

Emotional Geographies of Mobility and Immobility: A Study on Migrant and Non-Migrant Enclave Dwellers Along the Indo-Bangladesh Border

Dr. Anup Sen¹, Dr. Debasish Talukdar²

^{1,2}State Aided College Teacher, Geography, Cooch Behar College

Abstract

This study seeks to evaluate the impact of emotions on the decision-making process of individuals who used to reside in enclaves, with regard to migration subsequent to the exchange of enclaves along the Indo-Bangladesh border in 2015. This study also analyzed the emotional state of both migrants and non-migrants living in enclaves. A sample of 375 individuals from former Bangladeshi enclaves in India who did not migrate, as well as 378 individuals who previously resided in Indian enclaves in Bangladesh were surveyed for this purpose. The quantitative technique utilized in this study involves the application of the Emotional Score (ES). This score is derived from the data collected through a survey administered via a structured questionnaire. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) have been used to support and validate the quantitative results in a qualitative manner. The study results reveal that emotions significantly influence the decision not to migrate among enclave-dwellers in both countries. Place attachment and socio-cultural bonds are the major driving forces for their decision. However, the decision of a few migrated people to India from former Indian enclaves in Bangladesh were influenced by emotional culture and emotional economy.

Keywords: Migration, Non-migration, Emotion, Enclave, Decision

Introduction

The investigation into individuals' connection with locations and the geographic environment emerged as a subject matter of significance for geographers during the 1970s (Unwin 2013). This interest was notably spurred by the release of Yi-Fu Tuan's philosophical opus 'Topophilia', which delves into the notion of "Love of place" (Tuan 1974; Naha 2016). This relationship with place is frequently saturated with emotion, and the perceived experience that one has about place plays an important role in the production of emotions (Bondi et al. 2016; Labrecque et al. 2013). People develop a strong emotional attachment to the places where they are born or live for an extended period of time, fostering a deep sense of platonic love for these locations (Mayes 2018; Sepe and Pitt 2014). This dynamic and recursive relationship between emotion and place has added a new field of study popularly referred to as Emotional Geography, where spatiality of feeling around being and doing (in) the world is dealt with (Dreblow 2019; Maddrell 2016), presenting new ways of understanding the differential topologies and topographies of emotion (Portela 2018). Broadly speaking, the study of emotion in geography

encompasses growing interdisciplinary approaches combining the insights of geography with other disciplines to understand how the world is mediated by feelings (González-Hidalgo and Zografos 2020; Clifford et al. 2018). People's perception about a place is intrinsic to geographical concern (Li et al. 2023; Holloway and Hubbard 2014). In order to gain insight into people's comfort levels and their perception of their location in relation to other places (Lenzholzer et al. 2018), it is essential to take into account their emotional connection to a specific place (Jepson and Sharpley 2018; Bondi et al. 2016). Such evidence of 'Topophilia' and 'Topophobia' (Tuan, 1990; Leach 2020) is noticed among the dwellers in the former enclaves along the Indo-Bangladesh border, who are the subject of this study. In the *Mughal* period, the border of the princely state of Cooch Behar in eastern India evolved into a topologically complex territorial limit, incorporating a total of more than 160 enclaves (Whyte 2005; Shewly 2008; Clisby 2020). The boundary was ossified under British paramountcy, but upon the partition of India in 1947, it was elevated to an international status (Fair 2014; HM 2023). Tensions between India and Pakistan, and subsequently India and Bangladesh, prevented the administration of the enclaves by their respective countries, effectively rendering the enclave dwellers stateless (Whyte 2005). Finally, in 2015, the 111 Indian enclaves surrounded by Bangladesh were ceded to Bangladesh in exchange for the 51 Bangladeshi enclaves surrounded by Indian territory (Gazette of India, 2015 & Gazette of Bangladesh, 2016). After the exchange, the residents of the enclaves were offered the opportunity to choose between Indian or Bangladeshi citizenship (Ferdoush 2019; Ferdoush and Jones 2019). Since both countries prohibit dual nationality and land ownership by non-citizens, this choice essentially boiled down to deciding whether to keep their current citizenship and move to the 'mainland' of their original country or to remain in place and acquire citizenship of the country that now owned the enclave (Parker 2015; Um 2023). It was expected that a large number of enclave dwellers on each side would opt to retain their existing nationality and migrate to that country's mainland, but in the end, a significant 'voluntary' population exchange did not eventuate (Ferdoush and Jones 2019). Only 922 (1.76%) of 52,399 enclave residents including 515 males and 407 females migrated to India, where they were sheltered in rehabilitation camps in Haldibari, Mekhliganj and Dinhata of Cooch Behar district, India (Gazette of India, 2015), and interestingly all of the migrants were from Indian enclaves. They were taken to nearby areas in India from the source areas where they migrated, with a promise to relocate them permanently (Weiner 2015). It is clear that more than 98% of the 52,399 enclave residents were unable to make the decision to move and remained stuck in their original location, maintaining their local connections (Rabbani, Cotton and Friend, 2022). Therefore, geographic space and its contextual environment had a significant influence on the decision-making process involved in migration and non-migration (Koubi et al. 2016; Thompson 2017) by the enclave dwellers. In this study, an attempt has been made to assess the retrospective role of emotion in the decision-making process for migration and non-migration after enclave exchange along Indo-Bangladesh border, and analyse the state of emotion among migrants and non-migrants after enclave exchange. The study holds significant relevance by investigating the emotional dimensions within the unique context of enclave dwellers along the Indo-Bangladesh border. By analyzing the emotional geographies of both migrant and non-migrant populations, the research contributes to understanding the complex interplay between mobility, immobility, and emotions. This knowledge has practical implications, informing policies that address the needs and challenges of enclave residents, fostering social integration, and enhancing the well-being of migrants. Furthermore, this study provides valuable insights into cross-border dynamics and deepens our understanding of different cultures. It also highlights the impact of geopolitical

boundaries on people's sense of identity and belonging. The research contributes to several academic fields, such as migration studies, emotional geography, border studies, and identity research. By delving into the emotional experiences of these individuals, the study offers valuable insights into the complex relationship between human emotions and geographical spaces. Ultimately, this research contributes to both scholarly discussions and practical decision-making.

Methodology

Secondary data were collected from the Gazette of India and Bangladesh separately for obtaining demographic information (Table 1) only. In order to collect the primary data, a self-designed validated schedule, translated in Bengali language was applied to the former enclave dwellers of India and Bangladesh. This survey was conducted after taking informed consent from them. The total sample population was 756 out of which 381 were from Indian enclaves and 375 were from Bangladeshi enclaves. Out of the 381 Indian enclave population, 68 were migrants and 313 were non-migrants, and 375 non-migrants of the Bangladeshi enclaves. This sample size was selected by using Cochran's Alpha method on the total enclave population of India and Bangladesh separately. The prepared schedule having reliability value of Cronbach's α test (0.834) focused on four major domains of Emotion viz. Place Identity, Place Dependence, Emotional culture and Emotional economy consisting of 14 items. Each item was measured by using a 5-point Likert scale in order to develop an Emotional Score (ES) of the former enclave dwellers. Here, higher weightage was given if the respondents strongly agree with the statement and vice-versa. After putting the weightage to each item, the Emotional Score (ES) has been obtained by calculating simple mean for the migrants and non-migrants of India and Bangladesh.

$$\text{Emotional Score (ES)} = \frac{\sum (V_1 + \sum V_2 \dots + \sum V_{14})}{n}$$

V_1 to V_{14} - Items 1 to 14

The influence of emotion on the decision to move or not was measured with the help of regression analysis. During field visit, unstructured and semi-structured interviews were conducted through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) for qualitative analysis to verify the quantitative results. The focus groups were socio-economically homogeneous, and of Hindu and Muslim religion. In case of Indian enclaves, there were 4 study groups comprising of 30 participants and in case of Bangladeshi enclaves, 6 focus groups have been formed with 42 participants. On the other hand, in the rehabilitation camps of Cooch Behar district in India, 3 focus groups have been made consisting of 24 migrants for the three rehabilitation camps e.g. Mekhliganj, Dinhata, and Haldibari. In Haldibari and mekhliganj rehabilitation camps there were 4 males and 4 females, taken into consideration under the study total population of 8 individuals in each camp. The entire population in these camps identifies as Hindu, and there is no Muslim population. Similarly, in Dinhata rehabilitation camp, there were 4 males and 4 females, considering out of 8 individuals. The population is divided equally: 50% identify as Hindus, and the remaining 50% identify as Muslims. A total of 96 respondents took part in the study. Out of them, 52 (54.17%) were males, and 44 (45.83%) were females. In terms of religious affiliation, 52.08% of the respondents were Muslim, while 47.92% were Hindu people. The respondents under the age of 30 years constituted 18.75% to the surveyed people, 20.83% belonged to age group of 30 and 40 years 21.88% belong to age group of 40 to 50 ; 19.79% people were from age group of 50 to 60 and 19.79% respondents were above 70 years old to the total surveyed population. Sometimes, few sensitive issues were discussed separately with an individual male

only for maintaining confidentiality since they didn't allow the researchers to interact female members of their families while discussing sensitive geo-political issues.

Results

There was found a significant influence of emotion on the decision of migration and non-migration by the former enclave dwellers. The regression has been calculated to understand the influence of emotion on the decision of the former Bangladeshi enclave dwellers about not to migrate. Results indicate that this decision is significantly predicted by emotion: $F(1,375) = 425.151, p < 0.001$. Here, emotion has influenced 88% ($b = 0.880, p < 0.001$) of the decision. Moreover, $R^2 = 0.531$ depicts that the model can explain 53.1 % of the variance of the decision of non-migration (Table - 1).

Table-1: Influence of Emotion on Decision of Non-migration

Non-Migrant	R ²	Beta Coefficient	df	F	t- value	p
Bangladeshi Enclave	0.531	0.880	1, 375	424.151	20.595	0.000
Indian Enclave	0.158	0.519	1, 223	41.835	6.468	0.000

Source: Calculated by Authors

Similarly, there was a significant influence of emotion on the decision of former Indian enclave dwellers, now in Bangladesh, not to migrate to India: $F(1, 223) = 41.835, p < 0.001$. Here, emotions have influenced a lesser, but still highly significant 51.9% ($b = 0.519, p < 0.001$) of the decision, while $R^2 = 0.158$ indicates that the model can only explain 15.8 % of the variance of the non-migration decision (Table - 1). All the dwellers of former Bangladeshi enclaves (100%) and former Indian enclaves (>98%) ceded to India and Bangladesh respectively decided not to migrate because they thought that they had been living better before enclave exchange and were emotionally attached to the place of living. Based on the participants' experiences from Focus-Group Discussions (FGDs), almost all of them told that they were-

"Monarch at home, subservient abroad"

This statement effectively conveys the idea that while someone might hold a position of authority or power in their own domain, they are actually under the control or influence of others when they are outside their familiar territory. ***"Monarch at home"*** signifies the individuals' strong sense of belonging and authority within their original homelands. These are the places they have known throughout their lives, where they have deep-rooted connections, familiarity, and a sense of control. This reflects the idea that within their native territories, they possess a certain level of autonomy, similar to how a monarch exercises power within their own kingdom. On the other hand, ***"subservient abroad"*** reflect the plight they may face when moving beyond their home territory into new political landscapes. Despite their status as citizens at home land, they might encounter challenges or restrictions as they enter foreign lands, which were once enclaves of a different country. They could potentially face limitations on movement, access to services, or even a sense of being outsiders in these new areas.

According to migration motivation theories, migration is considered as a process of economic development (Khosa, and Kalitanyi 2015; Massey 2019). Although, neoclassical theory of migration is stimulated by rational economic issues of relative economic benefits and costs, (Haas 2014), the attachment theory and social identity theory of migration include emotional or psychological risk or benefits (Ballentyne 2024), but do not emphasize the economic factors responsible for migration decision

(Bauer and Zimmermann 2018). That means, the role of emotion in migration has often been ignored in most of the studies and this gap needs to pay due attention because in many cases, migration does not only take place because of economic causes but for socio-psychological or emotional geographical reasons also (Haas 2021). The non-migrants of both countries were more concerned about psychological or emotion risk rather than economic reasons for the decision of non-migration (Mallick 2023; Balgah and Kimengsi, 2022).

The study reveals that non-migrants of both the countries have emphasized on emotional risk if they migrate. Before enclave exchange, they had been facing numerous problems in their place of origin like, identity crisis, statelessness, restricted mobility, social security, government facility, etc. and they knew after the exchange of enclave, all those barriers would break down. They didn't know how much their place of destination would fulfill their needs. In addition, they did not know whether they could able to adapt the new environment of their destination. In reality, they were familiar with their place of origin in terms of all perspectives like, socio-cultural, economic, environmental surroundings. which increased the strength of attachment (Ahlbrandt, 1984). Therefore, place attachment is a very important component while taking decision to shift elsewhere (Casakin & Kreitler 2008). Tuan (1977) argued that such interaction occurred through the accumulation of memories and experiences received from a place (Najafi & Kamal, 2012). Adhikari et.al (2022) argued that there is a significant and positive connection between place and person on the decision of migration. Literatures unveil the fact that all the enclave dwellers in both of the countries judged the positive sides of place-person interaction and emotional ties to place of origin and place of destination during exchange of enclave. Both the governments offered the citizenship and almost all the enclave dwellers (>98%) choose their country of nationality to fulfill their emotional and functional needs. Let us hear from one of the respondents (Soleman, Age-74) *"From birth, I have grown up in this ancestral house. Next to me live my neighbors, relatives, colleagues, and friends. Amidst poverty and grievances, sorrow accompanies happiness. Despite being stateless, my birthplace is intimately acquainted with both its physical and socio-cultural aspects."* Interestingly, the enclave dwellers, who migrated to India and were sheltered in rehabilitation camps, may be fewer in number, couldn't adapt with the new environment and wanted to return to their 'homeland', now part of Bangladesh, for emotion left behind by them after migration.

"Although economic opportunities and brighter prospects for the future were the initial motivations for migration, I now find that my place of origin will likely be very challenging for future survival. In that place, I am able to recall not only the physical landscape along with the socio-cultural environment, such as the ancestral house, neighbors, relatives, inherited agricultural land, and the graveyard of relatives." Such desire of return is determined by personal and family history; social relational factor; cultural factors and nostalgic reasons; sense of stability and opportunities, social services and benefits (Trabka et al, 2022). Therefore, emotion, as a pull factor, kept enclave dwellers rooted at their place of origin despite enclave exchange. Some of those who migrated to India expecting that their condition would be better after migration discovered a discomfort in the new environment because, in reality, they were socially isolated from both countries. Most of these migrants belonged to particularly poor economic backgrounds. They felt loneliness for their own places away from them and expressed emotional desire for their land, home, relatives, domestic pets and neighbours that they had left behind.

Table-2: Influence of Emotion on Decision of Migration

Migrant	R ²	Beta Coefficient	df	F	t- value	p
Haldibari	0.017	0.150	1, 66	1.173	1.083	0.283
Mekhliganj	0.084	0.316	1, 38	3.469	1.862	0.070
Dinhata	0.007	0.103	1, 52	0.344	0.586	0.560

Source: Calculated by Authors

Emotion is found to have an insignificant impact on decision of migration to Haldibari [F (1,66)=1.173, p=0.283 > 0.05], Mekhliganj [F(1,38)=3.469, p=0.070 > 0.05], and Dinhata [F(1,52)=0.344, p=0.560 > 0.05)]. Here, emotion can explain only 1.7%, 8.4% and 0.7% of the variance of migration decision among rehabilitation camp dwellers in Haldibari, Mekhliganj and Dinhata respectively.

Only 922 (1.76%) residents of the former Indian enclaves surrounded by Bangladesh migrated to India and were sheltered in the rehabilitation camps. This decision of migration was based on their choice because they had their economic activities with India before the partition in 1947 and therefore they thought that migration to India would be better for them instead of non-migration (Kumar, 2020).

Actually, India is one of the fastest growing countries since independence in terms of economic development. After the partition (1947) between India and Bangladesh, enclave dwellers of India were economically isolated from main land (Shewly 2017) and they were dependent to main parts of India.

Golam (age:72, sex: male), one of the dwellers of the temporary rehabilitation camp said *‘few years ago, there was not any hard and fast rule for the movement and at that time, he often engaged himself either in business activity or worked as a daily labour across India and Cooch Behar district was used as a passage for his movement to other parts of India’*. In this way, he was dependent on Indian part economically.

Faruk Abdullah (age: 35, sex: male) mentioned *‘the situation was found tough when Indian government increased the border security along the boundary after a few years of independence. Consequently, he left the businesses , stopped work and returned to his own residential enclave, where he remained almost unemployed as he did not have any agricultural land or business wherein he could work. Thus, he was completely dissatisfied and disappointed’*.

During this period, when they were given the opportunity to move to the Indian side, they experienced a surge of optimism. They considered the economic advantages they could potentially enjoy, which were previously inaccessible due to their disadvantageous location surrounded by Bangladesh. As a result, the migrants developed positive sentiments towards India, as they anticipated a better quality of life in a more favorable environment compared to their previous settlements in the former Indian enclaves.

On the other hand, People of the undivided Bengal, a state of India, enjoyed a homogenous culture that consisted of shared affective values, norms, artifacts, and assumptions which governed their emotion uniformly. But after partition in 1947, when International boundary was demarcated, Rangpur division of Bangladesh was included in the eastern part of the then Bengal or East Pakistan and Cooch Behar district was included in India. In 1972, East Pakistan underwent a transformation and emerged as a distinct nation called Bangladesh. Within the territory of Bangladesh were Indian enclaves, which left the residents of these enclaves socially and culturally isolated (Ferdoush 2019). It is evident that due to their strong emotional ties to India, the dwellers of these enclaves began migrating to India following the exchange of enclaves (Tumbe 2018). This study recognizes the significance of this emotional culture as a crucial factor in migration.

Conclusion

The study suggests that emotions indeed played a significant role in the decision-making process of enclave-dwellers in case of both migration and non-migration. Particularly, the emotional factors of place attachment and socio-cultural bonds emerged as key determinants in the decision to stay and not migrate for both countries' enclave-dwellers. In the case of former Indian enclave-dwellers who migrated to India from Bangladesh, the decision seemed to be influenced by emotional economy, and to some extent for emotional culture. The study emphasizes the interdisciplinary nature of understanding the emotional turn in geography, integrating insights from various disciplines to grasp how feelings mediate our perception about the world. The emotional connection that people have with their feelings is intrinsically tied to geographical perspectives. The places where people feel comfortable, where they feel a sense of belonging, or where they experience a lack thereof, play a crucial role in their emotional experiences and expressions. This research study signifies the importance of emotions in the decision-making process of enclave-dwellers facing the choice of migration or non-migration after the exchange of enclaves along the Indo-Bangladesh border. Therefore, the study reveals that emotional factors like place attachment and socio-cultural bonds played a significant role in influencing the decision to stay or move. This nuanced understanding of the interplay between emotion and migration provides valuable insights into the complexities of human decision-making in such contexts.

References

1. Balgah, Roland Azibo, and Jude Ndzifon Kimengsi. "A review of drivers of environmental non-migration decisions in Africa." *Regional Environmental Change* 22, no. 4 (2022): 125.
2. Ballentyne, Susie. "Identities in exile: social identity change and the experience of forced migration." PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2024.
3. Bondi, Liz, Joyce Davidson, and Mick Smith. "Introduction: Geography's 'emotional turn'." In *Emotional geographies*, pp. 1-16. Routledge, 2016.
4. Bondi, Liz, Joyce Davidson, and Mick Smith. "Introduction: Geography's 'emotional turn'." In *Emotional geographies*, pp. 1-16. Routledge, 2016.
5. Clifford, Nicholas, Meghan Cope, Thomas Gillespie, and Shaun French, eds. *Key methods in geography*. Sage, 2016.
6. Clisby, S. (2020). Gender, Sexuality and Identities of the Borderlands. *Gender, Sexuality and Identities of the Borderlands*, 1-11.
7. Dreblow, Hannah Truus. "Feeling American: spatialising emotion, embodiment and affective atmospheres in the emergence of everyday national identities." PhD diss., Newcastle University, 2019.
8. Fair, C. Christine. *Fighting to the end: The Pakistan army's way of war*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
9. Ferdoush, Md Azmeary. "Acts of belonging: The choice of citizenship in the former border enclaves of Bangladesh and India." *Political Geography* 70 (2019): 83-91.
10. Ferdoush, Md Azmeary, and Reece Jones. "The decision to move: Post-exchange experiences in the former Bangladesh-India border enclaves." In *Routledge handbook of Asian borderlands*, pp. 255-265. Routledge, 2018.
11. González-Hidalgo, Marien, and Christos Zografos. "Emotions, power, and environmental conflict: Expanding the 'emotional turn' in political ecology." *Progress in Human Geography* 44, no. 2 (2020): 235-255.

12. De Haas, Hein. "Migration theory: Quo vadis?." (2014).
13. De Haas, Hein. "A theory of migration: the aspirations-capabilities framework." *Comparative migration studies* 9, no. 1 (2021): 8.
14. HM, Sanjeev Kumar. *Deconstructing India-Pakistan Relations: State Security and Colonial History*. Taylor & Francis, 2023.
15. Holloway, Lewis, and Phil Hubbard. *People and place: the extraordinary geographies of everyday life*. Routledge, 2014.
16. Jepson, Deborah, and Richard Sharpley. "More than sense of place? Exploring the emotional dimension of rural tourism experiences." In *Rural tourism*, pp. 25-46. Routledge, 2018.
17. Khosa, Risimati Maurice, and Vivence Kalitanyi. "Migration reasons, traits and entrepreneurial motivation of African immigrant entrepreneurs: Towards an entrepreneurial migration progression." *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy* 9, no. 2 (2015): 132-155.
18. Koubi, Vally, Gabriele Spilker, Lena Schaffer, and Tobias Böhmelt. "The role of environmental perceptions in migration decision-making: evidence from both migrants and non-migrants in five developing countries." *Population and environment* 38 (2016): 134-163.
19. Labrecque, Lauren I., Vanessa M. Patrick, and George R. Milne. "The marketers' prismatic palette: A review of color research and future directions." *Psychology & Marketing* 30, no. 2 (2013): 187-202.
20. Leach, N. (2020). Topophilia/topophobia: The role of the environment in the formation of identity. In *Topophilia and Topophobia* (pp. 31-43). Routledge.
21. Lenzholzer, Sanda, Wiebke Klemm, and Carolina Vasilikou. "Qualitative methods to explore thermo-spatial perception in outdoor urban spaces." *Urban Climate* 23 (2018): 231-249.
22. Li, Qun, Xi Li, Wei Chen, Xinwei Su, and Runzhe Yu. "Involvement, place attachment, and environmentally responsible behaviour connected with geographical indication products." *Tourism Geographies* 25, no. 1 (2023): 44-71.
23. Maddrell, Avril. "Mapping grief. A conceptual framework for understanding the spatial dimensions of bereavement, mourning and remembrance." *Social & Cultural Geography* 17, no. 2 (2016): 166-188.
24. Mallick, Bishawjit. "Environmental non-migration: Analysis of drivers, factors, and their significance." *World Development Perspectives* 29 (2023): 100475.
25. Massey, Douglas S. "Economic development and international migration in comparative perspective." In *Determinants of emigration from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*, pp. 13-47. Routledge, 2019.
26. Mayes, Thompson M. *Why old places matter: How historic places affect our identity and well-being*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.
27. Naha, Souvik. "Cricket, Public Cultures, and Mediated Identities in Calcutta, 1934-1999." PhD diss., ETH Zurich, 2016.
28. Parker, Kunal M. *Making Foreigners*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.
29. Portela, Manuel. "Geographies of Empathy: Affective reconfigurations of Cities, Objects & Places." PhD diss., Universidade NOVA de Lisboa (Portugal), 2018.
30. Sepe, Marichela, and Michael Pitt. "The characters of place in urban design." *Urban Design International* 19 (2014): 215-227.
31. Shewly, Hosna J. "Life in de facto statelessness in enclaves in India and Bangladesh." *Singapore journal of tropical geography* 38, no. 1 (2017): 108-122.

32. Thompson, Maddy. "Migration decision-making: a geographical imaginations approach." *Area* 49, no. 1 (2017): 77-84.
33. Tumbe, Chinmay. *India moving: A history of migration*. Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2018.
34. Um, Khatharya. "Refugee return, reintegration, and sustainable futurity: politics, pitfalls and possibilities of repatriation in post/conflict situations." *Geopolitics* 28, no. 3 (2023): 1130-1160.
35. Unwin, Tim. *The place of geography*. Routledge, 2013.
36. 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).
37. Weiner, Myron. *Sons of the soil: Migration and ethnic conflict in India*. Princeton University Press, 2015.