

**Stateless Diaspora:
A Sociological Study on Biharis in Bangladesh**

MSS -2nd Semester

Exam Roll: 4610

Registration No: H-5697

Session: 2011-12

Department of Sociology

University of Dhaka

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This advanced thesis paper is submitted to the Department of Sociology University of Dhaka for the partial fulfillment of requirements of MSS Degree.

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Acknowledgment

To complete this research I have been assisted in various numbers of ways. I have received all types of helps and advices regarding my research work. I want to give my deepest gratitude and respect to several individual who have made my work easy and comfortable by providing various supports.

I am thanking the Department of Sociology to assign me to work with my supervisor. I would like to thank the Chairman of Department of Sociology and the members of academic committee of the department for approving the research proposal.

I am really thankful to my course teachers, who contributed to enrich my methodological knowledge. I am also grateful to all of my teachers who helped me to enrich my academic knowledge. I am also grateful to all of my respondents who cordially share their views and answers to complete my research.

I would like to offer my special gratefulness to ‘Al-Falah Bangladesh’ and ‘Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU) for providing me all the supports and facility to complete my research work properly. I would like to give my special thanks senior coordinator of ‘Al-Falah Bangladesh’ for supporting me and providing me all kind of information to make my research more reliable. I would like to thank teacher of Muslim Camp pre-primary School and Stuff of ‘Al-Falah Bangladesh’, for her translation assistance and for her cordial help to find the address of Muslim Camp properly. I would like to thank some of the camp dweller for assisting me to collect information from the camp.

I would like to thank some of my friends for providing me SPSS knowledge and helped me to entry my data to complete my research. I would also like to thank all of my friends for supporting me morally and mentally to complete my research all the time. I would like to thank them who helped to print and bind my research paper properly.

I would like to show my deepest gratitude and gratefulness to my parents and my younger brother and sister for assisting me all through the life.

Abstract

Today, in Bangladesh, Urdu-speaking community known as Biharis lives in various camps in different parts of Bangladesh. In the camp as well as outside the camp they face some problems due to their identity crisis. The present study tries to find out the identity crisis of the Biharis and their present condition in the camp. Quantitative research method has used to collect data and a computer based 'Statistical Program for Social Science' (SPSS) has used to analyze data. The sample size of the present study is 120. Chi-square test was used to test hypotheses with 0.05 level of statistical significance. From the analysis of the data it is found that identity crisis is present among the Biharis. Lack of education, unemployment, low income, unhealthy environment, lack of proper knowledge; and so on make their life miserable. These problems make them depress and vulnerable in the society. Healthy environment, employment, proper education, and other facilities outside the camp can reduce their problems.

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List of Abbreviations

CRO- Central Relief Organization

ICCPR- International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights

RMMRU- Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit

SPSS- Statistical Program for Social Science

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Statement of the Problem

During the communal riots of India from 1947 to 1955, many Indian Urdu-speaking Muslims migrated to East-Pakistan from the state of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Patna and West Bengal. When the nationalist movement of the Bengalis led to the war of independence, the Urdu-speaking Muslims sided with the West Pakistan because they were misled by the West Pakistani armies and benefited centrally by the Pakistani government (Sholder, 2011). However, when East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh in December 1971 they were left behind by the Pakistani army. They found themselves unwelcomed in both West Pakistan and East Pakistan (Lynch and Cook, 2004). Pakistan thought that this group of people could change the environment of the population. Bangladeshi people dislike them for providing support and sided with the West Pakistani armies during the liberation war of 1971 (Bashar, 2006).

Approximately 1,60,000 to 300,000 Urdu-speaking community people living in congested environment in Bangladesh for 42 years in 116 different camps (RMMRU, 2007). In the hope of repatriation in Pakistan these communities started to live in temporary camps all over the Bangladesh. The present study is an attempt to focus on the Urdu-speaking community; those are known as ‘Biharis’ or ‘Stranded Pakistanis’ in Bangladesh. They are treated as refugees, stateless persons, internally displaced persons, and citizens and so on (Rahman, 2003). This study tries to find out the real identity crisis faced by this community. This study tries to find out the identity status of this

community. Previous researchers failed to find out the changing status of this community's members. The present study tries to find out the changing status of Biharis with the passage of time. The present study also tries to find out how their rights are devaluated by the government of Bangladesh and Bangladeshi people.

During the partition of India in 1947, East Bengal which was later named East Pakistan was part of Pakistan. The post partition political rivalry between India and Pakistan affected East Bengal both demographically and economically (Ilias, 2007). The partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 was the wave of religious rioting, murder, mass displacement of population across the newly established borders of India and Pakistan (West and East Pakistan). The liberation war of 1971, had taken place between the two wings of Pakistan, the Bengalis and non-Bengalis within the territory of East Pakistan as well. The present study tries to see how the Biharis were denied to get their desire rights after the country got independence. They do not have the proper identity; they do not have the opportunity of enjoying basic rights, because they are not acceptable communities by Bangladeshi people. The Biharis are stateless as well as internally displaced person over the last 42 years. The present study tries to find out the causes of their internal displacement and how this displacement stands against their identity.

The Biharis face discrimination both from within their own community and from outside of their community. However, this study provides various analysis of the identity status of the Biharis. This study shows how their basic human rights are devaluated by the government and Bangladeshi people. This study is also an attempt to explain the present situation of the Biharis in various camps in Bangladesh. The present status of the Biharis

is very much confusing as they do not have any fixed identity and this status is not desired for them.

1.2. Background of the Study

The word 'Bihari' usually means a person who lives in the state of Bihar in India. However, 'Bihari' means non-local Urdu-speaking person in Bangladesh. Usually, the people who came from the state of Bihar are called the 'Biahris'. The Biharis are not only come from the state of Bihar but also from Uttar Pradesh, Madhaya Pradesh, Patna, Rajasthan and West Bengal. Bihar is a land of belief, religions and myths. Hindus and Muslims were always stood together to enhance the glory and greatness of India. They stood together for the independence of India. Muslim Biahris lived scattered in villages and towns. They did not have enough skill and education but they were happy to lead such a life. They were happy for their traditions and customs, cultures and myths. During the partition of India, these Muslims were fallen into the fault position. They became the victim of communal riots. Bihar was the main target. Patna, Saran, Munghyer and Bhagolpur were also the worst sufferer of the communal riots (Illias, 2007).

From 1941 to 1946, every year there was communal riots in Dhaka. By the end of 1942 the communal riots were spread throughout the villages. Many people were killed and injured during the riots of Calcutta in August 1946. These riots gave birth of killing Hindu families in East Bengal at Noakhali. As a result about fifty thousand Muslim populations were killed in Bihar in 1946. These riots create enormous feelings of Islamic brotherhood among the Muslims of other provinces also. Sheikh Majibur Rahman was a student leader then and he travelled throughout the Bihar to see the miserable condition

of Bihari Muslim refugees. He offered them to come to East-Bengal to take shelter and settlement (Ilias, 2007).

In 1947 British India was partitioned into two independent nations of Pakistan and India. The partition had given the religious lines. Pakistan was designed as the new homeland for Muslims and India was land of Hindus. The partition of India in 1947 had given some massive population movement. The flow of this movement between India and Pakistan was one of the largest refugee's movements during that time (Rahman, 2003). There have some reasons behind these huge movements:

Figure 1.1: Reasons behind Exodus of Muslim to Pakistan

Firstly	Secondly	Thirdly	Fourthly
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Communal riots broke out in the various part of the India and many muslims were compelled to left their homeland to save their lives. •Bihari Muslim take the advantages of geographical proximity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Bihari Muslim was inspired by the concept of Muhajirs and the view that Pakistan was created for Muslims. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Many udu-speaking people of Bihar and UP settled in Rangpur, Saidpur, Dinajpur and other areas in ralways station by the British government. After the indepennce of Pakistan they were emplyed again by the Pakistani government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Therefore Muslim civil sevents were interested to serve the eastern part of the Pakistan and their interests brought their families in East Pakistan.

Source: Dr. Mizanur Rahman, 2003. A community in Transition. p: 52

The riots of Calcutta and Bihar had made thousands of Muslim homeless and stateless. These Muslim refugees had moved to Chittagong, Khulna, Jessore and. The last movement was in 1964-65 (Ilias, 2007). These riots had taken so many lives of Muslims. As a result there was a huge migration of Muslims into East-Pakistan. The riots of 1946-

47 had made the East and West Pakistan, a new country called Pakistan. Muhammad Ali Jinnah said, “Bihar killing created Pakistan” (Ilias, 2007:48). Not only the communal riots but also social injustices had forced them to leave their homeland. The rapid growth of urbanization and industrialization in East Pakistan created new employment opportunities for the skilled migrants. The business of Bengali Hindus, who went India during the Partition, was taken by the Biharis. Most of all the immigrants were small traders, shopkeeper or laborer. Many of them started to work as station master or porter in railway station of Syedpur and Chittagong (Rahman, 2003; Ilias, 2007). The Urdu speaking refugees were provided shelters only in urban areas; those are called as ‘Mohajer’. These Mohajers were called as ‘Biharis’. Colonies were built for the Urdu-speaking people in urban East Pakistan or East Bengal at Mohammedpur and Mirpur in Dhaka; Raufabad, Sher Shah, Feroz Shah and Hali Shahar in Chittagong; Khalispur Satellite Town in Khulna and New Satellite Town in Jesore (Ilias, 2007).

East Pakistan’s people demanded their own independent land realizing the fact that they are discriminated. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman presented his six-point formula public in February 1966. These points did not address anything about the Biharis and they went against the six-point formula. They started to think if Pakistan would divide, again they would have to leave Pakistan and sent back to their home country. West Pakistan based newspaper misled them against Bangali nationalism (Ilias, 2007). Some provocative slogans by Bengali people against the Biharis like, “Ekta duta mowra dhoro shokal bikal nashta koro’ [Catch a Bihari every morning and evening and have your breakfast], ‘Mowra der hottakoro Bangladesh Shadhin Koro’ [Kill the Biharis to liberate Bangladesh]” (Ilias, 2007:90) make the ‘Biahris’ so unhappy and unsafe. ‘Mowra’ was a

slang word for the 'Biharis'. Therefore, they went against the independence of Bangladesh. They also had the strong urge of repatriation in the West Pakistan. As a result during the eve of 25 March 1971 West Pakistani army was assisted by the Bihari people to kill the Hindus. Some Biharis were also killed by the Bengali people in the other parts of East Bengal (Ilias, 2007).

Some young Biharis whose parents or family members were killed before or after 25 March, were taken into the Mujahid and Razakar force and started to kill the innocent Bengali people (Ilias, 2007). Thousands of Bihari people were also killed by the Bengali people. Some of Bihari students believed that they belonged to the East Pakistan because their birth was in East Pakistan. Those students helped their Bengali friend to cross the borders. During the nine-month of liberation war, some Biharis students were not acceptable in their community for helping Bangali people. On the other hand, some were not also acceptable among the Bengalis, because of their aggressive role in the war of 1971 (Ilias, 2007).

After the Pakistani armies were evacuated, the Biharis found themselves unwelcome in both countries. Since then, most of these Biharis have been living in refugee camp in Bangladesh, hoping to go back to Pakistan. They face identity crises in Bangladesh. In 116 different camps in Bangladesh they live under vulnerable and intolerable condition. They are fighting for their rights, as they are small in number and they do not have any recognized organization, they failed to establish their rights and voices. They cannot improve their living or health conditions as they do not have enough works or opportunity. They feel insecurity and they do not have proper knowledge to improve

themselves. They do not have real identity or they cannot find their true identity. This study tries to find out all of these questions, which remains unanswered till today.

1.3. Identity Crisis of the Urdu-speaking Community in Bangladesh

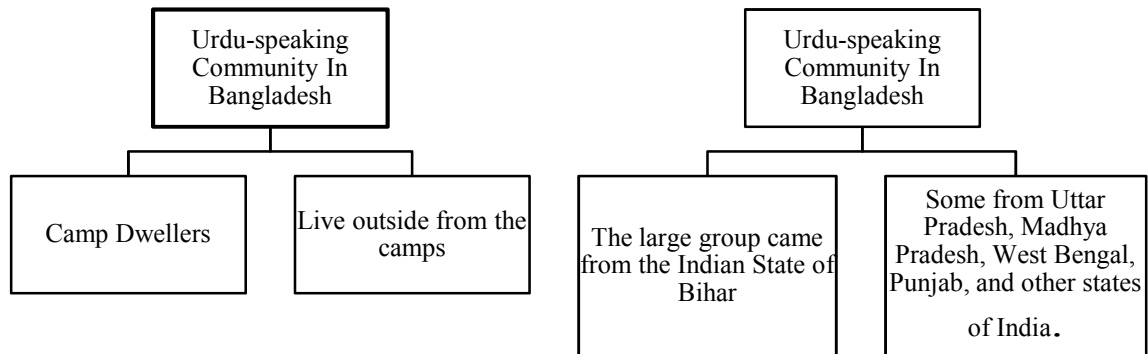
Individuals or group identity depends on the two factors:

“First, the shared expectation of the society and, Second, the group’s or individual’s ties with its past history or roots (Dashefsky and Shaprio, 1976 cited in Rahman, 2003:25).”

When East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1971, the unresolved status of some 250,000 Bihari in Bangladeshi refugee camps made several problems (Rahman, 2003). The Biharis came from the Indian state of Bihar. They migrated to East Pakistan when the Indian subcontinent was partition in 1947 between Hindus and Muslims. Most of the Biharis misled by the Pakistani and sided with the Pakistan during the 1971. This situation makes them unexpected in Bangladesh. Most of them wanted to go back to Pakistan and they refused to acquire Bangladeshi Citizenship. The Urdu-speaking people in Bangladesh suffer from identity crisis. In Bangladesh, they are viewed as “stranded Pakistanis”. They have been temporally lived in refugee camps all over Bangladesh. Sometimes they are called as refugees or stateless people. The status of the Biharis is very much contradicted in Bangladesh. The Bihari Muslims never get their real identification. Sometimes they are called ‘Muhajir’ or ‘non-local’ ‘stranded Pakistani’, and ‘non-Bengali’. Again, they are called ‘Mawra’ as slang. At the end, they got the status of Urdu-speaking community in Bangladesh. But till now in Bangladesh they are addressed as Biharis which is not acceptable by the Urdu-speaking community in

Bangladesh. The Urdu-speaking community can be divided into two parts on the basis on living place and their roots separately:

Figure 1.2: Types and Origin of The Urdu-speaking Community in Bangladesh



Source: Ahmed Ilias, 2007, *Biharis: An Indian Immigrants*. pp: 143 &144

1.4 Citizenship Status of the Urdu-speaking Community in Bangladesh

Citizenship is one of the fundamental elements of human rights. In Bangladesh, the citizenship status of the Biharis is some way contradicted. When Bangladesh became independent, some of the Biharis went to Pakistan. Rest of them was given choice to stay in Bangladesh and they were given citizenship of Bangladesh. They were given citizenship by the Presidential order of 1972. Article 2 of the Citizenship Order states:

“Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law, on the commencement of this Order, every person shall be deemed to be a citizen of Bangladesh-

- (i) who or whose father or grandfather was born in the territories now comprised in Bangladesh and who was a permanent resident of such

territories on the 25th day of March, 1971, and continues to be so resident; or

- (ii) who was a permanent resident of the territories now comprised in Bangladesh on the 25th day of March, 1971, and continues to be so resident and is not otherwise disqualified for being citizen by any other law for the time being in force (Paulson, 2006, UNHCR, vol.25, issue 3, p:58).”

The Biharis who has born after 25 March, 1971 and who were the permanent residents during that time received the citizenship status in Bangladesh. According to order of 1972 Biharis have the citizenship status. But those who wanted to go back to Pakistan they are not citizens of Bangladesh, because Article 2B (1) of the Citizenship Order states:

“Notwithstanding anything contained in Article 2 or in any other law for the time being in force, a person shall not qualify himself to be a citizen of Bangladesh if he –

- (iii) owes, affirms or acknowledges, expressly or by conduct, allegiance to a foreign state (Paulson, 2006, UNHCR, vol.25, issue 3, p:6)”

Against this background, the Biharis who have the desire to go back or repatriate in Pakistan cannot be the citizen of Bangladesh. Again, the role of the Biharis in the liberation war of 1971, keeps them far away from being Bangladeshi. Based on this, we can divide the whole Bihari community into three steps:

“First, the young generation, those who want the citizenship status and also claim that they are citizens of Bangladesh.

Second, the older generation, those who still want to go to Pakistan.

Third, the Biharis those were opted to go Pakistan but now want to become the citizen of Bangladesh (Rahman, 2003:114).”

Urdu-speaking community is known as ‘non-Bengalis’, non-locals, or Biharis in Bangladesh. They are also known as ‘stranded- Pakistani’ because of their repatriation dream.

1.5. Definition of the term “Stateless Diaspora”

The term ‘Diaspora’ is a new concept. The concept ‘Diaspora’ has some theoretical challenges. Diaspora is the situation of the group, who are displaced from their home country either forcibly or voluntarily. The most widely accepted definition of stateless person is contained in Article 1 of the 1954 convention of UNHCR. Article 1- definition of the term “stateless person”

“For the purpose of this Convention, the term “stateless person” means a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law.” (UNHCR, 1954: 6)

The situation of statelessness is depended on two most important factors: first, de-jure, and second, de-facto (Rahman, 2003:77).

Figure 1.3: The Situation of Statelessness

<p>de jure: de jure statelessness is known as “original” or “absolute” statelessness.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• A person's inability to establish citizenship, or to be considered a national by any state under operation of law, creates de jure statelessness.
<p>de facto: de facto statelessness encompasses what is known as “subsequent” or “relative” statelessness, whereby an individual loses their nationality without acquiring another</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• de facto stateless persons are those that cannot establish their nationality, yet are not declared de jure stateless because the country in which they live believes that they hold, or should hold, nationality in another country; the other country in turn believes that the individual ought to have the nationality of the country in which they live.

Source: Dr. Mizanur Rahman, 2003. *A community in Transition: The Biharis in Bangladesh*. p: 77

Today, we can see there are many different diaspora groups in many different countries. During the liberation war of Bangladesh, Biharis were not the citizens of Pakistan or Bangladesh. This situation got worse after the independence of Bangladesh. Some of these Biharis have the strong urge to go back to Pakistan and some are (especially young generation) very much dedicated to Bangladesh.

1.6. Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:

- A. To find out the identity crisis of the Biharis in Bangladesh.
- B. To find out the present situation of the Biharis in Bangladesh.

1.7. Significance of the Study

This study tries to find out the changing identity problem faced by the Biharis. This study also shows the problem faced by Biharis where they live. Here in Bangladesh, as well as in Pakistan, people in the camps are known as Biharis. During the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, Muslims left the India and went to Pakistan, mostly to the East Pakistan. Hindus left Pakistan and went to India. Bihari Muslims started their life and began to live in the East Pakistan peacefully. After the liberation war of Bangladesh situation got worse. Some Biharis were not loyal to Bangladesh because they were scared and misguided by the West Pakistani armies.

Some 300,000 ‘Urdu-speaking’ people are living in 116 camps in Bangladesh for four decades, are fighting to establish their rights as Bangladeshi citizens. They do not adopt themselves with the Bengali culture. They speak Urdu and their culture is different from the Bengali. Due to illiteracy and ignorance, they have to face many problems. They are not enough skilled, educated, and interested to change their fate. These camps are their home now. There are at least so many Biharis born after the 1971 liberation war. For them, return to Pakistan is a dream that holds a little meaning. They feel their only option is to accept the current reality. They want fixed identity. They want to enjoy the opportunities and finally they want to live happily in Bangladesh. Their real identity still is in question. The present study tries to find out that answer and also their sufferings.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Approximately 160,000 to 300,000 Urdu-speaking community members are living in 116 camps in different places in Bangladesh (RMMRU, 2007; Sholder, 2011). During the partition in 1947, this community moved from different states of India. This community supported the West Pakistani armies and civilian in the liberation war of 1971. After the war this community was unwelcomed in both countries (Bangladesh and Pakistan). The Urdu-speaking community has been living in temporary camp as ‘stateless community’ or ‘stranded Pakistanis’ and ‘Biharis’ for the last four decades throughout different places in Bangladesh. This community leads miserable conditions because of their continuous changing identity status. Their citizenship status and identity status are very much contradictory. They have to live under miserable conditions due to their illiteracy, high population density, and poor health facilities. In the present study, the identity crisis faced by the Urdu-speaking community and due to this crisis what are their present situations, will be studied. There have some researches that are related to the present study. In those researches we find out some of the information about the Urdu-speaking community in Bangladesh. The following literature reviews attempt to demonstrate the history of identity crisis of the Urdu-speaking in Bangladesh and their present situation due to this crisis.

Urdu-speaking Muslims came from the state of Bihar. They are called as ‘Bihari’ in Bangladesh because of their place of origin. They also came from other places of India.

The greater part of the Urdu-speaking Muslims started to migrate from India to East Pakistan during the communal riots of 1947. The Bihar riots had taken place in 1947 and many of the families had left their homes and lands, most of them went to Karachi and some of them were moved to East Pakistan. A large number of Urdu-speaking Muslims had migrated from Calcutta (Maswani, 1979). In East Pakistan most of them were recruited as 'railway men' by the Pakistani government. The Biharis generally came from an urban background. It was difficult for the Biharis to adopt the habits and customs of Bengalis. With the rise of Bengali Nationalism, the voice of Biharis was totally gone. During the liberation war of 1971, Biharis were targeted to a mass killing all over East Pakistan. The killing of the Biharis was part of military plan. Pakistan government did not raise the question of mass killing of the 'Biharis. When the process of repatriation started, the Biharis started to migrate in Karachi (Maswani, 1979).

Rahman (2003) shows the Bihari problem represents an "unsettle past" (Rahman, 2003). In the study he mentioned, "Biharis are treated under different categories e.g. refugees, stateless persons, internally displaced persons, citizens etc and the Biharis are not only a minority community but also a community internally displaced for the last more than 30 years (Rahman, 2003: 18, 25)." Malik (2000) mentioned, "the primary factor propelling this population movement was politics of partition, politics of separation, and this politics was perhaps beyond their control and comprehension" (Malik, 2000 cited in Rahman, 2003: 33).

The communal riots of 1947 made the demand of a separate land for the Muslims. Rahman mentioned some reasons following the enormous population movements of the Biharis to the then East-Pakistan: *first*, communal riots broke out in various states of

India and they Urdu-speaking Muslims were forced to escape into Pakistan to save their lives; *second*, the government of Pakistan encouraged Muslims to migrate to Pakistan from India; *third*, many Urdu-speaking people settled in Rangpur, Saidpur, Parbatipur, Dinajpur and other areas to serve in railway stations, junctions and factories; *fourth*, Muslim employers were engaged in Bengal to serve the East Pakistan. This brought their families and close relatives from Bihar after the partition (Rahman, 2003).

The legal status of the Urdu-speaking community members is very much contradictory. Sometimes they called as ‘refugees or Muhajirs’ and sometimes as ‘stateless persons’. So their real identity still is in the question. The UNHCR Statute and the 1951 constitution contain very similar definition of the term ‘refugee’. According to them to be a ‘refugee’ four basic conditions must be fulfilled. These are:

“First, the person is outside the country of his nationality, or in the case of stateless persons, outside the country of habitual residence;

Second, the person lacks natural protection;

Third, the person fears persecution; and

Fourth, this fear must be based on five grounds, e.g. race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or public opinion (UNHCR, 1951:14-15).”

According to the above criteria the Urdu-speaking people who migrated from India during the partition of 1947 were refugees. According to the cessation clauses of the 1951

Convention and the UNHCR Statutes of 1950, a person shall stop being a refugee if, among others:

“H/she has voluntarily re-established him/herself in the country which h/she left or outside which h/she remained owing to fear of persecution (cited in Farzana, 2008: 3)”.

The status of the Urdu-speaking as “refugee” is not preferable for the Biharis. Rahman shows the reason why they are not refugees. According to him, “first of all they voluntarily migrated to East Pakistan in 1947 from India; and on the other, in Pakistan they enjoyed protection by the state and were full-fledged citizens after 1951” (Rahman, 2003: 70). Urdu-speaking people also known as migrants. They migrated from India to Pakistan. Migration means movement from one region to another region.

There are two types of population movement: *first*, involuntary or forced movement; *second*, voluntary migration which means people migrated for a better living (Rahman, 2003). The first group is known as refugees and second group is known as migrants. There have some reasons why the Bihari people left their home country. Railway workers migrated to East Pakistan, fall under the category of ‘voluntary migrants’ and those who are compelled to migrate to East Pakistan to save their lives from communal riots fall under the category of ‘involuntary migrants’. Identity crisis of the Urdu-speaking community emerged since when they left their own country. This crisis became acute when Bangladesh got independence. After independence of Bangladesh their crisis was whether they were ‘Stranded Pakistanis’ or ‘citizens of Bangladesh’ or ‘stateless persons’. There are lots of controversies about the identity of the Urdu-speaking

community. Even the people of their own community have various opinions regarding to their real identity (Rahman, 2003).

The Urdu-speaking community in Bangladesh also has different characteristics. They are different from Bengalis as they speak in different language. They maintain their cultural values and norms. They maintain a different identity despite they are practicing the religion of the Bengali people. The Biharis have been given a peculiar status which is ‘artificial’, making them neither ‘refugees’ nor ‘minorities’ (Farzana, 2008). It is artificial because of an historical legacy of 1947, and political context of 1971, which made them live in an artificial manner. Yet they are ‘minority group’ because they are small in number. This status made them scattered from the society and gave them an ‘artificial’ identity (Farzana, 2008). The term ‘minority’ was first defined by the ‘Sub Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities’ in 1977 in Article 27 of ‘International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights (ICCPR)’ of 1966. The article notes:

“Minorities are considered to be a group numerical inferior to the rest of the population of the state, in a non-dominant position, whose members being citizens of a state, possess ethnic beliefs or linguistic characteristics differing from the rest of the population and show if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity directly toward preserving their culture, traditions, religions or language (cited in Farzana, 2008:3)”.

The term ‘minority’ shows five elements: *first*, number of group members, *second*, subordinate position, *third*, ethnic or religious or linguistic characters, *fourth*, the pattern of lifestyle, and *fifth*, in some cases citizenship (Farzana, 2008). Based on these

conditions, Urdu-speaking community has some minority characteristics. They are small in numbers. They have the subordinate position. They use language and values. Some of them also have the Bangladeshi citizenship. Hashmi mentioned that Bangladeshi intellectuals, politicians, businessmen and others argues : “*first*, the 'Biharis' supported the Pakistani army during the Liberation War in 1971 and were responsible for the killing of thousands of Bangladeshis *second*, they are nothing short of 'war-criminals', and *third*, they are 'stranded Pakistanis', who should be sent back to Pakistan (Hasmi, 1996: 1).”

When the large number of the Urdu-speaking people migrated the East Pakistan there was no living place for them. They were treated like ‘refugees’. They were provided with some low-priced houses in the refugee camps in Dhaka, Chittagong, Syedpur, Jessor and many other different places in all over Bangladesh. They worked as peasants, small traders, rickshaw puller, railway man and, so on. Since then they lead miserable life in different camps. The Bihari community is different from other minority communities in Bangladesh. Because of, first, members of this community are not accepted as citizens of Bangladesh, second, they are not socially acceptable because of their culture, language and their support with the Pakistanis during 1971 (Farooqui, The Independent). In his article Farooqui mentioned that in Bangladesh they are identified in the local society by different name but some people of this community argue that they are citizen of Bangladesh, that is why they should called as ‘Bangali’ or ‘Bangladeshi’. If it is not possible to call them ‘Bangali or Bangladeshi’, then the preferable identity for them should be ‘Indian Bangali’ or ‘Indian Bangladeshi’ because of their original root in India (Farooqui, The Independent).

The Urdu-speaking people of Bangladesh especially the camp dwellers are leading their lives in awful situation. As they are not considered to be citizens of Bangladesh; they cannot enjoy their rights properly. The occupied lands and homes were never returned to them. They became homeless and jobless. Many of them were forced to accept the camp life (Rahman, 2003). At present the Biharis are day laborers, workers, rickshaw pullers, shopkeepers, barbers, masons, artisans, craftsmen etc. This community's people have limited access for a formal job. Lack of education and information make them so poor. Their poverty is deep rooted in terms income and also in terms of scarcity of food and safe water, health hazards, lack of education, and so on. The living environment of the camps is very much uncomfortable. It is very much congested unhygienic. The camp authorities are not capable or serious to maintain hygienic sanitary facilities. Contagious diseases are very common here. The entire camp dwellers share a few common toilets (Farzana, 2008).

In Geneva Camp there is only one medical Clinic named 'Al-Falah Medical Clinic' but in others there have no Medical Clinic and this Clinic is poorly equipped (Farzana, 2008). They do not get proper treatment. The socio-economic and political condition of the Bihari people is beyond expectation. That is why they are most vulnerable section of the Bangladesh. In December 17, 2003 the Pakistani newspaper named '*Dawn*' published, "they have been forced to live in animal like condition over the last 32 years and will in all probability be live on and die in congested ghettos at make-shifts camps all over Bangladesh (Dawn, December 15, 2005)."

Many Urdu-speaking people are living in 116 refugee camps across Bangladesh (Sholder, 2011; RMMRU, 2007). In 1993, only 300 Biharis were able to go to Pakistan.

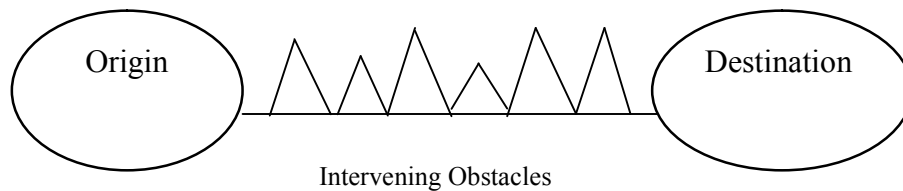
The process of repatriation has stopped. Now the younger generation of this community wants to live in Bangladesh having all Citizenship rights (Rahman, BBC, May 6, 2003). The so-called 'Stranded Pakistanis' are one of the largest communities of stateless people. The Bihari issues remain silent for the decades. They do not have standard status of their own. Still today, it remains a question which identity is more suitable for them. Their changing identities make them vulnerable section in the Society. This vulnerable section leads miserable lives in different camps all over Bangladesh.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework

Migration is one of the most important processes of population change. It has some significant impact on the growth and composition of population. Migration means the movement from one place to another. For defining migration it is important to know about the 'migration boundary'. To move from one place to another, it is important to maintain a boundary. Migration means to change the residence and cross the border (Daugherty & Kammeyer, 1995). Everett Lee (1965) figured out four general factors of migration: first, factors related with area of origin; second, factors related with area of destination; third, intervening obstacles; fourth, personal factors (Lee, 1965: 50).

Figure 3.1: Origin & Destination Factors in Migration



Source: Everett S. Lee, 1965. A Theory of Migration. p:50

Some positive and negative factors are associated with the process of migration. The decision to migrate is not always rational (Lee, 1965). Sometimes people are forced to migrate from their own homeland from another for obvious reasons. Some factors like, political, economic, communal riots or religious factors, and so on, make them forced to

migrate from one place to another. In Bangladesh, the “Urdu-speaking” community is bit different from any other minor community. They were forced to migrate from India to Pakistan (especially East Pakistan) in 1947 due to communal riots between Hindus and Muslims. Afterward, during the liberation war in 1971, they failed to acquire the sympathy of Bengali people because of their war crimes. After the war, when Bangladesh got independence they were fallen into awkward situation. They did not have the status of citizens in Bangladesh. Pakistan did not show any interest in getting them back. Since then they are living in different camps throughout Bangladesh as ‘Stateless Persons or People’.

3.1. Statelessness

Statelessness means violation of human rights but it is a matter of concern that, what is statelessness and how people become stateless. Statelessness is a situation for a person. “Statelessness is merely a status that creates a conduit through which basic human rights are vulnerable to violation (Walker, 1981: 106). The Convention on Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws mentioned state has to decide its own nationality laws who are its nationals but there can be some persons who have multiple nationalities and others who find themselves stateless (Walker, 1981). The most accepted definition of statelessness notifies in the Article 1 of the 1954 convention of UNHCR. “For the purpose of this Convention, the term ‘stateless person’ means a person who is not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its law (UNHCR, 1954: 6).”

Statelessness is the condition of the violation of the basic human rights. People those are stateless merely enjoy the citizen rights. Statelessness has some potential possibilities for doing violence to, (a) the international community, (b) the state, and (c) the individual (Walker, 1981).

A. The International Community

Statelessness can create some frictions between states. The absence of international law towards denationalization can create some problem. State is free to denationalize some selected group of its citizens. That is why international tensions arise when state taken this kind of action (Walker, 1981).

B. The State

State creates statelessness by denationalizing of its national to gain some political advantages. State can restrict person's freedoms within its borders. State is unable to combine them within their value system and also unable to drive out them from its boundary due to the refusal of any other country to accept them (Walker, 1981).

C. The Stateless Individual

The cruelty of statelessness depended on the two aspects of the individual: first, action of the state where an individual lives; and second, lack of ability to present an individual in another state which has the territory (Walker, 1981).

3.1.1. Causes of 'Statelessness'

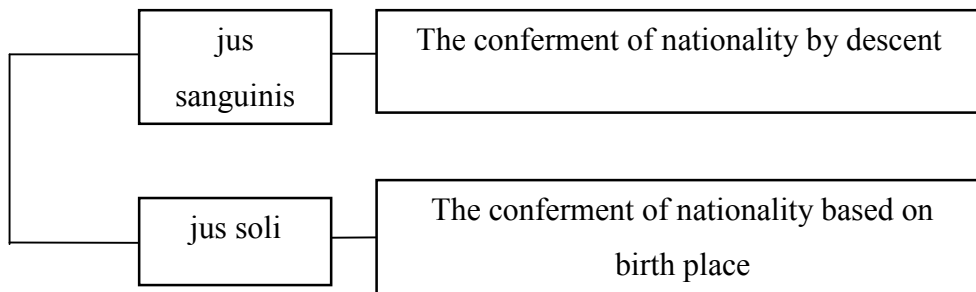
The State of the World's Refugees (2012) mentioned some reasons behind statelessness. First, people become stateless when a state ceases their existence and citizenship is not

transferred to the sovereign state (transfer of sovereignty); second, individuals become stateless when they engage into conflicts in the submission of nationality laws by different states (conflict of nationality laws); third, people become stateless as a result of facing administrative troubles, when they are from a particular community who faces official discrimination (administrative obstacles); fourth, people become stateless due to discrimination on racial ground (ethnic discrimination); fifth, people become stateless when citizenship laws create discrimination between women and men (gender discrimination) (UNHCR, 2012). There have some situations that give rise to statelessness. Among various reasons there have two broad reasons behind statelessness (Walker, 1981). These are:

A. Statelessness at birth

Nationality of an individual depends on two principles during the time of birth: first, jus sanguinis- nationality confirmed by descent or blood; and second, jus soli- nationality confirmed by soil or place of birth (UNHCR, 2012; Walker, 1981).

Figure 3.2: Statelessness at Birth



Source: Dorothy Jean Walker, 1981. *Statelessness: Violation or Conduit for Violation of Human Rights?* p:

B. Loss of nationality

“Statelessness results when nationality is lost under the laws of one state without the acquisition of a new nationality, based on the laws of another state (Walker, 1981: 112).”

Statelessness means the territorial changes in the form of cession, division, or the emergence of new sovereign state (Walker, 1981). Statelessness can create uncertainty for an individual to establish his/her rights. It can make the situation of restlessness for an individual and make individual vulnerable in the society.

3.1.2 Results of Statelessness

The problem of statelessness can be divided into three basic parts: first, legal problem- statelessness have catastrophic impact on an individual, which includes the inability to get works, to get proper health care, to get information and education, and so on; second, problem for international relations- statelessness is unwanted situation for an individual as well as it can create problem with international relations; third, human problem- statelessness can create some potential problems for an individual; it ceases the citizenship status and they do not have lawful claim to protect their community (Simperingham, 2003). Stateless people can be found almost every country in the world. Stateless person cannot enjoy the basic rights of citizens. They become most vulnerable sections in the world. Statelessness creates tensions among stateless individual as well among the international relations (Simperingham, 2003).

3.2. Diaspora

Over last few decades the term ‘Diaspora’ has become popular issue all over the world. Diaspora means a group of people who share a common identity. The members Diaspora groups are related to each other by their kinship ties and origin. Diasporas are a certain group of immigrants who sustain ties to their mother country including the strong sense of belonging, no matter whether their homeland is an existing or fantasy one (Baser, 2010).

William Safran was one of the classical theorists of the term ‘Diaspora’, who describes the term ‘Diaspora’ according to following criterion:

“First, Dispersal from a center to two or more peripheral or foreign regions;

Second, retention of collective memory, vision or myth;

Third, the belief that full acceptance by the host country is not possible, resulting in alienation and insult;

Fourth, regard for the ancestral homeland as the true or ideal home and place of return;

Fifth, commitment to the maintenance or restoration of safety and prosperity in the homeland;

Sixth, personal or vicarious relations to the homeland in an ethno-communal consciousness;

Seventh, a troublesome relationship with host country;

Eighth, a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries (Safran, 1991: 84 cited in Harutyunyan, 2012: 4; Cohen, 1996: 515).”

Floya Anthais (1998) mentioned that “the group called ‘Diasporas’ have travelled across territories for a range of reasons: the essential element here is a spreading from an original homeland, and diasporas are defined descriptively with reference to that origin (Anthais, 1998: 561).” Rogers Brubaker (2005) recognized three main element of the ‘Diaspora’. The first one is dispersion in space- ; the second, homeland orientation; and the third, boundary-maintenance (Brubaker, 2005). The concept of ‘Diaspora’ is very recent issue. For the last two decades it has been used in academic purposes. Almost every country of the world is familiar with the Diaspora issue.

3.3. Identity Theory

For an individual, identity is important. Individual or group identity depends on the two factors: first, the shared expectation of the society and second, the groups or individual’s ties with its past history or roots (Rahman, 2003). The concept of ‘identity’ can be various types such as: personal identity, social identity, and national identity etc. Identity is necessary for enjoying basic human rights. According to James E. Marcia (1980), “identity has been called as ‘a sense’, ‘an attitude’, ‘a resolution’, and so on. Identity means a self-structure, an internal, and a self-constructed dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history (Marcia, 1980: 159).” Identity formation is a

dynamic condition not a static condition. Identity is a concept of people who they are, what kind of people they are and how they are connected to one another (Fearon, 1999).

A. Personal Identity

The concept of 'identity' first of all related to the concept of 'personal identity'. Personal identity depends on 'self-understanding' issues. What a person or an individual thinks about his/herself is related to personal identity. According Fearon (1999) personal identity means, "how a person defines who s/he is; self-definition or self-understanding (Fearon 1999: 20)."

B. Social Identity

Social identity depends on where s/he belongs to. Social norms, values and understanding are important issues here. In society we have to follow some rules and regulation. By following them we are able to make some identity in our society. That is why social identity is very much important for an individual or a group. According to Wendt (1994), "social identities are cognitive schemes that enable an actor to determine 'who I am/ we are' in a situation and positions in a social role structure of shared understanding and expectations (Wendt 1994: 395 cited in Fearon, 1999:5)."

C. National Identity

National identity is most important of all identity. Rights of citizen depend on the national identity. To maintain international relations national identity of an individual or a group is also very much necessary. According to Boom (1990), "national identity describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same

identification with national symbols have internalized the symbols of the nation (Boom 1990: 52 cited in Fearon 1999:4).”

3.4. Identity Status Theory

The state of a being or becoming is highly self-conscious quality of a man. The status of identity largely depends on the choices and commitments that a person made. James E. Marcia redefined Erikson’s theoretical notion of ‘identity crisis’ theory. Marcia (1980) developed a framework about identity in terms of four ‘identity statuses’:

A. Identity Achievement

It is the state of having well-defined personal values and self-concepts. They have experience in decision-making and ideological goals (Marcia, 1980).

B. Identity Foreclosure

It means that the adolescent accepts the identity and values that were given in childhood by families and other members of the society without any questions. The adolescent's identity is foreclosed until they determine for themselves their true identity (Marcia, 1980).

C. Identity Diffusion

It means young people do not have any clear idea about their own identity. These adolescents may have struggled to find their identity, but they cannot determine it (Marcia, 1980).

D. Identity Moratorium

Adolescent has acquired unclear ill-formed ideological and occupational commitments; he/she is still struggling to find the real identity (Marcia, 1980).

Table 3.1: Criteria for the Identity Statuses

Position on Occupation and Ideology	Identity Statuses			
	Identity Achievement	Identity Foreclosure	Identity Diffusion	Identity Moratorium
Crisis	Present	Absent	Present or Absent	In crisis
Commitment	Present	Present	Absent	Present but Vague

Source: James E. Marcia, 1980. Identity in Adolescence. p: 162

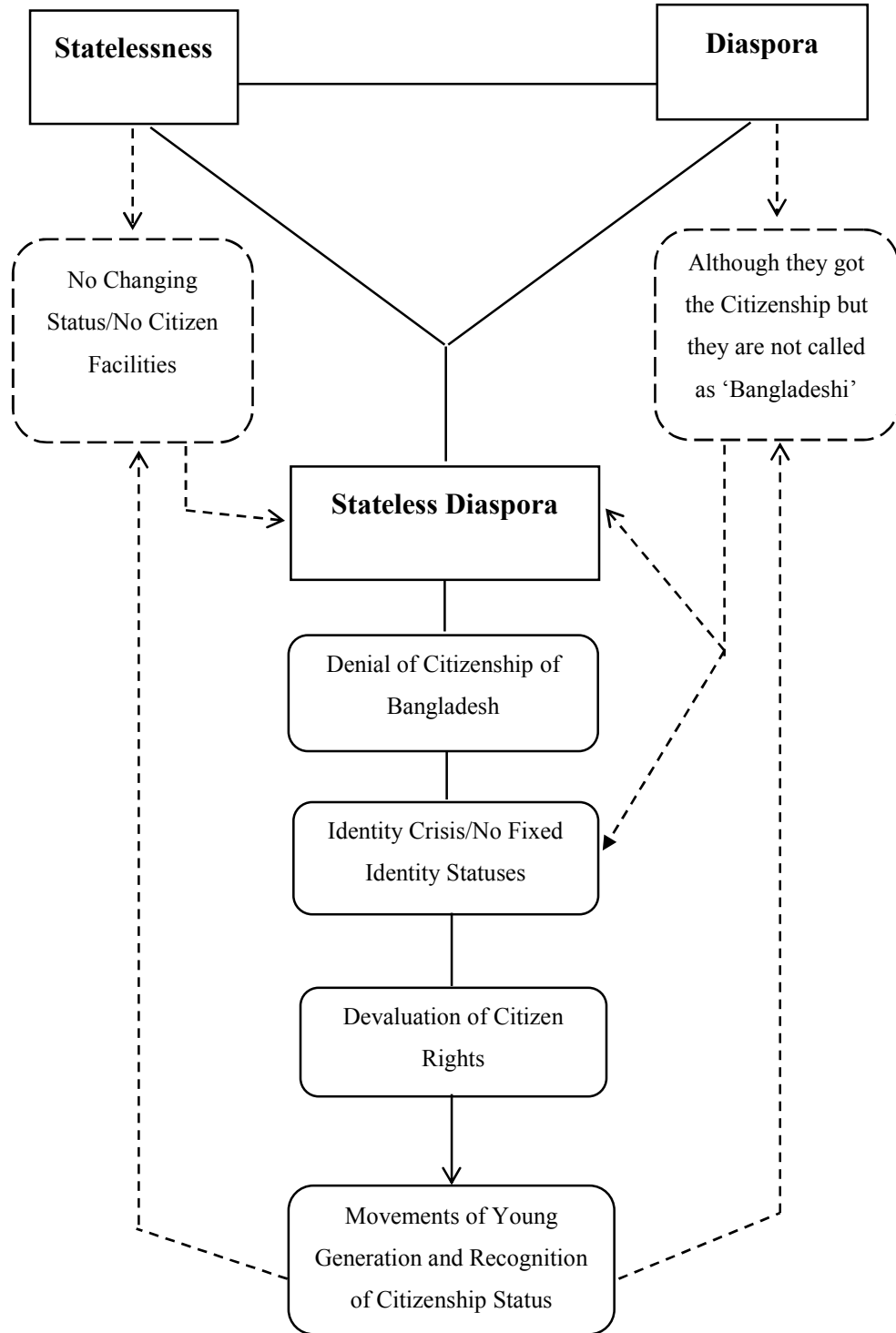
3.5. Conceptual Framework

Communal riots of 1947, many Urdu-speaking Muslims had to leave their homelands to save their life. They came to the East Bengal or East Pakistan to take shelter from all kind of massacre and killing in India. They were stateless during that time. These Muslims started to live various places of East and West Pakistan temporarily in the hope of one day they would go back to their homeland. These people were neither citizen of Pakistan nor India. They became Diaspora of India and they became stateless also. They were the victim of Hindu-Muslim riots.

After the separation of India and Pakistan, Pakistan was the land for Muslims and India was for Hindus. Members of the Urdu-speaking community started to live permanently in Pakistan. They got the job of railway men, weaver and some of them had their own small

business. During that period their situation was not so bad. Rise of Bangali nationalism in East Pakistan made the situation worse. They were misled by the Pakistani armies and Pakistani newspapers, because very few of them hardly knew the Bengali language. Their language was Urdu. That is why it was easy for Pakistani to make them fool again and again. This Urdu-speaking community thought that if Pakistan would divide than they would be homeless again. They would be forced to leave their country again. This fear made them obliged to the Pakistani armies. In fact, some of them helped the Pakistani armies and in return many of the Urdu-speaking people were killed during 1971 liberation war all over Bangladesh.

Figure 3.3: Situation of the 'Urdu-speaking' Community in Bangladesh



Some members of the Urdu-speaking community were misguided by the Pakistani armies and they stood against the Bangali nationalism in 1971. After Bangladesh got her independence this community had fallen into the wrong situation. Actually this community never thought that Pakistan would see the shameful defeat. This community was not accepted as a citizen of Bangladesh due to their support with Pakistani armies. It is also matter of concern that some the Urdu-speaking people supported their Bangali friend to cross the borders. Situations got worse than and this Urdu-speaking community again lost their land as well as their acceptance in Bangladesh. They started to live in the refugee camps temporarily in the hope of repatriation. One more time they became stateless. Over the last 42 years they live in these clumsy camps as they are stateless people.

Denial of Citizenship of Bangladesh

The Urdu-speaking community took part in the war crimes against Bangali nationalism. That is why this community did not get recognition of citizen. Those who wanted to go back to Pakistan they are not citizens of Bangladesh, because Article 2B (1) of the Citizenship Order states:

“Notwithstanding anything contained in Article 2 or in any other law for the time being in force, a person shall not qualify himself to be a citizen of Bangladesh if he –

- (iv) owes, affirms or acknowledges, expressly or by conduct, allegiance to a foreign state”. (Paulsen, 2006, UNHCR, vol.25, issue 3, p:61)

In this sense those who were opted to go back to Pakistan they could not be citizen of Bangladesh.

Identity Crisis

As they did not get the citizenship status of Bangladesh they did not have the real or any fixed identity of their own. Most of this community member came from Bihar and that is why they are called as ‘Bihari’, Urdu-speaking community’ or some of them are called ‘stranded Pakistani’. Since 1947 the members of this community live here in Bangladesh which was the than ‘East Pakistan’. The obligation to Pakistani armies made them unexpected in Bangladesh. Most of them were misguided by the Pakistani armies and they had also the fear of death as well as fear of losing their living place again. They were threatened by the Pakistani. The identity of ‘Stranded Pakistani’ was given by the Bangali people because of their repatriation dream.

Devaluation of Citizenship Rights

Urdu-speaking community did not identify as ‘Bangladeshi’. They did not get that status. Since 1971 this community lives in different camps. This camps are very much poor facilitated. The average house size 8 inch × 10 inch and these houses were built with the help of the International Committee of the Red Cross (Sholder, 2011). In this small size house 12 members of the family have to live all together (RMMRU, 2007). Lack of drinking water, lack of sewerage pipes, poor sanitary facilities, and lack of proper health facilities are basic and significant problems in these camps. They do not have school and colleges of their own. They do not get any kind of work outside the camp. Their income is very much poor and most of them do not have any work to do. Poverty level is very

much acute here. Unhealthy and dirty environments as well as lack of proper education make them so vulnerable in the society.

Movements of Young Generation and Recognition of Citizenship Rights

In 2001, a group of youths from Geneva Camp were frustrated by their situation. They brought a petition before the High Court to establish their birth rights to be voters of Bangladesh should be recognized (Sholder, 2011). Young generations of this community think that they are citizens of Bangladesh by birth according to the Presidential order of 1972. Article 2 of the Citizenship Order states:

“Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law, on the commencement of this Order, every person shall be deemed to be a citizen of Bangladesh-

- (i) who or whose father or grandfather was born in the territories now comprised in Bangladesh and who was a permanent resident of such territories on the 25th day of March, 1971, and continues to be so resident; or
- (ii) who was a permanent resident of the territories now comprised in Bangladesh on the 25th day of March, 1971, and continues to be so resident and is not otherwise disqualified for being citizen by any other law for the time being in force” (Paulsen, 2006, UNHCR, vol.25, issue 3, p:58).

They thought their citizenship statuses are denied by the government. They demanded their recognition of citizenship status and voting rights to change their miserable condition. The High Court responded to their petition May 18, 2008, by restoring their

voting and citizenship rights Sholder, 2011). As a result this community is no longer considered as ‘internally displaced’ population (Sholder, 2011). In 2006, the Election Commission decides to register the Urdu-speaking community as voters and this decision confirm their citizenship status (Paulsen, 2006). Which allow them to exercise some rights well as some responsibilities also should follow by the Citizen of every country:

Table 3.2: Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities

Rights	Responsibilities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Freedom to express oneself. <input type="checkbox"/> Freedom to worship <input type="checkbox"/> Right to vote in elections for public officials. <input type="checkbox"/> Right to apply for employment. <input type="checkbox"/> Right to run for elected office. <input type="checkbox"/> Freedom to pursue life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> To support and defend the Constitution. <input type="checkbox"/> To stay informed of the issues affecting the community. <input type="checkbox"/> To participate in the democratic process. <input type="checkbox"/> To respect and obey federal, state, and local laws. <input type="checkbox"/> To respect the rights, beliefs, and opinions of others. <input type="checkbox"/> To participate in local community. <input type="checkbox"/> To pay income and other taxes honestly, and on time, to federal, state, and local authorities.

Source: US Citizenship and Immigrants Services (<http://www.uscis.gov/citizenship/learners/citizenship-rights-and-responsibilities>)

Camps were originally built for the Urdu-speaking community. Now they have free electricity supply from the government. They also have running water. Without these facilities they cannot enjoy the citizen rights fully. They have to live in these clumsy and dirty camps. They do not have any good schools and colleges. Very few children can get admission in school outside the camps. Poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, poor income, and lack of proper treatment make their life vulnerable. Government of Bangladesh only gave them citizenship status but this community does not get enough citizenship facilities. Still they are called as 'Bihari or Stranded Pakistani' though they have already got citizenship status of Bangladesh. They do not get any job outside the camps. Without job and citizenship facilities their life is at stake.

Chapter Four

Methodology

For the last four decades Urdu-speaking community lives different camps in all over Bangladesh. They do not have fixed identity. They are known as ‘Biharis’ or ‘stranded Pakistani’ among the Bangladeshi. Even within the Urdu-speaking community they have different view about their real identity. This study tries to find out the real identity crisis of the Urdu-speaking community. This study also tries to find out present condition of the Urdu-speaking community.

4.1. Methodology

This study involves quantitative research method to collect information about the Urdu-speaking community. For this research survey questionnaire were used to obtain the information about the camp life.

4.2. The Study Design

Social research usually wants to investigate the in-depth view of the society. Systematic social research can find out that view. Researcher uses quantitative research methodology to obtain the real information of the investigation. Research methods actually depend on the subject matter and the purpose of the research. Researcher actually does not decide methods of the research rather purpose and the area of the study would decides which methods fit best and need most to fulfill the purpose of the study. The purposes of the study are to find out identity status and crisis of the Urdu-speaking community as well as

to find out the present situation of this community in Bangladesh. In this research, researcher uses quantitative research method procedure because of the research purpose and the research area.

4.3. Location of the Study Area

Though the Bihari Camps are located in many districts in Bangladesh like Chittagong, Rajshahi, Bogura, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Jessore, Isherdi, and Narayanganj, it was not possible to cover all the locations because of the time and fund limitation as well as political unrest all over the Bangladesh. Therefore, this study was conducted only in one camp in Dhaka city. In Dhaka city there have 30 camps in Mirpur and Mohammadpur. The research area was Mirpur Muslim Camp, Section 11, Pallabi Thana and Dhaka. Mirpur Muslim Camp in Dhaka city was selected for this research because of several causes:

First, time was limited to study all the camps of Dhaka city as well as all the district of Bangladesh.

Second, this area was near and familiar to the researcher.

Third, in this research area researcher has found many types of desirable study population.

4.4. Sampling

In Mirpur Muslim Camp there has 2500 population and 500 households. A total of 120 samples were drawn from the 500 households using Random Sample. Sample has been selected after every four households.

Number of Households	Number of Sampling	Random Sampling
500	120	After every four households

4.5. Survey Questionnaire

For this research questionnaire has designed according to the content of the study objectives. Close- ended and open-ended question have included in this questionnaire.

The questionnaire reflected the following issues:

First, Demographic profile of the respondents;

Second, Identity Crisis and identity status of the respondents;

Third, Social condition of the respondents;

Fourth, Present condition of the respondents.

There are 41 questions in total in the questionnaire, among which majority are close-ended questions and other questions are open-ended.

4.6. Preparation before Field Work

Researcher went through the existing literature and also made a visit in the seminar library of the department where several books and research works were available that helped the researcher to get some basic ideas about this study. Researcher had to visit several websites of different organization and universities where there has some effective information. Moreover, the draft questionnaire has been revised after setting some information from several sources.

4.7. Study Instrument

In this research, interview administered questionnaire has been selected as the study instrument. Papers, pen, pencils, diary, and also other necessary materials also used as study instruments.

4.8. Negotiation and Gaining Access

Respondents are quite different in culture, values, norms, and languages from researcher. It was not easy to negotiate and gain access. Some of the respondent was older than researcher. That is why researcher had to make contact with a key informant. Researcher introduced herself as a student and told them, it is only for academic purpose. Researcher had to spend some time with respondents and had to talk to them as a friendly way. Thus way researcher could make negotiation with respondents.

4.9. Data Processing and Analyzing

When all data has been collected, researcher checked all the questionnaires whether there was any information gap or not. After that 'statistical program for social science' (SPSS) a computer base statistical data analyzing software has used to analyze and interpret data.

4.10. Ethical Consideration

In this research, researcher gives importance to honesty and transparency in order to conduct this research. Researcher did not hide the purposes of the study. At first, researcher had to hide the objectives and purposes of the research to the respondents.

When researcher started to negotiate with the respondents then told them the purposes of this study. All the respondents helped researcher and gave their opinions and answers.

4.11. Limitation of the Study

Researcher has faced several difficulties throughout the research process. Some of the difficulties are worth to mention here for the future researcher to overcome the difficulties. There are some limitations in this research. Researcher had to complete this research in very a short time. Researcher tried to go other camps of Dhaka city but due to time limitation and political unrest all over Dhaka researcher could not cover other camps located in Dhaka city. Funds often tend to determine the type and nature of social research. Since the fund of this study was not sufficient for the researcher, researcher had to work with small sample and small area. Researcher had to translate the respondent's answers. It was not possible to translate some local and very emotional words into English. Respondents were Urdu-speaking people. For that reason, researcher had to take help from others to translate their views and answers. In this study random sampling were used as the sampling technique. Although there were list of households but there were some problem to get the respondents properly. Some respondents were not willing to answer and some of them were very much irritated. This research is an academic research. Due to the limitation of time researcher has to narrow down the research purpose. The Bihari issue is very much sophisticated in nature. Due to some emotional sentiments of the respondents researcher did not get the opportunity to keep some relevant questions in the survey questionnaire.

4.12. Reliability and Validity

In this research, researcher has followed some instruction to assure the reliability and validity of measurement. These are:

First, the questionnaire of this study consisted of selected questions;

Second, researcher conducted the interview by the questionnaire;

Third, researcher tried to seek out the correct data for the research;

Fourth, a pilot test was carried out to examine the weakness of the questionnaire and any missing point of the questionnaire.

4.13. Hypothesis of the Research

Hypothesis 1

H_0 = There is no relationship between birth place and identity crisis. vs

H_a = There is relationship between birth place and identity crisis.

Hypothesis 2

H_0 = There is relationship between trying to go to Pakistan and identity crisis. vs

H_a = There is no relationship between trying to go to Pakistan and identity crisis.

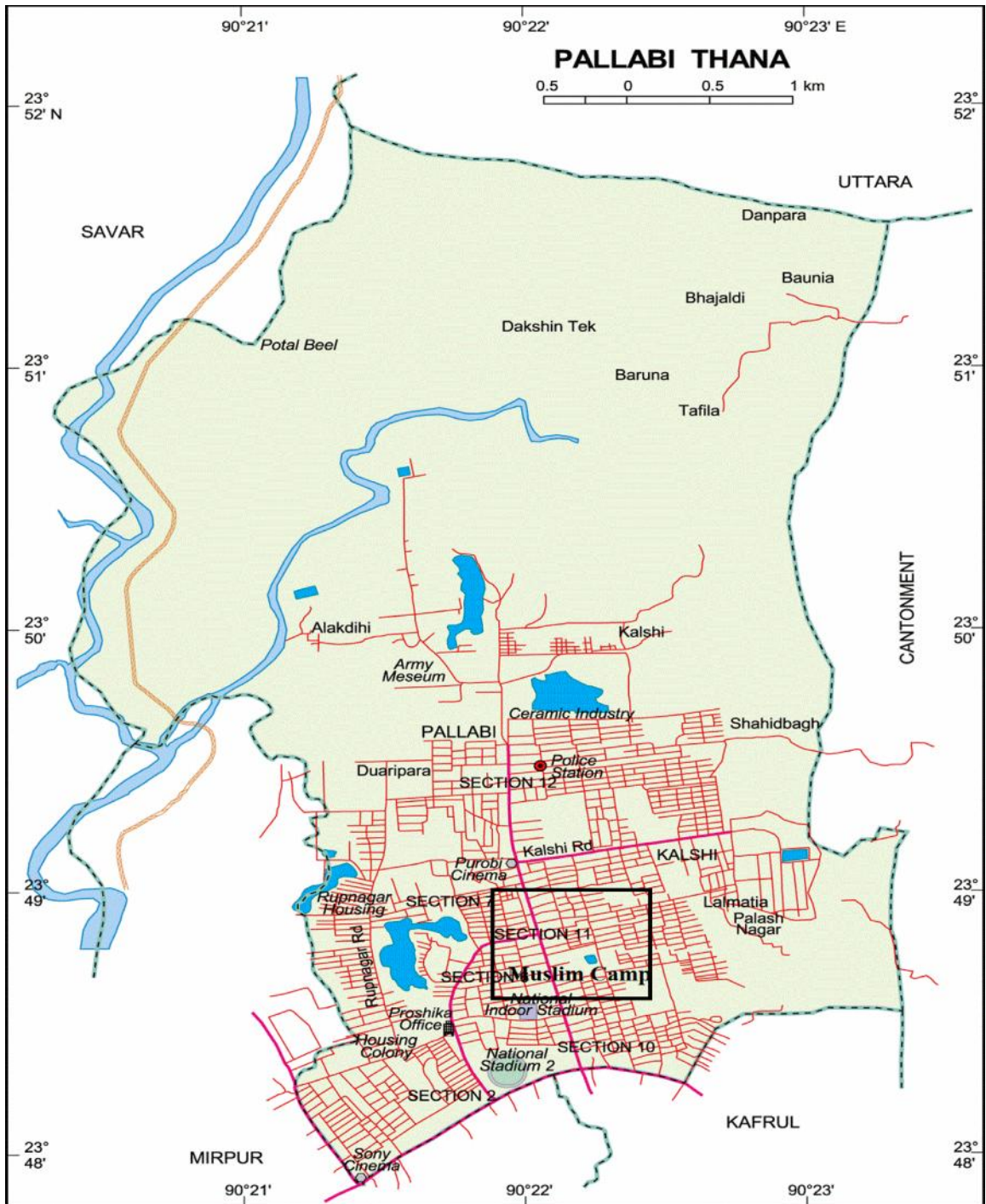
Hypothesis 3

H_0 = Having relative in Pakistan leads no identity crisis among the Biharis. vs

H_a = Having relative in Pakistan leads to identity crisis among the Biharis

4.14. Map of Pallabi Thana

Figure 4.1: Map of Pallabi Thana



Chapter Five

Data Presentation and Analysis

Camp-dwelling Urdu-speaking communities are vulnerable section in Bangladesh. They face various types of problem inside the camp. They feel crisis as they do not have fixed identity. This survey was conducted in Mirpur Muslim Camp located in Section 11, Pallabi Thana, and Dhaka. Almost 2500 people live in Muslim camp in 500 households. Out of 500 households 120 samples were selected for the survey. The present study tries to find out the identity crisis of the Urdu-speaking camp dwellers as well as their present condition in the camp. Analysis and result of this research are given below:

5.1. Background Information about Muslim Camp

Mirpur Muslim camp is located in Section 11, Pallabi Thana, and Dhaka covered with 45000 square feet. Almost 2,500 people live in Muslim camp with 500 households and average family size is 5 persons. Among 2,500 people, about 1,220 are male and about 1,280 are female. There have four common latrines in the camp for camp dwellers. There is no school in Muslim camp but there is a pre-primary school in the camp where children can learn pre-primary lessons. Number of school going children in Muslim is about 800. In Muslim camp there have free electricity and WASA line. In the camp they do not have gas line.

Table 5.1: Basic Background Information of Muslim Camp

Name of Settlement	Muslim Camp
Population	2,500
Average family size	5 persons
Number of Household	500
Area of Settlements	45000 square feet
Male	About 1,220
Female	About 1,280
Number of Latrines	4 Latrines
Number of School going Children	About 800
Number of Schools	Nil

Source: Settlement Profile conducted by Al-Falah under the auspicious support by UNHCR, Dhaka.

Education Survey conducted by Al-Falah in 2013

Figure 5.1: Entrance Road of Muslim Camp



5.2. Results

Among the 120 respondents, most of the respondents are female. Female respondents are 56.7 percent and 43.3 percent respondents are male (table 5.2). Mean age of the respondents is 45 years. Average family size of the Muslim camp is 6.58 persons. However, the average family size of the Central Relief Organization (CRO) camp is 4.84 persons as this camp is smallest camp in Dhaka city and Geneva camp (largest camp in Bangladesh) is 5.98 persons according to Sholder (Sholder, 2011). Majority of the respondents are illiterate. They do not have any kind of academic education. Among the 120 respondents, 37.5 percent respondents are literate which is little higher than Geneva and CRO camp and the rate is 33.75 percent according to Sholder (Sholder, 2011).

Figure 5.2: Weaver



Figure 5.3: Embroidery Worker



Among the 120 respondents, 16.7 percent respondents are weaver and 17.5 percent respondents are embroidery worker which represent that their main occupation are weaving and embroidery work. The lowest percentage is from the other occupation of the respondents and the percentage is 5.0. The percentage of respondents from small businessmen and skilled labor is 12.5 and 6.7 percent respectively. Average income of the respondents is about 616 taka. Their average income is not enough for their daily livelihood. Among the 120 respondents the monthly income in Muslim camp ranges from 0 taka to 12000 taka (not presented in 5.2) as almost 42 percent respondents is jobless but according to Sholder, in CRO camp monthly income ranges from 0 to 13000 taka and in Geneva camp monthly income ranges from 2000 taka to 15000 taka (Sholder, 2011). They have to live under miserable condition due to their low income and unemployment problem. Their education level is extremely poor that is why they do not get good job outside the camp. Those who are weaver and small business men they have

comparatively good income than the others. The complaint is they do not get proper salary and accurate price of the product as well as daily expenditures are getting higher than their monthly income. Their illiteracy is also key obstacle to get good job and good salary.

Table 5.2: Percent distribution of respondents based on their background information

Basic Background Information of the Respondents		Mean	N
Mean age of the respondents		45.15 years	120
Average family size of the respondents		6.58 persons	120
Average income of the respondents		616.17 taka	120
		Percentage	N
Sex of Respondents	Female	56.7	120
	Male	43.3	
Occupation	Jobless	41.7	120
	Weaver	16.7	
	Embroidery Worker	17.5	
	Small Businessmen	12.5	
	Skilled Labor	6.7	
	Other	5.0	
Education	Literate	37.5	120
	Illiterate	62.5	

Table 5.3 represents that more than half of the respondents have only one room in their house. Almost 59 percent respondents have one room and 32.4 percent respondents have two rooms in their house. Very few of them have three rooms in their house and the percentage is 6.7. Large number of the family has to live only one room and very insignificant number of the family can live peacefully in their house.

Figure 5.4: Room size of the respondents



Sanitation facility inside the camp is tremendously poor. Among the 120 respondents, 41.7 percent respondents have their own sanitary latrine which is much higher than in CRO camp and there have only two family having private latrine, as CRO camp is the smallest camp in Dhaka city according to Sholder (Sholder, 2011) and rest of them that means 58.3 percent respondents do not have their own latrine in their house. They have to share community's common latrines while according to Sholder each latrine is used by 70 people in CRO camp and almost 200 people in Geneva camp (Sholder, 2011) and this is their one of the main problems in the camp.

In the Muslim camp there have no school for the children. They have a pre-primary school in where they learn how to read and write in Bangla. This is only for their pre-primary education. 42.5 percent respondents send their children in school and 22.5 percent respondents do not send their children to school while according to Farzana only one percent of the Bihari children attend school and sending children to school is totally depend on parent's capability/income (Farzana, 2008). Rest of them that means 35 percent respondents are unmarried or they do not have school going children.

Living place of the respondents is not sufficient for them. Majority of the respondents have negative attitude about their living place. Among the 120 respondents, 87.5 percent respondents do not think their place is sufficient for their livelihood and only 12.5 percent (table 5.3) respondents think their living place is sufficient for them because of several reasons. They think outside the camp they do not have proper acceptance by the Bangali or they do not have enough money to live outside the camp as well as they think they can share their common values and norms among each other, for these several reasons 12.5 percent respondents prefer to live in the camp. Majority think that they have so many

problems in the camp. They have to share one common latrine, they have to collect water from WASA only two times in a day, in the Muslim camp they do not have gas connection while in CRO camp there have gas connection and they pay 450 taka per month for individual gas line but in Geneva camp there is no gas connection (Sholder, 2011), they do not have good school, the environment of the camp is very much clumsy, congested, and overpopulated, they have to share only one room with large numbers of family members, and so on and for these several reasons 87.5 percent respondents do not prefer to live in the camp. Again majority of the respondents want to live outside the camp. About 90 percent respondents want to live outside the camp if they get the chance of living outside the camp which is significantly increases from Geneva camp (62.22 percent) and CRO camp (75 percent) according to Sholder (Sholder, 2011). Only 10 percent respondents do not want live outside the camp because in here they have relatives and friends as well as they are used to live here from year to year.

Table 5.3: Percentage distribution of respondents by their opinion and response of their present condition in the camp

Options/ Response		Percentage	N
Numbers of Rooms	1 Rooms	59.2	120
	2 Rooms	34.2	
	3 Rooms	6.7	
Sanitation Facilities	Yes	41.7	120
	No	58.3	
School Going Children	Yes	42.5	120
	No	22.5	
	No School Going Children	35.0	
Sufficiency of Living Place	Yes	12.5	120
	No	87.5	
Living outside the Camp	Yes	90.0	120
	No	10.0	

Table 5.4 represents that among 120 respondents, 34.2 percent respondents born in the than East Pakistan (who born before liberation war of 1971 in East Bengal/Pakistan now comprise in Bangladesh), 15.8 percent respondents born in India, 32.5 percent respondents born in inside the camp, and 17.5 percent respondents born outside the camp but in Bangladesh. Among the 120 respondents, 10.8 percent respondents are comfortable to identify themselves as Pakistani while according to baseline survey of Al-Falah Bangladesh only 9 percent respondents are comfortable with this identity (Al-Falah Bangladesh, 2005).

More than half of the respondents are comfortable to identify themselves as Bangladeshi and the percentage is 54.2 while according to Al-Falah Bangladesh about 64 percent respondents want to identify themselves as Bangladeshi (Al-Falah Bangladesh, 2005) and in CRO camp out of 60 families almost 98 percent respondents reported that they are Bangladeshi according to Sholder (Sholder, 2011). Almost 16 percent respondents are comfortable to identify themselves as Urdu-speaking community and almost 19 percent respondents are comfortable with the identity of Biharis or Indian (others). Among the 120 respondents, about 54 percent respondents feel identity crisis and about 46 percent respondents do not feel identity crisis (table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Percent distribution of the respondents based on their identity status

Options/ Response		Percentage	N
Birth Place	The than East Pakistan	34.2	120
	India	15.8	
	Inside the camp but in Bangladesh	32.5	
	Outside the camp but in Bangladesh	17.5	
Comfortable Identity	Pakistani	10.8	120
	Bangladeshi	54.2	
	Urdu-speaking community	15.8	
	Others (Biharis/ Indian)	19.2	
Identity Crisis	Crisis	54.2	120
	No Identity Crisis	45.8	

Table 5.5 represents that among 120 respondents, more than half of the respondents have Bengali friends. Almost 56 percent respondents have Bengali friend and about 44 percent respondents do not have Bengali friends. Among the respondents, 65.8 percent respondents have relatives in Pakistan and 44.2 percent respondents do not have any relatives in Pakistan while according to Sholder in Geneva camp almost 68 percent respondents are the part of ‘divided families’ having some relatives in Pakistan (Sholder, 2011). Among 120 respondents only 4.2 percent respondents have land outside the camp and 95.8 percent respondents do not have land outside the camp.

Table 5.5: Percent distribution of respondents by their response based on other basic information

Response		Percentage	N
Bengali Friend	Yes	55.8	120
	No	44.2	
Relative in Pakistan	Yes	65.8	120
	No	34.2	
Ownership of land	Yes	4.2	120
	No	95.8	

Among the 120 respondents, 100 percent of them are Muslims; 100 percent of them do not have birth certificate. Almost 98 percent respondents make their voter ID card and only 2 percent respondents have registered their name to make their voter ID cards. In 2008 they got the recognition of citizenship status of Bangladesh. In the camp there have free electricity supply, WASA line, and drainage system though these facilities are poorly equipped in the Muslim camp. They do not get any kind of ration in the camp as well as

stipend for their school going children. All of the respondents think that there should have all kind of citizenship facilities and employment facilities outside the camp.

5.3. Factors Related to Identity Crisis

Table 5.6 represents relationship between ‘birth place’ and identity crisis and among the respondents, those who born outside Bangladesh feel less identity crisis than those who born in Bangladesh. There is significant relationship between birth place and identity crisis (significant level at 0.05).

Table 5.6: Relationship between Birth Place and Identity Crisis

Birth Place	Identity Crisis (Percentage)	
	Crisis	No Crisis
The than East Pakistan	26.2	43.6
India	9.2	23.6
Inside the camp but in Bangladesh	44.6	18.2
Outside the camp but in Bangladesh	20.0	14.5

*Significant at the level 0.05

Table 5.7 represents relationship between ‘trying to go to Pakistan’ and identity crisis and among the respondents, those who tried to go to Pakistan feel less identity crisis than those who did not try to go to Pakistan. There is significant relationship between trying to go Pakistan and identity crisis (significant level at 0.05).

Table 5.7: Relationship between trying to go to Pakistan and Identity crisis

Trying to go to Pakistan	Identity Crisis (Percentage)	
	Crisis	No Crisis
Yes	6.2	47.3
No	93.8	52.7

*Significant at the level 0.05

Table 5.8 represents relationship between ‘having relative in Pakistan’ and identity crisis. Among the respondents those have relative in Pakistan feel more identity crisis than those do not have any relatives in Pakistan and having relatives in Pakistan leads to identity crisis among the respondents (significant level at 0.05).

Table 5.8: Relationship between Relative in Pakistan and Identity Crisis

Relative in Pakistan	Identity Crisis (Percentage)	
	Crisis	No Crisis
Yes	56.9	76.4
No	43.1	23.6

*Significant at the level 0.05

This survey was carried out from 120 respondents in Muslim Camp. Among the respondents 56.7 percent respondents are female and 43.3 percent respondents are male.

5.4. Findings of the Research

Average age of respondents is 45.16 years. Some key findings of this research are worth to mention here:

A. Identity crisis of Biharis

First, birth place of the respondents leads to the identity crisis among the Biharis.

Second, among the respondents those who wanted to go to Pakistan feel less identity crisis than those who did not try to go to Pakistan.

Third, those who have relatives in Pakistan feel more identity crisis than those who do not have relatives in Pakistan.

B. Present Condition of the Biharis

Working status of the respondents is very much poor. Almost 42 percent respondents are jobless and among these respondents most of them are housewife or old person of the family. Education level of the respondents is extremely poor. 62.5 percent respondents are not educated and rests of the respondents are less educated and higher level of education is class 10. Among the 120 respondents, 14.2 percent respondents have completed the primary level of education. Average family member of the respondents is 6.58 persons. Average income of 120 respondents is 616.17 taka as well as almost 42 percent respondents are jobless and this represent they have to lead very miserable life due to their low income Among the 120 respondents, 87.5 percent respondents say that living place of the Camp is not sufficient for them. They mentioned some problems why this camp is not sufficient for the respondents to live:

First, they have no gas line in the camp;

Second, they get water only two times (morning and evening) in a day.

Third, there have four common toilets for the camp dwellers and they have to use common toilets;

Third, they have no school and college in the camps. There have only one school run by a NGO but in that school children get some primary education (like how to write and read as well as how to speak in Bangla);

Figure 5.5: Children are playing games during the school time instead of going school



Fourth, they do not get the good work by giving address of the camp;

Fifth, the environment of the camp is very much clumsy, congested, and overpopulated;

Sixth, they have to share only one room with large numbers of family members;

Seventh, income level of the camp dwellers is very much poor and expenditure is high;

Eighth, their house is not well equipped to live peacefully. In the rainy season they have face problem due to water clogging. The sewerage system of the camp is not well equipped.

Among the 120 respondents 12.5 percent respondents say that living place of the Camp is enough sufficient for them because:

First, they live happily altogether because of their culture, norms, and values;

Second, some people live happily because their income is good and their house is well equipped to live. They have handsome amount of income. They have TV, fridge and dish line in their own house. They have their own toilets in their house;

Third, they think they are not well accepted outside the camp and for that reason camp is sufficient to live peacefully with friends and family;

Fourth, in the camp they can share their problems and grieves with one another. All of them are Urdu-speaking people so that they can understand each other;

Finally, they do not have enough money to live outside the camp so that they think by their limited income they can live happily with one another.

Figure 5.6: Respondents house with TV and showcase



There are so many problems in the camp. They have unemployment problem. Lack of proper education and lack of information make them vulnerable in the society. They feel crisis as they do not have fixed identity. In the camp they have to lead very miserable life. The environment is very much clumsy and unhealthy. Children do not get proper education facilities inside the camp as well as outside the camp. For these various reasons camp dwellers face so many problems inside the camp and they want to live happily outside the camp with all citizenship facilities. They want their own living place outside the camp. They want education and employment facilities outside the camp. They think if they get the chance of living outside the camp and if they have access in higher education they can make their life better than camp life.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1. Summary

The present study tries to find out the identity crisis and present condition of the Biharis. The present study is about the Biharis and their identity problems. In the camp the Biharis face many problems due to their identity crisis. Their crisis is not only confined outside the camp, but also confined inside the camp. The present study tries to find out their problems and condition in the camp as well as their identity crisis. To find out the facts researcher uses quantitative research methodology. A sample survey has conducted to investigate the research. Researcher uses a structured questionnaire to collect data. Both open-ended and close-ended questions have included in the questionnaire. The sample size of this survey is 120. Random sampling has used to collect the data. Sample has collected from after every four households. A computer based ‘statistical program for social science’ (SPSS) has used to analyze the data as well as to test research hypothesis. Researcher tries to collect all the data accurately and also tries to interpret all the data carefully.

6.2. Limitation of the Research

Researcher has faced some problems to conduct this research. For the further research some limitation of this research should be mention here:

First, researcher has to collect data from questionnaire. Due to limitation of the time researcher cannot conduct some in-depth interview of the respondents.

Second, researcher has to conduct this research within very short time and small number of sample. It could be more effective if researcher could work with large sample.

Third, researcher has to collect the data from Dhaka city only but it could be more constructive if researcher gets the time to collect data from other camps in Bangladesh.

Fourth, Respondents are not available for the interview as they are busy with their work and household activities.

6.3. Suggestions for the Further Investigation

Urdu-speaking community faces various problems inside as well as outside the camp. Further researcher can work with their internal problems as well as their position in the society. Researcher tried to find out the major problems of the Urdu-speaking community camp dwellers but due to the limitation of the time and money researcher could not collect the data from the other camps in Bangladesh. Researcher also could not use the focused group discussion method and case study method which is so important to find out the real and overall picture of this problem. For the future research, researcher should concentrate on the following points:

First, researcher can collect data from the other camps in Bangladesh to find out the overall picture of the Urdu-speaking community.

Second, researcher can to collect data by using the Focused Group Discussions (FGD) and semi-structured interview as well case study procedures.

6.4. Key Findings of the Research

The present research tries to find out identity crisis of the Biharis and present condition of the Biharis. This community faces some identity problems outside the camp as well as inside the camp. They identify themselves as various names; majority of them thinks they

are Bangladeshi as they born here in Bangladesh as well as some of them think they have been living here for years. Some of them think they are Indian or Biharis as they came from India or their parents from India. Some of them think they are Urdu-speaking community as their language is Urdu. Their birth place is related with their identity crisis. Their feelings about their identity change with their birth place and those who born in Bangladesh feel more identity crisis than those who born outside Bangladesh. Majority of the respondents never tried to go to Pakistan because they do not have enough money to go to Pakistan or young generation does not want to go to Pakistan. Majority of the respondents have relatives in Pakistan but most of them do not want to go to Pakistan.

The present condition of the Biharis in the camp is not so good. Their living place is not sufficient for them. In the camp there is no school and college for the children. Lack of education and information make them vulnerable section in the society. They do not have proper medical facilities in the camp as well as the environment is congested and unhealthy. During the rainy seasons they have to face many problems. Drainage system of the camp is poorly equipped. In the camp they have WASA line but they can collect water only two times in a day. They do not get ration or any other financial support from the government. They actually want all kind of citizenship facilities outside the camp and most of all they want better living place and employment facilities outside the camp.

6.5. Policy Direction

The present study suggests that government and other non-government organization has some responsibility towards the Biharis. This community needs proper education and knowledge to improve their condition. This community also needs proper health facilities

and proper environment to live outside the camp. These study presents following recommendations:

First, for the Urdu-speaking community government should take better rehabilitation programme for their safety living.

Second, government should give better employment facilities for the Urdu-speaking community.

Third, government should provide the financial support for the Urdu-speaking community.

Fourth, government should give the facilities and support to take higher education from universities and colleges for the Urdu-speaking.

Sixth, government should provide monthly ration for the Urdu-speaking camp dwellers.

Finally, the problems of Urdu-speaking camp dwellers can be solved if they get better education and information. Government should make primary and high school in the camp for the school going children of the camp.

6.6. Concluding Remarks

Urdu-speaking community is vulnerable section in Bangladesh. As they do not have fixed identity in the society they face so many problems. This research tires to find out the real identity crisis of the Urdu-speaking community in Bangladesh. They have different view about their real identity. This picture represents that they have identity crisis among themselves. The present condition of the Urdu-speaking community is not in satisfactory level. Lack of education, lack of proper information, unemployment problem, limited

income, unhealthy and congested environment make them susceptible. Some of them have better income and good access in outside the camp but this is very insignificant in number. This research has conducted in small compass. This research may not represent overall picture of the Urdu-speaking community in Bangladesh. Despite of this limitation present research can help to find the partial picture of the Urdu-speaking community and can represent their present condition in Bangladesh, which can be helpful for the further research.

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Appendix 1

Sample Survey Questionnaire

Department of Sociology

University of Dhaka

“Stateless Diaspora: A Sociological Study on Biharis in Bangladesh”

[This research work is carried out for partial fulfillment of MSS Degree in Department of Sociology; University of Dhaka. Personal information and respondent’s identity will be concealed]

Name and address of the camp:

Section A [Profile of Respondent]

1. Age:
2. Birth Year:
3. Birth Place:
4. Sex: Female Male
5. Religion: Islam Hindu Others
6. Do you have any job?
 Yes No
7. If yes, what do you do?
Answer:
8. How much do you earn in a month?
Answer:

9. Have you studied?

Yes No

10. If yes, then which class did you study last?

Answer:

11. Have you any savings?

Yes No

12. If yes, how much do you save in a month?

Answer:

13. How many members do you have in your family?

Answer:

Section B [Identity Status and Identity Crisis]

14. Do you have birth certificate?

Yes No

15. Do you have citizenship of Bangladesh?

Yes No

16. In which year you have got your citizenship?

Answer:

17. Do you have voter's ID card?

Yes No

18. In which identity you feel comfort?

Pakistani Bangladesh Urdu-speaking Community Others

Section C [Social Condition]

19. Do you think this camp is sufficient for your living?

Yes No

19.1. If yes, then explain why?

19.2. If no, then explain why?

20. Do you have any Bengali-speaking friend?

Yes No

20.1. Do they visit your house?

Yes No

20.2. Do you visit their house?

Yes No

Section D [Information about Repatriation]

21. Do you have any relatives in Pakistan?

Yes No

21.1. If yes, then what is the relation between you and them?

Answer:

21.2. If you get any chance to live with them, then do you want to live with them?

Yes No

22. Have you ever tried to go to Pakistan?

Yes No

Section E [Citizenship rights and housing problem]

23. Do you have land?

Yes No

24. How many rooms do you have in your house?

Answer:

25. Do you have electricity facilities in your house?

Yes No

26. Do you have latrine facility in your house?

Yes No

27. What is the source of drinking water?

Tubewell WASA Others

28. What type of the drainage system do you have in your camp?

No facility Sewerage facility Others

29. Do your children go to school?

Yes No Not Applicable

30. Do the children of this camp get any kind of Stipend from the government?

Yes No

31. Do you get any Ration from the government?

Yes No

32. Do you have preference to live outside the camp?

Yes No

Section F [Suggestions and policy implementation]

33. What do you expect from the government?

Answer:

34. Do you think the government should give you employment and other citizenship facilities outside the camp?

Yes No

35. What are the solutions of these problems? Please, explain.

Answer:

[Thank you very much for your cooperation]

Appendix 2

List of Settlement

Al-Falah Bangladesh

Name of Settlement	Muslim Camp
Location/ Address	Ward:3, Block A, Section:11 Mirpur, Dhaka
Population	2,500
Avg. family size	5 persons
No. of Household	500
Area of Settlements	45000 square feet
Male	About 1,220
Female	About 1,280
Number of Latrines	4 nos
Number of School going Children	About 800
Number of Schools	Nil

Sources: Settlement Profile conducted by Al-Falah under the auspicious support by UNHCR, Dhaka

Education Survey conducted by Al-Falah in 2013

Mohammad Hasan
Senior Coordinator
Al-Falah Bangladesh