

## **Inter-State Migrations in North-East India: A Statistical Analysis**

**By**

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### **Abstract**

The analysis of internal migration in this research has a particular emphasis on North East India's interstate migration. Utilizing data from the 1991, 2001, and 2011 censuses, the study was conducted. The article examines data from three censuses on migration in the North East States, looking at in-migration from other states and out-migration for both genders, and addressing the various motivations for movement. Assam remains the top spot when assessing migration from the North East to destination states, primarily moving to West Bengal, Delhi, and Maharashtra, respectively. While West Bengal, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh are the top source states for the North East states. In the area, "push" factors have been associated more frequently than "pull" factors.

**Key words:** Internal Migration, Inter-state migration, Census, North East States

### **1. Introduction**

The indicator of shifting socioeconomic and political situations at the national and international levels is migration. Additionally, it indicates that social and economic situations between the origin and destination are drastically different (UNFPA, 1993). Migration occurs differently in poorer nations than it does in industrialized nations. On a worldwide scale, however, 169 million of the 289 million people are migratory laborers (ILO). Out of which, 45 or 50 million (approximately) are from South Asia, meaning that each nation may have contributed 1/3 of the migrant workers globally. It might be approximated that there are 18 million migrant laborers in India. In India, the push factors that cause migration most frequently include problems with poverty, unemployment, natural disasters, and underdevelopment in the region of origin. In poor nations like India, it is actually viewed as a survival tactic. Movement has two sides since it has been stated that underdevelopment is a cause of migration and that prosperity, on the other hand, causes migration. J.K. Galbraith, an economist, correctly noted that migration is "the oldest activity against poverty" and that it best captures the image of movement in developing countries. According to Kingsley Davis, the caste system, early marriage and the joint family structure, the diversity of languages and cultures, a lack of education, and other factors are to blame for the inertia of the Indian population. It is important to promote the method of taking into account migration flows, often known as "push & pull forces," in order to research internal migration and inter-state movements. Using the disparities between the traits of the two places—the place of origin and the place of destination—as a starting point, a situation-based method depicts migration motivation. High natural rates of population growth, depletion of natural resources, droughts, floods, and natural calamities like earthquakes and famines, as well as acute social, religious, or political conflicts that force people to migrate to other locations for reasons of safety, are some of the push factors. The

emergence of new industries that offer new prospects for lucrative work, higher education facilities in cities, favorable climatic conditions, etc. are some of the pull forces.

## 2. Literature Review

According to studies, as trade and infrastructure have advanced, there has been an increase in international migration, particularly in India's northeast, which shares borders with numerous nations. According to Lusome and Bhagat's (2010) study, there are approximately 444 thousand foreign migrants living in northeast India, making up 1.2 percent of the country's overall population. The survey also found that Assam has the most international migrants overall with 131 thousand, followed by Tripura with 261 thousand, or 8% of its total population. Additionally, they noted that when in-migration to the region is taken into account, more than one-third of in-migrants in the region are of an international background. Studies on interstate migration in India found that although it is relatively low, one-third of the country's population is counted outside of their place of origin, highlighting the significance of migration as a key demographic activity (Bose 1977; Nair & Narain, 1985, Premi, 1990; Singh, 1998; Zachariah, 1963, 1964). Bhattacharya (2020) focused particularly on inter-state migration when highlighting internal migration inside India. The study used census information from 2011 to show a rise in the number of internal migrants in the nation of 45% from 2001 to 2011. According to the author, compared to other nations with similar economic growth; inter-state migration is significantly lower in India than intra-state and inter-district movement. Over 60% of migration is due to intra-district movement, with the percentage of inter-district migrants rising from 24% in 2001 to 26% in 2011. The most people have moved between the states from the southern, eastern, northern, and western zones to Maharashtra, then Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Gujarat, Punjab, and Kerala. In the northern and eastern regions, almost 23% of Maharashtra's interstate migrants are from Uttar Pradesh, and in the southern states, more than 56% of the state's interstate migrants are from Karnataka. The majority of interstate migrants in Maharashtra come from the Western states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan. In terms of the number of interstate migrants, the states of Maharashtra (90 lakhs), Uttar Pradesh (40 lakhs), and Punjab (39 lakhs) are in the top three positions (Census, 2011). Maharashtra holds the top spot as the destination state for the nation's 5.43 crores interstate migrants, accounting for 17% of the total. Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh are the next two most popular destinations. According to the survey, there are 4.96 lakhs migrants living in Assam overall, of which 7.06 lakhs come from Uttar Pradesh, 29.64 lakhs from Bihar, 5.44 lakhs from Rajasthan, 1.01 lakhs from Odisha, 19.15 lakhs from West Bengal, 0.40 lakhs from Madhya Pradesh, and 0.81 lakhs from Punjab. According to Census 2011, West Bengal has a higher proportion of migrants than the states of Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, and Punjab. Marriage accounts for 16.89 million of the interstate migrants, followed by "moving with households" (13.05 million), "work/employment" (12.55 million), and other factors (16.89 million) (7.64 million migrants). It is crucial to understand what the category "others" refers to. To understand the category "others" in the causes of interstate movement, researchers must create studies. However, only 0.74 million migrants came from the school sector, while 0.87 million came from business and "moving after birth" (2.51 million migrants). According to Jha's study (2020), the economy has grown unevenly during the past few years, widening the gap between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors as well as between rural and urban sections of the nation. In rich states like Punjab, the income of farmers is five times greater than in poorer states. Instead than focusing simply on the disparity of expansion in agriculture, the author argued that it was also vital to address the individual size of farm holdings for migration. Additionally, their article covers development strategies that can lessen migration as well as ways to ameliorate migrant conditions. Lusome and Bhagat (2020) examined both internal and external migration in their analysis of the migration scenario in the North East States. The authors noted that there

aren't many researches that specifically focus on emigration from the area. They added that the disputes brought on by the flood of migrants were another reason why the Northeast was so well-known for in-migration. Manipur is exceptional since the state's outflows are three times more than its inflows. Internal migration from Assam to other Indian states is reducing the state's population, but foreign migration is making up the difference. According to the 2011 census, it has a balanced ratio of both inflows and outflows, which is in contrast to the widespread belief that Assam is experiencing a population boom brought on by immigration. International migration is increasing Tripura's population more than internal migration. The lowest mobility is seen in the states of Manipur, Meghalaya, and Nagaland, where just around one-fourth of the population is a migrant. Arunachal Pradesh is the only state with a greater percentage of migrants than the national average, accounting for about 45% of its population. Assam, Manipur, and Meghalaya account for two-thirds of the migrants who migrated inside the district of enumeration, whereas Nagaland, Mizoram, and Arunachal Pradesh have a lower proportion of migrants migrating within the district of enumeration. The study also noted reverse movements and recent flows, claiming that there has been a noticeable change in Northeast migration from north to south. The authors also mention Singh and Gandhiok's (2019) claim that migration from the North East to the National Capital Territory of Delhi decreased by 26%.

A second study by Sarkar (2020) examined the issue of out-migration from India's Northeastern states in light of the Census of 2011. The author made a comment about the economic growth of the NE region and notes that there have been more "push forces" than "pull factors" associated with migration. According to the study, interstate and intrastate migration are distributed by state, with Sikkim having the highest interstate migration rates (11.38%), followed by Manipur (10.24%), Meghalaya (9.84%), and Assam having the highest intrastate migration rates (93.83%), followed by Arunachal Pradesh (92.83%) and Tripura (92.02%). Additionally, the author made note of a few elements that aid in the migration process out of the NE region. Economic growth, a lack of infrastructure for higher education, and political upheaval are the contributing reasons. The study also highlighted the disparity between education and employment in out-migration from the North Eastern states, which illustrates some of the youth population's desperation to leave for higher education.

### **3. Objectives**

The paper aims to examine internal migration emphasizing inter-state migration of the Northeast region of India. The paper attempts to study the reasons for inter-state migration for both male and female for the North East States of India.

### **4. Data and Methodology**

The Northeast region comprises of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, and Tripura and the region bordering Bhutan, China, Bangladesh, and Myanmar. The study is supported by quantitative secondary data from government sources, including census data from 1991, 2001, and 2011. Therefore, basic statistical analysis tools are applied, such as percentages, migration linkages, etc.

### **5. Internal Migration of India**

In India, there were 450 million internal migrants in 2011, up from 309 million in 2001 and 225 million in 1991, respectively, according to Census 2011. As a result, a 45% rise in internal migrants is noted in the 2011 census.

**Table 1: Internal Migrants**

Year	Persons(million)	% decadal change
1991	225	
2001	309	37
2011	450	45

**Source:** *Census 1991, 2001, 2011*

The census figures show an increase of 12 million interstate migrants during 2001-2011. The corresponding figure for the increase in interstate migrants remained almost the same at 15 million during 1991-2001.

**Table 2: Interstate Migrants**

Year	Number(Millions)
1991	27.3
2001	42.3
2011	54.3

**Source:** *Census 1991, 2001, 2011*

## 6. Migration in Northeast Region of India

Although the Northeast is rich in natural resources, it also needs to develop its human capital. The region is mostly noted for its high unemployment rate, which has led to many young people turning to self-employment. The region's employment situation has been impacted by ongoing disruptions like insurgency, political unpredictability, a lack of industrial expansion, and economic sluggishness. Due to a lack of educational infrastructure and a narrow range of educational options, one of the main driving forces behind migration of people from the North East (Lalrampuii, 2016). It is clear that there has been a rise in the percentage of self-employment and a commensurate decline in part-time and full-time salaried work. However, the number of casual wage earners outnumbers self-employed workers.

**Figure 1: Share of North east states (in %)**

According to census data from 2011, Arunachal Pradesh is home to 0.25 percent of India's 5.43 million interstate migrants, up from 0.33 percent in 2001 and 0.36 percent in 1991. Similarly, Assam's share of all interstate migrants in India was 1.82% in the 1991 census, 0.98% in the 2001 census, and roughly 0.91% in the 2011 census. Manipur made up 0.05% of all interstate migrants in India, or 2.73 million people, in the 1991 census, 0.03% of all interstate migrants in India, or 4.23 million people, in the 2001 census, and 0.03% of all interstate migrants in India, or 5.43 million people. Similar to other states, the proportion of

interstate migrants to the overall number of interstate migrants in India hasn't changed between the 2001 and 2011 censuses. For Tripura, it was same for 1991 and 2001 census but increased to only 0.16% in 2011 census.

**Table 3, 4 & 5: Migration to North East States, 1991, 2001 & 2011 census (in %) SOURCE STATES**

(1) STATES	(2) Total Migrants (lakhs)	Migrants to NE states (Columns 3-8 are % to column 2)					
		(3) Bihar	(4) Uttar Pradesh	(5) West Bengal	(6) Odisha	(7) Rajasthan	(8) Kerala
Arunachal Pradesh	0.98	13.29	6.26	4.6	1.44	1.03	1.36
Assam	4.87	34.8	9.39	18.6	1.78	5.59	0.59
Manipur	0.15	12.73	8.12	6.59	0.59	2.32	1.8
Meghalaya	0.7	12.63	4	7.43	0.46	2.38	1.11
Mizoram	0.09	10.95	2.38	2.73	0.48	0.45	3.37
Nagaland	0.44	16.44	7.03	5.75	1.55	3.55	3.39
Sikkim	0.23	23.55	6.65	51.5	0.38	1.85	1.17
Tripura	0.41	15.43	4.08	13.85	0.9	1.34	0.73

**(Table-3)**

(1) STATES	(2) Total Migrants (lakhs)	Migrants to NE states (Columns 3-8 are % to column 2)					
		(3) Bihar	(4) Uttar Pradesh	(5) West Bengal	(6) Odisha	(7) Rajasthan	(8) Kerala
Arunachal Pradesh	1.36	12.9	5.27	5.68	1.69	1.26	1.55
Assam	4.07	31.39	9.28	20.05	1.43	5.7	0.61
Manipur	0.14	12.86	5.39	4.75	0.79	4.31	1.82
Meghalaya	0.83	13.53	3.67	6.44	0.53	2.61	1.09
Mizoram	0.35	4.37	1.32	2.12	0.38	0.37	1.22
Nagaland	0.81	14.93	6.02	4.5	1.86	3.35	1.97
Sikkim	0.46	22.93	4.58	55.01	0.58	1.63	0.65
Tripura	0.63	5.54	2.33	6.98	0.87	1.33	0.46

**(Table-4)**

(1) STATES	(2) Total Migrants (lakhs)	Migrants to NE states (Columns 3-8 are % to column 2)					
		(3) Bihar	(4) Uttar Pradesh	(5) West Bengal	(6) Odisha	(7) Rajasthan	(8) Kerala
Arunachal Pradesh	1.36	13.83	4.45	5.12	1.18	1.1	1.02
Assam	4.95	29.8	7.15	19.1	1.03	5.6	0.28
Manipur	0.2	14.84	4.24	3.17	0.4	3.5	0.5
Meghalaya	1.07	13.07	2.8	5.08	0.4	1.7	0.7
Mizoram	0.41	3.39	1.15	1.5	0.15	0.25	0.6
Nagaland	1.08	16.2	3.7	3.46	1.14	2.29	1.07
Sikkim	0.61	21.7	3.72	54.21	0.9	1.1	0.3
Tripura	0.87	13.8	1.7	6.12	0.34	0.56	0.17

**Source:** Compiled from D-2 series census data on migration



The data on migration in the Northeastern states is shown in tables 3, 4, and 5. According to census data from 1991, 2001, and 2011, Assam leads the Northeastern states in terms of the number of interstate migrants, with 4.8 lakh, 4.07 lakh, and 4.9 lakh people, respectively. Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya are next in line.

According to an examination of data from the 1991 census, there were 4.8 lakhs interstate migrants in Assam, of which 34.8% were from Bihar, 18.6% from West Bengal, 9.39% from Uttar Pradesh, 5.59% from Rajasthan, 1.78% from Odisha, and 0.59% from Kerala. Bihar accounted for 13.29% of the 0.98 lakhs interstate migrants in Arunachal Pradesh, followed by Uttar Pradesh with 6.26%, West Bengal with 4.6%, Odisha with 1.44%, Kerala with 1.36%, and Rajasthan with 1.03%. According to the 2001 census, out of the 4.07 lakhs interstate migrants in Assam, 31.39% were from Bihar and 20% were from West Bengal. This number increased to 29% from Bihar and 19% from West Bengal in the 2011 census.

**Figure 2:** Total interstate migrants, in lakhs (1991, 2001, & 2011)

**Table 6, 7 & 8:** Migration from Northeast to selected states, 1991, 2001 & 2011(in %) Destination States

(1) STATES	Migrants from NE states (Columns 3-6 are % to column 2)				
	(2) Total Migrants (lakhs)	(3)Delhi	(4)Maharashtra	(5)Karnataka	(6)West Bengal
Arunachal Pradesh	0.98	0.02	0.024	0.068	0.11
Assam	4.87	0.27	0.23	0.18	5.33
Manipur	0.15	0.03	0.09	<b>0.1</b>	0.07
Meghalaya	0.7	0.04	0.047	0.03	0.2
Mizoram	0.098	0.013	0.24	0.09	0.026
Nagaland	0.44	0.02	0.041	0.028	0.046
Sikkim	0.23	0.02	0.029	0.15	0.27
Tripura	0.41	0.03	0.049	0.02	0.73

**(Table-7)**

<b>Migrants from NE states (Columns 3-6 are % to column 2)</b>					
<b>(1) STATES</b>	<b>(2) Total Migrants (lakhs)</b>	<b>(3)Del hi</b>	<b>(4)Maharashtr ra</b>	<b>(5)Karnataka ka</b>	<b>(6)West Bengal</b>
Arunachal Pradesh	1.36	0.04	0.01	0.061	0.05
Assam	4.07	0.54	0.23	0.26	5.91
Manipur	0.14	0.1	0.028	0.069	0.07
Meghalaya	0.83	0.11	0.02	0.036	0.22
Mizoram	0.35	0.033	0.008	0.013	0.017
Nagaland	0.81	0.33	0.011	0.025	0.069
Sikkim	0.46	0.03	0.008	0.093	0.2
Tripura	0.63	0.04	0.016	0.025	0.63

**(Table-8)**

<b>Migrants from NE states (Columns 3-6 are % to column 2)</b>					
<b>(1) STATES</b>	<b>(2) Total Migrants (lakhs)</b>	<b>(3)Del hi</b>	<b>(4)Maharashtr ra</b>	<b>(5)Karnataka ka</b>	<b>(6) West Bengal</b>
Arunachal Pradesh	1.36	0.02	0.008	0.07	0.09
Assam	4.95	0.41	0.33	0.7	6.9
Manipur	0.2	0.09	0.03	0.15	0.11
Meghalaya	1.07	0.04	0.02	0.06	0.29
Mizoram	0.41	0.01	0.005	0.014	0.02
Nagaland	1.08	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.13
Sikkim	0.61	0.015	0.006	0.04	0.4
Tripura	0.87	0.02	0.01	0.05	0.86

**Source:** *Compiled from D-2 series of census data on migration*

The interstate migration flows from the North East to a few chosen destination states are shown in Tables 6, 7, and 8. According to an analysis of the 1991 and 2001 censuses, out of the 32.68 lakh and 53.24 lakh interstate migrants in Delhi, respectively, the highest percentage of 0.27% was from Assam, followed by 0.013% from Mizoram in the 1991 census, and the highest percentage of 0.54% was from Assam, followed by 0.33% from Nagaland and 0.33% from Sikkim in the 2001 census. However, according to the 2011 census, Assam accounted for 0.41% of the 63.3 lakh interstate migrants in Delhi, whereas Mizoram and Sikkim had the lowest percentage. According to the 2011 census, 6.9% of the 23.41 lakh interstate migrants living in West Bengal came from Assam, the largest percentage among the northeastern states.

**Table 9, 10 & 11: Migration within Northeast states, 1991, 2001 & 2011 (%)**

	<b>Arunachal Pradesh</b>	<b>Assam</b>	<b>Manipur</b>	<b>Meghalaya</b>	<b>Mizoram</b>	<b>Nagaland</b>	<b>Sikkim</b>	<b>Tripura</b>
Arunachal Pradesh	0	63.42	0.46	2.4	0.14	0.64	0.19	0.61
Assam	1.68	0	1.34	6.2	0.59	2	0.25	7.06
Manipur	0.15	39.72	0	1.24	7.01	2.02	2.92	4.32
Meghalaya	0.45	57.12	1.7	0	1.6	1.08	0.18	2.01
Mizoram	0.8	38.01	9.01	8.74	0	1.56	0.1	14.38
Nagaland	0.35	43.49	10.36	1.07	0.46	0	0.13	2.27
Sikkim	0.45	2.17	0.82	0.41	0.19	0.45	0	0.25
Tripura	0.34	48.34	0.8	2.54	1.81	0.78	1.02	0

**Source:** *Compiled from D-2 series census data on migration*

**(Table-10)**

	Arunachal Pradesh	Assam	Manipur	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Nagaland	Sikkim	Tripura
Arunachal Pradesh	0	65.4	1.07	0.84	0.21	0.89	0.17	0.62
Assam	3.92	0	2.46	8.2	0.63	4.78	0.21	8.05
Manipur	0.56	38.4	0	3.8	5.17	7.9	1.4	3.8
Meghalaya	0.94	56.5	5.8	0	1.9	1.6	0.13	2.6
Mizoram	0.4	36.38	29.5	5.7	0	1.3	0.1	13.5
Nagaland	0.83	47.5	13.04	1.65	0.35	0	0.13	2.7
Sikkim	0.84	4.2	1.19	0.5	0.08	0.36	0	0.15
Tripura	0.38	33.6	0.7	1.4	21.07	0.85	0.02	0

**(Table-11)**

	Arunachal Pradesh	Assam	Manipur	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Nagaland	Sikkim	Tripura
Arunachal Pradesh	0	61.16	0.89	1.03	0.17	0.71	0.26	0.7
Assam	1.87	0	1.53	5.7	0.43	3.3	0.2	7.22
Manipur	2.4	34.2	0	4.95	2.94	4.24	0.84	4.36
Meghalaya	0.55	51.97	4.41	0	1.91	1.8	0.25	2.81
Mizoram	0.7	37.02	27.31	5.9	0	1.14	0.1	9.37
Nagaland	0.77	43.2	8.21	0.73	0.3	0	0.14	2.68
Sikkim	0.42	2.95	1.75	0.53	0.09	0.31	0	0.15
Tripura	0.23	27.95	0.52	1.42	44.36	0.34	0.1	0

Interstate migration within the Northeast region is shown in Tables 9, 10, and 11. The analysis of the 1991 census data showed that in Arunachal Pradesh, 0.98 lakhs and 1.36 lakhs interstate migrants (remaining the same in both the 2001 and 2011 censuses) reported that Assam was their most recent place of residence, respectively. This number slightly decreased to 61.16% in the 2001 census and then increased to 65% in the 2011 census. When compared to the other Northeastern states, Arunachal Pradesh has experienced the greatest increase in Assamese migration since the 1991 Indian census. Since the 1991 Indian census, more people from Tripura and Meghalaya have moved to Assam than from any other state. Tripura accounted for around 7.06% of Assam's migrants in 1991, 7.22% in 2001, and 8.05% in 2011. Assam receives more immigrants from Nagaland and Manipur than from Arunachal Pradesh. In Meghalaya, 57.12% of migrants were from Assam in the 1991 census, which decreased to 51.97% in the 2001 census before increasing to 56.5% in the 2011 census. Assam has been sending more migrants to the other Northeastern states than any other Northeastern state.

Indian states can be classified into six zones, according to the State Reorganization Act, 1956.

**Table 12: In-Migration Rate to North-Eastern States from other states (2011)**

States	North	West	Central	South	East	North East
Arunachal Pradesh	7.13	0.38	0.279	1.63	20.63	68.02
Assam	2.53	0.122	0.11	0.27	8.27	4.32
Manipur	0.97	0.11	0.05	0.225	1.32	4.26
Meghalaya	2.89	0.29	0.15	0.65	6.956	25.33
Mizoram	1.122	0.127	0.08	0.51	2.94	32.82
Nagaland	4.486	0.31	0.209	1.275	12.01	36.178
Tripura	0.82	0.11	0.057	0.24	8.6	13.81
Sikkim	10.14	0.72	0.836	1.75	79.1	7.49

**Source:** Calculated from Census of India, 2011



**Table 13: Out-migration Rate from North-Eastern States to other states (2011)**

States	North	West	Central	South	East	North East
Arunachal Pradesh	25.92	0.75	0.33	2.72	2.49	16.302
Assam	4.58	1.48	0.281	1.51	6.11	5.346
Manipur	16.77	5.33	0.93	12.38	5.34	69.38
Meghalaya	2.42	0.82	0.176	1.16	2.67	16.319
Mizoram	1.99	0.47	0.26	0.96	0.69	23.17
Nagaland	2.84	2.91	0.208	1.67	2.34	15.02
Tripura	1.44	0.608	0.185	0.79	5.85	14.405
Sikkim	6.65	1.14	0.451	3.687	19.92	3.161

**Source:** Calculated from Census of India, 2011

Tables 12 and 13 represents more in-migrants to Arunachal Pradesh from East and Northeast region of the country, while out-migration is more from Arunachal Pradesh to Northern region of the country. The picture of Assam is quite significant, because we see a balance flow of both in-migrants from the state and out-migrants to other regions. The out-migrants to Manipur and Tripura outnumbers their in-migrants, wherein we observe more migrants from the Northeast region itself.

## 7. Conclusion

The issue of migration is a unique occurrence in population dynamics. The problem has gained increased attention in recent years due of the COVID-19-related health crisis. The Northeast Region, which has limited ethnic groupings, has experienced massive migration flows and has consequently called for management of migration with certain suitable constraints (Lusome and Bhagat, 2020). The analysis of internal migration in this study focused particularly on interstate mobility in the Northeast region. The migratory scenario highlights certain difficulties for higher economic development in order to capitalize on human capital and empower more young people to participate in school by providing the essential infrastructure and opportunity. The general economic, social, and political climate of this area in comparison to the other states of India is also challenged by this.

Although there were very few policies or initiatives in India that specifically addressed migrants, they are still not included in many major programs. In order to accommodate the many national policies and initiatives for the migrant groups, it is also necessary to restructure the current policies. The National Policy for Migrant Labor must also be developed beforehand. For this reason, it is necessary to approach immigrants as a separate target group rather than as a subset of the unemployed and those employed in the informal sector.

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