

STILL THE LAND OF NOWHERE A HISTORICAL ENQUIRY INTO THE FORMATION OF INDO-BANGLADESH ENCLAVE.

Dipesh Roy

Assistant Professor of History
Cluny Women's College
Kalimpong

Abstract:

The historical analysis of the formation of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves, also known as “chitmahals” which are small portion of land that have surrounded the territory of another country. The study begins by exploring the historical context of the region, including the partition of India in 1947 and the subsequent creation of East Pakistan as a separate entity from West Pakistan. It delves into the border demarcation process between India and East Pakistan, highlighting the intricacies and oversights that led to the creation of enclaves. Due to time constraints and the complex nature of the region, the boundary demarcation process was incomplete, leading to numerous discrepancies and enclaves. The study analyzes the socio political and economic implication of these enclaves on the affected populations. It examines the challenges faced by enclave residents in their governance, access to basic services, and citizenship rights. Finally the study concludes with an assessment of the current situations regarding the Indo-Bangladesh enclaves, examining the progress made in resolving the issue and the remaining challenges. Overall, this historical inquiry provides valuable insights into the formation of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves, shedding light on the socio-political, economic, and diplomatic ramifications of these unique territorial anomalies.

Key words: Enclave, Citizenship, Chitmohol, Boundary, Land lords,

Historical Cause:

In the late seventeenth century, the Mughal state expanded into northern Bengal but was unable to occupy the kingdom of Cooch Behar. Powerful landlords from that kingdom retained possession of their lands in the area dominated by the Mughal state, either by holding out against the invading troops or by entering into alliances with them. Similarly, landlords from the Mughal area were able to hang on to landed estates within Cooch Behar. Like most estates in Bengal, these were fragmented into many scattered plots. Such holdings detached from the parent estate were then known as ‘chitmohol’ in Bengali; this term came to mean “enclave” after 1947. These small territories paid taxes to one state but were surrounded by the territory of the other state. Sovereignty was expressed not so much in terms of territorial contiguity as in terms of jurisdiction and tax flows. Indian enclaves (surrounded by India) are the discontinuous parts of Bangladesh known as ‘Muglan’. At that time Mughols invaded into Cooch Behar several times. Mughol platoons occupied some small fragmented

portions of lands of Cooch Behar State (Cons, J. (2011)). With the passing of time, these Mughol military personnel settled there permanently. They remain indebted to the Mughol authority. Consequently these small fragmented areas within Cooch Behar State became the part of the jurisdiction of the Nawab of Rangpur due to the indebtedness of the residents and were known as *Muglan*. On the other hand, Bangladeshi enclaves (surrounded by Bangladesh) which are now discontinuous part of Indian Territory were known as Rajwara. These originated mainly from '*Devottor*' lands (devoted lands to the God) and some captured lands during the cats and mouse play between Rajas of Cooch Behar and Nawab of Rangpur. Thus enclaves are created in 17th century.

Geographical Causes: In 1947, the political game between the leaders of the Indian nationalist movement and the British authorities ended in the decision to partition India. "British India," the directly ruled territory that covered three-fifths of the subcontinent, was the territory actually partitioned. The rest of the subcontinent, subdivided into 565 Princely States (also called Native or Indian States), was neither partitioned nor given independence in 1947 (Bandyopādhyāya, Ś. (2004)). The only options the rulers of these states had were to join Pakistan or to join India. Just before the partition in 1947 a Boundary Commission was appointed, headed by Sir Cyril Rad-cliff to divide Bengal and Punjab. Due to short time Rad-cliff was compelled to complete the whole work within 6 weeks with high speed. The awards for both Punjab and Bengal with the boundaries drawn on Topo-sheet where a Thana was taken as the lowest unit were made public on 16th August as a masterpiece of division of territory between two sovereign countries. It was done without having field survey. Consequently enclaves on both sides of the border emerged and remain unresolved. The new international border was anything but a straight line; it snaked through the countryside in an irregular zigzag pattern.

Oralities:

The enclave is the result of a series of chess games between Maharaja of Cooch Behar and the Nawab of Rangpur (Whyte, B. R. (2005)). The Nobel men wagered on their games using village as currency. Sometimes the rulers of these regions gifted a piece of land in the honor of the visiting ruler whenever they paid visits to each other and Enclaves were formed. Some people think and believe that the rulers were renowned gamblers and they were to give a piece of land upon losing to each other in gambling. The piece of land so given away is called 'Chitmohal' or enclave. Somebody thinks 'Mughals' could not drive away the residents of the landlocked area of Cooch Behar. Similarly, in the captured and penetrated area of Cooch Behar by the Muslims, residents were not driven out and enclaves were formed. Some people reported that, at the time of Boundary demarcation the ink of pen of official's dropped on the map. Consequently some black spot of different sign were created over the map and the higher authority took it as enclave or landlocked area. Actually these concepts have no roots. These are developed due to the incomplete knowledges about the origin of the enclave, imagination of the residents or from the meeting of rural enthusiastic common people (Cons, J. (2016)).

Evolution of Enclave along Indo-Bangladesh Border:

Evolution of Indo-Bangladesh enclaves can be categorized into three phases keeping pace with the history of Bengal.

Pre-Colonial Phase (Ancient History):

In 4th to 6th centuries A.D. entire North Bengal was under the influence of 'Gupta Empire'. From 8th to 12th century the 'Pal' kings of 'Kamarupa' which is also known as 'Kamta' were the supreme of this area (Dutta, D. 2015). After the end of 'Pal Dynasty' in around 1200 A.D., a greater portion of southern central Bengal was captured by Muslims enlarging the Delhi Sultanate. Bengal became an Independent Muslim state in 1340 A.D. and remained so far for more 200 years. The influx of Muslims from South of Bengal created an unstable condition in North Bengal. The turmoil was managed by a commoner who declared himself as the 'King' of this region under the name of 'Niladhavaja' in 1400 A.D. assuming the title 'Kamteswar'. Niladhavja was succeeded by his son and grandsons. In the name of 'Khen Dynasty', they controlled a large kingdom covering whole Cooch Behar, Rangpur, most of Goalpara, Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur region. In the mean time, Bengal's ruler Alauddin Hussain Shah invaded 'Kamta' with the help of Ismail Ghaji. The force was extended up to Assam. (Nag, S. N. 2015).

After the collapse of 'Khen Dynasty', an unstable political period was created again. Taking this as an advantage a new dynasty emerged as ruler of Cooch Behar in the early 16th century, which was 'Koch Dynasty' (Sarkar, P. P. (2012). Rest part of Bengal was also experiencing the transposition of ruler by "Mughals". In 1657 A.D, when Shahjahan was the Mughal Emperor, Raja Prannarayana, the king of Cooch Behar had captured certain portions of Mughal Empire by defeating Mir Lutfullah, subeder of Bengal. In 1661, Mughal general Mirjumla invaded Cooch Behar. He penetrated and captured some portions of Cooch Behar. The play of 'cat and mouse' between Mughals and Cooch Behar kingdom continued for almost 50 years. The people of Mughal captured area paid their loyalty to the Nazim, Nawab of Bengal and survived like an Island or land locked condition.

At that time there was some small autonomous pocket of land areas occupied by some mighty land lords called 'Chakladar' around the state of Cooch Behar who did not surrender to Mughal (Chatterjee, S.S).

In the year 1712, when Khan Jahan Khan, the Governor of Bengal and Maharaja of Cooch Behar agreed by a pact of treaty to permit these 'Chakla' and Mughal capturing portion of Cooch Behar to rule as ruled in previous. And several Isolated Island of land areas had borne along the border of Cooch Behar later which becomes 'Zamindari' of Cooch Behar Maharaja and Rangpur Nawab.

Colonial Phase:

Over the time Mughal state disintegrated. After the 'Battle of Plessey' (1757), the ruler of Bengal becomes de facto ruler. East India Company replaced himself in mid 18th century as the direct ruler. Southern border of Cooch Behar kingdom marked north most limit of British territory. In 1772, British invaded Cooch Behar and conquered. British decided to rule it indirectly. In this way the whole Cooch Behar kingdom become an enclave within British India surviving as princely state (Basil, P. P. (2011).

Post-Colonial Phase:

In 1947, at the time of Independence, directly ruled British India was divided into two parts- Pakistan and India, while 565 princely states were not partitioned. They had only two options to join Pakistan or to India. The Nawab of Rongpur joined with Pakistan and two years later the Maharaja of Cooch Behar merged Cooch Behar with India through merger agreement in 1949 and the enclave became the part of India but remained geographically separated. On the other hand enclaves of Rongpur become the part of Pakistan situated within the soil of Cooch Behar. After 1971 East Pakistan converted into a new country separating from Pakistan and Bangladesh was born.

The enclaves were located in the highly sensitive border land between India and Pakistan later it becomes the Indo-Bangladesh Border (After 1971 when Bangladesh gained Freedom).

Evolution of Government Policies to Resolve the Issue:

Consequently the fate of the enclave residents was tied up with the uneasy and unproductive relationship between this two concerned countries. The government of Homeland Bangladesh (Pakistan before 1971) and surrounding country India have taken several steps and policies to resolved the problem in different period of times which may categorized in two phase of period (Prescott, V., & Triggs, G. D. (2008).

Pakistan Period (Before 1971):

In February 1948, the East Pakistan govt. Suggested to Cooch Behar authority "By mutual agreement, armed police of both sides should be allowed to carry arms across the other's territory in order to enter and leave the enclaves". Cooch Behar agreed but later East Pakistan government returned back from its decision (Van Schendel, W. (2002).

In 1950 (August) a procedure was agreed upon, under his agreement, district officials were allowed to visit enclave if they had photograph identity card and if their visit was announced by telegram more than fifteen days in advance. Police officials also could visit the enclaves provided they wore uniform and went unarmed. Certain goods could be transferred into the enclave one in a month; tax revenue could be collected ones in every six months (Decision was taken at the 17th Chief secretaries' conference held at Dacca on 29th and 30th August 1950). But unfortunately it was seen that in 1957 when the officials are carrying out the census in Pakistani Enclave in CoochBehar were harassed and arrested by Indian police.

To overcome the situation an agreement was signed between the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Pakistani Prime Minister Feroz Khan to resolve the matter on 10th September, in 1958. As per Nehru-Noon pact, 1958 the area of Indian enclave is near about 32 sq. miles against the total area of East Pakistan 18 sq. miles which would be exchanged between the two countries. It was decided that India would not claim for compensation for the extra area going to Pakistan. This agreement, however, failed to provide any proper solution to the problem.

Indo-Bangladesh Period (After 1971):

In 1971 East Pakistan snatched her freedom and a new country born in the name of Bangladesh. Bangladesh come forward in 1974 for this unresolved enclave issue (Sardar, S.)

On 16th may 1974 an agreement was signed between Indian PM Indira Gandhi and Bangladesh PM Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman. The issue was included in section 12 and 14. In this agreement full exchange of enclaves was agreed upon. The agreement was ratified by Bangladesh Parliament but was not tabled in Indian counterpart (Rabbani, M. G.2015).

Section 14 of the agreement was about the handling-over the southern part of Berubari to India in exchange of a passage perpetuity linking Angarapota Dahagram with Patgram, Bangladesh. India agreed to lease to Bangladesh a passage through its territory measuring 178×85 meters. And section 12 points out that the Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and Bangladesh enclaves in India should be exchanged excepting the enclave mentioned in paragraph 14 without claim to compensation for additional area going to Bangladesh.

This continued till 7th October 1982 when another agreement was signed between Foreign Minister of India and Bangladesh P.V. Narashima Rao and A.R.Shams-ul-Doha which finalized the condition to lease the ‘Teen Bigha’ corridor to Bangladesh. However it took another decade for the agreement to materialize because of local opposition and legal actions taken against the arrangement on Indian side.

In 26th June 1992 the treaty signed between India and Bangladesh to lease Bangladesh 'Teen bigha' land as passage (corridor) implemented practically. But the problems of rest enclaves remain unresolved. In 2001 the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh had taken step to solve the border problems between India and Bangladesh. In 2006 on the Side lines of SAARC Ministerial meeting India Bangladesh Authority decided to send a joint team of officials to the disputed enclaves to get first hand view of the situation. In 2009 Indian High Commissioner Pinak Ranjan Chakraborty met with the authority of Bangladesh. They decided about the enclave dwellers voting procedure. Indian high commissioner told that he wants to materialize the truth enclave-dwellers could be voters as the ‘Land Border agreement’ in under process. On 11th November 2010, ‘The Ministry of foreign affairs’, Govt. Of India informed after the discussion of 4th India Bangladesh joint Boundary working group (IBJBWG) which was set up in December 2000, at capital of India New Delhi, than an outcome had been come out to resolve the long pending disputed issues including complicated matters of enclaves. It can be mentioned that on 11th Jan, 2010 Indian PM Dr. Monmohan Singh and Bangladesh P.M. Sekh Hasina Wazed had already agreed to solve each and every outstanding issue keeping in view the spirit of land Boundary agreement, 1974. On 20th January 2011, the govt. of India and Bangladesh both adopted a joint policy to do away the long standing sufferings and harassments of people inhabited in Indo-Bangladeshi enclaves. In this context a joint meeting of the authority of above two nations was called. After the discussion it was decided that the enclaves of the both the countries were included with the mainland of aforesaid two nations. Both of the above nations agreed to make and exchange their enclaves mutually after thinking of the endless distress of the nations of both countries enclave. Not only the two nations however agreed that the long

standing problems as related to above would be solved if and when the 'Existence of the enclaves' would be done away completely. Nevertheless, in that case, the inhabitants of the both the enclaves of the above mentioned two countries would get an opportunity to choose with when they would like or to be citizen as per their will. And set the process in motion, the administrative officers of both countries would move from door to door to collect the exact figures of the residents of the enclaves of the aforesaid two states. After a long misery of 41 years the two nations India-Bangladesh signed a historic 'Land Boundary Agreement' at Dhaka on 6th June 2015 and exchanged their enclaves (Kashem, M. A., & Islam, M. S. (2016).

Consequences of Enclave Formation:

Socio-Economic Consequences:

The residents of Bangladeshi enclave (discontinuous part of India surrounded by Bangladesh) were indebted to the Rajas of Cooch Behar until Cooch Behar was merged with Indian Dominion in 26th January 1950. When Cooch Behar merged with India, the residents of these enclaves become Indian citizen. They started to think themselves as Indians. As these isolated fragmented part of India are located within sovereign Bangladesh, Indian Government failed to execute sovereignty as well as law and order. Consequently these citizens of India deprived from all kinds of civic recognitions, rights and facilities essentially provided by the government of India. For survival these peoples become dependent on their host country Bangladesh. They had penetrated their root in Bangladesh for basic requirements of food, shelter, cloths, education, health, jobs and livelihood. They have established social linkage by marriage and sometimes religious connections. They became Bangladeshi residents illegally. In spite of their Indian citizenship most of the residents of these enclaves reshaped their emotions as a pure citizen of Bangladesh. Diversified emotions are very common in respect to age and religious variations (Ghosh, S. (2017).

The people of Indian enclave (the fragmented part of present Bangladesh and surrounded by India) were indebted to Nawab of Rangpur before the invasion of British due to their linkage with the Mughol Platoons and religious connections. When British conquered the Rangpur and they became indebted to the British authority. When British left Indian subcontinent and India, Pakistan was born in 1947, these fragmented Moglans become the enclaves of East Pakistan (Cons, J. (2016). The residents became Pakistani citizen. In 1971, when East Pakistan got freedom and the new sovereign country Bangladesh has originated, these small areas became parts of Bangladesh. Consequently residents of these enclaves became Bangladeshi citizen. As these isolated fragmented parts of Bangladesh are located within sovereign India, government of Bangladesh similarly has remained incapable to execute its sovereignty as well as law and order. Just like the people of Bangladeshi enclave, people of these Indian enclaves have been deprived from all kinds of civic recognitions, rights and facilities essentially provided by the government of Bangladesh. For survival these peoples become dependent on their host country India. They have penetrated their root in India for basic requirements of food, shelter, cloths, education, health, jobs and livelihood. They have also established social linkage by marriage and social connections. They became Indian citizen illegally. India is a secular, democratic and one of the most rapidly

economically developing countries of the world consequently, social, economic and political opportunities are more (Shewly, H. (2012).

The main problem which made the life of the residents of enclave unique in the eye of out-sider is lack of citizenship and identity. They had no connection with their mainland. Their movement was limited and restricted. Beyond their enclave area they were foreigner and frequently they became harassed and were arrested by the police of their host country. They didn't have passport visa. They had to lead an un-protective life as there was neither police nor even a 'chowkider'. They were threatened here and there by outsider of the enclave. Extreme social injustice was prevailing there since 1947. Crime, murder, rape, smuggling, drug addiction women trafficking and other social pathological disorder were rampant (Vander wood, P. J. (1992).

There was no market, no electricity, no road, no school, no Education, no Job, no health facilities. All the residents were dependents upon quack, kabiraj, Ojha. They did not have any provision for purchasing and disposing the land. The residents who intend to live in these enclaves had only the right to register their plots in their name. But due to lack of connection with its mother land they couldn't register the land properly. Nobody of outsiders wanted to marry the enclave residents. Migration was a serious problem here, due to lack of Job; male residents mainly between the ages of 15-29 migrated in different states of India. So the number of Female is higher than male (Jetley, S. (1987).

Political Impact:

Political phenomena are largely a manifestation of *genres de vie* of the people, being carved out on physical environment. Each human group has its own *genres de vie*, which is Reflective of its political Identification, credential and political expression and which, together with other factors lead to the distinctiveness of the political phenomena (Adhikari, 1997). However to Edward F. Bergman (1975) "politics is people coming together to deal with common- problems. Whenever and wherever people engage in co-operation and conflict to organize themselves and their resources in order to ensure their welfare political processes at work and political decisions are made"(Robinson, G. W. S.1959). Under these circumstances the political life of the residents of enclave was perhaps unique and different from so called political lifestyle of the world.

Administration:

The home country was in every case eager to make & the administration of Enclave (Enclaves) conform as closely as possible to the pattern on the main land (Robinson, Exclaves-1959). It is proved through the invasions of Pakistani as well as present Bangladesh troops into the enclave Dhohogram and Angarapota separated from main Bangladeshi territory by about 85 m. of Indian territory before it was connected to its mainland through 'Teenbigha" corridor in 1992. Poaturkuthi enclave situated about 3 km away from mainland territory Bangladesh. So it is Impossible to execute administrative power crossing 3km Indian Territory from the view point of Bangladesh Authority (Amanatulla Ahamed, K.C, (1936). Talks of communication between enclave and their 'mainland" were initiated after independence, but it would take until August 1950 for a procedure to be agreed upon. Under this agreement district officials were allowed to visit enclaves if they had Photograph Identity card and if their visit was announced by telegram no less than fifteen days in

advance(Bhardwaj, S. (2015). They would then be escorted back and forth across foreign soil. Police officials also could visit the Enclaves provided they wore uniforms and went unarmed. But bureaucrats found the accord shaky and difficult to implement the administration. Officials are refused to access their own states territories. For example in early 1951, Pakistan held its first population census. When the enumerators tried to carry-out the census in Pakistani enclaves in Cooch Behar they were harassed and arrested by Indian border police. Consequently due to the geographic location and International relation between two concerned countries, Host country India and Homeland Pakistan (now Bangladesh) the Enclave poaturkuthi remains unexecuted by its homeland.

But experiencing the well established local govt. (Panchayet system) of the Host country like India, resident of Enclaves established local authorities to encounter the social problems. The members of local authority is selected from economically, and religious elite residents who makes and controls the order and law in the Enclave. (Shewly, H. J. (2013)

Citizenship:

Until August 1947 there had been nothing to distinguish the residents of the future enclaves from their neighbours except that they went to different local officers to pay land tax or to report a crime. Neither after that period a new citizenship emerged, neither sought nor at first understood, but thrust upon them by administrative caprice (W.V.Schendel, 2002). After the Partition of India in 1947 being land-locked, residents of enclave become virtually stateless people and were forced to move through a variety of Trans-territorial contexts that create a heightened need to negotiate and to express multiple forms of identity. It has been noticed that Enclave people maintains three Identities. Two of which are trans-territorial in nature.

Proxy citizen:

The identity of proxy-citizen is the illegally acquired fake citizenship of the host country. This identity peaked up with the violent events in enclave during 1950. In the face of life-threatening violence, enclave people had no option but to flee (Van Schendel, W. 2002). Literatures suggest that, these families had the proxy citizenship. It is relevant that, Hindu families enjoyed proxy-citizenship of India due to the majority from religions point of view and from their relatives who lived in India. Muslim families of Bangladeshi enclave enjoyed the same in Bangladesh (Ganguly-Scrase, R. 2003)

Enclave Politics:

In the midst of 1950 when most Enclave people realized that their main country had effectively abandoned them and their identity as a citizen of that country waned this identity developed. During the field survey 95 percent respondents (out of 141 families) identified themselves as the citizen of Enclave while only rest 5 percent respondents said they are the citizen of Bangladesh (Shewly, H. (2012)

But practically the present scenario is slightly different. Here 43 percent of the total families have Indian electoral Identity card. Adult member of these families cast their vote, which play dominant role in 'Gram Panchayet'' election of surrounding $\frac{3}{4}$ Indian villages determining the fate of the candidates as well as political parties. They cast vote in Indian parliamentary and West Bengal legislative election also. A large number of

guardians also cast their vote in the election of ‘school managing committee’, which is located in host Indian Territory. 4.5 percent mainly male people who are above the age 65 had cast their vote in favour of their main-territory Bangladesh during Pakistan period in the decades of early 1970. The rest 57 percent families who have no experience about the election except school vote.

Political Organization:

There were no root of political party or organization like surrounding Host country or it’s Mainland. But the residents are highly interested in the fluctuating strength of different political parties in surrounding country and its mainland, because their fortune depends greatly on those Political parties. (Sarkar, A. (2015).

Those who had the voter card, some of them are the supporter of ‘Trinomul Congress’ and some of them are the supporter of ‘C.P.I.M.’ parties of West Bengal. In past West Bengal Legislative elections 2011 a women candidate is selected by the ‘India /Bangladesh Enclave Exchange Co-ordination Committee’ who is a resident of Poaturkuthi enclave by marriage but Indians by birth.

Conclusion:

The people of the enclaves in both India and Bangladesh have been the citizens of the land of nowhere for almost six decades. After the two countries exchanged their enclaves located in each other’s territory in 2015, they became the citizens of their respective countries and received their right to cast vote. But does that signal the end of their decade’s long predicament? Their mere inclusion to the democratic system does not guarantee the cessation of their misfortune. Considerably the fact that they had been deprived of all the basic rights and amenities including education, housing, and health employment and so on, a proper, hassle-free planning should be made to integrate the people of the enclaves to the mainstream.

References:

1. Amanatulla Ahamed, K.C, (1936), *History of Cooch Behar(in Bengali)*.The State Press and published under authority of the Coochbehar State,part-I,p-355.
2. Bandyopādhyāya, Ś. (2004). *From Plassey to partition: a history of modern India*. Orient Blackswan.p-266
3. Barman, R. K. (2014). *Proxy citizens of North Bengal A Study on the present condition of the people of Indian enclaves in Bangladesh*.p-231
4. Basil, P. P. (2011). *The Indo-Bangla ‘Enclaves’ and a Disinherited People*.Jadavpur Journal of International Relations, 15(1), 55-70.
5. Bhardwaj, S. (2015). *India-Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement: Ramifications for India’s Security*. *CLAWS Journal*, Retrieved from <http://www.Claws.in/journal/journalclaws-journal.p-75>
6. Bhattacharya, D. (2017). *Study on impact of execution of lba, 2015 on the erstwhile enclaves’ people of india and bangladesh. People: International Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(2).
7. Chatterji, J. (1999). *The fashioning of a frontier: the Radcliffe line and Bengal's border landscape, 1947–52*. *Modern Asian Studies*, 33(1), pp185-242.
8. Chatterjee, S.S *Saga of Unheeded Island within Land*.p-154
9. Cons, J. (2011). *The Fragments and Their Nation (s): Sensitive Space along the India-Bangladesh Border*.p-23
10. Cons, J. (2016). *Sensitive space: Fragmented territory at the India-Bangladesh border*. University of Washington Press.p-89

11. Dutta, D. (2015). *Koch coinage: a study in historical perspective* (Doctoral dissertation, University of North Bengal).pp-87-115
12. Ghosh, S. (2017). Chor, police and cattle: The political economies of bovine value in the India–Bangladesh borderlands. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 42(6), 1108-1124.
13. Ganguly-Scrase, R. (2003). *Paradoxes of globalization, liberalization, and gender equality: The worldviews of the lower middle class in West Bengal, India*. *Gender & Society*, 17(4), 544-566.
14. Jetley, S. (1987). Impact of male migration on rural females. *Economic and political weekly*, WS47-WS53.
15. Jones, Reece. (2009). *Sovereignty and Statelessness in the Border Enclaves of India and Bangladesh*. *Political Geography*. 28. 373-381. 10.1016/j.polgeo.2009.09.006.
16. Kashem, M. A., & Islam, M. S. (2016). Narendra Modi's Bangladesh policy and India–Bangladesh relations: Challenges and possible policy responses. *India Quarterly*, 72(3), 250-267.
17. Nag, S. N. (2015). *Kamtapur movement in North Bengal geo-ethno-environmental and historical perspective* (Doctoral dissertation, University of North Bengal).p-144
18. Prescott, V., & Triggs, G. D. (2008). *International frontiers and boundaries: Law, politics and geography*. Brill.p-65
19. Rabbani, M. G. Contextualizing Migration: An Historical and Political Perspectives of the India-Bangladesh Land Swap Deal of 2015. *International Journal on Responsibility*, 5(1), 6.
20. Robinson, G. W. S. (1959). Exclaves. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 49(3), pp-283-291-295.
21. Sardar, S. *history of enclave exchange between India and Bangladesh and the future challenges of rehabilitation*.p-45
22. Sarkar, A. (2015). *Developmental Paradigm: Up in the Arms against the State—An Anthropological analysis of insurgent in the Junglemahal of West Bengal*. *Development, Resources and Livelihoods-* p-443.
23. Shewly, H. J. (2015). *Citizenship, abandonment and resistance in the India–Bangladesh borderland*. *Geoforum*, pp-14-23.
24. Shewly, H.J. (2012). *Life, the law and the politics of abandonment: Everyday geographies of the enclaves in India and Bangladesh* (Doctoral dissertation, Durham University).pp-189-197
25. Whyte, B. R. (2005). *Waiting for the Esquimo: An historical and documentary study of the Cooch Behar enclaves of India and Bangladesh*. University of Melbourne (Australia).pp-178-190.
26. Sarkar, P. P. (2012). *An Historical re-reading of evolving land man relationship in the princely state cooch behar (1772-1949): contextualizing political economy of regional history in perspective* (Doctoral dissertation, University of North Bengal).
27. Vander Wood, P. J. (1992). *Disorder and progress: Bandits, police, and Mexican development*. Rowman & Littlefield.p-65-86
28. Van Schendel, W. (2002). *Stateless in South Asia: the making of the India-Bangladesh enclaves*. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 61(1), pp-115-143-147.