### Chapter – III

#### POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

## Demographic profile

There are nine districts in the state: Bishnupur, Chandel, Churachandpur, Senapati, Tamenglong, Thoubal, Imphal West, Imphal East and Ukhrul. These are further divided into 38 sub-districts, 33 towns and 2,391 villages (including uninhabited villages)<sup>1</sup>. The area covered by each district in Manipur is very small. Table 3.1 shows data related to the total population, number of households and household size for all-India and Manipur in the year 2001. The household size for Manipur is higher than the all-India household size.

Table 3. 1: Number Of Households, Population And Household Size

India/State	Number of households	Population	Household size
India@	193,579,954	1,028,610,328	5.30
Manipur <sup>@</sup>	375,095	2166788	5.80

Source: Primary Census Abstract: Census of India 2001

Note: @' - Excludes Mao-Maram, Paomata and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district

of Manipur

### Ethnicity:

The Manipur valley is home to more than two-thirds of its population. The Meiteis, who lived in the Manipur valley at least since the beginning of the first millennium, have ancient cultural and political traditions. What was essentially a small clan principality grew into a powerful monarchical state comprising the valley of Manipur and the surrounding hills inhabited by the Nagas, Kukis and a few other ethnic groups.

The Meiteis constitute the majority population in the state and are a fairly homogenous people. They are divided into seven clans (*salais*): Manganz, Luwang, Khuman, Angom, Moirang, , Chenglai (Sarang-Leishangthem) and Khaba-Nganba.<sup>2</sup> The Muslims, known locally as Meitei Pangans are an economically significant though small-sized community. There are no followers of Buddhism in the valley. Buddhist population are found according to Census Report. Christianity, which was introduced by the British, was embraced only by the hill tribes. The Meiteis and other non-tribal groups constitute about 66 per cent of the total population of the state. These groups speak Manipuri<sup>3</sup>

33 tribal groups are recognised by the Government of India as Scheduled Tribes (STs), seven Scheduled Castes (SCs), and the Meiteis, the Pangans, and 'others' as separate population categories (Table 3.2). The recognized Naga groups are the Anal, Chiru, Chothe, Kabui, Kacha Naga, Koireng, Kairao, Lamkang, Mao, Maram, Maring, Monsang, Mayon, Sema and Tangkhul who together form 18.7 per cent of the state's population. The Thangal, Liangmei and Tharao, also recognized as Naga tribes, are yet to be listed as STs. In 2003, the Poumei were recognized as a separate tribe. The recognized tribes include Thadou, Zou, Vaiphei, Simte, Paite, Aimol, Gangte, and Ralte. Some groups like the Simte, Suhte and and Ralte identify themselves as Zomi. Among the other prominent tribes are the Kom and the Hmar. Data on the tribal population as enumerated in the 1991 Census is given in Table 3.5.

1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Primary Census Abstract, 2001

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lucy Zehol, op cit. p. 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Lucy Zehol, *Ethnicity in Manipur: Experiences, Issues and Perspective*. New Delhi: Regency Publications, p. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> U. A. Shimray, op cit.

Table 3.2: Major Ethnic C	Table 3.2: Major Ethnic Groups in Manipur - 1991								
Ethnic Groups	Population	Percentage Share to Total population							
Meiteis, Pangans and									
others (non-tribal)	1204616	65.57							
Tribals	632533	34.43							
Nagas	336161	18.72							
Thadou Kukis	121994	6.64							
Zomis*	93305	5.07							
Hmar	35767	1.95							
Kom	13004	0.87							
Gangte	12793	0.70							
Any Mizos	8240	0.45							
Aimol	2108	0.11							
Suhte	746	0.04							
Purum	388	0.02							
Ralte	250	0.01							
Total	1837149	100							
Note: * Include Paites, Va	aipheis, Zous, Te	edim Chin and Simtes.							

Source: ORGCC, 1991, Special Tables for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes Series 13 Manipur, Part IX. Delhi Controller of Publications

The Scheduled Caste population of Manipur is also counted among the Manipuri-speaking Meiteis in the Census categories. The largest group of SCs, the Lois, are expert sericulturists. Other groups include the Dhupi, Muchi, Namasudra, Patni, Sutradhar and Yaithibi. Table 3.5 gives the population of SCs and STs in each district of Manipur and their proportion to the total population in rural and urban areas.

The Census 2001 data in Table 3.3 shows the break-up of the Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) populations.

Table 3.3: T	Table 3.3: Total Population, Population Of Scheduled Castes And Scheduled Tribes And Their Proportions To The Total Population												
State Code India/State Total Population Scheduled Castes (SC) Scheduled Tribes (ST) Proportion of SC Proportion of Population Population Population Population													
	India <sup>@</sup>	1,028,610,328	166,635,700	84,326,240	16.20	8.20							
14	Manipur <sup>@</sup>	2166788	60,037	741,141	2.80	34.20							

Source: Primary Census Abstract: Census of India 2001

Note: @' - Excludes Mao-Maram, Paomata and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district of Manipur

Table 3.4: Tribal Population in Manipur, 1991

Table 3.4: Tribal Populatio	<u>n in Manipur, 1991</u>	
Name of the Group	Population	Percentage Share to
·	(in numbers)	Total Population
Naga Groups:		
Anal	10642	0.58
Angami	308	0.02
Chiru	6032	0.33
Chothe	2571	0.14

Kabui	62847	3.42
Kacha Naga	33640	1.83
Koirao	1716	0.09
Koireng	873	0.05
Lamkang	4031	0.22
Mao	76972	4.19
Maram	9592	0.52
Maring	15698	0.85
Monsang	1803	0.10
Moyon	2081	0.11
Sema	111	0.01
Tangkhul	107244	5.84
Other Tribal Groups:		
Aimol	2108	0.11
Any Mizo/Lushai	8240	0.45
Gangte	12793	0.70
Hmar	35777	1.95
Kom	13004	0.17
Paite	40792	2.22
Purum	388	0.02
Ralte	250	0.01
Simte	8833	0.48
Suhte	746	0.04
Thadou	121994	6.64
Unclassified Tribes	7777	0.42
Vaiphei	26877	1.46
Zou	16803	0.91

Source: ORGCC, 1991, Special Tables for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes Series 13, Manipur Part IX, Delhi: Controller of Publications

## Distribution of population by religion and language:

Hindus constitute 57.67 per cent, Muslims 7.27 per cent, Christians 34.11 per cent, Sikhs 0.07 per cent; Buddhists 0.04 per cent, Jains 0.07 per cent and Others 0.77 per cent of the total population of the state. The three principal spoken languages in Manipur are Manipuri, (recognised as a national language in 1992,) Hindi and English. The following is a sample distribution of 10,000 persons by spoken language: Manipuri 6,043; Nepali 253; Hindi 131; Bengali 106; Tamil 14; Punjabi 11; Assamese 9 and Urdu 1. A majority of the Muslim population speak in Manipuri.

### Art and Culture

The Cultural heritage of the people living in the valley has two phases viz. the pre-Vaishnavite and the Vaishnavite phase, dating after the 15th Century A.D. The pre-Vaishnavite phase produced a number of indigenous forms of Arts including the present day thang-Ta, Lai-haraoba and indigenous games of Polo and Mukna-Kangjei (wrestling and hockey), etc. in which thousands of people readily participate with dance, music, games & sports. The Vaisnavite festivals include Durga-Puja, Govardhan Puja, Janamasthami Rathajatra and others. The now famous Nata-Sankirtana, Pungcholom and five traditional Rasa Leelas of Manipur can also be ascribed to this phase.

Similarly the ethnic tribes of the hills, which constitute about one third of the total population of the state, have a variety of songs, music and dances, mostly ceremonial and sometimes ritualistic. The different tribes in the state have their own styles of dress, singing, dancing, rites and rituals including social customs of birth, death and marriages,

etc. These distinctive forms of the Art and Culture of different groups have resulted in a highly diverse and rich cultural heritage.

men i ereemage	Distribution in Distri			Scheduled		Scheduled		
				Caste		Tribe		
				population		population	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe
				as		as	population in each	population in each
		Total	Scheduled Caste	percentage of total	Scheduled Tribe	percentage of total	district as percentage of total SC population	district as percentage of total ST population
State/Districts	Total/Rural/Urban	Population	population	population	population	population	of the state	of the state
	Total	2166788				1		
MANIPUR	Rural	1717928			705912			
	Urban	575968			35229			
	Total	283621	238		122791	78.45	0.40	16.57
Senapati	Rural	283621				78.45		
•	Urban	(	) (	0.00				
	Total	111499	3	0.00	106349	95.38	0.005	14.35
Tamenglong	Rural	111499		0.00				15.07
	Urban	C	C	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Total	227905	205	0.09	212482	93.23	0.34	28.67
Churachandpur	Rural	227905	205	0.09	212482	93.23	0.99	30.10
	Urban	C	C	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Total	118327	210	0.18	108779	91.93	0.35	14.68
Chandel	Rural	103365	178	0.17	101608	98.30	0.86	14.39
	Urban	14962	32	0.21	7171	47.93	0.08	20.36
	Total	364140	33969	9.33	4274	1.17	56.58	0.58
Thoubal	Rural	232868	2091	0.90	3268	1.40	10.05	0.46
	Urban	131272	31878	24.28	1006	0.77	81.25	2.86
	Total	208368	1727	0.83	6143	2.95	2.88	0.83
Bishnupur	Rural	133627	1687	1.26	4134	3.09	8.11	0.59
	Urban	74741	40	0.05	2009	2.69	0.10	5.70
	Total	839258	23685	2.82	45830	5.46	39.45	6.18
Imphal	Rural	484265	16400	3.39	20787	4.29	78.84	2.94
	Urban	354993	7285	2.05	25043	7.05	18.57	71.09
	Total	140778	0		134493	95.54	0.00	18.1
Ukhrul	Rural	140778	3 0		134493	95.54	0.00	19.05
	Urban	(	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	0.00

Source: Primary Census Abstract, 2001

# Birth Rates, Death Rates and Other Population Averages

The Census 2001 data in Table 3.6 shows data related to basic demographic features of Manipur and its districts.

Table 3.6: District wise Decadal Growth Rate of Manipur

State/District	Р	opulation 200	Decadal growth rate			
State/District	Persons	Males Females		1981-1991	1991-2001	
Senapati	283621	283621 146548		34.09	36.09	
Tamenglong	111499	58014	53485	38.51	29.23	

Churachandpur	227905	117232	110673	30.72	29.36
Chandel	118327	59741	58586	25.81	66.62
Ukhrul	140778	73465	67313	31.74	28.83
Imphal East	394876	198371	196505	44.48	19.49
Imphal West	444382	221781	222601	16.30	16.69
Bishnupur	208368	104550	103818	28.07	15.27
Thoubal	364140	182250	181890	26.83	23.87
Manipur	2293896	1161952	1131944	29.29	24.86

Source: Census of India website, Census 2001 data

The population census, even though it shows growth rates by decade, is unable to provide a measure of the annual change in the vital rates. The Sample Registration System (SRS), which is based on a sample survey, provides reliable short-term estimates for birth and death rates for rural and urban areas separately. It also provides various other measures of fertility and mortality. The following are the estimates from the SRS for Manipur during the 1990s (Table 3.7):

Table 3.7: Estimates from the SRS for Manipur during the 1990s

Variables	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Crude Birth Rate	20.00	19.50	20.50	21.70	20.60	19.60	19.70	19.00
Crude Death Rate	5.40	5.60	4.80	6.70	6.70	5.80	5.90	5.30
Natural Growth Rate	14.70	13.90	15.70	15.00	13.90	13.80	13.80	13.70
Infant Mortality Rate	21.70	23.00	26.30	23.80	35.70	28.00	30.00	25.00
Total Fertility Rate	NA							

(Source: SRS website: SRS bulletin 1999)

According to the latest SRS bulletin, which gives provisional estimates for 2001, the total birth rate is 18.2 (19 for rural and 15.9 for urban) and the death rate is 5. The birth rates, death rates, natural increase and infant mortality rates for Manipur are lower than other states including those in the Northeast. The only other northeastern state with figures lower than that of Manipur is Mizoram. Tripura has lower birth and death rates but higher infant mortality rates.

### *Land ownership by household type:*

Based on NSS, 55<sup>th</sup> Round data (Tables 3.8a & 3.8b), the patterns of land ownership can be mapped by type of household defined as follows: non-agriculture (self-employed); agricultural labour; other labour; agriculture (self-employed) and others. The bulk of the land is owned either by the agricultural self-employed (cultivators) or by the non-agricultural self-employed. The average land holdings are small-sized. Only 5 per cent of the non-agricultural self-employed; 11.5 per cent of the agricultural self employed, and roughly 6 percent of Others own more than 2 acres of land. A majority of holdings are less than half an acre.

Table 3.8a: Rural Manipur

Table 3.0a. Kurai Mariipui							
Land possessed (in acres)	0	025	.255	.5-1	1-2	2 & above	TOTAL
Household type							
Non-agri(self-emp)	1.32	51.32	18.42	14.47	9.21	5.26	100
Agri labour	0.00	66.13	27.42	4.34	0.00	1.61	100

Other labour	0.00	80.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100
Agri(self-emp)	0.00	4.89	33.11	28.89	21.56	11.56	100
Others	1.46	26.23	23.36	20.44	21.9	6.57	100
TOTAL	0.54	19.54	29.08	23.37	18.21	8.97	100

Table 3.8b: Urban Manipur

Land possessed (in acres)	0	001	.0105	.051	.15	.5-1	>1	TOTAL
Household type								
Self-emp	2.43	15.28	19.79	16.32	17.71	12.15	16.32	100
Salaried class	0.83	10.83	29.17	17.08	20.42	13.75	7.92	100
Casual labour	4.55	13.64	25.00	31.82	15.91	9.09	0.00	100
Others	14.29	12.09	23.08	10.99	24.18	9.89	5.49	100
TOTAL	3.61	13.08	24.06	16.99	19.40	12.18	10.68	100

## Land ownership by social group

The data on districts shows that the SC population is concentrated in Imphal and Bishnupur. The districts of Tamenglong, Chandel and Ukhrul are inhabited by only STs. It is, thus, difficult to draw immediate conclusions about caste disparities in the way it can be done for other parts of the country. However, driven by distribution in Imphal and Bishnupur, significant proportions of SCs and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) own more than 2 acres of land (22 and 13.5 per cent, respectively) (Tables 3.9a & 3.9b). The corresponding proportions for STs and Others are approximately 7 per cent.

Table 3.9a: Rural Manipur

Tubic 5.7a. Ita	· ai · · · · ai · · · p ai						
Land	0	025	.255	.5-1	1-2	2 & above	TOTAL
Possessed							
Social Group							
ST	0.84	10.58	39.00	23.12	19.50	6.96	100.00
SC	0.00	16.67	8.33	19.44	33.33	22.22	100.00
OBC	0.00	33.11	15.54	22.30	15.54	13.51	100.00
OTHERS	0.52	27.46	24.37	25.39	15.03	6.74	100.00
TOTAL	0.54	19.84	29.03	23.37	18.21	8.97	99.96

Table 3.9b: Urban Manipur

Tubio 0.7b. Olbe								
Land	0	001	.0105	.051	.15	.5-1	>1	TOTAL
Possessed								
Social Group								
ST	11.21	2.80	20.56	24.30	26.17	7.48	7.48	100.00
SC	7.69	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.77	53.85	7.69	100.00
OBC	0.68	15.02	34.81	17.75	15.70	7.85	8.19	100.00
Others	3.57	15.87	14.29	13.89	20.24	17.06	15.08	100.00
TOTAL	3.61	13.08	24.06	16.99	19.40	12.18	10.68	100.00

### Land ownership by religious community

The data in the tables 3.10a and 3.10b indicate that the two major sections are Hindus and Christians. The others comprise mainly non-Hindu tribal groups. Approximately 11 per cent of Hindus and 14 per cent of others own more than 2 acres of land.

Table 3.10a: Rural Manipur

Table 3.10a. Kul	ai iviai iipui						
Land	0	025	.255	.5-1	1-2	2 & above	TOTAL
Possessed							
Religion							
Hindu	0.00	30.77	19.23	24.13	15.38	10.49	100.00

Islam	0.00	29.63	29.63	22.22	11.11	7.41	100.00
Christianity	0.85	10.20	39.38	23.23	19.55	6.30	100.00
Others	0.00	20.59	17.65	20.59	26.47	14.71	100.00
TOTAL	0.54	19.34	29.08	23.37	18.21	8.97	100.00

Table 3.10b: Urban Manipur

Land	0	001	.0105	.051	.15	.5-1	>1	TOTAL
Possessed								
Religion								
Hindu	2.30	17.24	24.37	12.87	18.16	13.33	11.72	100.00
Islam	3.70	7.41	14.81	14.81	29.63	25.93	3.70	100.00
Christianity	10.68	2.91	23.30	24.27	25.24	5.83	7.77	100.00
Others	2.00	7.00	26.00	28.00	16.00	10.00	11.00	100.00
TOTAL	3.61	13.08	24.06	16.99	19.40	12.18	10.68	100.00

## Monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) by social group

This data (Tables 3.11a & 3.11b) reflects caste disparities more sharply than any indicator previously mentioned. This is the first time that the NSS has provided data specifically related to OBCs. In earlier data sets, there was only a three-way division between SCs, STs, and Others. The Others, which includes non SC-ST-OBC Hindus, or loosely speaking, upper castes, and OBCs have significantly greater proportions in the uppermost MPCE segment than either SC or ST groups. The converse is true at the lower end of the MPCE segment, suggesting that a caste disparity in consumption expenditures is present in Manipur. This is indicative of the caste disparity in income, but reliable figures are unavailable to confirm this.

Table 3.11a: Rural Manipur

MPCE (Rs)	<352	352-412	412-471	471-521	521-591	591-702	>702	TOTAL
Social Group	)							
ST	27.78	13.33	12.73	14.72	9.72	12.50	4.17	100.00
SC	0.00	19.44	27.78	19.44	22.22	8.33	2.78	100.00
OBC	4.73	11.49	11.49	19.59	24.32	14.19	14.19	100.00
OTHERS	4.64	15.46	13.92	9.28	18.04	20.10	18.56	100.00
TOTAL	15.72	16.26	13.55	14.50	15.45	14.63	9.39	100.00

Table 3.11b: Urban Manipur

Table 3.11b.	Orbair Mai	приг						
MPCE (Rs)	261-451	451-521	521-601	601-682	682-751	751-942	>942	TOTAL
Social Group								
ST	16.82	11.21	14.02	13.08	9.35	14.95	20.56	100.00
SC	23.08	7.69	7.69	15.38	15.38	7.69	23.08	100.00
OBC	9.56	12.97	13.31	20.14	20.14	16.72	7.17	100.00
OTHERS	19.05	20.24	15.48	10.71	12.70	14.68	7.14	100.00
TOTAL	14.59	15.34	14.14	15.34	15.49	15.49	9.62	100.00

## MPCE by religious community

The data in the tables 3.12a & 3.12b clearly establishes the disparity between the Hindu and Christian sections of the population. Relatively, the disparity between Hindus and Muslims is not as sharp for Manipur as it is for certain other parts of the country. As mentioned earlier, the Christians are concentrated in the hills amongst tribals.

Table 3.12a: Rural Manipur

	rtarar mamp	<u> </u>						
Mpce (Rs)	<352	352-412	412-471	471-521	521-591	591-702	>702	TOTAL
Religion								
Hindu	4.53	14.63	13.59	13.24	18.82	17.77	17.42	100.00
Islam	0.00	7.41	11.11	11.11	33.33	22.22	14.31	100.00

Christianity	28.25	18.64	12.71	14.41	9.04	12.71	4.24	100.00
Others	4.41	14.71	17.65	22.06	26.47	8.82	5.88	100.00
Total	15.72	16.26	13.25	14.50	15.45	14.63	9.89	100.00

Table 3.12b: Urban Manipur

Table J. IZD.	Orbair Mair	<u>ipui</u>						
Mpce (Rs)	261-451	451-521	521-601	601-682	682-751	751-942	>942	TOTAL
Religion								
Hindu	13.10	16.32	16.09	13.10	17.01	15.63	8.74	100.00
Islam	29.63	18.52	3.70	22.22	7.41	14.81	3.70	100.00
Christianity	15.53	11.65	13.59	13.59	9.71	16.50	19.42	100.00
Others	16.00	14.00	9.00	25.00	17.00	14.00	5.00	100.00
Total	14.59	15.34	14.14	15.34	15.49	15.49	9.62	100.00

### Sex Ratio

Since 1931, the sex ratio, which is defined as the number of females per 1000 males, is on the decline in Manipur. The data in Table 3.14 shows child mortality estimates for 1981 by sex, rural area and urban area.

Table 3.13: Sex Ratio (Female per 1000 Males) of Manipur in 2001 Census

District/State	,	Sex Ratio	)
District/state	Total	Rural	Urban
Senapati	935	935	0
Tamenglong	922	922	0
Chrachandpur	944	944	0
Chandel	981	983	964
Ukhrul	916	961	0
Imphal Union	998	984	1017
Imphal East	991	978	1024
Imphal West	1004	991	1014
Bishnupur	993	994	991
Thubal	998	995	1004
Manipur	974	963	1009

Table 3.14: Child Mortality Estimates in Manipur by Sex and by Rural and Urban in 1981

	Q(1)			Q(2)		(3)	Q(5)		
T/R/V	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Total	31	33	41	39	45	43	51	50	
Rural	34	30	42	42	48	46	56	54	
Urban	23	40	39	29	38	35	40	39	

Notes: q(1), q(2),q(3), q(5) denote denotes the number of live births per 1000 at ages 1,2, 3,5 respectively.

Source: SRS website

It indicates that up to the age of 1 year, female child mortality is higher than male. This is especially true for urban areas. For all other ages (up to 2, 3 and 5 years), female child mortality is lower than that of males, which is the natural pattern only *in the absence of social discrimination*.

## Death rates by age and sex:

Table 3.15 indicates age-specific death rates by age group for the year 1993. This reinforces the point made earlier in the chapter that the female death rate for all age groups is lower than the male death rate. Discrimination against women may not be serious enough to reflect in higher death rates for women in any age group.

Table 3.15: Crude death rates and age-specific death rates in Manipur. 1993

Age	Death Rates					
	Male	Female	Total			
0-4	12.50	5.00	9.00			
5-14	1.10	1.20	1.20			
14-49	2.50	2.20	2.40			
50+	35.10	17.80	26.60			
CDRs	7.40	4.30	5.80			

Source: SRS website

Table 3.16: Sex Ratio in Urban and Rural Areas of Manipur

Year	Rural	Urban
1952	1039	633
1961	1018	985
1971	980	980
1981	971	969
1991	951	975
2001	967	1009

Source: Census

This means that the sex ratio at birth may be the factor for the decline in sex ratio. However, since the figures for the sex ratio at birth are unavailable, the data related to the mean number of children ever born for the year 1993 will have to be considered.

Table 3.17: Age-standardized Number of Children Ever Born for Currently Married Women, According to Sex and Background Characteristics, Manipur and Sex Ratio

			Children	Ever Born			
Background characteristics	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio	Sex ratio		
					1981 census		
15-19	0.30	0.20	0.50	667			
20-24	0.60	0.80	1.40	1333			
25-29	1.30	1.30	1.20	923			
30-34	1.70	1.70	1.70	1000			
35-39	2.40	2.40	2.10	875			
40-44	2.80	2.80	2.20	786			
45-49	2.80	2.80	2.40	857			
Residence							
Urban	1.70	1.50	3.10	882	921		
Rural	1.80	1.70	3.50	944	913		
Education							
Illiterate	2.10	1.90	4.00	905			
Literate, < Middle Complete	1.80	1.60	3.50	889			
Middle school complete	1.40	1.40	2.80	1000			
High School &above	1.20	1.20	2.40	1000			
Total	1.80	1.60	3.40	889			

Source: SRS website

The data in Table 3.17 indicates that the mean number of male children ever born is higher than that of female children for all age groups and backgrounds. This disparity may be a cause of the declining sex ratio in the state. This can be probed further by micro-level studies.

It is also possible that these figures are a result of under-enumeration of female children and/or double-counting of male children. Prima facie evidence for this is also provided by the fact that the sex ratio for rural areas is higher than that for urban areas. However, this may not be a complete explanation because for 2001, the urban sex ratio is higher than the rural sex ratio (Table 3.16).

### References

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