CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The introductory chapter has provided a general overview of literature which surrounds the research. The intent here is to provide some additional background for migration research in general.

II.1 Theories of Migration

The earliest attempts to formalize a theory of migration was made by Ravenstein in 1885 in a paper which outlines a series of generalizations based on migration data obtained from the British Census of 1881. The generalizations, as they appeared in the first paper (1885) and extended and amended in a second paper (1889), are summarized below:

1. Migration and distance:

a) The great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance and "migrants enumerated in a centre of absorption will ... grow less as distance from the centre increases" (1885 : 198-199).

b) "Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and industry" (1885 : 199).
2. Migration by stages:

a) "There takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces 'currents of migration' setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants" (1885 : 198).

b) "The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled-up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom" (1885 : 199).

3. Stream and Counter stream:

a) "Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter current" (1885 : 199).

4. Urban-rural differences in the propensity to migrate:

a) "The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country (1885 : 199).

5. Predominance of females among short-distance migrants:

a) "Females appear to predominate among short journey migrants" (1889 : 288).

6. Technology and Migration
"Does migration increase? I believe so .... Wherever I was able to make comparison, I found that an increase in the means of locomotion and a development of manufactures and commerce have led to an increase of migration" (1889 : 288).

Dominance of the economic motive:

"Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to "better" themselves in the material respects" (1889 : 286).

Ravenstein's basic laws have since been discussed, systematised and expanded by a number of researchers but the importance of economic motive in the decision to migrate, the negative influence of distance and the role of step-migration suggested by him are some of the important features which have not been invalidated.

Several essays on migration theory have focussed on migration and distance, and have advanced mathematical formulations of this relationship. Perhaps the best known of these is Stouffer's (1940) theory of intervening opportunities which states that "the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance, and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities". In 1960,
Stouffer introduced the concept of competing migrants to his earlier formulation, so that the number of migrants to a given destination was defined as a direct function of the opportunities between origin and destination as well as a function of the number of migrants competing for opportunities at that destination.

George K Zipf (1946) proposed the $P_1 P_2/D$ hypothesis which states that the number of migrants between any two communities is proportionate to the product of their populations divided by the shortest transportation distance. This gravitational model has been tested and partially verified in several situations.

Everett S Lee's (1966) "A theory of Migration" is another attempt to construct an all encompassing theory that would explain human behaviour as it relates to moving from one place to another. Lee derived certain self-evident propositions and deduced some conclusions with regard to the actual volume of migration, the development of streams and counter streams as well as the characteristics of migrants. The concepts of push and pull were central to his theory. Although he did not use these specific terms, he stated: In every area, there are countless factors which act to hold people within the area or attract people to it, and there are others which tend to repel them....
Some of these factors affect most people in much the same way, while others affect different people in different ways (p. 53).

Whether push or pull factors predominate in a given place at a given point in time determines to a considerable extent the characteristics of migrants in comparison to non-migrants whether at place of origin or of destination. Thus Lee hypothesized that: Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected; migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected, or where the minus factors are overwhelming to entire population groups, they may not be selected at all (p. 55).

Building on Lee's proposition, Bouvier and his colleagues (1976) argued that "the level of a society's evolutionary development must be incorporated into any general theory of migration differentials". Push factors are more likely to be present in a less developed society; pull factors in an advanced society. People can be "pushed" off the farm after repeated droughts, for example. Others can be "pulled" to the city as urbanization and industrialization emerge alongside societal development.

Sjaastad (1962) presented a human investment theory of migration which treats the decision to migrate as an investment decision involving costs and returns distributed
over time. The returns and costs include monetary and non-monetary components. Non-monetary returns consist of "psychic benefits" as a result of locational preferences and monetary returns consist of higher income in the destination. Similarly costs are composed of such items as costs of transport, disposal of movable and immovable property necessitated by a shift in residence; of wages foregone while in transit; of retraining for a new job, if necessary. There are psychic costs too of leaving familiar surroundings; in many cases of giving-up one's language and culture; and of adopting new dietary habits and social customs; of growing out of one's ethos altogether (pp. 80-93).

He assumes that in deciding to move, migrants tend to maximise their net real life-span incomes and they have at least a rough idea of what their life-span income streams would be in the present place of residence as well as in the destination area and of the costs involved in migration. This theory is not applicable to developing countries in its entirety because of prevailing high urban unemployment rates which mean that a migrant must include in the decision to migrate an assessment of his chances of getting a job in the destination.

Todaro (1976) suggested a model which takes this explicitly into account. In his model, the decision to migrate includes perception by the potential migrant of an
"expected" stream of income that is a function of both the prevailing urban wage structure and a subjective probability of obtaining employment in the urban modern sectors. He sums up four major features of his model as follows (pp. 35-36).

a) Migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial, but also psychological.

b) The decision to migrate depends on "expected" rather than actual urban-rural real wage differentials and the probability of successfully obtaining employment in the urban modern sector.

c) The probability of obtaining an urban job is inversely related to the urban unemployment rate.

d) Migration rates in excess of urban job opportunity growth rates are not only possible but also rational and probable in the face of continued positive urban-rural expected income differentials. High rates of urban unemployment are therefore inevitable outcomes of the serious imbalances of economic opportunities between urban and rural areas of most developing countries.

Todaro visualised rural-urban migration as a two-stage process. In the first stage, the migrant arrives in the urban area, and, in many cases remain either unemployed or employed in the traditional sectors while hunting for a modern sector job. In the second stage, he often succeeds in obtaining a modern sector job which usually carries
higher earnings. From the viewpoint of life span income, the modern sector earnings during the second stage are sufficiently high so as to offset the zero or low traditional sector earnings during the first stage. Thus, even if the migrant initially experienced a loss of income as a result of migration, he could still be acting rationally as long as the present value of the life-span urban income exceeds the present value of the rural income plus the costs of relocation.

A major weakness of Todaro's model is its assumption that all potential migrants have equal information about the urban labour market as well as equal access to urban jobs. Some other assumptions of his model, for example, migrants often look for modern sector jobs; wages in the traditional sector are always lower than wages in the modern sector; the decision to move is a "once for all" decision have also been severely criticised. The model gives only partial explanation in the sense that it does not emphasise the role of non-economic factors in the mobility decisions.

There are group differences in migration. These differentials appear to exist with regard to age, sex, marital status, caste, education, occupation, physical fitness, deviant behaviour etc. Demographers have repeatedly tried to establish "universal" migration
differential which would apply in all countries and at all
times. Dorothy S Thomas (1938) after an exhaustive search
of the literature on migration selectivity, was forced to
conclude that the only generalization on migration diffe-
rentials that held with some consistency over a period of
time was that persons in the late teens, twenties and early
thirties, are more migratory than others. Even the uni-
versal finding on age selectivity has some exceptions. One
of the most obvious of these is the migration of persons
to areas of better climate which is usually selective of
older and retired persons.

Realizing the difficulty of constructing a general
theory of migration selectivity, Bogue (1961) suggested
that aside from age, "further differentials do not exist
and should not be expected to exist" and proposed, the
testing of hypotheses which express principles of selecti-
vity under specified combinations of environment and popu-
lation conditions at places of origin and destination.
Based on U.S. data, he advanced certain hypotheses which
are summarised below:

1. There is a series of stages in the development of
any major migration stream. In initial stages,
men out-number women but with the settlement
phase, sex selectivity tends to disappear or
even favour women. During initial stages, mig-
RATION is highly selective of young but mature
adults, persons who are single, divorced or widowed.
2. Migration stimulated by economic growth and technological improvement attracts the better educated. Conversely, areas tending to stagnation lose their better educated and skilled persons first.

3. If between two population points streams of equal size tend to flow, neither making net gains, then the composition of migration streams in each direction tends to be of minimum selectivity. If the stream flowing in one direction is greater than that flowing in the other direction, there is greater selectivity in both streams. But the place showing a net gain would have a greater proportion of males and young adults while the place having a net loss would have high proportion of "migration failures" (returnees) and returned migrants returning to place of origin.

4. Where the 'push' factor is very strong (famine, drought, etc.) origin selectivity is at a minimum. Where 'pull' stimulus is greater, there will be an appreciable selectivity.

5. In modern technological societies, major streams which flow between metropolitan centres tend to have very little selectivity of migrants (p.1, 4-6).

The construction of typologies, as a step towards a general theory of migration has received considerable attention. The pioneering effort was made by Fairchild (1925); his typology was constructed on the basis of two
major criteria - differences in the level of culture and whether or not the movement was predominantly peaceful. His four types can be summarised as follows:

a) invasion, as the war like movement from low culture to high culture;

b) colonization, as the peaceful movement from high culture to low culture;

c) conquest, as the war like movement from high culture to low culture; and

d) immigration, as a peaceful movement between cultures on the same level.

Such a typology is open to the obvious criticisms of ethnocentrism and ambiguity of concepts, but as a pioneer work, it illustrated the utility of logically constructed typologies and the need to exercise care in the selection of criteria by which types are to be distinguished.

A more recent typology, proposed by Peterson (1970), derives two broad types of migration - innovative and conservative - with several more specific categories of migration from consideration of the class of migration, that is, whether primitive, forced, impelled, free or mass; of the migratory force involved whether ecological push, migration policy, higher aspirations or social momentum, and of the type of relation - whether nature and man,
state and man, man and his norms or collective behaviour. Though less subject to criticisms than the earlier attempts at constructing typologies, this one offers only a basis for the possible development of theory. The field of migration is still without a general theory which adequately links the wide variety of perspectives into an ordered conceptual framework.

II.2 Studies on Migration in India

Though lacking a general theory of migration, this has not held back the publication of vast numbers of largely empirical studies on migration in India. International migration in India being insignificant most of these studies have focussed primarily on internal migration. Some of the contributions are reviewed here.

Major source of information on migration studies in India tends to be periodical censuses of population. Based on census data on birth place, Kingsley Davis (1951) concluded that the population of Indian sub-continent are relatively immobile. He attributed this relative immobility to predominance of agriculture along with caste system, joint family, diversity in language and culture.

Though internal migration is small in proportionate terms, it is large in absolute numbers. Zachariah (1964) presented a picture of internal migration in the Indian
sub-continent during the period 1901-1931 on the basis of census data for that period. He prepared migration estimates by sex and age for regions and states. Utilising these estimates, he evaluated the contribution of internal migration to overall population redistribution in the Indian sub-continent. In collaboration with Bogue, he (1962) studied migration to towns in India during 1941-51 with special reference to socio-economic attributes of migrants.

Mitra (1968) described the volume of migration between various states and highlighted the preferential direction of movement and related them to the socio-economic characteristics of heavily losing and gaining states. He classified the movements into five types: 1) rural to rural migration or rural turnover; 2) urban to rural or reverse migration; 3) rural to urban migration or rural push; 4) urban to urban migration or urban turn over; 5) rural to small town to city or step migration.

Gosal (1961) gave geographical orientation to the study of migration by making use of district level migration data of 1951 census. With the help of maps he identified areas of net in and net out migration and also discussed the spatial variations in mobility. He (1975) extended this study with the availability of more detailed information from 1961 census and examined the differing patterns of migration streams.
Premi (1984) analysed the changing trends in migration during 1961-1981. Three census monographs on internal migration in India have been published (Mehrotra: 1974; Roy: 1979; Srivastava: 1979). In these monographs emphasis has been placed on the volume and direction of migration, characteristics of migrants in terms of age, sex, occupation and education.

Because of its importance in economic development, urbanward migration has received considerable attention in India. Employing census survival method, Baskara Rao (1965) estimated the net migration to some metropolitan cities during 1941-51 and 1951-61. He noted that there was decline in net migration during 1951-61 as compared to 1941-51.

Ashish Bose (1965) called in question the adequacy of push and pull theory in explaining rural-urban migration in the overall demographic context of India. Describing the theory as an over-simplification, he argued that the presence of large body of unemployed persons in Indian cities act as deterrent to fresh flow of migrants to cities. They push back rural migrants. Wherever new job opportunities arise, the first person to avail it, is the marginally employed or unemployed resident of the city.
Analysing the data thrown-up by five city surveys—namely Calcutta, Baroda, Madras, Hyderabad and Poona sponsored by the Research Programme Committee of the Planning Commission, Sovani (1966) came to the conclusion that the incidence of unemployment was heavier among local residents than among migrants to the city. He attributed the low incidence of unemployment among migrants in the city to the fact that when migrants do not find employment in the city, they return to their native place or go elsewhere. From this he argued that rural-urban migration in India was not a blind phenomenon as implied by the rural push hypothesis. Instead, he maintained that rural-urban migration was a carefully calculated move and retreat was an integral part of it.

There have been some studies focussing on migration differentials. Zachariah (1968) made a detailed study of migrants to Bombay city from 1961 census data and certain specially prepared tabulations of census materials. He discussed migration selectivity in terms of age, sex, marital and family status. He pointed out the existence of large volume of reverse or return migration from Bombay city. These are important conclusions but they are insufficient for understanding the process of migration from the village to Bombay city.

Of late, apart from population censuses, sample surveys have also been conducted to study migration. Visaria
(1968) conducted a sample survey in nine villages in Ratnagiri district in Maharashtra state and estimated the incidence of out-migration from villages. A majority of households covered in the survey reported at least one male out-migrant living in Bombay. He also demonstrated the concentration of out-migrants in a few occupations or industries - such as spinners, weavers, dyers in textile industry.

In another sample survey carried out by Vatsala Narain, Sebastian and Rayappa (1970) in the rural areas of southern Maharashtra, it was found that rural migration was dominated by women, a pattern very common in India due to the practice of village exogamy in marriages.

Saxena (1977) took-up a study of four villages in eastern U.P., one of the most backward regions of the country and examined whether and how far rural out-migration has resulted in easing the situation of poverty and the pressure of population in the villages and how far it has helped an average villager to acquire modern outlook. He analysed the impact of rural out-migration from two angles namely the economic consequences of the out-migration on their families and secondly, the social consequences of out-migration on the villages in general.

Gupta (1961) studied a Punjab village and found that higher the status of a family in the village, the less
is the tendency of its members to migrate. Dasgupta and Laishley (1975) and Connel et al. (1976) after studying some forty Indian villages, concluded that relatively well located, agriculturally commercialised villages but with unequal distribution of land and large body of landless labourers promoted high rates of out-migration. They also examined the three main forms of impact of migration on the village and on migration households; through the readjustments of population and farm work in their absence; through remittances; and through the migrant's appurtenances, behaviour and expectations upon return.

Kayastha and Shekar Mukerji (1979) discussed how the spatial disorganisation of Indian economy had induced massive dislocation of marginalised peasants and labourers from tottering rural areas to export oriented primate cities.

Possibly to counter balance the numerous rural out-migration studies, Premi (1980) turned his attention on urban out-migration. By selecting four stagnant towns in Haryana and Punjab which he defined as out-migration towns, he contrasted their socio-demographic characteristics with those of rapidly growing in migration towns. Besides identifying the factors responsible for the weakening of the economic base of the stagnant out-migration towns, he dealt with such aspects as to where the out-

migrants move, how long they stay there, and the nature of linkage they maintain with their home towns.

Based on data from a sample survey carried out in the district of Ludhiana in Punjab, Oberai and Singh (1983) concluded that out-migration from rural areas in Punjab was more than the combined rate of in-migration and return migration. They noted that out-migration from rural areas was largely dominated by individuals rather than families. Majority of rural out-migrants were young adults and relatively better educated. In terms of human capital, the villages were therefore being depleted of their more resourceful elements. Against this, there was a compensatory in flow of remittances into rural areas which supplemented capital formation and investment in productive activities. As more than four-fifths of the rural out-migrants were located in urban areas there was a substantial transfer of resources from towns to villages. In addition, remittances were found to improve the overall distribution of income in rural areas.

Prasanta Mazumdar and Ila Mazumdar (1978) painstakingly collected seventeen case studies of rural poor migrants living in a shanty colony of New Delhi. They first discussed in depth, case by case, the frustration experienced by these poor migrants in having to cope with dearth of employment and income, shortage of housing,
sickness and old age in a hostile socio-physical environment. Then they proceeded to synthesise the regularities emerging from these diverse case studies and developed what can be called the culture of poverty of rural-urban migrants.

II.3 Literature on Female Migration

Research interest on gender related variations in the determinants, consequences and patterns of female migration has been of recent origin. It calls for a specific and differentiated analysis of migration. Most research work in the field emanates from Latin American countries and some other countries where Western influences are much stronger. This is not surprising. The process of urbanisation in Latin America has been very rapid in recent decades due to combination of rural push and urban pull and capital cities have absorbed the majority of the influx.

Elizabeth Jelin (1977) noted that a majority of migrants into Latin American cities were women. The two main categories of women migrants were very young women arriving alone and women arriving as dependents of their husbands. Joan Herold (1979) found that women outnumbered men in migration streams in Chile particularly in the flow towards the capital city Santiago. This is true of
Bolivia also as is evident from a study carried out by Buechler (1976). Commenting on the female dominance in migration streams in Latin America Boserup said:

... In Latin America, young rural women are attracted to the towns because they offer them better employment opportunities than the rural areas.... Moreover there is little agricultural work for them to do, except in regions where female labour is needed for plucking the principal crop. In town, on the other hand, women find many employment opportunities, ranging from domestic service for the daughters of poor farmers, to clerical jobs for the educated daughters from better off farm families (Boserup, 1970, p. 187).

The pattern in Asian countries is however mixed. Among South East Asian countries, the Philippines stands out as having a highly female selective migration comparable to that in Latin America. This is evident from the studies carried out by Eviota and Peter Smith (1981) and Trager (1984). This is true of Taiwan also where Huang (1983) found predominance of women in urban ward migration. Peter Smith, Khoo and Go (1984) made an analysis of recent census data from several countries in Asia. It revealed a pattern of male dominance in urbanward migration in Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, Iran and India. In contrast female dominance was characteristic of Philippines,
Thailand and Korea. In India, however, rural migration among the young adults is predominantly female.

In African countries too the patterns are mixed. In Zambia, Nag (1983) found that men migrate in larger numbers. In the indigenous towns of Nigeria, Susan Watts (1983) found more migrant women than migrant men. In West Africa, Sudarkasa (1977) found that women, more than men, had long been involved in migration.

The predominance of women in migration streams is often found to be related to the size of the destination city. An exceptional case is the city of Santiago where there were only 82 men for every 100 women as indicated by Joan Herold (1979). The situation in Manila (Trager: 1984) and Bangkok (Soonthorndhoda: 1983) and Jakarta (Suharso et al: 1975) is more or less similar.

Even in countries, where men predominate in migration, the sex ratio of migration streams can vary according to distance spanning the move. In Latin America, it was found that women tend to travel much shorter distance in response to demand for domestic servants in nearby towns and cities. Otomo (1983) noted that the spatial mobility of Japanese women was smaller than that of men in long distance migration but almost the same in short distance moves. Premi's (1980) study indicated that Indian women were primarily short distance migrants moving within the
same district or state because of village exogamy in marriage. Men, in contrast, travelled longer distance probably in search of better labour markets. Ravenstein (1889) had summarised these patterns with one of his well known laws of migration "Females appear to predominate among short journey migrants".

Joan Herold (1979) found that in Santiago, the capital city of Chile, female migrants were disproportionately younger than male migrants. Elizabeth Jelin (1977) found the same pattern in other Latin American countries. Peter Smith et al (1984) noted that more than 60 per cent of female migrants to metropolitan cities of Indonesia and Philippines were concentrated in the age group 15 to 24. Otomo (1983) however noted that in Japan the age pattern of mobility was nearly the same between the two sexes.

The sex composition of migration streams can vary not only across countries but also within the same country at different periods of time. In Bogue's (1969) view, in the initial years of economic development, the rural to urban migration in a country would be male dominant just as it was during the periods of colonization when rural to rural frontier movement was generally dominated by men. He explained that first migratory moves would always be marked by uncertainties. So men would usually migrate first. With recurrence of migration moves and its ultimate
routinization, the migration of wives and families would follow. In that latter phase, migration of women would begin to equal or exceed that of men. Katharina Ley (1981) studied the situation of women from southern countries like Italy and Spain to Switzerland. In the beginning, the moves involved men only. As the men proved successful, their wives followed them. This, in turn, was succeeded by family migration when the entire family consisting of the migrant, his wife, daughters and sisters moved in.

Changes occurring in the wider economy and society are capable of triggering off female migration. Goosen (1976) noted that mechanization of agriculture, introduction of super markets in Guadelope — a French colony in the west Indies — eliminated income producing work and forced wholesale migration of men and women to metropolitan France. Gonzalez (1976) suggested that extensive out-migration of women from Dominican republic to United States was due to severe unemployment and decline in the availability of land for small agricultural pursuits. Pauline Jackson (1984) noted that the spread of dowry system contributed to emigration of unmarried women from Ireland during the mid nineteenth century.

When women migrate, it is often to join their husbands already working in the destination. Estellie Smith's (1976; 1980) study found that a majority of
Portugese female migrants were joining their husbands. Foner (1976) found that most of the Jamaican migrants in London migrated for familial reasons. This is also true of polish women migrants in New Jersey (U.S.A) studied by Bloch (1976). In Pakistan, a strong Islamic society, Nasra M Shah (1979) found that a large proportion of women migrated as a part of a family unit. Margaret E Gulick and John Gulick (1976) studied another islamic country. Their study of women in the Iranian city of Isfahan revealed that migrant women moved with their husbands from a domestic, female secluded sex segregated rural environment to a protected domestic environment in the city that was similar to the one they had left. It is significant that in Islamic societies the subordination of women to the needs of men and the rigidity of the patrilineal system work against the migration of single women. Verity Saifullah Khan (1975) noted that all first generation women migrants from Asia to Britain came as dependants of a male member of the family. For a majority of them, it had been their first experience of urban life and of another culture.

Family considerations may well become important reason for female migration in several other ways as well. Particularly if daughters are traditionally more subservient to parents than sons, female migration is likelier to be predominant. Laubey and Oded Stark argued that families prefer to send out daughters, if there is
work available for them in the city as they tend to be more conscientious in sending back remittances than are the sons.

A distinguished feature of female migration compared to males migration is the role of marriage in mobility. The most common cause for female migration in India is considered to be marriage as it involves the movement of the bride to the parental household of her spouse. Dictated by the practice of village exogamy and caste endogamy, marriage migration is almost always local and rural to rural move (Libbee and Sopher: 1975; 1980). In Pakistan also Nasra M Shah (1979) found this to be more common cause for female migration. If this type of movement can be termed migration in marriage, a variant of this type is migration for marriage. In this case marriage could be the end or goal of migration. Migration precedes marriage. Kenneth Little (1972) suggested that this was the cause for most unmarried women in West Africa to migrate from their village to urban places. Because of male selective out-migration in an earlier period, these women were left, high and dry with few eligible mates living in their own village. So the women migrated to urban places in search of a suitable partner in their life. Such occurrence could be common wherever male female balance in the sex ratio is disturbed.
City lights catching the fancy of village belles was also reported in a few studies. Jamilah Ariffin (1978), for instance, reported that many of the young factory workers in Kuala Lumpur were from poor rural families. Though economic motives were the main reason for these girls to move into the city, the secondary motive was desire for autonomy and escape from suffocating restrictions imposed on young women in the traditional Malay Muslim village settings. Huang (1983) found that the glamour and convenience of city life and greater chances for further education through work study programme were perceived by Taiwanese young migrant women as better alternatives to hard and unrewarding farm lives.

The migration of women like that of men is likely to be employment oriented regardless of whether the women migrate alone or along with their families. They are, however, subject to triple exploitation first as worker secondly as migrant and thirdly as woman. Dumon (1981) demonstrated that migrant women workers experienced relatively strenuous labour conditions compared with male migrants and local female workers because of the segmentation of labour market. According to her, the position of migrant women workers on the job market was characterised by bad working conditions, low salary and fewer prospects for upward mobility in their career. Pekin (1981) noted that migrant women workers in Western Europe
suffered discrimination peculiar to women migrants. Evans (1984) found that in Australia, migrant women from the third world countries were given a raw deal in the labour market compared to Australian women and immigrant women from English speaking countries.

In this context an useful perspective is gained by studying the concentration of female migrant workers in specific occupations. For migrant women occupational choice is very limited. Orlansky and Dubrorsky (1978) found that greater acceptability of female mobility in Latin America is largely due to the demand for female employment in domestic service and petty trade. Eviota and Smith (1981) and Trager (1984) found a similar pattern in Philippines, where domestic service was the mainstay of migrant women while white collar jobs were garnered by local woman. In Taiwan, Huang (1983) found that most of the migrant women were in urban occupations requiring unskilled labour.

Jamila Ariffin (1978) observed that increase in female migration to Kuala Lumpur was due to preference for female labour in many light industries such as electronics and textiles. Sudarkasa (1977) found that in West Africa the female migrants were heavily concentrated in petty trade. She argued that the migrant women did not have the formal educational qualifications required for
the types of wage employment in clerical, industrial and technical jobs open to local women. Therefore, they turned to trading on their own account or with female relatives in order to eke out a living.

Soonthornthoda (1983) found that in Bangkok metropolitan rural migrants from North East region were young and single women and personal service work was the main source of income for many of them. Gonzalez (1970) reported similar findings for Dominican migrants living in the United States. She found that prostitution, domestic service and more recently work in the garment industry were among the few avenues open to the immigrant women. Another study conducted in the United States by Tienda et al (1984) indicated that immigrant women were often channelled into jobs vacated by upwardly mobile native women. The situation is not different in Canada where Monica Boyd (1984) found that immigrant women were pushed into lower status occupations avoided by native women and migrant men.

Scattered throughout female migration literature are discussions on how women cope with mental stress produced by the migration process itself, how migration affects the husband - wife relationship, how it alters the women's pattern of authority in the home and host communities and so forth. Some of the studies highlight the conflict between occupational and familial roles of migrant women.
Goosen (1976) for instance, records that migration of women broke the kinship net work through which old people and children were traditionally helped.

Nag (1983) found that Zambian women were able to play a crucial role in the decision making process relating to migration because of matrilineal organisation of society in that country. They decided whether any member of the family must migrate and when and where they should go. Therefore, their role more than men's governed the migration patterns. Even in patrilineal societies such as Portugese, women play an important role in migratory processes as is evident from the study carried out by Estellie Smith (1976; 1980). Since men cannot take time from their work, the responsibility for making pre-migration arrangements falls primarily on women. They inform the kith and kin, arrange for the disposal of furniture, collection of rent from properties, care of elderly to be left behind and so forth.

Whatsoever role women migrant might have played in migration decision making, a woman's migration seldom leads to liberation. This is the refrain found in many studies dealing with female migration. Kutluer (1981) found that when women moved to a new country, they lost more than men, for instance, in the form of a firm position in the community with a well defined role as mother which
had given them social status in their homeland but could hardly give them much status in a more industrialised country. Moreover, they lost their natural place in the productive system of their homeland and could not regain it in a more consumption oriented foreign country. Similar findings emerged from the study conducted by Bloch (1976) of Polish rural women who had migrated to New Jersey in United States. In Poland, the traditional inheritance patterns of equal division of property among all children with a portion given at marriage to the daughter made the young wife economically equal partner with husband from the very beginning of their married life. Besides, in rural Poland women performed complex economic functions which made them virtually indispensable in the daily operations of the house and the farm. Migration to United States struck at the very root of equality between husband and wife. The change from family farming to wage labour greatly affected the pivotal position women held within the family. Family members no longer worked together. The great emphasis on the economic improvement of one's own family mitigated against any solidarity developing among women.

Kellerhals (1975) carried out a sample survey of married migrant women in Geneva. She noticed that women went through a painful period of deculturation and anomie at least during the first few years of residence in the
city due to confrontation of two different cultures. Mirdal's (1984) study of Turkish women in Denmark and Melville's (1978) study of recent female migrants to the city of Houston revealed that women suffered from migration induced stress. Sundhugal's (1981) study of Vietnamese refugee migrants in Thailand indicated that they suffered from physical and psychological trauma due to their separation from the family and their vulnerability to rape and violence in the emergency camps.

However, Whiteford (1978) contented that for women in particular, the process of migration was a liberating or freeing process. He derived his conclusion from the data collected from women migrants in the city of Popayan, Columbia. He noticed many favourable changes in the social environment of women as a result of their migration from village to urban place. The evidence from Buechler's (1976) study suggested that migrant women increasingly controlled not only economic resources that were basic to power, but also participated in those tasks and 'communal work spaces' that lead to the development of complex networks of communication and politization. Furthermore, female migrants, engaged in commerce and industry were able to influence national and international policies and conversely were affected by these policies.
Verity Saifullah Khan (1975) noted that Asian women in Britain were slow in getting adjusted into the local community. Her explanation was that for men acculturation process was faster since they had ample opportunities to interact with local people in their work place. Women, because they were confined at home most of the time, were slow to respond to acculturation process. Therefore, they suffered several hardships in their new locations, much longer than men.

This view is not shared by Estellie Smith (1976 and 1980) who studied acculturation experience of Portugese women in a New England city. She argued that in many of the previous acculturation studies, generalisations were drawn by focussing on women's behaviour in areas where they were more conservative while ignoring those spheres where they were highly adaptive. She went on to argue that the responsibility for adjustment in a new place fell as heavily on the women as on any male migrant and this was especially true if the woman was a wife or mother. Woman more than man helped in creating networks in the host community, a critical process in adaptation necessary to maximise the potentials of the new setting for the benefit of her entire family.

Another theme often pursued in migration literature is about the impact of migration on women's fertility. Kantner and Whelpton (1952) and Duncan (1965) found rural
to urban migrants to have higher rates of child bearing than the non-migrating urban population. On the other hand, Park (1976) indicated that the fertility of female migrants was generally lower than that of the non-migrants. Goldberg (1960) found fertility to be similar among rural to urban migrants and urban residents. Hendershot (1976) after analysing the Philippines data concluded that there were no significant differentials between migrant and non-migrant women in their fertility performance if controls were exercised for women's age at marriage and employment status. A similar conclusion was reached by Edmonston and Susan (1976) who examined the fertility data from three Latin American countries, Brazil, Columbia and Mexico. They found that a large measure of the impact of migration on fertility disappeared when background variables such as age, education and employment were controlled.

In contrast Kong Kyun Ro (1976) found from Korean data that migration exerted a strong influence on fertility independent of other socio-economic characteristics. Goldstein and Penporn (1977) found from Thailand data that cumulative fertility was lower for migrant women than for non-migrant women in either place of origin or place of destination. They argued that the move itself was sufficiently disruptive to interfere with child bearing. Evidences from other investigations such as Ritechey and Stokes (1971), Rindfuss (1976) and Farber (1984) are also
conflicting. It seems that the literature on this theme has over stated the supposed differentials.

The impact of male migrant on women left behind in home town or village was another area of research. Sibisi (1977) described the condition of Zulu women left behind in the country side while their men folk migrated to cities for work. They endured, but she suggested certain illnesses associated with possession by alien spirits were a distinctive cultural reaction to the strains and tensions of the conditions under which they endured. Martha Mueller (1977) described how women left behind in Lesotha struggled for existence while their migrant men slogged in South Africa's mines. These women's resources were determined by the level of mine wages, their own men's access to these and their claim on the men, not anything in the local economy or power structure.

Studies on women migration in India are notoriously difficult to find. A few pioneering Indian studies with a deliberate focus on women migrants are briefly reviewed here. Libbee and Sopher (1975) used Indian census data on female migration to map marriage distance (the distance between a bride's natal and affinal home) and territorial endogamy (marriage between people of the same village) as estimates of the extent and strength of rural information network. Libbee (1980) further refined the techniques to
investigate the relationship among kinship patterns, cultural variation and information flow in the sub-continent.

Alfred De Souza and Andrea Singh (1976) in an exploratory study of the position of women in migrant squatter settlements (bastis) in Delhi found that women from untouchable caste and from the south have greater participation in labour force. Untouchable caste women in rural areas specialise in jobs such as dhobi or sweeper which are in great demand in the city also. Besides, in the rice growing regions of the south, female labour is extensively used in agricultural operations. They argued that the background characteristics of the women such as female labour participation in the place of origin were important in explaining the work force differentials noticed among migrant women in Delhi.

Andrea Singh (1978) focussed attention on the social and cultural factors underlying variations in male and female patterns of rural-urban migration among the urban poor in the major cities of India. According to her, the stronger influence of Islam in the North constrained female migration and work participation through customs related to female seclusion and therefore North Indian cities, unlike Madras, have masculine sex ratios.

Premi (1979; 1980) analysed certain aspects of female migration on the basis of 1971 census data. By
studying the age and marital status distribution of current migrants, he inferred that economic motivation for women to migrate was weak in India.

Leela Kasturi (1981) based on a sample survey of south Indian working class migrants in Delhi, tried to relate poverty to female migration. Sudesh Nangia and Samuel (1983) found from a sample survey conducted in Salem City in Tamil Nadu that autonomous migration by women was limited to a few cases. They further pointed out that many working women who migrated either on account of marriage or in association with their family were not in position to get a job transfer to the place of their migration. They had to resign from previous jobs and look for new position. Hence there was an increase in the number of job seekers after migration.

Rele and Tara Kanitkar (1974) analysed the data collected from about eight thousand currently married women in Greater Bombay and found that rural migrant wives had significantly higher fertility than the non-migrant wives and migrant wives from other urban places. It was also found that wife's education explained to a large extent the observed fertility differentials noticed among women classified by their former residence.
S N Singh et al (1981) explored the impact of temporary separation due to the migration of males leaving their wives at home, on fertility through a theoretical model proposed under reasonable assumptions. The application of this model to an observed set of data relating to migrants from rural areas indicated that although the fertility of such separated couples was slightly lower than that of the couples living together, their fecundability was quite high in comparison to the fecundability of the couples living together.

Leela Gulati (1983) studied the impact of male selective migration from the state of Kerala to the middle east, on women left behind at home. The major economic impact of this migration at the family level had been the inflow of remittances and consequential improvement in living standards. However in the migrant households with no other close male relatives, women had to play a very much more active role in the management of family affairs. Since most of the migrant workers were in hazardous jobs, worries and anxieties for the wives and mothers started, the moment the worker left home for migration. Some of them soon became nervous wrecks. The worst affected were young women who were recently married to the migrant worker during his annual home visit. They were left behind by migrant workers in the care of their in-laws. The young wife had problems of communication when living with her
husband's family. Misunderstanding between the wife and her in-laws often arose over the sharing of the remittances by the worker leading to frequent bickerings within the family.

The foregoing review indicates that there has been a plethora of studies on female migration from Latin America, South East Asia and Europe. Many of the findings from these countries may not hold good for Indian society for several reasons such as joint family residence, village exogamy, mate selection among preferred relatives, young age at marriage, prohibition against widow remarriage, greater compatibility between work and child care and severe restrictions on the movement of women in general. These differences may have different implications on Indian women's ability to migrate.

Although literature on internal migration in India in general is abundant, little attention has been given to the migration of women. Works on women in other countries have made it clear that there is special need for field research and new methods of investigation. Much of what we know today of female migration in India is derived from census statistics. Census based studies traditionally associate women's mobility with bride's migration upon marriage or associational migration of women along with breadwinner as wife or daughter.
There were, no doubt a few studies based on localized investigations. Such studies, from both geographical point of view and from that of subjects covered are of greater depth than scope. Some of these studies using specialised surveys focus on migration impact on fertility and family planning practices. Others tend to emphasize migrant women in slums, or migrant women workers in domestic service, street vending or construction sectors. The result is a rather biased picture of female migration in India as being dominated by low status women moving to the major metropolises where they become one of the primary example of the social and economic marginality of women. Moreover, most of these studies are based on metropolitan city. Our knowledge of the socio-economic status of migrant women is therefore further limited by a group of highly selected destinations which are likely to be unrepresentative of other urban areas. Even within metropolises, the reference frame work has many times been a segment of the city population usually slum dwellers.

Very rarely are sex differences among migrants systematically analysed or explained. Nor is the migration selectivity among women themselves adequately explored. The present study seeks not only to understand female migration in general but also to employ different approaches to illuminate the process of migration and migration selectivity.