

International Journal of Scientific Research and Reviews

Female Migration in India and their Contributions in the Socio-economic Development of the Society: Evidence from the Field Study

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ABSTRACT

Women are increasingly migrating on their own, often to enhance their economic condition to make a better life for themselves and their families; thus contributing significantly in the socio-economic development of the country. The rate of female migration is growing fast from the last few decades, increased from 44.6% in 2001 to 52.7% in 2011. Marriage has been considered the main reason for female migration, but the share of marriage is declining while the share of other family related migration is growing. Increasing mobility of women for economic reason is depicting the increasing trend, but the work participation of migrant women is not much impressive. Only 45% of the migrant women are main worker and large number of them is non-worker, i.e., 74.44% and non-worker seeking work, 79.11%. In Chennai, migrant women generally come in search of a regular work and a regular and better wage, mainly employed in the personal care sector (25.49%), manufacturing (17.64%) and food & allied sectors (12.74%). Migrant women contribute considerably in the socio-economic development of household through remittances they send to their families. Most of them send money regularly, used mainly for food (49%), health care (19%) and education (13%); thus improve the family's well-being. The contribution of migrant women is not less than the male migrants; in fact, it is higher when considered the qualitative aspect of this phenomena. Therefore, the future study requires an in-depth analysis of wider implications and impacts of women's migration on the socio-economic structure of society, both in relation to the situation of those who migrate and those who remain in place of origin.

KEY WORDS: Female migration, remittances, socio-economic development, Chennai, well-being

Funding Agency: The present study has been funded by the Indian Council of Social Science (ICSSR)

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INTRODUCTION

Migration, being the third component of population change, refers to the movement of people from one place to another with the intention of settling, permanently or temporarily in a new geographic location. It is not a recent phenomenon of human civilization, only the scale and purpose of the movement has changed over the time. In fact, it has been a feature of human society for centuries that has played a significant role in enriching civilizations. People have always migrated as individuals, in family units or in large groups¹, to escape from war, to alleviate poverty, to find new and better economic opportunities, to flee from religious intolerance, political repression, and even to escape from natural calamities and disaster, etc.² So, it can be safely assumed that the present society is the amalgamation of different culture, flourished in different parts of the world, exchanged through the process of migration.

Traditionally, migration has been considered a male dominated phenomena, therefore, most of the researches on migration have also been focused on male experiences often on labour migration^{3,4}. Until the late 1970s, most writings on migration focused explicitly on male migrants (usually considered them as labour migrants), and implicitly assumed that most migrants are male. This kind of gender bias in the study of migration was based on the assumption that migration is motivated by economic factors like higher and regular wages, and better employment opportunities etc. So, the male member of the society migrates for economic reasons and the female migration is related to social and family-related reasons rather than economic considerations. The economic aspects of female migration have been neglected for many years and have been identified only as dependents or caused by marriage in numerous studies⁵⁻⁷. Of course, such beliefs were rarely based on statistical evidence since, both then and now, data from the international body present a different picture. According to the recent estimate made by the United Nations (2020)⁸, women have accounted for approximately 48% of the world's total migrants in 2019, whereas the share of women migrants in more developed regions and in the least developed region is even higher i.e., 51.5%, and 50.4% respectively.

No doubt, women make up nearly half of all migrants, but the equal numbers do not confer equality of treatment. Women, despite having fewer opportunities to work, limited options for social integration and political participation than men, and also being more vulnerable to violence and exploitation than men; they are increasingly migrating on their own, for seeking new opportunities to enhance their economic condition to make a better life for themselves and their families.

When it comes to female migration in India, it has also shown an increasing trend. According to the 2011 census⁹, the total migrants in the country are 455 million based on place of last residence; female migrants constitute 309 million while it is 146 million for male. Thus, migrants constitute around 37% percent of the total population; whereas male and female migrants constitute 23% and 52.79% of their population respectively. Female migration in India is different from the developed world where it is induced by the pull factors generated by labour intensive industrialization and expansion of urban based services¹⁰, but, here it has been mainly rural-rural migration, and is caused by social factor rather than economic factors. Numerous studies mainly carried out by Zachariah¹¹, Bose⁵, and Premi⁶ highlight the fact that females in India primarily migrate due to the tradition of patriarchal residence after marriage (marriage migration) and the social system that encourages women to move with the earning member of the household. But, during the last three decades, a shift in the pattern of female migration has been realized. They are, however, increasingly part of the flows of migrant workers, moving on their own to share the responsibility of their families, giving a new direction to the traditional socio-economic structure of the society. The phenomena of women's migration in the country are mainly governed by two factors; one lies in rural areas and the other in urban areas. Rural India is not able to support its population because of lack of employment opportunities in mechanised agriculture sectors, lack/absence of off-farm employment opportunity and persistent poverty; whereas globalization of economy created gender segregated labour markets in the urban centres that have opened up a range of new opportunities for women. So, it is also a distress-driven migration caused by push factor existing in place of origin and pulls factors in the place of destination attracting them. In general, female migration in the country is actually also for survival, for subsistence, and for familiar reasons. Like the male migration, women's migration can be beneficial, both for women and for the regions which send and receive them as they can also make a significant economic contribution through their labour, both to their place of destination and, through remittances, to their places of origin. The migrant women can also play an important role in family survival, and overall development of the society.

Despite the increasing trend of female migration and their significant contribution in the socio-economic development of the country, they are less recognized in the study of migration. A significant amount of literature focuses on the different issues related to international migration of women, but the issues related to internal migration of women have been less studied. Whatever, the literature is available mainly emphasis on trends, pattern and reasons of migration. Therefore, few significant studies have been taken into consideration to identify the research gap in the study of migration. Singh¹², and

Connell¹³ documented spatial inequalities in socio-economic opportunities as a determinant of female migration. Migration for the availability of employment opportunities in the place of destination has been highlighted in the studies carried out by Premi¹⁴, and Sundari¹⁵. Patriarchal marriage practices, village exogamy, and availability of work as the main reasons for rural-rural migration stream finds¹⁶. Skeldon¹⁰, and Jones¹⁷, identified improved means of transport and communication as a cause of increasing female migration. Roberts¹⁸, Pandey¹⁹, Gracia²⁰, and Sundari¹⁵, discussed gender segregated labour market, urbanisation, better education level, changing agricultural practices, environmental degradation as the reasons of migration. Shanti²¹, and Mahapatro²² find socio-economic factors, including educational status, caste, income level, land holding of the migrants as the determinants of the migration trend. Risks associated with female migration, such as misuse of skills, delayed/partial payment of wages, low wages, long working hour, no social security was discussed by Ghosh²³, poor housing condition without adequate fixtures or amenities by Neetha²⁴, and sexual exploitation by Crush and Ramachandran²⁵.

Although, these studies provides a broad and significant overview of the phenomena of women's migration, but the socio-economic contribution of migrant women either has been ignored or less highlighted. Hence, there is a need for a comprehensive analysis of socio-economic contribution of migrant women in the development of the society. This direction is based on the assumption that the contribution of women migrants is equal to male migrants, and sometime migrant women play a more significant role than their counterpart when it is considered in qualitative terms. Therefore, the present study tries to identify the trends, patterns, determinants and work participation of migrant women. Further, it is also tried to discuss how gender norms affect push-pull factors, types of work available to them, the economic contribution of migrant women and, finally, the role of migrant women in the welfare of their families and communities. With this background in view, the present study is organised in the following manner: First Part sheds light on trends, patterns determinants and work participation of female migrants; Second Part based on primary data to identify the sectors which is most preferred by migrant women, their average income level, frequency, amount and uses of remittances they send to their families. For this part Chennai metropolitan city has been selected for the case study as the city has been receiving a large influx of people from different parts of the country for core industrial jobs. So, it provides a good platform to analyse a symbiotic relationship between the city and the migrants with particular reference to economic remuneration, social adjustment and cultural assimilation.

Data Base and Methodology

The data for the present study is procured from secondary sources as well as primary sources to understand changes in scale, emerging trends and shifting demographics and to identify policy priorities. While the migration data for the country is not as comprehensive or as recent as needed to see the whole picture of the emerging trend. So, various reports published by national and international bodies have been considered for detailed information. Data pertaining to trend, pattern, and flow of migrants was principally drawn from the decennial population Census. The primary data were collected from the field survey involving both qualitative and quantitative methods. A structured questionnaire was used to collect data from the migrants. As the complete list of migrants is not available, a purposive random sampling method was applied and hence fifty samples have been selected from the major sector of the economy; namely service, construction, food and allied, personal care and manufacturing sectors. For the survey, work locations of the migrants were identified where migrant workers were located in large numbers. The required information was collected with the help of a questionnaire and through further discussion. All together 250 migrants were interviewed out of them 102 were female migrants. The collected data were organized tabulated and analysed. Percentage, sex-ratio, and growth rate were calculated for each significant parameter to identify patterns, trend, and changes in spatio-temporal manner.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

First Part: Female Migration in India: Temporal Variation in Trends, Pattern and Reasons for Migration

Table 1 shows the magnitude of migration and its variation over the period of forty years (1971-2011). It is clear from the table that migration of women has been increasing phenomenally, recorded 40.2% growth rate during 2001-2011 as compared to 29.4% during 1971-.81. The share of female migrants to total female population reached 52.7% in 2011, represents an increase of 87.7 million between 2001-11, compared to 53.9 million during 1991-2001. The present trend indicates towards the increasing participation of women in internal migration. The female-male ratio as revealed from the Table 1 also showing higher growth rate of female migration than the male migration.

Table 1: Growth of Migrants by Sex, India 1971-2011

Year	Lifetime Migration (in Millions)			F-M Ratio of Migration	Percentage of Migrants to the total population			Growth of Migrants (%) (1971-2011)		
	Person	Male	Female		Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
2011	449.9	143.4	306.4	2.1	37	23	52.7	45.4	58.1	40.2
2001	309.4	90.7	218.7	2.41	30.6	17.5	44.6	36.96	48.33	32.75
1991	225.9	61.1	164.8	2.71	27.4	14.6	41.2	12.04	3.21	15.72
1981	201.6	59.2	142.4	2.41	30.3	17.6	43.9	26.3	19.43	29.4
1971	159.6	49.6	110	2.22	30.6	19	43.1	-	-	-

Source: Census of India, 1971-2011^{9,26-29}

Table 2 shows that marriage has been the main reason for female migration, but now it is declining. As per 2001 census 70% of all females migrated due to marriage but in 2011 it is reported by 66.74%, recorded a decline by 3%. Unlike marriage, an increasing trend of migration for work/employment, business and education has been observed during the same observational period. Employment as a reason which constitutes 1.65% in 2001, increased to 2.06 percent in 2011, recorded 74.03% growth rate during 2001-2011. Migration for business which constitutes 0.19% in 2001, increased to 0.29% in 2011. Though, the variation is not strongly significant, but the growth rate is appreciable, i.e. 45.7%. The most remarkable growth rate (i.e., 120.39%) has been observed in education as a reason, this had risen by 1.17 million from 0.97 million in 2001 and 2.14 million in 2011, a doubling over 2001-2011. Associational reasons- movement on account of accompanying parents or any other member of the family were cited as the second most important reason for female migration. ‘Moved after birth’ as a reason was added in the 2001 census because it was felt that a large number of mothers moved to either their natal residence or to a place with better medical facilities for delivery. Whereas, the women are not treated as migrants at these temporary place or residence, the children born are treated as migrants when they accompany their parents to their place of normal residence. There is a huge increase in respect with the reason of “moved after birth” among females, it increased from 2.96% to 4.47% recorded an impressive growth rate i.e. 111.16% during 2001-2011.

Table 2: Reasons for Migration in India (based on all duration of residence and place of last residence within in India)- 2001-2011

Reasons	2001	2011	2001-11	2001	2011	2001-11
	Male	Male	Growth rate	Female	Female	Growth rate
Work/Employment	25.8 (28.48)	34.5 (24.05)	33.62	3.62 (1.65)	6.3 (2.06)	74.30
Business	2.3 (2.57)	2.62 (1.8)	12.73	0.43 (0.19)	0.89 (0.29)	45.7
Education	2.34 (2.58)	3.25 (2.2)	38.94	0.97 (0.44)	2.14 (0.69)	120.39
Marriage	2.16 (2.38)	5.3 (3.7)	145.75	153.33 (70.11)	204.53 (66.74)	33.38
Moved after Birth	9.25 (10.21)	19.97 (13.9)	115.7	6.48 (2.96)	13.7 (4.47)	111.16
Moved with Household	17.09 (18.85)	28.72 (20.02)	67.99	23.87 (10.96)	35.31 (11.52)	6.19
Others	31.65 (34.90)	49.06 (34.1)	54.99	29.97 (13.7)	43.53 (14.2)	45.26
Total	90.67 (100)	143.46 (100)	58.21	218.70 (100)	306.44 (100)	40.11

Source: Calculated from D-3: migration table 2001³⁰ & D-3: migration table 2011³¹

It is clear from the above data that women are increasingly migration for the purpose of employment, but their work participation is less clear. The huge difference can be seen in the Census of 2011 between the number of women who moved for economic reasons and the number of working female migrants. Table 3 provides the detail information about the work participation of women migrants. A cursory look at the data (Table 3) from the Census 2011 indicates that the migrant women constitute 45% of the main worker (who work for the major part of the year, i.e., at least 183 days), whereas the share of women migrants is nearly 81% in the total marginal workers (those who worked for some time during the preceding year but not for the major part, i.e., at least 183 days). Data from the table further highlights that a large number of the migrant women come under the categories of non-worker (those who had never worked during the preceding year), i.e., 74.44% and non-worker seeking work, 79.11%. Migrant women have been found to be less economically active during the most productive year of their life, i.e., 20-60. During this period, 40-48% are main worker, followed by 79-83%, 81-96% and 71-93%, marginal worker, non-worker and non-worker seeking work respectively.

Table 3: Migrants by Economic Activity, Age, and Sex - 2011

All ages	Main Worker		Marginal Worker		Non-Worker		Non-Worker (seeking /available for work)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-14	57.83	42.16	74.4	11.07	52.0	47.9	52.34	47.66
20-24	51.66	48.33	20.75	79.24	18.41	81.5	28.86	71.14
30-34	54.05	45.94	18.31	83.68	3.8	96.18	8.64	91.36
40-44	55.29	44.7	16.77	83.22	3.04	96.95	6.33	93.67
50-54	59.47	40.52	18.33	81.66	5.1	94.8	9.89	90.11
60-64	52.99	47.0	19.68	80.31	16.7	83.28	20.12	79.88
70-74	57.5	42.4	26.76	73.23	20.6	79.3	23.17	76.83
80+	58.06	41.9	28.15	71.84	21.03	78.96	21.09	78.91
Age not Stated	20.23	43.9	26.33	73.68	25.18	74.82	27.99	72.01
Total	54.92	45.08	19.42	80.58	22.56	77.44	20.89	79.11

Source: Migration Table-D6, Census of India 2011³¹

In general, the women’s participation in the phenomena of migration depends on the status of women in society, their role in the family, their autonomy, capacity to make decisions, their access to resources, and the existing gender stratification both in the places of origin and destination. To realize their economic, political and social expectations that hindered by gender inequality in the place of origin can also be a powerful factor for female migration. The above data make it clear that the share of women's migration in the country has been improved over the previous decades since 1991, which is in tune of economic development of the country, mainly the liberalization of economy and resultant gender specific labour market, offered employment opportunities to the overwhelming and increasing proportions of female migrants^{32,33}. A similar pattern of mobility has also been observed in the Bangladeshi women after the globalization of the economy of their country³⁴. It is important to mention here that the process of migration in the country is such a diverse and complex phenomenon that no single aspect of the society either social or economic has been able to provide a satisfactory all-encompassing explanation; it requires a comprehensive analysis of both aspects in integrated form.

Coming to the reasons for migration, being a complex phenomenon, it occurs over a wide variety of spatial and temporal contexts and for many material and non-material reasons. The economic theories focus on migration as a choice of people who wish to better their economic circumstances, and in much sociological & anthropological literature, migration has been seen in a negative context, occurring as a

last resort of the poor in response to economic, demographic and environmental shocks. It is clear from the Table 2 that different socio-economic factors has been working together to design a particular type and pattern of migration in the country. The causes of international migration are better understood by incorporating a variety of perspectives and factors. Migration for marriage—a unique dimension of women’s migration has been dominating the phenomena of women’s migration in India for centuries. Here, women primarily migrate due to marriages or move with the earning member of the households. No doubt, marriage continues to be the predominant reason for female migration but various micro level studies^{21,35} highlight that females also migrate individually for economic reasons to become the primary earners for their families³⁶ and make financial contributions to the household. The underlying reason for increasing female migration for employment is shrinking employment opportunity in the agricultural sector which is the single largest employer of female labour, because of technological innovation in this sector^{37,38}. Further, stagnant agricultural economy since the mid-1990s, and absence of industrial growth also resulted poverty induced rural to urban female migration³⁹. The other reason of increasing female migration is ‘family related migration’. The growing share of family related migration indicates that the earlier flow of migrants is now settling into urban areas and bringing their families over. Increasing education level, flexibility in social norms, more acceptance of the female role in society, efficient means of transportation & communication, etc., and new economic policies are the other factors, have been motivating many young women to join the migration streams^{35,40-42}. One significant aspect of female migration is that despite the increasing trend of female migration, their work participation rate is considerably low. There is a possibility among adult females whose are migrating for marriage and for family related reasons that they may spend their time for household chores and child care, and also because of cultural factors they are not able to opt for work. Further, the demand for labour in the labour market, especially for those who are unskilled and less/uneducated, and increasing demand for male workers in male-dominated sectors, plays critical role in labour force participation of females. Sometime women do not have the same access to work in some occupations; it may also affect the gender composition of participation rate related to the work. The other positive aspect about this less work participation of female migrants is that due to increasing demand for education, they may be either withdrawn from labour force or postpone their entry into labour force in order to attend an educational institution and to pursue higher studies.

Part Second: Contribution of Migrant Women in Socio-Economic Development of Household – A Case Study

As it is mentioned earlier, this part of the study is based on primary data and the sampled migrants have been interviewed from five important sectors of the economy that employ migrant workers in large numbers. This part of the study mainly focuses on economic aspects of this phenomena in terms of frequency of remittances, the amount of remittances migrant women send to their family and use of remittances by their household to identify their role in socio-economic development of their household in general and of community in particular. A cursory look at the data (Table 4) make it clear that the service sector attracts very large numbers of migrants, nearly 37.25% of the total migrant women are employed by this sector, whereas the construction sector prefers very limited number of female migrants. Next to service sector, the majority of the migrant women are employed in personal care services (25.49%), followed by manufacturing (17.64%) and food & allied sectors (12.74%).

Table 4 shows the frequency of remittances, the amount of remittances send by the migrant women, and the use of remittances by the household in place of origin. It is clear from the data that the majority of the migrant women (42.15%), and those who are mainly from service sector remit money every month. About 27.45% of the migrants remit the amount once in two or three months, mainly those who employed in the construction sector. Another 18.6% of the migrant women either take the money when they go home, or send it through persons who may go to her place. A small number of the migrant does not send remittance, they contribute when it is needed like for marriage, construction or repair of house and for purchasing of any farm animal, etc. More than one third of the migrant women remit < 3000 every month, especially those who are employed in the food & allied sector (29%) and personal care service (25.8%). The majority of the migrant women, i.e. 43% send Rs. 3-6000 every month, most of them are from personal care service and construction sector. Service and manufacturing sectors people remit comparatively good amount of money. Nearly 37% of the surveyed migrants from the service sector remit Rs.6-9000 every month to her home followed by manufacturing sector, i.e., 25%. About 49% of the workers responded that their family members use the remitted money for food, mainly especially those who are in construction and personal care sectors. About 19% of the household used for health care and 13% of them for education. Repayment of debt and for other purposes (including marriage, saving, assets) reported by about 12% and 11.7% of the household of the migrant women respectively.

During the study it has been found that the migrant women generally come to Chennai in search of a regular work and a regular and better wage income. Their migration pattern determined by their information networks about the availability of work, working conditions, skill levels and presence of people from their native place because initially these people help in searching work and also provide accommodation and food. For socially and economically deprived people who were mainly from North and North East region, migration is a means of income diversification and risk-coping strategy and also critical to their livelihoods. They are mainly from rural areas that lack of employment in their place of origin and access to non-agricultural employment is limited. Here, they are employed in different sectors based on their education and skill level. But, in general, they are heavily concentrated in occupations that are traditionally associated with specific gender roles. Majority of them are employed in personal care sector including beauty parlour and massage centre, domestic and care work, elderly & child care, and other related work in households etc. The other reason of their less participation in industrial job is that majority of them are poor, uneducated and unskilled and industry require specific kind of skill. So, they prefer to employ people as per their specifications. Similarly, manufacturing, with its technology and machinery, also requires people with their ability to work with semi-automated and automated machines. Therefore, much of the work available to them is manual in nature or they are engaged in jobs that require minimal skills. At best, they are engaged to assist a skilled person and learn their skills during the job to eventually get a skilled job. Whereas service sector, comprises of so many different kinds of activities, require people of different skill and ability level, employs a large number of migrant women. Finally, construction sector does not prefer women worker because of the nature of work, and involvement of safety & security and other social issues. As far as the remittances are concerned, migrant women show more stability and frequency in sending home remittances, and they also remit when unexpected shocks occur, serving also as a form of insurance. Not only the frequency, they also found to remit a higher proportion of their often lower wages showing more concern towards their family. Coming to the use of remittances, it is clear from the table that the basic necessity seems to be the only requirement met from the remittances while other expenses constitute a small proportion of the remitted money. The dismal picture that most of the people spending their money on food, healthcare, education, and repaid earlier debts, very few of them have deposits in the bank for marriage purpose, house repair and purchase of land and farm animal. Thus, it is quite clear that the migrant women have enough potential to contribute to the socio-economic development of their household. Earlier studies conducted by UN (2013) and Orozco et.al⁴³, highlights that despite their lower wages migrant women

more likely to send home a higher proportion and more frequently of their earnings that are more likely to be spent on health, education, family and community development. Another study finds that migrant women's remittances also improve family well-being mainly schooling of their children, an increase in food intake, and improve access to health care⁴⁴.

CONCLUSION

In India, women often migrate officially as dependent family members of the other migrants or to marry someone. From the last three decades, female migrants from all socio-economic backgrounds are, however, increasingly part of the flow of migrants; moving on their own to become the principal wage earners for their families, improve their autonomy and self-esteem, as well as the authority and worth in their families and communities. No doubt, marriage continues to be the predominant reason for female migration, but the migration for employment and education is also showing an increasing trend. However, the majority of migrant women are in those economic sectors that are traditionally associated with specific gender roles, but their presence in other sector is also increasing. Migrant women through their remittances play a significant role in the socio-economic development of their household as it can be used to improve the family's well-being, with increasing expenditure on food, health care and education. So, migration of women has become an important factor affecting the course of socio-economic development of the country. As the nature of women's contributions to development is dependent on the environment within which they live, migrate and work, it is important to improve our existing socio-economic structure of the society, including increase access to decent work, social protection, gender equality in employment opportunity and wage. It is equally important to appreciate the positive contribution of women migrants in sustainable development of the society, and also to acknowledge that development cannot be truly sustainable and inclusive until it encompasses the economic, social and political empowerment of females at all stages of migration. The role of social remittances – transfers of practices, norms, identities, and social capital with the focus on the contributions of migrant women in changing social, cultural, and political norms across households and communities can be considered for future study.

Table 4: Percentage Distribution of Migrant workers by Frequency of Remittances, Amount of Remittances and Use of remittances Chennai, 2019

Sectors	Number	Frequency of Remittances				No remits	Amount of Remittances				Use of remittances				
		Monthly	Once in twice/thrice month	Irregular			<3000	3-6000	6-9000	>9000	Food	Health care	Educat.	Debt repaymt.	Others
Service	38 (37.25)	11 (25.58)	4 (14.2)	2 (10.5)	-	3 (9.6)	8 (18.1)	4 (25)	9 (81.8)	9 (18.3)	7 (36.8)	.5 (38.4)	1 (8.3)	6 (66.6)	
Construct ion	7 (6.86)	9 (20.9)	10 (35.7)	8 (42.1)	5 (41.6)	6 (19.3)	10 (22.7)	3 (18.7)	-	14 (28.5)	2 (10.5)	2 (15.3)	4 (33.3)	-	
Food & Allied	13 (12.74)	7 (16.2)	5 (17.85)	3 (15.78)	3 (25)	9 (29)	8 (18.1)	2 (12.5)	-	8 (16.3)	4 (21)	1 (7.6)	3 (25)	-	
Manufact uring	18 (17.64)	10 (23.25)	6 (21.42)	4 (21.05)	2 (16.6)	5 (16.1)	5 (11.3)	6 (37.5)	2 (18.1)	7 (14.2)	3 (15.7)	3 (23)	1 (8.3)	-	
Personal care services	26 (25.49)	6 (13.9)	3 (10.7)	2 (10.5)	2 (16.6)	8 (25.8)	13 (29.5)	1 (6.2)	-	11 (22.4)	3 (15.7)	2 (15.3)	3 (25)	3 (33.3)	
Total	102 (100)	43 (42.15)	28 (27.45)	19 (18.62)	12 (11.7)	31 (30.3)	44 (43.1)	16 (15.6)	11 (10.78)	49 (48)	19 (18.6)	13 (12.7)	12 (11.76)	9	

Source: based on field survey 2019

Acknowledgment

Dr. Ghuncha Firdaus is thankful for the financial support from the Indian Council of Social Science (ICSSR), New Delhi, India in the form of PDF (ICSSR- F. NO. 3-60/2017-18/PDF).

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