



Internal Migration in India and Its Implications: A Gender Perspective

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Abstract: Migration has become an important research aspect in transition country India. People migrate for economic reasons now more than ever. Females often migrate with their households, a recent trend shows that they also move independently in search of livelihoods and employment in India. Pattern of migration is changing, so it's spatial manifestation. In terms of streams of migration, females now move more to urban areas than ever before. There seems a reciprocal relation between women empowerment and changes in migration in contemporary context. The present paper is an attempt to study and analyse gender dimension in internal migration and spatial variations across the states in the country. The study offers an analysis of changing nature of internal migration in a comparative perspective largely based on the Census of India reports. A change in reasons of mobility of population and particularly of females also has wider implications on issue of women empowerment and in transformation of social landscape of the country.

Keywords: Internal migration, female migration, urban areas, women empowerment, social change

1. INTRODUCTION

Human population and its dynamics are influenced by multiple factors and components of change. In India, although there has been a considerable drop in the birth rate, a much more rapid decline in the death rate accounted for the rise in the country's rate of population growth. Along with the two components of population change namely fertility and mortality, migration plays an important role in population dynamics of a region. So as in India one of the most important aspects of social research remains human migration in relation to the changes in demography, economy and urbanization. The United Nations Multilingual Demographic Dictionary notes that "migration is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival" (1958). It is movement of people from one geographical area to other with permanent and semi-permanent change of residence. Among all, a stream of migration is one of the significant elements in the population and its composition in a region. Combined effects of economic, cultural and technological factors play an important part in migration and in its spatial pattern. In the words of Zelinsky, migration is a cultural phenomenon and a dynamic element, probably more than fertility and mortality, in population. Migration is a result of over-all design of a society within which economic, social, demographic and other types of behaviour are enfolded (see, 1966: 43-44). A study of migration help in better understand population and its constituent components.

Chaudhuri noted that "[M]igration plays a very crucial role in the process of urbanization. The role of migration in the context of social changes and economic development has been noted by a number of scholars who have observed that large scale migration, whether between nations or among different social and ecological zones of single nation has played an important role in social change" (2007:1). Migration process has become an emerging issue in the 'Third World' countries like India where people generally move for economic reasons followed by the others. The developed part of the world witnessed that, people move from small and less important urban centers to medium and bigger cities for a better life and livelihoods (see, Carr 1987:27). In these developed the major components and

indicators of development and people's life style is in advantageous position than the rest of the developing countries. Carr noted that "today most attention in developed countries seems to be centred on problems of rural depopulation from peripheral regions and the decentralization or counter urbanization flows from the congested and decaying inner areas of the larger cities to the outer suburbs and nearby rural areas"(Ibid: 27).

Migration in general and to urban areas in particular has emerged as one of the challenging issues in India. Though migration issue is a concern for all *Third World* countries, India is important among them since it is a major source of international migration. Interestingly, country is the top source of international migrants, with one-in-twenty migrants worldwide born in India (see, *World Migration Report* 2015).

Migration is not a new phenomenon. It has been there in the pre-industrial period and thereafter. Historically, migration may have been forced, as in the case of slavery, or related to colonization or for selling their agricultural product. However, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was the extensive industrialization and urbanization in developing countries that gave rise to huge waves of internal and international migration (see, Bhatt, 2009: 87). Both processes of internal and international migration are caused by a blend of economic, political and technological changes of the time. In the middle of 1970s, while observing changing nature of urban growth and increase in cities, Sivaramakrishnan stated that "the brunt of this urbanization will be on the developing countries. In fact, urban growth is several times faster in developing countries- the average annual rate of increase being 4.5 percent urban as against 1.2 percent rural growth for the period 1940-60" (1978: 2). There are reports which state that over the past 40 years, global population has almost doubled. As a result, the size of rural areas, towns, and especially cities has also grown. Today, cities are home to almost half of the global population and this share is projected to reach 55% by 2050 (see, *OECD Urban Studies- Cities in the World: 2020*).

The International Organization for Migration's World Migration Report 2020 states that number of international migrants globally reached at 272 million by 2019 (i.e. 3.5 percent of the world's population). There are about 52 percent of international migrants as male and 48 percent female. About 74 percent of all international migrants are of working age (20-64 years). Report also stated that India continued to be the largest country of origin of international migrants. India had the largest number of migrants living abroad (17.5 million) followed by Mexico and China. It is worthwhile to note from the said report that "it would appear that there has been a deepening of existing patterns of migration as opportunities brought about by economic growth and reform, trade liberalization and long-term stability have been further realized" (*World Migration Report, 2020: 5*). Interesting fact is that Asia- home to around 4.6 billion people- was the origin of over 40 percent of the world's international migrants in 2019 (i.e. 111 million). More than half (66 million) were residing in other countries in Asia. Within this larger global and regional context, nature, trend, and pattern of migration with a focus on gender dimension within country India emerges a crucial research issue.

Agarwal et al. stated that now "Females feature prominently in internal migration streams in India. But their experiences tend to be neglected and sidelined in the research literature, which overwhelmingly focuses on male migration. More than 75% of all migrants in India are women. Marriage is the predominant underlying reason because in patriarchal Indian society women generally move from their natal households to join the in-laws household after marriage" (2016: 9). Earlier studies remained concerned with only the male migrants or migration process perceived as male dominated and women were neglected in such researches. Females were largely passive movers, or they migrated only for marriage or they followed to their family and moved with their husbands. The women migrants in urban areas were treated as wives of migrants rather than migrants themselves (see, Rayaprol, 1997). Further, most studies of migration have focused on male migrants as heads of households (see, Khoo et al.) by assuming that females frequently migrate only as part of families and therefore the causes and consequences of their migration are those of their spouses and families. Thus, the common understanding emerged that women were not directly involved in process of migration and were treated as follow movers. Chaudhuri made it clear by stating that "During British rule in India, the process of internal migration particularly inter-regional migration, intensified considerably" (Op. Cit.: 24). It was the mid-19th century where females were taken into research arena.

The feminization of migration is known as process indicating improving status of women and it is due to developmental level and the experiencing empowerment feeling (see, Mohapatra, 2013:70). Studied showed that like male migration, female migration also contributes directly to the wellbeing of their family (see, Afsar, 1994). After knowing the contribution of women towards growth and

development of nation there were various types of movements and reforms conducted by social reforms. Different types of campaigns meant for the direct involvement of women in movement. From there on the women also started thinking about their position and the notion of ‘passive movers’ sifted to *active movers*. Recently, studies of migration in Asian countries have reported indications of increasing numbers of young women joining the migrant flow to the cities, many of them going on their own to find work in the service; manufacturing and informal sectors. Today, more people than ever live in a country other than the one in which they were born. In 2019, the number of migrants globally reached an estimated 272 million, 51 million more than in 2010. International migrants comprise 3.5 per cent of the global population. Compared to 2.8 per cent in 2000 and 2.3 per cent in 1980, the proportion of international migrants in the world population has also risen. In the post-economic reforms period (i.e. post-1991) the rising curve of female share in migration has become an important aspect to look at its spatial and social pattern in India. The present study tries to assess and analyse the nature of migration in India and across states with special focus on females and their share in the overall phenomenon. Within India migration from relatively impoverished regions to areas, especially cities, offering some promise of economic betterment has been largely responsible for the differential growth rates from one state or region to other. Thus, looking at nature of migration in India has always been an interesting area of research.

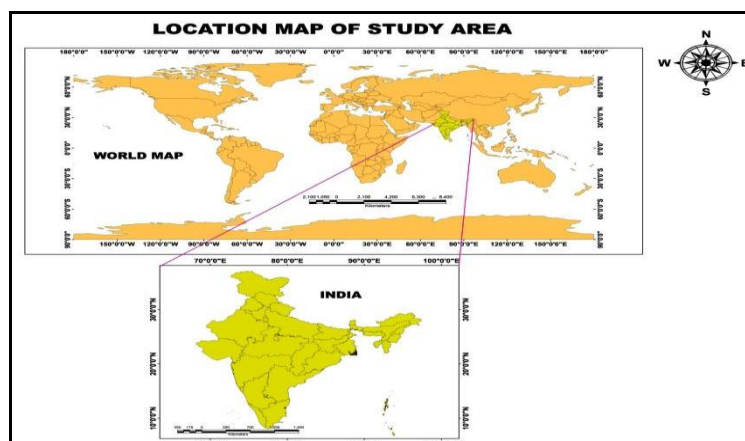
The major objectives of the paper are: i) To study and analyze nature and share of male and female migration in India and across the states; ii) To study stream wise gender differences in migration pattern and its interrelations in the country; and iii) To analyse comparatively major features of reasons of internal migration in the country; and v) To explore possible implications of increasing share of female in internal migration for women empowerment and social change.

2. METHODOLOGY

The present study is descriptive-cum explanatory in its nature. This offers a comparative perspective largely covering past three decades data. This study is based on secondary sources of data retrieved from sources such as Census of India 2001 and 2011; the United Nations, Population Division, 2019; National Sample Survey 49th, 55th & 64th Rounds Surveys; Report of the Working Group on Migration, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2017; and National Family Health Survey Reports (1-4). To analyse data simple descriptive statistical methods have been used in the study and their presentation include bar graphs, pie charts and tables. Few important maps are prepared by using Arc GIS technique.

3. STUDY AREA

The present study provides a perspective on internal migration in India. The total geographical area of the country is 32,87,263 sq.km. locational extension is from 8° 4' North to 37° 6' North and longitude from 68° 7' East to 97° 25' East. In demographic scene, India is the second most populous country after China which supposed to surpass china in 2027 as per united nation's projection. Country had twenty-nine States and seven Union Territories in 2011. According to 2011 census the total population was 121.02 Crore which 17.31 percent of world's total population. Of the total, 623.7 million were males and about 586.5 million females respectively. The migration rate is 37.64 percent which comprises 23.45 percent males and 52.70 percent females respectively. More than half the population is under 30 years of age and less than one-fourth is of age 45 in the country.



Source: Compiled by the Author

4. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Lansink (2009) pointed out that migration impacts positively on human development, not only through increased household income, but also by improving access to education, health services and empowering women. The entire migration process is gendered and gender inequality does not only impact on the propensity to migrate, but affect the sector of the economy and the type of employment provided to migrant women - often in domestic and care work. Banerjee and Raju's (2009) study mentioned that unmarried women engaged in regular salaried jobs were almost twice to the number of married women whereas marriage was not a constraining factor for men. Ghosh (2009) has pointed that migrant women not only experience many challenges but also find awakened or renewed self-confidence in taking up these challenges and in resisting their identity as subordinate subjects. In consequence, there is growing evidence of collective action and mobilization among migrant women in different parts of the world, suggesting that their empowerment has come from a combination of external impetus and internal transformation. Banerjee (2011) has stated that while economic factors are important for migration decisions to men, socio-cultural factors shape the migration pattern of women, particularly in the Indian context. The migration process for women depends on the spaces available at destination. Apart from these factors, educational attainments, marital status and caste/class locations have an important bearing on women's mobility.

Sharma (2011) has pointed out that on one hand migration process empower the women by moving away from societies with traditional and patriarchal forms of authority allowing women to work, to earn their own money and to practice greater decision-making power in their daily lives. When they migrate they may learn new skills and enjoy high socio-economic position when they return to their origin country. On the other hand inequality in gender relation also exists in its earlier form like mostly they are engaged in domestic activities, entertainment sectors, engaged in care taker work and low paid job compared to male migrants and they are vulnerable to exploitation and social isolation and discrimination in labor market. Mahapatro (2013) has mentioned that since, migration is a function of the household decision making process, the relative status of females within the household has a significant role on it. Women's empowerment acts as an important predictor of female migration and she clarified that now women are not passive movers, rather they are also actively involved in migration process for employment, education, business etc. Study reveals that over time, improvements in the socio-economic and cultural spheres of human society enhance the status of women within the household and hence, influence gender relations. These changes empower women to take strategic decisions in respect of various household matters including migration. Bhagat's study (2017) has pointed that migration to cities has resulted in increased disempowerment and vulnerability for women migrants not only in public places but also in private sectors like the home and in some cases; women are affected more than men migrants in their access to housing, water and sanitation. Women migrants face various types of discrimination, barriers and exclusions in destination place. The cities fail to maintain the gender equality because the patriarchal norms are transplanted to urban areas from rural areas through migration. This review indicates to analyse the contributory factors and variables of women empowerment process in a more systematic and critical perspective. This study is an attempt to offer insights on gender dimension of internal migration in India.

5. CHANGING NATURE OF MIGRATION

An assessment of trends in migration at the world level shows that traditionally it is associated with an unbalanced utilization of resources and land which ultimately leads to unbalanced distribution of population. People often moved from underprivileged regions to well off regions or societies in search of livelihood and may be under prevailing economic and political conditions as has been seen in the historical past. The present scenario is also crucial to look into migration phenomenon since societies are governed by rule of law and economic systems are in place. This presumably provides opportunities to citizens of any gender. However, the position and place of males and females in society is not uniform across the world. Transformations are basic impacts of migration brought about by population movement. The phenomenon of migration is at centre of the major challenges of the twenty-first century. The holding of the World Summit in 'international migration and development' in New York in 2006 could mark a decisive turning point in the integration of migration into development strategies, policies and programmes. Economies are changing and so are changing the movements of people.

The given Table 1 shows that among all geographical regions, Europe and Asia added more to the share of international migrants to world total than other regions. By 2019, Asia with 30.76 percent of international migrants is followed by Europe (30.30 percent) and North America (21.59 percent). However, there has been a significant share of females to the overall in such continents; the trend has slightly declined in a past decade and half. In a nutshell, the migration has been higher in these regions. The total number of migrants in Asia has remained close to 30 percent from 1990 to 2019. In case of share of female migration to world total female migrants, the Europe accounts 32.50 percent which is followed by Asia with 26.66 percent and North America with 23.33 percent. Their share is less in Oceania, Latin America and Africa. A slight decrease in share of international female migrants particularly in Europe and Asia over period of time, may be explained in terms of increasing trend of internal female migration with country from one part to other. North America and Oceania depicts a rising trend in share of international migrants including both overall and female migrants. Africa and Latin America did not show much improvement.

Table1. *Percentage Share of International Migrants by Geographic Regions of World*

Major Geographic Regions	1990		2000		2010		2019	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Africa	10.25	9.83	8.67	8.25	8.06	7.74	9.77	9.58
Asia	31.51	29.80	28.45	26.65	29.87	26.35	30.76	26.66
Europe	32.42	33.83	32.75	34.31	32.01	34.26	30.30	32.50
Latin America	4.68	4.74	3.79	3.85	3.74	3.89	4.30	4.48
Northern America	18.04	18.73	23.25	23.81	23.09	24.39	21.59	23.33
Oceania	3.09	3.07	3.09	3.14	3.23	3.36	3.29	3.46

Source: United Nations, Population Division, 2019

Since present study aims at critically analyzing gender in migration, the Table 2 depicts a profile of international migrants. The share of international female migration to their total female population in different geographical regions has shown signs of a shift, and it reveals that the share is more in Oceania, North America and Europe over period of time where most of the developed countries are situated indicating higher status of women. By 2019 the highest share of international female migrants is found in Oceania which is followed by North America and Europe. The low share is found in less developed part of the world like Africa, Latin America and Asia. The least share is marked in Asia over period of time with only 1.54 percent to its total female population migrating from one country to other country showing the gender aspect in migration but the share has increased from 1990 (1.42 percent) to 2019 (1.54 percent) also depicting the picture of improvement in status of women in Asian countries with socio-cultural development of society. This shift has its effects in internal structure of migration within larger regions such as South Asia.

Table2. *Percentage Share of International Female Migrants to Total Female Population*

Major Geographic Regions	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2019
Africa	2.35	2.15	1.73	1.59	1.59	1.85	1.90
Asia	1.42	1.26	1.25	1.24	1.37	1.50	1.54
Europe	6.82	7.32	7.81	8.68	9.58	10.15	10.94
Latin America	1.60	1.37	1.25	1.29	1.39	1.49	1.77
Northern America	9.90	11.32	12.85	13.77	14.99	15.88	16.40
Oceania	16.99	16.92	17.11	18.04	19.52	20.42	21.40

Source: United Nations, Population Division, 2019

The percentage share of female migrants to international migration stock in South Asia is shown by Table 3. This provides a comparative scene of the phenomenon across the region. In the countries of South Asian region, the percentage share of females has gradually increased from 1990 to 2019. Initially, a higher share of females is found in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. India has occupied first rank in share of female migrants up to 2010 after that Afghanistan take the position which adds more female migrants to Asian migration. In all countries the share of female migrants is nearly 50 percent. This increase may be explained in terms of movement now more for economic reasons. The countries like Iran and Sri Lanka have also registered a phenomenal increase over the period since 1990s.

Table3. *Percentage Share of Female Migrants to International Migration Stock in South Asia*

Countries	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2019
Afghanistan	43.56	45.32	43.56	43.56	43.56	49.32	49.94
Bangladesh	46.00	46.08	46.16	46.75	47.19	47.14	48.56
India	47.76	48.09	48.47	48.58	48.72	48.78	48.78
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	42.76	41.93	40.71	45.10	43.09	46.99	46.99
Pakistan	47.42	46.82	46.20	46.12	47.37	47.37	47.37
Sri Lanka	43.64	44.45	45.25	46.07	46.88	47.75	47.75

Source: United Nations, Population Division, 2019

6. POPULATION AND MIGRATION SCENE OF INDIA

Of the total population, the state-wise population distribution as per Census 2011 indicates that Uttar Pradesh continues to be the most populous state with about 200 million people. State of Maharashtra and Bihar have made the transition to more than 100 million population category. Twenty states and the Union Territories now have a population of over ten million. As per the UN estimates, the world population grew at annual rate of 1.23 percent during 2000-2010 with developing countries like India registering a higher growth rate. Decadal growth of in case of India was 17.7 percent compared to 21.5 percent in the previous decade, a slight decline however. India, at present, is at stage three of the four stage model of demographic transition from stable population with high mortality and fertility to stable population with low mortality and fertility. Population decadal growth rate of population has been declining since 1971-81 at India level. However, a significant fall in case of Empowered Action Group (EAG) states: Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Odisha) has been noticed for the first time during 2001-11 Census (see, Gavsker, 2020). Among EAG states, best performance was seen in case of Odisha followed by Uttarakhand with growth rate in Odisha falling below national average during 2001-11, even though steepest decline was observed in case of Rajasthan followed by Uttar Pradesh. Of the non-EAG states, Tamil Nadu and Puducherry have shown increase in growth rate during the same period compared to previous decade. Of the more populous non-EAG states, growth rates of Gujarat, Haryana and Delhi had higher growth rate than the national average.

Migration is a function of economic, social, and political factors. Economic factors are more important in contemporary times. As per the Census 2011, India has 453 million migrants (i.e. 37 percent of the population) compared to 307 million migrants (i.e. 30 percent of the population) in the previous decade of 1991-2001. Between 2001 and 2011, while population grew by about 18 percent, the number of migrants increased by 45 percent. In 2011, the inter-state movement accounted for almost 88 percent of all internal migration (396 million persons). There is also a variation across states in terms of inter-state migration flows. Census 2011 reflected that there were 5.4 crore inter-state migrants. Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have been the largest source of inter-state migrants while Maharashtra and Delhi were the largest receiver states. An increasing trend is also taking place in phenomenon known as ‘feminization of migration’. Thus, number of migrants has increased over the period of time and a considerable of number of females as well in the process for various others reasons than marriage related.

Despite the feminization of migration, there are found disparities and gender inequalities in every sector of the world over. In India there is gender difference prevailing in migration process where long distance migration is dominated by male and short distance by female and rural to urban streams of migration is pre-dominated by male migrants but rural to rural stream is dominated by female migrants. A share of male migrants is more in case of major reasons of migration like employment, business, education etc. where the share of female migrants is very less. One of the most well-known “laws” of migration by Ravenstien propounded in late 19th century held that “ there is predominance of female among short- distance migrants” which points at gender dimension in process of migration (see, Ravenstein,1885). Chaudhuri stated that “In the process of industrialization and urbanization of developing nation like India, the inter-regional migration has important contributions. It may serve to some extent, the development needs of the nation by ensuring the use of human resources to the best advantage” (Op. Cit.:23)

India witnesses the fact that female migration has become important subject of discussion, as the pace is rapidly changing. Females are truly found to be more migratory than males in India in different

state as whole and in different levels. The basic cause behind this situation is marriage more than any other causes. As per 2011 census data the share of male migrants is 23.45 percent whereas female migrants is 52.70 percent which was recorded 17.54 percent and 44.55 percent for male and female respectively in 2001. Here female migrants are outnumbered to male migrants the difference is 30.60 percent. Interesting point to be made here is that share of female migrants in rural- urban and urban-urban sector has considerably increased during 2001-2011, whereas the share of male migrants shows a slight decline. This pattern in the era of globalizing India is very important to understand the nature of urbanization-migration relationship. It is equally significant to make sense of state- level pattern of migration to seek what it means to say *feminization of migration* and how it is related to women empowerment. Tiwari noted (2005) that “[R]ural workforce, after migration initially gets absorbed in the traditional informal sector but overtime, after having acquired enough experience and skills, they get entry into the urban industrial sector. Therefore, it is the two stage phenomena which give a complete explanation for labour absorption taking into account both demand as well as supply side aspects of the employment problems” (201). However, the very urban economy and industrial sector itself has shown signs of tremendous transformation in the recent pasts. This has played a significant part in female movement to urban areas for employment livelihoods and better income opportunities. Social analysis has much to offer in migration but important data is missing. There are inequalities in this scenario, as 16 percent of the total intra-state migrants in Indian belong to the scheduled castes and 8 percent of the scheduled tribes, almost equal to their share in the total population as per data from Census 2011(see, Singh and Rawat, 2020)

In the post-economic reforms, a round of National Sample Surveys (NSS) related to migration has been carried out and they offer more to proper analysis of the internal migration in India, NSS follows UPR (Usual Place of Residence) criterion. If the UPR where the person had stayed continuously for a period of 5 months or more it is different from the place of enumeration, then the person is considered as migrants on place of enumeration. Table 5 shows a gender composition of internal migration in the post-economic reforms India. This indicates to rising curve of female share in overall and more in urban than rural.

Table5. *Internal Migration in India: Gender and Residence*

NSS Survey Rounds	Total (Percentage)			Rural (Percentage)			Urban (Percentage)		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
49 th round (Jan-June, 1993)	24.40	10.51	39.35	22.53	6.22	39.86	30.22	23.47	37.73
55 th Round (July1999-June2000)	26.29	11.54	41.87	24.06	6.77	42.10	32.85	25.22	41.18
64 th Round (July2007-June 2008)	28.32	10.65	46.98	25.90	5.24	47.56	35.08	25.57	45.33

Source: Unit Level Data of NSS 49th, 55th & 64th Rounds

7. A COMPARATIVE PROFILE OF MIGRATION

As per the Census of India 2001, out of the 1.02 billion people in the country, 307 million (about 30 percent) were reported as migrants by place of birth. In 2011 census, the share of migrants to total population in India reached at 453.6 million [exact figure 4536, 41,955] which is 37.64 percent to total population compared to 30.58 percent in 2001 as per place of last residence. The total male migrants were 140.9 million [exact figure-1409, 62,280] which is 23.45 percent to total male population (17.54 percent in 2001) and 52.70 percent is female migrants compared to 44.55 percent in 2001 census as shown on the Figure 1. The female migrants have outnumbered male migrants both in 2001 and 2011 Census years and it is more due to marriage-centered migration. This phenomenon has its own dominance; but its share in the overall migration shows a declining trend during 2001-2011. As with socio-economic advancement in society women are actively involved in migration process for jobs, higher education, business etc. (see, Mahapatro, 2013). This new trend is feminization of urban migration which has become a definite trend in India in recent times (see, Bhagat, 2014).

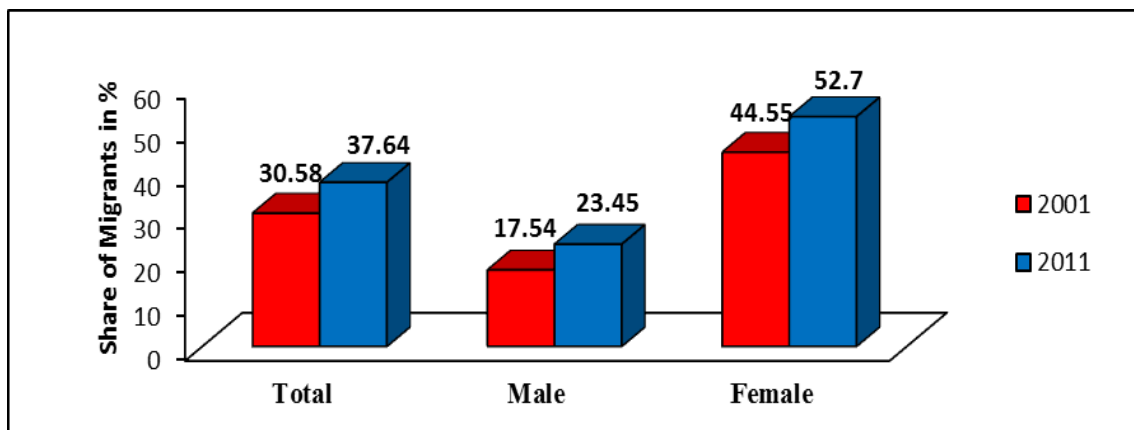
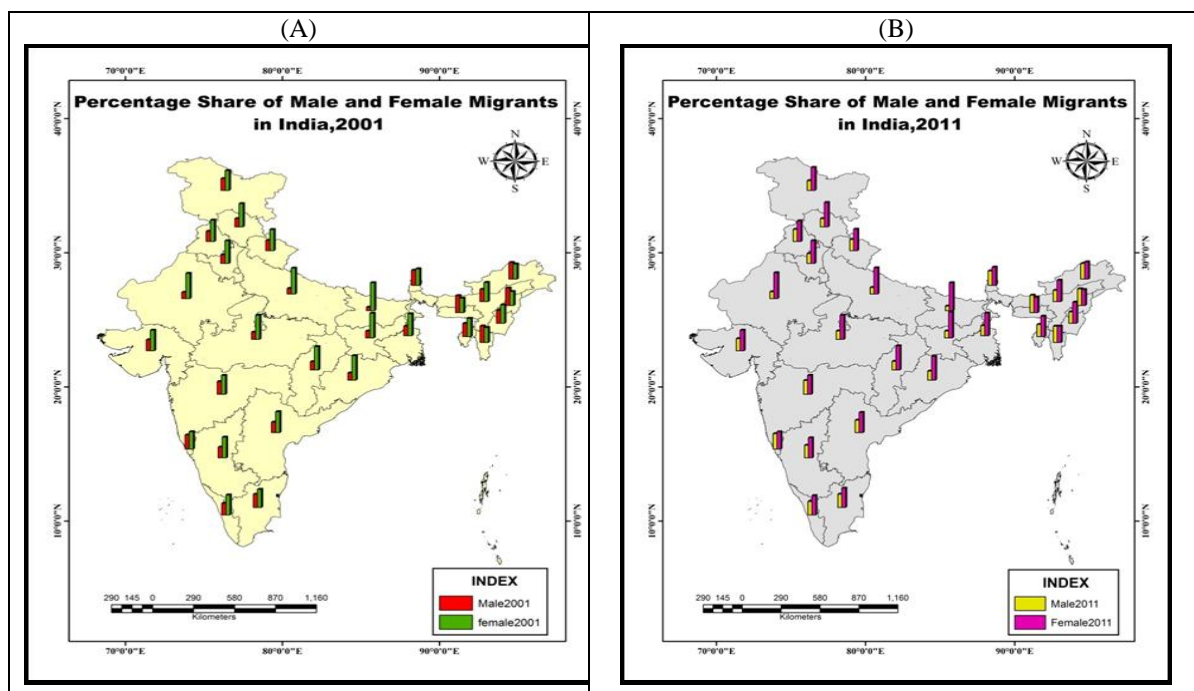


Figure1. Showing Share of Migrants to Total Population in India, 2001 & 2011

Source: Census of India, 2001 & 2011

The Map 1 shows inter-regional pattern of male and female migrants and it reveals that the share of female migrants is higher than the males. The percent share of female migrants has been increased from 2001(A) to 2011(B) across states of India. In northern and eastern states of India marriage is an important reason of migration only for their socio-economic backwardness and rural traditions but it is less important factor in southern and north eastern states of India. The scenario of the eight socio-economically backward states of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Rajasthan, Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh referred to as the Empowered Action Group (EAG) states, the share of females is predominately higher and has increased considerably.

Map 1 Showing Percentage Share of Gender in Internal Migrants in States of India



Source: Census of India, 2001 & 2011

7.1. Streams of Migration and Regional Dimension

The streams of migration help in relating phenomenon to the kind of socio-economic development in the areas of origin as well as of destination. There are four types of streams of migration: (i) rural-rural; (ii) rural-urban; (iii) urban-urban; and (iv) urban-rural. These are on the basis of place of origin and destination. When people migrate from rural areas and settled in other rural areas, the process of migration is known as rural to rural migration and when a person coming out from rural to urban areas for different purposes, his migration process is known as rural to urban migration. The situation is in similar relation, back and forth, for other two streams of migration depending on purpose and direction.

The Census data for past three consecutive censuses 1991, 2001 & 2011 certifies that an important component among the streams is ‘rural to rural’ migration. This stream is followed by rural to urban migration, urban to urban migration and the least share is found in urban to rural in India. Huge volume of migrants have reported their movement from rural to rural areas [perhaps from one village to another], this stream dominates the migration process throughout 1991-2011. In 1991 it accounted for around 64.21 percent migrants, share shows a slight declined during 2001 and 2011, where it recorded about 55.21 percent and 47.32 percent respectively. This decline can be understood from Figure 2 that more people have started migration from rural to different towns and from one town to another for seeking livelihoods and availing different opportunities. The second highest share of migrants include rural-urban. Latest Census showed that 17.43 percent reported this migration from traditional rural areas to urban centers, with a slight decline from 1991 to 2011 (i.e. 17.67 percent to 17.43 percent). In case of volume of migration from urban to urban has shown a huge jump from 2001 to 2011. The increase stood around 6 percent points. This may be understood in the context of neoliberal economic reforms induced-increase of functions in urban areas. However, urban areas have not been so active in absorbing migrants as they thought to be in the post-economic reforms. Mukherji’s study noted that “under the current trend of liberalization, privatization and globalization, evidently the more and more resources, capital, investments, production units and growth efforts are polarized only around mega cities/ports. Thus neglecting around development of the interior country side, villages innumerable small towns and inter land of India” (2008: 319). This change in economy and spatial concentration of activities in large cities during the past few decades has actually not shown the true spirit in attracting migrant as expected and estimated. A very low share of people 5 percent migrated from urban to rural areas.

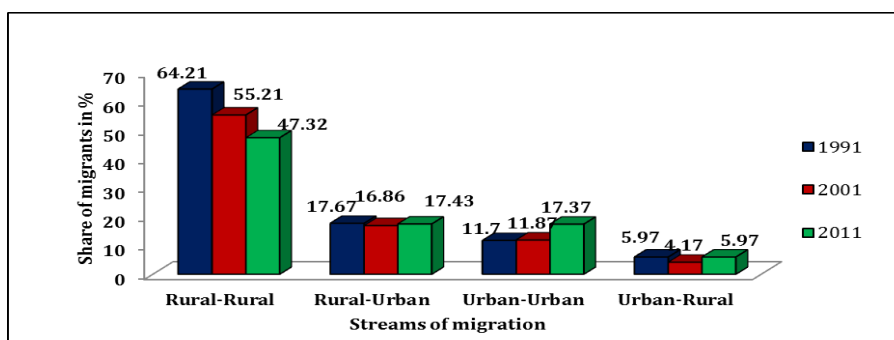


Figure2. Showing Streams of Internal Migration in India: 1991-2011

Source: Census of India, 1991, 2001 & 2011

In a nutshell, about 35 percent of all migrants more to urban area by both the processes: rural-urban and urban-urban. This has wider significance in the context of changing economic restructure of urban areas and the whole form of urbanization taking place in the country is past few decades.

Table6. Reasons and Streams of Inter-Censal Migration in India

Streams	Work and Business (%)		Education (%)		Marriage (%)		Family Related (%)		Others (%)		Total (%)	
	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
Rural to Rural	9.3	6.4	1.9	2.7	61.2	59.0	19.4	24.1	8.3	7.7	56.3	47.4
Rural to Urban	29.9	24.3	4.9	4.8	21.8	22.4	34.5	40.6	8.8	7.9	21.8	22.1
Urban to Urban	21.8	17.5	4.3	3.4	21.9	18.4	42.6	47.9	9.5	12.9	15.2	22.6
Urban to Rural	14.5	8.9	3.0	2.7	28.1	25.5	42.9	55.6	11.4	7.3	6.6	7.9
All	16.0	13.1	3.0	3.3	44.4	39.1	27.8	35.6	8.8	8.9	100	100

Source: Report of the Working Group on Migration, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India, 2017

Table 6 makes it evident that the share of rural to rural migration in India has been declined from 2001 to 2011 and the share in rural to urban and urban to urban streams has shown a considerable increase. As society move along progress and advancement, people start migration to different towns and cities, either within states or outside of states. In rural to rural migration marriage is an important reason which accounts around 60 percent of migrants followed by family related migration. But in rural to urban migration, maximum share of migrants reported that to the reason family related followed by work and business and off course marriage. Under urban to urban, there is decline in marriage factors, a more caused by family related move (i.e. after birth and with household) and less in work and business. During 2001-11 both such reasons approximately contribute differently. There is decrease of 4.3 percent in work and business related movement during 2001-11 under urban to urban. This kind of change will have negative repercussions in terms of how urban areas are turning their back to migrants. It's not very clear what 'others' constitutes, it may largely comprise of environment and disaster-induced factors. Figure 3 shows share of male and female migrants under different streams of migration during 1991, 2001 & 2011.

Analyzing the data on migration pattern from 1991 to 2011, clearly marked that share of male and female migrants from rural to rural has gradually declined, it has sharply declined in case of female migration. This shift may be due to the impacts of advancement of society and the role of women empowerment in increasing their share in other streams. One interesting fact noticed here is that the share of male migrants from rural to urban might has declined from 1991 to 2011, but in case of female the share continues to increase as females have started to migrate to urban areas for the reasons of education, work/employment etc. Other than the marriage, urban to urban migration has increased from 1991 to 2011 for both male and female showing emerging urbanization. If we compare all data, then it is evident that sex differences in case of stream of migration has been changed and the share of female have increased in past few decades in India. Rural to urban and urban to urban migration is also to be understood in the context of rise in the number of Census Towns which offer multiple opportunities locally as well. There is a need to generate data on male and female migration in relation to class-wise or size-class urban centres of the country, which can provide insights on nature of rural to urban and urban to urban migration and to understand its gender dimensions in depth.

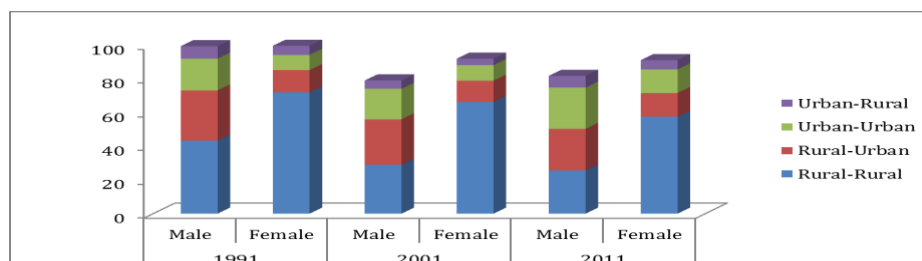


Figure3. Share of Male and Female Migrants under different Streams: 1991, 2001 & 2011

Source: Census of India, 1991, 2001 & 2011

Analysis of pattern of internal migration at regional level in India, as shown in Table 7, it is rural to rural migration which dominates in all the regions and highest share is found in Northern Region (55.11 percent) followed by Eastern Region (47.83 percent), South Central region (39.90 percent) and the rest. In Northern, Eastern and Western regions, the share of migrants is more in rural to rural and rural to urban migration rather than urban to urban migration. In contrast, in South Central and Southern region, the share is more in urban to urban migration. Apart from rural to rural stream, the second highest share of people migrates to urban to urban perhaps to other urban areas from smaller urban ones. The lowest share in rural to rural migration is marked in Western region in comparison to other regions but in rural to urban migration and urban to urban migration the share is highest in Western region than other regions it indicates the somehow high development level in that region. A maximum share of people (9.71 percent) migrate from urban areas to rural areas is marked in Southern region and followed by Western region.

Table7. Showing Region Pattern under Streams of Migration in India, 2011

Regions of the Country	Streams of Migration			
	Rural-Rural (%)	Rural-Urban (%)	Urban-Urban (%)	Urban-Rural (%)
Northern Region	55.11	15.98	14.44	5.54
Eastern Region	47.83	17.99	12.29	6.75

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Western Region	31.44	24.44	24.14	9.56
South Central Region	39.90	14.83	20.97	6.58
Southern Region	33.00	20.08	22.82	9.71

Source: Compiled by Authors from Census Data, 2011

If we compare between male and female, the rural to rural migration is predominated among females over all regions but rural to urban and urban to urban migration is dominated by males over all regions with an exception that in southern region the share of female migrants is higher than male in case of rural to urban migration. It may due to higher socio-economic status of women prevail there. Maximum share of female are found in rural to rural migration in northern and eastern regions than other regions which indicates the rural nature of society, as shown in the Table 8.

Table 8. Showing Gender Perspective on Streams of Migration in Different Regions of India

Regions	Male				Female			
	Rural-Rural	Rural-Urban	Urban-Urban	Urban-Rural	Rural-Rural	Rural-Urban	Urban-Urban	Urban-Rural
Northern Region	30.49	25.44	21.86	7.12	64.16	12.54	11.72	4.97
Eastern Region	33.85	21.69	15.44	7.35	52.97	16.52	11.50	6.28
Western Region	20.49	29.55	27.24	9.97	38.73	21.20	22.06	9.26
South Central Region	25.25	18.19	26.29	6.82	48.99	12.75	17.67	6.43
Southern Region	26.49	19.04	25.91	10.90	37.51	20.80	20.68	8.89

Source: Compiled by author from Census, 2011

7.2. Gender in Duration and Reasons of Migration

Duration is another important dimension in order to better make sense of internal migration by focusing on duration and associated reasons. People migrate for short duration, long duration and some as seasonal. More male migrants are found in the duration less than one year, however, females outnumber them in all durations as shown in Figure 4. Female migrants are found to have concentrated in longer duration. Highest percentage of female migrants is found in the duration of ten years and above. The justification for why more male migrants are found in less than one year and female for longer duration is examined by observing the reasons of migration for different durations. It is marked from the 2011 Census data that work and employment is important reason for less than one year duration and male are basically seasonal migrants. Marriage is important reason for long duration that's why the share of female for longer duration is higher. The young male are basically migrated to urban areas for work purpose and after some earnings, they perhaps prefer to return their native places normally within a year of staying.

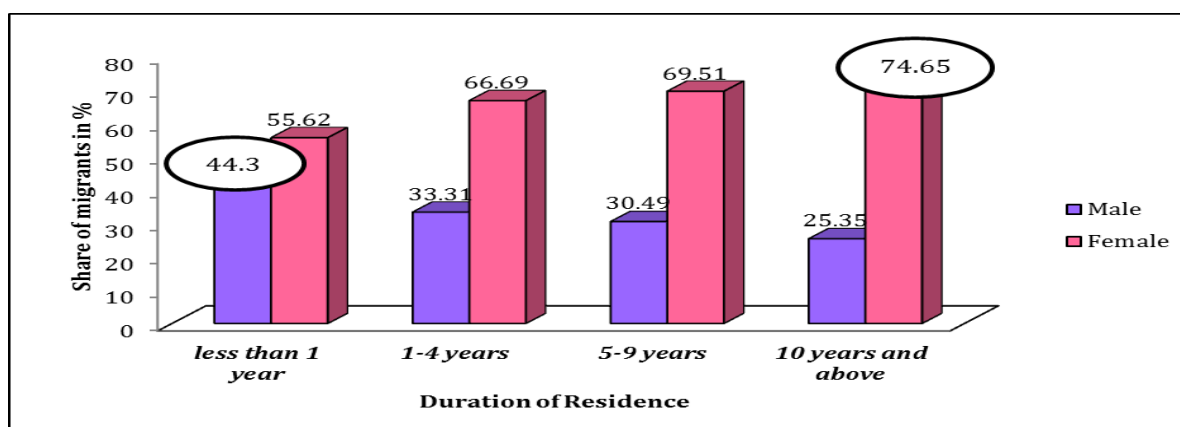


Figure 4. Showing Gender Dimension in Duration of Migration at Destination

Source: Census of India, 2011

The fact is that larger share of work/employment is related to higher percentage of male migration within a year. It may be mentioned that more youths and working males migrate than females. The Figure 5 shows that both work/employment and moved with household holds account for larger share of the short duration. In fact their share over a decade has signs of declining trend. On the other hand in rest of duration of migration share of other reasons except marriage is lower and lowest as shown in Figure 5A, B, C & D.

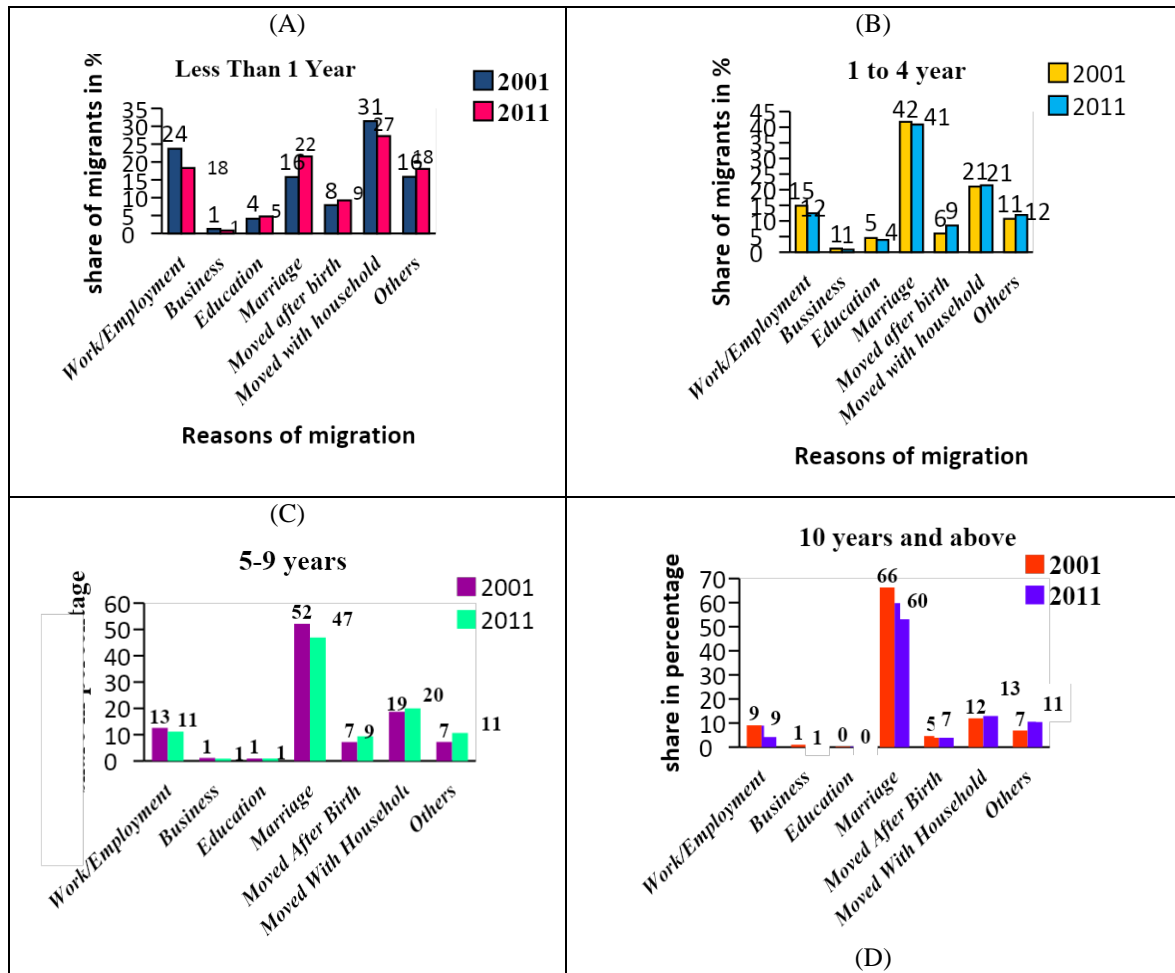
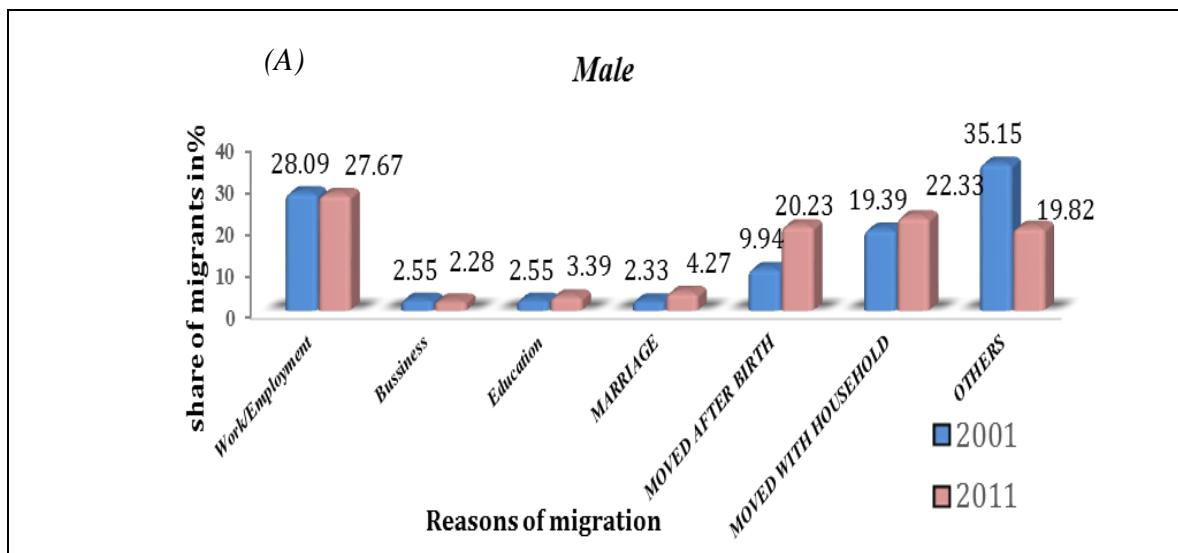


Figure 5. Showing Major Reasons of Migration in Relation to Duration of Migration

Source: Census of India, 2001 and 2011

Below Figure 6 shows the reasons of migration separately for male and female migrants for 2001 [A] and 2011[B] respectively. The sex-differential indicates that males have migrated more for economic reason and for long distance whereas females are predominately in case of marriage. In case of male, work/employment constitutes highest share of migrants with 28.09 percent in 2001 and 27.67 percent in 2011 which is followed by “moved with household”, “moved after birth” etc. Females are migrated more for the reason of marriage because in India with patriarchal nature of society every girl has to move her in-laws house after marriage. The share of marriage is reported nearly 70 percent in 2001 and 2011 followed by moved with household and moved after birth.



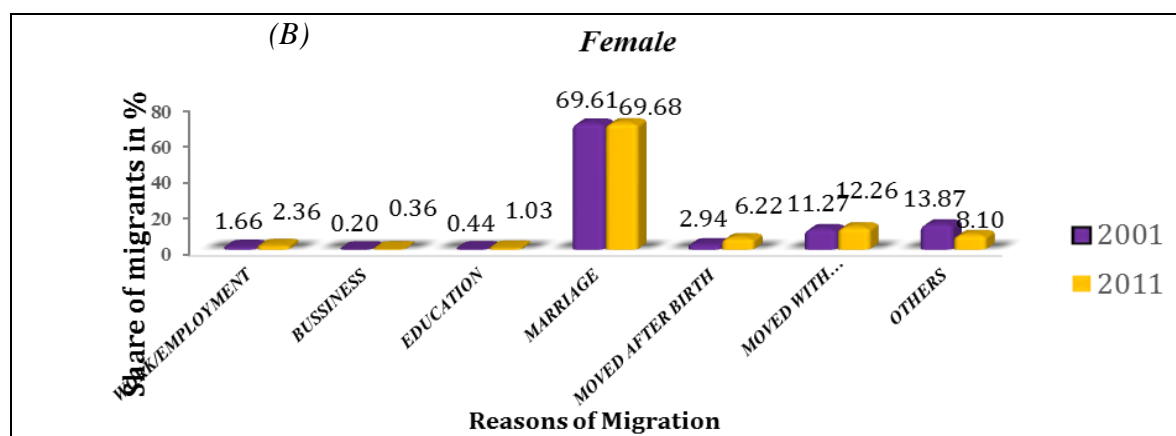


Figure 6. Showing Gender Wise Reasons of Migration in India, 2001 & 2011

Source: Census of India, 2001 & 2011

Unequalness between both the genders has been observed by taking into account the major reasons of migration such as work and employment, business and education. In both the census years it is marked that around 30 percent of males moved to other places for work/employment purpose whereas it accounted nearly 2 percent in case of female migrants. For female it is not a major reason of migration. Still now they are not allowed to work in distance places and they need prior permission of their family members and husbands to move other urban areas for employment purposes. However, the share of moved with household has increased. The gap was about 26.43 percent in 2001 and is reduced to 25.31 percent in 2011 because of slight increase of female migrants for work. It is found that due to socio-economic advancement of society, the female share in migration has increased in case of work and employment. Thus the traditional nature of restrictions on female has begun to decline but still discriminations and gender inequality exists in overall migration process. The informal sector is dominated by women.

Flcury’s study stated that “[W]omen are increasingly migrating on their own, often to enhance economic opportunities by seeking jobs or education” (2016). The share of female migrants has also increased in case of education and business sector in India but the share is very low which is around 1 percent for education and below 1 percent for business whereas the share of male migrants is nearly 3 percent for education and more than 2 percent for business purpose. Here one can notice the differences which may be associated to patriarchal structure that restricts women from enjoying their rights. The traditional structure of educational institutions, locations of educational center and the poor mindsets of parents do not allow the girl child to migrate to distance urban places for study. Apart from it, the safety and security issues also play their role. From beginning the work of Business has been dominated by male members and it is assumed that this is very suitable for them in anyways. The reasons like “moved after birth”, and “moved with household” differ for male and female in both the census years. The percent share is more than 20 percentage for male in case of moved after birth and moved with household as in 2011. As concerned with female, about 12 percent female are moved with their household and only 6 percent female are migrating to other place after birth. Since there is not much rapid change in share of females, this may not be study feminization of migration phenomenon in the country.

7.3. Sex Differential in Migration in Rural and Urban Areas

According to Ravenstein’s theoretical perspective on migration the rural people have more propensity to migrate than urban people and rural people are more migratory in nature due to prevalence of push factors in their origin place. The socio-economic backwardness forces them to migrate to other places particularly to urban centers. In rural areas there are more restrictions on women’s mobility to the distance places for the gender play important role and traditional nature of society (see, Mohapatra, 2013: 69-70) but in urban areas the female face not so much restrictions as in rural areas. As per their place of last residence, the female who migrate from rural areas account for more number of female migrants in case of marriage which is almost 77 percent but it is only 45 percent for female migrant in urban areas in India as per 2011 census. If we take work/employment as a reason of migration then the share of female migrants in comparison to male is very limited which is below 2 percent whereas it is nearly 31 percent for male who migrate from rural India. But who migrate to urban India the

share of male migrants for work/employment is about 24.8 percent whereas the female accounts nearly 3.3 percent indicates that they face less discrimination on gender basis in urban center for the advance socio-economic development and boarder mindsets of people. Here it is noticed in major reasons of migration that who migrate from urban areas to other parts, there is gap between male and female in share but it is lower in comparison to rural migrants. As 30.84 percent male migrate to other places for work/employment but it is only around 2 percent for female, so the gap is about 29 percent. And male migrants from urban areas to other places for work/employment is 24.8 percent whereas it is 3.3 percent for female and the gap between them is about 21 percent.

8. FEMALE MIGRATION TO METRO CITIES AND URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS

Generally, the larger a city, the greater is its proportion of migrants to the total population and more cosmopolitan its population. Greater Mumbai shows high percent of male migrants in 2001 and 2011 which is 57.93 percent in 2001 and 54.34 percent in 2011. The percent of female migrants for Mumbai urban agglomeration is 42.07 percent in 2001 which increased to 45.66 percent. The share of male migrants has declined in all six mega cities in India. Kolkata has experienced more decline than other cities. The percentage share of male migrants is high in Mumbai urban agglomeration which is followed by Delhi, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Kolkata and then Chennai for 2001 census but in 2011 the city attracting second highest male migrants has changed to Bangalore from Delhi as shown in Table 9. The female migrants increase in both terms of volume and percentage from 2001 to 2011. The highest share of female migrants is found in Chennai in 2001 census but in 2011 it is Kolkata where it crosses 50 percent. It is followed by Chennai, Hyderabad, Delhi, Bangalore and lowest is in Mumbai. The data for these six mega cities indicate the gender role in migration process as share of female is lower than male migrants. Generally when we analyze the migration share separately for male and female whether related to state level pattern and district level, it always indicate that the share of female migration is much more higher than male migrants particularly for rural areas as marriage emerge as an important reason of migration. But here an interesting fact is that the male migrant is higher than the female both in terms of volume and percentage. Migrating to mega cities marriage is not an important factor but here people are coming for mostly economic reasons.

Table9. Showing Share of Male and Female Migrants in Metro Cities of India, 2001 & 2011

Major Urban Agglomerations	Census 2001			Census 2011		
	Total Migrant Population	Share of Male	Share of Female	Total Migrants Population	Share of Male	Share of Female
Delhi	5550323	56.06	43.94	6825323	52.27	47.73
Greater Mumbai	7141583	57.93	42.07	9956713	54.34	45.66
Kolkata	3735752	53.39	46.61	5217088	46.91	53.09
Chennai	1608299	53.17	46.83	4388362	50.08	49.92
Hyderabad	1443983	53.77	46.23	4943869	51.33	48.67
Bangalore	2086719	54.68	45.32	4402244	53.04	46.96

Source: Census of India, 2001 & 2011

The spatial pattern, trend and causes of female migration is changing in India. An increasing proportion of female are migrating towards big cities in India for various reasons other than marriage. It is found that the female migration towards cities particularly originate from socio-economically backward states of India. The Figure 7 shows that 43.85 percent of female migrated to Kolkata due to marriage, followed by Mumbai (36.04 percent), Delhi (37.92 percent), Bangalore (29.05 percent), Chennai (23.38 percent) and Hyderabad (17.86 percent) in 2011 census. However, the proportion of female migration due to marriage has declined over period of time in Mumbai, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad and it has increased in Kolkata and Delhi. Emerging fact is that southern cities portray the lower share of female migration in comparison to other cities. Among major reasons like work/employment, business, education the share of female migrants is marginal. It is found to be highest in Bangalore (10.01 percent) followed by Hyderabad (7.63 percent) and Mumbai (4.78 percent) during 2001-2011. Delhi (3.79 percent), Chennai (5.86 percent) and Kolkata (2.45 percent) show decline. As data for both Census indicates that female in India are rarely migrate for business to other places. Less than 1 percent of female in India migrate to metro cities for doing their business and this has increased over period in Bangalore, Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Hyderabad and declined only in Chennai. Female also migrate to big cities for educational purposes which has low share as

business and the highest proportion of female migrating for education is marked in Bangalore with 1.96 percent followed by Hyderabad (1.79 percent), Chennai (1.40 percent), Mumbai (0.75 percent) Delhi (0.74 percent) and Kolkata (0.46 percent). The share has increased in Bangalore, Hyderabad, Chennai and Delhi but declined in Kolkata and remain same in Mumbai. Here also southern cities show better position than other cities in terms of education for female. Due to modernization, development and women empowerment female migration for education has increased. Data shows that a significant proportion of female are migrating along with their family as dependent migrants or passive movers as the whole family migrated to cities. Females in India generally migrate due to family reasons like traditional marriage practice, family moved etc. rather than major economic reasons like work/employment, education and business. Female in India need more liberty and autonomy, women oriented policies and programs and have miles to go before they migrate for major reasons which is found in developed countries of the world.

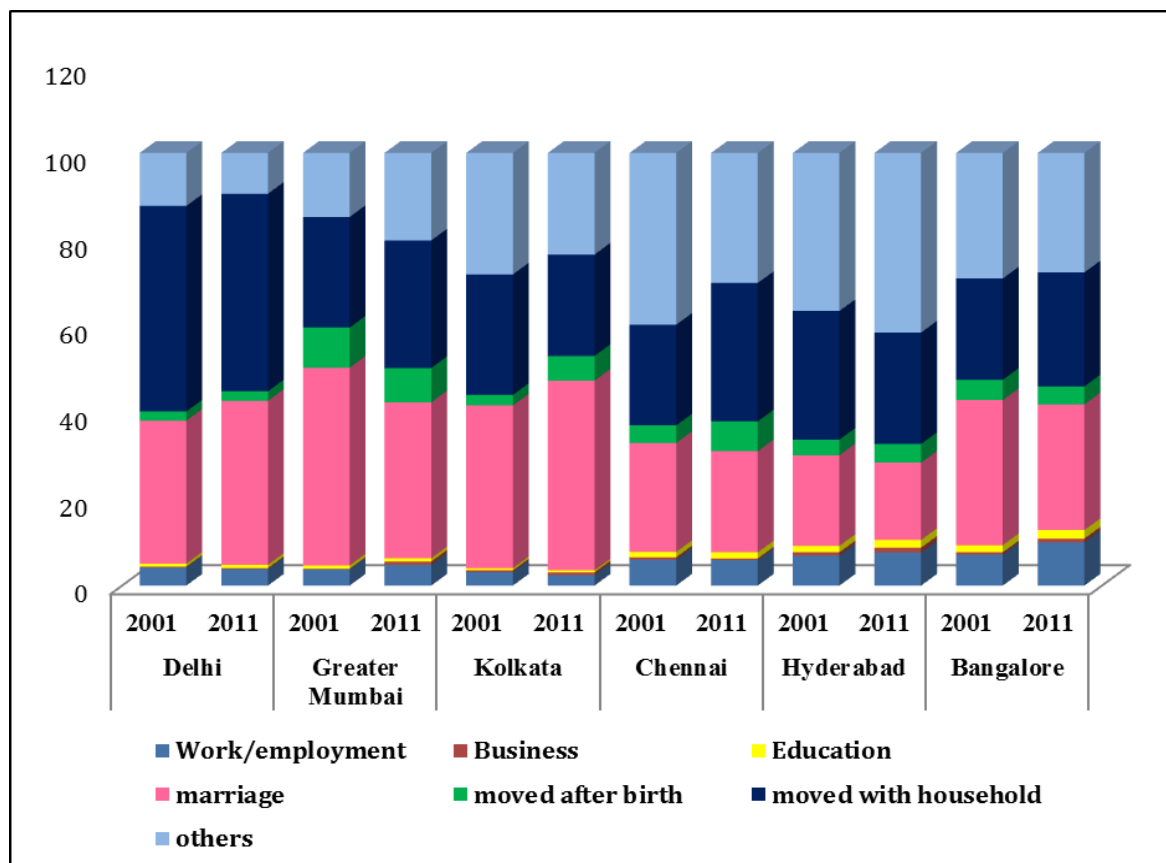


Figure9. Showing Reasons for Female Migration to Metro Cities of India, 2001 & 2011

Source: Census of India, 2001 & 2011

9. IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Signs of women empowerment get reflected in increasing trends of female literacy, the changing scenario of sex ratio, the increasing female work participation, political participation at various levels. An increasing share of female migration in case of education, employment, and business as discussed in this paper signals towards an up-gradation in status of women in society. Mittal and Dutta stated that education is key factor and “[E]ducation not only provides basic knowledge and skills to improve health and livelihoods, but it empowers women them to take their rightful place in society and development process”(2019: 1). Women play a crucial part in the growth and development household and society. Access to education has wider and positive consequences for women as it brings know how, awareness and understanding the world around them. Good education improves thinking and decision making in the family and households.

Mahapatro (2010) has stated that the globalization process has positive impacts on female migration as gender segregated labour markets s a result of globalization process demands female labourers in informal sectors which play as a pull factor for attracting female movement where female are not called passive movers rather they are actively involved in migration and influenced by different socio-

economic factors by developmental process and reforms marked in the country. The economic reforms of India have increased a demand for the female labour in market causing feminization of migration. Now women and girls in many middle class and upper class migrate to different cities to get to higher studies and in search of employment (Pandey, 2015). This should be seen in the context of changing value of family and at the same time growing opportunities for women in the market as well. However, this transition is not equally accessible to all among them in urban areas.

Women migration to urban areas can increase the spatial mobility and enjoy several urban opportunities which differ from their caste based rural settlement (see, Lingam, 1998). While migrating to urban centers, they acquire different new skills & ideas and exposing them to outer world. Engaging in different productive activities brings confidence, self-esteem and independence. There is a shift, women now increasing migrate towards enhancing their economic opportunities by seeking employment and education (see, Fluery, Op. Cit.). They recognize the fact that better income and work opportunities are the pull factors. Female migration process increased self-confidence and greater autonomy, and instigating upward social mobility and it have an empowering impact on women in terms of increased participation in the labour force, economic independence, decline in fertility, and improved self-esteem (see, Bhatt, 2009). While go through the literatures, it was found that there is “cause and effect relationship” exist between migration and women empowerment meaning migration to urban areas empowers them by improving their status at household and community level and the changes in women status in our society has positive impacts on female movement to other areas for work/employment, business, education etc. rather than marriage.

Table10. Change in Major Aspects of Women Empowerment in India

Major aspects	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Female Literacy Rate	13.92	20.6	34.68	50.51	64.6
Sex ratio	930	934	927	933	940
Total Female Work Participation	12.11	19.47	22.27	25.63	25.51
Urban Female Work Participation Rate	-	8.32	9.17	11.55	15.4
Members in Lok Sabha	22	28 (1980)	39	44 (2004)	61 (2014)
Members in Rajya Sabha	17	24 (1980)	38	28 (2004)	29 (2014)
Percentage of Female Enrolment in Higher Education	20.00	27.20	32.50	37.60	41.50
Female sterilization	-	27.4*	34.1**	37.3***	36****
Women age 20-24 years married before age 18 years (%)	-	54.2*	50.0**	47.4***	26.8****
Currently married women who usually participate in household decisions (%)	-	-	-	76.5***	84.0****
Women having a bank or savings account that they themselves use (%)	-	-	-	15.1***	53.0****
Total Fertility Rate (per women)	-	3.4*	2.9**	2.7***	2.2****

Source: Based on Census Report; Social Statistics Division,

National Statistical Office, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation

Government of India (21st Issue)

Notes: * Indicates NFHS1 (1992-93), ** NFHS2 (1998-99), *** NFHS3 (2005-06) & ****NFHS4 (2015-16)

In a specific perspective, women empowerment in India can consist of different indicators largely covering social, economic and political and governance aspects. This includes: employment status of women, women access to education, access to money earning sources, ownership of assets, participation of women in decision making, food consumption of women and nutritional status etc. Table 10 depicts major aspects of women empowerment covering their various dimensions in India. This reflects a positive sign of social change and status of women such fields, but more to be achieved. It can be clearly noted that the position of women in society has shown signs of improvement over the decades. The increasing female literacy rate from 34.68 percent (1991) to 64.60 percent (2011), sex ratio increased from 930 in 1971 to 927 in 1991 and further 940 by 2011. Female work participation rate from grew from 12.11 percent in 1971 to 22.27 percent (1991) and further to 25.50 percent (2011). Female enrollment in higher education has increased from merely 20.00 percent

in 1971 to 32.50 percent by 1991 and further to 41.50 percent by 2011. So has increased female's sterilization rate and women decision making powers. Total fertility rate has slowed down and that's a good sign that women are more aware now than ever before.

10. CONCLUSION

Gender is a challenging term in different aspects of life. The traditional nature of society visualize woman as the prime caregiver. These societies show restrictions on women's mobility and imposing burden to them by assuming that they have responsibilities to nurture and rear children and try to keep them within four walls. This system somehow, has been changed due to the socio-economic and structural advancement of society. Migration phenomenon in India in the context of female mobility shows an encouraging trend over the years. Earlier female basically migrated for marriage and the share in case of work and employment, education, business etc. remained marginal. Short-distance migration is dominated by female whereas long-distance is dominated by male for work and job opportunities. In terms of streams, rural to rural migration is pre-dominated by female migrants whereas rural-urban and urban-urban migration stream is controlled by male. The pattern and nature of female migration has also changed over time. The data shows that the share of female migrants in rural to rural migration has continuously declined and their share in moving rural to urban and urban to urban has gradually during 1991-2011. With socio-economic progress of society the situation of women and their mobility has changed, females now migrate for economic reasons as well. This somehow indicates to changing behavior of their mobility pattern and feminization of migration. Though the gender gap exists in different aspects of migration, the extent of differences started showing signs of decline. This kind of change has both direct and indirect implication on women empowerment.

Migration to urban areas may somehow be seen as it will empower women as they are exposed to modern world. Female by that way may achieve a level of self-confidence and self-esteem after engaging in different economic works. This may improve their self-confidence, inherent power hidden within them and their economic status which may further bring new empowerment among them. Female migration to metro cities in India has accelerated over time in the post-economic reforms period.

This study showed the share of female migrants in different streams of migration in regions of India indicates that in Western and Southern region their share is in rural to urban and urban to urban areas is higher than the other region. It may be due to socio-economic status of people and households in this region remain better than rest of the regions. Though gender gap in internal migration does persist, it has begun to change as more women now move for economic and education reasons too. The major aspects of empowerment of women show a positive change in the last five decades which not be truly correlated with changing structure of internal migration, but it reveals the basic social change that has occurred in some sectors of social life.

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