

# DEVELOPMENT IN ERSTWHILE ENCLAVES OF INDIA AND BANGLADESH: A POST-2015 LBA STUDY

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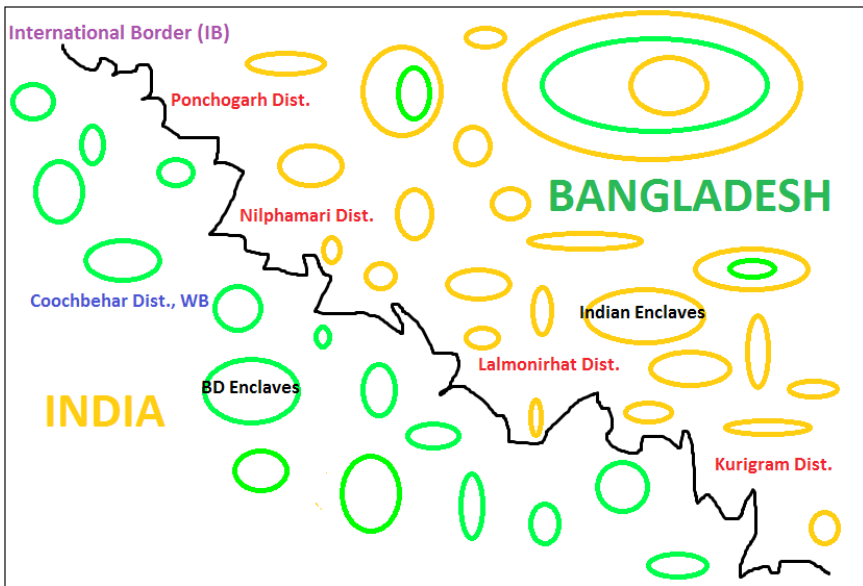
## Introduction

Until a few years back, there were some slivers of land in the neighbouring countries of independent India and Bangladesh which belonged to the other country, in which lived a separate class of “stateless people”. In 1947, when India was divided into two parts, dividing communities of poor people living adjacent to the international boundary (IB), it resulted in the drawing of a porous border which virtually turned them into marginalized “enclaves’ people”. These ill-fated people were forced to live in ‘no-man’s land,’ or as ‘nowhere people,’ till 67 years after India’s Independence and partition due to a travesty of historical and political destiny

Enclave or exclave (*Chhitmahal* in Bengali) refers to a portion of territory of one country, which is wholly separated from its mainland, completely surrounded by the territory of a foreign country. More clearly, the land geographically, completely separated from its mainland and is fully cordoned by a foreign country. “From the point of view of the state in which it is located, it is termed as an enclave and the state to which it belongs to is an exclave” (Schendel2005). But for the present study, the two terms enclave and exclave are used synonymously. Apart from one non-exchangeable enclave in Indian territory, 111 exchangeable Indian Enclaves inside Bangladesh and 51 exchangeable Bangladeshi Enclaves inside India had been identified (Report 1996). These included a few “2nd-order enclaves” or “counter-enclave” (i.e. enclave within an enclave) as well as a “3rd-order enclave” or “counter-counter enclave” (i.e. a Bangladeshi enclave surrounded by an Indian enclave, which itself is surrounded

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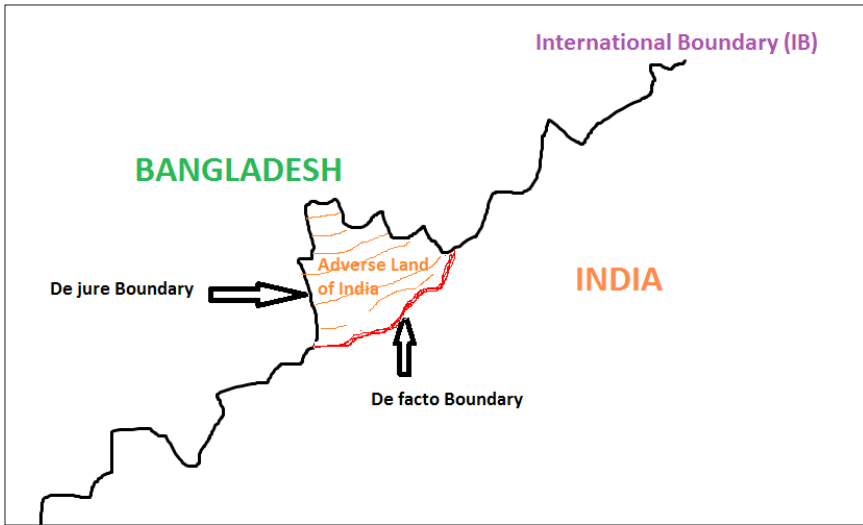
by another Bangladeshi enclave). All these exchangeable 162 enclaves in India and Bangladesh contained a total population of 53,384 (MEA, Exchange of Enclaves between India and Bangladesh, 2015). In India, all these splinters of Bangladesh were in the District of Coochbehar (CB) under the State of West Bengal (WB). On the other hand, in Bangladesh, these slices of India were located in four districts under Rangpur Division, of which 59 were in Lalmonirhat District, 36 were in Ponchogarh District, 12 were in Kurigram District and 4 were in Nilphamari District (Jugantor, 2015). These disjointed territories within these two countries created an inhuman situation for the enclaves' people and they were compelled to sustain their existence under a difficult situation of statelessness without any state aid or support from either side.



Map 1: Map of Enclaves

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Apart from these, there were 35 Indian Lands under Adverse Possession of Bangladesh and 42 Bangladeshi Lands under Adverse Possession of India (Faculty of Studies 2001). There were several places along the Indo-Bangladesh Border, where lands falling on the Indian side of the demarcated IB [i.e. *De-jure* Boundary] were actually occupied by Bangladesh (i.e. Indian land under Bangladesh occupation) and vice versa (i.e. Bangladeshi land under Indian occupation). Thus, the *de-facto* boundary (i.e. the actual line of control) did not coincide with the *de-jure* boundary (i.e. demarcated boundary) in reality. The land falling in between the *de-jure* and the



Map 2: Map of Adverse Possession

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*de-facto* boundary is called ‘Adverse Possession’ (Chatterjee 2011). In India, these ‘adverse possessions’ were located in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and West Bengal.

Inhabitants of these enclaves in both the countries sustained their lives without any state support, Constitutional rights and basic amenities for their livelihoods year after year. Being completely surrounded by the territory of a foreign state, they couldn’t even travel to their “motherland” by crossing the territory of the foreign state. On the other hand, governmental support systems of the mother state couldn’t get any access to these enclaves due to the barrier of an international boundary in between. Thus, the inhabitants of the enclaves were unjustly deprived from availing governmental services, essential facilities and basic opportunities for their livelihoods from their respective mother states for a long 67 years after India’s Independence and Partition. This state of affairs continued until the signing of the historic Land Boundary Agreement (LBA) between India and Bangladesh in the year 2015, by virtue of which these unfortunate people were released from their state of exile within the enclaves.

### Backdrop of the Study

Before we embark on the study, we need to first look at the historical contexts in which the enclaves came to be formed. Enclaves in India

and Bangladesh were created as a result of a variety of historical, political and geographical contexts, and their history goes all the way to the timewhen Shahjahan was the Mughal Emperor and Raja Pranaranayana was the King of Coochbehar (CB) Estate during 1632 to 1658. Raja Pranaranayana occupied a certain portion of territory within the Mughal territory by defeating the Mughal Emperor. Thus, the King of CB ruled over some portions of lands which were completely surrounded by lands belonging to the Mughal Empire. Similarly the Mughals also wrested some portion of territory within the CBE state, which later came under the rule of the Maharaja of Rangpur (Studyacer 2010). These territories were geographically separated from the CB and Rangpur Estates, ruled by one emperor within the jurisdiction of the other estate. The erstwhile Indian enclaves, those now situated inside Bangladesh, were the property of the Raja of CB and the erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves, those that now lie inside India, were the property of the Maharaja of Rangpur prior to India's independence and partition. "As per historical records, such little territories were apparently the result of a confused outcome of a 1713 treaty between the Kingdom of CB and the Mughal Empire. Possibly, the Kingdom and the Mughals ended a war without determining a single boundary for what territories had been gained or lost"(Wikipedia 2008). According to an unverified popular legend, these slices of land were used as stakes in card or chess games or other forms of gambling centuries ago between two regional kings, the Raja of CB and the Maharaja of Rangpur. "In 1947, when the British finally left India after almost two centuries, they created two countries, India and Pakistan, out of one. In order to partition the country, they brought in a lawyer, Cyril Radcliffe, to demarcate the boundary between India and what was to become Pakistan, who demarcated the India-Pakistan border in straight lines cutting across territories"(Butalia 2002). The fact that the two states of CB and Rangpur chose not to join either India or Pakistan at the time of Independence also played a significant role in the process of creation of these enclaves. In 1949, CB joined India and in 1952, Rangpur chose to be part of Pakistan. "What posed a problem was the fact that over time, they had been conquering each other's territories"(Kaur 2002). The combined effect of all these incidents resulted in the creation of enclaves of India inside Bangladesh and vice-versa.

Governmental endeavour to "de-enclave" was firstly manifested through the Nehru-Noon Agreement in 1958 on the exchange of enclaves between India and the then Pakistan, but the matter then hanged on a Supreme Court case in India. With reference

to the said 1958 Agreement, negotiations were resumed after East Pakistan became an independent country as Bangladesh in 1971. In 1974, the Indira-Mujib Treaty of Friendship was able to conclude the Land Boundary Agreement (LBA), 1974, which sought to resolve this complex problem of border demarcation except for three outstanding issues pertaining to: (i) Exchange of enclaves; (ii) Settlement of adverse possession; (iii) Undemarcated land boundary of approximately 6.1 km in three sectors (MEA, Land Boundary Agreement Protocol between India and Bangladesh 2011). As an outcome of the said LBA, 1974, India was to hand over the sovereignty of the Tin Bigha Corridor, a strip of Indian land covering an area of 178 by 85 metres (584 ft × 279 ft) and thereby allowing access to the Dahagram–Angarpota (D-A) Bangladeshi enclave. On the other hand, Bangladesh was to hand over the South Berubari area covering an area of 7.39 sq. kms. (2.85 sq mi) (Corridor 2008). Bangladesh duly handed over the sovereignty of the smaller South Berubari to India instantly in 1974. India, however, could not lease out the Tin Bigha Corridor to Bangladesh till 1992, as it required Constitutional amendment which could not be done due to political reasons in India. Finally, on 26th June, 1992, as a counterpart of the 1974 LBA package, the Tin Bigha Corridor was leased out by India to Bangladesh in perpetuity, giving her access to D-A Enclave in order to enable her to exercise sovereignty on this twin enclave. The twin D-A is the largest Bangladeshi Enclave and is separated from the contiguous area of Bangladesh at its closest point by 178 metres (584 ft).

For the exchange of enclaves, the redrawing of the international boundary and the maintenance of status quo of adverse possessions, India required a constitutional amendment as per Article 368 of its Constitution. Although Bangladesh duly ratified the said agreement, India failed to pass the necessary constitutional amendment for the purpose. In September 2011, the Governments of India and Bangladesh again announced, by virtue of Monomohan-Hasina LBA, the intention to resolve the issue by means of swapping 162 enclaves. In India, 119th Constitution Amendment Bill, 2013, was put forward to give effect to this proposed land exchange, but India again failed to pass the amendment in its Parliament (Encyclopedia 2010).

After several postponements and delays in the settlement of the appalling condition of the people of these enclaves, their wretched saga of seven decades came to an end when India ratified the LBA with Bangladesh by its necessary Constitutional Amendment in May 2015. As a consequence, the aforesaid 111 Indian enclaves inside Bangladesh (covering an area of 17,160.63 acres) and 51



Map 3: Map of Tin Bigha Corridor

exchangeable Bangladeshi enclaves inside India (covering an area of 7,110.02 acres) along with 35 Indian Landsunder Adverse Possession of Bangladesh (covering an area of 2267.682 acres) and 42 Bangladeshi Lands under Adverse Possession of India (covering an area of 2,777.038 acres) (MEA, India-Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement, 2015) had been exchanged between the two countries on 6th June, 2015 with only one exception. Dohogram-Angarpota, the twin Bangladeshi Enclave situated in Mehligunj Block under CB District of WB, India, covering a total area of 18.68 sq. Km (Wikipedia, Tin Bigha Corridor 2011) with a combined population of around 20,000 had not been exchanged and it still remains as an integrated part of Bangladesh as per LBA, 1974.

By virtue of the 2015 LBA Protocol, people residing in these enclaves were free to choose their nationality according to their own will. If they decided to stay on their birth soil by altering their citizenship (*e.g.* if a person of an Indian enclave residing within Bangladesh territory opted to stay in Bangladesh as a Bangladeshi Citizen), they would get all benefits of citizenship of the concerned state where they opted to live. On the other hand, if they wished to migrate into their mother state (*e.g.* if a person of Indian enclave residing within Bangladesh territory opted to migrate to the Indian mainland), they would also get all benefits of citizenship of the mother state in the concerned mainland. The concerned mother state would provide adequate rehabilitation packages to such people in their mainland. It had been expected from all corners that “this long overdue exchange would endeavour to harmonize India’s land boundaries and, more importantly, would improve the lives of all those residents of the enclaves who, by an unfortunate twist of fate, had been living without any national identity and without enjoying or ever knowing the quality of life enjoyed by their neighbours living just around these enclaves” (Das 2013). In the mean time, almost three years have passed after the execution of 2015 LBA. So, it is now the time to assess and evaluate the real impact of execution of 2015 LBA on the erstwhile enclaves’ people of India and Bangladesh. This study is an attempt to explore the present situation of the issue.\*

### Objectives of the Study

- (i) Assessment of level of acceptance of exchange of enclaves through 2015 LBA among the people of erstwhile enclaves of India and Bangladesh.
- (ii) Assessment of satisfaction levels of enclaves’ people about their decision regarding choice of citizenship by virtue of 2015 LBA.
- (iii) Assessment of satisfaction levels of the people of enclaves about the exchange deal and rehabilitation packages offered to them.
- (iv) Assessment of extent of implementation of rehabilitation packages for the people of erstwhile enclaves by the concerned state.
- (v) Assessment of extent of infrastructural developmental works initiated by the concerned state within the erstwhile enclaves under respective jurisdiction.
- (vi) Comparative analysis of the status of the people of erstwhile enclaves of India and Bangladesh after execution of 2015 LBA.

\* This study was concluded in 2017.

### Methodology and Materials

The study involved both primary and secondary data collected from various sources including empirical analysis of field survey data and analysis of literature survey. The data used for empirical analysis had been collected from field survey in form of personal interaction, interviews, group discussion and answers to the questionnaires. Secondary data were collected from Government reports / press releases, reports of previous researchers, concerned experts' opinions, articles, books, print and electronic media, internet sources etc. A questionnaire containing a series of effective questions had been set out to gather information from the people of erstwhile enclaves, Government officials, representatives of erstwhile enclaves' union, public representatives and from all other concerned persons/authorities, including previous researchers / academicians / experts.

Out of the total 51 erstwhile Bangladeshi Enclaves inside Indian territory, 17 enclaves of different sizes and population bases were randomly chosen for purposes of field survey conducted in May 2015, June 2016 and May 2017, which included six in Mekhligunj Block, two in Sitalkuchi Block, two in Mathabhanga Block and seven in Dinhata Block under CB District of WB, India, and interactions were conducted with a total 312 Bangladeshi enclaves' people.

During the field survey conducted in June 2016 and May 2017, all the three Enclaves Settlement Camps (Rehabilitation Camps) set up in Haldibari, Mekhligunj and Dinhata Blocks under CB District of WB, India, for temporary resettlement of the people who migrated to India from the erstwhile Indian enclaves in Bangladesh were also surveyed and interactions were conducted with a total of 113 people of the three Enclaves Settlement Camps, which included 38 from Haldibari Camp, 28 from Mekhligunj Camp and 47 from Dinhata Camp.

Out of the total 111 erstwhile Indian Enclaves in Bangladesh territory, 27 enclaves of different sizes and population bases were randomly chosen for field survey purpose conducted in June 2016 and May 2017, which included 17 in Lalmonirhat district, seven in Ponchogarh District and three in Kurigram District in Bangladesh and a total 466 people of erstwhile Indian enclaves were interacted with.



Table 1: Details of Bangladeshi Enclaves in Indiasurveyed during the field study

<i>Name of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves visited</i>	<i>Physically located in the Block of Coochbehar District, WB, India</i>	<i>Under the jurisdiction of Bangladeshi Police Station &amp; District</i>	<i>DL No.</i>	<i>Area in acres</i>	<i>Interacted with No. of Persons in the enclave</i>
1. Dhabalsati Mirgipur	Mekhligunij	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	15	173.88	24
2. Balapukhari	Mekhligunij	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	21	331.64	25
3. Chhit Kuchlibari	Mekhligunij	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	22	370.64	23
4. Chhit Panbari	Mekhligunij	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	18	108.59	7
5. Dhabalsati	Mekhligunij	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	13	60.45	5
6. Jotto Nijjama	Mekhligunij	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	3	87.54	9
7. Mahishmari	Sitalkuchi	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	54	122.77	14
8. Palampur	Sitalkuchi	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	64	506.54	31
9. Chhit Land of Jagatbar3	Mathabhanga	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	37	69.84	9
10. Chhit Bhanderdeha	Mathabhanga	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	67	39.96	8
11. Poaturkuthi	Dinhata	Lalmonirhat, Lalmonirhat	37	589.94	32
12. Paschim Bakalir Chhara	Dinhata	Bhurungamari, Lalmonirhat	38	151.98	11
13. Madhya Masaldanga	Dinhata	Bhurungamari, Lalmonirhat	3	136.66	18
14. Batrigachh I & II	Dinhata	Kaligunj, Lalmonirhat	81	577.37	34
15. Purba Masaldanga I & II	Dinhata	Bhurungamari, Lalmonirhat	11	153.89	14
16. Kismat Batrigachh	Dinhata	Kaliganj, Lalmonirhat	82	209.95	15
17. Dakshin Masaldanga I to VI	Dinhata	Bhurungamari, Lalmonirhat	06	571.38	33
Total No. of persons interacted with during field survey					312

Table 2: Details of Rehab Camps set up for the migrated Indian Enclaves' people surveyed during the field study

<i>Name of the Rehab Camp visited</i>	<i>Physically located in Block &amp; District of WB, India</i>	<i>No. of families accommodated in the camp</i>	<i>Erstwhile Indian enclaves wherefrom they were migrated</i>	<i>Religion of Migrants</i>	<i>Interacted with No. of persons</i>
1. Haldibari Rehab Camp	Haldibari, Cooch Behar	96	Dohola-Khagrabari, Balapara-Khagrabari, Najirganj, Salbari	All Hindus	38
2. Mekhliganj Rehab Camp	Mekhliganj, Cooch Behar	46	Banskata, Lotamari, Kharkharia, Gotamari Chhit, Kajaldighi	All Hindus except one	28
3. Dinhatata Rehab Camp	Dinhata, Cooch Behar	201	Dohola-Khagrabari, Balapara-Khagrabari, ChhotaGaralJhora I & II, Dasher Chhora	Mostly Hindus	47
Total No. of persons interacted with during field survey					113

Table 3: Details of Indian Enclaves in Bangladesh surveyed during the field study

<i>Name of erstwhile Indian enclaves visited</i>	<i>Physically located in the Police Station &amp; District in Bangladesh</i>	<i>Under the jurisdiction of Indian Police Station &amp; District</i>	<i>DL</i>		<i>Interacted with No. of Persons in the enclave</i>
			<i>No.</i>	<i>Area in acres</i>	
1. Balapukhari	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	5	55.91	15
2. Barakhangir	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	4	50.51	12
3. Ratpur	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	11	58.91	14
4. Bagdogra	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	12	25.49	08
5. KharKharia	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	15	60.74	14
6. KharKharia	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	13	51.62	10
7. Lotamari	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	14	110.92	16
8. Bhotbari	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	16	205.46	18
9. Panisala	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	17	137.66	13
10. Panisala	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	21	51.40	09
11. Lotamari	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mekhliligunj, Coochbehar	20	283.53	21
12. Banskata	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mathabhanga, Coochbehar	112	315.04	24
13. Banskata	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mathabhanga, Coochbehar	113	57.86	07
14. Banskata	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mathabhanga, Coochbehar	119	413.81	27
15. Banskata	Patgram, Lalmonirhat	Mathabhanga, Coochbehar	120	30.75	06
16. Garati	Ponchogarih, Ponchogarih	Haldibari, Coochbehar	75	58.23	11
17. Garati	Ponchogarih, Ponchogarih	Haldibari, Coochbehar	78	958.66	31

18. Nazirganja	Boda, Ponchogarh	Haldibari, Coochbehar	41	58.32	12
19. Nazirganja	Boda, Ponchogarh	Haldibari, Coochbehar	42	434.29	26
20. Putimari	Boda, Ponchogarh	Haldibari, Coochbehar	59	122.80	17
21. Salbari	Boda, Ponchogarh	Haldibari, Coochbehar	37	1188.93	35
22. BalaparaKhagrabari	Debiganj, Ponchogarh	Haldibari, Coochbehar	03	1752.44	33
23. GotamariChhit	Hatibandha, Lalmonirhat	Sitalkuchi, Coochbehar	135	126.59	14
24. Banspachai	Lalmonirhat, Lalmonirhat	Dinhata, Coochbehar	151	217.29	18
25. DasiarChhora	Phulbari, Kurigram	Phulbari, Coochbehar	150	1643.44	38
26. ChotaGarajjhora I	Bhurangamari, Kurigram	Dinhata, Coochbehar	148	35.74	12
27. ChotaGarajjhora II	Bhurangamari, Kurigram	Dinhata, Coochbehar	149	17.85	05
Total No. of persons interacted with during field survey					466

## V. Findings

### *A. From the perspective of the people of erstwhile Bangladeshi Enclaves inside India*

It was witnessed that the entire population of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves inside Indian territory covered under the study warmly accepted exchange of enclaves through 2015 LBA, as it ended their 67-year long life of exile within the enclaves. It was evident that all 14,863 residents of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves inside India opted for Indian nationality and opted to stay in India as Indian citizens by altering their citizenship (MEA, Exchange of Enclaves between India and Bangladesh 2015). Significantly, it was observed that not a single person from erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves inside India opted to go back to their mother country Bangladesh. As per acceptance of exchange of enclaves by means of 2015 LBA, among the enclaves' inhabitants was concerned, cent per cent positive feedback from the sample population was observed.

During the said field survey, it had been observed that the people of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves duly got their Voter ID Cards and Aadhaar Cards from the Indian state in support of their identity as Indian Citizens as a part of post-execution of 2015 LBA. Most of them got their ration card from the government. Some of them got job cards as well. Some of the erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves' people were also engaged in 100 days work programme of the government. No other basic problem of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves' people had yet been resolved. No infrastructural developmental works within these enclaves had been noticed and reported during my field survey. Two major challenging issues of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves' people were also identified during the survey. The most important issue that they were still facing was related to the settlement of their land records in the enclaves. Most of the enclave dwellers anxiously brought the issue of their land record settlement before me when I interacted with them during my field survey. On scrutiny of the documents I was able to ascertain that many enclave dwellers did not possess the original title deeds of their lands issued by Bangladesh Land Settlement Authority, although all these lands were under their possessions for years. During the long 67 years of their exiled life in enclaves, many original land deed holders had sold their lands to other enclave dwellers on the basis of mutual agreements written on a white paper. Accordingly, such transferee land occupiers did not possess original land deeds in their names; although they were occupying these lands for a period of

time after such transfer took place with consideration. The crucial question is whether such mutual agreement written on white paper would be considered as a document of valid transfer at the time of disposal of land records and settlements by the Government of India. Enclaves' dwellers were quite anxious about the settlement of their land records, because land is the only source for generating economic resources for most enclaves' people till date. The second most important issue for the enclaves' people was the question of job opportunities. No job reservation had since been made for the erstwhile enclaves' dwellers, nor had any alternative job opportunity yet been initiated for them by the Indian State. Even for admitting their children into an Indian school or college, enclave dwellers still faced lots of troubles, as no reservations had so far been made for the admission of their children.

Table 6: Classified Opinions of the total 312 inhabitants of erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves regarding exchange of enclaves and their status during post-execution of 2015 LBA

<i>Summarized Opinions</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Whether accepted exchange of enclaves through 2015 LBA	312	00	312
2. Whether satisfied about their decision regarding choice of citizenship	306	06	312
3. Whether they feel safe being Indian citizens	312	00	312
4. Whether satisfied about infrastructural development within enclaves	00	312	312
5. Whether satisfied about basic identities & facilities provided to them	29	283	312
6. Whether satisfied about rehabilitation packages provided to them	00	312	312
7. Whether expecting more rehabilitation packages from the Indian State	305	07	312
8. Whether prefer to migrate in Bangladesh	00	312	312

*B. From the perspective of the people of erstwhile Indian Enclaves from Bangladesh temporarily resettled at Rehabilitation Camps in India*

According to the report of the joint survey conducted by India and Bangladesh in erstwhile enclaves of both the countries, it had been evident that 989 persons, out of total 38,521 residents of erstwhile

Indian enclaves in Bangladesh, opted to retain their original nationality of Indian citizenship and migrated to Indian mainland from Bangladesh (MEA, Exchange of Enclaves between India and Bangladesh 2015). During my field survey, it was evident that the entire population of people who migrated to the Indian mainland from erstwhile Indian enclaves in Bangladesh too genially accepted the exchange of enclaves through 2015 LBA. In fact, I received cent per cent positive feedback from the sample population regarding their responses to the exchange.

During the said field survey, it had been observed that the people who migrated to Indian mainland from the erstwhile Indian enclaves of Bangladesh duly got their Voter ID Card and Aadhaar Card in support of their identity as Indian Citizens on the Indian mainland. Government of India arranged temporary accommodations for them by setting up three Enclaves Settlement Camps which had free electricity facility and also the provision for some essential food commodities (rice, mustard Oil, kerosene, salt, milk and pulses) free of cost. Most of them also got Job Cards and Ration Cards from the Indian State. Some of them were also engaged in the 100-day work programme of the India Government. Though land has been identified by the government for permanent resettlement of these people, they were quite worried about their permanent settlement on the Indian mainland. No job reservation had been made, nor any alternative job opportunity yet been initiated for them. They feel confused about their decision to migrate to the Indian mainland. In erstwhile Indian enclaves, where they lived during last 67 years, they had their own lands for cultivation and they could move to Bangladeshi land in search of their bread and butter. According to them, they could hardly get any opportunity for finding any suitable job after migrating to the Indian mainland, where they are now completely “landless” as well as “jobless”. Many of them couldn’t even sell the property that they had in Indian enclaves in 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. 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” (Express 2017). I too witnessed the above feelings of the people who migrated to India from erstwhile Indian enclaves during my said field survey. No permanent

shelter had yet been provided to them; nor had any permanent job opportunity been procured for them so far in Indian mainland. As no reservation had since been made, they also had been facing lots of problems for admitting their children into an Indian school or college.

Table 9: Classified Opinions of the total 113 inhabitants of erstwhile Indian enclaves temporarily resettled in Enclaves Settlement Camps interacted with regarding exchange of enclaves and their status during post-execution of 2015 LBA:

<i>Summarized Opinions</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Whether accepted exchange of enclaves through 2015 LBA	113	00	113
2. Whether satisfied about their decision regarding choice of citizenship	33	80	113
3. Whether they feel safe as being Indian citizen	77	36	113
4. Whether satisfied about rehabilitation packages provided to them	11	102	113
5. Whether satisfied about basic identities & facilities provided to them	15	98	113
6. Whether expecting more rehabilitation packages from the Indian State	113	00	113
7. Whether prefer to go back to Bangladesh	52	61	113

*C. From the perspective of the people of erstwhile Indian Enclaves inside Bangladesh :*

It was witnessed that the entire population of erstwhile Indian enclaves inside Bangladesh covered under the study happily accepted the exchange of enclaves through 2015 LBA. It was evident that 989 persons, out of a total of 38,521 residents of erstwhile Indian enclaves in Bangladesh, opted to retain their original nationality of Indian citizenship and migrated to Indian mainland from Bangladesh. The remaining 37,532 residents of erstwhile Indian enclaves in Bangladesh opted to stay in Bangladesh as Bangladeshi Citizens by altering their nationality (MEA, Exchange of Enclaves between India and Bangladesh 2015).

During my field survey, it had been observed that the people still staying in erstwhile Indian enclaves in Bangladesh duly got their



Citizenship Identity Card in support of their identity as Bangladeshi Citizens from the Government of Bangladesh. Lands in erstwhile Indian enclaves had duly been recorded by the Bangladesh Land Record Authority in the name of respective owners of enclaves' lands. Enough infrastructural development works within erstwhile Indian enclaves had been noticed during my field survey.

Following infrastructural and social developmental activities have already been initiated by the Government of Bangladesh in erstwhile Indian enclaves:

1. Electricity supply line had been extended up to the doorstep of the dwellers of almost all the enclaves.
2. Schools and *madrassas* had already been established in all large and medium size enclaves.
3. Roads had been demarcated and measured and road construction works had already been initiated in many enclaves.
4. Boring Tubewell had been dug for supplying drinking water and water for agricultural purpose in most of the enclaves.
5. Latrine in residential houses had been constructed by the government at free of cost in many enclaves.
6. Senior citizens who were 55 years or above were getting old age pension of Bangladeshi Taka 500 per month per head from the government.
7. The Government has already sanctioned funds for setting up Health Centre and School for Physically Challenged Persons in some of the large size enclaves.

But no job reservation policy has been made for enclaves' dwellers, nor has any alternative job opportunity been procured for them by the government as yet.

TABLE 12: Classified Opinions of the total 466 inhabitants of erstwhile Indian enclaves in Bangladesh interacted with regarding exchange of enclaves and their status during post-execution of 2015 LBA:

<i>Summarized Opinions</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Whether accepted exchange of enclaves through 2015 LBA	466	00	466
2. Whether satisfied about their decision regarding choice of citizenship	379	87	466

3. Whether they feel safe as being Bangladeshi citizen	401	65	466
4. Whether satisfied about basic identities & facilities provided to them	392	74	466
5. Whether satisfied about rehabilitation packages provided to them	377	89	466
6. Whether expecting more rehabilitation packages from the BD State	445	21	466
7. Whether satisfied about infrastructural development within enclaves	446	20	466
8. Whether prefer to migrate in India	76	390	466

*D. Comparative Analysis of the Status of the People of Erstwhile Enclaves of India and Bangladesh:*

1. Both the countries duly provided Citizenship Identity Card to the erstwhile enclaves' people who opted to stay within the territory of the state concerned.
2. The Government of India has already provided Ration Cards and Job Cards to the people of most of the erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves; whereas, Govt. of Bangladesh has not yet taken any such step in erstwhile Indian enclaves.
3. The Government of Bangladesh has already set up a number of schools and *madradas* in erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas, the Government of India couldn't yet establish any School or *madrasa* in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.
4. The Government of Bangladesh has already set up Boring Tubewell 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. The Government of Bangladesh has started to provide direct financial assistance in the form of old age pension of Bangladeshi Taka 500 per month per senior citizen having 55 years of age or more in the erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas, Government 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 the erstwhile enclaves' people by the Governments of both the countries, nor has any alternative job opportunity yet been initiated for them by both the states.

7. The Government of Bangladesh has already settled the issues relating to land records in erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas the Government of India hasn't yet been able to resolve the issues relating to land records in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.
8. The Government of Bangladesh has already demarcated and measured roads within erstwhile Indian enclaves and construction works have already been initiated in most of the erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas the Government of India has not yet completed demarcation and measurement works for construction of roads in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.
9. The Government of Bangladesh has already sanctioned funds for setting up Health Centre and Schools for Physically Challenged Persons in some of the large size erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas, the Government of India has not yet sanctioned any such things in the erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.
10. Government of Bangladesh has already started to construct Latrine within the residential house in erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas the Government of India has not yet initiated any such activity in erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves.

### Conclusion

The territories—enclaves—situated in both India and Bangladesh, which belonged to the other country, created an extremely difficult situation for the survival of the people who inhabited these territories because they were victims of a historical and political travesty which robbed them of any Governmental support or basic amenities for their livelihood during the 67 years after India's Independence. A porous border aggravated the situation even further effectively denying them nationality or rights and turning them into just "nowhere people" in "no man's land". Finally, the Land Boundary Agreement, 2015, signed between the two concerned nations led to a final resolution of this long overdue acute problem. As a result of the agreement, both the countries duly provided Citizenship Identity Cards to the erstwhile enclaves' people who opted to stay within the territory of the concerned state. The Government of Bangladesh has already initiated lots of infrastructural developmental works within erstwhile Indian enclaves; whereas the Government of India has been able to carry out little infrastructural developmental works within the erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves so far. No job reservation policy had been initiated for the erstwhile enclaves' people by the concerned government of both the countries, nor had any

alternative job opportunity yet been procured for them by both the concerned states. People who migrated to Indian mainland from the Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and were temporarily rehabilitated in Enclaves Settlement Camps have been sustaining their lives burdened by the anxiety of an uncertain future regarding permanent resettlement and adequate job opportunities on the Indian mainland. The Government of India should initiate infrastructural and social developmental works within the erstwhile Bangladeshi enclaves at once and should also make necessary arrangement on priority basis for proper rehabilitation of the people who migrated to India from erstwhile Indian enclaves in Bangladesh. The Governments of both the countries should procure suitable alternative job opportunities for the people of erstwhile enclaves who opted to live in the respective countries. Finally, Government of India and Bangladesh should ensure that the people of erstwhile enclaves opted to reside in the respective country can enjoy all the fundamental rights and basic facilities as have been enjoying by other citizens in the concerned countries.

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