

Border Culture in the Northern Region of Bangladesh: An Anthropological Study

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This dissertation has been prepared for the fulfillment of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph D) in Anthropology, Faculty of Social
Sciences, University of Dhaka, Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh.

DECLARATION

This Ph D (Doctor of Philosophy) dissertation has been prepared to submit to the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dhaka, Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh in fulfilling the condition of Ph D program. All the material embodied in this dissertation is original and has not been submitted in part or full for any other Diploma or Degree of this or any other University or Institution at home or abroad.

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CERTIFICATE

It is my immense pleasure to introduce Nur Mohammad Sajjadul Hoque Sumon as a Ph D Scholar of the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh who has prepared and accomplished his Ph D Dissertation on “**Border Culture in the Northern Region of Bangladesh: An Anthropological Study**” under my supervision.

This dissertation is submitted for the fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph D) in Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, the University of Dhaka, during the session 2013-2014.

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Dedicated to...

My Parents: Ms Nurjahan Begum and Md. Serajul Hoque

ABSTRACT

Bangladesh and India share a common and well demarcated land boundary, which came into existence, as a result of partition of the erstwhile Britain-ruled Indian subcontinent. These countries are the end product of partition of Indian subcontinent. In the case of Bangladesh-India border, religion is one of the important determinants to define border culture. But in this study entitled “Border Culture in the Northern Region of Bangladesh: An Anthropological Study” [this titled dissertation has been prepared for the fulfillment of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph D) in Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh] at Diar Manik Chak (DMC) border area of Bangladesh, it is not so important how it is in the case of other parts of the border areas of these two neighboring countries because the border Lalgola of India, which is connected with Diar Manik Chak (DMC) border of Bangladesh is also Muslim dominant borderland.

People living in the border areas of Bangladesh have developed a unique culture based on their occupation. The question of legality in this regard always remains a concern. Illegal trading is found in most landlocked countries and also in countries surrounded by water bodies. The research, therefore, tried to reveal the types of people, trading network and associated problems. Indeed, an attempt has been made to understand the livelihood pattern of border people as well as the concept of “border culture” in terms of the culture of illegal trading. By keeping this in mind, this research has been conducted at Diar Manik Chak (DMC) border village under Char Asariadoh Union of Godagari upzila in Rajshahi district of northern Bangladesh. The area was selected because of the extent of illegal border trading compared to other places. This research area is within a range of 6 to 7 km from international boundary line of the northern region of Bangladesh.

This study was carried out on DMC border area for a period of six months in 2014 and 2015. Both rainy (from June – August, 2014) and dry seasons (September, December, 2014 and January, 2015) have been selected to understand the cultural and economic activities of the study area. Additional two weeks in April, 2016 spent for conducting the study; especially to observe the illegal border trade.

This is a descriptive research where anthropological ethnographic investigation process is followed with reflexivity during conducting the study. Here the techniques and tools of qualitative research method like

observation, discussion with the key informants and administration of unstructured interview schedule according to emic perspective were used during conducting the field study of this research. Purposive sampling was used in this research. Respondents were selected purposively and the unit of this research was the border community. Seven (07) respondents were considered as Key Informants and fifty (50) respondents were taken for unstructured interview. Both male and female are different in terms of age, religion, gender, educational qualification and occupation. Respondents' occupation indicates that significant number [5 key informants (71.42%) out of 7 and 27 (54%) out of 50 respondents of unstructured interview] of border people of present study area is involved in illegal border trading. Moreover, secondary sources like journals, books, periodicals, newspapers, internet sources and relevant research reports have been reviewed extensively for this study.

Presently, the border dwellers at DMC have territorial concept as well as territorial identity. They maintain the border on the basis of 'nationalism'. Partition plays pivotal role in course of time to create the territorial concept and identity among the borderlanders. It plays an important role to open up new economic opportunities for both legal and illegal trading. Increasing number of family members, failure of earning enough through agriculture, risky but less labor and easy money through illegal trading along with other causes encourages the DMC dwellers (both Muslim and Hindu males and females) to do the border trading, which is marked as part of life and most important livelihood indeed. Trading is maintaining by the people of this border with diversified norms and values which makes the illegal trading distinctive from other occupations and ultimately generates a different border culture in DMC. There are impacts of neighboring Indian Lalgola border in different ways on DMC border. Illegal trading is connected with two states and it is very natural that it bears representation of both the countries and two borders cultures. That is why it can be stated that the border culture of DMC is a mix culture in terms of different trading related occupations.

The border culture of Diar Manik Chak is not simple. It is complex, especially in terms of occupation. It can be stated that the culture of Diar Manik Chak is homogenous in terms of religion as it is a Muslim dominated border area and 'shared culture' is prevailing in terms of border trading occupation in DMC.

Illegal trading is an old occupation and it has its own distinctiveness and importance for livelihood, which shapes border people culturally different

from the mainland of the country. Illegal border trade- an informal economy became the 'way of life' of the border dwellers of Diar Manik Chak which has both positive and negative dimensions.

In this dissertation, the first chapter is essentially introductory and outlines the objectives and rationale of the study. The chapter two specifies the literature review, the chapter three theoretical approach and the chapter four focuses on methodology and data analysis, duration of the field work, criteria for selection of the study area, unit of the study, field work experiences and limitations of the study. The chapter five and six made an attempt to give descriptions of the study area and Bangladesh land border respectively. The chapter seven and eight covers the glimpses of partition and its aftermath and partition & the beginning of illegal border trade respectively. The chapter nine reflects border culture of the study area. The chapter ten deals with illegal trading and border culture of the study area and its impact on national and international levels. The final chapter, chapter eleven summarizes the findings of the study and draws a conclusion.

CONTENT	PAGE NO.
Declaration	i
Certificate	ii
Acknowledgement	iii-iv
Abstract	vi-viii
List of Figures	x
List of Abbreviation	xi
Glossary of Local Terms	xii-xiv
Chapter One: Introduction	1-6
Chapter Two: Literature Review	7-30
Chapter Three: Theoretical Approach	31-33
Chapter Four: Methodology & Data Analysis	34-39
Chapter Five: Profile of the Study Area	40-44
Chapter Six: Description of Bangladesh Land Border	45-47
Chapter Seven: Glimpses of Partition and Its Aftermath	48-53
Chapter Eight: Partition and the Beginning of Illegal Border Trade	54-60
Chapter Nine: Border Culture at Diar Manik Chak (DMC) Frontier	61-64
Chapter Ten: Illegal Trading and Border Culture	65-84
Chapter Eleven: Conclusion	85-88
References	89-94

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure1: Study Area: Diar Manik Chak (DMC) Border Area, Char Asariadoh Union, Godagari Upzila , Rajshahi, Page no. 41

Figure 2: Some illegal trade flows at Diar Manik Chak (DMC) border, Bangladesh. Page no. 72

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

BGB	Border Guards Bangladesh
BOP	Border Out-Posts
BSF	Border Security Force
BUP	Bangladesh Unnayan Parishad
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
DMC	Diar Manik Chak
DNC	Department of Narcotics Control
EBR	East Bengal Regiment
EPR	East Pakistan Rifles
HSC	Higher Secondary Certificate
Km	Kilometer
LBA	Land Boundary Agreement
Mi	Miles
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
Ph D	Doctor of Philosophy
Rs	Rupee (the currency of India)
SADF	South Asia Democratic Forum
Tk	Taka (the currency of Bangladesh)
TV	Television
ULFA	United Liberation Front of As

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

- Bharta* : Boiled or roasted and mashed potatoes seasoned with mustard oil, onions and chilies.
- Boubhat* : Post marital event, where bridegroom side gives a feast to the guests of bride.
- Burqa* : A loose garment (usually with veiled holes for the eyes) worn by Muslim female.
- Blak* : Cross border illegal trade.
- Border Water haat* : Temporary floating market at border area.
- BDR* : Bangladesh Rifles (presently known as BGB).
- BTV* : Bangladesh Television.
- BADP* : Border Area Development Plan.
- Cinra* : Puffed, fried or flattened rice served as refreshment.
- Dhooti* : A loincloth generally worn by Hindu male.
- Durga* : The Hindu Goddess.
- Eid-ul-Fitr* : One of the main Muslim Festivals after the month of Ramadan.
- Eid-ul-Azha* : One of the main Muslim festivals. Muslims sacrifice a four footed animal in the name of Allah.
- Golla* : A large conical hut which people use for storing crops.

- Haat* : Temporary village market.
- Imam* : Head of Mosque.
- Jumma* : Friday afternoon prayer
- Kacha* : Temporary.
- Khoi* : Various types of rice that is puffed, fried or flattened, is generally served as refreshment.
- Kabadi* : A kind of rural sport is generally played in rural Bangladesh, which is also the national sport of Bangladesh.
- Lungi* : A loincloth, it's both the edges are stitched together.
- Madrasha* : Muslim religious educational institution.
- Masuri dal* : Red lentils.
- Maskolai dal* : A kind of pulse.
- Milad* : A Muslim ritual.
- Muri* : Puffed, fried or flattened rice served as refreshment.
- Panjabi* : A type of shirt meant for men.
- Puja* : Hindu Worship
- Parishad* : Council.
- Pithas* : Ground into flour, rice is also consumed in various forms such as bread, cake, fritters and cripes.

- Pucca* : Permanent or cemented.
- Shondesh* : A kind of sweetmeat, a form of sweetened cottage cheese.
- Sari* : A dress worn by women; consists of several yards of light material that is draped around the body.
- Sunni* : Muslim sect.
- Second Home* : Well-furnished Homes at a place constructed or purchased by someone from his/her own earnings, which is not inherited.
- Tulsi* : Basil leaves.
- Ullur Dhoni* : Sound that is generated by uluating or whistling.
- Uluating* : Special sounds are made by the Bengali Hindu women through whisper during worship and household rituals.
- Union Parishad* : Formal village political council.
- Waaz* : Islamic sermon
- Ward* : Administrative area of Union Council.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

The invention of agriculture and the necessity to preserve food crops led to a change in the nomadic life of people. This in turn led to delimiting people's movement over a fixed, small geographical area and to the formation of territorial identity. Prior to agriculture, the hunting-gathering communities formed a social organization known as band society, which migrated seasonally as per availability of food, or under various circumstances like natural disasters, famines and war. With settled life came demarcation of territories among communities resulting in the formation of boundaries, which became their subsistence base. Any violation of demarcation lines was considered to be disrespectful towards peaceful co-existence and even led to serious conflicts among neighboring communities. The band society converted to communal membership of land and then settled peasant villages and then into states, nations and nation-states. The concept of border is no longer as simple as it was earlier. It received structural meanings and functions as it reflected major changes in the strength and resilience of the nation state, and in the variety of social, political and economic processes. It was definitely an evolutionary approach in which territorial community transformed themselves into the broader categories of nation and state. The changes in the concepts of nation-state are so swift and visible that a range of related concepts have developed in last few years and due to global transformation, the numbers of states have risen remarkably as well as the number of borders. This rapid growth in number of borders has led to a corresponding increase in the number of border disputes (Saha, 2007).

Territorial dispute is not a new phenomenon in the interstate relationship. Unfortunately, this kind of dispute as well as border studies in and about Asia lag behind in interest and scholarship than in other geographic areas (Kabir, 2010).

South Asian Country borders are also within this limitation and Bangladesh has never been beyond that. Bangladesh shares her border with two countries naming India and Myanmar. Often termed as an India locked country, Bangladesh shares 4427 kilometers of long border on three sides with India (Datta, Islam & Alam, 2010). This is one of the mostly populated and risky border areas exist between Bangladesh and India. It also turned out to be the longest border that India shares with any country (Schendel, 2005). As far as our geographical reality is concerned; India is the only neighbor to

be entered for, except in the south to the gateway of Bay of Bengal and small border with Myanmar (280 km). Some experts call it geographical tyranny (Datta, Islam & Alam, 2010). It should be noted that Pakistan and India has been separated on the basis of a 'Two Nation Theory' (Wikipedia) where Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan (erstwhile East Pakistan) and her territorial border was demarcated (known as Radcliffe Line) in 1947 by Sir Cyril Radcliffe (Wikipedia). Though bifurcation between India and Pakistan was based on religion, but the people have almost same culture across the border.

George Bernard Shaw had once referred to the English and Americans as being one people separated by a common language. Bangladesh and West Bengal (provincial state of India) are caught in a similar conundrum. Both the sides have same language, shared pride and glory of similar things; they have similarity in culinary habits, social observances, literature, foods, religious festivals etc. The awkwardness of acknowledging that we are different in spite of all that is similar, is almost equal to the discomfort of admitting that we are similar in spite of all that separate us (Ahmad, 2007). The colonies left the borders as their imprints, but the people beyond borders have their open as well as subtle forms resistance to the legacies that divided them (Khan, 2013).

Due to arbitrary tragic separation of the Indian Subcontinent in 1947 by the British rulers, the border cuts across profoundly populated villages, market places, roads and railways and common agricultural lands which was integrated and interdependent for centuries. The highly porous and often indistinguishable Bangladesh- India border rise to a number of issues because the border management condition between the two countries is vulnerable. Smuggling, illegal migration, trafficking, infiltration, border killings etc. is more or less common scenario. Despite these problems, it is easier for people and goods to cross international borders than ever before in our increasingly globalized world. For example, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the border becomes 'externalized' and with the creation of the European Union, the border became 'internalised' (Polner).

In case of Bengal borderland (Schendel, 2005), people went on bed at night with the same identity and wake up at the next morning being different in identity despite remaining anthropologically same. Since then, the border problems kept continuing at its own. For this reason, we cannot decline the

importance of border culture study in sense of anthropology and it applies in northern border districts of Bangladesh too.

Today, border is not only a symbol of territorial frontier rather “Places of economic and political opportunity for nations and states as well as for a host of other interest groups and agencies, legal and illegal” (O’Dowd, 2002). People living in the border areas of Bangladesh have developed a unique culture based on their occupation. The question of legality in this regard always remains a concern. Illegal trading is found in most landlocked countries and also in countries surrounded by water bodies. The proposed research, therefore, tried to reveal the types of people, trading network and associated problems. Indeed, an attempt has been made to understand the concept of “border culture” in terms of the culture of illegal trading. By keeping this in mind, this research has been conducted on the basis of the following key objective along with the specific objectives in a particular frontier village named Diar Manik Chak (DMC) under Char Asariadoh Union of Godagari upzila in Rajshahi district of northern Bangladesh:

Key Objective:

The key objective of the research was to find out livelihood pattern of border people.

Specific objectives are:

- To identify types of people involved in illegal border trading;
- To note the going out and coming in goods from and to Bangladesh;
- To find out the problems encountered by the illegal border traders;
- To assess the impact of illegal border trade;
- To reveal the human trafficking issue in border area; and
- To obtain information of the role of local administration.

Rationale of the Study:

Bangladesh is surrounded by India in three sides with border which make the issue of Bangladesh–India border a bone of contention between the two neighbors who share thousand years political, economical and socio-cultural bondage. In 1905, when Bengal was divided, a strong protest forced the British authority to keep Bengal intact. Finally, in 1947, Bengal was divided as East Pakistan with a trauma of partition and migration of thousands from

the both side in the name of separate religious identity. Under the plan of the then Governor General Lord Mountbatten, border between the India and Pakistan was hastily drawn which was termed by Jinnah as ‘moth eaten Pakistan’ (Faruque, 2011). In the Pakistan period, in 1965’s India–Pakistan war, a sense of insecurity grew among the East Pakistanis when the eastern border was totally unprotected and unprepared to defend from any Indian attack. After the creation of Bangladesh, a land mark Indira-Mujib border treaty was signed between India and Bangladesh on May 16, 1974. According to the treaty Bangladesh had handed over the Berubari and India had handed over Tin Bigha Corridor.

On September 6, 2011 Bangladesh and India signed the protocol to the Land Boundary Agreement (LBA). The outstanding issues include (i) 6.5 km undemarcated land boundary in three sectors viz, Daikhata-56 (West Bengal), Muhuri River-Belonia (Tripura) and Dumabari (Assam); (ii) enclaves; and (iii) adverse possessions. Two countries have already exchanged the strip maps and the implementation of LBA is underway. As per the LBA, 111 Indian and 51 Bangladeshi enclaves exchanged with a population of 37,334 and 14,215 respectively. Besides, some adversely possessed land along the India-Bangladesh border in West Bengal, Tripura, Meghalaya and Assam was also exchanged. With the demarcation of the boundary as per the LBA, India received 2,777.038 acres of land from Bangladesh and transferred 2267.682 acres back to Bangladesh. Though Bangladesh parliament ratified the agreement in 1974 (The Daily Star, 2013), but the Indian parliament ratified it very recently.

India has been constructing 4000 k.m. fence along the border of Bangladesh. The fence is electrified at some stretches. It is made of steel and concrete, packed with razor wire, double-walled and 8-foot high. The reason for building the fence, said an Indian Ministry of External Affairs spokesperson, is the same as the United States’ Mexico fence. As Israel’s fence on the West Bank to prevent illegal migration and terrorist infiltration. This is the result of the hysteria generated by the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party during the 1980s and 1990s—Bangladeshi Muslim ‘infiltration’ by the millions constitutes a serious strain on the national economy, it poses a threat to India’s stability and security. Such allegations are not only an exaggeration, but a complete fabrication. In numerous occasions, Bengali-speaking Muslims nationals were pushed back to Bangladesh by BSF claiming that they were Bangladeshi nationals. But India could not provide any material proof of the allegation. Bangladesh’s objection to border

fencing is based on a bilateral 1975 agreement, which lay down that no country may not build within 150 meters of the border. However, in April 2005, India and Bangladesh reached an agreement requiring India to consult with the Bangladesh Foreign Ministry regarding any proposed construction within the 150-meter area (Faruque, 2011).

The problems along the border are not something new. There are cross-border movements of people living in the border area, without official permission. These movements are of course illegal (The New Nation, 2013). Moreover, problems like human trafficking, smuggling, drug peddling, border killing are also common at border areas.

Border relationship of Bangladesh with India has been a blessing and a curse simultaneously as Nobel laureate Octavio Paz of Mexico and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada opined the same complexity in case of US-Canada border (www.canam.gc). Human problems like border conflict is best treated as socio-cultural not as specialized technological issue. Study of cultural anthropology can help us think about these problems especially about the border problem creatively because it offers a view of many alternative ways of living (Bodley, 2000). Knowledge of anthropology enables us to look with greater freedom at the problems like border problem (Bodley, 2001). It helps us to know what the border people think, what they do and also what the border people produce in their own places.

Culture of border and border people could not gain much interest to the researchers as a field of study for a long time. But in recent times, the trend has diverged. Border culture has now become an interesting ground for academic research and policy making. Today, the study of borderland and its culture is providing new insights into the relationship between modern states and transnational linkages. It plays crucial role in national politics and international foreign policy making. Moreover, borders form a clear link between geography and politics. It describes much about state and it helps to explore borderlanders' life style and take decisions regarding them accordingly. Most of the borders in the world are territorially somehow conflictual. That's why it is natural of border rival generation. Nevertheless, borders play important role in transnational trade, cash flow, regional politics etc. As social scientists turn their attention from the virtual world of global investment and speculation to the real world of cross-border linkages and inter-territorial economics, borderland and its culture emerge as core objects of transnational research. The study of border culture is necessary in

order to shift the focus from state strategies and global economic change to the people living in the borderland (Schendel, 2005). This study looks forward to provide the original scenario of borderlanders' before the society so that the policy makers can fix their policy suitably regarding borderland.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

In studying border culture, one of the striking books is '**The Bengal Borderland: Beyond State and Nation in South Asia**' (2005) written by Willem van Schendel, who is a renowned professor of Modern Asian History at the University of Amsterdam, Germany. He believes that the Bengal borderland consisted of Bangladesh, Burma, India and Pakistan is an important academic area of partisan studies, although neglected by most of the historians. Without studying the border separation, it will not be possible to understand the post-colonial development in this part of the world. Particularly, post-colonial South Asian development and cultural advancement largely associated with the Bengal borderland. Schendel composed the book consisting of 13 chapters with an abundance of reference and data. The chapters outlined different dimensions of the Bengal borderland and their historical timeline to some extents. The chapters are Studying Borderlands, Partition Studies, Radcliffe's Fateful Line, A Patchwork Border, Securing the Territory, Defiance and Accommodation, The Flow of Goods, Narratives of Border Crossing, Migrants, Fences and Deportation, Rebels and Bandits, 'Rifle Raj' and the Killer Border, Nation and Borderland and Conclusion: Beyond State and Nation. The book was published by Anthem Press in 2005 and was printed in India.

In the first chapter 'Studying Borderlands', Schendel discusses the current state of academic knowledge and concentration on the study of borderland along with the rationale of the study and he also discussed the composition and construction of the book.

He portrayed the book by a regular scenario of borderlands that marks the relation between the borderland inhabitants and the borderland rulers. This book is about exploring their relationship and how a border is molded out of any situation and how the relation builds up. He argued that there are many ways a border can appear. Political earthquake can bring about changes in the border line and can create new border as a geological earthquake can bring about. But in the first case, the study regarding border is ignored as it is quite unlikely in the latter case. This book can help who want to understand the social change of South Asia but he argues that this book will also help those who want to understand border issue under the light of social theory and how the social space is conceptualized. Writing about the Bengal borderland, he says that in August 1947, people were quite confused about

their location since the British colonial rule came to the end and separated the Bengal with its new border demarcation. Many of the people still do not recognize its legitimacy and therefore, the borders had to undergo through many conflicts, wars, uprisings, and many types of resistance. This border belies the concept of borderless globalization since the borders are always subject to policing, patrolling, fencing and conflicting situation.

For ages, there was big ignorance and negligence about studying borderlands but recently, the academic concentration on studying borders is growing up. Studying borderland can tell us about the nexus between a country's geography and its politics. There are 226000 kilometers of borders in the world which is more than five times of the earth's circumference and the border is always a matter of discord among different groups of people. Hence, it is important to keep studying borders and to generate social discourse for dealing with the issues. The interest on border study merges with culture, identity, citizenship, and ethnicity. Hence, the study of border culture is quite important to divert the core objective of the study from state strategy and global economic change to the lifestyle of the borderlanders and their social culture. Their thoughts, actions and beliefs impact on the global discourse of state, community, and transnational networks. Studying borderland is a matter of deep empirical research with historical concentration. It is important to look back on their history and how they have been through.

Schendel argued that we need to think out of the box regarding the theory of social space. When talking about borders and states, it is presumed that a state is a boundary that has legitimacy and sovereignty to control and its people and resources with its own rules. While studying about borderland, this theory can mislead a researcher if he wants to understand the culture of borderlanders. This theory can misguide because it reflects the model of territoriality which is all about power and controlling. To study border adequately, this model should be widened and challenged.

The Bengal borderland is an interesting case for studying border in a new style since this border is less significant in global politics than others. Therefore, researchers also have shown negligence to it while studying border. To develop a new idea about social space, this case can cognitively contribute a lot. While studying Bengal border, the author resorted to archival records, one on one interview, largely available newspaper articles, memoirs, and books. However, the author acknowledges that many of the

documents which are available to the students of borderlands are strictly censored in this part of the world. People are kept out to avail and know the geographical information regarding the borderland. Because the information can play a vital role in public upsurge for something unwanted if the information is available in public domain.

In the second chapter, 'Partition Studies' the writer started his discussion about how the word 'partition' is conceived commonly. He argued that there are two reasons why the study of Bengal borderland must start from the India-Pakistan border partition in 1947. Firstly, partition coincided with the birth of Bengal borderland and secondly, the border is always viewed through the lens of partition. Historically, the studies on partition base on some conventions. The writer argues that these conventions are problematic and need to be advanced. One of the conventions is analyzing the study of partition against a regional backdrop. According to Robert Schaeffer, the partition is not only a division but also devolution of power. He described partition as a situation where political power is not merely redistributed between great powers but transferred to and divided between indigenous successors.

The partition has divided the one South Asia into four parts. In 1937, Burma was dismantled, in 1947, India and Pakistan were created and in 1971, Bangladesh was dismantled from Pakistan. Schendel argues that while studying the partition of 1947, we know more about Punjab and it has been a model. Therefore, much less knowledge is available on what partition means in other provinces. Such kind of basic misconception and comparing Punjab with other provinces reveals the lack of balance in partition studies.

Schendel found out another gap that has hampered the development of new insights in partition studies. The scholars of the partition studies in the subcontinent were from any of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Therefore, their insights on the partition and their studies were influenced by their own nation and history. To understand the post-partition consequences of this subcontinent, we must look into the social history of partition. He underscores some pathways for enriching the study of partition. These are: to develop a comparative perspective by linking work on the partition borders with the general field of border studies, systematic comparison between different parts of the partition borderlands, using available information to study how the decisions of boundary commissions were implemented on the ground, considering the borderland discourse in the light

of the historical evidence and exploring how the partition led the borderlanders to initiate new social arrangement.

Chapter three of this book discusses the genesis of the border and some assumptions about the birth of this border. It also underlines the remarkable role of a single colonial official decision that caused the partition.

Being ordered by the Viceroy to demarcate the Bengal based on the contiguous areas of Muslim and Non-Muslim, the chairman, Sir Cyril Radcliffe rushed on dividing the colony into India and Pakistan. Schendel finds two vague terms used in the order enjoined by the Viceroy. They are 'area' and 'factor'. There was no explanation about what an area could be and what the factors are.

There are three misconceptions about the birth of the border and partition. Firstly, a question can be put forward that whether Bengal was bisected. Because the Radcliff line did not carve two halves out of the province of Bengal, it made the province fall into four large pieces. Secondly, it is assumed that the border to Muslim areas was made. But fifteen percent of the border did not cut through either Muslim or Hindu majority areas. Thirdly, it is almost unchallenged assumption that the border separated Muslims from Hindu. However, Schendel argues that Non-Muslims cannot be equated with Hindu. Therefore, a Hindu-Muslim division through the partition is a fallacy.

Schendel discussed in the 4th chapter, A Patchwork Border, how the states tried to inscribe the border in the newly formed geographical landscape and how they dealt with an abundance of problems created by the politico-geographical decision of Bengal partition. He also argues that the ruler's inability to agree on different issues related to border still contributes to border conflict, borderland volatility, and diplomatic discomfort.

The decision imposed by the boundary commission regarding the abrupt partition between Pakistan and India could not satiate either of them. Having a length of more than 4000 kilometers, this was the longest boundary India ever shared with. The people of both the newly formed countries, India, and Pakistan were quite puzzled. Several issues originated in those days, are still complex to deal with between India and then Pakistan, now Bangladesh. These issues are also liable for cross-border confrontations. These are also potential tools for political forces to exploit them.

While demarcating the boundary, no respect was shown to the history, culture and ethnic factors. The border had a patchwork of seventeen segments where fourteen of them were of colonial administrative units and rests of the three were not of administrative borders. The borderline demarcation was agreed but there were three apples of discord which the map could not resolve. These were: rivers, unsurveyed land and mapping errors.

India and Pakistan were successful in fixing most of the border issues by mutual consent. They agreed on a working definition of the borderline. Despite having mounting tension between both the countries, they have realized that they needed to cooperate on fixing the issue and they did it. They carried out multiple joint surveys to demarcate the borderline. After 50 years of the sudden birth of the Bengal border, the initial patchwork of 17 components had been disappeared. However, normalization is yet to be completed due to several unsettled issues and disputes.

At the 5th chapter of this book, the writer discussed how India and Pakistan have been able to take the control of the newly independent, specifically demarcated, although partly vague borderland. The leaders were quite afraid of invasion and subversion from across the border. All they thought about to secure a vague, disputed and unguarded borderland. Although it is perceived that Pakistan claimed the share of power under a national legislation, based on two nations theory, however, many people of the colonized Indian subcontinent including some of the political leaders of India, thought that something like a federal state set up may come out from the struggle of Pakistan. Their hidden inclination was about a federal state based on one nation theory which dreamt of uniting the colonized provinces under one nation. But what Radcliffe line bisected resulted in a Pakistan with two pieces of territory not contiguous to each other. This separation drove the Indian political leaders to think of Pakistan to bounce back to the previous state.

To control the 4000 kilometers of border, some tools were used by the leaders of both states. These were: expanding the state bureaucracy, creating state-supported parliamentary bodies, homogenizing the borderland population and devising mechanism of interstate conflict resolution.

The situation was so chaotic in both the states but in East Pakistan, it was severe. To control the situation, East Pakistan created East Bengal Regiment (EBR), East Pakistan Rifles (EPR). On the other hand, India could handle the situation most with police, and backed up by border militias of different states of India. In 1965, India formed Border security Force (BSF) to surveil the borderland. Not only these security forces but also some other branches of state bureaucracy played their role to safeguard the border. Besides these forces state supported parliamentary forces like Ansar, Bangiya Jatiya Rakhsi Bahini (West Bengal National Volunteer Force) also supported the state to secure and control the borderland. Having secured the borderland, the next tool that was applied was homogenizing the borderland population. First, the enemies were disarmed followed by removal of them to their own land. The enemies considered as mostly Muslims in the Non-Muslim borderland and Non-Muslims in the Muslim borderland. Besides these tools, a fourth tool was also applied to control the border. It was interstate conflict resolution. 3 types of techniques were applied in doing so. These were joint inquiries, border meetings, and border ceremonies. This is how the leaders tried to control a newly emerged borderland out of the Radcliff line.

William van Schendel, in chapter 6, brought in how the borderlanders dealt with the situation they had been thrown into by lining a new border in their commonly known living places. It was quite sudden and shocking to them to experience an international border in their backyard all on a sudden.

Being in a new international border area, their social space were curtailed off, they strangely coped with the new situation. There were three aspects to their agitation. The world they lived in so far has totally been disappeared and cut into two pieces. Secondly, there was a sudden appearance of the state. Earlier, they the notion of the state was not so close to them but after the partition, they found state and border everywhere. Thirdly, the partition caused people to move across the border largely.

There were some ways they dealt with the new aspect of the border. Ignoring the border was a way among them. Three groups of people were seemed to ignore the border and move across. They were refugees caused by the new border, cross-border settlers, and cross-border labor migrants. However, the writer argues that crossing the border could be out of genuine ignorance or they thought passing border would not be a crime. Sometimes the ignorance turned into defiance when the authority came and tried to

prevent them from crossing the border. Nonetheless, they kept on ignoring and defying the border.

There were several reasons why they tended to do so. Among them, cross-border landholding, forcible harvesting, markets across the border, borderland commuters were the main reasons. The both side of the borders were the means to earn their bread and butter. Thus, their culture grew and they were accustomed to. Therefore, the sudden decision of putting a new aisle midst their regular land was shocking for them.

The chapter 7 discusses how the borderland trade flew across the border after its creation and how the states manipulated them. It shows how the unauthorized forms of trade and borderland economy were born out of the failure of the state imposed attempts. The authority did not regulate the trade, however, rather adapted them and beefed up the unauthorized forms of trade across the border.

There were four categories of trade between the two sides of the border. The first one was transit trade and sanctioned trade. There was an agreement between Pakistan and India to allow the transit trade. This was a political decision that affected the flow of goods across the border. But it did not pay off as it was thought to be. The transit trade was seriously subjected to conflict among the officials regarding the regulations and was frequently caught up in a tussle. The second category of trade was border trade. This was also recognized by the both states. Border trade was authorized and legal up to 16 kilometers from the border belt. The fourth category of trade was illegal trade that was the result of state territoriality. The goods which were not sanctioned but passed the border were lined up as illegal trade goods. There were four large flows of illegal trade. These were historical trade, swapping, international goods to India, banned goods. The economy across the borders was almost dependent on these four flows of illegal trade. The authority ended up rescaling them with the illegal forms of trade flow.

In chapter eight, “Narratives of Border Crossing”, the writer Schendel argued that there were three types of narratives of border crossing have been developed. The narratives describe how the political authority saw the state of the people those who crossed the border. The first narrative was ‘Coming home’. Millions of people suffered cruelty and faced violence while coming home being uprooted by the decision of the new borderland. The second narrative was infiltration. The term was first surfaced in 1962 and then in

1964. The Indian government identified almost twenty thousand people as infiltrators and they started international propaganda campaign on it. The third narrative was denial. The state denied that some people were not their citizens. This is a counter discourse to both of the above that have been developed by the East Pakistan, later Bangladesh. The denial was the result of an acute sense of vulnerability. It terribly effected on individual migrants. Schendel argues that all these three dominating narratives are flawed by territorial epistemology.

In chapter nine, the writer discussed the failure of state attempts to stop the cross-border movement and migration. Different tools were employed to resist the cross-border movement and migration.

The trend of migration was not new in this deltaic region of Bengal. The river flow and erosion forced the people to move and settle elsewhere sometimes. Besides, epidemic diseases and natural calamities also caused the population migration on a large scale. But the suddenly creation of the borders made an impact on their migration. The movement of the settlers out of the Bengal suddenly became international migration which even the migrants also did not understand ever. The state formation of India and Pakistan also led to migration with big waves.

To stop the cross-border illegal migration, India took three measures that ultimately failed to control the population migration across the border. These three tools are border fencing, detection and identification and deportation. According to the Ground Rules between India and Pakistan, any type of permanent post or defensive work was not allowed to be constructed within the border belt of 150 yards. As a result, fencing came up with a 150 yards area on the Indian side. The second tool that was used was detection and identification. It was against the infiltrators, to identify them and send them back. It was quite difficult since the migrants usually traveled without any sort of identification paper. Besides, it was also difficult to distinguish between the people of the cross-border area because of their similar language. There were inadequate policing across the border and a regular confusion prevailed about the cutoff point between the home comers and the infiltrators. The third tool was deportation. Both India and Pakistan deported the people those who were unwanted in their lands. However, the deportation and settler migration turned into the labor trafficking after 1971. It was undoubtedly the most exploiting and the humiliating form. They were labor migrants, both willingly and forcibly, to search for their bread and

butter. These were the reasons that caused the tools of migration resistance failed.

The tenth chapter of this book, 'Rebels and Bandits' discusses the grown political and military challenges to the state power in the borderland and how these were stirred up by a number of borderland rebellions. At the one hand, the rebels challenged the notion and strategy of state territoriality; on the other hand, they have acknowledged the notion of a living reality by challenging them. Since after the partition, there have been dozens of rebel organizations active in the borderland ranging from having a limited number of actions to stirring up a million people.

Two modes of rebellion have been found according to the writer. The first one is class mode. The rebellion was based on class exploitation. These were fueled up by exploitive tenancies and levies. These factors made the sharecroppers fighting with the landlords and the colonial state. Communists were involved and agitated the people in such movements. The other mode was nation mode. This rebellion was tossed by cultural identity, language, and territory. Whereas the class mode of rebellion bears a long history of oppression and deprivation, the nation mode was merely an aftermath of the partition. The control over territory was also challenged by the Bandits. They were a criminal gang challenging the territoriality more from a military aspect. Both Bandits and rebels defied the states and none of the states enjoyed a peaceful situation. Neither could the rebels and bandits pose any serious threats to the states nor could the state eliminate them fully.

Chapter eleven discusses border violence and its level, involved factors, the perpetrators, patterns of border violence. Measuring border violence is quite difficult. Because, since the partition in 1947, border violence has never been analyzed. Usually, the border guard police killed the people of the other nationals and states.

The people who lived near the border were the main victims. Those who were caught up while crossing the borders were also victims of this border killing and violence. Even the co-nationals were also victims by the own border guards. Another revealed information shows that colleagues (counterpart of the border guard from the other country) were killed. In fact, it summed up to half of the victims. Border guards have also been subject to hit by the civilians. A study shows that between 1999 and 2002, 46 border guards have been killed and 46 others have been wounded by the civilians.

The border was also tumultuous by robberies, rivals and ransoms which killed civilians by the civilians.

Chapter twelve discusses how the borderlanders struggled with their ideological and symbolical hoods. There were some symbols of territorial sovereignty. Among these, the first one was joint territorial symbols. For example, it includes boundary pillars with name Pakistan instead of Bangladesh, flag meeting between border officials etc. Another type can be termed as mirrored territorial symbols. It includes customs houses, border outposts, uniforms of the officials, insignia etc. The third symbol was one sided and unique from each other. Like different monuments, historical events, languages of each nation, dress and gestures etc. The symbols played an important role in distinguishing between the nations in the post-partition time. The writer also argued that how the symbols of borderland cultural unity have been used to resist the hegemony of the nation in the borderland.

In the last chapter, the chapter thirteen, Schendel returned to the themes outlined in the very beginning of the book. The links between borderland and time, borderland and politics, and borderland and scale are briefly touched upon. The borderland perspective ushers us to contemplate on the borderland issue by rethinking our understanding of partition. Moreover, the study of the Bengal borderland will also enrich the epistemological notion of the borderland. He concluded that this book is one example out of the many to describe the birth of the Bengal borderland and the invention of a borderland society. However, this book acts as a pivot between territorial states and transnational flows, unlike the others.

Shahana Ghosh in her article '**Cross-border Activities in Every Life: the Bengal Borderland**' (2011) discussed about inter-border mobility, interaction, communication in daily life, border relatives and social relation.

Shahana Ghosh said, partition of the country in 1947, later border guard force and barbed wire created new types of relation, marriage, inter-border communication, movement and social relation in India-Bangladesh border. As it has emerged new field of border relation, similarly it has created uncertainty, risk and anxiety.

Shahana Ghosh said, border residents by this inter-border interaction, keeping communication with relatives, livelihood in daily life and

immigration by mobility of border residents deny sovereignty, law and administration of a country or show audacity against these theories.

Joya Chatterjei in her article '**The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliffe Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, 1947-52**' (1999) discussed about partition politics, history of Radcliffe line, consequence after partition of country, new Bengal border created by partition of country and its impact on livelihood of border residents.

Joya Chatterjei said India-Pakistan (India-Bangladesh from 1971) border is the border which was suddenly created through dividing the countries in 1947. A British administration named Sir Radcliffe demarcated this border in a draft 15 days. Where this border line was demarcated discussing with high official bureaucrat and politicians. General people among whom this border line was drawn their opinion wasn't heed. This border created as consequence of partition brought changes among its residents in various aspects. For instance, changes made in agriculture, land dividing, cultivation, market, livelihood, occupation, relatives etc. These changes put border residents into terror, risk, uncertainty and violence. However this border also created good source of income through jute and food stuff.

Joya Chatterjei showed that these new states formed border guards for safekeeping geographical sovereignty and resist internal smuggling who take border towards violence. She gave example of Kushtia and Nadia that a milkman of this border used to do milk business. After partition, milkman's house fell on this side and market of supplying milk fell on other side. After selling milk while returning home, border militia of East Pakistan caught him. They snatched the money accrued from selling milk on account of fine and sent him to jail for three days for crossing border illegally. But this person didn't find any difference in this land even before one year. This collapse occurred due to trouble, risk, uncertainty and violence at India-Bangladesh border.

In the book '**Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference**' (1969) which is edited by Fredrik Barth points out at the cultural differentiation marked by the borders. In this book, seven writers have placed their essays which reflect the identity and culture of people regarding borders and ethnicity. Fredrik Barth himself discussed 'Pathan Identity and Its Maintenance' which included the study of the then South Asian border dynamics.

This book has pointed out that in recent years the traditional social anthropological tendency to see society as natural isolates is inadequate. Yet few commentators seem to have proceeded to any sustained effort at dealing with the analytical issues involved in the study of ethnic boundaries. The conference of Scandinavian social anthropologists which met at the University of Bergen in 1967 and which have resulted in the volume, convened by Fredrik Barth to do some rethinking in this field. The volume contains a theoretical introduction by Barth and seven essays by Norwegian and Swedish anthropologists dealing with specific situations involving questions of ethnic differentiation and contact.

In the introduction, Barth tells that an ethnic boundary is not necessarily drawn on the basis of some kind of inventory of differences in cultural elements, as there may be much cultural similarity and diffusion between groups and much diversity within groups. Rather there are only specific items of culture which the actors themselves regard as significant for the ascription of ethnic identity to themselves and others. The particular cultural features which are used to signal the ethnic boundary may change, but some manner of dichotomizing between members and outsiders will exist as long as the ethnic group maintains its separate existence. The maintenance of ethnic boundary systematize social life- the members of the actors own group constitutes a pool of possible partners for a wide range of interaction types, while contact with those identified as outsiders is correspondingly restricted as there is a recognition of limitations on shared understandings and criteria for evaluative judgment. These restricted inter-ethnic contacts are of varying nature. Groups may be able to make stable adaptations to each other by becoming, in a way, part of one another's natural environment, and constituting resources for each other in spheres of activity where inter-ethnic contacts are beneficial in trade, special skills etc. However, at the same time, intra-ethnic spheres of activity, particularly family life are largely irrelevant to outsiders. In other typical poly-ethnic situations, relationships between groups are based on competition over resources or simply on co-residence with limited contact, when resources are sufficient and adaptations not complementary.

The cultural elements which are used as ethnic markers, Barth points out two orders: they are either found in overt behavior or in basic value orientations to which the actors proclaim their allegiance. Barth emphasizes that overt behavioral differences do not necessarily coincide with differences in value

orientation, as they may be the result of differential ecological adaptations on the basis of shared value code. If actors with such varying adaptations become aware of this cultural sharing, their differences can be neutralized so that a common ethnic identity is maintained. Barth himself demonstrates this with his Pathan data, and Jan-Petter Blome's paper entitled "*Ethnic and Cultural Differentiation*" on mountain and lowland peasants in Norway also shows that although these two categories evince overt ecologically based behavioral differences, there has been no growth of ethnic dichotomization because they interact on the basis of a common underlying code and under-communicate their differences. Although Barth does not go very far into this problem, it would seem that these varying and sometimes contradictory places of ethnic markers in overt behavior and in values may be a source of considerable ambiguity of ethnic dichotomization, particularly when overt differences lead to a mistaken assumption of value differences- obviously the current discussion of "culture poverty" may be related to this. Hence, in this field of analysis, Barth makes effective use of the ecological perspective which can be developed in his article "Pathan Identity and its Maintenance".

The paper in this book entitled "When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma" by Eidheim discusses on Norwegians and Coast Lapps in Northern Norway. In an analysis inspired by Goffman, Eidheim shows how the Lappish identity is under-communicated in public life by the Lapps, as it is stigmatized while they use its elements in intra-ethnic situations. There is a marked difference here to the Ladino-Indian relationship described by Henning Siverts in his paper "Ethnic Stability and Boundary Dynamics in Southern Mexico", as the Indian identity is quite prominent in inter-ethnic contacts.

While this volume is concerned with boundary maintenance, Barth notes that the persistence of ethnic groups and a dichotomization between them is not necessarily connected with rigid patterns of recruitment- in many poly-ethnic situations, personnel is recruited across ethnic boundaries while the groups and the system as such remain more or less unaffected. A striking example of this is provided by Gunnar Haaland's essay named "Economic Determinants in Ethnic Processes". He focuses on the Sudanese Fur, an agricultural people from whom a flow of people moves to become nomadic Baggara Arabs. The Fur lack of investment opportunities; if they want to invest in cattle they gradually become Baggarized. Thus, Haaland points to economic determinants in the ethnic process. So does Siverts, in a paper on ethnic stability in Highland Chiapas, Mexico. Here the Indians are

consistently held in a position inferior to that of the Ladinos leading a Spanish-derived way of life. Yet there is little Ladinoization; Siverts explains that Indians usually lack assets needed to succeed as Ladinos so that the Indian identity, after all, becomes preferable to that of a miserable Ladinoized townsman.

While the Fur and Baggara do not make up a stratified poly-ethnic system, the Mexican situation is obviously one involving social stratification and Barth also discuss this complex of problems in his introduction, comparing it to mono-ethnic stratification systems as well as to the special case of caste.

The ecological base of inter-ethnic relationships is Knutsson's article named "Dichotomization and Integration" have discussed on the Ethiopian Arsi Galla and their neighbors, a complex social field under the influence of Amharic expansion. Here he emphasizes on Ethiopian ethnic stratification model as a decisive factor where the integrated spheres seem to form as a very basis for the pattern of integration itself.

The variety of topics discussed in this volume can hardly be reflected here, and it is likely that particularly the introduction will prove stimulating to further research and clarification of the issues. Well, it was surprising that there are rather few references to other theoretical works in this field, particularly to the many writings on social and cultural pluralism. Apparently the contributors have preferred to make a fresh start, leaving problems of theoretical integration with such studies for others to consider. While the emphasis in this volume on the persistence of ethnic groups, it would also be interesting to relate its framework to changes in system boundaries – ethno genesis, super tribalization, and so forth- problems mentioned in passing in Karl G. Izikowitz' article entitled "Neighbors in Laos". This is a wide-ranging paper on inter-ethnic relationships in Laos.

The ethnicity and boundary issues are problems of great importance in the third world today, although our knowledge of them so far is spotty and permit little more than speculation. That they could not be dealt with extensively in this volume, however, is hardly surprising. Indeed, it must be taken as a happy sign of the growth of Scandinavian social anthropology in recent years that a symposium of this kind and quality is at all possible.

In the article of W. V. Schendel titled '**Working Through Partition: Making a Living in the Bengal Borderland**' (2001), type of border

livelihood and border business have been analyzed. Schendel discussed in this article about work field in India-Bangladesh border after partition and livelihood of border residents and various risks and troubles about rights of border residents.

Schendel said living method of a big population of India-Bangladesh border started changing after partition. From that time, border residents started using the border for earning their livelihood. By using this, border residents brought out trade of crossing various goods in various time. The states dealt these matters easily, it is not that. State always considered these means of livelihood illegal and put control on these and conducted killing, injuring and kidnapping if needed for controlling. State also gets benefited from this trade. A big population of a country is getting livelihood and state is also getting various goods sometimes without customs.

Veena Das and D. Poole in their book **‘Anthropology in the Margins of the State’** (2004) discussed about control of state on inhabitants of modern relative state, border and poor of slum overall marginal people, showed exercising power and how state controls life and death of these people and use violence on them.

Das and Poole said, formation of marginal people is a consequence of state and similarly, achieving or declining right of marginal people is also created by laws of state. State makes marginal people different by its sovereignty, authority, power, ruling method, laws and influences their life and also controls life and death of marginal people by this power. It uses theory of ‘State of Exceptional’ and ‘Homo Sacer’ Giorgio Agamben. Das and Poole said using Michel Foucault’s Biopolitics theory that this excursive of power is generalized along with generalizing the theory of controlling over human life.

In life of border residents, state controls using its theory of geographical sovereignty and national identity. State exercises its power on marginal people in border by its law and ruling method. It controls communication among inter-border relatives and means of livelihood by considering border crossing illegal and deprives then from this right. State uses its maximum control over life of border residents by killing, injuring and kidnapping if they violate border act. It has made this application of power normal towards border residents. Marginal people or stateless people are not inactive or less resistant. All of these people have power to resist, Das and Poole said.

Border residents resist in daily life against state geographical identity and administration through their processing of border based livelihood, immigration and continuing communication.

Giorgio Agamben in his book '**Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life**' (1998) explained theories of Homo Sacer, State of Exception and Bare Life. These notions of Agamben help to understand state sovereignty, power and control of state on individual life.

Agamben used the theory of 'State of Exception'. Exception is used to understand the theory of sovereignty. In the theory of sovereignty, it has stated that some create exception by using forming judicial system, law. Exception stays out of this law. Violators of some countries form rules in their daily life as their wish and disobey state laws. In this case, there is no law for violators, because they are not people of the state. Rules and right of state are applicable inside of a state and new laws are formed for the violators, because they are exceptional. However exceptional are not always exceptional, they remain exceptional for a certain period. Border residents are exceptional to state. Because they live in its border, so it considers them different from it. State introduces some laws for border, as border can't be crossed, illegal business can't be conducted. When a person crosses border, it is exceptional to the laws of this side. Because he violated laws of state border and illegal business. When anybody is killed, then state refers that killing as exceptional. Because that killing took place for violating laws of state. So state doesn't take liability of that killing.

Agamben used the theory of Homo Sacer and Bare Life for understanding the control of state over exceptional life. Using these notions, he broadly presented the theory of Michel Foucault's Biopolitics theory. He said, sovereignty established through exercising Biopolitics. He used exceptional theory to show how power is exercised on bare life. He used exceptional theory to refer extrajudicial people. Extrajudicial people are exceptional as shown foregone discussion. Unsafe life seizes many rights from them; for instance, border residents' right of earning centering border, right of getting justice and compensation in case of killed by border residents. According to Agamben, this bare life or unsafe life is like life of Homo Sacer. Homo Sacer's life is also unsafe and unholy. They are tortured a lot, such as state considers killing lawful for violating laws by conducting smuggling. If they are tortured, those are not taken for justice. Because they are the people out

of law. State exercises Biopolitics on lives of Homo Sacer by making extrajudicial.

It controls over lives of border residents by making their lives unsafe considering them outsider. In view of this, I have specified border life as unsafe life. When they use the border as mean of their livelihood and movement, then state makes their lives unsafe and controls their life and death. Despite making lives of border residents unsafe or bare for such specific period, state legalizes the issue of their killing, kidnapping and injuring for violating law and avoids considering it exceptional occurrence.

Saurabh Kumar written article entitled '**Indo-Bangladesh Relations: Post Hasina-Manmohan Summit**' (2010) is a study of the outcome of the meeting between Bangladesh prime minister Sheikh Hasina and former Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh which took place on January 10-13, 2010 in India. Basically, this article tries to provide the idea of outcome that this meeting forged and constituted. Bangladeshi prime minister's visit to India that time was considering very important to consolidate India-Bangladesh relationship as this was the first visit after the win of Sheikh Hasina over the national parliamentary election. Saurabh Kumar, the author of this article tried to discuss every aspect and issues of Indo-Bangladesh relations after and before the Hasina-Manmohan summit.

One of the important issues have been discussed by the author in this article was India-Bangladesh border relations. Along with the cross-border issues, there were also counter-terror and security issues, expansion of trade issues, water sharing issues and other important issues have been discussed.

On the Hasina-Manmohan summit, the decision had been made that in July or August of 2010, The Joint Boundary Working Group of Bangladesh and India will meet to address all sorts of border disputes between India and Bangladesh which was considered one of the significant benefits of this summit. The joint working group was appointed to solve the problems related to adverse possessions, enclaves and un-demarcated areas. The article said that 551.8 acres of Bangladesh land under adverse possession of India and 226.81 acres of Indian land under adverse possession of Bangladesh which is ought to solve.

The dispute over the maritime boundary between India and Bangladesh is considered one of the major challenges for Indo-Bangladesh relationship, in

this article. In this summit, Hasina-Manmohan urged to settle this problem in a very friendly way. Besides this Tipaimukh dam was another hot issue of the summit.

Finally, this article discussed the relationship between India & Bangladesh since Sheikh Hasina elected to form a government in 2010. As well as, how this summit creates an impact on the cross-border relationship between these two nations after the summit. Mr. Kumar brightly summarized this two nations' cross-border relationship in this article.

'Bangladesh and Its Borders: A Preliminary Study of Cross-border Issues' (2010) by Bhuian Md. Monoar Kabir is a study of describing and analyzing the issues of contention in Bangladeshi border relations with India and Myanmar. This study provides the idea of border-related conflicts in Bangladesh with India and Myanmar. This study was based on both qualitative and quantitative analysis of formation, definition and description of Bangladeshi border which helps to get a statistical idea of conflicts over cross-border issues in Bangladesh. Mr. Kabir's intellectual analysis are resounding the fact that cross-border issues between Bangladesh-India or Bangladesh-Myanmar have an enormous impact on the security of the country and proper peace strategy is needed among the neighboring states to eradicate border conflicts.

In this article, there is a coherent definition and description of Bangladeshi border where Bangladeshi border was stated as different as many other international borders. Borderland scholars and chauvinistic groups illustrate the different principle of the existence of borders. Such as: 'ancient hereditary', 'geography and natural boundaries', 'linguistic-cultural basis' and the Hegelian 'consciousness of fatherlands'. However, the national border of Bangladesh does not match with these principles. Bangladesh (former East Pakistan) was separated in 1947 under British rule on the basis of religion which is not suited with basic principles of the border. For that reason, there are many places in Bangladesh-India border areas where a huge population lives on both sides of the border with 'not an inch of no man's land'. Bangladesh shares a common border of 4,000 kilometers with India. There are 6.5 kilometers of the common border is still un-demarcated. In the south-eastern part of Bangladesh, there are 123 miles of long common border with Myanmar, mostly have been demarcated. 20 original administrative districts of in Bangladesh lie in border areas. Of these 20, 13 districts are with India and about 2 with Myanmar. Because of this national

security and border concerns of Bangladesh described as coterminous. Because most of the part of Bangladesh is surrounded by India and it's not more than 80 miles away from the capital.

Bangladeshi border issues have two dimensions; one is totally border-specific and the other is national. In this paper only, the most significant issues of Bangladeshi border have been discussed. These issues are Border disputes, Border economy, Population movements and border insurgencies.

By the outcome of survey result tested on 925 respondents, 40.28% people have identified that India's hegemonic and aggressive approach to Bangladesh is the main reason of border dispute between India and Bangladesh. Besides, certain issues like river erosion, changing course of the river, the unnatural shape of the boundary etc. are some reasons of land disputes between Bangladesh and India. A large number of Bangladeshi villagers and border dwellers have been killed by Border Security Force (BSF) of India. Aggressive approach of India and border trouble with India is making a very bad impact on the relationship between Bangladesh and India. On the other hand, the border disputes between Bangladesh and Myanmar mostly occurs for the two countries' struggle to control over the Bay of Bengal. 44.8% respondents say that Myanmar is trying to deprive Bangladesh of its sea resources. The study says that the nature of border conflicts between Bangladesh & India and Bangladesh & Myanmar is mostly attacking and killing of Bangladeshi peasants and border dwellers. All of these reasons indicate that border conflicts threaten the national security of Bangladesh. Most of all such border conflicts are creating a negative impact on Bangladesh's development activities, its national security and its overall relationship with India and Myanmar.

This study discusses the topic of border economy of Bangladesh with its neighbors. The most concerning issue of border economy is illegal border trade. The amount of illegal transaction is around US\$ 3 billion every year which is a huge loss of both neighboring countries. For the purpose of corroborating legal economic transaction, there are several land ports between Bangladesh- India and Bangladesh- Myanmar. Though serious attention on illegal border trade, the border trafficking is increasing every year. Because of the involvement of local business syndicate and people of different socio-economic and political backgrounds in illegal trading, this problem has become more complicated. The survey resulted that 66.6 % respondents believe that desire for higher profit is the main reason of illegal

border trade in Bangladesh. And the traffickers are mostly the unemployed and poor population of society. It means that they are doing such crimes only for a better livelihood. This number indicates that the border economy is deeply related with the livelihood of border residents. For most of them, 'illegal trading' has become a part of their life. 59% respondents say that these illegal trading is conducting secretly and only 3.7% say that these are conducting openly. These numbers show that such problem is not so severe and easy to take under control. The smuggled goods are not specific. 35% respondents say that all most all type of commodities is used to be smuggled which needs an overall attention to all for controlling smuggling. 73% respondents of the survey believe that the illegal border transaction is weakening of economy and hampering development of the country. For addressing such problems majority of the people suggested that border monitoring activities have to be strengthened and consciousness raising activities have to be done by highlighting the negative impact of cross-border illegal trade on the country.

Cross-border population movement is another important topic that have discussed in this paper. Since the partition of India and independence of Bangladesh, there are a huge number of migrant people have been shifted in this subcontinent. In Bangladesh-Myanmar border, thousands of Rohingya Muslims have forced to be migrated to Bangladesh and other neighboring states. These migrant movements raise the risk of illicit trafficking and border crimes which eventually creating a threat to national security. The cross-border movement mostly occurs for political, economic and religious reasons. There have been some problems over border issues since the ending of British rule. The partition of Bengal in 1947 lots of Muslim and Hindus migrated in East Pakistan/West Bengal. Besides in the 1970s and 1980s many tribal people left Bangladesh and went to India for security reasons. Not all of them had repatriated later. The same scenario is in Bangladesh-Myanmar border. Most of these migrant peoples left their family or relatives in their former residents but later they illegally cross the border to visit them which makes the border security more vulnerable. Population movements in this region have a great politico-security concern. Frequent cross-border movement creates opportunities of illegal activities including trafficking, extremism and terrorism. To reduce border conflicts, the writer suggested that the reason behind population movement is needed to be focused. Showing more sensitivity to the people who are prone to cross the border will help to reduce this problem. The survey of this paper shows that 83% of the population crosses the border to maintain family & social relationships

and moderate business & working relationship. It indicates that the relationship among the border dwellers from both sides is friendly. The survey shows that 43% border dwellers cross the border for their livelihood and 37.7% said they cross the border to maintain their family and social ties. So due to control illegal trade and activities, illegal and frequent cross-border movement of border dwellers has to be interrupted.

Cross-border insurgency is one of the issues that discussed in this paper. There are some insurrections took place in the Bangladesh-India and Bangladesh-Myanmar border. Most of the insurgencies occurred in the Bangladesh's three south-eastern districts Bandarban, Rangamati, and Khagrachari commonly known as Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). It is estimated that there are almost a million tribal people lives there. After the independence of Bangladesh, the insurgency occurred by the tribes in CHT due to some reasons. However, the tribal insurgent groups were aided and sheltered by the Indian government. Likewise, before the independence of Bangladesh, Pakistani government gave shelter and aid to the anti-Indian insurgent groups in the border areas. In Bangladesh-Myanmar border area, there are still some active insurgent groups led by Rohingya militia which often intensify the border insecurity. The most active and well-organized insurgent groups in the border areas of this region are ULFA of Assam, RSO, ARIF, PCJSS and Swadhin Bangabhumi Andolan. Since Bangladesh's national security has become vulnerable for different insurgent groups operating in the border areas, 69.6% of the survey respondents suggested that mutual cooperation and negotiation are the best way to solve the cross-border terrorism problem. As cross-border insurgencies create an impact on the inter-state relationship between the neighboring states, it is a very significant issue to solve for protecting peace in border areas.

Finally, this article gives the details of the present socio-political situation of border conflicts. It tried to observe the perception of border dwellers about the cross-border conflicts and its solution. To get a broader knowledge of security, politics and economic implication of Bangladesh, border issues was important to understand and this paper gives those ideas. Mr. Kabir has tried to give required knowledge for policy implication to reduce cross-border conflicts. He suggests that all three countries in this region should adopt comprehensive and enlightened peace strategy to deal with cross-border issues in this article.

‘Bangladesh and Its Neighbours’ (2008) by Kamal Uddin Ahmed represents evidence for assessing existing theories on interstate relations. The case of Bangladesh is especially germane for evaluating explanations that emphasize the policies of less developed, less military powerful countries. Bangladesh’s relation with India is of particularly important, as it helps us understand both the democratic agreement and disagreement that Bangladesh experiences, as well as the uneasy relations with India, without of course any violent conflict.

In evaluating conflict regarding India-Bangladesh relations and its loops and hopes, Ahrar Ahmed eruditely pointed out on the several dynamics of India-Bangladesh relation. He discussed in his article **‘Indo-Bangladesh Relations: Context, Concerns, Hopes’** (2007) about the bordering between India and Bangladesh, their river and security issue.

Both Bangladesh and India spend large amounts of funds to boost their border security. But both of them ignore the border social sector where poverty, hunger and malnutrition continue to affect a large section of the population. The article **‘India-Bangladesh Border Crisis: From Bangladeshi Perspective’** (2010) by Sujit Kumar Datta, Md. Touhidul Islam and Mohammad Shaheenur Alam provides the urgency of need for a paradigm shift in security perceptions of Bangladesh and India. The article argues that traditional security threats increase when human security is ignored. Terrorism and social conflicts have better chances of spreading in poor and under developed regions and these have cross border linkages.

Reece Jones in his article **‘Agents of Exception: border Security and the marginalization of Muslims in India’** (2009) showed how a state and its border guard force turn border people into marginal and consider as exceptional. He also discussed the processing of making Muslims into marginal in India and about risk in border trade, uncertainty and violence.

Reece Jones said risk and uncertainty creates among border families and persons due to geo-politics and border war, killing and terrorism. This risk, uncertainty and violence occur in fact for sovereignty of a state, geographical identity, law, administration, illegal trade of border guard force, saving immigration, maintaining authority and controlling lives of border residents. Jones shows that all these matter are shown in India-Bangladesh border. In such case, using exception and bare life theory of Agamben, Jones said that border residents are one of prime example of

exception. Because state controls life and death of border residents and avoid saying exceptional from state law and judicial system.

Michael Kearney in his article **‘Borders and Boundaries of State and Self at the End of Empire’** (1991) discussed about immigration in view of America-Mexico border, transnationalism, type of applying rule of state on transnational community and role of anthropology in border study.

Michael Kearney said many people from Mixtecs of Mexico get immigrated in California and New Mexico states of America. Border residents are being immigrated for higher remuneration, more income and better livelihood. This immigration process is out of law i.e. infiltration without visa and passport. Mexico border residents immigrate by evading border guard of Mexico and America. Where many of them are caught by American border residents. So this immigration is risky and if though they immigrate by crossing border, they are to work at low salary in America and face torture by hand of American citizens. They have nothing do if they face torture or get less remuneration, because they are not citizen of America. So they are in fear of get caught in America too.

Kearney compared this processing of being immigrated of border residents with transnationalism of the modern age where immigration opportunity and risk both exist.

Janet Roitman in her writing **‘Productivity in the Margins: The Reconstitution of State Power in the Chad Basin’** (2004) showed nature of border livelihood in perspective of border of Chad Republic of Africa and how border challenges state power.

Roitman said, youths of Chad Republic border earn their livelihood by bringing various goods, machineries, mineral oil, food stuffs and weapons. Border residents of Chad consider the border as the path of making wealth. State faces loss financially and politically by this means of earning and by attack of rebels. In Chad Republic, anti-government rebel organizations use arms come through border and cause terrorism by these arms in Chad. So Roitman said this livelihood and product crossing shows audacity toward state power, administration, sovereignty and laws. As state controls over border residents by its bio-power, similarly this power of state is also violated and faces challenge by border residents. Roitman has seen this process as resistance of border residents.

Malini Sur in her article '**Divided Bodies: Crossing the India-Bangladesh Border**' (2014) discussed about type of border violence and geo-politics of South Asia in perspective of killing after rape of a teenage girl named Felani Khatun by border guard force and hanging her on barbed wire in Kurigram border in 2011.

Malini Sur said, such violent occurrence like murder of Felani often occurrence in India-Bangladesh Border when people cross border for immigration and earning livelihood. Barbaric face of border guard force is released by this murder. But after murder of Felani, a storm raised in virtual world regarding role of border guard force which is a new platform. However this storm and activity stopped in few days and her body on barbed wire remained as a part of photography. Behind avoiding this violence, interstate friendly politics worked. Border guard force let this trade and movement happened in exchange of bribe.

This discussion of Malini Sur brought forward the state politics and role of border guard force for violence in India-Bangladesh border. State avoids these occurrences referring as isolated incident. Who go to border, they know this murder, arrest and injury will be occurred, then why they go. Malini Sur said, in order to avoid this violence of South Asia, new observation to be made regarding border line in respect of past accidents due to geographical control and lives and experience of border residents shall be taken into account.

CHAPTER THREE THEORETICAL APPROACH

Anthropologists are now showing interest in border studies. Very recently “border anthropology” started taking shape as a sub-discipline of anthropology. Only few anthropologists, for example, Alvarez (1995), Donnan and Thomas (1998, 1999), Saha (2007), and Cohen (1965) have done studies on borderland. There is a well established view among academics that anthropology may be the best discipline among the social sciences to examine some of the least explored phenomena with regard to international borders, namely border culture and its identities. Sometimes such a culture is referred to as “border mentality” by some of the experts in other academic disciplines like Rumley and Manghi (Saha, 2007).

In terms of Saha (2007), a border can be best understood in terms of its functionality, as it restricts not only the free movement of goods, people, and technologies but also of essential commodities across the boundaries of the state. As a symbol, borders are sometimes utilized by the state to generate feelings of patriotism among its people, so as to evoke feelings of territorial integrity at the time of war or similar situation. Thus, even though symbolic in nature, border acts as a lively entity in its functions. But borders are losing their historical role in terms of its functions.

A ‘Borderland’ is a zone, or region, within which lies an international border, and a ‘borderland society’ is a social and cultural system straddling that border (Prescott, 1987).

Robert Alvarez (1995) in his significant anthropological work on Mexican-US border coined the term ‘borderlands’ to define the culture of locales of border (Saha, 2007). He identifies the “borderlands” as “a region and set of practices and determined by the border that are characterized by conflicts and contradiction material and ideational” (Alvarez, 1995). Thus borderlands are nothing but a region full of conflicts and contradiction due to the presence of geopolitical delimitation imposed by the nation-states (Saha, 2007).

One difficult task of the anthropologists in the border genre is to define a border culture. For Alvarez (1995), border culture is an apparently homogenous construct based on political demarcation and shared elements of history, multiethnic identity and bi-national economics and politics. In

fact, borderlands became a perfect laboratory in which to view the amalgamation, clash, and interface between cultures. Earlier, anthropologists viewed the problem along the border and between the people living on borders as ‘cross-cultural’ misunderstanding, and it was the part and parcel of the greater anthropology (Saha, 2007).

In the words of Wilson and Donnan,

Border area are places where nations (i.e. populations who believe that because of a shared culture and a common past they share the present and a common political future) must do deal with two or more states. Nations can end at or cross these borders, but in either case those who have experience of these areas must confront the realities of state control which facilitate or constrain the likelihood of trans-border movement (Wilson & Donnan, 1999).

Wilson and Donnan realized the importance of understanding border culture as it has specific functions to perform. Moreover, it has a crucial role to influence the states sharing common border while making their own border policies. It has its specific functions. Describing the border culture functions, Wilson and Donnan say (Saha, 2007),

In an anthropological sense, border culture functions at two overlapping and inextricable levels. Culture ties the people and institutions of the international borderlands to people and institutions within their own states and to those vary far away. It is in this sense that we speak of cultural landscapes, which transcend political borders. Such landscapes are defined by the social interactions, which construct them. They cannot be inferred or deduced from knowledge of the political and economic structures of the states at their border (Wilson & Donnan, 1999).

The changing political and economic conditions change the concept of culture. Culture is a dynamic concept, always negotiable and in process of endorsement, contestation and transformation (Wright, 1998). Culture consists of many components. Border culture can be determined by kinship, religion, occupation, marriage and many other components. Illegal trade is one of the very important components of border culture, which created particular culture and that is called border culture.

Partition among the borderlanders opens up new perspectives with regard to the economic and social aspects of partition (Schendel, 2001). Partition affects working people's livelihood in border area. According to Chatterji (1999), partition emerge new ways of life, which involves border-dwellers in clandestine trade. In the words of Chatterji,

Many of them were treated as smugglers even when they were merely conducting their habitual business across the border, selling their wares and buying a few goods to meet their personal needs. But there seems little doubt that many individuals and even entire village communities took deliberately to smuggling on a regular basis. This was, in a sense, the one door of opportunity that had been opened to them when partition shut all others (Chatterji, 1999).

Anthropologically speaking, it is impossible to formulate any standard theory of border culture that can represent the culture of all the borders across the globe. This research on border culture in the northern region of Bangladesh would hopefully lead to a new dimension in anthropology to understand border culture in Bangladesh. Border has distinctive characteristics, which is not yet properly studied from anthropological perspective.

CHAPTER FOUR METHODOLOGY & DATA ANALYSIS

Research methodology, as a matter of fact, includes everything concerning the research. Methodology carries a broad meaning and may be used to designate specially the analytical discussions of various research methods, which fall within the ambit of methodology. It is also often used in a narrow sense to refer to the methods, techniques or tools, employed for the collection and processing of data. But in a broader sense methods or techniques are one of the components of methodology. Finally, methodology may be called to designate all the concepts and procedures employed in the analysis of data, however, collected to arrive at conclusion (Jha, 1993).

It goes without saying that a methodology is very important in any research as it is a guideline or framework for conducting research, which describes the methods of investigation, the concepts and the underlying analytical structures of a particular problem. Without clear methodological framework, direction of research may not be proper and scientific. In other words, a well-thought and sound methodological framework (which includes different tools, techniques and strategies) can help researcher conducting scientific investigation (Hossain, Habib & Imam, 2004).

Research on border communities and border areas might be seen as special cases (Bernard, 1998) in anthropology. This is a descriptive research where anthropological ethnographic investigation process followed by me. I was careful about the reflexivity during conducting this study. Here the techniques and tools of qualitative research method like observation, observation of the key informants and unstructured interview according to emic perspective are used during conducting the field study of this research.

Qualitative techniques allow researchers to share in the understandings and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives. Researchers using qualitative techniques examine how people learn about and make sense of themselves and others. Qualitative analysis is used in data analyzing in this research. The analysis of qualitative data allows researchers to discuss in detail the various social contours and processes human beings use to create and maintain their social realities (Berg, 2001).

In-depth research on sensitive topics requires non-probability sampling (Bernard, 2006). Purposive sampling, one of the major non-probability sampling methods, is used in this research. Respondents are selected purposively and the unit of this research is the border community.

Key Informants

Cultural anthropology's most important research technique, the ethnographic method, relies on participant observation and key informants (Bodley, 2000). Key informants are people who know a lot about their culture and are, for reasons of their own, willing to share all their knowledge with researcher. When someone does long-term ethnography he/she develops close relationships with a few key informants—relationships that can last a lifetime. Researcher does not choose these people. They and researcher choose each other, over time. Good key informants are people whom a researcher can talk to easily, who understand the needful information, and who are glad to give it to researcher or get it for a researcher (Bernard, 2006). Pelto and Pelto (1978) advocate training informants “to conceptualize cultural data in the frame of reference” that a researcher, use. In some cases, a researcher may want to just listen. But when a researcher runs into a really great informant, there is no reason to hold back. It needs to teach the informant about the analytic categories which are developing by the researcher and ask whether the categories are correct. In other words, it needs to encourage the informant to become the ethnographer (Bernard, 2006).

Seven (07) respondents were taken as Key Informants in this research. Both male and female are different in terms of age, religion, gender, educational qualification and occupation. Extensive knowledge about DMC border area, daily activities of the border people and customs, good social network in the area and minimum understanding about my work are the criteria to select the key informants.

Out of 7 Key Informants, 3(42.85%) are female and 4 (57.14%) are male. Female are from 35-45 age group and male are from 45-60 age group. Of the 3 females, 2 are Muslim and 1 is Hindu. 3 are Muslim and 1 is Hindu out of 4 males. Both male and female key informants have no education except 1 Muslim and 1 Hindu male have primary education. Key informants are different in terms of their occupation. The majority are involved in both farming and illegal border trading. 3 Muslim male are involved in both

farming and illegal border trading. 1 Hindu male is a barber who is also involved in illegal border trading. All female are housewives except 1 Muslim who is also involved in illegal trading.

Unstructured interviewing

Unstructured interviewing, a face-to-face interviewing, is truly versatile to know about the lived experience of the people of the research area. Unstructured interviewing is excellent for building initial rapport with people, before moving to more formal interviews, and it's perfect for talking to informants who would not tolerate a more formal interview. Unstructured interviews are based on a clear plan that a researcher keep constantly in mind, but are also characterized by a minimum of control over the people's responses. The idea is to get people to open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace. This interviewing is used in situations where researcher have lots and lots of time—like when he/she is doing long-term fieldwork and can interview people on many separate occasions (Bernard, 2006).

Fifty (50) respondents were taken for unstructured interview for this research. Both male and female are different in terms of age, religion, gender, educational qualification and occupation. Out of 50 respondents, 23 (46%) are female and 27 (54%) are male. Female are from 16-45 age group and male are from 18-50 age group. The numbers of Muslim respondents are 18 female and 22 male. In terms of Hindu religion, 5 are female and 5 are male. Both Muslim and Hindu females have no educational qualification except 5 Muslim and 2 Hindu have education up to class 5. Out of 22 Muslim male, 7 have completed class 5; 3 have completed Higher Secondary Certificate (H.S.C.) level; 2 have completed graduation and others have no educational background. 2 Hindu male have primary education (completed class 5 levels) and others have no education out of 5 Hindu male. In terms of occupation, all female (both Muslim and Hindu) are housewife except 9 Muslim and 1 Hindu are also involved in illegal border trading. Out of 9 Muslim female illegal traders, 1 respondent is also involved in local politics at the union council level. Out of 22 Muslim male, 10 are involved in both farming and local politics at union council level. These 10 are also doing illegal border trading. Rest 5 are illegal border traders, 2 are members of Border Guards Bangladesh (BGB), 1 is *gram police* (Village Police); 1 is journalist of a national daily; 1 is a NGO activist; 1 is day-labor; 1 is small businessman (he has tea stall and grocery

shop). 2 Hindu males are barbers and doing illegal trading and rest 2 are farmers and 1 is fisherman out of 5 Hindu respondents.

A significance difference in male-female ratio is found in this study. So, the study perceptions are might be male thought dominant. It is also important to note that respondents' occupation indicates that significant number [5 key informants (71.42%) out of 7 and 27 (54%) out of 50 respondents of unstructured interview] of border people of my study area is involved in illegal border trading.

Field diary was maintained, which had importance in my study. Notes were taken down on everyday field activities which actually were mandatory during fieldwork.

Moreover, secondary sources like journals, books, periodicals, newspapers, internet sources and relevant research reports were reviewed for conducting this study.

Duration of the Study:

This study was carried out on DMC border area for a period of six months in 2014 and 2015. Both rainy (from June – August, 2014) and dry seasons (September, December, 2014 and January, 2015) have been selected to understand the cultural and economic activities of the study area. Visits were made to the study area again for two weeks (April) in 2016 for conducting the study; especially to observe the illegal border trade.

Criteria for the Selection of the Study Area:

The study area has been selected because of the extent of illegal border trading compared to other places. Moreover, DMC border area's two types of physical environment due to dry and rainy seasons make me curious to select this study area. The characteristics of rainy and dry season help me to observe illegal border trading and associated issues in two different seasons.

Fieldwork Experiences & Limitations:

The researcher had to face problems in the case of transport and accommodation in the study area. The very common notion in the border area is people think outsiders as government or intelligence spy and it was

not exceptional in my case. There was a feeling of insecurity because of border's observation tower, BGB camp and behavior of illegal traders. Meeting with both BGB camp officials and illegal traders created suspicious situation about me towards them initially, which created disappointed situations for me some times. Researcher's dress distinguished easily from the border people but attempt was made to establish rapport.

It was not easy to move here and there in the study area during rainy season. Entire border area went under water at that time. Since the researcher did not have swimming skill and that restricted his travelling in small boats to reach distant places during rainy season. On the other hand, char land of the border area was sandy in dry season and that made him tired and thirsty.

Due to security grounds it was not possible to stay overnight in the border, which caused to waste time and money.

It must be mentioned here that in spite of having above mentioned field experiences, it was very exciting, eventful and above all memorable. Many of the respondents behaved frankly, entertained and were cordially helpful. At one stage of the field work, trust was established, which helped to develop good relations with the illegal traders and administrative people apart from the other border dwellers of the field.

The research did face some limitations. Any anthropological research needs long period of time for collecting data from the field. As a student, some barriers were encountered in obtaining data. The respondents sometimes felt hesitate to express their real views about illegal border trading and other means of living. In spite of a great desire to collect field data with more time and also go through the further analysis to conduct the research. But due to personal and family constrains and lack of other opportunities it was not possible. Moreover, absence of human trafficking issue in the study area creates the vacuum of common border culture of Bangladesh. Insufficient data on impact of illegal border trade in local and national economy is also a shortcoming of this research. No sufficient data at any level regarding the impact of illegal border trade in national and international economy was observed.

In this research best attempt was made to fulfill the basic conditions of anthropological work. But it is again mentionable that lack of fund to conduct the research along with above mentioned issues, it could not be maintained the high order in some cases. However, in spite of some limitations it is hoped that the research has highlighted its purpose for the future researchers.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

It is not possible to conduct a fieldwork on the 4,053 km long border area for an anthropological study on border culture. The Diar Manik Chak (DMC) border village under Char Asariadoh Union of Godagari upzila in Rajshahi district of northern Bangladesh was selected for the research. The area has been selected because of the extent of illegal border trading compared to other places. DMC is within a range of 6 to 7 km from international boundary line. Presence of four border pillars, barbed wire fencing of five kilometers area having four gates, only one BGB camp, no man's land and more than 100 floodlights (locally called as *Halogen light*) found in DMC. No police camp was found in DMC. India has land after the border fence, which make often confusion to the DMC people about the border area of Bangladesh.

DMC is closed to the Indian Lalgola border (also known as Manik Chak) which is under Murshidabad district of West Bengal, India. Diar Manik Chak is located in the region of Rajshahi and Rajshahi which is approximately 30 km/ 19 mi away from Diar Manikchak. The distance from Diar Manik Chak to Bangladesh's capital Dhaka is approximately 228 km/ 141 mi.

DMC has five square kilometers area. It is located on the bank of the river Padma and basically a char land under Godagari upazila. Godagari proper is an ancient place and is situated on the Padma, a little up from the junction of the Mahananda and the Padma. It is an important trade and commercial centre for the producers of the Varendra region. The partition of Bengal had, to some extent, affected its trade adversely. But it is steadily coming up again as a potential centre of trade. During Maratha raids at the time of Nawab Alivardi Khan, Godagari was a place of refuge for the inhabitants of Murshidabad, the then capital of Bengal (Siddiqui, 1976).

The river Padma caused devastating floods and it was found last time in 2016, which submerged most of the lands of the border village.

There is no *pucca* road at border or within the border village of DMC but India has *pucca* road with the border fence. Motorcycle, bi-cycle, Tractor, cow cart and walking are the options for communication in DMC.

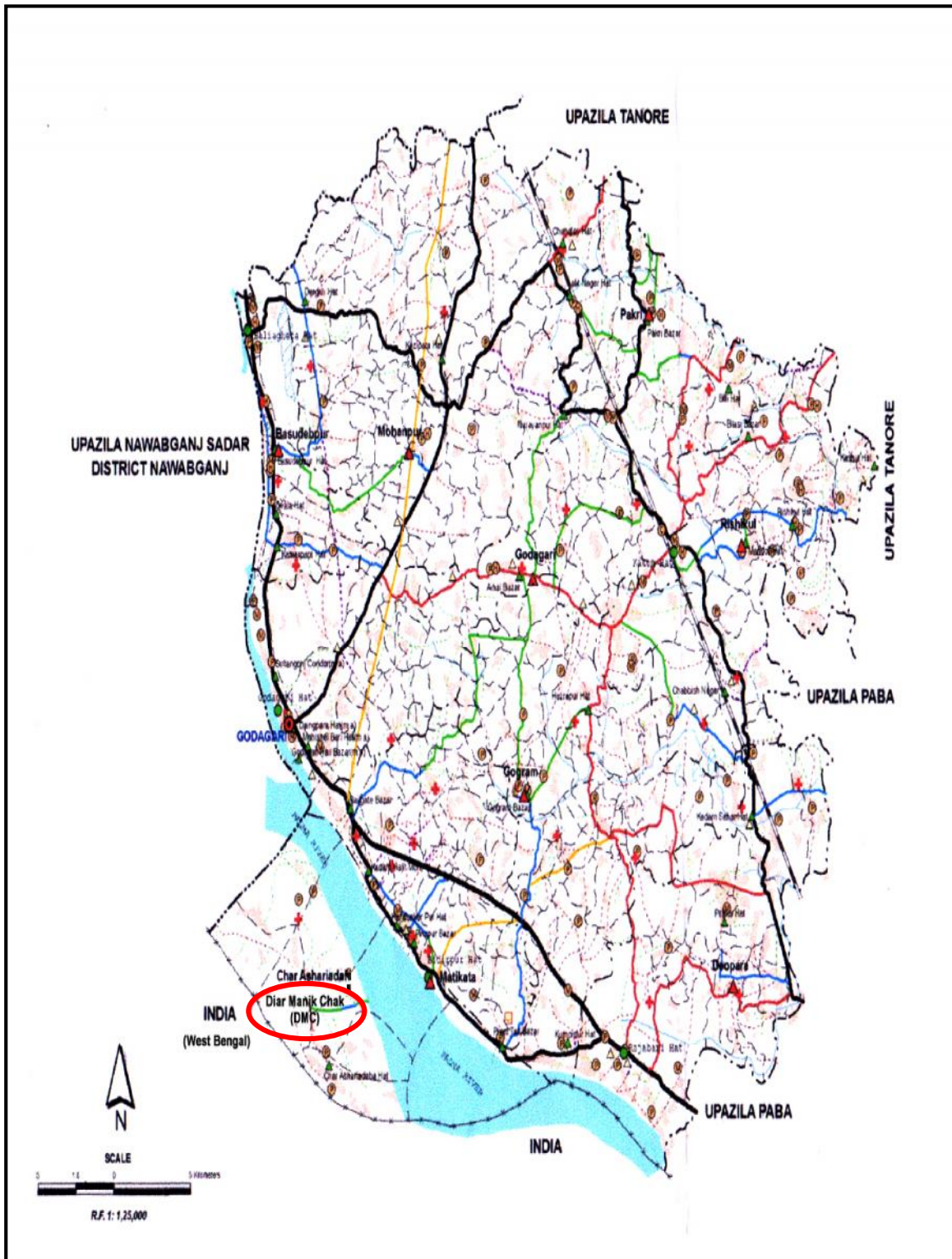


Figure1: Study Area: Diar Manik Chak (DMC) Border Area, Char Asariadoh Union, Godagari Upzila, Rajshahi.

Boats are used in rainy season. Palanquin is used during marriage ceremony. DMC is connected by muddy passages with other villages and union, which makes severe problem to the border people during rainy season. The total population of DMC is about three thousand.

The dwellers of DMC are mainly rice and fish eaters. They generally take rice three times a day. They also eat maize, *masuri dal* (red lentils), *maskolai dal*, vegetables, *bharta* (potato, boiled then mashed and seasoned with mustard oil, onions and chilies). People eat chicken and beef once or twice a week. Beef is very popular among the Muslims but they cannot afford it always. Hindu people do not eat beef as they consider cow as a sacred animal and killing it is a religious prohibition. *Muri*, *Khoi* or *Cinra*, various types of rice that is puffed, fried or flattened and different types of *Pithas* (cakes), *Shondesh* (sweet item), biscuits, tea with condensed milk are generally served as refreshments to the guests.

In DMC, Muslim men normally wear *Lungi* and *Panjabi*, *trousers*, *shirts*. Hindu men wear *Dhooti* and *Panjabi* and sometimes *Lungi*. They also wear pant and shirt. Women of both religions wear *saris*. The only difference is that a Hindu married woman wears white conch shell bangles in both hands and use vermilion on her forehead. Muslim women wear black *burqa* when they go outside of their houses.

People of the DMC border village are religious, pious and god-fearing. DMC is a Muslim dominated border village with the exception of 1 (one) Hindu family. There exists a communal harmony in DMC. There is no history of conflict among the Muslims and the Hindus for religious cause in DMC. There are six (6) *Jumma* mosques along with other small places for five times prayers and no Hindu temple is found in DMC. Muslims are Sunni and Hindus belong to lower caste. Many of the Muslims pray five times in their respective village mosques. Almost all Muslim male gather at *Jummaday* (Friday afternoon prayer) in the mosques. Muslims honor Imams (Head of the mosques). Hindus perform their pujas at household level. They visit Godagari temples during important religious pujas. Muslims and Hindus both invite each other at their religious festivals in DMC. Though Muslim women wear *burqa* and Hindu does not but both religious women do not come in front of unknown male person.

Like any other village economy, more or less, this border village also depends on agriculture production. Fishing and illegal trading are also

noticed in DMC border. Only 5-6 thousand hector land is cultivable and rest are char. During rainy season those cultivable lands go under water. Paddy, maize, wheat, pulses like *mosuri* and *maskolai* are common crops in the study area. Land of this area is particularly fertile because of flooding. But fragmentation of landholdings, reducing the productivity of the land due to uses of chemical fertilizers and natural disasters compelling DMC border people to give up agriculture as their primary occupation. Border people of DMC cannot depend on agriculture production alone to meet their daily household expenses. It is one of the important causes to get involved border people in illegal trading. There are a number of occupations like teachers, barbers, fishermen, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, porters, agrarian and non-agrarian wage laborers other than farming is found in DMC. It was also found that there are some people who have tractors in DMC, earning money by carrying different agricultural and non-agricultural goods. It was found that few young boys of DMC goes to capital Dhaka and earning money through working in garments sector in Dhaka.

There are cloth, chemical fertilizer, grocery, jewelry shops and few tea stalls in DMC border area. Most of the shops are *kacha* (temporary) and few are *pucca* (permanent). The owners of the shops are Muslims. There is no village market in DMC. Dwellers buy necessary items from these shops. It is found that sometimes people go to Godagari (Saturday and Tuesday) and Bidirpur *Haat* (Sunday and Wednesday) to sell their agricultural products, chicken and buy necessary goods. Border dwellers of DMC also exchange chicken, vegetables among themselves in exchange of cash.

Men do all types of work other than domestic in DMC. Women do all types of domestic works at household level. Both men and women are engaged in illegal trading within the village and also at the border area. Children, both male and female, go to school but also help their parents in farming, fishing and also in illegal trading.

There is one pre-primary school, one primary school in DMC. There is no madrasha (religious institution) in this area. Female students are found more at primary level rather than male. It is found drop out cases in primary school in DMC. People take children for carrying illegal goods instead of sending them school to earn easy money for their livelihood in DMC. The *OBOSHIBA Samaj Unnayan Sangstha*, a NGO trying to encourage guardians to send their children to school. Teachers of schools live in Godagari and they do not want to spend more time in schools due to worse

communication system and lack of others necessary facilities. They try to take transfer from DMC schools to better communicated areas. Some boys and girls of DMC are now studying in Godagari College, Rajshahi.

There is one Community Clinic, one health center in DMC. There is no hospital and bank in this border area. There are five grave yards for the Muslims in DMC. Deep tube well is common in this border area. The *Oboshiba Samaj Unnayan Sangstha*, a NGO is working in DMC. *Diar Manik Chak Protiva Sangha and Sadharan Pathagar* (Diar Manik Chak Protiva Association and general Library) is an active social association of DMC.

People of DMC village use solar energy and they get electricity from this source. More than 90 % houses have electricity in DMC. They watch BTV. It is found during the study that every shop has one television which also attracts customers in DMC.

DMC is under Char Asariadoh Union and at this union local level political formation 33 per cent of the seats are reserved for women. There are three reserved seats for women in this union of Bangladesh. For every three wards there is one female representative, who is elected by the villagers. Candidates of this union affiliated to various national political parties. DMC has 4 wards in the Union Council. It was found that illegal traders have influence in the Union Council of DMC. Union Council play vital role in conflict resolution in DMC. All the members (13) of the Union Council are Muslims and elected through voting for a period of five years and officially hold a post. Though the Chairman of the Union Council was elected without any political party affiliation but after the election he maintains present government party, Bangladesh Awami League. Union Council plays a crucial role in the anti-smuggling campaign in the border areas. Union Council holds a monthly meeting, headed by the chairman, to review the situation of the village and the border area. It is important to mention here that BGB often holds meeting with the help of Union Council in DMC on anti smuggling campaign.

CHAPTER SIX

DESCRIPTION OF BANGLADESH LAND BORDER

The Bangladeshi border display remarkable differences in the light of definition and description from many other borders. Over the centuries, Borderlands Scholars and chauvinistic apologists have concocted a fair number of criteria, concepts and theories designed to explain the existence of borders. Some trumpet historical criteria like the "ancient hereditary" principle; others look to geography and "natural boundaries" defined by mountain ranges and rivers; still others conjure a "linguistic-cultural" basis for demarcating a boundary; and some would even introduce an Hegelian "consciousness of the fatherlands" as the overriding principle in drawing lines to separate some folks from others (Hansen).

But if we look at the borders of the Indian sub-continent in general and, Bangladesh in particular, none of these principles would be found adequate to explain why the borders of Bangladesh are located where they are now. The partition of British India in 1947 was done neither on *linguistic-cultural* nor on *historical* basis but on the basis of religion, which set the scene for the demarcation of the Bangladesh border. The partition created the two nation-states of India and Pakistan. In a short-lived war of independence, East Pakistan gave way to the independent nation-state of Bangladesh in 1971, with the same borders as originally established in the 1947 partition (Maniruzzaman, 1980). The border defined religious (or communal) differences between Indian Hindus and Bangladeshi Muslims. Greater Bengal, in that sense, was divided into two political entities -- the Hindu-dominated Indian political subdivision of West Bengal and Muslim-dominated nation-state of Bangladesh. After the creation of Pakistan, a sense of deprivation and oppression in political, economic and cultural spheres, led the people of East Bengal towards the war of Independence and in 1971 Bangladesh was created with the same geographic entity and same borders which were fixed during the period of the partition of the sub-continent in 1947 (Maniruzzaman, 1980).

Bangladesh shares a common border of more than 4,000 kilometers with the Indian states of West Bengal, Assam, Mizoram, Tripura and Meghalaya (Bindra, 1984). The length of the land border with West Bengal is about 2,200 kilometers and with Assam is about 270 kilometers (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1983). Except in West Bengal, "*sons of the soil*" of other Indian states bordering Bangladesh are not Bengali. The border between

Bangladesh and West Bengal, Bangladesh and Assam, and partly Bangladesh and Tripura pass through thickly populated areas on both sides with "*not an inch of no man's land*". In places, the border passes right through houses and there are no natural barriers between Bangladesh and west Bengal. Other bordering Indian states, especially Mizoram, and to some extent, Tripura, Assam and Meghalaya are partly hilly and people are predominantly non-Bengali and tribal (Kabir, 2010).

Bangladesh shares a common border of 123 miles in the south and southeast with *Arakan* and *Chin* states of Myanmar. Almost 50% of the 2 million *Arakanese* (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1978) are Muslims (*Rohingas*) and the rest are Buddhists (*Rakhaines*). Land border between Bangladesh and Myanmar has been demarcated. A considerable part of the Bangladesh-Myanmar border is composed of hills and forests and the Naff River forms the rest of the land boundary between Bangladesh and Myanmar (Kabir, 2010).

Unlike the several influences that combined to explain many borders, a single criterion – religion-- defines the Bangladesh border. Furthermore, it is important to reiterate that South Asian Hindu-Muslim "communal" divergences define an abyss infinitely deeper than the seemingly minor religious differences informing the definition of borders in other parts of the world. The only parallel on the contemporary scene where religion divides the same ethnic and linguistic group may be the horror of the Catholic-Protestant agony in Northern-Ireland; the Serbian-Croatian-Muslim hostility and the emerging reciprocal enmity that separates the people of Armenian and Azerbaijan may also offer some comparative context for fathoming the mutual hostility that informs the drawing of the Bangladesh-Indian border (Kabir, 2010).

The principles informing the definition of the Bangladesh-Myanmar boundary reflect different components. Historical and socio-linguistic criteria contributed to the definition of the line. Religious dissimilarities between Bangladeshi Muslims and Myanmar's Buddhists played a relatively less significant role in 1947, although disquieting trends in the contemporary period may well be adding increasing cogency to the religious issues as tensions grow between the two nation-states (Kabir, 2010).

Rather small geographic size of Bangladesh (56,000 square miles) also defines Bangladesh's Borders. No location in the entire nation of Bangladesh is more

than 80 miles from India. Of 20 original administrative districts in Bangladesh, 13 border on India. In contrast, only four of fifty U.S. states and six of Mexico's thirty-two federal entities border one another to configure the U.S.-Mexican Borderlands (Rand McNally Universal World Atlas, 1987).

In Bangladesh, national affairs and border concerns are practically coterminous. The Muslim nation shares with Mexico apprehension about a hegemonic and frequently hostile neighbour. To emphasize the horror of it all, India geographically surrounds Bangladesh and its forces are never more than a few hours' drive to the nation's capital (Kabir, 2010).

In total length, the Bangladesh border stretches about 2500 miles (a little more than 4000 Kilometres) compared with 2000 miles for the U.S.-Mexican line. (The U.S. shares another 5000-mile border with Canada). The relatively long distance covered by the Bangladesh border is explained by its multiple twists, turns, projections and indentations. It forms a highly irregularly shaped border, different from relatively straight lines of many borders including the U.S.-Mexican boundary (Kabir, 2010).

In terms of demographic patterns, most of the Bangladeshi border is heavily populated, especially the boundary with the Indian states of West Bengal and Assam and about half of the line through Tripura. The borderline with Indian Mizoram and with Myanmar runs through hill country with lower population densities. In that context, it should be noted that with roughly 2000 persons living in per square mile, Bangladesh has the highest population density in the world (excluding city states like Hong Kong and Monaco) (Rand McNally Universal World Atlas).

CHAPTER SEVEN GLIMPSES OF PARTITION AND ITS AFTERMATH

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, the draughtsman of Partition, in an interview in the 1960s by Kuldip Nayar, said 'I was so rushed that I had not time to go into the details,' '... What could I do in one and a half months?' (Nayar, 1972). The decision to split British India came at the very tail end of the colonial period. In June 1947, a mere six weeks before British rule ended, the Viceroy of India formed the Bengal Boundary Commission on 30 June 1947. The political leaders of the independence movement in British India had failed to reach agreement over a united postcolonial future; instead, there was to be a territorial partition. Two states were going to be created: Pakistan, a homeland for Muslims, and India, for all others. The instruction to the Bengal Boundary Commission was therefore phrased in terms of 'Muslims' and 'non-Muslims': the idea was to separate areas where Muslims formed a majority of the population from those where they did not. The Boundary Commission had to decide where the new border between India and Pakistan was to be located. Its members had an impossible task. They had accepted an unclear brief and a six week deadline. They were besieged by lobbyists and pressure groups that sought to influence them as they were about to take a decision that would affect millions. Not surprisingly, the Commission could not come to a unanimous decision and ultimately had to resort to an artful ruse (Schendel, 2005).

Radcliffe was unfamiliar with the region (Chatterji, 1947). The reality of the Radcliffe line descended upon a population that had been neither asked for their opinion nor informed properly (Akanda). Partition was basically occurred on the basis of the concept of from notional border to national border (Schendel, 2005).

A history of more than 5,000 years of Indian subcontinent fractured due to the occurrence of partition. Partition led to a total breakdown of communal, cultural and ethnic harmony among the people who were earlier living together. Partition of the Indian Subcontinent experienced the anarchy comparable to one of the medieval period; fractured identities on the basis of one cultural factor, namely religion resulted in breakdown of others, which had sustained solidarity among the people before the partition. Though, partition took place 60 years back, yet occurrence of a domestic event in any

country of the Indian subcontinent does influence the neighboring country because of the close interaction between the people (Saha, 2007).

Before, 1947, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were the part of British colonial rule and administratively they were referred to as British India. Far and wide geographical and environmental variations of the area and presence of multicultural, multiethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual groups of people led to the region to be known as Indian subcontinent. India and Pakistan achieved their independence through a common freedom movement that ultimately ended up with the partition of the subcontinent. Hundred and ninety years old British colonial rule ended up with formation of two nation-states i. e. Pakistan (achieved independence on 14 August, 1947) and India (achieved independence on 15 August, 1947). On the basis of their religion, Muslim dominated areas of subcontinent became the part of Pakistan while Hindu population was left to India. Formation of Pakistan was unusual, as it held two of the territories, in east and west, separate from each other by more than 2,000 kilometers. Western part was known as West Pakistan and eastern part, which was smaller in size but larger in population, became East Pakistan (present- day Bangladesh). The prolonged economic, social, cultural, political, linguistic and racial discrimination, on the part of the politically and militarily powerful West Pakistan, forced the people of East Pakistan to seek their political autonomy that led to another partition of the subcontinent in 1971, when East Pakistan finally achieved its independence and flourished as a full-fledged independent nation state on the world map as Bangladesh. The people of Bangladesh speak *Bangla* (Bengali) and follow the Bengali culture in spite of being Muslims (Saha, 2007).

India shares a boundary of 4,095 km. with Bangladesh that culturally, socially and linguistically has a common history since time immemorial. Of 4,095 km., Indian state of West Bengal shares 2,028 km of the boundary with Bangladesh. Partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947 not only divided Bengal into two parts, but also fragmented the emotions of the Bengali people. Partition led to mass migration of the people from one country to another. It also led to communal riots (Saha, 2007).

Indo-Bangla boundary largely follows ethnic divisions. From its terminal point on the Bay of Bengal, the boundary follows a tortuous course northwards as it runs along a variety of distributary channels to the main course of the Ganges river. It runs centrally along the course upstream

before turning successively north-east, north-west, and east in a series of relatively complicated ethnic boundary lines to the main course of the river Brahmaputra. This is followed for a short distance before the boundary continues south and then east around the foothill states of India to the region of Sylhet in Bangladesh. It follows river Kusiara before executing a major loop to the south and west and completing its course southwards along a series of ridges to the tri-point with Myanmar (Anderson, 2003).

Bangladesh was part of Federal Republic of Pakistan and was known as East Bengal till 1956 and later East Pakistan up to 1971. East Pakistan was known to be a province of greater Pakistan dominated by Bengali speaking population, which was linguistically and culturally similar to the neighboring Indian state of West Bengal. Both the provinces were united and were known as Bengal due to their similar linguistic, cultural, ethnic and social identities, though, religious differences existed. Demographically, West Bengal was predominantly Hindu while East Bengal had a Muslim majority. During 1947, creation of India and Pakistan on religious lines forced the Muslim population to migrate into Pakistan and for Hindu population it was vice versa. And, even, Bengal was not spared from the mass migration process that was going on in different parts of Indian subcontinent. West Bengal and Bangladesh have geographical similarities because of their physical proximity and as a consequence they have common environmental and climatic condition. They both lie in the Indo-Gangetic delta, which is characterized by the presence of innumerable rivers and their tributaries that crisscross the total land area. Two of the world's longest rivers, Ganga and Brahmaputra flow into Bay of Bengal. These rivers carry huge amount of alluvial soil from the Himalayas, which is deposited at the stretch of the bank of these rivers throughout Bengal. Continuous process of formation and erosion of river embankment results into the displacement of people's habitation (Saha, 2007).

If religion was so important in defining identity, then the partition of Bengal, which was an end result of partition of Indian subcontinent, should have taken place a long time ago before the British took over the governance of Indian subcontinent from the Mughal rulers. Till date, this remains a major topic of discussion in the academia. People on both sides could not wipe out the nostalgic memories of pre-partition period from their minds. Though the border is new, societies on both Indo-Bangla borders are old in their formation and share many features like a long history of colonial domination, a plural society, and so called traditional socio-economic

political structures. Thus, they fall under the category of what Clifford Geertz calls (Saha, 2007) “Old societies and New States” (Geertz, 1963).

On 21 February, 1952, a massacre happened in Dhaka during a peaceful agitation of students, who were demanding to declare Bengali as one of the national languages of Pakistan. Security forces started firing without any provocations. Somehow the event was significant for the history of Bangladesh because it motivated the Bengali population to seek autonomy from West Pakistan. West Pakistani rulers considered the Bengali people as infidels as they considered Bengali culture as part of Hindu culture. It was such a mindset of Pakistani rulers that forced Bengali population of East Pakistan to reunite irrespective of their religious differences. Under the Constitution of 1956, the Hindus in East Pakistan experienced a considerable insecurity owing to the Islamic nature of the Constitution with its obvious discriminatory provisions (Saha, 2007). This led to another Hindu migration into India (Khan, 1972). Bengali people of erstwhile East Pakistan achieved their independence from confederation of Pakistan through a deadly nine-month long liberation war, which claimed nearly three million innocent lives. The liberation war of Bangladesh is a historical event in world history. No nation ever sacrificed so many lives for its independence. However, it was not the final event that dissolved the identity problem of Bangladeshi people for ever. Independence of Bangladesh was propelled by the desire to maintain the existence of a cultural group. People on Bangladeshi side found encouragement in Bengali nationalism to fight against the Pakistani Punjabi army. Later on after the independence they again found themselves in a crisis of identity to distinguish themselves from Indian Bengali on the other side of the border (Saha, 2007).

Differences in religious beliefs became prominent during the partition period, which subjugated lower caste Hindus and Muslims unity as members of peasant society. Religious identities took over their class identities. It was so powerful that it even took over all the commonness of culture between the people. After the partition, people never saw the borderlines or security forces involved in border security until 1965. It was border without any symbolic representation. People on both sides visited each other without any hurdles. During the war between India and Pakistan in 1965, for the first time the armies of both the countries took position on borderline. It was the foundation of the symbolic representation of the border (Saha, 2007), which is even very common now-a-days in the case of Bangladesh and India border.

Migrations are still going on and recently built border has failed to serve its function as a barrier to stop the mobility of the people. People are migrating continuously from across the border on both sides in search of security, but memories of their native places are still visible in their expressions. Indeed, Indo-Bangla border is now a living entity and completely functional to demarcate the territory between the two neighboring countries. Now, memories of partition have become real stories for the border people on both sides. Old generation cannot forget about their nostalgic past, while young generation accepted the partition as a reality. They seem to be happy with their present identity and that is clearly manifested in their patriotic feelings while showing respect to their national flags or other symbolic representation of the state (Saha, 2007).

The people living on the Indo-Bangla border went through all these historical phases. Their ancestors had seen the era of Muslim rule; 200 years long British colonial rule and many of them were witness to the post-partition events in Bengal. They had witnessed how identities were reinvented by transforming the existing identities of people; how the class conflicts during the British colonial times transformed into caste conflicts, and later on turned into communal conflicts, and finally the communal conflicts faded away during the independence of Bangladesh to save their cultural identities from West Pakistan. For them, the formation of identities is a continuous process. It is building today and fading away the next day. Still some identities are permanent which cannot be affected or modified even by the interference of external variables, such as the cultural and linguistic identities which are common for the people on both sides of Indo-Bangla border. These identities are inherited and nurtured by the people on both sides in their day-to-day life in spite of their differences in religious beliefs. It is some kind of cyclic process. Sometimes commonness of culture and language brings them closer to each other and sometimes the differences in religion push them apart (Saha, 2007).

The border between India and Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) was drawn by a commission led by Sir Cyril Radcliffe during a three-week period in the summer of 1947 (Chatterji, 1999). The present research on Bangladesh border village and its dwellers are also the product of overnight partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947. There were hardly any differences between the present studied border people and Indian side communities. Both sides' communities shared common identity, social systems and cultural practices. They had common living style, family and marriage

system, kinship terminologies and occupational patterns, irrespective of being Muslims and Hindus. But after the partition of different phases, there are significant changes from life style to occupational pattern in course of time among the border people of Bangladesh.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PARTITION AND THE BEGINNING OF ILLEGAL BORDER TRADE

Jan Breman argued that “to understand the present situation of the rural laborers it is essential to know their position in the past’ (Breman, 1970). Having same opinion, importance has been given on partition to understand the present occupational pattern of border people. Because partition affected working people’s livelihood (Schendel, 2001) in different times and it has socioeconomic impact on different localities and individuals. Needless to say, Partition has influence on post-partition societies in border areas and pattern of occupation has been changed in border areas due to it.

In the complex society of this region, much employment was nonwaged, or paid in services or kind, and wage employment often did not signify fully proletarianized labor. Most household incomes were made up of a number of sources: land, labor, and trade (Schendel, 1981).

Partition created an international border which stretched for over 4,000 kilometers, cutting through the provinces of Bengal and Assam. It ran along local administrative boundaries, through rivers, across fields, and along railway lines which had never before had much political or social significance. The border turned neighbors into citizens of different states, and often these neighbors entertained work relations with each other. They had to devise ways to continue these relations, or create new ones. Many found that the border did not change life overnight but only gradually came up as a barrier to cross border work. Eventually, many were confronted with the stark choice between giving up their jobs or moving across the border to keep them (Schendel, 2001).

In the complex society of this region, much employment was nonwaged, or paid in services or kind, and wage employment often did not signify fully proletarianized labor. Most household incomes were made up of a number of sources: land, labor, and trade (Schendel, 1981). But these were changed in course of time after partition. The imposition of the border, and the population movements that took place as a result of it, had lasting effects on the labor market in the borderland. Both employers and laborers had gradually to adapt to new conditions which privileged labor ties on either side of the border and made cross border labor ties less attractive. A serious problem was raised in the case of taking wages home without being detected by the border police after partition. The states of India and Pakistan, on bad

terms with each other, prohibited the free flow of commodities across the border and returning wage laborers, whose wages were often largely in the form of food grains, were seen as smugglers. The situation was even more complicated if wages were paid in cash. Pakistan and India imposed various restrictions on the import and export of currency, and border police could use this to harass cross border laborers (Schendel, 1981).

A subset of border commuters, and one which is relatively well documented, were employees of the other state. During the colonial period many people had been employed by state institutions which were now in the other country. Their employment was not terminated because of that. But cross border state employees often marked as traitors after the partition and they found it increasingly difficult to continue after 1952, when India and Pakistan introduced passport and visa controls. The border also played havoc with the marketing system in the borderland which was based on rotating village markets. Marketing for borderlanders became a cross border affair after partition and exposed them to harassment by state personnel. Perhaps the most extensive impact of partition on work in the borderland had to do with agricultural work. In a strip more than 4,000 km in length, almost all of it rural, numerous cultivators found that they had become separated from their most valuable source of income, land. It is impossible to quantify the agricultural disruption caused by the imposition of the border. Both the agricultural work and the gathering of forest produce were being seriously jeopardized after the partition (Schendel, 2001).

In all these cases-wage labor, marketing, and cross border landholding and forest rights- the new international border acted as a barrier. It cut off individuals and households from sources of income on which they had depended and forced them to replace these with new ones. The border forced labor, produce and land markets into a new territorial straitjacket, and borderlanders had to adapt their living strategies accordingly. Cross border relations never disappeared completely but they were subject to new uncertainties and risks. For some borderlanders, however, the new barrier itself was a workplace (Schendel, 2001) and due to the imposition of border concept, pre-partition trade, exchange of goods without legal papers turned into 'illegal' in the new barrier.

Many people had been working on what was now the new partition border. Some continued to do so and others found employment because of the border. The various ways in which these border workers negotiated the new

dangers and opportunities was crucial in giving different sections of the borderland their particularly characters (Walker, 1996).

About 1,000 km of the border actually ran through water, and those who worked on the Border Rivers and marshes faced a dangerous but potentially lucrative situation. Local ferries suddenly became illegal or (rarely) blossomed into officially designated border crossings. They turned into crucial nodes in new networks of cross border commuting, migration, trade and smuggling. Rivers had always been important avenues of traffic and trade, linking coastal Bengal with inland towns and villages. Regular steamer services had provided public transport, often over hundreds of kilometers, and goods had moved primarily over water. As a result of Partition, however, some of the most important river routes simply died, together with the river ports that had depended on them and the employment they had generated. Large border rivers became too dangerous for steamers (e.g. the Ganges (Padma)), and officials would reject local demands for re-establishing steamer stations out of fear of facilitating smuggling. Trade in small boats on the smaller border rivers and fishing in border marshes, lakes, and rivers became risky because of disagreements over where the actual borderline was located. Not surprisingly, those who operated non designated ferries and country boats on Border Rivers (often wage laborers employed by the boat owners) frequently found themselves the target of cross border shootings. Their work was suspect because of its location: here the line between legal trade and smuggling, exploitation of domestic and foreign resources, and being a citizen or an alien was wafer thin (Schendel, 2001).

The land borders were usually easier to locate. Over a period of years, considerable stretches were demarcated and marked by boundary pillars but some areas remained undemarcated, and even border guards were not exactly sure where the border was. Indian, Pakistani and Burmese villagers who worked near the border had to be careful: straying cows often crossed the line and the responsible cowherd could get harassed, arrested, or killed by border guards. Woodcutters in deep forest might cross the border unawares and get attacked or, in more recent times, blown to pieces by an antipersonnel mine. Cultivators with land in areas which both Pakistan and India claimed could work their fields only at great risk or under the protection of border guards. And finally, the work of border guards itself was fraught with danger: shoot-outs between border guards were an important tool for India and Pakistan to give expression to their territorial disagreements (Schendel, 2001).

One of the first consequences of Partition was a sudden need to police the new border. To this end, the states created new sets of border personnel. Immediately after Partition, the situation was chaotic. First, voluntary militias were formed, often with state support, in which refugees were usually prominent. The state offered other important employment opportunities on the border, especially in the Customs and Excise Departments which grew rapidly. Little is known about the effects of the border on industries which were located in the new borderland. Some industries found themselves actually straddling the new border. As a workplace, the border was a mixed blessing. We have seen that its creation forced many workers to look for alternative ways of earning a living whereas it provided new jobs to others. Those who worked on or near the border were exposed to unprecedented danger because violence could easily erupt in the tense atmosphere between two nation-building projects at loggerheads (Schendel, 2001).

Before Partition, there had been considerable trade flows crisscrossing what would become the borderland. After August 1947, the new states had to devise policies to cope with the fact that such trade had suddenly turned into international flows. However, neither India nor Pakistan could develop a straightforward trade policy; they were pulled in different directions. On the one hand, the two states sought to disentangle the economy of partitioned regions in order to integrate their portions of the regions into their own national economies. But, at the same time, they were keen to profit from any cross border trade which they saw as supporting their own national cause because it provided strategic or scarce goods, or because it could be taxed (Schendel, 2001).

As a result, a high level of uncertainty surrounded border trade, and borderlanders were continually picking up clues as to the newest obstructions and opportunities. Trade which was encouraged yesterday might be criminalized today, only to be tolerated unofficially tomorrow. In other words, the creation of the border set up a new, haphazard dynamic that nobody in the borderland could control. Right after the establishment of the border, the flow of certain goods was interrupted or hampered, other goods continued to flow freely, and yet others began to flow in response to new opportunities opening up. Borderlanders soon learned that this pattern of flow and blockage would be subject to sudden and unpredictable change (Schendel, 2001).

Smugglers on both sides were disastrously active. In many other cases, cross border traders also defied the state. Many parts of East Bengal produced paddy which was sold to deficit areas that were now across the border in India. The East Bengal authorities were keen to stop this, and special police officers were given the task of preventing paddy leaving the country. This was not an easy task, as events after the first major post-Partition harvest in December 1947 showed. In April 1950, two border guards in the northern district of Rangpur were on patrol when they came across 'a large number of Hindu migrants with about a thousand heads of cattle and other restricted articles proceeding towards Cooch Behar [India] by a village path'. When told by the senior guard to proceed to India through the prescribed customs route, they did not pay heed to his instruction but 'adopted a defiant attitude and tried to assault him' (Schendel, 2001).

It is likely that such confrontations occurred often. And it was not only thwarted pre-Partition trade which was at issue. Soon new commodities also found their way across the border, and a lively two-way network of unauthorized trade, or smuggling, developed. It provided many borderlanders with an income as traders, coolies, ferrymen, and day laborers of various descriptions. In this way, the border developed into an important resource for workers in the borderland (Schendel, 2001), especially for the illegal traders.

Partition resulted in the movement of large numbers of people, some of them labor migrants but others refugees. Industrial workers, like others, fell victim to the painful process of minority expulsion that followed Partition. Partition cut them off both from their source of raw material and their market. They produced various silk textiles for the Burmese market which, because of new import and export restrictions, now became so difficult to reach that most producers had to abandon their trade. Many switched over to the production of cigars and cheroots, for which local tobacco could be used. This seemed to offer a solution until the Pakistan government decided to slap a double duty:

... once on raw tobacco and then on cigars and cheroots Due to this latter tax, the manufacture of cigars and cheroots by these people ha[s] stopped as they cannot find a market. The market is flooded with foreign cigars and cheroots which are sold at cheaper rates than the local products (Chin, 1953).

Citizenship in India and East Pakistan became more strictly regulated only in 1952, with the introduction of passports and visas. Monitoring cross border population movement was a principal aim, and visas for citizens of the neighboring country were different from those for other nationals. It was clear, however, that neither state was quite up to scrutinizing all movement across a 4,000 km borderline. In fact, India and Pakistan actually institutionalized the practice of cross border commuting at this time: commuters were allowed special visas with which they could cross the border without being checked. In order to get a visa, one would, of course, need a passport, but most people in the borderlands continued to cross without any official papers (Schendel, 2001).

In short, state regulation of cross border work affected on a small proportion of those who earned a living on or near the border. In effect, except for the categories mentioned in the visa rules, the states of Pakistan and India did not attempt to regulate cross border work at all but neither were they capable of stopping it. Since few cross border workers cared to get the official papers which allowed them to work across the border - either because they did not know about the rules, had no money for passports and visas, made local arrangements with border guards, or simply took a chance - state regulation was even more marginal than the limited attempts indicate. After 1952, all kinds of cross border work continued, now with the added, but in most cases remote, risk of getting arrested for trespassing (Schendel, 2001).

The inhabitants of borderlands develop relationships with state organizations and national identities which are, of necessity, more ambiguous than in the territorial heartland: borderlanders are daily reminded of the reality, and the inherent opportunities and risks, of two competing political projects. In their social and economic behavior, borderlanders have to find pragmatic solutions which frequently flout state rules. Hence, they are often depicted as subversive, not only because they expose the weaknesses of state control but also because many illegal crossborder activities are only possible with the complicity of state agents (Donnan & Wilson, 1999).

The inability of even the most powerful states to bring 'subversive' border economies under control is well documented, not least in the case of unauthorized workers. We have seen how the struggle between states and borderlanders in search of a living unfolded in a new borderland, and how that struggle worked out for different groups of borderlanders. In the wake of state fragmentation, many found earning a living hard whereas for others

new opportunities opened up. Partition contributed to transformation from agricultural to nonagricultural employment and to more contractual labor relations. Wage dependency figure became more prominent in post-partition household living strategies. Partition shaped borderland workers' identities and created subversive borderland economy. Borderlanders worked their way through Partition opens up new perspectives with regard to the economic and social aspects of Partition, the living strategies of working people in periods of state fragmentation, and the role of such strategies in the formation of new states and nations. For borderlanders, especially for the illegal traders working through Partition was a challenge in the past (Schendel, 2001) and it is still challenging.

CHAPTER NINE

BORDER CULTURE AT DIAR MANIK CHAK (DMC) FRONTIER

During field visits it was observed that some of the houses in DMC are semi-cemented and base of the houses is constructed at a higher elevation than the normal because of periodic flooding in this area. Some other houses are made of mud with tin shed roof. Many households have a spacious courtyard, where they can dry paddy, maize and other crops. It is found that there are large conical hut (locally known as *Golla*) in the courtyards in DMC.

The villagers of DMC practice animal husbandry. Villagers domesticate the cow, the ox, the bull, the duck, the cock and the hen. People of DMC use bull or ox in agriculture. But it is found during study that some villagers use power tiller or tractor in lieu of the bull or the ox.

Muslim women do the task of drying up, winnowing, etc. after harvesting the crops by men in DMC. Paddy is considered as the cash crop in this border village. Surplus productions of crops are taken by local people to the Godagari and Bidirpur Haats for selling. It is seen during the study that border people are losing their interests on farming day-by-day because of excessive expenditures in agriculture works and also not for getting adequate prices of cash crops. They are engaging themselves to alternative economic means and that is illegal border trading. Increasing family expenses and the flow of Indian goods also attract them to involve in this risky and easy money making process.

Social stratification is a common feature for both Hindu and Muslim societies of *Bangladesh*. Hindus are generally stratified on the basis of caste system and the Muslims on the basis of occupation patterns. Diar Manik Chak border village is predominantly Muslim. Thus, DMC is homogenous in terms religious faith of the people. The notion of untouchability is absent among the people, as Islam does not permit social stratification. The differentiation of the people in Muslim society is less complex. It is found that dwellers who have land, tractor, shops and money they have influence in DMC. *Imams* (Head of Mosques) have also influence for their religious status. Villagers try to invite and keep in touch with these types of people in DMC. There is only one Hindu family in DMC, who does not belong to higher caste and they even do not think about caste and hierarchy. They believe in work and living with the Muslim dwellers without having any

communal problems. Indeed, social stratification is gradually losing its value in DMC.

There are two types of families in DMC: Joint and nuclear family. Due to population growth, the number of family members is increasing and the person with high income is losing interest to take burden of other family members in DMC. Conflict is found here among the wives of brothers and also between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. People losing their interest on agriculture and it are found that some people want to move towards Rajshahi city or to the capital of Bangladesh. Moreover, gradual reduction of cultivable land, increasing of family expenses, growth of market economy which opened up new economic opportunities, and the existence of illegal border trading along with the before mentioned causes are responsible for breaking down the joint families in DMC. Some of the families in DMC still live together in a form of extended household and share a common courtyard separately in separate hearths.

Early marriage custom is practiced here and women are not much empowered. Practice of dowry system during marriage is found in DMC. People are aware about their marriage registration according to government law in DMC. Hindu marriage is managed by strict religious laws and is a lengthy process. The selection of spouses is done by the relatives and elder family members of a person. Marriage is not confined among the kins. No cross border marriage is found in DMC. In the case of Muslim marriage, both sides celebrate the marriage ceremony. It is found that two or three days after the marriage, bridegroom's side celebrates seriously where new bride symbolically feed people of her in-law's village.

Fertility rates are higher among the Muslims. Age of marriage for Muslim and Hindu females is lower, and as a result they conceive children at early age. Period between conceiving next child is also lesser among women. Because of early marriage, women enjoy prolonged fertility period. In the case of sex ratio, Muslims have more female children because of their family size. In fact, the reason is simply biological. Both Muslims and Hindus have a preference for male child.

Muslims of DMC try to offer five times prayer. They attend *Jumma* prayer in the mosque. They wear white religious headgear during prayer. If it is not available, they use handkerchief to cover their head. It is seen that the first row in the mosque is generally occupied by the wealthy, elder and influential

people of the village, though; there is no such rule as to who will stand behind whom. Muslims of DMC celebrate the month of Ramadan, Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-ul-Azha.

Village mosque is very important place in the in DMC because it is found that villagers interact with each other to maintain their social relationship inside and outside the mosque. It also provides the villagers a space to share information on different issues. In DMC, villagers donate in cash and kind according to their financial capacity for organizing the religious events and also for construction works of the mosques.

There is no provision for the women in DMC to visit mosques for offering prayers. They do not even participate in community religious celebrations. *Burqa* system is found among the Muslim women in DMC and they follow other religious rules, like fasting during Ramadan just like Muslim men, and offering prayers at home.

Hindu family in DMC celebrates *Durga Puja*, *Kali Puja*. But they go to Godagari for performing these important pujas. It is found that *Tulsi* (Basil) tree is in the middle of the courtyard in DMC Hindu family, which is considered as sacred to them. Hindu women regularly offer candlelight and incense stick under the *Tulsi* tree immediately after the dusk and make sound their mouth, which is locally known as *Ullur Dhoni*.

The religious festivals create an atmosphere of enjoyment in DMC. People greet and distribute sweets on the occasion of the festivals. People visit the houses of their relatives with sweetmeat to celebrate the events.

The shop owners are Muslim in DMC. One type of ritual is found in DMC that the Muslims organize *Milad* (Muslim religious ritual) on the first day of the opening of their shops. These businessmen invite Hindus in such types of occasions. They regularly offer candlelight and incense stick at the shops immediately after the dusk.

Border people of DMC watch BTV and listen Radio Bangladesh. There are not too much entertainment facilities like dish in DMC. They show their interest in watching Indian TV channels which they can watch easily without any dish connection in this border area. The people, who do not have TV, watch the TV programs either at their neighbor's house or in the shops.

It is seen that *Kabadi* (a kind of rural sport which is also the national sports of Bangladesh), football and cricket are popular sports in DMC village. This border village organizes different sports tournaments every year and it is very interesting that each ward represents their own ward in the tournaments in DMC which entertains the villagers in this frontier.

CHAPTER TEN ILLEGAL TRADING AND BORDER CULTURE

Before Partition the huge Bengal-Assam-Arakan region had been integrated in a web of complex economic ties. The region, inhabited by tens of millions of people, had a strong agricultural base and a large variety of industrial zones. For many centuries it had been linked to global commercial networks, mainly through agro-industries producing silk and cotton textiles, indigo, opium tea rice, sugar and jute fabrics. By the 1940s, tea and jute fabrics were its main contributions to the world market, and the region consumed large quantities of industrial and other commodities from many parts of the world. In terms of production, trade and consumption, there was absolutely nothing that foreshadowed Partition. The events of 1947-8 precipitated what can perhaps best be described as the political assassination of this regional economy. Three states emerged and divided the region between them. All three states saw themselves as developmental states, in charge of promoting the development of a newly found 'national economy', defined as all economic activities taking place in the territory allocated to the new state (Schendel, 2005).

What was the place of the borderland in these state-centred projects of development? It soon became clear that, in all three states, those in charge of economic policy saw the borderland as an economically suspect zone not worthy of great investment. Industrial and agricultural development initiatives tended to bypass the border areas, and the 'Development Raj' had little time for the specific economic problems of the borderland. Infrastructural improvements lagged behind - a policy bitterly regretted by the Indian state elite during its war with China in 1962 and what state sponsored development did take place in the borderland was related more to strategic worries than to concerns over the welfare of the borderland population (Schendel, 2005).

Economic planners and politicians were, however, very interested in controlling the large trade flows crisscrossing the borderland. These had now become transnational flows and therefore needed state regulation. One of the first measures was to abandon the joint currency of colonial times and introduce separate currencies for the territories of India, Pakistan and Burma: the Indian rupee, the Pakistani rupee and the Burmese kyat (Schendel, 2005).

Although India and Pakistan were in much better control of the borderland, they too were unable to develop straightforward trade policies. Both states sought to disentangle the economy of the partitioned region in order to construct an integrated national economy, yet at the same time were also keen to profit from any cross-border trade that they saw as supporting their own national economic goals by providing strategic or scarce goods, or because it could be taxed (Schendel, 2005).

Right after the establishment of the border, the flow of certain goods was interrupted or hampered, other goods continued to flow freely, and yet others began to flow in response to new opportunities opening up. Borderlanders soon, learned that this pattern of flow and blockage would be subject to sudden and / unpredictable change. They also learned to think in terms of the main categories of cross-border trade that official discourse distinguished: transit trade and sanctioned trade, border trade and illegal trade (Schendel, 2005). Focus will be made on border illegal trade in the following sections:

Border trade

Officially, border trade was tightly regulated in terms of quantity per person, type of commodity and spatial extension. Because it was seen as supplying borderland markets, it was legal up to 16 km (10 miles) from the border but illegal beyond that belt. Border trade was permitted only intermittently. During periods when these flows were. Considered to be entirely illegal, the state saw all cross-border marketing of local produce as smuggling and as unpatriotic, anti-state behavior (Schendel, 2005).

Illegal trade

The fourth category of trade, illegal trade, existed only as a result of policies of state territoriality. It is only when states forbid — or fail to sanction - certain transnational trade flows that these come to be defined as illegal, illicit, black, underground, contraband, clandestine, smuggling, and so on. Illegal trade can be defined as all cross-border economic activity that is not authorized by the government of either the sending or the receiving country (Andreas, 2000). In the Bengal borderland, this category came into existence by default. India and Pakistan started from the assumption that no cross-border trade was legal unless it was sanctioned by both of them. And since only certain trade flows were given this double stamp of approval in the various agreements, all others were considered illegal (Schendel, 2005).

For borderlanders it was a difficult category to deal with because it changed over time. The two states were in the habit of periodically redefining which items fell under the headings of sanctioned and transit trade. And what they wrote down in their agreements, signed in offices in Calcutta, Delhi, Karachi, or Dhaka, did not necessarily percolate down correctly (or at all) to the borderland. As a result, borderland perceptions of what the states considered to be illegal trade were often considerably blurred (Schendel, 2005).

By prohibiting trade in many 'illegal' commodities, India and Pakistan burdened themselves with the responsibility of actually checking these flows. They soon found out that they were incapable of doing so without desperate measures. For example, in the case of trade in paddy and rice was generally prohibited even in border marketing. Both India and Pakistan were keen to control this trade but both soon realized that they were completely unable to do so (Schendel, 2005).

Illegal trade was easily the dominant form of cross-border trade, if only because legal (sanctioned) trade could pass the border only where customs facilities had been established. This meant that anything which passed the 4,000 km border in between the handful of designated customs posts was illegal, even if the commodity in question was on the list of sanctioned trade goods. This dominance of illegal trade was predicated on restrictive official policies, combined with insufficient state surveillance, but also on many borderlanders simply disagreeing with state-imposed categories of legality and the closure of trade across huge stretches of the border. They considered various forms of 'illegal trade' as morally justified or licit. Underlying the persistence of smuggling was their rejection of the states' authority to outlaw most borderland trade. Not only did the states fail to impose their categorization, but we will see that borderland notions of licitness also progressively subverted official notions of legality. It was a case of states overreaching - not only in terms of their powers of surveillance, but also in terms of ideological hegemony. Illegal cross-border trade not only included the bulk of transnational commercial activities in the borderland; it also covered a wide range of goods and trade relationships (Schendel, 2005).

Why are these people adopting a livelihood negotiating between legal and illegal means? This brings us to the deep-seated economic disparity between border regions and other parts of the country. According to World Bank, border districts in Bangladesh tend to have lower per capita income than

national average. As there is dearth of research on the economy of border areas, it is difficult to comprehend the scale of disparity, but it can be ascertained that the return through smuggling and illegal migration is higher than available employment opportunities in those areas.

This supposition can be built up further by the fact that over the years trade through border areas has declined sharply. In 1948, intra-South Asia trade was 18% of total trade and today's border areas were relatively wealthy. In 2000-07 this share dropped to 5%.

So when we talk about any solution to the illegal border crossing we have to keep in mind the deprivation of the border regions.

Illegal Border Trading at Diar Manik Chak (DMC) Border, Godagari, Rajshahi:

People of the study area had no clear idea about 'border' before the visible presence of barbed wire fencing. Still they fall into confusion when they see the Indians are coming in at 9.30 am to 10 am in the morning for cultivation in their land nearby DMC area and going out at 3.30 pm to 4 pm. in the afternoon by crossing the fencing gates. Barbed wire fencing, border pillars, observation tower, BOP (Border Out-Posts), floodlights, no man's land, Border Guards are the symbolic representations of border which indicates border politically and also determine the identity of a group of people who are living on DMC border. DMC Border is not a safe place and is the place of illegal activities like illegal border trade. Illegal border trade is locally known as '*Blak*' (cross border illegal trade).

It is important to mention here that there is no land port or border haat (market) in DMC border area. Geographical location, historical context and sense of denial the border, poverty, worst communication system, generation to generation reciprocal culture between border people, easy availability, cheap price, livelihood, economic disparity between border region and other parts of the country, unemployment, weak border security management system, greed and corruption of legal administrative bodies encourage illegal border trade in DMC. Illegal trade works here as per rule of supply and demand.

Moreover, agricultural production is not sufficient in terms of population size and necessity in DMC. That is why border people depend on illegal border trading for their survival.

Industrialists are not interested to invest in border areas. Not only the lack of availability of raw materials, gas facilities but also the security reason discourage the industrialists to create job opportunity in border area, which ultimately deprive border people and the illegal trade becomes only means of living for their survival.

State prevents border societies indulging in any form of cultural assimilation with their counterparts living across the border. State always perceives a threat from border societies, as they share a lot of common cultural features with their neighbors living across the border, and thus the level of state interference on border society is noteworthy. As a result, border people enjoy low level of human rights and basic entitlements than the other people of the state. Thus, these societies are neglected by the state (Saha, 2007). The characteristics of state in the case of Bangladesh are not exceptional which compel the border dwellers to involve themselves in illegal border trading.

There is no weekly Haat or permanent market in DMC. It is not easy for the border people to fulfill their daily necessities. The weekly Haat are called Godagari Haat and Bidirpur Haat is very far from the frontier village. This kind of challenges creates favorable reason to do illegal cross border trade which helps them to avail necessary goods and items easily at cheap rate.

A good number of border people are engaged in illegal border trading, as there are no other easy modes of income. Many families are involved as a whole in illegal trading. Male border traders are between 18 to 60 age group and female are 16 to 45. Some traders have primary education but mostly have no institutional education. It is also found some family use their children in illegal trading in lieu of sending them school.

Divorced women are engaged in illegal border trade. Some women abandoned by their husbands are found to involve in illegal border trading. There are some women who also involved them to fulfill the demand of dowry.

case 1

Rahela Khatun (pseudo name), 23 years old divorced woman lives in DMC. Her father has a small piece of land in this border village. She is the eldest among her three sisters. Both of her parents have no permanent income. Her father cultivates maize and paddy which are not sufficient for their livelihood. Rahela got married at the age of 19 with a day laborer of DMC. Her husband demanded one motorcycle and ten thousand taka cash as dowry before marrying Rahela. Rahela's father managed cash ten thousand and handed over to son-in-law at the time of wedding and requested for some time to manage the motorcycle. Her husband was agreed and gave five months' time to his father-in-law. Rahela was passing days happily for the first three months but the activities of her husband raised question in her mind regarding daily works. Rahela observed that her husband went to the work very early in the morning and comeback at night. He used to talk over mobile phone both in Bangla and Hindi. One day he gave small plastic packed packets to Rahela and requested not to open and to carry inside her burqa. Her husband requested to hand over the packet to one of Rahela's maternal aunt, who lives in another ward of the DMC. Rahela opened the packet after the departure of her husband and became astonished to see marijuana inside the packet. She became afraid and packed again and then left for her aunt's house. She asked her husband at night for his illegal activities, which made him angry and said not to speak to others. He also said if Rahela does not speak to anyone then he will not demand the motorcycle from her father. However, Rahela did not share with anyone and listened to her husband for a peaceful family life. But after three months, her husband started to demand motorcycle and Rahela's father failed to manage which caused divorce to Rahela. Then she came back to her father's house but she was compelled to work with her aunt for carrying illegal items to earn money for bearing the family expenses. She takes care of her parents and sisters and meets most of family expenses. She is involved in illegal trading for the last four years. She has a network for trading under her aunt. She supplies different items like phensedyl, marijuana, saris within the border village and earns two thousand taka for carrying every time. Her parents know that Rahela is involved in illegal trading but they remain silent for their poverty.

Lungi, full sleeved shirt or Panjabi with in and out pockets wear male traders. Female wear burqa with their dresses. This kind of dress helps them to conceal carrying goods, items to smuggle.

In spite of having risk, it was found two types of illegal border traders in DMC. These are:

Self Employed: 'Survival' is the key issue to this kind of traders. He or she carries goods himself/herself. They invest less amount of capital in border trade.

Carrier: To live a better life he or she carries goods especially at night under an agent of a big border businessman in exchange of wage. This kind of traders does not invest any capital.

case 2

Abu Hanif (pseudo name), son of Mollah Kahirul (pseudo name), lives in a joint family of DMC. All the male members of his family work as day laborers. Women of his family render domestic service to some of affluent families of DMC. Economic condition of this family was never good and living in hand to mouth. A 20 years old boy Abu Hanif has no education and tried to do some business. He tried to run a tea stall in DMC but failed to manage required money. Hanif is aware about the border trading in DMC. He knows some villagers who are involved in trading and have good relations with administration and earning money easily. One day he approached to one of the traders through his friend for some work. Then that trader asked him to work at evening twice a week but gave him condition that Hanif has to work under him, not with any other traders. He also said Hanif that he will pay one thousand taka for each evening and can increase amount if he can perform well. That trader also assured him that he will manage local administration and there will be no risk. Thus Hanif started working under that border trader as a carrier. Hanif is earning good amount of money within very short time every week. He is now planning to build a semi-cemented house for his parents and planning to marry. He has planned to invest some amount of money in border trading which will help him to earn independently. Once he was caught by the BGB members in border area but his business boss managed to release him and since then he is known to the BGB members of DMC and has good relations with them.

There is another type of border trader who belongs to ‘**Big Party Businessman**’ or ‘**mafia**’ group. Some illegal traders of DMC said this kind of big border businessman never comes in border area. They control everything by their agents and look after the business most of the time over mobile phone. This kind of traders always tries to maximize the margin of profit through using border people. They keep local administration, police and BGB in good book.

The most dominant items are gold and contraceptive pills (locally known as Maya Bori) which are going out from DMC border, Bangladesh to India. Edible oil, diesel and petrol, fertilizers are also smuggling from DMC to India. Addictive drugs and ingredients (narcotics like phensidyl, Marijuana etc.), saris, fans, Tube light and sometimes small arms are coming into Bangladesh from India. The most alarming scenario is Drug dealers encourage the young man to pick up the habit by giving them drugs on credit.

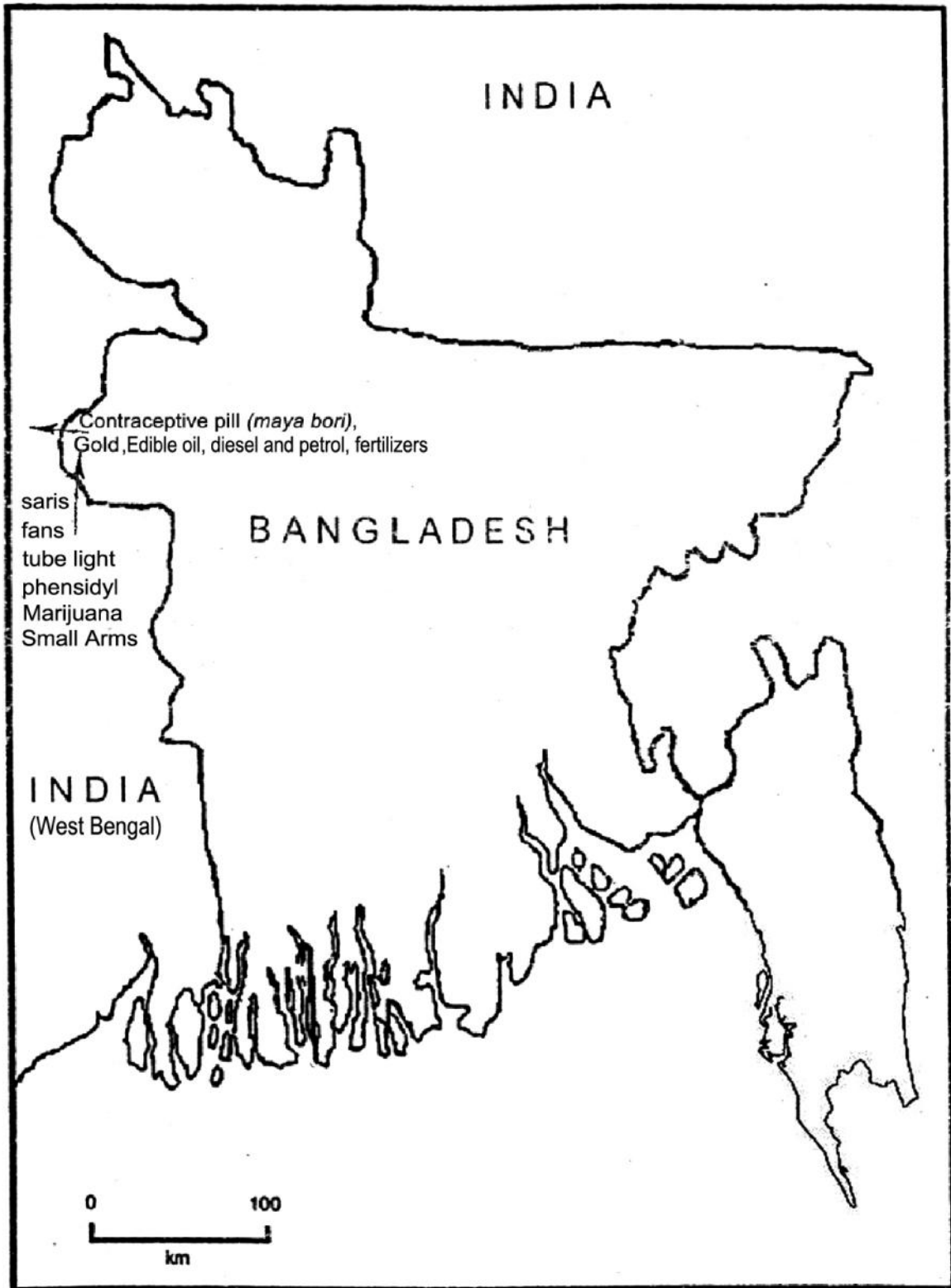


Figure 2: Some illegal trade flows at Diar Manik Chak (DMC) border, Bangladesh.

Cow trading is not found here, though it was prevalent in the past.

Human trafficking itself an illegal border trade. But no human trafficking is found in this study area. I try to find it from the source of BGB camp, Godagari police station and also from journalists but there is no complain records even for lost or abduction case of any one.

It is found that the payment procedure in illegal border trade is based on post selling payment. No advance payment or guaranty money system is available. It is found only verbal in lieu of any type of paper based negotiations among the traders. It is seen during this study that the traders fix items for transaction and bargain over the price among them. Indian currencies are available at this border.

In rainy season when DMC borders are surrounded by water, the traders use small boats and exchanges goods at night in the small bushes of the border. But in dry season they use motor cycle, bi-cycle and walking is another option to do border trade.

Illegal border traders maintain social interactions and networking to facilitate the trading process. They maintain cordial relations with each other both at personal and family level. They invite each other during celebrations and social functions. They even arrange marriage within the network to maintain the trade process. In the case of recruitment in trading network they first give priority the relatives and that is the important reason for not leaking the information of the illegal traders to the administration. They maintain their communication through mobile phone very easily and it is also found that DMC illegal border traders also use Indian mobile sim to keep contact with their counterpart. Illegal traders of both sides sometimes meet at no man's land. They find both day and night time convenient to smuggle goods openly and secretly and it depends on their contact and understanding between both sides border security forces. The leader of illegal traders of DMC pay fixed amount to the local administration (from BGB to Police) monthly basis. They also pay to some influential journalists sometimes and it is the reason for not covering the daily news of the illegal border trading.

case 3

Mir Kasem (pseudo name) lives in Rajshahi town. But his original house is at DMC. He is now forty years old and father of one son. His parents are also living with him in Rajshahi town. He went to primary school and after passing class five he started helping his father's works in DMC. They have good quantity of agricultural lands and two tractors. Kasem married a 19 years girl of Rajshahi town, who also belong to a solvent family. He received money from his father to start a grocery shop in DMC. He is now the owner of two shops in DMC. One of his friends had jewellery business in Rajshahi town. He came to know jewellery businessmen through him and became familiar with gold smuggling. When he saw that his friend is doing such illegal business and earning money within very short time then he also expressed his interest in this trading. At one stage, Kasem married his friend's younger sister when his friend approached to him for wedding. Since then Kasem and his friend became partner of illegal gold trading of DMC. Kasem started to look after the gold smuggling business in DMC and he was introduced to local administration and the business network by his friend. Kasem and his father are influential and respected to the local people. He has also one jewellery shop in Rajshahi town. He has both male and female agents in DMC who carries gold. He uses several mobile sims and visits DMC twice in a month and meet with his local agents at his grocery shop after evening. Kasem makes about forty thousand taka every month from this gold smuggling business after spending all others expenses. He often sends food items and clothes along with cash as gift to local administration. Kasem is familiar as a donor as he donates and sponsor for different programs locally. Villagers do not know him as a smuggler because of his father's wealthy background and status. Kasem also helps his DMC business agents and two of them also look after his grocery shops and thus he operates his illegal trading network and earning money for the last thirteen years.

Illegal traders deposit money to one of their trusted person who can be their leader or not. Though there is no bank in the study area, it is not the reason for them to deposit money to their trusted person within the trade network.

If they find any unknown face in the area, they treat it as a threat for their existence and they use their own source to find out the identity of the stranger.

It is found that Muslim dominated border people of DMC practice Islam, listen *Waaz*. Hindu people are also pious. But in the case of smuggling, they do not care about religion and have good understanding between both types of religious traders. They often visit each others house and invite on different occasions. They do not think they are doing illegal work. They think they are earning their livelihood (*Amra Kam koira khai- earning*

through work). They justify illegal border trading due to various social and economic reasons. But there are some elders in DMC who are against illegal border trading and feel that governmental security agencies should be honest to stop this trading.

Social stratification in Diar Manik Chak (DMC) is common and it is mainly based on occupation patterns. Illegal trading is one of the important occupation patterns which can be identified as a notable border culture of DMC and this frontier village of northern region of Bangladesh can be considered as homogenous in terms of occupation.

Impact of Illegal Border Trade:

When the Partition border was imposed, it cut across complex trade flows. The new states actively discouraged many of these in order to territorialize their national economies. They sanctioned only certain trade items, and these were to cross only at designated localities. After 1947, all other trade across the border was declared illegal, and therefore most trade between India, Bangladesh and Burma became smuggling (Schendel, 2005).

Even if the states made great efforts to disrupt [legal trade, they found it impossible to put a stop to it. Official estimates of illegal trade were staggering. For example, the Indian Department of Commerce estimated in 2002 that the value of goods annually smuggled to Bangladesh from Northeast India alone was over Rs.20 billion (or about US\$450 million) (Schendel, 2005). A few months later, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh stated that the illegal trade between Bangladesh and India was worth US\$3 billion, or twice the value of legal trade (The daily Star, 2003). Not surprisingly, officials often assumed that at least 40 to 50 per cent of the economies of both India and Bangladesh were 'black' (Schendel, 2005).

From 1947 to 1971, the states enclose the regional economy. In the early years after Partition, the cross-border flow of goods had been primarily one of regional products between different parts of the Bengal-Assam-Arakan area: crops (paddy, rice, jute, potatoes, spices, tobacco and pulses), fruits (mango, jackfruit, areca nuts, papaya), forest products (timber, firewood, bamboo, honey), cattle, fish, sugar and molasses. In many cases, these were well-established regional trade patterns, now driven underground. Smuggling was largely in the hands of regional operators and was financed

locally or regionally. It targeted rural markets in the borderland as well as urban markets at short distances (Schendel, 2005).

From 1971 to the present, global trade re-scales the state. In the years after 1970 this pattern was still recognizable but new goods, new organizational arrangements and new financial links came to dominate cross-border trade. Four types of illegal goods now passed the border in different mixes at different places. These can be symbolized by jute, saris, video recorder, and heroin. Jute stands for 'disrupted trade' (goods that had been part of regional networks of exchange before Partition but whose trade was declared illegal by the new states) saris for 'swapping' (goods produced in the wider economies of Bangladesh, India and Burma and traded illegally back and forth across the border); video recorders for international goods to India' (goods that were legally or illegally imported into Bangladesh and then smuggled to India); and heroin for 'banned goods' (goods of foreign origin that were banned in India, Bangladesh and Burma and were traded through these countries to domestic as well as foreign markets) (Schendel, 2005).

The expansion of illegal cross-border trade was partly a result of sheer demographic growth. In 1941 the population of Bengal, the most populous part of the region, was 60 million. By 1971 it had doubled, and in 2001 it stood at 210 million, or a whopping 3½ times the number of inhabitants of 60 years previously. But there was also another factor in the opening-up of new opportunities for profitable trade: the phenomenal growth of urban markets and middle -and upper-class consumerism in both eastern India and Bangladesh (Schendel, 2005).

A larger demand for smuggled goods, as well as the introduction of new types of goods, required other organizational arrangements and financial links. The more smuggling was done in bulk, the harder it was to hide it from official eyes. In order to circumvent state tariffs, fees and duties, and in order to avoid being arrested for 'anti-national activities', privatized forms of trade protection, regulation and financing became more important. Certain state employees at the border became prominent local representatives of such networks, protecting cross-border flows organized by private entrepreneurs in exchange for commissions that they might have to share with their superiors in the state bureaucracy (Schendel, 2005).

Illegal trade flows through the borderland came to have a phenomenal impact on state formation. These flows influenced the careers of individual

state employees, attracted many people to state jobs that held the promise of tapping into illegal trade, and dampened demands for higher salaries in the state bureaucracy. They shaped trade policies, undermined the judicial process and contributed to the breakdown of public safety. They supported candidates for elected office, and thereby allowed illegal traders easy access into the state structure, as the following two cases demonstrate (Schendel, 2005).

As the worlds of trade, administration, politics and crime shaded almost seamlessly into each other, a new type of operator emerged. Known as *mostan*, these men mediated between the visible institutions of state and the less visible world of crime. They derived their power from illegal trade and official protection, and used it to terrorize a neighborhood or town, and gain access to (or even control) political leaders at the local and state levels. They joined hands with political party bosses, if such an alliance was beneficial to them, but could change ideological sides at the drop of a hat.¹⁰⁰ Gangster rule, or *mostanocracy*, depended heavily on smuggling, the plunder of state revenues, appropriation of foreign aid, extortion and protection money. Illegal cross-border trade thus emerged as a corner-stone of a new kleptocratic state (Schendel, 2005).

The subversive economy that developed so vigorously from the 1970s was oriented much more toward the borderland than the state-centred 'Development Raj' had ever been. In the borderland, it was impossible to tell where the subversive economy ended and state power began. Although the two had merged to such an extent that it was difficult to speak of an antagonistic relationship, official antagonism was still in evidence in certain state ritual, and practices. Some of these were routine, such as customs checking, border patrols, the arrest of smugglers and the seizure of their goods. Others were episodic, such as the occasional visit by a top-ranking politician who would thunder against 'anti-social and anti-state crimes' and announce tighter border controls or even a sealing of the border. But borderlanders generally took these to be rituals of deception for the benefit of faraway audiences, and which impinged only intermittently on the real arrangements that had been worked out locally (Schendel, 2005).

The easy flow of goods across the borderland also had another impact on the worlds of trade, administration, politics and crime. In some cases the states were keen to divert to their own territory unauthorized flows of goods that were benefiting a neighboring state. For example, competition over the-

expanding subversive economy prompted Bangladesh, Burma and India to invest in a long-neglected section of the borderland (Schendel, 2005).

The borderland economy straddled the border effortlessly. For example, the presence of large contingents of border guards in the border town of Hili did nothing to prevent everyday economic arrangements that defied the very purpose or their presence:

'We come shopping to [Indian] Hili often', said [Bangladeshi] Anisur Mondal, 'We still feel we belong to the same village. There are so many friends still on both sides. The BSF usually don't stop us, for if they do, it's more of a problem for them arresting us and feeding us for 15 days!' (Schendel, 2005).

In fact, India, Bangladesh and Burma were not capable of channeling flows of goods according to their plans, and that they found the economy of the Bengal borderland impossible to control (Schendel, 2005).

With the partition of Bengal, the economy of Bengal became disintegrated creating the problem of smuggling as legal bars were imposed upon normal economic transactions between the two parts of Bengal and Assam and Tripura. Open nature of Bangladesh-India border encourages smuggling and it has become common in the border region and has become extensive. According to one report in early 1992, the total volume of Bangladesh-India illegal trade (smuggling) was about Taka (TK.) 20 billion. (\$ 1 = TK. 38 approximately at that time). At present, the amount stands roughly at about US\$ 3 billion. In addition to illegal economic transactions like smuggling, since the early 1990s, Bangladesh and India and Bangladesh and Myanmar have been trading legally through several land ports such as Benapole (on the Bangladeshi side) and Petrapole (on the Indian side) built in the cross border sister cities. A lot of activities go on surrounding both legal and illegal economic transactions along Bangladesh-India and Bangladesh-Myanmar borders. It is highly likely that these activities have changed the livelihood and life including culture of the border dwellers. These economic activities-both legal and illegal-have made serious impacts on economy, culture, security, health, and other sectors of Bangladeshi borders and Bangladesh in general (Kabir, 2010).

The nature of the border economy along the Bangladesh border has changed significantly over the years. At present, legal economic activities are

conducted through various land ports. Sister cities across borders have developed. All sorts of goods are transacted through legal trade (Kabir, 2010).

Smuggling remains a lucrative and ever expanding business along both Bangladesh-India and Bangladesh-Myanmar borders due to the demand for goods that are smuggled in from India and Myanmar. Business syndicates in all three countries are also involved in the smuggling and illegal trade. They do that to make higher profit. The porous Bangladesh-India borders definitely contribute to illegal trading. Indeed, smuggling has become “a part of life” for some border dwellers, who find Indian side of the border as the natural market for their goods than the faraway Bangladeshi market (Kabir, 2010).

From Bangladesh’s point of view, smuggling is detrimental to its national economy as it has damaging impact on its domestic industries. Also, the government loses huge amount of revenue as a result of smuggling. Moreover, economic damage is translated into security concern as the smuggling syndicate become more powerful and smuggling of arms and explosives allows the outlaws to destabilize the country and carryout operations with grave national, regional, and global implications. In short, the overall impact of illegal border trade on Bangladesh is it weakens the economy, makes it dependent and hampers development. It causes law and order and social instability and increases violence (Kabir, 2010).

Smuggling is an important source of livelihood for many both in Diar Manik Chak and in the West Bengal border area. The cough syrup *Phensedyl*, other drugs, and rice are among the most common items smuggled into Bangladesh. But the most lucrative is the cattle trade. Some estimates suggest that as many as 20,000-25,000 animals enter into Bangladesh through West Bengal daily (Hussain, 2009). While the cross-border trade in cattle is illegal in India, sales of Indian livestock in Bangladesh are legal and taxable, and in fact the BDR (presently known as BGB-Border Guards Bangladesh) often facilitates the cattle trade (The Telegraph, 2006). A survey conducted by the *Bangladesh Unnayan Parishad* (BUP), an NGO, revealed that, on average, commodities worth Taka 832.2 million are smuggled every month into Bangladesh from India (Naher, 2013).

Similarly, there are a concerned amount of people have been trafficked from Bangladesh to India. Though the estimation varies but it is assumed that

200,000 Bangladeshi women and children have been taken out of the country in the past 10 years. And every year, at least 20,000 Bangladeshi women and children are trafficked to India and Pakistan and to Middle Eastern countries (Rahman, 2011).

Unauthorized crossings take place largely due to various quasi-legals or informal trading across borders. This is characterized as 'informal trading' rather than 'illegal trading' because there is wide participation by locals within border areas, and the trade generally bypasses custom posts and operates in liaison with the anti-smuggling enforcement agencies on both sides (The World Bank, 2006).

The size of 'informal trade' and number of people involved in it are staggering. According to World Bank, illegal trade between the two countries amounts to 3/4 of regular trade. According to Observer Research Foundation, only the cattle trade between India and Bangladesh is worth \$500 million annually (<http://orfonline.org/cms/sites>).

It is reported that about 1 million people, including 30,000 women and children, are involved only in illegal drug trade in Bangladesh, referring to Bangladesh's Department of Narcotics Control (DNC) (The Hindu, 2008).

Local people around the border area individually transport small quantities -- often just as head-loads or by bicycle -- which is often called 'bootleg' smuggling. There is another type of smuggling called 'technical smuggling,' where large quantities of goods are passed through formal legal customs and other channels, and carried mostly by trucks and boats. In these cases, custom officials and members of law enforcing agencies on both sides collude with the smugglers in explicit illegal practices such as under-invoicing, misclassification and bribery. These traders are medium and large traders who also trade across the border through formal channels. There is a close link between 'bootleg' smuggling and 'technical' smuggling. Although bootleggers carry goods in small quantities across the border, trucking them to border areas -- often from distant parts of India -- storage is mostly organized by medium size and large traders. On the Bangladesh side, there are medium and large traders who buy these smuggled goods and flood our local markets with them (Samsuddoza, unpublished manuscript).

Cattle trading share the lion part of informal trade. And most of the killing incidents happen to the cattle bootleggers, who just carry the cattle across

the border. There are two types of cattle smuggling: Pepsi deal and Fog deal. In Pepsi deal, smugglers use a corrugated tin sheet, set up it on the fence, and slide the cattle down to Bangladesh side of the border. It is more or less safe. Because it does not require cutting of the barbed fence. BSF official often travel along the border line and if they find a cut into barbed fence, soldiers have to bear the burden of negligence. In case of large cattle, smugglers use fog deal. They have to cross the border along the cattle. So they are easily discernable. In fenced areas, they have to cut into barbed fence and face the brunt of severe action by BSF soldiers (Samsuddoza, unpublished manuscript).

Next comes Phencydyl smuggling. It has been widely reported that there are a large number of factories in Indian territory along India-Bangladesh border that continue production and supply of Phensidyl to Bangladesh, despite Bangladesh's repeated request to demolish those factories. In Phensidyl smuggling, women are mostly used as bootleggers (Samsuddoza, unpublished manuscript).

As men are frequently apprehended by the security personnel, especially when security was heightened after the November 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, women are being increasingly used for smuggling goods and fake currency notes. Women are also heavily involved in smuggling fake India currencies across the borders. In 2009, 147 women were held for smuggling fake Indian currency across the borders (<http://womensenews.org/story>).

It seems that border killings often occur only at the tip of the iceberg -- the poor bootleggers -- where medium and large traders, factory owners, corrupt law enforcing and custom officials, human traffickers are at ease and profit from the very last bit of capital which the poor people are willing to risk to just survive (Samsuddoza, unpublished manuscript).

It is reported that a bootlegger gets only Tk.3, 000 to Tk.4, 000 for a pair of cattle, while they are sold in the nearby market at Tk.40, 000 to Tk.50, 000 (Mustafa, 2012). Cattle smuggling which a billion-dollar illegal industry in which both the countries are involved. Cattle trade that is worth around \$500 million, feeding off Muslim-dominated Bangladesh's high demand for beef. Hindu-majority India, on the other hand, has a surplus, although it has banned exports. As a result, 20,000 to 25,000 cattle, worth around \$81,000, are thought to be smuggled across the border every day (Ghoshal, 2014).

It is important to mention here that there is no case of cattle trading and human trafficking was found in Diar Manik Chak.

Informal trade in this region typically involves illegal transactions with the participation of local residents and enforcement agencies, either through small-scale bootlegging or larger smuggling syndicates. And as with most shadow economies, exact numbers are difficult to discern. In 2009, Bangladesh's high commissioner to India estimated that informal exports from India were about as large as formal exports at \$4 billion. A few years earlier, the World Bank reported that "Bangladesh's smuggled imports from India during 2002/03 were approximately \$500 million, or about 40% of recorded imports from India, and approximately 30% of total imports (recorded plus smuggled) from India." Since then, formal trade between the two countries has exploded, and Bangladesh is now India's largest trading partner in South Asia. It seems informal exchanges have moved in the same direction (Ghoshal, 2014).

In DMC, if anyone fails to get success in carrying goods then he or she not only deprive from his/her wage but also face physical torture. Sometimes they have to compensate through working additional man-days without any wages. In some cases illegal traders are tortured or abducted by their own gang people. Illegal traders always live in panic due to BGB and their gang leaders. There are few cases where female carriers are also raped and they do not complain because of fear and social stigma. Illegal traders, both male and female, are used to listen vulgar words from border security forces and their business leaders. Female traders always live in fear of rape.

One of the important impacts of illegal border trading is border killing. This is happening because of the prevention steps of smuggling taken by the border security forces of Bangladesh and India. Illegal border traders got wounded or killed. Both BGB and BSF (Border Security Force of India) are the enemies to them. But it is also found that both BGB and BSF gave spaces to the traders to do the illegal trade in exchange of bribe. Sometimes illegal traders kill or wound BGB and BSF. Though this kind of scenario is very common of other border areas of Bangladesh but no data has not been found regarding border killing or any wounded case from BGB, journalists or from local administration, traders and dwellers. One of the important reasons behind this is, maintaining good networking among the traders and security forces. It is found that police and Upazila administration of Godagari depends on BGB (Border Guards Bangladesh) due to worse

communication system. There is even no report to police and Godagari Upazila administration authority regarding any border killing or abduction or torture by the border security forces at Diar Manik Chak border area.

Some people living in border area of Diar Manik Chak are rich because of easy way of earning money through illegal trading. They constructed good house in Godagari or in Rajshahi town, which is known as their '*second home*'.

It is found that buyers and sellers of illegal goods in DMC are not always the people of this border internally. These goods go out of this border area by the local people and the traders and their agents. Some border people said that they try to bring goods from Godagari and Bidirpur markets in DMC border area and want to sale. But they cannot compete and reduce rate to the border dwellers because of the availability of illegal goods and high carrying cost from Godagari and Bidirpur to DMC border area, which causes to leave business and compel them doing illegal trading for survival. In this way, not only local market but also national economy is hampered and government of Bangladesh is losing revenue.

There are many people of DMC going to India in search of livelihood through border area. If there are enough work opportunities in locality, then it will lessen the tendency to cross the border illegally and will also lessen the illegal trade.

Some people said that smuggling is reduced in DMC border areas due to the partition fence at border. But most of the people said, partition fence at border hampers their livelihood.

Illegal border trading hampers normal way of social life in the area. It makes local people lazy. The addictive drugs and ingredients spoiling border youths and threat to their health. Causes of increasing rate of dowry are also lies in the illegal trade of DMC border. It also unrest the relationships of two bordering states.

Illegal border trade has severe impacts on person who is engaged in trade, other peoples of the border, family, society, economy, political parties, and government and also on the bilateral relations between India and Bangladesh. On one side how this kind of border trade helps to fulfill the necessary requirements of lifestyle and help to reduce poverty through

earning money, on the other hand it has worse impact on local, national and international level. But above all, the border people of DMC find their livelihood through illegal trading in small or large scale and they are dependent on illegal border trading for their livelihood.

CHAPTER ELEVEN CONCLUSION

Bangladesh and India share a common and well demarcated land boundary, which came into existence, as a result of partition of the erstwhile Britain-ruled Indian subcontinent. These countries are the end product of partition of Indian subcontinent. Religious identities became the root of formation of the nations in spite of having cultural and linguistic similarities. Muslim dominated areas were brought together and Pakistan came into existence, while rest of the Indian subcontinent became India because of the Hindu dominance. Pakistan was quite peculiar in terms of its geographical location, as Muslim dominated areas were scattered all over the subcontinent. Western Muslim dominated provinces formed the western wing of Pakistan while East Bengal was known to be as the eastern wing, which were in a confederation and geographically separated by a distance of more than 1000 miles. In 1971, after a nine-month long bloody guerrilla war eastern wing of Pakistan became independent and finally established as Bangladesh. Since then both Bangladesh and India have different political territories as well as border.

Border is a unique situation. It is different from mainland. It is one sense beginning, on another sense, it is hinterland. State creates border and it shapes people of borderland culturally and economically in a different way, which are different from state's mainland. Border has variety due to history, geography, religion, ethnicity, linguistic and culture. In the case of defining border of Bangladesh, 'religion' is one of the most important criteria which differ from Indian border. In the case of Bangladesh-India border, religion is one of the important determinants to define border culture. But in my study at Diar Manik Chak border area of Bangladesh, it is not so important how it is in the case of other parts of the border areas of these two neighboring countries because the border Lalgola of India, which is connected with Diar Manik Chak (DMC) border of Bangladesh is also Muslim oriented borderland.

Though DMC border people still depend largely on their agrarian economy but they are involved in illegal border trading to meet up their family expenses. Indeed illegal trading is an easy economic opportunity to the border people which is an important means of living to them. In fact, geographical location, historical context and sense of denial the border, poverty, worst communication system, generation to generation reciprocal

culture between border people, easy availability, cheap price, livelihood, economic disparity between border region and other parts of the country, unemployment, weak border security management system, greed and corruption of legal administrative bodies encourage illegal border trade in DMC. Illegal trade works here as per rule of supply and demand.

Ongoing illegal trading in DMC is one of the most important economic events, which makes different culture in the border. Bangladesh Government considers it as an illegal and subversive activity, as state is deprived of the revenues from this unauthorized border trading. However, border people depend greatly on illegal trading for their survival. They have different notions regarding it where some people approve it and some do not.

This study helps to understand the psyche of Diar Manik Chak border dwellers and gives an insights to understand border culture, especially the border culture in terms of occupation as well as illegal border trade. Presently, the border dwellers have territorial concept as well as territorial identity. They maintain the border on the basis of 'nationalism'. Partition plays pivotal role in course of time to create the territorial concept and identity among the borderlanders. It plays an important role to open up new economic opportunities like illegal trading. Increasing number of family members, failure of earning enough through agriculture, risky but less labor and easy money through illegal border trading encourages the DMC dwellers to do the illegal trading, which is marked as part of life and most important livelihood indeed. There are impacts of neighboring Indian Lalgola border in different ways on DMC border. Illegal trading is connected with two states and it is very natural that it bears representation of both the countries and two borders cultures. That is why it can be stated that the border culture of DMC is a mix culture in terms of trading related occupations.

It seems that existing illegal trading in DMC raises question about the legitimacy of the border and its functions which is similar to the concept of Donnan and Wilson (1999) and Saha (2007) to the extent that border is losing its functions in this globalized world.

Illegal border trading hampers normal way of social life in the area. Illegal border trade has severe impacts on person who is engaged in trade, other peoples of the border, family, society, economy, political parties, and government and also on the bilateral relations between India and

Bangladesh. One kind of cross border relationship between Bangladesh and India is found due to illegal trading in border area. On one side how this kind of border trade helps to fulfill the necessary requirements of lifestyle and help to reduce poverty through earning money, on the other hand it has worse impact on local, national and international level. But above all, the border people of DMC find their livelihood through illegal trading in small or large scale because they think it gives quick money, reduces poverty and gives better life and that is why they are dependent on illegal border trading for their livelihood.

Border is not porous now-a-days as India constructs barbed wire fencing in the border areas. But illegal border trading prevails in border areas in such a manner in this present capitalist globalized era and free market economy, it seems that if any time any hostility occurs between two states, legal relations may be stopped but the train of illegal border trading will never be stopped here and elsewhere in the world.

The border culture of Diar Manik Chak is not simple. It is complex, especially in terms of occupation. It can be stated here that the culture of Diar Manik Chak is homogenous in terms of religion as it is a Muslim dominated border area and I would say 'shared culture' is prevailing in terms of illegal border trading occupation in DMC by differing the concept of Alvarez (1995) where he tried to say that border culture is apparently homogenous. The shared culture of DMC in terms of occupation is almost similar to the concept of Wilson and Donnan in terms of border functions as well as economic activities. According to Chatterji (1999) and Schendel (2001), it is seen in my study that partition has impact on this border and also opens up new economic activities like illegal trading, which have impact on livelihood of the Diar Manik Chak border people and brings a new way of life in this frontier village.

Studying border culture is a new discourse in anthropology. It requires greater attention from the anthropologists to understand the existing culture of borderlanders. This study looks forward to provide the original scenario of borderlanders' before the society so that the policy makers can fix their policy suitably regarding borderland. Policy makers of both countries believe that Bangladesh's relations with India are very important in the era of globalization. India had already been developed a Border Area Development Plan (BADP) to solve the various problems of border people and to develop their livelihood. Bangladesh should also formulate a

sustainable border policy which can be really helpful for the border people. In this regard, culture of borderlanders must not be ignored anyway to solve different problems of Bangladeshi borderlanders and also to solve the bilateral issues between Bangladesh and India. But unfortunately, this type of study has hardly been done in the concerned area.

Both India and Bangladesh governments are opening ‘Border Haat’ to reduce the impact of illegal border trading and increasing bilateral relationships between two countries. DMC border area is basically a char area and during rainy season it is engulfed by water. DMC is a place where at least a *border haat* can be initiated both in dry and rainy season. In this case, ‘*border water hat*’ can be started through using small boats and this will help to meet both sides’ people and will reduce the risky illegal trade based border culture in this region.

Illegal trading is going on along border area but it is hampered because of border fencing, state’s security mechanisms and her imposed rules and regulations. But in reality, state and her mechanism is not successful to build ‘*wall of the barrier*’ by fencing even at Bangladesh-India border because illegal trading is an old occupation and it has its own distinctiveness and importance for livelihood, which shapes border people culturally different from the mainland of the country.

Border trade created a unique culture in border area because of its location. Uniqueness to border is its illegal border trade. Components of culture prevail in all areas but the only component, that is, illegal trade only exists in border area. It is a unique occupation of the borderlanders’. Legal trade is not unique because it is a formal agreement between two countries. But illegal trade which takes only in border areas, not other areas of the country is shaping border culture. Illegal border trade- an informal economy became the ‘way of life’ of the border dwellers which has both positive and negative dimensions.

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