPR) any time in the past was different from the present place of enumeration was considered as a migrant member in a household.' In recent times, use of the term 'migration' has itself come under the question. 'Mobility' is gaining importance in place of the former as migration tends to indicate the permanent migration (Sheller, 2011). Compared to migration, mobility is a more general term that covers all aspects of spatial and territorial movements of whatever distances, duration or degree of permanence. In general, mobility is a contemporary paradigm in social sciences and humanities that deals with or explores the movement of people, ideas or things and more specifically the movement of people in a population, as from place to place, from job to job, or from one social group to another. Moreover, it can be defined as the ability to move freely, easily and physically of human beings.

One of the major agonies of human conditions has been uprooting of the people from their original abode seeking shelter in foreign countries owing to war, violence, persecution, threats to their lives or property and environmental disaster etc. (Nair, 2008). These people migrate to other countries when they are isolated and impoverished (ibid). Partition of India Based on religious perspective and the sudden boundary drawn by Sir Radcliffe in between the two parts of Bengal were in the root of all evils (Datta, 2004). It not only generated new nations but also uprooted a large number of people from their ancestral homeland. In the 20th century at the time of Bengal Partition (1905), Noakhali riot (1946), partition of India (1947), 'Enemy property act' (1965) of

Bangladesh, Indo-Pak war of 1965, during the time of Bangladesh liberation war (1971) and after the assassination of Sekh Mujibar Rahaman (Father of Nation, Bangladesh) India faced a large migrants and refugee population from erstwhile East Bengal. During the time of Bangladesh liberation war population of Bangladesh were looted, killed and oppressed by the West Pakistani minded people (Kumar, 2005).

Due to these reason, a massive population were forced to leave their 'Sonar Bangla' at different time period and sheltered in many districts of West Bengal. After the assassination of Sheik Mujibar Rahaman, the Hindus became victims of indiscriminate slaughter, looting, deprivation of justice and sexual orgy (Debnath, 2009). For this reason, again there was another phase of exodus of people from Bangladesh (ibid). Partition of India based on 'Two Nation' theory has been a historical mistake (Nair, 2008). Whenever they face some kind of economic, political, religious persecution, because of strong cultural affiliation between the Bengali people of the two nations, a psychological belief worked in their mind that if they would move other side of the border they would get better socio-economic opportunity and peaceful living environment.

Jalpaiguri a bordering district of West Bengal was somehow a preferred area of the specific type of mobility from Bangladesh. As records of Refuge Rehabilitation Department of Jalpaiguri district, 40 refuge colonies lies in its different part accounting near about fifteen thousand families thus influencing demographic and socio-economic condition of a particular district. That is why this area need an in-depth study to better understand the drivers and influences of this specific mobility to local socio-economy and Dhupguri block of this district has been taken as a research site.

I.2. Theoretical Background

Spatial mobility is a very complex and diversified phenomenon. There is no universal theory that could describe this phenomenon as a whole. Efforts have been made to describe the complex international migration under the shed of different theoretical model. Some of them are mentioned below-

‘Neoclassical theory macro’ states that the main reason for international migration is wage differential. If wage differential does not exist between the sending and receiving country then migration will not happen. Labour market mechanism predominantly determines the international movement i.e. insurance market, capital market do not have any effect on this migration process. The international labour migration can be controlled by the government in both sending and receiving countries (Massey, 2005). On the contrary of this macro model ‘Neoclassical economic theory micro’ emerged. Here migrants estimates the cost and benefit of moving and migrate to that country where expected net returns are greater than in the country of origin (Borjas, 1990). The ‘New economic theory’ develops in response to neoclassical theory. According to this approach unlike the neoclassical model here, it’s the family, household and other culturally defined unit that takes decision for migration in search of benefit. International migration still can happen if wage differential disappears.

‘Dual labour market’ shows the importance of institutional factors as well as race and gender in occurring labour market segmentation (Castle and Miller, 2009). According to this model international migration is largely demanded based and takes its beginning from recruitment by employers in developed societies. On the other hand ‘World system theory’ theory argues that penetration of capitalistic economic relation into non capitalistic or pre-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that can easily make a decision to migrate (Massey, 2009).

Many researchers tried to describe movement with the help of ‘Push-Pull model’ because of its good outcome. The push and pull model are basically an individual choice and individual equilibrium model i.e. migrants are rarely representatives of their community of origin (Madhu, 2015). ‘Network theory’ explains the importance of social ties or networking and how it acts as a vital factor in deciding international migration. The former migrants and non-migrants in the origin country through the ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin have a tendency to migrate internationally with lower cost, risks and increased expected net returns (ibid). The migrants who first achieved at the destination country face more problems, costs and risks. But who follows this through networking face less problems and it continuously decreases with further migration and finally at a time it even makes the international migration risk free in well-developed networks between the migrants (ibid).

On the other hand according to Myrdal’s Cumulative Causation model ‘Causation is cumulative in that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decision are made.’ The distribution of income land organization of agriculture, Culture, regional distribution of human capital and social meaning of work are some of the socio-economic factors listed as potential factors which affect migration in a cumulative way. (Stark, Taylor and Yitzhaki, 1986, 1992).

From the existing scholarly works, it is seen that social-network theory is been more prominent in case of Bangladeshi migration to India. In recent times along with the forced migrants people also migrating for economic issues. The present work tried to analyse this spatial mobility with the help of social-network theory, involuntary migration and to a little extent with economic point of view.

I.3. Overview of Literature

Scholarly works on the related issues have been done by different scholars to depict the actual scenario of Indo-Bangladesh bordering region. Related literature of the present study have been categorised under three subcategories.

Border and people

Ansary and Das (2016) examined the socio-economic conditions of Bangladeshi undocumented migrants with the help of intensive field survey. It is found that in the migration process social-network theory is quite relevant. West Bengal is found to be the most preferred destination for migrants of the other side of the present border. Their study reveals that most of the migrants have changed their occupation after crossing the border. A sizable section of them have acquired citizenship of India with the help of political patronage.

On the other hand, Ansary and Das (2014) pointed out that female migration pattern has changed over the years due to globalization process. They discuss about the patterns, reasons and distribution of female immigrants to India from neighbouring countries. The result shows that northern states especially Bihar and Uttar Pradesh receiving highest percentage of female immigrants to their total immigrants. It has been found that major section of them are from Bangladesh and Nepal.

Behra (2011) examined the pattern, nature and direction of migration from Bangladesh and Nepal to India. He argues that in case of the movement from Bangladesh and Nepal to West Bengal it's the social network theory and social inter-relationship model respectively, are working as a most relevant process in immigration to India. His study shows that this illegal migration is posing a security threat for the entire nation. On the other hand, affecting the demographic structure-the migration leading marginalisation of local workforce.

Dasgupta (2000) studied the distributional pattern and politics of the Indian government around the Bangladeshi refugee in West Bengal. He made it quite clear that counting of these refugees from Bangladesh can be seen as a critical political act by the Indian political leaders. The then central government gave much concentration to refugees from West Pakistan and consequently, the refugees from Bangladesh got relatively less assistance.

Datta (2004) explored the push-pull factors and consequences of undocumented Bangladeshi migration to West Bengal with the help of a qualitative research method. She found two types of undocumented migrant i.e. economic and political-religious persecuted migrant. This undocumented migration poses a threat to national security, social harmony and economic wellbeing of India, which is also disturbing the normal life of people, especially in the bordering region. She argues that human right protection, strengthening of democracy in Bangladesh; proper vigilance along the border and bilateral trade agreement could resolve this problem of illegal migration.

Frisbie (1975) with the longitudinal study, accounted for the changes in migration rates from Mexico to United States in terms of changes in certain predictor variables during 1946-65. Without considering various demographic, psychological and political factors, study he stressed on the economic aspects of the two country that worked behind the specific flow of undocumented migrants from Mexico. He gave a wisdom by critically selecting the period of the present study as it is free from any sudden disturbances. The period experienced with highest undocumented immigrants from Mexico. Author not only mentioned about the flow, rather he presented the possible determinants and effects on the economy of the host country. He critically argues that it was the push factor in the economy of the Mexico was dominant to pull factor of USA's economy. Furthermore, he analysed some variables as like the annual rate of

Illegal Mexican Migration to the U.S.; agricultural productivity, farm wages, agricultural commodity prices, rates of capital investment for both the country to rationally present the phenomena that simply supports the picture of undocumented migration. Author confessed the inefficiency of his work regarding the migrants determined by other factors rather than economic attributes and suggested for further time engaging study for the same migration flow to United States of America.

Ghosh (2017) in her ethnographic studies analysed the normative and emotive ideas that are working in the mind of the people whether to continue kin relationship across the borders or not in recent times. As the Bengal border is turning into a border from porosity to closure. She argues that though nowadays, the transnational relative intimacies has been decreasing but still it is going on marginally as the rigid border and negotiated porosity presents simultaneously in a single temporal periods. That especially depends, on which side people approach the border from and in what perceptible social position, marked by gender, religion and class. In this article, she has been focused more on the cross-border marriages and the toughness of crossing the border of the relatives.

Kumar (2005) examined the documented migration flow from Bangladesh. Their distribution and their duration of stay through analysing the available census data. The result shows that it's the eastern region which has received the highest almost 86% of migrants from Bangladesh. He argues that though geographical proximity working as a major factor but it's the ethnic and linguistic similarity which is more relevant for the influx. Most of this migration in the eastern region is rural in character. But for northern region, it is mostly urban.

Kumar (2009) through historical and analytical method discussed about the ceaseless flow of Bangladeshi migrants to different states of India. He further discussed about its

immediate consequences upon the socio-economic, political and demographic characteristics of the receiving country. In this paper, he prudently distinguished the 'migrants' and 'refugees.' The possible reasons and volume of the flow of these two groups from erstwhile East Bengal. Furthermore, he stressed on the 'Chakma' refugees of Chittagong Hill Tract to Tripura. He argued that the religious persecution upon the minorities and the 'Kaptai' hydroelectric project mainly displaced thousands of Chakma people to leave their hearth and homes and to flee Tripura. He logically tried to prove the phenomena by mentioning some demographic characteristics of different North-Eastern states of India. He also showed that this unabated migrants and refugee flow not only pressurise the Indian socio-economy but also undercuts the bilateral relationship in between the two countries. Author did a fine job by giving some reliable remedy goals in the conclusion part.

Pramanik (2005) studied how the demographic pattern is changing over the time due to the migration from Bangladesh and its immediate consequences on Indian socio-economy and demographic structure. He argues that because of the undocumented migration anti-social activities has been increased in the bordering districts of West Bengal.

Raha (2015) analysed the pattern, trend causes and consequences of undocumented migration to West Bengal from Bangladesh. The results shows that though the migration has been decreased recently but the flows are still going on. The particular migration changing the demographic structure of the bordering district of West Bengal. She argues that after 1971 the high increase in population density in the bordering region could only be explained by this undocumented immigration.

Sarkar (2012) examined the refugee rehabilitation pattern of both East and West Pakistani refugees by the Indian government. The study showed that east Bengali

refugees were always discouraged by the Indian political leader and they were treated as marginal people. He argued that this refugee from East Bengal played a vital role to change the political life in West Bengal.

Ullah (2006) discussed about the determinants of international migration for Bangladesh with the help of gravity model to investigate the panel data of emigrants. The empirical results shows that economic, demographic and cultural issues are working a significant factors on emigration decision, while the marginal effect of cultural factors like religion, language are prominent than other set of determinants.

Border and Security

Ahmed (2012) argues that undocumented migration from Bangladesh has been a contentious issue that undercuts the bilateral relationship. He argued that if this influx continues then situation will be worse in upcoming future than Kashmir. He critically used the term 'Psycho geography' i.e. the belonging feeling of Bangladeshi people.

Bhardwaj (2014) studied the socio-economic and psychological problems faced by the people of India and the political manoeuvring that are going around this undocumented migration. He showed an increasing nexus between the clandestine transnational actors and undocumented migrants. He further showed how it promoting the anti-social activities in the bordering region. Author argues that India should be more focused to stop future immigration rather than deport the arrived one.

Dutta (2013) argues that the large undocumented migration of Bangladeshis to various states of India is a genuinely troublesome issue. It negatively disturbing the interest of the people of its own by changing the demographic composition of different states and harming the national security, social harmony and economic well-being of Indians. She analysed the possible factors behind the movement; its influences on the host country and lastly some possible intervention to resolve the issue. She problematize the issue

by mentioning that this movement not only disturbing the demographic and security concern of India but also eating up its resources, health, literacy employment opportunities. These things further destabilizing the socio-political, economic, ethnic and communal tension in India. After studying the present scenario she critically mentioned that the local majority group of Assam, Tripura, Nagaland and some bordering region of West Bengal has been turning into minorities. It is because of the massive inflow. She not only problematize the issue, rather gave some suggestion to solve the problem by critically mentioning about the 14th SAARC Summit, visit of the representatives of two countries, and the initiatives should be taken by local politician to stop vote bank politics etc. that could checked the undocumented migration.

Ghosh (1993) examined that Bangladesh is one of such country where religious issues are used for political purposes, though secularism is also very vigilant due to the question of international sentiment. In this particular work, he tried to show the influence of 'Ayodha' incident in Bangladesh, which is also used by the Bangladeshi politicians to form the background of 1991 election.

Jones (1983) analysing the work of the earlier scholars and different governmental works tried to justify the complete phenomenon of undocumented migration from Mexico to United States of America in and around the time of 1950-83. Based on the available information he not only analysed the spatio-temporal trend, pattern and possible effects of the undocumented migration upon the host society but also prudently cross-checked the validity of the existing works. He refutes some data and information provided by different sources by illustrating few simple logic that somehow mismatch with the reality. He demarcated the six provinces of United States that are receiving sizable undocumented migrants from Mexico. He mentioned California receiving over half and Texas, a quarter of the total migrants. Furthermore, he critically stressed on

the channelized pattern and young generation's economic motive behind the particular movement. Author did a fine job by analysing the societal penetration, micro-economic and macro-economic influence of these migrants upon the host society. He acknowledged the inefficiency of the existing work including his own by simply confessing that in order to measure impacts of undocumented migrants really need to carry out detailed economic case-studies of impacts on jobs, the profitability of businesses, local costs of living, and so on for both national as well as regional levels. Kumar (2011) reveals that the problem of undocumented migration from Bangladesh has not been properly dealt with by both the government. Both the government showed a relatively inadequacy to deal with the issue. He suggests for European countries 'Readmission Agreement' and bilateral cooperation to check this undocumented migration.

Kumar and Das (2013) studied that along with posing a security threat how this undocumented migration from Bangladesh creating pressure on the social, cultural, demographic and political stability of Assam. They argue that it's the political goodwill of both the country that could solve this problem.

Murayama (2006) argues that conflicts over the border and migration issue determines the bilateral relationship in South Asia. Author wants to see the rhetoric of borderless world with the improving economic cooperation between the eastern south Asian neighbouring countries especially Bangladesh and India. She gave a wisdom by selecting bilateral relationship in between these two countries as they share a land border which is the longest among the borders in eastern South Asia. She mentioned that Bangladesh has been the largest source of migrants to the surrounding countries. Author in order to show the initiatives taken by the countries, critically mentioned about the India's policy shift to further improve relationship with its smaller neighbouring

countries, and the promotion of sub-regional cooperation. But she came to the conclusion that in south Asia borders still remain one of the fundamental sources of disputes among the neighbours.

Pattanayak (2014) argues that some of the political parties patronage this undocumented migration from Bangladesh to increase their vote banks. She further mentioned that there is a discrimination to treat this undocumented immigrants by the certain political parties. She critically finds out that the network that the human traffickers and the cattle smugglers build across the border facilitate this migration.

Rajan and Prabha (2008) talked about the various governmental sources of migration data with their functioning procedure and limitation. He argues that there is the need for complete, timely and accurate statistics on migration so that the policymakers could take the prudent decision. He further states that migrants from Bangladesh occupies more than half of total immigrants in India. In this particular migration family and economic migrants are more in number respectively.

Upadhyay (2005) mentioned that in recent times Assam's politics is revolving around the migration from Bangladesh. It is the political patronage which facilitates this specific movement throughout the time. She also made it very clear that the certain militant group of Assam also working as a promoting factor in this process. This migration is continuously reshaping the ethnic, linguistic and religious profile in large part of North East. She argues that it's the political goodwill and development of bordering trade in between the two countries could resolve this problem.

Border and Trade

Dutta (2010) states that Indo-Bangla trade relationship is a matter of complex. Bangladesh exporting only a small share as compared to India, because of India's large tax on Bangladeshi product. She further states that because of this taxation and hurdles

in crossing the border illegal trades are going on across the border in a considerable way, which has a negative effect on both the country's economy.

Banerjee et. al. (1999) examined the Indo-Bangla cross-border migration and trade. They stated that India and Bangladesh both are very inadequate to deal with the international border especially their trade and cross-border migration. They also put forth some suggestions for the larger issue of enhanced sub-regional communication and trade.

Islam (2004) talked about various issues of Indo-Bangladesh trade relationship. They discussed about cross-border illegal trade, the comparative trade regimes in the two countries and existing imbalances regarding the two countries export. He further discussed about the implication of free trade agreement in between the two countries for a better trade relationship. He concludes that if the two country step forward with a view of negotiation and compromise then only bilateral trade relationship could be run beneficially.

From the consulted literatures, it is evident that most scholars dealt with about the security threat and related issues of Indian states because of this documented and undocumented spatial mobility. The existing scholarly works reveals that in case of Bangladeshi movement to West Bengal social-network is quite relevant i.e. the cultural connection between the two groups of Bengali people worked more. From the point of view Myrdal 'Cumulative Causation model', recurrent ecological disturbances of Bangladesh, 'Push-Pull model' and Ravenstien's 'Distance-Decay model' many scholars tried to discuss the particular spatial mobility. Sometimes people wanted to be in a place of physical safety and crossed the border. The consulted literature suggests that the documented and undocumented mobility from Bangladesh creates a bit pressure on socio-economic and demographic condition of the bordering region. A very few

studies have been done on the socio-economic influences of this spatial mobility especially at micro level though it is a cause of concern. So, in this particular work, an attempt has been made through this work to understand the drivers of mobility and influences of this mobility to local socio-economy taking a micro level study area from North Bengal.

I.4. Statement of the Problem

Mobility is a global phenomenon, this cannot be stopped but it can be checked or regulated (Massey, et al. 1993). West Bengal an eastern state of India is not away from the problem of East Bengali migrants since last century onwards (Kumar, 2011). Bangladesh was a part of undivided India till 1947. People of East Bengal became victim of environmental, economic, political instability and religious persecution found West Bengal as one of their hot and tepid destination (Nair, 2008). Communal riots at different time period in erstwhile East Bengal, events immediately following the partition, Pakistan government's proposal of Passport and the turmoil situation of 1971 liberation war, forced many people to take refuge in West Bengal (Banerjee and Sengupta, 2016).

As per the report of the Refugee Rehabilitation Committee by 1971 census, there were 73.82 lakhs refugees residing in West Bengal (Dasgupta, 2000). Kumar (2011) opines that even after the independence of Bangladesh there has been the movement of East Bengalis across the borders changing the demography, especially in the rural bordering areas. Informal and unrecorded trade carried out through porous land border between India and Bangladesh adds to the trade deficit, since the time of Bangladesh's birth (Dutta, 2010). The migrated people from East Bengal have created pressure in the unorganised informal sector (Datta, 2004). Most of the efforts have been made to document the volume, pattern & rehabilitation of this flow. There have been

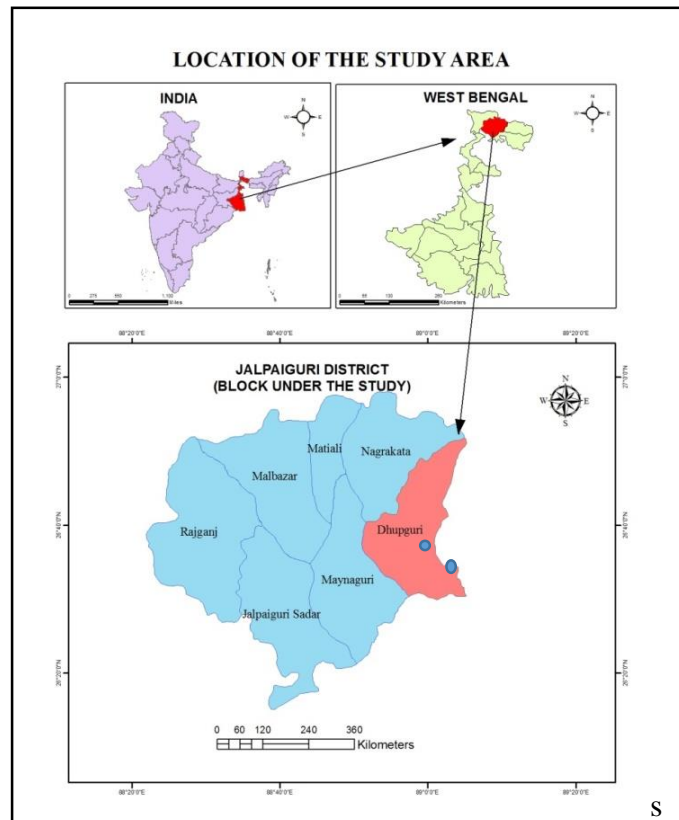
limited studies addressing the socio-economic issues at the post-rehabilitation phase and its influence to local socio-economy on North Bengal as a study area. That is why an attempt will be made in this work to understand the drivers and influences of this mobility on a micro level unit from North Bengal.

I.5. Description of the Study Area

Dhupguri is an administrative division of Jalpaiguri district, West Bengal, India. The geographical extent of Dhupguri Block lies in between 26^o 35' North latitude and 89^o 01' East longitudes with geographical area of 535.27 km². It has total 16 *Gram Panchayat*. As per 2011 census of India, this block has a total population of 418461 accounting 357134 rural and 6132 urban. Out of its total population, 52.04 % are male and 47.96 % are female. As cross-border mobility remains a sensitive issue for various reasons, the study area was selected only after rapport building with the respondents. There are 5 government registered refugee colonies at Dhupguri block and 3 of them in urban areas and 2 of them are in rural areas. Data of R.R. &R.¹ department shows that Ghosh Para colony have highest number of migrant household and since it urban in character that is why it is selected for the depth study. On the other hand, Bamantary is the only rural migrant colony, hence the colony is selected, to make a comparative study in between the two selected sites.

¹ R.R.&R. department: Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation Department.

Map no. I.1.



I.6. Objectives of the study

After studying different scholarly works objectives have been framed for the present study. Three objectives have been taken into consideration for the study-

- 1) To assess the drivers and type of mobility of the people in the border area of Dhupguri block.
- 2) To map the routes of mobility in Dhupguri border area.
- 3) To examine the consequences of mobility on socio-economy and polity of the study area.

I.7. Research Questions

After looking into the problems of the study area three research questions have been taken-up. This are-

- 1) What are the drivers governing mobility of the people across the border areas?
- 2) How did people choose their routes of mobility?
- 3) How has the mobility affected in the socio-economy and polity in the area?

I.8. Database

The present study is based on both primary and secondary data. As the available secondary data for the study is not sufficient enough, primary data has also been used in establishing the objective by analysing it. Followings are the data sources

Table no. I.1.

Details of Data

Nature of data	Sources of data/ tools and technique of data collection	Use of type
Secondary data	1. Migration Table 'D' series (1991,2001) of census of India	To study the trend of international migration.
	3. Census of India, 2011	To study the population structure of Dhupguri and its decadal change.
	5. Bureau of statistics, government of West Bengal (1951-2011)	To study the decadal growth rates, Jalpaiguri district and for Dhupguri block.
	6. Block development office of Dhupguri, 2011	Collected the administrative map of Dhupguri block.
	7. RRR Department of Jalpaiguri District, 2011	Collected the data on refuge colonies of Dhupguri block
Primary data	1. In-depth interview	Personal interviews has been conducted among the key respondents of the migrated people and also among the local key informants to study drivers, routes of mobility and influences of this migration to local society, economy.
	2. Household survey	Availability of assets, amenities and entitlements facilities among the migrated household.
	3. FGD	Influences of migration to local society, economy.
	4. Observation	Studied comforts and uneasiness in responding of different answers and also for selecting houses based on wealth perception.

Table no.I.2.

Amenities Indicators

Variables	Indicators
Assets	TV
	Motor Vehicle (2/4 wheeler)
	Bi cycle
Amenities	Electricity connection
	Drinking water (piped/ hand pumped)
	Gas connection
Entitlements	Ration card
	Job card
	Voter Id
	Aadhar card

Table no.I.3.

Socio-economic Indicators

Aspects	Indicators
Social	Sex ratio
	Nature of houses
	Female literacy rate
	Total literacy rate
	Level of education
Economic	Occupational structure
	Landholding
	Migration (job/ higher education)
	Workforce

I.9. Methods

For the competition of the present research work, both the quantitative and qualitative method have been followed. Selection of study area, respondents, tools and technique of data collection and finally its analysis has been framed and proceeded so as to meet the defined objectives of the study. The study aims to add on to the existing empirical knowledge about the drivers and influences of spatial motilities from Bangladesh, in the Dhupguri block in particular and to the narratives of border discourse in general.

To fulfil the objectives of the study informants have been selected from both the population, which were migrants at some point of time and local people from the study area. Informants have been selected for in-depth interview are the responsible

member of that society like the teacher at different level, community leader and government official and prominent elders of the locality. To reach these migrants snowball sampling is used.

Data was collected from both primary as well secondary sources. Among the secondary sources District Census Handbook of Jalpaiguri (1951, 2001) Census of India, 2011 was consulted to present the Demographic scenario and migration figure of Jalpaiguri district as well as West Bengal. R.R. & R. department of Jalpaiguri district was consulted to study the registered families in different colonies of Dhupguri block. But as the secondary data was not sufficient enough to fulfil the objectives so stress has given to primary data collection. Primary data was collected through different techniques-

20 in-depth interview have been carried out among the key informants from migrant group in the age group of 40 and above to know the drivers of mobility. 8 in-depth interview has been conducted among the local key informants to discover the influences of this mobility with the help of semi-structured questionnaire. Another 12 has been conducted among the migrants to know the drivers, pattern and routes of the spatial mobility to Dhupguri.

Table no.I.4.

In-depth interview

Colony	No. of respondents will be taken for in-depth interview	Migrated respondents			Local respondents		
		T.A.D.L	C. L	P. E	J.T	T.A.D.L	G. O.
Ghosh Para	10	2	2	2	1	2	1
Bamantary	10	2	2	2	1	2	1
Total	20	12			08		

Source: R.R. & R² Department, Jalpaiguri, 2011

Note: T.A.D.L- Teacher at different level, C.L. - Community leader, P.E. - Prominent Elders
J.T. - Journalist, G.O. - Government officials

² R.R. & R. Department: Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation department.

Household survey has been carried out with the help of a set of semi-structured questionnaire to study the availability of basic amenities and entitlements among the migrants. Stratified random sampling technique was employed to represent the whole community.

Table no. I.5.

Households Samples

Colony	Total household	No. of household will be taken for HH survey (30%)
Ghosh Para	145	43
Bamantary	90	27
Total	235	70

Source: R.R.&R. Department, Jalpaiguri, 2011

4 FGDs have been conducted to supplement the in-depth interview and household survey about the influences of this movement in the selected area to socio-economic aspect.

Table no. I.6

Details of the Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Site for FGD	No. of FGD	No. of members in a Discussion	Age of the group members	Profession of the members
Bamantary	2	5-6	40 and above	Panchayat Pradhan, Upa Panchayat Pradhan, teacher at different level, social worker
Ghosh Para	2	5-6	40 and above	Municipal councillor, teacher at different level, Responsible member of that colony.

First of all permission and time was asked from the block development office and Panchayat Pradhan of the concern village. After making them informed about the FGD, time was asked from them as per their convenience. FGDs were conducted at those

villages. Observation technique also used to study the comfort and uneasiness in responding different questions i.e. to discover the true direction for the study.

After collecting both primary and secondary data it has been analysed following both quantitative and qualitative method. As the study is mainly qualitative in nature especially in the category of miscellaneous information so tabulation was the major analytical tool for drawing conclusions. In quantitative method statistical technique like the frequency and percentage, calculation have been done to analyse the data. The data has also been presented through different spatio-temporal attribute maps for better understanding, with the help of ARC GIS 10.2.2., and Global Mapper 13 GIS software's. Comparative attribute map has been prepared to show the variation regarding the assets and amenities accessed by the migrants in the two colonies.

I.10. Organisation of Materials

Chapters	Name of the chapters	Area covered
Chapter 1	Introduction	Introduction, Statement of Problem, Literature review, Objectives of the study, Description of the study area, Data sources & Methodology
Chapter 2	Demography	Demographical change of the study area
Chapter 3	Spatio-temporal mobility	Spatial Mobility 1947 onwards. Routes, patterns and trends of mobility
Chapter 4	Society, Economy & Polity	Influence of the Mobility to Local society, economy and polity.
Chapter 5	Summary and conclusion	Summary and conclusion.

Demography

In a country for any sort of planning, statistics on population is fundamental necessity. Demography in broad view studies both quantitative and qualitative aspects of population. Along with this, it maintains a continuous descriptive and comparative analysis of the decisive factors of population change and its net result (Desai et al. 2003). The main aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of the demography of Dhupguri block in relation to Jalpaiguri District with the help of census data from 1901 onwards. The chapter examines the principal aspects of demography of the study area including the size, distribution, growth and composition of population and changes therein as well factors affecting those changes.

Dhupguri Block is located on the eastern bank of 'Teesta' River which lies on the eastern extremity of Jalpaiguri district and extends from its northern to southern boundary. In the north-eastern and southern side, it borders Bhutan and Koch Bihar district respectively. Changrabandha³ international land border port with Bangladesh is about 35 Kilometre away from the city of Dhupguri lies in southern part of Koch Bihar district. Dhupguri a part of Western Dooars,⁴ occupies third highest geographical area (550.55 Sq. Km.) in Jalpaiguri district and shares maximum population of Jalpaiguri district (District Census Handbook, 2011). The National Highway 31D⁵ runs through

³ Chanrabandha: It is a land border crossing point between India and Bangladesh at Koch Bihar district, West Bengal, India. The corresponding side on the Bangladesh side is Burimari falls under Lalmonirhat district.

⁴ Western Dooars: Dooars is the alluvial floodplains in north-eastern India lie south of the outer foothills of the Himalayas and north of river Basin of Brahmaputra is the gateway to Bhutan. Dooars is divided by the river Sankosh into Eastern and Western *Dooars*. Western *Dooars* is also known as Bengal Dooars, whereas Eastern Dooars is also known as Assam Dooars.

⁵ NH 31D: NH 31D connects Koch Bihar and *Jalpaiguri* district with rest of the country and links the region with Bhutan and Bangladesh also. It starts from Ghoshpukur near Siliguri city and ends at Salsalabari along the Assam border and runs around 155 km. of length.

Dhupguri. It is tract of fertile land hence the region is rich in agriculture. The well-connected transport and communication system with other parts of the district as well as states helps it to develop a rich regional market (District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri, 1981, pp. 389). Along with this, the availability of tea gardens and opportunity in diversified economic activities made Dhupguri a place of attraction for migration from other places. In order to provide a comprehensive overview of the entire demography of the study area, the following aspects have been taken-up in this chapter-

- 1) Population Growth
- 2) Population Distribution
- 3) Population Density and
- 4) Composition of population

Growth, distribution and composition of population has been tried to analyse with the census data collected from decennial district census handbook of Jalpaiguri district. Census data has also been consulted for the study area. To establish the objectives results of field survey from the selected sites have also been used.

II.1. Population Growth

Population size, its geographic distribution and the changes in these aspects of demography over a time period are the two most important demographical facts about any area (Amonker, 1974).

Table no. II.1. **Size and Growth of population in Dhupguri Block**

Year	Total population	Decadal variation	Population Growth (%)
1901	73281	-	-
1911	80043	6762	9.2
1921	79294	-794	-1
1931	88170	8921	11.3
1941	101588	13418	15.2
1951	110910	9322	9.2
1961	168308	57398	51.8

1971	216330	48022	28.53
1981	286535	70205	32.45
1991	345359	59124	20.65
2001	418461	73102	21.16
2011	459543	41082	9.82

Source: Computed from Census of India, 1951 & 2011

Dhupguri block ranks first among the blocks of Jalpaiguri district in terms of total population. Table number II.1. shows that during 1901-1951 period total population of Dhupguri is increased by 0.37 lakh . Growth rate for the same period was 51.34 percent. It can be seen that within the next sixty years span of 1951-2011, Dhupguri registered a fast positive growth rate of 274.04 percent.

After assessing the population growth of Dhupguri for the last century, it could be divided into 4 different phase of population growth-

II.1.a. Period of Stagnant Population (1901-21)

As the table II.1. shows Dhupguri block registered a slow and irregular growth rate which is marginally over 8 percent during 1901-21. Population increased only by 6 thousands in the period. The decades of 1901-11 registered a slow growth of 9.2 percent. In fact, it was only in census year 1921 that a negative decadal growth rate was registered in the entire 20th century for Dhupguri. The block registered a negative growth rate of -1 percent for the same decade whereas 5 percent positive growth rate can be observed for the entire district. Thus population growth rate of this period can be considered as more or less stagnant when compared to successive year's growth. The influenza epidemic of 1918-19 which took a heavy toll of 10-20 millions of life in India, in the 2nd week of December peaked in the eastern province of Bengal and Bihar (Chandra, S. & Kassens, N., 2014). The same influenza epidemic of 1918 possibly would have affected this area, as the study area located in the western *Dooars* which

has been known for malaria and other kind of viral fevers. In the same period plague was also claimed to take a heavy toll of life in Bengal (Desai et. al., 2003).

II.1.b. Period of Steady Growth (1921-51)

During 1921-51, population of Dhupguri moved to 1.10 lakh from 0.79 lakh i.e. with a mere growth of 0.31 lakh. The period registered slow growth rate of 39.87 percent. The decade 1921-31 accounted for a marginal growth rate of 11.3 percent. The following decade of 1931-41 had a slight higher growth rate of 15.2 percent. In the next decade again the place registered a marginal growth rate of 9.2 percent where population increased by only 9.3 thousands. After assessing the growth rate of the period it can be termed a period of steady or marginal growth. During 1946-51, Jalpaiguri received a flow of 97 thousand of East Bengali people (District census Handbook, Jalpaiguri, 1951). Because of fertile land of Dhupguri and well-connected transport system, some portion of that flow might have come to Dhupguri. Possibly the combined effect of these factors worked for the steady increase in the population of Dhupguri during 1921-51 period.

II.1.c. Period of Fast Growth (1951-81)

Table number II.1. shows that during 1951-81, population of Dhupguri increased by a fast growth rate in the history of population growth for the above mentioned four phases of population growth. Within this short span of 30 years, population of the study area, increased by 1.76 lakh with 158.34 percent of growth rate. During the entire period of study, the decade of 1951-61 registered the highest decadal growth rate of 51.8 percent. During 1971-81, gross population experienced a substantial increase. By this period population increased by more than 70 thousands with a growth rate of 32.45 percent. Seeing the population growth rate of this period it can be referred to as the period of

population explosion for Dhupguri. This considerable high growth rate of the period was possibly fuelled by better economic opportunities during the period. Working population of the study area accounted for 39.05 percent, 32.48 percent and 30.68 percent respectively for the concerned three decades. Jalpaiguri district received a sizable number of migrant flow from East Bengal. The 1961 Census enumerated about 2.18 lakh of people born in East Pakistan residing in Jalpaiguri district. A report by Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation, Department of Rehabilitation, Govt. of India, 1971, showed that Jalpaiguri had received a refugee population of 6.81 lakh from East Pakistan. Some part of that people might have moved to Dhupguri for its better locational advantages. Possibly these factors worked for the large growth rate of population.

II.1.d. Period of High Growth with a Definite Sign of Slowing Down (1981-2011)

In the last phase of 20th century, Dhupguri still registered a high growth rate of population with a definite sign of slowing down. It started to decline after the 1981 where the growth rate came down to 20.65 percent from the preceding decade's 32.45 percent. During 1991-2001 growth rate increased marginally compared to the mention only by 0.51 percent. Interestingly during 2001-2011 Dhupguri registered a negative growth rate by -0.86 percent. It is because of the loss of 14.55 square kilometre to Dhupguri municipality and exclusion of the population of Dhupguri municipality, established in 2002. If municipality population (44719) added, Dhupguri would have 9.82 percent growth rate for the same decade of 2001-11. By this time the literacy of Dhupguri increased substantially (table II.2.), especially, the female literacy. It might worked in lowering down the fast growth rate.

Table no. II.2.

Literacy Rate in Dhupguri Block

Year	Total Literacy	Female Literacy
1981	28.54	17.08
1991	40.93	28.23
2001	62.10	49.6
2011	69.57	61.35

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

It has also been argued by some scholars that after the fencing of India-Bangladesh Border, somehow the migration rate from other side of the border has declined in West Bengal. And it appears likely that, the combined effect of these factors worked for the decline in growth rate of Dhupguri.

On the other hand, in the two selected colonies, it has been observed that the number of migrant household decreased at both the colonies. The table No. II.3. shows migrant households and population for both the colonies.

Table no. II.3.

Population Figure of Surveyed Colonies in Dhupguri

Year	Bamantary		Year	Ghoshpara	
	HH No.	Population		HH No.	Population
1972	100	469	1977	151	498
2011	90	507	2002	146	501

Source: Record of the founding committee of the colonies; Bamantary-2011 & Ghoshpara-2002

The former *Panchayat* Pradhan of Bamantary colony pointed out the reasons of migrant households to reside outside the colony which basically driven by the better economic opportunities in around urban area. Due to comparatively less prosperous economy, average household member of Bamantary colony might have increased. On the other hand, the average household member for Ghoshpara colony remained more or less same during study period.

II.2. Population Distribution of Dhupguri

Density of population of an area holds immense significance as all other components of demography are intimately related (Chandna, 2001). The study area has total of 16 *Gram Panchayat*, 3 census towns (Census of India, 2011).

Table no. II.4. **Distribution of Population among the G.P.s in Dhupguri Block**

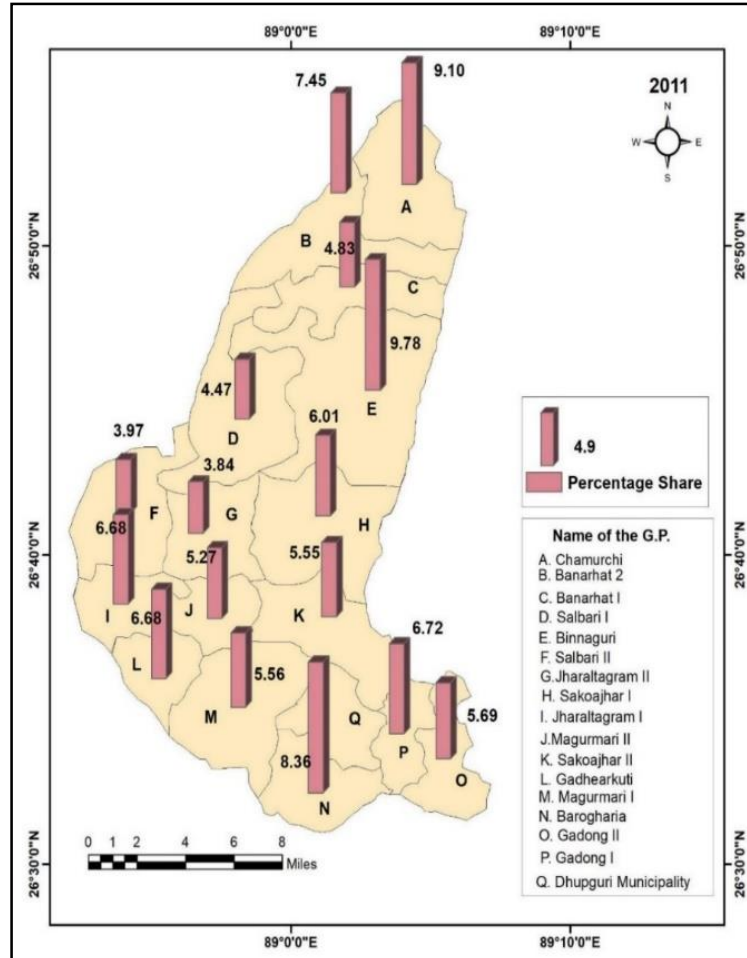
Gram Panchayat	% Share in 2001	% Share in 2011	Decadal Variation in Population share
Banarhat I	4.35	4.83	0.48
Banarhat II	7.41	7.45	0.04
Barogharia	7.59	8.36	0.77
Binnaguri	15.26	9.78	-5.48
Chamurchi	9.26	9.1	-0.16
Jharaltagram I	5.97	6.68	0.71
Jharaltagram II	3.27	3.84	0.57
Gadherkuti	5.87	6.68	0.81
Gadong I	5.68	6.72	1.04
Gadong II	5.19	5.69	0.50
Magurmari I	5.74	5.56	-0.18
Magurmari II	4.77	5.27	0.50
Sakoajhar I	6.89	6.05	-0.84
Sakoajhar II	4.92	5.55	0.63
Salbari I	4.14	4.47	0.33
Salbari II	3.68	3.97	0.29
Total	100	100	00

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

Table number II.4. shows that *gram Panchayats*, located in the north of the block, has more concentration of population than the *gram Panchayats* located in the south part. This is possibly due to the tea garden influenced settlement in the north part. About 21 tea garden are stretches over 6 *gram Panchayat* of the north part of this Block. Out of the 21 tea garden villages Banarhat I, Banarhat II, Binnaguri and Chamurchi are tea garden settlement. Contrary to this map number II.2. reveals that, in the south part, Barogharia (8.56%) has maximum *gram Panchayat* population which is followed by Gadong I (6.72%) and Gadong II (5.69%). It might be due to the locational advantage of these three-*gram Panchayats* which are located very close to the Block's headquarter

which is an urban centre. These three-gram panchayats have higher population possibly due to its fertile agricultural land (Ghosh et al. 2013).

Map no. II.1. **Distribution of Population among the G.P.s in Dhupguri Block**



Source: Census of India, 2011

Dhupguri block enumerated three census towns in 2001 census namely Dhupguri, Gaikata and Banarhat in 2001. It can be seen from table number II.5 that census 2001 accounted for 61327 urban population. The following Census year i.e. 2011 also enumerated three census towns, namely Telipara tea garden, Banarhat tea garden and Gaikata.

Table no. II.5. **Distribution of Urban population in Dhupguri Block**

Year	Census town	Total population	% share to total Urban population
2001	Dhupguri	38130	62.17
	Gairkata	8724	14.23
	Banarhat	14473	23.60
	Total	61327	100
2011	Gairkata	7577	9.53
	Banarhat Tea Garden	15652	19.69
	Telipara Tea Garden	11535	14.51
	Dhupguri Municipality	44719	56.26
	Total	79483	100

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

II.3. Population Density of Dhupguri

Amonker (1974) argues that the geographic distribution of population is studied on the basis of population density. Table number II.6. shows population density has increased considerably due to large population growth more so after 1951. The place registered a higher density of population compared to the district's average throughout previous century.

Table no. II.6.

Population Density

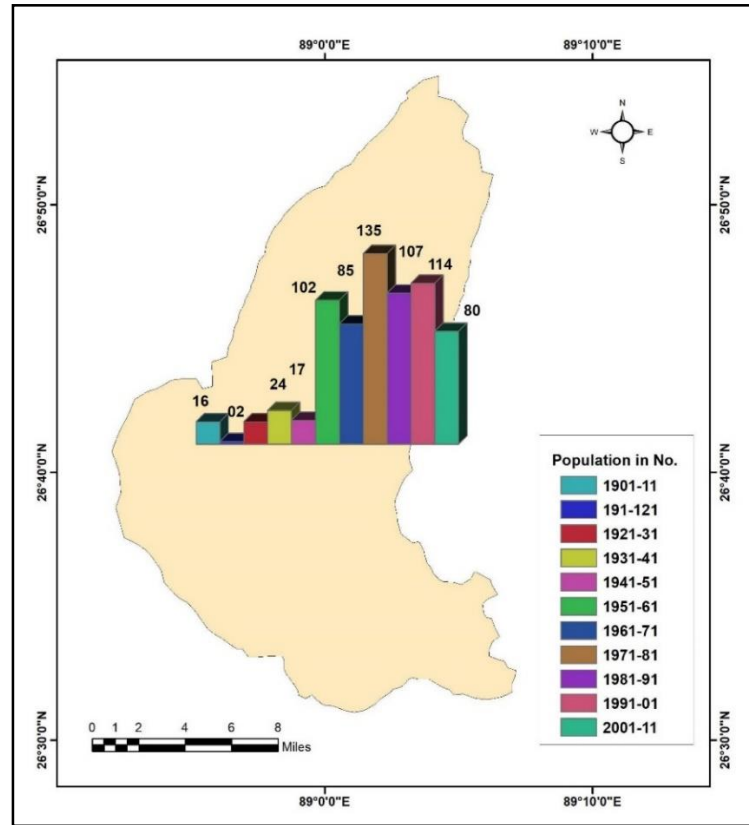
Year	Dhupguri	Jalpaiguri
1901	127	88
1911	143	108
1921	141	113
1931	157	120
1941	181	138
1951	198	149
1961	300	220
1971	385	280
1981	520	356
1991	627	450
2001	741	547
2011	754	622

Source: District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri, 1951 & 2011

The population density has increased by almost 6 times during the last century (table II.6.). This appears to be because of the fertile agricultural land and its

development as nodal centre of trade and commerce. Interestingly, it can be observed from Map no. II.2. that Dhupguri had marginal increase in population density till 1951.

Map no. II.2. **Decadal Variation in Population Density in Dhupguri Block**



Source: Census of India, 1951 & 2011

The 1971-81 decade registered highest growth rate of 135 person per square kilometre due to the loss of its 36 square kilometres area. A fast-growing population plunges the economy into mass and under-employment (Desai et. al.). As far as Dhupguri is concerned, pressure on land increased because of its considerable high growth rate and density of population. The high increase of population density is a matter of concern as it puts a pressure on the limited resources of the study area.

II.4. Structure and Composition of population

In order to comprehend Demography of the study area aspects like sex-composition, caste composition, religious composition, linguistic composition, literacy, occupational structure has been studied.

II.4.a. Sex-composition

Dhupguri registered a low sex-ratio till 1971 like the district's average. The place had a low sex-ratio, which was below 900 females per 1000 males. It is possibly a reflection of gender biasness. Table number II.7. shows that there has been a gradual increase in sex-ratio since 1981. Increasing female literacy (61.35%) leading to increase overall literacy (69.57%) in recent times, perhaps have been the influencing factors for the increasing sex-ratio (figures as per 2011 census of India).

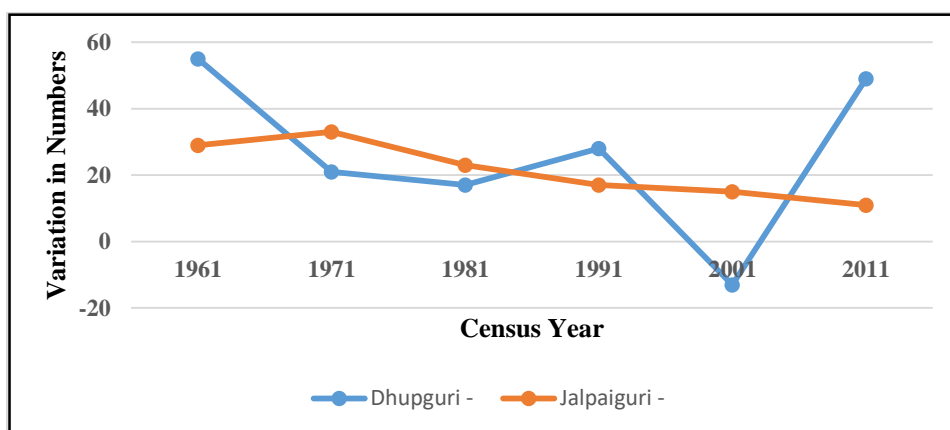
Table no. II.7. **Sex- ratio in Dhupguri Block & Jalpaiguri District**

Year	Dhupguri	Jalpaiguri
1951	813	825
1961	868	854
1971	889	887
1981	906	910
1991	934	927
2001	921	942
2011	970	953

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

Figure number II.1. depicts higher variation in sex-ratio in the previous century at Dhupguri as compared to district average. Only 2001 shows a decline of 13 in sex-ratio of Dhupguri compared to previous decade. Contrary to subsequent census 2011 registered an increase in the sex-ratio by 11 females to per thousand males.

Figure II.1. **Decadal variation in Sex-Ratio in Dhupguri Block & Jalpaiguri District**



Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

Sex ratio of the surveyed households of the two colonies shows that sex-ratio is higher at Ghoshpara colony. Whereas at Bamantary colony sex-ratio is relatively low as compared to Ghoshpara as well as Block average. This is owing to the prominence of agriculture-based economy and lower female literacy of Bamantary colony.

Table No. II.8. **Sex-ratio among the Migrant⁶ Household**

Colony / Sex-ratio	Bamantary	Ghoshpara
Sex-ratio	938	966

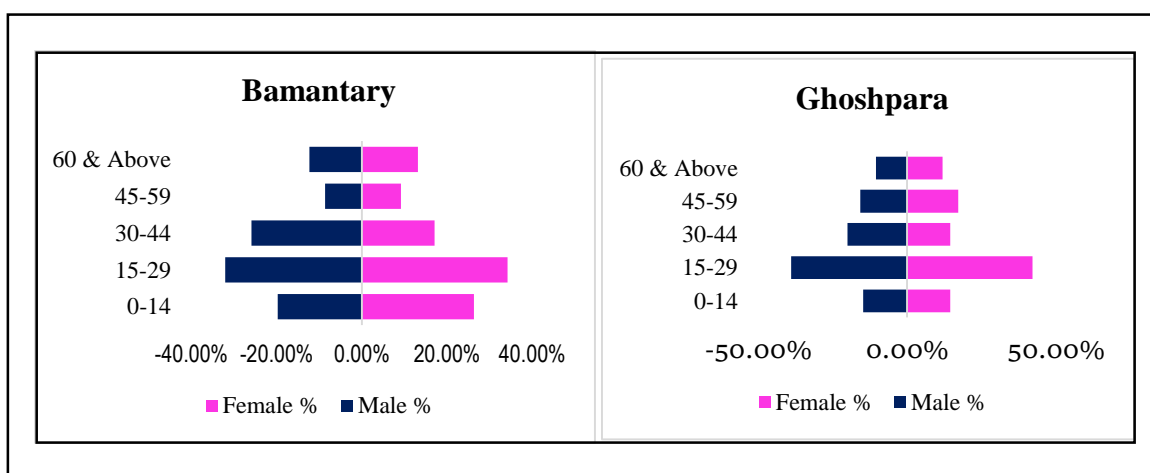
Source: Filed Survey September 2017

On the other hand, Ghoshpara colony shows less population distribution in the age group of 0-14 and 60 & above, compared to Bamantary colony. It suggests that dependency ratio is low at Ghoshpara colony compared to Bamantary.

⁶ Migrant: In this dissertation those people who have moved from other side of the present border of divided Bengal i.e. from present Bangladesh to the study area have been denoted as migrants. Whether their movement is documented or undocumented have not been taken into consideration.

Figure II.2.

Population Pyramid of the Surveyed Household



Source: Field Survey September 2017

An imbalanced male-female ratios would tend to result lower fertility that further slow the growth rate for any region. In spite of this imbalanced sex ratio, Dhupguri did not have a slower growth rate. Rather the picture is just opposite. This condition also might have indicates in-migration of population to the block.

II.4.b. Occupational Structure

Working population in various field highlights the economic and cultural profile of that society, further, the cultural moorings have a strong bearing on man's livelihood. It can be seen from table number II.9. that 1981 onwards has steady increase working population, While the proportion of nonworkers dropped down with the progress of time. All along it is very noteworthy during the entire span of the study period that percent of non-workers for Dhupguri remained above 60 percent except 2011 census, which is also very close to 60 percent. The decade of 1961 census registered 39.85 percent of workers which can be labelled as moderate proportion of working population. But the immediate successive decades registered a fall in the working population by 7.37 percent. As evident from table no. II.9. it is quite noticeable in terms of being the only time (1961-1971) of the decline in the proportion of workers.

Table no. II.9.

Workforce Participation in Dhupguri Block

Year	Working population (%)	Non-working population (%)	Male worker (%)	Female worker (%)
1961	39.85	60.15	72.61	27.39
1971	32.48	67.52	82.51	17.49
1981	30.68	69.32	78.13	21.87
1991	33.35	66.65	76.16	23.84
2001	38.09	61.91	72.01	27.99
2011	40.57	59.43	67.46	32.54

Source: Computed from District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri, 2011

On the other hand, male workers constitute the major chunk compared to the female for the entire span of the study period. Which returned its highest figure in the year of 1971. Since then there has been a gradual positive increasing trend in the female workers .It reached to 32.54 percent in 2011. Possibly, it is the ultimate result of gradual increase in female literacy and slow march towards gender equality and pressure on the household economy. So, that females also participate in economic activities on the other hand.

Census of India classified the workforce structure differently in its various enumeration. In order to remove the difficulty to analyse the workforce structure for the study area, only 4 fold classification has been taken into consideration for the entire span of study.

Table no. II.10.

Workforce Structure in Dhupguri Block

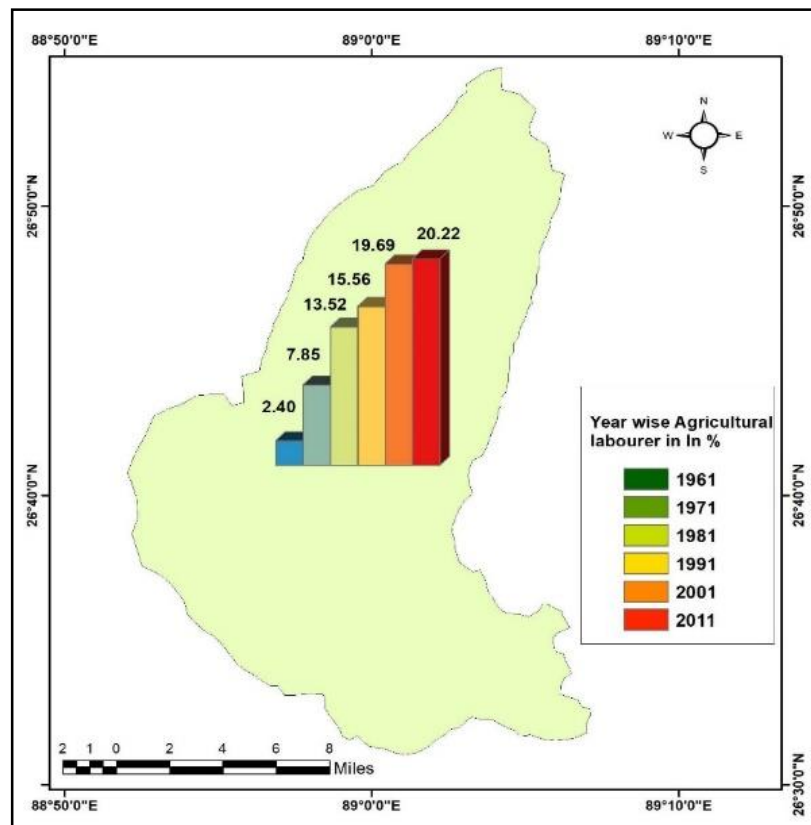
Year	Cultivator (%)	Agricultural labourer (%)	Household industry (%)	Others (%)
1961	42.40	2.40	0.98	54.23
1971	41.23	7.85	1.18	49.73
1981	37.58	14.56	1.16	47.10
1991	30.45	15.56	1.00	52.99
2001	20.93	19.69	1.87	57.51
2011	14.44	20.22	0.78	64.56

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

Table no. II.10. showed a decline in the percent of cultivators since 1961 to 2011. The share has come down to only 14.44 percent in 2011. During the span of 50 years, cultivators declined by 27.96 percent, While from Map no. II.3. it can be observed that

the agricultural labourer showed an opposite trend and witnessed a growth of 17.82 percent for the same period. The growth clearly reveals the effects of excessive population growth on the limited land of the area.

Map no.II.3. **Agricultural Labourers in the workforce in Dhupguri Block**

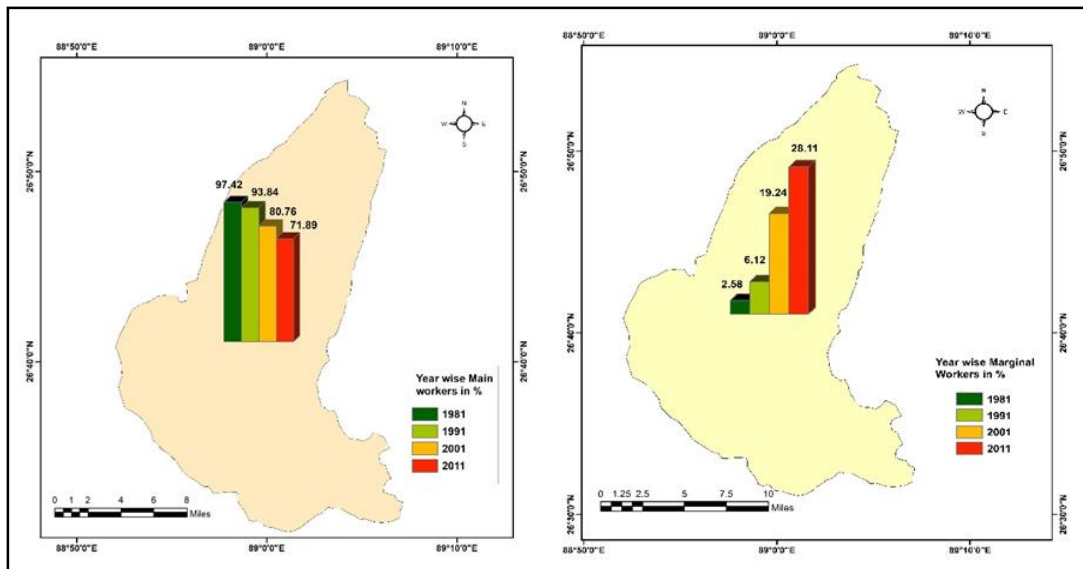


Source: Field Survey September 2017

Table number II.10. shows that household industries are not an important sector of economy in Dhupguri because it accounts for only about one percent of workers throughout the last century. Table no. II.10. shows that about 65 percent (as per 2011 Census) workers engaged in other economic activities except the above mentioned three. It clearly indicates that Dhupguri has the opportunity for diversified economic activities since it has been working a nodal centre for trade and commerce in Jalpaiguri district informed by government officials from local level.

Excessive population growth always tends to overuse the natural resource of a region (Desai et. al.). As far as Dhupguri is concerned, population increased by 3.45 lakh in the last twentieth century with an immense growth rate of 471.03 percent. As a matter of fact, the place experienced a huge pressure in its limited land and resources, which further resulted in increasing percent of marginal workers year by year. The Map no. II.4. shows definite rise in marginal workers and gradual decline in main workers in Dhupguri block.

Map no. II.4. **Main & Marginal Workers in Dhupguri Block**



Source: Census of India, 2011

From table number II.11 it can be observed that working population of the surveyed households are higher for both the colonies compared to block average for 2011. Female worker for Bamantary comprised a lower work participation rate than Ghoshpara as well as from Block average.

Table no. II.11. **Participation in Workforce among the Migrants in Dhupguri**

Colony / Block	Working population	Non-Working population	Male worker	Female worker
Bamantary	43.02	56.98	83.09	16.91
Ghoshpara	46.74	53.26	63.12	36.88

Source: Field survey September 2017

On the other hand scenario of workforce structure of both the selected sites is different compared to Block average and it is rather natural. Point being, Bamantary is rural area that is why participation in agriculture oriented works is higher compared to Ghoshpara, which is urban in character. Because of the urban character of Ghoshpara colony, participation in economic activities such as business and small entrepreneurship is prominent as compared to Bamantary and the Block average.

Table no. II.12. **Workforce structure among the Migrants in Dhupguri**

Workforce / Colony	Cultivator	Agricultural Labourer	Household Industry	Others
Bamantary	60	10	02	28
Ghoshpara	9.52	00	6.35	84.13

Source: Field Survey September 2017

However, it can be said that it is only a general picture about the occupational structure of the study area due to diversified nature of classification across different censuses, which posed a challenge to analyse it properly. Further, a more engaging study in terms of time is required to decipher the intricacies.

II.4.c. Literacy

Education influences the demographic characteristics as like the fertility, mortality, mobility, occupation, marriages, which further influence the socio-economic and political development of a country. As far as the study region, n is concerned, literacy did not show a decent status. Likewise, Jalpaiguri, literacy rate of Dhupguri showed lower status as compared to the state's standard throughout the last century. However, since 1991, there has been an increasing trend of literacy rate for both total as well as male-female literacy rate.

Table no. II.13.

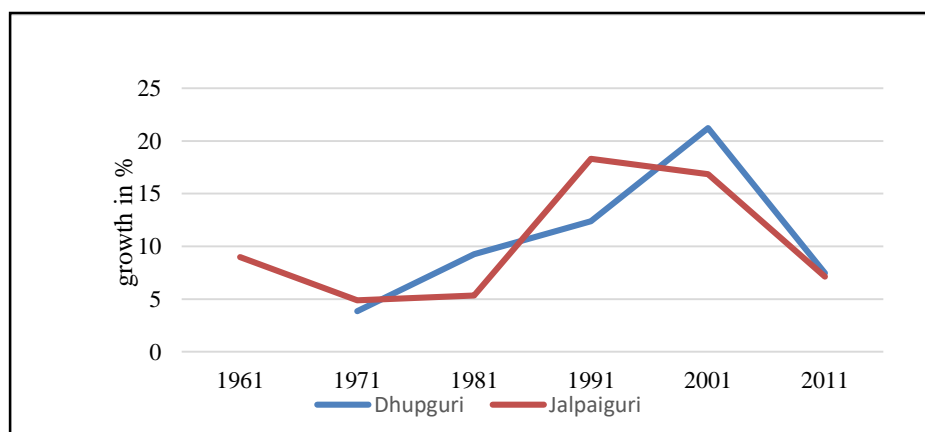
Literacy Rate in Dhupguri Block

Year	Total literacy (%)	Male literacy (%)	Female literacy (%)	Male-female literacy Gap (%)
1961	15.43	23.49	6.14	17.35
1971	19.27	27.63	9.88	17.75
1981	28.54	38.96	17.08	21.88
1991	40.93	52.71	28.23	24.48
2001	62.10	73.5	49.6	23.9
2011	69.57	77.55	61.35	16.2

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

Figure number II.3. shows that during 1961-1981 Dhupguri had a lower growth rate in literacy rate. The decade of 1991-2001 registered the highest growth in literacy rate for Dhupguri by 21.17 percent. However, during 2001-11, it has a lower growth rate by 2.93% than the district average.

Figure no. II.3.

Literacy Growth Rate

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

The father of the nation Mahatma Gandhi on said 'Educate one man, you educate one person but educate a woman and you educate a whole civilisation'. In Dhupguri, female literacy was below than male literacy. In fact, Dhupguri registered a relatively low female literacy throughout the entire period, though it has been shrinking in recent times. Likewise, the male-female literacy, study area has been showing disparity in the distribution of rural-urban literacy. Table number II.14. shows urban

literacy rate has always been the better in comparison to rural literacy. Rural-urban literacy reached its peak in 1971 which accounted for 33.41 percent. In recent times rural literacy has been on a trend of closing the gap with urban literacy, thereby bringing it down to mere 4.07 percent in 2011.

Table no. II.14. **Distribution of Rural-Urban Literacy in Dhupguri Block**

Year	Rural literacy	Urban Literacy	Rural-Urban Disparity (%)
1961	13.93	37.68	23.75
1971	17.61	51.02	33.41
1981	24.00	52.35	28.35
1991	37.33	68.65	31.32
2001	59.50	76.70	17.20
2011	69.22	73.29	4.07

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

The literacy rate of the colonies showing a better status as compared to the Block average. Though, male-female literacy gap persists, which is close to 15 percent for the block. However, due to the urban character Ghoshpara, shows a better literacy rate both male and female as compared to Bamantary.

Table no. II.15. **Literacy Rate among the Migrant Households in Dhupguri**

Colony / Block	Total Literacy (%)	Male Literacy (%)	Female Literacy (%)	Illiterate (%)
Bamantary	79.58	86.17	71.43	20.42
Ghosh Para	86.45	93.12	78.12	9.36

Source: Field Survey September 2017

The skills of a population of any country or region is a major strength for the socio-economic as well as overall development of the concerned country. The study area is as according to the standard of education and literacy rate, especially in female literacy.

II.4.d. Rural-Urban population

The study area was totally rural area up to 1951 census. In the subsequent census of 1961, for the first time, it accounted an urban population of 10.63 thousand. Dhupguri has predominantly been a rural area, Where urban population shared only a small portion compared to the rural. With the increasing share of workers after 1971, growing literacy of Dhupguri and development of transport and network system the place witnessed a gradual increase in share of urban population (table no. II.9 & II.13).

Table no. II.16. **Distribution of Rural-Urban population in Dhupguri Block**

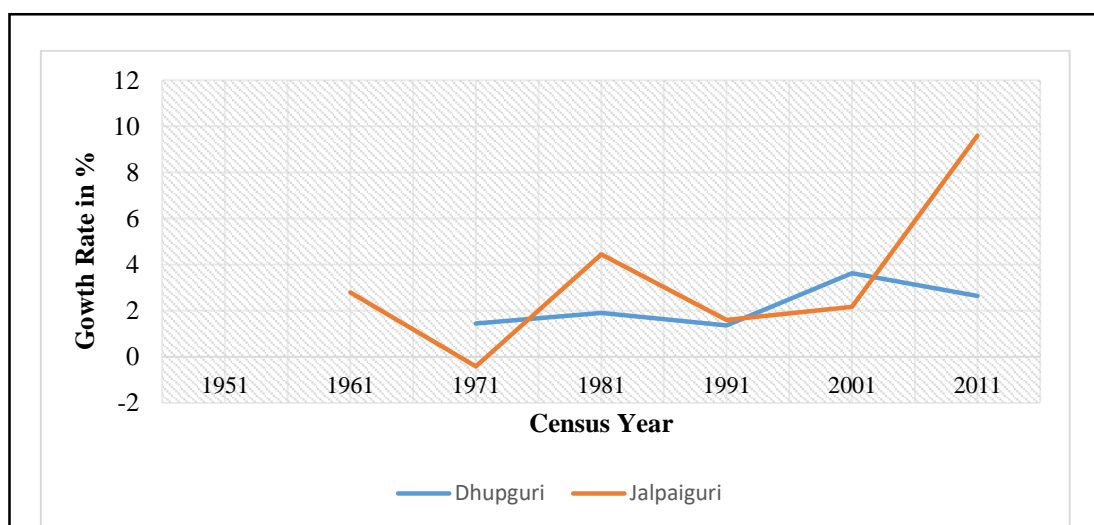
Year	Rural population (%)	Urban population (%)	Decadal variation in urban population (%)
1951	100	---	---
1961	93.68	6.32	---
1971	92.23	7.77	1.45
1981	90.33	9.67	1.90
1991	88.97	11.03	1.36
2001	85.34	14.66	3.63
2011	82.70	17.30	2.64

Source: Computed from Census of India's 2011

Table number II.15 shows that during 1961-2011 urban population increased by only 10.98 percent. The share reached to 17.30 percent in 2011. Figure number II.4. depicts that decadal variation registered a steady growth rate in urban population of Dhupguri. It witnessed the highest growth rate during 1991-2001, which accounts for 3.63 percent. On the other hand, Jalpaiguri district registered an ups and down in decadal growth of urban population.

Figure no. II.4.

Growth of Urban Population



Source: Computed from Census of India, 1951 & 2011

On the other hand, amongst the five refugee colonies, only Bamantary is rural in character which shares a marginal population of 7.22 percent and remaining 92.77 percent is urban in character.

II.4.e. Linguistic Composition

Dhupguri part of Western Doars is linguistically diverse as the area is inhabited by different ethnic communities, who speaks different languages. Vast stretches of land of the northern part of the study Block occupied by speakers of various dialects. Tribal population came to this part to work in different tea gardens from Chotonagpur plateau area (District census handbook, 1991). It has been learnt from local Block Development Office that the vast stretches of land of the northern part of the Block inhabited by speakers of various languages. They speak Oraon,⁷ Munda,⁸ Santhali and along with this Nepali has been more prevalent in the northern part as majority of the Nepali people

⁷ *Oraon*: The *Oraon* an *Adivasi* tribe also known as *Kurukh* tribe inhabiting various states across central and eastern india, *Rakhine* state of Myanmar, Bangladesh and in parts of Nepal and Bhutan.

⁸ *Munda*: *Munda* an *Adivasi* group mainly concentrating in the states of Jharkhand, Odisha, and West Bengal and also in adjacent areas of Bihar, Chattishgarh and Arunachal Pradesh.

reside in the area. Southern portion of this Block is a Bengali speaker dominant area. While in the census towns and municipality area Bengali, Hindi and *Santhali*⁹ languages are prevalent. The present work has been carried out on migrant people from other side of the border over the two colonies from Dhupguri. Thus, all the surveyed household speak in Bengali.

Table no. II.17. **Languages Spoken in Dhupguri Block**

Languages	Rural speakers (%)	Urban speakers (%)	Total speakers (%)
Bengali	60.12	76.55	62.53
Hindi	25.98	15.49	24.44
Nepali	6.61	1.68	5.89
Oraon	1.85	1.59	1.81
Munda	0.69	0.4	0.65
Santhali	0.44	0.51	0.45
Assamese	0.12	0.01	0.11
Others	4.18	3.74	4.12
Total	100	100	100

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

The table II.17. shows that linguistically the area has been diverse. The area is expectedly Bengali speakers' dominant area. However, Bengali speaker are more in the urban area as compared to rural. It is because of the tribal migrated people, who migrated to the rural tea garden influenced villages of the study Block from Chotonagpur area.

II.4.f. Religious composition

Hinduism has been the numerically dominant in the area. Where Hindu population constitute about 80 percent. Followers of Islam constitute second most important religion.

⁹ *Santhali*: *Santhali* is related to *Ho* and *Mundari* in the *Munda* subfamily of Austroasiatic languages.

Table no. II.18.

Religious Community in Dhupguri Block

Year	Hindu (%)	Muslim (%)	Christian (%)	Buddhist (%)	Sikh (%)	Jain (%)	Other religion & persuasion (%)	Religion not stated (%)
1961	82.29	13.45	3.47	0.68	0.08	0.02	0	0
1971	84.47	12.84	1.97	0.59	0.06	0.07	0	0
1991	82.28	16.64	0.77	0.05	0.13	0.04	0.09	0
2001	81.69	13.45	3.87	0.78	0.09	0.03	0.07	0.02

Source: Computed from Census of India 1961, 2001, & 2011

The table II.18. shows that there has been little changes in proportion of various religious group constitution in Dhupguri. It has been observed that the birth rate is comparatively higher among the Muslim population for the district and state as a whole (Haque, I. & Patel, P.P., 2016). But interestingly, Muslim population proportion showed a stagnant growth rate for Dhupguri during the last 40 years. As per a few government officials from local block development office, this appears to be on account of in-migrating Hindu population from Bangladesh in across different period has offset the rather higher population growth rate among Muslims. The surveyed household at both the colonies are also followers of Hinduism. Which also suggests about the Hindu mobility from other side of the border.

II.4.g. Caste Composition

Indian society is still largely organized on the basis of caste and religion, which in turn further affect the social, economic and political structure of the society and thereby influence the course of population change (Abha, 1992). Schedule caste constitutes a sizable proportion for the study area as the area comes under 'Rajbangsi' dominated area of Jalpaiguri district. As *Rajbangshis* are categorised as scheduled caste. Indeed, the enumerated size of scheduled caste population is nearly 1.90 lakh to 4.14 lakh of total population as per 2011 Census. The schedule caste population always constituted sizable percent of the population, which accounted for almost 40 percent. Scheduled

tribe also constitute a substantial proportion of the total population of the study area. As evident from table no. II.19. Dhupguri has little above 21 percent of St population

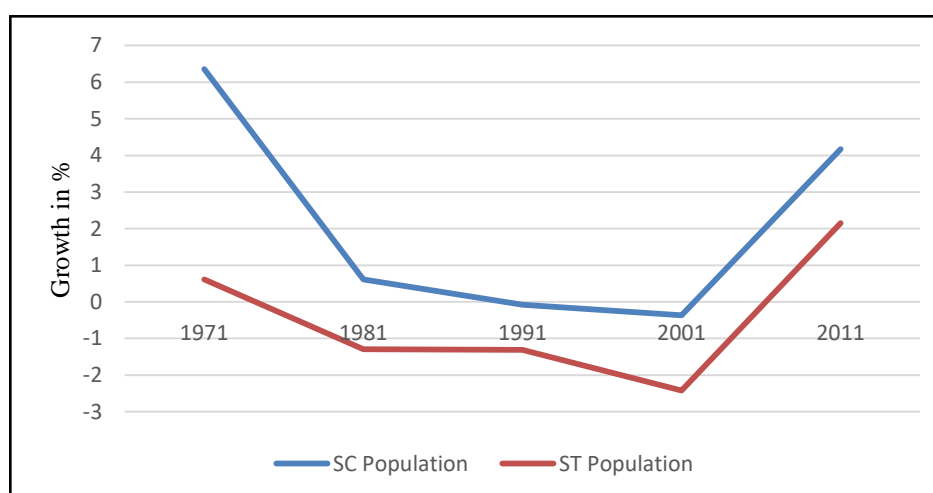
Table no. II.19. **SC and ST Population in Dhupguri Block**

Year	SC Population (%)	Decadal variation (%)	ST Population (%)	Decadal variation (%)
1961	36.03	-	22.93	-
1971	42.39	6.36	23.32	-0.39
1981	42.07	-0.02	22.54	-0.78
1991	42.20	0.13	21.31	-1.23
2001	41.83	-0.37	18.89	-2.42
2011	46.00	4.17	21.04	2.15

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

The proportion of tribal population in Dhupguri has been always been above the district's average.

Figure no. II.5. **Decadal Growth Rate in Share of SC & ST Population to Dhupguri**



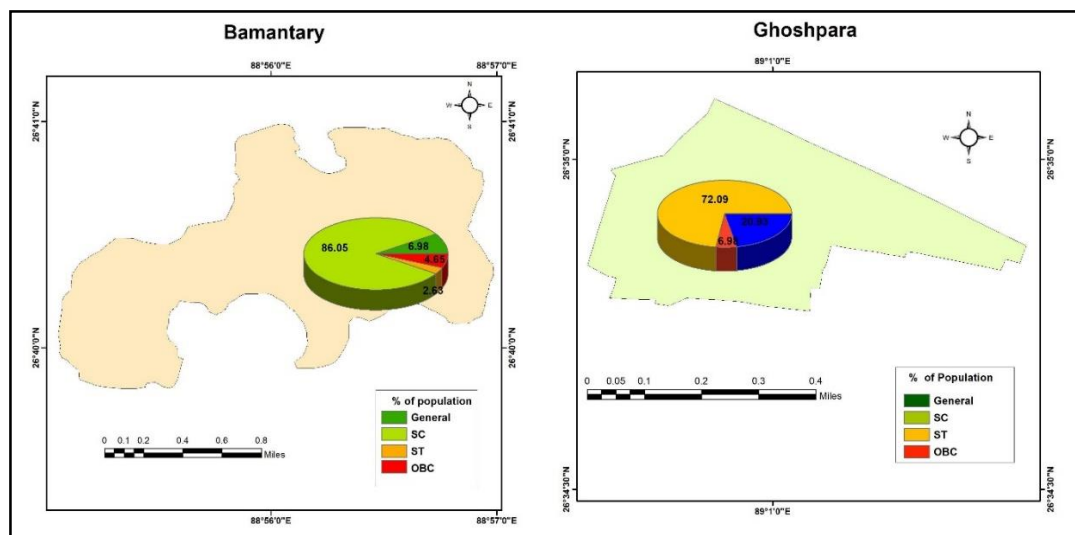
Source: Census of India, 2011

Map number II.5. shows that the caste composition for the two colonies are not identical in nature. Bamantary has the maximum concentration of SC population. They are known as '*Namasudra*'¹⁰ subcaste who have been agriculturalist. Whereas, general caste people constitute major portion of Ghoshpara colony. As the tribal population did

¹⁰ *Namasudra*: *Namasudras* as a sub caste originated from the *Aryansation* processes in the four fold Varna divisions of the society. The *Sudras* possessed the lowest rung of the socio-religious order. The *sudras* who were in cultivation came to be known as *Namasudras* in Bengal.

not migrate to these colonies, the share of ST population is less to even zero at Ghoshpara colony.

Map no. II.5. **Caste Composition among the Migrants in Dhupguri**



Source: Field Survey September 2017

Both the SC and ST population of the study area resides predominantly in the rural area, while urban area have only small proportion of these section of the population. Of the SC population, more than 90 percent accounted in the rural population. As per the 2011 Census, the rural SC population of Dhupguri block reached close to 98 percent. Likewise, the SC population, ST rural population also share similar kind of ratio, even close to 98 percent, but nowadays it shows a marginal increase in urban ST dwellers.

Table no. II.20. **Rural-Urban SC and ST population in Dhupguri Block**

Year	Rural SC (%)	Urban SC (%)	Rural ST (%)	Urban ST (%)
1971	94.2	5.8	99.89	0.11
1981	92.3	6.7	98.01	1.99
1991	91.84	8.16	98.69	1.31
2001	90.98	9.02	93.68	6.32
2011	97.52	2.48	88.41	11.59

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2011

Like few western countries, India is one of the very few non-western countries that has a fairly reach and comprehensive detailed decennial census information, available since 1872, notably with a single break so far (Mahapatra, 2005). Decennial

census report and statistical record have been presenting the demographic characteristics for the different administrative unit of the country and also for the country as a whole. This, of course, offers vast scope for research on demographic study for any region. The present chapter set out by examining demographic phenomena and their changes in a comparative perspective from 1901 till 2011. Pattern of growth of the study area has been historically not very different from that of the district average. In some relatively favourable periods especially after the post-independence India, the population of Dhupguri block seems to have experienced a rapid growth that have linkages with the economy of the area. The rapid growth put a pressure on the limited agricultural land and other resources of the study area that is gradually increasing the percent of non-worker and marginal worker in the study area (Map no. II.3.). However, table number II.1. and II.13. show that growth of population did slow down albeit moderately after 1981 onwards possibly due to the increasing literacy and growing awareness among the population of Dhupguri (table II.13.).

Improvement of basic education especially female education (table II.13) plays an important role in the betterment of overall socio-economic condition in general and improving the status of women in particular. Moreover, the regional distribution of the rural-urban and SC, ST population has remained rather unaltered with slight ups and down. However, in recent times, proportion of urban population have seen a growth. All along the study area showed a greater eschewed sex ratio, though slight improvement in it can be observed in recent decades. Though, the census 2001 shows a negative sex-ratio, population of Dhupguri still increased rapidly. This particular phenomenon can be assigned to the in-migration of the people to the area. Jalpaiguri district has received inflows of people from Bangladesh during the entire study period (District Census Handbook, 1951, 1961, and migration table 'D' series 1981, 1991,

2001). Dhupguri had its share of migrants because of its comparatively better transport and communication system, fertile agricultural land and better economic opportunities as it transformed into regional nodal centre of trade and commerce in Jalpaiguri district. The stable proportion of Muslim population possibly indicates about the inflow of Hindu population to this place from Bangladesh. Lately, the place has been slowly upgrading better demographic standards.

Spatio-Temporal Mobility

Spatial mobility of human beings have always been an integral part in the history of human civilization and one of the most important aspects among all human behaviours (Frisbie, 1975). In recent times, use of the term ‘migration’ has itself come under the question and ‘Mobility’ is gaining importance in place of the former as migration tends to indicate the permanent migration (Casties & Miller, 1993). Comparing mobility with the migration, the former is a more general term that covers all aspects of spatial and territorial movements of whatever distances, duration or degree of permanence.

The spatial mobility of people have always played a significant role, almost in all aspects of human life, especially in the structural transformation of societies and economies (Sheller, 2011). In this chapter, an attempt has been made to present the drivers, trends and patterns of the spatial mobility of the people from other side of the border of what used to be undivided Bengal earlier to present day West Bengal. In order to gain an insight into the mobility of different waves of East Bengali people to Jalpaiguri as well as Dhupguri and also to comprehend general perception about the inflow of the people.

III.1. Drivers and Trend of the Spatial Mobility from Bangladesh

Spatial mobility is a global phenomenon and people all over the world is arguably moving differently in more dynamic, complex and trackable ways than ever before (Sheller, 2011). It can be observed that regional, national and international movement is on the rise today (Dutta, 2013). Table number III.1 shows the in migrants from various countries to India which receives largest mobility from Bangladesh.

Table no. III.1.

In-Migrants to India, 2001

Countries	All Duration	Less Than 1 Year	1-4 Years	5-9 Years	10-19 Years	20+ Years
Bangladesh	59.84	16.63	29.02	51.28	66.24	64.26
Pakistan	19.34	3.39	5.66	4.86	4.27	25.98
Nepal	11.57	47.62	41.65	28.83	15.83	4.93
Bhutan	0.16	0.53	0.67	0.43	0.25	0.05
Sri Lanka	2.90	1.79	3.49	2.10	5.93	1.95
Asian Countries	97.55	88.80	92.14	94.69	96.74	98.95

Source: Census of India, 2001

III.1.a. Scenario in West Bengal

The country was divided into two nations religious ground. Cyril Radcliffe a British officer headed the boundary commission to divide the two countries, had actually no clear conception about the social, demographic and cartographic realities of British India, botched up the job by drawing a straight line through rivers, villages, markets etc. (Sengupta, 2012). Issues related to boundary was not about the border outpost and barbed wires, rather it was about the managing of the people, who suddenly found an international border in their doorsteps (Ibid). The East Pakistan became the land of Muslim majority and on the other hand in West Bengal Hindus formed the majority. The Radcliffe award and the immediate communal clash in between the two communities worked like a sensational fillip to the minorities of East Pakistan in leaving their ancestral homeland and move to neighbouring state of West Bengal (Pakrasi, 1971).

The partition of Bengal, only on religious line was one of the cruellest partitions in the history of the world that not only caused killing of innocents but also uprooted and displaced millions from their ancestral homes and hearth (Datta, 2004). As a result, Hindus of erstwhile East Bengal wanted to be a in a place of physical safety and rebuild their lives in West Bengal, India, a nation that was nominally theirs, but they were faced with dwindling public sympathy and institutional apathy (Chatterjee, 2013). The exchange of population in the western sector more or less settled once for all. But, in

the case of East Pakistan movement of people continues for years even after the independence of Bangladesh and still going on in many forms (Nath, 2003; Datta, 2004).

Table no. III.2. **Estimated Inflow of Refugees from East Pakistan**

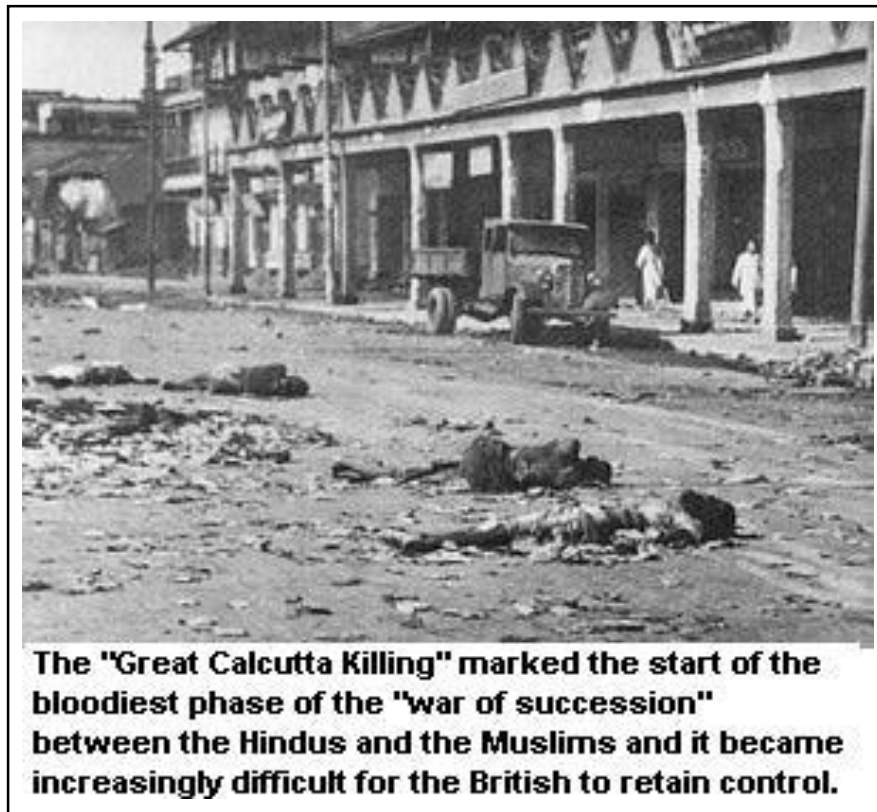
Year	Reason for Movement	Total No. of Refugees
1946	Noakhali Riot	19000
1947	Partition of the country	334000
1948	Police action in Hyderabad	786000
1949	Khulna-Barisal riots	213000
1950	Ideam	1575000
1951	Agitation over Kashmir	187000
1952	Economic conditions & passport scare	227000
1953		76000
1954		118000
1955	Unrest over Urdu in East Pakistan	240000
1956	Pakistan's Islamic Constitution	320000
1957		11000
1958		1000
1959		10000
1960		10000
1961		11000
1962		14000
1963		16000
1964	Hazratbal Incident in Kashmir	693000
1965		108000
1966		8000
1967		24000
1968		12000
1969		10000
1970	Elections in Pakistan	250000
Total		5283000

Source: Cited in Interrogating Victimhood: East Bengali Refugee Narratives of Communal Violence by Nilanjana Chatterjee, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill Pp-55

As mentioned in table number III.2. the horrific riots of October 1946, that took place in the districts of Noakhali and part of Tipperah (Comilla) i.e. just two months

after the 'Great Calcutta Killing'¹¹ as a counter-effect of the 'Direct Action Day'¹² declared by the Muslim League in Calcutta on 16th August 1946. Due to this dark disaster event, West Bengal registered the first major flow of migrants from erstwhile East Bengal.

Plate no. III.1. **Victims of Great Calcutta Killing on the Streets of Calcutta**



Source: R.R. &R. Department of Jalpaiguri District

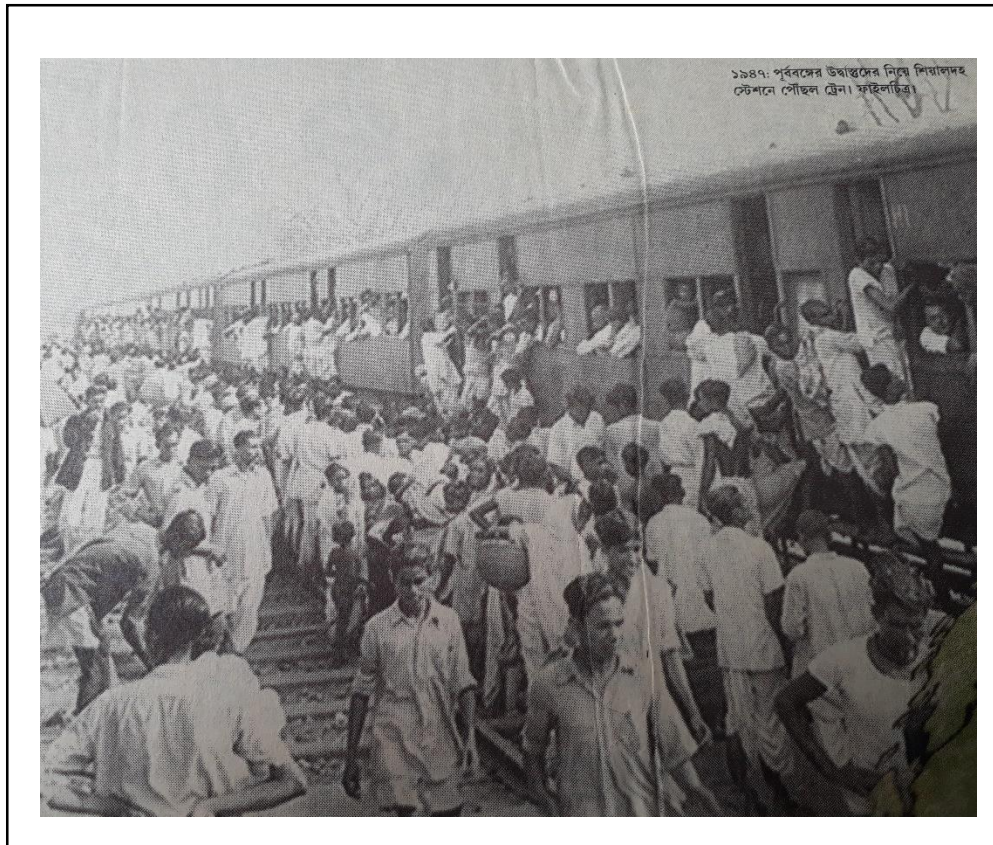
On the eve of the partition, communal tension gripped the subcontinent and the violence in both the parts of the divided land were so severe that both the country faced ever (Dasgupta, 2010). These said events sowed a deep apprehension in the mind of the minorities in erstwhile East Bengal regarding their future in their ancestral land.

¹¹ Great Calcutta Killing: Muslim league council announced for the direct action day which resulted a widespread killings, slaughter, loot and rape in the city of the Calcutta between the Hindus and Muslim on 16 August, 1946.

¹² Direct Action Day: Muslim League called on for the direct action day to show their strength to the Congress and British, which resulted the worst communal riots in Calcutta between the Hindu and Muslim that the British India had seen.

Consequently, the upper and middle-class Hindus (*Bhadraloks*) were on move, lest their homes to save their Honour (*Maan*), Wealth (*Dhan*) and life (*Pran*) (Bandopadhyay, 2016).

Plate No. III.2. **Train Arrived at Sealdah with First Batch of Refugee from East Bengal, 1947**



Source: R.R. &R. Department of Jalpaiguri District

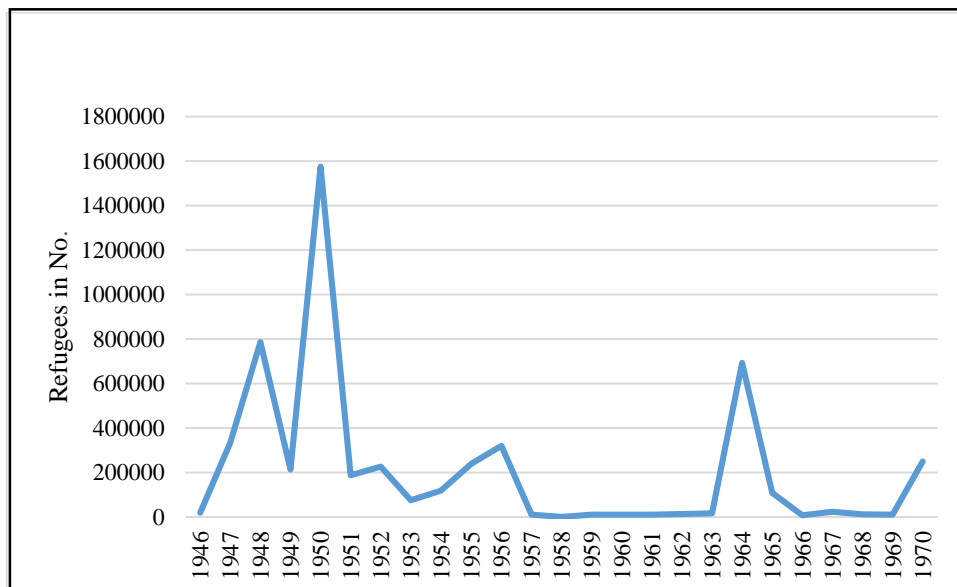
The next major inflow reached West Bengal following the *Kalshira* event of Khulna district on December 20, 1949; Nachole of Rajshahi District on January 1950. Immediately the effect of these violence spread up to several districts of East Bengal namely Dhaka, Mymensingh, Sylhet, Chittagong, and Barisal within February 1950. This time the epicentre of the violence were the villages of poor '*Namasudra*'¹³

¹³ *Namasudra*: *Namasudras* as a sub caste originated from the *Aryansation* processes in the four fold Varna divisions of the society. The Sudras possessed the lowest rung of the socio-religious order. The *sudras* who were in cultivation came to be known as *Namasudras* in Bengal.

agriculturalist people. Consequently, they also wanted to be at physical of safety. By the end of 1957, almost 31.60 lakhs migrants crossed the border and reached West Bengal (Choudhury, & Dey, 2009).

The ultimate objective Noon-Nehru pact ¹⁴ of 1950 failed and dream of return of migrants to their respective ancestral country remained unresolved. Rather, when the passport system was introduced by the Pakistan government in October 1952 to travel India, Hindus of East Pakistan got scared and felt that it's the 'Now or never kind' of situation. As a result, large number of people reached West Bengal within no time (table no. III.2.). Movement of about 55 thousand people from East Pakistan to West Bengal took place after commendable events of killing of minorities in *Rajshahi* and Pabna in 1962 (Report of the Central government on refugees from East Pakistan, 1965).

Figure no. III.1. **Inflow of Refugees from East Pakistan**



Source: Cited in *Interrogating Victimhood: East Bengali Refugee Narratives of Communal Violence* by Nilanjana Chatterjee, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill Pp. 55

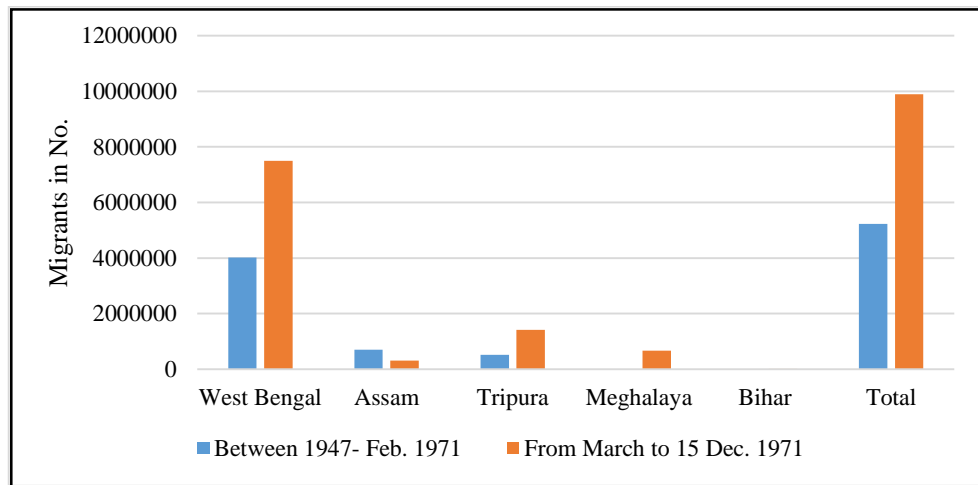
It can be observed from figure number III.1. that the inflow of people from East Pakistan reached a crescendo during 1964-1965 (Chaudhury & Dey, 2009). This time

¹⁴ *Neheru*-Noon Pact: A bilateral treaty was signed between the Jawaharlal *Neheru* and *Liaquat* Ali Khan on April 8, 1950 to ensure the rights of the minorities in both the country.

riots took place in Dhaka and Narayanganj in January 1964, it caused a massive round of massacre irrespective of the age and sex (Report of the central government on refugees of East Pakistan, 1965, pp. 37). Further, due to the ‘*Hazratbal*’ riot of 1964, West Bengal registered massive inflow of people after the partition. Finally, the unprecedented influx of people took place during 1970-71 when the West Pakistan government took the way of genocide to stop the agitation of the Bengalis for their freedom.

Figure no. III.2. shows the drastic movement of people during the time of Bangladesh liberation war. This time also likewise the earlier time of mobility, West Bengal again received the maximum number of migrants from Bangladesh, which further complicates the socio-economic condition of the state (Pakrasi, 1971).

Figure no. III.2. **Spatio-temporal Mobility of Bangladeshis to India**



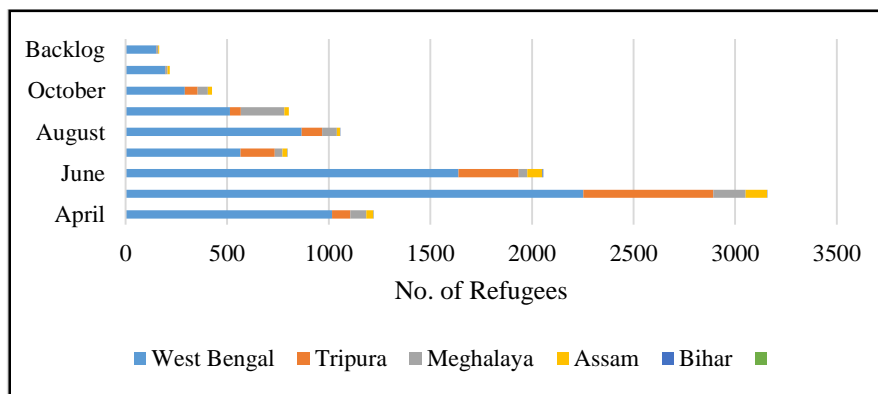
Source: Report of Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation, Department of Rehabilitation, Govt. of India, 1971

The United Nations estimated that majority of the wartime refugees and migrants returned home-an assessment disputed by the Government of West Bengal with regard to the displaced Hindus (Report of Government of West Bengal, 1980, pp. 47). During the historical agitation of the Bangladeshis against the military force of West Pakistan,

the inflows were more prominent in the beginning month of the war due to brutal torture and persecution by the West Pakistani forces (Ibid).

Figure No. III.3.

War Time Migrants from Bangladesh



Source: Report of Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation, Department of Rehabilitation, Govt. of India, 1971

Nothing can be said in concrete manner about the number migrants in West Bengal from Bangladesh. As per the report of the R.R.&R.¹⁵ Committee during the next 10 years i.e. in between 1971-81 the displaced population increased by 24% as like the normal population of the state. It further added another 14.4 lakhs to almost 60 lakh of displaced persons and by adding it together it became 74.4 lakhs. Another 2.1 lakh of the estimated displaced people of squatter colonies were not taken into account in the above-mentioned figure. Thus summing up all the three populations it became 76.5 lakhs and roughly it was considered that about 80 lakhs of displaced population came to West Bengal in different waves from erstwhile East Bengal.

III.1.b. Scenario in Jalpaiguri

Jalpaiguri district has a long tradition of human migration from erstwhile East Bengal, enhanced in particular after the partition of Bengal in 1947. Jalpaiguri district has seven community blocks, of them only *Rajganj* and Jalpaiguri Block directly share an

¹⁵ R.R.&R Committee: Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation committee has been established to Keep information about the refugees and for conducting survey for the refugee data.

international border with Bangladesh. Maynaguri and Dhupguri block of Jalpaiguri district are also very close to the international border with Bangladesh. Urban, suburban and rural areas of the district were filled up by the several flows of the proletariat, rudderless and confused uprooted people from East Bengal (Sikdar, 2005). As like the dropout leaves from the trees, thousands of migrants had crossed the border daily and eventually made the district even denser than earlier, though it has been lost a major portion of its population in the time of the partition of the country (Ibid).

Jalpaiguri was a divisional town, Well-developed road transport system, availability of ‘Darjeeling Mail’¹⁶ which earlier used to run through the mainland of Bangladesh, usually connecting with Siliguri. Absence of big rivulets and streams worked as the major factors behind the large mobility in this very district from erstwhile East Bengal. The hapless people thought that if they would move across the ‘*Rajbangshi*’¹⁷ dominated area of the North Western part of East Bengal now Bangladesh, then there would be the lower possibility of being subjected to theft, plundered and robbed. The abundant tea gardens of Jalpaiguri district appeared as opportunity land that they would somehow able to manage a job in the tea gardens and could survive initially, as in other districts they did not have this option. Jalpaiguri district received a large number of displaced persons which is almost 2.49 lakhs and ranked sixth in terms of receiving displaced persons from other side of the border out of the total 16 districts of West Bengal in 1971 (R.R. & R. Department, Govt. of West

¹⁶ *Darjeeling Mail*: It is one of the legendary train running from British period at Kolkata-Siliguri Route connecting Darjeeling Himalayan Railway at New *Jalpaiguri*. In the British Period all connection to North Bengal were through East Bengal. The then route of the train was – Sealdah—Ranaghat—Bheramara—Hardinge Bridge—Iswardi—Santinagar—Hill- Prabitpur—Nilphamari—Haldibari—Jalpaiguri—Siliguri.

¹⁷ *Rajbangshi*: *Rajbangshi* community also known as *Kochrajbangshi*, Koch and *Rajbangshi* is an indigenous community of Assam. Nowadays they are residing over parts of Nepal, Bangladesh, Indian states of Assam, Meghalaya and parts of Northern Bengal.(

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rajbangshi_people, accessed on 02.02. 18)

Bengal). The following figure of the district shows the importance of the district for trans-local and trans-national migrants.

Table no. III.3. **Distribution of migrants in Jalpaiguri Districts**

Year	Actual Number of Migrants
1901	95899
1911	152174
1921	163024
1931	158757
1941	156765
1951	278842
1961	454177

Source: District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri 1961,

Out of the 4.54 lakhs of total migrants in 1961, about 2.18 lakhs (48.02%) were East Pakistani migrants. Migrants born outside of West Bengal also comprised a decent percent of 44.53. Of this 44.53% of migrants of Jalpaiguri district, 9.54% of migrants come to the district from countries beyond India excluding Pakistan. The intra-state migrants comprised 34.99% to total migrants and only 7.39% are inter-district migrants. The district had decent percent as per 1951 figures. There has been a clear decline from 1981 onwards, as depicted in the table no. III.4.

Table No. III.4. **International Migrants in Jalpaiguri District**

Year	International Migrants (%)	Migrants from Asian Countries (%)
1951	17.17	99.86
1961	19.25	99.92
1981	13.54	99.98
1991	9.42	99.91
2001	7.17	99.98

Source: Census of India, 2001

Table no. III.4. shows Jalpaiguri district has been receiving international migrants almost from Asian countries. Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan are the three neighbouring countries from where people have been migrating more throughout the last century (table no. III.5.), although Bangladesh alone outrun other Asian countries in terms in-migrants.

Table no. III.5.

Immigrants to Jalpaiguri District

Year	Bangladesh (%)	Nepal	Bhutan (%)	China (%)	Elsewhere in Asia (%)	Other than Asian country (%)
1951	84.44	14.43	0.83	0.07	0.09	0.14
1961	83.44	14.58	0.84	0.05	1.01	0.08
1981	93.13	6.12	0.51	0.03	0.19	0.02
1991	94.55	4.06	0.77	0.27	0.25	0.11
2001	94.56	4.08	0.97	0.01	0.36	0.02

Source: Computed from Census of India, 1951 & 2001

Table number III.5. reflects that Bangladeshi migrants dominated in terms of number international migrants to the area. Effects of several disturbances, communal riots that took place in different times in Bangladesh worked as a major influencing factor in this mobility. In the time of Noakhali, Tipperah riot Jalpaiguri received a marginal inflow of 1630 migrants only. But after the partition, the flow of displaced persons to Jalpaiguri district had increased phenomenally. The year of 1950 received almost 50 thousands of migrants from East Bengal.

Table no. III.6. **Inflow of Migrants from East Bengal to Jalpaiguri District**

Year	No. of Migrants
1946	1630
1947	13552
1948	18149
1949	15452
1950	47025
1951 (up to Feb.)	1033

Source: District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri, 1951

Bangladesh liberation war acted as a catalyst in crossing the border and taking shelter in different parts of Jalpaiguri. In fact, the strong cultural affiliation in between the Bengali people of the two countries and geographical proximity, India's democratic set-up and cordiality of the people of the district influenced the migrants to take refuge in the district. This fact resonated among 79 percent of respondents of the surveyed colonies.

Due to the partition of Bengal, Jalpaiguri district lost its 972 square mile of the area to East Bengal and its area came to 2078 square mile from 3050 Square mile of

undivided Bengal. But still, the population of the district increased rapidly i.e. more than the average, that indicates the mobility of East Bengali people after the partition (District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri, 1951. Pp. 373). The population figure of the rural and urban area along with the growth rate have been given below.

Table no. III.7. **Growth of population, Jalpaiguri District**

Nature of Area	Year	Total Population	Actual Growth	Population Growth (in %)
District Total	1941	847871	----	----
	1951	916747	68876	8.12
	1961	1359292	442545	48.27
Rural	1941	820075	----	----
	1951	850602	30527	3.72
	1961	1235478	384876	45.25
Urban	1941	27776	----	----
	1951	66154	38378	138.17
	1961	123814	57660	87.16

Source: West Bengal District Gazetteers: Jalpaiguri, 1981, Pp-71

Table no. III.7. shows that 1961 registered exceptionally high, which fuelled up due to the heavy inflow of East Pakistani people during the period.

III.1.c. A. Drivers behind the Spatial Mobility of Migrants to Dhupguri

Dhupguri is a well-connected nodal point settlement of Jalpaiguri-Alipurduar road¹⁸ and a commercial place of Jalpaiguri district also known for its fertile agricultural land in its southern part (Ghosh et. al, 2013). Twenty-one tea gardens also stretches over its northern part. From table number II.10. it can be seen that the block has the opportunity of diversified economic activities and all these factors possibly drew the attention of migrants from other places.

Map number III.1. shows that fear psychosis has been the main reason behind the mobility of people from other side of present border from their ancestral homeland at the two selected sites. Due to the reason, major section, about 30 percent of the migrant

¹⁸ *Jalpaiguri-Alipurduar* road: National Highway NH 31D connects the two Place of North Bengal. Dhupguri falls almost in the midway between the two cities.

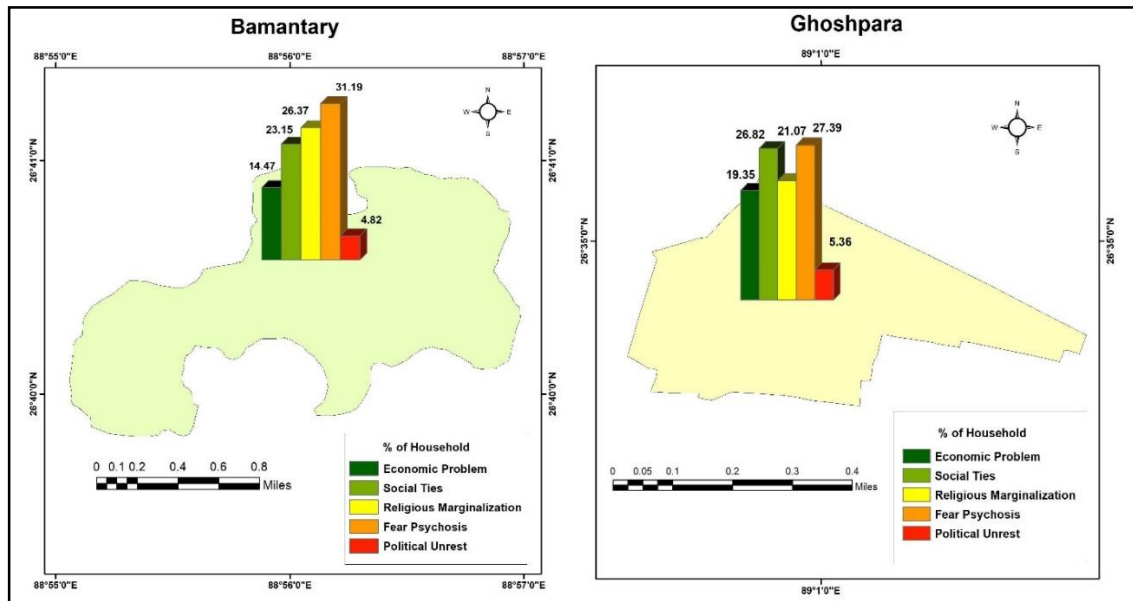
of the surveyed household have been moved to the area. Mr Dilip Mitra a community leader from Ghoshpara colony informed that *'after the partition of the country we were always scared only thinking about that what will be our fate in the upcoming days in this Muslim majority Country'*. About 25 percent of the people informed that they are the victims or somehow influenced by religious marginalization in Bangladesh, that taken place in various times in different parts of the country. Similar to the case of West Bengal, here also social ties among the migrants and social network played an important role to facilitate the particular movement from Bangladesh. Mr Bijoy Sarkar of Bamantary colony from the migrant community and a retired teacher in his 70s informed *'our village patron moved first to the area and following him a small section of people came to this area from East Bengal. Thereafter, with the help of these people, their relatives and village acquaintances came to the area and from then they are residing here'*.

Map number III.1. shows that less economic opportunity influenced a small section of people to migrate and it has been observed that the migrant family who came in the later decades of the study period especially after 1980 have been influenced more due the economic factors. About 86 percent of respondents opined that they were very much self-sufficient in their ancestral homeland with all of their belongings, hence, economic issues did not influenced them as much that they had to migrate another country. On the other hand, Map number III.1. shows that about 5 percent of the people moved due to the political unrest in Bangladesh. It has been learnt during the field survey that migrants of the political unrest were affected by oppression of the military administration in Bangladesh, after the death of *'Bangabandhu'¹⁹* Sekh Mujibar Rahaman.

¹⁹ *Bangabandhu*: Sekh Mujibar Rahaman, Father of nation of Bangladesh is known as *Bangabandhu*.

Few surveyed households (0.93%) were affected by natural calamities and moved to the present area. About 73 percent of them were affected by floods in Bangladesh. It has been returned by 61 percent of surveyed household that they were affected by devastating flood of 1988 in Bangladesh. Dhaka and its surrounding area were affected severely due to the flood of 1988. Almost 60 percent land of Bangladesh was affected by the same flood (Siddique & Baqui 1992). It has been found that 85 percent of the migrants of the study area are from the Dhaka and its surrounding district. Victims of the 1988 flood of the study area lost their land and other belongings. Thus they found better to migrate to the present study area, where they had their familiars.

Mrs Jogomaya Sarkar an aged women of about 83 years of old from Bamantary colony, said with teary eyes that at the time of Hazratbal riot about 200 people came to their village and began to kill the Hindu people. They burned almost 43 houses within no time in their village and looted almost all the belongings they had. In that particular event the women lost her husband, a young son of eleven years. On that very day she left with only 70 Taka (currency of Bangladesh) her and moved towards West Bengal. Being alone she faced lot of problems especially in crossing the border. The Border authority also forcefully took 43 taka and in the end she left with mere 7 taka when she finally got past the border. Then she somehow reached Sealdah Station and found someone from her village and with him she finally came to Dhupguri.



Source: Field survey September 2017

III.1.c. B. Mobility during Different Decades to Dhupguri

It can be observed from Map number III.2. that about 73 percent of the people from Bangladesh came to the study area during 1960s and 1970s. 1970s registered highest number almost 45 percent amongst the all-time migrants from other side of the border and more than 90 percent of them were wartime migrants from Bangladesh. Mr Vajan Ghosh a prominent octogenarian from Ghoshpara colony told “*in the later phase of 1971 almost 43 ragged dressed families from Bangladesh arrived at Ghoshpara in just two days. They were in a very unhygienic situation had no food with them. We provide them some food and helped them to build some temporary tents at the empty spaces of the present colony.*”

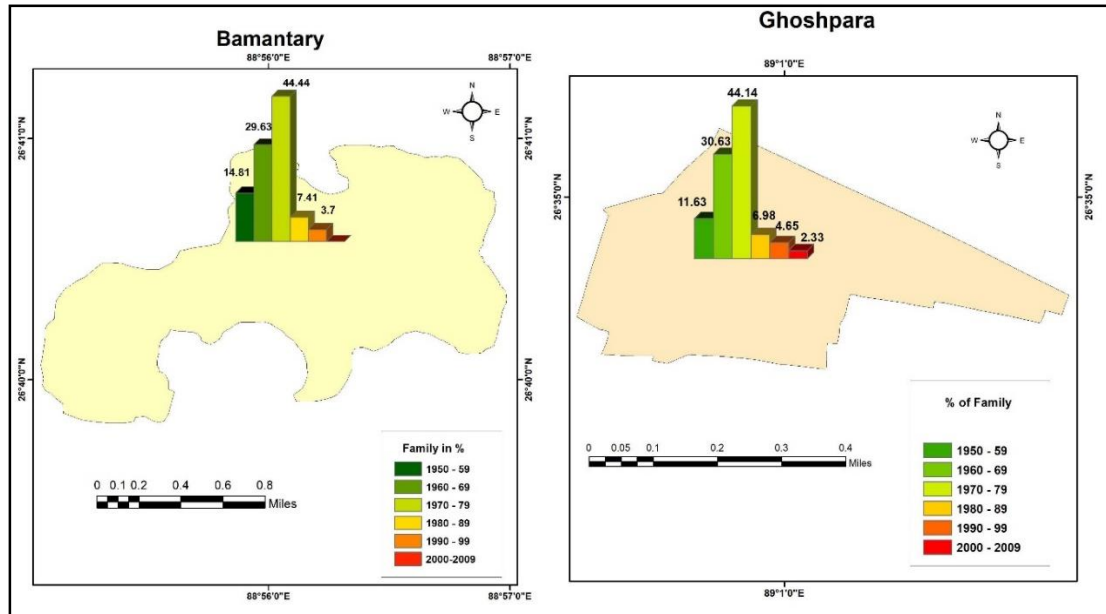
Dhaka and its surrounding districts affected severely due to the occurrence of *Hazratbal riot*²⁰ in Kashmir and its repercussions in Bangladesh. The epicentre of the

²⁰ *Hazratbal* Riot: In the wake of an alleged theft of believed prophet’s hair from the *Hazratbal* shrine in Jammu & Kashmir in India a riot cum massacre had taken place in different places of Bangladesh for ethnic cleansing of Bengali Hindus from Bangladesh in the year of 1964.

riot was Dhaka and Narayanganj area of Bangladesh. Sizable number of people left their ancestral home and took shelter in different districts of West Bengal. The study area also received about 30 percent of migrants from erstwhile East Bengali people in and after 1964.

Map no. III.2.

Spatial Mobility from Bangladesh



Source: Field survey September 2017

During 1950-1960 Dhupguri received about 12 percent of migrants from other side of the border. It has been returned by 23 percent of the migrants of the same decade that they were influenced by the Nachole Rajsahi events of massacre. About 68 percent of the respondents said that Passport proposal by Pakistan Government during 1952 sowed a deep apprehension in the mind of the erstwhile East Bengali people of the present study, who eventually migrated to the study area. Mr *Ramesh Das* a prominent community leader from Ghosh para colony said “*We thought that after the successful implementation of the passport system we could not be able to migrate to Hindustan. That is why we escaped in hurry leaving all our belongings there*”.

People did migrate even after 1980s, however, their number is less (about 5%). It has been informed by them that they were influenced by some scattered violence which took place in different parts of the country and to a little extent by economic issues as well.

III.2. Pattern of the Spatial Mobility

Bangladesh is often seen a country, from where mass migration has been taking place from the post-colonial era and has continued ever since (Datta, 2004; Nath, 2003). Social scientists now recognise that spatial mobility is a multifaceted social phenomenon comprising many different types or forms, as well as of many directions of migration currents (Richmond 1988; Salt 1989; Casties & Miller 1993). Analysis of the pattern of spatial mobility is of enormous significance to study changing pattern of people's movement in different time. In this particular section, an attempt has been made to highlight the patterns of the movement of people from what is present-day Bangladesh to West Bengal and more specifically to study area.

III.2.a. Place of Origin

Census of India, 2001, reported that about 82 percent of all time Bangladeshi migrant who moved to India settled themselves in West Bengal. 24 Paraganas (9.06 lac) and Nadia district (5.76 lac) of South Bengal have the maximum share of Bangladeshi migrants, while in case of North Bengal Jalpaiguri ranks first (2.43 lac) and it was followed by Koch Bihar district (1.96 lac) (Census of India, 2001). It can be observed from table no. III.8. that Jalpaiguri district has the maximum Bangladeshi migrants mainly on account being closest to Bangladesh's Rangpur, Dinajpur, Dhaka and Mymensingh district.

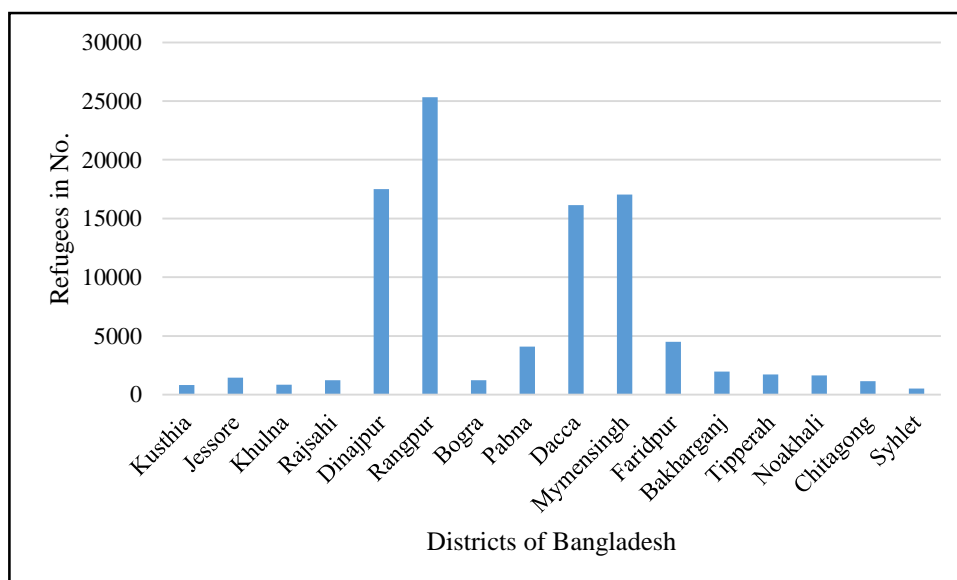
Table no. III.8. **Inflow of People to Jalpaiguri district from different District of East Bengal**

Year/ District	1946	1946	1948	1949	1950	1951	Total
Kusthia	21	269	244	88	183	4	809
Jessore	17	526	405	161	321	7	1437
Khulna	3	344	184	98	193	8	830
Rajsahi	10	278	268	234	413	19	1222
Dinajpur	48	742	1167	3272	12211	51	17491
Rangpur	541	2190	2854	3621	15805	332	25341
Bogra	10	268	257	176	468	45	1224
Pabna	75	834	1200	575	1328	83	4095
Dacca	321	3095	4071	2659	5862	144	16152
Mymensingh	264	1861	4283	3093	7009	257	17037
Faridpur	73	1074	1232	722	1364	28	4493
Bakharganj	34	554	571	194	596	9	1958
Tipperah	63	413	600	221	401	16	1714
Noakhali	67	476	523	139	397	20	1622
Chitagong	24	495	186	139	305	7	1156
Syhlet	59	133	104	60	169	3	528
Total	1630	13552	18149	15452	47025	1033	97109

Source: District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri, 1951

As evident from table no. III.8. that after the partition of the country mobility from Bangladesh increased to Jalpaiguri district. The district received almost 47 thousand migrants from East Bengal in 1950.

Figure no. III.4. **Mobility of East Bengalis to Jalpaiguri District during 1946-51**



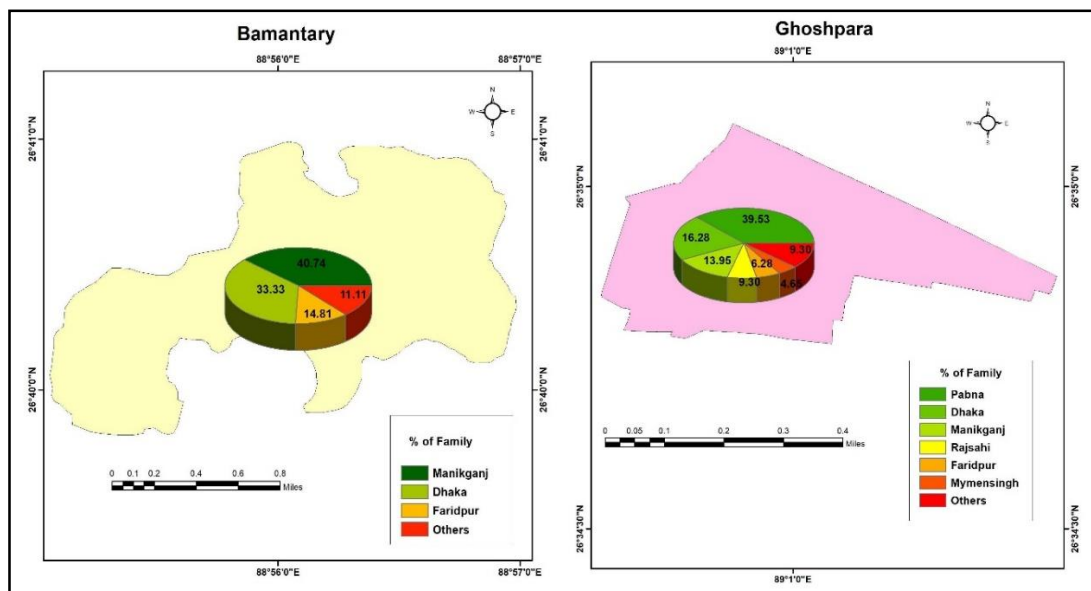
Source: District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri, 1951

Unlike the district scenario, in Dhupguri block about 96 percent of the migrants came from relatively far lying Dhaka, Mymensingh and Rajshahi division of Bangladesh.

Districts like Dhaka, Faridpur, Manikganj, Mymensingh, Rangpur, Pabna and Rajshahi are the major one in sharing migrants to Dhupguri.

It can be observed from map number III.3. that in Bamantary colony about 90 percent of migrants came from Dhaka division of Bangladesh. Here, social networking is prominent as compared to the Ghoshpara colony. People also came from districts like Rangpur, Lalmonirhat, Mymensingh to the colony, which is just other sides of the border, though their number is less.

Map no.III.3. **Erstwhile Districts of Migrants in Bangladesh**



Source: Field Survey September 2017

Map no. III.3. also shows that at Ghoshpara colony migrants forms a diversified nature regarding their origin districts as compared to Bamantary. Here, Pabna, Dhaka, Manikganj and Rajshahi share maximum percent of migrants. Ghosh²¹ people after whom the name of the colony has been formed actually came from Pabna district of

²¹ *Ghosh*: *Ghosh* is an Indian surname found among Bengali Hindus. *Ghoshes* mostly belong to *Kayastha* caste in Bengal. The *Bengali Kayasthas* evolved as a caste from a category of officials or scribes, between the 5th/6th century AD and 11th/12th century AD, its component elements being putative Kshatriyas and mostly Brahmins. (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghosh>, accessed on 02.02.18)

Bangladesh. It has been learnt during the field survey that less than one percent of migrants came from districts like Jessore, Bakharganj and Noakhali to Ghoshpara.

III.2.b. Causes of the Mobility

Hunger, poverty, security threat, victims of natural calamities do not recognise any border, fencing and watch over (Kumar, 2009). Spatial mobility of people from erstwhile East Bengal to West Bengal caused by several reasons ranging from economic, political, communal, environmental issues. It can be said that Geographic proximity, the linguistic and cultural affinity, similar food habit, homo-ethnic climate, cordiality, fellow-feeling, acceptability of people of West Bengal have attracted the migrants from Bangladesh to West Bengal (Guha & Roy, 2003; Datta, 2004).

As far as the study region is concerned, five major issues worked behind the mobility of people from Bangladesh. These are classified as economic issues, social ties, religious issues, fear psychosis and lastly political unrest of Bangladesh. At both the selected sites it has been observed that fear psychosis and religious issues are the major factors. About 65 percent migrants wanted to be in a place of physical safety. Economic issues are less significant as more than 80 percent of them argued that they were prosperous in their ancestral country. Though, for the Ghosh para colony economic issues played a marked role in leaving the country of origin. Ravenstein's hypothesis that "migrants move from areas of low opportunities to areas of high opportunity" - is not found to be that strong in this particular mobility to Dhupguri.

III.2.c. Intensity of the mobility

Sengupta & Banerjee (2016) argues that the intensity of the Bangladeshi movements to West Bengal can be classified into three-phase i.e. (i) Pre-partition phase (ii) Period in between 1947-1971 (iii) Post-liberation phase i.e. after 1971 onwards.

Similar to the case of West Bengal for the present study area the intensity of this trans-national movement was low in the pre-partition phase. It is found that people in this period moved mainly for jobs and educational purposes. Only some higher caste households moved from other side of the border, as they had the mental belief that in future they would be losing right in their own land and would lack respect from their fellow Muslim neighbours (Chakrabarty, 1999). The 2nd phase experienced highest intensity of the mobility from Erstwhile East Bengal. Hindu migrants especially the lower caste agriculturalist people fled from the atrocities in Muslim majority region and the drastic flow of migrants during 1971 liberation war of Bangladesh, moved in this period. Ranbir Samaddar (1999) argues that it was the continuous increase of Muslims hegemony and discrimination over the Hindus, even towards the lower caste Hindus after the partition of the country caused them to continue leaving in trickles from erstwhile East Pakistan. He wrote in his 'Marginal Nation' that Hindus came not in scores or hundred but in millions, they came in an unceasing stream. They came distressed, diseased and disabled; they came as displaced persons from the Eastern Pakistan. Mobility decreased after 1981 in the direction of study area as only 5 percent of them came after 1981.

III.2.d. Rural and Urban character

The first flow of the concerned movement consisted of the upper class wealthy, educated middle-class Hindu gentry' people. To maintain their status they moved to the urban areas of Calcutta (Chakrabarti, 1990). The so-called tenant's people of this wealthy Hindus when began to move preferred to settle again in and around them. As a result, they settled themselves in the suburban and rural areas surrounding Calcutta. Kumar (2005) argues that Bangladeshi migration to West Bengal is predominantly rural in character, whereas in Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar it is more urban.

Among the five refugee colonies, three are urban and remaining two are rural in character in Dhupguri block. About 7.22 percent of the migrant are residing in the rural area namely at Bamantary I & II colony. Remaining 92.77 percent of the migrants are residing in urban areas of Ghoshpara, Suryasen and Adarshapally colony. It is because of in the urban area to become a part of the society was comparatively easier where society is less bonded shared by the 73 percent of migrated respondents. On the other hand, livelihood and better amenities opportunities attracted the migrants mostly in the urban areas

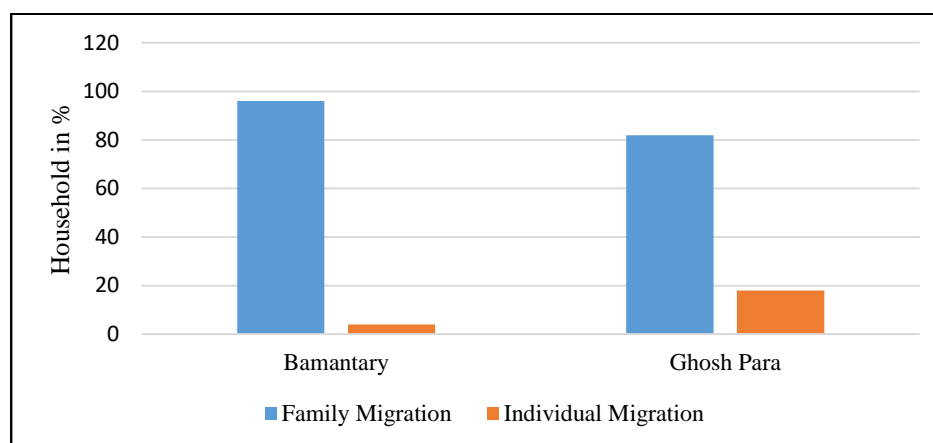
III.2.e. Duration of the Spatial Mobility

Mobility of the East Bengali people is quite permanent in character, though temporal and seasonal movement also persisted (Sarkar, 2010). As regard, the two selected sites all the surveyed households residing permanently. 97 percent of respondents, returned that daily trans-border mobility from Bangladesh in the area has not been observed. Mr. Gajen Roy founding member of Bamantary colony told *“all the people who had come from Bangladesh to this colony are residing permanently.”*

III.2.f. Individual or family mobility

Figure no. III.5. depicts that about 83 percent of migrants from other side of the border came with their family in the area. Some scholars have argued that ‘economic migrants’ are more individual to political and persecuted family migrants. About 79 percent migrants of other sides of the border especially the Hindus were so eager to save the honour (*Maan*) of their women family member from the Muslim neighbourhood that they were wanted to be a in a place of physical safety. As a result, they left with whole family.

Figure no.III.5. **Individual or Family Mobility among the Migrant Household**



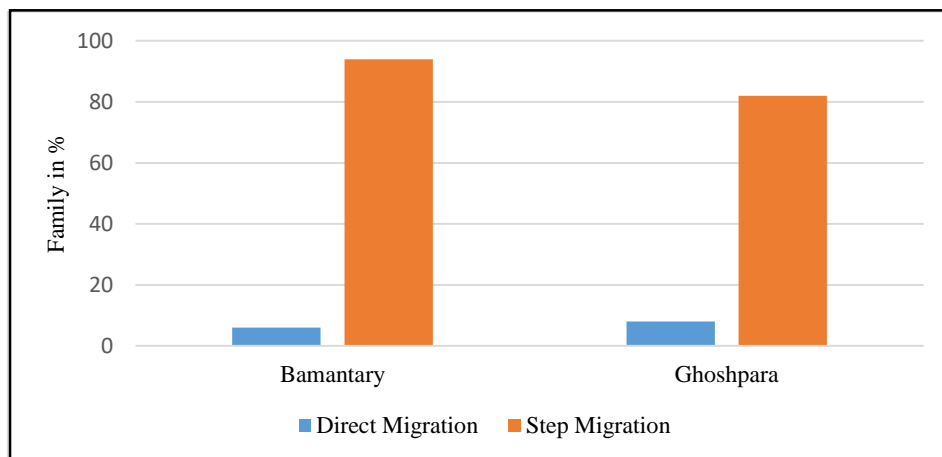
Source: Survey September 2017

III.2.g. Direct and Step Mobility

The first batch of migrant i.e. wealthy class and educated middle-class people, came directly to the urban areas of Calcutta as they were quite self-dependent and had strong network ties with their relatives, family members and village acquaintances moved earlier. But the migrants of so-called lower castes from East Pakistan now Bangladesh were truly displaced people as they had to move different place rudderless (Sarkar, 2010). Figure number 3.6. depicts that most of the migrants came through step migration in the study area. After leaving their ancestral homeland about 70 percent of them entered through Nadia and 24 Paragana districts of West Bengal. After moving different places finally, they reached Dhupguri. Though, in the later decades of study, about 11 percent of the migrants came directly through *Changrabandha*²² as well as *Hili* border of south Dinajpur border land border port, residing especially at Ghoshpara colony. *Rajbangshis*, (rest of 6 %) who crossed the border from the Northern part of Bangladesh came directly and settled down in Dhupguri because of the presence of homo ethnic and cultural set-up.

²² *Changrabandha* Border port: *Changrabandha* is a land border crossing point between India and Bangladesh situated at Koch Bihar district of West Bengal. *Burimari* land border of *Lalmonirhat* district is located on the Bangladesh side of *Changrabandha* border port.

Figure no. III.6. **Direct and Step Mobility among the migrant Household**



Source: Field Survey September 2017

III.2.h. Distance Travelled

People only from the northern part of Bangladesh travelled a short distance and settled themselves in different parts of Jalpaiguri, Koch Bihar, Malda and, Dinajpur districts. Mobility from this part is quite relevant to Ravenstien’s ‘Distance Decay Model’ (Sarkar, 2010). People came from Comilla, Dhaka, Manikganj, Faridpur, Barisal i.e. from the middle and eastern part of Bangladesh travelled long distance and settled in the districts like Calcutta, 24 Paraganas, Nadia etc. (Sarkar, 2010). As far as the study region is concerned it was ‘social-network and economic opportunity acted more behind the particular mobility to the area.

III.2.i. Decision taken for Mobility

It was learnt during the field survey that about 65 percent the people of the present study area from other side of the border wanted to be a in a place of physical safety. The information gathered during the field survey shows that erstwhile East Bengali people to the study area moved due to the reason that heads of the households had taken the decision of mobility. About 9 percent of times both the male and female member had taken the decision to cross the border and take refuge in parts of West Bengal. Mrs

Sarala Devi a female retired teacher from the migrant community at Ghosh para colony informed told *'heads of our family used to take the decision for migration'*.

Table No. III.9. **Decision Taken for Mobility**

Colony / Decision for Mobility	Head of the HH (Male) (%)	Male & Female Both (%)	Family Decision (%)	Others (%)
Bamantary	77	07	13	03
Ghoshpara	63	11	12	14

Source: Field Survey September 2017

As about 80 percent mobility from Bangladesh are family type in the area, hence, sometimes family decision played a vital role. In few cases (about 6%), migrants moved alone to the present study area

III.2.j. Reverse Spatial Mobility

It was always believed by both the state and central government that the migrants of East Pakistan was a temporal phenomenon and they would go back immediately when the situation will calm down in East Pakistan (Dasgupta, 2010). But their assumption was quite wrong as most of the migrants did not want to go back.

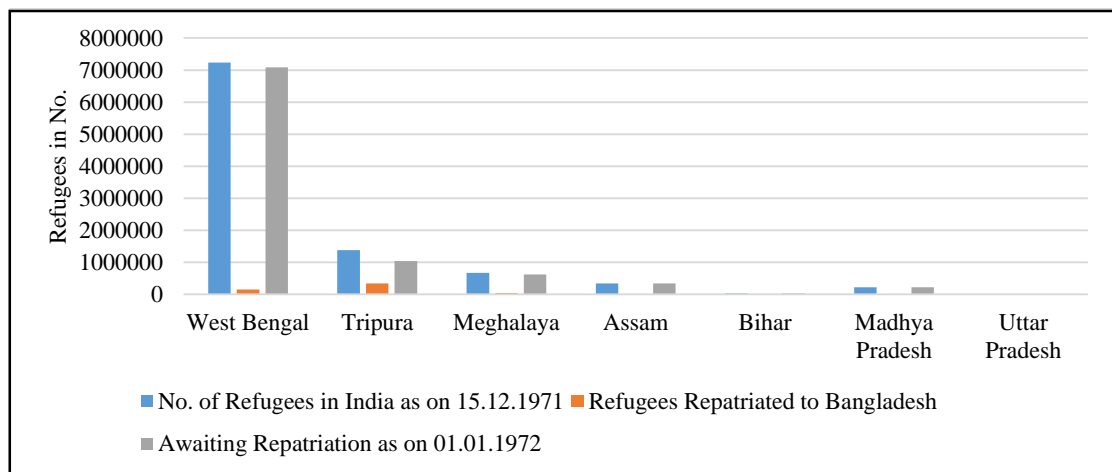
Table No. III.10. **Return of Refugees to Bangladesh**

Date	No. of Refugees Returned to Bangladesh	Progressive Total
Up to 15.12.71	60000	60000
16.12.1971	100	60100
17.12.1971	391	60491
18.12.1971		
19.12.1971	20551	81042
20.12.1971	10062	91104
21.12.1971	10796	101900
22.12.1971	15920	117820
23.12.1971	15468	133288
24.12.1971		
25.12.1971	54453	187741
26.12.1971		
27.12.1971	91538	279729
28.12.1971	59298	338577
29.12.1971	69128	407705
30.12.1971	86637	494342
31.12.1971	43306	537648

Source: Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation, Department of Rehabilitation, Govt. of India

Table no. III.10. shows that, of the 10 million of refugees who crossed the border during the Bangladesh liberation war, a sizable portion of them went back to Bangladesh immediately after the independence of the country. Figure no. III.7 depicts that, how another massive part of the concerned refugees still awaited in the different camps to be returned to Bangladesh.

Figure III.7. **Refugee Scenario of Indian States, 1971**



Source: Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation, Department of Rehabilitation, Govt. of India

It was returned by 97 percent of the respondents that none of the family who had moved once to the study area returned back. Mr Sattayaranjan Ghosh former Chairman of Dhupguri Municipality informed “None of the family after being settled in the area went back to Bangladesh with their family. Some member of their family might be travelling to their earlier country.”

III.3. Routes of the Spatial Mobility

Studies on the migrants from Bangladesh showed that distance is relatively less important factor on selecting their destination place to West Bengal. The upper-class wealthy people moved first and reached to urban and suburban areas of Calcutta (Chatterjee, 2013). When the tenants Hindus of the upper-class people found themselves in a lordless situation began to get opposition from the Muslim neighbours

moved to West Bengal (Nair, 2008). In this particular mobility, they stressed destination place where they could survive economically and where they had social ties. About 70 percent of *Namasudra* migrants came through parts of south Bengal more specifically through '*Bongaon*' railway station, moved to the Sealdah station in Calcutta, from where they despatched to various refugee camps. They also arrived in the border districts of Nadia or 24-Parganas, where they began to settle down as the local Muslims began to flee across the border (Bandopadhyay, 2016). In one of his studies, Bandopadhyay (2016) said that from the early months of the 1950s about 10,000 poor people were arriving every day through *Bongaon* and settling down in *Gaighata*, *Baduria*, *Habra* and other places.

Rajbangshis of the northern part of Bangladesh crossed the border and settled themselves in the districts of Jalpaiguri, Koch Bihar, Dinajpur and Malda. As some parts of migrants focused on the economic perspective, that is why Peasant people from Bangladesh moved to Jalpaiguri, Siliguri, Dinajpur, 24 Parganas and Nadia in the 1940s and 1950s (Chakrabarty, 1999). When the inflow went out of the manageable power of the administration, the government had decided to close all the rehabilitation camps and sent the migrants outside of the province of West Bengal. Contextually, poor people were forced to move to the places like Andaman and Dandakaranya.²³ But most of them were reluctant to go and stay in that unfamiliar environment. Some of them began to flee from the land and again came to the province of West Bengal. Another part of them were again relocated to Sundarban areas of West Bengal. In the new area, they also faced opposition from the local people. Due to some other reasons, government did not support to relocate them in the Sundarban area. As a result, again they started to come

²³ Dandakaranya: Dandakaranya a spiritually significant region is roughly equivalent to the Bastar division in the Chattisgarh state in the central East part of India.

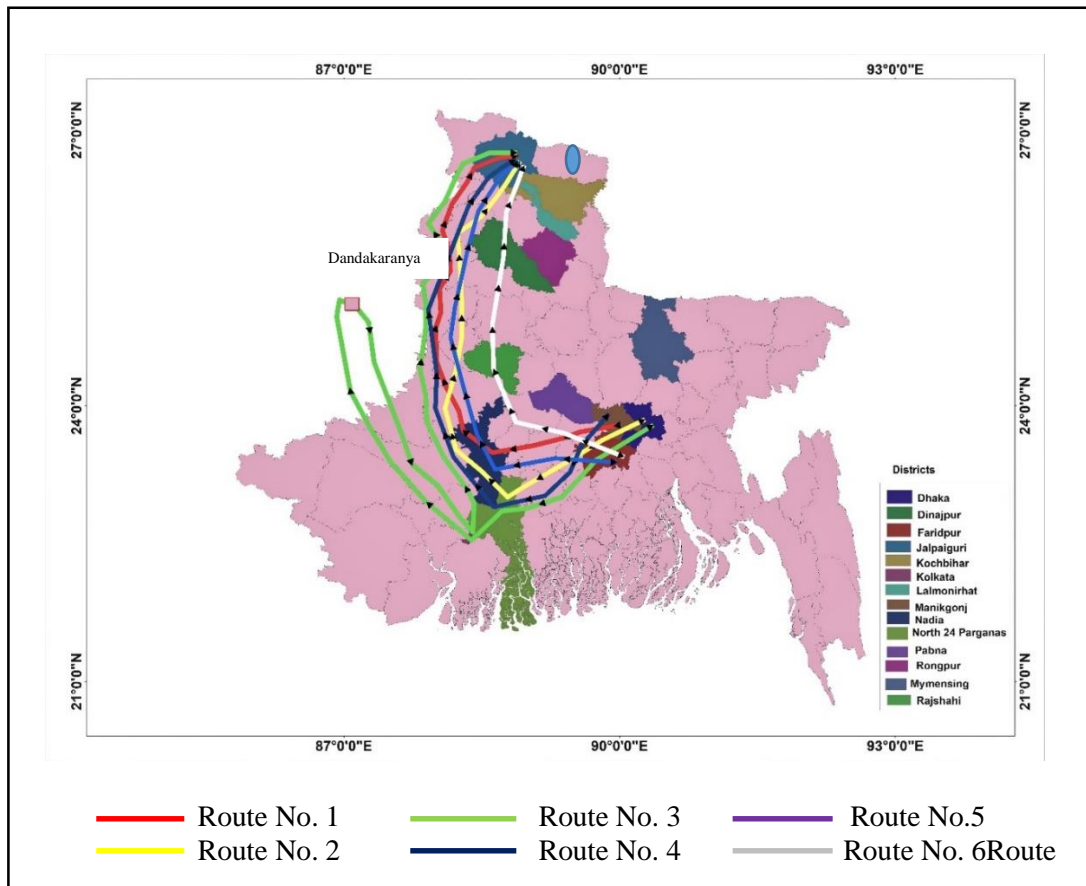
towards West Bengal. Situation of the places in and around Sealdah²⁴ became worse than ever. In a study, Pramanik (2003) showed that after the independence of Bangladesh undocumented migrants preferred the area of agriculture based bordering districts like the 24 Paraganas, Nadia, Koch Bihar.

After observing the routes of the mobility of the surveyed household six major routes have been identified separately and remaining migrant's routes are placed as other routes. Map No. number III.4. & III.5. shows that about 85 percent of the migrant's started their journey from districts like Manikganj, Dhaka, Faridpur, Pabna and Rajshahi District. Similar to the case of West Bengal, for the surveyed household also distance was quite less important rather social ties and network are the most prominent one in selecting destination place. Hence, after leaving their ancestral country 70 percent of the surveyed household passing through the nearest border port. Then they moved to their relatives, friend and village acquaintances which can be gauged from Map no. III.4 & III.5. Few people (6%) are forced to travel a long distance as they had relatively less capacity to settle on their own. Consequently, they had to travel places like Dandakaranya of Chattisgarh state. Thereafter, again they came back to Kolkata and from there they moved to Jalpaiguri district in different times. Mr. Bharati Roy, founding member of the Bamantary colony informed "*Most of the migrants had arrived in the area following their relatives and friends.*"

²⁴ Sealdah: Sealdah station is one of the major railway stations serving Kolkata, started in 1869. Now there are three station terminals namely Sealdah North, Sealdah main and Sealdah South.

Map no. III.4.

Routes of the Spatial Mobility to Bamantary

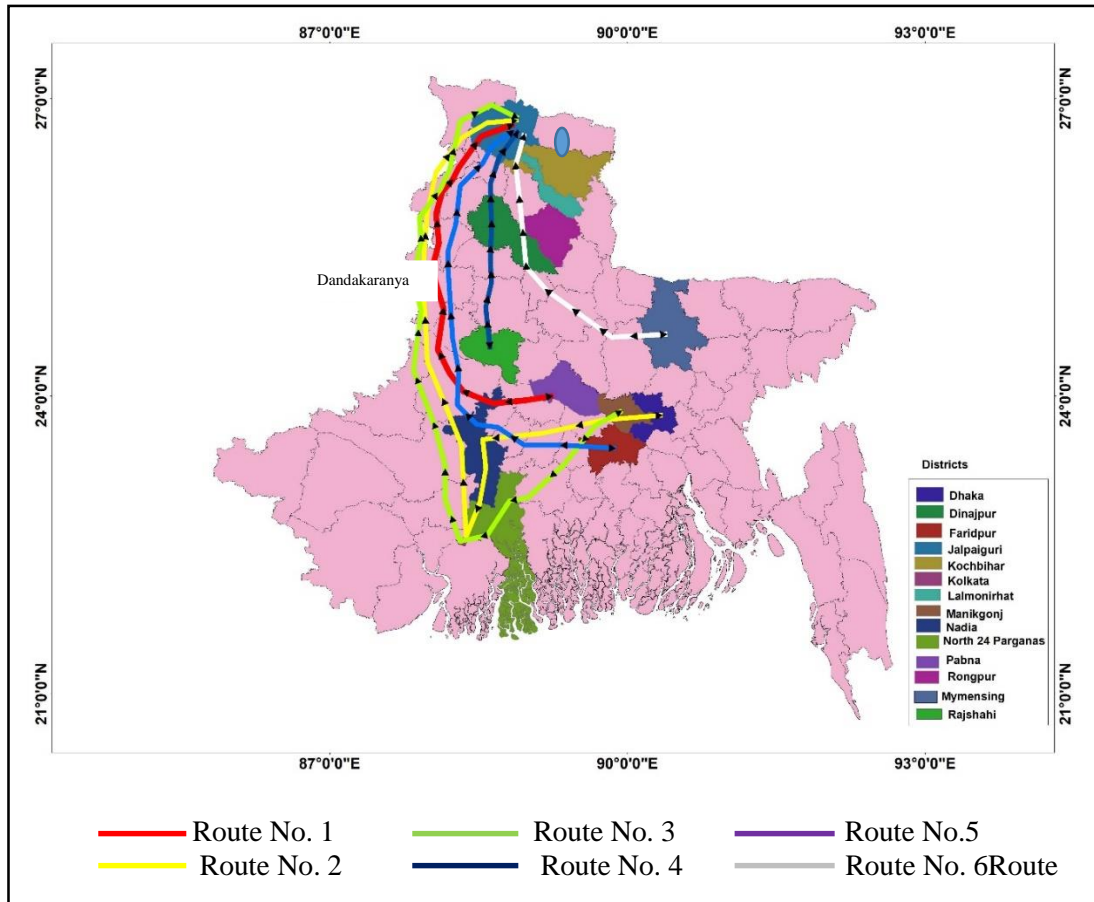


Source: Field Survey September 2017

Map No. III.4. shows that following the route number 1, 2 and 3 about 67 percent the people came during 1970-80 to Bamantary. Affected people of the *Hazratbal* riot also came to the area following mainly the route of 1 and 3 during 1960-70. People from the district of Faridpur followed two main route; one group entered through Nadia district especially during 1970-80 and another group of people entered through Dinajpur district of West Bengal and travelling through Jalpaiguri finally reached Dhupguri.

Map no. III.5.

Routes of the Spatial Mobility to Ghoshpara



Source: Field Survey September 2017

On the other hand, Map No. III.5. shows same kind of route for Ghoshpara colony also. People after entering through Nadia and North 24 Paragana districts of West Bengal travelled a long distance and finally reached to Ghoshpara. About 45 percent of surveyed household crossed the border during 1970-80 and following the route of 1, 2 and 3 reached Dhupguri. Migrants of Later decades especially after 1980s came from Rajshahi and Mymensingh districts followed the route number five and six.

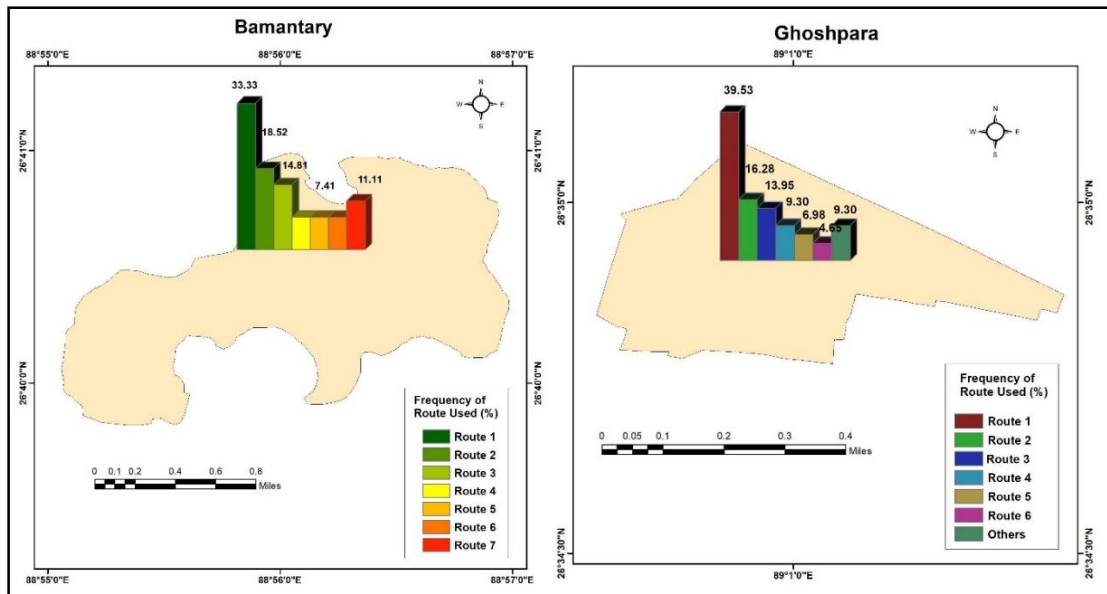
After entering the new country they travelled the distance to reach their relatives and friends. Though More than 80 percent of migrant came through step migration but some percent of them came directly to the study.

III.4. Reasons behind following the particular Route

It was learnt during the field survey that about 70 percent of time, erstwhile East Bengalis of Dhupguri, Who left their ancestral homeland entered through Nadia and North 24 Paragana district of West Bengal. It has been opined by 56 percent of the migrants of that time that transportation system was better as compared to other routes both in terms of rail and motor vehicle. Apart from this, another 23 percent opined that as most of the earlier prominent refugee camps as like the '*Chadmari*', '*Dhubuliya*', '*Coopers*' '*Kalyani*' camps were opened in the two concerned districts, so these places were preferred.

Since, most of the elite class people i.e. the earlier patrons of so-called lower class people took refuge in Kolkata that is why to serve them most of the lower caste people wanted to resettle them in an around Kolkata. On the other hand, as these are the nearby districts of Kolkata, so, they thought that they could manage a job easily in city like Kolkata initially. About 7 percent of the respondents argued that getting a piece of vested land was comparatively easier at Nadia and North 24 Paraganas. It was further known that people who moved to places like Dandakaranya did not wished to move actually, rather they were forced to move to the seemingly stranger places. But they somehow escaped and again came back to Kolkata. In the later decades of the mobility when various camps of the South Bengal became overloaded then some of the migrants of the present study area were shipped to places like Alipurduar, Haldibari Char of Koch Bihar and Jalpaiguri. Thereafter, when they heard about the free land distribution at the present study colonies they moved there in different times. It has been informed by 79 percent of respondents of Ghoshpara colony that migrants of the later decades came through border point *Chanrbandha* of Koch Bihar and *Hili* of *South* Dinajpur as these border ports are closer to Dhupguri and it was not heavily manned at that time.

Map no. III.6. **Frequency of the Routes taken by Migrants to Dhupguri Block**



Source: Field Survey September 2017

III.5. Dhupguri as a Destination: Reasons

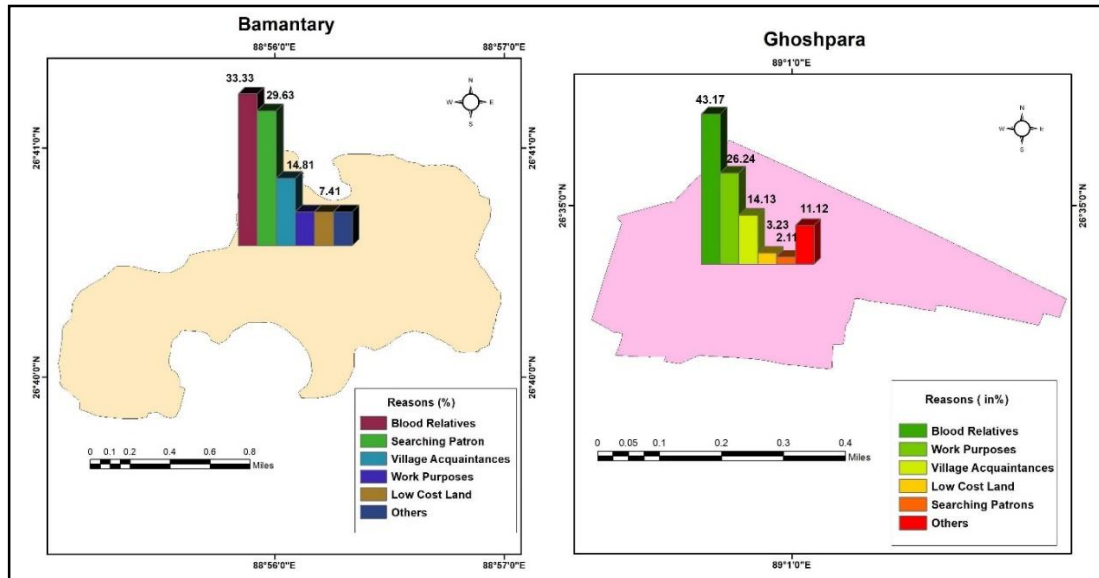
It was found that erstwhile East Bengali people followed their blood relatives, friends, village acquaintances, and searching the earlier patron²⁵ of their ancestral village. About 79 and 60 percent of the migrants of Bamantary and Ghoshpara colony respectively came to Dhupguri because of the above-mentioned reasons. More than 80 percent of respondents from migrant communities informed that they were very much self-sufficient. This perhaps can be gauged from Map no. III. 1. Where only 11 percent of migrants stated that they have migrated because of the economic reasons. Ghoshpara received a little bit higher proportion migrants owing to economic compulsions as compared to Bamantary. This might be due to the presence of comparatively higher proportion migrants in later decade at Ghoshpara than Bamantary when economic factors started weighing in. On the other hand, only a few surveyed household (5%) agreed that they had come to Dhupguri as they got land in low or even free of cost at

²⁵ Patron: upper caste elite people of villages, who used to give work to lower caste people.

these colonies. In few cases (which is about less than 1%) it has been observed that people from the nearest Bangladesh districts like Rangpur, Lalmonirhat, Mymensingh came to Dhupguri because of the short distance and presence of similar kind of environmental and socio-economic setting.

Map no. III.7.

Reasons behind Dhupguri as a Destination



Source: Field survey September 2017

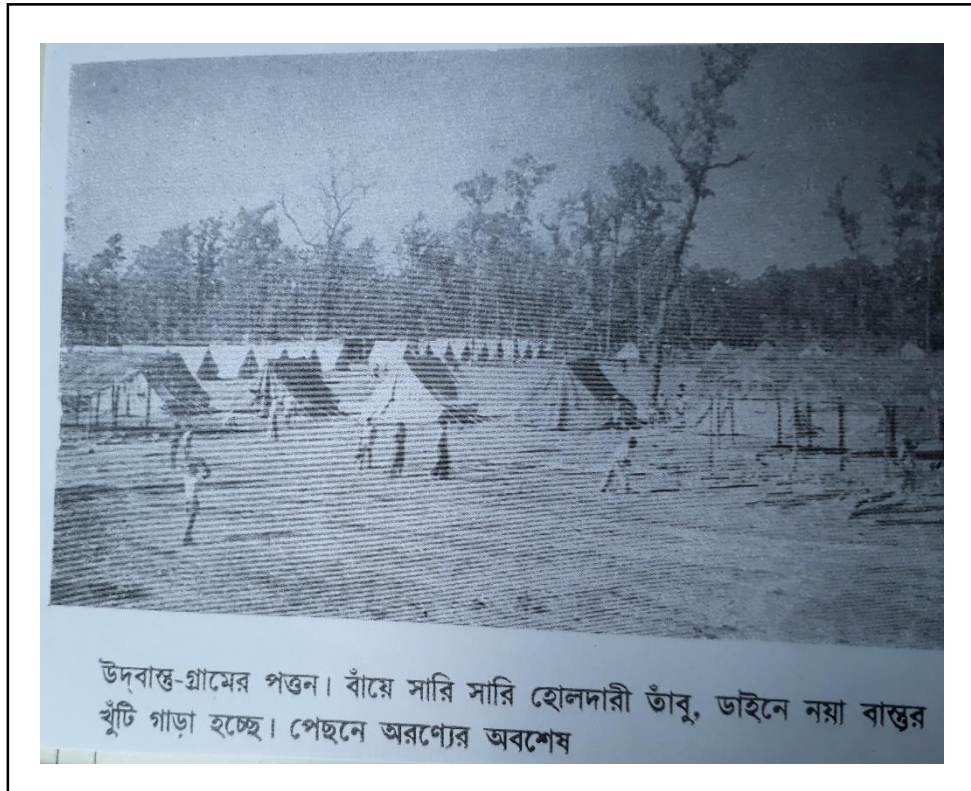
Statistics solely can never gauge the magnitude of the tragedy of East Bengali people that compelled the flight of millions across the newly made borders in between the two parts of undivided Bengal. Mobility of the people from other side of the border to the study area appeared involuntary in character. As after partition of the country in 1947, the political and communal tensions grabbed the country major section of the migrants of the study area wanted to be in a place of physical safety. Map number III.1. shows that fear psychosis and the persecution of the minorities were the main reasons behind the particular movement of the people to Dhupguri. Though, social ties and economic issues also played an important role for the same movement from different parts of Bangladesh. The particular mobility to Dhupguri has been more of

family, urban and permanent type of mobility. They travelled a long distance to reach closer to their relatives and other familiarities. Map number III.5. shows that migrants stressed more on selecting a place as destination, where they had 'social ties' and the place where they had the highest opportunity of getting a job with their skill. It has been found that about 70 percent of the migrants entered through Nadia and North 24 Paragana district of West Bengal. As according to 56 percent of the respondents transportation system was better at that time that coming through the route of Nadia and North 24 Paragana to Dhupguri was easier. While another section opined that prominent resettlement camps like the Dhubuliya, Kalyani and Coopers camps was the main reason behind entering through the same district.

Society, Economy and Polity

Spatial mobility is influenced by social, cultural, economic and political factors and on the other way round mobility has its influence on these same factors as well. Impacts of spatial mobility can be traced out by calculating the cost and benefits of the movement for both the countries that the migrant leave and they arrive. It is really a quite complicated calculation because to establish the true impact of any movement one must calculate both social cost and benefits as well as economic cost and benefits (Dinesappa & Sreenivasa, 2014). If social and economic cost of leaving country is greater than the benefits the country receiving, then the effect of the spatial mobility is said to be negative for the place from where spatial mobility initiates.

During the Partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, people moved from East Bengal, without much punctuations to various states of India, notably to West Bengal, till 1971, when political boundaries in South Asia were redrawn (South Asia Research Society, Calcutta, 2015. pp.39). Along with the documented flow, the rather unending movement of the undocumented people to various districts of West Bengal have been influencing the demography, culture, economy, ecology and polity of the concerned region (Ibid). However, it has been argued by many scholars about the existence of two type of cross-border mobility from Bangladesh- 'Persecuted migrants', and 'Economic migrants' and it is believed that these two patterns of mobility have different kind of influences over the social and economic aspects of the area. The Scholar encountered both the people wanted to be a in a place of physical safety and economic mobility in the present study area



Source: R.R. &R. Department, Jalpaiguri District

IV.1. Impact on Society

Mobility has significant influences on the cultures and society for both the sending and receiving societies and the effects vary with different types of spatial mobility and particularly with skills of the migrants & the lengths of time involved (Dinesappa & Sreenivasa, 2014). To comprehend the phenomena information have been collected about different social parameters like the literacy, level of education, language, religion and various religious festive, changing dressing, food habit and kind of cooperation and assistance in between the two groups of people.

IV.1.a. Literacy Rate and Level of Education

A person's education is closely linked to their life chances; income, and wellbeing (Battle & Lewis, 2002). Skill of the human being can have a profound impact on the receiving society both in positive and negative way, which is mainly depended on the literacy status and level of education of the migrants (Ibid). It was returned by 87

percent of the respondents during the field survey that people from East Bengal now Bangladesh were more educated and skilled compared to the earlier inhabitants of Dhupguri at the initial stage of resettlement. Table number IV.1. shows the higher literacy and level of education among the migrant community.

Table no. IV.1. **Opinions of respondents on literacy rate of Migrant Household compared to non-migrant household**

Literacy Rate	Higher Literacy	Lower Literacy	Not Known
% of Respondents	87	04	09

Source: Field Survey September 2017

Similar result has been resonated among 72 percent of the participants during Focus Group Discussions conducted at both the colonies about the higher literacy rate and level of education among the migrant people. While another 21 percent opined that literacy rate among both the communities was more or less similar in the initial stage. During the Focus Group Discussion at Ghoshpara colony, Mr. Pravat Mitra retired teacher told *“people who once moved from other side of the border were more advanced in education than us. Their awareness to better education were many notches higher than us. Even their elderlies most of whom were cultivators had the ability to at least sign”*.

Plate no. IV.2 **Migrant Child for Primary Education at Bamantary**



Source: Record of the Founding Members of the Colony, 1972

78 percent of the respondents further informed that people from the 'Namasudra'²⁶ sub-caste has lower literacy as compared to the upper caste migrant people from other side of the border. As the 'Namasudra' people were engaged more in agriculture and its allied economic activities and on account of being the so-called lower caste people in the largely Hindu class system of the society they were disadvantaged in education (table number IV.2.). But further, it has been learnt that 'Namasudras' were still higher educated compared to the tribal and *Rajbangshi*²⁷ people in the study area during the initial stages of resettlement.

Mr. Bhagirat Roy and Subhas Sarkar retired teachers of *Jurapani*²⁸ High School opined that higher education system of undivided Bengal was mainly based on three universities, namely, Dhaka, Rangpur and Calcutta University. People residing in the south Bengal got relatively better the opportunity in higher education than North Bengal. Higher educated people of south Bengal used to do their jobs in and around Calcutta city. But the people of North Bengal relatively lacked the opportunity. It was further known that in North Bengal percent of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population were comparatively higher than south Bengal who were somehow anywhere less aware to higher education. About 85 percent migrated people of Dhupguri block are from Dhaka and Rangpur division of Bangladesh. It has also been found at Ghoshpara colony more than 70 percent of migrants are upper caste Hindu people. As a matter of fact, it is believed that they got relatively better opportunities in higher

²⁶ *Namasudra*: *Namasudras* as a sub caste originated from the *Aryansation* processes in the four fold Varna divisions of the society. The *Sudras* possessed the lowest rung of the socio-religious order. The *sudras* who were in cultivation came to be known as *Namasudras* in Bengal.

²⁷ *Rajbangshi*: *Rajbangshi* community also known as *Kochrajbangshi*, Koch and *Rajbangshi* are indigenous communities of Assam. Nowadays they are residing over parts of Nepal, Bangladesh and in the Indian states of Assam, Meghalaya as well as parts of Northern Bengal.

²⁸ *Jurapani* High school: It is higher secondary school located at Gadong I *Gram Panchayat* of Dhupguri Block.

education. Thus, people from other side of the border had the higher education as compared to the local people.

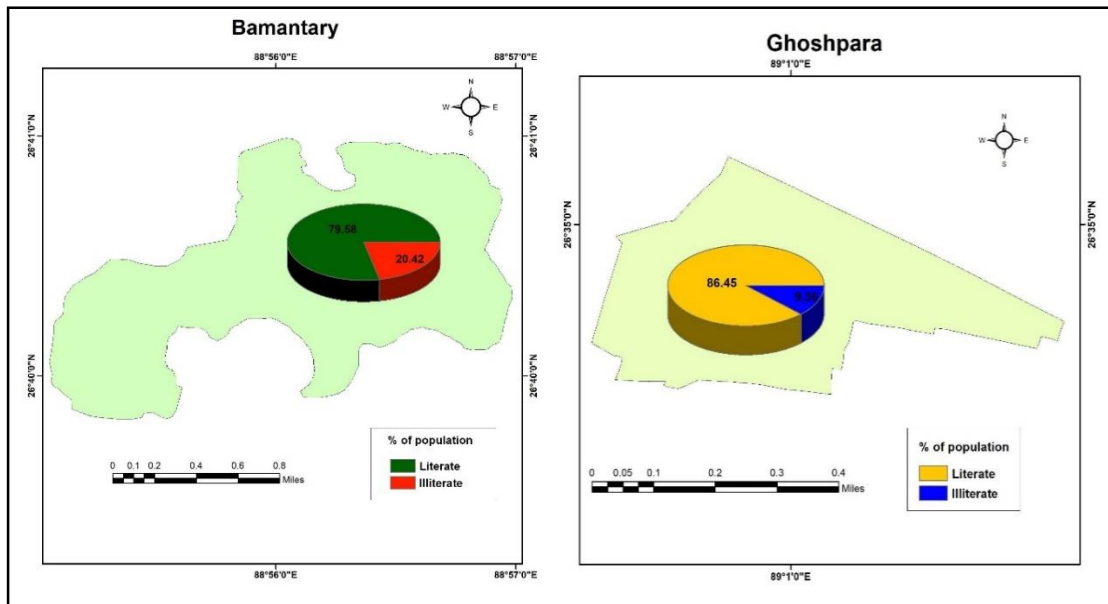
Table no. IV.2. **Literacy Rate among the Migrant Household.**

Colony / Block	Total Literacy (%)	Male Literacy (%)	Female Literacy (%)	Illiterate (%)
Bamantary Colony	79.58	86.17	71.43	20.42
Ghoshpara Colony	86.45	93.12	78.12	9.36
Dhupguri Block	69.57	77.55	61.35	17.79

Source: Field Survey September 2017 & Dhupguri- Census of India, 2011

Map number IV.1. shows the higher literacy rate among the surveyed households as compared to the block average. Based on the field observation (table number IV.2.) it can also said that female literacy rate among the migrant community is better than the block average. About 84 percent of the respondents have opined that female literacy of the migrant community has been showing a better status than the non-migrant. While another 11 percent believed that female literacy rate was more or less similar among the communities.

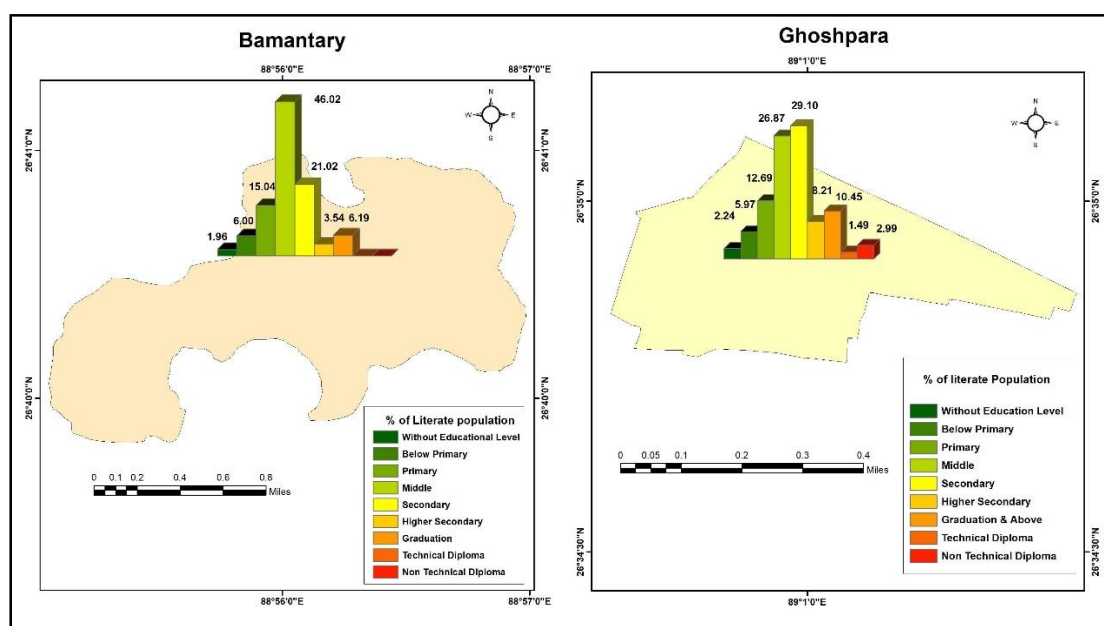
As per 2011 census, the female literacy of Bamantary Census village is about 57.15 percent, which is relatively far below than 71.43 percent of female literacy of the surveyed households. Since Ghoshpara colony is a small unit in Ward number eleven in Dhupguri Municipality, hence, no separate data is present for the same area on female literacy. Female literacy of the surveyed households of Ghoshpara colony is 76.23 percent, whereas 2011 census, registered 70.56 percent female literacy at ward number eleven. About 86 percent of respondents have the view that the female literacy among the communities is more or less balanced at Ghoshpara.



Source: Field Survey September 2017

Level of education is also being an important indicator for the socio-economic status of a community. From map number IV.2. shows that level of education is more diversified and higher in status at Ghoshpara colony as compared to Bamantary. It is due to its urban nature of the colony and people from so-called elite class. Consequently, they are engaged in diversified economic activities especially more in tertiary economic activities in place of primary economic activities of Bamantary.

It has been learnt during the field survey that after being resettled in the area migrant people showed their skill in different sectors of economy with their relatively better knowledge in education. As a result, they drew the attention of the tribal and Rajbangshi people.



Source: Field Survey September 2017

Similar kind of result was resonated among 61 percent of the participants during Focus Group Discussions conducted at both the colonies about the higher level of education among the migrants. While another 33 percent opined for more or less similar kind of level of education among the communities. During the Focus Group Discussion at Ghoshpara colony, it has been informed by Mr Pravat Mitra a retired teacher of the colony 'seeing the fast progress of the migrant's, awareness to better education has also been increased among us'. Again it has been opined by 88 percent of participants that nowadays, literacy rate among both the communities is more or less balanced.

IV.1.b. Sex-Ratio

In relation to sexual status of population in a country, the ratio of female to male of that country is very important (Desai et. al, 2003). Sex ratio in the study areas is low as compared to the Block average. Table number IV.3. shows that as compared to Bamantary census village (912) the surveyed households has a little-balanced sex-ratio (938). On the other hand, Ghoshpara has similar kind of sex-ratio like Dhupguri block.

Table No. IV.3. **Sex-Ratio among the Migrant Household**

Colony / Block	Sex-Ratio
Bamantary	938
Ghoshpara	966
Dhupguri (Block Total)	970

Source: Field Survey September 2017 & Dhupguri-Census of India, 2011

Table number IV.3. shows that sex ratio among the migrant community is comparatively less than block average. As per the opinions of 65 percent of respondents, it is due presence of comparatively higher individual male migrant at Ghoshpara colony. Agriculture based economy of Bamantary colony might be the reason behind this low sex-ratio.

IV.1.c. Use of Bengali Dialect and Tone

When people migrate, started to live permanently into a newer society, assimilate and interact with each other, lead the process of acculturation. 93 percent respondents opined that the area was mainly inhabited by the tribal and *Rajbangshi* people before the arrival of the people from other side of the border. Contextually, *Rajbangshi* dialect and few tribal language (specifically *Santhali*) were more prevalent in the area.

In the earlier decades (1950-1960) of the movement both the communities faced some problem in communicating between them as the people from Dhaka,²⁹ Faridpur,³⁰ and Mymensingh³¹ district were quite stranger to the *Rajbangshi* dialect of the non-migrants. On the other hand, local people also felt difficulty to understand the East Bengali Patois. Gradually, both the communities became familiar with each other's dialects.

²⁹ *Dhaka:* Dhaka district, part of Dhaka division lies in the central part of Bangladesh with an area of 1664 Km². It is famous for cottage and handcraft industries and world renowned Muslims.

³⁰ *Faridpur:* Faridpur district a part of Dhaka division lies in the south-central part of Bangladesh. Historically it is known for *Fathabad*.

³¹ *Mymensingh:* Mymensingh district part of Mymensing division of Bangladesh, located at the foot of Garo Hills of Meghalaya. It was a district of British India was in the *Mamisingh* division of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

Due to growing literacy among communities, proper Bengali language relatively got more preferences. It has been returned by 62 percent of respondents that nowadays proper Bengali languages is preferred by both the communities. Another 23 percent of respondents have the view that their own dialect is quite influencing in making conversation. *Panchayat Pradhan* and municipal chairman of the selected sites told “*nowadays young generation from the both the communities prefer proper Bengali in communicating between them.*” The old generation from both the communities still communicate in their respective dialects. Present *Panchayat Pradhan* and Mr Gajen Roy founding member of the Bamantary colony informed that some of the word of the *Rajbangshi* dialect like the ‘*Khawada*’ (milk), ‘*Asta*’ (road), ‘*Aam*’ (Lord Ram), ‘*Goch*’ (tree) has been relegated in usage. Now they are using proper Bengali term of ‘*Dudh*’ (milk), ‘*Rasta*’ (road), ‘*Ram*’ (Lord Ram) and ‘*Gach*’ (tree) respectively. On the other hand, about 89 percent of respondents from the migrant society informed that a mix type of tone has been developed over times among the migrants. Ramesh Das, a community leader from Ghsohpara colony in his 60s told “*as there are people from different district of Bangladesh, there has also changes come in the tone of East Bengali patois. A mix type of tone now there has been developed*”.

Table No. IV.4. **Respondent’s opinion on influencing each other’s Dialects**

Colony	Migrant’s language (%)	Non-migrant’s language (%)	Not known (%)
Bamantary	56	44	13
Ghoshpara	100	0	0

Source: Field Survey September 2017

Present *Panchayat Pradhan*, of Bamantary colony, informed that more or less same proportion of people from both the communities has been residing together since the establishment of the colony. As a matter of fact, both the communities influenced each other’s dialects. But on the other hand, about 97 percent of the respondents from

Ghoshpara colony opined that due to the presence of more than 95 percent of migrant people at Ghoshpara colony only proper Bengali language is been more prevalent.

IV.1.d. Religion and Celebration of Religious Festive

Numerically followers of Hinduism is dominant in Dhupguri block. Table number IV.5. shows that percentage of Hindu and Muslim population remained stagnant during 1961-2001.

Table No. IV.5. **Religious Community in Dhupguri Block**

Year	Hindu (%)	Muslim (%)
1961	82.69	13.45
1971	84.47	12.84
1991	82.28	16.64
2001	81.69	13.45

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2001

NFHS-3 (2005-2006) shows that total fertility rate (TFR) is still 1.9 high among the Muslims in West Bengal. Haque and Patel (2016) argued for relatively high TFR among the Muslims in Jalpaiguri. Few government officials from local block development office opined that this appears to be on account of in-migrating Hindu population from Bangladesh in across different period has offset the rather higher population growth rate among Muslims. The surveyed household at both the colonies are also followers of Hinduism. Which also suggests about the Hindu mobility from other side of the border.

Owing to same Bengali culture both the communities celebrate similar kind of religious festive like the '*Durga Puja*'³², '*Kali Puja*',³³ '*Laxmi Puja*',³⁴ '*Swaraswati*

³² *Durga Puja*: *Durga puja* also known as *Durgoutsav* in Bengali, is the main annual festival of Bengali people reveres the Goddess of Durga.

³³ *Kali Puja*: Also known as *Shyama puja* or *Mahanisha puja* celebrated on the new moon day of the Hindu month *Kartik* especially in West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Assam and Bangladesh reveres the Hindu Goddess Kali.

³⁴ *Laxmi puja*: *Laxmi* also known '*Dhanadebi*' is a religious festival of the Hindus falls on on the third day of Tihar and is considered as the main festive day of *Deepabali*.

Puja'³⁵ etc. But still, there has been some difference in religious festivals like the 'Surya Puja'³⁶ and 'Natai Puja'³⁷ of the migrant people, which were new to the non-migrants.

IV.1.e. Residential Houses

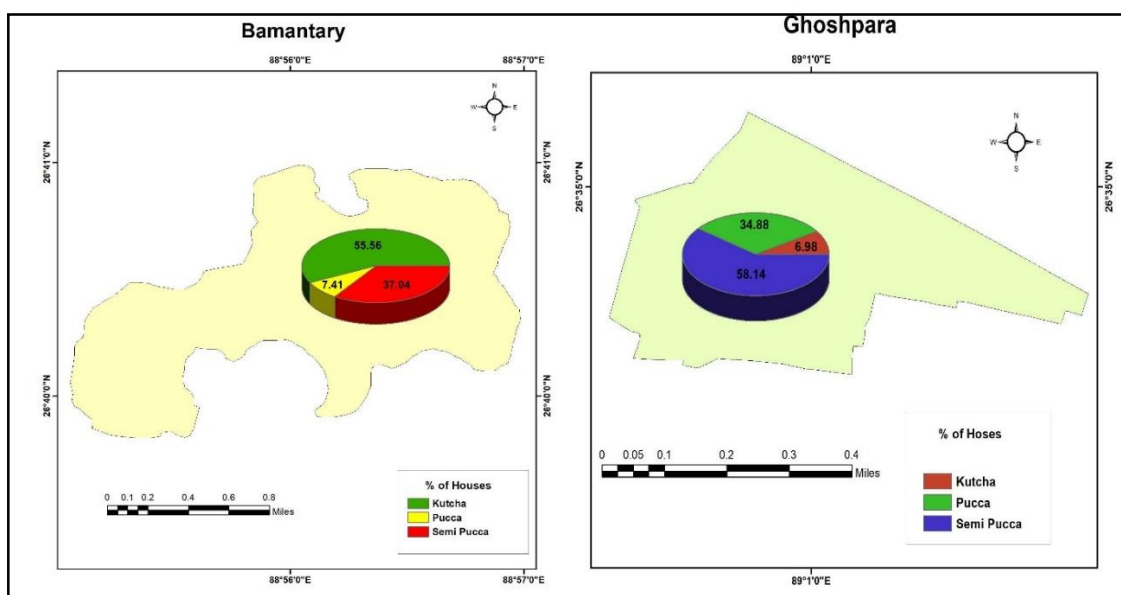
It has been resonated among 81 percent of the participants during Focus Group Discussions, that migrant people were acquainted with traditional skill of woodcraft. Because of their poor economic condition they used to build affordable Kutchha houses with wood, bamboo, polythene, tin etc. It has also learnt in course of the field interactions with the respondents that economic condition of the non-migrants was not that developed during the initial decades of 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. They used to build their houses with bamboo, polythene, straw etc. Seeing the affordable houses of the migrant's community they also build similar kind of houses with the help of the migrants. Mr Subhas Sarkar and Bhavani Roy founding members of Bamantary colony told "*local people also gradually learned the technique of woodcrafts from the migrant people and started to build houses with the help of the Bangladeshi people or themselves also.*"

³⁵ *Swaraswati puja*: *Swaraswati* a Hindu Religious Goddess also known as '*Vidya Debi*'. This Festival celebrated on the fifth day of the Indian traditional calendar, month of *Magha*.

³⁶ *Surya puja*: *Surya Puja* is dedicated to lord Surya and it is also acknowledged as one of the eight forms of lord Shiva.

³⁷ *Natai puja*: In the Hindu Month of *Aghrayana* the Hindu people reveres the Goddess of *Natai* especially in the Village area.

House Type among the Migrants



Source: Field survey September 2017

Map number IV.3. shows that 92 percent of the houses of Bamantary colony which are used for residential purposes are Kutcha and semi-pucca in character. Only 7.41 percent of houses are Pucca in character. Of them, about 65 percent were built under 'Indira Awas Yojana' of Government of India. Due to relatively prosperous economy, houses of Ghoshpara colony are mostly semi-pucca and pucca in character.

IV.1.f. Dressing Style

It has been learnt during the field survey, that another important aspect where influence has been noticed is dressing styles. Both the communities used to wear more or less similar kind of dresses owing to same Bengali culture. But there has been some differences in wearing styles. About 79 percent of the respondents opined women of young generation from both the communities nowadays wearing 'Sarees'³⁸ in what appears to be East Bengali style. While another 13 percent believed that changes are hardly be seen among the communities. On the other hand, it has been learnt that

³⁸ Saree: Saree the most used garment by the Bengali female that consist of a drape varying from five to nine yards in length and two or four feet in breadth, which is typically wrapped around the waist with one end draped over the shoulder, barring the midriff.

changes could hardly be seen in wearing style of 'Sarees' and towel among the old generation people among the communities. It was further known that migrant people used to wear loincloth (*Dhoti*), 'Panjabi', ³⁹ 'Lungi', ⁴⁰ whereas the non-migrant community used to wear white clothing and towel more. People from other side of the border learned to wear the white clothing in *Rajbangshi* style. Bhabani Roy and Subhas Sarkar founding members of the Bamantary colony told that '*we have learned each other's styles of dresses wearing. In recent time, new generation liking the modern dresses more*'.

IV.1.g. Food Habit

Food habit among the communities is almost identical owing to same Bengali culture. It was learnt that *Rajbangshi* people take dry food and meat more, as compared to the migrant people. Whereas, migrant people take more fish in place of meat. It has been resonated among 57 percent the participants during Focus Group Discussions that there has been some differences in preparation styles of food among the communities. While another 36 percent have the view that their preparation style is more or less similar.

IV.1.g. Social Interaction among the Communities

In most of the places of West Bengal, attitudes of the local people towards the migrants from Bangladesh was relatively less helpful. Unlike the scenario of Assam and most places of West Bengal for the same group of people, it has been known during the field study that local people cooperated a lot with the migrant community. About 89 percent of respondents opined that without the support of the local people it would not had been possible for them to survive. It was informed by them, local people helped a lot by

³⁹ Panjabi: It is a *kurta* type of garment, generally little longer than *kurta* used by the men in different parts of Indian subcontinent.

⁴⁰ *Lungi*: *Lungi* is type of traditional sarong garment worn around the waist by men in India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal Myanmar and Thailand.

providing them land, food, necessities to build houses, money etc. Table number IV.6. shows that people from the non-migrant community helped the migrants mostly because of the humanitarian issue.

Table no. IV.6. **Reasons behind the cooperation from Non-Migrants with the Migrants**

Reasons / % of Respondents	Humanitarian issue	Religious issue	Other
% of Respondents	77	14	09

Source: Field Survey September 2017

Mr Gajen Roy founding member of Bamantary colony informed *“seeing the miserable situation of the children, widows and women a kind sympathy grew among local people and they tried to help them as per their capability.”* About 14 percent of the respondents from the local people are of the opinion that belonging from the same religion of the migrant people, was the reason behind the cooperation. It has been known that the study area is about only a 5 or 6 Kilometre away from the ‘*Sonakhali*’ forest ⁴¹ and because of the presence of large tea gardens, earlier these area were frequently visited by the wild animals. Mr Gajen Roy and Bhavani Roy founding members of Bamantary colony told that at that time they thought *“if uprooted people from other side would have been settled in their area then nuisance of the wild animal, thief, and robbery could be kept away from the area.”*

IV.2. Impact on Economy

Scholars of different approaches argued that migration mainly occurs due to the economic reasons. Many theories as like the neoclassical theory macro, neoclassical theory micro, new economic theory have been developed by different scholars to describe the phenomenon from the economic perspective. Spatial movement has its effect on both the countries that the migrant leave and arrive. Here in this present study,

⁴¹ *Sonakhali* forest: It is an open mixed jungle under *Jalpaiguri* Forest Range is mainly dominated by trees like Sal, Teak, *Dhup*; animals like elephant, Cheetah, monkey and various birds.

only influence of the spatial mobility from other side of the border to local economy of Dhupguri have been tried to establish with the information of field survey. To comprehend this workforce, occupational structure, amount of landholding and the further migration scenario of the migrant family have been studied.

IV.2.a. Participation in Workforce

Table number IV.7. shows that about 81 percent of the respondents returned about the hard-working nature of the migrants. During Focus Group Discussions similar kind of result has been resonated among 69 percent of participants about the hard-working nature of the people from other side of the border. While another 19 percent believed that working nature of both the communities are identical. It was informed by Mr Bhagirat Roy *Panchayat Pradhan* of Bamantary colony *“They are really hard working and know it better how to survive in a new environment. They understand the economy better i.e. how to save the money and make further progresses.”* 77 percent of the surveyed household opined that they came to the area in a miserable situation. As they lost almost all of their belongings during the turmoil situation in their ancestral country and also during the movement to the area. To survive in a new area, they became more hard worker as compared to their country of origin.

Table no. IV.7. **Respondent’s opinion on working nature of the migrants**

Nature of working / Respondents	Hard working	Idle working	Average working	Not known
% of Respondents	81	02	11	06

Source: Field Survey September 2017

It has been opined by 86 percent of respondents that not only the male, to support and survive with their family females also took part in economic activities. While another 11 percent believed that females were only housewives. It has been learnt during the field survey that females participated mainly in marginal activities like the

agricultural labourer, *bidi*⁴² makers, working in the house of the elite classes etc. Mrs. Bharati Sarkar a female retired government employee from the migrant community at Ghoshpara colony told “*after leaving our country, our economic situation became relatively miserable that only to survive and earn some money, we used to work in the houses of others.*”

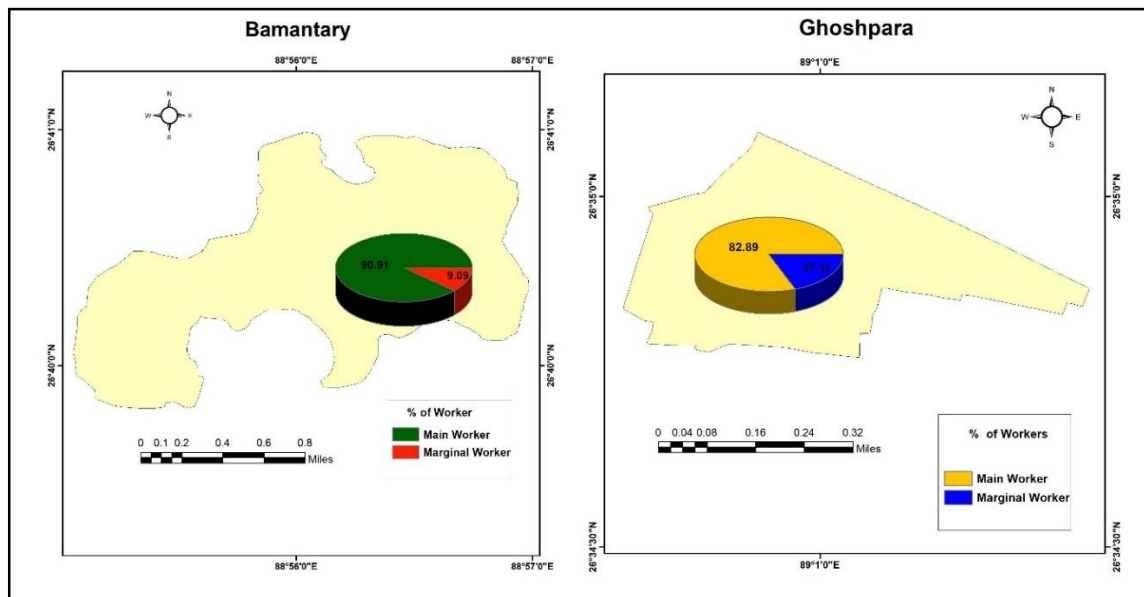
Table no. IV.8. **Status of working Member of the Migrant Community**

Colony / Block	Working population	Non-Working population	Male worker	Female worker
Bamantary Colony	43.02	56.98	83.09	16.91
Ghoshpara Colony	46.74	53.26	63.12	36.88
Dhupguri (Block Total)	40.57	59.43	67.46	32.54

Source: Field Survey September 2017 & Dhupguri- Census of India, 2011

Table IV.8. shows hard-working nature of the migrant people. It has been opined by 81 percent of the respondents due to their hard-working nature they have been progressing more as compared to the non-migrant people. Map number IV.4. shows that about 86 percent the workers of the two colonies are main workers. Though Ghoshpara colony shows a little bit lower proportion of main workers. As the female workers of the Ghoshpara colony engaged in marginal works like the *bidi* making, betel nut cutting, working in the houses of others etc.

⁴² *Bidi*: A *Bidi* is a thin cigarette or mini cigar originated from the Indian subcontinent filled with tobacco flake commonly wrapped with Sal leaf tied with string at one end.



Source: Field Survey; September 2017

It was returned by 68 percent of the respondents that though they have been resettled within the limited resources of the study area, but their resettlement stood quite positive for the study area as they have been contributing in various sectors of economy. While another 16 percent believed that resettlement of the people of the other side in the area did not stand that positive that they developed the area.

IV.2.b. Occupational Structure

'*Namasudra*' agriculturalist people constitute almost 90 percent of population of Bamantary colony. It has been learnt during the course of field interactions with the respondents that though initially, they worked as an agricultural labourer or daily wager in the field of the others, but gradually they became small farmers. About 83 percent of respondents opined that these people are adept in agricultural technique specifically in cultivation of different cereals and vegetables. It was returned by 91 percent of respondents that non-migrants people used to cultivate sweet potato, wheat and paddy. But after the mobility of the migrant people into the area, they have almost changed the cultivation scenario.

During Focus Group Discussion at Bamantary colony, it has been resonated among 80 percent of participants that migrant people has better skill in agriculture. Mr. Bhagirat Roy present *Panchayat* Pradhan told '*People from other side of the border are adept in agriculture. They have transferred almost unused land into a fertile land and made the cultivation of cauliflower and cabbage possible into the area. Which we could not be think before*'.

Plate no. IV.3. **Cauliflower and Cabbage Cultivation at Bamantary Colony**



Source: Captured by the Researcher during field survey at Bamantary on 13.12.17

It has been also opined by 87 percent of respondents, they have almost changed the production pattern of the area by transforming the area to a more vegetable productive area in place of cereals. It was learnt that local people also learned the cultivation technique gradually. As a result, they are also cultivating more vegetables in place of cereals.

Table no. IV.9. **Respondent's opinion on cultivation capability of the migrant community**

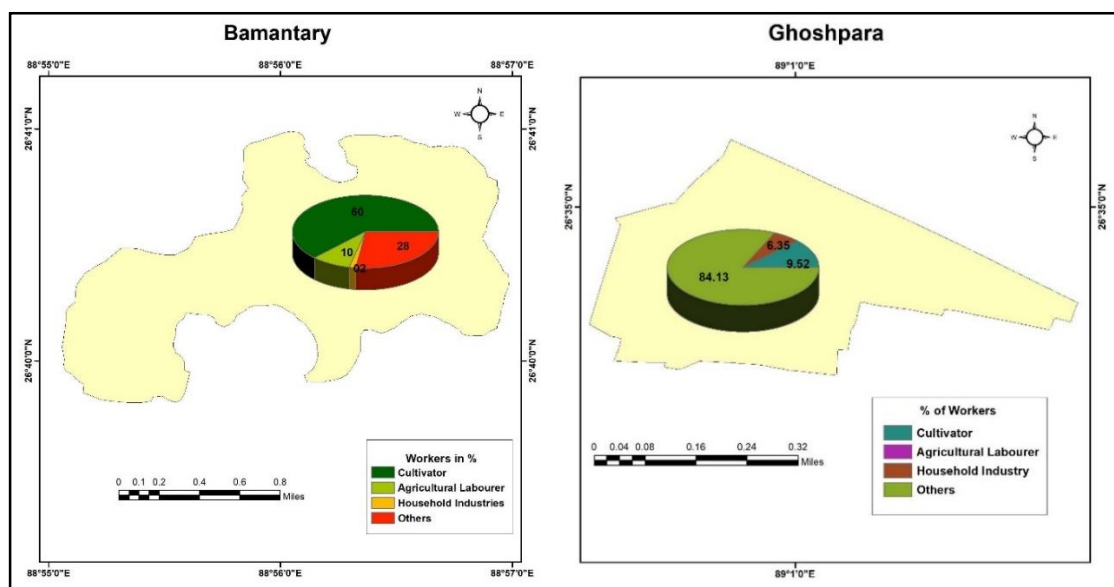
Views / Respondents	Excellent	Good	Average	Below the non-migrant
% of Respondents	64	27	08	01

Source: Field Survey September 2017

The fourfold classification of the workers of Bamantary colony suggests cultivator dominancy. Map number IV.5. Shows that few percent of worker are engaged in

agricultural labourer (10%) and household industry (2%). Though a sizable percent (28%) of workers are engaged in other economic activities. On the other hand occupation of the worker of Ghoshpara colony are diversified due to its urban character and people from so-called upper castes.

Map no. IV.5. **Workforce Structure among Migrant Main Workers**



Source: Field Survey; September 2017

Map number IV.5. shows that about 84.13 percent of the main workers of Ghoshpara colony are engaged in economic activities except the primary economic activities of dairy products producing. Out of the 84.13 percent, 69.81 percent of workers are engaged in business.

Table no. IV.10. **Occupation of workers in Non-primary sectors at Ghoshpara colony**

Occupation	% of Workers
Government Service	13.21
Private Job	11.32
Business	69.81
Others	5.66

Source: Field Survey September 2017

Table number IV.9. shows that a some amount of workers of Ghoshpara colony engaged in different governmental and non-governmental jobs. Most of them are schoolmaster, employee in bank, contractual employee.

IV.2.c. Landholdings

It has been learnt during the field survey that about 77 percent of surveyed households left their ancestral homeland in a turmoil situation. As a result, they did not able to bring valuables with them. After crossing the border they were searching only for a small piece of land.

Table no. IV.11. **Availability of Agricultural land**

Colony	Cultivable land		Non-Cultivable land		Land Under No Use	
	Available	Not Available	Available	Not Available	Available	Not Available
Bamantary	85.19	14.81	29.63	70.37	37.04	62.96

Source: Field Survey September 2017

About 86 acres of unused land of Laxmikanta tea garden⁴³ was somehow managed by the local responsible member of the society and distributed among the 100 migrant households. It was distributed free of costs. Migrant households got almost 2.60 *Bigha* of land in an average. But the distribution was not proportionate at all. This relatively small amount of land have been using both for residential and cultivation purposes

Table no. IV.12. **Size of Cultivable Land among the surveyed household (in %)**

Colony	Small Landholding (< 2 Bigha)	Medium Landholding (2-4 Bigha)	Large Landholding (>4 Bigha)
Bamantary	33.43	43.48	24.09

Source: Field Survey September 2017

Table number IV.12. shows that about 78 percent of the surveyed household own a land below 4 *bigha*. About 3 percent of households possess a land below 1 Bigha for cultivation. Mr Gajen Roy a founding member of the colony told “*As per head amount of landholding is less hence, some percent of the migrant people are practising share cultivation.*”

⁴³ Laxmikanta tea garden: It is located in Dhupguri Block of Jalpaiguri District, West Bengal with an area of 1281.6 acre.

Table no. IV.13. **Household practising share cultivation among the surveyed household (in %)**

Family Type / Colony	Family having Agri. Land	Family without Agri. Land
Bamantary	17	42

Source: Field Survey September 2017

On the other hand at Ghosh para colony about 63 *Bigha* of land have been using only for residential purposes by 145 migrant families. Likewise, Bamantary, here also occupancy of land is not proportionate.

Bamantary colony was established on the unused land of *Laximikanta* Tea Garden of *Jhar Altagram 1 gram panchayat*⁴⁴. Whereas, Ghoshpara colony is located over the unused land of Mr Badal Ghosh (a local resident) at ward number eleven of Dhupguri Municipality. In case of Bamantary colony almost unused or uncultivated wasteland of the *Laxmikanta* tea Garden has been used to develop the colony. Present *Panchayat* Pradhan of Bamantary colony told "As they have resettled almost in the unused land of *Laxikanta* tea garden, so their resettlement did not put that much of pressure on the land use of the study area. Rather, it could be said that the land they have been provided, they have utilised them well. And by cultivating different type of cereals and vegetables they are working for the economic development of the colony."

IV.2.d. Migration of the Family Members

It was found among 63 percent of the surveyed household, young generations travelling in different states like Kerala, Assam, Sikkim and countries like Nepal, Bhutan. It has been known that they are migrating due to poor economic condition and also for higher education (table no. IV.13). Table number IV.13 shows that 89 percent of migrants of Bamantary colony travelled for work purposes, especially as wage workers. Which

⁴⁴ *Jhar altagram 1 GP*: It comes under Dhupguri block of *Jalpaiguri* district. It is located on the lower South Western part of the concern block.

suggests about the lower economic development of the colony. About 69.23 percent of people from Ghoshpara colony migrated for work purposes, while another 30 percent migrated for higher education. Seeing the out-migration figure for higher education of Ghoshpara colony it could be said that economic condition may be in a better position as compared to Bamantary.

Table No. IV.14. **Purposes of Migration among the surveyed Household**

Colony	Purposes of migration	
	Work	Higher education
Bamantary	89.12	10.88
Ghoshpara	69.23	30.77

Source: Field Survey September 2017

About 61 percent of the respondents opined that movement of the people from other side of the border into the area in the early decades of 1950s, 1960s and 1970s stood quite positive for the development of the area. While another 26 percent opined that mobility of the people from other side of the border is relatively less significant for the development of the area. During Focus Group Discussion Mr Bharati Roy founding member and Present *panchayat Pradhan* of Bamantary colony said *“as people from both the community living in harmony and cordially in the area and since most of them has been provided the citizenship of India, so, by working in others states and with higher education, we think they are working for the overall development of the colony.”*

IV.3. Impact on Polity

The history of West Bengal after partition of the country can hardly be understood without considering the spatial mobility from Bangladesh in different times. Partition of Bengal changed the political landscape of Bengal, as it lost to third of its territory to East Bengal now Bangladesh. West Bengal lost its 161 seats out of the 250 seats in the assembly of undivided Bengal. It suggests loss of its major part and left with only 89 seats. The new figure somehow upset all the old balances and changed standing of

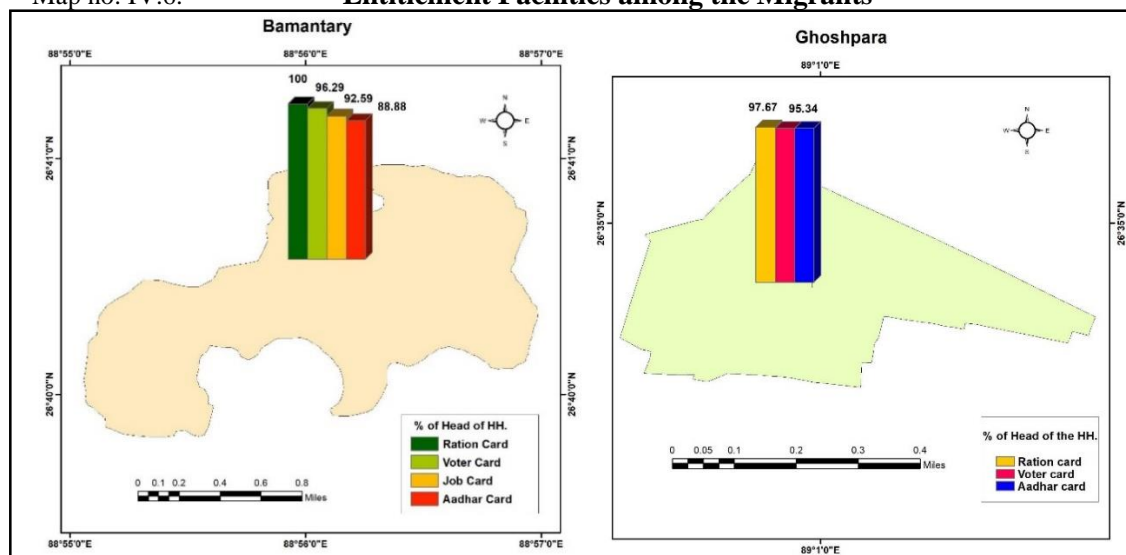
almost all political party in new state, often in quite intentional way. It became quite clear that partition had influenced West Bengal's society and somehow affected every aspect of its political life (Sarkar, 2010).

At the selected site of Bamantary colony, some local people from the then government helped to establish the colony in the year of 1972 shared by the prominent elders of the colony. It has been learnt during the course of field interactions with the respondents that people who moved during 1950s, 1960s found it better, not to go in opposition of the then government as they hold power from local to state level. Contextually, a bridge was built between the members of the then government and the people from other side of border.

It has been learnt during field survey that about 77 percent of surveyed household at both the colonies came in a relatively proletariat situation as they did not able to bring money and other belongings with them. As a matter of fact, they looked for assistance that they could survive with their family. So, when local political parties assured them for some kind of help, they participated in the political activities. About 62 percentages of the respondents from migrant community have the view that they supported the parties who assured them for better assistance. While another 27 percent opined that they remained neutral in political activities. Mr Bijoy Sarkar a community leader from Bamantary colony told *'after leaving the country our economic situation got relatively worse that we looked for some kind of help. Hence, the local political parties assured us for help, we supported them'*. It has been informed by 61 percent of the respondents that they got relatively low assistance from the then government. It has also been learnt from them, when members of other political parties assured them for better help they took their side. During the Focus Group Discussions at both the colonies, it has been

opined by 67 percent of the participants, that support of the migrant people helped the Left party to remain in power locally for a longer period.

Map no. IV.6. **Entitlement Facilities among the Migrants**



Source: Field Survey September 2017

About 83 percent of the respondents opined that the local political parties sometimes helped them in availing the facilities like the drinking water under RGNDWM,⁴⁵ 1991–1992 or *Bharat Nirman Program*,⁴⁶ 2005; electricity connection under RGGVY,⁴⁷ 2005; latrine under *Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan*,⁴⁸ 1999; etc.

Table no. IV.15. **Facilities among surveyed household (in %)**

Colony	Drinking Water	Electricity	Latrine
Bamantary	100	96.29	96.29
Ghoshpara	100	97.67	100

Source: Field Survey September 2017

⁴⁵ RGNDWM: National Drinking Water Mission was introduced in 1972-73 by the government of India and renamed as Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water Mission in 1991. Central government supplements the efforts of the state government through RGNDWM to state government's Rural Water Supply programme by providing assistance under the accelerated rural water supply programme.

⁴⁶ *Bharat Nirman Program*: It is a time bound plan to develop the rural infrastructure by the government of India in partnership with state Government and *Panchayat Raj* Institution.

⁴⁷ RGGVY: Rajiv Gandhi *Grameen Vidyutikaran Yojana* was launched by Government of India on 4th April, 2005 for providing access to electricity to all households in the country within next five years.

⁴⁸ *Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan*: It is a sanitation programme launched by the government of India in 1991, aimed for create increasing awareness about the importance of sanitation especially in the rural areas.

It has been opined by 69 percent of the non-migrant respondents during the field survey that the mobility of these people from other side of the border of divided Bengal, facilitate the '*Kamtapur*'⁴⁹ movement in North Bengal. During the Focus Group Discussions at both the colonies, it has been opined by 59 percent of the participants that because of their relatively hard-working nature and better literacy people from other sides of the border became owner of some amount of lands of the *Rajbangshis*. With the passing of time, they hold a quite significant place in education, business, and services. While another 27 percent have the view that mobility of the people from other side did not influenced the development of *Kamtapur* movement in North Bengal.

Professor Rajat Roy argues that the '*Uttarkhand*'⁵⁰ movement in North Bengal developed not only due the relative deprivation of the opportunities provided for the scheduled castes but also, in the desire to domain over the people from other side of the border of divided Bengal. He further mentioned that unlike the pre-independence period's urge of class maintaining issue of the '*Uttarkhanda* movement', the recent pattern is an ultimate outcome of struggle for power and positions between the *Rajbangshi* community and the people from other side of border. On the other hand, some amount of the *Rajbangshi* leader was perhaps wished a relatively less involvement of the migrant people in competition for power and position at local level.

Professor Rajat Roy also said that in the late 20th century the considerable alteration of land ownership structure in West Bengal reshaped the landholding pattern. Which led the *Rajbangshi jotedar* lost their economic dominance to the class of new landed elite, who were mostly people from other side of Bengal. He further mentioned that in

⁴⁹ *Kamtapur* Movement: A movement developed by the Koch *Rajbongshi* and tribal people for separate state within Indian Domain in the area historical of *Kamtapur* Kingdom of North Bengal.

⁵⁰ *Uttarkhand* Movement: It was movement by the *Rajbangshi* people of North Bengal to avail the basic facilities, maintain their class and also to keep the power and position in their hand.

such situation, *Rajbangshi* people tried to revive their earlier status and achieve a kind of social authority over the migrant people by means of ‘*Khatriyazation*’⁵¹. According to Roy, the effort was relatively less fruitful. As a result, the ultimate avenue left for the *Rajbangshis* was the avenue of power and positions over the newcomer to their area. Thus, in this way in order to own power, finally they brought the ‘*Kamtapur*’ issue into the forefront.

During Focus Group Discussions similar kind of result was resonated among 58 percent of the participants. Mr. Bhagirat Roy a retired teacher told that “*When Bangladeshi people started to progress more and Rajbangshis relatively lagged behind in different fields of economy; though linguistic issue has been the main drivers behind the Kamtapur movement but due to the above-mentioned reasons arrival of migrants to this area facilitate the Kamtatapur movement.*” Further, a more engaging study in terms of time is required to decipher main reasons behind development of *Kamtapur* movement in North Bengal.

As like the West Bengal, history of Jalpaiguri district could not be described without understanding the considerably large-scale mobility from other sides of the border. Dhupguri block of the district received some portion of the inflow. They are residing in some rural and urban squatter colonies in the Block. It has been argued by many scholars that the migrant people adapt themselves more into the newer area as

⁵¹*Khatriyazation*: Ray Saheb Thakur Panchanan Barma in 1899 led a *kshatriyazation* movement among *koch-Rajbanshi* community of Bengal. In order to be respected and accepted by the upper caste Bengalis Panchanan felt the *koch Rajbanshis* must get organized and educated, which he tried to achieve through the ‘Kshatriya Samity’. Understandably, the *samity* tried to prove that *koch-Rajbanshis* were Kshatriyas with a royal lineage, suggesting a historical link with Bhaskar Varman, the king of Koch kingdom. (<http://voiceofrajbanshi.blogspot.in/2011/10/founder-leader-of-koch-rajbanshi.html>, accessed on 3.2.2018)

they form minority. But in the present selected sites, it has been found that both the communities have influenced each other's.

The higher literacy and level of education of the migrant people (table IV.II) increased the literacy rate in the area. Adept skill of house building and the hard-working nature of the migrant people drew the attention of the local people. During the course of time, local people also learned few skill like the adept skill of woodcraft, cultivation of profitable vegetables from the migrants. The rather important area informed by the respondents is the adept skill of the '*Namadudra*' people in cultivation (table IV.9.). It has been learnt during the course of field interactions with the respondents that they have transferred almost unused land into fertile agricultural land with their adept knowledge in agriculture. It was further known that they made the cultivation of vegetables like cauliflower, cabbage, tomato etc. possible to the area. Which was comparatively hard to cultivate in the area. They have almost transformed the area in producing more vegetables to cereals.

On the other hand, it has been learnt during the course of field interactions with the respondents that sometimes the assistance provided to the newcomer was relatively less enjoyed by the local people. It has been further learnt during field survey, when migrants started to earn more, became owner of some amount of land of the local people, drew the attention of the locals. Which was relatively less enjoyed by the non-migrant community. As a matter of fact, there has been some evidences of scattered violence in the study area. Moreover, it has been learned that mobility of the people from other side of the border to a little extent facilitates the development of '*Kamtapur*' movement in North Bengal. But at last, it could be said that all along unlike most of the places of Assam, both the communities are living in harmony in the area.

Summary and Conclusion

Spatial mobility is an integral part of human existence. It has ever been becoming more relevant in the increasingly more dynamic socio-economic terrain of the world. From the very beginning of human civilization, people are found to have moved from one place to another in search of better opportunities and physical security. In recent times, use of the term 'migration' has itself come under the question and 'Mobility' is gaining importance in place of the former as migration tends to indicate the permanent migration (Sheller, 2011). In general, mobility is a contemporary paradigm in social sciences and humanities that deals with or explores the movement of people, ideas or things and more specifically the movement of people in a population, as from place to place, from job to job, or from one social group to another.

Partition of India based on religious perspective is one of the cruellest partition in the history of human civilization (Datta, 2004). Up to 1947, Bangladesh was a part of undivided Bengal, where the Bengali people were living cordially in geographically a contiguous area of the same political entity. In the backdrop of 1947 partition realities and the consequent mobility of people who found themselves encased with a sudden imaginary political line, the mobility ended up becoming a sensitive issue.

On the eve of the partition, communal tension flared-up on both sides of the border affecting a sizeable population, thus leading to the mobility of the population. Though the trans-border settlement of the western sector of India was kind of one-time phenomenon, but the movement in the Eastern sector, especially in two parts of Bengal, has been a matter of gradual and episodic phenomena.

Various scholarly works on the mobility of Bengali people have generated fair amount of attention, however, certain corridors of mobility has been more frequently discussed and debated in the scholarly circuits than some other. This study is an attempt to discuss one of the areas which does not appear as frequently as others in the mobility discourse related to the 1947 events.

Due to the rather unpragmatic basis of redrawing the borders of India in 1947 and other events pertaining to this 'sudden-political-exercise', the newly carved out West Bengal registered a considerable inflow of people from the erstwhile East Bengal. It could be argued that the history of West Bengal can hardly be understood without taking into account the massive mobility people to West Bengal. The situation emerging out of this mobility between the then East Pakistan and West Bengal has remained a matter of concern for West Bengal as the socio-economic and political life of the state appeared to have largely been influenced. Likewise, the scenario of the entire state of West Bengal, the District of Jalpaiguri has also received a sizeable number of migrants during different period from Bangladesh.

On the other Hand, similar to the case of West Bengal and Jalpaiguri, Dhupguri block of Jalpaiguri district has also been received migrants from other side of the border. Nodal point location of Dhupguri, presence of fertile agricultural land in its southern part, 21 tea gardens in its northern part and opportunities for diversified economic activities possibly pulled the migrants to the place.

The chief objective of the chapter is to present the major findings of the research work and sum up the important conclusions. Interferences of the study have been tried to discuss below;

- I.1. Incidence of partition and subsequent events uprooted millions of Bengali people who became stranger in their own land. Consequently, they were in the move to be in a place of physical safety and economic stability. Cultural affiliation, emotional connect and psychological belief pulled millions of people from erstwhile East Bengal to different parts of West Bengal.
- I.2. In case of movement from what is present-day Bangladesh to West Bengal ‘Social-Network’ theory is found to be quite relevant. This particular movement could also be described from the perspective of ‘Push-Pull’ model, Myrdal’s ‘Cumulative Causation model’ and also from economic point of view especially for the movements in the later decades during the period of study
- I.3. There has been more academic attention on spatial mobility from what is present-day Bangladesh to different parts of India, notably West Bengal and its consequences to security of the country as well as aspects of socio-economic attributes and demographic make-up in recent times.
- I.4. The episodic mobility from Bangladesh to India started from the time of India’s partition in 1947 to the time of independence of Bangladesh in 1971 and in the subsequent years to different parts of West Bengal. Thus creating pressure especially on the unorganised informal sectors. There are limited studies addressing the impact of the movement on local socio-economic issues. Hence, present Work has been conducted keeping this aspect in mind with the micro level study unit from the North Bengal.
- I.5. As cross-border mobility is a sensitive issue, the study area- Dhupguri Block of Jalpaiguri district has been selected only after rapport building with the

respondents. The Block has 5 squatter colonies; among these, one urban and one rural colony have been selected for the study.

I.6. After consulting different literatures objectives have been framed for the present study. These were to assess the drivers and type of mobility of the people in the border area of Dhupguri block. Further, to map the routes of mobility in Dhupguri border area and finally to examine the consequences of mobility on society, economy and polity of the study area.

I.7. The study was initiated in the lights of the questions on the drivers governing mobility of the people across the border area and how people chose their routes of mobility. Lastly, how the mobility affected the society, economy and polity in the area?

I.8. Among the secondary sources District Census Handbook of Jalpaiguri district, 1951, 1991, Census of India, 2001, 2011 and report of Refugee relief and rehabilitation department have been consulted. Primary survey has been conducted for the in-depth interviews, household survey, Focus Group Discussion to establish the objectives.

I.9. The study employs both quantitative and qualitative methods. Data have been collected from both primary as well as secondary sources.

II.1. Population growth of Dhupguri for the study period can be classified into the four-phase of population growth namely- Period of stagnant growth, period of steady growth, period of fast growth and lastly period of high growth with a definite sign of slowing down.

II.1.a. During the period of 1901-1921, Dhupguri registered a slow and irregular growth rate which was slightly over 8 percent. The same period accounted for a

population growth only by 6 thousands. Whereas the decade of 1911-1921 of this period registered a negative growth rate by 1 percent. This possibly due to the influenza epidemic of 1918-19.

II.1.b. The period of 1921-51 registered slow growth rate of 39.87 percent. During this period Dhupguri accounted for 0.31 lakh of total population growth.

II.1.c. During 1951-81, population of Dhupguri increased at a faster rate among the above mentioned four phase of population growth. During 1951-81 the Block accounted for 1.76 lakh total population growth. Growth rate of this period (158.38%) was considerably higher among the four phases of population growth.

Increasing opportunity in economic activities (table II.9), migration of population from other side of the border especially during the liberation war of Bangladesh (Map no. III.2.) and better health opportunities might have worked behind this fast growth.

II.1.d. During 1981-2011, Dhupguri still registered a high growth rate of population (46.04%) but with a definite sign of slowing down. Like the decades of 1911-21, the decades of 2001-11 again experienced a negative growth rate by 0.86 percent. This is particularly because of the loss of 14.90 square kilometre area to Dhupguri Municipality.

II.2. Population mainly concentrated in the *gram Panchayats* located in the north of the block. This is particularly because tea garden influenced settlements as most of the tea gardens are located in the north. Barogharia *gram panchayat* located in the southern part shares maximum population. As like the population distribution of the *gram Panchayats* of Dhupguri block, tea garden influenced

Census town located in the north of the block i.e. Banarhat and Telipara tea garden share maximum urban population.

II.3. Population density has increased by almost 6 times during the last century and it has increased phenomenally on account of high population growth more so after 1951. Highest increase in population density was registered during 1971-81 due to the loss of its geographical area of 36.55 square Kilometre.

II.4. In order to comprehend the demographic composition of Dhupguri following aspects like sex-composition, occupational structure, literacy, rural-urban population, linguistic, religious and caste composition have been studied.

II.4.a. Dhupguri registered a low sex ratio up to 1971, which was below 900 females per thousand male. Since 1981 sex ratio has gradually been increasing and reached up to 970 in 2011. Increasing female literacy and overall literacy in recent times (table II.13), might be the reasons behind lowering the gap in male-female ratio. Sex ratio for both study sites are as low as compare to the block average.

II.4.b. Except for the decline in 1971, Dhupguri has registered a positive trend in working population since 1981 onwards. Male workers comprised the major chunk of the workforce. However, female's participation in the workforce has improved in the recent times. Percent of cultivator decreased considerably (14.44 % as per 2011) and the proportion of workers engaged in other activities are have also increased since 1961.

II.4.c. Literacy rate of Dhupguri has been low as compared to district as well as state's average throughout the last century. However, since 1981, there has been an increasing trend in literacy rate. On the other hand, literacy of the study sites

show a better status compared to the block average, especially at Ghoshpara colony.

II.4.d. Dhupguri had a marginal share of urban population of 6.32 percent as per 1961 Census. Since 1971, on account of increasing opportunity in economic activities and growing literacy in Dhupguri, the Block witnessed a gradual increase in urban population. Dhupguri registered 17.38 percent of urban population in 2011.

II.4.e. Dhupguri being part of Western *Dooars* is linguistically diverse as the area is inhabited by different ethnic communities (table II.17). Nepali, *Santali*, *Munda* and *Oraon* are numerically dominant in the northern part. Whereas, in the Southern portion of this block is a Bengali speakers dominant area. The migrant households are also located in the southern part.

II.4.f. Followers of Hinduism is numerically dominant at Dhupguri, which is followed by Islam. Dhupguri block registered almost same proportion of Hindu and Muslim population during 1961-2001 (table II.18).

NFHS-3(2005-06) data shows total fertility rate (TFR) is still 1.9 high among the Muslims as compared to Hindus in West Bengal. Hauque and Patel (2016) also argued for relatively high TFR among the Muslims for Jalpaiguri. It was resonated among 79 percent of participants during Focus Group Discussions that this appears to be on account of in-migrating Hindu population from Bangladesh in across different period has offset the rather higher population growth rate among Muslims.

II.4.g. Schedule caste and schedule tribes constitutes a sizable proportion of population in the study area. As the area comes under 'Rajbangsi' dominated area of

Jalpaiguri district it has good proportion of scheduled caste because *Rajbangshis* are categorised as scheduled caste. Tribal population is also considerable owing to the tea gardens of Dhupguri block where a lot of Chotanagpur tribes have been settled in the tea gardens. Bamantary accounted for almost 90 percent of *Namasudra* schedule caste population. Whereas, at Ghoshpara colony general caste migrant population is more prevalent.

III.1. It has been observed that about 65 percent of migrants of the study area wanted to be in a place of physical safety. Worry about their family and future in the divided country, cases of religious marginalization and political unrest situation affected the surveyed household more (Map no. III.1). Strong cultural affiliation in between the Bengali people of the two countries, emotional connect, work opportunities attracted the migrants to the present area.

Similar to the case of West Bengal, Dhupguri block also received considerable inflow of migrants (about 45 %) during the liberation war of Bangladesh (Map no. III.2.). It was found that during 1970-79, Dhupguri received highest percent of migrants and the decade was followed by 1960-69.

III.1.a. Scholars have continuously argued that West Bengal always remained a hot destination place due to the geographical proximity, cultural affiliation, emotional connect and better economic prospects. Since the time of *Naokhali* riot, the place has registered rather regular episodes of inflow of people from the other side of the border.

III.1.b. Assessing the migration figures of Jalpaiguri district it can be said that the place always remained a somewhat preferred area of migration from other side of the border. Presence of large number of tea gardens, well-developed road transport

system, the availability of 'Darjeeling Mail', which earlier used to run across the mainland of Bangladesh and used to connect Kolkata with Siliguri, absence of big rivulets and streams in their route worked as the major factors behind the relatively large mobility in the district from erstwhile East Bengal.

III.1.c. It has been found that fear psychosis, i.e. worry about their future in the Muslim majority region and religious marginalisation were the main factors behind the particular mobility to Dhupguri. About 79 percent of the respondents informed that they were relatively prosperous in their ancestral country. Thus, economic issues influenced a little portion of the migrants in leaving their country of origin.

III.2. Analysis of the pattern of mobility is of enormous significance to study the changing pattern of people's movement in different time. In this particular section, an attempt has been made to highlight the pattern and the routes of mobility of the people from other side of the border to West Bengal and more specifically to the study area.

III.2.a. Unlike the entire district, 96 percent the migrants of Dhupguri block came from Dhaka, Rajshahi and Mymensingh division of Bangladesh though Dhaka division alone outrun the others.

III.2.b. It has been learnt during field survey that more than 65 percent of migrants of the present study area wanted to be in a place of physical safety. It was further known during the course of field interactions with the respondents that after the partition they enjoyed relatively less freedom as they had been enjoying before partition of the country.

III.2.c. During the field survey, it has been learnt that Dhupguri block received maximum migrants during 1971-81 decade owing to the war-related upheavals (Map no. III.2.). Prior to this, owing to *Hazratbal* riot in Srinagar and its repercussion in Bangladesh as well, Dhupguri also received some amount of migrants in 1964 from Dhaka and its surrounding areas.

III.2.d. 92.77 percent of migrants from other side of the border of Dhupguri block are urban dwellers residing at four refugee colonies of Dhupguri block. Remaining 7.23 percent reside in rural colony Bamantary.

It is because of the fact that becoming part of the society is much easier in an urban area where social bonding is not well personalised hence, less strong as compared to a rural area. Besides the higher economic opportunities and better amenities in urban areas further attracted the new settlers in urban areas.

III.2.e. As according to the opinions of 70 percent of respondents, almost all the cases of spatial mobility is rather permanent in character

III.2.f. About 86 percent of spatial mobility among the surveyed household has been the household mobility. Remaining 14 percent migrated individually to the study sites especially after 1980s. Presence of individual migrants is more at Ghoshpara colony as compared to Bamantary. It is because of the urban character and better economic opportunities in urban area of Ghoshpara colony attracted individual economic male migrants more to the site.

III.2.g. About 80 percent of the migrants of the study area arrived Dhupguri through step- migration. Field study shows that comparatively wealthy migrants, especially after 1980s, are more prevalent at Ghospara colony. They came

directly to the study area as they were relatively less dependent upon the government for their resettlement.

III.2.h. It has been learnt during the field survey that distance was relatively less important factors in selecting their destination. About 85 percent of the migrants of the surveyed colonies came from far lying districts of Bangladesh i.e. Dhaka, Faridpur, Manikgonj, Pabna, Rajshahi etc.

III.2.i. Head of the household has taken the decision regarding their mobility in about 80 percent and chose the study area as their destination. Only about 13 percent of the mobility was based on the deliberations among the entire family. Mobility from Bangladesh overwhelmingly remained family migration rather than an exercise by individuals.

III.4. It has been seen that about 71 percent of the migrants of Dhupguri block entered through Nadia and North 24 Paragana district of West Bengal. After travelling to different places they finally reached Dhupguri. It was found that only 6 percent of the migrants of later decade's came directly by just crossing the *Changrabandha* border port of Koch Bihar and *Hili* border of South Dinajpur district.

III.4. Out of the 6 identified routes for the migrants, two routes were commonly followed by the people. i.e. through Nadia and North 24 Paragana to Dhupguri. As said by 56 percent of the respondents, the better transportation facilities has been the reason behind following the route. Apart from this, the other reason has been the large refugee camps like '*Chadmari*', '*Dhubuliya*', '*Coopers*' '*Kalyani*' camps opened in the two concerned districts by the government.

III.5. It was found that about 71 percent respondents selected their place of destination based on their blood relatives, friends, village acquaintances, and searching the patron (upper caste elite people) of their ancestral village. On the other hand, about 23 percent travelled to Dhupguri as they got free land at the colonies and diversified economic opportunities.

IV.1.a. It has been opined by 87 percent of the respondents that level of education among the migrants is comparatively higher than that of non-migrants. Similar result has been resonated among 73 percent of participants during FGDs. It has been learnt in the course of field interactions with the respondents that rapid development of the migrants drew the attention of the local people for better education.

IV.1.b. Sex-ratio of the surveyed households for both the colonies are low as compared to the block average. This might be due to the agriculture-oriented economy of Bamantary colony and presence of comparatively high individual male migrants at Ghoshpara.

IV.1.c. New generations of both the community nowadays make conversation in proper Bengali. Some of the words of *Rajbangshi* dialect as like the '*Khawada*' (milk), '*Asta*' (road), '*Aam*' (Lord Ram), '*Goch*' (tree) has been relegated in usage. Rather they are using the proper Bengali word like '*Dudh*' (milk), '*Rasta*' (road), and '*Ram*' (Lord Ram) and '*Gach*' (tree).

IV.1.d. Owing to same Bengali culture entity they celebrate almost similar kind of religious festive like the '*Durga Puja*', '*Kali Puja*', '*Laxmi Puja*', '*Swaraswati Puja*' etc. Still, there has been some difference in religious

festivals like celebration of the ‘*Surya Puja*’ and ‘*Natai Puja*’ among the migrant people, which were new to the non-migrants.

IV.1.e. Migrants people have been adept in woodcraft and house building techniques, thus influencing the house type of the local population as well.

IV.1.f. Dresses of both the communities are largely identical owing to the same cultural background. However, there have been differences in wearing styles. Rajbangshi women have started wearing *sarees* in what appears to the East Bengali style. On the other hand, East Bengali people learned to wear the white clothing in *Rajbangshi* style.

IV.1.g. Food habit for both the communities is almost similar though there has been some differences in their preparation style. It has been learnt during field survey that *Rajbangshi* and tribal people used to take meat, dry food more as compared to the people from other side of the border.

IV.1.h. Unlike most places in Assam, in this areas, non-migrant people cooperated with the migrant people by providing them food, shelter sometimes even by money. 89 percent of respondents informed that without the help of local people it would not have possible for the people from other side to survive.

IV.2.a. It has been informed by more than 80 percent of the respondents that the migrant people are relatively hardworking. Similar kind of result has been resonated among 76 percent of participants during the Focus Group Discussions. Mr Gajen Roy founding member of Bamantary colony told that ‘*They have survived and came out from their proletariat situation after a heavy hard work*’.

IV.2.b. '*Namasudra*' people of the Bamantary colony are mostly engaged in agriculture and allied activities. On the other hand, at Ghsohpara colony migrants worker are mostly engaged in business.

IV.2.c. Field study from Bamantary colony shows that 75 percent of the surveyed households possess small landholding i.e. below 4 *bigha*. On the other hand, surveyed households at Ghoshpara colony own a land below 0.5 *bigha* in an average.

IV.3. It has been learnt during the field survey that people from other side of the border looked for assistance in their resettlement. As a matter of fact, the political parties assured them in their resettlement and citizenship rights thus acquiring their loyalty. It has been informed by 61 percent of the respondents that in the initial stage they got relatively less assistance from the then local government. It has been further learnt from them that those who assured for better assistance became popular among the new settlers. This view has been resonated among more than 65 percent the participants of Focus Group Discussions at both the colonies. Thus after 1978, the support of this section of the population helped the left party to remain in power for a longer period.

'*Namasudra*' people have been renowned for their cultivation skills. After their resettlement in the area of study, they most importantly imparted their mark in the advancement of agriculture in the area. As more than 90 percent of the migrant population of the Bamantary colony belong to *Namasudra* community, thus, it is not surprising that agriculture is quite developed at Bamantary as compared to many other areas. It has been known that they have largely changed the agricultural pattern by producing more profitable vegetable crop in place of cereals. It has been further learnt

from the respondents that they have even transformed the uncultivable wasteland to cultivated land at Bamantary with their developed skill in agriculture (table no. IV. 9.). On the other hand, due to the urban character of Ghoshpara colony, some amount of the workers are engaged in business. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the population is engaged in producing dairy products and supplying it to local market.

As learnt during the course of field interactions, the people from the other side of the border were welcomed by the earlier inhabitants of Dhupguri. They cooperated with the ‘uprooted’ people a lot and unlike some other the places in West Bengal and Assam. This cooperation is evident in form of the stability and peace lasting in the area. As discussed earlier the two group of people were influenced by each other in various sectors of daily life. It is prudent to mention the opinions of the respondents on the documented migrant families which numbers only 1245 as part and parcel of the society in Dhupguri. However, the undocumented migration which has been going on to Dhupguri from Bangladesh is a matter of concern that possibly put a pressure on the limited resource of Dhupguri by marginalising the workforce. Seeing the high population growth of Dhupguri and based on the opinions of the respondents, it can be said that there may be the continued presence of undocumented migration at Dhupguri. However, the undocumented migration has been outside the ambit of the present study on mobility owing to the limited of timeframe to undertake the study. Nevertheless, this study envisages including even the undocumented mobility in the next leg along with the contribution of the *Namasudra* people in agricultural development in Jalpaiguri District

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