



© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

3. Beyond Borders: Migration from Bangladesh & its Implications in Assam

*Darshana Saikia,¹ *Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah²*

¹Ph.D. Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, North Lakhimpur University, Assam

²Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, North Lakhimpur University, Assam

*digantahb@gmail.com

Abstract

Migration has long been a catalyst for change in north-eastern India, shaping the social, economic, and political fabric of regions like Assam. This paper examines the historical evolution and contemporary consequences of migration from Bangladesh to Assam. Synthesising archival records, government reports, and scholarly analyses, it reconstructs the phases of migration from the colonial era and partition to the present day. The study highlights how migration has driven socio-cultural transformations, economic disruptions, and political realignments, redefining local identities and challenging policy frameworks. The findings emphasise the need for balanced approaches that respect indigenous rights while addressing economic and governance challenges in a rapidly shifting demographic landscape.

Key Words: Bangladesh Migration, demographic landscape, Socio-cultural Transformation, Economic Disruption, Political Realignment.

Introduction

Migration has been an inherent part of human history, shaping societies through demographic shifts, cultural exchanges, and economic transformations. In South Asia, cross-border migration has played a particularly significant role in influencing regional identities and political dynamics. One of the most contentious migration corridors in India is that between Bangladesh and Assam, where the movement of people has sparked intense socio-political debates for decades. The migration of Bangladeshi nationals, both documented and undocumented into Assam has been a subject of economic, cultural, and political contestation, influencing local livelihoods, ethnic identities, and governance structures.

The origins of this migration are deeply rooted in the history of Assam in the form colonial economic policies and socio-political consequence which reflects in the partition of India in 1947 to the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971 and subsequent socio-economic disruptions in Bangladesh. While some of this migration has been voluntary, driven by economic opportunities and environmental displacement, other instances involve forced migration due to religious persecution and political instability. Over time, this phenomenon has led to significant changes in Assam's demographic composition, raising concerns over land ownership, resource distribution, cultural preservation, and indigenous identity. These concerns have manifested in large-scale movements such as the Assam Movement (1979–1985) and legislative interventions like the Assam Accord (1985) and the National Register of Citizens (NRC) update. The passage of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) 2019 has further complicated the debate, highlighting the competing narratives of humanitarianism, national security, and indigenous rights.

© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

The implications of Bangladeshi migration into Assam extend beyond demographic shifts, affecting the region's socio-cultural fabric, economic structures, and political landscape. Culturally, the assimilation of migrants has led to linguistic and religious transformations, sometimes resulting in tensions between local Assamese communities and migrant populations. Economically, while migration has contributed to labour-intensive sectors such as agriculture and construction, it has also led to increased competition for jobs and concerns over wage suppression. Politically, the phenomenon has shaped electoral outcomes, influencing party politics, policy decisions, and governance strategies. The lack of reliable data on migration further complicates policy formulation, creating space for political rhetoric that either exaggerates or underestimates the extent of migration's impact.

Objectives

1. To analyse the historical background of migration from Bangladesh to Assam, including key phases, policies, and demographic changes.
2. To examine the socio-cultural, economic, and political impacts of migration, highlighting its effects on identity, employment, governance, and policy responses.

Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research approach, drawing on historical archival research, analysis of government reports and census data, and a review of scholarly literature. The methodology involves a critical examination of primary and secondary sources to trace the historical evolution of migration from Bangladesh to Assam and to assess its socio-cultural, economic, and political impacts. This multi-method strategy allows for a comprehensive understanding of the factors driving migration and its consequences on the region's identity and governance.

Historical Context of Migration from Bangladesh to Assam

Migration from present-day Bangladesh to Assam has been an ongoing process shaped by historical, political, and socio-economic factors. While migration patterns evolved over different time periods, colonial land policies, political upheavals, and state responses played crucial roles in facilitating or restricting movement. The impact of migration in Assam has been deeply intertwined with demographic changes, land distribution, and identity politics, leading to socio-political movements and legislative measures.

Colonial Period

During British rule, Assam was a part of the Bengal Presidency (until 1874), which facilitated close economic and administrative ties with Bengal. This administrative relation encouraged Bengali-speaking people to migrate with documents and without documents to Assam and other neighbouring states of India (Guha, 1980). For the commercial agenda and increasing food grains production, the colonial administration introduced some administrative policies which open a door to the people of East Bengal and other part of central India for migration to Assam. To fulfil the interest of commercial prioritised policies of British Government particularly in the area of tea plantations and grow more food were urgently required a significant labour force. While tea garden labourers were primarily brought from central India and agricultural labours from the East Bengal to Assam's riverine areas (Hutton, 1933).

The introduction of the *Line System* in the early 20th century was a colonial attempt to control the settlement of East Bengals migrants by designating specific areas for them, ostensibly to prevent land

© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

conflicts with indigenous communities (Baruah, 1999). However, the policy was inconsistently implemented, and migration continued. Sir Syed Muhammad Saadullah, the Premier of Assam, further encouraged migration through land settlement policies aimed at increasing agricultural production (Gopaldaswami, 1953). His government, under pressure from the colonial administration, initiated land development policies that prioritised agricultural expansion, which inadvertently led to an increase in Bengali Muslim settlements in Assam's fertile plains (Guha, 1980).

The *Grow More Food Scheme*, introduced during World War II to enhance food security, further facilitated migration by providing incentives to cultivate fallow lands (Sinha, 1998). The 1931 Census, conducted under Census Commissioner J.H. Hutton, documented a substantial rise in the Bengali-speaking population in Assam, attributing it to migration from East Bengal (Hutton, 1933). The demographic shifts caused growing apprehensions among the indigenous Assamese population, who feared the loss of land and cultural identity.

Partition and Its Aftermath (1947–1971)

The partition of India in 1947 created East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), leading to large-scale displacement and migration across the newly drawn borders. Many Bengali Hindus fled from East Pakistan to Assam as refugees, while Bengali Muslims continued migrating, largely for economic reasons (Gopaldaswami, 1953). The Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act, 1950 was introduced to address concerns over undocumented migration, but it exempted persecuted religious minorities, making implementation difficult (Baruah, 1999).

The 1951 Census, overseen by Census Commissioner R.A. Gopaldaswami, highlighted continued migration trends, though administrative challenges made accurate documentation difficult (Gopaldaswami, 1953). The Assam government introduced restrictive policies such as the *Assam Maintenance of Public Order (Autonomous Districts) Act, 1953*, aimed at regulating settlement patterns (Guha, 1980). However, concerns over unchecked migration persisted, and political responses remained inadequate.

The demographic changes resulting from migration had linguistic and cultural implications, leading to tensions over linguistic identity in Assam. The increased presence of Bengali-speaking populations in the Brahmaputra Valley sparked concerns among Assamese nationalists, culminating in the *Language Movement (Bhasha Andolan)* of the 1960s and 1970s. Assamese nationalist groups demanded the recognition of Assamese as the sole official language of the state, fearing the marginalisation of the Assamese language (Guha, 1980). These demands led to political protests, which resulted in the *Assam Official Language Act, 1960*, making Assamese the official language of Assam while allowing Bengali as an official language in Barak Valley (Hussain, 2020).

Post-Liberation of Bangladesh (1971–Present)

The Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971 triggered another large-scale refugee crisis, with millions of Bangladeshis fleeing into India, particularly Assam and West Bengal (Baruah, 1999). While many returned after Bangladesh's independence, a significant number remained due to economic hardship and political instability. The *Indira-Mujib Pact (1972)* sought to address the issue of undocumented migrants by facilitating their repatriation, but implementation was ineffective (Hussain, 2020).

The post-1971 demographic changes intensified concerns among indigenous Assamese communities, leading to the *Assam Movement (1979-1985)*, which demanded the identification and deportation of

© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

undocumented migrants (Guha, 1980). Led by the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP), the movement argued that unchecked migration threatened Assamese identity, land rights, and political representation (Baruah, 1999). Protests, boycotts, and political negotiations ultimately led to the signing of the *Assam Accord (1985)*, which established 24 March 1971 as the cut-off date for detecting and deporting illegal migrants. The Accord also mandated an update to the National Register of Citizens (NRC) (Hussain, 2020).

Despite the Assam Accord, migration continued, and concerns over its implementation persisted. The *1998 report* by Lt. Gen. (Retd.) S.K. Sinha, the then Governor of Assam, warned of demographic imbalances due to unchecked migration, citing potential socio-political instability (Sinha, 1998). His report argued that continued migration was altering Assam's demographic structure and could lead to ethnic conflicts.

Contemporary Trends and the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) 2019

In recent decades, migration from Bangladesh to Assam has continued, driven by economic disparities, environmental displacement, and political instability (Samaddar, 2020). Economic migration remains a significant factor, as labourers from Bangladesh seek employment in Assam's agricultural and informal labour sectors (Baruah, 1999). Additionally, climate change-induced factors such as riverbank erosion and floods in Bangladesh have contributed to displacement, leading to cross-border movement (Hussain, 2020).

The passage of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) 2019 reignited debates over migration in Assam. The Act, which granted fast-track citizenship to persecuted religious minorities from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh who entered India before 31 December 2014, was perceived differently in Assam compared to the rest of India. While it was framed as a humanitarian measure at the national level, in Assam, it was seen as a violation of the Assam Accord, as it allowed post-1971 migrants to obtain citizenship (Guha, 1980).

Supporters of the Act argued that it protected religious minorities facing persecution. However, opposition groups, including AASU and other regional organisations, contended that it undermined the secular principles of the Indian Constitution and posed a threat to Assam's indigenous demographic structure (Hussain, 2020). Protests erupted across Assam, reflecting broader tensions between humanitarian considerations and concerns over Assamese identity, linguistic preservation, and political autonomy (Samaddar, 2020).

Socio-Cultural Impact of Bangladeshi Migration in Assam

The migration of people from present-day Bangladesh to Assam has significantly influenced the socio-cultural fabric of the region. These changes have been reflected in language dynamics, religious composition, land ownership patterns, demographic shifts, and inter-community relations. While the interaction between Assamese and a migrant community has led to cultural exchanges, it has also created tensions, shaping the socio-political discourse in Assam.

One of the most visible impacts of migration has been the transformation of Assam's linguistic and cultural landscape. The increased presence of Bengali-speaking populations has altered communication patterns, particularly in lower Assam, where Bengali has gained prominence. This shift has fueled apprehensions regarding the preservation of Assamese language and identity, leading to cultural movements advocating for the protection of indigenous heritage (Baruah, 1999). Despite

© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

these tensions, cultural exchanges have occurred, influencing literature, music, and everyday practices. However, nationalist groups have often framed these changes as a dilution of Assamese identity, reinforcing anxieties about cultural erosion (Guha, 1980).

Religious dynamics in Assam have also been shaped by migration. Historically, the region has been home to a mix of Hindus, Muslims, and indigenous tribal communities, but the steady influx of Bengali Muslims has contributed to demographic shifts. This has led to concerns regarding religious conversions and inter-religious marriages, which some sections of Assamese society perceive as altering the region's traditional religious balance (Weiner, 1983). At the same time, shared religious practices and cultural traditions have facilitated inter-community exchanges, particularly in rural areas where Assamese Hindus and Muslims have coexisted for generations. However, political narratives often frame these demographic changes in terms of religious polarisation, leading to tensions and periodic conflicts (Hussain, 2020).

The settlement of Bangladeshi migrants has significantly impacted land ownership patterns and socio-economic structures. Many migrants, particularly those engaged in agriculture, have settled in areas that were previously uninhabited or designated as tribal land. This has raised concerns about land encroachment and displacement, particularly among indigenous communities who fear the loss of their traditional livelihoods (Sinha, 1998). While migrant labour has contributed to Assam's agrarian economy, competition for land and resources has led to socio-economic disparities. Indigenous farmers, in particular, have faced challenges in accessing land and market opportunities, exacerbating existing economic inequalities (Samaddar, 2020).

Demographic changes resulting from migration have further influenced social and political dynamics in Assam. Several districts, especially those near the Bangladesh border, have seen a significant increase in the Muslim population, shifting the religious and cultural composition of local communities. Census data has consistently documented these changes, reinforcing anxieties about political representation and cultural preservation (Gopaldaswami, 1953). In electoral politics, these demographic shifts have played a crucial role, with political parties often mobilising voters along ethnic and religious lines. The intersection of migration and political identity has contributed to a polarised political environment, shaping policy debates on citizenship and indigenous rights (Hussain, 2020).

The growing demographic and cultural shifts have led to tensions between different communities. Relations between Assamese Hindus, Assamese Muslims, and Bengali-speaking Muslims have often been complicated by identity-based politics and economic competition. Assamese Muslims, who have historically been an integral part of the region, have sometimes found themselves caught between nationalist sentiments and allegations of being part of the migrant population (Baruah, 1999). These divisions have fueled broader demands for stricter migration policies and protective measures for indigenous communities.

The socio-cultural changes resulting from migration have also contributed to a sense of insecurity among sections of the Assamese population. Concerns over the erosion of Assamese language, religious practices, and traditional lifestyles have been frequently raised in public and political discourse (Guha, 1980). Movements advocating for cultural preservation have emerged as a response to these fears, reinforcing demands for stronger identity-based policies. While migration has brought

© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

about cultural diversity and economic contributions, it has also intensified debates on identity, citizenship, and the future of Assam's indigenous heritage (Samaddar, 2020).

Economic Impact of Bangladeshi Migration in Assam

The migration of people from Bangladesh to Assam has had significant economic implications, shaping employment patterns, wage structures, and market competition. While migrant labour has contributed to the state's economy, concerns have emerged regarding its impact on local employment opportunities, wage levels, and government welfare schemes. The economic consequences of migration remain a crucial factor in debates on labour rights, resource distribution, and economic stability in Assam.

A key aspect of the economic impact of migration has been the occupational dominance of Bangladeshi migrants in several labour-intensive sectors. Migrants have a significant presence in construction, agriculture, transportation, and street vending, filling roles that require manual labour and are often avoided by the local population due to low wages and harsh working conditions (Weiner, 1983). In Assam's agricultural sector, migrant workers have been integral to rice cultivation, fishing, and dairy farming, leading to structural shifts in rural labour markets (Samaddar, 2020). However, this has also affected local employment, as Assamese labourers face increased competition in securing jobs in these sectors. The transportation and construction industries have similarly witnessed an influx of migrant workers, further intensified economic competition and altered employment dynamics (Baruah, 1999).

The availability of a large migrant workforce has had a direct impact on wage structures in Assam. Employers benefit from hiring migrant labourers who are often willing to work for lower wages due to their vulnerable socio-economic position and lack of bargaining power (Guha, 1980). As a result, wage levels for local workers in manual labour sectors have stagnated or declined, reducing overall income security for Assamese workers. The competition between local and migrant labour forces has led to a wage depression effect, particularly in unorganized sectors, where employment protections and labour rights enforcement remain weak (Hussain, 2020). This phenomenon has created economic grievances among indigenous workers, fueling narratives of economic displacement and marginalisation.

Market competition has also intensified due to migration, particularly in small-scale businesses and informal trade. Many migrants engage in petty trade, setting up street vending businesses and retail stalls that compete with local vendors. This has influenced pricing structures and business dynamics in urban and semi-urban areas, sometimes leading to friction between Assamese entrepreneurs and migrant business owners (Weiner, 1983). In rural areas, migrant labour's integration into agricultural markets has reshaped the production and supply chain, affecting traditional farming communities' control over land and agrarian resources (Sinha, 1998). While increased labour supply has contributed to agricultural productivity, it has also resulted in land fragmentation and disputes over tenancy rights.

The saturation of employment in certain sectors due to the influx of migrant workers has raised concerns about job availability for the local population. With a growing labour force, job opportunities have become more competitive, particularly for low-skilled workers. In industries where employment is already limited, such as small-scale manufacturing and local service sectors, the presence of migrants has further constrained job access for Assamese youth and marginalised communities (Samaddar, 2020). This economic saturation has also been linked to patterns of out-migration among

© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

indigenous Assamese workers, who seek employment opportunities in other Indian states due to reduced prospects in their home region (Hussain, 2020).

Participation of Bangladeshi migrants in government welfare schemes has been a contentious issue in Assam's socio-economic discourse. Reports have highlighted instances where migrants, often through fraudulent documentation, have accessed poverty alleviation schemes, ration subsidies, and rural employment programs intended for economically disadvantaged Indian citizens (Sinha, 1998). This has created resentment among sections of the local population, who perceive migrants as unfairly benefiting from state resources. While the extent of such participation remains debated, it has contributed to political demands for stricter verification processes in public welfare programs.

The broader economic impact of migration extends to social and financial stability in Assam. While migrant labour contributes to economic output in agriculture, construction, and trade, the uneven distribution of benefits has generated economic anxieties among local populations. The informal nature of migrant employment has also led to concerns about tax contributions, labour protections, and financial inclusion (Guha, 1980). Since many migrants, particularly those without legal documentation, operate within the informal sector, they remain outside the tax net, resulting in a revenue shortfall for the state government. While they contribute to Assam's economy through labour, the absence of direct tax contributions limits the government's ability to reinvest in public infrastructure, welfare programs, and employment schemes for local residents. This tax-exempt status, combined with the strain on public resources, has fueled concerns that while migration supports certain industries, it also imposes long-term economic challenges for the state. As migration continues to shape Assam's economy, addressing these economic challenges remains central to policy debates on labour rights, economic equity, and sustainable development.

Political Impact of Bangladeshi Migration in Assam

The political consequences of Bangladeshi migration in Assam have been profound, influencing electoral strategies, governance structures, and regional political discourse. Over the years, political parties have engaged with migrant communities as a strategic vote bank, impacting policy decisions and electoral outcomes. The reliance on these communities for electoral gains has shaped the state's political landscape, often leading to contentious debates on citizenship, identity, and governance (Weiner, 1983).

One of the primary concerns has been the utilisation of migrants as a vote bank, with political parties accused of catering to migrant populations in exchange for electoral support. The Congress party, in particular, has been historically alleged to have benefited from the inclusion of migrant voters, influencing election results in key constituencies (Baruah, 1999). This strategic reliance has often led to challenges in data accuracy and enumeration, as there has been a persistent lack of precise data regarding the number of Bangladeshi migrants in Assam. Census records and voter lists have faced scrutiny, with concerns over politically motivated data manipulation affecting decision-making processes (Gohain, 2008).

The influence of migrant vote banks on political discourse has been evident in policy formulation and governance. Debates surrounding citizenship, the NRC, and the implementation of the Assam Accord, and CAA, 2019 have been shaped by political considerations regarding migrant populations. This has often resulted in policies that seek to balance electoral gains with appeasement strategies, leading to contradictions in legislative measures (Hussain, 2020).

© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

Another significant issue has been the presence of Doubtful (D) voters, individuals whose citizenship status remains under question, impacting electoral fairness. The Election Commission of India (ECI) has flagged several cases of doubtful voters, leading to their disenfranchisement until proper verification is conducted. However, the process has often been criticised as politically motivated, with allegations of bias against specific communities (Samaddar, 2020).

Additionally, fraudulent documentation and participation in government welfare schemes have raised concerns regarding political and administrative integrity. Reports indicate that many undocumented migrants have managed to acquire fake citizenship documents, including Aadhaar Cards, Ration Cards, and Voter IDs, enabling them to access state welfare benefits (Sharma, 2012). This has had implications for political representation, as constituencies with a significant migrant presence have witnessed shifts in electoral dynamics, often at the cost of indigenous representation.

The political dominance of migrant communities in certain regions has also led to tensions regarding governance priorities. In several areas, elected representatives have been accused of prioritising the interests of migrant communities to secure electoral support, leading to fears of indigenous marginalisation (Nath, 2019). This shift in political power has contributed to demands for stronger policies to safeguard indigenous rights and ensure that electoral representation aligns with constitutional provisions.

Lastly, the broader socio-cultural and socio-economic impact of migration has had political ramifications, leading to debates on self-determination, civil rights, and identity preservation. The emergence of regionalist and nationalist political movements, such as the Assam Movement and its political offshoots, has been fueled by concerns over indigenous representation. The issue remains central to Assam's political landscape, influencing governance strategies and shaping legislative interventions aimed at addressing migration-related challenges (Barbora, 2008).

Conclusion

The migration of Bangladeshi nationals to Assam has had far-reaching implications, shaping the region's socio-cultural fabric, economic structures, and political landscape. The persistence of undocumented migration, coupled with governance challenges, has fueled debates on identity, citizenship, and resource distribution. The complexity of this issue necessitates a balanced approach that addresses security concerns while upholding humanitarian and constitutional principles.

One of the key steps toward resolving the issue is the strengthening of border management and surveillance mechanisms. While fencing along the Indo-Bangladesh border has been partially completed, gaps remain that facilitate unauthorized cross-border movement. Effective border patrolling, the use of technology such as biometric tracking, and diplomatic cooperation with Bangladesh are necessary to curb irregular migration (Bhardwaj, 2018). Additionally, a streamlined and transparent citizenship verification process is essential. The implementation of the NRC in Assam has exposed flaws in documentation and verification, leading to the exclusion of genuine citizens and the inclusion of undocumented migrants in some cases. A robust, transparent, and non-discriminatory approach to updating the NRC, with clear legal recourse for affected individuals, is crucial for addressing concerns related to citizenship and statelessness (Chakrabarty, 2020).

At the socio-economic level, economic development and job creation within Assam and Bangladesh can help mitigate migration pressures. Many Bangladeshi migrants enter Assam due to economic

© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

hardships and lack of employment opportunities in their home country. Strengthening bilateral trade, creating job opportunities in border districts, and encouraging economic investments in Bangladesh can reduce migration incentives (Sikdar, 2019). Within Assam, policy measures should focus on equitable distribution of resources and employment opportunities for local communities, ensuring that migration does not disproportionately affect indigenous populations. Special employment schemes targeted at marginalised Assamese youth can help address concerns over economic displacement (Baruah, 2005).

Politically, electoral reforms are necessary to prevent vote bank politics based on migration. Independent and non-partisan oversight mechanisms should be strengthened to ensure fair electoral processes and prevent the manipulation of voter lists for political gains (Weiner, 1983). The issue of Doubtful (D) voters must be resolved through a systematic and fair verification process, ensuring that genuine citizens are not disenfranchised while preventing electoral fraud (Samaddar, 2020).

A significant challenge remains in balancing indigenous rights with constitutional protections for all residents. Assam's concerns over cultural preservation and political representation are valid, yet any resolution must align with constitutional values and international human rights standards. Policy frameworks should focus on integration rather than exclusion, ensuring that legal migrants and documented individuals have pathways to assimilation while preventing further unauthorized influx (Hussain, 2020). Civil society organizations, local governance institutions, and community leaders must be actively involved in discussions, fostering dialogue between indigenous communities and migrant populations to reduce tensions and prevent ethnic conflicts (Barbora, 2008).

Ultimately, a holistic and multi-pronged approach is required to address the complexities of migration in Assam. A combination of effective border management, economic development, electoral reforms, and legal clarity on citizenship can help mitigate the adverse impacts of migration while ensuring that Assam's indigenous identity and socio-political stability are preserved. Without a sustainable and inclusive policy framework, migration-related tensions will continue to pose challenges to governance, development, and social cohesion. The need for a long-term resolution remains critical, requiring cooperation at the state, national, and international levels.

References:

1. Baruah, S. (1999). *India Against Itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
2. Barbora, S. (2008). Autonomy in the Northeast: The Frontiers of Centralized Politics. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(17), 33–40.
3. Baruah, S. (2005). *Durable Disorder: Understanding the Politics of Northeast India*. Oxford University Press.
4. Baruah, S. (2020). *In the Name of the Nation: India and Its Northeast*. Stanford University Press.
5. Bhardwaj, S. (2018). Border Security Challenges and Migration in Northeast India. *Indian Journal of Political Science*, 79(4), 561–578.
6. Bhaumik, S. (2009). *Troubled Periphery: Crisis of India's North East*. Sage Publications.
7. Bose, S. (1981). Migration and Identity in Northeast India: A Historical Perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 16(4), 145-152.
8. Chakrabarty, B. (2020). *The NRC in Assam: Citizenship and Statelessness in India*. Routledge.

© Darshana Saikia, Dr. Diganta Hatiboruah

9. Chakrabarty, D. (2005). The Partition of Bengal and Its Impact on Assam. *South Asia Journal*, 28(3), 215-230.
10. Chatterji, J. (2007). *The Spoils of Partition: Bengal and India, 1947-1967*. Cambridge University Press.
11. Das, P. (2016). Cross-border Migration and Its Socio-Economic Impact on Assam. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 24(1), 77-95.
12. Gohain, H. (2008). Assam: The Past and the Present. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(36), 12-15.
13. Gopalaswami, R.A. (1953). *Census of India, 1951: Assam*. Government of India.
14. Guha, A. (1980). *Planter Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam, 1826-1947*. Indian Council of Historical Research.
15. Guha, A. (1980). Little Nationalism Turned Chauvinist: Assam's Anti-Foreigner Upsurge, 1979-1985. *Social Scientist*, 8(7), 5-27.
16. Hazarika, S. (2000). *Rites of Passage: Border Crossings, Imagined Homelands, India's East and Bangladesh*. Penguin.
17. Hussain, M. (1993). The Assam Movement: Class, Ideology, and Identity. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28(4), 169-178.
18. Hutton, J.H. (1933). *Census of India, 1931: Assam*. Government of India.
19. International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2019). *World Migration Report 2020*. Geneva.
20. Misra, U. (2000). Immigration and Identity Transformation in Assam. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35(30), 2663-2671.
21. Nath, S. (2020). Citizenship, NRC, and the Politics of Exclusion in Assam. *South Asian Journal of Political Science*, 38(1), 45-67.
22. Nath, D. (2019). *Ethnicity, Politics, and Marginalization: The Assam Experience*. Routledge.
23. Saikia, A. (2004). *Forests and Ecological History of Assam, 1826-2000*. Oxford University Press.
24. Samaddar, R. (2020). *Migrants and the Neoliberal State: Displaced Struggles and the Politics of Mobility*. Routledge.
25. Sikdar, S. (2019). Economic Factors Behind Migration: A Case Study of Bangladesh-Assam Corridor. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 54(30), 21-26.
26. Sinha, S.K. (1998). *Report on Illegal Migration into Assam*. Government of India.
27. Sharma, C. (2012). Assam Accord and Its Implementation: A Critical Analysis. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(12), 59-66.
28. Sharma, M. (2012). Citizenship, Migration, and Conflict: Assam's Identity Struggles. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(23), 41-47.
29. Singh, M. (2017). The Politics of Citizenship and Exclusion in Assam. *South Asian Survey*, 24(1), 74-94.
30. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2020). *Refugee Protection and Mixed Migration: The 2020 Context*.
31. van Schendel, W. (2005). *The Bengal Borderland: Beyond State and Nation in South Asia*. Anthem Press.
32. Weiner, M. (1978). *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*. Princeton University Press.
33. Weiner, M. (1983). The Political Demography of Assam's Anti-Immigrant Movement. *Population and Development Review*, 9(2), 279-292.