

THE ONCE STATELESS

A short journey to see lives and livelihoods in former enclaves

inside Bangladesh



The Once Stateless

Quick assessment survey on the needs of people of former enclaves in Bangladesh

©Management and Resources Development Initiative (MRDI)

September 2015

The Team

Md. Shahid Hossain

Advisor, Planning and Development, MRDI

Sohel Parvez

Senior Reporter, The Daily Star

Maruf Billah Tanmoy

M. Phil researcher, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka



Management and Resources Development Initiative (MRDI)

Contents

History	3
Objective	5
Study Area.....	5
Methodology.....	5
Limitations	5
Findings: The seen and unseen	6
Overall situation: The people.....	7
Housing	7
Livelihood.....	8
Education Infrastructure	11
Healthcare Infrastructure	13
Early Marriage.....	14
Water and sanitation	15
Sources of lighting.....	16
Vulnerability.....	16
Findings from FGDs	17
Recommendations: Bringing about improvement in the lives of enclave.....	23
Special support.....	28
Conclusion.....	28
References	29

*“We are taught to speak the truth. But we had to begin our study with lies.”
A girl who has been studying at a school in Bangladesh by faking her identity*

The pitched road ends all on a sudden and an earthen walkway begins, going deep into the rural locality. However, the landscape – lush green crop fields, scattered bamboo bushes and housing patterns – remains the identical to the area having paved roads.

The only visible difference is the earthen and paved road between the two close neighborhoods. And inquiry to any passerby clears the reasons of why the paved road stops half-way.

This is one of the former Indian enclaves, the lands that were owned by India despite that fall inside Bangladesh territory — a contradiction, resulting out of hasty partition between India and Pakistan, left thousands of lives in an state of being nowhere for the last 68 years.

However from August 1, this year, a new dawn began for resident in these enclaves after both Bangladesh and India had exchanged 162 enclaves, popularly known as Chitmahals, between themselves.

The swap of the enclaves, which remained a contentious issue between the Bangladesh and India for decades, brought an end to long life of identity crisis of around 52,000 people. They became citizens of both the countries since August 1 this year.

Some 111 Indian enclaves became territory of Bangladesh and over 38,000 people in these enclaves got citizenship—a historic development that ushering hopes among the enclave residents for an end to the decade-long deprivation and denial from the access to basic amenities -- such as education and health, road connectivity—rendered by the state.

The newly listed citizens of Bangladesh live in four districts -- Panchagarh, Lalmonirhat, Kurigram and Nilphamari -- in the northwest region.

In line with the inclusion of former Indian enclaves, the government has allocated Tk 200 crore for development of enclaves. Bangladesh Bank has also asked banks to spend part of their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funds for the welfare of people in the former enclaves.

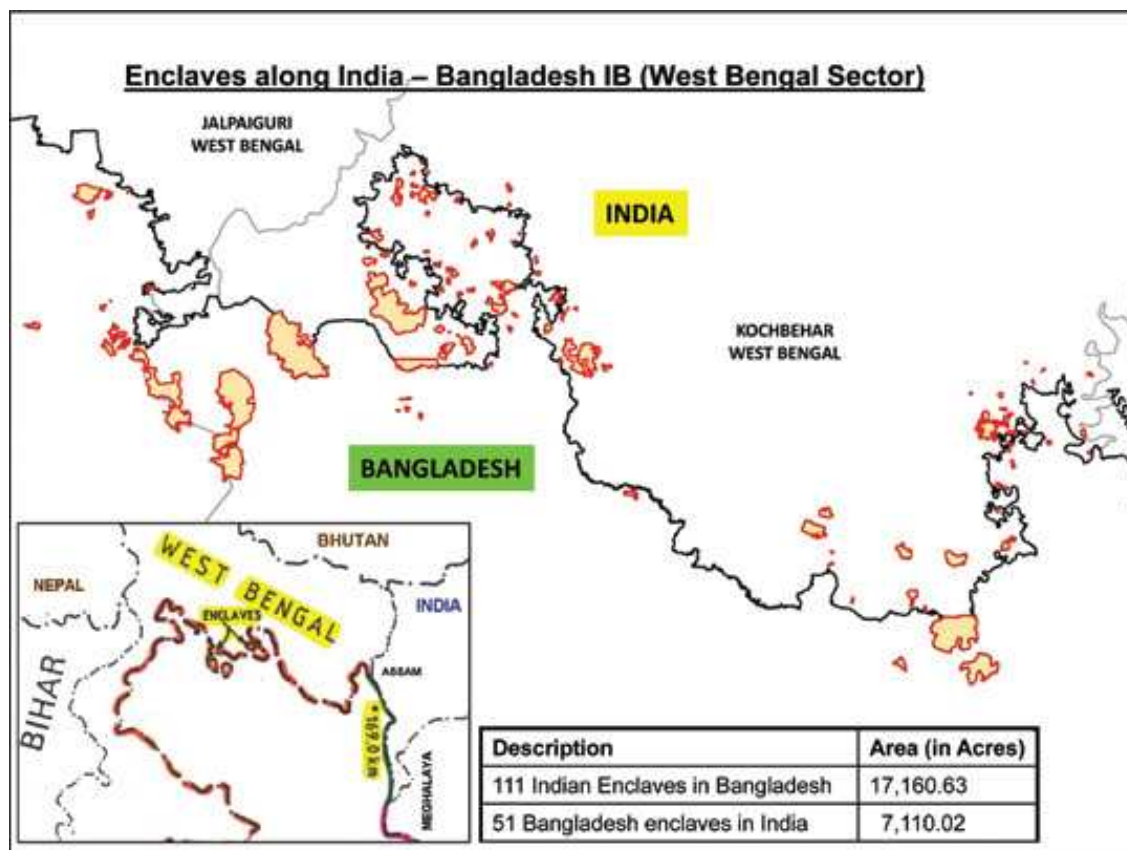
With banks willing to invest, Management and Resources Development Initiative (MRDI) has carried out a quick assessment survey to identify the needs of people there.

History

Enclaves are found only in the northern boundary of Bangladesh, covered by the present districts of Kurigram, Lalmonirhat, Nilphamari and Panchagarh. This area was under the jurisdiction of the semi-independent zamindars or native chiefs of Rangpur and Dinajpur during the Mughal period. In the Indian side, enclaves are found only in Cooch Bihar and Jalpaiguri districts of

West Bengal, which were formerly under the authority of the Maharaja of Cooch Bihar. So it can be assumed that the enclaves might have their origin in the acts of friendship or hostility of the neighboring local chiefs of these areas over the centuries.

Folklore has it that this quilt work of enclaves is the result of a series of chess games between the Maharaja of Cooch Behar and the Faujdar of Rangpur. The noblemen wagered on their games, using villages as currency. Even in the more sober account, represented by Brendan R. Whyte, an academic, the enclaves are the “result of peace treaties in 1711 and 1713 between the kingdom of Cooch Behar and the Mughal Empire, ending a long series of wars in which the Mughals wrested several districts from Cooch Behar.”



A slightly more historically plausible explanation of the enclaves hints at a couple of treaties signed in 1713 by the Mughals and the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, which gave the control of some lands in Mughal territory to Cooch Behar chiefs. These loyal chiefs, who held these lands in Mughal domain, could not be dislodged and thus ended up being enclaved in the area. The 1713 treaty has been lost, but that is still considered the beginning of the enclave problem.

Objective

The broader objective of the study was to assess the needs of the inhabitants living in the former enclaves inside Bangladesh through an investigation into the socio-economic condition there. To achieve the goal, it aimed at

Identifying the major livelihood patterns of the people and their way of living

Taking notes of farming arrangements and available non-farm income generating sources

Identifying the availability and access of people to basic services such as health, education, water and sanitation

Assessing the level of literacy, extent of early marriage and rural-urban migration

Examining the scope of informal trade or smuggling through borders

Study Area

The investigation was carried out in the enclaves in Panchagarh, Lalmonirhat and Kurigram districts during August 2015 three weeks after Bangladesh and India transferred these territories between them. The first district Panchagarh has highest number of population of former enclaves. And Lalmonirhat and Kurigram are two poverty prone districts that have second and third highest number of total enclave population.

Methodology

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were applied for the purpose of the study. Efforts were also one to gather both primary and secondary information by reviewing literatures, including reports published mass and social media.

Primary data was collected from the field survey through two sets of semi-structured questionnaire—one for individual respondent and another for villages or localities from where data were gathered. Some 52 respondents were selected randomly for the purpose of the study.

In addition, three focus group discussions(FGD) and several one to one interview (particularly of government officials and representatives of Enclave Exchange coordination Committee) was taken during the survey to get a broader view of the situation and needs of residents in the area.

Limitations

Insufficient number of samples was one of the major shortcomings of the study. Despite efforts, incessant rainfall during the survey period also acted as a hindrance to go deeper inside localities.

It acted as a drawback to gather qualitative data in detail. In addition, secondary evidences on the situation of enclaves were limited.

Part II

Findings: The seen and unseen

Earthen roads are the main transport infrastructure inside the enclave areas. Visits inside the enclave reveal that narrow walkways have been developed by lands given by residents as common property. But the communication infrastructures are developed without any planning and are low-lying. Water over flows the earthen infrastructures in case of heavy rainfall and flash flood. Sometimes walkways are in the middle of crop fields. Sometimes, the same roads pass through the homestead area.



Photo: A walkway inside an enclave in Lalmonirhat district, taken during field visit. The road was submerged by water after heavy rainfall affecting pedestrian movement.

People mainly use bicycle, rickshaw van and horse-cart for communication between their localities and nearby bazars or towns.

Overall situation: The people

Of the 111 enclaves, there are human settlements in 72 enclaves and rests are mainly cropland. Some 7,648 households, having 39,144 members, reside in these enclaves in four bordering districts of northern Bangladesh.

The number of population is expected to decline 38,157 after migration of 987 persons who opted to go to India.

The average family size is 5.11 and the percentage of men is higher than women, according to joint survey of enclave people by Bangladesh India.

Housing

Most of the residents live in straw and tin shed houses and side walls are developed either by tin or by bamboo or other low cost materials. Poor families have walls made by **jute sticks**. Earthen floor is quite common except for well off households.

A typical house at Dashiarchara enclave, Kurigram



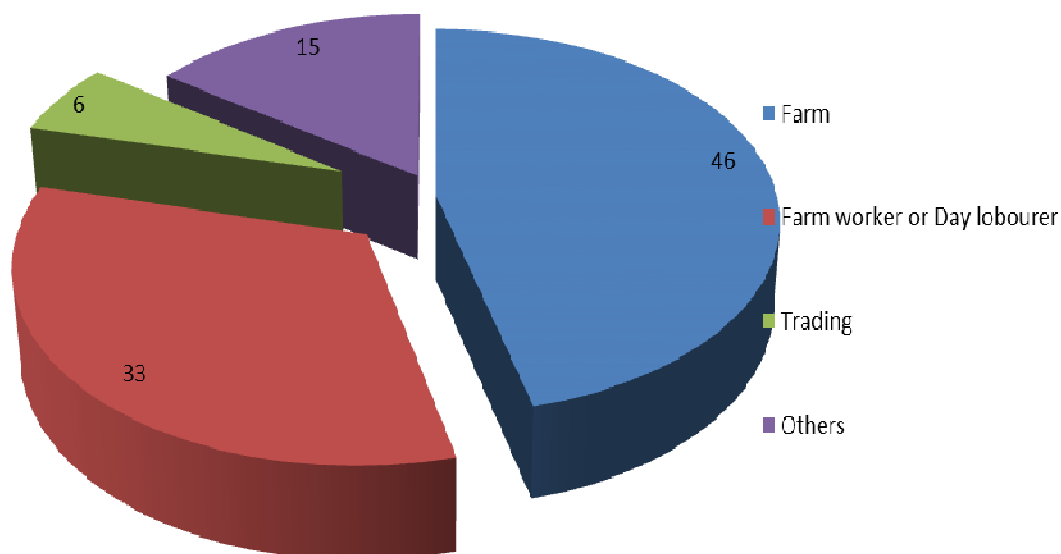
Photo was taken during field visit

Most of the families have separate sheds for kitchen. Almost every household has extended sheds as shelter for reared animals and fire wood. All the sheds including living rooms houses are built in square shape that leaves a yard inside the residence.

Livelihood

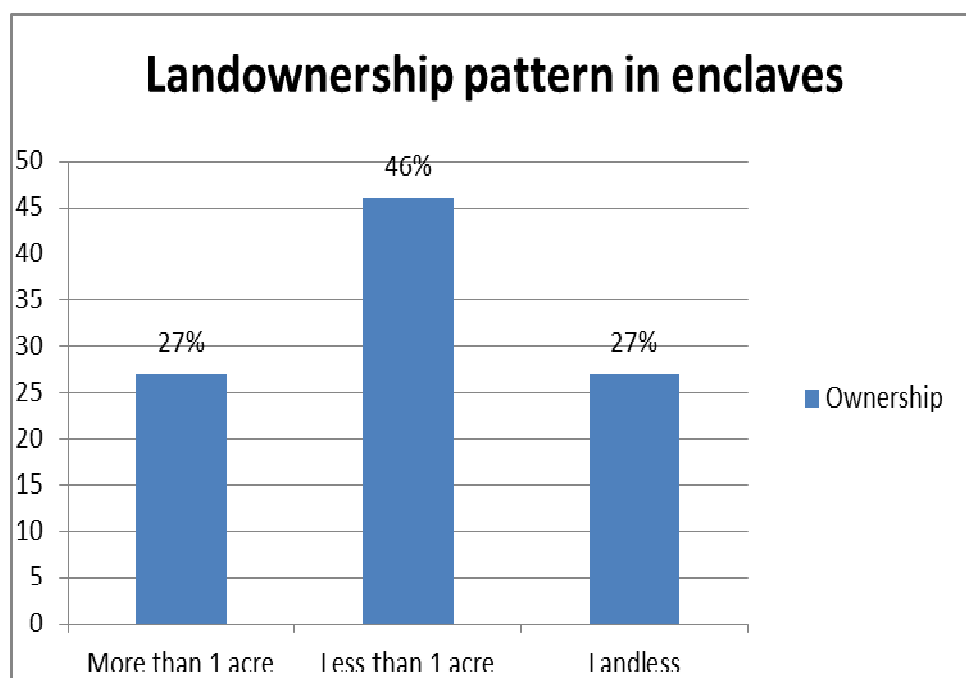
Agriculture is the main source of livelihoods in the area. Non-farm activities are mainly limited to shop keeping or trading, rickshaw van pulling. Family members of a section of residents also work in towns and cities including Bangladesh and India and send money home.

Figure 1: Percentage of people occupied in various income generating activities in the former enclaves



The survey finds that majority of the population depends on farming for livelihoods. Some 46 percent of population is directly connected with agriculture. The attachment with agriculture by the dwellers in enclaves also reflects overall scenario of Bangladesh. Labour Force Survey shows that 47.3 percent people were engaged in agriculture in 2010, down from 51.7 percent in 2002-03, a workforce gradual shift to non-farm activities.

However, farming is dependent on landless, marginal and small farmers. The survey shows that two-third of the respondents belong to categories of landless and small farmers with half owning less than one acre of land.

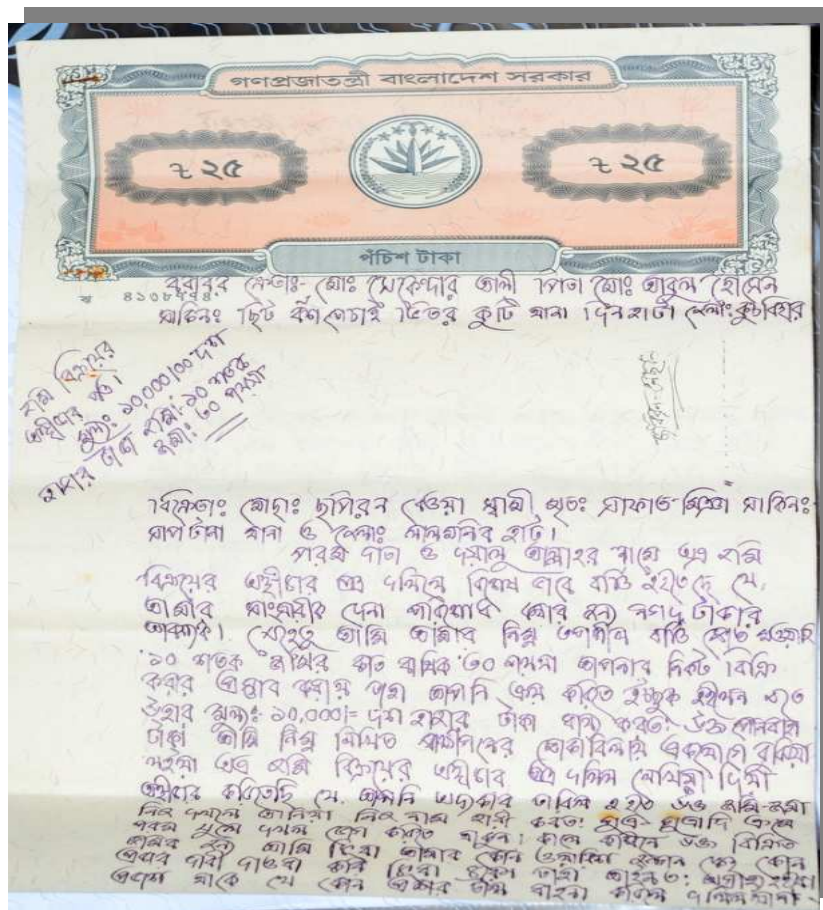


Nationally, the number of functionally landless households (Only homestead and up to 0.5 acre of land) was 67 percent in 2013. It was 47 percent in 1988 (Hossain, Bayes).

As a result of higher prevalence of functional landless, a land market for tenancy, lease and mortgage has developed following the pattern of mainland Bangladesh (Hossain, Bayes). Nearly 60 percent of respondents were found growing crops by renting in land in various forms and arrangements. Only 39.5 percent cultivate their own lands.

Farmers in the enclaves grow three crops a year reflecting that cropping intensity is three hundred percent: main crops are boro and aman rice. Wheat, potato, jute, peanut, potato, maize, tomato, turmeric and vegetables are also grown by farmers for their own consumption and for selling the surplus to markets in Bangladesh.

Farmers also collect fertilizer, diesel and other production inputs from Bangladesh as they did before the transfer of enclaves.



Picture: Of land transfer document at an enclave in Lalmonirhat. Although it is not official, the persons engaged in the transfer have used a Bangladeshi stamp to give validity of the deal. Residents in enclave also know it but the use Bangladeshi stamp as a proof and for their mental relief.

Power tiller is the main the mean of cultivation, reflecting the influence of rising mechanization in Bangladesh. However, poor households also use bullocks for tilling.

Horticultural product

Bamboo is the most commonly grown because of its steady demand. Bamboo bushes were seen frequently throughout the field trip. Locals said it has demand in urban areas may be for construction activities.

Livestock, poultry and fish

Many farming families rear cows. But the rearing activities are not meant for commercial purposes. The cattle seen at households during field appeared to be local breed indicating a gap in artificial insemination. People also do not have enough knowledge about cow fattening and commercial milk production.



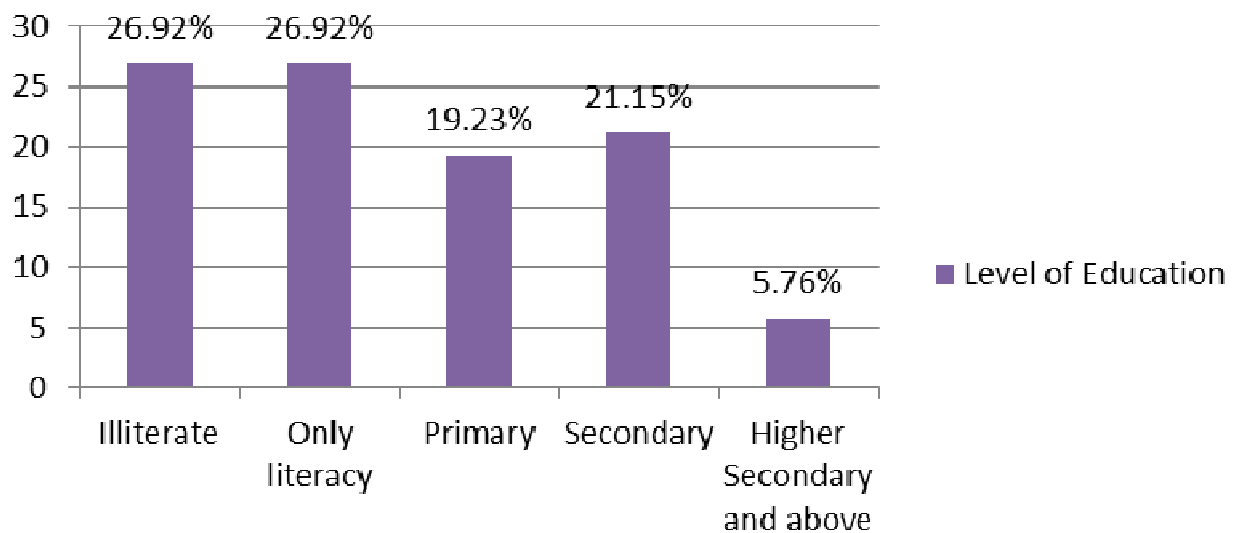
Photo: A home yard of a house in an enclave, showing people's engagement in cattle rearing

Education Infrastructure

No formal educational institute sponsored by government or private sector was found in former enclave areas. Residents said they earlier got their children admitted in schools in Bangladesh by faking their identities. However, the percentage of adults who have completed secondary and higher secondary education was found to be low.

The rate of education among youths, adolescents and children are comparatively higher. But poverty acts as a deterrent factor for many families. Absence of incentives (guarantee or prospect of jobs) for education is also another factor behind resident's lack of eagerness to invest and encourage children to continue education.

Educational status of enclave dwellers



However, locals have established some maktabas in some areas for religious education, according to key informants and focus group discussions. After the exchange, structures and signboards proposing names and types of educational institution mushroomed.



Many people in enclave areas have built such structures on their lands by arranging finances from their own with the hope that their relatives and peers will get jobs if the government approves the scheme. The two pictures presented in this section are the testimony of such initiatives.



Healthcare Infrastructure

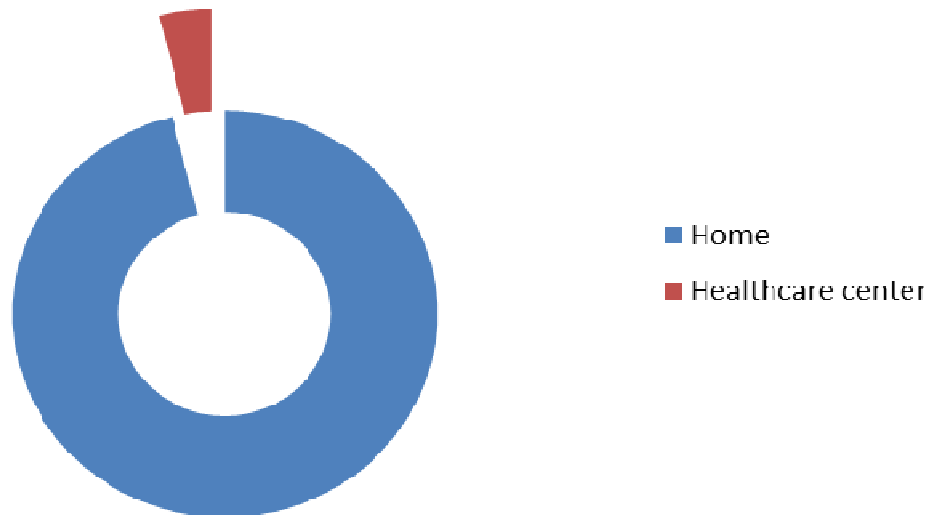
Very high gap remains in this area. There is no community clinic or primary healthcare facility in the former enclave areas. People depend mainly on village doctors for minor illness. In case of major complications, they usually go to private clinics and public hospitals at nearby upazilla or district for treatment. But they were able to get treatment from state hospitals if they could hide their enclave identity and use fake citizenship of Bangladesh.

In many cases, it was not possible for many as their identity became exposed.

The survey shows that most of the respondents had birth deliveries attended by relatives or midwives at home. It is not clear whether these delivery attendants are trained or not. It may be because of lack of awareness on risk of birth delivery by untrained persons and absence of community clinics or family welfare centres in enclave areas. The origin of such dependence on birth delivery at homes may be the problem of identity. It may be that people were uncertain about getting services from hospitals because of their enclave identity.

Many respondents shared their ordeals that they were denied services from public hospitals as they lived in Indian enclaves.

Ratio of birth attendence



During the field visit, some respondents said there were cases of maternal and child mortality for are many physically challenged children in the enclave areas--- an issue that needs detail investigation

In addition, immunization coverage varies depending on ages and locations. The extent of vaccination among elderly men and women has been found low in all areas. Some elderly respondents said they received vaccines long ago as prevention from pox.

By contrast, the rate of vaccination is higher among youths, up to mid aged women and children. Parents, particularly those who live close to the Bangladesh's mainland, got their children vaccinated. These were done mostly by using false identity.

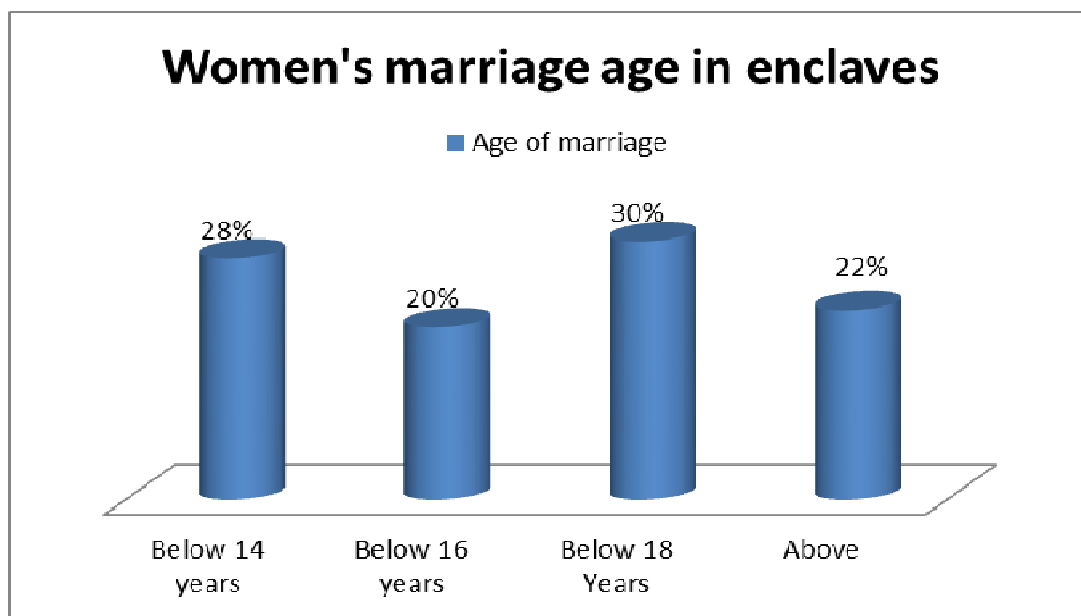
Part of the reason for such awareness may be linked with the massive immunization campaign carried out by the government of Bangladesh.

During the field visits, most of the respondents said elderly family members have not received vaccines.

Early Marriage

During the survey, prevalence of early marriage or marriage was quite high. More than three-fourth or 78 percent of the respondents said girls were married before age 18 years- which is much higher than the national level of 62.8 percent. Poverty, lack of access to education and awareness are blamed for high rate of early marriages.

Figure:



Water and sanitation

Despite weakness in some areas, proportion of people using improved water for drinking and other household purposes is remarkable. Shallow tube wells are available in almost all households except for very poor families. But water requires examination to see if it is free from arsenic or safe for drinking.



By contrast, proportion of population having proper sanitary latrine is low. People mostly have built latrines by using ring slabs.

Sources of lighting

Most of the residents in the enclave areas have no access to electricity. Kerosene lamp is the most commonly used lighting source. An insignificant percentage of households use solar home system.

Vulnerability

During field visits, residents mentioned the problem of river erosion and flood in Dashiarchara, Kurigram, some parts in Lalmonirhat and Panchagarh. Water logging is another problem mainly in Dashiarchara area: Locals say couple of hundreds of acres of crop land remains water logged because of congestion of canals. As a result, a vast area cannot be cultivated.



Picture: Aman rice crop which has been submerged because of consistent rainfall and congestion of canals and other drainage system

Findings from FGDs

FGD

Lalmonirhat

Participants: A mixed group of enclave dwellers -- 15 in total

Venue: Kulaghat - Bhitorkuthi enclave

Date: 21 August 2015

Major points

People are extremely happy about the exchange of enclaves and merger of their village with the mainland Bangladesh.

They are happy because they have got citizenship, right to vote and they are expecting development.

They expect better road communications, electric power supply, schools, employment opportunities, particularly for the young people. They also expect loan facilities, support for farming, pisciculture etc.

Problems

Houses have no sanitary latrine. They have tube wells, but these are not arsenic tested.

There are no health service facilities. Falling sick, they take advice from the village doctor and buy medicine from the market.

Child delivery takes place at home. Complicated cases are taken to hospital using name of a relative in the mainland.

They manage vaccine for mother and child with fake identity.

They reported existence of around 30 families in their enclave who have a piece of land, but no money to build a house.

FGD-2

Nazirganj, Taramannapara

Panchagarh , 20 August 2015

Participants: A mixed group of enclave residents including women, students and elderly

Major points

“We are delighted. The exchange will put an end to our deprivation and marginalization.”

They said development activities will take place. Residents will get justice because of becoming part of Bangladesh. Educational institutions will be established and their children will get jobs at both government and private sector.

They also expect that government’s support to agriculture and subsidized inputs will be extended to farmers in enclaves.

Rice, wheat, jute and peanut are grown here and produce can be sold at nearby Bazars in Bangladesh

Problems

Electricity and community clinic is foremost priority as most of the families depend on kerosene for lighting homes.

There is also dearth of proper sanitary latrine.

Almost every household has tube well but arsenic is not tested

Women and children have been given immunization by faking identity. But a section of people may remain out of vaccination

Loan is scarce. Residents borrow from relatives and friends to meet their emergency needs

Birth delivery takes place mostly at home. There is a community clinic nearby but people have to travel 20 kilometres to reach the district hospital for treatment of critical patients and in case of emergency.

FGD-3

Dashiarchara, Kurigram

Participants: Include some organisers who were in favour of enclave exchange, women and girls

They were happy as the exchange get them rid of identity crisis, brings them citizenship. They expect that the enclave will be free from criminal activities especially drug smuggling after the transfer. It was a den of criminal activities in absence of any rule of law before the exchange.

They also expect to get agricultural inputs easily. Their children will get education and problems of giving marriage to children will be easier as they become nationals Bangladesh.

Girls will get education voucher from schools. The enclaves will also come under various social safety nets schemes including vouchers for elderly.

Problems

Determination of land ownership properly will be difficult

Water logging on nearly 2000 acres of land affects farming in Dashiarchara, Kurigram. And more than 1000 households also suffer for water logging.

There is no electricity, no proper road infrastructure. School, college and healthcare centres is also absent.

There are youths and mid aged persons who received higher education but remained unemployed

There are also many physically and mentally challenged people. They need support. Poor elderly people do not get elderly voucher

There is gap in vaccination. The rate of receiving vaccines has increased in recent years.

There is shortage of proper sanitary latrines irrespective of wealth. It is because of lack of awareness

Birth delivery takes places mainly at home with assistance of elderly relatives or nurse midwife
Many women have died during delivery at home and in absence of trained delivery assistants or doctors

Interview

Mohammad Golam Azam

Additional District Magistrate

Panchagarh

Major points

Nearly 80 percent of population in the enclaves here is poor.

There is acute problem of education, health and sanitation

District administration has requested some local NGOs to work in enclaves focusing on education, health and sanitation

District office sent 21 project proposals of Tk 250 crore for development of enclave to higher authority for approval. The project involves 5 community clinics and 3 family welfare centres as minimum healthcare facility is absent.

Department of public health engineering has sent proposals to build latrines and tube wells for 2000 families.

LGED has taken Tk 150 crore project for road construction in enclave areas

Rural Electrification Board has taken initiative to provide electricity in enclave

Initiatives have been taken to issue agriculture input cards to farmers in enclave

There is also landlessness. Many people have homestead land but do not have money to build house

District administration has taken a scheme of constructing 200 houses for poor people. Cost of each house is estimated to be at Tk 2.20 lakh to 2.30 lakh.

Non formal education for adult literacy is highly needed. Technical education can also help youth become self-employed or get jobs

Sajjad Hossain

Panchagarh Correspondent, NTV

Many enclave residents lived in Bangladesh and in enclaves before the exchange.

Some also have bought land in Bangladesh prior to requirement of national identity cards for land registration. Some also have shops in town.

Group based fish, poultry or cattle will be beneficial for landless

Low cost capital is needed to establish micro or small business enterprise

Training scheme for youth so that they can be self employed

Ahsan Habib Nilu

District Correspondent, Jugantor, Kurigram

Many enclave residents who did not get their names registered in 2011 are facing trouble to get recognition. Some have applied for registration

Many Bangladeshis live in enclave areas by buying land. The land transfer took place before exchange.

Problems

Enclaves lack electricity, roads, educational institutions and primary healthcare facilities.

Respective union or upazilla for enclaves is yet fixed. As a result, poor residents are yet to get support from VGD, VGF and other schemes.

Scholarship is needed for children in the enclave areas.

Credit without mortgage needed. Because legal ownership of land will not be settled soon
Skill development training for youth can be organized

Physically and mentally challenged people and children need special support

Bangladesh Red Crescent Society has taken up a program to provide sanitary latrine for the families at Dashiarchhara.

Golam Mostafa Khan

General Secretary, Enclave Exchange Coordination Committee, Dashiarchhara

Recommendations

Improved seed supply is necessary for higher yield

Agricultural extension workers should be appointed/deputed in the enclave areas

Training particularly to women on cattle rearing will boost livestock farming. Poorest families can be handed over cows and interest free after giving them training. Chilling centre should be established to collect milk.

Establishment of sales centre or assurance of fair prices of farm produces to growers.

Establishment of organic or compost fertilizer plants would be very much helpful.

Arrangements should be developed so that farmers can cultivate lands, grow and harvest crops at low cost.

Irrigation cost or rents for irrigation are very high in Dashiarchara.

Training to landless and poor people for income generating jobs

Private community healthcare clinics should be established. Training can be given to women and men on care during pregnancy and delivery

Recommendations: Bringing about improvement in the lives of enclave

What is needed now?

Sanitary Latrine

It is urgently needed in enclave areas. The survey shows that most of the households do not use sanitary latrine. As a result, residents suffer from various diseases.

Under the scheme, 1000 latrines can be built poor households in enclaves. Such a project can be implemented at cluster enclaves in Panchagarh and Lalmonirhat.

Expected Impact

Building of 1,000 sanitary latrines will directly benefit approximately 5,000 individuals. In addition, cluster-based approach will ensure sanitation coverage in the community resulting in reduction of disease. As a result, overall health condition of residents will improve.

Challenged and elderly persons

During field visits it was found that there are many challenged persons especially Dashiarchara enclaves. A special initiative should be taken to support them.

But for the time being, an endowment fund can be created to support challenged persons, widow, distressed women and insolvent elderly citizens.

Similar support may be considered for poor families until they come under state's social safety net coverage.

Education: Scholarship or Interest free loans

A scholarship or voucher programme can be considered to encourage education of children of poor families. Initiatives can also be taken to encourage return to schools of those who have quit or dropped out for various reasons.

Interest-free loans should also be considered for education of children of poor and low income families. An endowment fund can be created for this purpose.

Under the interest free education loan scheme, technical education can be encouraged among boys and girls of enclaves. It can also be introduced for mainland Bangladesh. Technical education will widen their scope to get jobs not only in Bangladesh also abroad.

Expected Impact

Interest-free loans will allow poor families to ensure education of their children. It will also reduce drop out at secondary and higher secondary level. Moreover, better education will allow poor families to come out of vicious cycle of poverty.

Making a sustainable Medium to Long Term Support

Housing

Shelter is the basic need of every human being. There are landless and extremely poor families in the enclave areas. According to survey findings, the percentage of landless in enclaves is nearly 30 percent. Houses of many are in very poor condition.

Also, a section of families have only homestead land but do not have financial capacity to build homes for healthy living.

Low cost but sustainable homes or rural housing schemes can be developed and transferred at nominal prices. A multi-storied housing complex scheme can be taken to ensure homes 40 to 50 poor and landless families. It will ensure shelter for 250-300 people of enclave area.

Priority areas for intervention

Such homes or housing schemes may be taken for enclaves in either Debiganj or Boda or both the upazilas in Panchgarh district. There are some enclaves in the two upazilas, such as Shalbari Kazaldighi and Dahola Khagrabari, where many poor and low income people live.

A separate housing scheme may be considered in Banshchapa Vitokuti and Banshkata enclave areas in Lalmonirhat based on successful implementation of pilot scheme.

Expected Impact

Shelter will give a new lease of life to landless and poor people. Members of the families should be able to spend their time and productive resources in more meaningful manner after getting homes. Apart from household level benefit, the multi-storied housing will arrest gradual shifting of cultivable land to build homes, roads, markets, industries and other infrastructures. It will contribute to ensuring food security of the nation.

Green electricity, irrigation: Promoting the concept of Green Village?

So far enclave residents have depended on kerosene lamp for lighting homes. Very few households have solar homes system (SHS).

A district administration official informed the study team that Bangladesh Rural Electrification Board (BREB) has taken initiative to provide electricity to these the backward areas. But experiences suggest that government or state agencies can not implement decisions quickly because of various factors.

From this perspective, SHS can be installed at houses of poor and low income families. SHS can be set up in consultation with BREB and Infrastructure Development Company Ltd (IDCOL) in one or more enclaves with objective of turning those localities as 'Green Villages.'

Consultation and coordination with BREB and IDCOL will reduce the possibility of overlapping.

Priority areas for intervention

A cluster of enclaves will be ideal for such intervention. In Panchagarh district, there are some cluster enclaves where such schemes can be taken. For example, SHS can be considered for Balapara one of the remotest enclave, situated nearly 20 kilometres away from Debiganj upazila sadar. The area has 663 households.

Similar plan may also be taken for Vurungamari, Kurigram. There are 227 households in the enclave of Vurungamari. All the homes in the enclave should be brought under solar system.

Expected Impact

If all homes at enclaves in Vurungamari is brought under solar system, over 1100 people will directly benefit. Inclusion more households will benefit more people as access to better lighting will improve their overall living standards. In brief, positive impact is likely on education of children and population growth. Other members of family will also be able to work for productive purposes.

Solar Irrigation

As majority of residents in the former enclaves depend on farming, solar based irrigation can provide them scope to cut dependence on irrigation pump renters.

During field visits it was found that growers have to depend on diesel-based irrigation but rental charge for irrigation is very high.

For example: Farmers in some enclaves in Panchagarh and in Kurigram have to spend nearly Tk 3,000 to irrigate one bigha of paddy field during boro season. Farmers have to pay rent to use pump and bear cost of diesel of their own.

The irrigation cost is just half of the irrigation cost that farmers in Bogra district spend for the same purpose. Low density of irrigation pump is one of the reasons.

Priority areas for intervention

A solar irrigation system can be introduced Shalbari Kazaldighi enclave areas in Panchagarh and Dashiarchara, Kurigram.

Expected impact

Installation of solar irrigation will benefit hundreds of farmers. The renewable irrigation scheme is expected to increase competition in the irrigation market and create pressure on private irrigation service providers to reduce rent, benefitting couple of hundreds of growers and farming in the respective locality.

Education and Health / Centre for a better life

The decade-long deprivation from state support and lack of access to education may have created an awareness deficit in the enclave areas. Such centres can be developed in a manner that these can be used for multiple purposes such as telemedicine, non-formal education programme and training on computer literacy, health and hygiene as well as on modern cultivation.

A scheme to establish or open 5 such centres in Panchagarh, Lalmonirhat, Dashiarchara and Vurungamari of Kurigram may be considered.

These community learning centres should be developed in a way so that these serve purpose of

Community healthcare clinic and
Training men and women on pregnancy, delivery and safe motherhood

Expected Impact

Establishment of such centres in remote areas of enclaves will benefit people in both short and long-term. Non-formal education and training will increase the level of consciousness of adult on various issues ranging from hygiene, risk and consequence of early marriage as well as safe motherhood will have positive impact on the society as a whole.

For instance: a learning and healthcare centre will benefit more than 7000 people at Dashiarchara area. Similarly, nearly 4000 people will be benefitted if another one is set up Dahola Khagrabari of Panchagarh.

Indirect impact will be much bigger.

Skill Development and income generation

Farm

Green Manure, Quality Seed Production

Green manure making scheme may be taken to help farmers grow crops better. Growers should be trained so that they produce organic manure or compost fertilizer.

Farmers may also be trained to produce quality seeds for their own use and for market.

Priority areas for intervention

This can be carried out in all four districts that have enclaves. But implementation of such scheme in cluster of enclave will bring better results. Members, particularly women of 100-200 farm families from enclave cluster areas, can be trained by forming cooperatives to produce and market compost or organic manure.

Dashiarchara in Kurigram, Dahola Khagrabari in Panchagarh, Banshchapa Vitorkuti and , Banskata of Lalmonirhat districts can be considered in this regard.

Expected Impact

Use of organic fertilizer will increase soil fertility, increase crop yield and generate more income from growers. Its use is also expected to cut dependence on chemical fertilizer.

Training on quality seed production will increase farmers knowledge and skill to grow better. As many farm households rear cattle, initiatives can be taken to encourage cattle fattening and rearing for dairy. Farmers particularly women and landless people may be trained on cattle rearing for beef and milk production and be given soft loans. Artificial insemination schemes can be taken in this regard.

Increased production of beef and milk will not only create jobs but also help increase nutrition intake and reduce country's import dependence.

Non Farm

Bamboo grows quite well in these districts. Training may be given to local youth to make bamboo based furniture and cottage industry.

Establishment of technical education centre can be of good help for youth of enclaves. With the growth of economy, the demand for welding, mobile handset and other items repairing, repairing, electrical, plumbing, motor and farm machinery and refrigeration is expected to rise. Youths of former enclaves should be trained so that they can acquire these skills to get jobs or become self-employed or get jobs in urban areas and suburbs.

Priority areas for intervention

Two such technical and vocational training centres may be planned. These may be established in between Nilphamari and Kurigram.

Special support

As determination of landownership is likely to be time consuming, arrangements can be made to provide credit to farmers without collateral.

Conclusion

To improve the condition of lives of people in former enclaves, different government agencies have taken various initiatives. But government programmes will not be enough to meet various needs of people of former enclaves. Intervention from private sector can address various development needs there.

References

Office of the Registrar General of India and Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2015; 'Ascertaining the nationality option of the enclave residents',

Golam Rabbani, Mohammad; 2005, *Statelessness in South Asia; Living in Bangladesh – India Enclaves*, Center for Alternatives, 431, Lecture Theatre, Arts Building, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Brendan R. Whyte, 2004 "An historical and documentary study of the Cooch Behar enclaves of India and Bangladesh"

Ministry of Internal Affairs, Government of India, 'India & Bangladesh: Land Boundary Agreement'.

Hossain Mahabub, Bayes Abdul, 2014; "Rural Credit Market Dynamics: Insights from Census and Repeat Sample Surveys", Brac.

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2011, 'Labour Force Survey 2010'

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2015, 'Bangladesh: Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2012-2013'.

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Poverty Maps of Bangladesh 2010

<http://www.dailyo.in/politics/foreign-policy-narendra-modi-sheikh-hasina-land-boundary-agreement-counter-enclaves-india-bangladesh-life-in-the-islands-on-land/story/1/4033.html>

http://www.economist.com/blogs/banyan/2011/02/enclaves_between_india_and_bangladesh

Notes

BBS Definition

Landless—those owing no land

Non-Farm

Having 0.01acre -.04 acre of land

Small Farmer

Growing crop on 0.05- 2 .49 acre of land

On 0.5- 0.99 acre

On 1-1.49 acre

On 1.5 0-2.49 acre

Medium Farmer

Growing crop on 2.5 acre – 7.49 acre

Large Farmer

Growing crop on 7.5 acre and above