

## Structure and Pattern of Migration in Northeast India: Some Insights from Two Census Data

**Komol Singha and Sohel Firdos**

*Migration has been a topic of intense debate among academia and policymakers in North-east India (NEI) since the pre-independence era. With the help of the last two census data and the observed facts, the present paper analyses structure and pattern of migration in NEI. By employing descriptive statistics, the paper finds that the volume of the net migrants in Assam and Manipur within the region has been negative. Despite its simmering political and internal unrest, the region as a whole received large numbers of in-migrants, mainly contributed by Bihar and followed by West Bengal. Within the region, Assam turned out to be the largest labour migrant sender to its sister states, and these migrants have their roots either outside the country or erstwhile migrated from different parts of the country. These in-migrants mostly work in low-wage positions that locals are either unwilling or unable to fill. Due to the shortage of educational infrastructure in the region, a large number of people are also moving out for educational pursuits.*

### I Introduction

Migration is an age-old phenomenon in human civilization that involves a shift/change in one's usual place of residence, normally crossing an administrative boundary during a given migration interval (United Nations 1993). Therefore, the concept of migration involves both time and space dimensions. But, no single operational definition of migration has been put in place till date (Kok 1999). Migration happens for a wide range of reasons that include economic, political, social, environment and family reasons. Practically, migration unlocks a host of economic opportunities by filling job vacancies, meeting skill requirements, bringing energy, knowledge and innovation and contributing to cultural diversity (Noja, *et. al.* 2018). At the same time, it also induces many new forms of conflicts and contestations if migrant population crosses the threshold limit and economic resources are depleted at the destination (Acharya 2020, Egger 2017).

---

Komol Singha, Professor, Department of Economics, Sikkim University, Gangtok 737102, Sikkim,  
Email: [hijamkomol@gmail.com](mailto:hijamkomol@gmail.com)  
Sohel Firdos, Professor, Department of Geography, Sikkim University, Gangtok 737102, Sikkim,  
Email: [sfirdos@cus.ac.in](mailto:sfirdos@cus.ac.in)

With the growth of transport and communications, the share of immigrant to the global population has increased from 2.8 per cent in 2000 to 3.5 per cent in 2019 (United Nations 2019). As a result of which, many advanced nations today have become diverse and multiethnic societies. Since the 1980s, southern European nations like Italy, Spain and Portugal that were sending migrants to wealthier countries have become labour migrant-receiving nations (Massey, *et. al.* 1993). However, internal migration is considered as more important than international migration, especially in the developing countries (Ersanilli 2013, Deshingkar and Grimm 2005, p. 10). In India, the internal migration rate has increased from 30 per cent in 2001 to 37 per cent in 2011 (Srivastava 2012). Though there has been a rapid growth in internal migration in the country, since 2001, its structure and pattern remained unchanged (De 2019).

However, the situation seems to be very different in North-east India (NEI or simply region hereafter). Unlike national trend, the nature and pattern of migration in NEI have undergone a significant change in the recent past (Singh and Singha 2020). Despite the region's protracted armed conflicts, large numbers of economic migrants continue to increase in NEI (Singha 2018). Within the region, out-migration rates since 2001 from Assam and Manipur were much larger than in-migration rates (Lusome and Bhagat 2020). Educational migrants dominate the stream of out-migration from the region. Unlike before, a large number of young people from the region have started moving out to bigger cities for availing better education and employment opportunities (Marchang 2017, Singha 2015, McDuie-Ra 2013).

## II Literature and Theory

The dual-sector model, developed by Arthur Lewis, has put forward the impact of labour migration on economic development trajectory, especially in the developing countries by transferring surplus labour from rural (agriculture) to urban (industrial) sector. How the surplus labours from the rural sector can be absorbed in the growing urban centres and its resultant impact on reducing rural-urban growth inequality are well-explained by this theory (Massey, *et. al.* 1993). But, these migrants are basically self-selected (occupational choice) to destinations based on their abilities, implying that the highly skilled labours are more likely to migrate to the markets where there are broader structures of opportunities, while the low-skilled labours are likely to migrate to the more sheltered labour markets (Haberfeld, *et. al.* 2019). Usually, the new migrants prefer to live in an environment where there is a high representation of their own ethnic group (Haberfeld, *et. al.* 2019, Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov 1994). In this manner, a chain of migration network is created. This, in turn, systematically lowers the cost for future migrants and makes it easier for their fellow members to migrate in the future (Mckenziea and Rapoport 2007). For instance, the push factor from the origin, supported by network channels, induced a large scale Bihari migrant in reaching northeast India (Mishra 2019). When a chain of such

migration begins, it continues even after the migrant workers' conditions at their destination have become significantly less flavorful, and consequently, insider-outsider chasm emerged slowly (Weiner 1978). According to a United Nations migration agency report, despite general insecurity and the ongoing war in Yemen, hundreds of thousands of African migrants, particularly from Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, and other African countries, continued to make the perilous journey in search of work, from which they moved further to the Gulf countries and Europe (Schlein 2018, Abdiker 2018).

Following the development of transport and communications, the pace of internal migration in the country has sped up in the recent past (Srivastava 2012). The individual or families having previous migration experience are more inclined to make further migration to other destinations (Castelli 2018). Unlike classical model, the new economics of migration theory says that migration decision of an individual is taken, apart from the individual actors, by the households' members collectively, not only to maximise expected income but also to minimise risks accrued in the decision (Massey, *et. al.* 1993). At the same time, employers would prefer migrant workers to locals due to two main reasons— 1) migrant workers may have superior skills or more dedication to work as it is needed for their survival, 2) to avoid local domination at the workplace (Weiner 1978). Following the growth of education and skill development, labour migrants to urban centres have increased to a great extent in the world (Girsberger 2017). In India, 1.2 per cent of the total migrants in 2011 were found to be educational migrants, mainly the youths ranging the age group from 10 to 29 years. The uneven distribution of educational infrastructure in the country is also one of the major drivers of educational migration (Pavithra 2019).

### III Objectives and Method

With the help of 2001 and 2011 population census data and observed facts from the region, supported by some other secondary information available in the public domain, the present paper tries to evaluate the structure and pattern of migration in the eight states of NEI. The specific objectives are:

- to analyse the basic differences, in terms of the structure and pattern of migration, among the states in NEI in the last two censuses— 2001 and 2011, and
- to explore the major factors that are responsible for the recent shift in migration pattern in NEI in the recent past.

Simple descriptive statistics have been employed to answer the above-mentioned objectives. The process of state reorganisation in the region lasted until the late 1980s. Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland were divided from Assam in 1987, 1972, 1972, and 1963, respectively. At the same time, due to political upheaval in the state, Assam did not conduct a population census in 1981. As a result of these, this article conducts each state-

level analysis based on the 2001 census data. Nevertheless, the 1991 population census data were also used while calculating migration growth rates for the following census, i.e., 2001 census. Though we included immigration data in this study, the data on emigration and female marriage related migration were not included.

As for the functional concept, in this paper, internal migration composes of intra-state and inter-state migrants. Further, intra-state migration consists of inter-district and intra-district migrations within the state. The inter-state/domestic migrants include the in-migrants coming in the state from other states of the country and out-migrant implies the migrants going out from the state to other states. For further clarification, in-migrant implies any migrant coming in the state that includes domestic migrants coming from other states and immigrants coming from foreign nations. The international migrant implies the immigrants coming from other countries, and the definition of net migrant and aggregate/total migrant will vary depending on the components and section included in this study, with or without immigrants.

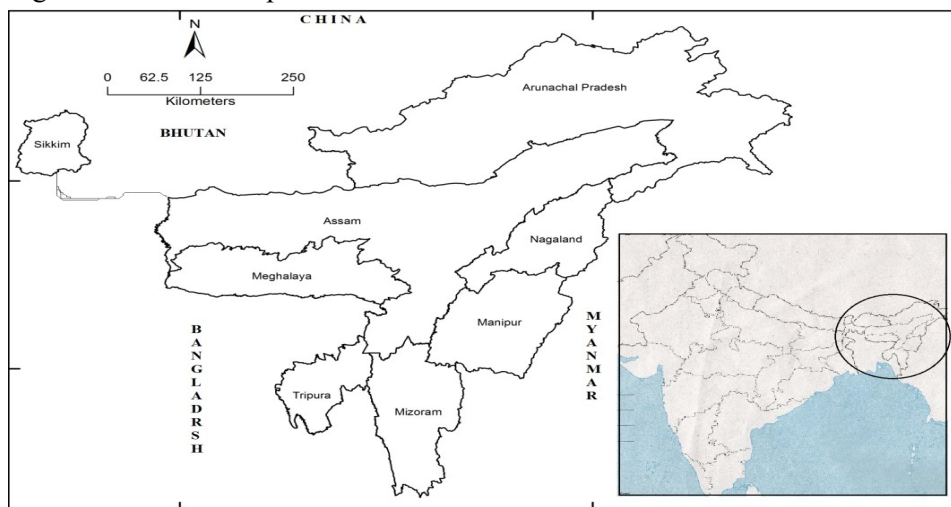
#### **IV Background of Migration in NEI**

North-East India (NEI) consists of eight states— Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura (refer Figure 1). Migration has been the topic of intense debate among the academia and policymakers in NEI for a quite long time, since before the country's independence, and studying migration in this region without understanding its neighbours seems to be incomplete. The region shares 5,183 km (98 per cent) of its borders with five nations<sup>1</sup> (Gogoi, Goswami and Borah 2009) and these porous borders, coupled with the region's rich economic and natural resources have been the major attraction not only for the cross-border migrants but also for the labour migrants from other parts of the country. Around 90 per cent of the immigrants in Assam are from Bangladesh, and every sixth individual in Assam is either an immigrant entered the state after 1951 or descendants of those immigrants. They constitute around 16 per cent of the Assam's total population in 2001 (Saikia and Joe 2016, p. 36). Due to the influx of migrants from outside (international or domestic), the basic socio-economic, cultural and political characteristics of the region have undergone a significant change (Weiner 1978). Beginning from the Assam movement, the movement against the illegal migrants, started in the 1960s, the National Register of Citizens (NRC) and the Citizenship Amendment Bill/Act (CAB/A) passed in 2019 sparked a widespread movement in the region.

When we dig into the details of the migration history in NEI, as soon as British occupied Ahom (now Assam) in 1826, a large number of Bengali (Hindu) migrants were brought to man the growing administrative and tea garden clerical jobs. As the second wave of migration, many tea labourers were brought by the British mainly from the Bihar, Chota Nagpur (erstwhile hill areas of Southern

Bihar), Uttar Pradesh, Odisha and Bengal (both east and west) to some extent. This continued till 1937 and the tea migrant workers were given a nomenclature as 'Tea Tribe', and slowly adopted Assamese as their mother tongue and assimilated to Assamese culture (Weiner 1978, pp. 89–90). The third wave of migrants coming to Assam was the Bengali (Muslim) peasants from the East Bengal (present Bangladesh). Most of them, like tea tribe, assimilated to Assamese culture and adopted Assamese as their own language and occupied mainly the rural/forest areas where large agricultural lands are available. But after the partition of 1947, followed by the riot against Hindus in 1950 in Bangladesh, millions of Bengali Hindus migrated to India, mainly in the states Assam, Tripura and West Bengal. The second biggest Bengali Hindu exodus from Bangladesh was the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War and it added Bengali Hindu migrant population to a great extent in Assam and Tripura. Thereafter, the Bengali Hindu migrants from Bangladesh outnumbered the Bengali Muslim migrants in Assam (Varshney 1983, Weiner 1978, p. 96). Unlike Bengali Muslim migrants, the Bengali Hindu migrants concentrated mainly in the urban areas, distributed over the towns, commercial centres and near the railway stations. Till date, Cachar district of Assam (now trifurcated as Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi) being a strong-hold of the Bengalis (both Hindu and Muslim), migrants from the geographically contiguous Sylhet/Dacca and other parts of Bangladesh could easily reach there (Bhattacharjee 2012).

Figure 1: Political Map of NEI



Source: Authors' Sketch.

## V Structure and Stream of Migration in NEI

In wealthy countries, the issue of immigrants, especially the low-skilled workers coming from the poorer countries, has been increasingly a major cause of

concern today. As mentioned above, despite NEI's volatile situation and protracted conflicts, the volume of migrants (both domestic and international) coming in the region is increasing. The push factor— lack of employment opportunity at the origin— seems to be the prime reason for Bihari migrants coming to NEI (Mishra 2019). This section depicts the structure and stream of migration in NEI.

Table 1: In/Out-migrant, Net Migrant and Population in NEI in 2011 (in Lakh)

States	Population	In-migrant	%	Out-migrant	%	Net Migrant
1	2	3	4=(3/2x100)	5	6=(5/2x100)	7=(3-5)
Arunachal Pradesh	13.84	1.36	9.83	0.37	2.70	98.64
Assam	312.06	4.96	1.59	6.60	2.11	-
Manipur	25.70	0.20	0.78	0.76	2.95	-55.65
Mizoram	10.97	0.41	3.77	0.30	2.77	11.01
Meghalaya	29.67	1.08	3.64	0.70	2.37	37.65
Nagaland	19.79	1.08	5.46	0.46	2.31	62.29
Sikkim	6.11	0.61	10.02	0.21	3.51	39.70
Tripura	36.74	0.87	2.38	0.86	2.34	1.52

Note: In-migrant/from other states and Out-migrant/to other states, purely a domestic/inter-state movement.

Source: Computed by authors based on Census of India, 2011 data on Migration: D2 Tables.

From Table 1 we can see that the volume of migrants moving out from Assam to other states was much larger than the in-migrants coming in the state in 2011. In terms of the migration rate (as a percentage to state's population), 2.11 per cent of Assam's population was moving out to other states, and in turn, 1.59 per cent was coming in Assam from other states. Similarly, in Manipur, around 3 per cent of the state's population was found to be moving out to other states, and in turn, 0.78 per cent was coming from other states in 2011. However, there has been a quite variation among the states, in terms of in-migration rate, ranging from 0.75 per cent in Manipur to 10 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim. In terms of the out-migration rate, in NEI, it was estimated at around 2-3 per cent in 2011, barring Sikkim with 3.51 per cent. In totality, the net migration rates (the difference between in-migrants and out-migrants) of the states within the region were found to be positive, barring Assam and Manipur.

Table 2 shows the number and proportion of migrants in 2001 and 2011 who came from other states (domestic migrants) as well as foreign countries (immigrants). When we include immigrants, the share of migrants coming in the state as per cent to state's population was 0.95 per cent and 0.23 per cent in Assam and Manipur respectively in 2001 and increased to 1.95 per cent and 0.89 per cent respectively in 2011. The share of migrants to state's population was estimated at eight per cent each in Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh, while it was nine per cent in Tripura in 2001. As for the states of Meghalaya and Nagaland, it

was registered at two per cent each in 2001. In 2011, the percentages of in-migrants to the states of NEI have increased to a great extent, barring Tripura. Of the states, Sikkim ranked the top with 13.09 per cent, followed by 10.63 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh and 8.44 per cent in Tripura as the second and the third-highest state respectively.

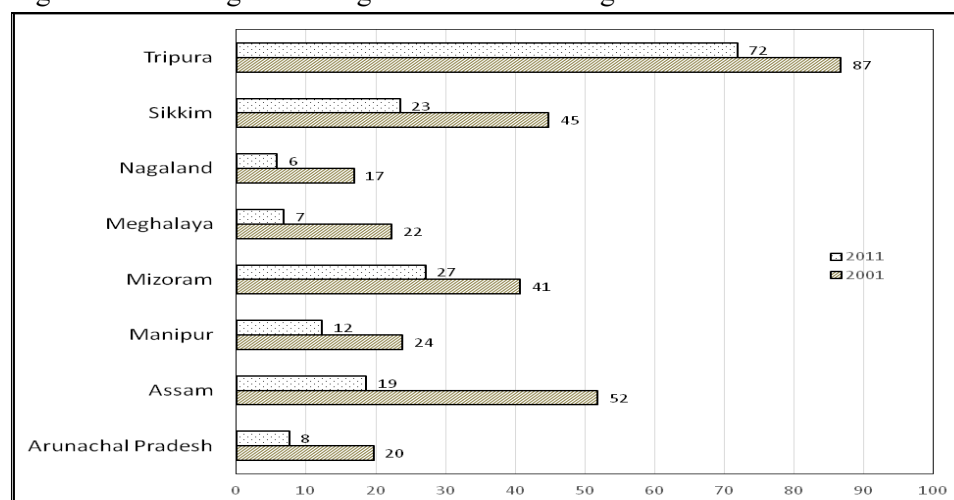
Table 2: In-migrants, Immigrants and their Share to the Population

States	In-migrants from Other States 2001	Immigrants 2001	Total Migrants 2001*	In-migrants from Other States 2011	Immigrants 2011	Total Migrants 2011*
1	2	3	4=(2+3)	5	6	7=(5+6)
Arunachal Pradesh	71789 (80.33)	17574 (19.67)	89363 (8.14)	136010 (92.46)	11096 (7.54)	147106 (10.63)
Assam	121803 (48.19)	130966 (51.81)	252769 (0.95)	495696 (81.43)	113031 (18.57)	608727 (1.95)
Manipur	4529 (76.16)	1418 (23.84)	5947 (0.23)	20100 (87.71)	2817 (12.29)	22917 (0.89)
Mizoram	22599 (59.34)	15487 (40.66)	38086 (4.29)	41380 (72.87)	15406 (27.13)	56786 (5.18)
Meghalaya	33710 (77.79)	9622 (22.21)	43332 (1.87)	107915 (93.25)	7816 (6.75)	115731 (3.90)
Nagaland	33594 (83.18)	6793 (16.82)	40387 (2.03)	108020 (94.28)	6552 (5.72)	114572 (5.79)
Sikkim	22519 (55.25)	18236 (44.75)	40755 (7.54)	61163 (76.53)	18761 (23.47)	79924 (13.09)
Tripura	40262 (13.34)	261631 (86.66)	301893 (9.44)	87378 (28.19)	222622 (71.81)	310000 (8.44)

Notes: Figures in parenthesis are per cent to total in-migrants coming in the state (from other states and immigrant), \*Figures in parentheses are per cent of the state's total population.

Source: Authors' Calculation from 2001 and 2011 Population Census of India.

Figure 2: Percentage of Immigrants to Total In-migrants in NEI



Source: Authors' Estimation.

Figure 2 shows the share of immigrants as a percentage of total in-migrants (domestic migrants from other states and immigrants). Of the states within the region, Tripura remained at the highest with 72 per cent in 2011, reduced from 87 per cent in 2001. Similarly, most of the states in the region have decreased their share of immigrants in 2011 *vis-à-vis* 2001. The state of Assam registered the second-highest with 19 per cent in 2011, reduced from 52 per cent in 2001. Though the shares of the immigrant in Mizoram and Sikkim were registered at 41 per cent and 45 per cent respectively in 2001, it reduced marginally at 27 per cent and 23 per cent respectively in 2011. However, other states in the region like Arunachal, Manipur, Meghalaya and Nagaland maintained at around 6-12 per cent in 2011.

As for the migration rate (per 100 population) in 2001, the states of Assam, Manipur and Nagaland exhibited negative rates, while the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Tripura recorded the highest migration rate with around 9-10 per cent during the same period. Even in 2011, the states of Assam and Manipur remained at the negative rates. In Tripura, the migration rate has increased from 1 per cent in 2001 to 7 per cent in 2011. However, the states of Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim recorded a double-digit migration rate with 10 per cent and 11 per cent respectively in 2011 (refer Annexure 1 and Annexure 2).

Table 3: State-wise Migration Including Immigrants and Intra-State Migrants in 2011

States	Components	Inter-district <sup>†</sup>	Intra-district <sup>†</sup>	Total	% to Total Migrant (Sl. 4)
Arunachal Pradesh	1. Intra-state Migrants	97911 (20.24)	385814 (79.76)	483725	76.68
	2. In-migrants			136010	21.56
	3. Immigrants			11096	1.76
	4. Total Migrants (1+2+3)			630831	45.59 *
	5. Out-migrants			37368	5.92
	6. Total Population			1383727	
Assam	1. Intra-state Migrants	2136020 (21.28)	7899487 (78.72)	10035507	94.28
	2. In-migrants			495696	4.66
	3. Immigrants			113031	1.06
	4. Total Migrants (1+2+3)			10644234	34.11 *
	5. Out-migrants			659694	6.20
	6. Total Population			31205576	
Manipur	1. Intra-state Migrants	135725 (20.44)	528293 (79.56)	664018	96.66
	2. In-migrants			20100	2.93
	3. Immigrants			2817	0.41
	4. Total Migrants (1+2+3)			2855794	24.05 *
	5. Out-migrants			75751	11.03
	6. Total Population			2570390	

Contd...

Table 3: State-wise Migration Including Immigrants and Intra-State Migrants in 2011

States	Components	Inter-district <sup>†</sup>	Intra-district <sup>†</sup>	Total	% to Total Migrant (Sl. 4)
Mizoram	1. Intra-state Migrants	118521 (35.85)	212063 (64.15)	330584	85.34
	2. In-migrants			41380	10.68
	3. Immigrants			15406	3.98
	4. Total Migrants (1+2+3)			387370	35.31 *
	5. Out-migrants			30365	7.84
	6. Total Population			1097206	
Meghalaya	1. Intra-state Migrants	75701 (11.76)	568122 (88.24)	643823	84.76
	2. In-migrants			107915	14.21
	3. Immigrants			7816	1.03
	4. Total Migrants (1+2+3)			759554	25.60 *
	5. Out-migrants			70268	9.25
	6. Total Population			2966889	
Nagaland	1. Intra-state Migrants	162087 (37.26)	272959 (62.74)	435046	79.15
	2. In-migrants			108020	19.65
	3. Immigrants			6552	1.19
	4. Total Migrants (1+2+3)			549618	27.78 *
	5. Out-migrants			45734	8.32
	6. Total Population			1978502	
Sikkim	1. Intra-state Migrants	41126 (24.61)	125999 (75.39)	167125	67.65
	2. In-migrants			61163	24.76
	3. Immigrants			18761	7.59
	4. Total Migrants (1+2+3)			247049	40.46 *
	5. Out-migrants			21459	8.69
	6. Total Population			610577	
Tripura	1. Intra-state Migrants	139195 (14.07)	850428 (85.93)	989623	76.15
	2. In-migrants			87378	6.72
	3. Immigrants			222622	17.13
	4. Total Migrants (1+2+3)			1299623	35.37 *
	5. Out-migrants			85862	6.61
	6. Total Population			3673917	

Notes: Out-migrant and in-migrants are purely of the inter-state movements, \*Percentage to total state's population, †Values in parenthesis are per cents of total intra-state migrant, which is again summation of inter and intra-district.

Source: Authors' Estimation from 2011 Census Data.

Details of the intra-state (inter/intra-district) migrants are given in Annexure 3, which depicts inter and intradistrict migration. Table 3 also depicts a consolidated figure on migrants that includes sub-components of the migrant population and their percentages to total migrants and population in 2011. The

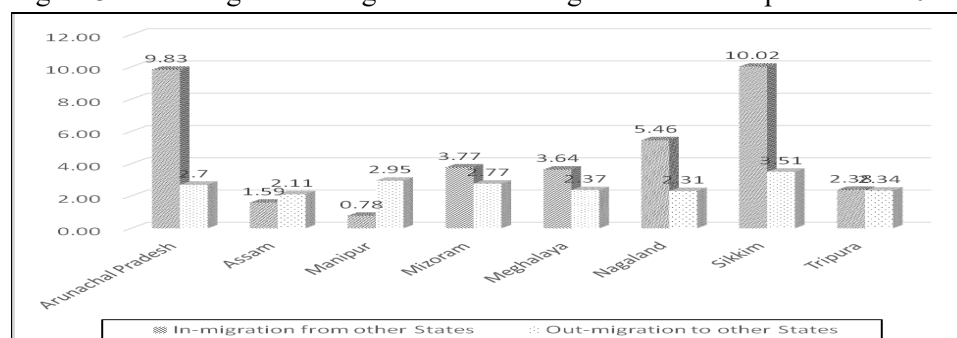
out-migration rate from NEI, barring Manipur that registered at 11 per cent, has been more or less the same with the in-migration rate in 2011, hovering at around 6-9 per cent. This indicates that the out-migration rate from the states of NEI has been quite uniform. As for the intra-state migration rate in 2011 (in Table 3), the state of Manipur recorded the highest with 97 per cent, followed by Assam with 94 per cent. The states of Meghalaya and Mizoram recorded the third and fourth positions with 87 per cent and 85 per cent respectively. While the states of Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland recorded more or less the same with 76 per cent, 77 per cent and 79 per cent respectively. However, Sikkim recorded the lowest intra-state migration rate within the region with 68 per cent. If we further decompose the intra-state migration into two as inter and intra-district migration rates, the ratios between the two in Nagaland and Mizoram were found to be registered at 37:63 (i.e., 37 per cent inter-district and 63 per cent intra-district migration rate) and 36:64 respectively. In Sikkim, the ratio was recorded at 25:75, while Meghalaya and Tripura were found to be quite similar in this regard with the ratios of 12:88 and 14:86 respectively. The remaining three states within the region—Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Manipur were also doing more or less the same in this regard with 20-21 per cent of inter-district and 79-80 per cent of intra-district migration. As for the share of the migrant to state's total population (excluding out-migrants) in 2011, Arunachal Pradesh recorded the highest with 46 per cent, followed by Sikkim with 40 per cent. Assam, Mizoram and Tripura recorded with 34 per cent, 35 per cent and 36 per cent respectively. Manipur recorded the least share of the migrant population (percentage to state's population) with 24 per cent, followed by Meghalaya with 26 per cent and Nagaland with 28 per cent as the second least and third-least migrant population rate respectively.

## VI Pattern and Direction of Migration in NEI

Though in-migration process in NEI had started well before the colonial period, a large-scale in-migration happened in the undivided Assam<sup>2</sup> at the time of partition. As undivided Assam was under the East Bengal province, it was very much convenient for the Bengali migrants to reach Assam (Singha 2018, p. 47). Following the development of information technology, transport and communication facilities, the volume of in-migrants coming to the resource-rich NEI still continues to rise. As for the out-migrants from the region, national capital Delhi is considered as one of the most preferred destinations (Remesh 2012, p. 2).

Figure 3 shows that the two states within the region, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim, received 10 per cent each of the state's population as in-migrants coming from other states in 2011. Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura received around two per cent and Manipur received the least in-migrants, estimated at 0.78 per cent to the state's population. As for the out-migration, barring Sikkim that sends four per cent, it was found to be around 2-3 per cent to the state's population in 2011.

Figure 3: Percentage of In-Migrant and Out-Migrant to Total Population in 2011



Source: Authors' Calculation.

Table 4: Some Major Sources (States) of NEI In-Migrants in 2011 (in %)

Other States to Arunachal Pradesh		Other States to Assam		Other States to Manipur		Other States to Mizoram	
Assam	65.41	Bihar	29.80	Assam	38.41	Assam	36.38
Bihar	13.83	West Bengal	19.11	Bihar	14.84	Manipur	29.58
West Bengal	5.12	Meghalaya	8.22	Nagaland	7.91	Tripura	13.55
Uttar Pradesh	4.45	Tripura	8.05	Mizoram	5.18	Meghalaya	5.75
Odisha	1.19	Uttar Pradesh	7.15	Uttar Pradesh	4.24	Bihar	3.39
Rajasthan	1.10	Rajasthan	5.60	Meghalaya	3.83	Jharkhand	2.78
Manipur	1.08	Nagaland	4.78	Tripura	3.81	West Bengal	1.56
Kerala	1.03	Arunachal Pradesh	3.93	Rajasthan	3.51	Nagaland	1.31
Jharkhand	0.96	Manipur	2.46	NCT of Delhi	3.24	Uttar Pradesh	1.15
Nagaland	0.90	Jharkhand	2.25	West Bengal	3.17	Kerala	0.65
Meghalaya	0.84	Odisha	1.04	Sikkim	1.43	Arunachal Pradesh	0.47
Tripura	0.63	Andhra Pradesh	0.95	Maharashtra	1.42	NCT of Delhi	0.45
Other States to Meghalaya		Other States to Nagaland		Other States to Sikkim		Other States to Tripura	
Assam	56.55	Assam	47.58	West Bengal	54.21	Assam	33.67
Bihar	13.08	Bihar	16.24	Bihar	21.72	Mizoram	21.07
Manipur	5.87	Manipur	13.05	Assam	4.29	Jharkhand	16.25
West Bengal	5.09	Uttar Pradesh	3.77	Uttar Pradesh	3.73	Bihar	13.81
Uttar Pradesh	2.87	West Bengal	3.47	Jharkhand	2.07	West Bengal	6.12
Tripura	2.66	Tripura	2.71	Jammu & Kashmir	1.59	Uttar Pradesh	1.74
Mizoram	1.97	Rajasthan	2.30	Manipur	1.20	Meghalaya	1.50
Rajasthan	1.76	Meghalaya	1.66	Rajasthan	1.10	Nagaland	0.86
Nagaland	1.62	Jharkhand	1.19	Haryana	1.08	Manipur	0.70
Uttarakhand	1.10	Odisha	1.14	Odisha	0.98	Rajasthan	0.57
Arunachal Pradesh	0.95	Kerala	1.08	Arunachal Pradesh	0.84	Tamil Nadu	0.47
Punjab	0.91	Arunachal Pradesh	0.83	NCT of Delhi	0.79	Arunachal Pradesh	0.39

Source: Authors' Estimation.

Table 4 depicts the major states that contributed in-migrants to NEI in 2011. Of the states sending in-migrants to NEI, Bihar ranks the top in 2011, followed

by West Bengal. Of the intra-regional migrants i.e. movement within the region, Assam turned out to be the largest migrant sender to its sister states. In Arunachal Pradesh, the largest share of domestic migrants, accounting for 65 per cent to state's total in-migrants was sent by Assam, followed by Bihar and West Bengal. Next to Assam, within the region, the state of Manipur turns out to be the second-largest migrant sender to its sister states. In Assam, of the total in-migrants, 30 per cent of it was coming from Bihar, followed by West Bengal with 19 per cent. In Manipur, of the total in-migrants, 38 per cent of them were coming from Assam, followed by Bihar with 15 per cent. The second-largest non-NEI state sending in-migrants to Manipur was Uttar Pradesh with 4 per cent. As for the state of Mizoram, the state that contributed the largest share of in-migrants was Assam with 36 per cent, followed by Manipur with 30 per cent. The largest non-NEI state, sending in-migrants to Mizoram was found to be the Bihar and Jharkhand with three per cent each. In the case of Meghalaya, the largest in-migrant contributor was Assam with 57 per cent, followed by Bihar with 13 per cent. The second NEI and non-NEI states sending the second-largest share of migrants to Meghalaya were the states of Manipur and West Bengal with six per cent and five per cent respectively. The pattern in Nagaland was more or less the same as Meghalaya. The largest share of in-migrant contributors in Nagaland was the state of Assam with 48 per cent, followed by Bihar with 16 per cent. The state of Manipur also sends a large number of migrants to Nagaland, estimated at 13 per cent to its total in-migrant. The other non-NEI states sending migrants to a large extent to Nagaland were the state of Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal with around 4 per cent each. As for the state of Sikkim, understandably, the largest share of in-migrants was contributed by its immediate neighbour, West Bengal with 54 per cent, followed by Bihar with 22 per cent. The NEI state, sending considerably a number of migrants to Sikkim was the state of Assam, estimated at around 4 per cent of the Sikkim's in-migrant population. For the state of Tripura, the largest share of the in-migrant population was coming from Assam with 34 per cent, followed by Mizoram with 21 per cent. The other three major states contributing/sending in-migrants to Tripura were the state of Jharkhand, Bihar and West Bengal with 16 per cent, 14 per cent and 6 per cent respectively in 2011.

Table 5 depicts the major destinations/states of NEI out-migrants (out-migration to other states of the country) in 2011. Around four per cent of the Sikkim's population migrated to other states, followed around three per cent each by Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Mizoram, and around two per cent each by Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura. As for the destination of the NEI out-migrants, the state of Assam happens to be the most preferred destination. For instances, 58 per cent of migrants from Meghalaya goes to Assam, followed by 52 per cent each from Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. Similarly, the largest share of migrants from Tripura, estimated at 47 per cent, is found in Assam. In terms of the destinations outside the NEI, the state of West Bengal is found to be the most preferred destination for the out-migrants from Sikkim and Assam with

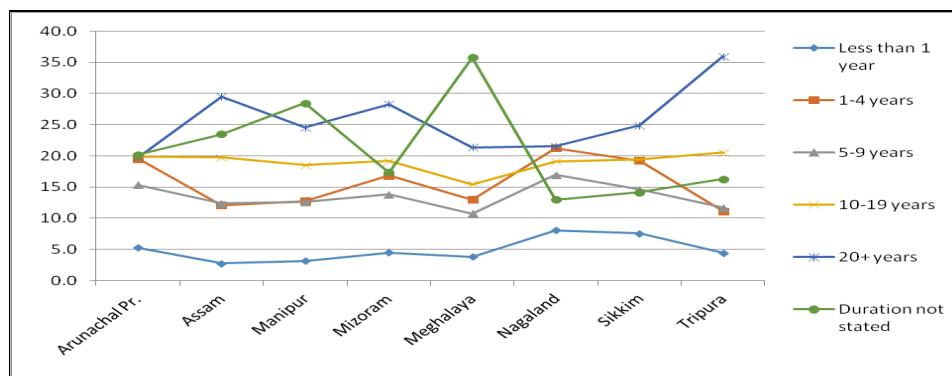
54 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. Similarly, for the states of Tripura, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh, 24 per cent, 10 per cent, 7 per cent and 6 per cent of the respective state's total out-migrants were found in West Bengal. This indicates that the state of West Bengal is turned out to be the most preferred destination for the migrants from NEI, followed by Delhi and Karnataka.

Table 5: Some Major Destinations (States) for NEI Out-Migrants in 2011 (in %)

Arunachal Pr. to Other States	Assam to Other States	Manipur to Other States	Mizoram to Other States		
Assam	52.15 West Bengal	25.22 Nagaland	18.60 Tripura	60.63	
West Bengal	6.21 Arunachal Pradesh	13.49 Mizoram	16.16 Assam	10.40	
Karnataka	6.15 Meghalaya	9.25 Assam	16.11 Meghalaya	7.00	
NCT of Delhi	3.76 Nagaland	7.79 Meghalaya	8.36 Manipur	3.43	
Uttarakhand	3.30 Maharashtra	4.64 NCT of Delhi	8.14 NCT of Delhi	2.23	
Himachal Pradesh	2.82 Uttar Pradesh	4.57 Karnataka	6.46 West Bengal	1.79	
Meghalaya	2.74 Tripura	4.46 Maharashtra	3.73 Maharashtra	1.58	
Uttar Pradesh	2.49 NCT of Delhi	3.98 West Bengal	3.50 Karnataka	1.54	
Nagaland	2.41 Karnataka	3.59 Tamil Nadu	2.11 Nagaland	1.27	
Maharashtra	2.11 Bihar	2.31 Arunachal Pradesh	1.93 Rajasthan	1.20	
Kerala	1.97 Mizoram	2.28 Andhra Pradesh	1.81 Punjab	1.02	
Odisha	1.55 Haryana	2.14 Uttar Pradesh	1.66 Arunachal Pradesh	0.98	
Meghalaya to Other States	Nagaland to Other States	Sikkim to Other States	Tripura to Other States		
Assam	58.00 Assam	51.84 West Bengal	53.76 Assam	46.48	
West Bengal	9.96 West Bengal	6.93 Karnataka	7.53 West Bengal	23.87	
NCT of Delhi	3.66 NCT of Delhi	4.20 Assam	5.02 Mizoram	6.53	
Mizoram	3.38 Meghalaya	3.83 NCT of Delhi	4.64 Nagaland	3.40	
Karnataka	2.79 Manipur	3.47 Himachal Pradesh	3.93 Meghalaya	3.34	
Maharashtra	2.62 Maharashtra	3.06 Uttarakhand	2.85 Karnataka	2.21	
Nagaland	2.55 Karnataka	2.90 Maharashtra	2.57 Maharashtra	1.84	
Tripura	1.86 Arunachal Pradesh	2.66 Uttar Pradesh	2.22 NCT of Delhi	1.74	
Rajasthan	1.74 Kerala	2.41 Bihar	1.71 Haryana	1.40	
Arunachal Pradesh	1.63 Uttar Pradesh	1.90 Punjab	1.54 Arunachal Pradesh	1.00	
Uttar Pradesh	1.60 Bihar	1.74 Rajasthan	1.52 Manipur	0.89	
Uttarakhand	1.25 Rajasthan	1.73 Haryana	1.51 Rajasthan	0.84	

Source: Authors' Estimation.

Figure 4: Percentage of Migrants' Duration of Stay at the Time of Enumeration in 2011



Notes: Migrants include intra-state (inter/intra-district migrants), in-migrants (from other states) and international (from other countries).

Source: Compiled and computed from Census of India, 2011, Table D-2: Migrants Classified by Place of Last Residence, Sex and Duration of Residence in the Place of Enumeration

Figure 4 depicts the duration of the migrants' stay, which includes intra-state, inter-state and immigrants, but excludes out-migrants, at the time of enumeration in 2011. Of the states within the region, Assam and Manipur registered three per cent each to state's total migrants found to have stayed "less than one year" at the time of enumeration. The states of Nagaland and Sikkim, estimated at 8 per cent each, recorded the highest share of migrants having stayed "less than one year" at the destination at the time of enumeration in 2011. Conversely, the largest share of migrants with 36 per cent having stayed "20 years and more" was recorded by Tripura, followed by Assam with 30 per cent and Mizoram in the third position with 28 per cent. Two states— Manipur and Sikkim— registered as the fourth-highest states with 25 per cent each under this category. For the duration not stated at the time of enumeration, 36 per cent of the migrants in Meghalaya were coming under this category, followed by Manipur and Assam with 28.44 per cent and 23.49 per cent respectively. Nagaland and Sikkim recorded the least and the second least states under this category with 13 per cent and 14 per cent respectively.

## VII Shifting Pattern of Migration in NEI

Theoretically, people from low income and weaker sections of the society are likely to migrate for a shorter period and shorter distance, while the interstate and international migration are generally dominated by the people from the more affluent and well-to-do families. Most of the interstate migrants end up in urban destinations (Aggarwal, Singh and Mitra 2019). When we briefly flash-backed the genesis of migration in NEI, in 1961-1971, due to its long-term migratory inflow, Assam was rated as a state having the highest immigrant population in

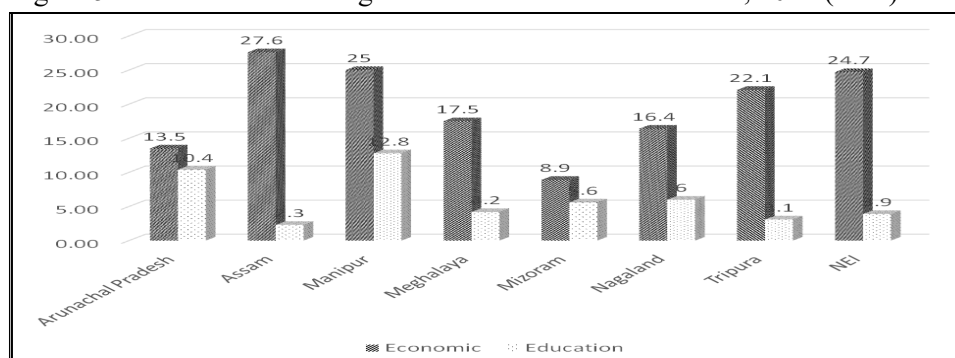
India and consequently, it turned out to be the most diversified state in the region. Since then, indigenous Assamese started feeling insecurity in the hands of Bengali migrants (Weiner 1978). But, a lot of changes have happened, in terms of the migration pattern, in NEI in the recent past.

When we analyse inter-state migration, four states of the region— Assam, Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland— were found to have had a negative net migration rate in 2001. However, just two states—Assam and Manipur—had a negative net migration rate in 2011. In these two states, the out-migration rate appears to have increased in 2011 as compared to 2001. Around 28 per cent and 25 per cent of the total inter-state outflow to outside NEI were found as economic migrants in Assam and Manipur respectively in 2011 (Figure 5). Remaining six states of the region were having positive migration rate in 2011, which means the number of in-migrants coming from other states was found to be greater than migrants moving out to other states. The biggest state Assam, in terms of the population size, is the largest contributor (of the NEI state) of the migrant to its sister states. From outside the region, the state of Bihar is identified as the largest migrant sender to NEI, followed by West Bengal, and the largest numbers of labour migrants from these two states occupy menial jobs and petty business activities, which the locals are either incapable or unwilling to take up. Also, a large number of Nepali migrants are also found in the region and they generally target the rural/hill areas of the region. For instance, irrespective of the year of migration, around six lakh Nepali population is found in Assam alone in 2001 (Devi 2007, pp. 3006-3007), which is larger than the Sikkim's total population in 2011. From Assam, they slowly moved further to other NEI states. Major business and industries in the region are taken up by the Marwaris, Bengalis, Punjabis, Hindi-belt communities from Delhi, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, etc. and a small percentage of the communities from the southern states (refer Table 4). Within the region, Sikkim is different from other sister states in terms of the structure and pattern of migration, more connected with undivided Darjeeling<sup>3</sup> (West Bengal) due to its geographical and cultural proximity.

Despite Assam being the most preferred destination for migrants from its sister states, barring Sikkim, out-migration rate from Assam to other states of the country was found to be much higher than the in-migration rate. Being the gateway to the entire region, Assam serves as the host of employment and educational opportunities to other states of the region. How does the net migration rate of the state turn out to be negative, even though the Assamese were identified as one of the least-mobile communities in India (Weiner 1978), is a matter of discussion. As mentioned in the literature and theory section, the educated and elite Assamese (including other ethnic groups like Bengali, Boro, etc.) basically go out to the bigger cities/markets like Delhi, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, etc., for education and better employment opportunities. Most of the Bengali (Hindu/Muslim) economic migrants of Assam, who had migrated from elsewhere a few years back and

became citizens of Assam (having migration experience in the past), are very much inclined to migrate either to West Bengal where the similar ethnic group is found or to other sister states of the region to take up the job/business opportunities that are either unwilling or incapable of taking up by the locals (refer Table 5). As observed from the ground, the majority of the economic migrants coming from Assam to other six sister states of the region, barring Sikkim, are found to be the Bengali and Nepali ethnic communities. In 2011, around 28 per cent of the total out-migrants of the state migrating to outside NEI turned out to be economic migrants (refer Figure 5).

Figure 5: Reasons for Out-Migration from NEI to Other States, 2011 (in %)



Source: Lusome and Bhagat (2020).

In the case of Manipur, the volume of out-migrants to other states of the country was found to be much bigger than the in-migrants coming in the state in 2001 and 2011. Poor educational infrastructure and limited employment opportunities in the state compelled the people to migrate to other major cities, especially Delhi and Bangalore (Marchang 2017). Around 2-3 per cent of the state's population and 20 per cent in the hill alone have been displaced by internal conflicts of the 1990s (Singha 2015). This volatile situation in the state, coupled with the limited employment opportunities and poor educational infrastructure compelled a large number of students and young people to out-migrate to other major cities/states like Delhi, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Kolkata, etc. In 2011, around 13 per cent and 10.4 per cent of the total out-migrants of Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh vis-a-vis 3.9 per cent in entire NEI were migrating to outside NEI for educational purposes (refer Figure 5).

Despite the state's poor law and order problem, a large number of labour migrants have been coming to the state. Major construction works, petty business and low-end service sector activities are being occupied by the above-mentioned labour migrants, mainly coming from Assam and Bihar (refer Table 4). Of the out-migrants, majority of the Manipuri families, estimated at around 80.37 per cent, send out their children to other states for better education (Singha 2015).

The Chin-Kuki ethnic group (including Paite, Vaiphei and Hmar) migrated mainly in the 1840s from the Chin state of Myanmar to Manipur's southern hills, bordering Mizoram (Johnstone 2002) are known for their extreme mobility and found to be migrating every few years (Chhokar 1984). This ethnic group is basically a close-knit society and their social networks among the community members do help new migrants to cope with uncertainties and challenges faced at the destination and instil a sense of confidence to overcome psychological stress and isolation in an alien environment (Kipgen and Panda 2019). As this ethnic group has been trying to consolidate themselves in a broader Chin-Kuki-Mizo group, it is very convenient for them to out-migrate to Mizoram and in-migrate from Mizoram to Manipur. This ethnic group is still coming in Manipur and Mizoram (refer Figure 2). For instances, in 2011, immigrants coming to Manipur was estimated at 12.3 per cent of the total in-migrants (refer Figure 2), which was seemingly contributed mainly by this ethnic group. Around 29 per cent of the migrants in Manipur do not want to reveal their year of migration/duration of stay at the time of enumeration (refer Figure 3). Similarly, on the state's northern hill ranges, many tribal ethnic groups have been attempting to blend with Nagaland's larger Naga ethnic community. This consequently led to a large scale out-migration and in-migration between the communities living in the northern hill track with its neighbouring state Nagaland (refer Tables 4 and 5).

Like Assamese, the Mizos of Mizoram are also one of the least mobile communities. However, in 2011 census, about 61 per cent of the state's total out-migrants reached its immediate neighbour Tripura and 14 per cent of the state's total in-migrants received from Tripura in 2011. This was understandably due to ethnic conflict between the majority Mizo and minority Bru community. For instance, in October 1997 alone, following an ethnic clash, about 37,000 Bru/Reang families from Mizoram's three districts, bordering Tripura— Mamit, Kolasib and Lunglei— had fled to Tripura, where they were sheltered in relief camps in Kanchanpur in North Tripura. Of the total, around 5,000 families have returned to Mizoram in nine phases of repatriation (MANIFEST IAS 2020). In the case of Tripura, since 1947, the state's demographic pattern has been altered so much that the erstwhile majority Tripuri/Kokborok have now become a minority and the Bengali migrants become the majority community. The administration, economy and decision-making power of the state have all gone in the hands of the Bengali migrants. After the formation of the United Bengal Liberation Front, the Bengalis started attacking the indigenous Kokboroks, of course, as a retaliation of the latter's attempt to deport the former (Singha 2017, p. 688). As for the out-migrants from Tripura, understandably, around 47 per cent and 24 per cent of the total out-migrants, mainly the erstwhile Bengali immigrants, have reached Assam and West Bengal respectively. Around 7 per cent of the total out-migrants were found to have returned to Mizoram, especially the Bru refugees. Nevertheless, 16 per cent and 14 per cent of the total in-migrants of the state are coming from Jharkhand and Bihar respectively (Tables 4 and 5).

In terms of the immigrants, the border areas along with West Bengal and Tripura have been detected as the highest number of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants settled areas (TET 2020). In 2001, around 87 per cent (as per cent to total in-migrants) mainly coming from Bangladesh was reported in Tripura, and came down to 72 per cent in 2011. The state of Assam is also not far behind in this regard, recorded at 52 per cent immigrants in 2001 that reduced to 19 per cent (of the total in-migrants) in 2011. In absolute term/number, a total of 13,0966 immigrants were found in Assam in 2001. In 2011, Bangladesh dominates international inflow (of the total immigrants from other nations) in Tripura and Assam, estimated at 97 per cent and 58 per cent respectively, while 84 per cent of the total international inflow in Mizoram is contributed by Myanmar (Lusome and Bhagat 2020).

In the case of Mizoram, the state got 41 per cent of immigrants (foreign migrants) in 2001, but that number dropped to 27 per cent in 2011. Myanmar and Bangladesh were the primary contributors. The tiny state of Sikkim received 45 per cent in 2001 and reduced to 23 per cent 2001, which was understandably contributed by Nepal, and partly by Bhutan. Of course, as per a bilateral friendship treaty signed between India and Nepal in 1950, citizens of both countries can travel and work freely across the border and are to be treated the same as native citizens (Naujoks 2009). According to Singh and Singha (2015, p. 136), despite Sikkim's strong citizenship policy, a large number of people were detected with fake citizenship cards in the recent past. In Meghalaya too, the emerging tensions about immigrants from Bangladesh is a major cause of concern and the state is seeing a fresh wave of ethnic violence today, indigenous people targeting Bengalis. Coal mines in the state, which extract 50 lakh tonnes of coal per year, made national headlines in 2019 after 14 employees perished in a rat-hole mine collapse, and they mostly employed Bangladeshi and Nepali migrant labourers. Around 36 per cent of the in-migrants in Meghalaya do not reveal their period of stay at the time of enumeration (refer Figure 3). This is primarily because of the local people's unwillingness to take up the various kinds of menial jobs on the one hand; and the ever growing economic activities in the region which require low-end labour forces on the other hand.

## VIII Summary and Conclusion

As discussed above, the structure and pattern of migration in NEI have undergone a significant change in the recent past. As per 2011 census data, immigration rates as a percentage to state's population in Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim turned out to be 10 per cent each and five per cent in Nagaland. The states of Assam and Manipur received 1.59 per cent and 0.78 per cent in-migrants, coming from other states. In terms of out-migration, Sikkim sends out around four per cent of its population to other states, three per cent each by Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Mizoram. Despite the region's fragile law and order situation and simmering political upheaval, a substantial number of

economic migrants have en-routed to NEI from other states of India. Bihar and West Bengal, respectively, contributed the most and second-most such migrants. Within the region, Assam is turned out to be the largest migrant sender to its sister states. These, however, are not *Axomiyas* (indigenous Assamese), but economic migrants with roots either outside the country or former migrants to Assam from other parts of the country. In fact, the economic migrants coming from other states to NEI are mainly driven both by the push and pull factors. These economic migrants like Bengali, Bihari, Nepali, Chin-Kuki ethnic group, Bru/Reang, etc. are basically pushed out from the origin mainly due to environment, political and economic factors on the one hand, and the local peoples' inability to fill up the jobs created by the ever-increasing economic activities in the region on the other hand.

As analysed above, the indigenous communities of the region have started moving out to other states in the recent past mainly for availing better educational facilities and employment opportunities. With the growth of education and communication technologies, the middle and upper-middle-class people have started moving out to bigger cities within the country. A very negligible share of economic migrants from the NEI is moving out to other states. For instances, the stranded people returning to Manipur from different parts of the country due to COVID pandemic in May 2020 were mostly the students, around 90 per cent of the total returnee. In short, the out-migrants from NEI are not mainly economic migrants, and most of them have their land and resources at the origin. Therefore, they can come back home and sustain their livelihood if they cannot cope with the alien environment and nature of the job at the destination.

What is the way forward? Migration is an inevitable process in human civilization. Every ethnic group or person might have migrated to the present habitat from a different place(s) at one time or another. Everyone must love and respect the land and people wherever they live, no land is owned by man/individual. As for the immigrants, it may be difficult to repatriate such a large number of immigrants, who have been living in the region for a long time, be they from Bangladesh, Nepal or Myanmar. However, preventive measures should be taken by the State to check the fresh illegal migrants coming into the region for protecting local people and resources.

## Endnotes

1. NER shares 1,395 km with Tibet (China) in the north, 1,640 km with Myanmar in the east, 1,596 km with Bangladesh in the south-west, 97 km with Nepal in the west and 455 km with Bhutan in the north-west.
2. Undivided Assam includes present-day Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram. Prior to the partition of India, Sylhet (presently in Bangladesh) was a part of Assam.
3. In 2017, Kalimpong district was bi-furcated from Darjeeling

## References

- Abdiker, M. (2018), Can We Learn from Yemen and Stop Ignoring Migrants affected by Armed Conflicts?, *Medium*, Accessed 26 May 2020, <https://medium.com/@UNmigration/can-we-learn-from-yemen-and-stop-ignoring-migrants-affected-by-armed-conflicts-d89a214e894a>
- Acharya, S.K. (2020), Frontier Urbanism: Settlement Evolution and Transformation along the Kalimpong–Lhasa Trans-Frontier Trade Route, In Singh, M.A. and Singha, K. (Eds.), *Understanding Urbanisation in Northeast India*, pp. 11- 25, Oxon: Routledge.
- Aggarwal, V., P. Singh and R. Mitra (2019), Low Interstate Migration is Hurting India's Growth and States are to Blame, *Business Standard*, August 26, 2019, Accessed 28 August 2020, [https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/low-interstate-migration-is-hurting-india-s-growth-and-states-are-to-blame-119082600099\\_1.html](https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/low-interstate-migration-is-hurting-india-s-growth-and-states-are-to-blame-119082600099_1.html)
- Bhattacharjee, N. (2012), *Assam's Language Warriors*, Seminar, Accessed 12/04/2020, [http://www.india-seminar.com/2012/640/640\\_nabinipa\\_bhattacharjee.htm](http://www.india-seminar.com/2012/640/640_nabinipa_bhattacharjee.htm)
- Castelli, F. (2018), Drivers of Migration: Why do People Move?, *Journal of Travel Medicine*, 25(1): 1–7.
- Chhokar, K.B. (1984), *Manipur in Transition: Differentials of Development in a Poly-Ethnic Area of India*, LSU historical dissertations and theses, Louisiana State University, Accessed 12/08/20, [https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool\\_disstheses/4011](https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/4011)
- De, S. (2019), *Internal Migration in India Grows, but Inter-State Movements Remain Low*, World Bank Blogs, December 19 2019, Accessed 15 August 2020, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/peoplemove/internal-migration-india-grows-inter-state-movements-remain-low#:~:text=The%20number%20of%20internal%20migrants,2001%20to%2037%25%20in%202011>
- Deshingkar, P. and S. Grimm (2005), *Internal Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*, Geneva: *International Organization for Migration*.
- Devi, M. (2007), Economic History of Nepali Migration and Settlement in Assam, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(29): 3005-3007.
- Egger, E.M. (2017), *Causes and Consequences of Internal Migration: Evidence from Brazil and Ghana*, Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the Department of Economics, UK: University of Sussex.
- Ersanilli, E. (2013), *A Cross-National Comparison of Internal and International Migration Aspirations*, An Extended Abstract for IUSSP International Population Conference, Busan, August 2013, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, Accessed 20 December 2020: [file:///C:/Users/user/Desktop/Internal%20and%20international%20migration%20-%20updated\\_0.pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Desktop/Internal%20and%20international%20migration%20-%20updated_0.pdf)
- Girsberger, E.M. (2017), *Migration, Education and Work Opportunities*, Discussion Paper Series, IZA DP No. 11028, IZA, Institute of Labor Economics, Germany.
- Gogoi, J.K., H. Goswami and K.C. Borah (2009), *Problems of Border Areas in North East India: Implications for the Thirteenth Finance Commission*, The Thirteenth Finance Commission, Government of India, project report submitted by the Department of Economics, Assam (India): Dibrugarh University.
- Johnstone, J. (2002), *Manipur and the Naga Hills*, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Kipgen, T. and B. Panda (2019), Migrants and Their Social Networks: A Study of Kuki Migrants in Delhi, *Sociological Bulletin*, 68(3): 342-356.
- Kok, P. (1999), The Definition of Migration and Its Application: Making Sense of Recent South African Census and Survey Data, *Southern African Journal of Demography*, 7(1): 19-30.
- Lewin-Epstein, N. and M. Semyonov (1994), Sheltered Labor Markets, Public Sector Employment, and Socioeconomic Returns to Education of Arabs in Israel, *American Journal of Sociology*, 100(3): 622-651.
- Lusome, R. and R.B. Bhagat (2020), Migration in Northeast India: Inflows, Outflows and Reverse Flows During Pandemic, *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 63: 1125–1141, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41027-020-00278-7>.

- MANIFEST IAS (2020), *Bru (Reangs agreement)*, MANIFEST IAS March 13, 2020, Accessed 20 September 2020, <https://www.manifestias.com/2020/03/13/bru-reangs-agreement/>
- Marchang, R. (2017), Out-migration from North Eastern Region to Cities: Unemployment, Employability and Job Aspiration, *Journal of Economic and Social Development*, 13(2): 42-53.
- Massey, D.S., J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino and J. Edward (1993), Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal, *Population and Development Review*, 19(3): 431-466.
- McDuié-Ra, D. (2013), Beyond the 'Exclusionary City': North-east migrants in Neo-Liberal Delhi, *Urban Studies*, 50(8): 1625-1640.
- McKenzie, D. and H. Rapoport (2007), Network Effects and the Dynamics of Migration and Inequality: Theory and Evidence from Mexico, *Journal of Development Economics*, 84(1): 1-24.
- Mishra, S. (2019), *Livelihood Sustainability of Migrants Labourers from Bihar in Northeast India: A Comparative Study of Assam and Sikkim*, Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the Department of Economics, Sikkim University, Gangtok, India.
- Naujoks, D. (2009), *Emigration, Immigration, and Diasporas Relations in India*, Migration Policy Institute, Washington DC, Accessed 20 July 2020, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/emigration-immigration-and-diaspora-relations-india>
- Noja, G.G., S. Mirela Cristea, A. Yüksel, C. Pânzaru and R.M. Drăcea (2018), Migrants' Role in Enhancing the Economic Development of Host Countries: Empirical Evidence from Europe, *Sustainability*, 10(3): 894, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10030894>
- Remesh, B.P. (2012), *Migration from North-east to Urban Centres: A Study of Delhi Region*, NLI Research Studies Series, No. 094/2012, Noida: V.V. Giri National Labour Institute.
- Saikia, N. and W. Joe (2016), *Cross Border Migration in Assam during 1951-2011: Process, Magnitude, and Socio-Economic Consequences*, Project report submitted to the Indian Council of Social Science Research, Delhi.
- Schlein, L. (2018), Conflict in Yemen Does not Deter Ethiopian Migrants, *Voice of America*, Accessed 26 May 2020 <https://www.voanews.com/a/conflict-in-yemen-does-not-deter-ethiopian-migrants/4248826.html>
- Singh, M.A. and K. Singha (Eds.) (2020), *Understanding Urbanization in Northeast India: Issues and Challenges*, New York: Routledge.
- (2015): Ethnicity and Sikkimese identity in Sikkim, *Eastern Quarterly*, 8(3 & 4): 131-141.
- Singha, K. (2018), Migration, Ethnicity-Based Movements and State's Response: A Study of Assam, *International Studies*, 55(1): 41-60.
- (2017), Understanding Ethnicity-Based Autonomy Movements in India's North-eastern Region, *Nationalities Paper*, 45(4): 687-706.
- (2015), Does Conflict Affect Educational Development? Some Insights from Manipur, *The Indian Economic Journal*, 62(4): 1313-1335.
- Srivastava, R. (2012), *An Overview of its Features, Trends and Policy Challenges*, Internal Migration in India Initiative, (pp. 1-47), National Workshop on Internal Migration and Human Development in India ICSSR New Delhi, published by UNESCO and UNICEF, New Delhi.
- TET (2020), Bengal, Tripura Clock Highest Number of Illegal Immigrations, *The Economic Times*, Feb 06, 2020, Accessed 20 May 2020 <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/bengal-tripura-clock-highest-number-of-illegal-immigrations/articleshow/73974476.cms>
- United Nations (2019), *International Migrant Stock 2019*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs- Population Division, United Nations, Accessed 15 August 2020: [file:///C:/Users/user/Desktop/Migration/MigrationStock2019\\_TenKeyFindings.pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Desktop/Migration/MigrationStock2019_TenKeyFindings.pdf)
- (1993), *Readings in Population Research and Methodology*. New York: The United Nations Population Fund.

Varshney, A. (1983), Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in India, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Accessed 14/12/2019 <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/ethnic-and-religious-conflicts-india>

Weiner, M. (1978), Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India, Delhi: *Oxford University Press*.

### Annexures

#### Annexure 1: Migration, Population and Their Growth Rates in 2001

States	Population 1991	In-migrants 2001	Out-migrants 2001	Immigrants 2001	Net Migrants 2001	Migration Rate (per 100 pop.) 1991-2001	Growth Rate of Population 1991-2001
1	2	3	4	5	6=[(3+5)-4]	7=(6/2 x 100)	8
Arunachal	864558	71789	12507	17574	76856	8.89	27.00
Assam	22414322	121803	281510	130966	-28741	-0.13	18.92
Manipur	1837149	4529	30867	1418	-24920	-1.36	24.56
Mizoram	689756	22599	31739	15487	6347	0.92	28.82
Meghalaya	1774778	33710	20434	9622	22898	1.29	30.65
Nagaland	1209546	33594	51857	6793	-11470	-0.95	64.53
Sikkim	406457	22519	6238	18236	34517	8.49	33.06
Tripura	2757205	40262	23538	261631	278355	10.10	16.03

Source: Authors' Calculation from 1991 and 2001 Population Census of India.

#### Annexure 2: Migration, Population and Their Growth Rates in 2011

States	Population 2001	In-migrants 2011	Out-migrants 2011	Immigrants 2011	Net Migrants 2011	Migration Rate (per 100 pop.) 2001-11	Growth Rate of Population 2001-11
1	2	3	4	5	6=(3+5-4)	7=(6/2 x 100)	8
Arunachal	1097968	136010	37368	11096	109738	9.99	26.03
Assam	26655528	495696	659694	113031	-50967	-0.19	17.07
Manipur	2293896	20100	75751	2817	-52834	-2.30	12.05
Mizoram	888573	41380	30365	15406	26421	2.97	23.48
Meghalaya	2318822	107915	70268	7816	45463	1.96	27.95
Nagaland	1990036	108020	45734	6552	68838	3.46	-0.58
Sikkim	540851	61163	21459	18761	58465	10.81	12.89
Tripura	3199203	87378	85862	222622	224138	7.01	14.84

Source: Authors' Calculation from 2001 and 2011 Population Census of India.

## Annexure 3: Intra-State (Inter and Intra-Districts) Migration in 2011

States	Inter-district*	Intra-district*	Intra-state Migrants	Total Migrants**	% of Intra-state Migrant
1	2	3	4=(2+3)	5	6=(4/5x100)
Arunachal Pradesh	97911 (20.24)	385814 (79.76)	483725	630831	76.68
Assam	2136020 (21.28)	7899487 (78.72)	10035507	10644234	94.28
Manipur	135725 (20.44)	528293 (79.56)	664018	686935	96.66
Mizoram	118521 (35.85)	212063 (64.15)	330584	387370	85.34
Meghalaya	75701 (11.76)	568122 (88.24)	643823	759554	84.76
Nagaland	162087 (37.26)	272959 (62.74)	435046	549618	79.15
Sikkim	41126 (24.61)	125999 (75.39)	167125	247049	67.65
Tripura	139195 (14.07)	850428 (85.93)	989623	1299623	76.15

Notes: \*Figures in the parentheses are percentage of total intra-state migrants, \*\*Summation of the three—Intra-state, In-migrant from other states and International migrants coming from other countries.

Source: Authors' Estimation.