Migration from Agricultural Land in Barpeta to Waste-land in Lucknow: A Struggle for Livelihood

Roli Misra

To cite this article: Roli Misra (2017): Migration from Agricultural Land in Barpeta to Waste-land in Lucknow: A Struggle for Livelihood, Journal of North East India Studies, 7(2): 33-45.

Published online: 1 December 2017.

Submit your article to this journal: editor.jneis@yahoo.com

Terms and conditions of use: This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of Association for North East India Studies.
Migration from Agricultural Land in Barpeta to Waste-land in Lucknow: A Struggle for Livelihood

Roli Misra

Migration influences the society, polity, geography, culture, demography and economy in different ways and degrees. From the global macro level to the rural micro level via nation-states and other politico-spatial formations it exerts influence at all levels. This paper is based on the field survey conducted in two cities i.e., Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh (the destination) and Barpeta in Assam (the source). The experiences from the field survey demonstrate that people from a particular religious minority from rural Barpeta have been migrating since last two decades to Lucknow and they have found their livelihoods in waste. It is a kind of long distance rural-urban migration. There are mixed reasons to migrate. Hence, it is a kind of complex yet interesting situation where a certain linguistic community has migrated to a distant land, chosen to indulge in a menial job and the state is indifferent to include them in mainstream development policies because of their contested identities.

Keywords: Migration, Identity, Bangladesh, Assam, Bodo, Waste-picker, Lucknow, Barpeta

Introduction

Migration is a historical process and it has been playing a decisive role in shaping the onward march of human civilisation from the remotest past to contemporary times. Obviously, migration is going to shape to a large extent the future of the planet and the people living inter-connectedly therein. Apodictically, migration influences the society, polity, geography, culture, demography and economy in different ways and degrees. From the global macro level to the rural micro level via nation-states and other politico-spatial formations it exerts influence at all levels. This paper attempts to map long distance migration of a section of population who belong to agricultural community in rural Barpeta district of Assam but have migrated to different parts of Uttar Pradesh, have chosen to become waste pickers in this distant land. We shall be dealing with migration which has taken place especially in the city of Lucknow. The peculiar characteristic about them is that all of them claim to have come from one...
place called Barpeta Road and all of them are Bengali speaking Muslims (of East Bengal origin). This peculiarity of place of origin compelled us to know the factual condition at the source which has resulted in migration of approximately 50,000 people from a single district i.e. Barpeta for more than two decades. It is in this backdrop this paper attempts to examine various reasons of migration of people from agricultural land in Barpeta to urban informal sector in Lucknow and their struggle for livelihood.

A Brief Review of Literature

Decision to migrate is mostly a choice except in compelling circumstances of conflict and insecurity. In developing countries the tendency to migrate from rural areas towards urban areas can be comprehended by calculating the net expected gains from migration. The concept of internal migration (from rural to urban) attracted the attention of both academics and policymakers only after the publication of seminal work of Lewis (1954). The inter-sectoral allocation of labour is the centerpiece in the dual economy analysis of Lewis (1954) and subsequent works by Ranis and Fei (1961). The main message of these studies is that in the process of development, labour moves to the modern sector which facilitates development. Generally, the idea is that labor flows from the rural sector to urban areas, where it fuels urban industrial growth. A growth in industry would lead to an increase in the demand for labor and some of those subsisting on family or self-employment would be absorbed into wage employment. This model has recently fallen mostly out of favor, as it has become increasingly evident that rural-urban migration occurs in excess of urban job opportunities. Today, rural-urban migration is seen as both a symptom of and a contributor to underdevelopment (Todaro and Smith 2003). The fact that younger people have a higher propensity to migrate is consistent with the model, as they have a longer working lifetime to consider, and thus would likely have a higher present value of expected future income. Factors such as transportation costs, expected cost of living, and psychological costs are also considered in the decision process, but expected income is the central variable in the model.

Furthermore, there are certain cumulative factors explained in the cumulative causation theory of migration given by Myrdal (1957) which alters the social context thus, resulting in subsequent decisions for migratory pattern. Ernest Ravenstein is widely regarded as the earliest migration theorist. Ravenstein, an English geographer, used census data from England and Wales to develop his ‘Laws of Migration’ (1889). He concluded that migration was governed by a ‘push-pull’ process; that is, unfavorable conditions in one place ‘push’ people out, and favorable conditions in an external location ‘pull’ them out in. Ravenstein’s laws stated that the primary cause for migration was better external economic opportunities; the volume of migration decreases as distance increases; migration occurs in stages instead of one long move; population movements are bilateral; and migration differentials (e.g., gender, social class, age) influence a person’s mobility. It is plausible that despite low expected benefits at the destination people have tendency to migrate since the expected benefits at origin are even lower.
The migration literature provides a diverse range of related definitions based on three dimensions, which are explained by Kothari (2002). The first dimension entails the motives for migrations. The reasons to migrate are in many cases not just economic and social but also political and cultural. A migrant from an impoverished backward region may be attracted to more prosperous regions because of better public services, higher wages, more business opportunities, more employment opportunities etc. The second dimension is the geographical aspect of population movement. Migration flows form a certain spatial pattern, which depends on the distance the migrant’s travel and the direction of their movements. The last dimension is time, which is for how long does the migrant stay in the destination area and how often does he or she travel between different destinations. Many a time migration occur not because of urban opportunities, but due to lack of rural opportunities. However, it is entirely possible that during certain periods of time, urban opportunity stimulated migration, while in others migration occurred without this stimulus. In the Harris-Todaro model, the urban informal sector serves as a kind of “staging post” for recent migrants who, newly arrived to the city, have not yet found a job in the formal sector. The informal sector is characterized by easy entry and low wages, and employment is assumed to be temporary. When there is a failure to obtain a formal sector job, potential migrants consider employment in the informal sector. Furthermore, the search for such a job continues while working in the informal sector. According to Banerjee, the realism of the process presented in probabilistic migration models is challenged. Using household survey data collected in Delhi, Banerjee finds empirical evidence which casts doubt on these assumptions. Most notably, while over a half of the migrants surveyed entered the informal sector upon arrival in Delhi, very few entered the type of non-wage employment that is suggested by Harris-Todaro probabilistic models. Also importantly, the majority of migrants who entered the informal sector upon arrival in the city did not continue to look for a job in the formal sector. Less than a quarter of those who entered the informal wage sector upon arrival moved into the formal sector (Banerjee 1983). These findings suggest that wage differentials and official employment rates might not be the best explanatory variables in modeling migration. Migration could be induced by a number of factors, such as natural disaster, political unrest, conflict induced or marriage but probabilistic models assume migration to be voluntary and employment induced. As such, they are not entirely realistic and do not capture the full range of migrants and their reasons for moving. Since rural-urban migration can be influenced by such a diverse multitude of factors, to attempt to define causal relationships is difficult to say the least. If the migration decision is made based on a comparison of expected future incomes in the rural and urban sectors, then a worsening of rural conditions (decreasing rural mean income, increasing rural poverty) would certainly be expected to increase migration. Poverty can also have an influence on the level of migration due to the fact that it makes individuals more vulnerable to a number of other factors. As per the Eleventh Five Year Plan “migrant workers are the most vulnerable and exploited among the informal sector workers, and have not received any attention in the labour policy”. It is not only the pressure to earn a living that forces the gullible rural masses to migrate to towns and
cities and ultimately end up in slums, but it is the human urge to seek freedom from the tyranny and oppression of the dominant class which also provide fodder for this migration (Louis 2001).

**Conceptual framework**
Given this backdrop and conceptual framework this paper attempts to address the following objectives:

1. To know the reasons for long distance inter-state migration from rural areas of Assam to urban area of Lucknow.
2. To know the nature of migration whether it is voluntary or forced.
3. To know why these migrants have chosen to become waste-pickers in their destination place digressing from their earlier occupation at their place of origin.

Methodology, Scope of the Study
A primary survey was conducted in May 2012 in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh and also in Barpeta and Baksa in Assam. This study was conducted on hundred joint households (household with two or more basic couples) spread across seven villages in Barpeta and Baksa district from May 2014 to December 2015 with the help of a structured questionnaire. The villages were chosen on the basis of priori information received from the migrant population living in Lucknow. From the selected sample villages households were selected on the basis of proportionate sampling method and 10 per cent of the total households were randomly selected for the study.

The surveyed villages had been divided into two types of data set. The first data set consisted of five flood prone villages and the other data set consists of two villages prone to ethnic violence between the Assamese Muslims and Bodo population. The flood prone villages were Bantipur, Keotpara, Khandarkur and hinterland (Char) villages called Habidongra and Mandia in Barpeta district. The second data set consisted of two villages named Nonke Khagrabari, Narayanguri falling in Baksa district.

This empirical study is not free from limitations. The biggest limitation was that people were very apprehensive of responding to the questions which resulted in lack of homogeneity in data set. After surveying eleven villages we could get responses from only hundred households of migrant families. Language was another barrier in communication for which the help of a local interpreter was taken who had a herculean task to convince them to answer to our queries. In a way this study can be taken as a pointer towards the problems of migrants at the source as well as destination places.

A Brief Overview of Source and Destination Areas
Barpeta is situated 140 Km away from the state capital of Assam, Dispur. District Barpeta was formed in 1983 when it got split from Kamrup district and later on lost part of its territory to newly formed Baksa district in 2004 as a result of historic BTC (Bodoland Territorial Council) accord in 2003. Barpeta has 91.30 per cent of rural population, 686 villages and Baksa has rural population is 98.72 per cent, 690 villages (Census 2011). In the Southern and Western side of the district, Char (reverine islands) areas are created by Brahmaputra and by Beki rivers, which comprises a major part of the district and are responsible for causing massive floods and riverbank erosion. Experts say that most floods are triggered by heavy rainfall in the catchment area of the Brahmaputra as the monsoons in the region brings along a lot of rainwater.
As per the official release of Assam State Disaster Management Authority, on the pick of flood, nearly 60 thousand people were affected from Barpeta. As per the newspaper reports 40,567 people were marked as affected across 121 villages in the district. (Assam Times, August 29, 2015).

Lucknow the urbanized capital city of Uttar Pradesh encompasses an approximate area of 333.5 sq.km. and the municipal area of the city has population of 2,817,105 which generates solid waste of 1320 tones approximately per day. Total number of Slums in Lucknow city numbers 65,629 in which 12.95 per cent of the total city population (Census 2011). The city is divided into six zones and 110 wards. There is mixed pattern of primary waste collection from households in the city. Lucknow Nagar Nigam (LNN) workers (safai karamcharis) collect waste that is thrown outside the residences while sweeping the streets. In the some middle income and high income group areas and newly developed areas of Lucknow waste is handled by private operators (migrants from Assam) who collects door to door garbage at a monthly charge ranging between Rs 40-50. It is in place to mention here that in since last two decades these migrants in Lucknow have informally developed a system of door to door collection of waste. They act as Invisible Environmentalists as they clean the city by collecting and segregating waste and providing the resources to the manufacturing industries in the form of recyclable waste like paper, plastic, metal, glass, bones, bottles and rags from garbage bins and dumps This waste is transported to secondary waste collection centres by rikshaw trolleys.

**Experiences from the Field**
The field survey conducted at the source station and the destination station has given insight about the problems faced by the migrants at both the places. With the help of the questionnaires the information gathered was related to their native village, number of children which helped us to determine the family size, identity card through which we could understand the dynamics of identity of these migrants (whether they have identity proofs of their native state only or have been able to procure identity cards of the place where they have migrated). The questions about ownership of land, type of land (agricultural or household) in their native village helped us to understand the extent of poverty and whether their earnings in Lucknow have been helpful in procuring of some piece of land in their villages back home. Furthermore there were some other questions related to duration of stay in Lucknow, their intentions to go back to Assam, reasons to migrate and choosing Lucknow as destination city, problems faced in Lucknow, income before and after migration etc.

The empirical study of hundred households resulted in some important observations. Poverty came out to be an important variable in accelerating migration. Migration as a phenomenon though relatively new has emerged considerably among the Assamese people. The Assamese, who purportedly till yet had a self-sustaining life, have been forced to migrate to other places to earn their livelihood. This new phenomenon of course is but obvious, considering the perennial floods and loss of crops. Agriculture no longer is a viable option for livelihood in Assam. Thus, the Assamese people are left with no choice but to flock the cities in lookout for an
earning to support their families back home. (Pegu, 2012). During our visit to the settlements of informal waste-pickers in Lucknow we tried to gather information about their reasons to migrate. The first question which was raised was regarding their native place. All replies were similar. Almost all of these Bengali Muslim community has migrated from single source i.e. Barpeta Road (railway station of Barpeta is known as Barpeta Road). So we shifted our study focus to Barpeta district. We visited those villages which were told by the migrants in Lucknow. The major problem which we witnessed was that they were not only apprehensive but were scared also to see us and enquiring about their family members in Lucknow. It was only with the help of local person we could manage to interact with them. We interviewed two types of families-one whose at least one person had migrated to Lucknow and other were those families which had no migrant member. The variables which were mainly responsible for migration came out to be poverty (24%), internal disturbances like floods and ethnic violence (22%), lack of ownership of land (21%), identity problem (20%) and large family size (13%).

**Explanation of Reasons of Migration**

The responses from the field through filled up questionnaires and focus group discussions explains that due to lack of income and insufficient resources people are looking for other means of livelihood and in this case they have found it in waste in Lucknow. In their villages in Barpeta district they have limited earning options. The only viable livelihood means is cultivation but because of heavy rains and floods, the agricultural fields get submerged and many a times the Char villages get washed away or the river sweeps away a portion of village during floods. Abject poverty and the terror of floods caused by the Brahmaputra has, over the years, forced thousands of Assamese to migrate to other parts of the country. Around 40,000 Assamese migrants live in the U.P. capital (The Hindu, May 4, 2014). In this way many families have lost major portion of their land holdings and there is no comprehensive compensation scheme or rehabilitation from the Assam government in such cases. Barpeta district experienced three waves of flood during the year 2012. This was one of the most severe floods in the Barpeta history. The river Brahamputra touched the highest flood level of 43.62 m in the history of last nine years affecting nearly 16,12,999 population of 686 villages. The extent of the floods spread across 1, 83,322 hectares of landmass of the district. The agricultural land was the worst affected by the flood and a total of 1,56,480 hectares of agricultural land was inundated affecting 67711.57 ha of cropland (Walia et. al. 2013). Since the district grossly depends on agriculture the livelihood of the local communities got shattered. In such situation these poor people lose their land on one hand and on the other hand are left with the option of either sericulture or daily labour to sustain their families. They have made small ponds outside their homes/huts and they rear fishes for the rainy day. Since everybody goes out to sell fish the supply is greater than the demand and they get poor returns out of this sale. Secondly the daily wage rate is between Rs 300-250 which is again insufficient to support large families.

It is in place to mention here that the identity of Bengali speaking Muslim people
has become dubious in the state of Assam because of their similarity in language, culture and attire with Bangladesh. They are considered as illegal immigrants into India and are often harassed as Bangladeshis especially in Upper Assam. This has become a major issue in Assam since 1971 when Bangladesh was carved out as a separate nation state. The memories of the historical development of redrawing boundaries in the Indian sub-continent still haunt those people who became victims of the creation of nation states when a new definition of their existing identities emerged. The Bengali Muslim population of East Bengali origin which got divided between Bangladesh and Residual Assam has been living with their transmuted and citizenship status till date. Do they belong to Assam or are the illegal immigrants from Bangladesh? The question is still very much alive in public discourse as well as in political thought and opens up a debate in theoretical space when spoken in context of the marginal or oppressed groups especially. “Identity is a process between the identity of the individual and the identity of the communal culture according to Erikson who coined the phrase identity crisis in 1940s. The term referred to a person who had lost a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity.” (Edgar and Sedgwick 2004). The issue of identity becomes more critical for those communities which are mobile or migrant in nature. With changing destinations their identity elements tends to change and memory plays an integral part in how individuals and societies construct their identity. Because of this major problem of identity these poor people are scared to go to Upper Assam or Meghalaya to fetch employment and prefer to either get confined to their own or nearby villages or move out of state to the farthest possible distance to have a secure and safe place. They have adopted a migratory route to escape from harassment so that they find a secure place where they no more face ethnic and linguistic tensions. It is interesting to know from field observations that poorest of the poor is also aware of his voting rights and each of them cast their respective votes in elections. This awareness is visible in migrant population staying in Lucknow also when during elections they go back to their native place just to cast vote. A fear psychosis is reflected in their body language and a struggle for their own identity can be noticed when they come in interaction with masses. Whenever they are asked why you need to cast your vote in Assam, the unanimous reply is that if they do not cast their votes and their name gets struck off from the voter’s list, then they will be called as foreigners (Bangladeshi). Their identities are contested in their own state and they are denied of all rights by getting discriminated.

Then, there is another problem of ownership of land (patta) with these people in Assam and most of them do not have land ownership. Either they have no land to cultivate or have only for residential purpose to make their huts. One significant development which has taken place regarding the ownership of land is that post 2003 when Bodo Accord was signed between the government of Assam and Bodos is that no land will be transferred to non Bodo. For example before 2003 if a father had land and it came under BTC by default then his land cannot be transferred to his son under Bodo Accord. In this manner many of their families have lost their land ownership in villages coming under BTC and they have been trapped in the poverty trap. In July 1994 the northern parts of Barpeta district in lower Assam witnessed a series of
massacres of the Muslim peasants of East Bengal origin, and now largely Assamised by Bodo militants. It is estimated that about 1000 people mostly women and children were killed, thousands injured and about 60 villages were burnt to ashes. (Hussain 1995).

One thing which needs to be mentioned here about the migrant population is that in the urban informal sector in Lucknow, they have entered through social networks or through contractors, hence, facilitating long distance migration. Migration among the Assamese (or for that matter any type of migration) is a multi-dimensional phenomenon with various socio-political implications. The migration is often driven by an intention to survive and thus there are various factors that influence the migratory process. The contractors (Thekedaar) play a major role in the migration process as he is the one who recruits the migrant worker or get him/her employment. He goes to the village or get in touch with a villager and influence them to come to the city to perform jobs. He assures them employment and place to stay in the city. People also migrate if he/she has a kin who is already working in the city as it eases the process of migration and also the migrant feels safe and secure in an unknown city. Sometimes the contractors also contact workers who have previously worked under him and directly hires from the village. Thus follows a vicious cycle of migration (Pegu, 2012). According to Banerjee (1983) it is reported that of those who entered the informal wage sector upon arrival in the city, nearly half had made the migration either at the suggestion of an urban contact or because they had pre-arranged a job. This suggests that such an ability to become aware of opportunities in the urban sector could be an important factor in the migration decision.

These migrants prefer to spend few years away from their roots, compromising with the nature of profession, living with waste so that they earn sufficiently so as to purchase land in their native villages and many of them have become owners of land after earning from waste in Lucknow. During our interaction with the villagers we used to ask that do you know anybody who has migrated to Lucknow and work as waste picker, they used to reply that yes they know such families whose members have migrated but they work in plastic industries in Lucknow.

One of the respondent in Habidongra village in Barpeta shared his pain: Earlier we used to live in another char village which was 3 kms away from his present village (Habidongra) but due to floods his agricultural land got washed away and he was compelled to shift to this new char village . The land on which he is residing is also of Assam government and he has no piece of land in his name. If they move to any place in Assam they are called Bangladeshis as they are Bengali speaking Muslims . He further mentioned that a contractor visits his village occasionally and tells the natives that there a work for them in Lucknow in which they can earn lots of money To escape harassment in Assam his son migrated to Lucknow few years back along with that contractor and started working as waste picker. The contractor provided him rikhshaw trolley, shanti on his land, advance to start his work. The problem now is that due to various other needs his son borrowed more money from the contractor and now he is forced to do that dirty work as he has to repay the debt and also have to send money back home. When people ask him what work his son does,
he replies that he works in plastic industry in Lucknow as he is ashamed of telling them that he is a waste picker and his wife along with their children are also engaged in this menial work. When asked why his son’s whole family is engaged, the father replied that in time involved is less, it’s a half day job only and if more members work, more money is earned as the nature of the job involves collection of waste, segregation and then selling the material which can be recycled. So they earn both ways, first through door to door collection of waste and secondly through selling of scrap.

This reflected the psyche of these migrants who are compelled to move away to earn more but are uncomfortable in their own trade to the extent that they have not disclosed their true profession, back in their villages. Their precarious situation of being poor, landless, illiterate and not able to earn enough and because of their identity status they escape their situation by taking a migratory route to a very distant land. The expected wage differential has motivated them to take a long distance migration route and now they are here to stay. They are being excluded from mainstream development as also facing the problem of establishing their own identities. They do not have the access to basic services, have no rights to claim, no voices to raise. In Lucknow also they are a part of informal economy, live in slums in deplorable conditions with no access to clean drinking water and toilets. Most of their settlements are along railway tracks, under flyovers and on the land provided by their respective contractors. It is in place to mention that every slum has its own contractor who has a complete hold on the migrants. They are not allowed to leave their settlements or change contractor unless they clear all the monetary dues.

The waste picking as the source of livelihood does not go well with most of the migrants as they find this work too dirty and disgraceful. But they get trapped in debt, have no alternative means to earn their living, work in Assam is not sufficient to sustain them and moreover initially they are not even aware of the nature of their work when they are given allurement through the contractors. Once they land in this distant land, Lucknow then it’s a kind of vicious circle of poverty for them, no way to get out of it. They come to Lucknow to earn, get a status of migrant, state does not recognize them because of their dubious identities. Unknowingly and unwillingly they become an integral part of wastenomics, continuing their struggle for a descent livelihood and existence as citizens of India.

State Response to this Problem
The out migration from the state of Assam is continuing because the returns from the agriculture are low and the socio and political situation in the state are not very encouraging for this particular religious community. Though the promising scheme of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) which was one of the boldest and most pragmatic approach to reduce the problems of rural poverty and unemployment, is very much in place in Assam and it completed tenth year of its implementation on March 31, 2016 in the state covering all 27 districts, yet the benefits to the end users are insufficient. In Barpeta district this scheme has provided only three to four days of works in most of the gaon panchayats. Therefore,
the only way the natives have found to tackle the issue of poverty is to move out of their own territory to other places so as to earn descent income which may facilitate them to save enough not only to support their families but also to buy some landholdings at their native place. Rural institutions and socio-economic structure is becoming weaker and weaker due to total impoverishment of the people. So, there is a need to reduce vulnerability of people to hazardous impact of floods by taking proper steps to provide them alternate means of livelihoods (The Hindustan Times, 2004).

The issue of identity is long pending to get resolved in Assam. The government policy which is supposed to maintain and preserve their identity of this religious minority is non effective in the state. Going through the available literature it has become an established fact that the indigenous Assamese people have developed a kind of hostility towards this religious minority as they fear that their continued migration from Bangladesh have outnumbered them in their very own state. This phenomenon is more observed in assembly elections of 2011 and 2016 when large number of people from Lucknow goes to Assam to cast their votes. Flooded with complaints from various civil and social bodies on the presence of a huge number of foreigners, the Election Commission of India on the 17th of July, 1997 issued a circular to the State of Assam to mark ‘D’ against the names of the voters who were found missing or absent and should be put on trial before the Foreigners’ Tribunals. The visibility of the alphabet ‘D’ means doubtful. These D category voters are asked to prove their citizenship by producing the valid documents. It is in place to mention that large numbers of poor people are engaged in agricultural activities. They live in Chars which are formed and deformed by the river Brahmaputra. This natural activity becomes more intense during floods displacing thousands of people who then move from submerged riverine islands to either a new island or towards mainland in search of livelihood losing their land holdings and documents establishing their identity. There are many families in lower Assam where one member of the family has been marked as doubtful voter in absence of relevant documents (implying that rest of the members are Indians but the one who is marked D is a foreigner). This is a reflection of sheer discriminatory behavior. These people are then kept in detention camps and such cases are referred to Foreigner Tribunals. The important point here is that there 1.36 lakhs people (Hindustan Times, March 25, 2016) who have got doubtful identity and are not allowed to exercise their voting rights in Assam also get deprived of many government schemes and benefits. It is important that the issue of D-voter should be resolved soon so that they may get free of their dubious identity.

Another problem is that of updation of National Register of Citizens (NRC). In Assam after 1951 the NRC has not been updated as there are divided views regarding NRC. All Assam Student Union (AASU) demand is that updating of the 1951 electoral rolls with reference to the 1971 voters list should be the basis for detection. The minority population on the other hand demand that the 1971 voters list be the basis for detection and deportation of the illegal migrants because for instance in lower Assam’s Barpeta revenue circle even the government do not have NRC for the villagers of 24 revenue villages. Although, taking both the viewpoints into consideration the government has decided to update the NRC on the basis of 1951 NRC.
case of those districts where the copy of 1951 NRC is not available, 1971 voters list and other relevant documents will be considered as the basis for updating the NRC but the important fact is that the process of updation of NRC and identification of D-voter is very time taking and it has failed to get resolved since last forty three years in the state. However, with the change of power in the state in recent assembly elections of 2016 and the promise made by the ruling party in its election manifesto of sealing the border of the state with Bangladesh and also completing the updating the NRC, the masses and social scientists are hopeful that Assam will see new face of development and prosperity in years to come. Political solution may further result in providing ways to the economic and social problems of the state. It is important that the ethnic anonymity gets reduced and development should become more inclusive in nature so that investment can be parked in different avenue in the state and economy can be put on a development path. Then only people will be able to improve their earnings back home and will be able to lead a descent live instead of migrating into the waste-land.

Acknowledgement
This paper has emerged from the project sponsored by University Grants Commission, New Delhi. The author is grateful to Salil Srivastava, Programme Officer, TISS Guwahati for helping in the field survey in Assam.

References


Pegu, Manoranjan (2012): “The Journey to the City, Voice of the Oppressed”,
March 28, Available at http://www.voiceoftheoppressed.in/from-the-margins/
Rahul, Kaemarkar (2016): “D-voters: Why 1.36 lakh people in Assam can’t Cast
their Ballot?” Hindustan Times, Guwahati, March 25.
The Hindu, May 4, Available at http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/
despite-poverty-assamese-migrants-feel-safer-in-up/article5973921.ece,
family.jrank.org/pages/1170/Migration-Theories-Migration.html accessed on
October 12, 2011.
Tiwari Manish: “Tackling Brahmaputra: The River of Sorrow”, The Hindustan Times,
Walia Abhinav, Indrajit Pal, Siddhartha Singh (2013): “Assam Floods 2012 (June-
October):
A Case Study of District Barpeta”, Disaster Response and Management, Vol 1,
No.1, Centre for Disaster Management, LBSNAA, Mussoorie.