

## Chapter-4

### Pattern of Migration and Demographic Changes

#### Post-Colonial Period

#### (1947 to 1971)

#### I

During Post-partition period the province of Bengal came to be known as West Bengal as the Western Part of Bengal and in 1951 census the area under territory of West Bengal was reported 30775.3 square mile which was 82876 square mile in 1941. This led to estimation of area of North Bengal under our study from 11517 square miles in 1941 to 7614.8 square mile with a loss of 3902.2 square mile as a result of partitioning India into two independent dominions. This territorial loss mainly affected the districts of Malda, West Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri. However I shall discuss the demographical changes brought by the physiographic partition of Bengal at par with its territorial loss in context of North Bengal and also taking the post-partition North Bengal territory in comparison to that of pre-partition period. The areas which post-partition North Bengal contained will be accounted with the census data of 1941 to have the clear and accurate transition of demography of the region. Following is the table of demographic scenario of North Bengal in post partition period according to the census record of 1951.

**Table 4.1**  
**Distribution of population North Bengal**  
**1951**

Name of District/PS	Area in Sq.miles	Total population	Male	Female	Density	Percentage of total population to North Bengal
West Bengal	30775.3	24810308	13345441	11464867	372.53	N.A.
Malda	1,407.9	937580	476794	460786	327.29	25.41
West Dinajpur	1,334.8	720573	383853	336720	252.26	19.53
Jalpaiguri	2,378.3	914538	501090	413448	173.84	24.79
Darjiling	1,159.7	445260	239018	206242	177.84	12.06
Cooch Behar	1,334.1	671158	361860	309298	231.84	18.19
North Bengal	7614.8	3689109	1962615	1726494	226.73	14.87

**Source: Census of India, 1951, Volume VI, West Bengal, Sikkim & Chandernagar, Part II-Tables, A. Mitr, Manager of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta, India, 1953, p.9**

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reported 30775.3 square mile which was 82876 square mile in 1941. This led to estimation of area of North Bengal under our study from 11517 square miles in 1941 to 7614.8 square mile with a loss of 3902.2 square mile as a result of partitioning India into two independent dominions. However, district wise analysis of the demographic transition will make apparent the post-partition demographic scenario of North Bengal in its true and proper structure. The decade 1941-51, as I told above, was also transitional in context of Malda district. The great famine of 1943 mostly affected the districts among the five districts of North Bengal in our discussion. The communal holocaust in Bengal in 1946 culminating with the famine stricken condition and finally partitioning India and the border framing processing in the district might have some impacts on the demography of the district.

In 1951 the district of Malda had total population of 937580 having 25.41 percent share in the entire population of North Bengal with 18.48 percent share in territorial area of North Bengal. This was a loss of 295038 persons in number with a loss of 596.1 square mile area on account of partition of the district. If we take the police stations, which constituted post-partition Malda district, in compare to 1941 then the actual progress or regress in population can be realized. Thus the police stations English Bazar, Kaliachak, Malda, Habibpur, Ratua, Manikchak, Kharba, Harishchandrapur, Gajol and Bamongoala together constituted 844315 numbers of populations in 1941, which numbered 937580 in 1951 showing an increase of 93265 or 11.05 percent in those concerned police stations. Most importantly the growth population in all the police stations was moderate and even barring only Habibpur where a loss of about 15000 people was seen. In fact the famine (1943) and Flood (1948) stricken Malda district with the event of partition could maintain this equation of population. This was happened due to 'a big spate of immigration of displaced persons from East Bengal.'<sup>1</sup> As like before the density in the alluvial soil of Malda attained great densities such as in Kaliachak 1092 per square mile, in Ratua 754 per square mile and in Manikchak 635 per square mile. The following table will explain the scenario of demography of Malda in 1951.

**Table 4.2**  
**Distribution of population North Bengal**  
**Malda District-1951**

District, Police Station, Town	Area in Sq. mile	POPULATION			
		T Persons	Males	Females	Density
Malda District	(a)1,407.9 (b)1,392.0	937,580	476,794	460,786	673.55
Sadar Subdivision	1,392.0	937,580	476,794	460,786	673.55
Englishbazar	98.4	93,872	47,621	46,251	953.98
Englishbazar	1.79	..	..	..	-
Kaliachak	207.1	226,184	113,217	112,967	1092.15

Malda	87.4	37,420	19,366	18,054	428.15
Old Malda	1.3	..	..	..	-
Habibpur	153.3	72,193	37,153	35,040	470.93
Ratua	153.7	115,834	58,651	57,183	753.64
Manikchak	122.2	77,587	38,964	38,623	634.92
Kharba	142.2	100,498	52,204	48,294	706.74
Harishchandrapur	149.8	101,156	51,856	49,300	675.27
Gajol	198.3	73,171	37,407	35,764	368.99
Bamongola	79.6	39,665	20,355	19,310	498.30

**Source: Census of India, 1951, West Benal, Sikkim,& Chandernagore, Part-II Tables, Manger of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta,1953, pp.18-20**

During 1941-51 the district of Dinajpur suffered from both the famine of 1943 and epidemics of 1944 and with number of above said incidents the district acquired its post partition size and shape in 1947. With all these and migratory movements of the people constituted the population during 1947-51. If we take the pre-partition periodic Hili, Balurghat, Kumarganj, Tapan, Gangarampur, Banshihari, Kushmandi, Kaliaganj, Hemtabad, Raiganj and Itahar which constituted the post-partition West Dinajpur district together the total population of the district would have accounted for the district 583489 in 1941 which reached at 720567 persons in 1951 with an increase of 137078 people 23.49 percent growth in compare to that of the last decade. This was 19.53 percent of entire population of North Bengal. The most voluminous growth of population during this period of 1941-51 was seen in Balurghat and Raiganj having increases of 34901 and 36317 respectively. The rural urban distribution of population in the district revealed the rural nature of the district as 94.18 percent of total population lived in the rural areas of the district. . The following table will explain the scenario of demography of West Dinajpur district in 1951.

**Table 4.3**  
**Distribution of population North Bengal**  
**West Dinajpur-1951**

District, Police Station, Town	Area in Sq. mile	Total Persons	Total Males	Total Females	Density
West Dinajpur	{(a)1,384.8 (b)1,385.5}	720,573	383,853	336,720	520.08
Balurghat Subdivision	585.6	328,114	171,269	156,845	560.30
Hili	34.0	38,787	20,731	18,056	1140.79
Hili	1.43	..	..	..	-
Balurghat	143.7	101,471	53,551	47,020	706.13
Balurghat	2.46	..	..	..	-
Kumarganj	110.8	55,905	28,913	26,992	504.56
Tapan	170.3	70,644	36,013	34,631	414.82

Gangarampur	126.8	61,307	32,061	20,246	483.49
Raiganj Subdivision	799.9	392,459	212,584	179,875	490.64
Banshihari	134.2	51,270	26,703	24,573	382.04
Kushmandi	119.9	56,314	30,260	26,054	469.67
Kaliaganj	120.3	67,366	36,283	31,083	559.98
Hemtabad	74.0	34,680	18,643	16,037	468.65
Raiganj	186.4	101,870	56,627	45,243	546.51
Raiganj	3.58	..	..	..	-
Itahar	165.1	80,953	44,068	36,885	490.32

**Source: Census of India, 1951, West Benal, Sikkim,& Chandernagore, Part-II Tables, Manger of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta,1953, 18-20**

The partition of Bengal of 1947 resulted in disruption of the railway communication between Darjeeling and Bengal. The direct rail route to Darjeeling was disrupted. In 1950 the great landslides in Darjeeling also affected the summer traffic. Thus it is reported in District Census Handbook that “Since 1950, however, after the disastrous landslides and the withdrawal of the Siliguri-Giellekhola Railway the traffic to Kallimpong has slumped considerably.”<sup>2</sup> So though there was no much change in areas and jurisdiction of the district but as an indirect impact of the Partition it also affected the peoples’ movement into the district from the other parts of Bengal. From the following table we may have a picture of demographic development in 1951 in the district of Darjeeling.

**Table 4.4**  
**Distribution of population North Bengal**  
**Darjeeling District-1951**

District, Police Station, Town	Area in Sq. mile	Total Persons	Total Males	Total Females	Density
DARJEELING DISTRICT	{{(a)1,159.7 (b)1,199.7}}	445,260	239,018	206,242	371.14
Sadar Subdivision	361.2	169,631	88,143	81,485	469.63
Darjeeling	40.4	63,171	33,737	29,134	1563.64
Darjeeling	4.1	..	..	..	-
Jore Bunglow	56.4	28,944	14,941	14,003	513.19
Pulbazar	59.0	26,929	13,915	13,014	456.42
Shakhiapokil	92.6	19,258	9,812	9,446	207.97
Rangli Rangllot	118.8	31,320	15,741	15,586	263.64
Kurseong Subdivision	164.2	65,716	34,176	31,537	400.21
Kurseong	126.6	49,577	25,972	23,005	391.60
Kurseong	1.5	..	..	..	-
Mirik	37.6	16,136	6,204	7,932	429.15
Siliguri Subdivision	266.4	116,475	67,459	49,016	437.21

Siliguri	124.4	68,280	40,959	27,421	548.87
Siliguri	3.6	..	..	..	-
Kharibari	78.4	24,876	13,953	10,923	317.30
Phansidewa	63.6	23,319	12,647	10,672	366.65
Kalimpong Subdivision	407.9	93,441	49,237	44,204	229.07
Kalimpong	235.4	76,463	40,310	36,144	324.82
Kalimpong	3.6	..	..	..	-
Garubathan	172.5	16,978	8,918	8,060	98.42

**Source: Census of India, 1951, West Benal, Sikkim,& Chandernagore, Part-II Tables, Manger of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta,1953, 18-20**

During the post-1947 period the district of Darjeeling had a loss of 32.3 square mile areas. But according to the State Government's return the area of the district was 7.7 square mile more in 1951 than in 1941. However, the growth of population continued which showed an increase of 68891 persons in number having 18.30 percent share of increased population in the 1951 district population. This was 12.06 percent of entire population of North Bengal having 15.23 percent of area in the region. Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Kursiong, all the three subdivisional, towns-cum-police stations showed a great increase in population. Jore Bungalow was only one police station which witnessed a loss of souls in this decade. In other police stations the growth was insignificant. Siliguri expanded greatly in urbanity with volume of population from 10487 in 1941 to 32480 in 1951 being triple against the population of 1941. The density rose from 2913 in 1941 to 9022 in 1951 indicating its rapid expansion as urban centre.

This expansion was caused by the growing importance of Siliguri as the junction point of communication during the Second World War and as a result of establishment of the headquarters of the Eastern Group of Railways, popularly known as Assam Rail Link Project. The great disparity between male and female population of Siliguri also indicated the urban development of the tract. Thus the total urban population in the district of Darjeeling became 21.22 percent and gradually Kalimpong (1941) and Siliguri (1950) were declared municipalities. With this the semi urban areas like Tindharia, Ramjbi Algarah, Pedong, Labha, Tista *Bazar*, Simana, Sukhiapokri, Badamtam, Bijanbari, Phulbari began to develop in railway line, *hats* and *Bazars* areas. The Khasmahal land was populated by the small cultivators.

Though during 1943-45 there was excess of births over deaths in Jalpaiguri district and a devastated flood affected the district greatly in 1950 the district witnessed a small growth in total population.<sup>3</sup> Taking the police stations Jalpaiguri, Raiganj, Mainaguri, Nagrakaa, Dhupguri, Mal, Matiali, Madarihat, Falakata, Kalchini, Alipur Duars, Kumarganj together which constituted the district in 1951 recorded the total population 914538 in 1951 against the population 845702 in 1941 having a small increase of 68836 persons or 8.14 percent as a whole. Only the

three police stations Jalpaiguri, Alipur Duas and Dhupguri witnessed a growth about or more than 10000 populations during the decade. But the police stations Rajganj, Maynaguri and Mal witnessed a decline. The following table will show the progress or regress in this growth.

**Table 4.5**  
**Distribution of population North Bengal**  
**Jalpaiguri District-1951**

District, Police Station, Town	Area in Sq. mile	Total Persons	Total Males	Total Females	Density
Jalpaiguri District	{{(a)2,378.3 (b)2,374.4}}	914,538	501,090	413,448	385.17
Sadar Subdivision	1,295.9	546,142	300,352	245,790	421.44
Jalpaiguri	186.6	115,459	64,441	51,018	618.75
Jalpaiguri	3.0	..	..	..	-
Rajganj	245.8	51,723	28,458	23,265	210.43
Mainaguri	251.5	88,315	48,200	40,115	351.15
Nagrakata	106.7	42,389	23,065	19,324	397.27
Dhupguri	216.8	110,910	61,159	49,751	511.58
Mal	197.4	88,158	48,658	39,500	446.60
Matiali	92.1	49,188	26,371	22,817	534.07
Alipur Duars Subdivision	1,078.5	368,399	200,738	167,658	341.58
Madarihat	148.9	59,486	32,033	27,453	399.50
Falakata	122.6	55,700	30,623	25,077	454.32
Kalchini	344.4	85,609	46,384	39,225	248.57
Alipur Duars	200.7	119,038	65,575	53,463	593.11
Alipur Duar	5.73	..	..	..	-
Kumargram	194.0	48,563	26,123	22,440	250.32

**Source: Census of India, 1951, West Benal, Sikkim,& Chandernagore, Part-II Tables, Manger of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta,1953,pp.18-20**

During the decade 1941-51 there was both the development of urbanity and urban population in Jalpaiguri district. The New Assam Rail Rink Project, Development of Alipur Duar town as a large railway centre, several road building projects connecting Assam and the Duars led to the growth of population in the district.<sup>4</sup> During the period Jalpaiguri showed 138.22 percent growth against the States growth of 32.52 percent in urban population. Thus the district of Jalpaiguri with a territory of 2378.3 square mile and 31.23 percent of total North Bengal territory constituted 24.79 percent of entire North Bengal population.

During the decade of 1941-1951 the State of Cooch Behar there was no significant incident to influence the demography of the State except the partition of Bengal. However the most

significant incident was the evolution of Cooch Behar from Princely State to Chief Commissioner's Province initially and later on to the district of the State of West Bengal. It has been reported in the District Census Handbook that during 1941-51 'the famine and epidemics of 1943-44 did not trouble the state to any degree.'<sup>5</sup> However, a severe flood occurred in Mekliganj in June 1950. In August of the same year an earth quake shook the district of Cooch Behar. But all these did not affect the demography of Cooch Behar. The following table will provide the statistics of this.

**Table 4.6**  
**Distribution of population North Bengal**  
**Cooch Behar District-1951**

District, Police Station, Town	Area in Sq. mile	Total Persons	Total Males	Total Females	Density
COOCH BEHAR DISTRICT	{(a)1,334.1 (b)1,322.6}	671,158	361,860	309,298	a.503.08 b.507.45
Tufanganj Subdivision	224.0	97,713	52,475	45,238	436.22
Tufanganj	224.0	97,713	52,475	45,238	436.22
Tufanganj	0.34	..	..	..	..
Dinhata Subdivision	271.9	161,054	85,974	75,080	592.33
Dinhata	210.9	137,000	73,187	63,613	649.60
Dinhata	0.51	..	..	..	..
Sitai	61.0	24,054	12,787	11,267	394.33
Sadar Subdivision	284.8	171,865	94,531	77,334	603.46
Cooch Behar	284.8	171,865	94,531	77,334	603.46
Cooch Behar	2.24	..	..	69,275	..
Mathabhanga subdivision	343.0	148,691	79,416	21,430	433.50
Sitalkuchi	101.0	45,755	24,325	47,845	453.02
Mathabhanga	242.0	102,936	55,091	..	425.36
mathabhanga	0.48	..	..	42,371	..
Mekliganj Subdivision	198.9	91,835	49,464	20,944	461.71
Mekliganj	112.7	45,255	24,311	..	401.55
Mekliganj	0.22	..	..	21,427	...
Haldibari	86.2	46,580	25,153	..	540.37
Haldibari	0.56	..	..	..	..

**Source: Census of India, 1951, West Benal, Sikkim,& Chandernagore, Part-II Tables, Manger of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta,1953,pp.18-20**

The total area of the Cooch Behr district in 1951 was 1334.1 square mile as returned by the Survey General and 1322.6 square mile as returned by the State Government. The total population of the district in 1951 reached at 671158 persons which was 18.19 percent of entire

population of North Bengal. In 1941 the total population of the State of Cooch Behar was 640842 in number which was 12.17 percent of total North Bengal population. However, then the area and population of North Bengal was different from that of 1951. The increase in total population from 1941 to 1951 thus was 30316 in number and 4.73 percent of growth on the total population of previous decade. In all the police stations there were increase in population during the decade except the police stations of Sitai, Sitalkhuchi and Mekliganj there was slight decrease. The large volume of growth was seen in only in Cooch Behar Sadar about 21891 numbers of populations.

Thus as a whole North Bengal witnessed a total loss of 1577066 people in 1951 in compare to that of 1941 basically caused by the territorial loss led by bifurcation of Bengal into East and West attached in tow independent dominions. However, the decrease in birth rates and even excess of death rates over birth rates in some extent also was responsible for this loss. But if we consider the territory of Post-partition North Bengal in comparison with the enumeration of 1941 then this shows an increase of 398392 persons or 12.11 percent. But the natural growth rate or birth rate in excess to death rate did not happen in the districts of North Bengal during the decade 1941-51 because of the above said famine, resultant epidemics, communal holocausts and partition trauma. The following is the table of birth rate and death rate of four districts of North Bengal showing the actual growth.

**Table 4.7**  
**Vital Statistics of Births and Deaths in North Bengal districts**  
**1941-1950**

Districts of North Bengal	Births (1941-50)	Deaths (1941-50)	Differencce
West Dinajpur	148989	140165	+8824
Jalpaiguri	231953	215589	+16364
Darjeeling	105825	98050	+7775
Malda	165573	140437	+25136
Total of North Bengal (excluding Cooch Behar)	652340	594241	58099

**Source: Census of India, 1951, Vol. VI, Part IB, Vital Staistics of West Bengal, 1941-1950, A. Mitra, Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1952, p.3**

So excluding Cooch Behar if we minus the excess of birth of 58099 persons the non-natural increase of population in North Bengal happened to be 340293 and including Cooch Behar (if we take the increase of birth roughly 10000) this would be 330293 persons. Here lies the importance of migration which making plus-minus of total population of North Bengal recognized the growth. So we have to make an analysis of the phenomenon of migration in the districts of North Bengal to justify the demographic scenario for the decade of 1941-51.



An important feature of North Bengal demography was, during post-partition period, the Enclaves' demography. According to The Hindustan Standard, a Calcutta Newspaper, the a large number of Indian enclaves remained in Pakistan belonged to the Cooch Behar-Jalpaiguri belt of North Bengal and also a good number of enclaves belonged to this region in Pakistan. These are known as 'Chhitmahals', which were scattered in border region of East Pakistan and largely in the south-west of Cooch Behar. The Radcliffe Award placed the larger chhits of Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar in the thanas of Tetulia, Pachagar, Boda, Debiganj and Patgram which went to East Pakistan.<sup>6</sup> The Hindustan Standard reported total number of Cooch Behar enclaves in East Pakistan 131 with an area of 20463.05 acres having a population of 12601 persons and total number of Pakistan enclaves in Cooch Behar 95 with an area of 12151.90 acres having a population of 10954 persons.<sup>7</sup>

The decade between 1951 and 1961 was of a great significant for North Bengal due to its administrative organization and reorganization. I have already discussed in previous chapter the issues of States' Reorganization Commission of 1953, States' Reorganization Act of 1956 and Bengal-Bihar Boundaries Act of 1956 which influenced the founding of post-partition North Bengal in its present form bringing changes also in demographic pattern directly and indirectly. In fact, the demand of parts of Bihar to be included into West Bengal to maintain its contiguity and geographical integrity was made since the pre-partition arrangement of portioning India and as a result of Bengal. The West Bengal Pradesh Committee in argument of rehabilitation of the large flood of refugees into West Bengal, Economic Development of the region, direct link between different parts of West Bengal and administrative privileges demanded Purnea (up to the bed of old Kosi), Manbhum (Purulia and Dhanbad), Dhalbhum (in Singhbhum) and Seraikela (part) from Bihar. It amounted 3800 square miles area with a population of about 19 lakhs from Purnea into West Bengal.<sup>8</sup> Previously S. J. Upendra Nath Burman, M.P., also raised the issue in a Parliamentary debate on 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 1951 in this way that "Early steps should be taken to alter the boundaries of the State of West Bengal with a view to establishing contiguity between the detached part of the State." Shri Hussain Imam, M.P. from Bihar, supported Mr. Burman recognizing 'equity and justice of the demand of Bengal.'<sup>9</sup>

Thus the Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Act, 1956 under the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, 19<sup>th</sup> October, 1956 came into being reorganizing North Bengal to its present geo-administrative form.<sup>10</sup> This naturally had an impact over the population of West Bengal as well North Bengal. Besides the incidents like Chinese occupation of Tibet and resultant Tibetan refugees, the 'Bengal Kheda' in Assam and resultant fled of Bengali speakers from Assam into Bengal also brought changes in North Bengal demography. The following table will show the demographic scenario of North Bengal in 1961.

**Table 4.8**  
**Population Distribution in North Bengal**  
**For the Year 1961**

Division, District, police-station or Township	Area in Square Mile	Total Population	Male	Female	Persons per Square Mile
West Bengal	34194.1	34926279	18599144	16327135	1021
Malda District	1391.9	1221923	621990	599933	878
West Dinajpur District	2061.9	1323797	694372	629425	642
Darjeeling District	1256.6	624640	335036	289604	497
Jalpaiguri District	2382.9	1359292	733339	625953	570
Cooch Behar District	1313.9	1019806	539694	480112	776
Total of North Bengal	8407.2	5549458	2924431	2625027	660

**Census of India, Volume XVI, West Bengal And Sikkim, Part-II A, General Population Table J**  
**Datta Gupta, published by The Manager of Publications, Delhi, Printed by Government of**  
**India Press, Calcutta, 1964, pp. 88-92**

During the decade 1951-61 taking together the five districts, North Bengal as a whole accounted total population 5549458 persons among which 2924431 were male and 2625027 were female having a density of 660 per square mile much lower than the density of the State of West Bengal. It constituted 15.89 percent of total population of the State comprising an area of 24.59 percent of total land of the State. North Bengal as a whole witnessed an increase of 1860349 persons in number on the population of the last decade. This was an increase of 50.43 percent against the State's increase of 40.77 percent. This voluminous increase of North Bengal might have been happened caused by the two factors: documented and undocumented refugee immigration from East Pakistan and Jurisdictional changes or territorial inclusion from Bihar land. The issue may be well understood if we discuss it fragmentally taking the districts of North Bengal individually.

According to the Census Report of 1961 the total population of Malda district became 1221923 persons in number among whom 621990 were males and 599933 were females. Thus the sex ratio of the district stood 965 females per 1000 males. With this population Malda constituted 22.02 percent of entire population of North Bengal having an area of 16.56 percent of entire North Bengal. The total population increased in the district 284343 persons in number being 30.33 percent on the population of the previous decade. With these the district as a whole achieved the density of 878 persons per square mile. However, the density and the growth of population throughout the district were not even. This can be realized by police station wise distribution of the population in the district as follows.

**Table 4.9**  
**Police Station wise population distribution in North Bengal**  
**Malda District For the Year 1961**

Division, District, police-station or Township	Area in Square Mile	Total Population	Male	Female	Persons per Square Mile
Malda District	1391.9	1221923	621990	599933	878
Sadar Subdivision	1391.9	1221923	621990	599933	878
English Bazar	98.4	131377	68386	62991	1335
Kaliachak	207.1	283635	142760	140875	1370
Malda	87.4	52475	27062	25413	600
Habibpur	153.3	87494	44929	42565	571
Ratua	153.7	151899	77182	74717	988
Manikchak	122.1	98610	49496	49114	808
Kharba	142.2	137441	70448	66993	967
Harishchandrapur	149.8	136682	69585	67097	912
Gajol	198.3	94505	47959	46546	477
Bamangola	79.6	47805	24183	23622	601

**Source: Census of India, 1961, Volume XVI, West Bengal And Sikkim, Part-II A, General Population Table J Datta Gupta, 1964, pp. 88-92**

From the above table it is apparent that following the pre-partition tradition the police stations of Kaliachak, Kharba, Ratua and Hrishchandrapur remained mostly populated and densely areas in the district of Malda. The populace of Kaliachak increased from 194324 in 1941 to 226184 in 1951 and to 283635 in 1961. Thus it was an increase of 57451 persons or 25.40 percent on the population of the previous decade. Most spectacular growth of population was witnessed by Habibpur having an increase of 50,341 persons in number with a growth of 135.50 percent over the population of the last decade in a same area of land. Thus in all the thannahs there was heavy growth of population such as in Harischandrapur an increase of 35526 persons (35.12 percent), in Kharba 36943 persons (36.76 percent), in Ratua 36065 persons (31.14 percent), in Malda 15055 persons (40.23 percent) and in English Bazar 37505 persons (39.95 percent). Density was mostly high in Kaliachak (1370) and English Bazar (1335) followed by Ratua (988), Kharba (967) and Harishchandrapur (912).<sup>11</sup> This massive growth of population developed in rural areas for the growth of urban population was 4.2 percent in 1961 against the 3.8 percent urban growth of 1951 recognizing the rural nature of the district. The sex ratio was 969 in rural areas and 873 in urban areas.<sup>12</sup>

During the decade of 1951-61 jurisdictional and demographic change volumiously happened in the case of West Dinajpur district due the boundary redistribution and re-re-distribution in between Bihar-Darjeeling-West Dinajpur following the recommendation of the States' Reorganization Commission and the Bengal-Bihar Boundaries Act. The total population of West

Dinajpur thus reached at a higher level of 23.85 percent of entire North Bengal having a population of 1323797 with an increase of 603224 persons being 83.71 percent increase over the population of last decade. But if we minus the newly added police stations from the district then the increase will come down in 224198 persons having 31.11 percent increase over the population of the last census are the area being the same. The West Bengal District Gazetteer, West Dinajpur calculated the population of the district of 1951 taking its shape of 1961 and accounted a total population of 976882 for the district in 1951 with 518484 males and 458398 females.<sup>13</sup> However, the following table compiled from the Census data of 1961 will help us to understand the district's population distribution and nature of growth.

**Table 4.10**  
**Police Station wise population distribution in North Bengal**  
**West Dinajpur District For the Year 1961**

Division, District, police-station or Township	Area in Square Mile	Total Population	Male	Female	Persons per Square Mile
West Dinajpur District	2061.9	1323797	694372	629425	642
Balurghat Subdivision	585.6	403448	209010	194438	689
Hilli	34.0	37245	19481	17764	1095
Balurghat	143.7	120848	63043	57805	841
Kumarganj	110.8	68998	35602	33396	623
Gangarampur	126.8	86506	44950	41556	682
Tapan	170.3	89851	45934	43917	528
Raiganj Subdivision	799.9	541323	284025	257298	677
Raiganj	186.4	150072	79375	70697	805
Kaliaganj	120.3	93911	50330	43581	781
Hemtabad	74.0	46769	24706	22063	632
Itahar	165.1	104709	54235	50474	634
Kushmundi	119.9	73448	38134	35314	613
Bangshihari	134.2	72414	37245	35169	540
Islampur Subdivision	676.4	379026	201337	177689	560
Islampur	133.3	87942	47625	40317	660
Karandighi	150.2	75191	39424	35767	501
Chopra	146.1	68868	37094	31774	471
Goalpokhar	246.8	147025	77194	69831	596

**Source: Census of India, 1961, Volume XVI, West Bengal And Sikkim, Part-II A, General Population Table, J. Datta Gupta, 1964, p.91**

From the above table it is apparent that the most populous police stations in the West Dinajpur district were Raiganj (150072), Goalpokhar (147025), Balurghat (120848) and Itahar (104709) where the population was higher than one lakh. However, density of population was highest in Hilli (1095 per square mile) followed by Balurghat (841 per square mile), Raiganj (805

per square mile) and Kaliaganj (781 per square mile). In previous decade most spectacular growth was seen in Balurghat and Raignaj police stations. The growth continued also in this decade of 1951-61 in those two police stations having increase of 19.10 and 47.32 percent respectively. Besides, the Bangshihari (41.24 percent) and Gangarampur (41.10 percent) police stations witnessed a growth above forty percent in this decade. The remaining police stations like Kaliaganj, Hemtabad, Kushmundi, Itahar bagged the growth ranging from 39 percent to 30 percent. The newly added Islampur Subdivision including Islampur, Karandighi, Chopra and Goalpokhar police stations included 379026 persons into the district.<sup>14</sup> The sex ration in the district in 1961 was 914 females per 1000 males against the ratio of 884 females per 1000 males in 1951 which varied slightly in different parts of the district.

The total population in the district of Darjeeling in 1961 reached at 445260 in an area of 1159.7 square miles. Thus Darjeeling constituted 12.06 percent population of North Bengal. Like the other districts of North Bengal Darjeeling district also witnessed great volume of increase in population during this decade of 1951-61. The total number of increase in this decade was 179380 persons constituting 40.29 percent over the population of the last decade. The distribution and redistribution of the territories and jurisdictional changes in forming and reforming police stations influenced the demography with the post-partition refugee and undocumented immigrants' streamline and also the post 1950 Indo-Nepal treaty periodic human mobility between India and Nepal and the displaced Tibetan's immigrant move into the district during and after China's occupation of Tibet. However, the distribution of population all through the district was not even. This can be realized from the following table.

**Table 4.11**  
**Police Station wise population distribution in North Bengal**  
**Darjeeling District For the Year 1961**

Division, District, police-station or Township	Area in Square Mile	Total Population	Male	Female	Persons per Square Mile
West Bengal	34194.1	34926279	18599144	16327135	1021
Darjeeling District	1256.6	624640	335036	289604	497
Sadar Subdivision	361.2	203523	104961	98562	563
Pulbazar	53.0	32504	16582	15922	613
Darjeeling	40.4	74461	39777	34684	1843
Sukhiapokri	92.6	22784	11545	11239	246
Jore Bungalow	56.4	35261	17694	17567	625
Rangli Rangliot	118.8	38513	19363	19150	324
Kalimpong Subdivision	407.9	120526	64681	55845	295
Kalimpong	235.4	96047	51293	44754	408
Garubathan	172.5	24479	13388	11091	142
Kurseong Subdivision	164.2	80743	41789	38954	492

Mirik	37.6	21646	11025	10621	576
Kurseong	126.6	59097	30764	28333	467
Siliguri Subdivision	323.3	219848	123605	96243	680
Phansidewa	120.6	58573	31581	26992	486
Siliguri	67.5	93125	54830	38295	1380
Kharibari	55.4	25957	14135	11822	469
Naxalbari	79.8	42193	23059	10134	529

**Source: Census of India, 1961, Volume XVI, West Bengal And Sikkim, Part-II A, General Population Table J Datta Gupta, 1964, p.88**

The most populous areas of the district were police stations of Siliguri, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Kurseong. The spectacular growth in population was seen in Phansidewa where an increase of 35254 persons having 151.18 percent over the last decade's population was accounted. In Siliguri this increase was 36.39 percent with an increased population of 24845 persons. In Mirik, though a small population, 34.14 percent occurred. In Gorubathan, with a small population, 44.18 percent growth happened. Kalimpong continued its previous increasing trend having 19584 persons of increased population with 25.61 percent growth. In the Rangli Rangliot the growth was 21.82 percent.<sup>15</sup> The rural population highly increased during the period 1951-61 in the police stations of Naxalbari (82.8 percent), Phanisdewa (55.5 percent), Kharibari (46.2 Percent), Garubathan (44.2 percent), and Siliguri (39.3 percent) and in Mirik (34.1 percent). On the other urban population increased very highly only in Siliguri police stations 101.6 percent recognizing the rapid urban growth of Siliguri in the district.<sup>16</sup>

The district of Jalpaiguri in 1961 constituted 24.49 percent of entire North Bengal population having 1359292 numbers of persons. This was as per the growth of the North Bengal districts and also as per the growth of the State of West Bengal with post-partition developments. It increased 444754 persons which was 48.63 percent over the population of the last decade. This growth was also partly contributed by the transfer of some of the 'Chhits' from Cooch Behar. The large volume of growth in population of the district was contributed by all the police stations of the district more or less evenly ranging from 36 percent to 65 percent of growth over the population of the previous census year. The following table may make it apparent.

**Table 4.12**  
**Police Station wise population distribution in North Bengal**  
**Jalpaiguri District**  
**For the Year 1961**

Division, District, police-station or Township	Area in Square Mile	Total Population	Male	Female	Persons per Square Mile
Jalpaiguri District	2382.9	1359292	733339	625953	570
Sadar Subdivision	1304.5	795623	430200	365423	610

Jalpaiguri	194.2	171822	93708	78114	885
Rajganj	245.8	80766	43824	36942	329
Maynaguri	251.5	123278	66387	56891	490
Nagrakata	106.7	58635	31619	27016	550
Dhubguri	216.8	168308	90121	78187	776
Mal	209.9	135117	73602	61515	644
Mitiali	79.6	57697	30939	26758	725
Alipur Duars Subdivision	1078.4	563669	303139	260530	523
Madarihat	146.9	81344	43479	37865	554
Falakata	122.6	91923	49238	42685	750
Kalchini	344.4	117184	63355	53829	340
Alipur Duars	269.9	199408	107933	91445	739
Kumargram	194.6	73810	39134	34676	379

**Source: Census of India, 1961, Volume XVI, West Bengal And Sikkim, Part-II A, General Population Table J Datta Gupta, 1964, p.89**

The most populous police stations in the district of Jalpaiguri in 1961 were Jalpaiguri (171822), Maynaguri (123278), Dhubguri (168308), Mal (135117), Kalchini (117184) and most importantly Alipur Durars (199408). Most spectacular growth in population in comparison to the last decade in the district was witnessed by the police stations of Alipurduars (65.52 percent), Falakata (65.03 percent), Rajganj (56.15 percent), Mal (53.27 percent), Kumargram (51.99 percent) and Dhubguri (51.75 percent) all of which contributed more than fifty percent progressive development in population in the district over the population of the last decade. The growth was upward from Jalpaiguri Sadar to Alipurduars via Falakata in the east and towards Mal in the north-eastern part of the district. Rajganj being in the border land of East Pakistan showed a greater growth. On the other Maynaguri in comparison showed a lesser growth (39.59 percent) due to its tranquility of land. The most densely police station in the district was Jalpaiguri (885 per square mile) followed by Kumargram (779 per square mile), Dhubguri (776 per square mile), Falakata (750 per square mile), Alipur duars (739 per square mile) and Mitiali (725 per square mile) which were denser above 700 per square mile.<sup>17</sup> This also showed the growth of population in the district. The District Gazetteer, Jalpaiguri reported annual growth of 4.83 percent in the district.<sup>18</sup> Increase of rural population depicted the rural nature of the district.<sup>19</sup>

The tradition of growth of population in large volume during the decade 1951-61 of the North Bengal districts also continued in Cooch Behar district. During this decade the total population of Cooch Behar became 1019806 persons which contained 18.38 percent population of entire population of North Bengal. The increase in the district was in large volume numbering 348648 constituting 51.95 percent growth on the population of the last decade. The

increase though was not even throughout the district but in all police stations it was in high level. The following table may help us to contemplate the issue clearly.

**Table 4.13**  
**Police Station wise population distribution in North Bengal**  
**Cooch Behar District For the Year 1961**

Division, District, police-station or Township	Area in Square Mile	Total Population	Male	Female	Persons per Square Mile
Cooch Behar District	1313.9	1019806	539694	480112	776
Sadar Subdivision	284.8	272484	144184	128300	957
Cooch Behar	284.8	272484	144184	128300	957
Tufanganj Subdivision	224.0	173637	91522	82115	775
Tufanganj	224.0	173637	91522	82115	775
Dinhata Subdivision	271.9	247959	130863	117096	912
Dinhata	210.9	211295	111506	99789	1002
Sitai	61.0	36664	19357	17307	601
Mathabhanga Subdivision	343.0	218165	115135	103030	635
Mathabhanga	242.0	150445	79374	71071	622
Sitalkuchi	101	67720	35761	31959	670
Mekliganj Subdivision	190.2	107561	57990	49571	566
Mekliganj	112.7	60057	32425	27632	533
Haldibari	77.5	47504	25565	21939	613

**Census of India, 1961, Volume XVI, West Bengal And Sikkim, Part-IIA, General Population**  
**Table J Datta Gupta, 1964, p.90**

The highest number of population increase happened in the Cooch Behar police station which numbered 100619 persons showing 51.95 percent growth over the population of the previous decade. By percentage the highest growth in Cooch Behar district occurred in the police station of Tufanganj where 77.70 percent increase was reported by the census. There was also a large growth in Dinhata totaling 74295 persons having with 54.23 percent increase on the last decade's population. The police station of Mathabhanga witnessed the increase in 46.15 percent with 47509 persons in addition to the people of last decade. Sitalkuchi and Mkeliganj also showed the growth 48.00 percent and 32.71 percent respectively. Sitai though a small police station witnessed the growth of 52.42 percent than that of the previous census period. The highest density in the district was seen in Dinhata having 1002 persons per square mile in the thannah area followed by the police stations of Cooch Behar (957 per square mile) and Tufanganj (775 per square mile).<sup>20</sup> The number of females per 1000 males in the district in 1961 was 890 and increase in female number of 1951 when it was 855 per 1000 males.<sup>21</sup>

Thus during the decade 1951-61 North Bengal witnessed a massive growth of population even going above the state rate of growth of 40.77 percent on the population of the previous



decade. The growth in the districts of North Bengal was from 30 percent in lower range to 51 percent in upper range. The state of West Bengal continued to be ranked as per density of population at five among the states both in 1951 and 1961 with a density of 769 and 1021 respectively. The state also ranked sixth in 1951 and fifth in 1961 in accordance with the total population. In this connection concerning the North Bengal districts it has been reported in the Census Record that, "the five districts to the north of the Ganga, usually referred to as the North Bengal districts, make up the rear of the population ranking for both 1961 and 1951." Because those districts between themselves represented a fourth of the State's territory but did not account for even a sixth of its population.<sup>22</sup>

But this was, as we studied earlier, due to the culmination physiographical, communicational and overall the historical process. It is fact that the North Bengal districts in large area was covered by the hilly tracts and forest areas and also covered by the large watery areas. If we take account of the habitable areas then the districts were not less populous in accordance their sizes. This can be corroborated by the fact that during 1941-51 in regards to the percentage of growth of population four of the five districts of North Bengal ranked among the first ten districts of the State. Thus during the time Darjeeling ranked fourth, West Dinajpur fifth, Malda eighth and Jalpaiguri ninth. During 1951-61 all the five districts of North Bengal ranked among the first eleven in consideration of percentage of growth in the State and in this the first rank was acquired by Cooch Behar and the third rank was taken by Jalpaiguri district. Even within the period of sixty years of 1901-1961 the five districts of North Bengal ranked among the first eleven districts Jalpaiguri being in third position and Darjeeling being in fifth position.<sup>23</sup> So during the two decades after independence and partition of India the districts of North Bengal were in sound position regarding the growth of population.

The decade of 1961-71 was very significant for the transition of North Bengal also in relation to its demography. The consistence impact of the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959 still continued the streaming Tibetans in-migration into the tract of North Bengal.<sup>24</sup> The reaction and repercussion of Bengal Kheda Movement in Assam in 1961 had directly and indirectly a significant impact on the North Bengal demography. The Indo-Chinese war of 1962 resulting on the Chinese aggression to Indian borderland which is disputed area to China also attracted the government attention in the tract of North Bengal which resulted in the strategic development of North Bengal with its associative developments called on the in-migrants into the region. The second Indo-Pak war of 1965 also had a great deal of impact on the demography in Bengal as well as in North Bengal. The most important external incident, the Liberation war led by the East Pakistan from the yoke of the West Pakistan was the most prominent happenings with its pre-war circumstances influencing the demographic scenario of West Bengal as well as of North Bengal. Besides, there happened the great flood in 1968 in Cooch Behar and in 1970 in different parts of North Bengal. During this time the Jalpaiguri town and almost the entire district of

Cooch Behar was inundated.<sup>25</sup> All these might have a good say in the demography of North Bengal enumerated in 1971 census record both numerically and characteristically. The following table will highlight over the demographic scenario of North Bengal during 1970s.

**Table 4.14**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts**  
**1971**

District/ Subdivision/ Police station	Area/in Sq. Km.	Total Population	Male	Female	Persons per Sq. Km.
Maldah District	3733.0	1612657	827706	784951	432.00
West Dinajpur	5358.0	1859887	967937	891950	347.12
Darjeeling District	3149.0	781777	415442	366335	248.26
Jalpaiguri	6227.0	1750159	927707	822452	281.06
Koch Bihar	3387.0	1414183	737931	676252	417.53
North Bengal	21854	7418663	3876723	3541940	339.46

**Source: Census of India 1971, Series 22, West Bengal, Part-II-C (i), Social and Cultural tables, Tables C-VII and C-VIII, Bhaskar Ghose, Government Press of India, Calcutta, 1971pp.10-18**

During the decade 1961-71 the districts of North Bengal showed increase in total population. In 1971 North Bengal population reached at 7418663 with a territory of 21854 square Kilometer having density of 339.46 per square Kilometer. Thus North Bengal had a share of 16.74 percent population in 1971 in the entire population of the State of West Bengal. This was a small rise of 0.85 percent from the previous decade. However, the growth rate of population in North Bengal from 1961 to 1971 was 33.68 percent having an increase of 1869205 persons by number. The rate of growth in population was moderately high from that of the State of West Bengal where the growth was 26.87 percent during this time. But the growth rate of North Bengal population was much less than it had been in 1961. It became reduced by 16.75 percent from the preceding decade. On the other the growth of State's population was reduced by 13.90 percent in the same period.<sup>26</sup> The density of population as told earlier was 339 per square Kilometer whereas it was in the State 507 much high than the North Bengal region. However the growth rate of population and density of a particular region is not dependent totally each on other. Various factors influence on it. To understand the demographic transition of North Bengal we should go through the districts so that a proper explanative picture may be come out.

Malda, in 1971, had a population of 1612657 in numbers constituting 21.73 percent of the entire population of North Bengal. It increased in the decade 390734 persons by number having

31.98 percent growth over the population of preceding decade. When the North Bengal population showed decline in growth of the population from the previous decade then the district of Malda showed progress in growth rate slightly by 1.65 percent.<sup>27</sup> Production of raw silk, seasonal cash crop of Mangoes, return flow of the out-migrated persons in the district, prosperous agriculture etc., led the growth of population in the district.<sup>28</sup> But the density of the district (432 per square kilometer) was much less than that of the State (507 persons per square kilometer) However the distribution and growth of the population in the decade was not even in all parts of the district. The following table will elaborate the distribution of the population in the district in 1971.

**Table 4.15**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts**  
**Maldah District: 1971**

District/ Subdivision/ Police station	Area	Total Population	Male	Female	Density
Maldah District	3733.0	1612657	827706	784951	432.00
Sadar Division	3733.0	1612657	827706	784951	432.00
Harishchandra pur	388.0	177333	91406	85927	457.04
Kharba (Chanchal)	368.3	177905	91363	86542	483.04
Ratua	398.1	195161	100200	94961	490.23
Gajole	513.6	143426	73411	70015	279.26
Bamangola	206.2	66773	33840	32933	323.83
Habibpur	397.1	113170	57574	55596	284.99
Maldah	226.4	71077	36462	34615	313.94
Englishbazar	254.8	182996	95472	87524	718.19
Manichak	316.2	126715	64252	62463	400.74
Kaliachak	536.4	358101	183726	174375	667.60

**Source: Census of India 1971, Series 22, West Bengal, Part-II-C (i), Social and Cultural tables, Tables C-VII and C-VIII, Bhaskar Ghose, p.18**

Barring two police stations in the district of Malda all the police stations had population much more than one lakh people. Among them the most populous was Kaliachak police station having 358101 persons in number with a density of 667.60 per square kilometer, the second highest density in the district. Among the other police stations Harischandrapur (177333), Kharba (177905), Ratua (195161) and Englishbazar (182996) had population nearly about two lakhs. The highest density in the district was in the police station of Englishbazar with 718.19 persons per square Kilometer. All the police stations showed growth rate above the average of the state the highest growth rate being shown by the police station of Gajole by 51.77 percent. But by number of persons the highest growth was seen I Kaliachak of 74466 persons whereas in

Gajole the number of growth was 48921 persons. In the police stations of Habibpur (39.68 percent), Englishbazar (39.29 percent) and Maldah (35.45 percent) the growth rate was also high. For the rich alluvial soil resulting prosperous agriculture the Kaliachak police station showed highest growth of population by number though the percentage of growth was lowest in the district indicating its growth to a saturation point.<sup>29</sup> On the other Gajole being a junction point connecting southern and northern parts of the State of West Bengal and with other important places outside the district by road networks became the heart land of the district. Naturally attracting large number of in-migrants it grew largely by population during this time.<sup>30</sup>

The district of West Dinajpur, the so called neck of the State of West Bengal linking the main southern land mass of the State with the three northern districts of Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and Cooch Behar, witnessed great development in the progressive transition of demography during 1961-71 period. The Goalpokhar police station in Islampur Subdivision was split up into Goalpokhar and Chakalia police stations making sixteen police stations in the district in 1964.<sup>31</sup> With an area of 5358.0 square Kilometer the district contained 1859887 numbers of persons having 967937 males and 891950 females in the 1971 census year. Though the density of population in the district in 1971 was much low (347.12 percent per square kilometer) than the State's density (507 percent), the district showed a very high rate of growth of population than the State. Thus with an increase of 536090 persons the district showed 40.50 percent growth in the population of the last decade and constituted 25.07 percent of the entire population of the district. However, the increase of population in the district varied in the range between 16.99 percent to 62.56 percent and 6320 persons to 68287 persons in different police stations of the district.<sup>32</sup> So scrutiny may be made of the district's details of demographic transition which the following table may highlight.

**Table 4.16**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts**  
**District of West Dinajpur: 1971**

District/ Subdivision/ Police station	Area	Total Population	Male	Female	Density
West Dinajpur	5358.0	1859887	967937	891950	347.12
Islampur Subdivision	1751.8	571614	300109	271505	326.30
Chopra	378.4	101570	53647	47923	268.42
Islampur	345.2	133349	71109	62840	386.29
Goalpokhar	372.8	116653	61129	55524	312.91
Chakalia	266.4	97210	50520	46690	364.90
Karandighi	389.0	122232	63704	58528	314.22
Raiganj Subdivision	2071.7	731922	379995	351927	353.30
Raiganj	482.8	208274	109959	98315	431.39
Hemtabad	191.6	62000	32390	29610	323.59

Kaliaganj	311.6	122407	64122	58285	392.83
Kushmundi	310.5	95165	48701	46464	306.49
Itahar	427.6	142855	73170	69685	334.09
Banshihari	347.6	101221	51653	49568	291.20
Sadar Subdivision	1516.7	556351	287833	268518	366.82
Gangarampur	328.4	115867	59861	56006	352.82
Kumarganj	286.9	86217	44487	41730	300.51
Tapan	441.1	121564	62067	59497	275.59
Balurghat	372.2	189135	98816	90322	508.15
Hilli	88.1	43565	22602	20963	494.49

**Source: Census of India 1971, Series 22, West Bengal, Part-II-C (i), Social and Cultural tables, Tables C-VII and C-VIII, Bhaskar Ghose, Printed by Superintendent, Government Printing Press, West Bengal, Calcutta, pp.16-18**

Among the three subdivisions of the district the most populous was Raiganj Subdivision having total population of 731922 persons though the largest increase of population was seen in Islampur Subdivision with an increase 192588 persons in total number and also having of highest growth rate (50.81) among the Subdivisions. Most of the police stations in the district except newly formed Chakalia, Kushmundi, Hilli, had population more than one lakh. Even the police station of Raiganj had 208274 persons and the police station of Balurghat had 189135 persons in 1971. The highest density in the district was seen in the police station of Balurghat by 508.15 percent a slight above the State's density. The highest increase and the higher rate of growth in population was found in Balurghat police station in the district in 1971 having an increase of 68287 persons and 56.51 percent growth over the population of preceding decade. But the highest rate of growth of population was witnessed by the police station of Karandighi having 62.56 percent growth over the population of the last decade with an increase of 47041 persons in total.<sup>33</sup> "Islampur had been an area of low density with an unkind sandy soil when it was transferred to the district in 1956." Islampur Subdivision and all the police stations in it had a growth on only 2.00 percent during 1941-51. However the after transfer of the territories the in-migrants began to settle in the police station and the growth reached to the limit of 51.63 percent.<sup>34</sup> The police station of Chopra had 47.49 percent growth over the population of the previous decade. Except Kushmundi and Hilli all the police stations of the district had a growth of more than 30 percent over the population of the last decade. Kushmundi had 29.57 percent and Hilli had 16.99 percent growth in compare to the previous decade.

The district of Darjeeling in 1971 had a population 781777 in total number with 415442 males and 3663335 females having a share of 10.54 percent of total population of North Bengal which is little less (0.72 percent) than that of the previous decade. But regarding the area we have in the census record 3149.0sq.km. or 1215.83 sq. mile which is accounted as 3004 sq.km. or 1160 sq. miles or 3075.0 sq.km. or 1256.6 sq. miles in the District Gazetteer referring the Surveyor-

General of India.<sup>35</sup> But if we make a total of the areas of the four subdivisions of the district then it does not match to anyone. However, the district witnessed a growth in population though the growth was reduced about half of the growth rate from the previous decade being grown by 25.16 percent having an increase of 157137 persons in 1971 in compare to 40.29 percent having an increase of 179380 persons in 1961. The density of population in the district also increased in large to 248.26 persons per sq.km.(643.0 persons per sq. mile) in 1971 from 497 per sq. mile in 1961.<sup>36</sup> But the size, density and percentage of growth of population were not even in the district which contributed to the transition of demography in the district. This may be clarified by the following table and its analysis in the below.

**Table 4.17**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts**  
**District of Darjeeling: 1971**

District/ Subdivision/ Police station	Area	Total Population	Male	Female	Density
West Bengal		44312011	234359817	20876024	
Darjeeling District	3149.0	781777	415442	366335	248.26
Sadar Subdivision	935.5	245207	125441	119766	262.11
Sukhiapokri	239.8	29157	14739	14398	121.59
Pulbazar	137.3	41147	21247	19900	299.69
Darjeeling	104.6	82002	42834	39168	783.96
Rangli Rangliot	307.7	51825	26179	25646	168.43
Jore Bunglow	146.1	41096	20442	20654	281.29
Kalimpong Subdivision	1056.5	134538	71539	62999	127.34
Kalimpong	609.7	102236	54130	48186	167.68
Garubathan	446.8	100233	51372	48861	224.34
Kurseong Subdivision	425.3	32302	17409	14893	75.95
Kurseong	327.9	71714	36943	34771	218.71
Mirik	97.4	301799	167090	134709	3098.55
Siliguri Subdivision	837.4	28519	14429	14090	34.06
Naxalbari	206.7	50799	27811	22988	245.76
Siliguri	174.8	134392	77443	56949	768.83
Phansidewa	312.4	71885	38252	33633	230.11
Kharibari	143.5	44723	23584	21139	311.66

**Source: Census of India 1971, Series 22, West Bengal, Part-II-C (i), Social and Cultural tables, Tables C-VII and C-VIII, Bhaskar Ghose, pp.10-12**

The most populous subdivision in the district in 1971 was the Siliguri Subdivision comprising the plains and Terai region of the district having 301799 persons in total with an area 837.4 sq.km. or 323.3 sq. miles and a density of 360.40 persons per sq.km. or 933.44 persons per sq. mile. Siliguri was the most dense and populous police station in the subdivision having 134392 persons and 768.83 persons per sq. km. or 1991 persons per sq. mile. It was also the most populous police station in the district. This was caused by the 'fertility of the soil as also by the widespread industrial and commercial activities in and around Siliguri.'<sup>37</sup> After Siliguri it was the Kalimpong police station where the population was more than one lakh (102236). The next populous police stations of the district were Darjeeling police station (82002), Kurseong police station (71714) and Phansidewa police station (71885). Naxalbari and Rangli Rangliot police stations had populations of above 50000 during this time. The highest number of increase in population was seen in the police station of Siliguri by 41267 numbers of persons with 44.31 percentage increase whereas the highest percentage of increase was seen in the police station of Kharibari with 72.30 percent increase and having an increase of 18766 persons. As a whole there was decrease in the rate of growth of population in the district of Darjeeling from 40.29 percent in 1951-61 to 25.16 per cent in 1961-71. This reduction was naturally contributed by the different police stations differently. Thus the police station of Siliguri witnessed highest reduction from 151.18 percent increase in 1951-61 to 44.31 percent in 1961-71. However all the police stations of the district followed the same line of Siliguri and showed reduce percentage of growth in compare to the previous decade.<sup>38</sup>

The district of Jalpaiguri in 1971 had a population of 1750159 persons with 927707 males and 822452 females in an area of 6227 sq.kms. or 2404.2 sq. miles. Thus the density of the population in the district became 281.06 persons per sq. km. or 728 persons per sq. mile.<sup>39</sup> But the area of the district had been recorded in the District Gazetteer as 6245.0 sq.kms and density as 280 per sq.km. though referring the census data.<sup>40</sup> However, the district in the said area and said population shared 23.59 percent population of entire North Bengal which was 2.76 percent less than the previous decade. Naturally this was caused by the decline in growth rate of population in the district. In fact, though the population grew in the district by 390867 numbers of persons having 28.76 percent increase on the previous decade's populations the growth rate was reduced by 19.87 percent than the growth rate of preceding decade. The low rate of growth was mostly witnessed by the rural areas. In compare to the urban population growth rate of 35.97 per cent in 1951-61 it was 35.75 percent in 1961-71 period. But concerning rural population it was only 28.05 percent in 1961-71 in compare to 45.25 percent in 1951-61 period.<sup>41</sup> This transition in demography may be well understood from the following table.

**Table 4.18**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts**  
**District of Jalpaiguri: 1971**

District/ station	Subdivision/ Police	Area	Total Population	Male	Female	Density
Jalpaiguri		6227.0	1750159	927707	822452	281.06
Sadar Subdivision		3373.7	1015437	539563	475874	300.99
Rajganj		636.6	128744	69652	59092	202.24
Jalpaiguri		503.0	217410	116250	101160	432.23
Mal		543.6	166142	88126	78016	305.63
Mitali		206.2	61045	31879	29166	296.05
Maynaguri		646.2	159764	84517	75247	247.24
Nagrakata		283	66002	34621	31381	233.22
Dhubguri		277	216330	114518	101812	780.97
Alipurduar Subdivision		2787.5	734722	388144	346578	263.58
Birpara		190.8	57942	30525	27417	303.68
Falakata		317.5	103529	68907	61622	326.08
Madarihat		189.7	42807	22491	20316	225.66
Alipurduar		693.5	271766	143848	127918	391.88
Kalchini		892.0	134467	71647	62820	150.75
Kumargram		504.0	97211	50726	46485	192.88

**Source: Census of India 1971, Series 22, West Bengal, Part-II-C (i), Social and Cultural tables, Tables C-VII and C-VIII, Bhaskar Ghose, pp.12-14**

The three most populous police stations in the district of Jalpaiguri were Alipurduar, Dhupguri and Jalpaiguri Sadar having large populations above two lakhs numbering 271766 persons, 216330 persons and 217410 persons respectively. It is said that the police stations of Jalpaiguri and Alipurduar having included the municipal towns became populous.<sup>42</sup> But the highest density of population in the district was in Dhupguri police station having 780.97 persons per sq. km. or 2022.71 persons per square mile. The two population concentration belts in the district were Rajganj-Jalpaiguri-Maynaguri-Dhubguri and Mal belts in the Sadar Subdivision and the Falakata-Alipurduar-Kalchini belt in Alipur Duar Subdivision. The rate of growth in the population was highest in the police station of Rajganj having an increase of 47978 persons with 59.40 percent growth over the population of preceding decade. It was only police station where the growth rate was progressive in the district in compare to the growth rate of previous decade. In all other police stations in the district and naturally in the district as a whole there was reduce in the growth rate during 1961-71 in compare to that of in 1951-61 period. However the largest increase in numerical strength was seen in the police station of Alipurduar the increase being 72358 in numbers with the second highest percentage of growth having 36.29 percent in the district. The increase of population in Jalpaiguri and Dhupguri police



stations was also of a good deal being 45588 persons and 48022 persons respectively.<sup>43</sup> In all the district of Jalpaiguri continued to keep her rank from second in 1951 to first in 1961 and again second in 1971 in North Bengal.

The total population in Cooch Behar district was 1414182 persons in number having 737931 numbers of Males and 676252 numbers of females in 1971 census year. With this the district constituted 38.67 percent of the entire population of North Bengal. The total area of the district was 3387.0 sq. kms. of which the most of the part (3362.8 sq.kms.) was rural and a small area (23.2 sq.kms.) was urban in nature. Thus the most of population 1317531 persons lived in rural areas and a small percentage of populations numbering 96652 persons lived in urban areas.<sup>44</sup> The district had an increase of 394377 persons during the period 1961-71 with the growth rate of 38.67 percent over the population of the preceding decade. This was about 12 percent less growth than the growth of rate of population during the decade of 1951-61. However, the rate of growth varied from 18.97 to 50.75 percent among the different police stations in the district. This may be analyzed from the following table.

**Table 4.19**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts**  
**District of Koch Bihar: 1971**

District/ station	Subdivision/ Police	Area	Total Population	Male	Female	Density
Koch Bihar		3387.0	1414183	737931	676252	417.53
Mekliganj Subdivision		497.6	137582	72525	65057	276.49
Haldibari		200.7	56515	29995	26560	281.59
Mekliganj		296.9	81067	42570	38497	273.04
Mathabhanga Subdivision		888.4	321925	168314	153611	362.36
Mathabhanga		626.8	226797	118488	108309	361.83
Sital Kuchi		261.6	95128	49826	45302	363.64
Sadar Subdivision		737.6	372487	195363	177124	505.0
Koch Bihar		737.6	372487	195368	177124	505.0
Tufanganj Subdivision		585.7	241633	124924	116709	412.55
Tufanganj		585.7	241633	124924	116709	412.55
Dinahata Subdivision		704.2	340556	176805	163751	483.70
Dinhata		546.2	288801	150021	138780	528.75
Sitai		158.0	51755	26784	24971	327.56

**Source: Census of India 1971, Series 22, West Bengal, Part-II-C (i), Social and Cultural tables, Tables C-VII and C-VIII, Bhaskar Ghose, pp.14-16**

Among the five subdivisions the four sub divisional police stations of Mathabhanga, Cooch Behar, Tufanganj and Dinhata were most populous areas of the district. Among them the most

populous police station was Cooch Behar having a population of 372487 persons and followed by Dinhata police station with a population of 288801 persons, Tufanganj police station with a population of 241633 persons and Mathabhanga police station with a population of 226797 persons. That is the concentration of population in the district was confounded in Cooch Behar police station and its surrounding police stations. The highest density of population in the district was in Dinhata police station having 528.75 persons per sq. km. followed by Cooch Behar police station having 505.0 persons per sq. kilometer. In three police stations the percentage of increase in population was higher than the district growth. Mathabhanga police station witnessed the growth of 50.75 percent on the population of the preceding decade.<sup>45</sup> The number of females for every one thousand though in decline during 1931-1951 periods there was a rise during 1951-71 period having 890 females per 1000 males in 1961 and 919 females per 1000 males in 1971.<sup>46</sup> Thus the district of Cooch Behar followed the tradition of other district of North Bengal in demographic transition.

From the above statistical analysis it is clear North Bengal districts had a parity, though in some cases the growth was higher than the average of the State, in the growth of population with growth in the State of West Bengal. However, in comparison with the other districts of the State in 1971 among the North Bengal districts only the district of West Dinajpur ranked tenth. The other four districts of Jalpaiguri, Malda, Cooch Behar, and Darjeeling ranked twelfth, thirteen, fifteen and sixteen in the State. Concerned with density of population the districts of Malda and Cooch Behar ranked eighth and ninth among the district of the State of West Bengal. The other districts on North Bengal West Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, and Darjeeling ranked twelfth, fourteenth and sixteenth in the State. Regarding the sex ratio in the State the districts of Malda and West Dinajpur ranked fifth and eighth having 952 and 928 females in 1000 males in 1971. The districts of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling ranked ninth, eleventh and thirteen among the districts of the State having 919, 889, and 882 females per 1000 males.

In consideration of the growth rate of population during the decade of 1961-71 the North Bengal districts occupied very sound position being ranked first, second and fourth by the districts of West Dinajpur, Cooch Behar and Malda. The other two districts Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling ranked sixth and eleventh among the districts in the State. So the North Bengal districts had a good say in the growth of population of the State of West Bengal during 1961-71 period. But the growth was much progressive in rural areas than the urban areas. Thus in decennial growth of rural population having occupied first, fifth, sixth, seventh, and twelfth positions by the districts of West Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Malda and Darjeeling among the districts of the State of West Bengal North Bengal featured rural character by demographic pattern.

## Post-Colonial Period (1947 to 1971)

### II

The last going discussions indicated, in case of North Bengal districts' demographic transition, to the phenomenon of migration in general and specially immigration in the region. The period followed the census of 1941 continuing up to 1951 witnessed number historical developments influencing the process of migration in general and immigration in particular. Lots of incidents, as told earlier, such as the Burmese regulations of Indians immigration into Burma and introduction of Passport Vissas and Immigration Permits for the Indians to be immigrated into Burma according to the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement and Joint Statement by the Government of India and the Government of Burma<sup>47</sup> the Indian exodus from war ridden Burma in 1942,<sup>48</sup> the famine and post-famine epidemic mortality of 1943-44,<sup>49</sup> the communal holocaust from 1946 to 1950, the Partition tragedy of India in 1947, the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of 1950, the Indo-Nepal Pact of 1950 all influenced the new trends of immigration with old trends in Bengal of pre-partition and West Bengal of post-partition period as well as the North Bengal districts of our study. Thus the immigrants in the nomenclatures of displaced persons, evacuees and refugees brought changes in the demographic atlas of North Bengal influencing cultural, economic and political conditions of the region during post-partition period. During this time the East Bengal Province of the Pakistan dominion became most important correspondent in relation to migration in North Bengal districts.<sup>50</sup> The following table is the abstract of immigration of the people in the North Bengal districts during the census period of 1951.

**Table 4.20**  
**Immigration**  
**North Bengal Districts: 1951**

Born in		Division and District where enumerated				
		Malda	West Dinajpur	Jalpaiguri	Darjeeling	Cooch Behar
District Of Enumaration		839,785	553,183	609,349	338,161	521,568
Other district of same natural division		15,011	13,801	15,377	4,960	2,284
Other parts of the State		277	338	10,970	1,828	1,390
Adjacent States		16,770	22,218	104,193	33,268	20,761
Other parts of India		1,522	2,040	17,905	7,578	2,707
Beyond India	Pakistan	64,133	128,780	132,358	22,601	122,040
	Other Territories	82	212	24,380	36,864	402

**Source: Census of India, 1951, Volume VI, West Bengal and Sikkim, Part IC-Report, A. Mitra, Manager of Publication, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1953, p.101**

The phenomenon of migration during the post-partition period may be discussed in two parts, one being the traditional pattern of immigration and emigration within the districts of the State

of West Bengal and between the other States within India, the countries beyond India and the North Bengal districts and another is the new trend of the displaced persons, refugee and evacuee immigration into the districts of North Bengal. The first trend will be discussed district wise and the second trend will be discussed in general for the North Bengal districts. However following the previous census method during this time also the birth place had been given importance and the enumerators were instructed to write 1 for persons born in their own districts, to write the name of districts in case of other districts of West Bengal and to write the name of the State, Indian Union or the country other than India where the person to be enumerated born.<sup>51</sup> The district of Malda during 1941-51 suffered more from aftershock that is the post-famine epidemic than the famine itself.<sup>52</sup>

In spite of this in 1951 there is record of both immigration and emigration of the people of good numbers from and to the contiguous districts and the other district of the States of West Bengal. The numbers of the immigrants in this period into Malda were 10065 persons and 5173 persons respectively from the contiguous districts and from the other districts. On the other the numbers of the emigrants from Malda district were 23448 persons and 7527 persons to the contiguous districts and to the other districts respectively. In this context Malda had cordial connections with the districts of Murshidabad and West Dinajpur continuing the earlier trend.<sup>53</sup> The troubled Indo-Pakistan conditions, economic pressure on the soil to the south of the Ganges due to depreciation of the production and the alluvial soil of Malda kept continued supply of emigrants from Nadia and Murshidabad to Malda instead of reversed migration from the West Bengal portion of Malda after partition.<sup>54</sup> There was also immigration from the adjacent states and other parts of India into the district of Malda numbering 16770 persons from the adjacent states and 1522 persons from other parts of India. Regarding adjacent states Bihar continued to be the largest supplier of the migrants into the district. Immigrants numbering 16459 came into the district during this time. Among the other states Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh sent a number of immigrants, the State of Uttar Pradesh being the largest with 1207 numbers of immigrants into the district.<sup>55</sup> Persons came from Nepal in the district in the census period were 66 in number.<sup>56</sup>

The district of West Dinajpur also suffered from the famine of 1943 and epidemics of 1944 during the 1941-51 period.<sup>57</sup> There was both immigration into and emigration from the district from and to the contiguous and other districts of the State of West Bengal. During this time 10382 persons immigrated into the district from the contiguous districts of West Dinajpur and 3757 persons immigrated into the districts from other districts of the State. In this context the district of Malda and Jalpaiguri had a extended connections with the district. With the same connection of migration relations 4637 persons emigrated from the district into the contiguous districts and 6542 persons emigrated from the district to the other districts of the State. So the emigration process was much voluminous in case of the other parts of the State in compare to

the adjacent districts. During this time the district seemed to be engaged in marriage relations in a greater extent than the previous decade in other districts causing the immigration process and the emigration process was caused by the search of livelihood by the men section of the population.<sup>58</sup>

There was also immigration from the different states of India into the district of West Dinajpur during this time. Among the states the state of Bihar continued to be the largest supplier of immigrants into the district numbering 23623 persons. After Bihar it was the state of Uttar Pradesh who sent 1294 persons in to the district during this time. Rajasthan sent 544 persons and the State of Sikkim, interestingly, had 540 numbers of immigrants into the district of West Dinajpur.<sup>59</sup> The continued process of immigration into the district is explained by the fact of the new importance of the district as a border district and engagement of the laborers in the road building and other construction works.<sup>60</sup> Persons born in Nepal numbering 202 were enumerated in the district.<sup>61</sup>

In spite of the fall of the agricultural prices in 1940 and devastating flood in 1950 in the district of Jalpaiguri, the opening of the Far Eastern Front in 1942 with a number of large air strips in Duars region and ridding of malaria with army activities, growth of Alipur Duar as a large railway centre with the Assam Rail Link Project and the road projects connecting Assam and Duars brought changes in demographic transition influencing immigration in the district of Jalpaiguri. However, there were both immigration into and emigration from the district during this time. A number of 15377 persons immigrated into the district from the contiguous districts of West Bengal and 10970 persons immigrated into the district from the other districts of the State. On the other a number of 5037 persons emigrated from the district of Jalpaiguri to the contiguous districts within the State and number of 5128 persons emigrated to the other districts of the State.<sup>62</sup> There was in-migration in both the Tea areas and the agricultural areas, though the number of immigrants decreased than the previous years caused by the fact the most of the immigrants supplier districts were then in East Pakistan.<sup>63</sup> There were large number of immigrants came from the different states of India into the district of Jalpaiguri during 1941-51 period the contiguous States of Bihar and Orissa having the lion shares. A number of 90474 persons from Bihar and 42124 persons from Orissa came into the district during this time. Assam had good relation with the district sending 5158 persons into the district, Sikkim 4242 persons, Punjab 1466 persons, Rajasthan 2967 persons and Uttar Pradesh 3641 persons sent into the district as immigrants.<sup>64</sup> There were 111 persons born in China and 22621 persons born in Nepal enumerated in the district during the 1951 census year.<sup>65</sup>

Though the district of Darjeeling was not suffered from the famine of 1943-44 during the period of 1941-51 and though the district was prospered in tea, agriculture, military supplies and armed services caused by the World War II the phenomenon of migration was very less in

the hill areas of the district. However, the Terai and plain regions of the Siliguri Subdivision witnessed some extent of migration during the period between 1949 and 1951.<sup>66</sup> There was both immigration into the district from the contiguous districts and emigration from the district to the contiguous districts and also immigration into the district from the other districts of the State of West Bengal and emigration from the district to the other districts of the State, though in small number, during this period. The persons immigrated into the district from the contiguous districts numbered 2967 and emigrated from the district to the contiguous district numbered 5537 persons much more than the number of immigrants. On the other persons immigrated into the district from the other districts of the State were 3821 and emigrated from the district to the other districts of the State 7108 persons.<sup>67</sup> So there was net loss of 5857 persons in this process of inter-district migration in relation to the district of Darjeeling.

However, there was good number of immigration into the district from the different states of India. The most important among them was Bihar sending 23594 persons as immigrants into the district. It was followed by the States of Sikkim (7759 persons), Uttar Pradesh (2613 persons), Punjab (1942 persons), Orissa (1262 persons) and Rajasthan (1106 persons).<sup>68</sup> [The paucity of immigration might have been caused by the fact that district was 'well near saturation point, both in tea and agriculture.'<sup>69</sup> A very important feature in this context was that a good number of persons numbering 192 born in China and a large number of people numbering 32647 persons born in Nepal were enumerated in the district of Darjeeling during the 1951 census year.<sup>70</sup>

There was no effect of the famine and post-famine epidemic of 1943-44 in the pre-1949 State of Cooch Behar which became a district of the State of West Bengal in 1950. So the phenomenon of immigration during the time was little effective in the district. There were only 2070 persons who immigrated into the district of Cooch Behar from the contiguous districts and only 1604 persons immigrated into the district from the other districts of the State of West Bengal. However, the volume of emigrants from the district to the contiguous districts (9840 persons) and the other districts (5264 persons) of the State of West Bengal was much more than the volume of immigrants in both cases.<sup>71</sup> So there was net loss of 11430 persons in this process of migration during this period. Among the states Bihar and Orissa constituted a large number of persons in the district of Cooch Behar. From Bihar 10419 persons came into the district while from the State of Assam 1314 persons immigrated into the district during 1951 census year. Very surprisingly 8741 persons were enumerated in the district born in Sikkim. From Uttar Pradesh 1057 persons immigrated into the district during this time. There were 477 persons and 862 persons came respectively from Punjab and Rajasthan into the district of Cooch Behar.<sup>72</sup> There were 350 persons enumerated in the district born in Nepal.<sup>73</sup> Below is the table of actual figures of immigration and emigration in the North Bengal districts from and outside the State of West Bengal in 1951.

**Table 4.21**  
**Immigration and Emigration in the North Bengal districts**  
**From and outside the State of West Bengal: 1951**

Name of the Districts/ Division	Actual Population	Immigration	Emigration	Naatural Population
Malda	937580	82507	10700	865773
West Dinajpur	720573	153251	4119	571441
Jalpaiguri	914538	278842	5356	641052
Darjeeling	445260	100311	6900	351849
Cooch Behar	671158	145916	3690	528932
North Bengal	3689109	760827	30765	2959047

**Source: [Compile from Statement I.82, Statement I.86, Statement I.91, Statement I.96, Statement I.100, Census of India, 1951, Volume VI, West Bengal, Sikkim & Chandernagar, Part-I A, Report, A. Mitra, manager of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1953, pp.259-271]**

During the post-partition period the process of migration consisting immigration and emigration in percentages were small than the previous decade. This was also true in the cases of eh North Bengal districts. This is explained by the fact of famine, epidemics and riots during 1941-51 periods which made the population less mobile in the State and also in the districts. But with this the phenomenon in all the districts of North Bengal cannot be explained. For we have seen in earlier discussion that the districts of Darjeeling and Cooch Behar were less affected with those phenomenon. In fact the districts of West Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri being borderline districts continued to be attractive to immigration. On the other the districts of Malda, Darjeeling and Cooch Behar witnessed larger volume of emigration due to the marked resistance to immigrants. This was greatly caused by the rise of density of population in the districts.<sup>74</sup> However, the post partition periodic displaced persons' immigration and coming of the refugees and evacuees changed all the arguments and justification transforming the demographic scenario of North Bengal which may be seen from the following discussion. The following tables are of the details of the displaced persons in the districts of North Bengal.

**Table 4.22**  
**Displaced persons from East-Pakistan**  
**1946-1951**

State, Division and District	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
West Bengal	44624	377899	419013	273592	925185	30879
Malda	191	4271	5215	6250	43119	980
West Dinajpur	222	7226	14524	13160	75659	2115
Jalpaiguri	1630	13552	18419	15452	46425	1033
Darjeeling	161	3459	4301	2201	5278	134
Cooch Behar	2041	8938	9231	16013	58911	2612

Source: Union Table D V- Displaced Persons From Pakistan- contd. Part (i) Origin in Pakistan and year of Arrival in India (b) Displaced persons from East-Pakistan, Census of India, 1951, Volume VI, West Bengal, Sikkim, & Chandernagore, Part-II Tables, Manager of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1953, p.498

**Table 4.23**  
**Displaced persons from west-Pakistan**  
**1946-1951**

State/District	Total Population of Displaced Person			Displaced Person from West Pakistan					
	Total	Male	Female	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
West Bengal	2099071	1118475	980596	-	8062	1495	669	538	53
Malda	60198	30918	29280	-	7	-	-	-	-
West Dinajpur	115510	61197	54313	-	1	1	-	-	-
Jalpaiguri	98572	54119	44453	-	58	36	18	13	-
Darjeeling	15738	8931	6807	-	163	24	7	7	-
Cooch Behar	99917	54181	45736	-	155	43	130	10	-

Source: Union Table D V- Displaced Persons From Pakistan- contd. Part (i) Origin in Pakistan and year of Arrival in India (b) Displaced persons from west-Pakistan, Census of India, 1951, Volume VI, West Bengal, Sikkim, & Chandernagore, Part-II Tables, Manager of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1953, p.497

**Table 4.24**  
**Displaced persons With Unspecified District of Origin**  
**1946-1951**

State/District	Total Population of Displaced Person			Displaced Person from West Pakistan					
	Total	Male	Female	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
West Bengal	2099071	1118475	980596	667	2673	2798	2150	7579	674
Malda	60198	30918	29280	-	7	6	24	116	12
West Dinajpur	115510	61197	54313	51	105	204	246	1661	235
Jalpaiguri	98572	54119	44453	68	161	151	343	588	19
Darjeeling	15738	8931	6807	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cooch Behar	99917	54181	45736	24	68	65	333	1313	30

Source: Union Table D V- Displaced Persons From Pakistan- conclude Part (i) Origin in Pakistan and year of Arrival in India (c) Displaced persons With Unspecified District of Origin, Census of India, 1951, Volume VI, West Bengal, Sikkim, & Chandernagore, Part-II Tables, Manager of Publications, Delhi, Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1953, p.499

In concern of the displaced persons and refugee migration from and into the East Bengal province of the dominion of Pakistan into and from the State of West Bengal of the dominion of



India there are number of primary sources and secondary research works such as S.P. Mukherjee Papers;<sup>75</sup> Ministry of Rehabilitation: Annual Reports, 1948-58,<sup>76</sup> Renukar Ray Papers,<sup>77</sup> different news papers such Amrita Bazar Patria, Statesman etc of the contemporary period; S. Das's Communal Riots in Bengal, 1905-1947 (**Delhi, 1991**), S.Guha's Non Muslims Behind the Curtain of East Pakistan (**Calcutta,1950**), P.C. Lahiri's India Partitioned and Minorities in Pakistan (**Calcutta,1964**), K. Singh's The Unending Treil (**New Delhi,1957**) and Not Wanted in Pakistan (**Delhi, 1965**), M. Chaudhary's Partition and the Course of Rehabilitation, Bengal Rehabilitation Organization (**Calcutta, 1964**), U.B. Rao's The Story of Rehabilitation (**New Delhi, 1967**), Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya's The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia<sup>78</sup> Nitish Sengupta's Bengal Divided, the Unmaking of a Nation, 1905-1971<sup>79</sup> , Prafulla K. Chakrabarti's The Marginal Men, The Refugees and the Left Political Syndrome in West Bengal,<sup>80</sup> Hinranmoy Bandyopadhyaya's Udbastu,<sup>81</sup> Jhuma Sanyal's Making of a New Space: Refugees in West Bengal<sup>82</sup> and many others. In all the references persecutions, intolerance, overbearing attitude of the submerged Muslims towards the Hindus, deliberate insults, assault on the honour of the Hindu womenfolk that is economic, social and religious persecution were regarded as the compelling factors of forced migration in the form of wave of refugees into the districts of the State of West Bengal across the border of the East Bengal province of Pakistan.

The wave of in-migration as displaced into the State of West Bengal from the Eastern Bengal had begun before the partition of India with break out of Noakhali riots during 1946 and the wave in great increasing numbers was crossing the international border after partition. It was more paced with the police action in Hyderabad in September 1949 which became slowdown by the end of 1949. This has been regarded by Prafulla K. Chakrabarti as the first phase of migration corroborated by the fact of swelling of migrants.<sup>83</sup> During this time the Muslims from the State of West Bengal emigrated to its eastern counterpart in a very small number. But within few months riot broke out in February' 1950 with random killing of the Hindus and vandalizing and looting the Hindu property. Beginning initially in Bagerhat of East Pakistan quickly it spread out in other parts of the province.<sup>84</sup> As a result in large volume the Hindu immigrants were coming into the different districts of West Bengal through different border points which one was easier and shorter way to the East Bengali Hindu evacuees. This again reached them in the resultant destinations of the State of West Bengal.

Thus the refugees of Tipperah and Chittagong districts of the East Pakistan moved to their nearer Indian counterpart of Tripura, the Hindus of Srihatta naturally moved to Kachchhar district, the Hindus of the Maymensing district were attracted towards Northern Assam, the people from Northern Rangpur mostly choose to move towards the districts of Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri of the State of West Bengal, the refugees Eastern part of Dinajpur in East Pakistan trekked into West Dinajpur district of West Bengal and the evacuees of Rajsahi district of East Pakistan moved into Maldah district of West Bengal.<sup>85</sup> During this time the phenomenon

of migration became two-ways traffic, the Muslims of the State of West Bengal also being trekked into East Pakistan.<sup>86</sup> The Nehru-Liaquat Pact of April'1950 could not create security among the Hindus of East Pakistan leading the flow of Hindu refugees into the State of West Bengal continued. However, this led number of Muslims who left homes in West Bengal districts to reverse immigration into their home places in West Bengal.<sup>87</sup> This naturally complicated the problem of migration in West Bengal districts including the North Bengal districts.

It is clear from the above tables that the immigration of the displaced persons from Pakistan into the districts of North Bengal followed the trend of the State of West Bengal. Thus like the State of West Bengal the immigration of the displaced persons from West Pakistan was insignificant during the period 1946-51.<sup>88</sup> The prominent supplier of displaced persons to districts of North Bengal was East Pakistan in this time. In this context during the time of Noakhali riot small number of immigrants came into North Bengal districts from East Bengal and they mostly immigrated into Jalpaiguri(1630 persons) and Cooch Behar (2041persons) districts. The highest number of displaced persons was received in 1947 by the district of Jalpaiguri (13552 persons), followed by Cooch Behar (8939 persons) and West Dinajpur (7226 persons). In 1948 also the highest number of displaced persons was received by the district of Jalapaiguri (18419 persons) followed by West Dinajpur (14524 persons) and Cooch Behar (9231 persons). In 1949 the highest number of the displaced persons were seen in the Cooch Behar district (16013 persons) followed by Jalpaiguri (15452 persons) and West Dinajpur (13160 persons).

However, the largest number of displaced persons in during the period between 1946 and 1951 was witnessed both by the State of West Bengal and the districts of North Bengal in 1950. Among the North Bengal districts the highest was in West Dinajpur numbering 75659 persons followed by Cooch Behar (58911 persons), Jalpaiguri (46425 persons), Malda (43119 persons) and Darjeeling (5278 persons). In 1951 the flow of displaced persons in the State of West Bengal and as well as in the districts of North Bengal came down to an insignificant number having highest in Cooch Behar district (2612 persons) followed by West Dinajpur (2115 persons) and Jalpaiguri (1033 persons). Thus the total number of displaced persons during the period 1946-51 was in West Dinajpur 115510 persons, in Cooch Behar 99917 persons, in Jalpaiguir 98572 persons, in Malda 60198 persons and in Darjeeling 15738 persons.<sup>89</sup> As stated earlier different districts of North Bengal had displaced persons from different districts of East Bengal of Pakistan dominion. In Malda during the period of 1946-51 the largest number of displaced persons came from Rajsahi district numbering 41532 persons in total. It was followed by the district of Faridpur with 4309 persons, Pabna with 3056 persons, Bakharganj with 2343 persons and Dinajpur with 2609 persons.<sup>90</sup> The displaced persons greatly settled in Bamangola, Habibpur and Malda Thanas during this time.<sup>91</sup>

Thus the displaced persons reduced the number of immigrants from outside of the State to 22309 persons as mentioned in the above table. The Government of West Bengal recorded emigration of 15000 Muslim persons from the district to East Bengal in post-partition period among which about 4000 Muslim persons returned in the district.<sup>92</sup> In West Dinajpur during the period 1946-51 all the police stations of Sadar Subdivision and in Raiganj of Raiganj subdivision the population increased heavily which was said to be happened due to the influx of large volume of displaced persons from East Bengal. This is very important that having 115510 displaced persons the district ranked after 24-Parganas, Calcutta and Nadia in the State.<sup>93</sup> In case of the district of West Dinajpur numbers of districts of East Bengal were important in supplying displaced people. Among them the largest number displaced persons came into the district from Rajsahi amounting 36132 persons followed by Dinajpur with 26756 persons, Bogra with 20161 persons, Pabna with 7296 persons, Dacca with 7029 persons, Mymensing with 6297 persons, Rangpur with 3914 persons and Faridpur with 2021 persons.<sup>94</sup>

These displaced persons reduced the number of immigrant into the district from States and outside India to 37741 persons. This number also was more than the last decade's immigrants. The Government of West Bengal recorded emigration of 14000 Muslim persons from the district to East Bengal in post-partition period among whom about 12375 Muslim persons returned in the district.<sup>95</sup> Among the districts of North Bengal Jalpaiguri remained important as the destination for the displaced population coming from East Bengal since 1946. During the Noakhali riot year the district was second after the State of Cooch Behar in receiving the displaced persons among the North Bengal districts. In 1947 and 1948 Jalpaiguri ranked first among the North Bengal districts in receiving the displaced persons from East Bengal. In 1949 the district again became second after Cooch Behar and in 1950 and 1951 it became in third rank among the North Bengal districts having the displaced persons from East Bengal after West Dinajpur and Cooch Behar and after Cooch Behar and West Dinajpur respectively.<sup>96</sup> As a result number of settlements were built in large size in the district specially in Rajganj and Jalpaiguri police stations areas the most important among them being the Phatapokhori which was built with the efforts of District Administrator Sri Hiranmoy Bandhyopadhyaya and the political cum social worker Sri Manindrachandra Roy.<sup>97</sup>

The number of displaced persons during the period being 98572 persons turning the figure of immigrants from other states of India and outside India to 180270 even greater than the previous decade. So the pressure of immigrants into the district may realize. The Government of West Bengal recorded good numbers of emigrants from the district to East Bengal during 1947-51 in form Muslim emigration numbering around 50000 persons of whom 35000 Muslims returned later on.<sup>98</sup> The number of displaced persons in Darjeeling district was least in each and every year during the period 1946-51 from East Bengal among all the North Bengal districts. This was apparently due to the geo-physiographic condition of the district. As a result the total

immigration of the displaced persons from East Bengal was amounted 15738 persons in Darjeeling district. The highest number of displaced immigrants from East Bengal was in 1950 like other districts and the State numbering only 5278 persons.<sup>99</sup> However, the most important sources of the displaced persons into the district were the districts of Dacca with 3838 persons, Rangpur with 2228 persons and Dinajpur with 1995 persons. The districts of Mymensing, Pabna, Faridpur, Kusthia had also good share in the district of Darjeeling.<sup>100</sup>

The total amount of displaced persons reduced the immigrants into the districts from other states of India and outside India to 84573 persons little less than the previous decade. However, the Government of West Bengal recorded 3315 persons belonged to Muslim community emigrated from the district of Darjeeling to East Bengal among whom 1385 persons returned into the district later on.<sup>101</sup> The flow of displaced persons from East Bengal into the State of Cooch Behar though in small number since 1946 with the Noakhali riot broke out. The flow became voluminous in 1950 with gradual increase in size within the period of 1946-50. In 1947 it was second highest number in Cooch Behar among the North Bengal districts having 8938 persons displaced from East Bengal. It was highest in size in 1949 receiving 16013 numbers of displaced persons from East Bengal. They increased greatly having been 58911 persons in number in 1950.<sup>102</sup>

The district of East Bengal which had the largest share of displaced persons in Cooch Behar during 1946-51 was Rangpur having sent 43874 displaced persons to the district during the period. This was followed by the district of Mymensingh having sent 30497 displaced persons. Among the other districts of East Bengal the districts of Dacca (9394 persons), Bogra (2663 persons), Faridpur (2548 persons), Pabna (2305 persons) and Dinajpur (1892 persons) also had good share in the displaced persons coming into the district of Cooch Behar during the 1946-51 period.<sup>103</sup> Thus the displaced persons numbering 99917 in 1951 in Cooch Behar reduced the immigrants from other states of India and outside India to 45999 persons which were about 2.5 times than the immigrants from those areas during the previous decade. The Government of West Bengal record of 1951 provided the figure of 31484 Muslim emigrants from the State of West Bengal to East Bengal, during the period between 1947 and 1951, among whom 17026 persons returned later on.<sup>104</sup>

A very important feature of in demographic transition of West Bengal as well as North Bengal was the incomings of the displaced Burmese Indians or Burmese Bengalis in guise of displaced persons or evacuees since 1941-42 as a result of war effect in Burma. There are some scholarly articles in Journal like 'Sahitya'<sup>105</sup>, and writings such as Michael D Leigh's 'The Evacuation of civilians from Burma: Analysing the 1942 Colonial Disaster'<sup>106</sup> Hugh Tinker's 'A forgotten Long March: the Indian Exodus from Burma 1942'<sup>107</sup> throw light over the issue of the permanently resided Indians' (even born in Burma) coming back into India. The Japanese war

planes' attack in Lower Burma during the end of December 1941, heavy bombing in Rangoon, the most favorite place for the Bengalis (23<sup>rd</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> December, 1941), bombing in two other cities of Burma in Mandalay and Maymyo (3<sup>rd</sup> April, 1942), the British High Command's decision to leave Burma (25<sup>th</sup> April, 1942) led to the Indians' as well as the Bengalis' exodus from Burma. The memoirs written by the Bengali evacuees such as Ujan Srota of Nilima Dutta<sup>108</sup>, Biday Burma by Manasi Mukhopadhyaya<sup>109</sup> BomarBhoye Burma Tyag of Manoranjan Chakraborty, Burmay Jakhan Boma Pare of Sourindra Mohan Mukhopadhyay<sup>110</sup> also throw much light over Burmese Indians' as well as the Burmese Bengalis' fleeing into India during the war time.

Those evacuees also took residences also in different parts of North Bengal. The Census figures of the people of Burmese origin in different districts of North Bengal corroborated the phenomenon. Thus in 1951 there were 736 persons total in North Bengal districts among whom 381 persons were male and 355 were females. The district of Darjeeling had the highest number Burmese origin population numbering 313 males and 281 females followed by the district of Jalpaiguri with 85 Burmese origin population (males 40 and females 450) and Cooch Behar with 36 Burmese population (16 males and 20 females).<sup>111</sup> It may be said that all of them with few exceptions were the evacuees from Burma as among them only 53 persons all from Darjeeling district returned Burmese as their mother language.<sup>112</sup> There must be some Indian or Bengal origin people in Burma at the time and returned with the other evacuees during this time.

From the above discussion it is apparent that in the process of immigration the districts of North Bengal responded in three ways. The district of Jalpaiguri still remained, though not like the previous decades, attractive for the immigrants. The district of West Dinajpur reached almost at the border line in persuading the immigrants into the district. On the other the districts of Malda, Darjeeling and Cooch Behar not only resisted the immigrants but also emigrated people in larger volume. However, the inter-district migration was countered by the displaced persons and immigrants from other states of India. The percentages of displaced persons from East Pakistan were much more than that of from other states of India in case of the districts of Malda, West Dinajpur and Cooch Behar. But this was much less in case of the district of Darjeeling and little less in case of Jalpaiguri district. And taking the displaced persons the percentage of all immigrants from outside West Bengal to its total population was highest in the 1951 census year in all the districts of North Bengal except Darjeeling. According to the Census of Pakistan there were 699000 Muhajirs in East Bengal province.<sup>113</sup> There should be a good share from the North Bengal districts as the earlier discussion corroborated it.

The migration process in the above said two lines also continued during the decade of 1951-61 with the immigration of the persons from the districts within the State, the other States of India, other countries outside India and the displaced persons mainly from Pakistan (East) and

the other line in from of evacuees from Burma and a new trend of Tibetan refugees. During this time some changes were brought in the census data. Questions on the nature of birth place (rural or urban) and duration of residence at the place of enumeration were incorporated in the census process. On the other the question on the date of arrival of the displaced persons from Pakistan and the district of their origin in Pakistan included in the census of 1951 was dropped in 1961 census.<sup>114</sup> However, the detail of the inter-district migration of this period was important feature of the census data. The following is the table of immigrants coming into the districts of North Bengal during 1951-61 decade.

**Table 4.25**  
**Immigration from different districts of the State into North Bengal**  
**1961**

Migrants From	Migrants to				
	Darjeeling	Jalpaiguri	Cooch Behar	West Dinajpur	Malda
<b>Darjeeling</b>	-	6753	805	783	254
<b>Jalpaiguri</b>	5077	-	7265	1425	226
<b>Cooch Behar</b>	1300	15362	-	1272	186
<b>West Dinajpur</b>	1729	1099	584	-	5354
<b>Malda</b>	499	1476	217	24870	-
<b>Murshidabad</b>	317	990	607	3997	9786
<b>Nadia</b>	379	1686	328	861	379
<b>24-Parganas</b>	496	1388	347	527	355
<b>Calcutta</b>	1743	2107	633	754	1071
<b>Howrah</b>	312	688	250	209	222
<b>Hooghly</b>	293	561	96	107	257
<b>Burdwan</b>	421	543	188	417	442
<b>Birbhum</b>	232	257	67	297	553
<b>Bankura</b>	196	197	51	140	117
<b>Midnapur</b>	256	348	112	146	278
<b>Purulia</b>	208	123	53	25	200
<b>Total</b>	11792	32480	11019	35830	14326

**Source: Census of India 1961, Volume-XVI, West Bengal & Sikkim, Part-1 A, General Report, Book(i), Population Progress , J. Dutta Gupta Government of India Press, Calcutta, The Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1967,p.329**

The highest number of immigrants into Malda district came from the districts of Murshidabad and West Dinajpur numbering 9786 persons and 5354 persons following pre-partition tradition. A good number people came into the district from Calcutta numbering 1071 persons. Out of total 14326 immigrants into the district of Malda total 13660 persons came from southern districts of Bengal into the district. In West Dinajpur district the main supplier of immigrants was the district of Malda sending 24870 persons into the district followed by the

district of Murshidabad (3997 persons), Jalpaiguri (1425 persons) and Cooch Behar (1272 persons). The total number of immigrants into the district from other West Bengal districts was 35830 and from the districts of southern Bengal were 7480 persons. The largest number of immigrants after the district of West Dinajpur among North Bengal districts came into the district of Jalpaiguri numbering 32480 persons. The lion share of these immigrants was held by the district of Cooch Behar numbering 15362 persons followed by Darjeeling, (6753 persons), Calcutta (2107 persons), Nadia (1686 persons), Malda (1476 persons), 24-Parganas (1388 persons) and West Dinajpur (1099 persons). Total 8888 persons immigrants came into the district from the southern Bengal districts.

The total number of immigrants came from the other districts of the State of West Bengal into the district of Darjeeling was 11792 among whom the highest number was sent by the district of Jalpaiguri with 5077 persons. This was followed by the districts of Calcutta (1743 persons), West Dinajpur (1729 persons) and Cooch Behar (1300 persons). Total number of 4853 persons came into the district from the Southern Bengal districts. The total number of immigrants from other districts of the State of West Bengal into the district of Cooch Behar was 11019 persons. The lion share of these immigrants was contributed by the district of Jalpaiguri with 7265 persons. From the districts of Southern Bengal 2732 persons came into the district as a whole.<sup>115</sup> The following table will describe the emigrant population from the districts of North Bengal to the other districts of the State of West Bengal.

**Table 4.26**  
**Emigration from North Bengal into different districts of the State**  
**1961**

Migrants to	Migrants from				
	Darjeeling	Jalpaiguri	Cooch Behar	West Dinajpur	Malda
<b>Darjeeling</b>	-	5077	1300	1729	499
<b>Jalpaiguri</b>	6753	-	15362	1099	1476
<b>Cooch Behar</b>	805	7265	-	584	217
<b>West Dinajpur</b>	783	1425	1272	-	24870
<b>Malda</b>	254	226	186	5354	-
<b>Murshidabad</b>	191	284	352	446	4346
<b>Nadia</b>	601	682	581	871	1298
<b>24-Parganas</b>	4245	5272	4852	4737	12551
<b>Calcutta</b>	5391	5203	4353	4401	8341
<b>Howrah</b>	1301	1429	1236	1364	2335
<b>Hooghly</b>	1261	1628	1284	1568	2093
<b>Burdwan</b>	1171	1980	1792	2060	3374
<b>Birbhum</b>	156	440	226	347	1165

<b>Bankura</b>	183	203	220	442	740
<b>Midnapur</b>	714	623	547	414	895
<b>Purulia</b>	257	368	406	436	759
<b>Total</b>	24066	32105	33969	25852	64959

**Source: Census of India 1961, Volume-XVI, West Bengal & Sikkim, Part-1, General Report, Book(i), Population Progress, J. Dutta Gupta Government of India Press, Calcutta, The Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1967, p.329**

The total number of emigrants from the district of Malda to the other districts of the State of West Bengal was 64959 persons during 1951-61 decade, about 4.5 times than the number of immigrants. The largest number of emigrants from the district was received by the district of West Dinajpur numbering 24870 persons followed by the districts of 24-Parganas (12551 persons), Calcutta (8341 persons), Murshidabad (4346 persons) and Burdwan (3374 persons). The total number of the emigrants to the Districts of Southern Bengal was 37897 persons. Total number of emigrants from the district of West Dinajpur to other districts of West Bengal was 25852 much less than the total number of immigrants into the district. The highest receiver of emigrants from the district was Malda with 5354 persons followed by the districts of 24-Parganas (4737 persons) and Calcutta (4401 persons). Total number of emigrants to the districts of Southern Bengal from district was 17086 persons.

The district of Jalpaiguri had 32105 emigrants to other districts of West Bengal. It was little bit more than the number of immigrants it had during the period. The largest number of emigrants receiver was Cooch Behar having 7265 emigrants from the district followed by the districts of 24-Parganas (5272 persons) and Calcutta (5203 persons). Total emigrants to the districts of Southern Bengal from the district were 18112 persons. Total number of emigrants from the district of Darjeeling to other districts of West Bengal was 24066 the highest being received by the district of Jalpaiguri with 6753 emigrants. The other two districts having good number emigrants from Darjeeling district were Calcutta (5391 persons) and 24-Pargana (4245 persons). Total 15471 persons were emigrated from Darjeeling to the Southern districts of West Bengal during this time.

The total number of emigrants the district of Cooch Behar sent in different districts of West Bengal was 33969 persons much higher than the immigrants came into the district from the other parts of West Bengal. Highest number of emigrants from Cooch Behar went to Jalpaiguri numbering 15362 persons during this time. After Jalpaiguri large number of emigrants from the district went to the districts of 24-Parganas (4852 persons) and Calcutta (4353 persons). There were total 17307 persons who emigrated in different districts of southern West Bengal from the district of Cooch Behar in this time. It is very interesting that all the North Bengal districts had large share of emigrants in the districts Calcutta and 24-Parganas of Southern West Bengal.<sup>116</sup> The data of emigration and immigration in case of North Bengal districts exposed the



proportionate fluctuations of mobility of population from district to district. This obviously was caused by the factors like communicational availability, saturation or employment potentiality in cultivable areas, development of industries etc.<sup>117</sup>

There was also a great volume of immigration into the districts of North Bengal from the other states of India. Among the North Bengal districts Jalpaiguri was most important having immigrants from the other states of India numbering 158912 immigrants and sharing 7.10 percents of the total immigrants in the State. Thus the district of Jalpaiguri ranked during 1951-61 sixth among the districts of the State of West Bengal having immigrants from other states of India. The district of Darjeeling ranked eighth in this context. In both the districts the immigrants were attracted by the employment potentiality of the tea gardens.<sup>118</sup> This is evident by the fact that the district of Jalpaiguri ranked second in West Bengal having State's rural immigrants with 20.67 per cent share. The rural areas of the district of West Dinajpur were also attracted immigrants the immigrants from the other states of India 'evidently for exploitation of area previously unexplored' and the district ranked third among the districts of West Bengal having 7.16 percent State's rural immigrants.<sup>119</sup> On the other the districts of Malda and Cooch Behar, though had lower density, could not attract the migrants from other states of India due to lack of avenues of employment. The following table is the details of immigrants into the districts of North Bengal from other States of India.

**Table 4.27**  
**Distribution of Immigrants from other states by District of Enumeration,**  
**1961**

State/District 1	Immigrants			Percentage distribution		
	Total 2	Rural 3	Urban 4	Total 5	Rural 6	Urban 7
West Bengal	2238854	692712	1546142	100	100	100
Darjeeling	66987	41437	25550	2.99	5.98	1.65
Jalpaiguri	158912	143220	15692	7.10	20.67	1.01
Cooch Behar	29492	19504	9988	1.32	2.82	0.64
West Dinajpur	61327	49594	11733	2.74	7.16	0.76
Malda	31027	26854	4173	1.39	3.88	0.27

**Source: STATEMENT V-18, Census of India 1961, Volume-XVI, West Bengal & Sikkim, Part-1, General Report, Book(i), Population Progress, J. Dutta Gupta Government of India Press, Calcutta, The Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1967, p.346**

From the table of 'distribution of immigrants from other states' it is found that total number of 31027 persons immigrated into the district of Malda during 1951-61 period. Among whom 26854 persons were rural immigrants and 4173 persons were urban immigrants.<sup>120</sup> On the other from the table of 'Place of Birth' it has been seen that total 30937 persons came from

different states and union territories of India into the district of Malda. Most of them were born in Bihar numbering 27073 persons and few of them being born in Orissa (333 persons), Uttar Pradesh (2465 persons) and other States of India.<sup>121</sup> However, in the district gazetteer of Malda it has been said that during the ten years preceding March 1, 1961 the immigrants numbering 12667 persons from Bihar settled in the district.<sup>122</sup> In the district of West Dinajpur immigrants from other states were about double than Malda amounting 61327 persons comprising by 49594 rural and 11733 urban immigrants during 1951-61 decade.<sup>123</sup>

In the table of 'place of birth' of the census records 1961 61902 persons were enumerated in the district taken birth in other Indian States and Union Territories. The lion portion of those immigrants came from Bihar numbering 55194 persons and remaining from the States of Assam (810 persons), Orissa (621 persons), Rajasthan (1764 persons), Uttar Pradesh (2252 persons) and few other from the other States.<sup>124</sup> However, in the District Gazetteer of West Dinajpur 33,992 persons were enumerated as immigrants from Bihar. This difference may be happened on account of new procedure of ascertaining the duration of period of stay of the immigrants. It appears that every person was considered to be an immigrant who was not born in the village or town in which he was enumerated. But so far as duration of stay was concerned, it was calculated with reference to the place of enumeration, i.e., an immigrant was not asked to state the number of years he had been staying in the district but the number of years had had been staying at the village or town of enumeration.<sup>125</sup>

A large numbers of immigrants from other States of India were enumerated in the district of Jalpaiguri amounting 158912 persons comprising by 143220 rural immigrants and 15692 urban immigrants during the period between 1951 and 1961 census year.<sup>126</sup> However, in the table of 'place of Birth' the persons enumerated in the district but born in the States and Union territories of India beyond the home State were accounted 158809 persons. Among them most were born in the States of Bihar (127246 persons) and Assam (13006 persons) and the remaining were from the states of Orissa (4708 persons), Punjab (2103 persons), Rajasthan (2245 persons), Uttar Pradesh (4306 persons) and others.<sup>127</sup> **They** constituted about 35 percent of the first generation immigrant population of the district. They shared 11.7 percent, a significant portion, of the total population of the district.<sup>128</sup> In the district of Darjeeling the total number immigrants from other states of India were enumerated as 66987 persons comprising by the 41437 rural immigrants and 25550 urban immigrants. The large number of urban immigrants in the district among all the North Bengal districts indicated the rapid urban growth of Darjeeling district.<sup>129</sup>

However, in the table of 'place of Birth' the persons enumerated in the district but born in the States and Union territories of India beyond the home State were accounted 66779 persons. Like the other districts she had also largest immigrants from the State of Bihar

numbering 40252 persons. Among the other the States of Sikkim (5833 persons), Assam (4776 persons), Rajasthan (2659 persons), Punjab (2742 persons), Orissa (2231 persons), Madhya Pradesh (2205 persons), Uttar Pradesh (4687 persons) had good share in the immigrants of the district.<sup>130</sup> The district of Cooch Behar had 29492 immigrants from different states of India who were constituted by the 19504 rural immigrants and 9988 urban immigrants. The district had least number of immigrants from the other States among the North Bengal districts.<sup>131</sup> However, in the table of 'place of Birth' the persons enumerated in the district but born in the States and Union territories of India beyond the home State were accounted 29461 persons. The main two states sharing those immigrants in the district were Bihar (18252 persons) and Assam (6383 persons). There were also immigrants into the district from the States such as Madhya Pradesh (312 persons), Orissa (397 persons), Rajasthan (1859 persons), Uttar Pradesh (1596 persons) and insignificantly from other states.<sup>132</sup> The district gazetteer also recorded of immigrants from Andhra Pradesh (176 persons) and Punjab (176 persons).<sup>133</sup>

So the states of India greatly contributed in the growth of population in the districts of North Bengal during 1951-61 period sending emigrants in a continuous process following the preceding tradition. In this context the most important role was played by the State of Bihar which supplied the largest number of emigrants in all the districts of North Bengal. Among the total first generation Bihari immigrants of West Bengal 19.87 percent were existed in the North Bengal districts. On the other out total immigrants of Assam into West Bengal more than 52 percent came into the districts of North Bengal during the above said period and the highest receivers of immigrants from Assam were the district of Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar. Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh were the important states of India sending immigrants into the districts of North Bengal.<sup>134</sup> This process of immigration led to the growth of both the urban and rural population of the districts of North Bengal. Thus the urban population grew by above fifty percent in the police stations of Siliguri in Darjeeling district; Dinhata and Mathabhanga in Cooch Behar district and Raiganj in West Dinajpur district.<sup>135</sup> The rural population increased above fifty percent in the police stations of Phansidewa and Naxalbari in Darjeeling district; Jalpaiguri, Rajganj, Falakata, Kumargram and Alipur Duars in jalpaiguri district; Cooch Behar, Tufanganj, Dinhata and Sitai of Cooch Behar district and Karandighi of West Dinajpur district.<sup>136</sup> Thus the flow of immigration continued into the districts of North Bengal in parallel way with the immigration flow from the outside of the Indian national boundary. We should now proceed to this trend of migration in the districts of North Bengal.

The records of displaced persons from East Pakistan were not collected in census of 1961 as like as the census of 1951. Official statistics are also not available for that particular phenomenal issue.<sup>137</sup> However, there were data of the numbers of persons born in Pakistan but enumerated in the districts of North Bengal with their duration of stay in the region of their enumeration. Even there was no information of the immigrants' date of entry to India or on the

cause of his migration. However, there are tables in the Census of 1961 for the State of West Bengal on the 'Immigrants from Pakistan by Total, Rural, Urban areas of Districts' and on 'Immigrants from Pakistan classified by duration of Residence'.<sup>138</sup> There is also record of people in different districts of West Bengal born in Pakistan.<sup>139</sup> With these we form an idea of the influx of the immigrants (or displaced persons) into the districts of North Bengal from Pakistan, specifically from East Pakistan. The following tables will explain the details of persons coming from Pakistan into West Bengal as well as in North Bengal districts classifying in rural and urban nature.

**Table 4.28**  
**Immigrants from Pakistan by Total, Rural, Urban areas of Districts**  
**1961**

State/District	Total	Rural	Urban
West Bengal	3068750	1507220	1561530
Darjeeling	38162	16368	21794
Jalpaiguri	218341	171617	46724
Cooch Behar	252753	227628	25125
West Dinajpur	172237	125155	47082
Malda	64474	54598	9876
Total of North Bengal	745967	595366	150601

**Source: Statement V.29, Census of India 1961, Volume-XVI, West Bengal & Sikkim, Part-1, General Report, Book(i), Population Progress, J. Dutta Gupta Government of India Press, Calcutta, The Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1967, p.369**

**Table 4.29**  
**Immigrants from Pakistan classified by duration of Residence**  
**1961**

(figures within brackets indicate percentage)

State/District	Total immigrants	Duration of residence in place of enumeration in years					
		Less than 1	1-5	6-10	11-15	16+	Period not Stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
West Bengal	3068750 (100.00)	148475 (4.84)	682779 (22.25)	926915 (30.21)	923232 (30.08)	358215 (11.67)	29134 (0.95)
Darjeeling	38162 (100.00)	9682 (25.37)	9210 (24.13)	6654 (17.44)	8033 (21.05)	4364 (11.44)	219 (0.57)
Jalpaiguri	218341 (100.00)	18321 (8.39)	58921 (26.99)	60409 (27.67)	47413 (21.71)	29533 (13.53)	3744 (1.71)
Cooch Behar	252753 (100.00)	11470 (4.54)	73204 (28.96)	86403 (34.18)	57566 (22.78)	19902 (7.87)	4208 (1.67)
West Dinajpur	172237	5762	31234	60843	58118	14571	1709

	(100.00)	(3.35)	(18.13)	(35.33)	(33.74)	(8.46)	(0.99)
Malda	64474 (100.00)	2136 (3.31)	9044 (14.03)	19626 (30.44)	26649 (41.33)	6273 (9.73)	746 (1.16)
Total of North Bengal	745967 (100.00)						

**Source: Statement V.30, Census of India 1961, Volume-XVI, West Bengal & Sikkim, Part-1, General Report, Book(i), Population Progress, J. Dutta Gupta Government of India Press, Calcutta, The Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1967, p.370**

Though the census of 1961 did not enumerate the number of displaced persons but it recorded 64474 persons in the district of Malda who born in Pakistan. This information was supplied by the district Magistrate from his registers.<sup>140</sup> From the table of the duration of residence in the district it is clear that in the decade of 1951-61 period 28670 persons or the 44.47 (Column 4+5) percent of the total Pakistani born people up to the period immigrated into the district of Malda. On the other 9.73 percent or 6273 persons came into the district in pre-partition period from the post-partition Pakistan territory in the district. The census commissioner opined that the immigrants with 11 to 15 years' residence represented the displaced persons who settled permanently in the district. Thus about 41.33 percent of the Pakistani immigrants of the district may be taken as displaced persons during this time.<sup>141</sup> In the district of West Dinajpur out of total 172237 Pakistani immigrants 8.46 percent or 14571 persons came into the district during pre-partition period as their duration of stay was more than sixteen years.

From the table of the duration of residence in the district it is clear that in the decade of 1951-61 period 92077 persons or the 53.46 (Column 4+5) percent of the total Pakistani born people up to the period immigrated into the district of West Dinajpur. On the other 58118 persons or 33.74 percent of the total Pakistani immigrants may be considered as the displaced persons. Thus in Jalpaiguri district 29533 persons or 13.53 percent of the total Pakistani immigrants in the district came in pre-partition period. Total 119330 persons or 54.66 percent of the Pakistani immigrants in the district were immigrated in the 1951-61 decade. As per the duration of living period 47413 persons may be considered as the displaced persons from Pakistan into the district. It has been estimated that one third of the total population of the district of Jalpaiguri were comprised by the first generation immigrants and the half of the first generation immigrants were formed by the persons born in Pakistan districts.<sup>142</sup>

Likewise in the district of Darjeeling 4364 persons or 11.44 percent of the total Pakistani immigrants in the district came in pre-partition period; 15864 persons or 41.57 percent came in the decade of discussion and 8033 persons or 21.05 percent may be regarded as displaced persons. Thus total 38162 refugees were enumerated in the district in 1961 census year.<sup>143</sup> In the district of Cooch Behar 19902 persons or 7.87 percent Pakistani immigrants came in the

district prior to the Partition of 1947. On the other 159607 persons from Pakistan (presumably East Pakistan) came into the district in the decade of discussion and 57566 persons or 22.78 percent of the total Pakistani immigrants up to the period may be considered as the displaced persons. More importantly they constituted sixteen percent population of the district.<sup>144</sup>

The Burmese Indian evacuee problem took a new turn in 1950s. The independence of Burma in 1948 led the new government to follow the policy of nationalization. Thus the Land Nationalization Act, Agricultural Bank Act, Burma Foreigners Act and others began to curtail the Indians' interest in the land depriving them in various ways. The independent Burmese Constitution did not or could not have any provision of Indian representation or provide any provision for the safeguard of Indians' interests. Rather the policy of nationalization took merely the form of Burmanisation. All these led the Indians as well as the Bengalis in Burma in following the opposite direction for migration in shape of reverse migration.<sup>145</sup> So the census Commissioner reported that after Pakistan and Nepal the next important Asian country from which the immigrants came in West Bengal was Burma.<sup>146</sup> The table on the 'Place of Birth' in the Census Report produced 5 persons of Burmese origin in Malda district, 16 persons of Burmese origin in the district of West Dinajpur, 611 persons born in Burma in the district of Darjeeling, 169 persons from Burma in the district of Jalpaiguri and 39 persons from Burmese origin in the district of Cooch Behar.<sup>147</sup> This is important that number of Nepalese who had migrated in Burma also came back in North Bengal districts in the process of return migration.

A new trend of displaced and evacuee Bengali people began in this decade in its final year of 1960. Taking the Official Language Bill of 1960 and many other causes of alienation of the Bengalis to Assamese people led to the great 'Bengal Kheda' movement since middle of June 1960 with a slogan 'Assam for Assamese'. It turned into terrible for the Bengali Hindus as the Assamese students and the Bengali Mussalmans set fire to the Hindus houses and vandalize the property in different places of Assam.<sup>148</sup> This led a great exodus of the Bengali Hindu evacuees from Assam to the State of West Bengal of whom many in number took shelter in the North Bengal districts. Most of the evacuees were from East Bengal entered into Assam during Indian partition of 1947 or came in Assam due to the riot of 1950 in East Bengal. From the following table the number of the evacuees from Assam may be assumed.<sup>149</sup>

**Table 4.30**  
**Evacuees from Assam to West Bengal**  
**16.07.60-31.07.60**

Places where arrived	No. of Family	Members	Male	Female	Children
S.R.P. Sealdah	367	1905	565	456	884
From 15.07.60 Darjeeling	X	725	240	99	386
16.07.60 onwards Jalpaiguri	X	9365	3513	3141	2711
S.R.P. Howrah	X	37	14	15	8
Cooch Behar	X	415	123	124	168

**Source: IB Record, Kolkata**

There might have been huge number of undocumented evacuees taking shelter in North Bengal districts. For within a short time a good number of temporary camps were set up for the gradual coming Bengali evacuees from Assam. Thus the Mdarihath Camp, Kohinur Camp, Sonapur camp, Salsalabari Camp, Jitpur Camp, Jayanti Camp, Falakata Camp, Mal Camp, Odlabari Camp, Damdim Camp, Maynaguri Camps, Dhupguri Camps were set up in different places of North Bengal.<sup>150</sup> These camps were naturally were crowded by the evacuees from Assam.<sup>151</sup> Many of these evacuees did not return and permanently settled in different parts of North Bengal influencing the demographic structure of the region. Stray references of the incident are in the works of S.K.Sharma<sup>152</sup> and other.

Another new trend of immigration of this period was the Tibetans' Refugees' immigration into India. It had been a continuous process since 1949 with the military occupation and subsequent annexation by China by imposition 17 point agreement in 1951 making the Tibetan Government in Exile (TGIE).<sup>153</sup> But the major bulk of Tibetan exodus happened in 1959 when the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama fled from Lasha to India because of the crushing of Tibetan uprising against Chinese Communist authorities by the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Then the Tibetans choose North Bengal district Darjeeling as an important centre of their livings as other centers in India. They began to settle in the district like other parts of India in 'refugee settlements', as scattered communities among the locals and others in other ways.<sup>154</sup> The census of 1961 recorded 5515 persons from Tibet in West Bengal among whom 4717 settled in Darjeeling district.<sup>155</sup> These people may also be regarded as the displaced persons the production centers with which most them professionally and residentially attached became Tibetan colonies. There are five such production centers in the district of Darjeeling such as Tibetan Central Training (Handicraft) Centre of Lebong, P.S. Darjeeling, Agricultural Co-operative Farming Society at Sonada, P.S. Darjeeling, Lamahatta Agricultural Co-operative Society at Lamahatta, Kalimpong handicraft Self-help Co-operative Society, Kalimpong and Sonda handicraft, Dairy and Pultry

and Agricultural Self-help Co-operative Society, Sonada. A good number of the Tibetan refugees were also engaged in petty trade and peddling of handicrafts or day laboring and lived in small concentrations at the places like Ghoom, Sukiapuikri, Kurseong, Sittong and Algarah. There were also floating Tibetan refugees in North Bengal.<sup>156</sup> Thus the decade 1951-61 found a great construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of the demographic structure of North Bengal.

The decade followed 1961 census year up to 1971 also continued with the legacy of the factors and happenings in the previous decades leading to the changes. During October' 1962 several border skirmishes happened between India and China along the north-eastern Himalayas humbling India to China. This, in turn, enriched strategic importance of the North Bengal districts specially of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar to the Government of India. This led the districts to be developed militarily to counter the Chinese threat in northern border. Thus voluminous construction works related with road and railway transportation between North-east India and other parts of India through North Bengal attracting large number labourer from different states and providing employment the refugees in the construction projects. Development of transportation again attracted large number of traders and businessmen in the districts of North Bengal.<sup>157</sup>

Meanwhile the riot of 1964 in different parts of East Bengal due to news of theft of sacred relic of Hazrat Mohammad from a mosque of Srinagar in Kashmir led to the great volume of immigration of the Hindu refugees from East Bengal province of Pakistan. Prafulla K. Chakrabarti described the phenomenon in the way that "from January 1964 the migration assumed formidable proportions."<sup>158</sup> The border skirmishes between India and Pakistan during March-May' 1965 and the short Indo-Pak war of September 1965, though not extended in East Pakistan-West Bengal border, might have influenced the process of migration of the Hindu people into West Bengal as well as the North Bengal districts. Finally the Pakistan's Military crushing on East Bengal on March' 1971 and the following declaration of independence of Bangladesh led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Indian Government support to it and the resultant Indo-Pak war resulted great volume of immigration of both the Hindus and Muslims from East Bengal into the border areas of West Bengal as well as Northern part of Bengal.<sup>159</sup> Besides the Burmese Indian evacuees, displaced Bengalis from Assam resultant by the 'Bengali Kheda' movement and the coming of the Tibetan refugees still continued during this decade. All these increased the pace of the process of migration into North Bengal districts. The following table on 'place of birth' will apparently clear the phenomenon of migration into the district during the decade.



**Table 4.31**  
**Birth Place of people of North Bengal Districts**  
**1971**

Place of Birth	Place of Enumeration					
	Darjeeling	Jalpaiguri	Cooch Behar	West Dinajpur	Malda	North Bengal
A. Born in India	695268	1467929	1124744	1656885	1539295	6484121
I. Within the state of Enumeration	620564	1296114	1085397	1585242	1505687	6093004
a. Born in Place of Enumeration	532833	1044487	916739	1280297	1218554	4992910
b. Born Elsewhere in District of enumeration	68902	201267	152742	259753	263224	945888
c. Born in Other districts	19229	50360	15916	45692	23909	155106
II. State/UTS in India Beyond the home state	74314	171815	39347	71143	33608	390227
1. Andhra Pradesh	171	495	125	-	-	791
2. Assam	6678	14443	8251	1455	360	31187
3. Bihar	45105	136005	26961	62012	29122	299205
4. Gujarat	90	245	135	75	130	675
5. Hariyana	1495	920	15	95	50	2575
6. H. Pradesh	15	10	-	-	-	25
7. Jammu&Kash mir	60	210	-	15	-	285
8. Kerala	356	175	10	35	30	606
9. M. Pradesh	2560	2866	25	190	40	5681
10. Maharashtra	326	145	15	120	125	731
11. Manipur	20	30	-	10	10	70
12. Meghalaya	60	25	5	25	60	175
13. Mysore	126	40	5	80	10	261
14. Nagaland	35	5	15	5	-	60
15. Orissa	2735	5322	355	1125	215	9752
16. Punjab	1141	1256	65	400	75	2937
17. Rajasthan	2392	2616	1325	1590	515	8438
18. Sikkim	5854	895	10	5	-	6764

19.Tamil Nadu	160	905	45	25	15	1150
20.Tripura	215	295	70	100	25	705
21.U. Pradesh	4625	4862	1815	3756	2751	17809
22.UT- Andaman & Nicobar Islands	10	-	65	10	20	105
23.Arunachal Pradesh	10	-	20	-	-	30
24.Chandigarh	5	-	-	-	15	20
25.Delhi	155	30	15	15	30	245
26.Goa,Daman, Diu	5	20	-	-	10	35
27.Born in Asia beyond India	85204	280169	286319	198201	69562	919455
28.Afghanistan	30	100	-	-	-	130
29.Burma	652	210	5	65	10	942
30.Ceylon	50	-	-	-	-	50
31.China	160	120	-	-	-	280
32.Nepal	37139	38764	1015	860	350	78128
33.Pakistan	43831	237989	285299	197266	69202	833587
34.Malaysia	181	-	-	-	-	181
35.Elswhere	3161	2986	-	10	-	6157
36.Unclasisified	984	1881	3110	4801	3790	14566

**Source: Census of India 1971, Series 22, West Bengal, Part-II-D (i), Migration Tables, B. Ghosh, West Bengal, Calcutta, Government of Publications, pp. 17-39.**

So following the preceding tradition both the trends of migration, inter-districts within the State, inter-states between the State of the district and the other States of India and the migration of the refugees, evacuees and the displaced persons continued also during this decade. The total number in-migrants from other districts of the State into the districts of North Bengal were 155106 persons among whom the largest share was occupied by the district of Jalpaiguri having 50360 persons born in other districts.<sup>160</sup> Like the previous decades the most of the immigrants into the district came from the districts of Cooch Behar, West Dinajpur, Darjeeling, Murshidabad, 24 Paraganas and Calcutta. The next was the district of West Dinajpur having 45692 persons born in other districts of the State. The district of Malda had 23909 persons born in other districts of the State during this time. Darjeeling had 19229 persons the least had the district of Cooch Behar numbering 15916 persons immigrated into the district from other districts of the State. Thus in the trend of inter-district mobility the North Bengal region shared 8.59 percent in respect of the inter-district mobility of persons within the State of West Bengal.<sup>161</sup>

In considering of inter-state migration the North Bengal districts still remained attractive for the immigrants of different States of India. In the table of 'Place of Birth' the total numbers of persons in the North Bengal districts born in other States of India were 390227 during the decade 1961-71.<sup>162</sup> However in the column of 'total migrants' in the table of 'Migrant Workers and Non-Workers According to Main Activity Classified by Place of Last Residence Urban Units (including Agglomeration) Having 100000 and Above Population' the total numbers of migrants from the other States and Union Territories of India into the districts of North Bengal were amounted 400040 persons during the decade having 19.68 percent share in the total migrants in the State of West Bengal from other States and Union Territories of India.<sup>163</sup> The largest share of the State in immigrants of the districts of North Bengal was contributed by the State of Bihar accounting 299205 persons born in the State of Bihar but enumerated in the districts of North Bengal. This was 302475 persons according to the migrants' table sharing 23.21 percent Bihari immigrants of the State of West Bengal. The highest number of persons born in Bihar was enumerated in the district Jalpaiguri among the North Bengal districts numbering 136005 persons during the decade.

After Bihar the next was the State of Assam contributing 31187 persons to the districts of North Bengal. This was 36820 persons in the table of migrants sharing 69.36 percent of the total immigrants of Assam in the State. The highest number of persons born in Assam among the North Bengal districts was enumerated in the district of Jalpaiguri. After Assam it was the State of Uttar Pradesh contributing large number of persons in the districts of North Bengal numbering 17809 persons. In migrant table this was 17805 persons sharing only 5.40 percent UP population in the North Bengal districts. The highest number of UP born population was recorded in the census in the district of Jalpaiguri with 4862 persons followed by the districts of Darjeeling (4625) persons and the district of West Dinajpur (3756 persons) among the North Bengal districts. Besides the States of Orissa, Hariyana, Madhya Pradesh, Sikkim had good contribution in the immigrant population of North Bengal.<sup>164</sup>

The other trend of immigration of the displaced persons from East Bengal province of continued to be important and voluminous during this decade. It has been said above that various developments in the East Bengal province of Pakistan during 1961-71 decade forced the apprehended Hindus to pour into West Bengal as well into North Bengal districts. The riot of 1964 was much tremendous in this context leading to the large exodus of the Hindu Bengalis to the State of West Bengal in which the North Bengal districts had great share. During the period of January 1964 and March 1971 about 11.14 lakh persons migrated to India among whom West Bengal shared about 6 lakhs.<sup>165</sup> From this it can be assumed that the North Bengal districts had also good share in this. The table on 'place of birth' in the census of 1971 recorded 43831 persons born in Pakistan living in the district of Darjeeling, 237989 persons in the district of Jalpaiguri but born in Pakistan, 285299 persons enumerated in the district of Cooch Behar but

born in Pakistan, 197266 persons living in the district of West Dinajpur but born in Pakistan and 69202 persons born in Pakistan but enumerated in the district of Malda. If we compare the data of the census of 1961 of 'place of birth' of the people living in the districts of North Bengal an idea of fresh Pakistani immigrants for the decade of 1961-71 may be formed. This may be shown in following table.

**Table 4.32**  
**Comparison of Persons born in Pakistan but Enumerated in North Bengal Districts**  
**Between the Census 1961 & Census 1971**

District/ Subdivision/ Police station	1961	1971	Probable Fresh migrants (1971-1961)
Maldah District	64474	69202	4728
West Dinajpur	172237	197266	25029
Darjeeling District	38162	43831	5669
Jalpaiguri	218341	237989	19648
Koch Bihar	252753	285299	32546
North Bengal	745967	833587	87620

**Source: : Census of India, 1961, Volume XVI, West Bengal & Sikkim, Part-II C(iii), Migration Tables (D-IV to D-VI), pp.176-196 in compare to the Census of India, 1971, Series 22, West Bengal, Part-II-D(i), Migration Tables, B. Ghosh, Government of India Publications, West Bengal, Calcutta, pp.552-628**

However, this is only probable data. Because within the decade there was also shifting population of the districts in the form of inter-district and inter-state migration. Besides there was large volume of undocumented in-migration during the period happened in the unguarded areas of Indo-Pakistan border in North Bengal region through which the bare feet people crossed the border and took shelter in the houses of the previously immigrated people of their neighborhood or in other unmanned jungle areas unnoticed both by the Government and the people of locality. So the actual number of the fresh immigrants from East Bengal into North Bengal districts might be much more.

The period of 1960s witnessed socialist programme in Burma with nationalization and Burmanization leading to the deprivation of the Indians of their possessions of trade, industry and others. The military coup of General ne Win in 1962 and his policy of nationalization forced the non-Burmese race to leave the land and the Indians, being 'Stateless', in large volume took the reversed way of migration towards India.<sup>166</sup> In this process the Burmese evacuees also came in North Bengal districts via Calcutta or North East India. In the census year of 1971 in the district of Darjeeling 652 people were enumerated who were born in Burma, in the district of Jalpaiguri 210 persons were enumerated born in Burma, 5 person were enumerated in Cooch Behar born in Burma, 65 persons were enumerated in West Dinajpur born in Burma and 10

persons were enumerated in Malda born in Burma.<sup>167</sup> There might be some first generation Bengali Indian immigrants into Burma from North Bengal districts who also would have been returned in few in their homeland.

The process of Bengali migration from Assam into West Bengal, specifically in North Bengal districts still continued due to prevalence of anti-Bengali attitude in Assam. This was emerged in circumstance of gradual eclipse of the Assamese population in the State. Census Commissioners like Mr. C.F.Mullan (1931), Mr. R. Vagaiwala (1951) and Mr. Pakyntein (1961) hinted over the issue of diminishing of Assamese population due to the immigration of Bengalis and others into the State. Thus the problem was recognized by the Government of India making the report of "Influx to Assam" in 1963 and the project of PIP or "Prevention of Infiltration from Pakistan".<sup>168</sup> All these developments naturally provoked migration of the Bengalis into the State of West Bengal and adjacent North Bengal districts.

The inflow of the Tibetan refugees also continued during the decade 1961-71 into the North Bengal districts. The non-intervention policy of the Indians into the matter of Tibetans based on multicultural democracy attracted more and more Tibetans to be exiled into Indian land. Thus in the earlier period of the decade many ordinary Tibetans entered into as pilgrimages and many came with wealth and began to live in Darjeeling-Kalimpong region. They became engaged in trading activities and sent their children in the private school.<sup>169</sup> In this context the Indian Government set up few transit camps in North East India, among them one was situated at Buxa Diar in the district of Jalpaiguri where 1000 Tibetan refugees arrived and were sheltered in the temporary camps. The Indian Government was not in favour of large scale refugee centers which could have been turned into concentration camps.<sup>170</sup>

However, the official production centres also accommodated number of Tibetan refugees in Darjeeling district during this decade. The floating Tibetan people also continued to be existed. Out of 6292 Tibetan refugees settled in Kalimpong subdivision during the period between 1959 and 1967 there were found 606 persons in 1967 the remaining being roaming.<sup>171</sup> From the above discussion it is apparent that the phenomenon of inter-district and inter-state migration in the districts of North Bengal still continued during the three and half decades in post partition period. In case of inter district of migration the nature was in case of casual migration from Malda to Murshidabad this was mostly one way but from Malda to West Dinajpur was reciprocal. From Cooch Behar to Jalpaiguri this was mostly one way. Periodic migrations also continued in all North Bengal districts like the other districts of the State but in a negligible manner. In case of semi-permanent migrations led by colonization of land or long term employment between Murshidabad and Malda this was mostly reciprocal. This also happened reciprocally in between the districts of West Dinajpru and Malda, From Jalpaiguri to 24-Parganas and Calcutta and from Darjeeling to Calcutta. In context of permanent migration this

was prominent in between Murshidabad and the districts of Malda and West Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri to Darjeeling and Cooch Behar reciprocally.<sup>172</sup>

However, in case of migration between North Bengal districts and Southern Bengal districts the two districts of Calcutta and 24-Parganas were very important during this time. Among the North Bengal districts the mobility was greatest in the district of Malda and least in the district of Darjeeling as emigration was largest in Malda and smallest in Darjeeling.<sup>173</sup> Migration from other states of India to the State of West Bengal during post-partition period remained continued and we have found that in this process of inter-state migration the States of Bihar, Orissa, Assam played the important part in reciprocally sending and receiving immigrants to and from the districts of North Bengal. The immigrants of the upcountry states like Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Gujarat also continued in the same pace of prior to the partition of India. This process continued in the form of labour migration in which the districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling were important for attracting still the tea plantation labourers from outside the State. Among all the districts of North Bengal except Malda the proportion of immigrants in construction work exceeded the State average of 27.68 per cent.<sup>174</sup> On the other the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri exceeded greatly from the State average in recruiting immigrants in plantation industries. The upcountry immigrants like the previous decades also came in form of trading community as business class migration.

However during 1950s the district of Malda and Darjeeling showed a proportionate decline in the process of migration from other states but the absolute figures with other districts of North Bengal showed increase.<sup>175</sup> Here we should mention the composition of population in the District of Darjeeling as its hilly tract was not much influenced by the phenomenon of post-partition displaced immigration but by the phenomenon of large volume of Nepali immigration besides of the immigration of the Bhutias, Sikkimise and the Tibetans. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal on July 31, 1950 greatly influenced the phenomenon of Nepali migration into India in compare to that of the Indian migration into Nepal. The Article 6 of the Treaty led both the governments in agreement 'to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development.' The Article 7 of the Treaty, going in more advance, agreed 'to grant to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature.'<sup>176</sup> This obviously led to the great immigration of the Nepalis in North Bengal districts in the form of voluntary 290000 Nepalis in the district of Darjeeling.<sup>177</sup> [This constituted 65.13 percent of the total population of the district in 1951. This had been 61.8 percent in 1941.<sup>178</sup> However if we minus the displaced persons from East

Bengal province of Pakistan then the percentage of the Nepalese would have been more in 1951.

Among the Nepali tribes the most numerous in the district of Darjeeling was the Kirantis who included the Limbus or Yakthumbas, the Jimdars or Rais and the Yakhas. For the powerfulness the Jimdars were given the title Rais and the Limbus that of Subba. All of them generally lived in Darjeeling district. The Kirantis living in in the Khambu district were called as the Khambus.<sup>179</sup> Thus the Rais were the largest numerical ethnic group of Nepalese in the district of Darjeeling. The Tamangs, though were in low position in the Caste hierarchy of the Nepalese, always remained the second largest ethnic group in the district of Darjeeling. They were engaged in Tea gardens of the district as laboureres, share-croppers or landless labourers or unskilled workers in urban areas. The third largest ethnic group among the Nepalese in the district was the Chhetris traditionally engaged in warfare. The fourth largest Nepali community in the district was the Limbus engaged in manual works. The Chhetris, Mangars, Gurungs and Thakuris, who were broadly called the Gorkhas, had been preferably recruited in the army services. The other important Nepali castes of the district were the Newars, the Yogis, the ghartis, the Kamis, the Thamis, the Sarkis, the Thamis, the Sherpas (Nepali Bhutias) and others. A good number of Bhutia ethnic groups like the Dukpas, the Kagateys, the Yolmos, the Sikkimese Bhutias were in the district. Besides there were good number Oriyas, the Rajasthanis, Punjabis, the Orainm mndas, the Santals, the Malpaharias in the district.<sup>180</sup> During the decade of 1951-61 there were 41,287 migrants from Nepal against 38162 migrants from Pakistan. Thus the Nepali immigration continued to be an important phenomenon in North Bengal specifically in Darjeeling district.<sup>181</sup>

However, during post-partition period, the most important feature of the process was the immigration of the displaced persons as the Bengali refugees from the East Bengal province of Pakistan, the Tibetan refugees, the evacuees from Burma and Assam and also the reversed migrants from Pakistan or fresh Muslim migrants. During the post-partition period change in the atmosphere created a change in the psyche and prompted millions of people to leave their hearth and home and became identified as the refugees.<sup>182</sup> Partition based on the distribution of majority community naturally created minority community both in East Pakistan and West Bengal. But due to the casualties and oppression over the minority Hindus in East Pakistan led to the exodus of the Hindus into the State of West Bengal as well as in North Bengal districts. Dr. Shyma Prasad Mukherjee accounted the atrocities from 1<sup>st</sup> may'1950 to 31<sup>st</sup> May'1950 describing the happenings of Murder (32), Abduction with or without rape (23), Rape (5), Missing Girls (4), Outraging family modesty (6), Dacoity (202), Robbery (35), Theft (15), Extortion (76), Arson (16), Stabbing and grievous heart (5), Forcible occupation and trespass (123), harassment (19) Wrongful confinement (2) and Defiling Hindu Temples (16) totaling 630 accounts of wrong doings over the Hindus there.<sup>183</sup>

Hiranmoy Bandhyopadhyaya wrote that, “Pakistane Hindur abastha Engrej Sashane paradhinatar yuge jeman chhilo tar thekeo kharap. Purbabange Hindu Sampradayer tibra rajnaitik sachetanata hetu nikrishta nagarikatwer maryada niye nij janmabhumite bas korte chailo na. Bahu pratikshita swadhinata labher par tara apamanito o lanchhita haye deshatyagi hote badhya hoy.” (The condition of the Hindus in Pakistan was worse than it had been during the British subjugation. The Hindu community of East Bengal having the sharp political consciousness did not want to live there with inferior citizenship in their motherland. After having the long awaited independence they had to leave their own land)<sup>184</sup> with this the series of communal riot up to 1971 forced the Hindus of East Bengal to migrate into West Bengal. Thus the phenomenon in post-partition period became forced migration.

It has been known from interviews from the migrants from East Bengal into North Bengal districts that the Bihari Muslims in most cases led the atrocities over the Hindus. Even most of the organized and planned vandalism to the minority Hindus were led by those Muslims of Urdu or Hindi language.<sup>185</sup> Even some of the immigrants from East Bengal shared their experience that the Bengali Muslims gave them shelter and saved the honor of their females.<sup>186</sup> The information of the atrocities of the Bihari Muslims may be corroborated by the fact (described by Annada Sankar Roy, the District Magistrate of Murshidabad) that in the ‘char’ areas of Murshidabad district the Bengali Muslims of West Bengal were prevented to bring their crops at home by the Bihari Muslims.<sup>187</sup> So it may be presumed that the Bihari Musalmans became very possessive in the newly created Eastern Pakistan. And from interview it also came to be known that the Bengali Muslims with the influence of those Bihari Muslims began to harass the Hindus and dishonor them.<sup>188</sup>

Initially the migration of the people in official level was voluntary in nature. For the officials were given the liberty to be posted and transferred in either of independent union. Thus most of the Hindu Bengalis posted in places fell in Pakistan in post-partition period choose to migrate in Indian, particularly in West Bengal land. On the other the Bengali Muslims posted in places fell in Independent Indian Union opted to be posted in East Bengal province of Pakistan.<sup>189</sup> From the interview with the immigrated persons immediate before the partition or after the riot of 1946 Many Hindus came into North Bengal districts voluntarily, they purchased land and settled in different parts of North Bengal.<sup>190</sup> Dr. Hiranmoy Bandyapadhyay wrote that he had noticed two classes of Hindus immigrants in initial stage of migration from Pakistan to West Bengal, particularly in Jalpaiguri district. The comparatively wealthier middle class people took rented houses and transferred their families in those houses. On the other there were large number lower middle class people who had no capability of renting houses and they were bound to take shelter in the old, broken and deserted houses.<sup>191</sup>



The early migrants after partition were divided into three categories conceptually. There were displaced persons who were comparatively well off and energetic class and did wait for the government assistance and with their own managed to be rehabilitated. The second group did not have money but very soon managed to have been rehabilitated in the deserted houses or fallow land and became engaged in earning their livelihood. The third and last category was the people who lacked both the will and wealth to have fought for their turning up into new lives, thus sought shelter in the government camps.<sup>192</sup> The displaced refugees from East Bengal of Pakistan were characterized by their distinct professional nature. Among them were the lower middle class who owned land or engaged in trading activities. The other group was mainly agriculturist some of them being tilling their own land and some being the sharecroppers. The third group was the non-agriculturists class mainly comprised by the weavers, trained artisans and fishermen.<sup>193</sup> The government had to follow the policy to separately rehabilitate the refugees by nature of agriculturists and non-agriculturists arranging land differently. Thus in areas like Pandapara and Mohitnagar of Jalpaiguri district the non-agriculturists were given shelter with the efforts of the local people and the government plotting the government and private lands in small divisions. On the other the agriculturists were trying to be settled in the agricultural land providing them big plot of land for cultivation like the area of Fatapukur of Jalpaiguri district where in government initiative and liberality of the private landholders a colony was established with cooperative agricultural experimentation in 1948. Dr. H. Bandhyopadhyaya considered this as the first refugee colony in West Bengal under the supervision of the government and the experimentation of co-operative agriculture was also first there.<sup>194</sup>

There were migrant families who did not bother and wait for the uncertain government doles and also not cared for the government assistance for their rehabilitation. Rather they endeavored to seek their shelter for their own without having any relation in the new places. These were the men who taking laws in their own hands began to unauthorized occupation of lands belonged to the Central Government, State government or the privately owned but deserted one. This was the way through which the 'Squatters' Colonies' emerged in different parts of West Bengal basically in the suburb areas of the districts initially unnoticed by the government.<sup>195</sup> As the central government was indifferent to the problem of refugees in the State of West Bengal and turned 180 degree angle from their promise to protect the partition affected and evicted minorities of East Bengal people the then government of West Bengal under Dr. B.C. Roy did not totally unwelcome the setting up of those squatters' colonies.<sup>196</sup>

Thus the State of West Bengal experienced in its land the emergence of post-colonial colonies with a new demographic structure clustering the refugees of East Bengal in different areas. However, in the Lists of Pre -1950 squatters' colonies approved for regularization by the Government of India and Pre- 1951 squatters' colonies listed in Anil Sinha's Paschim Banglar

Jabardakhal Udvastu Upanibesh we are getting only one colony in North Bengal with the name of Indira colony, New college Para, Raiganj in West Dinajpur district.<sup>197</sup> But in the list of the Post-Displaced Persons' Squatters' Colonies Set up Between 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1951 and 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1971 we get 38 colonies in the district of Malda, 17 colonies in the district of Darjeeling, 26 colonies in the district of Cooch Behar, 76 colonies in the district of Jalpaiguri and 52 colonies in the district of West Dinajpur.<sup>198</sup> The issue of migrants (displaced) and their rehabilitation became more complicated with the passing of time as volume and the pace of incoming of the immigrants from East Bengal continued in greater way even during the decade of 1961-71 in spite of the Delhi Pact or Nehru-Liyakat Pact of 1950 and in many ways the Government of India's discouragement in leaving lands from East Pakistan and to immigration of the Hindus into the State of West Bengal. This led the government to categorization of the displaced migrants to follow its rehabilitation policy to tackle the problem.<sup>199</sup>

Thus it was decided that the migrants who came to the State of West Bengal from October'1946 to March 1958 would be considered as the 'Old Migratnts', the Migrants appearing during the period from April' 1958 to December' 1963 would be considered as 'in-between migrants' and the migrants who came into West Bengal during the period from January 1964 to March 1971 would be regarded as the 'New Migrants'. This was only to rid off the bound of rehabilitation to the refugee migrants. Thus though the old migrants were recognized as the refugees, the in-between migrants were deprived from that leading to shedding them off from rehabilitation and the third one, the new migrants were to be imposed areas of outside the State for rehabilitation. But in spite of this Government policy when war broke out in East Bengal for to be freed from the discriminative yoke of West Pakistan on the issue of language a large number of people mostly the Hindus crossed the border and entered into the State of West Bengal. large number of camps were set up in the East Benal border areas of the North Bengal districts for war stricken immigrants. The people of border areas could get the sound of firing in East Bengal.<sup>200</sup> The immigrants who had kin relations in the districts of North Bengal took shelter to their home and managed to have land to be settled. Many of them bought land in the suburban areas and rural areas of the North Bengal districts and stayed there permanently. Aslam Parvej, a resident of Chinpur at Goalpokhor of West Dinajpur district informed me that a large number of Hindus from East Bengal were sheltered in the camps of the border area of Goalpokhar. Many of them did not return and settled in those camp areas permanently. There were people titled Roy, Sarkar, Das and Barui among them.<sup>201</sup>

So, the demography of North Bengal districts was greatly restructured by the large volume and continuous inflow of the East Bengal refugees or displaced persons belonged to different economic strata, different social strata, different professional strata and most importantly different cultural strata. The return migration of the Bengali Muslims from East Bengal and also the fresh Muslim immigration from East Bengal in different districts of North Bengal in their

border areas and rural areas also happened during this time. On the other the Nepali immigration not only from Nepal but also from different parts of North East India, Sikkim, and Bhutan and even from Burma happened in this region. All these culminated with the immigrants of different States of India variously made effect on the demographic scenario of the North Bengal districts bring changes of different compartment of the life on North Bengal in its bag. This will be come out in the discussion of the later chapters.

### **Post-Bangladesh Liberation Period (1971 to 1991)**

#### **I**

The decade followed the year 1971 up to 1981 was very much eventful in context of migration into the North Bengal districts bringing changes in demography. The Pakistani military crashing on East Bengal on March 23' 1971 led West Bengal as a whole and North Bengal districts in part to face the phenomenon of mass (mostly the Hindus and also the Muslims) migration. Even after the East Bengal province of Pakistan got independence with the surrender of Pakistan Army on 16 December' 1971 and the emergence of Bangladesh as a free country the immigration of the displaced persons continued. The assassination of Bangabandhu Mubibur Rahman and Ziaur Rahman and confrontation between Hasina Murshid and Khaleda Zia all influenced the process.<sup>202</sup> The political ups and downs in the State of West Bengal also influenced the demographic issue and vice versa during this period. However, the period did not witness any change in territorial units of the State. The State was also not affected by the inter-state transfer of territories and had little change in inter district territorial change. But the decade found considerable inter-police stations changes due to formation of the new police stations. In North Bengal the new police station of Banarhat was created in Jalpaiguri district during this period.<sup>203</sup> The total population of the State of West Bengal in 1981 was 54580647 persons in compare to that of 44312011 persons in 1971. Thus this increased by 23.17 percent over the population of previous decade.<sup>204</sup> However, we shall see the development of the population in size and nature in context of North Bengal which can be assumed from the following table.

**Table 4.33**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts**  
**1981**

District/ Subdivision/ Police station	Area in Km <sup>2</sup>	Total persons	Male	Female	Population per Km <sup>2</sup>
Maldah District	3733.0	2031,871	1042498	989373	544
West Dinajpur	5,358.0	2,404,947	1,241,611	1,163,336	449

Darjeeling District	3,149.0	1,024,269	542,567	481,702	325
Jalpaiguri	6,227.0	2,214,871	1,159,843	1,055,028	356
Koch Bihar	3,387.0	1,771,643	915,461	856,182	523
North Bengal	21854.0	9447601	4901980	4545621	432.31

**Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Paper I of 1984, Household Population By Religion of Head of the Household, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, pp.2-43**

The total population of North Bengal in 1981 became at 9447601 persons comprising by 4901980 males and 4545621 females. Thus the North Bengal districts as a whole shared 17.31 percent of the total population of the State of West Bengal. This was an increase of 2028938 persons being 27.35 percent over the population of the previous decade. This increase was apparently above the average growth of State of West Bengal by 4.18 percent as the growth of population in West Bengal was 10268636 persons being 23.17 percent increase over the population of previous decade. However, the rate of growth of population of North Bengal (27.35 percent) in 1981 census year decreased from that of the 1971 census year (33.68 percent) by 6.33 percent. Whereas the rate of growth of population of West Bengal State in 1981 census year (23.17 percent) decreased from that of the 1971 census year (26.87 percent) by only 3.70 percent.<sup>205</sup> On the other the growth and rate of growth was also not even in all parts of North Bengal. This can be understood from district wise description of the population for 1981 census year.

The total population of the Malda district in 1981 was 2031871 persons constituted by 1042498 persons male and 989373 persons female. This constituted 21.51 percent of the total population of North Bengal. There was 26.00 percent growth in the total population of the district on the population of previous decade which was above the growth of State but below the growth of North Bengal as a whole. Naturally the rate of growth of population decreased from that of the previous decade. The development in demographic transition of the district may be assumed from elaboration of the district population during the time in following table.

**Table 4.34**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts in 1981**  
**Maldah District**

District/ station	Subdivision/ Police	Area Km <sup>2</sup>	in	Total persons	Male	Female	Population per Km2
Maldah District		3733.0		2031,871	1042498	989373	544
Sadar Division		3733.0		2031,871	1042498	989373	544
Harishchandra pur		388.0		221,890	114216	107674	572
Kharba (Chanchal)		368.3		217,746	111929	105817	591

Ratua	398.1	241,198	123821	117377	606
Gajole	513.6	180,315	92248	88067	351
Bamangola	206.2	85,362	43550	41812	414
Habibpur	397.1	141,070	71743	69327	355
Maldah	226.4	98,767	50560	48207	436
Englishbazar	254.8	239,457	124069	115388	940
Manichak	316.2	149,981	76190	73791	474
Kaliachak	536.4	456,085	234172	221913	850

**Source: Compiled from Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Area, Household and population, Villages and Urban Areas, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, p.95 and Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Paper I of 1984, Household Population By Religion of Head of the Household, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, p.38**

Like the previous decades the most populated police station of the district of Malda was Kaliachak having 456,085 persons in 1981 followed by the police stations of Ratua (241198 persons), Englishbazar (239457 persons), Harishchandrapur (221890 persons) and Kharba (217746 persons). But the most densely populated police station of the district was Englishbazar (940 persons per square Kilometer) followed by the police stations of Kaliachak (850 persons per square kilometer) and Ratua (606 persons per square kilometer). In last decade also 'Englishbazar was the largest populated police station (718.19 persons per square kilometer) followed by the police station of Kaliachak (667.60 persons per square kilometer) in the district. However during post-partition period Kaliachak remained always the highest populous police station in the district of Malda and Englishbazar remained the most densely populated police station of the district excepting the census year of 1951 when Kaliachak topped the both. The growth of population in Kaliachak police station was marvelous. It grew from 358101 persons in 1971 to 456,085 persons in 1981 census year increasing 97984 persons with 27.36 percent growth on the population of previous decade.<sup>206</sup>

The district of West Dinajpur had a population of 2404947 persons with 25.46 percent share in the total population of North Bengal region. The number of male in the population was 1241611 persons and females were 1163336 persons. There was an increase of 545060 persons in the district in compare to the previous census year having 29.31 percent growth over the population of last decade. This was the second highest growth of population among the North Bengal districts above the growth of both the State and North Bengal region.<sup>207</sup> However the transition may be well understood from following tabular description of the district population in the decade of 1971-81.

**Table 4.35**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts in 1981**  
**District of West Dinajpur:**

District/ Subdivision/ Police station	Area in Km <sup>2</sup>	Total persons	Male	Female	Population per Km <sup>2</sup>
West Dinajpur	5,358.0	2,404,947	1,241,611	1,163,336	449
Islampur Subdivision	1,751.8	754,916	391,137	363,779	431
Chopra	378.4	128,699	67,089	61,610	340
Islampur	345.2	171,780	89,334	82,446	498
Goalpokhar	372.8	170,736	88,210	82,526	458
Chakalia	266.4	114,530	59,269	55,261	430
Karandighi	389.0	1,69,171	87,235	81,936	435
Raiganj Subdivision	2,071.7	9,36,432	4,82,245	4,54,187	452
Raiganj	482.8	2,71,532	1,41,278	1,30,255	562
Hemtabad	191.6	77,881	40,574	37,307	406
Kaliaganj	311.6	1,53,769	79,646	74,123	493
Kushmundi	310.5	1,20,300	61,195	59,105	387
Itahar	427.6	1,81,977	92,826	89,151	426
Banshihari	347.6	1,30,973	66,726	64,247	377
Sadar Subdivision	1,516.7	7,13,599	3,68,299	3,45,370	470
Gangarampur	328.4	1,53,406	78,847	74,559	467
Kumarganj	286.9	1,04,627	53,703	50,924	365
Tapan	441.1	1,47,633	75,552	72,081	335
Balurghat	372.2	2,57,417	1,34,164	1,23,253	692
Hilli	88.1	50,516	25,963	24,553	573

Source: **Compiled from Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Area, Household and population, Villages and Urban Areas, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, pp.93-94 and Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Paper I of 1984, Household Population By Religion of Head of the Household, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, pp.26&32**

During the post partition period police stations of Raiganj and Balurghat always remained the topmost position in number of population in the district of West Dinajpur. Raiganj the highest populated police station of the district shared 11.29 percent population of the district with 271532 persons within its periphery in 1981. On the other the police station of Balurghat had 257417 persons with 10.70 percent share in the district population. That is the two police stations constituted more than 20 percent of the total population of the district. The most densely populated police station of the district was Balurghat having 692 persons per square kilometer followed by the Hilli police station having 573 persons per square kilometer during this decade of 1971-81. However, from point of view of growth of population the police

stations of Islampur, Goalpokhar together with Chakalia, Karandighi, Raiganj, Itahar, Gangarampur and Balurghat were very important.<sup>208</sup> The district of Darjeeling in 1981 had a population of 1024269 persons comprising 542,567 person males and 481702 person females. The district constituted 10.84 percent of the total population of North Bengal region a little greater than the previous decade (10.54 percent). There was highest increase of population in Darjeeling district in North Bengal in the decade 1971-81. The number of increase in the district during the period was 242492 persons being 31.02 percent growth over the population of the last decade. It was above the increase of the State and much less from that of the district (40.50 percent) in preceding decade.<sup>209</sup> From the following table we may have a description of distribution of population in the district in 1981.

**Table 4.36**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts in 1981**  
**District of Darjeeling**

District/ Subdivision/ Police station	Area in Km <sup>2</sup>	Total persons	Male	Female	Population per Km2
Darjeeling District	3,149.0	1,024,269	542,567	481,702	325
Sadar Subdivision	935.5	281,346	144,525	136,821	301
Sukhiapokri	239.8	28,975	14,778	14,197	121
Pulbazar	137.3	44,746	23,171	21,575	326
Darjeeling	104.6	104,371	54,345	50,026	998
Rangli Rangliot	307.7	51,225	26,006	25,219	166
Jore Bunglow	146.1	52,029	26,225	25,804	356
Kalimpong Subdivision	1056.5	158,726	82,708	76,019	150
Kalimpong	609.7	118,548	61,386	57,162	194
Garubathan	446.8	40,178	21,321	18,857	90
Kurseong Subdivision	425.3	111,302	50,324	51,978	262
Kurseong	327.9	81,882	44,510	37,372	250
Mirik	97.4	29,420	14,814	14,406	302
Siliguri Subdivision	837.4	472,895	256,011	216,884	565
Naxalbari	206.7	81,175	43,464	37,711	393
Siliguri	174.8	232,610	128,379	104,231	1,331
Phansidewa	312.4	107,464	56,863	50,601	344
Kharibari	143.5	51,646	27,305	24,341	360

Source: **Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Area, Household and population, Villages and Urban Areas, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, pp.92-93 and Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Paper I of 1984, Household Population By Religion of Head of the Household, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, pp.20&26**

The most populous police station of the district of Darjeeling in 1981 was Siliguri having 232610 persons followed by the police stations of Kalimpong with 118548 persons, Phensidewa with 107464 persons and Darjeeling with 104371 persons. Following the same line the most densely police station of the district was Siliguri having 1331 persons per square kilometer followed by the police station of Darjeeling with 998 persons per kilometer. This was for great increase in the population of the police stations of Siliguri with an increase of 73.08 percent (98218 persons) on the population of preceding decade, of Fansidewa with an increase of 49.49 percent (35579 persons) and Naxalbari with an increase of 39.80 percent (30376 persons). Darjeeling witnessed 27.28 percent growth having 22369 persons increased in the police station.<sup>210</sup> Thus there was great increase of population in the plains and in the sadar police station of the Darjeeling district contributed by mainly the immigrants both the legal and illegal.

The district of Jalpaiguri had a population of 2214871 persons in 1981 with 1,159,843 males and 1,055,028 females. The district had 23.44 percent share in the total population of North Bengal. Thus it ranked second after the district of West Dinajpur among the districts of North Bengal. The district had an increase of 464712 persons over the population of preceding decade with the rated of 26.55 percent growth. The growth rate was above the growth of State but below the average of North Bengal districts. There was no evenness in the growth throughout the district.<sup>211</sup> The distribution of population and its growth may be realized from following table.

**Table 4.37**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts in 1981**  
**District of Jalpaiguri**

District/ Subdivision/ Police station	Area in Km <sup>2</sup>	Total persons	Male	Female	Population per Km2
Jalpaiguri	6,227.0	2,214,871	1,159,843	1,055,028	356
Sadar Subdivision	3,373.7	1,308,937	686,725	622,212	388
Rajganj	636.6	197,090	104,524	92,566	310
Jalpaiguri	503.0	266,925	139,426	127,499	531
Mal	543.6	205,644	109,074	96,570	378
Mitali	206.2	74,649	38,738	35,911	362
Maynaguri	525.2	199,509	104,647	94,862	380
Nagrakata	284.0	70,148	36,714	33,434	247
Banarhat	395.6	149,729	77,393	72,336	378
Dhubguri	279.5	145,243	76,209	69,034	520
Alipurduar Subdivision	2,278.5	905,934	473,118	432,816	325
Birpara	190.8	70,190	36,798	33,392	368
Falakata	317.5	169,011	88,513	80,498	532
Madarihat	189.7	53,196	27,654	25,542	280



Alipurduar	693.5	333265	37,842	33,731	481
Kalchini	892.0	160,615	83,532	77,083	180
Kumargram	540.0	119,657	62,316	57,341	237

Source: Compiled from **Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Area, Household and population, Villages and Urban Areas, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, pp.91-92 and Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Paper I of 1984, Household Population By Religion of Head of the Household, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, pp.14&20**

The highest population in the district in 1981 was in the police station of Alipurduars having 333265 persons followed by the police stations of Jalpaiguri with 266925 persons, Mal with 205644 persons, Maynaguri with 199509 persons and Rajganj with 197090 persons. The police station of Falakata had the greatest increase of population in the district with increase of 65482 persons increase being 63.25 percent over the population of last decade. The police station of Rajganj also had large number of increase by 68346 persons with 53.09 percent growth. Among the other police stations Jalpaiguri (22.77 percent), Mal (23.78 percent), Maynaguri (24.88 percent), Madarihat (24.22 percent), Alipur (22.63 percent) and Kumargram (23.09 percent) were important in increasing their populations. Dhupguri had a loss of population in compare to the previous decade due to the jurisdictional changes. The most densely populous police station of the district was Falakata with 532 persons per square kilometer followed by the police stations of Jalpaiguri (531 persons per square kilometer), Dhupguri (520 persons per square kilometer) and Alipur (481 persons per kilometer).<sup>212</sup> The district of Koch Behar had 9447601 persons comprising by 915,461 males and 856,182 females in 1981 census year. It had share of 18.75 percent, little less than the previous decade, in the total population of North Bengal. The increase of population in the district was by 242492 persons with the growth rate of 25.28 percent. The growth rate was above the growth of the State but below the average growth of North Bengal. This growth was much less from that of the previous census year. We may see the distribution and growth of population of the district in details from the following table.

**Table 4.38**  
**Distribution of Population in North Bengal Districts in 1981**  
**District of Koch Bihar**

District/ Police station	Subdivision/	Area in Km <sup>2</sup>	Total persons	Male	Female	Population per Km <sup>2</sup>
Koch Bihar		3,387.0	1,771,643	915,461	856,182	523
Mekliganj Subdivision		497.6	177,243	92,661	84,582	356
Haldibari		200.7	73,975	38,548	35,427	369
Mekliganj		296.9	103,268	54,113	49,155	348
Mathabhanga Subdivision		888.4	416,090	215,594	200,496	468

Mathabhanga	626.8	290,380	150,675	139,705	463
Sital Kuchi	261.6	125,710	64,919	60,791	481
Sadar Subdivision	737.6	467,419	241,580	225,839	634
Koch Bihar	737.6	467,419	241,580	225,839	634
Tufanganj Subdivision	585.7	288,370	148,282	140,088	492
Tufanganj	585.7	288,370	148,282	140,088	492
Dinhata Subdivision	704.2	422,521	217,344	205,177	600
Dinhata	546.2	353,149	181,704	171,445	647
Sitai	158.0	69,372	35,640	33,732	439

**Source: Compiled from Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Area, Household and population, Villages and Urban Areas, S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, pp.90-91 and Census of India 1981, Series-23, West Bengal, Paper-I of 1984, Household Population by Religion of Head of Household (Up to Police Station & Town Level), S.N. Ghosh, IAS, Director of Census Operations, West Bengal, p.8**

The most populous police station of the district was Cooch Behar or Sadar Police Station having 467419 persons followed by the police stations of Dinhata (353149 persons), Mathabhanga (290380 persons) and Tufanganj (288370 person). The highest increase of population was seen in the police station of Sitai with 17617 persons increase and 34.04 percent growth. It was followed by the police stations of Sitalkuchi with 30582 persons (332.15 percent growth) and Haldibari with 17460 persons (30.89 percent growth). The police stations of Mekliganj (27.39 percent), Mathabhanga (28.04 percent) and Koch Bihar (25.49 percent) were also important in this context. However, the most densely populated police station of the district was Dinhata having 647 persons per square kilometer followed by the police stations of Cooch Behr (634 persons per square kilometer), Tufanganj (492 persons per square kilometer) and Mathabhanga (463 persons per square kilometer).

Thus North Bengal witnessed a great development of demography both in size and in nature. All the districts of the region showed the growth above the growth rate of the State during the decade of 1971-81. However, there was some reduction in the growth in compare to the growth of the districts for the previous decade. The reduction was very in case of the district of West Dinajpur diminishing 11.19 percent from the last decade. This reduction was due to the restriction and check in the huge incoming of the peoples from erstwhile East Bengal province of Pakistan (now Bangladesh) as the Government of India declared the non-permitted immigration from Bangladesh as illegal. In spite of this the motion of immigration was there which is clear from the growth of population of the districts so in a large scale. However, the issue will be discussed in the next part of our discussion. As a whole the districts of North Bengal witness spectacular growth of population in spite of its being unindustrialized and backward tract.

The growth of population in West Bengal and North Bengal districts went on in the same pace and same trend in the period following 1981. During this time of 1981-91 numbers of political ups and downs happened both in the State of West Bengal and in India as a national level. Ethnic discontentment waved on in different parts of India especially in North-East India effecting and affecting the North Bengal districts. The post-partition displaced immigration (now considered as infiltration), anti-foreigners movement in Assam and North East India continued to be happened. All these influenced the demography of West Bengal as well as North Bengal. Thus in 1991 the State of West Bengal had a population of 68077965 persons in an area of 88752.00 square kilometer comprising by 35510633 males and 32567332 females. The State had 767 persons per square mile as density. Thus the State had an increase of 24.73 percent population with 13497318 persons increased on the populations of the previous decade. From the following table we may have an idea of population distribution of North Bengal during 1991 census year.

**Table 4.39**  
**Distribution of population**  
**North Bengal For the Year 1991**

Name of District/PS	Area in Sq.kms	Total population	Male	Female	Density	Percentage of total population to North Bengal/WB
West Bengal	88752.00	68077965	35510633	32567332	767	-
Maldah	3733.00	2637032	1360541	1276491	69.89	21.91
West Dinajpur	5359.00	3127653	1620740	1506913	583.63	25.99
Jalpaiguri	6227.00	2800543	1453194	1347349	449.74	23.26
Darjeeling	3149.00	1299919	679323	620596	412.80	10.79
Koch Bihar	3387.00	2171145	11223606	1048839	641.02	18.03
Total of North Bengal	218981855	12036292	16337404	5800188	215.49	17.68

In the same way North Bengal had a population of 12036292 persons comprising by 16337404 males and 5800188 females. North Bengal as a whole had a share of 17.68 percent of the population of the State. It increased from 9447601 persons to 12036292 persons in 1991. Thus the number of increase of population in the region was 2588691 persons having been 27.40 percent over the population of preceding decade. The largest size of population in the region was bore by the district of West Dinajpur having share of 25.99 percent and the lowest share was of the district of Darjeeling with 10.80 percent share in the North Bengal population. So we

may discuss the population distribution in the districts of North Bengal in details in the following manner.

The southernmost district of North Bengal region was the district of Malda. With 1360541 males and 1276491 females the district totaled 2637032 persons in 1991. The district occupied 21.91 percent of the total population of North Bengal. It had increased 605161 persons with the growth of 29.78 percent on the population of the last decade. This was much above the State increase and little above the increase of North Bengal as a whole. It was also progressive growth being higher than the growth of the previous decade by 3.78 percent.<sup>213</sup> The distribution of the population of the district may seen from the following table.

**Table 4.40**  
**Police Station wise Distribution of population**  
**Maldah District**  
**For the Year 1991**

Name of District/PS	Area in Sq.kms	Total population	Male	Female	Density
MALDAH DISTRICT	3733.00	2637032	1360541	1276491	706.41
P.S. Harischandrapur	388	286906	148182	138724	739.45
P.S. kharba(Chanchal)	368.30	275985	142343	133642	749.35
P.S. Ratua	398.10	299417	145710	144707	752.12
P.S. Gajole	513.60	233139	119247	113892	453.93
P.S. Bamangola	206.20	107579	55184	52395	521.72
P.S. Habibpur	397.10	168397	85698	82699	424.07
P.S. Maldah	226.40	146020	76184	69836	644.96
P.S. Englishbazar	254.80	319638	165317	154321	1537.04
P.S. Manikchak	316.20	177572	91687	85885	561.58
P.S. Kaliachak	335.50	478841	247352	231489	1427.25
P.S. Baishnab Nagar	200.90	143538	74637	68901	714.47

**Source: Census of India, 1991, Series-26, west Bengal, Part XII-B, District Census Handbook, Malda, Primary Census Abstract, p.280**

The most populous police station of the district was in same trend like before was Kaliachak having population of 478841 persons with an increase of 22750 persons. The increase was small due to the creation of new police station of baishnab Nagar. The other police stations by large populations were the police stations of Englishbazar (with 319638 persons), Ratua (with 299417 persons), Harishchandrapur (with 286906 persons) and Gajole (with 233139 persons). The most densely populated police station of the district was Englishbazar having 1537.04 persons per square kilometer followed by the police stations of Kaliachak (1427.25 persons per square kilometer), Ratua (752.12 per square kilometer), Harishchandrapur (739.45 per square kilometer), Baishnab Nagar (714.47 per square kilometer) and Maldah (644.96 per square

kilometer). The increase in most of the police stations was above the growth rate of the State barring only the police station of Ratua (24.14 percent), Habibpur (19.37 percent) and Manikchak (18.39 percent). The most spectacular growth was in the police station of Malda with 47253 persons and 47.84 percent increase over the population of the last decade followed by the police station of Englishbazar (with 33.48 percent increase) and Harishchandrapur (with 29.30 percent increase)<sup>214</sup> Thus the district of Malda witnessed increase during the decade 1981-1991 in both number and percent more than the previous decade.

The district of West Dinajpur in 1991 had the population of 3127653 persons with 1620740 males and 1506913 females. There was an increase of 722706 persons in the district showing 30.05 percent growth over the population of last decade. Thus the district constituted 25.99 percent of the total population of North Bengal being much high than the growth of the region.<sup>215</sup> It was also much higher growth than that of the average of the State during the decade. The rate of growth was progressive to a little extent in compare to that of the previous decade's growth. However, the distribution of the population of the district may be realized from the table below.

**Table 4.41`**  
**Police Station wise Distribution of population**  
**West Dinajpur District For the Year 1991**

Name of District/PS	Area in Sq.kms	Total population	Male	Female	Density
West Dinajpur	5359.00	3127653	1620740	1506913	583.63
P.S. Chopra	378.40	165720	86134	79586	439.95
P.S. Islampur	345.20	230326	120146	110180	667.22
P.S. Goalpokhar	372.80	212643	110433	102210	570.39
P.S. Chaklia	266.40	149824	77607	72217	562.40
P.S. Karandighi	389.00	230121	119091	111030	591.57
P.S. Raiganj	482.80	428203	225903	202300	886.92
P.S. Hemtabad	191.60	95157	49335	45822	496.64
P.S. Kaliaganj	311.60	187935	97492	90443	603.13
P.S. Kushmundi	310.50	144470	73918	70552	465.28
P.S. Itahar	427.60	226800	166533	110267	530.40
P.S. Hariampur	150.10	70474	36047	34427	469.51
P.S. Banshihari	179.50	98027	50270	47757	546.11
P.S. Gangarampur	328.40	240518	105289	99229	622.77
P.S. kumarganj	286.90	129676	67018	62658	451.99
P.S. Tapan	441.10	186953	96163	90790	423.83
P.S. Balurghat	327.20	305000	157474	147526	932.51
P.S. Hilli	88.10	61806	31887	29919	701.54

**Source: Census of India, 1991, Series-26, west Bengal, Part XII-B, District Census Handbook, West Dinajpur, Primary Census Abstract, pp.2&8**

The highest number of population in the district was seen in the police station of Raiganj with 428203 persons during the decade of 1981-1991. There was highest growth of 57.70 percent in the police station. This was due to the assumed to be development of the police station as the administrative head quarter of the district and resultant decline of the growth of Balurghat police station from 36.10 percent growth in 1971-81 to 18.48 percent in the 1981-1991 decade. The other police stations which had large population during the decade were the police stations of Gangarampur (240518 persons), Islampur (230326 persons), Karandighi (230121 persons) and Ithar (226800 persons). There was spectacular growth of population in the police station of Gangarampur having been 56.79 percent increase over the population of the last decade. The police stations of Islampur (34.08 percent), Chakalia (30.82 percent), Karandighi (36.03 percent), Chopra (28.77 percent) had increase of population above both the growth of North Bengal as a whole and the State of West Bengal. However, still the most densely populated police station in the district was Balurghat having 932.51 persons per square kilometer. The other police stations with high density were Raiganj (886.92 per square kilometer), Islampur (667.22 per square kilometer), Gangarampur (622.77 per square kilometer) and Kaliaganj (603.13 per square kilometer).<sup>216</sup>

The district of Darjeeling had the population of 1299919 persons in 1991 with 679323 males and 620596 females constituting 10.80 percent of the total population of North Bengal being little less than the previous decade by percent to the North Bengal population. There was an increase of 275650 persons being 26.91 percent in the district during the decade of 1981-91.<sup>217</sup> But the growth was regressive in nature as it became lower than that of the previous decade by 4.11 percent. The growth though was above the growth of State's average it was below the average growth rate of North Bengal districts. The details of the growth and distribution of population may be assumed from the following table.

**Table 4.42**  
**Police Station wise Distribution of population**  
**Darjeeling District For the Year 1991**

Name of District/PS	Area in Sq.kms	Total population	Male	Female	Density
Darjiling District	3149.00	1299919	679323	620596	412.80
P.S.Sukhiapokri	239.80	34943	17481	17462	145.72
P.S. Pulbazar	137.30	57833	30013	27820	421.22
P.S. Darjiling	104.60	132425	67809	64616	1266.01
P.S.Rangli Rangliot	307.70	65342	33367	31975	212.36
P.S.Jore Bungalow	146.10	57369	28931	28438	392.67
P.S.Kalimpong	609.70	143884	74323	69561	235.99
P.S.Jaldhaka	224.00	25983	13573	12410	116.00
P.S.Garubathan	222.80	20399	10630	9769	91.56

P.S. Kurseong	327.90	105617	54495	51122	322.10
P.S. Mrik	97.40	41023	21259	19764	421.18
P.S. Naxlbari	206.70	102537	53684	48853	496.07
P.S. Matigara Investigation Centre	157.20	84760	44523	40237	539.19
P.S.Siliguri	17.60	223747	122548	101199	12712.90
P.S. Phansidewa	312.40	140045	73304	66741	448.29
P.S.Kharibari	143.50	64012	33383	30629	446.08

**Source: Census of India, 1991, Series-26, west Bengal, Part XII-B, District Census Handbook, Darjeeling, Primary Census Abstract, p.140**

The largest population in the district during the decade 1981-91 was in the police station of Siliguri having 223747 persons total in the district followed by the police stations of Kalimpong (143884 persons), Phansidewa (140045 persons), Dajeeling (132425 persons) Kursions (105617 persons) and Naxalbari (102537 persons). There was highest growth of population in the police station of Mirik (39.44 percent) followed by the police stations of Fansidewa (30.32 percent), Pulbazar (29.24 percent) and Rangli Rangliot (27.56 percent). The most densely populated police station of the district was Siliguri (12712 persons per square kilometer) followed by the police stations of Darjeeling (1266.01 per square kilometer), Naxalbari (496.07 per square kilometer) and Kharibari (446.08 per square kilometer).<sup>218</sup> There were decreases in population in both the police stations of Siliguri and Garubathan due to the creation new police stations of Bhaktinagar and Jaldhaka respectively. However, the growth rate in Fansidewa and Naxalbari decreased than the growth rate of previous decade. But the police station of Kharibari witnessed progressive increase.

The district of Jalpaiguri reached to its population at the close door of three million peoples in 1991 having total 2800543 persons comprising by 1453194 males and 1347349 females. The district had a share of 23.27 percent the second highest share in the total population of North Bengal. This was happened by increase of 585672 persons being 26.44 percent over the population of last decade<sup>219</sup>. The rate of growth was above the average growth of the State but below the growth of North Bengal as a whole. However, the growth of population in the district was at per the growth rate of previous decade or a little bit less than that. This may be due to the saturation of the employment in the district. The following table will highlight over the growth of population in the district in detail.

**Table 4.43**  
**Police Station wise Distribution of population**  
**Jalpaiguri District For the Year 1991**

Name of District/PS	Area in Sq.kms	Total population	Male	Female	Density
JALPAIGURI DISTRICT	6227.00	2800543	1453194	1347349	449.74
P.S.Bhaktinagar	400.90	213745	112229	101516	53.32
P.S. Rajganj	235.70	100360	53188	47242	425.80
P.S. jalpaiguri	503.00	330111	170984	159127	656.28
P.S. Mal	543.60	250395	129536	120859	460.62
P.S. Mitali	206.20	93253	47702	45551	452.25
P.S. Maynaguri	525.20	238155	124557	113598	944.31
P.S. Nagrakata	284.00	81364	41954	39410	286.50
P.S. Banarhat	395.60	179685	91732	87953	454.21
P.S. Dhupguri	279.50	186092	97362	88730	601.40
P.S.Birpara	190.80	85643	44158	41485	448.86
P.S.Falakata	317.50	207842	108355	99487	654.62
P.S. Madarihat	189.70	66556	34357	32199	350.85
P.S. Alipurduar	693.50	410397	212962	197435	591.77
P.S. Jaygaon	239.90	89692	46438	43254	373.87
P.S. Kalchini	652.10	113362	57939	55423	173.84
P.S. kumargram	504.00	153891	79811	74080	305.34

**Source: Census of India, 1991, Series-26, west Bengal, Part XII-B, District Census Handbook, Jalpaiguri, Primary Census Abstract, p.160**

The largest number of population in the district was in Alipurduar having 410397 persons in it like the previous decade. The number of persons grew in the police station during the decade 1981-91 was 77132 persons being 23.14 percent a progressive one than that of the last census period. That is the police station still was attractive to the population from other places. The next police having large population was Jalpaiguri 330111 persons having increase of 63186 persons being 23.67 percent a little more than that of the precious decade. There was a loss in population of Rajganj police station due to the creation of Bhaktingar police station during this period. There was also loss in population in the plice station of Kalchini due to the creation of new police station of Jaygaon. The other police stations which had large populations were Mal (250395 persons), Maynaguri (238155 persons), Bhaktinagar (213745 persons) and Falakata (207842 persons). The largest increase in the population was seen in the police station of Kumargram (28 .61 percent) followed by the police station of Dhupguri (28.12 percent). The most densely populous police station of the district was Jalpaiguri (656.28 per square kilometer) followed by the police stations of Falakata (654.62 per square kilometer), Dhupguri (601.40 per square kilometer) and Alipurduar (591.77 per square kilometer).<sup>220</sup> However, the



district did not witness any sharp decline in population in compare to that of the previous decade.

The district of Cooch Behar had a population of above two millions during the decade of 1981-1991 periods. The total population during this period numbered 2171145 persons comprising with 1122306 males and 1048839 females. The district secured 18.04 percent of the total population of North Bengal. There was an increase of 399502 persons in the district being 22.55 percent increase over the population of the preceding decade.<sup>221</sup> This was a regressive development in the growth of the population in the district as the rate of growth decreased from 25.28 percent in 1981 to 22.55 percent in 1991. The rate of growth was lower than in compare to that of the both of the State of West Bengal and North Bengal. However, the details of the growth of population and its distribution throughout district may be glanced in the following table.

**Table 4.44**  
**Police Station wise Distribution of population**  
**Koch Bihar District For the Year 1991**

Name of District/PS	Area in Sq.kms	Total population	Male	Female	Density
KOCHBIHAR DISTRICT	3387.00	2171145	1122306	1048839	641.02
P.S. Haldibari	200.70	88703	46155	42458	441.97
P.S.Mekliganj	296.90	119224	62108	57116	401.56
P.S.Ghokshadanga	254.80	137559	71602	65957	539.87
P.S. Mathabhanga	372.00	211035	190410	101625	567.30
P.S. Sitalkuchi	261.60	151933	78473	73460	580.78
P.S.Kochbihar	373.60	575959	298415	277544	1541.65
P.S.Tufanganj	585.70	355262	182663	172599	606.56
P.S.Dinhata	546.20	445271	229303	215968	815.22
P.S.Satai	158.00	86199	44177	42022	465.94

**Source: Census of India, 1991, Series-26, west Bengal, Part XII-B, District Census Handbook, Koch Bihar, Primary Census Abstract, p.200**

The district had largest population in 1991 in the police station of Koch Bihar, the Sadar police station, having 575959 persons constituting 26.53 percent of the district population. The Dinhata police station also had a large population constituting 20.51 percent (445271 persons) of the district population. The two police stations constituted about 47 percent of total population of the district. The Tufanganj police station of the district had also a large population of 355262 persons constituting 16.36 percent of the total district population. The police station of Mthabhanga had also population above two lakhs. The highest increase of population in the district was in the police station of Dinhata (26.09 percent) followed by the police station of

Cooch Behar (23.22 percent) and Tufanganj (23.20 percent). The police station of Sitalkuchi had increased 20.26 percent in its population. The most densely populated police station of the district was Cooch Behar having 1541.65 persons per square kilometer. It was followed by the police stations of Dinhata (815.94 persons per square kilometer), Tufanganj (606.56 persons per square kilometer) and Sitalkuchi (580.78 persons per square mile). Thus, though the district of Cooch Behar had witnessed a lower growth rate of population during the decade of 1981-91 from that of 1971-81, the density of population was much more from 523 per square kilometer in 1981 to 641.02 per square kilometer in 1991. This apparently indicated to the fact of the district's becoming saturated by its population.

So the four decades of 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 witnessed great increase of population in North Bengal districts. Among them though the last two decades of 1971-81 and 1981-1991 were comparatively lower in increase than the Bangladesh war time period but the increase and growth both continued in sound percentages. In both the decade of 1971-81 and 1981-1991 the increase of the population in North Bengal as a whole and in the districts individually all were above the rate of increases of the State except individual growth of Cooch Behar in 1981-1991. The increasing rate for the decade of 1971-81 in North Bengal was about 9 percent above the State. This steady growth of population in North Bengal corroborated the fact of large volume of immigration in nature of infiltration, illegal migration and undocumented cross border inflow into the districts of North Bengal during the period. However, this will be discussed in the succeeding section in details. However, these developments in the size and nature of demography took us to the demographic transition of last three decades of nineteenth century North Bengal. As that was the period of foundation of demographic structure and composition of twentieth century North Bengal the above three decades from 1961 to 1991 were also the periods of foundation of North Bengla demography for the succeeding century.

### **Post-Bangladesh Liberation Period (1971 to 1991)**

#### **II**

The districts of North Bengal experienced more and greater demographic changes during the period followed by the Bangladesh liberation war in 1971 and continued up to 1991 in more or less in the same pace. During the war time flood of peoples, both the Hindus and Muslims, crossed the border of erstwhile East Bengal province of Pakistan and entered into West Bengal as well as North Bengal districts. Numbers of eyewitnesses<sup>222</sup> are there who told me about the flood of population gathered in border areas in wartime and took shelter in camps. In the fortnightly paper 'Jalpaiguri' the problems and inhuman conditions of the refugees in the district during war time<sup>223</sup> Amalendu Guha(**Prasanga Anuprobesh**), Ranabir Samaddar<sup>224</sup>,

Sanjoy Hazarika<sup>225</sup> B.B. Kumar<sup>226</sup> Anand Kumar<sup>227</sup> etc. elaborated the different aspects of infiltration or illegal immigration of Bangladeshi people into India, particularly in West Bengal. From those references of North Bengal also found. However, the interview and surveys, in this context, are also important. Besides the phenomenon of Return migration of Bengali people from Myanmar, Assam, the Tibetan Refugees, the expulsions of the Nepalis from North East India, the expulsions of the Nepalis from Bhutan also influenced the process of migration and demography of North Bengal. However the immigration from the other districts of the State, other states and other nations also continued. Following is the table of place of birth of the people enumerated in the North Bengal districts for the census year of 1981.

**Table-4.45**  
**Population Classified by Place of Birth**  
**1981**

Born in	Place of enumeration				
	Koch Bihar	Jalpaiguri	Darjiling	West Dinajpur	Maldah
A.Born in India	1474561	1015088	944129	2147714	1928060
I.Within the State of enumeration	1445920	1789814	865068	2074640	1890137
1.Born in place of enumeration	1201923	1477274	728627	1652091	1527228
2.Born elsewhere in district of enumeration	209384	233732	94335	334919	327090
3.Born in other district of the state	33984	79108	42106	87630	35819
II.States in India beyond the state of enumeration	29272	75274	78980	73075	37923
1.Assam	16920	27159	6813	3148	811
2.Bihar	8143	82306	49258	63921	34381
3.Gujrat	24	67	26	40	41
4.Haryana	35	1256	2021	15	5
5.Maharashtra	16	226	248	77	33
6.Meghalaya	202	257	339	52	5
7.Orissa	134	2102	812	168	87
8.Punjab	33	592	709	102	34
9.Rajasthan	1791	2125	3068	1523	300
10.Sikkim	15	740	4466	35	5
11.Tripura	208	561	397	247	56
12.Uttar Pradesh	1167	4236	5884	2790	1755
B.Born abroad	297082	299738	80081	257217	103800

1.Bangladesh	296680	279186	52414	256023	103481
2.Bhutan	-	1516	1364	10	-
4.Mayanmar	-	-	-	-	-
5.Nepal	205	18349	22470	692	241
6.Pakistan	127	160	232	339	21

**Source: Ghosh, S.N. Census of India, 1981, seies 23, West Bengal, Migration Tables, p.70-104**

In both the period of 1971-81 and 1981-1991 decades there are records of migration tables in the census records in the form of 'place of birth' tables. From those tables I have compiled table of 'place of Births' for the decade of 1971-1981 under 1981 census year heading and for the decade 1981-1991 under 1991 census year heading. From the table of 1981 census year it is clear that among the North Bengal districts in 1981 the highest numbers of persons enumerated born in other districts of the State was the district of West Dinajpur. There were 87630 persons in the district of West Dinajpur born in the districts other than West Dinajpur within the State. It was followed by the district of Jalpaiguri having 79108 persons born in districts other than Jalpaiguri, the district of Darjeeling having 42106 persons born in the districts of the State other than Darjeeling and finally the district of Cooch Behar having 28272 persons born in the districts other than the district of Cooch Behar.<sup>228</sup> In 1991 census year the highest rank was taken by the district of Jalpaiguri having 90249 persons born in other districts of State in 1991. During this decade Darjeeling had 60055 persons born in other districts and ranked second among the districts of North Bengal. There were 53864 persons enumerated in the district of Malda born in the districts of the State other than Malda. The district of West Dinajpur had 86552 persons born in other districts of the State. The district of Cooch Behar accounted 39740 persons born in other districts of the State of West Bengal.<sup>229</sup> However, inner district mobilization was much high in the districts of West Dinajpur and Mald in both the census decades of 1971-81 and 1981-1991. The lowest mobilization in inner district was in Drjeeling in both the period. Following is the table of place of birth of the people enumerated in the North Bengal districts for the census year of 1991.

**Table 4.46**  
**Of Birthplace**  
**In North Bengal Districts: 1991**

Birth place rural or urban	Place of Enumeration				
	Kochbihar	Jalpaiguri	Darjiling	West Dinajpur	Maldah
A. Born in India	1942010	2535756	1223488	2876936	2533884
I. Within the state of Enumeration	1912790	2433371	1141742	2810301	2483758

(a) Born at the place of enumeration	1623305	1980935	978530	2293531	2021329
(b) Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration	249745	362187	103157	430218	408565
(c) born in other districts of the state	39740	90249	60055	86552	53864
II. State in India beyond the state enumeration(selected)	29220	102385	81746	66635	50126
1. Assam	19010	31040	8320	3140	1700
2. Bihar	6360	52465	48085	59227	43606
3. Maharashtra	40	520	590	70	80
4. Meghalaya	260	480	480	50	50
5. Orissa	70	1220	740	210	300
6. Punjab	80	1070	1150	190	130
7. Rajasthan	1470	2290	3780	960	510
8. Tripura	360	800	470	520	350
9. Uttar Pradesh	950	5760	7811	1518	2430
B. Born abroad	229085	263807	76291	248677	103068
1. Bangladesh	227515	249424	55263	246477	102198
2. Bhutan	40	2020	820	30	30
3. Myanmar	720	175	170	20	10
4. Nepal	300	10698	17608	750	320
5. Pakistan	350	310	330	1100	30

**Source: Migration Table, West Bengal 1991, D Series, Population classified by the Place of Birth, D 1, , downloaded from [censusindia.gov.in/Digital Library/Archive...](http://censusindia.gov.in/Digital Library/Archive...),**

There were also the large number of immigrants from or born in other States of India into the districts of North Bengal in both the census decades of 1971-81 and 1981-1991. The highest numbers of persons from other states were enumerated in the district of Jalpaiguri both in the census year of 1981 and 1991. However the numbers of person born in other than the State of West Bengal but enumerated in the district of Jalpaiguri declined from 125374 persons in 1981 to 102385 persons in 1991. It also declined in the district of Cooch Behar in a small bit from 29272 persons in 1981 to 29220 persons in 1991 census year. It declined from 73075 persons in 1981 in the district of West Dinajpur to 66635 persons in 1991. But it increased in all the other districts of North Bengal from 78980 persons in 1981 census year to 81746 persons in 1991 census year in the district of Darjeeling and from 37923 persons in 1981 census year in the district of Malda to the numbers of 50126 persons in 1991 census year.<sup>230</sup>

Among the States beyond the State of West Bengal having been the birth places of peoples enumerated in North Bengal districts the largest numbers were found from the State of Bihar.

In both the census year of 1981 and 1991 Bihar was the state being the birth place of the highest number of persons of North Bengal districts and the district of Jalpaiguri and West Dinajpur were two districts having largest numbers of people born in the State of Bihar. However, in 1981 the district of Jalpaiguri was in highest position having 82306 persons born in Bihar seconded by the district of West Dinajpur having 63921 persons born in Bihar. On the other the district of West Dinajpur contained 59227 numbers, the highest number of persons born in the State of Bihar seconded by the district of Jalpaiguri having 52465 persons born in Bihar. There was increase in the district of Maldah having persons born in Bihar from 34381 persons in 1981 to 43606 persons in 1991. But there were declines in the Districts of Cooch Behar from having 8143 persons in 1981 to 6360 persons in 1991 born in Bihar and Darjeeling from 49258 persons in 1981 to 48085 persons in 1991 born in Bihar.

There was large number of peoples born in the State of Assam but enumerated in the districts of Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri in both the census period. In both the decade the district of Jalpaiguri had the highest number of people born in Assam being 27159 persons and 31040 persons respectively in 1981 and 1991 census year. On the other the district of Cooch Behar had 16920 persons and 19010 persons born in Assam in 1981 and 1991 respectively. In the districts of Darjeeling and West Dinajpur also there were good number of persons born in Assam in both the decade the numbers being 6813 and 8320 in Darjeeling and 3148 and 3140 in West Dinajpur in 1981 and 1991 respectively. The district of Malda witnessed increase of persons born in Assam from 811 in 1981 to 1700 in 1991.<sup>231</sup>

Among the other States Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were important to have the people born there but enumerated in the districts of North Bengal. Continuing the long tradition the trading communities from both the States came in districts of North Bengal both in 1981 and 1991 census year having highest number in the district of Darjeeling seconded by the district of Jalpaiguri. North Bengal had 8807 persons born in Rajasthan during the census year of 1981 and 9010 persons born in Rajasthan in 1991. Persons born in Uttar Pradesh were 15832 in the census year of 1981 and in 1991 year that increased to 18469 persons born in the State of Uttar Pradesh but enumerated in North Bengal. There were 3303 persons from the State of Orissa in 1981 in North Bengal and it turned to 2540 persons in 1991. There were 1470 persons in the districts of North Bengal in 1981 born in the State of Punjab and increased to 2620 persons in 1991 the highest numbers being enumerated in the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. It is interesting that a good number of people numbering 1469 persons born in the State of Tripura were enumerated in North Bengal districts in 1981 and they increased to 2500 persons in 1991 census year. This was due to the disturbances in the State in 1980s due to the immigration of refugees from Bangladesh or erstwhile East Bengal province of Pakistan those refugees again being turned to the districts of North Bengal.

There was good number of persons in North Bengal districts particularly in the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri born in the State of Sikkim who numbered 740 and 4466 in the districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling respectively in 1981 census year. The States of Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Hariyana and Gujarat also was the good supplier of immigrants in the districts of North Bengal also during this period.<sup>232</sup> Thus the internal migration within the districts of North Bengal, among the districts of North Bengal in the State of West Bengal and with the districts of North Bengal and other states of India continued to be important during the period of twenty years from 1971 to 1991. However the migration from other nations also remained continuing during this period. Among the foreign nations Bangladesh played, even after its liberation from the yoke of West Pakistan in 1971, the most important role as it had been playing in the name East Bengal province of Pakistan since the partition of India in 1947. It had been recorded in the census of 1981 that North Bengal had about a million people (987784 persons) born in Bangladesh distributing 296680 persons in the district of Cooch Behar, 279186 persons in Jalpaiguri, 256023 persons in West Dinajpur, 103481 persons in Maldah and 52414 persons in Darjeeling district. Thus the districts of North Bengal as a whole constituted 10.46 percent population of the region with Bangladeshi nationals. In 1991 it decreased to some extent and reached to the number of 880877 persons distributing 229085 persons to the district of Cooch Behar, 263807 persons to Jalpaiguri, 248677 persons to West Dinajpur, 103068 persons to Maldah and 55263 to Darjeeling. Thus North Bengal constituted 7.32 percent of the total population by the Bangladeshi nationals.<sup>233</sup>

According to the census record of 1981 there were few number of persons enumerated in the districts of North Bengal born in the land of Mayanmar. However, in the census of 1991 the number Mayanmar origin people grew and numbered 1095 persons in North Bengal as a whole distributing a large number in the district of Cooch Behar numbering 720 persons, numbering 175 persons in Jalpaiguri, 170 persons in Darjeeling, 20 persons in West Dinajpur and 10 persons in Malda. The Tibetans were also inflowing into Darjeeling district though in small number. There were large number of people basically enumerated in the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri born in Nepal in both the census year's of 1981 and 1991. There were 18349 persons in Jalpaiguri and 22470 persons in Darjeeling enumerated in 1981 who born in Nepal. The numbers decreased in 1991 being 10698 persons in Jalpaiguri district and 17608 persons in Darjeeling district. So, fresh immigration from Nepal into the districts of North Bengal remained continuing. There was also number of persons in the districts of North Bengal who were born in the Bhutan land. In 1981 census year there were 1516 persons and 1364 persons respectively enumerated in the districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling but born in Bhutan. The number increased in 1991 census year to 2020 persons in Jalpaiguri district but decreased to 820 persons in Darjeeling district.

A good number of Pakistan personnel numbering total 879 persons in 1981 census year distributing 127 persons in Cooch Behar, 160 persons in Jalpaiguri, 232 persons in Darjeeling, 339 persons in West Dinajpur and 21 persons in Maldah districts. In 1991 census years they numbered 350 in Cooch Behar, 310 in Jalpaiguri, 330 in Darjeeling, 1100 in West Dinajpur and 30 in Malda totaling 2120 persons in North Bengal as a whole.<sup>234</sup> The incident of Nepalese expulsion from Bhutan with the military crush of the Bhutan Government under the king Jigme Singye Wangchuk led to great exodus of the Bhutanese Nepalese from Bhutan. The works of Aris Michael,<sup>235</sup> Awdhesh Sinha<sup>236</sup>, Sibaji Pratim Basu<sup>237</sup> etc. highlight over the phenomenon of Nepalese immigration into the Bhutan land and establishment of residential areas of Lhotshampas or Southerners as they settled in southern part of Bhutan. Thus the group of Nepalese language speaking Bhutanese people emerged comprising by the various Nepali castes people. With the growth of number and dominating in economy and cultural sovereignty alienated the Bhutanese to them. Being inhabitant for a long time the Bhutanese of Nepalese origin demanded for different rights. But the Foreign Minister Dawa Tsering told that during the time of 1960s and 1970s due to the demand of labour in construction work for development project of Bhutan large number of Nepalese immigrated into Bhutan who did not return after completion of their works. The Bhutan Government policy of seeking out of the illegal Nepali immigrants resented the Nepalese with their resultant protest leading to the military action of the Bhutan government and flight of the Nepalese Sanjoy Hazarika reported to The New York Times in 1993 that during this time about tens of thousand Nepali originated Bhutanese left Bhutan.<sup>238</sup> Of them number of Bhutanese Nepalese might have settled in the hills and Terai-Duars region of North Bengal. It is corroborated by the fact that the Bhutan People's Party was alleged of using North Bengal's tea growing areas as the hideouts.<sup>239</sup>

It is acknowledged fact in all scholarly fields that post-Bangladesh liberation period witnessed immigration of the Bangladeshi immigrants into India, especially in the West Bengal in new manner and caused by new factor. As the migrants from Bangladesh after March 24' 1971 illegally coming to India were not accepted, absorbed or entertained it took the form of infiltration as the Indira-Mujib Pact of 1972 demarcated the line of taking responsibility of the phenomenon of Bangladeshi influx into India by the government of Bangladesh since 25<sup>th</sup> March' 1971. In spite of this the phenomenon of illegal immigration in the form of infiltration continued during the period between 1971 and 1991. This process of infiltrated migration naturally became undocumented migration. The period between 1951-71 witnessed Hindu dominated immigration into North Bengal districts from the erstwhile East Bengal province of Pakistan. But the period of 1971-1991 the district experienced with Muslim dominated immigration from Bangladesh coming for land and employment.<sup>240</sup>

it is recorded in the Bangladesh census of 1991 that the proportion of the Muslims in total population in 1951 was 76.9 percent and the proportion of the Hindus was 22.0 percent, in



1961 it became the Muslims 80.4 percent and the Hindus 18.5 percent, in 1974 the Muslims became 85.4 percent and the Hindus 13.5 percent, in 1981 the Muslims became 86.6 percent and the Hindus 12.1 percent and finally in 1991 the Muslims became 88.3 percent and Hindus 10.5 percent. So up to 1974 the proportion of the Hindus was not much in contrary to the decline of the proportion of the Hindus in total population. During this time the Hindus migrated much. But in 1974-81 the proportion of the Muslims in total population of Bangladesh does not comply with the decline of the Hindus.<sup>241</sup> On the other the annual growth of the Muslims of 2.1 percent during 1981-1991 also could not be corroborated with the 4.5 percent fertility.<sup>242</sup> The Muslims in large number immigrated into West Bengal and North Bengal districts. This again may be corroborated by the fact of comparatively larger growth of Muslim population in North Bengal districts than Bangladesh. The phenomenon of infiltration may be more realized from following table of detecting the Bangladeshi infiltrators.

**Table 4.47**  
**Detected Bangladeshi Infiltrators**  
**1989-1994**

YEARS	BSF	CUSTOMS	MTF	DISTRICT POLICE	TOTAL
1989	81		158	136	375
1990	171	16	49	87	323
1991	56	45	66	56	223
1992	45	46	126	24	241
1993	106	33	160	24	323
1994	24	25	158	193	400

**Source: Unpublished Home Department Figures, Govt. of West Bengal in Samaddar, Ranabir, The Marginal Nation, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1999, p.187**

The following tables also will highlight over the illegal infiltration in North Bengal region distributing by religion.

**Table 4.48**  
**Bangladeshi Illegal Entrants Detected by the BSF**  
**In North Bengal Sector 1991-94**

YEAR	HINDU	MUSLIM	OTHER	TOTAL
1991	286	393		679
1992	1000	1475	27	2502
1993	98	433		531
1994	204	239		443

**Source: Unpublished Home Ministry Figures, 1995, in Samaddar, Ranabir, p.182**

**Table 4.49**  
**Bangladeshi Illegal Entrants Received from other Agencies by the BSF**  
**In North Bengal Sector 1991-94**

YEAR	HINDU	MUSLIM	OTHER	TOTAL
1991	72	430	NIL	502
1992	153	867	NIL	1020
1993	45	2457	13	2515
1994	NIL	2147	NIL	2147

**Source: Unpublished Home Ministry Figures, 1995 , in Samaddar, Ranabir, p.182**

There was another type of immigration from Bangladesh into West Bengal and North Bengal districts. Both the Hindus and the Muslims used to arrange valid travel documents with passports and entered into India as legal immigrants or visitors. But most of them during the period of 1971-1991 did not return and overstayed in the region. From the government no serious steps were taken in this context except recording and reporting. Thus the large number of Hindus and Muslims from Bangladesh came into North Bengal districts as legal immigrants but became missing after the period of permission of their being legal immigrants and those missing peoples gradually turned into refugees. This phenomenon of missing persons' immigration may be discussed in case of Missing Hindus population in Bangladesh. The Bangladesh government did not recognize the problem of migration into India from Bangladesh. But the census Report of Bangladesh of 1991 recorded gradual decline of Hindu population in Bangladesh since 1951.<sup>243</sup> The Hindus increased during the period 1951-1991 only by 2 million persons. It does not corroborate the 2.4 percent annual growth of the Hindus. Thus great number of the Hindus came to be 'missing' from Bangladesh.<sup>244</sup> They might have immigrated into West Bengal in portions and North Bengal districts might have a good share in it.

The post-Bangladesh liberation movement period also witnessed an important phenomenon of immigration of the Bihari Muslims in North Bengal districts. After the partition of 1947 and the following riots in Bihar in 1950, 1959 and 1964 the Biharis emigrated in great number to East Bengal province of Pakistan. They were Urdu speaking people and together with the Urdu speaking immigrants from Eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and North-Eastern province of Assam they came to be known under single banner of 'Bihari Muslims'.<sup>245</sup> The Bihari Muslims being Urdu speaking got the privileges in Jobs and employments and became closer to the West Pakistani Government's people and prosperous. This envied and enraged the local Bengali Muslims and attacks on the Bihari Muslims were happened prior to the war of independence of Bangladesh broke out. This again resulted into support of the Pakistani military crackdown on East Pakistan by the so called Bihari Muslims.<sup>246</sup> It has come to know from the interview that

during the time of war these Bihari Muslims were more active in oppressing and vandalizing the Hindus and even the Bengali Muslims. They guided the Pakistani soldiers in remote areas unknown to the army.<sup>247</sup> As a result during post war period the Bihari Muslims were attacked and harassed for their collaboration with the Pakistani Army. Thus the pre war hostility and post-war atrocities led the Bihari Muslims in large number to migrate into India from Bangladesh. The existence of large number of Bihari Muslims in different parts of North Bengal and particularly in terai-duars region indicated the immigration of the Bihari Muslims in post-Bangladesh liberation period. Ranabir Samaddar accounted that out of 750000 Bihari Muslims in camps in 1972, only 200000 remained in 1992. So about five lakh Bihari Muslims crossed over and many of them might settle in India.<sup>248</sup> So the post-1971 period North Bengal witnessed large volume of immigration into its different districts leading greater and larger changes in demographic composition of the region. The pattern of migration with the traditional internal and external migration also experienced with forced and evicted migration as the Nepalese evacuees from Bhutan and different parts of North East India and Bengali and few others evacuees from the then Myanmar also from Assam, Refugees from Tibetan land and most importantly the legal and illegal Hindu and Muslim immigrants cum infiltrators and the missing people's immigration into North Bengal districts. This led to the greater rise of the Muslim population into the southern two districts of North Bengal. Darjeeling with great volume of continuing immigration of the Nepalese in largest numbers in its hill tract made the region Hindu Nepali dominated tract. On the other the plains being traversed by the large number of scheduled caste immigrants from Bangladesh together with the local SC people remained SC dominated tract. On the other the Duars of Jalpaiguri district previously the ST dominated tract turned into SC dominated with large volume of SC and upper caste immigrants during this period.

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