

***“EXCHANGE OF ENCLAVES: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO BLOCKS
FROM INDIA & BANGLADESH”***

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CHAPTER 1: PRELUDE TO THE STUDY

"ONLY IN THE EYES OF THE LAW ARE WE INDIANS." With these words Anu Chairman sketched the position of tens of thousands of people living beyond the reach of state and nation in dozens of enclaves in South Asia. ("Van Schendel, W. (2002). Stateless in South Asia: The Making of the India-Bangladesh Enclaves, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Feb., 2002), pp. 115-147). Enclave is not new identity in the history of geopolitics but geopolitics of enclaves is gaining more importance with the contribution of Robinson, 1958. Such ageopolitical unit experiences different geopolitical dilemma than the conventional geopolitics. It is pertinent to mention here that before 31st July, 2015, 88 percent of the world enclaves were found along two locations - India-Bangladesh border and Belgium-Netherlands (Whyte, 2002). But in the context of history of geopolitical dynamics and criticality of social space, enclaves along India-Bangladesh border have attracted social scientist for the last fifteen year such that its diverse dynamic reality is studied from history (Whyte, 2002), social history (Schendel, 2002) political geography (Jones, 2009; Cons, 2011; Shewly, 2012) etc. widely for the last ten years. Present investigation crops up all those things in a gamut, keeping the history and critical social space at fore front. The statement given by Dinabandhu Roy is prolific to mention here that:

"We the inhabitants of Chhit Mahal have the appearance like a man, but socially we are inferior to a pet, because the owner of a pet is kind enough to his pets and even people show pity to street dogs. But we never get cooperation or kindness from the people of the neighbouring host land villages; the neighbours consider us as the people of Bangladesh. They consider us as stateless people with no power, no identity, and no right to citizenship. Thus we are exploited by the neighbouring Indians".

The comment is self explanatory about the significance of statelessness for social as well as individual identity. Considering this hostile neighbouring relation between India and Pakistan up to 1971 as well as sweet and shower relation with Bangladesh opportunist people of the host land had the scope to overpower the people of the enclaves, restricting their will to move freely as well as their erg for a peaceful social relation. Suffering thus continued from 1950 to 2015. Now the situation is over. The enclaves have merged with the host land through the treaty in 31st July, 2015, but the proper civic amenities and facilities are yet to be achieved.

1.2 Conceptual Frame Work

Barring few enclaves, most of the enclaves along Indo-Bangladesh border were formed due to attack and counter attack between Koch king and Subedar of Bengal (Rangpur). It is nothing but a pre colonial legacy. This legacy was continued in colonial period that earned critical geopolitical territory after the partition of India. It was revealed by the statement of Mansur Ali Mian, the unquestionable leader of Bharat Bangladesh Enclave Exchange Coordination Committee (B.B.E.E.C.C.) during an interview in 2011 in relation to this research investigation "India got independence on 15th August, 1947, Pakistan got independence 14th August, 1947, Bangladesh became independent on 26th March, 1971 but we the inhabitants of *Chhit Mahal* are struggling for it for last 61 years due only to our enclave status. Stick and carrot policy for India as well as Pakistan (Bangladesh after 1971) has delayed the process of enclave exchange. We are practically sandwiched by the geopolitical dynamics and our hope has transformed into disappointment". "People living in Indian and Bangladeshi enclaves are excluded from state judiciary and citizenship rights and also being subjected to host countries' law and mechanism of exploitation (Shewly, 2012). Since 1949 to 2015 South Asia topped in the list of enclaves due to presence of 161 enclaves along India-Bangladesh border. Before independence i.e. during pre-colonial and colonial period people of enclaves along India-Bangladesh border would enjoy superior subjects as they were the representatives of one administrator within the territory of other administrator. King or Subedar or colonial ruler had the total responsibility to secure their life, livelihood and assets. But confronting neighbour relation between India and Pakistan up to 1971 and hot and cold geopolitical understanding between India and Bangladesh after 1971 made impossible for the inhabitants of *Chhit Mahal* to live with full security and appropriate sovereignty. As a result people of these areas are devoid of citizenship identity. Under such circumstances from 1947 (after Independence) to 2015 (enclave exchange) they were experiencing miserable life stigmatized as stateless people. Geopolitics is the cause and sufferings are the outcomes in these prolonged exclusion, subjugation and exploitation for the last 65 years (from 1950 to 2015).

1.3. Location and Physical Identity of the Study Area

Like most other geopolitical enquiries, the area under study is not a compact one, rather distributed in a scattered way along the India-Bangladesh border (mainly along the northern border of Bangladesh and southern international border of Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal in India). Before exchange in 2015 (officially 1st August) most of the enclaves were located at the southern side of international border of Cooch Behar district, West Bengal, India, and similarly northern side of international border of Bangladesh with a linear arrangement from west to east. The landlocked island

type enclaves are situated 'Tall' (lowland) and 'Barendrabhumi'- the physiographic unit at the foot hills of Himalaya, a depositional landform developed by wash out sediment carried by the eastern Himalayan rivers (the Tista, the Torsa, the Jaldhaka and the Karatoa) etc. These are the fertile alluvial plains at the undulated foot hills of Himalaya with huge submerged low lands (locally known as bills) and summit plains (locally known as Barind). But I have to choose two blocks each of country. I chose Dinhata block-1 and on the other hand Lalmunir hat in Bangladesh side to compare enclaves inhabitation life.

1.4 Justification for the Selection of Study Area

There is no other option to select this area while one carries out research on enclaves in Indian subcontinent. Apart from this uniqueness there are some other reasons for the selection of this area. People of Cooch Behar especially, people of the blocks in which the enclaves are located (similarly for Bangladesh also) are familiar with the term *Chhit Mahal*, and also they had some idea that due to some political reasons they are not part and parcel of main stream civilization. But outside the Cooch Behar, people of North Bengal and South Bengal have little familiarity about their sufferings. It is true that research on India-Bangladesh enclaves has been contributed by the INTERNATIONAL RELATIN SCHOLAR mainly than other social scientist. Van Schendel (2002), perhaps the most pioneer social scientist to study India-Bangladesh enclaves from social history and citizenship perspective. Brendan R. Whyte (2002), the first geographer, has carried out a detailed study on India-Bangladesh enclaves from historical perspective as well as detail cartographic location of the enclaves. Rece Jones (2009), another political geographer has widely studied about the statelessness, mainly on Indian enclaves in Bangladesh, while Jasson Cons (2011), has highlighted the sufferings and historical belonging of the people of Dahagram-Angarpota (DGAP), the largest enclave that is connected with main land Bangladesh through Tin Bigha corridor (26th June 1992). Hosna Jahan Sewly (2012), carried out her research work on *Abandoned space and Bare life* by applying the concept of *Homo Saucers*. All these research have a specific focus. But no one has carried out with an integrated approach of history, political and social exclusion. Such an approach most valuable in socio-political study can be comprehended, unless and until the enclaves of both states are taken into consideration. Considering this pragmatic outlook, enclaves of India and Bangladesh have been selected as the area under study.

1.5 Important Terminologies for the Present Enquiry

1.5.1 Enclave

Enclave is very lucrative term in geopolitics though the word is used in other Discipline almost in the same sense. In geology it connotes the existence of rock Fragments surrounded by another type of rock(s). In sociological perspective it is defined as a compact settlement that significantly differs from its surrounding area – nationally, politically and socio culturally or in some others (Jhonston et. al. 2009). But the word has got its immense familiarity in the discipline of geopolitics due to its critical conceptual reality and ambiguous socio-political dynamics. For the perception of an enclave in geopolitical context no academician can ignore the contribution of Robinson. He for the first time gave the clear idea, definition and concept of enclave that are much quoted in and outside geography (Jhonston, 1986; Melamid, 1968; Whyte, 2002). He define political exclave synonymous to enclave (an enclave within a country, is an exclave to which it belongs) “a part of a territory of one country entirely surrounded by the territory of another” (Robinson, 1959). Brendan R. Whyte (2002), the pioneer in unfolding the history of enclave along Indo-Bangladesh border has defined enclave as a portion of territory entirely surrounded by foreign domination. In the simplest expression, a true enclave is a portion of one state completely surrounded by another state.

Home Land, Host Land and Enclave (Field Survey, 2011) In analysing the concept of exclave (enclave) Robinson has extended the idea in the form of different types of exclave (enclave) which are different from a true exclave (enclave). These are:

1.5.1.1 Pen-Exclave

Parts of territory of one country that can be approached conveniently in particular by wheel traffic only through the territory of another country (Robinson,1959). Temporary exclave (enclave) is created where what was one state has been divided by an avowedly temporary or provisional line, such as an armistice line or occupation zone, which leaves island of one zone in another.

1.5.1.2 Virtual Exclaves

Areas treated as the exclaves of a country of which they are not in the strictest legal sense an integral part (Robinson, 1959). In the present context of research enclaves, counter enclaves and counter-counter-enclave are more important than

Pene-enclave, temporary enclave.

1.5.1.3 Counter-Enclave

Counter enclave is the enclave within enclave. An enclave is surrounded by another state or host land. An area occupied by the host land within the enclave, is defined by counter enclave.

1.5.1.4 Counter-Counter-Enclave

It is the third stage spatial occurrence of enclave within counter enclave. If the home land to which the 1st order enclave belongs occupies an area within the counter enclave is defined as counter-counter-enclave. There was only one counter-counter-enclave in the world before enclave exchange India-Bangladesh in 2015, named Dahala Khagra Bari. All the enclaves, counter-enclaves and counter-counter-enclave (only one) were formed along Indo-Bangladesh border due to basically invasion and counter invasion and possession by Koch king and Subedar of Rangpur (Bengal) during 17th and 18th century.

Chapter 2. Research Methodology & Review of Literatures

Research Methodology is the back bone of research or project investigation as it upholds the structure of research and also the design of enquiry. Therefore research methodology not only deals with research methods and techniques but also considers the logic behind them (Kothari, 2009). A systematic research work cannot get cherished output without systematic as well as proper methodology. It should be clearly mentioned here that the structure of research, the design of enquiry and interpretation of reality of this investigation apparently bears the similarity of other geo-political research work, but in some specific context, it attempts to explain the reality of present work with a different tune as historical perspectives and political turmoil are critically assessed with sufficient references and quotes. By such way of analysis especially in Chapter VI and Chapter VII, it in no way hampers the tune of analysis; rather it has strengthened the logical coherence of interpretation of text. As a whole, structure of geopolitical phenomena, its reflection on spatial unit and its outcomes on social behaviour are widely analyzed through historical legacy, political dynamics and critical outlooks to social space.

2.1 Structure of Research

Structure of the research refers to entire design of investigation by which the output of research becomes clear, authentic and valuable. Keeping this perspective in mind present investigation opts for a systematic, comparative structural form. It starts with the selection of research problem and the area under study, followed by conceptual framework, literature survey, collection and interpretation of data and ultimately a comprehensive report writing to find out the concrete outcomes associated with it.

2.1.1 Stages of Enquiry

The whole research work has been completed through three stages of enquiry. These are pre-field, field, and post-field stages. These stages are not mutually exclusive, rather overlapped with each other.

2.1.1.1 Pre-Field Stage

At the beginning stage of research, soci-politics of *Chhit Mahal* was the notion of enquiry. But after a wider survey of literatures, the theme of investigation is changed in the form politics of *Chhit Mahal* and critical social space of the study area. Considering this thematization a vast amount of literature was surveyed and a well framed questionnaire and survey schedule were framed to generate data base from the selected enclaves lying within India as well as Bangladesh.

2.1.1.2 Field Stage

Field Stage is significant for the collection of data both from primary and secondary sources. In the stage of collection of secondary data, maps and information and images from different organizations were collected initially. But more emphasis was given to primary data as far as possible from selected enclaves within India mainly and also within Bangladesh with structured as well as unstructured (for opinion, biography and auto biography) questionnaire, critical opinion or biographical information.

2.1.1.3 Post-Field Stage

In the field based research both the field and post field stages are important, but post field enquiry is more articulative and orientative to make research into a meaningful output. Therefore a post field stage is concerned with organization of data, treatment and analysis of data and comparative report writing with supportive references and logical analysis. Post field analysis and report writing of this investigation faced some critical as well as crucial junctures because as enclave exchange was thought as the most possible solution against the criticality of geopolitical tag of wars between India and Bangladesh as well as the end of subjugation and exploitation to people of the enclaves. So, enclaves and its related geopolitical and social processes were the existing phenomena on which the report was thought to be prepared. Such quick solution of enclave exchange which was the dream of the inhabitants of the enclaves since Independence has certainly turned the wheel of the ill fate of the enclave dwellers into a good fate for which post field stage has redesigned. Thus systematic design of research work into this distinct stage is not the segregated aspect of the enquiry; rather they are sometime overlapped with each other. But for better understanding such division is more convincing.

2.2 Data Bases

In strict sense of term, research information means data base of research. But there is no clear cut difference between information and data the context of research in social science. Data are derived from the information collected from the field. Therefore, all sorts of information can collectively be termed as data. For clear understanding, types of data in relation to this enquiry all information are broadly classified into different categories.

2.2.1 Historical Records

Historical information from different books, journal, and documents are very much essential for present enquiry especially in the context of enclave formation and geopolitical dynamics.

2.2.2 Qualitative Data

It is the most important in the social science research for subjectivity of judgment. It opts to find out the most reliable or perceivable reality through the Logical argument or judgment.

2.2.3 Quantitative Data

These are the information coded with absolute or relative measures. Landholding, levels of education, migration level of exclusion etc. in the present context of research are analyzed through quantitative information.

2.2.4 Government Documents and Constitutional Literatures

An extensive Government documents and constitutional literature are used in different section of this study to substantiate the evidences relating to geopolitics of enclaves.

2.2.5 Narratives

Narratives are important in this enquiry to reflect historical reality and also the level of sufferings of the people of the enclaves.

2.3 Data Source

Like most of other research work in social science this investigation vehemently depends on the both primary and secondary sources of data.

2.3.1 Primary

The primary data for this research has been collected from field survey, mainly from Bangladeshi enclaves in India and to some extent from Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. Data concerning Land holding, education, ethnicity, migration and different level of exclusion have been collected through direct field visit. Most of the photographs relating to agricultural produce, housing condition, location of large size wetlands (*Beel*) and counter enclaves are collected through field visit.

2.3.2 Secondary

Present study is revealed through vast sources of secondary data. It is quite impossible to portray the historical perspective and geopolitical turmoil

after Independence with the diversified source of secondary data. These are as follows:

- 1) Census department Government of India and Bangladesh ,
- 2) Historical documents,
- 3) Journals of national and international level,
- 4) Land deed of enclave dwellers,
- 5) Thesis on Indo-Bangladesh enclaves,
- 6) Old historical maps showing the domain of Koch territory in different time periods,
- 7) Map showing the location of enclaves,
- 8) Governments records,
- 9) Biographical information,
- 10) Constitutional literatures,
- 11) Boundary reports,
- 12) Specific information from leading news paper reports,
- 13) Official website of Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India and
- 14) Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha T V channel (India).

2.4. Review of Literatures

Review of literature gives the dimensions of research in a particular context as well as research gap. Bridging the gaps between the existing knowledge base and

Knowledge to be gained is the ultimate goal of the research (Randolph, 2009). Therefore, Review of literatures is essential to streamline a research in a new dimension. The present research on India-Bangladesh enclaves has so many facets. Therefore, an exhaustive review is essential before presenting the ins and outs of this enquiry. The review actually helps in the formulation of hypothesis, objectives and articulating the ideas in a newer design. The present design of study obtains literatures from diversified fields like history, geography, especially political geography, geopolitics, international relationship to get the integrated idea about Indo-Bangladesh enclaves. The government documents are very much important here in the context of geopolitics of enclaves. It is worthy to mention that the research works in Bengali (the vernacular literatures) related to this field are also important in this context. These vernacular literatures are almost untouched by the foreign scholars, especially in geography except the contribution of Whyte.

2.4.1 Literature Related to Indo-Bangladesh Enclaves Banerjee R. N. (1969) the commissioner of Presidency division of West Bengal has written an article on the history of enclaves in district census hand book of Cooch Behar in 1951,

published in 1961. Due to lack of proper background knowledge of this area his work has failed to depict a vivid picture of enclave scenario of Cooch Behar enclaves. He was unable to establish a meaningful and systematic relationship between person and place. The positive side of his work was that he includes a map showing all the enclaves and also a table containing area and names of the each enclave. Banerji (1961) also published an article but it was a precise version of the previous one (Banerjee, 1961) with more confusing and also accompanying map is of very poor in quality, showing blobs for each enclave without names or numbers.

Pradyumna.P. Karan (1966) an Indian origin faculty at the University of Kentucky with an Indian origin wrote an article and published in *'Professional Geographer'* just after one of the Supreme Court case verdict on the Berubari affair. In the first part of his article he describes about the number and area of Indo-Pak enclaves and role of partition for the existence of these enclaves. About the Dahagram war (March, 1965) he writes that it was a conflict between *Bahar* Moslems (Muslims) and *'Bhatia'* Moslems (Muslims). Like Banerji, Karan also includes a map showing only four enclaves complex (Shalbari, Dahala Khagrabari, Dahagram and Nalgram) but he points out only Dahagram. In this map he wrongly depicts the Berubari union and the area claimed by Pakistan. Some of the information, especially ethnic identity of enclaves is undoubtedly valuable information for this study.

Amar Roy Pradhan (1995) has written a book named "Rules of Jungle means the Lawlessness in the Enclaves". His information relates only to the Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. The book contains a valuable first hand source. It narrates the general history of the enclaves; it also narrates several incidents and accidents of recent time. Roy Pradhan has also raised some question from the aspects of human rights both in his book and in Indian Parliament as he was an elected member in Lok Sabha (Lower house of Indian Parliament). The details of parliamentary discussion are also included at the appendix of his book. He has also given a list of the Indian enclaves. This book provides two maps, one is the map of Dahagram enclave and its surroundings showing the Tin Bigha corridor and another is the "Arhai Bigha" (Two and half Bigha) corridor near Diakhata Okrabari border, which is considered Roy Pradhan's demand at exchange of Tin Bigha corridor. This is undoubtedly a valuable source of information for the lawlessness and sufferings of the enclave people.

Willam Van Schendel (2002) the Dutch social historian makes a depth search on Indo Bangladesh enclaves and border issues. He has investigated the enclaves from the point of citizenship. He has coined some new words "in terms of identity that they were citizens, they were proxy citizens and they are enclave people". He has raised the question that do they identify themselves for the

home or host state on the grounds of religion or location? Do the enclave dwellers see themselves as third state the enclave land, separate from both India and Bangladesh? There are two very important maps in the article of Van Schendel, of which location map is of crucial importance. He has numbered the enclaves where he has investigated and wrongly depicts the Berubari, disputed suit. Another map that has been included in this article is the Patgram area with enclaves. He concludes that absence of state functioning has produced a void space of nationalism, while the agency of self governance in the enclaves can be assumed as the absence of state functioning. This article is perhaps the first scientific article on Indo-Bangladesh enclaves as it was published just before the B.R Whyte's landmark article. Apart from this research article Mr. Schendel has published number of research paper related to India-Bangladesh border landscape these are mentioned in table. Schendel's contribution to the Indo-Bangladesh enclaves is seminal that has been reflected in different aspects of this thesis.

Brendan. R. Whyte (2002) the Australian scholar has carried out his doctoral dissertation on Cooch Behar enclaves. He has published a series of working papers on world's two most complicated enclave groups- the Cooch Behar and Baarle enclave group. His first landmark was on Cooch Behar enclave, named as "Waiting for Esquimo". By this metaphor he has rightly identified the strenuous social life of the people of enclaves. Whyte analyses the history of Cooch Behar enclaves only under the four chapters from the Mughal through British to recent times (up to 2000). He tries to demarcate the origin of enclaves from 1713, but neglects the treaty of 1784 the moot point of formation of enclaves as he keeps the official and relatives of Koch Mahraja out of annual assessment (*Hastabud*). Whyte puts more emphasis on secondary information rather than primary field information. The most valuable asset of his work is the 31 maps among the most important are the large map with the position of every enclave is very much important. Apart from deep information, the main value of this work is its extensive appendix, an attempt to compile a definitive listing of all references, from any field like government documents, reports, atlases, court cases, treaties, and newspaper's reports etc. which is perhaps first time detail information of Cooch Behar enclaves. Whyte writes another three articles. First is a comparative analysis between Cooch Behar and Baarle enclaves (2002b), while second is a depth study on Baarle group of enclaves, and third is the prolific cartographic technical application of Excel mapping software on Baarle group. Present thesis has incorporated different critical information from these thesis and article.

Jason Cons (2007, 2011 and 2012) write an essay on the most sensitive enclave issue of Angarpota Dahagram (AGDH) two previously Bangladeshi enclaves. To him sensitivity is a vague plastic term that implies "without directly identifying threats to National security. The enclaves remain periphery of

understanding sensitive space that emerges for most Bangladeshis as unresolved question, symbols of an incomplete partition and ongoing conflict with their larger neighbour". In the next subheading; securities and insecurities he explains the problems of AGDH residents for their restricted mobility through the Tin Bigha corridor, but after 6th September, 2011 the whole scenario is changed, as Tin Bigha corridor remains open for 24 hours. He concludes that 'the multiple ways that AGDH and its residents marked as exception to normal political rule constitute the essence of this politics of sensitivity'. This article is based on primary information; it also applies several politico social concepts in the field of AGDH enclaves. In 2011 Cons published another article from Cambridge University Press under the title *Histories of Belonging(s): Narrating Territory, Person, and Dispossession at the India-Bangladesh Border*. Like his previous article this article also is concentrated on history of belonging of Dahagram. In his article Cons recount the long struggle of the people of the Dahagram to open the Tin Bigha corridor, drawing on the memories and experiences of the residents; he also examines Dahagram's part (s) as narratives of postcolonial belonging to fragmented conception of state and nation. He focuses on the overlapping tensions between national and local struggles. In this article Cons uses a map from Whyte (2002). Actually this article is a very good first hand source of information about the struggle of Dahagram people that was initiated from 13th March, 1965 (Dahagram war) and chronologically he analyses the census operation, role of the guns supplied by the Bangladesh President Zia ul Haque (p 547) and Long March in Bangladesh proper under the direction of the then President of Bangladesh Hussain Mohammad Ershad. Cons was quite unable to feel the pulse of the surrounding hostland people. This good piece of article is the source of information about the then largest enclave complex of Indo-Bangladesh border, but the view in favour of the people of AGDH is one sided. In this investigation, the real scenario of both enclave and host land is portrayed with a special highlight. In 2012 Cons J has also published another important paper in *Political Geography* (2012) under the title "Narrating boundaries: Framing and contesting suffering, community, and belonging in enclaves along India-Bangladesh border". Through this paper Cons tries to explore the politics of community making at the India-Bangladesh border by examining public and private narrative history and sense of belonging of the people of Dahagram. This article argues that understanding population at Dahagram mainly considers two processes: first, para-legal activities are the part of daily life; second is the strategies through which these groups construct themselves as moral communities deserving of inclusion within the state. This article is articulated in such way that mask (unmask) both the complicated histories and quotidian realities of life in the enclave like Dahagram through the hidden stories of the activities of Jamal Sadhu and his gang, the conflict between indigenous enclave people and *Bhatia*. This paper provides a clear idea about *Bhatia* which is very helpful to analyze the ethnicity of Indo-Bangladesh

enclaves. Like his previous papers Cons uses the same map of Dahagram area from Whyte. Like the earlier papers this paper also puts one side view about the dispossession, exceptionality and marginalization of the people of Dahagram. It is also notable to judge the role of the people of Dahagram to the people of Kuchlibari and Mekhliganj (nearby host land) and their views about sufferings by the 'Local heroes' of Dahagram. On the occasion of 15 years of the opening of Tin Bigha corridor Cons writes an article published by 'Daily Star', magazine from Bangladesh where he narrates the origin of enclaves and long struggle of Dahagram people for Tin Bigha corridor.

Recce Jones (2009) the US geographer (Hawaii) works on Indo-Bangladesh enclaves where he argued that the enclaves are stateless space as they are surrounded by the host country 'which prevented any administrative contact with their home country'. He tries to establish a relationship between sovereignty, enclaves and the state. Here he introduced a term contingent sovereignty means the sovereignty recognized by other state. In the next subheading he tries to discuss about the displaced sovereignty. At the penultimate phase Jones tries to find out the causes for continued existence of enclaves along the India-Bangladesh border from one sided view he provides some supporting arguments citing Vinod Khanna at B. R. Whyte (2002). He also put more emphasis on communal sentiments.

Debabrata Chaki (2011) an activist of enclave movement (associated with Enclave United Council) has published a Bengali book on Indo-Bangladesh enclaves. The book contains twenty-six chapters, among them first six chapters are concerned with the problems of human rights, and the next fifteen chapters he explains the origin and evolution of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves. Chaki raised some ethical question on enclave exchange in next four chapters. He concludes with a hope for amicable solution and suggestion to the ruler of both India and Bangladesh to rehabilitate the enclave residents without changing their nationhood. The book provides valuable information about origin, formation, and evolution of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves with the passage of time. Chaki is the sole author who mentions a separate history for different enclave groups of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves, the most valuable source which has been extended in this thesis to unfold individual enclave history. The main drawback of this book is that the database of this book is very poor, due to lack of proper field survey especially for the case of Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. Apart from all these discrepancy this book raises the question of process and validity of partition made by Radcliff, and also suggests that if the partition would be done in a proper way the enclave problems at Indo-Bangladesh border could be avoided.

Mohammad Golam Rabbani (2007) published his MPhil dissertation as a research paper in a journal named "*Theoretical Perspective from Dhaka of Bangladesh*". There are 3 chapters excluding introduction and conclusion. In chapter II he describes about physical structure of the enclaves by which he

means the list (78 Bangladeshi enclaves and 123 Indian enclaves) and area of the enclaves. For total population he has incorporated views of Roy Pradhan, Arindam Sen (2001), Whyte (2002) and others. Chapter III deals with the socio-economic condition of enclave people. Here he uses the empirical field base qualitative data. Chapter-4 deals with the identity crisis and survival strategy of the enclave dwellers. This article is enriched with firsthand field materials. He uses very poor quality of map and the narratives used by him are not properly explained. But the book is undeniably a comprehensive one integrating physical and social perspectives of enclaves.

Hosna Jahan Shewly (2008, 2012, 2013 and 2015a, b) submitted her Master's Dissertation under the title a "*Border Management and post 9/11 State Security Concerns: Implications for the Bangladesh -India Border*", in 2008 to the Department of Geography Durham University U.K. In her thesis she argues about the post-9/11 discourses and policies are adopted towards Bangladesh-India border, but little attention has so far been paid to the resolution of decade's old border disputes and issues. It appears as though the nature of old problems is forgotten while integrating new threat. Considering the old problems of Bangladesh-India border she mentions enclave issue as an Unattended and Unresolved Puzzle. She also mentions that delay in exchange of enclaves, administrative problems, and the movement of enclaves' people across the borders are responsible for border incidents. Alternatively, such dilemmas are also visible due to hostile relations between the state elites. She blamed that India does not have an earnest aspiration to retain the agreement related to enclave exchange (LBA, 1974). In 2012 Mrs. Shewly has submitted her doctoral thesis in the same university from where she completed her Masters on the topic of "*Life, the Law and the Politics of Abandonment: Everyday Geographies of the Enclaves in India and Bangladesh*". In her thesis she strives to understand what roles politico-spatial-legality play in shaping everyday life in the enclaves located in the North West borderland curve in the India-Bangladesh border. In this thesis she likes to portray *how* the long existence of these enclaves shapes their residents' everyday lives. In this thesis she adopted the *politico-spatial-legality* interactions approach as the enclave dwellers find ways of attempting to cope up with such circumstances and try to survive and advance their life through the loopholes of the state system. It reveals from the thesis that the enclave residents live in a non citizenship status and the border is experienced in

3.7 Research Gap

The earlier studies on Indo-Bangladesh enclaves or identity crisis and subjugation of enclave dweller are associated with particular focus. Even the geographers like R. Jones, J Cons and social historian W. Van Schendel have highlighted only of history and social perspective of enclaves respectively.

Other social scientists mainly delineated origin and survival of enclaves as per their view. Of course H.J. Shewly as a geographer has held up the politico-spatial-legality, abandonment and the construction of bare life in enclaves focus. Thus earlier literatures are pertinent in their own outlook with some research gap. Therefore, the research gap for the earlier literature can be outlined as follows:

Firstly, in most of the researches or historical accounts origin and survival of the enclaves are widely but land and the people in a combination are never put into account;

Secondly, some literatures of the literatures have outlined one-sided views especially for R Jones and J Cons. Jones chalks out that Hindu oppressions is the main cause for the migration of Muslim people from mainland India to Indian enclaves. Cons has widely highlighted the sense of belonging and sufferings of the enclave people of Dahagram Angarpota in the outlook that how they were tortured by Indians, but never has he taken the enquiry how some leaders of that enclave organized terror in the surrounding host land that has been incorporated in the present thesis.

Thirdly, contribution of B. Whyte (2002) is a vast resource for the study of the study of India-Bangladesh enclaves in terms of historical perspective and cartographic design. This is undoubtedly a mammoth work but very little sociological perspectives.

Fourthly, some of the historical accounts have created confusion about land possessed by Koch Royal preceptor. Two different accounts have represented differently which has not cleared. Finally there is no clear information about Chakla and their status and also its conversion or relation to Parganas (Administrative area or Subdivision).

3.8 Uniqueness of the Present Study

The basic instinct of is to portray the social reality in terms of land and people. Perceiving the research gap of earlier literature, attempts have been made to portray the enclave issue in total gamut covering the historical perspective, geopolitical dynamics, prompted with severe turmoil and after all the sufferings of the enclave dwellers of the study area in terms of identity crisis, subjugation and exploitation. From the very beginning of this research work, the concluding remark was pointed out in favour of enclave exchange, better let than never. But at the end stage of the enquiry, the enclave exchange got the reality only four years ago in sequel to LBA-1974 and its protocol 2011. Apart from the integrative gamut another important intriguing outcomes of this research is that individual enclaves have a different history which have not been highlighted

earlier. It has been curve out articulating different historical account and their coherent voice judgethrough rational logic, removing ambiguities. Another cast light of this investigation is the ethnicity of different enclaves and its relation with migration and counter migration.

CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND SUFFERINGS

Due to geopolitical turmoil starting from 1949 to 2015, enclave people of both India and Bangladesh were neither recognized by home land nor by host land. Thus the people of political islands suffered immensely in terms of health, education as well as social and political identity. It results immense socio-economic and cultural problems on the life and livelihood of the people of enclave. The facets of social hazards in this study is highly divers. While physical hazards are temporary or seasonal in nature, social hazards are more permanent it persists in mind and attitude even after the critical period of hazards. In the present study hazardous social space is basically highlighted during the critical period, which initiates, threat, evacuations, torture, forced migration and counter migration, critical health hazards etc.

3.1 Demography

Demography of enclaves is quite different from home land and host land interms of occupations, man land ratio, female size, literacy etc. Therefore, a separated discussion is necessary before discussion of hazardous social space. After 1941, there is no census information about the demography. Therefore, primary data is the only source. But a de-facto census was operated in 2011 from 17th February, to 9th March, under a group consisting of member from Bangladesh and India to enumerate population of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves. The details of this are remain confidential. It revealed from the survey in 2011 that out of 51 Bangladeshi enclaves only 31 are inhabited. For 111 Indian enclaves 49 are uninhabited and 62 enclaves are in habited. It has already been stated earlier that were 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. The total area coverage of these enclaves is about 20957 acre with population 37334. On the other hand, there were 51 Bangladeshi enclaves in India with an area of 12289 acre inhabited by 14215 persons (Ministry of External Affairs G.O.I. 2011). The area of enclaves varies from less than 1 acre to more than 2 thousand acres (Table 3.1).

Area in Acres	Number of Indian Enclaves in Bangladesh	Number of Bangladeshi Enclaves in India
<100	91	34
100-200	5	7
200-300	3	2

300-500	4	3
500-1000	3	4
1000-2000	3	
Total	111	51

Table 3.1 Area and Number of Enclaves
Computed from JBWG (MEA)

Before the episode of enclave exchange out of 62 inhabited Indian enclaves in Bangladesh 61 were Muslim major enclaves with more than 92% Muslim population were but after population transfer on 31st November, 2015, 185 Hindu families have come to India. All the erstwhile enclaves are now Muslim major area. Out of 31 inhabited Bangladeshi enclaves in India there were 10 Muslim major, 18 Hindu major and 3 mixed with both Hindu and Muslim population (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Demographic and Religious Character of the Enclaves

Types of Enclaves	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Muslim Major	Hindu Major	Mixed	Total
Indian	49	62	61	0	01	111
Bangladeshi	20	31	10	18	03	51

The enclaves whose area is more than 50 acres are mostly the inhabited enclaves. Smaller enclaves were almost depopulated because it was hard to live with few households in a small enclave under stressed condition. It was only possible when a large number of households live in an enclave under extreme subjugation and stateless condition. Therefore, it is difficult to reside in a small enclave for few families. Before 1949 small enclaves were habitable area for few families but with the growing rivalry after Independence pronounced by increasing hostility towards neighbouring nation, those families have gradually shifted to another enclaves or hostland; as a result small enclaves are now farm land without settlement. Therefore, the enclaves above 50 acres in size are having settlement. Up to 2010 there was tendency to develop settlement in the periphery of the enclaves (Sarkar, 2010) as well as a transitional border zone of enclaves. Van Shandel in his article (2002) shows that Anu Bhai, an elite ex-chairman of Dahala Khagrabari enclave shifted his resident to the border zone of the enclave where he can step left foot in India and right foot in Bangladesh. Anu Bhai has become a permanent resident of a posh area of Debiganj town (host land town nearby enclave) of Bangladesh during the time of field visit of Indian enclaves in Bangladesh (2011). This is not the sole case for Anu Bhai,

other well off persons from Dahala Khagrabari like Rabbul Alam has become the permanent resident of Debiganj town.

This is also true for other richer people like Sunil Roy from Balapukari (Bangladeshi) enclave. The incidence of Panbari enclave (Bangladeshi) is more interesting. Before 1990 about 40 families would reside there. Just before exchange of enclave in 2015 there are only two households in Panbari enclave. Therefore, the enclave was gradually depopulated before the exchange due to inaccessibility of the enclave people.

3.1.1 Literacy Profile

Enclave boys and girls are not allowed to take admission in the host land school as they are not at all the citizens of host land. Therefore, literacy levels of people of enclaves are low in comparison to home land and host land. Literacy profile of Indo -Bangladesh enclaves is shown by this literacy pyramid. that literacy level of both male and female very low both for Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and Bangladeshi enclaves in India. While the general literacy is 74.04 % of which male and female are 82.14% and 65.46% in India (Census of India, 2011) and 51.8% of which male is 54.1% and female is 49.4% in Bangladesh (Bangladesh Bureau of statistics, 2011), the literacy level of both male and female in both Bangladeshi and Indian enclaves is less than 16% but the except the age group of 16 to 30 years. Such a scenario is depressive as they had no scope to admit in the school unless and until they had the fake identity. The situation was quite different before 1950. Enclave identity was not so much a strong barrier and most of the enclave under Cooch Behar a princely state, people would not face such problem to admit their offspring into school under British territory. Mansur Ali Mian (73) of Poaturkuthi and Rahaman Ali (70) of Karala took birth before 1950 were able to continue education in host land's school before independence without any barrier. The situation experienced a U-turn with the growing rivalry of Pakistan, especially from the end of 1950s, but extreme critical condition was developed after Indo-Pak war 1965. Therefore, the generation with the period of 1960-2007 suffered severely to get admission in the host land school.

3.1.2 Ethnicity

Etymologically ethnicity is ancient Greek term '*ethnos*' means distinct people. In contemporary usage ethnicity is a way in which individual defines their personal identity and a type of social stratification that emerges when people form group based on their real and personal origins. Ethnicity in the present context is out and out dynamic as it plays a major role for occupying the enclaves in different time points. It is also true that intra and inter enclave relations are to a great extent conditioned by ethnicity. The inhabitants of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves had a definite origin. Apart from their religious identity

they have another identity i.e. spaces of origin. It means from where they have come from and over time how have they shifted their locations. This chapter deals deeper into the dimensions on which ethnicity evolves and also its impact on the social life of the inhabitants of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves. It also highlights the spatial organization of the stateless folk and their process of relocation starting from their origin to destination. Migration and counter migration are the impetus that shape and reshape the social structure of the enclaves lying along the India-Bangladesh border. Migrants often faced hostility at their source or origin and sometimes at their destination also. In the present context ethnicity of the inhabitants of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves can broadly be categorized into three types: i) Indigenous people, ii) Boboli and iii) Bhatia.

3.1.2.1 Indigenous People

Since the origin of the enclaves from the pre-colonial period, the people residing in these zones generations after generations are known as the Indigenous people of enclaves. Some people were residing in the Mughal occupied territory inside Koch Behar state (these areas are known as Bangladeshi enclaves in India up to 31st July 2015) for few generations. At the same time original residents and their successive generations were living in Indian enclaves from the very beginning. In the later period in spite of stress and hostile environment within the enclaves they have never shifted their locations. That is the identity of indigenous enclave people. Therefore, relatives and office personnel of Koch kings belonging to Hindu community and some elite Muslims of Indian enclaves are the indigenous people of the Indian enclaves. They owned huge amount of land by inheritance. Afterwards the Hindu people decreased rapidly. Most of the Hindu people from Indian enclaves were ousted by the host land people of East Pakistan (later on Bangladesh) during and after Indo-Pak war (1964) and during and after 'war of liberation' (1971) due to increasing hostility. Mahesh Chandra Barman's family at Kot Bhajani and Sirajul Islam of Kajaldighi enclave are the present generation of indigenous enclave people. On the other hand, the defense personnel of Mirzumla (1661) and other invaders to Koch Behar since the origin of enclaves inside Koch Behar like Mansur Ali Mian of Poaturkuthi are the indigenous Bangladeshi enclave people in India. All these groups of people had a distinct socio-spatial identity and normally identified as indigenous people.

Communal Tortured

There was anti India feeling after the formation of East Pakistan. Hindu people faced enormous torture in Indian enclaves by the host land people. This situation was worsened during Indo-Pak war 1965. Pakistan Government during this turmoil condition declared Enemy Property Act-1965 which was modified later on. The essence of this act is that land ownership of the emigrated people from Pakistan to India (an enemy state) during this period can be grabbed by the Pakistani people. Therefore, Pakistani people created terror to grab the land.

Enclave people tried to avoid such gloomy terror environment (Chapter-6). They were eager to leave enclaves forever. Some of them fled to India with their movable resource. The land holding was grabbed by the host land invaders. During this turmoil there was an unrest condition in the adjacent border areas of Jalpaiguri and Haldibari of Cooch Behar, district, West Bengal (Jones, 2009). Muslim people of these areas were also eager to migrate towards East Pakistan (Bangladesh). Some Hindu people of Indian enclaves and Muslim people mainland India exchanged their land holding. By this process enclave people became the normal citizens of home land. In the same way normal citizens of home land got the identity of enclave people. Land exchange and registration was not a problem to them as both the area was under the jurisdiction of land registration office of the respective country. Through this process not only the Indian enclave people and its home land people exchanged their land but also the habitat the economy and the society; it was also applicable to the Bangladeshi enclave (Bakhalir Chhara group) people and the home land people Nageswari Thana (police station) area in the main land Bangladesh. There was a single Muslim family in Purba Bakhalir Chhara who owned most of the landed property of Paschim, Madhya and Purba Bakhalir Chhara group of enclaves. They were threatened by the host land people around it. So that family was forced to leave enclave and relocated in the homeland Bangladesh. Later on in 1992 twin incidence the opening of Tin Bigha corridor and aftershock of Babri mosque demolition in Uttar Pradesh (India), created some turmoil condition. There was an immense pressure on Hindus in Bangladesh. They were also eager to leave Bangladesh. Therefore, the Hindus in Bangladesh and the Muslims of Bakhalir Chhara enclave mutually exchanged their landed property and shifted their location and possessions. Jagat Roy (55) residing earlier Naodanga Kuthi village at Nageswari Thana in Bhurungamari Upazila (subdivision) of Bangladesh before 1992 is presently residing at Paschim Bakhalir Chhara (former Bangladeshi Enclave) in between Baman Hat and Kalmati area of Cooch Behar district. He shared this memory during the field survey on 10th June, 2010 in the following section.

“After the demolition of Babri mosque (India) in 1992 the lives of the Hindus in our area were full of nightmares. The neighbouring Muslim people looted houses and captured the lands of Hindus. In such a turmoil situation one day, one of my very close Muslim friends informed me that I was their next target. Hearing this I communicated to the Hindu people of my locality who had already shifted to Bakhalir Chhara enclave very recently. I sent my wife and daughter to this enclave. It was very close to my native village. I managed the B.S.F saying that my wife and daughter are going to my nearest relative’s house and they will return back just after few days. After three days in a morning I heard the shouting of a group of people. I came to know that they are coming to my house; immediately I untied the cows from the cowshed and escaped to

words the border. I already selected a safe dry culvert (dhol) under the barbed wire border through which I got entry into India avoiding BSF and saved my life. Ultimately I came to this enclave and met my family. Since then I am living here.” Like Jagat Roy there were others (6%- 15%) who are presently settled in former Indian and Bangladeshi enclaves leaving their home land and having such traumatic experiences.

Fear of Communal Torture

The Bodoli people from enclaves had not faced communal torture but they left their place of origin as they considered it a high risk to stay in enclaves. This type of risk factors forced them to leave their previous locations. It reveals from Table No 7.4 that about 40 % Bodoli people from Indian enclave Dashiar Chhara, 119 No Banskanta (40%) Dahala Khagrabari (46%), Behular Danga (39%), Nazir Ganj (42%) and Bangladeshi enclaves Bakhali Chhara group (48%) were forced to shift their location through mutual exchange of land between enclaves and homeland being afraid of communal torture. Madan Mohan Roy (58) former resident of Naodanga of Nageswari Thana was a Government employee in Bangladesh. He was a telephone operator there. But due to fear of communal torture he resigned from his job; left Bangladesh in 1993 and came to Paschim Bakhali Chhara. In some cases, the reality was different. “it was a rumour; today you hear that it has happened in Kanpur Village, tomorrow you will hear to be happen in Gourichor, and the day after in Guchchigram - somewhere on The chors”. (Rahaman and Schendel, 2009). Therefore, there was no base of the news about riot. But the rumour about riot was awesome. They were afraid that it might happen in any day in their locality.

Therefore, the minorities within the enclaves and mainland exchanged their properties being afraid of such rumour.

In Search of Better Social Connections

The India-Bangladesh boundary is a super imposed boundary (Pound, 1963) as it was imposed on the people residing there at the time of partition. Radcliff drew the boundary without considering the socio cultural reality of this area. As per word of Jaya Chatterjee (1999) “this boundary separated customer from their market, industry from the raw materials and people from their relatives”. So the Muslim people residing in India near the border and Hindus vice versa had lost the connection with their relatives on the other side of the border. Those people always had an intention to join with their friends and relatives and permanently settled with them. Land was not available to them in the main land of India and Bangladesh; they got alternative solution through land exchange. On the other hand, enclave people were also eager to join with their friends and relatives of their home land. Therefore, they mutually exchanged their places of dwelling. Bakhali Chhara group of enclaves is such an enclave inhabited by Bodoli. There

are 36 Oraon families (schedule tribe) in PaschimBakhalir Chhara who have come from Bhurungamari Upazila of Bangladesh. During field survey they were asked why they opt to migrate towards a Bangladeshi enclave from the main land Bangladesh. They answered that they came here mainly for better matrimonial connection of their same community. In Bangladesh bride and bridegroom of the same tribal community were not available to them. Similar comments were echoed in the thesis of H.J Shewly (2012) when these people were asked why they did prefer enclaves rather than main land India. They replied that to arrange the required amount of land for 36 families in main land India was a tough task. But it was easily possible in this enclave and there was no problem of registration of land through this exchange. As per words of Bachchu Sing Oran (72) “we hoped that in near future this enclave will be exchanged and this area will be the part of Indian Territory. Thus we will be able to get identity as Indians.

Lacurative Land Ownership

Apart from the politico-socio cultural factors in relation to mutual exchange of dwellings between enclaves and its home land, there were other factors mostly economic in nature. Most of the Bodoli got less amount of land by exchange but they have achieved better security. The value of land in enclaves was lower than homeland. So, the enclave people got lower amount of land than they left in enclaves. Homeland people, thought that extra amount of land gained by them were bonus point. Md. Mokhlesur Rahaman (62) presently the inhabitants and portfolio member of Kajaldighi enclave committee came to this enclave through the exchange of his land with Gomi Roy presently settled in Haldibari. His son Madan Roy is now an employee of Haldibari municipality. Md. Mokhlesur said during field survey on 14th Oct 2011 “I had 80 Bighas (about 26 acre) of land near Haldibari (Home land). There was a deal with Gomi Roy who previously lived Kajaldighi enclave. In exchange of 80 Bighas land he initially offered me 120 Bighas (about 40 acre) of land in this enclave. But practically I have got 90 Bighas (30 Acre) only in possessions. It is a great loss to me.” Madan Roy (M, 51), son of Gomi Roy explained that, as per document my father (Gomi Roy) owned 120 Bighas of land in Kajaldighi enclave but 30 Bighas (10 Acre) were forcefully captured by host land people. Among the 80 Bighas of land which they got in Haldibari were vested as the land was beyond Land Ceiling Act of West Bengal, 1955. These vested lands were distributed to the ousted people from the Indian enclaves. He further asked who gainer is at present. Table 7.4

shows that for Dashiari Chhara, Banskata (Indian enclaves) and Bakhalir Chhara (Bangladeshi enclave) the ratio of the land exchanged between enclave dwellers and their home land families is 1:1. The ratio is 1: 1.5 for Dahala Khhagra Bari, Nazir Ganja, Kajal Dighi and Behular Danga enclaves (Indian). In these enclaves the landman ratio is higher than other enclaves.

3.2 Land Holding

Enclave societies of Indo- Bangladesh enclaves are no more different from theagrarian society of North Bengal and Northern part of Bangladesh. Landed property isthe only mode of asset to the people of these areas. Per capita land holding in Indianenclave in Bangladesh is 0.561acre/person while it is 0.865 Acre for Bangladeshienclaves in India.

Table 3.3Land Holding in Bangladeshi Enclaves in India

Land in Acres	P Md	M Md	BkC	Pkt	SPM	Ds M	B pk
Landless	6.66	3	9.23	8.77	21	18.18	2.94
>1	40	45	26.15	24.56	26.3	9.09	23.5
1-2	26.66	10	40	36.84	31.57	45.45	38.23
2-5	26.66	21	24.61	14.03	21	27.27	0
5-10	0	21	0	10.52	0	0	0
10-15	0	0	0	1.75	0	0	0
<15	0	0	0	3.5	0	0	0

N.B: P Md= Paschim Masaldanga, M Md = Madhya Masaldanga, BkC= Bakhair Chhara,Pkt=Poaturkuthi, SPM = Shiba Prasad Mustafi, Ds M= Dhabalsati Mirgipur,Bpk=Balapukhari

Primary data collected from the field survey from Bangladeshi enclaves showsthat about 3 to 6% people of the enclaves are landless (Table 7.5). For the enclaveShiba Prasad Mustafi the percentage of landless people is high (21%). A lion share ofland in this enclave is owned by Chatterji family, the next generation of GouriNandand Mustafi (discussed in chapter 4). This clearly reveals uneven distributionland in this enclave. Most of the inhabitants of these Bangladeshi enclaves own 1.25Acres of land on an average. Only a very few families (5% around) have land holdingmore than 10 acre. In case of Indian Enclaves in Bangladesh 83% people had thelanded property and only 17 % people are landless (Sen, 2004). Most of the land wasforcefully grabbed by the people of surrounding area. People of these areas were notinterested to show their ownership document.

3.2.1 Problem of Land Ownership

One of the most crucial problems to the enclave people is the ownership of their land. Up to 1995 there was a provision of registration for selling and purchasing of land in the enclaves. The registration would do corresponding to home land's land registry office (D.L.R.O Coach Behar, 2010). Enclave people had the scope to visit their home land managing the border guards of both sides for such purpose. After 1995 both India and Bangladesh Government imposed some restrictions on registration of the land in the enclaves. A photo identity proof has become mandatory for registration of land. Enclave people did not have such documents in favour of their home land. So they were quite unable to sell and purchase officially their lands, after 1995. The people of this area sell and purchase their land unofficially, with an agreement signed by enclave committee mainly in a stamp paper. Some of the large size enclaves had their stamp paper to serve this purpose, but for small size enclaves, enclave committee would prepare a deed for selling in plain papers. This type of unofficial process has created several complex problems about the ownership of land in the enclaves. Litigation frequently would arise regarding, selling and especially demarcation as there is no clear-cut jurisdiction and record about the land. Most of the landed properties of enclaves are owned by the influential person of the host land. So ownership and possession of land is an important factor for conflicting neighbour relation not only with the enclaves but also with the host land. Without proper land registration, mutation and conversion such problems cannot solve even after the exchange of enclaves. It is the apprehension that in near future it will perhaps be the most embarrassing problem of enclaves, because land selling has been continued from one to another person without any deed. But only one person of a particular piece of land has legal documents. So, legally he is the owner. So, if such problems arise, it may lead to severe conflict, political turmoil, power exaggeration etc in defining the real ownership of land.

3.3 Problem of Law and Order

Due to total absence of administration for statelessness the inhabitants of enclaves were not protected by law and order. Neither their home state nor their host state was able to provide them protection through law and order. Most of the host land neighbours would exploit them at every aspect of their lives and livelihoods. Sen (2003) in his book 'Tales of Nowhere People' cited a very pathetic narration.

"In 1987, February one day we the villagers were robbed in day time. Among the 20/25, persons 7/8 were in the uniform of the Bangladeshi police. On the way of returning home my brother saw that the all robbed items were gathered at a place and this was supervised by sub inspector ranked officer of Bangladesh police who was sitting on a chair. The next evening the robbers raided our house; this time they abducted my brother. The abductor was also in

Bangladesh police uniform. They set fire on our house. Next morning, we found my brother dead in nearby host land soil, at the periphery of the enclave. The Bangladesh police stopped us when we want to retrieve the body. They alleged that my brother was shot while attempting robbery. We did not even get back the body of my brother.”

There are so many real stories relating to the absence of law and order in enclaves that led to huge problem to the people of enclaves. Nalini Roy (56), oustee of Shalbari Enclave, (Also cited Sen, 2003; Chatterje, 2009) stated that:

“Due to conflicting neighbour relation the enclave people would always be victimized by the host land people. The involvement of state police is quite shocking. Murder, robbery, land capturing, frauding, rape would commonly happen in the enclaves. Houses were most frequently burned due to little agitation.”

On 10th October 2010 at night, some host land people set fire on the houses of Garati (Indian Enclave) enclave in Bangladesh. Two people were beaten and led to death a few days ago; at Haluapara area (one counter enclave); they were dacoit (robber). Host land people took revenge on enclave dwellers by burning the house (Fig. 7.5) of Garati. The enclave people put other opinion during field survey, **“Actually land capturing was main cause behind this attack”**. Within a week Government of India send all sorts of relief through the high commission, but can't assure them about their security. Enclave life was thus full of uncertainty and insecurity.

In such a hazardous condition only home land people can extend help to its enclave dwellers. (Mofizar Rahaman, Enclave Garati, 2011). With the active support and help of host land people enclave people also took the advantage of lawlessness in the enclaves. They set gambling camp (Juar Thek) inside the enclave with some unsocial song and dance programme (Juargan). Police of the host land cannot raid entering the enclaves as it is not the territory of India. During the field survey in 2011 October the Inhabitants of Dashiar Chhara enclave with help of nearby host land chairman burned the pandal of this type of antisocial function. Lawlessness in the enclaves had different dimensions, such as the cultivation of opium in the enclaves to earn huge amount of money. Marijuana and opium cultivation are commonly being practised in the enclaves (Fig. 7.6). Both the host land people and the enclave dwellers are involved in such practice. It is interesting to note that Muslim people of Bangladeshi enclaves are not involved in such mal practice as drug is prohibited in Islam religion.

3.4 Problems of Healthcare service

Health is the metabolic efficiency of level of function of a living being. For human it is a general condition of mind and body usually meaning to be free from illness injury or pain. According to World Health Organization (W.H.O),

“Health is a state of complete physical mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of diseases or infirmity”.

The health of an individual and his communities are affected to a wide range of contributory factors. People's sound or poor health is determined by their environment and prevailing situation in society. WHO shows the following factors probably have great impact on healthcare service expressed as follows. Physical environment and genetic behaviour is primarily responsible for illness. But better food habit, clean environment and proper health care services can reduce the probability of illness. Therefore, income is a factor for better livelihood that prevents illness and availability of health care services can reduce it to a great extent. But for the then enclave dwellers of Indo-Bangladesh border, income level was low due to non-access to employment and health care services were day dreams to them. The following discussion, therefore, sparks on the health condition and health related sufferings of the people of enclaves. In this chapter health condition of Bangladeshi enclaves in India is analyzed from socio-political as well as spatial perspectives. Its main focus is to judge the level of exclusion of enclave dwellers from the health care facilities. From birth to death enclave dwellers had faced endless obstacle to obtain health care facilities from the host country. In true sense there was absence of state functioning in the enclaves. Therefore, the health care facilities were like the mirage to the enclave dwellers. They were not only the creatures of flesh and blood but social creatures. They also always try to build a harmonious equilibrium between their basic requirements of healthcare facilities and its availability in the host land. The health care facilities of the hostland Government was not easily available.

In spite of this type of obstacles enclave dwellers were eager to avail the health care service from the Government level of the host country. In a household survey a question was asked to the Bangladeshi enclave dwellers in India as to which types of health service they depend on. Seventy-four percent of enclave dwellers replied that they depend on the health services provided by Government of West Bengal. The inhabitants of enclaves named Dhabalsati Mirgipur, Balapukhari were totally depend on Mekhiliganj subdivisional hospital and Kuchlibari hospital, very close to them. On the other hand, the people of Madhya Masaldanga enclave were quite unable to access the health care facilities from the hospital and health centre running by Government of West Bengal. Whereas 72% inhabitants of Purba Masaldanga an enclave nearby Madhya Masaldanga are able to manage the health services from the health centres and hospitals of host lands Government 91% people from enclave Shibaprasad Mustafi were able to access the Government health services while 71% enclave dwellers of Bakhair Chhara were dependent on Government health services.

3.4.1 The Way to Access of Health Services from Government Health Centre's and Hospitals

The inhabitants of Bangladeshi enclaves were not legal citizens of India at the same time they had no connection with their home land. So their lives were in a

critical condition during illness. They had to avail the basic health services through different mode. Producing themselves as citizens of host country they were able to avail the health services from the host lands health centres. Though there was a question of normative identity but the life saving medical treatment was more essential. Enclave people would always search for fake identity; they earned such types of identity by different mode; seventy-one percent (71%) inhabitants of these enclaves would avail health services by hiding their enclave identity. About 24% enclave people availed the medical and allied treatment through their relatives in the host land. In that case the relatives would go with them to health centres or hospitals and identify them as their family members. Sometimes the enclave people also had the voter identity card, health card at address of their in-law's house or relatives. This practice was very common at Madhya Masaldanga and Bakhair Chhara enclaves. About 5% people of these enclaves were able to manage health service by other way. It may be through the certificate issued by Panchayet of the surrounding host land villages.

They were asked whether they try to avoid for availing Government health service; about the reason of their non-interest. Most of them pointed out three following reasons:

1. as an enclave people they are not entitled to get any service,
2. they have to wait a long time to avail any service from host land's Government,
3. they face unnecessary harassments from the Government hospitals and health centres of the host land.

Sometimes they identify themselves as the inhabitants of the surrounding village of the host land. For such a fake identity, they would use the village name of the nearby host land; not at all the name of the enclaves. Few enclaves are named after the village of nearby host land, like Chhat kutchlibari. The inhabitants of Madhya Msaldanga and some person from Bakhair Chhara enclaves replied that the unnecessary harassments or humiliation from nearby hostland health centres and the hospitals were the main reason of their lack of interest. The distant hospitals having no idea about such stateless territory would admit the patients. The way to avail general medical facilities was not so bad to the enclavedwellers. But the enclave dwellers had to face

severe problems during the illness of women, pregnant mother and child under critical condition. All those aspects are highlighted as follow.

3.4.2 Women Health

Women have been playing an important role since creation of civilization. The Health status of women reflects the social justice in a society. Women not only have own health problems but she has to look after her family's health too. So if she is malnourished both she and her family will suffer.

3.4.2.1 Status of Women Health

Like the enclave people the women in the enclaves had to face more critical condition to access the health care facilities. No special health care was provided to them. Even during the urgency of delivery they would not easily be admitted in the host land hospitals due to their lacking in national identity.

3.4.3 Maternal Health

Maternal health refers to the health of women during carrying condition. It is the most important phase of women's life. This maternal health of women of enclave is discussed here through antenatal or prenatal, intra natal, delivery care, and postnatal care.

3.4.3.1 Pre Natal Care

Pre-natal care is a kind of medical supervision offered to pregnant women up to the of the baby. It includes regular monitoring of the women and her carrying baby throughout pregnancy by various means including a variety of routine regular examination and a number of simple tests of various kinds. Pre-natal care is important because it helps to maintain the mother in good health during pregnancy. Rural or local level sub health centres, village maternity hut take the responsibility of providing such pre-natal care to the pregnant mothers in general. For enclaves it would depict a gloomy picture as these landlocked foreign territory were not legally permitted to provide such facilities. Accesses of this type of service were also regulated by hide and seek process and the strong will of the enclave people and also by the pity or kindness of the host land health staffs.

Social Awareness of Enclave People to Obtain Pre Natal care

Access of pre-natal care for pregnant women of the enclave would depend on the awareness of their family members and especially by their relatives in host land, mainly their parental house in laws' house. Only 22% of pregnant mother from Bangladeshi enclaves in India were able to enrol their names in the registered Government health institution. At the same time 78% pregnant mothers of enclave were out of registration at village maternity hut or rural hospitals.

Help of ASHA Staff

Under the National Rural Health Mission, there is a provision of providing every village of the country with a trained female community health activist – ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist). Selected from the village and accountable to it, the ASHA will be trained to work as an interface between the community and public health system. One ASHA worker is supposed to cover a village approximately one thousand population. In West Bengal 87% villages don't have any ASHA staff (Hati and Mazumder, 2014). About 94% enclave women were out of these services. Only 29% women from Balapukhari enclave would be served by the ASHA staff. Only those families who had a good connection with host land could be able to get this service.

3.4.3.2 Health Check Up of Pregnant Mother

During carrying stage mothers' health is in stress. So the routine check-up of her health is very important. The check-up of pregnant mothers' health depends on availability of such health check-up facilities to the enclaves' carrying mother.

Table 3.4 Health Check up for Pregnant Mother

SL. No.	Name of The Enclaves	Yes	No
1	Purba Masaldanga	45	55
2	Madhya Masaldanga	58	42
3	Bakhalirchhara	35	65
4	Poaturkuthi	57	43
5	Shiba Prasad Mustafi	82	18
6	Dhabalsati Mirgipur 100 0	100	0
7	Balapukhari	86	14

Their attitude and awareness about such check-up is also an important factor. It is found (Table 7.6) that about 66% women of the enclaves were not able to check their health on carrying condition while 100% women from the enclave Dhabalsati Mirgipur were able to check their health during carrying condition. This enclave is adjacent to the sub divisional head municipal town

(Mekhliganj). Availability of health care facility and awareness level of these enclave dwellers are high. Near about 86% women from the Balapukhari enclave could be able to check their health during pregnancy period because of close proximity Kuchlibari rural hospital. Only 35% women from Bakhali chhara enclave group were under the health checks up during carrying stage. This enclave complex was dominated by S.T. people and the awareness level was low due to lack of communication with the host land.

3.4.3.3 Types of Health Check Up

In carrying condition different types of health check-up are the pre requisite condition for safe motherhood. In enclave area the health check-up during pregnancy were through blood test. The women of enclaves could not clarify the detail item of blood test. About 39% women make Ultra Sono Graphy (U.S.G.) in carrying condition. This test is not only easily available in the remote area like enclaves. So the enclave dwellers would rarely go for such test.

3.4.3.4 Monitoring of Pregnant Mothers Health

During the field visit it was revealed that for Bangladeshi enclaves in India, 28% did not get for any kind of Ante Natal check-up and 27% got it for first, but did not get for 2nd and 3rd. About 35% women who would complete 1st, 2nd, 3rd, check up did not complete full check-up before the delivery. Only 10% pregnant women in the enclaves got it fully.

3.4.3.5 Delivery care

It is well known to all of us that giving birth of a child in a medical institution under the supervision of trained health care staff is essential for the survival of mother as well as child. Four types of indicator have been considered for delivery care:

1. Percentage of women having institutional delivery,
2. Percentage having home delivery,
3. Percentage of delivery assisted by skilled person,
4. Percentage of safe delivery.

Table 3.5 Place of Delivery of Carrying Mothers of Bangladeshi Enclaves

Name of The Enclaves	Within Enclave	Outside Enclave	Non-Government (Nursing home)	Government
P Md	64	0	9	27
M Md 0	75	17	8	0
Bkc	50	14	7	29
Pkt	43	0	0	67
SP M	64	9	0	27

Ds M	9	0	8	83
Bpk	50	0	0	50

N.B: P Md= Paschim Masaldanga, M Md = Madhya Masaldanga, Bkc= Bakhair Chhara, Pkt=Poaturkuthi, SPM = Shiba Prasad Mustafi, Ds M= Dhabalsati Mirgipur, Bpk=Balapukhari

In terms of institutional delivery (Table 7.7) 43 % pregnant mother from Bangladeshi enclaves in India are admitted for institutional delivery-like Government hospitals and nursing homes. Among the 43% of institutional delivery, 38 % delivery was found to occur at Government hospitals and only 5% at non Government nursing homes.

Like other medical facilities this service is also available to the inhabitants of Dhabalsati Mirgipur and Balapukhari enclaves completely. About 51% deliveries occurred at the home of the dwellers. They are unable to access to institutional delivery. At the same time 6% home deliveries occurred outside enclaves mainly at the home of their relatives. Admission of pregnant mother for delivery in a Government hospital is very difficult to the enclave dwellers without proper identity proof. Hospital authorities verify their identity before issuing the birth certificate of a new born baby. To avoid troubles, they do not agree even to admit a mother with labour pain. All the home deliveries of enclave women took place without any help of any professionally skilled person. For this case they depend on the 'Dhai' or some experienced lady attendant of their community. It is important to point out that not a single respondent has replied about the severe difficulties for home delivery.

3.4.3.6 Post Natal Care

Post-natal period is defined as first six weeks after birth. This period is critical to the health and survival of the mother and the new born baby. Lack of care in this time period may result even death or disability as well as missed opportunities to promote healthy behaviours etc. Different immunization programmes have been launched to avoid such problems. In 1995 Government has initiated Pulse Polio Immunization. It seems to be highly successful throughout India. In enclaves 92.5% children have received their doses of polio.

Table 3.6 Success Rate of Pulse Polio Immunization in Bangladeshi Enclaves in India

SL. No	Name of The Enclaves	Yes	No
1	P Md	100	0

2	M Md	56	44
3	Bkc	94	6
4	Pkt	100	0
5	SP M	90	10
6	Ds M	92	8
7	Bpk	100	0

N.B: P Md= Paschim Masaldanga, M Md = Madhya Masaldanga, Bkc= Bakhair Chhara, Pkt=Poaturkuthi, SPM = Shiba Prasad Mustafi, Ds M= Dhabalsati Mirgipur, Bpk=Balapukhari

The data from field survey depicts that (Table 7.8) a greater success while the success rate of host state (West Bengal) is only 84%. The enclave named Madhya Masaldanga is far lagging behind and cannot successfully participate in this program. This enclave is colonized by Muslim. Perhaps they may have different view about the program. The reason for such better result even than the host state in the case of Pulse Polio Immunization is the initiatives of health workers of this program. They enter in the enclaves and feed the two drops of Polio vaccine without considering the stateless condition of the territory. At the same time the inhabitants of these enclaves are deeply eager to participate in this immunization program. The enclave dwellers consider that the two drops of polio is not only as gift from the host land Government but a types of recognition also. Apart from the Pulse Polio other vaccination programs like B.C.G., D.P.T. and Measles have also been successful in enclaves. About 79% respondents have attended in Non Polio Immunization.

3.4.4 Infant Mortality

Though Pulse Polio Immunization and other Non-Polio Vaccination are very successful but these haven't improved the rate of infant mortality of the enclaves. Survey result shows that 11% of these families have experienced of the death of children under one-year age. This is a quite pathetic condition. The main cause of such infant mortality is Diarrhoea and acute Respiratory Syndrome. In most cases they are unable to admit the children in Government hospitals and nursing homes in due time for the lack of their citizenship. At the initial stage they hesitate to admit the baby in hospitals or nursing homes to avoid the harassment of identity crisis.

3.5 Education

Swami Vivekananda gave the clarion call the education must reach every heart and home in town and village irrespective of caste or community of our nation. Keeping the view in mind it is undeniable that the desire of Swami Vivekananda is not yet established till now even in the 21st century. But the reality is far different for the enclaves in India and Bangladesh. It was really

unbelievable to a sensitive mind discussed in the following section. School education in India as well as Bangladesh of present day is far and wide different from ancient period. It has experienced wider discourse over time. Even in the spatial dimension, urban school education is significantly different from the rural counterpart. Whatever may be the difference, each and every citizen of India and Bangladesh are not deprived from basic education. It is right to each and every person irrespective of caste, creed and community. But the story, nay reality of enclave dwellers is completely different. The crude reality of accessing the facility of education before exchange, children of enclaves were almost in darkness starting from the merger of Cooch Behar from 1950 to July, 2015. Within this span of 66 years, enclave dwellers of both within the territory of India and Bangladesh are prohibited to take admission in the school. Technically the then Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and Bangladeshi enclaves in India were under the sovereignty of India and Bangladesh respectively but due to enclave identity, the respective governments were unable to provide basic amenities and facilities like health, road linkage, electricity, water supply, market facility etc. and so there was no scope to establish educational institutions for the respective governments at the same time. India Government by rule cannot allow the children to admit them in Indian school. It requires some official permission from both countries. The same is true for Bangladesh Government also. Thereby the children of enclaves are almost devoid of education from 1950 to 2015. The situation was quite different before 1950. Enclave identity was not so much a strong barrier. Most of the enclaves under Cooch Behar would not face such a problem to admit their offsprings into school under British territory. Mansur Ali Mian (73) of Poaturkuthi and Rahaman Ali (70) of Karala taken birth before 1950 were able to continue education in host land's school before Independence without any barrier. The situation experienced a U-turn with the growing rivalry of Pakistan, especially from the end of 1950s, and extreme critical condition was developed after Indo-Pak war 1965. Therefore, the generation within the period of 1960-2007 suffered severely to get admission in the host land school.

3.5.1 Fake Identity and Opportunity to Access Education

It would be falsification, if one concludes that children of enclaves of both India and Bangladesh were completely devoid of education within the period of 1960-2007. A meagre number of enclave households of both India and Bangladesh were able to manage fake identity to access the health and education facility from nearby host land. People who had a piece of land in host land or a shop or had kith-kin relation with host land were successful to manage identity. The basic instinct of enclave dwellers is that to establish a connection with host land by kith-kin relation through marriage of their daughters or sons from a host land groom or bridegroom. Enclave people by such attempt have managed the fake identity. Survey result proves that at least 30% people of Bangladeshi enclaves within India and 23% people of Indian enclaves in

Bangladesh managed national identity of host land. Such an identity if challenged would be a problem as it is not legal. So it was termed as fake identity by H J Shewly (2012). Fake identity among the Hindus of Bangladeshi enclaves in India and Muslims in Indian enclaves in Bangladesh was more. Being almost a feeling of minority citizen, Muslims of Bangladeshi enclaves in India and Hindus of Indian enclaves in Bangladesh would hesitate to manage this identity.

3.5.2 Fake Identity for Educational Awareness:

Field survey (2011) results prove that by dint of fake identity 30% children of Bangladeshi enclaves in India and 23% for Indian enclaves in Bangladesh were able to get admission into host land school. They did not face any problem to get certificate from school, but other facilities like book grant scholarship (discussed in chapter later on) were day dream to them. The objective of this educational achievement is a zero sum game except awareness. They were not able to get a Government or Government under taken job or job in a private organization in the host land, because the employers would not allow them to offer job being afraid of their enclave identity. The reason is nothing but a judiciary problem, if someone inform to the authority. Two cases are pertinent to mention here. Munnaf Ali of Karala (Bangladeshi enclave in India) completed his graduation with English Honours from Dinhatra College of Cooch Behar district, by dint of his fake identity in 2008; but soon he realized that it was a mere certificate by which he had no scope to get job. He was frustrated and ultimately commits suicide. The case of Raju Bhattacharya is also disappointing. Raju a young guy of Dakshin Masaldanga, a Bangladeshi enclave in India, has completed M A in Bengali from Rabindra Bharati University, by dint of his fake identity. But he was refused to appear in the interview in Shalmara High School, for the post of Para Teacher from where he got his H.S. (12th) education. These two cases clearly prompt that getting education from host land institute was nothing but to gain knowledge and awareness without the dream of getting job in host land.

3.5.3 Educational Profile or Enclaves

The inhabitants Indo-Bangladesh enclave are devoid of access to education. They are totally depending on the pity of host country. In pre-colonial and colonial period there were some provisions elementary education under Koch king territory inside the three Chakala (Boda, Patgram, Purbabhadra) with the patronage and funds granted by the Koch kings. Nipendra Narayan high school at Debiganj which is very close to Dahala Khagrabari enclave complex was established by Koch King. This school is presently run by the Bangladesh government. There are some other ruined imprints of the glorious past. At Shalbari enclave complex (Din Bazar) in Bangladesh and Bakhair Chhara enclave complex in India such relicts are also found. These schools would

provide education facility even in the colonial period also. With the independence and partition these schools are faded into oblivion. Presently there are several Khariji madrasahs inside the Muslim enclaves of both India and Bangladesh. Like other Khariji Madrasah, these Madrasahs also run by the enclave dwellers' aids. There is a residential Madrasha inside the Dashiarchhra (Indian) enclaves in Bangladesh. The Hindu enclaves have no such provision. The Hindu inhabitants of Indo-Bangladesh enclave can access the educational from the host land formal education institutions. This type of practice in the eyes of law is illegal but for the survival of their off springs they were forced to manage fake identity. In normal way the children of inhabitants of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves are unable to get admission in the host land schools. The enclave dwellers generally use the false identity to admit their children in host land schools.

3.5.4 Barriers to Access Education:

Achieving education from the host land is not easy at all. It is too much problematic to admit enclave children into a host land school. After getting admission problems are continued in the school. The student from enclaves faces so many problems due to their enclave identity. All the major problems can be categorized as getting admission to schools, no future prospect after the complete of the school or college education, high expenditure to continuing education. Most of the enclave dwellers are either farmer or agricultural labor. There is no provision for bank savings account. They had to deal with hard cash, and it was difficult for them to continue higher education.

Distance from the school is another problem to the students of enclaves. The enclaves are just like the foreign territory. So there was no provision of primary

School within the enclaves. In Indian scenario there is at least one primary school or Sishu Siksha Kendra (S.S.K) within 1 K.M. distance and a Madhyamik Siksha Kendra (M.S.K) or Junior High School or a High School within 2 K.M. distance. Distances from High School is not so problematic to enclave students of adult age, but to get admission is certainly troublesome. Lack of host Government patronage is also a problem to the students of enclaves. The Indian Government as well as West Bengal state Government has introduced several aid and grants to the students. Enclave student can't avail such facilities due to lacking of national identity. From the year 2013 West Bengal State Government had introduced 'Kanyasree' for the girls and 'Sikhasree' Grants for Schedule Cast (S.C.) and Schedule Tribe (S.T.) category. The payment of such grants is available through the bank account of student in his name. It is a problem to the enclave student to open an account in the nationalized bank of the host land with their enclave identify. Therefore, the students of the enclave are deprived from such grants.

3.5.4.1 Ignorance from the host land students

The fellow mates from the host land ignore the students from enclaves. Like their family members they also considered the students from the enclaves as parasite or trace passers in the school. It certainly has great negative impact to the students from the enclaves. Sometimes they feel humiliated in school. To get rid of from such condition the students from enclaves do not like to disclose their enclave identity to their school mates.

3.5.4.2 Drop out

Drop out from the school at the middle of the session is a problem to the enclaves. Students are not so much interested to continue education as education is meaningless to them in terms of getting job in private and public sector.

3.5.4.3 Lack of Awareness

The people who are not suffering from such problems have no a clear cut idea about this. They considered that the present condition is ok. So they have no deep feelings about present scenario, as they have not faced the heard reality. They may not have proper idea about the problems.

3.5.4.4 School Admission

The gross enrolment is the important parameter to judge a society's educational attainment. Here enrolment means to enroll the students in the school register. The inhabitants of the Bangladesh enclaves in India face a major problem to admit their children in the host land school. The school registers keep records of pupils and their guardians name and address. Being an inhabitant of Bangladeshi enclaves in India the students from these enclaves cannot enlist their names in the Indian schools. They have to manage fake identity from host land. Seventy-two percent of the enclave dwellers opined that it's a herculean task to admit their children in Indian school. The problem is more severe for the enclave students like Bakhali Chara where 96 percent people face the problem to get admission their children in the Indian school. As they are new comer to the area they have less interaction with the surrounding host villagers. The other enclaves like Madhya Masaldanga (88%), Shiba Mustafi (88%) and Poaturkuthi (80%) also face the problem very much (Table 7.9). The people of Dhabal Sati Mirgipur (41%), Balapukhari (44%), Purba Masaldanga enclave did not face this problem so adversely in comparison to the enclaves stated earlier. Those are basically Hindu enclaves. They can manage fake identity from the relatives of host land. More importantly they use the village name as host land, very close to respective enclaves. In some cases enclave name and nearby host land village name is similar.

3.5.4.5 Education with Future Prospect

Enclave students would aspire for education without any aim. They know very well that by higher education they were not able to get any job. Jobless condition after completion the education is also a problem to the Enclave dwellers. For Bangladeshi enclaves in India, it is interesting to note that only those of enclaves which had better educational facilities were worried about their future job prospect. Opinion shows that 15% people from Purba Masaldanga enclave and 6% people from Balapukhari enclave are worried about future job opportunity to their children. These enclaves would enjoy better educational and other civic amenities in comparison to other Bangladesh enclaves in India. Primary school and high school (Shalmara high school close to Purba Masaldanga, Upan Chowki high school close to Balapukhari) are nearest locations. To complete higher secondary education was not a problem to them. They are worried about pupil's future. Other Enclave dwellers were more worried to avail the education from the host land institution. Like future job prospects the problem of high expenditure on education was also a problem to the people of Bangladeshi enclave's in India. Only 2.5% people responded that education is costly to them. Landless agricultural labourers share croppers from Poaturkuthi, Bakhalir Chara, Shiba Prasad Mustafi are stated about the problem of high expenditure of education for their wards. Distance from educational institution, lack of initiatives of host Government and problem of drop out are not so much painstaking to them. From the very beginning of Independence of India they are facing such problems. Survey results echo that 18% people from the enclaves have no sure idea about the problem of education. They are not aware about such deprivation. Only those enclaves, where other problems are not so acute, enclave dwellers expressed their views that they have no idea about the problem of education in enclaves. Table 7.9 shows that 23% people from Purba Masaldanga, 44% people from Balapukhari and 69% people from Dhabal Sati Mirgipur are not sure about their problems of education. These enclaves are mainly Hindu enclaves and located in the more accessible points (close to primary and high school of host land). The civic amenities are also better than other enclaves. Therefore, they do not feel so much about the educational problems.

3.5.5 The Way to Get Admission in Host Land School:

As mentioned earlier that to get admission in a host land School to Enclave dwellers a herculean task. This is also violation of norms in the eyes of law. From a humanitarian outlook it's an injustice to human race. The Enclave people are eager to admit their children in a host land school by any hook or by crook. They do it either by using the fake address of their parents or by using host land relative's addresses. It's a matter of great regrets that in some cases they are bound to change the name of the guardian and admit their children by a fake guardianship in the name of host land people. The fake guardians of the host land some time demand a large amount of money for this type of mal practice.

							1
1	Purba Masaldanga	50	00	07	00	07	36
2	Madhya Masaldanga	88	08	04	00	00	00
3	Bakhalir chhara	41	32	13.5	4.5	00	09
4	Poaturkuthi	20	20	40	00	20	00
5	Shiba Prasad Mustafi	35	18	23	06	18	00
6	Dhabalsati Mirgipur	00	00	00	12	19	69
7	Balapukhari	22	00	00	33	00	45

Survey result (Table 7.11) shows that 41% children can continue education upto primary level on an average. While 88 % people from Madhya Masaldanga saidthat their children can continue only up to primary level. Shalmara high school is notfar away from this enclave; but the enclave students are unable to enjoy high schooleducation. For Hindu majority enclave like Purba Masaldanga 50% respondents saidthat their children can continue education only up to primary level.Near about 11% enclave children can continue education up to upper primary(class eight) or secondary (10th) level, while 8% people responded that their childrencan continue up to higher secondary (H.S.) level.For graduation it is only 7%. Only21% students from Bangladeshi enclaves in India can continue education as per theirwill. Among the seven enclaves Dhabal Sati Mirgipur shows the highest level (69%)for continuing education as per their will. Location of Mekhliganj Collage is veryclose to this enclave; at the same time social awareness level is high for the people ofDhabal Sati Mirgipur, being located very close to urban center.

3.5.7 Desire and disappointment of enclave pupil at host land school

The education belongs to concurrent list in Indian constitution. With theintroduction of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (S.S.A.), a number of facilities are provided byboth the central and state Government These are Mid-Day Meal, Medicine (Iron folicacid tablet, No warm tablet) Free Text book and uniform or school dress for all girlstudents as well as all Schedule Cast (S.C) Schedule

Tribe (S.T.) student and boys' students of Below Poverty Line (BPL). The Government of West Bengal recently introduced Kanyasree Prakalpa (2013) and Sikshasree Prakalpa to provide a quality assistance to S.C. and S.T. dayscholar students offering book grant, maintenance grant and other compulsory charges. But it was a day dream to the students of Bangladeshi enclaves in India. Enclaves are mostly devoid of Kanyasree and Sikshasree Prakalpa as the payment of these grants were directly sent to the bank account of the payee. It was practically impossible for them to open a bank account in the nationalized bank in India. Another formality for such scholarships was that local administration (Panchayet Pradhan) has to certify about the annual income of this pupil's family and marital status of the girls' students for Kanyasree Prakalpa. It was quite difficult for the enclave dwellers to collect such documents from local administration. Only fifty percent students from Bangladeshi enclaves were able to access these scholarships by dint of fake identity of a host land village, through their fake identity, managed by main land connection or through the address of their relatives. Those are fortunate enough to open a bank account. Primary data (Table 7.12) reveals that 100% students from Dahabali Mirgipur and 93% students from Balapukhari were enjoying this facility due to their location and good relation with host land people. More than 50% student from enclave Purba Masaldanga (58%), Poaturkuthi (57%) and Shiba Prasad Mustafi (50%) would enjoy such Kanyasree and Sikshasree scholarships before exchange. The figure is significantly low for Bakhalir Chhara (29%) and Madhya Masaldanga (0.4%) due to their hostile relation with host land. Other facilities like School Uniform, Mid-day meal, Free Medicine (iron folic acid tablet) and free text book were enjoyed by the all enclave students. It is clear from above discussion the enclave

Pupils were unable to enjoy the amenities and facilities like the normal student of their host land as well as home land. They would feel inferiority complex. Common students were familiar that those students were not enrolling for their enclave identity. That had certainly created a distance between common students of host land students of enclaves.

3.6 Social Interaction

Man is a social animal and therefore cannot live in isolation. A person who tries to live in isolation from his/her normal social life becomes bare; he is considered either as abnormal or a superhuman being (Plato 420 B.C). In his/her social life every human being becomes the member of different groups and associations. These social groups have various customs, norms and rules. Individual have to abide by rules and norms of the society and behave in a particular manner. Individual behaviour is thus guided by the group behaviour. At the same time group behaviour is also affected by the Individual behaviour. This type of action and its reaction is known as social interaction. Social interaction is a reciprocal social relation between individual and society, within the individuals, intra group relation and also inters group processes. According

to Gist “social interaction is the reciprocal influence that human beings exist on each other through the inter stimulation and response.” The society is not a mere collection of people; social interaction thus provides the foundation to the social Process. Therefore, interaction is the basic ingredient of social life. Social interaction thus signifies entire range of relationship among persons. Park and Burgess opined that social interaction is dual in nature, of persons with persons and of groups with groups. Hence the two most important pre requisite conditions for social interaction are: (1) social contact and (2) communication (Bhushan and Sachdeva, 2014). Social contact and communication once again may be classified in to two i) direct contact (physical and bodily through the medium of sense organ) and ii) Indirect contact (through the mass media like radio, newspaper, and social networking site). The human interaction is basically communicative in nature and it acts through the means of language, script, gestures and media communication. Social contact in the form of direct contact is meant for physical contact. It happens through the sense organ. Language, script and gesture are the means of direct contact. Direct contact is confined to close circles. It may provide a strong base for social interaction. The indirect contact may be set up with both the nearer and far way people by mobile phone, social networking site and other type of media. Such interactions are not a static one rather out and out a dynamic process. Recurring occurrence of interaction results change in social process. Study of social interaction has a great significance in the context of social exclusion at Indo- Bangladesh enclaves. Every society commonly practices the social interaction and social processes are fundamental to the life of a community (Bhushan and Sachdava,). There are only two forms of social interaction, conjunctive or positive impact on society by cooperation, adjustment, disjunctive and negative aspect like conflict domination subjugation etc. Park and Burgess (1921) categorize the social interaction into four fundamental types namely competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. Another types of interaction i.e., cooperation added to the previous list. Social interaction of a group of people of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves varies in terms of Ethnicity, religion, caste etc. Present inquiry tries to unfold the real situation of social interaction of the inhabitants of Bangladeshi enclaves in India.

3.6.1 Aspect of Social interaction

The earlier researchers have discussed about the religious identity and citizenship of the people of Indian and Bangladeshi enclaves (Schendel, 2002, Jones 2007). However, they did not highlight the social interaction at intra and inter enclave level; at the same time interaction between enclaves and its surrounding host land territory was not highlighted properly. The following section crops up these aspects. Enclaves are the fragmented territory surrounded by another state. The inhabitants of enclaves have only territorial location but they are deprived from all sorts of social economic and political right from the

parent state (to which the enclaves belong to) and also the host state (inside the state the enclave is located). They are practically unable to enjoy formal or functional citizen's rights in normal way. Chapter 8 highlights the levels of exclusion of enclave people in the Education and health care service. In this section it is discussed at three levels-intra or within the enclave, inter-enclave and enclave and main land interaction. As stated earlier the Indo-Bangladesh enclaves are inhabited by multi ethnic communities of different origin like indigenous people, Bhatia and Badoli; they also belong to different religion Rajbangsi-Hindu and Muslims. They interact not only within their enclaves but with other enclaves and hostland also. Present investigation has been carried out for Bangladeshi enclaves in India to pursue their life and livelihood.

3.6.2 Forms of interaction

Following part is the outcome of detail analysis of database collected from field survey that clearly depicts the social interaction of enclave people at intra as well as inter enclave level and also in the form of enclave and host land interaction.

3.6.2.1 Cooperation

Cooperation is conscious form of social interaction. When people work together for common goals is known as cooperation. It is the joint activity in pursuit of common goals or shared rewards (Bhusan and Sachdeva). Cooperation is most essential for individual in a group's personal and social life. Without any cooperation from his/her society a man can't survive. For Indo Bangladesh enclaves dwellers are bound to live a solitary life within enclaves surrounded by host land. The people of host land would consider them as outsiders. The enclave people would consider themselves as Chicken in a cage (Jones, 2010). Their life inside the enclaves depends on the pity of the host land people (Schendel, 2002). The present inquiry tries to unfold the level of cooperation at different levels. There are 51 Bangladeshi enclaves inside India in the district of Coach Behar; among them eight enclaves are selected for the present investigation in respect of their ethnicity (indigenous population, Bodoli and Bhatia). Enclaves were located in a fragmented manner along both side of the Indo-Bangladesh border. Some enclaves (Masaldanga) were complex and some were compact in form (Nalgram Falana Pur). Inhabitants of the enclaves had no identify as a citizen of host country. They were always living in a stressful condition. Host land people considered them inferior as they were lacking of citizenship identity. The common goal of every enclave dweller was to achieve recognition from the State as a legal citizen. In most cases they aspire for the citizenship from host land through few had recognition from their home land. All of them had common feeling of deprivation, subjugation and exclusion. They had a common deep rooted urge for enclave exchange. They have highest

level of cooperation not only intra enclave level but inter enclave level also due to this uniform mentality of deprivation. During stressful condition native enclave people normally extend their help to the victims of enclave even to the people to the other enclaves. With the introduction of the enclave exchange movement by Bharat Bangladesh Enclave Exchange coordination committee (BBEECC), the connection between intra and inter enclave level (Cross broader level also) increased rapidly. The inhabitants of Bangladeshi enclaves in India set up a relief fund and they donated as per their capacity during the time of burning of house at Garati enclave (10th October 2010). Thereby all the enclave dwellers had a fellow feeling at intra and inter enclave level. These fellow feelings have aroused irrespective of caste, economic inequality and Nationality. Enclavement and it is resultant suffering are common problem to all of them. There are negligible levels of cooperation between enclave people and the people of host land. Enclave dwellers who had a good connection with the host land by friendship or kith-kin relation in the nearby host land. But this type of social connection would exist at very meagre level. Most of the host land people would consider enclave people as inferior, outsider and stateless. They would pose a hostile as well as conflicting attitude to the enclave people.

3.6.2.2 Conflict

As a social process conflict is the anti thesis of cooperation. According to Mazumder (1996) “conflict is opposition or struggle involving –a) an emotional attitude of hostility as well as; b) Violent interference with one's autonomous choice. Level of conflict in a society depends on different factors. As per opinion of Malthus, reduced supply of the means of subsistence is the cause of conflict. But this theory is not applicable here. Here the conflict arises due to presence and absence of state identity.

Enclave-Host land conflicting Social Relation

There was a critical relation between enclave people and people of host land for Indo-Bangladesh enclaves. There is a clash of interest between the two parties. Enclave people were unwanted person to the host land people and they would take undue advantages from the host land for marketing, labour selling, selling of agricultural products etc. They are not legal citizens of host land. Host land people would take the opportunity for the helpless condition of enclave dwellers. For instance, if there is minimum altercation between a person of enclave and a person of host land, normally host land person would take upper hand and would threaten to the enclave people *“whenever you will come to nearby host land market or any public gathering place, I will teach you the right lesson”*. Burning of houses, land grabbing, murder and robbery in the enclaves done by the host land people are the results of such conflicting social relation between enclave and host land. Irrespective of caste, creed and religion the host

land people would show hostility to enclave people. Iswar Debnath (56) an inhabitant of Shiba Prasad Mustafi enclave was informing about his land ownership and the land price of enclave farming land during the field visit of this research. One Muslim from host land was walking along the village road. Hearing the words of Sri Debnath, the host land person trace passed in this discussion and said loudly ***“you the enclave people have no authenticity about the ownership of your land, so your words are valueless. (tor chhiter loker jamir o kano dam neiy, kathar o konodam nei)***. Even being person of minority group of host land he did not hesitate to threaten openly to Debnath without any reason. The scenario after enclave exchange has not yet changed. Attitude of the host land people are almost the same as it was earlier. Kachua Barman (50) an inhabitant of resettlement camp of Dinhatra coming from Indian Enclave in Bangladesh in Dinhatra told ***“I was the owner of 2.5 Acre land in Indian enclave named Dashiar Chhara. Now I have bound to work as a daily wage labour in surrounding area of this camp. The local people have a sentiment that for the decision of Government this unwanted people are eager to work at low rate. Therefore, their wage rate is also lowering down”***. (*Sarkar kotte dhakaia manu sgulanlia asil hamar kaj gulan barbad kari dil*). There was a minimum level of participation of enclave people during festival of host land. Host land people would collect money from enclave people as share donation (*chanda*) for festival but did not invite them to participate in the festivals. *Durga Puja* the greatest Hindu religious festival in west Bengal was not possible to celebrate at Balapukhari enclave (Bangladeshi) due to conflicting relation with the host land. They declared that total puja and the holy procession (*Bisarjaner Sobhajatra*) must be confined within the enclave. (Statement of Premananda Roy, Balapukhari enclave, 2013). In other social gathering like marriage ceremony at host land only very few enclave people were invited by the hostland people. Only they were invited and could participate in such programs, which had better social connection with the host land.

Conflicting social relation at Intra enclave level

All the enclave people would live in stressed condition. So, they were much more united. Thereby cooperation is minimum and conflict is maximum. They always would try to maintain a peaceful social life inside the enclave. Still, there were conflicts at a minimum level. The main causes of conflict at intra enclave level were the positional hierarchy in the society. Common people would lie at the lowest level of hierarchy. Land was the ‘only means of subsistence’ to them. As there was no clearcut land documentation and demarcation system in enclaves, misunderstanding and maladjustment about the possession and demarcation of the land plots was very much common. This type of misunderstanding would arise with mild tone within them. In their own words, ***“These types of litigation (‘kechal Kajia’) are easily solved through the meeting of enclave committee”***. If enclave committee was unable to solve

this conflict, they would go to local administration (*panchayet pradhan or Union Chairman*), though they (local administration) had no legal right to interfere to such affairs in the enclaves. But on humanitarian ground local administration of this area would try to solve this problem. Enclave people were bonded to obey the advice or proposal of host land people by dint of their superior position in the society. According to some enclave dwellers local administration some time would take the opportunity for such a critical situation. The local administration would demand a lumpsum amount of money for this purpose. Such settlement was not always neutral as local administration would favour one who had better connection to host land people or could pay more amount of money for this purpose. Next level of hierarchy within enclave is the portfolio position in enclave committee. It is to be noted that the root causes of this type of conflict is due to social power of a dweller in the enclave in their own words "*Dewani*". It cannot be perceived without detail investigation about the social life of the enclave people. Before 2010 there was a committee in every enclave. Sometime this committee would complex. Form in an Indian enclave complex like Shalbari, Natak taka, Kajaldighi and Behulardanga to maintain the self Governance. A chairman would elected by the vote of male adult inhabitants of the enclave or enclave complex. Female inhabitants would remain outside of this voting process. Nearby host land union's chairman was bound to be present to supervise the total election process. (Sirajul Islam, Chairman, Shalbari, Natak taka, Kajaldighi, and Behulardanga enclave complex an interview 10th October, 2011). After 2010 there was a change in the formation of enclave committee. Another committee was introduced to supervise and accelerate the movement of enclave exchange in most of the enclaves in side India and Bangladesh under the control of BBEECC. A core committee was formed. The core committee would select the different cells like cyber and media cell, law cell, student cell to accelerate the movement of enclave exchange. A central committee from each country and each enclave were formed by the core committee. To become an elected or selected portfolio member in enclave committee and central committee is a matter of prestige to enclave people. This competition for power and position in the enclaves creates the conflicting social relation at intra enclave as well as inter enclave level. Because different power groups of intra enclave level would form ally with power groups of other enclaves. Most of the inhabited enclaves have two or more power groups. Therefore the relation between these power groups is sweet and shower. This type of mild conflicting social relation in intra enclave level does not hamper their main motto and objectives of enclave exchange and achievement of normal citizenship right. After the exchange of enclaves this conflict has got another dimension especially with the introduction of voting right for the inhabitants of former Bangladeshi enclaves in India and inhabitants of resettlement camp who came from Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. Both the new citizens can cast their vote as per their will in favour of ruling party and

opposition parties in recently held Assembly election 2016, West Bengal. Thus the enclave people were divided in different political groups, which was not present earlier. This type of political division has resulted post election violence in former Bangladeshi enclave and also in the resettlement camp of former Indian enclave People. On 26th May 2016 they met District Magistrate (D.M.) of Coach Behar and placed memorandum explaining that they are ready to surrender their EPIC (voter I.D.) if such violence is continued.

3.6.2.3 Accommodation

Life cannot go long if groups are engaged in conflicts. There must be resolution of conflicts which may make social life peaceful. Accommodation is resolution of conflicts which generally means adjusting on self in new environment (Bhusan and Sachdeva, 2014). From the East Pakistan Period enclave dwellers face the hostile environment in their host land as they were not protected by their homeland they have to adjust with the changed environment from 1950. According to Mazumdar (1996) 'Accommodation is a non-violence response of adjustment: (a) to a stubborn situation which cannot be changed, or (b) to a situation which has changed as a result of violence hostility or as a result of new rules and requirements'. The enclave people know the without exchange of enclaves this situation cannot be changed so they try to adjust with this most cases they try to adjust without any violence some time react violently as for example the people of Dahagram took paid their coin in the same way followed by the nearby host land people (Cons, 2012). The main method followed by the enclave dwellers is the toleration means the avoidance of overt conflict (Bhusan and Sachdeva 2014). Anukul Roy an inhabitant of Chhat Kuchlibari in Mekhliganj told during the field survey on 12th April 2015 that "We repeatedly alert our young generation before going to fair or daily market or in any social gatherings 'don't be involve in a chaotic or confliction situation. There are no bodies to support us and save us. For your little misbehave the whole enclavedweller may victimize by the host land people. It is clear from the words of Sri Roy enclave dweller are always tries to avoid any kind of conflict with host land even if the host land people humiliate them they have no reaction. They know that the host land may hell the life in enclave by blockade or other violent activity. Like Anukul Roy same type of voice was echoed in the words of SK. Akbar Ali (58) of Madhya Masaldanga. He also replied that with introduction of the movement through BBEECC the situation was quiet improved. The host land people considered them as human being not only as creatures of flesh and blood after exchange of enclave this scenario has radically changed now the former people arise their head in host land.

3.6.2.4 Assimilation

Accommodation impermanent social process it depends on situation and level of adjustment. If a social group transformed themselves to the other group is

known as assimilation. Assimilation is the more permanent outcome of a social process. According to Mack and Young, Assimilation is the fusion or blending of two previously distinct groups into one obviously, assimilation requires more fundamental changes than antagonistic co-operation which are called assimilation. The inhabitants of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves and the host land people were two distinct antagonistic socio-political groups. After the exchange of enclaves the fundamental change occurs. Now, the enclave people are in a transitional phase. They gradually assimilate with mainstream society from where they were excluded for last 68 years this process of assimilation is just initiated and it should be continued.

3.7 Problems of social Relation and Social Bond in Enclaves.

There are different types of social relationship, matrimonial relation is most crucial among them. To the enclave people this relation is more meaningful than in normal society. Through this relation they can achieve social connection with outer world. So the enclave people are always eager to establish a matrimonial relationship with the host land people. They know that if there is a girl in law house in the host land through this relation and address next generation of his family can get admission in school, college and hospital. If there is marriage relation within enclave both this family cannot get any connection of host land. Therefore intra and inter enclave level matrimonial relations are performed very few in number. On the other hand nearby host land people are aware about the life in enclaves. They consider that matrimonial relation with enclave may doom the future of their bride groom. The social status of the enclave people was much lower than host land people due to statelessness. Ujjwal Dutta (48) an inhabitant of Dhapra hat in Kuchibari of Cooch Behar district was asked a question during field survey *“how far you may accept an enclave people and his family?”* The person answered that he may invite enclave people on his family festival and gladly serve them dinner but never negotiate with him for matrimonial or any other relations. The far away host land people are not aware about stateless life of enclaves. Therefore they become agree to establish marriage relation with enclave groom. Some time these distant host land people interested for such matrimonial relation as their economic status is much lower than the enclave people. After the exchange of enclaves such barrier of marriage relationship are removed now neighbouring bride groom marry the former enclaves bride groom.

3.8 Critical Appreciation

People in the hazards prone area suffer much but the permanency of hazard is short lived. Enclave people are suffering for the last 68 years. Suffering of the social hazards is endless. How much state is important and its functioning are essential, that is realized by the then enclave people of India and Bangladesh. Enclave identity almost equal to non state status has led to the inaccess of social power, amenities like communication, market, electricity, facilities like

health, education, banking etc. There life is full of miseries. Barring these traditional barriers, enclave dwellers uncertainty in life is awesome during the war time situation. That leads to migration and counter migration.

CHAPTER 4. SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND SUFFERINGS

Social exclusion is comparatively new concept (Sen, 2012) in social science as well as in geography. The United Nations Development program conceptualized

social exclusion as a lack of recognition of basic rights or where recognition existed, lack of access to political legal system necessary to make that right to reality. According to Buvonic Social Exclusion means ‘the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political economic and social functioning of the society’. Social exclusion is the denial of equal access to opportunities imposed by certain groups of society upon others. From this definition of social exclusion it reveals that:

- (1) Social Exclusion affects certain group;
- (2) It is embedded in social relation;
- (3) It delineates the consequence of exclusion.

4.1 Conceptual Aspect

Tania Burchardt et al (1999) of London School of Economics, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) have provided an operational definition. “*An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society but (b) for reasons beyond his or her control he or she cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society and (c) he or she like to participate*”. This definition has a number of aspects. Condition (a) is necessary so as not to describe as socially excluded those who happen to live within the geographical confines of another societies but who none the less meet conditions (b) and (c). (Burchardt et al. 1999). It seems that the Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and Bangladeshi enclaves in India were officially recognized part of India and Bangladesh. The people reside there belonged to India and Bangladesh ‘in the eyes of law’ (Shendel, 2002). Therefore above mentioned condition (a) is full filled here. But the enclave people cannot participate in the normal activities like citizens of their home

Enclave Exchange Aftermath

After the exchange of Instruments of Ratification of LBA 1974 and Its Protocol 2011 signed by India and Bangladesh on 6th June, 2015 both the Governments took some initiatives to implement the agreement. Letters of modalities for implementation of LBA 1974 and its Protocol 2011 was exchanged between

India and Bangladesh at foreign secretary level (Appendix IX) July, 31st, 2015 was referred as 'Appointed Day'. From the midnight of that day the exchange of enclaves between India and Bangladesh was implemented. Prior to 'Appointed Day' there were joint visits by both the Governments with a view to inform the residents of the enclaves they have to express their choice to which country they will opt for nationality and citizenship.

A joint working official identified and enlisted the residents of the enclaves of both sides. The residents of enclaves both India and Bangladesh were asked to take decision about the option for nationality and citizenship according to their choice. This right was only available to the residents who were included in the joint head count of the population (*de-facto census*) of enclaves in 2011 and also their children those have taken birth after this episode. An entry pass with photograph were issued to the enclave residents who opted to retain his original nationality. District level officials of both Governments exchanged the land records and the Mouza maps at Changrabandha on October, 2015 in respect to best available records. Three camps were set up at Dinhata, Mekhliganj and Haldibari in the vacated land of Agricultural department, Government of West Bengal for the resettlement of returnees from Bangladesh. As per previously fixed date (30th November, 2015) 991 residents of Indian enclave in Bangladesh moved to their home land and settled at these camps on temporary basis along with their personal belongings and movable properties

4.1 Citizenship Right

According to provision of the LBA 1974 and its protocol 2011 every resident has the right to opt for nationality and citizenship of the home state or host state. It is interesting to note that none of the inhabitants of Bangladeshi enclaves India has opted for their home land or parent state. Even the Muslim inhabitants of these enclaves were remained in situ in their host land. This supports the view of Van Schendel, 2002, that the people of Bangladeshi enclaves in India are the proto-citizens of India. Abdul Rashid (50, M) is a resident of largest Bangladeshi enclave Nalgram. This is a Hindu major enclave; with 700 household out of which 14 Muslim families were there. He was asked the question in an interview on 21 June, 2015 "which country does you like to opt for citizenship"? He clearly answered that he would like to opt for Indian citizenship. ***"From my early child hood I have grown up in the physical and social atmosphere (Jal, Hawa) of India. So why shall I opt for Bangladesh or any other country?"*** He said.

True to fact that social connection of these people is the most important factor. Generations after generations these people are residing in this area. Therefore, all types of social connection like kith and kin bonds have been established with their host land relatives. Being a Muslim resident of a Hindu major enclave Muslims did not opt for citizenship of an Islamic state. They have the firm belief that life and livelihoods are more secured in a secular state like

India than the politically agitated state like Bangladesh. Contrarily, 991 people from 221 families of Indian enclaves in Bangladesh have opted Indian citizenship. The number may likely to increase, but due to huge pressure and threat by host land people and also from a large number of people of Indian enclaves they (having the desire to move India) could not opt for Indian citizenship. Aswani Barman (64, M) presently a resident of enclave resettlement camp in Makhliganj (former resident of 119 No. Banskata enclave), was interviewed 5th May, 2016. "Anxiety about future is the most important factor" he said. There is no surety and security of future employment; other factors are lack of awareness of the enclave residents. They were also confused about the future due to threat given by their own enclave people as well as host land people. They were in a hectic situation during the period of giving option. Some enclave people tried to enlist their name in this option from after the date for option is over. People from Balapara Khagrabari and Kotbhajani enclaves sent a letter to D.M. of Cooch Behar to reenlist their name. Government did not permit it as it is beyond the rule. So they can't opt for Indian citizenship (Appendix IX). The real scenario is that not only Hindu residents from Indian enclaves but the Muslim residents also have opted for Indian citizenship. About 35 Muslim families from Indian enclave namely Dasiarchhara, Baragaroljhara and Gotamari have come to resettle in India. Osman Gani (35, M) a former resident of Baragaroljhara enclave but presently resettled in a resettlement camp of Dinhat was asked, "being a Muslim why did you leave an Islamic country like Bangladesh and opt for a Secular Hindu Major country like India"? He answered that he successfully passed 10+2 (Higher Secondary) level from Bangladesh. He thought that there is better scope or opportunity of getting a job in India in comparison to Bangladesh. He also informed that a hand full number of Muslim families from Indian enclaves in Bangladesh have opted for Indian citizenship because some of their family members are engaged in informal jobs like construction worker, brick field labours or carpenters in different metro cities in India; they have some relatives in Indian mainland also. That's why they have come to opt their citizenship and nationality to resettle in India. Abdul Rashid and Osman Bhai said that religion is not decision making factor for the enclave people. It is the social connection and employment opportunity the most crucial factors for opting citizenship as India is a more developed country in comparison to Bangladesh. None of the Bangladeshi enclave dwellers in India has opted citizenship of their parent nation; at the same time Muslim families from the Indian enclaves in Bangladesh moved towards their parent state. All the aspects attracted some people from Indian enclaves in Bangladesh to move India, but lion share of people, mainly Muslims (more than thirty-four thousand as per *de-facto* census of Indian enclaves) have opted citizens of Bangladesh. Social connection, kith-kin bonds, land holding and religious attachment are the factor for them to opt for citizens of Bangladesh.



4.2 Rehabilitation

People of Indo-Bangladesh enclave did not have any access to civic amenities and services before exchange. After the exchange, rehabilitation is not only offered to the returnees from Indian enclaves, but also for the Bangladeshi enclave dwellers who have merged with India also. During the drafting of the bill and its final report the Standing Committee on External Affairs (Government of India) strongly recommend that a blueprint should have kept ready for development of these areas after consultation with the concerned state Government, so that development work can be initiated immediately after the enactment of the bill through the agreement ratified in the parliamentary body (Lok Sabha Secretariat 2014). On 4th May, 2015 during the discussion on the 109th constitution amendment (later on come down to 100th amendment) bill in Rajya Sabha, the External Affairs Minister of India, Smt. Sushma Swaraj clearly informed about the Government of India's total budget allocation of Rs. 3,008 crore of which Rs. 2,234 crore allotted for returnees from Indian enclave to mainland India and Rs. 774 crore for the development of infrastructure and civic amenities of the then Bangladeshi enclaves merged with India. Authorities in the part of State Government (D.M. and A.D.M of Cooch Behar) speculated an amount Rs 1,000 crores for resettlement at the initial phase. In accordance with this proposal the returnees from Indian enclaves are resettled in three camps with 220 semi-permanent houses with concrete floor, two rooms with kitchen having a carpet area of 380 square feet. Community toilet and community overhead water supply have already been established. This is a purely temporary arrangement and permanent settlement is almost uncertain though Government has assured to implement it very shortly. Cooch Behar district authorities assured them that within 2 years they will get permanent integrated flat with attached bathroom (Fig. 10.5) associated with kids corner Angan Warhi Centre (a part of Integrated Child Development Scheme) in each camp. Arriving at the camps, returnee people got cooked food for 1st months and free ration (Rice 5 Kg/ family/ week, required amount of pulses, salt, edible oil, milk powder, kerosene oil) provided by the Government of West Bengal through Cooch Behar district administration. Mijanur Rahaman (47, M) an inhabitant of resettlement camp Dinhatata said in an interview on 4th May, 2016 "we have no earning to buy fish, meat and other commodities due to our jobless situation". Job card have been issues and even 100 days' work has been initiated through digging out pond in

Haldibari camp (Fig. 10.6). They also get payment for only 14-day work. Other camp people are not having such facilities.

The people of former Bangladeshi enclaves in India have achieved the ADHAR Card, Jobcard, Bank Account. All these documents have solved their immediate identity crisis. But there is no infrastructural development like electricity, roads, health centre or ICDS Centres for the recently merged Bangladeshi enclaves within Cooch Behar district India. Therefore, life and livelihood of these former enclave dwellers is all most same as was before even one year after the exchange of enclaves. According to Mohir Ali (36, M) of Poaturkulthi, "We have all the papers as the proof of an Indian citizen but we have no access of basic civic amenities. We are unable to get any loan during emergency through the Government has provided bank account. Bank will not give us loan without any guaranteed land records. We have no such records as the land records are under enclave status. The Additional District Magistrate of Cooch Behar also accepted this reality. She said, Very soon infrastructural development process will be initiated in all the former Bangladeshi enclaves in Cooch Behar district (ADM of Cooch Behar 6th May, 2016)". Bangladesh Government approved Tk 1.8 billion infrastructural development at 111 erstwhile enclaves (Shewly, 2016).



4.3 Impact of Enclave Exchange

Enclave Exchange through land swap deal 2015 signed between Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina was declared on 6th June, 2015 signaling the end of prolonged sufferings of the enclave people. It also initiated the beginning of new geopolitical dimension of South and South East Asia. Therefore, enclave exchange has immense significance on the Politico-SocioEconomic life of the inhabitants of Indo-Bangladesh enclave as well as geopolitical equation within the regional blocks like SAARC and BIMSTEC. Considering this reality impacts of enclave

exchange are pointed out on two perspectives short term impact; and long term impact. Each type of impact is delineated under two heads fulfillment of hope and desire at the one hand and disappointment at the other.

4.3.1 The short term impact of enclave exchange

The short term impact of enclave exchange relates to the immediate impact by which the residents of earlier enclaves are relieved from their sufferings. But in some instances their hope are not fulfilled and so logically it comes under disappointment. It inherently denotes immediate mitigation of hazardous social life of the people of enclaves. Merging of enclaves with the host land, enclave dwellers got the national identity; only 0.02% people return to their home land through the process of exchange (Mohan, 2015). Practically this is a sea change of their life and livelihood. Prolonged stateless identity is transformed into state identity. The major problem the enclave people was that they have no legal access to basic social needs, like health care service, education, law and order; lack of provision for basic civic amenities, like roads and electricity. After the exchange of enclaves these areas are essentially parts of their hostland territory and people residing there is the citizens of their host nation. About 991 people have come from the then Indian enclaves within Bangladesh. They are now the citizens of India. Aadhaar Card, Job Card, Bank Account, EPIC are already issued to all enclave people merged in and return to India. They also cast their vote in last (5th May, 2016) West Bengal Assembly election. In Bangladesh same types of amenities and facilities are achieved by the enclave people. Though there are lots of deficiencies in availing amenities and facilities for these new citizens of both in India and Bangladesh, India cannot extend the infrastructural development program like electricity, roads, to the newly merged area and documentation of land ownership of the former Bangladeshi enclaves.

4.3.1.1 Fulfillment of Hope and Desire

Short term impacts are basically the material gain though the new citizens cannot ignore the regaining of identity. In terms of material gain, people, of the then enclaves can easily purchase the seeds with subsidized rate from Governments' distribution system for their agricultural practices that was not possible earlier. They do not face trouble for purchasing mechanized agricultural tools like power tiller, harvester etc. Earlier they would face trouble to purchase consumer goods like T.V, freeze, bike etc., though some families would avail these facilities by their fake identity. Now they are free to purchase all those things. The returnees are getting temporary shelter rationing facility. All these facilities are temporary and returnees in the settlement camp are not at all satisfied. They are worried about permanent settlement, employment scope for wage selling etc. Health and education facility from host land was the day dream to them before enclave exchange. Few families especially enclaves (Dhabalsati Mirgipur and Purba Mashaldanga) in India and also in Bangladesh (Banskata

group of enclaves) would avail all these by dint of fake identity but to manage a Government and semi Government job before exchange was nothing but a nightmare. They are now getting rid of these problems. Immediately after getting the voter ID and Aadhar card they can avail such opportunities. This contrasting scenario is found at rare scale. Twelve persons from Dashiara former Indian enclave in Bangladesh were appointed in different government sectors of Bangladesh including defense service within one year of enclave exchange. The fact was stated by Diptiman Sengupta on 12th August, 2016, an unquestionable leader of CRCC (earlier name was BBEECC). Another most remarkable short term achievement is the abolition of mobility restriction. Earlier enclave people would face several problems to move beyond West Bengal in search of job due to their non-citizenship identity; but the people with fake identity would go anywhere in India. Some young guys were arrested earlier for such trace passing activity. Therefore, they were afraid of such venture. But now they can move anywhere in India for their legal citizenship identity. The crisis of identity is now lost and they are relieved to a great extent. The most immediate gain of this enclave exchange is the end of strenuous kinship relation. Every enclave family within India had a tendency to establish marriage relation with the host land for bride as well as bride groom. This was the most desired scope of enclave people for communication with the host land. They would manage fake identity and avail education as well as health care service from host land. By such matrimonial relation enclave family members would consider themselves inferior to their relative in host land (chapter-8) but they had no better option. During the turmoil condition, they would ask shelter from their host land relatives. Memorizing this hard reality Mohammad Ali (78), of Batrigachh (Bangladeshi) enclave told during interview with extreme disappointment "I shall try to manage a son-in-law from the host land. If it is too difficult, I will not hesitate to arrange the marriage of my two daughters with one enclave guy". After enclave exchange this phase is over. The crisis of identity is overcome. They are like the other citizens of India or Bangladesh.



4.3.1.2 Disappointment

Sufferings of enclave people are endless. Some of their sufferings are still continued even after one year (1st August, 2016) of enclave exchange. Those are the reasons for their disappointments as short term impact. The most important is the strenuous life of the returnees. About 201 families from Indian enclaves have come to settle in India within 30th November, 2015. They are now settled in resettlement camps with a two room house and kitchen without any individual toilet. They have to use community toilet and also to collect community water. Though they are getting ration, they are not getting sufficient job. They are anxious about their permanent settlement that when and where it will be built up. They have left their earlier enclave property hurriedly without selling as the Government of India and Bangladesh declared restriction on selling of land in enclaves after exchange (Appendix XI). Educations of their offspring are not secure now. Only an Anganwari has been set up in each camp, (Fig. 8.5). Government has taken steps to admit their offspring in the nearby schools and colleges in the next session. New citizens can buy consumer goods freely as they have documents, but they have to buy it by hard cash. Nationalized banks are not allowing them to take loan as they have no property deed under Indian registration act, up to date tax receipt and also mutation. Some people from former Bangladeshi enclaves have also applied for different governmental scheme like Indira Awas Yojana for housing purpose (IAY). Their applications are cancelled as they are quite unable to submit previous mentioned documents. For all such reasons they claim that they are only paper citizen. The most disappointing aspect to the then Bangladeshi enclaves is the land litigation. People of the Bangladeshi enclaves in India have the land recorded under Bangladesh. Unless and until a land survey settlement is done by the government of West Bengal, this problem will never be solved. They are so likely demanding land survey and registration as the top most priority after getting the Aadhaar card and Voter ID card.

4.3.2 Long Term Impact

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India had a dream of “A clearly defined and clearly recognizable Inter National boundary for establishing peace full condition in the border region” (Whyte, 2004). It remained unfulfilled during his lifetime. Now the dream comes to reality to some extent with the implementation of L.B.A. 1979, on 6th June, 2015. The newly demarcated boundary is fixed one in between India and Bangladesh. This deal has faded out the bitter relation between the two concerned countries. Therefore a strategic relation is established in the regional block where Bangladesh is a close neighbor to India making a distance with China and Pakistan, betraying the earlier geopolitical regional game discussed in While short term impact is basically material in nature the long term impact are tuned with social political and psychological processes. Under socio-political consideration enclave people were excluded from the main stream host land society. Now they are included officially but psychologically they are distant apart that has led to germination of hope as well desire. The land swap deal 2015 has led to deflection of China's growing influence in this region. It has assured the geographical and cultural synergies between India and Bangladesh through regional groupings like BIMSTEC and ASEAN. It also provides sound footings to India's diplomatic relation between SARAC members (Sen, 2016). This deal helps to deepen the cooperation with India in number of other areas including investment, joint venture and very important issue of the connectivity for North East India through transit corridor of Bangladesh. It will also help to address the issues of security including illegal migration smuggling and other crimes and also denial of sanction to elements inimical to India.

4.3.2.1 Fulfillment of Hope and Desire

Practically after Independence and technically with merge of Cooch Behar in India (1949), people of both the enclaves of India and Pakistan lost their national identity. By enclave exchange they have regained it. Their psychological as well as inferiority complex are deemed to some extent. Due to this inferiority and subjugation they were as if hydra headed people. Now they believe that they can easily interact with the main stream society with straight head.

4.3.2.2 Disappointment

It is true that the people of the then enclaves are now citizens of respective host land. After Independence they have lost their identity and now they have regained it, but prolonged subjugation or sub humanization throughout the last 68 years will not be diluted immediately. It is a feeling of the people of host land that the people of the then enclaves had no identity before 31st July, 2015. They (host land people) consider them as the new citizens. They have the firm

beliefs that socially they (former enclave people) are not at par with the permanent citizens. It is much similar to that of sentiments (inferior) as *Bhatia* in North Bengal as well as in greater Bengal (Cons, 2012). According to the Indian constitution people of India are likely to enjoy equal rights irrespective of caste creed and religion. But the cast hierarchy, un-touchability, social stigma etc. are still prevailing. In the same way, the people of enclaves will be stigmatized as “*Chhiter Lok*” by the host land people. Therefore, the social subjugation will not be ended in near future.



4.4 Critical Appreciation

Enclave exchange aftermath delicately outlined here in terms of short and long term impact. People of the then enclaves within India and Bangladesh celebrated their first day of Independence on 1st August, 2015. They were rejoicing the happy moment for the first month. After this hangover, they are anxiously waiting for the rights to live as a normal citizen in the respective countries which they preferred for citizenship. Government is extending all sorts of opportunities step by step. But they are demanding more hurriedly, as they were suppressed and opposed for last 68 years. They have to wait a little to enter normal social life under democratic system.

CHAPTER 5. FROM STATELESSNESS TO PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL SPACE

Enclaves along Indo-Bangladesh border were lying in the condition of stateless (Schendal, 2002; Jones, 2009) before exchange on 31st July, 2015. On and from 1st August, 2015 the Bangladeshi enclaves in Cooch Behar district merge with India and the people reside there also become an Indian citizen officially. It is also true for Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. Here the idea of 'Statelessness' to participation in political space is reflected for the then Bangladeshi enclaves only for easy access of data and regular visit. Returnees from Indian enclaves who opted for Indian citizenship are now citizens of India also and rest of the citizens of the then Indian enclaves in Bangladesh are now citizens of Bangladesh. These formerly stateless people officially are recognised by their host States. About 989 returnees are now residing in the resettlement camp in Cooch Behar but not a single person has gone to Bangladesh from Bangladeshi enclaves in India; they are now Indian citizens. The West Bengal State Government has issued job card as per National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS). Most of these new citizens of India denied accepting job cards; it was a symbolic protest against state administration. They demand for Aadhaar card first. This Aadhaar card is a better identity proof as the former enclaves are now out of Panchayat system (Local administration). Job card is not meaningful for citizenship identity. Really this protest is their first participation in political space as a citizen of the nation state. Before this they have mobilized lots of protest through rally, procession for the demand to host state and other activities like symbolic merge with host country through hosting national flag as political activities (Shewly, 2012). Earlier enclave people have no official recognition to the host state. Therefore, as official citizens their protest against own state is the first time participation in political space. This type of protest mobilized them for their greater participation in the political space. Cooch Behar district administration has issued Aadhaar card to the then Bangladeshi enclave people in India and also to the returnees from Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. With the Aadhaar card a zero balance account also is issued for the newly recognised Indian citizens in Cooch Behar district.

5.1 New Identity through Electoral Participation

To participate in the democratic system of host land the long cherished dream of people of the most enclaves, though around thousand people from Indian enclaves in Bangladesh has enrolled them as Indian citizens. Earlier few people of Bangladeshi enclaves in India were able to enlist their name in the electoral roll of the host land illegally but they would not dare to cast their votes in host land as they were afraid of political complications. They were interested only to get the voter identity card by fake address by which they could avoid harassment in host land as well as for admission in schools, colleges and hospitals and also to purchase land in the host land. Once the land is purchased in the host land, they can identify themselves as Indians. It is also the weapon to avoid mobility restriction. After the exchange of enclaves prior to Appointment day (midnight up 31st July, 2015) all the enclave people except the returnees are officially recognised as citizens of the host land. In India the voting right of the former Bangladeshi Enclave people and also the returnees from Indian enclaves was not confirmed up to 3rd March, 2016. India is the largest working democracy of the world with the participatory democratic system of Government in both State and Centre. Therefore, every citizen has the right to vote. Technically the newly recognised citizens were not enlisted in the electoral roll of Cooch Behar district until delimitation bill was passed in Indian Parliament. The Representation of the People Act 1950 and the delimitation 2002 was amended in Indian parliament. These acts regulate the allocation of seats to the national and state legislature and delimitation (i.e. Fixing of boundaries) of parliamentary and assembly constituencies (Caturvedi, 2016). On 24th February, 2016 this bill (Representation of the People Act 1950 and the delimitation 2002) was introduced by the Minister of Law and Justice Mr. D. V. Sadananda Gowda in Lok Sabha. The basic objective of the bill was to provide voting right for the then enclave people of 51 Bangladeshi enclaves that merged with India and the persons who have opted to retain Indian citizenship (Appendix XII). This bill was introduced also with a view to carry out the consequential procedural requirements impending election in Cooch Behar district on 5th May 2016. As per clause (2) Article 170 of the Indian Constitution each state shall be divided into territorial constituency. Therefore, the enclaves (51 Bangladeshi Enclaves) amalgamated with Cooch Behar district have to be incorporated the relevant parliamentary and assembly constituency. Similarly Indian enclaves transferred to Bangladesh (111 Indian Enclaves) are to be excluded from territorial constituencies of India. Further to mention the persons opted for Indian citizenship will enjoy the voting right in India. On 25th February, 2016 the Election Laws Amendment Bill, 2016 was passed in Lok Sabha. This bill received the assent of the president of India on 3rd March, 2016. Election commission of India was empowered to take necessary steps to undertake limited delimitation in areas and people merged with Cooch Behar district for the said bill. The name of the people residing in former Bangladeshi enclaves and the returnees from Indian enclaves were enlisted in electoral roll in

India and their Election Photo Identity Card (EPIC) was issued (Fig. 11.1) 31st July, 2015 has opened a new door to the former stateless people. These new citizens are now part and parcels of Indian democratic system. Cooch Behar district administration arranged awareness camps (Fig. 11.2) to teach these new voters how to vote in assembly election of West Bengal 2016 through model polling station in each large size enclave and returnee rehabilitation camp. The candidate and representatives of different political parties visited these newly added areas for election campaign and asked their vote in favour of them from the former enclaves and returnee camps.



5.2 Hope and Desire in Democratic Republic

With the direct participation in socio-political space, the aim and aspiration of the former enclave people get new dimension. They are now putting their demand for inclusion in normal socio-political space as they were victims of 'geopolitical social exclusion' for the last 68 years. They know very well that they are now politically important by dint of their voting right. This right is the touch stone through which their prolonged condition of social exclusion has come to an end. Being the first time voters, their hope and desire are quite different from the surrounding areas. Therefore, the electoral behaviour of these former enclave people is outlined in the following sections.

5.2.1 Electoral Behaviour of the Inhabitants of Former E

Electoral behaviour is a field study concerned with the ways in which people tend to vote in the public election and reasons why they vote as they do. Studies on voting behaviour therefore, involves the analysis of individuals' psychological process (perception, emotion and motivation) and their relation to

political action. Along with this individuals' psychological process the study of voting behaviour envoter's politico-socio economic back ground, well as political space of past and present. The study of spatial pattern of voting and election is the larger field of electoral geography. Therefore electoral geography is the analysis of the interaction of space, place and electoral process (2007). It is also concerned with the study of spatial pattern and distribution of voting behaviour and related political phenomena. The study of voting behaviour is analysed here by two major schools of thought. One is the Columbia School that follows sociological approach. The followers of this school put emphasis on the influence of social and environmental forces statuses are related to the process of the voter's choice. Another view in this field is the Michigan School. The followers of this school mainly concentrate on three psychological variables or factors namely party identification, issue orientation and candidates' orientation. The vivid picture of voting behaviour of former enclave people. Johnston, the field is The social factors emphasized by Columbia School has been shaped by the Michigan School starting from the mouth of the funnel, having an indirect effect only through the three central psychological variables, particularly party identification. Party identification in turn affects issue orientation and candidates' orientation as well as having a direct effect on the voting decision. Present study tries to apply this type of simple model as the former enclave people are casting their vote for the first time. Their voting behaviour is also simple and unidirectional. The main motto of these socially excluded people is their inclusion to normal socio-political space. Other complexities of mainstream politics do not touch their mind. They are much more interested on their own wellbeing. In the word of Nousar Ali (56) an inhabitant of former Madhya Masaldanga enclave "*we will support that party, which will fulfil our demand.*". These former enclave people belong to a very low level of political socialization. This simple model thus explains social and psychological process of individuals' (enclave people). For present analysis five former Bangladeshi enclaves under Dinhat assembly constituency and three returnee camps (one under Dinhat assembly constituency and other two in Mekhliganj and Haldibari, under Mekhliganj assembly constituency) are taken into consideration. An empirical participatory survey was done shortly before and after the poll (3rd-6th May 2016) to get the perception about political awareness and voting behaviour of the new citizens. Only the 'enclave elite' (Shewly, 2012) persons having an active role in enclave exchange movement are considered as respondents for this survey. Awareness level of these people is high. Common enclave people also follow the words of these political elites. Respondent's views have been collected from each former Bangladeshi sample enclaves in India and also from all the returnee camps with structured questionnaire and biographical notes. Survey results clearly prompts that people have different political views and beliefs. The response of these people are analysed here.

5.4 Critical Appreciation

Participation of political space was the foremost realized memorable event to the new citizens of erstwhile enclaves in India. Both Mansur Ali (74) and Rahaman Ali (68) several times expressed their disappointment that they will not be able to experience enclave exchange during their life time. They are still alive and have cast vote in 2016 assembly election of West Bengal. After casting their vote they could not believe that such a dream will so hurriedly be transformed into experienced reality. Like these two elderly people, voters of the then enclaves did not care for party orientation issue or candidate orientation of conventional politics. They were in a joyous mood to cast their first time vote in life keeping aside the conventional party politics.

CHAPTER 6. STATUS AND DEVELOPMENTAL ANALYSIS IN ERSTWHILE ENCLAVES OF INDIA AND BANGLADESH

A year after enclave dwellers got Indian citizenship, several of these people want to go back to Bangladesh as they are miffed over the lack of job and other opportunities in India.

Chairman of Parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs Pradip Bhattacharya said several enclave dwellers, who came to Indian enclaves after August 1, 2015, have expressed their desire to go back to Bangladesh.

“I have received reports of enclave dwellers who had come from Bangladesh and had settled in Indian enclaves wanting to go back to Bangladesh due to lack of job and other basic opportunities. This is a matter of serious concern. I will inquire the matter with the union home department,” Bhattacharya, who is also a senior Congress MP from Bengal, told PTI. **(Failed promises: A year on, some enclave dwellers want to return to Bangladesh, Indian Express, 7 August, 2016)**

On the other hand, all 14,863 residents of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves inside India opted for Indian nationality and opted to stay in India as Indian citizen by altering their citizenship



Enclave or exclave (Chhitmahal in Bengali) means a portion of territory of one country, separated from its mainland, completely surrounded by the territory of a foreign country. Till around two and half years back, there were a large number of enclaves within independent India and Bangladesh, where a great

number of ill-fated inhabitants sustained their lives as ‘stateless people’ for 67 long years after India’s independence. As per report of the India-Bangladesh Joint Field Inspection, there were 111 exchangeable Indian Enclaves inside Bangladesh and 51 exchangeable Bangladeshi Enclaves inside India containing a combined population of 53,384. In India, all these slivers of Bangladesh were situated in the District of Coochbehar, West Bengal. On the other hand, in Bangladesh, these flakes of India were located in four districts under its Rangpur Division, of which 59 were in Lalmonirhat District, 36 were in Ponchogarih District, 12 were in Kurigram District and 4 were in Nilphamari District. These fragmented territories within the two countries had created an inhuman situation for the enclaves’ people and they were compelled to sustain their existence under a hardnosed situation of statelessness without any governmental support from either country. Inhabitants of these enclaves lived year after year without any constitutional rights and basic amenities for their livelihoods. Being completely surrounded by the territory of a foreign state, they couldn’t even travel to their ‘mother land’ by crossing the territory of the foreign state and governmental support system of the mother state couldn’t get any access to these enclaves. Thus, these meagre people became unjustly deprived from getting governmental services, essential facilities and basic opportunities from their mother land until exchange of these enclaves by signing of the historic Land Boundary agreement (LBA) between India and Bangladesh on 6th June, 2015. As per LBA, 2015, 111 Indian enclaves inside Bangladesh henceforth be considered as own lands of Bangladesh; whereas 51 exchangeable Bangladeshi enclaves inside India henceforth be considered as own lands of India with effect from the midnight of 31 July 2015. As per LBA, 2015 Protocol, people residing in these enclaves were allowed to choose their nationality as per their own will. The concerned mother state would offer adequate rehabilitation packages to such people in its mainland. It had been highly expected from all corners that this long overdue exchange would improve the lives of these underprivileged enclaves’ people who, by an unfortunate twist of destiny, compelled to live year after year without any national identity.

To assess the latest infrastructural developmental status within these erstwhile enclaves and status of enclaves’ people during LBA, 2015 post-execution era, I conducted an extensive field survey during the years 2015, 2016 and 2017 in various erstwhile enclaves of India and Bangladesh. For the analysis purpose, I categorized enclaves’ people into three sections:

1. People of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves inside India;

2. Migrated people of erstwhile Indian enclaves came from Bangladesh temporarily rehabilitated at Enclaves Settlement Camps in India;



3. People of erstwhile Indian enclaves inside Bangladesh. It had been observed during my field survey that the entire population of Indian and Bangladeshi erstwhile enclaves cordially accepted exchange of enclaves through LBA, 2015, as they got rid of their exiled life of long 67 years in enclaves by means of LBA, 2015. As per report of the joint survey conducted by India and Bangladesh in erstwhile enclaves of both the countries, it had was evident that 989 persons, out of total 38,521 residents of erstwhile Indian enclaves inside Bangladesh, opted to retain their original nationality of Indian citizenship and migrated to Indian mainland from Bangladesh.

On the other hand, all 14,863 residents of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves inside India opted for Indian nationality and opted to stay in India as Indian citizen by altering their citizenship. It is significantly observed that not a single person from erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves in India opted to go back to Bangladesh.

During said field survey, it had been observed that people of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves in India already got their Voter ID Card and Aadhar Card in support of their Identity as Indian Citizen. Most of them got their Ration Card from the Govt. Some of them got Job Card too. Some of the erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves' people were also engaged in 100 days work program of the Govt.

No other problems of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves' people had yet been resolved.

No infrastructural developmental works within these enclaves had been noticed during my field survey. Two major problematic issues of the erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves' people had been identified during my field survey.

First and foremost identified problem that they were still facing with is settlement of their land records within these erstwhile enclaves. A large number of enclave dwellers anxiously brought the issue of their land record settlement before me. I scrutinized that many enclave dwellers didn't possess the original title deeds of their lands issued by Bangladesh Land Settlement Authority, although all these lands were under their possessions. During long 67 years of their exiled life in enclaves, many original land deed holders already sold out their lands to other enclaves' dwellers on the basis of mutual written agreement just on a white paper. Accordingly, such transferee land occupiers did not possess original land deeds on their name, although they were occupying such lands for a number of years after such transfer took place with consideration. Now, big question is that whether such mutual written agreement just on white paper will be considered or not at the time of disposal of land records and settlements by the Govt. of India. Enclaves' dwellers were really afraid about settlement of their land record issue, which was the only source of generating economic resources of most of enclaves' people till date. Second important identified problem of enclaves' people is job opportunity for them. No job reservation has since been made for the erstwhile enclaves' dwellers, nor has any alternative job opportunity yet been initiated for them. Even for admitting their children into an Indian School or College, enclave dwellers had still been facing with lots of troubles, as no reservation has so far been made for admission of their children. The then District Magistrate of Coochbehar District admitted before me that the major challenge to resolve erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves' problem was disposal of land records and settlements.

During said field survey, all the three Enclave Settlement Camps, located in Haldibari, Mekhligunj and Dinhat Blocks under Coochbehar District of West Bengal, India, set up for temporary resettlement of migrated erstwhile Indian enclaves' people from Bangladesh were also visited. The migrated people of erstwhile Indian enclaves from Bangladesh duly got their Voter ID Card and Aadhar Card in support of their identity as Indian Citizen in Indian mainland. Govt. of India arranged temporary accommodations for them by setting up three Enclaves Settlement Camps with free electricity facility and also provided some essential food commodities (Rice, Mustard Oil, Kerosene, Salt, Milk and Pulse) for them at free of cost. Most of them also got Job Card and Ration Card from the Govt. Some of them were also engaged in 100 days work program of the

Govt. Land has been identified by the Govt. for permanent resettlement of these people. But, migrated people of Indian enclaves, who came from Bangladesh, were really scared about their permanent settlement in Indian mainland. No job reservation has since been made for these migrated erstwhile Indian enclaves' people temporarily resettled at said Enclave Settlement Camps; nor has any alternative job opportunity yet been initiated for them. They were feeling confused about their decision for migrating Indian mainland. In erstwhile Indian enclaves, where they lived in during last 67 years, they had their own land for cultivation and they could move to Bangladeshi land in search of their bread and butter. According to them, they can hardly get any opportunity for finding any suitable job after migrating in Indian mainland, where they are completely 'landless' as well as 'jobless'. Many of them couldn't even sale their property that they had in Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. According to PTI, "Those who have come from Indian enclaves which were situated in Bangladesh are feeling alienated here. They don't have either any job opportunities or any proper source of income. How will they secure their future? So they feel that going back to Bangladesh is the best option to secure their future." I too witnessed above feelings of the migrated erstwhile Indian enclaves' people during my field survey. No permanent shelter has yet been provided to them; nor has any permanent job opportunity been procured for them so far in Indian mainland. As no reservation has since been made, migrated erstwhile Indian enclaves' people have been facing with lots of problems for admitting their children into an Indian School or College. Procurement of permanent shelter for the migrated erstwhile Indian enclaves' people is under process as reported by the then District Magistrate of District of Coochbehar. He assured me that adequate funds would be released by the Govt. of India for resettlement of migrated and non-migrated erstwhile enclaves' people and infrastructural development within erstwhile enclave.

On the other hand, it had been observed during my field survey at erstwhile Indian enclaves in Bangladesh that the people staying in erstwhile Indian enclaves inside Bangladesh already got their Citizenship Identity Card in support of their Identity as Bangladeshi Citizen from the Govt. of Bangladesh. Lands in erstwhile Indian enclaves had duly been recorded by the Bangladesh Land Record Authority in the name of concerned owners of lands. Enough infrastructural development works within erstwhile Indian enclaves have been noticed during my field survey. Electricity supply line had been extended up to the doorstep of the enclaves' dwellers in almost all the erstwhile Indian enclaves. Schools and Madrasas had already been established in all large and medium size Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. Roads within these areas had been demarcated and measured, and construction works had already been initiated in many enclaves. Boring Tube well had been installed for supplying drinking water and water for agricultural purpose in most of the enclaves. Latrine within

residential house had been constructed by the Bangladesh Govt. at free of cost in many enclaves. Most of the senior enclaves' dwellers having 55 years or more age were getting old age pension of Bangladeshi Taka 500/= per month from the Govt. of Bangladesh. Govt. of Bangladesh had already sanctioned funds for setting up Health Centre and School for Physically Challenged Persons in some of the large size erstwhile Indian enclaves. But no job reservation has since been made for these erstwhile enclaves' dwellers, nor has any alternative job opportunity yet been initiated for them by the Govt. of Bangladesh.

Analysing infrastructural developmental status within erstwhile enclaves in India and Bangladesh and status of the concerned people of erstwhile enclaves of both the countries during the post-execution period of LBA, 2015, the following comparative conclusions can be drawn:

1. Both the countries duly provided Citizenship Identity Card to the erstwhile enclaves' people opted to stay within the territory of the concerned country.



2. Govt. of India provided Ration Card and Job Card to the most of the people of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves; whereas Govt. of Bangladesh has not yet

taken any such step in erstwhile Indian enclaves.



3. Govt. of Bangladesh already set up a number of Schools and Madrasas in erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas Govt. of India could not yet establish any School or Madrasa in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.



4. Govt. of Bangladesh already set up Boring Tube Well for supplying drinking water and water for agricultural purposes in erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas

Govt. of India has not yet initiated any such activity in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.

5. Govt. of Bangladesh already started to provide direct financial assistance @ Bangladeshi Taka 500/= per month to the senior citizens having 55 years age or more of the erstwhile Indian enclaves in form of ‘old age pension’; whereas Govt. of India has not yet sanctioned any such direct financial assistance for the people of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.



6. No job reservation has since been made for their erstwhile enclaves’ people by the Govt. of both the countries, nor has any alternative job opportunity been initiated



for them by both the concerned states initiated for them by both the concerned states.

7. Govt. of Bangladesh already settled the issues relating to lands records in erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas Govt. of India couldn't yet resolve the issues relating to lands records in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.

8. Govt. of Bangladesh already demarcated and measured roads with erstwhile Indian enclaves and construction works had already been initiated in most of the erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas Govt. of India has not yet completed demarcation and measurement works for construction of roads in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.



9. Govt. of Bangladesh has already sanctioned funds for setting up Health Centre and School for Physically Challenged Persons in some of the large size erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas Govt. of India has not yet sanctioned any such things in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.

10. Govt. of Bangladesh already started to construct Latrine within residential house in erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas Govt. of India has not yet initiated any such activity in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

Geopolitics along Indo-Bangladesh borders and its impacts on the inhabitants of the then enclaves has been carved out in the last eleven chapters, with the notion of representing the reality from the perspective of history, politics and sociology, anthropology and more importantly from social geography. For any type of geopolitical dynamics history and politics are the major considerations, but it is fully expressed on a geographical canvas and socio-spatial space. Therefore, this enquiry has attempted so far, with an integrated gamut of socio-spatial dynamics of recently exchanged Indo-Bangladesh enclaves along the northern border of Bangladesh and border of Cooch Behar district, West Bengal, India. The outlook of enquiry and the nature of outcomes are quite different for the earlier geographical research of this area. Earlier researchers, especially geographers have unfolded the reality either in terms of socio-spatial dimension for the formation of enclave (Whyte, 2002), in the tune of historical geography, or about the nature of statelessness and abandoned space (Shewly, 2013) of this area in the tune of social geography. This enquiry has not only critically explained the history and political dynamics or the statelessness but at the same time, it has pointed out critically the prolonged exclusion and subjugation of the stateless people of this area starting from 1949 to 2015, with appropriate narratives and quantitative analysis. This gamut of this enquiry has turned into a new focus with the analysis of outcomes of enclave exchange, in the perspective of hope, desire and disappointment of people of the then enclaves. This is last portion relating to enclave exchange aftermath is perhaps the unique one in relation to the PhD thesis, as no other researcher has the opportunity to experience this U-turn of enclave exchange. Therefore, essence of facts, major findings and resolution of hypo thesis is delineated in this section.

7.1 Essence of Enquiry

The perception of the researchers about the formation of enclaves with rational explanation about the historical and geopolitical perspective of the area and the sufferings of the people are analysed in Chapter four to Chapter eleven. The observed reality and its rational explanation are the facts. Essence of those facts is pointed out below, under the heads of Formation of Enclaves, Statelessness and Identity Crisis of the people of the enclaves, Sufferings of the people and Episode after enclave exchange.

7.1.1 Formation of Enclaves

It has been critically analysed that formation of enclaves is not only a precolonial or colonial legacy, but also an outcome of indecision or lack of proper decision of post-Independence era. Pre-Colonial invasion and counter invasion has been revealed here in an elaborative way under the light of Koch-Mughal

conflict. But there are also some cross winds like invasion of Koch towards Ahom or strategic role of Bhutan King and Koch king. These forcedly occupied area under another kingdom dynasty germinated the enclave formation initially. During the colonial period strategic influence and alliances of colonial ruler once again were responsible for continuation of those enclaves and helped the formation of enclaves with the strategic war between Nazir of Koch king and colonial ruler. During this diplomatic relation between Koch king and colonial ruler, royal preceptor managed some area under enclavement within his control but the real geopolitical significance appeared after 1949, with the merger of Cooch Behar in India. Dividing colonial India into two nations and demarcation of boundary between India and Pakistan have resulted the formation of the real enclaves after partition. The context of enclave could easily be solved in two ways during or after the partition, if Radcliffe would carefully take a full enquiry of the border area in the northern and southern sides of the enclaves along India-Bangladesh through a well judged border line, or after partition if Cooch Behar would be merged with East Pakistan. One wing of Hitasadhani Sabha had the opinion about the merging of Cooch Behar with East Pakistan. Under such consideration, enclaves after Independence did not disappear.

7.1.2 Statelessness and Identity Crisis of Enclave Dwellers

The second most important aspect of this enquiry is the statelessness and identity crisis of enclave dwellers. Such crises were formed after the partition of India. Stormy atmosphere was created just before the Independence with the introduction of 'Bi-Nation Theory' (Chatterjee, 1999). The situation was worsened after the partition of India relating to communal riots occurred before and after the partition. Rivalry was grown from the very beginning of formation of two nations-India and Pakistan. Under such a consideration enclaves were the hot spot to experience the rivalry. Therefore, it was practically impossible for a nation to protect the people of enclaves and also to provide services to the inhabitants of this critical geopolitical location. Due to this non-favourable neighbour relation, both the nations could not assure the citizenship right and national identity for the enclave people. The enclave dwellers thus had to depend on pity of the host land Government to avail basic necessities in terms of food, clothing, security, shelter but not the education and medical facility.

7.1.3 Sufferings of the Enclave Dwellers

In real sense of term, enclave people had no state identity. Host land people thus got the opportunity to overpower the enclave people. People of the enclaves on the other hand, had no scope to overcome it. Host land people subjugated and exploited them in terms of social power, mobility restriction and even the freedom of speech. Host land Government technically could not provide education and healthcare facility, as they are the people of different nation. They faced the strenuous life after Independence which was not prevailed

earlier. There was no scope for the Government to provide employment to the people of enclaves. Even self employment through business or earning through transport business was practically impossible due to lack of customer as well as mobility restrictions. Thus agriculture and wage selling as agricultural labours are the means of their survival. Even for intra-enclave or enclave-host litigation they could not ask for administrative solution. To make better connection with the host land, they would give their first preference of kin relation in host land by marriage relation. But it was either ignored or least preferred. Only for distant host land relation, they could make it a success by hiding their enclave identity. They ultimately realized that suffering is their fate as well as destiny due to their.

7.1.4 Sufferings of Enclave Dwellers

People in the hazards prone area suffer much but the permanency of hazard is short lived. Enclave people are suffering for the last 68 years. Suffering of the social hazards is endless. How much state is important and its functioning are essential, that is realized by the then enclave people of India and Bangladesh. Enclave identity almost equal to non state status has led to the inaccess of social power, amenities like communication, market, electricity, facilities like health, education, banking etc. Their life is full of miseries. That leads to migration and counter migration.

7.1.5 Enclave Exchange

Enclave exchange was the ultimate desire of the people of enclaves, surrounding host land even the researchers and academicians. Treaties of 1958 and 1974 created the hope but ultimately diluted the focus due to regional sentiment, constitutional act and conflict of logical (illogical) demand of the nation. Now the enclave is exchange on July, 2015. People are now the citizens of respective host land mainly. They are accessing most of the facilities, though a decent way of life yet to be achieved.

7.2 Major Findings

The whole enquiry highlighted, elaborated and explained in different chapters in this research work has been articulated in a synoptic view under the title of the essence of enquiry. Those observations and explanation are now outlined in terms of the major finding. All the findings are pointed out below:

- ✚ The history of enclave formation has its root during the pre-colonial period, originated due to invasion and counter-invasion during 1540 to 1713 during the regime of Narayan (1541-1563). The formation of these enclaves can be explained with the capture, recapture and distribution of six Chaklas. It is true that formation of the some enclaves, especially counter enclaves cannot rigidly be defined as there are no such detailed

historical evidences. Crosswinds of multidimensional invasion is responsible for the formation of several enclaves where Koch dynasty, located at the centre initiated diversified battle and strategy with *Subader* of Bengal, Bhutan king and colonial ruler creating conflict.

- ✚ People of enclaves did not suffer much even during the colonial period. Rather they enjoyed huge facilities by the respective rulers, as their representatives within the enclaves. The real sufferings were experienced after Independence.
- ✚ Enclave identity became a curtail factor for strenuous life only after the merger of Koch Bihar in 1949. The increasing hostility between India and Pakistan after Independence led to the statelessness of enclaves and identity crisis of the people of enclaves and thereby denied to access education and health facility. War time situation and conflicting neighbour relation between India and Pakistan led to turmoil social space in these enclaves, where the enclave people were denied to access basic amenities and facilities from the host land. People belong to minority religious group in relation to host land were afraid of insecurity. That resulted migration and counter migration of enclave people to the host land.
- ✚ Realizing critical social life of enclave people, both the Governments have taken steps for enclave exchange. But agreements of 1958 and 1974 could not be implemented due to national as well as regional feeling and agitation and also the political legitimacy. The real success of enclave exchange was started with the functioning of Joint Boundary Working group in 1997, subsequent by 2011 protocol. At last the exchange of enclaves has come into reality with the signing of the treaty in 6th June, 2015.
- ✚ Enclave people are now get rid of their prolonged identity crisis and statelessness. They are the citizens of the respective host land, though about 991 people from India enclaves in Bangladesh have opted Indian citizens.
- ✚ After 68 years of enclavement, they are gradually returning back into normal life, what their predecessors would enjoy before Independence.

This new citizens have to wait a little for full swing of normal social life, as the infrastructural development through Panchayat and Block Level Development is yet to start. Now the hurdles are over come and critical social life is fraded into oblivion.

7.3 Confirmation of Hypothesis

Initial hypotheses taken at the beginning of this enquiry were designed on the basis of two perspectives.

First, Formation of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves were not pre-colonial and colonial legacy but also a fallacy of partition of India coupled with geopolitical game for which the inhabitants of enclaves faced identity crisis and thereby immense socio-political hazard. First hypothesis is resolved. Through the evidence, logical explanation and biography revealed in chapter- 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 it can be stated that invasion, counter-invasion and geopolitical game are responsible for the formation of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves, but the sufferings in terms of statelessness, identity crisis and denial of access to social space were the reality before enclave exchange, widely established through proper evidence in chapter-7 and eight.

Second, After the exchange of enclaves the geo-political game is over but the inhabitants of the then enclaves have to wait a couple of years to enjoy a decent way of life. This hypothesis is partially resolved in the sense that, after the exchange of enclaves inhabitants have got the citizenship of their preferred country and are accessing the civic amenities and facilities. From the material and social point of view they are relieved from deprivation, but from psychological point of view, host land people will consider themselves as the new citizen for couple of years.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

At the post script it may be stated that by the exchange of enclaves, this thesis has got a new dimension. The work was initiated during the January, 2010 when all sorts of field visit information were ultimately loaded with subjugation, exploitation and sufferings of the people of enclaves. But after the exchange, they are now in a smiling face. After the struggle of 68 years starting from Independence they are now the citizens of their preferred country. The then enclave people of the country can access the health and medical facilities without any hesitation. Earlier they were devoid of it or they would manage by the fake identity with the help of their relatives in the host land. They were practically *hydra-headed* people. ***“We have to walk in the host land bending our hand, as we are the stateless people”*** said Dinabandhu Roy of Balapukhari enclave in an interview, 21st October, 2011. This is perhaps the first thesis in Geography that is submitted after enclave exchange. Before the enclave exchange, there was a firm notion that enclave exchange is the ultimate solution to the sufferings of the people. But after the exchange, the focus of the thesis was extended in a newer direction to search for hope, desire and disappointment of the people of erstwhile enclaves after exchange. They are gradually entering into normal social life. There hope for enclave exchange has transformed

intoreality. Their desires are gradually being fulfilled and disappointment are gradually transforming into illusion. The dark enclave life is now a past event, kept in the memory which will appear as history to their next generations. Local forms of identity express a sense of place and local community but lack the broader scope, cogency, and symbols of a nationalist ideology. In today's world, and in current academic discourses, it has become very difficult to imagine populations as being both stateless and nationless. That is exactly why it is important to take cases such as the India-Bangladesh enclaves seriously. They demand that we reconsider received assumptions about the fit between state, territory, sovereignty and identity: *"Only in the eyes of the law are we Indians."* (Van Schendel, W. (2002). Stateless in South Asia: The Making of the India-Bangladesh Enclaves, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Feb., 2002), pp. 115-147)

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Appendix I

List of Exchanged Bangladesh Enclave

Sl. No.	Name of Enclaves	J.L. No.	In Side The Police station	Under The Police station	Area(In acre)
1	Chhat kuchlibari	22	Mekhliganj	Patgram	370.64
2	Chhit Land of kuchlibari	24	Mekhliganj	Patgram	1.83
3	Balapukhari	21	Mekhliganj	Patgram	331.64
4	Chhit Land of Panbari No 2	2 20	Mekhliganj	Patgram	1.13
5	Chhit Panbari	18	Mekhliganj	Patgram	108.59
6	Dhabalsati Mirgipur	15	Mekhliganj	Patgram	173.88
7	Bamandal	11	Mekhliganj	Patgram	2.24
8	Chhit Dhabalsati	14	Mekhliganj	Patgram	66.58
9	Dhabalsati	13	Mekhliganj	Patgram	60.54
10	Srirampur	8	Mekhliganj	Patgram	1.05
11	Jote Nijjama 3	3	Mekhliganj	Patgram	87.54
12	Chhit Land of Jagataber No 3	37	Mathabhanga	Patgram	69.84
13	Chhit Land of Jagataber No 1	35	Mathabhanga	Patgram	3066
14	Chhit Land of Jagataber No 2	36	Mathabhanga	Patgram	27.09
15	Chhit Kokabari	47	Mathabhanga	Patgram	29.49
16	Chhit Bhandardah	67	Mathabhanga	Patgram	39.96
17	Dhabalguri	52	Mathabhanga	Patgram	12.5
18	Chhit Dhabalguri	53	Mathabhanga	Patgram	22.31
19	Chhit Land of Dhabalguri No 3	70	Mathabhanga	Patgram	1.33
20	Chhit Land of Dhabalguri No 3	71	Mathabhanga	Patgram	4.55
21	Chhit Land of Dhabalguri No 3	72	Mathabhanga	Patgram	4.12
22	Chhit Land of Dhabalguri No 3	68	Mathabhanga	Patgram	5 72
23	Chhit Land of Dhabalguri No 3	69	Mathabhanga	Patgram	26.83
24	Mahismari	54	Sitalkuchi	Patgram	122.77
25	Bura Saradubi	13	Sitalkuchi	Hathibandha	34.96

26	Nalgram	65	Sitalkuchi	Patgram	1397.34
27	Chhit Nalgram	66	Sitalkuchi	Patgram	49.5
28	Falnapur	64	Sitalkuchi	Patgram	506.56
29	Amjhol	57	Sitalkuchi	Patgram	1.25
30	Batrigach (F)	81	Dinhata	Kaliganj	577.37
31	Kismat Batrigach	82	Dinhata	Kaliganj	209.95
32	Durgapur	83	Dinhata	Kaliganj	20.96
33	Bansua Khamar Gitaldaha	1	Dinhata	Lalmonirhat	24.54
34	Karala (F)	9	Dinhata	Lalmonirha	269.91
35	Sibaprasad Mustafi (F)	8	Dinhata	Lalmonirha	373.2
36	Poaturkuthi	37	Dinhata	Lalmonirhat	589.94
37	Paschim Bakhair Chhara	38	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	151.98
38	Madhya Bakhair Chhara	39	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	32.72
39	Purba Bakhair Chhara	40	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	12.23
40	Madhya Masaldanga	3	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	136.66
41	Madhya Chhit Masaldanga	8	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	11.87
42	Paschim Masaldanga	4	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	29.49
43	Paschim Chhit Masaldanga	7	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	7.6
44	Dakshin Masaldanga (F)	6	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	571.38
45	Purba Chhit Masaldanga (F)	10	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	35.01
46	Purba Masaldanga (F)	11	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	153.89
47	Uttar Masaldanga	2	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	27.29
48	Kachua	5	Dinhata	Bhurungamari	119.74
49	Uttar Bansjani	1	Tufanganj	Bhurungamari	47.17
50	Chhat Tilai	17	Tufanganj	Bhurungamari	81.56
51	Uttar Dhaldanga (F)	14	Tufanganj	Bhurungamari	24.98

List of Exchanged Indian Enclave

Sl. No.	Name of Enclaves	J.L. No.	In Side The Police station	Under The Police station	Area(In acre)
1	Garati	75	Panchagarh	Haldibari	58.23
2	Garati	76	Panchagarh	Haldibari	
3	Garati	77	Panchagarh	Haldibari	18

4	Garati	78	Panchagarh	Haldibari	958.66
5	Garati	79	Panchagarh	Haldibari	1.74
6	Garati	80	Panchagarh	Haldibari	73.75
7	Singimari part -I	73	Panchagarh	Haldibari	6.07
8	Najirganja	41	Boda	Haldibari	58.32
9	Najirganja	42	Boda	Haldibari	434.29
10	Najirganja	44	Boda	Haldibari	53.47
11	Najirganja	45	Boda	Haldibari	1.07
12	Najirganja	46	Boda	Haldibari	17.95
13	Najirganja	47	Boda	Haldibari	3.89
14	Najirganja	48	Boda	Haldibari	73.27
15	Najirganja	49	Boda	Haldibari	49.05
16	Najirganja	50	Boda	Haldibari	5.05
17	Najirganja	51	Boda	Haldibari	0.77
18	Najirganja	52	Boda	Haldibari	1.04
19	Najirganja	53	Boda	Haldibari	1.02
20	Najirganja	54	Boda	Haldibari	3.87
21	Najirganja	55	Boda	Haldibari	12.18
22	Najirganja	56	Boda	Haldibari	54.04
23	Najirganja	57	Boda	Haldibari	8.27
24	Najirganja	58	Boda	Haldibari	14.22
25	Najirganja	60	Boda	Haldibari	0.52
26	Putimari	59	Boda	Haldibari	122.8
27	Daikhata Chhat	38	Boda	Haldibari	499.21
28	Shalbari	37	Boda	Haldibari	1188.93
29	Kajal Dighi	36	Boda	Haldibari	771.44
30	Natoktoka	32	Boda	Haldibari	162.26
31	Natoktoka	33	Boda	Haldibari	0.26
32	Beuladanga(with fragment)	34	Boda	Haldibari	862.46
33	Beuladanga Chhat	35	Boda	Haldibari	0.83
34	Dahala Khagra Bari	26	Debiganj	Haldibari	50.35
35	Kotbhajni	2	Debiganj	Haldibari	2012.27
36	Balapara Khagra Bari 3	3	Debiganj	Haldibari	1752.44
37	Bara khanki kharija Gitaldaha	30	Dimla	Haldibari	7.71
38	Bara khanki kharija Gitaldaha	29	Dimla	Haldibari	36.83
39	Barakhangir	28	Dimla	Haldibari	30.53
40	Nagarjikabari	31	Dimla	Haldibari	33.41
41	Kuchlibari	26	Patgram	Mekhliganj	5.78
42	Kuchlibari	27	Patgram	Mekhliganj	2.04

43	Bara Kuchlibari	107	Patgram	Mekhliganj	4.35
44	Jamaldaha Balapukhari	6	Patgram	Mekhliganj	4.35
45	UponchowkiKuchlibari	115/2	Patgram	Mekhliganj	0.32
46	UponchowkiKuchlibari	7	Patgram	Mekhliganj	44.04
47	Bhotbari	8	Patgram	Mekhliganj	36.87
48	Balapukhari	5	Patgram	Mekhliganj	55.91
49	Balapukhari	4	Patgram	Mekhliganj	50.51
50	Balapukhari	9	Patgram	Mekhliganj	87.42
51	Chhat Bagdokra	10	Patgram	Mekhliganj	41.7
52	Ratanpur	11	Patgram	Mekhliganj	58.91
53	Bagdokra	12	Patgram	Mekhliganj	25.49
54	Phulka Dabri	101	Patgram	Mekhliganj	0.88
55	kharkharia	15	Patgram	Mekhliganj	60.74
56	kharkharia	13	Patgram	Mekhliganj	51.62
57	Lotamari	14	Patgram	Mekhliganj	110.92
58	Bhotbari	16	Patgram	Mekhliganj	205.46
59	Kamat changrabandha	16/A	Patgram	Mekhliganj	42.8
60	Kamat changrabandha	17/A	Patgram	Mekhliganj	16.01
61	Panisala	17	Patgram	Mekhliganj	137.66
62	Dwarikamari Khasbash	18	Patgram	Mekhliganj	36.5
63	Panisala	153/P	Patgram	Mekhliganj	0.27
64	Panisala	153/O	Patgram	Mekhliganj	18.01
65	Panisala	19	Patgram	Mekhliganj	64.63
66	Panisala	21	Patgram	Mekhliganj	51.4
67	Lotamari	20	Patgram	Mekhliganj	283.53
68	Lotamari	22	Patgram	Mekhliganj	98.85
69	Dwarikamari	23	Patgram	Mekhliganj	39.5
70	Dwarikamari	25	Patgram	Mekhliganj	45.73
71	Chhat Bhothat	24	Patgram	Mekhliganj	56.11
72	Baskata	131	Patgram	Mathabhanga	22.35
73	Baskata	132	Patgram	Mathabhanga	11.96
74	Baskata	130	Patgram	Mathabhanga	20.48
75	Bhogramguri	133	Patgram	Mathabhanga	1.44
76	Chenakata	119	Patgram	Mekhliganj	413.81
78	Baskata	120	Patgram	Mathabhanga	30.75
79	Baskata	121	Patgram	Mathabhanga	12.15
80	Baskata	113	Patgram	Mathabhanga	57.86
81	Baskata	112	Patgram	Mathabhanga	315.04
82	Baskata	114	Patgram	Mathabhanga	0.77
83	Baskata	115	Patgram	Mathabhanga	29.2
84	Baskata	122	Patgram	Mathabhanga	33.22
85	Baskata	127	Patgram	Mathabhanga	12.72

86	Baskata	128	Patgram	Mathabhanga	2.33
87	Baskata	117	Patgram	Mathabhanga	2.55
88	Baskata	118	Patgram	Mathabhanga	30.98
89	Baskata	125	Patgram	Mathabhanga	0.64
90	Baskata	126	Patgram	Mathabhanga	1.39
91	Baskata	129	Patgram	Mathabhanga	1.37
92	Baskata	116	Patgram	Mathabhanga	16.96
93	Baskata	123	Patgram	Mathabhanga	24.37
94	Baskata	124	Hatibandha	Mathabhanga	0.28
95	Gotamari Chhit	135	Hatibandha	Sitalkuchi	126.59
96	Gotamari Chhit	136	Lalmonirhat	Sitalkuchi	20.02
97	Banspachai	152	Lalmonirhat	Dinhata	81.71
98	Banspachai Bhitarkuthi	150	Fulbari	Dinhata	1643.44
100	Dakurhat- Dakinirkuthi	156	kurigram	Dinhata	14.27
101	Kalmati	141	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	21.21
102	Sahrbganj	153	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	31.58
103	Seotikursa	142	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	45.63
104	Bara Gaoculka	143	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	39.99
105	Gaoculka II	147	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	0.9
106	Gaoculka II	146	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	8.92
107	Dighaltari II	145	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	8.81
108	Dighaltari I	144	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	12.31
109	Chhoto Garoljhora II	149	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	17.85
110	Chhoto Garoljhora II	148	Bhurangamari	Dinhata	35.74
111	Un named	157	Patgram	Mathabhanga	3.5

Appendix II

British-Koch Treaty 1772

Dharendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch Behar having represented to the Honourable the President and Council of Calcutta the present distressed state of things of the country, owing to its being harassed by the neighboring Rajas, who are in league to dispose him, the Honourable President and Council from love of justice and desire of assisting the distressed have agreed to send a force, consisting of four companies of Sepoys and a field-piece for the protection of the said Raja and his country against his enemies and the following conditions are mutually agreed to :-

1st :- That the said Raja will immediately pay into the hands of the Collector of Rongpur Rs. 50,000 to defray the expenses of the force sent to assist him.

2nd :- That if more than Rs. 50,000 are expended, the Raja make it good to the Honourable the English East India Company, but in case any part of it remains unexpended it be delivered back.

3rd :- That the Raja will acknowledge subjection to the English East India Company upon his country being cleared of his enemies and will allow the Cooch Behar country to be annexed to the Province of Bengal.

4th :- That the Raja further agrees to make over the English East India Company one half of the annual revenue of Cooch Behar for ever.

5th :- That the other moiety shall remain to Raja and his heirs for ever, provided he is firm in his allegiance to the Honourable United East India Company.

6th :- That in order to ascertain the value of Cooch Behar country, the Raja will deliver a fair *Hastabud* of his district into the hands of such persons as the Honourable the President and the Council of Calcutta shall think proper to depute for that purpose, upon which the valuation of annual *Malguzari* which the Raja is to pay, shall be established.

7th :- That the amount of *Malguzari* settled by such person of the Honourable the East India Company shall depute, shall be perpetual.

8th :- That the Honourable East India Company shall always assist the Raja with a force when he has occasion for it for the defense of the country, the Raja bearing the expenses.

9th :- That this treaty shall remain in force for the space of two years, or till such time as advices may be received from the Council to rectify the same for ever. This treaty signed, sealed and concluded by the Honourable the President and Council at Fort William, the fifth day of April, 1773, on one part and by Dharendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch Behar at Behar Fort, the 6th Magh 1179 Bengali Style, on the other hand.

Appendix III

Cooch Behar Merger Agreement

Agreement made this twenty eighth day of August 1949 between the Governor General of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. Whereas in the best interests of the State of Cooch Behar as well as of the Dominion of India it is desirable to provide for the administration of the said State by or under the authority of the Dominion Government :

It is hereby agreed as follows :~

Article 1

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar hereby cedes to the Dominion Government full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and powers for and in relation to the governance of the State and agrees to transfer the administration of the State to the Dominion Government on the 12th day of September 1949 (hereinafter referred to as 'the said day'). As from the said day the Dominion Government will be competent to exercise the said powers, authority and jurisdiction in such manner and through such agency as it may think fit.

Article 2

His Highness the Maharaja shall continue to enjoy the same personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles which he would have enjoyed had this agreement not been made.

Article 3

His Highness the Maharaja shall with effect from the said day be entitled to receive for his lifetime from the revenues of the State annually for his privy purse the sum of Rupees eight lakhs fifty thousand free of all taxes. After him the privy parts will be fixed at Rupees seven lakhs only. This amount is intended to cover all the expenses of the Ruler and his family, including expenses on account of his personal staff, maintenance of his residences, marriages and other ceremonies, etc., and will neither be increased nor reduced for any reason whatsoever. The Government of India undertakes the said sum of Rupees eight lakhs fifty thousand shall be paid to His Highness the Maharaja in four equal installments in advance at the beginning of each quarter from the State Treasury or at such Treasury as may be specified by the Government of India.

Article 4

His Highness the Maharaja shall be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all private properties (as distinct from State properties) belonging to him on the date of this agreement. His Highness the Maharaja will furnish to the Dominion Government before the 15th September 1949, an inventory of all the immovable property, securities and cash balances held by him as such private property. If any dispute arises as to whether any item of property is the private property of His Highness the Maharaja or State property, it shall be referred to a Judicial Officer qualified to be appointed as High Court Judge, and the decision of that Officer shall be final and binding on both parties.

Article 5

All the members of His Highness' family shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them whether within or outside the territories of the State, immediately before the 15th day of August 1947.

Article 6

The Dominion Government guarantees the succession, according to law and custom, to the *Gaddi* of the State and to His Highness the Maharaja's personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles.

Article 7

No enquiry shall be made by or under the authority of the Government of India, and no proceedings shall lie in any court in Cooch Behar against His Highness the Maharaja, whether in a personal capacity or otherwise, in respect of anything done or omitted to be done by him or under his authority during the period of his administration of that State.

Article 8

(i) The Government of India hereby guarantees either the continuants in service of the permanent members of the public services of Cooch Behar on conditions

which will be not less advantageous than those on which they were serving before the date on which the administration of Cooch Behar is made over to the Government of India or the payment of reasonable compensation.

(ii) The Government of India further guarantees the continuance of pensions and leave salaries sanctioned by His Highness the Maharaja to servants of the State who have retired or proceed on leave preparatory to retirement, before the date on which the administration of Cooch Behar is made over to the Government of India.

Article 9

Except with the previous sanction of the Government of India no proceedings, civil and criminal, shall be instituted against any person in respect of any act done or purporting to be done in the execution of his duties as a servant of the State before the day on which the administration is made over to the Government of India. In confirmation whereof Mr. Vapal Pangunni Menon, Advisor to the Govt. of India in the Ministry of States has appended his signature on behalf and with the authority of the Governor General of India and Lieutenant Colonel His Highness the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of Cooch Behar, has appended his signature on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors. In confirmation whereof Mr. Vapal Pangunni Menon, Advisor to the Govt. of India in the Ministry of States has appended his signature on behalf and with the authority of the Governor General of India and Lieutenant Colonel His Highness the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of Cooch Behar, has appended his signature on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors.

Jagaddipendra Narayan V.P. Menon

Maharaja of Cooch Behar Advisor to the Govt. of India

Ministry of States

Appendix IV

Agreement relating to Border Disputes (East Pakistan)

September 10, 1958

AGREEMENT BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN ON BORDER DISPUTES (EAST PAKISTAN)

New Delhi

In accordance with the directives issued by the Two Prime Ministers, the Secretaries discussed this morning the following disputes.

□ West Bengal - East Pakistan

1. Bagge Awards in disputes I and 11.
2. Hilli.

3. Berubari Union No. 12.
4. Demarcation of Indo-Pakistan frontier so as to include the two chitlands of old Cooch Behar State adjacent to Radcliffe

Line in West Bengal.

5. 24-Parganas-Yhulna -Jessore 24-Parganas Boundary disputes

Assam-East Pakistan

6. Pakistan claim to Bholaganj.
7. Piyain and Sumra-Boundary disputes.

Tripura-East Pakistan

8. Tripura land under Pakistan railway and Tripura land to the west of the railway line at Bhagalpur.
9. Feni river-Boundary dispute.

West Bengal-East Pakistan

10. Exchange of enclaves of the old Cooch Behar State- in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in India. Claim to territorial compensation for extra area going to Pakistan.

□ As a result of the discussions, the following agreements were arrived at :

1. Bagge Awards on disputes I and II.

It was agreed that the exchange of territories as a result of demarcations should take place by 15 January, 1959.

2. Hilli.

Pakistan Government agrees to drop this dispute. The position will remain as it is at present in accordance with the Award made by Sir Cyril Radcliffe and in accordance with the line drawn by him on the map.

3. Berubari Union No. 12.

This will be so divided as to give half the area to Pakistan, the other half adjacent to India being retained by India. The division of Berubari Union No. 12 will be horizontal starting from the north-east corner of Dobiganj thana. The division should be made in such a manner that the Cooch Behar enclaves between Pachgar thana of East Pakistan and Berubari Union No. 12 of Jalpaiguri thana of West Bengal will remain connected as at present with Indian territory and will remain in India. The Cooch Behar enclaves lower down between Beda thana of East Pakistan and Berubari No. 12 will be exchanged along with the general exchange of enclaves and will go to Pakistan.

4. Pakistan Government agree that the two chitlands of the old Cooch Behar State adjacent to Radcliffe Line should be included in West Bengal and the Radcliffe Line should be adjusted accordingly.

5. 24-Parganas-Khulna 24-Parganas--Jessore Boundary disputes

It is agreed that the mean of the two respective claims of India and Pakistan should be adopted, taking the river as a guide, as far as possible, in the case of the latter dispute. (Ichamati river).

6. Pakistan Government agrees to drop their claim on Bholaganj.

7. Piyain an& Surma river regions to be demarcated in accordance with the relevant notifications, cadastral survey maps and, if necessary, record of rights. Whatever the result of this demarcation might be, thenationals of both the Governments to have the facility of navigation on both of these rivers.

8. Government of India agrees to give in perpetual right to Pakistan the land belonging to Tripura State to the west of the railwayline as well as the land appurtenant to the railway line at Bhagalpur.

9. The question of the Feni river to be dealt with separately after further study.

10. Exchange of old Cooch Behar enclaves in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in India without claim to compensation for extra area going to Pakistan, is agreed to.

The Secretaries also agreed that the question of giving effect to the exchange of territory as a result of the demarcation already carried out, should be given early consideration.

M.S.A. BAIG, M.J. DESAI,

Foreign Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs Commonwealth Secretary,
and Commonwealth Relations, Ministry of External Affairs,
Government of Pakistan. Government of India.
New Delhi, 10th September, 1958

Appendix V
Land Boundary Agreement (Indira-Mujib Treaty)
16 May, 1974
Agreement

Between the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Government of the Republic of India concerning the Demarcation of the Land Boundary between Bangladesh and India and related matters. The Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Government of the Republic of India, Bearing in mind the friendly relations existing between the two countries,

Desiring to define more accurately at certain points and to complete the demarcation of the land boundary between Bangladesh and India,

Have agreed as follows:-

Article 1

The land boundary between Bangladesh and India in the areas mentioned below shall be demarcated in the following manner:

1. Mizoram-Bangladesh Sector.- Demarcation should be completed on the basis of the latest repartition notifications and records.
2. Tripura-Sylhet Sector.- Demarcation which is already in progress in this area on the agreed basis, should be completed as early as possible.
3. Bhagalpur Railway Line.- The boundary should be demarcated at a distance of 73 feet parallel to the toe of the railway embankment towards the east.
4. Sibpur-Gaurangala Sector.- The boundary should be demarcated in continuation of the process started in 1951-52 on the basis of the District Settlement Maps of 1915-1918.
5. Muhuri River (Belonia) Sector.- The boundary in this area should be demarcated along the mid-stream of the course of Muhuri River at the time of demarcation. The boundary will be a fixed boundary. The two Governments should raise embankments on their respective sides with a view to stabilising the river in its present course.
6. Remaining portion of the Tripura-Noakhali/Comilla Sector.- The demarcation in this sector should be completed on the basis of Chakla-Roshanabad Estate Maps of 1892-1894 and the District Settlement Maps of 1915-1918 for areas not covered by the Chakla-Roshanabad Maps.
7. Fenny River.- The boundary should be demarcated along the mid-stream of the course at the time of demarcation of that branch of the Fenny River indicated as the Fenny river on Survey of India Map sheet No. 79 M/15, 1st Edition 1935, till it joins the stream shown as Asalong C on the said map. From that point on, downstream, the boundary should be demarcated along the mid-stream of the course of the Fenny River at the time of demarcation of the boundary. The boundary in this sector will be a fixed boundary.
8. Rest of Tripura-Chittagong Hill Tracts Sector.- The boundary will follow the mid-stream of that branch of the Fenny River, referred to in para 7 above, up to Grid reference 009779 (map sheet as in para 7 above) from where the boundary will follow the mid-stream of the eastern-most tributary. From the source of this tributary, the boundary will run along the shortest distance to the mid-stream of the stream marked Bayan Asalong, on the map referred to above, and thence will run generally northwards along the mid-stream of this river till it reaches its source on the ridge (indicated by grid reference 046810 on the map referred to above). From there it will run along the crest of this ridge up to Boghoban Trig Station. From Boghoban Trig Station up to the trijunction of the Bangladesh-Assam-Tripura boundary (Khan Talang Trig Station), the boundary will run along the watershed of the river systems of the two countries. In case of any differences between the map and the ground, the ground shall prevail. The boundary will be a fixed boundary in this sector.

9. Beanibazar-Karimganj Sector.- The undemarcated portion of the boundary west of Umapati village should be demarcated in accordance with the agreed basis of demarcation, leaving Umapati village in India.

10. Hakar Khal.- The boundary should be demarcated in accordance with the Nehru-Noon Agreement of September, 1958, treating Hakar Khal as a geographical feature distinct from the Ichhamati River. The boundary will be a fixed boundary.

11. Baikari Khal.- In the Baikari Khal, the boundary should be demarcated on the agreed basis and principles, namely, that the ground shall prevail, *i.e.* as per the agreement reached between the Directors of Land Records and Surveys of West Bengal and erstwhile East Pakistan in 1949. The boundary will be a fixed boundary.

12. Enclaves.- The Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and the Bangladesh enclaves in India should be exchanged expeditiously, excepting the enclaves mentioned in paragraph 14 without claim to compensation for the additional area going to Bangladesh.

13. Hilli.- The area will be demarcated in accordance with Radcliffe Award and the line drawn by him on the map.

14. Berubari.- India will retain the southern half of South Berubari Union No. 12 and the adjacent enclaves, measuring an area of 2.64 square miles approximately, and in exchange Bangladesh will retain the Dahagram and Angarpota enclaves. India will lease in perpetuity to Bangladesh an area of 178 metres x 85 metres near 'Tin Bigha' to connect Dahagram with Panbari Mouza (P.S. Patgram) of Bangladesh.

15. Lathitilla-Dumabari.- From point Y (the last demarcated boundary pillar position), the boundary shall run southwards along the Patheria Hills RF boundary up to the point where it meets the western boundary of Dumabari Mouza. Thence, along the same Mouza boundary up to the tri-junction of Mouzas Dumabari, Lathitilla and Bara Putnigaon through the junction of the two Mouzas Dumabari and Lathitilla. From this point it shall run along the shortest distance to meet the mid-stream of Putni Chara. Thence it shall run generally southwards along the mid-stream of the course of Putni Chara at the time of demarcation, till it meets the boundary between Sylhet (Bangladesh) and Tripura (India).

Article 2

The Governments of Bangladesh and India agree that territories in adverse possession in areas already demarcated in respect of which boundary strip maps are already prepared, shall be exchanged within six months of the signing of the boundary strip maps by the plenipotentiaries. They may sign the relevant maps as early as possible and in any case not later than the 31st December, 1974. Early measures may be taken to print maps in respect of other areas where demarcation has already taken place. These should be printed by 31st May, 1975 and signed by the plenipotentiaries thereafter in order that the exchange of

adversely held possessions in these areas may take place by 31st December, 1975. In sectors still to be demarcated transfer of territorial jurisdiction may take place within six months of the signature by plenipotentiaries on the concerned boundary strip maps.

Article 3

The Governments of Bangladesh and India agree that when areas are transferred, the people in these areas shall be given the right of staying on where they are, as nationals of the State to which the areas are transferred. Pending demarcation of the boundary and exchange of territory by mutual agreement, there should be no disturbance of the *status quo* and peaceful conditions shall be maintained in the border regions. Necessary instructions in this regard shall be issued to the local authorities on the border by the two countries.

Article 4

The Governments of Bangladesh and India agree that any dispute concerning the interpretation or implementation of this Agreement shall be settled peacefully through mutual consultations.

Article 5

This Agreement shall be subject to ratification by the Governments of Bangladesh and India and Instruments of Ratification shall be exchanged as early as possible. The Agreement shall take effect from the date of the exchange of the Instruments of Ratification.

Signed in New Delhi on May 16, 1974, in two originals each of which is equally authentic.

For the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh
 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman
 Prime Minister of Bangladesh

For the Government of the Republic of India
 Indira Gandhi
 Prime Minister of India

Appendix VI

Tin Bigha lease terms agreement 7 October 1982

Agreement regarding Tin Bigha Lease, reached by exchange of letters on 7 October 1982 between P.V. Narasimha Rao, Minister of External Affairs, India and A.R. Shams-ud-Doha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh.

1. The lease in perpetuity of the aforementioned area shall be for the purpose of connecting Dahagram and Angarpota with Panbari *Mouza* (P.S.Patgram) of Bangladesh to enable the Bangladesh Government to exercise her sovereignty over Dahagram and Angarpota.
2. Sovereignty over the leased area shall continue to vest in India. The rent for the leased area shall be Bangladesh Tk. 1/- (Bangladesh Taka One) only per annum. Bangladesh shall not, however, be required to pay the said rent and the Government of India hereby waives its right to charge such rent in respect of the leased area.
3. For the purposes stated in para. 1 above Bangladesh shall have undisturbed possession and use of the area leased to her in perpetuity.
4. Bangladesh citizens including paramilitary and military personnel along with their arms, ammunition, equipment and supplies shall have the right of free and unfettered movement in the leased area and shall not be required to carry passports or travel documents of any kind. Movement of Bangladesh goods through the leased area shall also be free. There shall be no requirement of payment of customs duty, tax or levy of any kind whatsoever or any transit charges.
5. Indian citizens including police, paramilitary and military personnel along with their arms, ammunition, equipment and supplies shall continue to have the right of free and unfettered movement in the leased area in either direction. Movement of Indian goods across the leased area shall also be free. For the purposes of such passage the existing road running across it shall continue to be used. India may also build a road above and or below the surface of the leased area in an elevated or subway form for her exclusive use in a manner which will not prejudice free and unfettered movement of Bangladesh citizens and goods as defined in paras 1 and 4 above.
6. The two governments shall cooperate in placing permanent markers along the perimeters of the leased area and put up fences where necessary.
7. Both India and Bangladesh shall have the right to lay cables, electric lines, water and sewerage pipes etc. over or under the leased area without obstructing free movement of citizens or goods of either country as defined in paras 4 and 5 above.
8. The modalities for implementing the terms of the lease will be entrusted to the respective Deputy Commissioners of Rangpur (Bangladesh) and Cooch Behar (India). In case of differences, they will refer the matter to their respective Governments for resolution.
9. In the event of any Bangladesh/Indian national being involved in an incident in the leased area, constituting an offence in law, he shall be dealt with by the respective law enforcing agency of his own country in accordance with its national laws. In the event of an incident in the leased area involving nationals of both countries, the law enforcing agency on the scene of the incident will take necessary steps to restore law and order. At the same time

immediate steps will be taken to get in touch with the law enforcing agency of the other country. In such cases, any Indian national apprehended by a Bangladesh law enforcing agency shall be handed over forthwith to the Indian side and any Bangladeshi national apprehended by an Indian law enforcing agency shall be handed over forthwith to the Bangladesh side. India will retain residual jurisdiction in the leased area.

Appendix VII

Protocol to the Agreement between India and Bangladesh concerning the demarcation of the land boundary between India and Bangladesh and related matters

September 06, 2011

The Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh,

Bearing in mind the friendly relations existing between the two countries, Desiring to define more accurately at certain points and to complete the demarcation of the land boundary between India and Bangladesh, Having regard to the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh concerning the demarcation of the land boundary between India and Bangladesh and related matters, May 16, 1974 and Exchange of Letters dated December 26, 1974; December 30, 1974; October 7, 1982; and March 26, 1992 (hereinafter referred to as the 1974 Agreement),

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

The provisions of this Protocol shall form an integral part of the 1974 Agreement.

ARTICLE 2

(I) Article 1 Clause 5 of the 1974 Agreement shall be implemented as follows:

Muhuri River (Belonia) sector

Boundary in this segment shall be drawn westwards from the existing Boundary Pillar No. 2159/48-S along the agreed line as depicted in the index map prepared jointly till it meets the southern limit of the Burning Ghat as shown in jointly surveyed map of Muhuri river area in 1977-78. Thereafter it shall follow the external limit of the Burning Ghat in South-West direction and then turn northwards along the external limit of the Burning Ghat till it meets the centre of the existing Muhuri River. Thereafter it shall run along the mid stream of the existing Muhuri River upto Boundary Pillar No. 2159/3-S. This boundary shall

be the fixed boundary. The two Governments should raise embankments on their respective sides with a view to stabilising the river in its present course as stipulated in the 1974 Agreement. The Parties agree to fencing on 'zero line' in this area.

(II) Article 1 Clause 12 of the 1974 Agreement shall be implemented as follows:

Enclaves

111 Indian Enclaves in Bangladesh and 51 Bangladesh Enclaves in India as per the jointly verified cadastral enclave maps and signed at the level of DGLR&S, Bangladesh and DLR&S, West Bengal (India) in April 1997, shall be exchanged without claim to compensation for the additional areas going to Bangladesh.

(III) Article 1 Clause 15 of the 1974 Agreement shall be implemented as follows:

Lathitilla and Dumabari

Line drawn by Radcliffe from Boundary Pillar 1397 (point Y) i.e. the last demarcated boundary pillar position, straight southward to the tri-junction of Mouzas Dumabari, Lathitilla and Bara Putnigaon i.e. upto iron bridge, and thence it shall run generally southwards along the midstream of the course of Putni Chara as already demarcated on the ground, till it meets the boundary between Sylhet (Bangladesh) and Tripura (India) i.e. Boundary Pillar No. 1800.

(IV) The land boundary in the area mentioned below shall be demarcated in the following manner: Daikhata 56 (West Bengal-Jalpaiguri) / Panchagarh

Boundary in this segment shall be drawn as fixed boundary from existing Boundary Pillar 774/32-S in the strip sheet 444/6 along the mouza boundary of Daikhata-56 as surveyed in 1997-98 and thereafter will follow the southern boundary of Daikhata-56 (from east to west) upto Point No 18 and therefrom it will follow the western boundary of Daikhata-56 (from south to north) till it meets the center of River Sui at Point No 15 and thereafter, will run along the center of the River Sui upto Point No 1, the points as depicted in the sketch map jointly prepared and mutually agreed on August 3, 2011. Thereafter the International Boundary shall follow the already delineated boundary through Main Pillar (MP) 775.

ARTICLE 3

(I) Article 2 of the 1974 Agreement shall be implemented as follows:

The Government of India and the Government of Bangladesh agree that the boundary shall be drawn as a fixed boundary for territories held in Adverse Possession as determined through joint survey and fully depicted in the respective adversely possessed land area index map (APL map) finalized by the Land Records and Survey Departments of both the countries between December 2010 and August 2011, which are fully described in clause (a) to (d) below. The relevant strip maps shall be printed and signed by the Plenipotentiaries and transfer of territorial jurisdiction shall be completed simultaneously with the

exchange of the enclaves. The demarcation of the boundary, as depicted in the above-mentioned Index Maps, shall be as under:

(a) West Bengal Sector

(i) Bousmari – Madhugari (Kushtia-Nadia) area The boundary shall be drawn from the existing Boundary Pillar Nos. 154/5-S to 157/1-S to follow the centre of old course of river Mathabanga, as depicted in consolidation map of 1962, as surveyed jointly and agreed in June 2011.

(ii) Andharkota (Kushtia-Nadia) area The boundary shall be drawn from existing Boundary Pillar No 152/5-S to Boundary Pillar No 153/1-S to follow the edge of existing River Mathabanga as jointly surveyed and agreed in June 2011.

(iii) Pakuria (Kushtia-Nadia) area The boundary shall be drawn from existing Boundary Pillar No 151/1-S to Boundary Pillar No 152/2-S to follow the edge of River Mathabanga as jointly surveyed and agreed in June 2011.

(iv) Char Mahishkundi (Kushtia-Nadia) area The boundary shall be drawn from existing Boundary Pillar No 153/1-S to Boundary Pillar No 153/9-S to follow the edge of River Mathabanga as jointly surveyed and agreed in June 2011.

(v) Haripal/ Khutadah/ Battoli/ Sapameri/ LNpur (Patari) (Naogaon Malda) area The boundary shall be drawn as line joining from existing Boundary Pillar No 242/S/13, to Boundary Pillar No 243/7-S/5 and as jointly surveyed and agreed in June 2011.

(vi) Berubari (Panchagarh-Jalpaiguri area) The boundary in the area Berubari (Panchagarh-Jalpaiguri) adversely held by Bangladesh, and Berubari and Singhapara-Khudipara (Panchagarh-Jalpaiguri), adversely held by India shall be drawn as jointly demarcated during 1996-1998.

(b) Meghalaya Sector

(i) Lobachera-Nuncherra The boundary from existing Boundary Pillar No 1315/4-S to Boundary Pillar No 1315/15-S in Lailong -Balichera, Boundary Pillar No 1316/1-S to Boundary Pillar No 1316/11-S in Lailong-Noonchera, Boundary Pillar No 1317 to Boundary Pillar No 1317/13-S in Lailong-Lahiling and Boundary Pillar No 1318/1-S to Boundary Pillar No 1318/2-S in Lailong-Lubhachera shall be drawn to follow the edge of tea gardens as jointly surveyed and agreed in Dec 2010.

(ii) Pyrdivah/ Padua Area The boundary shall be drawn from existing Boundary Pillar No 1270/1-S as per jointly surveyed and mutually agreed line till Boundary Pillar No 1271/1-T. The Parties agree that the Indian Nationals from Pyrdivah villages shall be allowed to draw water from Piyang River near point No 6 of the agreed Map.

(iii) Lyngkhat Area

(aa) Lyngkhat-I / Kulumcherra & Lyngkhat-II/ Kulumcherra

The boundary shall be drawn from existing Boundary Pillar No. 1264/4-S to Boundary Pillar No 1265 and BP No 1265/6-S to 1265/9-S as per jointly surveyed and mutually agreed line.

(ab) Lyngkhat-III/ Sonarhat

The boundary shall be drawn from existing Boundary Pillar No 1266/13-S along the nallah southwards till it meets another nallah in the east-west direction, thereafter it shall run along the northern edge of the nallah in east till it meets the existing International Boundary north of Reference Pillar Nos. 1267/4-R-B and 1267/3-R I.

(iv) Dawki/ Tamabil area The boundary shall be drawn by a straight line joining existing Boundary Pillar Nos 1275/1-S to Boundary Pillar Nos 1275/7-S. The Parties agree to fencing on 'zero line' in this area.

(v) Naljuri/ Sreepur Area

(aa) Naljuri I

The boundary shall be a line from the existing Boundary Pillar No 1277/2-S in southern direction upto three plots as depicted in the strip Map No 166 till it meets the nallah flowing from Boundary Pillar No 1277/5-T, thereafter it will run along the western edge of the nallah in the southern direction upto 2 plots on the Bangladesh side, thereafter it shall run eastwards till it meets a line drawn in southern direction from Boundary Pillar No 1277/4-S.

(ab) Naljuri III

The boundary shall be drawn by a straight line from existing Boundary Pillar No 1278/2-S to Boundary Pillar No 1279/3-S.

(vi) Muktapur/ Dibir Hawor Area

The Parties agree that the Indian Nationals shall be allowed to visit Kali Mandir and shall also be allowed to draw water and exercise fishing rights in the water body in the Muktapur / Dibir Hawor area from the bank of Muktapur side.

(c) Tripura Sector

(i) Chandannagar-Champarai Tea Garden area in Tripura/ Moulvi Bazar sector

The boundary shall be drawn along Sonaraichhera river from existing Boundary Pillar No 1904 to Boundary Pillar No 1905 as surveyed jointly and agreed in July 2011.

(d) Assam Sector

(i) Kalabari (Boroibari) area in Assam sector The boundary shall be drawn from existing Boundary Pillar No 1066/24-T to Boundary Pillar No 1067/16-T as surveyed jointly and agreed in August 2011.

(ii) Pallathal area in Assam sector

The boundary shall be drawn from existing Boundary Pillar No. 1370/3-S to 1371/6-S to follow the outer edge of the tea garden and from Boundary Pillar No. 1372 to 1373/2-S along outer edge of the pan plantation.

ARTICLE 4

This Protocol shall be subject to ratification by the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and shall enter into force on the date of exchange of Instruments of Ratification. Signed at Dhaka on the Sixth day of September, 2011, in two originals in the English language. For the Government of the Republic of India For the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Appendix VIII

List of bilateral documents signed, exchanged, adopted and handed over during the visit of Prime Minister of India to Bangladesh

June 06, 2015

1. Exchange of Instruments of Ratification of 1974 Land Boundary Agreement and its 2011 Protocol
2. Exchange of letters on Modalities for implementation of 1974 Land Boundary Agreement and its 2011 Protocol
3. Bilateral Trade Agreement (renewal)
4. Agreement on Coastal Shipping between Bangladesh and India
5. Protocol on Inland Water Transit and Trade (renewal)
6. Bilateral Cooperation Agreement between Bangladesh Standards & Testing Institution (BSTI) and Bureau of Indian Standards (BIS) on Cooperation in the field of Standardization.
7. Agreement on Dhaka-Shillong-Guwahati Bus Service and its Protocol
8. Agreement on Kolkata-Dhaka-Agartala Bus Service and its Protocol
9. Memorandum of Understanding between Coast Guards
10. Memorandum of Understanding on Prevention of Human Trafficking
11. Memorandum of Understanding on Prevention of Smuggling and Circulation Fake Currency Notes
12. Memorandum of Understanding between Bangladesh and India and for Extending a New Line of Credit (LoC) of US\$ 2 billion by Government of India to Government of Bangladesh
13. Memorandum of Understanding on Blue Economy and Maritime Cooperation in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean
14. Memorandum of Understanding on Use of Chittagong and Mongla Ports

15. Memorandum of Understanding for a Project under IECC (India Endowment for Climate Change) of SAARC
16. Memorandum of Understanding on Indian Economic Zone
17. Cultural Exchange Programme for the years 2015-17
18. Statement of Intent on Bangladesh-India Education Cooperation (adoption)
19. Agreement between Bangladesh Submarine Cable Company Limited (BSCCL) and Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) for leasing of international bandwidth for internet at Akhaura
20. Memorandum of Understanding between University of Dhaka, Bangladesh and Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, India for Joint Research on Oceanography of the Bay of Bengal
21. Memorandum of Understanding between University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh and University of Jamia Milia Islamia, India
22. Handing over of Consent Letter by Insurance Development and Regulatory Authority (IDRA), Bangladesh to Life Insurance Corporation (LIC), India to start operations in Bangladesh

Appendix IX

Exchange of Modalities of Enclave Exchange, 2015

Press Release

Text of Exchange of Letters on Modalities for Implementation of India
Bangladesh

Land Boundary Agreement, 1974 and Protocol of 2011 to the Land
Boundary Agreement

FOREIGN SECRETARY
MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NO. 9596/FS/2015
NEW DELHI – 110011
PHONE : 23012318 FAX : 23016781
EMAIL: DIRFS@MEA.GOV.IN

JUNE 6, 2015

Excellency,

In pursuance of the exchange of instrument of ratification between our two Governments on June 6, 2015 to bring into effect the agreement between the Government of the republic of India and the Government of the people's Republic of Bangladesh concerning the demarcation of land boundary between India and Bangladesh and related matters, 1974 and 2011 protocol to the set agreement. I have the honor to propose the following subsequent steps to implement the said agreement and protocol.

I. Enclaves

- (i). India and Bangladesh agree that the Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and Bangladeshi enclaves in India exchanged pursuant to the 1974 Agreement and 2011 Protocol shall stand transferred to the other with effect from the midnight of July 31, 2015. This shall be referred to as the “Appointed Day”.
- (ii). Prior to the appointed day, representatives of the two Governments shall conduct a joint visit to the enclaves for the following purposes:
- a. Informing the residents of the enclaves of the provisions content in the 1974 agreement and the 2011 protocol, including their rights relating to nationality and citizenship;
 - b. Identifying the residents who wish to continue to retain the nationality they hold prior to the actual transfer of territory. This right is available only to those residents who are included in the joint headcount of the population of the enclave finalized and exchanged by the two governments in July 2011 and to the children born to such residents from July 2011 till date;
 - c. Collection of data, including photographs, required for issue of entry enclave resident choosing to retain his original nationality;