

# **Perspective on Forced Migration in India: An Insight into Classed Vulnerability**

**By**

**Protap Mukherjee\* and Lopamudra Ray Saraswati\***

\*Ph.D. Scholars

Population Studies Division

Centre for the Study of Regional Development

School of Sciences

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi – 110 067, India

---

**Contact:** Protap Mukherjee: Email: [pmukherjee25@gmail.com](mailto:pmukherjee25@gmail.com), Mobile: +91-99684 81519

Lopamudra Ray Saraswati: Email: [rs.lopamudra@gmail.com](mailto:rs.lopamudra@gmail.com), Mobile: +91-99681 56668

## **INTRODUCTION**

Forced migration can be defined as the movements of refugees and internally displaced people as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects. Forced migration is a complex and persistent set of phenomena. A number of paradigms have been produced in an attempt to capture the full range of these causes. In general, the two categories of forced migrants most often discussed in the literature are “refugees” and “internally displaced persons”.

A considerable amount of force migration has been accounted by nature. Almost 300 million people were affected annually by natural disasters during 2000-2005, while an average 77,000 were killed annually over the same period. Environmental changes and degradation are often linked to disasters. For example, deforestation and other agricultural practices can intensify the impact of floods and landslides. Some researchers also predict that climate change will create water shortages and crop failures which in turn will displace huge numbers of people.

Besides environmental factors, the forced displacements of population may also occur due to other factors, such as social, ethnic and political conflicts, weak states, and inequitable distribution of resources. There is another type of forced migration triggered by developmental projects. This displacement takes place through government intervention, generally for the purpose of some development-required change in land or water use. Typical projects include dams, urban renewal, transportation infrastructure, and natural resource extraction (e.g., mining).

There is high vulnerability associated with forced migration. According to Human Development Report 2009, “those who are forced to flee and leave behind their homes and belongings often go into the process with limited freedom and very few resources. Likewise, those who are moving in the face of local economic crisis, drought or other causes of desperate poverty, may not know what capabilities they will have; they only know that they cannot remain. Even migrants who end up well off after a move often start out with very restricted capabilities and high uncertainty”.

India presents a diverse range of migration flows, including internal movements, international movements and those movements across borders. The problem of forced population displacement is not new and seems likely to remain one of the greatest challenges for India in the foreseeable future. But due to recent socio-political instability in different states and environmental disasters, the forced migration has become a serious concern among policy makers in India.

Literatures shows that the vulnerability related to forced migration are common among certain socio-economic groups. This present study focused on the characteristics of forced migrants in India and attempts to understand the social and economic class-differentiation related to it so that the policy implications inferred could target at the most vulnerable groups considering the different processes responsible for forced migration.

## **OBJECTIVES**

This paper attempts to give an overview of the forced migration in India. The broad aim of this paper is to examine the association between forced migration and different socio-economic groups in India. This paper also draws attention to the probable vulnerability of forced migration in the context of environmental, political and developmental rationales. The specific objectives of this paper are as follows:

1. To study the forced migration, environmental health related migration and other migration by different demographic, social and economic classes in India and thereby to examine the classed differentials in relation to forced migration.
2. To explore forced migration in details by examining its different types, i.e., natural disasters (draught, flood, tsunami etc.) induced forced migration; social and political problems (riots, terrorism, political refugee, bad law and order etc) induced forced migration and forced displacement by different developmental projects.
3. To find out the vulnerable socio-economic classes mostly affected by forced migration.

For the above two objectives, an attempt has also been made to give the explanations for the regional variations of forced migration in India.

## **DATA SOURCE**

The widely used data-source in India which gives information about the volume of migrants and the migration-flows is Census. But it fails to provide information on interpersonal variation, which is very important in order to understand migrants' characteristics and their typical behaviour. For that a researcher must use the unit level data. Only some rounds of National Sample Survey (NSS) provide the individual level information on migrants all over the India. The latest one among them is the 64th Round of NSS conducted during July, 2007 to June, 2008. In this round information has been collected on migration status and some other dimensions of migration from the respondents, as an extension of the regular all India level survey on employment-unemployment situation. All over India, total 125,578 household and 572,254 individuals were surveyed.

For the present study, the data have been obtained from the 64th Round of NSS to examine the classed differentials among different categories of migrants, that is, forced migrants and other migrants.

## **METHODOLOGY**

Migrants have been defined as those whose current usual place of residence is different from their last place of residence anytime in the past. Usual place of residence of a person was

defined as a place (village/town) where the person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more.

Migrants have been categorized into three different categories – *forced migrants, environmental-health related migrants and other migrants* – based on their reasons of migration. However, the reason “marriage” has been excluded from the analysis, as the distribution of migrants is highly skewed towards marriage-migration in the Indian set-up. Migrants reporting “natural disaster”, “social / political problems” and “displacement by development project” as their reasons for migration, have been categorized as “forced migrants”; those migrated due to “housing problems” and “health care” have been coded as “environmental health related migrants”; and rest of the migrants reporting any other reason (except marriage) have been termed as “other migrants”.

*Table-1: Categorization of migration used in this paper*

<b>Reason for leaving the last Usual Place of Residence</b>	
<b>Forced Migration</b>	Natural disaster (drought, flood, tsunami, etc.) Social/political problems (riots, terrorism, political refugee, bad law and order etc) Displacement by development project
<b>Environmental Health Related Migration</b>	Housing problems Health care
<b>Other Migration</b>	In search of employment In search of better employment Business To take up employment/ better employment Transfer of service/contract Proximity to place of work Studies Acquisition of own house/flat Post retirement Others

Bivariate distributions analyses with Pearson chi-square tests have been carried out to examine the association between migration-type and different socio-economic classes. To find out the most vulnerable groups for forced migration, binary logistic regression model has been employed.

## FINDINGS

### 1. Distribution of Migrants in India by Reasons for Migration

Among all the reasons for migrations, forced and environmental health related migrations have been appeared as insignificant reasons particularly if we consider marriage as a reason for migration in the total migrants. Marriage-migration is the most common reason for migration in India embedded in her historical and socio-cultural set-up. Table-2 also gives the percentage of migrants by different reasons of migration without considering marriage-migration. The percentage of migrants under forced migration is 4.3 percent (2,242,789) in India. More than 2 million migrants in India in 2007-08 has fall under the category of forced migration. A considerable percent of people (5.5 percent) also migrated due to environmental health related reasons.

Table-2: Distribution of migrants by reasons for migration during 2007-08 in India

Reasons for Migration	When marriage migration is considered (in percentage)	Without marriage migration (in percentage)
Forced Migration	0.89	4.31
Environmental Health Related Migration	0.93	5.47
Other Migrations	98.18	90.22
All India ( <i>Weighted</i> )	286,362,009	52,036,859

Table-3 gives percentage distribution of migrants by detailed reasons under each category of migration. Findings reveal social and political problems (2.5 percent) have been emerged as the most dominant reasons for forced migration, followed by reasons related to natural disasters (1.0 percent). 4.2 percent people migrated due to reasons related to housing problems. Health care related migration has also accounted for 1.2 percent. Among other reasons of migration, employment and study have been found to be the most important reasons for migration in India.

Table-3: Distribution of Migrants by Detailed Reasons for Migration during 2007-08 in India

Reason for leaving the last Usual Place of Residence		Percent	
<b>Forced Migration</b>	Natural disaster (drought, flood, tsunami, etc.)	1.03	4.31
	Social/political problems (riots, terrorism etc)	2.50	
	Displacement by development project	0.78	
<b>Environmental Health Related Migration</b>	Housing problems	4.24	5.47
	Health care	1.23	
<b>Other Migration</b>	In search of employment	13.30	90.22
	In search of better employment	16.34	
	Business	2.93	
	To take up employment/ better employment	13.80	
	Transfer of service/contract	6.63	
	Proximity to place of work	1.54	

Studies	13.12
Acquisition of own house/flat	5.89
Post retirement	1.53
Others	15.15

## 2. Class-Differential in Migration

### 2.1 Demographic Differential in Migration

Table-4 gives an opportunity to find out the victims of forced migrations in context of demographic classes. This table clearly shows that children and elderly are the main victims of forced migration. Almost 6.0 percent children have been found to be forced migrated. The proportion of migrants due to forced migration has been found to be highest among migrants aged 60 and above followed by migration aged 50-59 years old.

The gender differentials in migration are also clear from this table. Among total female migrants, 7.7 percent women fall in the category of forced migration whereas only 3.3 percent male migrants are found under the same category. This table identified the children, elderly and female class as the victims of forced migration.

Table-4: Distribution of Different Migrants by Demographic Class

Demographic Class	Reasons for Migration		
	Forced Migration	Environmental Health Related Migration	Other Migration
Age-Group***	0 to 9	5.99	85.46
	10 to 19	2.71	94.36
	20 to 29	2.21	94.52
	30 to 39	3.47	90.37
	40 to 49	4.08	89.98
	50 to 59	6.08	88.44
	60 and above	9.60	81.10
Sex***	Male	3.28	92.38
	Female	7.74	83.07

\*\*\* Pearson chi-square is significant at 1% level

### 2.2 Social Differential in Migration

Table-5 brings out the reality of social differentials in different migrations. It has been found that among the migrants belong to the other religious groups, 7.9 percent are migrated under forced migration which is highest among all religious groups. The proportion of migrants under forced migration is also higher among Muslim religion. Christian is found to be less affected by forced migration.

Like religion, caste is also found to be associated with reasons for migration. Scheduled tribes and scheduled castes which are the marginalized groups in India are also found to be the main victims of forced migration.

Table-5: Distribution of Different Migrants by Social Class

Social Class		Reasons for Migration		
		Forced Migration	Environmental Health Related Migration	Other Migration
<b>Religion***</b>	Hindu	4.16	5.05	90.79
	Muslim	5.60	7.74	86.67
	Christian	1.55	5.26	93.19
	Others	7.90	10.90	81.20
<b>Caste***</b>	Scheduled Tribe	5.89	3.73	90.37
	Scheduled Caste	5.86	8.28	85.85
	Other Backward Class	4.43	5.64	89.93
	Others	3.39	4.56	92.04

\*\*\* Pearson chi-square is significant at 1% level

### 2.3 Economic Differential in Migration

Table-6 shows the association between economic class and reasons for migration. It has been found that forced migration is higher among the migrants belong to low MHCE classes (below rupees 4,000/- per month) and the least forced migration has been found among migrant belong to high MHCE class.

Another interesting but obvious results about forced migration have been obtained by the present occupational status of the migrants. We found that the workers in primary activities (agriculture and fisheries) have maximum percentage of migrants under forced migration followed by migrants having elementary occupations. Among technician and professionals, the forced migration as reason for migration is found to be less, the other reasons for migrations are maximum among these groups. These findings emphasize on the fact that the poor people are mostly affected by forced migration.

Table-6: Distribution of Different Migrants by Economic Class

Economic Class		Reasons for Migration		
		Forced Migration	Environmental Health Related Migration	Other Migration
<b>Monthly Household Consumption Expenditure Class (in Rupees)</b>	0 - 2249	5.44	4.43	90.13
	2249 - 3028	6.19	8.43	85.37
	3028 - 3977	6.49	5.68	87.84
	3977 - 5634	3.49	4.42	92.09
	5634 & more	2.31	5.50	92.19
<b>Occupation</b>	Professionals	1.78	3.34	94.88
	Technicians/ Associate professionals	0.91	3.36	95.73
	Clerks	1.00	3.67	95.33
	Service/Sales workers	2.84	4.44	92.72
	Agricultural and fishery workers	8.86	8.89	82.25
	Craft and related trades workers	3.84	3.76	92.40

Plant and machine operators / assemblers	1.09	2.96	95.94
Elementary occupations	5.61	6.12	88.28

\*\*\* Pearson chi-square is significant at 1% level

#### 2.4 Regional Differential in Migration

Table-7 demonstrates the regional differential in migrations. In each region, certain states have maximum share of migrants under forced migration in comparison to other migrations. For example, in region 'north', Jammu and Kashmir has the highest migrants under forced migration. The rate of forced migration is found to be highest in Uttar Pradesh in Central region, Bihar and West Bengal in East region, Tripura and Assam in North-East region, Maharashtra in West in region, Andaman and Nicobar in South region of India. It is interesting to note that the highest share of migrants as a result of forced migration is found in Tripura (50.7 percent), followed by Assam (30.9 percent); both in North-East region. Forced migration is found to be least in West region in comparison to other regions in India.

Table-7: Distribution of Different Migrants by Regions and States in India

Region	State	Reason for Migration		
		Forced Migration	Environmental Health Related Migration	Other Migration
North	Jammu & Kashmir	13.48	2.56	83.97
	Himachal Pradesh	3.05	3.36	93.59
	Punjab	8.77	3.43	87.80
	Chandigarh	0.57	0.00	99.43
	Uttaranchal	2.18	1.58	96.25
	Haryana	4.26	1.59	94.15
	Delhi	2.87	2.39	94.73
	Rajasthan	4.53	2.38	93.09
Central	Uttar Pradesh	5.21	6.16	88.63
	Chhattisgarh	0.77	6.30	92.92
	Madhya Pradesh	3.20	4.76	92.05
East	Bihar	11.89	1.00	87.11
	West Bengal	10.94	8.49	80.58
	Jharkhand	2.39	1.68	95.93
	Orissa	3.29	4.74	91.96
North-East	Sikkim	0.26	1.52	98.22
	Arunachal Pradesh	0.56	1.07	98.37
	Nagaland	1.32	1.03	97.65
	Manipur	0.00	0.00	100.00
	Mizoram	4.41	3.87	91.72
	Tripura	50.71	7.47	41.83
	Meghalaya	2.87	3.88	93.25
Assam	30.90	3.12	65.98	
West	Gujarat	3.09	3.42	93.49

	Daman & Diu	0.00	8.78	91.22
	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1.41	2.15	96.44
	Maharashtra	2.28	5.76	91.95
	Goa	1.29	0.08	98.63
<b>South</b>	Andhra Pradesh	2.71	3.03	94.25
	Karnataka	2.34	6.18	91.48
	Lakshadweep	0.00	2.00	98.00
	Kerala	1.01	14.96	84.03
	Tamil Nadu	2.78	8.51	88.70
	Pondicherry	6.38	16.38	77.24
	Andaman & Nicobar	11.73	3.44	84.83

\*\*\* Pearson chi-square is significant at 1% level

### 3. Perspective on Forced Migration

In this segment, forced migration has been studied in details by different socio-economic classes. For this purpose, forced migration has been categorized into three types: natural hazards induced forced migration, social-political problems induced forced migration and displacements by development projects.

#### 3.1 Demographic Differential in the Types of Forced Migration

From table-8, it is clear that among all types of forced migrations, children and teens migrated mainly due to natural disaster. Developmental projects have also made them forced to migrate. Whereas social/political problems are found to be the main reason for forced migration among elderly migrants (75.4 percent). Among both sex, social/political reasons the main reason for forced migration, though the rate share of migrants as a result of socio/political problems are higher among female than male migrants.

Table-8: Distribution of Forced Migrants by Demographic Class

Demographic Class	Forced Migration			
	Natural disasters	Social/political problems	Displacement by development project	
<b>Age-Group</b>	0 to 9	53.66	13.92	32.43
	10 to 19	55.23	29.36	15.41
	20 to 29	18.56	54.73	26.71
	30 to 39	23.41	59.60	16.98
	40 to 49	23.93	57.84	18.22
	50 to 59	17.99	56.52	25.49
	60 and above	16.18	75.46	8.36
<b>Sex</b>	Male	23.95	57.97	18.08
	Female	23.01	60.88	16.11

\*\*\* Pearson chi-square is significant at 1% level

### 3.2 Social Differential in the Types of Forced Migration

Table-9 presents some interesting finding related to forced migration. Among all types of forced migration, socio/political problems are found to be main reason of forced migration in all social classes except Muslim migrants. Muslim migrants are the only social group has the highest percentage of migrants due to natural disasters. Migrants belong to Christianity and other religions are mainly affected by social/political problems. It is interesting to note that developmental activities largely affected Hindus in comparison to other religious class and as a result nearly 21.0 percent Hindus are found to be displaced by developmental activities.

Socio/political problems are also emerged as the main reason of forced migration among scheduled caste and others caste. A considerable proportion of scheduled tribes (38.3 percent) have been forced to migrate due to developmental projects.

*Table-9: Distribution of Forced Migrants by Social Class*

Social Class		Forced Migration		
		Natural disasters	Social/political problems	Displacement by development project
<b>Religion</b>	Hindu	21.94	57.18	20.88
	Muslim	51.24	40.52	8.24
	Christian	4.60	89.72	5.68
	Others	3.50	96.50	0.00
<b>Caste</b>	Scheduled Tribe	17.54	44.16	38.30
	Scheduled Caste	19.51	64.79	15.70
	Other Backward Class	26.32	51.12	22.56
	Others	25.93	64.80	9.27

\*\*\* Pearson chi-square is significant at 1% level

### 3.3 Economic Differential in the Types of Forced Migration

Table-10 highlights the fact that population engaged in agricultures and fisheries are more likely to be affected by natural disasters. The natural disasters induced forced migrants have been observed higher among migrants working in agriculture or fisheries and engaged in craft or allied works. On the other hand, socio/political problems have been found to be the main reason of migration among clerks and professionals. Percentage of migrated population due to developmental projects is found highest among those who are engaged in elementary occupation.

*Table-10: Distribution of Forced Migrants by Economic Class*

Economic Class		Forced Migration		
		Natural disaster	Social/political problems	Displacement by development project
<b>Occupation</b>	Professionals	17.15	76.33	6.52
	Technicians/ associate professionals	21.98	54.85	23.17
	Clerks	2.86	97.14	0.00

Service/Sales workers	13.39	67.93	18.68
agricultural and fishery workers	29.69	55.87	14.44
Craft and related trades workers	30.15	54.03	15.82
Plant and machine operators/assemblers	22.69	71.54	5.76
Elementary occupations	19.20	55.61	25.20

\*\*\* Pearson chi-square is significant at 1% level

### 3.4 Regional Differential in the Types of Forced Migration

Table-11 gives spatial distribution of different types of forced migrants. In the region North, Rajasthan (23.1 percent) being the desert state of India have the highest percentage of natural disasters induced forced migrants, followed by Uttaranchal (12.3 percent) which is mainly a hilly and mountainous state. It is expected that the highest percentage of natural disasters induced forced migrants have been found in Assam (90.0 percent) in North-East. Assam is the only state in North-East which is relatively highly developed. On the other hand, other states in this region have poor mountainous topography. For obvious reason, Assam has become the home of natural disasters induced forced migrants from surrounding hilly states. The same explanation can also be applied for Bihar (72.9 percent). Coastal states like Orissa and Tamil Nadu have also considerable share of natural disasters induced forced migrants.

States like Sikkim, Nagaland, Mizoram, and Meghalaya in North-East have 100% forced migrants as a result of socio/political problems. The current political situation in North-East also validates these findings. As discussed earlier, socio/political reason seems to be the most important reason for forced migration in all states of India.

As per forced migration due to developmental projects is concerned, it is interesting to note that the percentage of this migrants are found to be higher among tribal states of India, for example, Madhya Pradesh (56.2 percent), Jharkhand (93.6 percent), Arunachal Pradesh (83.6 percent).

*Table-11: Distribution of Forced Migrants by Regions and States in India*

Region	State	Forced Migration		
		Natural disasters	Social/political problems	Displacement by development project
North	Jammu & Kashmir	0.00	91.71	8.29
	Himachal Pradesh	8.60	75.25	16.15
	Punjab	3.35	95.06	1.60
	Chandigarh	0.00	100.00	0.00
	Uttaranchal	12.28	62.62	25.11
	Haryana	0.64	81.70	17.66
	Delhi	3.86	54.54	41.60
	Rajasthan	23.10	52.69	24.20
Central	Uttar Pradesh	23.87	74.82	1.32
	Chhattisgarh	1.65	94.60	3.75
	Madhya Pradesh	0.13	43.70	56.17
East	Bihar	72.96	23.62	3.42

	West Bengal	16.99	75.98	7.04
	Jharkhand	0.00	6.40	93.60
	Orissa	61.25	9.29	29.46
<b>North-East</b>	Sikkim	0.00	100.00	0.00
	Arunachal Pradesh	0.00	16.36	83.64
	Nagaland	0.00	100.00	0.00
	Mizoram	0.00	100.00	0.00
	Tripura	1.99	98.01	0.00
	Meghalaya	0.00	100.00	0.00
	Assam	90.70	5.39	3.91
<b>West</b>	Gujarat	0.76	49.01	50.23
	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.00	100.00	0.00
	Maharashtra	11.77	73.86	14.36
	Goa	0.00	15.11	84.89
<b>South</b>	Andhra Pradesh	0.00	21.89	78.11
	Karnataka	0.00	64.99	35.01
	Kerala	19.70	51.99	28.31
	Tamil Nadu	24.85	75.15	0.00
	Pondicherry	1.61	98.39	0.00
	Andaman & Nicobar	77.59	22.41	0.00

\*\*\* Pearson chi-square is significant at 1% level

#### 4. Classed Vulnerability in Forced Migration

To find out the vulnerable socio-economic classes for forced migration, binary logistic regression model has been employed. In the regression model, 'types of migrants' has been taken as dependent variable which has been categorized into two groups – '0' = non-forced migrants and '1' = forced migrants. The likelihood of becoming forced migrants have been examined by the following classes – demographic (age and sex), social (religion and caste) and economic (monthly household consumption expenditure class). The likelihood of becoming forced migrants by different socio-economic classes has been examined with the help of odds-ratio derived from the logistic regression model.

Table-12 gives the result of odds ratios from the logistic regression analysis. It is been found that a person aged 60 and above is 2.8 times more likely to become a forced migrant than a child aged 0-9 years. The likelihood of becoming a forced migrants decreases with increase in age upto 39 years and again increases thereafter. Female are 2.4 times more like to be a forced migrant than their male counterpart. Among religious class, Muslim and other religious groups are more prone to be forced migrant than Hindus. Scheduled tribe has emerged as a more probability of becoming a forced migrant than persons belong to other caste. It is interesting to note that the 'other' which is actually considered as the 'higher' caste in India is 38 percent less likely to become a forced migrant in comparison to a scheduled tribe. The likelihood of becoming forced migrant decreases with very high monthly expenditure levels.

Table-12: Odds ratio predicting likelihood of becoming forced migrants

<b>Demo-Socio-Economic Classes</b>	<b>Odds Ratio</b>	
<b>Age-Group</b>	0 to 9 <sup>(Ref)</sup>	
	10 to 19	0.518
	20 to 29	0.517
	30 to 39	0.832
	40 to 49	1.140
	50 to 59	1.775
	60 and above	2.855
<b>Sex</b>	Male <sup>(Ref)</sup>	
	Female	2.384
<b>Religion</b>	Hindu <sup>(Ref)</sup>	
	Muslim	1.589
	Christian	0.343
	Others	1.991
<b>Caste</b>	Scheduled Tribe <sup>(Ref)</sup>	
	Scheduled Caste	0.919
	Other Backward Class	0.736
	Others	0.618
<b>Monthly Household Consumption Expenditure Class</b>	0 – 2249 <sup>(Ref)</sup>	
	2249 - 3028	1.145
	3028 - 3977	1.231
	3977 - 5634	0.641
	5634 & more	0.387

<sup>(Ref)</sup> – Reference category

Dependent variable: types of migrants – ‘0’ = non-forced migrants and ‘1’= forced migrants

All categories in each variable are found to be statistically highly significant.

## CONCLUSION

Using recent available data, this paper made an attempt to give an analytical insight on the overall picture of forced migration and also tried to identify the vulnerable classes associated with this migration. Although the percentage of forced migrants is very negligible in comparison to other type of migrants but in absolute term, the numbers of forced migrants are quite high for any developmental policy perspective as the vulnerability after forced migration are well discussed and documented in literatures.

Regional analyses of forced migrants show that there is a need to consider region specific forced-migration policy. The tribal states in India are mostly affected by developmental projects related forced migration. This may have impact on the social cohesion of this region and it may also affect the social rest in the country. The same can be said on the North-Eastern region where as almost all forced migration have been taken place due to political or social problems. It is relevant to state that North-Eastern states are highly characterized by marginalized population like scheduled tribes and scheduled caste.

As per environmental disasters induced forced migration concerns, policies should be focused in the population living in hilly, coastal and desert states. The high percentage of forced migrants surrounding coastal states may raise the issue of future vulnerability of population related to sea level changes or other effects due to global warming in future.

The findings of bivariate and logistic regression clearly exhibit that there is a clear classed differentiation among forced migrants in India. Specific classes are significantly associated with forced migration. Females, children and elderly are found to be mostly displaced as a result of forced migration. Minority religious groups like Muslim and other religious groups (for example, Buddhist, Sikhs etc) are also prone to be victims of forced migrations. Marginalized social classes like scheduled caste and scheduled tribes are also likely to become sufferers of forced migrations. Poor people are most likely to be affected by this kind of migration.

No doubt, that in India, the distribution of forced migrants across different socio-economic groups clearly recognizes it's classed patterns, and hence raises the issue of classed vulnerability associated with it. Policies should be aimed at these population considering different regional dimensions of forced migrations.

---