Chapter I


Introduction

Mankind has witnessed migration since time immemorial. The human tides have surged across the land and sea. The population movements are shaped by a changing configuration of global and regional demographic, economic, political and cultural conditions. War, civil strife, persecution, political repression, climatic changes and economic forces have been the principal movers of people across national boundaries as a desperate struggle for survival. The bewildering array of disparate movements observable at any given time can be thought of as forming identifiable patterns shaped by a changing configuration of world conditions.

While taking into consideration the origin and destination of population flows, the 'push' and 'pull' theory throws essential light on the nature and volume of migration, both at the micro and macro level.¹ Migration in the international sense of the word is a comparatively recent phenomenon, dating back no more than two or three hundred years since the nation-states took hold in Europe and spread across the World. One of the salient feature of the contemporary world configuration is the organization of global space into territories controlled by sovereign states that have, in effect the right to control the movement of people across their border.

The nation-state is sovereign and excluisist: it draws a borderline round it over which non-nationals may not step without its consent. The movement of people within and across national boundaries are regulated according to the state’s fundamental goals, which is to satisfy the wants and promote the welfare of the nationals. On the part of the countries from which people come, the state plays a key role, even though many of these states are not yet able to take matters in hand as effectively as advanced migrant receiving countries do.

Human migration has become increasingly differentiated into intra-societal and trans-national segments. Although both involve relocation, trans-national migrations entails not merely movement in relation to environmental space, but a process whereby, in demotion from the universal norm in terms of which the world is organized, individuals and the activities they carry out are transferred, temporarily or permanently, from the domain of the state to that of another. What matters is the crossing of a boundary.

The mobility of people has also increased with technical and economic progress. Improvement in the means of transport assists this mobility. Now distance is spoken of in terms of time according to the mode of transport. It is also important to analyse the causes and nature of migrations, which are reflected by economic considerations, government policies, social welfare, development and other related variables; they play a significant role in making a choice to migrate. The natures of social and economic expectation normally guide the individual to move. In addition to causing tensions between individuals and the state, migration is the object of confrontation between sending and receiving states, as well as between different groups within each state.

Migration entails a number of distinct though complex consequences for countries both origin of and destination, as well as for the people involved the migrants and their families. In studying migration in political geography our task is to seek meaning, direction and understanding of the general pattern of migrants behaviour in space and relationships to the powers of nations. The South Asian countries need to be evaluated in the contexts of the above formulations.

Theoretical Framework of Geography of Migration

The word ‘migration’ is derived from the Latin word ‘migrate’, meaning to change one’s residence. Migration in the most general sense in defined as the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance\(^3\), unfortunately, there is no unanimity over the meaning, though many consider it as movement involving a change of residence of substantial duration. There is a bewildering array of instances of the spatial movement of people. The extreme diversity of migrations in cause, duration, distance, direction, volume, velocity, selectivity and organization prohibits simple classification.\(^4\)

Migration can be classified in many ways according to their degree of permanency, intensity and volume, the human units involved, their motives, the distance travelled and the direction of movement. These criteria give rise to contrasts between temporary and permanent migrations; free versus forced movement; internal versus international and overseas migration. Various types of migration represent a different


ways of viewing the same phenomena and each in its way relevant to problems of political geography.\textsuperscript{5}

There are various contrasts between the migratory movement characteristics of the 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries. The overseas migrations of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century and the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century composed of individual and family groups, whereas the population transfers of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century were often composed of entire communities. The earlier migrations gave effect to the free voluntary choice of individuals, whereas fear and force motivated the war-induced. The overseas migration involved continuing contacts and exchanges between the homeland and the migrants, whereas population transfers were intended to be an absolute and irrevocable uprooting from the homeland. And also the population shifts connected with the two world wars were chiefly continental movements associated with changed political boundaries, whereas the earlier movements were predominantly long-distance migration overseas.\textsuperscript{6}

There is also a changed philosophy of the purposes and rights involved in migration. The earlier philosophy was that the individual should be free to choose his place of residence in accordance with the dictates of his conscience and the welfare of himself and his family. The modern philosophy is that individual needs and desires must be subordinated to the needs of the community as defined by the State. It can be said that migration is controlled by conscious geo-political motivations.\textsuperscript{7}

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., p. 344.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., p. 344-45.
Theories of the Origins of Migration

The following are some of different approaches to conceptualizing international migration.

Push and Pull Framework:

The traditional and familiar perspective is push-pull approach. The push factors in the country of origin compel migrants to leave, and pull factors in the country of destination attract them. Push factors typically emphasize poverty and political instability, while pull factors center on the lure of higher wages and greater job opportunities. These push and pull factors regulate the flow of migrants until intervening obstacles disturb them. Common obstacles are geographical in nature, but economic in form the distance and difficulty of movement often measured by transportation and communication costs. Yet, the most important barriers are the migration policies of sending and receiving countries.

The push-pull approach concept is the common-place observation that the region and world community are becoming increasingly interdependent, it conceives of origin and destination as independent entities, usually countries which have their own separate, economy, population and resources, and a government that tries to protect them. Migration occurs because of disparities in resources between countries. Migrants move from countries of relative imbalance of resources to places of relative balance.

A theory of migration based on push and pull factors represent today the orthodox approach to the origins of population movements. Studies of individual flows almost always include a list of expulsion
factors and a complementary one of attraction of forces. Their content, however, tends to vary with the situation and the theoretical preferences of the analysts. Push-Pull descriptions of the origins of immigration are not necessarily inaccurate, nor entirely useless. They are, however, theoretically incomplete, for they fail to specify the historical conditions under which such forces lead to actual population displacement. A theory that incorporates changing historical conditions is required to explain both cross-sectional differences in migration among countries and variation in times of particular migration flows. An alternative theoretical prospective is thus required to account for the changing origins of population movement.

Structural Views

The limitations of push-pull theories have led to the formulation of alternative explanations. Piore (1979)\(^8\) has suggested labour recruitment as the central mechanism for initiating a migrant flow. He based his argument on evidence from the history of Italian and Eastern European immigration to the United States at the turn of the century. The origin of Mexican labour immigration to the South American, South West, and in every case, he finds that active labour recruitment proceeds the emergence and consolidation of migrant flows.\(^9\)

As a theory of migration, labour recruitment represents a considerable improvement over push-pull explanations. It provides a historically specific mechanism to explain why out-migration from a particular country or region started when it did and not before or later. In principle, it is also able to explain differences in migration patterns.


\(^9\)Ibid.
among regions where the structure of push and pull forces is similar.

The historical structural framework of approach is also well established. In 1975, Abu-Lughod (1975) prematurely signaled the victory of this approach. Arizepe (1982) similarly argued that the push-pull framework buries the true mechanisms governing international migration under excessively broad generalizations. One of the examples is that the disparity between wage levels at origin and destination is so striking and pervasive that it remains a virtual why there are not many more migrants than currently exist.

According to the structural approach, migration is viewed as part of the interlocking relationships that form a single, regional economic system, developed and underdeveloped countries but politically and administratively bound parts of a unified economic division of labour. As origins and destinations for migration flows, these states are not isolated points, attached solely through the actual flows of labour, but are partners in an integrated pattern of economic and social development. According to this perspective, migration results as much from the integration and similarities of origin and destination as it does from their differences.10

Instead of merely juxtaposing contracting characteristics, the structural approach looks for the historical relationship between origin and destination. The connections take three forms. First, there are ties of trade, investment, and culture that precede population exchange. Second is what is usually referred as a country's specialization within the regional economic division of labour, involving exchanges between countries engaged primarily in export agricultural production and those exporting capital. Third, informal ties accompany and account for a migration stream becoming self-reproducing.

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Kinship networks are the most prominent, reinforced by the emphasis in immigration laws of family reunification.\textsuperscript{11}

**Typology of Migration**

There is a general tendency to consider migration as either internal (within a state) or external (international). This approach has been induced by the great significance of state boundaries and availability of data at the state level. Such general classification does not really serve geographers who are interested not merely in numerical gains and losses due to migrations and their demographic, social and economic effects, but also in environmental influences upon migration streams and destination. Migration is closely related to the process of economic, social and demographic development within the countries and in the world as a whole. In broad terms, the movement of migrants is generally from the economically less advanced areas to more advanced area/countries which are characterized by different levels of development and are at different stages of the demographic transition. In our present study we will draw a distinction between internal migration and international migration, and will give more emphasis on crossing of international boundaries.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Type of Migration}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\node [level 1] {Type of Migration}
    child {node [level 2] {Internal Migration}
        child {node [level 3] {Rural-Urban}}
        child {node [level 3] {Rural-Urban}}
        child {node [level 3] {Urban-Rural}}
    }
    child {node [level 2] {International Migration}
        child {node [level 3] {Regular}}
        child {node [level 3] {Irregular}}
    }
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p.142.
Internal Migrations

Most of the theoretical formulations on migration are based on empirical evidences of the rural-urban or the urban to urban migration in the context of developed countries of the world. A brief discussion on the movement, causes and characteristics of internal migration on a national scale will help in understanding the spatial processes of migration, even at the international or trans-border scale.

Measurement of migration on a national scale is possible where a migration question is posed at the census or where there is a system of residence registration. Here satisfactory calculations can be had for the volume and direction of migration streams. Alternatively indirect measurement are possible as under:

i) By comparison of two good consecutive censuses, whether by the "Vital Statistics Method", which estimates the total net gain or loss in population of a community as a result of migration by subtracting total net natural increase from total intercensal change; or by the "Survival Ratio Method", which estimates the proportion of the population which should be expected at the second census and determines the difference between this surviving expected population and the actual population; and

ii) By comparison of place-of-birth statistics with present residence.

These measurements had disadvantages, as they did not tell when migrations occurred, the number of moves and the effect of mortality upon the migrants. In order to have accurate picture sometimes the researcher are compelled to supplement data by sample surveys.

13 Clarke. No. 4, p. 132.
Migration within the theoretical limits of a country occurs owing to several socio-economic factors. They are classified as: i) rural to urban; ii) urban to urban; iii) rural to rural; and iv) urban to rural.

Migrations from rural to urban areas are generally the most important form of internal migration. A country experiencing industrialization and rapid technological change, which results in economic development and rise of per capita incomes, experiences rural to urban migration. Rural to urban migrations is primarily a response to economic motives. In the areas of departure, population pressures modernization of agriculture as well as traditional systems of land tenure act as “push” factors.

Urban to urban or inter-urban migrations are also found in some countries. In the process town acts as intermediate stations and stay there for short periods before actually migrating to bigger cities. This is also known as step-migration. Another form, rural to rural migration takes place in predominantly agricultural countries. For examples, in India according to 1961 Census 73.7 percent of migrants moved within rural areas. This type of migration takes place from an over-populated to a sparsely populated area and also towards developed plantation areas, agricultural lands etc. in India. Urban to Rural migrations are rare compared to other types this usually happens due to the over-population in the cities and depopulation in the rural areas. Such types of migration are in the United Kingdom, United States of America and in some developing countries like in Kuala Lumpur, capital of Malaysia.

In addition to the above types there are also seasonal and periodic migrations. Seasonal migrations occur in remote areas, in desert, semi-desert and extensive grassland. The periodic migrants remain away from
the North-South movements in West Africa, the movements in East and Central Africa to Nairobi, Uganda, the Sisal areas of Tanzania and the copper belt, the movement to the mines and industries of South Africa; and the movement to mines and town of the Maghreb.14

**International Migration**

Migration of those across the international border or boundary is generally known as international migration. As it involves crossing the national boundaries it assumes greater political and demographic significance than internal migration. A further important fact is that international migrations possibly and generally involves long-distance movements, often to a totally new physical and social environment, with the result that assimilation and integration are correspondingly more difficult.

The 'push-pull' theory can be applied to international movements, as illustrated by the great flow of migrants moving from Ireland, Scandinavia, Greece and Southern Italy to North America during the late 19th and 20th centuries.15 Analysis of international migration simply in terms of economic conditions in the areas of origin and destinations or in relation to actual or perceived distance is complicated by many legal restrictions, racial policies and political barriers that impede free movement of people on a world scale. Many immigration policies have been quantitative, designed both to reduce total entry and also to exclude certain ethnic groups which for ill-defined reasons were considered to be undesirable.16 In contrast to the barrier of immigration there are also

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many instances of voluntary or enforced migration motivated by political, racial or religious persecution.

Forms of International Migration

The first distinction that needs to be made, and which was been written into international law since the adoption in 1951 of the United Nations Convention relating to the status of Refugees is between refugees on the hand and regular or irregular migrants on the other. The typology that follows takes as its starting point that it is the state as an institution rather than the migrants as an actor which determines contemporary patterns of migration, and it is on the basis of following definition that we have a regular and irregular migrations. Regular migrants are non-nationals who possess the authorization of the state in whose territory they are required by law in respect of entry, stay or work (if they are economically active), and who fulfill the conditions which their entry, stay or work are subject.

Regular migrations are shaped by economic, political and social forces, primarily those of migration receiving countries, shape regular migration. Irregular migration on the one hand differs from regular migration, not only in the legal sense but because it is crucial institutional determinants are entirely different, when looked at from the migrant-receiving country. Regular migration is what might be called “demand-determined”, that is, resulting from a deliberate decision on the part of the receiving country to admit a foreigner in fulfillment of and specified economic, social or humanitarian objective. Irregular migration is, with very few exceptions, “supply-determined” by reason of the fact that a foreigner enters, stays or works inspite of contrary policy assumption.
In practice, problem of interpreting migration and applying these criteria abounds. The migrant-receiving countries receive different kind of population movements, which have significant different impacts on the economic, and on society. And also as far as migrant-sending countries are concerned, one kind of migration may have rather different repercussions, depending exactly on who has moved.

**Pattern and Trends**

The study of international migration can be broadly divided into past and present. The past international migration was mainly from European Countries to North America, Australia, and New Zealand and within the European nations. A great deal of international migration took place from Europe to other parts of the world including third world countries during the period 1800 to 1939. The European migrations, especially the Spanish and Portuguese to Latin America are considered as relatively ‘modern’ and important international migrations. Among emigrants who went to North America were the British, French, German and Irish. European has emigrants to United States between 1880 and the beginning of the First World War numbered about 40 million. Besides, America, Australia, New Zealand, Siberia and parts of Africa were the recipient countries of emigrants from European countries especially from the British Isles. A vast majority of the emigrants were criminals who were deported from Britain. As compared to Siberia and Southern parts of Africa the majority of these emigrants went to Australia and New Zealand.

There was a decline of overseas migration from Europe, after the First World War. These were due to immigration and emigration restrictions, financial chaos in Europe, world economic crisis of 1929,
introduction of unemployment and health assistance, decline in the available land overseas and greater desire of overseas countries for skilled workers than for unskilled labourers.

Non-European International

The non-European migration stream, the 'forced' immigration from Africa to America was important. A large number of natives Africans were working on the sugar and cotton plantations in America. It is estimated that about 14 million Africans were there in America until the 19th century when slavery abolished. The civil war in Angola, in the mid 1970's resulted in a large number of European settlers in the Portuguese African colonies migrating back to Europe and South Africa, and in the 1960s and early 1970s there was also a large emigration of Asians who were mostly Indians from East Africa.

The Chinese mostly migrated to South East Asia and came particularly from Fukkian and Kwangtung Provinces. From 1900 and 1940 about 12 million Chinese aliens landed in Peninsular Malaysia and Singapore, who mostly became workers and a few traders. A small proportion of Chinese was found in Indonesia and Thailand, but they form an absolute majority in Singapore. They constitute as much as 35 percent of the population of the Peninsular Malaysia. However, the post Second World War period showed the decline of the proportion of Chinese migration to this area.

Many people from Indian Sub-Continent migrated to Sri Lanka, South East Asia, East Africa, West Indies, and Fiji during the British rule as indentured labourers, and have over the years settled down in these

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18 Chandna and other, No. 16, p.73.
places. The immigrants from India form 15 percent and 10 percent of the total population in Sri Lanka and Peninsular Malaysia respectively. Besides this, the partition of India in August 1947 resulted in a large-scale migration within the sub-continent. And also Indian emigrants to South Africa were mostly labourer and in others parts of Africa, they worked on plantation. As regards Indian emigrants in England, a majority of them went from Punjab and worked in factory as unskilled workers.19 The Japanese immigrants settled in Malaysia and its surrounding countries and also to Brazil. After the Second World War period Japan received hundreds of thousands of South Korean immigrants. In the 1970s South Vietnamese estimated to be about 150,000 have migrated to United States.

The post 1960s showed a different trend structurally, qualitatively and spatially when compared with earlier trend. The post 1960s migration was from developing countries to developed world. Recently, much of migration has been taking within developing world, i.e. from labour surplus South, and South-East Asian nations to West Asia as labour migration.

In modern times migration seem to be more and more influenced by political factors and less a matter of individual choice.20 The traditional characteristics of migration was movement of workers from the less developed to more developed areas/countries. Recent international movements of peoples showed increasing number of undocumented or illegal and refugee migration that are mainly influenced by political causes.

19 Ibid.
The illegal or undocumented migration has been occurring in many regions of the world. This type are typical of Latin America and the Caribbean, Northern Africa, Western, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. In the Americas, Canada, Venezuela, Argentina, the United States is the chief recipient of illegal or undocumented migrants from countries like Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico etc. In Asia, the countries of Western, South Asia and Northern Africa, particularly those with substantial resources, are among the chief recipients. In India a large-scale illegal migrations of Bangladeshis are reported, which distributed in different part of India. The Bangladeshi illegal migrants have profound effects on socio-political life of Assam in the North-Eastern part of India.  

In Europe also illegal migrations were common. But since 1974 strict policies have been adopted by most of European countries to control illegal immigration.

Refugee movements are an important phenomenon of contemporary international migration. They are of prominent feature in the third world. The refugee movements are fundamentally different from other types of migration. It is not a voluntary movement, it involves sudden uprooting, movement of large number of persons, including children and the aged. The numbers are in a constant state of flux for while certain groups are being repatriated, new political conflicts springing up elsewhere, which adds to the total.

The illegal or undocumented and refugees migrations are typical in different parts of the third world causing political instability in those countries. They are a fact of life of the contemporary world. The refugee

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movements have been so frequent, often massive and involving such startling tragedy, the situation, which are likely to grow.

Geography and Refugees

R.C.Chandna and M.S.Sindhu (1980), suggested that since geography was a spatial science, the parameter of space was sacred to any geographical classification of migration. It was suggested that area must have form on the basis of differentiating between one type of migration and another type. The movement of international migrations generally from economically less advanced to the more advanced countries, and countries which are characterized by different levels of demographic transition took place voluntarily in response to spatial inequalities in the distribution of physical and human resources.

In recent years, academics have been paying interesting attention to a migratory movement that appears to have reached unprecedented level: that of refugees; despite decades of neglect within much of social sciences. The plight of refugees has been documented for a variety of reasons, from numerous perspectives by a wide spectrum of academic disciplines and special interest groups. There are a growing number of reports, survey, magazine, committees, conferences, symposia, books, organization, and governmental bodies that focus on and/or administer to refugees' concerns. Refugee studies programme, and the premier issue of the Journal of Refugees Studies (Oxford University Press), appeared in 1988 to meet the demands for academic exploration of the complex problems for forced migration and national and international responses.

22 Clarke, No. 16, pp.141
Within the diverse academic endeavours geographers were also featured with both edited books (Rogge, 1987a), and research monographs (Rogge, 1985b, Kuhlman, 1990).

Refugee migration as a subject for geographical enquiry must distinguish such migration (i.e. refugee) from migration in general. An analysis of the current literature that reveals a continuing ambiguity in much geographical writing on refugees, whereby exceptional status is often assigned to this type of migration. Existing work tended to view refugee flows separately as temporary, 'Unique', one-off events (Kloit, 1987), and where comparisons have been drawn with other migratory flows, the distinctiveness of refugees has been emphasized. (Desbarats, 1985a; Wood, 1989a). Richard Black argued that in the context of rapidly growing interest amongst social scientists in the study of refugees and the development of a specific field of refugee studies, geographers must draw links between this field and their longstanding interests in issues, such as migration, 'natural' and other disasters, and the politics of conflicts which often the immediate cause of refugee flows. Such a perspective rejects the categorization of refugees as distinct from other kinds of migrants. Instead, it is important to identify both the diversity of individual and group experiences within various refugee populations, and also to examine critically the parallels between these experiences and those of other migrating or disaster-affected populations.

In a review of the sociological contribution of refugees studies (Mazer, 1988), comments that existing work is 'fragmented', incomplete, and to a great extent, superficial. Similarly, although three main areas of interest amongst geographers are identified here, a great

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26 Ibid., p.285.
deal of research remains to be done before this could be described as a coherent body of literature, concentration on these areas should also not be simply either that they are of exclusive concern to geographers, or that other topics might not also merit attention. Firstly, a number of studies have concentrated on the causes of refugee migration (Wood, 1989a; Jones, 1989). This work is most useful where it highlights the complex interactions between different forces and processes which generates both the decision to move, and the form of migration. Secondly, a good deal of attention has also been given to the consequences of refugee flows in poorer countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which have received the vast bulk of refugees in recent years (Rogge, 1987a). Thirdly, some of these refugees have been resettled in rich countries of the ‘north’, the USA and Canada. This has provided fertile field for geographical research on patterns of resettlement (Desbarat, 1987; Robinson and Hale, 1989), as well as work in various social sciences on the processes of adaptation and assimilation of refugees in an alien culture and economy (Mouzel, 1989).

Kenzer, (1991) stated that geographers have devoted very little effort and energy to refugees issues even thought they have contributed admirably to the teaching of population geography and related topics.27 This he said was surprising, since medical, regional, social, political, cultural, and population geographers (among others) all deal with themes and concepts that rapidly lend themselves to the geographic dimensions of refugees. The key refugee concerns he listed were: access to housing; health care delivery system; social and welfare service facilities; boundary and land use disputes, regional and economic development project, intra and international cultural diffusion, the distribution of goods and services, settlement patterns and human rights issues central to ongoing geographical studies.

27 Kenzer, No. 24, pp. 181-90.
He (Kenzer) argued that geographers clearly have the capacity to augment current research into the analysis of refugee movement (e.g. Kloit, 1987; Wood, 1989), but few have thus far taken time to do so. Looking the future importance of global refugee since 1990s unfold, as the global political picture changes, refugees are rapidly becoming a common feature on the social landscape of numerous countries worldwide.

Richard Black,28 also argued that geographers have much to offer in the field of refugee studies, by stressing and examining the relationships between environment, politics and society. Geographers can help both to explain refugees' flows and contribute to an understanding of the response both of the states and NGOs and of refugees themselves. Meanwhile the adaptation and innovation of refugees when confronted with a new and often hostile socio-economic, political and physical environment is a question of central relevance to the issue of people-environment in general.

There are various disciplines of study which have addressed explicitly the relationships between refugees studies and disciplines such as political science (Loescher and Monahan, 1989), international relations (Gordenker, 1987) and economic and social history (Bramwell, 1988). Richard Black and Vaughan Robinson (eds.), 199329 on Geography and Refugee are an intended endeavour to build on the growing literature of refugee studies. This book was the main task to consider the contribution of the discipline of geography to the field of refugee studies, both by presenting several case studies of geographical work on refugees and through a discussion of substantive issues concerning the relationship between the two field. Explaining this

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volume the authors presented a range of methodological and epistemological standpoints, which geography might be defined in a variety of ways.

Such an integrating approach does not agree that refugee migration is the same as migration in general and the role for refugee studies such as outlined by later approach. This approach does provide an opportunity to explore, applying those to the particular circumstances of refugees. The integrating approach focuses on the broader process of refugee migration, which is rather different approach from that of the others (politicians, lawyers).

World Refugee Migrations

The word ‘Refugee’ tends to invoke images of a sprawling camps, housing large numbers of distressed and impoverished people who have had to escape from their own country at short notice and with nothing but clothes on their back.\(^30\) They are a fact of life of the contemporary world.

A great deal of controversy is noted concerning the movements of people who is, and who is not a refugee? The most widely cited definition of refugees contained in the 1951 Convention Relating to the status of refugees and the protocol on the status of Refugees, 1967, associated with the General Assembly’s Declaration on Territorial Asylum (General Assembly Resolution 2312 (XXII))³¹ The United Nations Documents define ‘a refugee’ is a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality,


membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and as unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country".  

The end of the Second World War saw millions of people displaced and led to the adaptation of 1951 UN Convention relating to the status of refugees, which was drafted at the initiative of the UN commission on Human Rights by concerned UN bodies between 1948-51. In 1967, the Protocol on Status of Refugees was adopted. Its key feature was that it prospectively removed the temporal and geographical limitations contained in the 1951 Convention. In the 1951 Convention the states were given the option of to limit of geographical scope of these events to Europe, thus confining their obligations under the convention to European refugees alone. Demonstrating the importance which governments attach to this, no fewer than 134 states have now ratified either the 1951 convention or its 1967 protocol, making it one of the most widely endorsed of all international legal instruments.

There are two other regional conventions which defined refugee. In 1969, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted a convention governing the specific aspect refugee problems in Africa, which came into force in 1974. It was the first regional arrangement concerned with the protection of refugees and arrived at the background of growing anti-colonial struggles. It expanded the definition of refugee. Over and above the 1951 Convention states that: The term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or whole of his country of origin or a nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place.

outside his country of origin or nationality.\textsuperscript{34} It stresses that refugees include persons fleeing civil disturbances, violence and war, irrespective of whether or not they have a well-founded fear of persecution.

In 1984, the UNHCR convened a colloquium composed of government representatives and distinguished Latin American jurists which in Cartagena, Colombia and adopted the Cartagena Declaration on refugees. The declaration recommended a definition similar to that contained in the OAU definition. While this declaration is not binding, the General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1985 approved it. It has proved influential and its provisions have been incorporated in the domestic legislation of a number of states in the region.\textsuperscript{35}

In so far as Asia is concerned, the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee (AALCC) makes mention of the principles concerning treatment of refugees adopted in 1966.\textsuperscript{36} These principles are non-binding and have not exercised the kind of influence that the Cartagena Declaration has in the Latin America region.

However, in practice, a number of refugee groups can be identified, some of whom are formally recognized by UNHCR, and other such as ‘environment’ or ‘economic refugees, who are not. In 1992, there are as many 19,001,000-22,169,000 (as table below) internally displaced persons in the world as well as at least six million Central American, Haitians and Palestinians who are in refuge like circumstances. Estimates of the number of environmental refugees add further to the total.

\textsuperscript{34} Basic International Legal Documents on Refugees, No. 32, pp.132-39.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., pp. 148-53.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., pp.140-47.
The definition bestowed on particular international flows is ultimately a political decision in the hands of the receiving state. The problem of refugees, their identity, and their fate is thus a complicated problem that questions the sovereignty of the state. All states treat the
maintenance of state sovereignty as sacrosanct and regard the absolute control of territory as an essential element of the claim of sovereignty. Although governments are willing to consider agreements setting out the normative terms to the treatment of persons fleeing the jurisdictions of other states few are willing to consider norms that would compromised their own territorial control. Although some states do have a history favouring the granting of asylum, they insist that such acts be at the discretion of the state and not a matter of individuals right to asylum.37

Geographical Distribution of Refugees

Modern refugee movements, beginning in Europe and subsequently becoming world-wide have given rise to a number of people homeless and stateless and who live in a condition of constant insecurity which erodes human dignity. They have caused grave political and economic problems for the countries of temporary reception, which have proved too burdensome for the administrative facilities and financial resources of private organization and national governments. The problem has thus transcended national jurisdiction and institutions.

Refugee problem has now come to be acknowledged as universal, continuing and recurring. Reliable estimates of the total world refugee population are difficult to obtain for a number of reasons. The estimate for 1997-98 was above 22.72 million refugees is based on the persons registered by the office of the United High Commission for Refugees

37 Nicholas Xenos, 1993, "Refugees: The Modern Political Condition", Alternatives, Vol., 18, p.428, quoted, The Jealously guarded Prerogatives of state powers are described by Cordenker, No31, p.280, as follows: "[The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees], may recognize that an individual is a refugee and request a government to issue internationally recognized travel documents to that person, but the ultimate protection of the right of such a person, his admission to asylum, the physical receipt of a travel document, or his permission to return to his point of departure depend on national priorities".
Table 1.1 Significant Population of Internally Displaced Civilians
World-Wide, early 1992*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Displaced Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sudan</strong></td>
<td>4,750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Africa</strong></td>
<td>4,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mozambique</strong></td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Angola</strong></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethiopia/Eritrea</strong></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liberia</strong></td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Somalia</strong></td>
<td>500,000-1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uganda</strong></td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sierra Leone</strong></td>
<td>145,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rwanda</strong></td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Senegal</strong></td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East Africa and Pacific</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Burma</strong></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Philippines</strong></td>
<td>1,000,000-1,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sri Lanka</strong></td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cambodia</strong></td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europe and North America</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commonwealth of</strong></td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent States</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Former Yugoslavia</strong></td>
<td>557,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cyprus</strong></td>
<td>210,000-268,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Turkey</strong></td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle East and South Asia</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Afghanistan</strong></td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lebanon</strong></td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iraq</strong></td>
<td>700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>India</strong></td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Latin America</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nicaragua</strong></td>
<td>350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Salvador</strong></td>
<td>200,000-400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peru</strong></td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Columbia</strong></td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guatemala</strong></td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Honduras</strong></td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>19,001,000-22,169,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: USCR, 1992

Note: Because some form of registration almost always occurs upon the arrival of international refugees, the quality of data for displaced population beyond national boundaries is better than for those within them. Therefore, this table presents only 'significant' population and the figures constitutes reported estimates at best.
Table 1.2 Origin of Major Refugee Populations (Ten Largest-Group)  
Estimates as of July 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Main Countries of Asylum</th>
<th>Refugees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Afghanistan</td>
<td>Iran, Pakistan, CIS, India</td>
<td>2,350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rwanda</td>
<td>Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>Croatia, F.R. Yugoslavia, Germany</td>
<td>1,330,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Liberia</td>
<td>Guinea, Cote d'Voire, Ghana</td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Iraq</td>
<td>Iran, Saudi Arabia, other Mid-East, Pakistan</td>
<td>630,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Somalia</td>
<td>Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Yemen</td>
<td>446,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sudan</td>
<td>Uganda, Zaire, Kenya, Ethiopia</td>
<td>424,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Eritrea</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>362,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Angola</td>
<td>Zaire, Zambia, Congo, Namibia</td>
<td>324,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sierra Leone</td>
<td>Guinea, Liberia</td>
<td>320,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Some 3.2 million Pakistanis face under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), and thus not included in this table Palestinian who are the UNWRA area of operation, for example those in Iraq and Libya, are considered to be a concern to UNHCR.
2. For a significant number of refugees, particularly in more developed countries, the breakdown by origin is unknown.
3. Because of difficulties in obtaining breakdown for some groups, the figure includes people fleeing Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and FR Yugoslavia. It excludes internally displaced persons who continue to live within the borders of their country, pp.8-9.


The recent happenings in Kosovo, Yugoslavia and East Timor etc. generated more 55,000 refugees which added considerably to this total of this 17.05 percent of the world refugees in Afghan refugees (UNHCR). 38 The recent happenings in Kosovo, Yugoslavia and East Timor etc. generated more 55,000 refugees which added considerably to this total of this 17.05 percent of the world refugees in Afghan refugees

living in Iran, Pakistan, CIS, India (2,350,000) in 1996 and the 3.2 million Palestinian, registered with UNWRA and living in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Israeli occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank. Africans continent also make up a huge refugee group about 12.88 percent of the world refugee alone from Rwanda, Liberia, Somalia in size and geographical scope. Certainly, the problem of forced displacement by most measurement become considerably larger and more complex over the last decade. But the number of refugees in the strict sense of the world has actually declined in recent in times from 18.2 million in 1993 to 13.2 million at the beginning of 1997.39

This trend appears to be the result of two principal factors, first, the reduction in refugee numbers can be attributed to the succession of large-scale repatriation movements which have taken place since the beginning of the 1990s, involving countries such as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Mozambique and Rwanda. Altogether, more than 10 million refugees are thought to have gone back to their homes since the beginning of the decade, either voluntarily or because they had little no other option. Second, recent years have witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of people who have been uprooted by persecution and violence but who have not crossed the border into another country. While the problem of external displacement has diminished in scale, therefore, the problem of internal displacement has augmented.

In addition to 'conventional' refugee if we include the two significant groups would increase the world figures for displaced people over 30 million. These are population living in refugee like circumstances and internally displaced population.

Most refugees and countries of primary asylum are in the Third World, and countries of final resettlement are most after in the West in

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particular the USA, which has taken 1,236,109 refugees in 1975. Canada, 246,985; Australia, 161,951; and Europe 475,518.\textsuperscript{40} Eritrea is important generating area, smaller groups occur in Indo-China, Latin America and South and South-West Asia, Europe. Table 1.1, and 1.2 shows the world refugees by region and ten major refugee populations 1996.

Those that produce them acknowledge the potential for distortion and inaccuracy in any statistics on refugees. There is the obvious difficulty of obtaining accurate figures from remote areas with rapidly changing populations. Less obvious is the inaccuracy created by different agencies using a variety of interpretations of the word ‘refugees’ when gathering statistics. The UNHCR, for example, includes as refugee all those described as such by the respective countries as asylum, whereas the US State Department restricts the definition of ‘refugees’ to those ‘requiring protection and asylum or refugees restricted and persons granted asylum’.

There is a popular perception that the international refugee problem is growing inexorably in size and geographical area/zone, but the statistics collected by the UNHCR tell quite a different story. The existence of a general, large-scale migration of an economic nature from the Third World to industrialized states has made making the case of refugee status more difficult. The result has been a hardening of attitudes amongst both countries of first asylum and those of the final settlement, and there has been a trend away from accepting refugees and asylum seekers.

Despite the recent reduction in numbers, by the middle of 1997, large-scale refugees populations were still to be found in most parts of the world, most notably in Central and West Africa, the Horn of Africa

\textsuperscript{40} Janet Leatherby, 1989, "The Millions Forced to Flee", \textit{Geographical Magazine}, Vol.61,p.15
Table 1: Refugees Population by Region, at January 1996.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Refugees</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Africa</td>
<td>5,692,100</td>
<td>43.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Asia</td>
<td>4,479,600</td>
<td>33.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Europe</td>
<td>2,101,000</td>
<td>15.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Latin America</td>
<td>127,700</td>
<td>.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. North America</td>
<td>789,700</td>
<td>5.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Oceania</td>
<td>46,300</td>
<td>.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13,236,400</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: UNHCR, United Nations High Commissions for Refugees by Numbers, 1996, p. 5.

South and South-West Asia (see Map: Refugee Population World-Wide). In addition, some three million Palestinian refugees, assisted by the UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency), are to be found on the West Bank in Gaza and other parts of West Asia. As these Palestinians do not fall under the mandate of UNHCR, they have not normally been included in refugees’ statistic (UNHCR).

Socio-Temporal Perspectives on the Trans-Border Migration in South Asia

The South Asia region comprises of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives as in figure 1.1. For 5000 years it has
been one of the main centers of civilization, continually enriching societies beyond its borders and in turn being enriched from outside.\(^4\)

The states of this region are historically, culturally and geographically contiguous to each other. They share a common history over the centuries. The South Asian area of over four million square kilometers contains almost endless diversity of physical environment and landscape. This diversity is evident in the contrast at a sub-continental scale, for example between the desert of North-West and the fertile deltas of the East. But it is also often clearly apparent on a very local scale.

Geographical regions are rarely neatly divided from each other. It is even less common for political boundaries to conform to those of geographical region. Some of the political changes of the last thirty years have brought a greater degree of conformity between geographical regions and major political units. States like Kerala and Tamil Nadu in South India illustrate this trend. However, some of the most important national boundaries created since 1947 cut across natural features and divide otherwise coherent physical regions. The boundary between Pakistan and India, for example, owes little to the nature of geographical regions.

Although national boundaries in South Asia frequently fail to coincide with physical boundaries each of the countries with the exception of Maldives has distinct region within it. Thus, while recognizing the continuity of some important region across national borders, the regional division outlined (within the country) uses as a starting point.

Population Movement in South Asia

South Asia region experienced large scale trans-border migrations since 1947. Given the difficult terrain and topography, the government can hardly control such mobile population. The south Asian peoples have continued to trudge across intentional borders. Alarmed at the possible consequences of uncontrolled migration, barriers have been imposed on the free movements of peoples of the region, but many of such barriers have failed to check inter-boundary migrations. However, the South Asian peoples are aware of the problems of such disable streams of migrants as threatening to those who are competing within their national boundaries for economic benefits. What is most troubling to governments in South Asia is the unwanted ethnic mix that migration brings into communities anxiously seeking to assert their own identity.

The governments of South Asia while attempting to control their borders so as to limit or present the entry of migrants were faced with two familiar problems. The first is that all the states grant freedom to exit to their citizens, but none of the states allow freedom of entry. Indeed, some states have forced their citizens to exit for neighbouring countries that do not want them. The second problem is that no state in South Asia is able to control its borders. The unwanted enter, often with frightful political and social consequences for receiving countries.42

The patterns of migration in South Asia are varied and do not fit into a uniform model. The Indo-Nepal migration is unique in such that people of both countries move freely without any documents. Then there is state-managed movement of people as found in the case of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka. They were taken by the English as plantation labour and many of them subsequently became ‘stateless’ persons awaiting

either respiration to India or citizenship in Sri Lanka. The Bihari Muslims in Bangladesh, who want to immigrate to Pakistan, also come under this category. Another distinct category comprises the refugee status of people who are elicited due to internal conflict, external intervention, and protracted warfare between militants representing the refugees. These groups are seeking external guarantee to their safety and temporary livelihood. The Afghan refugee and the Tamil refugees in India belong to this category. Finally, illegal immigration is the perennial source of international migration in South Asia. Bangladeshi immigrants in India's northeastern states constitute this category.

Myron Weiner (1993), in his study of migrations in South Asia categorized the migrants into these groups: rejected peoples political refugees and unwanted migrants. Rejected peoples are citizens or legal residents, of a country forced to leave as a result of persecution, violence, or threats to their lives or property and whose departure is sought by their governments or by those among whom they live. Unwanted migrants are people crossing an international boundary, legally or illegally, who are unwelcome and are often asked for or forced to leave. It is this feature of population movements in South Asia that has generated conflicts both within and among the countries of the region.

Approximately 35 to 40 million people have moved across national boundaries in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal since 1947, some as economic migrants, more as refugees. There have been 12 region bilateral flows within South Asia. Myron Weiner (1993), categorized into three types - rejected peoples, political refugees from

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43 Ibid.
44 Mahendra P. Lama, 1999, "Refugees in South Asia", World Focus, 229, January, p. 3; and also see, Weiner, No. No.42, p.1737.
I. Rejected People

Governments or dominant ethnic groups may expel from their country ethnic or religious minorities or in the way make life for minorities so intolerable that for their safety and well being they flee the country. In several instances rejected peoples are dumped upon a neighbouring country in the expectation that they will be accepted because they share the ethnicity of groups within the receiving country. There are six instances of rejected peoples in South Asia. They are: Indo-Pakistan Refugees flows, 1994-98; exodus of Burmese Indians associated with the creation of an Independent State in 1948; exodus of Sri Lankan Indians and Sri Lankan Tamils during 1980s; Bangladesh and the stranded Pakistanis after Bangladesh became Independent in 1972; flight of Burmese Muslims to Bangladesh in early 1978; flight of Chakmas from Bangladesh to India during different period large-scale refugees movement after Bangladesh Independent, 1972

II. Political Refugees form Repressive Regimes

Flight of Bangladeshis to India in early 1971 during armed struggle between East Pakistan and the Pakistan military. By mid-July near 7 million Bengalis had crossed the border into West Bengal, Tripura and Assam to refugee camps built and sustained by the Indian Government flight of Afghans to Pakistan after 1978; flight of Tibetans to India 1959.

III. Unwanted Migrants

Bengalis to Assam; open borders: between Nepal and India; Migration by Nepalis to Bhutan.
Movements of people have always influenced evolution of historical and cultural relations in South Asia, but in the post-colonial phase of the region's history, such movements have frequently been of forced or involuntary nature. In studying trans-border migrations in South Asia, there is a growing significant in the refugee movements as area of concern in South Asian affairs. The problem of identifying who is a refugee in South Asia region in more a problematic when none of the South Asian countries have signed international refugee instruments viz., the 1951 UN convention relating to the status of refugees and 1967 protocol relating to the status of refugees, and also not enacted a domestic refugee law or procedure. The governments in South Asia have concluded that unwanted migrations, including refugees are a matter of bilateral, not multilateral relations and those international agreements could constrict their freedom of action.

Refugees Situation in South Asia

According to the available statistics for 1996, South Asia with its 1.59 million refugees ranks fourth among the region of the world in concentration of refugees; following closely Europe and North America with a figure of 2.78 million and may behind West Asian region with a figure of 4.92 million. The refugee population in South Asia constitutes roughly 12 percent of the world's total refugees. If we look at the South Asian refugee situation in the long term perspective, taking into account nearly 20 million refugees that crossed newly created international borders between India and Pakistan between 1947 and 1950, about 10 million refugees that came to India from the than East Pakistan in 1970-71 during the emergence of Bangladesh, and more than 3.5 million Afghans who took refugee in Pakistan during the early eighties in the
Table 1.4 Population Movements among the Countries of South Asia

(All numbers are approximate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Communities or Nationalities</th>
<th>Refugee population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. West Pakistan</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1947-48</td>
<td>Hindu, Sikhs</td>
<td>7 to 8 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. East Pakistan (Bangladesh)</td>
<td>a. India</td>
<td>1947-50</td>
<td>a. Bengali Hindus to West Bengal and Tripura</td>
<td>9-10 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>b. Bengali Hindus and Muslims</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1971-81</td>
<td>c. Bengalis to Assam</td>
<td>1-2 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Pakistan</td>
<td>1964 and after 1971</td>
<td>d. Chakmas from CHT to North-East India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Biharis ('Stranded Pakistan')</td>
<td>1,70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. India</td>
<td>a. West and E. Pakistan</td>
<td>1947-48</td>
<td>a. Muslims</td>
<td>6 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Nepal</td>
<td></td>
<td>b. N. Indians to the Terai and Kathmandu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Bangladesh</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>c. Return of Hindu, Muslim Refugees</td>
<td>8 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Sikkim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Bhutan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>After 1983</td>
<td>b. Sri Lankan Tamils.</td>
<td>1,25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Burma</td>
<td>a. To India</td>
<td></td>
<td>a. South Indians to T. Nadu.</td>
<td>1,50,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Bangladesh</td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Burmese Muslims from Arakan</td>
<td>2,50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Afghanistan</td>
<td>Pakistan's NWFP, Sindh &amp; Baluchistan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. China</td>
<td>a. India</td>
<td></td>
<td>a. Tibetans</td>
<td>Under 1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Bhutan</td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Tibetans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Nepal</td>
<td></td>
<td>c. Tibetans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wake of the then Soviet military intervention, the region would clearly be one of the most persistently an desirously affected one.

On the other hand, there are substantial number of people who have been displaced within their homeland (also known as Internally Displaced Persons, IDPs) as a result of persecution, war, human conflict, human rights violation or forced relocation like Afghanistan (1.5 million), Sri Lanka (0.9 million), and India (0.25 million). Although they share many characteristics with refugees who cross international borders, they are not eligible for protection under international refugee law as they remain inside their own countries. They are neither entitled to legal quainter nor to the material assistance afford by the UNHCR.

Some of the South Asian states like Bangladesh, Bhutan and Sri Lanka are gradually coming under the category of principal sources of world’s refugees and asylum seekers. India has been more of a refugee receiving than a generating country due to its easily accessible borders, socio-cultural identities, economic opportunities and a democratic and generally soft state, in relation to almost all the neighbours. If the flow of refugees from East Pakistan in 1970-71 is discounted, Pakistan has also been on the receiving side of the refugees, but then Pakistan does not have common borders with any other South Asian country except India. And most of the refugees received by Pakistan have not been from India but from Afghanistan, due primarily to geographical proximity and socio-cultural identities. Sri Lanka’s island status has spared it from being a host to asylum seekers. Bangladesh, which has generally been a refugee generating country (there are Bangladeshi refugees all over South Asia – India, Nepal, and Pakistan) also had to receive Muslim refugees, ‘Rohingyas’ from Burma (now named as Myanmar), when in 1978 the Burmese government started crushing down on non-nationals. The Burmese government’s contention is that these people did not have any
nationality certificate with them, as they were in fact the recent illegal
migrants from Bangladesh.

Similarly, Nepal which has generally been a source of migrants to
India and, to a much smaller extent Bhutan, not only received refugees
from Tibet, but has been complaining a large scale migration from India,
and larger than that from Bangladesh since the late seventies. In recent
years Nepal had received nearly 85,000 person of Nepali origin from
Bhutan as a consequence of ethnic conflict between the Nepalese of
Southern Bhutan and the Highlanders Drukpas of Tibetan origin. Bhutan
refuses to accept them as its nationals and pleads that many of them were
economic migrants from Nepal or India, who came to work on the
Kingdom's various developmental projects even during the British period
in South Asia. Bhutan also had to accept Tibetan refugees but in the mid-
eighties it forced them out because of ethnic tensions between the
Tibetan and local residents.

Table 1.5 Refugees in South Asia (1996, UNHCR)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Host Country and Source of Refugees</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bangladesh-Myanmar</td>
<td>30,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>18,607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>53,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>98,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>62,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nepal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhutan (Tibetans)</td>
<td>106,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>20,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pakistan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,589,717</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Refugee Movements in South Asia: An explanation.

Hansen and Smith (1998, p.8-11), have given two major causal agents for refugee's movement: firstly wars and other forms of socio-political unrest; and secondly, plan and or administrative removal or expulsion of people. KLOIT. (1987) 45 gave the following six causal agents of refugee movements: 1) anti-colonial wars, wars of independence and self-determination movements; ii) international conflicts, iii) revolutions, coup d'etat changes of governments; iv) ethnic and tribal conflicts; v) partition of state; and vi) population transfers and population explosion.

In studying refugee movements in South Asia three broad categories of refugee generating factors may be identified. The first category due to the breakdown of colonial rule and the nationalization of some of the colonial legacies created refugee flows; the second category related to state and nation building processes which precipitated not only political, ethnic and religious conflicts but created economic and environmental conditions that forced people to migrate within or outside their respective countries; the third category of refugee movements are related to the developments outside the region and the flow of extra-regional refugees. Although, it is not the purpose of this research to analyze the causes of South Asian refugee movements, it is nevertheless assessing to reflect upon their nature, and to under the ephemeral character of some of refugee movements, the absorption of most of the refugees in the region the extent to which the refugees are prepared to participate in the settlement schemes.

45 Weiner, No. 42, p.1737; and also see Gyanesh Kudaisya, 1995, "The Demographic Upheaval of Partition: Refugees and Agricultural Resettlement if India, 1947-67. Journal of South Asian Studies, Special Issue, Vol.xviii,pp.72-3. The Partition brings out not one but five distinct migrations. They were: i) the uprooting of Indian Muslims from Northern India into West Pakistan; ii) the evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from West Pakistan into Northern India; iii) the Displacement of Muslims from West Bengal, Bihar and Muslim into East Pakistan; iv) the Forced Migration of Hindus and Buddhist from East Pakistan into Eastern India: and finally, vi) The larger Diaspora of South Asians displaced by partition and forced to migrate to regions further afield in South East Asia, The United Kingdom and North America.
In the first category, the refugee movements between India and Pakistan, as mentioned earlier resulting from the partition of British India which gave birth to the new state of Pakistan. The largest bilateral flow in South Asia and perhaps the largest international flow in world history — took place in 1947, an estimated six to seven million Muslims moved from India to Pakistan and nearly eight million Hindus and Sikhs moved from Pakistan to India (Census of India 1951 and Philips 1970). The flow from Pakistan came from West Pakistan in 1947 and 1948 and from East Pakistan in spurts, extending well into the 50’s. The problem of their resettlement and rehabilitation were enormous but both India and Pakistan sorted them out administratively, within their own respective jurisdictions, as also through bilateral negotiations.

Another flow of refugees associated with the decolonisation in South Asia took place from Burma (now Myanmar) and Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) after they were granted independence from the British rule in 1948. Soon after Burma became free, the new government started vigorous process of nationalizing its administration and public sectors institutions, where a large number of the persons of Indian origin, who had migrated to Burma under the British patronage, were employed, and only a few Indians were granted Burmese citizenship. In 1948 and 1949 a majority of Indians left, they had to come to India as refugees.46 The establishment of military by Gen. Ne Win in 1962, sent refugees to India after the dismissal of U. Nu’s democratic regime. Under this military rule the government nationalized trade, industry, banking and commerce thereby depriving sources of livelihood to many persons of Indian origin, who were working as middle-men and money under since the British times. An estimated of 150,000 Indians, mostly of South Indian origin returned as refugees.47

46 Weiner, No. 42, p.1738.
47 Ibid.
As in Burma, Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) had a large Indian population, employed in the estate sector since the British days. The estate workers have predominantly Tamil speakers from South India, recruited by the British in the 19th century to work in the tea plantations in the Kandeyan Highlands. The newly introduced Citizenship Acts of 1948 and 1949, deprived these estate workers of their voting rights. As a result, stateless Indians emerged in Sri Lanka, which neither India nor Sri Lanka wanted to have. An agreement to resolve the problem of the persons of Indian origins was first signed by the two countries on the question of the ‘stateless’ person in 1964, which has been revised and improved since then due to new problems of implementation. Under these various agreements and their implementation India has repatriated some 338,000 persons of Indian origin from Sri Lanka for resettlement and rehabilitation between 1964 and 1987. The last agreement to deal with the residual problem was concluded between the two countries in 1988.48

The second category that generates refugees in South Asia is related to state and the nation-building process. The finding of Shah M. Tarzi (1991)49, on a high incidence of refugees flow in the contemporary third world occurred, is relevant that is: 1) whenever the state chooses to forge a collective identity on the basis of race, religion and nationality, it produces target minorities. A mono-national integration formula in a multi-ethnic environment, for instance, creates victim groups subject to exclusion, segregation, expulsion and repression; 2) the pursuit of a mono-national formula and/or a strategy of ‘unmixing’ populations in circumstances wherein the targeted groups are regionally concentrated, may lead to separation, are very much relevant to South Asia situation.

The first and largest refugee flow under this category was in 1971, from the then East Pakistan to India. In early 1971 any armed struggle erupted over the issue of region at autonomy and military rule in Pakistan between East Pakistan and the Pakistan military. This civil war was due to the problem of delineation of power to its Bengali population because the Punjabi and West Pakistani dominated state was not willing to accommodate the Bengali majority for its due share in power structure; not even after the first democratically held election in 1970, in which the East Pakistan based Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had secured majority of seats. Pakistani’s internal conflict that resulted from the military refusal to hand over power to the elected parliament and instead let loose repression on the Awami League and the Bengali masses made the emergence of Bangladesh inevitable. Some 10 million refugees from the eastern wing of Pakistan took asylum in India. When the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Camps</th>
<th>Living in Camps</th>
<th>Living with Friends and Relatives</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. West Bengal</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>4,849,786</td>
<td>2,386,130</td>
<td>7,235,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tripura</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>834,098</td>
<td>547,551</td>
<td>1,381,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Meghalaya</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>591,520</td>
<td>76,466</td>
<td>667,986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Assam</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>255,642</td>
<td>91,913</td>
<td>347,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bihar</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36,373</td>
<td></td>
<td>36,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>219,298</td>
<td></td>
<td>219,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10,169</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Report of the Secretary-General, 11 August 1972, Table 1:118 in UNHCR, Vol. 1.
Bangladesh emerged as a new and independent nation in December 1971, the bulk of the refugees had returned home.

When Bangladesh became independent in 1972, one of the first issues facing the new government was the return of those 'Stranded Pakistanis'. An estimated of half million people who regard themselves and who where regard by Bangladeshis as Pakistanis were 'stranded'; so to speak, in a foreign country. What made this situation usual is that these 'stranded' Pakistanis had infant, never been to West Pakistan. Those migrants, popularly called Bihari Muslims' were Urdu-Speakers who held a variety of skilled and semi-skilled jobs in Pakistan as, mechanics, artisans, shopkeepers, and labourers in the jute industry and in the railway. Under a tripartite agreement contended in 1974, Pakistan accepted about 170,000 people. But more than 300,000 remain stranded in Bangladesh awaiting their repatriation to Pakistan. Pakistan is not willing to accept and rehabilitate them.

An important aspect of the state and nation-building process in South Asia has been that the majority-minority game in terms of religion, ethnic composition, political authority and psychological one-up-manship have conspicuously figured in almost all the refugee conditions. This has precipitated ethnic and other conflicts generated refugees. This distorted state-building process has been reinforced by, and in turn contributed to, the challenge of under or unequal development.

In the early 1970s the government of Sri Lanka introduced an affirmative action programme to provide education and employment to preferences to the Sinhalese, through a gradual process beginning in 1956, acquired a Sinhala-Buddhist identity. Tamil leaders fought these measures, then pressed for autonomy for the Tamil majority region in the north. The simmering ethnic conflicts exploded, and in mid-1980s Sri Lanka was engaged in a civil conflict, with an armed struggle against
Tamil militants resulting in July 1983 in the flow of more than 220,000 refugees to India and nearly 75,000 refugees outside the region, to Europe, America, Canada and Australia.\textsuperscript{50} Half of the Sri Lankan refugees in India were sent back following the conclusion of the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement in July 1987, and subsequently through the good offices of the UNHCR. However, the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict is still far from being resolved and the remaining refugees find it extremely hard to return voluntarily. And to collapse of the peace process initiated by President Chandrika Kumartunga and the out-break of Eelam War-III in April 1995 make the return of Tamil refugees back to Sri Lanka from the Western countries difficult. Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict has also generated internal refugees, according to officials total number of refugees, on August 1993, was estimated at more than 600,000.

The newly independent state of Bangladesh had imbibed the ideals of democracy and secularism but after the coup against the first representative government in 1975, a drift towards authoritarian political order and assertive Islamic identity became evident. The changing character of the Bangladesh state further increased the alienation of Buddhist Chakmas, the tribal inhabitants of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh. The post-liberation Bangladesh State's intention to change the demographic composition of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), with an objective to blunt the demand of their indigenous Chakmas for more administrative autonomy. The tribal inhabitants intensified their fight for autonomy and cultural, political and economic rights with the Dhaka regime. In conflict in CHT resulted in more than 50,000 Chakma refugees entering India.

Another important refugee generating under this category are the Southern Bhutanese, mostly of Nepali origin who migrated from India.

\textsuperscript{50} Weiner, No. 42, p. 1739.
and Nepal over the years, they not only lived under restrictions of movement and residence, but also were denied due share in the political and economic decision making of the Kingdom. The fears of the dominant Drukpa community that demographic expansion of Nepalese would eventually lead to their marginalization within the Kingdom.

By mid-1980, however, king Wangchuk began to express his concern over the growing influence of Nepali-migrants. In a effort to impose Bhutanese-Buddhist cultural hegemony, the king announced a ‘code of conduct’ (Drug Can Namzha) which proscribed Nepali and Indian dress and required that residents wear the traditional Bhutanese dress. Violations of the code of conduct could be fined. Repressive implementation of these policies precipitated violent reaction, conflict and refugees. More than 100,000 refugees have left Bhutan to seek asylum outside Bhutan as a result of this conflict. An estimated of 85,000 refugees have gone to eastern Nepal and where they are kept in camps supported by the UNHCR and approximately 25,001 to 30,000 Nepali of Bhutan have taken refugee in India’s state of Bengal and Assam. These refugees were pushed out of their dwelling in Bhutan through state repression.

The third category of refugee in South Asia region relates to the developments outside the region and the flow of extra-regional refugees. So far, such refugees have come from Tibet, Afghanistan and Myanmar (Burma). The flow of Tibetan refugees into South Asia has been the result of communist China’s action in Tibet during the fifties. The Tibetan struggle for autonomy and the Chinese actions to suppress that struggle have continued since then and so also the flow of refugees. India provide refugee to Tibet refugees including, the Dalai Lama the religious and political leader of the Tibetans. At the end of 1993, there were nearly 133,000 Tibetans. At the end of 1993, there were nearly 133,000 Tibetans.
refugees in South Asia dispersed between India (119,000) and Nepal (14,000).\textsuperscript{51} Tibetan refugees initially came to India, Nepal and Bhutan, mainly because of geographical proximity and Buddhist cultural identity. However, internal political pressure and considerations of China’s displeasure has affected the attitude of the host-South Asian countries towards these refugees.

The Afghan refugees’ movement to South Asia started following the Revolution of Afghanistan in 1978. This was due to the far-reaching socio-economic changes introduced by the Taraki regime, within a year and a half, the Taraki regime was over-thrown by Hafizullah Amin in September 1979, who in turn was removed by the Soviet military intervention in December 1979. Between April 1978 and December 1979, an estimated 193,000 refugees had come to Pakistan to seek asylum. The flows of refugees became much too large following the Soviet military intervention and the Afghan resistance to it. By the beginning of the eighties, there were about 4700 Afghan refugees entering Pakistan every day, contributing to a total 3.15 million registered at their peak in October 1987. Table shows the distribution of Afghan refugees in various disciplines of Pakistan, according to Pakistani estimates.

Nearly half of the total refugees returned to Pakistan following the Soviet withdrawal completed between 1986 and 1990. But the renewed conflict in Afghanistan has not only slowed down the rate of repatriation, from 910,000 in 1992 to 358,000 in 1993, but brought a new influx, with the result that by the end of 1993, there were still 1.5 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Besides, Pakistan, some 25,000 Afghan refugees have also been living in India since early eighties. These refugees, however did not belong to the erstwhile Afghan resistance groups, and

therefore, likely to continue to be in India until lasting peace and harmony is established in Afghanistan.

Burma (Myanmar) is also intra-regional source of refugees to South Asia. The flight of the persons of Indian origin from Burma during 1948-49, and during the early sixties has already been noted. In the wake of the Burmese army's operations in Arakan region in 1978 to check illegal migrants and fight insurgency, the first flow of Rohingya Muslim refugees to Bangladesh. As many as 200,000 Rohingyas then sought asylum in Bangladesh as they did not have valid citizenship movements and were fearful of the Burmese army. An agreement was worked out between Bangladesh and Burma, with the mediation of UNHCR to repatriate these refugees, many of who left for Muslim countries in West Asia. The recent flow of Rohingyas to Bangladesh started during 1989-90, when in their pursuit to suppress democracy movement and control ethnic insurgencies, the Burmese military regime confronted Rohingyas, cleared them from their villages to establish military bases and forced them to provide 'unpaid labour' to the troops. The member of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh peaked at nearly 300,000 by early 1992, when the governments in Rangoon and Dhaka concluded an agreement for the repatriation of these refugees. By the end of 1993, nearly 200,000 Rohingyas were living in Bangladesh refugee camps.

The factors generating refugees in South Asia were that of the formation and restructuring of State boundaries (partition of British India, and the emergence of Bangladesh) religious persecutions. The explosion of internal ethnic and secessionist wars, where massive military operations are involved, affecting ordinary people, create mass exodus of refugees in the shortest possible span of time.
Locational Politics of Refugees Movements

The movements of refugees and their temporary or permanent settlement in the country of first asylum have had strong effects on the relations between neighbouring states/countries. As mentioned earlier, in the South Asian region, the national boundaries do not coincide with the natural region and slice through ethnic loyalties, and socio-cultural dimensions are not taken in consideration. In many cases ethnic and linguistic regions straddle international boundaries. Refugees are thus able to find asylum among their kin across the border. While such affinity may sometimes facilitate integration into local communities in most cases, the concentration of the Tibetans and Chakma entered into India as political refugees during different periods of time after India independence. They settled and distributed in different parts of India.

The flights of Tibetan refugees in India in mid 1950s and by 1959 into South Asian countries were due to violence and revolts in Tibet. By South Asian standards the number of Tibetans who fled from Tibet (China) to India and adjoining countries as relatively small, less than a hundred thousand, but the protest movement and insurrection that led the Chinese army to crush the rebellion forced to have long-term implications for Indian-Chinese relations.

The Indian government did not object to China’s decision to annex Tibet in 1950. India neither armed the refugees nor supported independence or autonomy for Tibet, provide safe haven for the Tibetan refugees, including the Dalai Lama which continued to be a thorn in India-Chinese relations.

In India, Tibetan refugees are settled in different parts of the country. The Refugee Settlements in India had been deliberately designed in such a way as to create Tibetan society with its core values intact. Such a
re-creation of pocket of Tibetan culture and society in India was not only the popular desire and determination of refugees from Tibet, it was to a large extent endorsed and even encouraged by the government of India as a matter of policy.

The locational politics on Chakma immigrants to India, from Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) from Bangladesh limited to the border states of Tripura, Mizoram and also Arunachal Pradesh (formerly NEFA). Boundary commission published on 17 August 1947, awarded the CHT to East Pakistan, despite the Chakmas willingness to join India. The Chakma were divided, where one group lived on India side, Mizoram and Tripura and Assam and Meghalaya State, majority were living in CHT. The construction of Kaptai dam and its commissioning in 1964, uprooted many hill people and about 64,000 especially Chakmas and Hajongs come to India. They are inhabited under five settlement schemes in the then Tirap (now Changlang), Lihit and Lower Subansiri (now Papumpare).

In 1971, Bangladesh got her independence. The successive governments followed socio-economic and political policies, which deprived the hill people in the South Eastern Region, their basic right of the earlier regime. The hill people perceived the government policies of resettlement of the plain Muslim Bengali in the hill region, the deployment of army and the abolition of CHT Regulation Acts, 1900, which provided the autonomy of this region from the plain people’s control, as threat to their existence. This generated conflicts and unrest in the region. This led to mass flows of refugees. Six refugees’ camps were established in Tripura in 1980. Although the refugees from the camps are repatriated recently, the Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh are still in a balance of getting Indian citizenship or repatriation.
Conclusion

The contemporary world is characterized by extreme demographic, economic, and political inequality of human condition in various part of the globe. The regional problem of migration appears to be the combined effects of all these conditions. This chapter discussed some of the major dimension of South Asian refugees and places the Indian experience into a broader South Asian context. India has had a long history of refugee migrations and within are refugee migrations arising from a wide variety of causes. It has also experienced one of the largest repatriation exercises in south Asian region. In sum, it is suggested that in many ways India's experience can be seen as a microcosm of South Asian as a whole.