CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Internal Migration is a mechanism by which population redistribution takes place within a country. Such population redistribution may have both beneficial and harmful effects, the overall balance of which depends on the nature of redistribution. In a developing country like India, the problem of domestic migration arises in the context of an unbalanced system of capital and labor. In the whole process of intra-regional and inter-state migration of labor, the movement of labor tends to be excessive, in the sense that more people leave the traditional sector than can be observed in the modern sector. Hence, the entire process of internal migration involves the relationship between these two sectors. Most migrants, internal and international, reap gains in the form of higher incomes, better access to education and health and improved prospects for their future generations. In a micro-economic perspective, internal migration is driven largely by economic forces and is mainly attributed to uneven development of the states.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with theoretical developments in rural-urban migration, the second deals with international, national and Kerala-level studies on rural-urban migration.

2.1. Theoretical Developments: Rural – Urban Migration

The different theoretical frameworks of internal migration have been modeled into three types: the first type covers the dual economy models which emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, the second type covers the Harris-Todaro models developed in the 1970s and 1980s, and the third type covers the more elaborate micro-economic models on which much of the research has focused over the past 15 years.
2.1.1. Dual Economy Models

According to Ravenstein (1880), migrants move from areas of low opportunity to areas of high opportunity. The choice of destination is regulated by distance, with migrants from the rural areas often showing a tendency to move first towards nearby towns, and then towards large cities. Further, Ravenstein observes that each stream of rural-urban migration produces a counter stream of urban-rural migration, although the former tends to dominate the latter. He also points out that the urban residents are less migratory than the rural. Lastly migration accelerates with growth in the means of transport and communication and expansion of trade and industry. The importance of the economic motive in the decision to migrate, the negative influence of distance and the role of step-migration is the highlight of Ravenstein's theory.

Building on Ravenstein’s laws of migration, Lee (1966) divides forces exerting influence on migration perception into “pluses and minuses”. The former pull individuals towards them, the latter tend to drive them away. There are “zeros” also, in which the competing forces are more or less, evenly balanced. These forces are associated with the area of origin and the area of destination and are influenced by personal factors which affect individual that facilitate or act as an obstacle to migration.

The first theoretical work involving rural to urban migration is the Lewis (1954) model of development which tries to explain the transition from a stagnating economy based on a traditional rural sector. In this model, economic growth does not only stem from the accumulation of capital in modern industry but also from the urban sectors. Lewis assumes that rural economies initially present a specific context in which there is surplus labor in the agricultural sector so that marginal productivity in that sector is close to zero. Workers in the rural sector are assumed to share the output among themselves so that they are remunerated at their mean product. Given these assumptions the agricultural sector is able to supply a perfectly elastic labor force to the modern industrial sector which can grow by accumulating capital and poaching labor from the traditional agricultural sector, paying wages just equal to the mean product in the agricultural sector. The transfer of the labor force between the two economic sectors involves the reallocation of the labor force across space through
migration from low population density urban areas. Migration occurs until surplus labor or disguised unemployment is absorbed by the modern sector. Ranis and Fei (1961) introduce the possibility of technical progress in the agricultural sector and assume that the agricultural sector can also absorb capital investments.

Todaro (1969) proposes a simple dynamic formalization in which individual migration decisions are based on the difference between the discounted expected income streams in urban and rural areas net of migration costs. In this model, an urban job-seeker evaluates his discounted expected income stream in the city taking into account the endogenous probability of being employed. The main contribution of Todaro’s framework is thus to link urban unemployment and migration flows. Under certain parameter values, the intensity of the link can lead to a paradox (known as the Todaro paradox): a policy aiming at increasing the number of available jobs in a city may very well increase the level of unemployment because of induced migration. All potential migrants have equal information about the urban labor market as well as equal access to urban job.

2.1.2 Harris-Todaro Models

According to the Harris-Todaro model (1970), a rationing mechanism comes into existence because the supply of job seekers is greater than available urban jobs. Migration is a disequilibrium phenomenon and occurs in transition to equilibrium. This will ensure that unemployment rate in urban areas is equal to the expected incomes in the urban and rural sectors.

In the Stiglitz model (1974), a wage subsidy in the urban sector is partially shifted and always increases the unemployment rate. In this respect Fields (1975) modifies the Harris-Todaro model which tends to reduce the unemployment rate predicted by the model. In particular, when allowing for urban job search from the rural area, workers have less incentive to migrate. Similarly, the introduction of a transitional informal sector makes it possible for migrants to work while searching for a modern sector job.

In the Calvo model (1978), a wage subsidy has little impact on the urban-rural wage differential and thus tends to be less efficient than in the standard Harris-Todaro framework. In Bhatia’s model (1979) rural to urban migration will increase when minimum urban wage increases and will exceed the level predicted in Todaro’s
pioneering model. There are now two pools of redundant labor: unemployed workers in the urban area and agricultural surplus labor. In this context they obtain that a manufacturing wage subsidy may reduce surplus labor while increasing open unemployment. Khandker and Rashid (1994) consider a dual economy model inspired from Bhatia in which there is surplus labor in agriculture so that workers are paid their average product.

Brueckner and Zenou (1999) add an urban land market to a static Harris-Todaro framework and look at the urban area as a monocentric city with an endogenous population. An exogenous shock like the enlargement of the modern sector or an increase in the urban wage, the unemployment rate and thus the probability of being employed are the forces that restore the equilibrium. In this model formal sector growth does not necessarily induce migration: enlarging the formal sector causes land rents to rise, which may depress a potential migrant’s expected utility in spite of his better chances of finding a job. When this is the case, the overall urban population, and thus the informal sector, must shrink to restore the migration equilibrium.

2.1.3 Micro-Economic Models

In 1962, Sjaastad presented a human investment theory of migration which treats the decision to migrate as an investment decision involving costs and returns distributed over time. The returns are divided into money and non-money components. Non-money returns include changes in “psychic benefits“ as a result of locational preferences. Similarly, there are costs of transport, of disposal of movable and immovable property necessitated by a shift in residence; of wages foregone while in transit; of retraining for a new job, if necessary. There are psychic costs too: of leaving familiar surroundings: in many cases of giving up one’s language and culture; and of adopting new dietary habits and social customs; of growing out of one’s ethics altogether. He assumes that when migrants decide to move, they maximize their net real life-span income and have some knowledge of what their life-span income streams would be in the destination area and of the costs involved in migration.
Recent models of internal migration adopt a complete change in perspective compared to the Harris –Todaro framework. The most investigated issue in the literature is clearly the ‘who migrates’ question. The New Economics of Migration has provided subtle analysis on this aspect stressing the role of information asymmetries, incomplete insurance and credit markets or relative deprivation.

Katz and Stark (1984) that employers in the home region have better information on workers’ productivity than employers in a host region (which is interpreted as an urban area). Skilled workers may not find it beneficial to migrate, because they would be paid a lower wage in the host region than in their home region where their skills are recognized. However, when skilled migrants can signal themselves to employers in the host region by incurring a moderate fixed cost, they will find it beneficial to migrate.

Other models have focused on alternative motivations to migrate and contradict the view that the expected income differential between urban and rural areas has to be positive in order to induce migration. The paradox can be explained when migration entails a small chance of reaping a very high reward. The model predicts that rural individuals whose income position is an upward – sloping portion of the income density function will be more likely to migrate since they can expect to greatly increase their social status even with only a small chance of monetary gain.

2.1.4 Other Models

Rural – Urban migration is job-related in its nature and thus migration and job search can be considered as joint decisions. Migration models with job – search can account for a variety of patterns including the differences in unemployment duration among migrants, the choice of repeat or return migration, the diversity of search choices or the selection of migrants to particular destination area. The standard neo-classical family relocation model is Jacob Mincer’s application of the New Home or Household Economics to migration. At the heart of Mincer’s model is the assumption that net family gains rather than net personal gain motivate migration of households (Mincer 1978:750). Mincer assumes that women are more likely than men to be the
tied partners as, empirically, their labour force participation is discontinuous and they earn less.

With a view to explain unemployment duration among migrants, Harris and Sabot (1982) describe a job-search mechanism in which migrants are confronted with a distribution of job offers with different wage. Stark and Levhari (1982) who focus on migration as a family strategy present migration of a family member as a way to diversify the risks associated with family earnings in the absence of a rural insurance market and/or when income diversification opportunities in rural areas are scarce. The analysis is carried further by Stark and Lucas (1988) who considers that migration of a family member can result from a cooperative arrangement struck between the migrant and his family. Repeat and return migration can be obtained in models with job-search and information such as in Bhattacharya (1990) where workers have to move to a particular location in order to be able to observe the quality of jobs offered at that location.

Viswanath’s (1991) model assumes that rural individuals have three options (1) stay in the rural area forever (2) engage in rural-based search for an urban job, or (3) move to the city and engage in urban-based search. Once employed in the city, workers can then choose to engage in on-the-job search or not. This framework provides yet another explanation of income differential paradox since migration can be rational even if the mean urban wage is below the rural income.

The selection model (Borjas 1991) deals with the question of which workers tend to migrate, whether the more or the least skilled. The direction and the intensity of population movements is accounted for in a job-search perspective by Carrington, Detragiache and Viswanath (1996) who consider a dynamic migration model in which migrants already settled in the destination area exert a positive externality on potential migrants such that the moving costs between regions decrease with the pool of previous migrants. In a life cycle perspective, Dustmann (1997) models return migration by assuming that a worker can migrate with the intention of raising his total consumption possibilities but planning to come back for home consumption after an optimal period of time spent in the destination area.
Ortega (2000) proposes a search-matching model with two separate labor markets which differs structurally: one region (urban area) offers a better environment than the other one to the extent that it has a lower exogenous job separation rate. Unemployed workers can either search for a job in their region of origin or in the other region but incurring a migration cost. Sato (2004) proposes a job–search model with rural–urban migration that incorporates frictional urban unemployment and an endogenous urban wage determined by Nash bargaining. The most important contribution of the New Migration Economics is to provide new insights into the potentially positive link between internal migration and rural development stressing the role of remittances sent to the rural area.

Migration is seen in a negative context according to the Livelihood Strategy Approach, occurring as a last resort for the poor in response to economic, demographic and environmental shocks and leading to their exploitation and further impoverishment (de Haan 1999). This theory emphasizes that (1) while migration does occur in response to crisis for some, it is also a central livelihood strategy for many people in the face of physical, economic, social and political adversity and (2) the impact of poverty and vulnerability on migration and implications of migration for well-being are highly context-specific. The sustainable livelihoods framework analyses how households and communities are enabled to pursue, different livelihood strategies, including migration, in response to prevailing conditions and how this affects their well-being and vulnerability to adverse circumstances. This framework refers to a broad spectrum of migration causation encompassing monetary and non-monetary factors and voluntary and forced migration, where decision-making occurs within a broad context of factors at the micro-level (individual and household circumstances and decision-making), meso-level (socio-economic conditions at source and destination areas) and macro-level (speed and unevenness of the development process and national and international policy environment) (Kothari 2002:9).

2.1.4.1 Feminist Models

Gender has not figured prominently in any of these theoretical models. Neoclassical theorists generally consider women to be passive actors in household
decisions; their decisions are managed by an altruistic male ‘head’ who evaluates various economic options and chooses those that provide maximum utility for the household as a whole (Becker 1991). In the new economics of labour migration is viewed as part of a unitary household strategy developed cooperatively by its members (Wood 1981). More recently economists have acknowledged the necessity to incorporate gender into economic migration theories (Pfeiffer et al 2007).

In the 1960’s and 1970’s the phrase “migrants and their families “was a code for male migrants and their wives and children”. Research in the 1970’s and 1980’s began to include women, but did not cause a dramatic shift in thinking about who migrated, how migration was explained, or the likely consequences. Gradually, the” add women, mix and stir” or the ‘gender as a variable’ approach appeared in more and more research. Yet the research ultimately did not question the underlying models used to explain why people moved, where they went, and how they integrated. Instead, differences between men and women were noted and then explained as reflections of different sex roles.

Critics have observed that economic factors do not have a gender-neutral impact. At the macro-level, national economic development may affect the economic roles of men and women in different ways, thus retarding or stimulating migration of women versus men. More recent research shows that women have their own networks with other women and utilize them both to migrate and settle in a new area.

Since 1960’s, migration theory had become more gender-sensitive; moving away from the predominant view of women migrants as simply the wives of male migrants to incorporating explanations of the unique experiences of female migrants themselves. In the pre-migration stage, many factors exist that shape the decision to migrate. These include both systemic and macro-factors such as the state of the national economy and individual or micro-factors, such as gender-specific stages in the life-cycle. These factors are further divided into the following areas: (1) gender relations and hierarchies (2) status and roles (3) structural characteristics of the origin area. The interaction of women’s roles status and age within a particular socio-cultural context result in a “migratory probability” which can also affect the ability of women to migrate. A UN Report on Women and migration (1993) argues that the
impact of women’s status and roles on their propensity to migrate must be considered at three levels: individual, familial and societal. Individual factors include age, birth order, race/ethnicity, urban/rural origins, marital status, reproductive status (children or no children), role in the family (wife, daughter, mother), position in the family (authoritative or subordinate), educational status, occupational skills/training, labor force experience and class position. Family factors include size, age/sex composition, life cycle stage, structure (nuclear/extended family), status (single parent, both parents etc) and class standing. Societal factors include those community norms and cultural values that determine whether or not women can migrate and if they can, how, (i.e. labor or family reunification) and with whom (alone or with family). In this sense, a woman’s position in the sending community not only influences her ability to autonomously decide to migrate and to access the resources necessary to do so, but also the opportunity she has to migrate at the point where the decision is being made.

Certain macro-characteristics of the origin area can also influence the gender-specific migration propensities. These characteristics can interact with the gender relations and the position of women in the sending society and affect decisions about who moves and when. These characteristics include the state of the economy (agrarian, industrial), the level of development (i.e. all developed, mixed, agrarian/industrial), the level of displacement caused by economic changes and shifts in production technologies, land tenure laws, labor market conditions and conditions of work (wage levels and benefits); the ability of the national government to provide related infrastructure (education, job training), the geographic location, the supply and demand conditions for the factors of production in sending and related receiving communities etc.

Gender is seen as a core organizing principle that underlies migration and related processes, such as the adaptation to the new destination, continued contact with the origin area and possible return. In feminist theory, gender is seen as a matrix of identities, behaviors and positive relationships that are constructed by the culture of society in accordance with sex. Consequently, this theory has become central to the study of women and labor market in sociology, economics and political economy models. By adding a gender dimension to the existing models, the approach resulted
in evolving a dual system theory, one dealing with the labor market and the other dealing with the position of women in it.

During the same period domestic labor and sexual division of labor emerged as interrelated categories in a conceptual framework for dealing with women’s oppression in the labor market. This framework stipulates that women are exploited by men in the labor market as an extension of their oppression at home. Research into the causes and consequences of occupational segregation, the gender pay gap and the ‘glass ceiling’ have been a significant part of feminist economics. The gender pay gap remains and is shrinking more slowly. Feminist economists like Marilyn Power, Ellen Mutari and Deborah M. Figart (2003) have examined the gender pay gap and found that wage setting procedures are not primarily driven by market forces, but instead by the power of actors, cultural understanding of the value of work and what constitutes a proper living and social gender norms. Consequently, they assert that economic models must take these typically exogenous variables into account.

Gender issues form part of class conflict in the Marxian perspective. The concept of ‘reserve army of labor’ is the result of capitalist development caused by replacement of labor by machines. The disadvantaged position of women in the labor market identifies them with the reserve army of labor; being the most volatile fraction of the labor market, they are increasingly thrown out of development as capitalist development proceeds. The most important development within the Marxian framework is the theory of segmented labor market evolved in the 1970’s. The labor process theory of Braverman (1974) is the most important contribution to the theory of the segmented labor market. According to this theory skills are socially constructed and hence gendered. As capitalist development proceeds and more labor are displaced by machines, a deskilling process ensues. This leads to the creation of a hierarchy of jobs. Since women already have a lower position in the social hierarchy, they get inferior positions in the labor market also. Moreover, since skilled male labor is not willing to take up unskilled work, women are pushed down to the unskilled categories of work.
2.1.4.2 Thadani and Todaro Model for Female Migration

The economic and social determinants of female migration and the factors that may distinguish female from male migration are examined in this model thus questioning the assumptions in existing theories of migration according to which differences between the determinants, consequences and patterns of male and female migration are assumed to be insignificant. A conceptual framework for the analysis of female migration—both autonomous and associational that identifies variables particular to women is proposed. Thus the associational migration of married women, generally assumed to be merely passive, accompanying migration may indeed be induced by economic factors. If the goal or motive of migration is economic betterment and/or status mobility, divergence between the goal attainment strategies of male and autonomous female migrants is immediately apparent: for men, wage-earning employment is the sole avenue to economic betterment and status mobility for women, marriage provides an additional or alternative approach to the same end. Even where female migration is responsive to wage and opportunity differentials in urban areas, it is difficult in cases of family migration to ascertain whether the decision to migrate was based on the incentives for the household head (assuming male head of household) or for women in the household. These difficulties in disentangling the diverse causes of female migration may account for the prevalence of two assumptions; (1) that it is mainly family or marriage migration and thus reflects male migration or (2) that it is a response to perceived rural/urban differentials in opportunities, it is unlikely to differ significantly from male migration.

2.1.4.3. Labor Market Discrimination Model

According to neo-classical theory occupational discrimination in the labor market is an extension of the biological division of labor. Men are assumed to have greater access to specialized skills because of their early entry into the labor market. Segregation of women results from compounding of marginal differences in the skill levels, thus assigning to them non-specialized and unskilled jobs. Using the neo-classical framework, a few hypotheses try to explain labor market discrimination. They are (1) Overcrowding model (2) Human Capital hypothesis (3) Cooperative conflict hypothesis.
The overcrowding model advocated by Millicent Fawcett (1929-1947) argued that women’s wages were low because they overcrowd in unskilled jobs. The human capital hypothesis argued that differences in wages and segregation in work is largely due to differences in the human capital endowment of male and female work reflected in differences in productivity. This theory is based on the assumption that women’s prior commitment to the home and of long hours of work at home, women are usually regarded to be less committed to work outside home and hence are paid less than men.

The new ‘Home Economics’ assumes that the historical division of labor between men and women resulted in creating a comparative advantage for men in market activities and for women in household activities. Sexual division of labor within the household assumes man to be the “breadwinner” and women’s work as secondary or subsidiary. Thus though women are burdened with work outside home, in paid work, they are relegated to unskilled and non-specialized jobs in which experience, skills and efficiency requirements are less and hence payments are also low.

In the cooperative conflict model, families are visualized as centers of conflict and cooperation. The low deal that women have in the sexual division of labor within the household, results in weak outcomes both within the household and at the workplace. Consequently, overcrowding in jobs with low wages and poor working conditions takes place.

2.2 Empirical Studies
2.2.1 Socio-economic Background

Orlansky (1978) focused on an analysis of the social and economic situation of women migrants of the lowest income strata coming to reside and work in urban centers of Latin America. It shows that in most countries of the region there is a preponderance of women among those migrating to the capital city or urban centers. Women migrants comprise a higher percentage of the active female population and this serves as an essential resource base for the present industrial growth of Latin America. A vast majority of women migrants particularly the younger ones from rural
areas, are concentrated in private domestic service. Hence, their wages are low and not subject to regular laws of supply and demand. J P Singh (1980) makes a comparative analysis of patterns of selectivity in rural-urban migration within three Indian states, Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala.

Shah (1984) in her study on the nature of female migrants in Pakistan finds that the same proportion (23%) of males and females in Pakistan had migrated at least once during their lifetime. 29 per cent of all married women in the country had migrated at least once during their lifetime. Considerable migration takes place on account of marriage itself, as shown by a high proportion of married women among migrants compared to non-migrants, 75 per cent and 57 per cent respectively. There is a higher propensity to move among older single women, particularly those aged 45 and above. Some 64 per cent of single women aged 45 and above were migrants compared to only 10 per cent of single women in all age groups. Among single women aged 25 or more, the labor force participation rate was several times higher than among married women. The proportion of migrants was noticeably higher among the divorced women compared to married as well as widowed women-55 per cent of divorced women were migrants compared to 29 per cent of married and 36 per cent of widowed women. Marital status and education seem to be important causes of migration of Pakistani women. The positive relationship between literacy and migration was observed for all marital status categories and for all ages. This relationship was particularly strong for single and divorced women in all migrant groups.

Smith (1984) in the work ‘Migrant women at work in Asia’ has analyzed census data from five Asian countries to study the pattern of labor force participation rates of migrant and non migrant females. Recent migrant women were more likely to be in the labor force than were non-migrants women, whereas participation rates of long term migrants were quite similar to these of non-migrants. Half of all migrant females in Indonesia and more than one-third in Korea, Malaysia and Thailand were employed as service workers with much smaller proportions among non-migrants and long term migrants. A high concentration of recent female migrants was in domestic service. Recent migrant males, unlike the females, were not concentrated in the service sector.
Khoo (1984) examines the female component of migration patterns in Peninsular Malaysia, both past and present. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of female rural to urban migrants - those who migrated during 1965-70 have been studied. A M Singh (1984) identifies the important patterns and characteristics of female rural-to-urban migration. Majority of men and women who migrate move only short distances. The larger the city, the higher the sex ratios in migration streams. Female migrants dominate in the 0-17 age group, while males dominate in the 18-44 age groups. Among these women, those with low level of education are more likely to work. Migrant women have a greater likelihood of being employed than non-migrant women. The percentage of unmarried female migrants is larger in the southern states. In Punjab, Kerala and Tamil Nadu unmarried women are nearly equal to married female migrants.

Shanthi (1991) and Saradamoni (1995) make a perusal of historical trends in migration which clearly reveal male selective migration in 1970s and 1980s, family migration in 1990s and independent female migration from the late 1990s. Women either migrate in groups or with their families responding to the gender-specific labor demand generated by trade liberalization. In her study on ‘Crisis in the fishing industry and women’s’ migration- the case of Kerala’ Saradamoni (1995) focuses on the seasonal labor migration of single girls and women from coastal villages in Kerala. The majority of migrants’ fathers did fishing-related work, many girls had been educated up to plus two level and women are unhappy at leaving home but stress the need to migrate because of responsibilities at home and financial difficulties. The case studies present a mixed picture of the effects of this type of migration on women in terms of emancipation, some are real victims of sexual harassment and exploitation, and others manage to save some money to buy clothes and gold for their wedding.

According to World Migration Report (2008), China had the fastest growing economy in the world and also the highest level of economic inequality. The number of internal migrants has increased dramatically over the past 2 decades from about 26 million in 1988 to 126 million in 2004, a majority of whom are circular rural–urban migrants who retain strong links with their rural family. Around 70 per cent of migrants are aged between 16 and 35 and they generally view migration as an
intermediary period in their life between leaving middle school, and settling down to marry and having children (Murphy 2006).

Banerjee (2009) in a study on ‘Gendered Mobility: Women Migrants and Work in Urban India’ have used the unit level data of the NSS 55th round and have found that migration is emerging as a livelihood option. The study reveals that unmarried women who were in regular salaried jobs were almost twice the number of married women. 50% of the unmarried women migrants were educated up to higher secondary and above level. Moreover, nearly all these women were full-time workers (96%) as compared to married ones (88%). The study by Saha (2009) focuses on Gujarati street traders who have migrated to West Bengal in search of jobs. Unlike other kinds of migrant laborers who usually migrate with their families in search of jobs, the women members of the poor Gujarati families take active part, greater than the male members, yet they remain the invisible components of the workforce. Women are active partners in the trade but they are not to be found in studies based on secondary data or in micro-level case studies about the informal labor force.

The growing social and economic crisis is locking vast sections of women workers into a downward spiral resulting in deepening of gender-based inequality in unemployment. The growth of self-employment among women especially during a period of rural crisis points to the lack of opportunities for other sources of paid employment. Service sector though it contributed a substantial proportion of wage workers, the degree of concentration that is visible in the sector, points to the broad contours of change that is happening in this sector. Unlike in rest of the countries, in India, growth of the service sector has not been substantial to absorb a large proportion of female population (Neetha 2009).

Rustagi (2010) discusses the following issues in her study: A large mass of women remain occupied in the primary sector especially in the rural areas as cultivators and farmers more than agricultural laborers. Women are interestingly shifting into manufacturing as well as services. A majority of these jobs are informal, low-paying and offer no social security benefits, though some of them are actually regularly employed. Female participation rate for women in urban and rural areas has been increasing among in their 30’s it peaks for women in the age group of 35-39 years. However, while the rural women join the labor force at a later age during the
post-reproductive period (between 35-59 years) in the urban areas, the number of younger women (between 20-44 years) seems to be increasing in the labor force. This could be seen as an outcome of the higher educational pursuits and entry at a young age into labor markets among urban girls which also works towards delaying the age at the time of marriage. In urban areas, female work participation rates are higher among ‘never married’ groups in all age cohorts except the 60 plus category. Most of these women are principal workers or rather the proportion of subsidiary workers is relatively higher/more among the married women. Women have gained as service workers more than men especially in urban areas and their share has increased over time. In the case of sales workers categories an increase in number of both males and females has been witnessed over time but increase is higher for males, thereby decreasing the share of females. Young girls are most predominantly visible in mushrooming retail units as salespersons, shop assistants and related workers. Gender segregation and segmentation has been a strong characteristic of the Indian labor market. These gendered stereotypes are not the only jobs that women undertake and some of the educational entrants in the urban labor market are taking up professional occupations as social scientists and researchers, media persons and in IT-enabled service-related jobs such as in call centers and knowledge process outsourcing jobs.

2.2.2. Factors for migration

Jamilah M A (1981) conducted a study concerned with the impact of export-oriented industrialization on Malay female rural – urban migration in Malaysia and thimplications of Malay female labor force participation in factory employment for the female migrants in particular and Malaysian society in general. The study has attempted to analyze the causes for village girls’ migration to urban – based factories in Malaysia in the 1970’s and trace the adaptation process. The findings seem to indicate that the inter play between the Industrialization pattern and the New Economic Policy has acted as a crucial and selective pull factor of migration. The situation of limited job opportunities in the rural sector has acted as an important push factor which compelled rural girls with educational qualifications to seek jobs as factory employees in the urban industrial sector.
Piampiti (1984) in his study on Female Migrants in Bangkok Metropolis’ compares the characteristics of female migrants in Bangkok Metropolis with female non migrants in both areas of origin and destination. The study revealed that majority of women cited money as the principal reason for migration. Family reasons were also important. Women who gave this reason were mainly 25 years old or older. Friends and relatives played an important role especially for the youngest age group, while mass media was a major source of information for migrants of age 20 and above. Female migrants tended to be employed as service workers much more often than non-migrants in the metropolis. Majority of female migrants were young unmarried adults. Work opportunities, working conditions and wages were found mostly satisfactory among female migrants. Migration has enabled women to better themselves economically and socially.

Ariffin (1984) in her case study on ‘Migration of women workers in Peninsular Malaysia: Impact and Implications’ describes the relationship between industrial development in Peninsular Malaysia after 1970 and the massive exodus of young single women from the countryside to the urban industrial centers. It also discusses the impact and implications of this rural to urban migration ted Job opportunities in rural areas constitute the push factor and employment openings in the urban industrial areas constitute the pull factor. The second most frequently quoted reason for migration is the intention to achieve individual freedom.

In the study on “The migration of rural women to Taipei” Huang (1984) examines the process of migration at the community, family and individual levels and considers its causes and consequences for rural women in Taiwan. The decisions on where and how to move, as well as adaptation, are explained by the links of the family or potential migrants to friends or relatives in the city. Motivation for migration is usually economic and the second major reason for moving to Taipei is for education or to learn skills. It is easier for a woman to find work than a man because companies place more restrictions on age for men. Most of the women found their experience in the city rewarding. Attachment to informal groups of colleagues and friends in the city eases the stresses associated with unfamiliar people and places. Although migrant women are not the principal providers, their remittances are important supplements to village households where farming is unprofitable. The out-migration of rural females
can be viewed as transferring unemployment and a surplus labor force from the 
village to the city. Although no insurmountable difficulties have been faced by rural 
females, their experiences in the city have in many ways failed to match their 
expectations.

Kanaiaupuni (1990) in an empirical analysis conducted in 43 Mexican villages 
reveals that there are several mechanisms through which the effects of gender play out 
in the migration process. The effects of education emphasize the importance of 
examining gender differences. Men are negatively selected to migrate but, conversely 
higher education increases migration among women. Her findings also question the 
portrayal of women as associational migrants, disclosing positive migration risks for 
never-married and previously married women. Overall findings of this study support 
the contention that gender must be treated as a theoretical basis of differentiation and 
not simply a control variable in migration analysis. The research suggests that the 
interrelations between gender and migration are a critical backdrop to understanding 
migration behavior and outcomes. Wakabayashi (1990) in the paper on ‘Migrants 
from rural to urban areas in China’ reveals that in China due to economic reforms, 
peasants were given the opportunity and means to take nonagricultural jobs though 
they continued to be registered as peasants. Following the reform, peasant migration 
between industries (from agricultural to non agricultural industries) and between 
regions (from rural areas to towns or medium and large cities) began on a large scale. 
The peasant surplus labor force was freed from bondage to the land after the 
communes were disintegrated to take up business pursuits in urban areas. Chant 
(1992) attempts to explore the causes, nature and consequences of gender-selective 
population movement in a range of developing countries. Particular attention is paid 
to women’s experiences as migrants and/or as members of households from which 
men migrate. Case studies from Latin America, the Caribbean Africa and Asia 
illustrate the diversity of gender-selective migration and also the similarities in 
particular, the constraints of low-income women.

Si Anh et al (1996) in a study ‘Migration and employment in Ho Chi Minh city’ 
find that the proportion of females moving for economic reasons is increasing with 
greater opportunities as household servants, in light manufacturing, sales and services. 
Women migrants work longer hours than men migrants. Men migrants earn more than
women migrants but the difference is decreasing. INSTRAW (2000) in a study of 200 households in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka reveal that social factors such as the need to earn a dowry or escape unhappy family situations were as much a cause of female migration as economic factors. Kabeer N (2000) examines the lives of Bangladeshi garment workers to highlight the question of what constitutes fair competition in international trade. While Bangladesh is considered a poor, conservative Muslim country, with a long tradition of female seclusion, women here have entered factories to take their place as a prominent first generation labor force. At the same time, in Britain’s modern and secular society with its long tradition of female-industrial employment, Bangladeshi women are largely concentrated in home-based piecework for the garment industry.

Huang Y (2001) finds that female migrants are at a disadvantage in the labor market not only because of gender discrimination but also because of their rural identities and outsider status, as defined by the hukou system. They can only get jobs with lower prestige than their male counterparts, such as agricultural work and a few gender stereotyped family urban jobs. Huang in this study finds that the major forces behind rural women’s’ out-migration are identified as reduction in bureaucratic obstacles to migration and the continuing rural-urban divide. Through their active engagement in the urban labor market, female migrants have challenged both the traditionally defined gender roles and the spatial and socio-economic boundaries that have been imposed upon them. Meng (2001) in a study on rural-urban migration examines whether the informal sector plays an important role in economic development. The study uses survey data of 1504 rural-urban migrants in one Chinese city. It distinguishes between the wage-earner and self-employed groups within the informal sector. It is found that the two groups in the informal sector have played different roles in attracting migrants when compared to the formal sector. While the wage-earner group may provide temporary employment opportunities to migrants, the self employed group appears a desirable employment choice. It is also found with regard to income and other benefits that both the wage-earner and the self employed groups in the informal sector are better-off than those who work in the formal sector.

Bah et al (2003) draw on research in six case studies in Mali, Nigeria and Tanzania, and point out that the reason for the great increase in female migration in
Africa in recent years is the availability of employment opportunities as domestic workers in urban centers or in new international tourist resorts. South African internal migration has also become more feminized as a recent study has shown (Posel, 2004).

Ukwatta (2005) in a study on “Improvements in socio-economic status and internal migration of females in Sri Lanka” reveals that women’s labor force participation is more evident in the informal sector. In this sector, women work as casual laborers, agricultural workers and as workers attached to home –based industries. The occupational segregation in the country has resulted in the majority of females being confined to low income, time consuming and labor intensive activities mainly in the service sector, garment industry and formal sector. With modernization and changes in the socio-economic conditions in Sri Lanka, female migrants were attracted to urban areas where textiles and garment industries are located. In Sri Lanka, female migration is heavily influenced by factors such as employment and education. Adepoju (2006) finds that the traditional pattern of migration in sub-Saharan Africa-male dominated, long term and long distance- is rapidly changing as more women migrate. Women in West Africa works mainly in the informal sector, which is less affected by economic recession compared to wage sector, where most male migrants work. As the formal job market becomes tighter, many families are relying on women to earn more money.

Thao Vu (2007) examines gendered migration patterns of men’s and women’s migration on their adaptation to city life. For temporary marginal men migrants, reasons to move are strongly associated with ‘push’ factors rather than ‘pull’ factors. By contrast, women’s decision to move is greatly determined by personal /family issues and situations. Social networks play a key role in men’s and women’s migration. However, men migrants rely more on such close ties as friends and kinsmen, whereas women migrants rely more on distant ties-village ties in their migration process and adaptation into city life as well. The choice of migration destinations was influenced by distance, employment opportunities and connections to social networks. 74 per cent of respondents cited the desire to improve economic status as the most important reason for migration.

According to the World Migration Report (2008), migration is becoming increasingly feminized and this development has been driven by two main factors. On
the one hand, the improved access of females to education and training opportunities has enhanced their employability in the organized labor market but on the other hand, women have also been obliged to seek additional income-generating activities to support the family due to the loss of male employment following structural adjustment programs.

Batten et al. (2009) in a study on “Female and male migration patterns into the urban slums of Nairobi, 1996-2006, Evidence of Feminization of Agriculture” analyzes differences between male and female patterns of migration. There is a trend of feminization of migration with the migratory flow of women catching up with that of men since 1996. This trend appears to be due not only to increased opportunities for family union, but also an increasing proportion of women migrating independently in search of employment and better economic opportunity.

A study of internal migration in India between 1961 and 1991 (Singh 1998) reveals that the number of migrants in 1991 amounted to 230 million of a total population of 838.6 million (27.4%). The primary reason for migration was marriage among females and employment for males. The second most important reason was movement with parents or relatives. Premi (2001) in his paper ‘Who migrates to Delhi’ reveals that Delhi has been receiving population through international and internal migration so much so that in 1991, two-fifths of the city’s population was of lifetime migrants. Five major states have contributed 85% of males and 83% of female migrants into Delhi, U.P, Bihar, Haryana, Rajasthan and Punjab. Some of the major reasons for migration are for employment, business, education and marriage.

Shanthi K (2006) in her study on ‘Female Labor Migration in India: Insights from NSSO data’ examines the extent of employment-oriented migration of females in India and the inter-state variations in its magnitude using NSSO 55th Round Household level data on migration. An analysis of work force participation of female migrants in the age group 15-60 irrespective of the reasons for migration reveals that in the post migration period, work participation of these migrants’ increases steeply in all the states. Though marriage is identified as the reason for migration, they work prior to and after migration which is not brought to the limelight. In the recent past ‘independent migration’ of females is on the increase in response to the employment opportunities in export industries, electronic assembling and garment units. The
percentage of rural-urban migrants varies across states, the prosperous, comparatively urbanized states exhibiting higher percentage of rural–urban migration (Haryana, Maharashtra, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, Punjab and West Bengal have around 19 per cent). The backward states (Bihar, Orissa, U.P, Rajasthan and M. Pradesh) have poor rural–urban migration. Independent migration of females is on the increase in almost all the states in India and it is more pronounced in South India. Even for backward states, the percentage of ‘never married’ is higher for all the three, rural-urban, rural-rural and urban-urban category of migrants. Due to rising cost of living and changing attitudes, the custom of absorbing the widows either by parents or parents-in-law is on the decline. Migration is an escape route from poverty and also provides an opportunity to be free from the shackles of custom and tradition. Women dominate in casual work in rural areas. Despite inter-state variations in the magnitude of work participation, in all the states, though the reason for migration is mentioned as marriage by 90 per cent of migrant women, their economic activity pattern clearly indicates that they have been working prior to marriage and after marriage in the post migration period, the percentage goes up.

Anupama (2008) attempts to analyze the rural–urban migration within the Harris-Todaro framework but with a gender perspective. In Punjab rural to urban migration is greater than that of urban to urban migration. Within states, the inter-district migration is higher than that of the intra-district migration, both for the males and females. But the human capital status of the female is lower than that of the male migrants as the educational and nutritional status of the former is lower than that of the latter. A big majority of females migrate due to marriage and the males migrate to find new and better employment opportunities. Female migrant workers get employment in services (mainly education). As compared to male migrant workers, female migrant workers are more organized. But share of females in total migrant workforce is much lower than that of the males. More migrants move to Surat which is the economic capital of Gujarat. The main cause of male migration is economic in nature while that of female migration is social in nature.

Srinivas et al (2009) examines a few issues concerning the performance of agriculture and unemployment in agricultural sector, state of Indian labor mobility and migration. The study reveals that in the post ninth plan period (2002-07) the states
which face the prospect of increased unemployment are Bihar, Rajasthan, U. P, Kerala and Punjab. The most seriously affected are the unorganized sector workers. Workers are moving from slow growing to rapidly expanding sectors. The worsening economic situation is the frequently cited reason for migration. The study concludes that a planned strategy of rural non-farm sector can prevent rural migration. Gaonkar (2009) in a study on ‘Causes and consequences of female migration in Informal sector’ attempts to have a gender perspective towards the causes and consequences of migration. The study found that most of the female migrants have come to Goa in search of employment from backward taluks and villages of neighboring states like Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Jharkhand. People migrated in search of employment to earn more so that they can improve their standard of living, some had to migrate after marriage and some wanted to be away from the family quarrels. The impact of migration on the respondents is positive. There is a substantial difference between the income earned before and after migration. However, it is observed that the immaturity of the labor market and the inadequacy of state regulation of the urban informal sector together with a deep-rooted urban bias against rural migrants render the young female migrants vulnerable to exploitation and discrimination of all sorts.

Das (K.C, 2010) in his study on “Female migration to the mega cities of India” uses census data at two periods of time, (viz) 1991 and 2001. It is found that most of the migrants to the three cities of India (viz) Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, Hyderabad and Bangalore originate from relatively backward states of India. The volume of male and female migration has increased in all the six mega cities during 1991 and the proportion of female migrants to the total female population has increased in all the cities except Chennai and Hyderabad where it has declined. Majority of female migration in India is due to family reasons like marriage and family. But still a significant proportion of women are migrating for economic reasons like employment, business and education. Most of the female migrants who are moving to cities are either illiterate or semi-literate.

In an analysis on ‘Short Duration Migration in India’ Korra (2011) reveals that we look at the gender perspective, the number of male short- duration migrants in our country is greater than that of female migrants. In urban areas, apparently, there
are more male migrants, but the gap between the number of male and female migrants is less as compared to that in the rural areas. This implies that unlike in rural areas, female migrants in the urban areas are more prone to temporarily migrate for work, employment, earnings and other livelihood purposes.

Ashashwatme (2013) has addressed the following aspects (a) Reasons for migration (b) In- migration, out- migration and net migration levels of all states. (c) State to state migration flows (d) some insights on determinants of internal migration in India. In 2001, out of 309 million persons, 91 million were males and the rest 218 million were females. Among male migrants, 79 per cent moved within the state of enumeration while 21 per cent moved between states. Among females, 90 per cent were intra-state migrants and 10 per cent were interstate migrants. Employment among males and marriage among females are the main reasons for migration. Associational reasons – movement on account of accompanying parents or any other member of the family is elicited the second most important reason among both males and females.

2.2.3 Impact of Migration

Piampiti (1984) in a study of female migration in Thailand have brought to light the fact that women who migrate to urban areas often come with no assurance of employment and consequently enter into employment in the tertiary sector. Unemployment does not seem to be a major problem among single female migrants to Bangkok but women are not necessarily taking jobs that make full use of their capabilities. Low income of migrant women is problem but it may still be higher from what they were accustomed to receiving previously. Migration to urban areas seems to be accompanied by an improvement in living conditions. Women who move to urban areas are not simply moving with their husbands. Economic reasons are important as motives for migration but they do not seem to be putting an excessive strain on the labor markets in urban areas. Although the labor market has proved itself capable of absorbing large numbers of new migrants, these women are often willing to accept low-paying jobs in the service sector and they may consequently have a depressing effect on wages in the cities. Eviota (1984) describes contemporary patterns of female migration in the Philippines and review policy making and planning in the Philippines as they relate to women and particularly to female
migrants. The pattern of educational selectivity is much stronger for women than for men, particularly among women moving from the rural areas to the metropolis. Women in the services category are concentrated in low-pay, subordinate occupations. The professional, clerical and sales categories employed the majority of native urban women who were working (62.2%) but little more than one-third of the working women had come to the urban sector from the rural sector. The service occupations employed only 16.6 per cent of urban-born working women in the urban sector, but they employed fully half the working in- migrants from rural origins. Seven of ten females in the services category are migrants and more than half of these i.e. 39 per cent of the women in the category are young, single and recent migrants.

Hong (1984) in a study on ‘Urban Migrant Women in the Republic of Korea’ examines the characteristics of urban migrant women in Korea and seeks to identify their socio-economic needs. Between 1960 and 1974, the female work participation rate increases from 19 per cent to 30 per cent in urban areas. The biggest increase was among young single women under the age of 25. Beyond the age of 25 female work participation rates drop dramatically for female migrants (from 55% to 17%) but very little for non-migrants. More urban residents are in white-collar occupations whereas there are more blue-collar and service workers among migrants. More than half of female migrants leave their villages to accompany their families whereas 30 per cent of males give this reason. About half of male migrants leave for better economic opportunities, especially employment, while only quarter of women migrate for economic reasons. Women are systematically discriminated against in terms of wages paid at all levels. Even with low salaries, 55 per cent of single women send money home. Inspite of all the problems faced by them, majority of them still want to live in cities. Recent studies indicate that mobility has been affected by economic crisis and structural adjustments. The motives and consequences of migration on women with respect to social status and their roles as daughters, wives and mothers are explored in a field study of female migrants in Beijing (Eklund, 2000). The study concludes that customs regarding marriage and child-bearing in the home villages of the migrants contribute to their wish to leave the countryside. In addition to landing a job, single migrant women often hope to find a partner and thereby the distinction between labor and marital migration is blurred.
Country studies undertaken under the Deagrarianization and Rural Employment Project (DARE) and the Sustainable Livelihoods Access and Mobility (SLAM) project by Bryceson and others (2003) found increased mobility resulting from SAPS which, in turn led to occupational diversification and increased travel.

Luo (2005) in a study on the ‘Effects of Rural-Urban migration on female workers’ discusses the effect on female rural workers migration in terms of the transformation of the role of rural women. Rural women’s position within the family is improving as a result of migration. Rural-urban migration is not always a favorable development for rural female workers. Women become victims of gender stratification in labor market migration. Internal migration in the Philippines is a fundamental part of rural livelihood strategies and rural transformation and not only to escape poor areas. (Quisumbing 2005). In a study of internal migration in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, Busso (2006) concludes that population mobility is characterized by urban-urban movements, although in some parts of Brazil, rural –urban migration is still high.

Gagnon et al (2009) in a study look into the plight of labor migrants in urban China by using nationally representative data to determine if and how labor migrants are discriminated in the labor market. While rural migrants may indeed be paid less in urban China, the analysis in this paper shows that this is in fact due to their individual human capital characteristics. However, it is shown that labor migrants are indeed discriminated, not in pay, but in the free choice of sector in which they work. Being barred out of the formal sector, they are in effect denied fair access to health and education.

In Bangladesh migration is an integral part of the livelihood strategies of poor people. A three year study on the livelihoods of the extremely poor in 16 villages by PROSHIKA (2008) –one of the largest NGOs in Bangladesh found that 110 of 294 respondents had migrated. On the whole migration to urban areas has been rising for some time, first to the urban informal sector and more recently to garment manufacturing units. Rural -urban migration accounted for nearly two thirds of out-migration from rural areas.
The optimizing character of peasants on the move in Bihar in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is analyzed, particularly seasonal migration by Yang (1979). Banerjee (1986) tests the empirical validity of the assumptions on which the probabilistic theory migration are founded. The Delhi experience does not fit the migration process postulated in the probabilistic models. Trends in internal migration in India are analyzed with special reference to Bengal Chattopadhyaya (1987).

In the study by Oberai et al (1989) carried out in three states, Bihar Kerala and U.P, some of the positive benefits of migration have been conclusively established. It has been concluded that rural to urban migration is often a desperate survival strategy. The process of migration also generates benefits to the other areas of origin and destination. Informal job networks play an important role for the rural migrants than other job search strategies in terms of job seekers placement in the urban informal sector labor market. The study found that 63 per cent of them migrated to urban informal sector labor market. Educated migrants take longer time looking for white-collar jobs in the urban labor market. The focus is on the adaptations migrants make in their own lives, in their own communities of origin and destination.

Mitra (1992) examines the issue of urban tertiary sector employment increasing mainly in response to labor supply increase result in from rural-urban migration. Taking information from class I cities of India from population census, the author suggests that large inflows of migrant labor from the rural areas are found to be residentially absorbed in low productivity trade, transport and services. A study of internal migration in India between 1961 and 1991 (Singh 1998) reveals that the number of migrants in 1991 amounted to 230 million of a total population of 838.6 million (27.4%). The primary reason for migration was marriage among females and employment for males. The second most important reason was movement with parents or relatives. Joe et al (2009) deals with migration decisions to urban areas that are backed by economic rationale and attempts to understand gains accruing to individuals from migration in terms of poverty outcomes. The analysis is based on the 55th round survey data on Employment and Unemployment Survey, 1999-2000 provided by NSSO. Low income states were major receivers. These low income states are characterized by intra-state migration indicating that migration is linked with disparity in regional development. The net gains from migration depend not only on
the choice of appropriate destination but also on attitudes of the migrants. A longer duration of migration helps in elevating the economic status of the migrants as they can escape poverty by seeking alternatives including (investments in or considerable work experience) with better job search.

Viswanathan (2005) in her study, ‘Trade liberalization, Internal female migration and well being in India’ tries to link gender, poverty and migration through an analysis of a large scale sample survey data of the NSSO for the states of India. The aim was to compare the changes in the pattern of migration for the late 1990s with the early 1990s to see the impact of reforms on migration of women. An empirical analysis on rural-urban migration of labor from an agricultural economy in the Harris –Todaro model framework (Mariappan 2009) reveals that migrant laborers work in highly insecure and deplorable conditions in the city. They do not enjoy norms of decent work as suggested by ILO. Though internal migration helps the enterprising and risk bearing labor to some extent to earn livelihood in a metropolitan city like Mumbai, the migrant youth face a serious trade-off between unemployment and poverty prevailing in their native villages and low income jobs available in distant metro cities like Mumbai Heggade et al (2009). Singh (2009) found that rural-urban migration rates of workers estimated on the basis of last residence elsewhere in India was found much higher than that were in case of rural-urban migration within the district.

Srivastava (2014) looks at the impact of migration and describes the link between the pattern of observed labor migration and the pattern of growth and accumulation in India using the macro-survey carried out by the NSSO in 2007-2008. The researcher also argues that since labour migration involves the most vulnerable and unorganized segments of labor, there have been no attempt by the state to formulate a policy for internal labor migration.

An analysis and description of the impact of the rural economy, inter-district and inter-provincial migration in the second half of the nineteenth century to 1931 is made.

Labor migration, though closely related with the process of economic development in India, there are very complex push and pull factors that determine the
duration of migrated workforce and its dependence. During the last decade (1991-2001), the numbers of migrants in India (excluding Jammu and Kashmir) rose by 32.9% in comparison to India’s population which recorded a growth of 21.5% during decade. As per 2001 census, Maharashtra emerges the most favored destination for migration with 2.3 million net migration followed by Delhi (1.7m), Gujarat (0.68m) and Haryana (0.67m). The two states with the largest number of net out – migrants are UP (-2.6m) and Bihar (-1.7m).

Singh J P (1980) in his study ‘Patterns of Rural-urban migration in India’ makes a comparative analysis of patterns of selectivity in rural to urban migration within three Indian states- Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala. The rationale for concentrating on these 3 states is to show how regional level diversities in socio-cultural patterns and economic development as well as in demographic conditions account for the differing patterns of migration selectivity. It is suggested that as regional variations exercise a profound influence on the migratory behavior of a population, it is hard to evolve a universally applicable differential of migration. Singh A.M (1984) in her study on ‘Rural –to-urban migration of Women in India’ identifies the important patterns and characteristics of female rural-to-urban migration. Rural based work opportunities for women are apparently increasing in some areas, particularly those involving seasonal rather than permanent migration. Some states that evince unusually high sex ratios in their migration streams to urban areas have large scale participation of women in seasonal intra-state as well as inter-state rural migrant labor. These states include West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and U.P. This suggests that rural-to-urban migration of women is not an isolated phenomenon and needs to be explored with reference to counter balancing trends and opportunities in rural areas. Female rural-to-urban migration in India, as indicated by aggregate data, is affected by distance and by city size. Majority of men and women who migrate move only short distances. The larger the city, the higher the sex ratios in migration streams. For migrants, a much larger proportion of females than males fall in the 0-17 age group, whereas the proportion of males in the 18-44 age groups far exceeds that of females. The proportion of migrants, both male and females in the economically productive years (18 to 44) nonetheless exceeds that of the urban population as a whole. There is little evidence of a link between education and employment among male migrants, but among female migrants, the relationship
appears to be negative—that is, those with the least education are the most likely to take up work. As a group, migrants are less literate and less educated than the non-migrant population. Migrant women are not only more likely to be employed than non-migrant women; they find work largely in the informal sector in the lowest status, most arduous and lowest paid jobs available. At the aggregate level, the percentage of unmarried female migrants to both rural and urban destinations is also larger in the south than in the north, though these regional differences are less marked than that of widowed and divorced women. In Punjab, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, unmarried women are nearly equal to married female migrants in recent migration to rural destinations, and in Kerala, they surpass married women among those moving to urban areas.

### 2.2.4 Problems of Women Migrants

The changes in migrant behavior in the 1980’s in Mexico have been studied by Donato (1998). Results of the study suggest that recent female migration reflects access to the productive resources in Mexican society and a process of family migration whereby women migrate after their husbands and fathers. In Bihar, women migrant workers are engaged in low-status and low paid jobs in the unorganized sector. Their wages and earnings are lower than males doing the same job (Roy, 1990).

Evidence of feminization and marginalization can be seen in the revelations of the NSS 55th round (Neetha 2004). The results of this round do raise considerable confusion on the thesis of feminization. Following are the results: There is a declining trend as far as work participation of women is concerned and indications of a near stagnation in the number of female workers and an absolute reduction in the number of rural women workers. The decrease in female workers is offset by increase in urban female workers. In the thesis of feminization developed in the backdrop of experiences of developed and South Asian countries, female labor lies at the centre of the transformation of the economy from primary to secondary and tertiary sectors. In newly industrialized countries increasing large number of women have found work in the informal manufacturing sector, mostly in the poorly paid labor-intensive industries such as textiles, garments making and electronics, especially young, docile female workers in the age category of 15-25. The thesis of feminization is countered
by the advocates of marginalization hypothesis. Marginalization can occur in two ways. Firstly it can happen when there exists trends of exclusion of women from productive employment either as a decrease in overall work participation rates of women or a decrease in share of paid employment. Analysis shows that there are no visible signs of feminization in the results of the 55th round of NSS. An unexpected trend is the decrease in the participation of women by subsidiary status combined with a decrease by principal status. Unemployment and underemployment rate are also on the increase for female workers which points to lack of opportunities for female labor force. The sectoral distribution shows a stagnant and highly segregated picture with women concentrated mainly in the primary sector as against other liberalized economies. The distribution of female workers across status of employment shows a substantial decrease in the proportion of casual workers in urban areas. The population of regular wage salary workers has increased both in urban and rural areas. The low level of education and skill combined with the social attitude towards women’s employment has led to the marginalization of women, the signs of which are reflected in the results of NSS 55th round.

In a globalised economy where cost effectiveness is the prime mover of any business, cheap labor along with flexibility of employment easily matches with women labor force. This has resulted in widespread feminization of the labor force throughout the globe. When the demand side (for labor force) economics of these trends of feminization finds its justification in low unit labor cost and flexible labor force, the supply side finds answers in low employment (or employability) rate, under privatization wave, patriarchal system and attached family responsibilities. The statement that women are paid low wages as compared to their male counterparts can either mean that women themselves are less productive or that they are employed in less productive areas/less secure jobs /part-time, unpaid or casual jobs where their bargaining strength is very low. The average productivity is the lowest in female-dominated occupations, there should be an emphasis on skill-enhancing programs for women workers so that gender segregation can be decreased (Anupama 2008).

Mukherjee (2009) attempts to explore the gender bias in the new economy in India and examines whether and to what extent the wage differential is due to varying endowments or due to gender discrimination. According to the researcher, women
workers in the New Economy can be broadly categorized into three groups: The first group comprises those who are engaged in activity groups where there appears to be a trade-off between the wage situation and the employment situation of women. These women are either earning wages at par with men at the cost of their increased share in total employment or enjoying increasing share in employment at the cost of substantially lower wages vis-a-vis men. Thus the argument that in most of the sectors women are employed because they are available at a much lower wage rate compared to men is still valid. The second group includes those who are working in the established sectors where women enjoy a stable position both in terms of wages and employment (for eg) health and education. These sectors require interpersonal care and human interface and hence prefer women for their inherent qualities in handling such activities. Though there is no entry barrier here, a substantial mismatch occurs between the endowment levels and the wages earned by women and the gap is found increasing over time. The third category consists of those who are working in the sunrise sectors of the new economy (for eg) air transport, computer-related activities where women are doing well both in terms of increasing share in employment and equal wages as compared to men. These sectors require soft skills and therefore readily accept women leading to absence of entry barrier but they form only a small part of the labor market.

Goyal et al (2009) arrived at the following findings in their study of women workers in the organized retail sector in Ludhiana. Modern retailing has opened up employment opportunities for women who are considered to be more suitable for certain jobs in the retail industry. Women employees are the preferred choice in certain product categories like food and grocery, cosmetics, kids wear, jewelry, home décor and apparels. Very few older women are found to be employed in this sector. Most of the girls here are unmarried and are educated up to 10 Plus Two level. In most of the cases the male head of the family is not found to be working under these circumstances, the earnings of the respondent become the mainstay. A common factor underlying migration of women was the poverty of the family in the original place of residence. Joseph K.V (2000) in his book reveals that migration was essentially a male phenomenon for countries in the past. Males formed 53.7 per cent of migrants against 46.3 per cent in case of females for the country as a whole. In Kerala, male migrants formed 64.88 per cent of total migrants.
2.3 Summary

Massive rural–urban migration is a common phenomenon in the developing countries of the world. It is very closely associated with the process of economic development. Migration of labor from rural to urban areas has been identified as a major contributing factor to the problems of urban surplus labor. Rural-Urban migration is both a symptom of changes in the productive structures and a contributing factor to such changes. The studies on rural-urban migration in developing countries show that the rates of rural-urban migration continue to exceed the rates of urban industrial employment opportunities. Rural-urban migration is emerging as a dominant form of migration among poorer groups in India. Rates of such migration are high in remote rural areas, particularly among chronically poor people. Increase in rural-urban migration is directly associated with the shift in the development paradigm in India and the move towards globalizing trends.

From the literature review it is clear that large number of studies are available on migration whether internal, external or rural-urban migration. The studies conclude that the most important reason for migration is the desire to improve their economic position. Limited job opportunities in the rural area constitute the push factor and employment opportunities in urban areas constitute the pull factor. Independent migration of females is on the increase and is an escape route from poverty. As a group, migrants are less educated than the non-migrant population. The percentage of unmarried females is larger in south India compared to the north. Women migrate for long and short periods over short and long distances. Migration to urban areas seems to be accompanied by an improvement in living conditions. Rural women’s position within the family is improving after migration.

Research provides preliminary evidence of the steadily expanding stream of female migration, both the associational migration of wives accompanying migrant spouses and the autonomous migration of unattached women. Females now predominate in the migration streams through Latin America and parts of Asia. They also represent a growing proportion of internal migrants in Africa. In India, males outnumber females in most migration streams. This is true of Kerala migration also. Census data, which are more comprehensive in analyzing gender issues in inter-state
migration, support the conclusion that there is an excess of males among internal migrants in Kerala. However, the trends are undisputedly in favor of women.

In Kerala, migration is affecting every facet of life-economic, social, demographic political and even religious. Though there are a number of localized studies measuring the extent of emigration and its impact, there are very few studies available on the causes and nature of female rural-urban migration and the economic and social consequences of the same. The present study is an attempt to analyze female rural-urban migration to Kochi city, focusing on employees in the trade and commerce sector.