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Level and Gender Differentials in Inter-state Out-Migration in India

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Abstract

By using unit level data on migration from nationally representative National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) for two points of time (1993 and 2007-08), this paper looks at the change in the level of employment related inter-state out migration in India. This paper brings out: the change occurred in the rate of inter-state out-migration between 1993 and 2007-08, the proportion of economically engaged women within the category of women who migrated due to marriage out of their state, the volume of employment related inter-state out migration of women, and finally, the propensity of Indian people for employment related inter-state out migration by their social, economic and geographical attributes. This paper finds a two times increase in inter-state out-migration in India during last one and a half decades. The increase is found even higher in many states/union territories and when we confine the analysis only to the working-age population. The gender gap has been glaring. Compared to 35 males per 1000 working age male population out-migrating across the border of their state of domicile for employment there is only 10 per 1000 working age females. Further female migration in India is predominantly occurs within the state. Out of the total women inter-state out-migrants, 4 percent reported to have migrated exclusively for employment, while more than 80 per cent reported marriage as a reason of migration. In India, economic activity of women is under reported. Keeping this in view, we have tried to adjust the reason of migration for women. This study shows that the adjusted employment related reason of migration for inter-state women rises to 18 per cent at the all India level. The logistic regression analysis further shows that these women who reported marriage a reason of migration but actually part of the workforce belong to lower socio-economic households.

Keywords: *Employment; gender; internal out- migration; National Sample Survey; India*

Introduction

The scholars who have studied migration dynamics of India share divergent views on the migration tendency of its people. Davis (1951) had an opinion that, migration for employment has been low in India. Zachariah (1964) also had the same view and stated that migration component for the total population change has been low in India. Reasons for less mobility have been attributed to the role of caste networks, the government's hostility to urban in-migrants,

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and/or the relative underdevelopment of labour intensive manufacturing in India (Munshi and Rosenzweig 2007; Kundu 2009). On the other hand, by analysing census data, Rele (1969) reached a conclusion that the population redistribution in India has started increasing from around 1940. In his opinion, economic development and urbanisation were the major factors for increased population mobility. From an analysis of migration statistics up to the early 1990s, Kundu, et al. (1996) noticed a decline in mobility in India, although other studies reported an increase in employment or work-related migration (Bhagat 2010).

Along with overall low employment related migration, the proportion of women migrants for employment is small in India. For many Indian women, marriage and migration go hand in hand, because the vast majority of Indian marriages are virilocal, i.e., the wife moves to the husband's household. Thus, several researchers have concluded that the migration of women is primarily caused by marriage or as dependents (Bose, 1973; Premi, 1979; Nangia et al, 1990; Rele, 1969). As marriage emerges as the single most prominent reason for the migration of women in India, there is an inherent tendency of stereotyping women as dependent or associational migrants. However, many of these women get engaged in economic activities after migration, but it generally remains subsumed. Hence, there is another group of scholars who argue that, although marriage continues to be the predominant reason for the overwhelming presence of women amongst the migrants, the increase is also because of the gender-specific pattern of labour movement (Sassen-Koob 1984; Ghosh 2002; Mazumdar, Indrani; et al, 2013). In this line, a recent study by Smriti Rao and Kade Finnoff (2015) found that marriage migration in India is partly economic assuming that the rate of migration of women in India has increased.

In the current context, the discussion on employment related migration can be placed against the on-going debates on the changes in patterns of employment and job creation in India. The impact of globalisation and the concomitant increase in communication and transport facilities in India during the last two decades, made the movement of people much easier. Further, the growth of service sector employment may have attracted many educated people to urban areas. All these factors might have increased the volume of inter-state migration in India. In this scenario, it is reasonable to assume that rate of migration has increased in India not only for men but also for women. But, we don't have an account of the volume of employment related out migration of women in India. In this backdrop, this study intends to answer two questions: (1) What is the gender differential in inter-state out-migration in general and employment related migration in particular? and (2) Whether there is a differential tendency among the people of India to migrate by their social, economic and geographical attributes? This paper brings out: the overall change occurred in the rate of inter-state out-migration between 1993 and 2007-08, the volume of employment related migration of women, the proportion of

economically engaged women within the category of women who migrated due to marriage, and finally, the propensity of Indian people to take up migration for employment by their social, economic and geographical attributes.

Patriarchy and mobility in India

India is a country where the majority of the communities follow patriarchal social setup. It has wider impact through manifesting and institutionalising male dominance over women in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general (Lerner, 1989; Walby, 1990). The term 'patriarchy' is used to describe the power relationship between men and women (Sultana, 2012). Patriarchy according to Hartman (1976) is a set of social relations which has a material base (inheritance of property and title through the male lineage) and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women. This control is maintained by excluding women from access to necessary economically productive resources and by restricting women's mobility. Women's subordination has a material base, women are socialised into low paying jobs, paid less for the same amount of job than their male counterparts, and in addition to any paid labour they have to do unpaid domestic labour outside capitalist relations of production.

Migration decisions depend on multiple factors including an individual's gender and position within a social network (Curran & Saguy 2001; Lawson 1998). The near-invisibility of women as labour migrants and their presumed passivity in the migration process are deeply influenced by their assumed place in the home. The gendered responsibilities of men as breadwinners and women as wives and mothers influence the decisions to migrate and explain why women are less likely than men to participate in migration or in the labour force. Thus, gender is deeply embedded in determining who moves and how those moves take place. The feminist view of gender as a "social construction" has raised the question how does patriarchy, or the hierarchies of power, domination affect women's ability to migrate. Yet, understanding gender is critical in the migration context. Gender is seen as a core organizing principle that underlies migration and related processes, such as the adaptation to the new destination, continued contact with the place of original and possible return.

There are three distinct stages where gender relations, roles, and hierarchies influence the migration process and produce differential outcomes for women: the pre-migration stage, the transition across state boundaries, and the experiences of migrants in the receiving area. In the pre-migration stage, many factors make migration more or less possible for women. These include the state and structure of the national economy, gender relations and hierarchies; status and roles; and structural characteristics of the sending area. Gender relations and hierarchies within the family context affect the migration of women because it is usually within the family that female subordination to male

authority plays it-self out (Boyd and Grieco, 2003). A United Nations report on women and migration argues that the impact of women's status and roles on their propensity to migrate must be considered at three levels: individual, familial, and societal. Individual factors include age, birth order, race/ethnicity, urban/rural origins, marital status (single, married, divorced, widowed), reproductive status (children or no children), role in the family (wife, daughter, mother), position in family (authoritative or subordinate), educational status, occupational skills/training, labour force experience, and class position. Family factors include size, age/sex composition, life-cycle stage, structure (nuclear, extended, etc.), and class standing. Societal factors include those community norms and cultural values that determine whether or not women can migrate and, if they can, how (i.e., labour or as associational migrants) and with whom (alone or with family).

In India, the socio-political and economic life of women including their mobility has been strictly restricted by this social setup. The construction of gender roles by patriarchy places men and women at different levels in social and economic life. As it is critical to understand the role of gender in every aspect of economic life, migration is not an exception, because there exists a differential propensity to migrate for men and women (Donato et al, 2006). In part because migration theory has traditionally emphasised the causes of migration over questions of who migrates, it has often failed to adequately address gender-specific migration experiences. Without clear theoretical underpinnings, it becomes difficult to explain, for example, the conditions under which women migrate. Answering these questions and other more gender-sensitive inquiries requires showing how a seemingly gender-neutral process of movement is, in fact, highly gender-specific and may result in differential outcomes for men and women.

Although, there is a large number of studies explore the dynamics of gender and international migration in developing and developed countries (Boyd and Grieco, 2003; Quinlan 2005), such studies are limited in India. Majority of studies in India focused on pattern of marriage migration (Rao and Finnoff 2015; Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003), dependency on the principle bread winner (Boyd 1989; Hugo 1995; Premi 1980) and effect of male migration on left behind wives (Desai and Banerji, 2014; Sirkeci, 2009) and few of them are linked to short distance migration. According to Bhagat, 2010, in India women primarily migrate due to marriage or tend to settle down with the earning member of the household, unlike in South-East and East Asia, where female migration tends to occur as a result of pull factors generated by labour-intensive industrialization. Despite its significance, systematic research on gender and inter-state out-migration in India has been severely limited due to the lack of nationally representative data. The study therefore grabs a wonderful opportunity of examine the inter-state migratory process with special focus on level and gender differential dynamics between two migration related rounds (49th and 64th) of the NSS.

Data and Methods

The current study utilises unit level data of 49th (1993) and 64th (2007-2008) rounds of National Sample Survey (NSS) carried out by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) a wing of the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Govt. of India¹. These are the two rounds of the NSS, which collected migration information at the national level at the place of origin. The National Sample Survey is a nationally representative, large-scale and multi-round survey. The NSS 49th round (Housing Condition & Migration) conducted during 1993, collected information on out-migration and in-migration from all the states/union territories of India. This survey covered a sample of 119421 households (75050 in rural areas and 44371 in urban areas) and covered a population of 596712 persons (389847 in rural areas and 206865 in urban areas). Information on migration particulars was collected for each member of the sample households through the housing condition schedule 1.2. The NSS 64th round (Employment & Unemployment Situation in India) conducted during 2007–2008, collected information on out-migration and in-migration data by states/union territories of India with the coverage of 125,578 households (79091 in rural areas and 46487 in urban areas) and a sample 572254 persons (374294 in rural areas and 197960 in urban areas). The analysis is done for all the states/union territories of India.

An internal out-migrant is defined as ‘a former member of a household, who left the household any time in the past five years for staying outside the state within India provided he/she, was alive on the date of survey’. Thus, the study is confined to inter-state migration only. Out-Migration Rate is estimated using unit-level data of NSS. We have estimated internal out-migration rate which is defined as ‘the number of out-migrants in last five years at the time survey divided by the exposed population per 1000 as of the respective states’.

Multivariate analysis: Multivariate analysis in terms of logistic regression has been used in the analysis. In order to examine the association between households’ socio-economic condition with migration status, we have used multivariate binary logistic regression model. Migration status (Migrant household =1 if at least one member of the household migrated from one state to another state within country and 0 otherwise) are dichotomous. The independent (predictor) variables are gender, the place of residence, social groups, religion, household size, Monthly Per capita Consumer Expenditure (MPCE) and region. The equation of logistic regression for multiple predictor variables is

$$\text{Logit}(Y) = \ln\left(\frac{p}{1-p}\right) = \alpha + \beta_1x_1 + \beta_2x_2 + \epsilon$$

where p is the probability of the event and α is intercepted, β are regression coefficients, x_i is set of predictors and ϵ is an error term.

¹From both the rounds of NSSO, internal out-migration of last five years are considered.

Monthly Per Capita Consumer Expenditure (MPCE): In the absence of income data, we have used the consumer expenditure of households to assess the relationship between economic status and migration. We worked out monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) dividing the total household expenditure from the household size. We constructed MPCE quintile by distributing households into five equal percentile groups, which are defined as lowest, lower, medium, higher and highest quintile respectively.

Inter-state Out-Migration Scenario in India in 1993 and 2007-08

As a background, let us see the level of inter-state out migration in India and its states/union territories for the years 1993 and 2007-08. In the year 1993, there were 6149054 inter-state out migrants in India when the country had a total population of 775517061. In other words, in the year 1993, out of every 1000 people, eight were living outside of their state. But, after 14 years (2007-08), this has increased to 15, suggesting that during 2007-08, 15 people from every 1000 population in India lived outside of their state. Inter-state out migration rate for working age population (15-59 years of age) has increased from 13 to 23 during 1993 and 2007-08. The two-fold increase in the rate of inter-state out-migration during 1993 to 2008 *prima facie* make us believe that inter-state out migration in India is on the rise. Figure 1 and 2 show inter-state out migration rates (of working age population) for states and union territories of India for the years 1993 and 2007-08.

The maps and table 1 clearly show an increase in inter-state out-migration of working age population in all the states and union territories of India. At the national level, a two-fold increase in the rate of inter-state out-migration is noticed for the overall population and working age population during 1993 and 2007-08. In the year 1993, the inter-state out-migration rate per 1000 population was relatively higher in states/union territories viz. Bihar (28), Lakshadweep (20), Chandigarh and Kerala (16), Andaman & Nicobar, and Himachal Pradesh (14) and Uttar Pradesh (13). Whereas, in the year 2007-08, the top 10 out-migrating states/ union territories of India were Bihar (35), Himachal Pradesh, and Uttaranchal (31), Lakshadweep (29), Uttar Pradesh (28), Odisha (23), Andaman & Nicobar, and Rajasthan (20), Kerala (19) and Jharkhand (18). The inter-state out-migration rate has noticeably increased in all the states/union territories. In comparison to the volume of inter-state out-migration of 1993, this has doubled in Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the year 2007-08. When we confine our analysis only to the working age population, the increase is even higher. Overall, the increase in inter-state out-migration is evident in both the cases and, therefore, there are substantial reasons to hold the view that inter-states out-migration in India is picking up momentum.

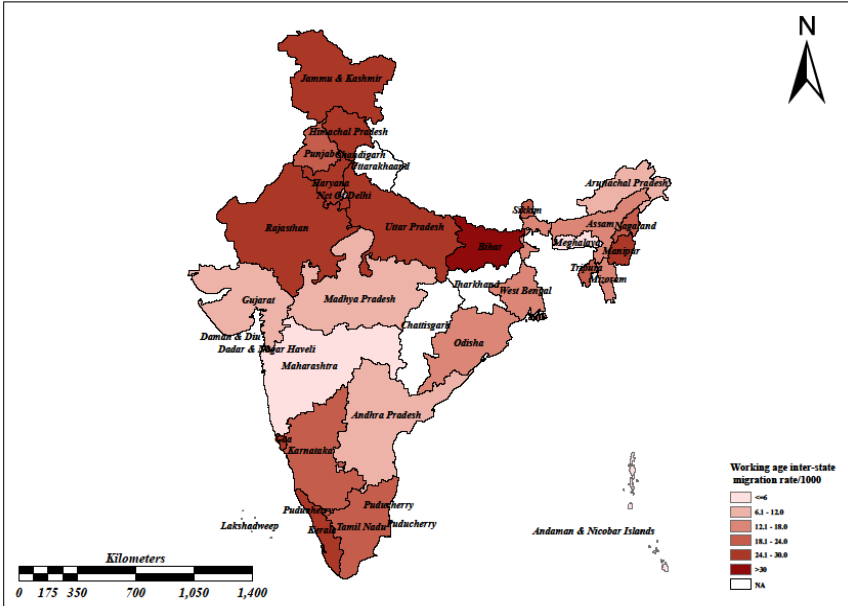
Table 1: State/Union Territory wise inter-state out migration rate for the years 1993 & 2007-08 (per 1000 population)

States/UTs	1993		2007-08	
	Over all	Working age	Over all	Working age
Jammu & Kashmir	10.2	16.9	6.0	9.1
Himachal Pradesh	14.4	23.1	31.2	45.9
Punjab	5.5	9.0	7.0	9.9
Chandigarh	15.5	23.6	17.3	23.3
Uttaranchal*	-		31.0	45.8
Haryana	10.9	15.6	15.9	23.5
Delhi	2.4	3.4	7.7	11.7
Rajasthan	10	16.4	19.5	31.2
Uttar Pradesh	12.6	21.6	28.3	45.8
Bihar	27.7	43.6	35.3	63.1
Sikkim	5.5	8.7	15.0	22.2
Arunachal Pradesh	2.3	2.2	6.0	9.6
Nagaland	6.3	9.8	8.5	12.5
Manipur	10.7	16.3	10.1	15.6
Mizoram	4.6	6.9	5.6	8.6
Tripura	5.7	8.7	5.3	8.0
Meghalaya	1.1	1.6	4.5	7.0
Assam	4.1	5.2	4.6	7.2
West Bengal	4.4	7.0	12.3	18.6
Jharkhand*	-		17.5	27.3
Odisha	5.1	6.7	23.0	35.6
Chhattisgarh*	-		8.7	13.1
Madhya Pradesh	3.3	4.6	5.6	8.4
Gujarat	2.8	3.1	3.5	4.9
Daman & Diu	3.9	5.9	12.8	18.3
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	3.7	3.4	1.3	2.0
Maharashtra	1.3	1.9	4.9	6.9
Andhra Pradesh	2.3	3.4	7.7	10.8
Karnataka	6.5	8.9	8.0	11.3
Goa	10.9	16.6	6.3	9.0
Lakshadweep	20	30.8	29.2	49.8
Kerala	15.5	22.4	19.1	28.5
Tamil Nadu	5.6	7.9	7.4	11.0
Pondicherry	6.4	8.3	16.9	25.2
Andaman & Nicobar	14.4	19.9	20.4	24.8
India	8.3	12.5	15.3	23.0

Source: Unit level data of 49th and 64th round of National Sample Survey

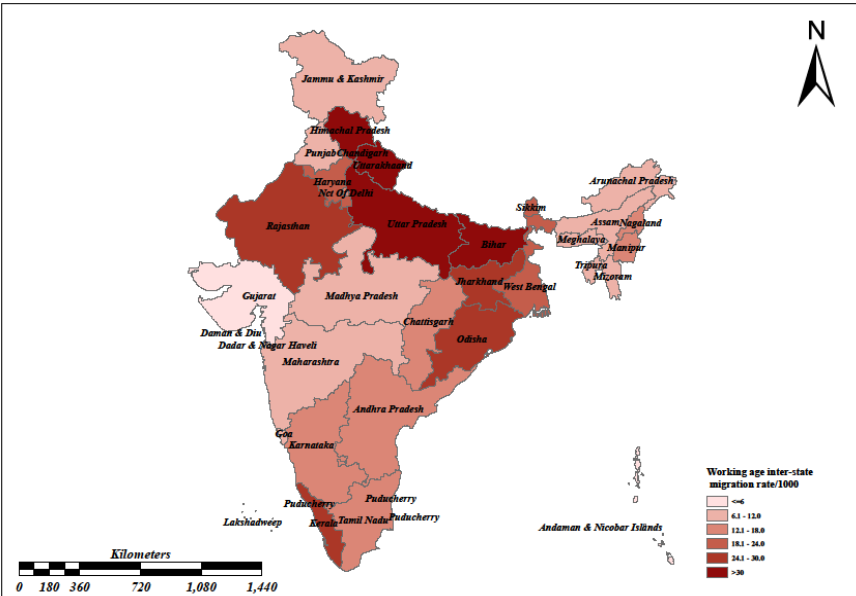
* States formed after 1993

Figure 1: Inter-state out migration rates per 1000 working age population, India, 1993



Source: Unit level data of 49th round of National Sample Survey

Figure 2: Inter-state out migration rates per 1000 working age population, India, 2007-08



Source: Unit level data of 64th round of National Sample Survey

Region wise, 53 percent of the total internal out-migrants from India are from Eastern region (Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Odessa, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal) and 21 percent are from North (Haryana, Punjab, Western Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and Delhi). Moving from individual level to household level, NSS data on migration (2007-08) show that, four out of every five households in rural India have at least one member staying out of their state of domicile. The caste composition of the migrant households suggests that the majority of the migrant households belong to either Other Backward Classes (46 percent) or General (32 percent). As regarded to religious composition, 83 percent migrant households are Hindus, and 13 percent are Muslims.

Gender differential in inter-state out migration in India

Understanding gender differential in migration is important because, migration is primarily viewed as a conscious act of individuals for achieving more welfare and comfort in their life. In India, physical mobility is an instance of long held male prerogatives. Most of the studies on migration found women either as dependent migrants or as left behind. Most of the migration of women is recoded as marriage migration, because village exogamy is an integral part of Indian marriage system. However, many of these women get engaged in economic activities after marriage. As per NSSO 64th round data (2007-08), 81 out of every 100 inter-state out-migrant women reported marriage as their reason for migration. In this section, we first analyse the inter-state out migration rate separately for males and females. Secondly, we discuss the reason for migration for males and females to see, out of every 1000 males and females how many males and females have migrated exclusively for employment crossing the border of their state of domicile. Finally, we will see the proportion of women who have reported as marriage migrants but engaged in economic activity after migration.

Moving towards the gender dimensions of inter-state out migration, overall assessment suggests that the gender gap in migration is enormous in India. Table 2 gives inter-state out migration rate for males and females of working age population for all the states and union territories of India. In the year 1993, there were only two women (of working age group) out of every 1000 staying out of their state of domicile. While, there were 22 men (of working age group) out of every 1000 staying out of their state of domicile in India. However, in the year 2007-08, inter-state out migration rate for working age women has increased to 10 per 1000 and 36 per 1000 for men. During this period, out migration of women has increased from 18 to 34 in Andaman & Nicobar, 20 to 32 in Chandigarh, five to 31 in Haryana, four to 18 in Himachal Pradesh, and eight to 17 in Kerala. The increase of out migration of men during this period has increased from 80 to 120 in Bihar, 43 to 77 in Himachal Pradesh, 12 to 65 in Odisha and 39 to 75 in Uttar Pradesh. Where Odisha's out migration rate is significant because, it has emerged as one of the states where inter-state out

migration has increased many folds. For unveiling the major reasons for migration of men and women in India and its states, we have further analysed major reasons for out migration separately for working age males and female.

Table 2: Inter-state out migration rate per 1000 working age population by sex for the years 1993 and 2007-08

States/UTs	1993		2007-08	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Jammu & Kashmir	33.4	1.4	14.9	3.1
Himachal Pradesh	42.9	4.4	76.8	17.9
Punjab	16.2	1.2	10.3	9.4
Chandigarh	26.4	20.1	16.6	31.7
Uttarakhand*			63.8	27.1
Haryana	24.7	5.4	16.8	30.8
Delhi	4.1	2.5	1.3	25.3
Rajasthan	30.6	1.7	47.7	14.2
Uttar Pradesh	38.9	2.8	74.8	16.0
Bihar	80.2	4.1	119.6	8.0
Sikkim	14.4	2.2	25.3	18.7
Arunachal Pradesh	3.6	0.8	15.4	3.1
Nagaland	17.2	1.3	20.8	4.4
Manipur	28.2	4.5	22.8	8.4
Mizoram	10.1	3.5	11.6	5.6
Tripura	14.8	1.9	12.6	3.3
Meghalaya	2.9	0.3	10.5	3.4
Assam	8.5	1.5	12.2	1.8
West Bengal	12.9	0.5	28.7	8.2
Jharkhand*			46.1	8.0
Odisha	12.1	1.2	64.7	7.9
Chhattisgarh*			15.3	11.0
Madhya Pradesh	6.2	2.7	11.3	5.2
Gujarat	5.6	0.5	4.8	5.0
Daman & Diu	10.0	1.6	11.7	27.9
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	6.8	0.0	1.3	3.0
Maharashtra	3.0	0.7	6.1	7.7
Andhra Pradesh	5.9	0.8	14.3	7.5
Karnataka	15.2	2.3	11.2	11.3
Goa	6.4	28.0	14.7	3.4
Lakshadweep	57.0	12.6	86.1	16.9
Kerala	38.2	7.7	41.4	17.1
Tamil Nadu	14.5	1.4	19.1	3.4
Pondicherry	13.4	2.4	45.9	4.9
Andaman & Nicobar	21.1	18.4	16.9	34.0
India	22.4	2.1	35.6	10.1

Source: Unit level data of 49th and 64th round of National Sample Survey

* States formed after 1993

Reasons for migration are broadly categorised as employment, marriage, migration of parent/earning member of the family (associational migrant), studies, and others. It is found that in India, out of every 100 male (of working

age group) internal out-migrants, 84 migrate for employment, one due to marriage, one due to the migration of parents/other earning member of the family, 12 for studies and two due to any other reason. Thus, the major reason for male out migration in India is employment and studies and this is true for all the states and union territories except Delhi, where the second major reason for out-migration of the working-age male is 'due to any other reason'. Employment is the main reason for migration for more than 80 percent working age male migrants in states viz. Assam (96 percent), Uttaranchal and Bihar (94 percent), Tripura, West Bengal and Jammu & Kashmir (91 percent), Uttar Pradesh (90 percent), Jharkhand (86 percent), Rajasthan (84 percent) and Madhya Pradesh (81 percent). On the contrary, marriage is the main reason for the out migration of working age females in India. Out of every 100 female internal out-migrants, only four migrate for employment, 81 migrate due to marriage, nine are migrated with parents/other earning member of the family, four for studies and two migrate due to any other reason. Marriage as the major reason for migration is highest in Delhi (96 percent) and lowest in Meghalaya (4 percent). More than 80 percent of women out-migrants of Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir, West Bengal, Assam, Haryana, Daman & Diu, Punjab, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Karnataka are migrants due to marriage. Women out-migrants for employment is highest in north-eastern states viz. Arunachal Pradesh (43 percent), Mizoram (33 percent), Meghalaya (32 percent), Manipur (28 percent), along with Pondicherry (21 percent) and Jharkhand (20 percent). A considerable number of women out-migrated for studies from the states/union territories of Meghalaya (64 percent), Andaman & Nicobar (43 percent), Lakshadweep (41 percent) and Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur (32 percent). While endorsing the significant increase in out-migration in India during last one and a half decades, volume of employment related migration is negligible for women in India, and this is true for all the states/union territories except north-eastern states (Mizoram, Meghalaya, Manipur, Meghalaya) and Lakshadweep where matrilineal social setup still prevails.

In India, the purpose of migration is found very different for males and females. Table 3 outlines the difference in employment related inter-state out migration for working age males and females during 2007-08. This is estimated as the percentage of males/females migrated for employment from the total male/female migration stock of every state. It tells the proportion of males and females migrated for employment from the total out migration stock of each state and union territories. At the national level, of the total out migration stock of males, 84 percent are employment related migrants where as it is only four percent for females. More than 90 percent of the total male out migrants of states likes Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Odisha are migrated for employment. Female out migration for employment is found higher in north-eastern states like Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya and mainland states like Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh.

Table 3: Difference in employment related inter-state out migration for working age males and females, 2007-08

States/UTs	Percentage of males/females migrated for employment from total inter-state out migrants	
	Male	Female
Jammu & Kashmir	91.2	0.3
Himachal Pradesh	74.7	4.5
Punjab	71.3	1.3
Chandigarh	77.1	11.1
Uttaranchal	93.7	0.9
Haryana	71.4	1.8
Delhi	61.7	0.0
Rajasthan	83.7	1.8
Uttar Pradesh	90.4	1.5
Bihar	93.5	2.3
Sikkim	59.5	7.3
Arunachal Pradesh	79.6	43.1
Nagaland	75.4	14.0
Manipur	82.6	28.1
Mizoram	83.8	33.2
Tripura	91.3	6.9
Meghalaya	63.4	31.5
Assam	95.9	3.1
West Bengal	90.8	3.0
Jharkhand	86.3	19.8
Odisha	92.7	4.8
Chhattisgarh	86.4	15.0
Madhya Pradesh	81.5	4.1
Gujarat	74.9	1.6
Daman & Diu	89.2	8.1
Dadra& Nagar Haveli	100	0.0
Maharashtra	75.9	5.7
Andhra Pradesh	65.2	4.9
Karnataka	81.6	9.1
Goa	79.5	14.8
Lakshadweep	73.4	12.7
Kerala	64.3	6.1
Tamil Nadu	82.4	9.9
Pondicherry	44.7	21.3
Andaman & Nicobar	50.5	10.2
India	84	4.2

Source: Unit level data of 64th round of National Sample Survey

Employment dimension of women's migration

Although, marriage is the single most prominent reason for the migration of women, many get engaged in economic activities after migration. However, it is generally missed to be recorded. We have estimated the proportion of women engaged in economic activity even though; they reported marriage as the reason for their migration. Engagement in economic activity is defined as:

Table 4: Participation in economic activities by migrant women (working age) who reported marriage as reason for migration, NSS, 2007- 08

State/Union territories	Percentage distribution of Reasons for Migration					
	Employment	Marriage		Migration of parent/earning member of the family	Studies	Others
		Not engaged in economic activities	Engaged in economic activities			
Jammu & Kashmir	0.3	94.5	1.5	2.3	0.4	0.9
Himachal Pradesh	4.5	55.2	20.8	8	8.9	2.8
Punjab	1.3	82.7	4.3	2.5	6.3	2.6
Chandigarh	11.1	67.0	3.2	13.7	0	5.1
Uttarakhand	0.9	62.0	14.5	15.4	5.9	1.4
Haryana	1.8	81.3	7.7	5.3	2.8	1.6
Delhi	0	98.2	1.3	0	0.5	0.0
Rajasthan	1.8	82.1	2.1	9.7	3.6	0.7
Uttar Pradesh	1.5	78.9	2.5	13.7	1.8	1.6
Bihar	2.3	73.0	7.7	13	2.9	1.0
Sikkim	7.3	51.7	6.4	7.6	22.9	4.1
Arunachal Pradesh	43.1	7.4	1.1	7.7	32.3	8.4
Nagaland	14	45.9	30.7	0.2	8.2	1.0
Manipur	28.1	27.4	7.2	4.6	31.8	1.0
Mizoram	33.2	40.3	7.4	1.7	16.8	0.7
Tripura	6.9	72.1	3.2	6.4	5.8	5.5
Meghalaya	31.5	1.2	2.4	1	63.8	0.2
Assam	3.1	84.4	5.8	5.3	1.1	0.3
West Bengal	3	87.3	5.6	2.3	0.8	1.0
Jharkhand	19.8	45.2	9.9	13.1	11.2	0.7
Odisha	4.8	62.6	13.7	13.1	2.6	3.2
Chhattisgarh	15	35.7	38.7	8.2	1.3	1.1
Madhya Pradesh	4.1	66.8	16.7	8.5	2.9	0.9
Gujarat	1.6	69.9	15.4	8.6	2.8	1.6
Daman & Diu	8.1	87.9	0.0	4	0	0.0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	72.1	0.0	27.9	0	0.0
Maharashtra	5.7	59.2	20.0	8.3	5.1	1.7
Andhra Pradesh	4.9	45.2	28.1	10.8	9.7	1.3
Karnataka	9.1	57.3	23.3	5.4	1.9	3.0
Goa	14.8	76.4	0.0	8.8	0	0.0
Lakshadweep	12.7	12.2	0.0	15.4	41	18.7
Kerala	6.1	61.0	9.3	7.7	9.1	6.8
Tamil Nadu	9.9	59.3	13.4	8.6	7.6	1.2
Pondicherry	21.3	68.3	1.8	2.8	2.1	3.7
Andaman & Nicobar	10.2	28.7	4.0	10.9	43	3.2
India	4.2	67.1	13.8	9.0	4.1	1.8

Source: Unit level data of 64th round of National Sample Survey

For each out-migrant, it will be ascertained whether he/she is presently engaged in any economic activity. Table 4 shows the state wise proportion of

women (among women who migrated due to marriage) who are economically engaged after migration.

It is found that among women who have reported marriage as the primary reason for migration, 14 percent are engaged in economic activities in India. This is found highest in Chhattisgarh (39 percent), followed by Nagaland (31 percent), Andhra Pradesh (28 percent), Karnataka (23 percent), Himachal Pradesh (21 percent), Maharashtra (20 percent), and Madhya Pradesh (17 percent). Even though women report that they migrated due to marriage, substantial numbers of them are engaged in economic activities in many states. This overlapping is important to be considered before discounting the volume of women's employment-related migration. We have tried to make an adjusted estimate of employment related out-migration percentage for working age females. Table 4 presents the adjusted employment related out-migration of working-age women in India and its states/union territories for the year 2007-08.

Table 5 presents the adjusted employment related out-migration (percentage to the total out migration) of working-age women for India and its states/union territories. Out of the total women interstate out-migrants in India, only four percent are found to have migrated primarily for employment. However, after considering the proportion of economically engaged women within women who have reported marriage as the reason for migration, the percentage of women working after migration in India increases from four percent (percentage of women migrated exclusively for employment to the total migration stock of women) to 18 percent. It means that among the total women migrated due to marriage, 14 percent are engaged in economic activity after migration. If we look at the changes in this regard in each state, percentage of women working within the category of out-migrants is changed from 15 to 54 percent in Chhattisgarh, 14 to 48 percent in Nagaland, five to 33 percent in Andhra Pradesh, nine to 32 percent in Karnataka, five to 25 percent in Himachal Pradesh, six to 26 percent in Maharashtra and four to 21 percent in Madhya Pradesh. It suggests that a straight forward look at migration data for women's employment related migration offers a distorted picture of the actual situation.

Table 5: Adjusted employment related out-migration percentage for working age women

State/Union territory	Percentage to the total interstate out migrant women of working age		
	Migrated Directly for employment	Migrated due to marriage, but engaged in economic activities after migration	Total women migrants engaged in economic activities
Jammu & Kashmir	0.3	1.5	1.8
Himachal Pradesh	4.5	20.8	25.3
Punjab	1.3	4.3	5.6
Chandigarh	11.1	3.2	14.3
Uttarakhand	0.9	14.5	15.4
Haryana	1.8	7.7	9.5
Delhi	0	1.3	1.3
Rajasthan	1.8	2.1	3.9
Uttar Pradesh	1.5	2.5	4
Bihar	2.3	7.7	10
Sikkim	7.3	6.4	13.7
Arunachal Pradesh	43.1	1.1	44.2
Nagaland	14	30.7	44.7
Manipur	28.1	7.2	35.3
Mizoram	33.2	7.4	40.6
Tripura	6.9	3.2	10.1
Meghalaya	31.5	2.4	33.9
Assam	3.1	5.8	8.9
West Bengal	3	5.6	8.6
Jharkhand	19.8	9.9	29.7
Odisha	4.8	13.7	18.5
Chhattisgarh	15	38.7	53.7
Madhya Pradesh	4.1	16.7	20.8
Gujarat	1.6	15.4	17
Daman & Diu	8.1	0.0	8.1
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0.0	0
Maharashtra	5.7	20.0	25.7
Andhra Pradesh	4.9	28.1	33
Karnataka	9.1	23.3	32.4
Goa	14.8	0.0	14.8
Lakshadweep	12.7	0.0	12.7
Kerala	6.1	9.3	15.4
Tamil Nadu	9.9	13.4	23.3
Pondicherry	21.3	1.8	23.1
Andaman & Nicobar	10.2	4.0	14.2
India	4.2	13.8	18.0

Source: Unit level data of 64th round of National Sample Survey

Table 6: Binary logistic regression estimates of likelihoods of individuals for being inter-state out-migrant by their social and economic characteristics

Covariates	Model I	Model II	Model III
<i>Sex</i>			
Male [®]		1.00	
Female		0.03**	
<i>Social Group</i>			
Scheduled Tribes [®]	1.00		1.00
Scheduled Caste	1.12**		1.06
Others backward Classes	1.06		1.01
Others	0.77***		0.89
<i>Religion</i>			
Hindu [®]	1.00		1.00
Muslim	1.40***		1.18***
Others	0.84***		0.91
<i>Place of residence</i>			
Rural [®]		1.00	1.00
Urban		0.81***	0.92**
<i>Household Size</i>			
Less than 5 [®]		1.00	1.00
5 and more than 5		0.77***	0.87***
<i>Monthly Per Capita Consumer Expenditure (MPCE)</i>			
Lowest [®]		1.04	1.00
Lower		1.02	1.08
Medium		0.77***	0.86***
Higher		0.69***	0.97
Highest		0.55***	0.81***
<i>Region</i>			
Eastern [®]			1.00
Western			0.97
North-Eastern			0.95
Northern			0.94
South			1.50***
Pseudo R ²	0.0067	0.0137	0.3304
Log Likelihood	-17944.708	-17821.664	-11851.968
N	28273		

Source: Unit Level Data of the 64th round of National Sample Survey (Schedule 10.2).

Notes: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$, [®]Reference category, Model I (Dependent variable: Individual migration due to employment and marriage, and after migration he/she engaged in economic activity = 1; Otherwise = 0)

North - Haryana, Punjab, Western Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, J&K, Delhi
West-Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Goa

North-East- Assam, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, Manipur
East- Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Odessa, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal

South- Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu

The binary logistic regression model is used to estimate the likelihood of a person being an inter-state out-migrant in India. This is used to understand what influence the probability of being out-migrant in India. The model used

here to address the question ‘does social and economic attributes of an individual make any difference in his/her migration likelihood in India? The dependent (outcome) variable is the interstate out-migration status of individuals and the independent (predictor) variables are their sex, social groups, religion, place of residence, household size, Monthly Per capita Consumer Expenditure (MPCE) and region. We have implemented three models, where the first model considered only social variables (social groups and regions) and the second model considered only economic variables (place of residence, household size and MPCE). In the third model all the variables were put together to understand the combined effect on people for being interstate out-migrants. As per the first model, the result also shows that male had higher odds of migrating than females. With reference to individuals of STs, individuals of SCs are more likely and individuals of ‘Other castes’ are less likely to be inter-state out migrants in India. By religion, Muslims are significantly more likely to migrate out of their state of domicile than Hindu and others and people from south of India have more likelihood of being inter-state out-migrants than people of eastern India. In the second and third model, statistically significant negative relationship between MPCE quintile and interstate out migration was observed, which implied that lower and lowest quintile groups were more likely to take up inter-state out migration compared to higher and highest quintile. In model two, it is found that with reference to rural people, urban people are less likely to out-migrate to other states and it should be noted that the effect of household size is negative as well as significant on keeping all other background characteristics constant. It is also found that migration probability consistently decreases for people of higher expenditure quintiles with reference to the people of the lowest quintile. Putting all variable together in model three, we found that women in India have less likelihood of being inter-state out-migrants than males. Results show that males, people of Muslim religion and people from south India have a significantly higher likelihood of inter-state out-migration. What signifies is that, in India, migration is mainly of: men (as women have low migration probability), rural people (as there is low migration from urban areas), and the poor (as the migration probability consistently decreases for people of higher expenditure quintiles with reference to the people of the lowest quintile). Gender and economic status are the two features of migration in India. In other words, mobility in India is largely selective by sex as women are dismally less in numbers as employment related migrants. The higher mobility of rural people and the economically poor indicate the distress side of migration in India.

Table 7: Binary logistic regression estimates for females being engaged in economic activity despite being inter-state out-migrants due to marriage by their social and economic characteristics

Covariates	Model I	Model II	Model III
<i>Social Group</i>			
Scheduled Tribes®	1.00		1.00
Scheduled Caste	1.02		0.71
Others backward Classes	1.13		0.83
Others	0.88		0.63**
<i>Religion</i>			
Hindu®	1.00		1.00
Muslim	0.51***		0.55**
Others	0.98		1.06
<i>Place of residence®</i>			
Rural®			1.00
Urban		0.74***	0.79*
<i>Household Size</i>			
Less than 5®		1.00	1.00
5 and More than 5		1.00	1.02
<i>Monthly Per Capita Consumer Expenditure (MPCE)</i>			
Lowest®		1.00	1.00
Lower		0.87	0.90
Medium		0.47***	0.49***
Higher		0.65**	0.68**
Highest		0.75*	0.78
<i>Region</i>			
Eastern®		1.00	1.00
Western		1.55***	1.48***
North-Eastern		0.31***	0.24***
Northern		0.43***	0.40***
South		2.14***	2.06***
Pseudo R2	0.0043	0.0497	0.0542
Log Likelihood	-1504.07	-1401.1693	-1394.4804
N	7064		

Source: Unit Level Data of the 64th round of National Sample Survey (Schedule 10.2).

Notes: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$, ®Reference category, Model I (Dependent variable: Female out migrants due to marriage but engaged in economic activity = 1; otherwise 0)

North - Haryana, Punjab, Western Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, J&K, Delhi
West-Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Goa

North-East- Assam, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, Manipur

East- Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Odessa, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal

South- Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu

Table 7 presents the results of binary logistic regression model which is used to estimate the likelihood of women out migrants migrated due to marriage but being engaged in economic activities. As we saw in Table 5, we used same sets of the variable in three different models. It is found that Muslim women (inter-state out-migrants due to marriage) are less likely to engage in economic activity than their Hindu counterparts. By MPCE, women out-migrants from the

medium, higher and highest MPCE quintiles are less likely to engage in economic activity with respect to women out-migrants from lowest and low MPCE quintiles. Women out-migrants of Western India, North-eastern India, North India and South India are more likely to participate in economic activity despite being the reason of their migration is marriage. Gender again works in different ways in a different category of population. Economic engagement is further less among Muslim women (inter-state out-migrants due to marriage) than their Hindu counterparts. By MPCE, women out-migrants from the medium, higher and highest MPCE quintiles are less likely to engage in economic activity with respect to women out-migrants from lowest and low MPCE quintiles. So, women's engagement in economic activity in India can be seen in the premise of economic distress.

Discussions and Conclusion

This paper analysed the gender dimensions in employment related migration in India. After economic liberalisation, India has witnessed an impressive economic growth, improvement in communication and transportation, labour market expansion, improvement in overall access to education, and steady increase in urbanisation. The volume of inter-state out migration has also increased in India. Comparisons of the rate of inter-state out-migration of 1993 and 2007-08, shows a two times increase in internal mobility in the country. While endorsing the significant increase in out-migration in India during last one and a half decades, the volume of employment related migration is negligible for women in India, and this is true for all the states/union territories except north-eastern states and Lakshadweep where matrilineal social setup still prevails. At the national level, out of every 1000 male internal out-migrants of working age group, 840 migrated for employment, while it is only 42 among 1000 females. The relative higher out migration rate of women from north eastern states and Lakshadweep can be attributed to two major reasons. The first is its matrilineal social setup where women of north eastern states and Lakshadweep enjoy more autonomy in economic decision making compared to the women of main land India. The second is the migration of girls for higher education because of the geographical isolation and lack of educational infrastructure in north eastern states and Lakshadweep.

The phrase "feminization of migration" is gaining currency, because, globally female migration is now virtually equal to that of males. However, an overall look at the migration data in India suggests that of 100 women out migrants of working age group, only four migrate for employment whereas 81 migrate due to marriage. However, within the women who have reported marriage as the reason for their migration, (81 of every 100 out-migrants) 14 are found engaged in any economic activity after migration. It suggests that more than 3.5 times of the number of women migrated for employment are in a way economic migrants within those women who actually reported marriage as the reason for their marriage. While adding these numbers (14 out of 81) to

the actual employment related women migrants (4 out of 100), the figure (table5) increases from four to 18 in every 100 working age women migrants. By this estimation, the figures (table5) are increased from 15 to 54 percent in Chhattisgarh, 14 to 48 percent in Nagaland, five to 33 percent in Andhra Pradesh, nine to 32 percent in Karnataka, five to 25 percent in Himachal Pradesh, six to 26 percent in Maharashtra and four to 21 percent in Madhya Pradesh. It suggests that a straight forward look at migration data for women's employment related migration offers only a distorted picture of the actual employment situation of migrant women.

In India, the probability of mobility varies by social and economic attributes of Individuals. The forces of push and pull operate differently for different economic and social groups. In India, we have empirical evidence on inequality in educational and health attainments and economic opportunities among social groups and people from various economic classes. Hence, there are sufficient reasons for assuming an unequal migration probability also among people of different social and economic attributes. In India, migration is mainly of: men (as women have low migration probability), rural people (as there is low migration from urban areas), and the poor (as the migration probability consistently decreases for people of higher expenditure quintiles with reference to the people of the lowest quintile). Gender and economic status are the two major features of internal out migration in India. In other words, mobility in India is largely selective by sex as women are dismally less in numbers as employment related migrants. The higher mobility of rural people and the economically poor households indicate the distress side of internal out migration in India. As a concluding remark, from the increasing volume of internal out-migration across the states/union territories, it may not be correct to hold the view that Indian people are still adamant to migrate. At the same time there are reasons to hold the view of male prerogatives in migration. Hence, there is a need to change our mind-set to appreciate that the women migration is a positive process and they have also right to migrate internally and internationally and women's inter-state migration has also affirmative impact on key aspects of development and growth and they can enrich the multi-dimensional fabric of the Indian society.

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