GENDER, MIGRATION AND THE CITY: AN ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

By

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Abstract:

The global migration of women as maid servants, nannies, sex workers and contract brides have not been a recent phenomenon but have taken a up swing in the globalised world. The paper aims to anchor the migration of women in the cities for definite work especially in domestic roles and examine whether the migration of women in contemporary world is re-inscribing the histories of migration and exploitation or generating new ones in the process. While looking into theoretical aspects the paper investigates the issues and challenges faced by the women migrants in the global south (developing countries) mainly in Indian mega cities, such as Kolkata, Delhi, and Mumbai and analyse the legal framework for the women refugees and migrants who are stationed here. Analysing the reports, data and available literature the paper will explore the relation between female migration and the global economy; the social structure; the political responses. The gendering of city will engage historical, social and political processes theoretically to understand women as subject and city as an object of the study, helping to understand women as crucial actors in the cities contesting, resisting the patriarchal structures and striving for justice in the urban spaces carved by them. The study helps to expose the multilevel character of gendered belongingness in the city, its inclusivity in the urban governance to tackle crime, violence and inequality in the cities towards women inviting more women representation leading to a transformation of the cities in the global south.

Keywords: feminization, urban space, migration, global south, inequality, transformation

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INTRODUCTION:

Migration over the period of time has gained considerable currency with its impact felt in policy making, demography, security, and empowerment. The theorisation of migration has been traditionally male biased failing to capture the questions of women and address the gender related migration experiences. The feminist interpretations criticises the public/private divide that invokes a justification of female subordination, exclusion and an abuse of human rights within the home and public arena since women are a symbol of national esteem, its cultural roots and spirit. Hence women's spatial mobility had been dictated by cultural symbolic meanings of space. Gendering the city provides a new socio-political paradigm to conceptualise the intersections of power, belongingness, rights, culture, economy and law. The cities become the places and spaces which experiences huge influx of migrants living there and gendering the city enables us to reformulate the urban politics. The paper aims to deconstruct the traditional understanding of migration and will study the theoretical underpinnings of female migration in the cities while understanding the circumstances under which they migrate, the conditions, experiences as well as responses from the host city and the state in context of globalisation, acceleration, differentiation, politicisation and feminisation. As cities become the spaces for women migrants to escape the discrimination and exercise freedom they also get plugged into the informal market such as trafficking, sex industry, and low paid domestic work rendering them invisible in the entire economic circuit. Female migration mainly in the urban locales accompanies a production of changing role of women in their families and home country. Migrating independently they assume the role of main economic providers and heads of households thereby acting actively in public and social roles re-inforcing their status and reconfiguring gender relations and power equations in the urban space thereby carving a new space for them. Including gender and cities as a variables in the migration theory, cities are used a landscape in the paper for understanding the concepts of rights, security, power play, citizenship, and negotiation cutting across the local, national, regional as well as global level. It will examine the structural changes that can alter gender relations within the society; social and cultural inequalities underlying the differences; the interconnectedness between socially constructed gender relations and the visible as well as invisible boundaries that effect women in urban spaces. The study will explore some of the key questions such as how female migrants are

plugged in the global economic and labour market. How the social and cultural boundaries are maintained, crossed, resisted and reconfigured? What are the reasons behind increasing trend of female migration within global south and from south to north? Does the growth of informal market in urban economies reconfigures economic and power relations between men and women? How the NGOs and the international policy frameworks, state's legal policies help to protect them from any exploitation and abuses? The significance of women and immigrants in the mega cities of the global south will help to uncover how women are emerging as profitmaking resources in alternative survival circuits, especially in the shadow economy, and for government revenue enhancement. The paper is divided into following sections: gendered perspective of migration; gendering the city; feminization of migration and urban politics; international and domestic policies to safeguard the right of women in the city.

WHY AND HOW GENDER MATTERS? ALTERNATIVE FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

There have been several debates concerning the understanding of the term gender and the feminist discourse builds on the exclusion of women from various fields of research especially political economy, migration which has always been considered as andro-centric. The analysis of economics, urbanism, politics have been dominated by the production of knowledge as how the men define these fields in decision making and policy formulation often marginalising the experiences of women who participate in domestic work, informal work and often unpaid, unrecognized work. In this context of exclusion women migrating across borders, within the nation across states have been overlooked by the analysts while studying the nuances of migration especially in urban areas for better life and search for job. The scholars who have examined the world affairs to dominate the mainstream understanding of crucial issues confronting the state and society, gender as a category becomes an additional criteria for analyzing subjects like International Relations, economics and politics. In the global south, the role of women in the work force, informal markets, domestic servants, to collect foreign remittances have made women visible in economic realities, revealing "women as agents and activists, as well as victims of violence and the poorest of the poor" (Spike Peterson 2005:502). This aspect ensures that exclusion of women from the presently dominant paradigm cannot pervade the understanding of theory whether it is economics or migration or political economy of

migration. The feminists have investigated linkages with different dynamics of transnational, global to analyze the development of globalization as a process which is gendered reflecting both change and consistency. This has disturbed the gendered patterns by modifying the conservative belief system, their roles and political performances globally which are dominated by men institutionally, economically, ethnically. The benefits of globalisation are also distributed unequally along with the male biasness that is reflected in the structural hierarchies like race, caste, class, theories/practices and "feminisation of identities and practices effectively devalues them in cultural as well as economic terms" (Peterson 2005:507). Women migrants, marginalized class, urban poor in developing countries constitute a large number of populations which constitutes major part of global economy even though their work remains unrecognized, less skilled and plugged in insecure informal market. A gendered migration studies the migration behavior between men and women as well as their inequalities which they face in context of socio-cultural-political conditions. The neoclassical economic theory of migration did not recognize the difference between the decision making power that exist within the households which acts as workplace as a site of disparity in terms of taking decisions across the cultures. In the households also control over resources has an impact over the consumption and expenditure since families are the units of production and redistribution representing the struggles which they face and the conflicts of interests, activities and power relations operating in the families that determine the decisions of who migrates, where and the time duration. Gender as a social construct becomes an essential criteria to determine family hierarchies affecting the migration of women since it is within the family where female subordination to male power authority is exercised. Family defines and allocates the roles of women, their motivation and enticement to migrate controlling the resources distribution can buttress the process of migration (Byoud 2003). With globalisation mobility has become a common trend and people are migrating beyond borders for work, escaping instability in home country, political persecution, abuse, violence. In most of the previous literature the movement of humans has been analysed from male perspective but if we look at the world of human mobility it shows more women migrating in quest for better life or survival. In developing countries especially in India there is rising trend of women migrating from the rural areas to the cities and also from the neighbouring under developed countries for job opportunities. In India it has been found that women belonging to the Scheduled tribes and scheduled caste which is mainly because of the economic and social

reasons as there are less employment opportunities in the rural areas compared to the urban areas as well as there are also social stigmas related women and work outside the domestic quarters.

In this manner the gender as a concept permeates into the process of migration often allowing the women to enter into the global labour market (UNGA 2004). In the recent past the trend of gender distribution has been mainly from the developing countries such as Asia, North America, Africa constituting the female migrant as independent entity making a difference for the development of flow of migrants (Sorensen, 2004). Sassen(1984) had interconnected proletarisation and women of developing countries into export processing zones where "immigration and offshore production are ways of securing a low wage labour force and of fighting the demands of organized workers in developed countries" (1984: 1145). In export manufacturing zones, agriculture, domestic services have feminized the migration flows as the product of capitalism where women from the global south are significant to the new sites of economic activities. The feminization of migration has also contributed in the bringing of remittances which boosts the economic activities of the countries especially in the global south. The amounts of remittances have been high from the women in past few decades compared to the male remittances as per the NSSO survey report of 2007-08.

Global South scenario:

Global south has become an important source point of migrants to the developed countries and the rising trend of labour migrants which has become possible due to global integration. Increasing number of female migrants from South Asia especially to the North American states, Gulf countries have posed new challenges and issues pertaining to the institutional, legal framework, processes and the state protection for the female migration. Migration of women is not a recent phenomenon; it was prevalent even in the 19th century during the colonial rule when they were sent to the plantation colonies for labour. The female migration had been accompanied by several vulnerabilities which are also common today when they migrate to several countries with lack of policy measures for protection. The underdevelopment of undocumented and irregular migration from the global south have aggravated exploitation of women and increased crime against them such as sexual assault, sex trafficking, prostitution, bonded labour. Most of the women migrants from the global south are necessarily low skilled workers engaged in the

domestic care work as nannies, cooks, house maids, cleaners and few are involved in skilled work like accountants, professors, teachers, doctors, nurses. The rising demand of workers from the global south are because of low labour force in the developed countries and in case of Gulf countries the cultural and social factors prevent women in those countries to take up jobs. In many cases the increase in Diasporas population from different countries in South Asia, Africa in the global north also calls for more women migrants to fill the gap in low skilled force. Female migrants in Gulf countries are mainly from Srilanka, Nepal, Bangladesh who are responding to the changing economic order and the relations of states with the countries in the Global north and Middle East. Global economic integration has also energized the movement of commodities, ideas, people and due to the lack of employment opportunities in the under developed countries, human mobility has been intensified. It also shows that the movement is mainly from north to south or periphery to centre mainly in the advanced cities of those countries which are attractive to the women migrants (Oishi, 2005 et al). Europe had received around 70 million international migrants followed by North America and the flow was mainly from Asia, sub Saharan Africa, Latin America that were mainly low skilled migrants as the demand for low skilled labor in developed countries are high due to not only low population but also ageing population expanding the migration market in the global north (IOM, 2010a). It has been estimated that the labour force in developed countries will remain at 600 million till 2050, whereas the labour force in less developed countries will increase to 3 billion in 2020 and 3.6 billion in 2040. The Asian countries such as China, Bangladesh and India constitute the emigration countries where 37 percent of Asian migrants move to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, 43 per cent migrate within the region such as large number of SAARC countries migrate to India since it is the fastest growing South Asian country and a competitor of China. For the Asians USA is the major destination point for the search of jobs with India registering 6.1 million immigrants from Asian countries, Bangladeshis and Nepalese, followed by Pakistanis (with nearly 2.8 million intra-regional migrants). Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China (nearly 2.5 million), Iran (almost 1.9 million) and Malaysia (almost 1.7 million) are also amongst the top countries which have outward human mobility to global.

Over the period of time the changing dimension of migration has invited a gender sensitive study which aims at exploring why and how women migrate?; its implications on the host state; the policy changes and safety nets for the women to prevent any kind of exploitation. The gendered analysis also helps to acknowledge the complexities that are prevalent in the recent migration cycle not only across borders but also within the state. The most common factor for migration is marriage where women move from the native place to a new land with the family as a dependent. In some cases they may migrate alone either to work in skilled or unskilled sectors; to escape social atrocities, poverty, environmental distress. The feminisation of migration corresponds to two other transformations that affect women: the feminisation of poverty and the feminisation of work. (UNFPA-IOM,2006)The feminisation of migration gives rise to problematic forms of migration, such as the commercialised migration of women and girls as domestic workers and caregivers, often resulting in the trafficking of women for labour and sexual exploitation. By 2000, it has been reported that female migrants constituted nearly 51 per cent of all migrants in the developed world and about 46 per cent of all migrants in the developing countries (ILO 2003: 9). The above trends, which show the increased mobility of women in almost all regions of the world, and the increasing number of women migrating as breadwinners, make the feminisation of migration more tangible.

The women's labour (e. g. domestic labour) is mostly unrecognized and unvalued. The restrictions on their right to work, and criminalization of their work (e. g. prostitution) mean that a higher proportion of women are statistically invisible and, undocumented. Gender, however, should not be limited to statistics only, but raise our awareness about underlining social factors that influence women's and men's roles, access to resources, facilities and services (UNRISD 2005). Place of women within the labour market and type of job is related to mode of entry and immigration policies. The percentage of women crossing borders into neighbouring countries for trading is larger and so is the rate of women participating in inter-regional migration. This pattern seems to be similar in Latin America. It therefore depends not only on types of jobs and but also available mode of entry as well as also on socio-cultural factors. Changing labour markets globally have increased both opportunities and also pressures for women and men to migrate internationally in bulk. Their labour market positioning and experiences have to be analysed in relation to gendered labour markets in the countries of origin as well as host country.

The rising number of independently migrating women has been referred to as 'feminisation' of migration (ILO 2003).

Contemporary changes in the economic sphere are attributed to the global trend towards neoliberalism (Gills and Piper, 2002). Many countries have resulted in an increasing burden on women on account of rising male unemployment, the reduction in demand for male labour due to economic slowdowns of certain sectors, and the shift in economic emphasis to the service industries in countries of origin as well as destination. The significant increases in female labour force participation of women across the OECD countries, Southeast/East Asia (Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan) and in Latin America (Costa Rica, Argentina), has created a dire need for social services, especially where mothers of young children are full-time workers. Most migrant women thus concentrate in non-skilled personal service work. Globally, most women migrants generate income through unskilled jobs, which are poorly paid and often performed in the domestic/private domain or the service industry. These jobs tend to be looked down upon socially and devalued economically. Whereas male migrants classified as unskilled are found in construction, mining and agriculture, i. e. in sectors which tend to be more either more regulated or more visible (Garcia et al. 2002). At the same time, agriculture and construction (especially where it is structured by a sub-contracting system) are sectors with large numbers of undocumented migrants who are as a consequence of their 'illegal' status rendered invisible (Kahmann 2002; Bell 2004). It is important to delve into discrimination and exploitation according to gender and labour market sector. The invisibility of migrant labour is lack of research. There is overwhelming presence in unskilled job categories and two trends in contemporary labour migration in male as well as female migrants are visible: diversification (more source and destination countries; more skill levels/different occupations) and polarization (between skilled and unskilled migration) that result in an ethnic stratification among migrants. For example in Costa Rica, Nicaraguan women perform the lowest income jobs at the bottom of the job hierarchy, whereas migrants of other nationalities are mainly comprised of middle class individuals (Garcia et. al. 2002). Thus both skilled and unskilled female migrants are incorporated into a gender segregated labour market internationally. Globally, most women who migrate in the unskilled category labour as domestic or care workers, 'entertainers', in manufacturing (esp. garment) and in agriculture are concentrated at low levels. (Dias and

Wanasundera 2002) Domestic work is one of the most important categories of employment among women migrants migrating to the Gulf countries, as well as to Lebanon and Jordan (Esim and Smith 2004). Skilled women have globally entered into the welfare and social professions (education, health, social work) traditionally female jobs. Nursing is the most female dominated sector, with 90% or more of the nursing workforce being comprised of women (Buchan and Calman 2004). The migrant women have also ventured into entrepreneurship. Women often use this as a way out of "no point" jobs; to gain independence from exploitative practices and threat of deportation. Working flexitime gives them a better chance to combine work and family responsibilities (those married to locals).

Female migration and development:

Women have less advantage in employment opportunities, educational levels, health care and other services in their home communities than men. There are insufficient safety nets for women who are single beyond an age at which it is expected of them to get married; for single mothers; and women who are divorced, separated or widowed in most developing countries. From a gender perspective, socio-cultural aspects are very important because – although clearly related to an economically weaker position - negative attitudes towards divorced, widowed, childless or single women also contribute to a stronger push into outmigration than that experienced by men. They mainly do not use money for development of social capital. They are lacking skills and relevant information. These issues are addressed by many NGOs but the real question is how far these new programs meet the interests and needs of individual migrants, how male and female migrants are able to translate these into successful 'action' related to social and economic development, and how the governments respond by creating gender sensitive environments.

Gendered aspects of remittances can be approached from the senders' as well as recipients' perspective. It has been argued that gender affects the volume of remittances, with women sending more than men, but this very much depends on other elements such as migrants' marital and migration status as well as age (UN 2004). Female migration is also producing a change of the role of women in their families and home country. As women migrate on their own and less as dependents of male members, they assume the role of main economic providers and heads of households. Women also play important role in different stages of migration, such as caregivers

for those left behind, managers of remittances, and emotional supporters of migrants in different circumstances. Women play a key role as recipients and managers of remittances. Data reveals that women use remittances primarily for food and education (INSTRAW 2008). This supports the hypothesis, already sustained in other areas such as food security, that the greater women's control over the household's monetary resources (whether it is as remitters which maintain strict supervision over the use of the remittances they send, or as administrators of remittances received), the greater the tendency to invest in the overall well being of the household.

The remittances sent by women differ from those sent by men in volume, frequency and also sustainability over time. Women send a larger part of their salary than men do, given the wage discrimination in the receiving country. Women's remittance strategy is sustained by keeping a tight control over expenses. This often makes it impossible for them to project some advancement in their careers as professionals, investments in education (for example, to take language courses) or capacity-building which would allow them to access other labour sectors outside of domestic service. This also affects their own construction of social capital which would help improve their integration into the society of their destination country. Beyond financial remittances, the social remittances of migrant women (ideas, skills, attitudes, knowledge etc.) also promote socio-economic development, human rights and gender equality. Migrant women who send money transform the definition of what it means to be female. This also affects how families and communities view women (State of World Population 2006).

Female migration in South Asia: nexus between trafficking and migration

At present, there is a trend towards a migration-based approach to trafficking, which focuses on regional cooperation, policies on migration globalisation of the economy, development strategies, and human rights as well as feminist approaches, seeks to address invisibility of trafficked women who are exposed to numerous vulnerabilities related to health, sexual exploitation subjected to opportunistic elements and unfortunately in these cases women fails to protect themselves from the sex market given the feminisation of poverty and lesser bargaining power. In South Asia, Bangladesh and Nepal are the focal points for trafficking, although India and Pakistan are destination or transit to other regions specially Middle East and trafficking is rife in both. The degree of trafficking is difficult to assess because collection of data on

trafficking is obstructed by the cover nature of the trade, especially for the Commercial Sex Industry (CSI).

In South Asia, large number of women is involved in forms of migration in domestic service. It is in this service where the lines between migration and trafficking have become very blurred. In terms of domestic service it is more likely that women are often subjected to exploitation. An investigation of the migration of women for domestic service in South Asia (ADB 2003) suggests that there has been a significant increase in the numbers and ratio of women in domestic service in India compared with that of men, and this reflects increasing patterns of labour mobility amongst women in South Asia. However the migration often ends in circumstances of trafficking. Migration which ends up in sex work, the transitional element can be identified by analysing the commodification of the process, which applies both internationally and on the subcontinent. Due to poverty and the expenses involved in migration entraps her into debt cycle pushing her into prostitution. The problem in dealing effectively with traffickers in South Asia is the inability to identify them since they are actively assisted by new technologies. The recruiters are linked with local criminal groups who are acting as a shield for the operators and big time beneficiaries of the process. Pornography has now become a lucrative trade, and women and children in South Asia both are visible in sex racket. In South Asian context, the feminisation of migration especially in Gulf countries are mainly from Srilanka accounting 89% of the total migrants mainly the Muslim population who are now triggering the migration flow. These women are involved in the agricultural work, casual labour in the factories or in garment industry; housemaids are the most common attracting magnet for the low skilled women. The state economic policies are also vital for increasing the migration from Srilanka to the Gulf Countries or even to India the next door neighbor. In case of Nepal, women migrants have occupied the handloom market where they sell the hand made products in the Indian market, often in the cities like Kolkata, Siliguri the Nepali women are engaged in beauty services.

GENDERING THE CITY:

Gender as a core concept of analysis in the urban local bodies and decision makers have not gained a considerable even though efforts have been made towards gendering the city. Cities have always been a magnet of attracting migrants especially from rural areas and the Indian cities for example have been the key site for women to look for jobs. It has been found that most of urban poor are constituted by women with negligible access to the basic services. Mainstreaming gender in the decision-making process, local government institutions to address the necessities of women requires the inter weaving of gender and cities. Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Bangalore, Chennai have been favorite destinations of the female migrants which also comprise a large number of illegal migrants. The mobility of women mainly in global south which are spouse related often helps to increase women's educational opportunities, careers of different streams and sectors which are neglected in the home or considered working women as against the cultural norms of the society. In case of agricultural societies women also leave along with the male members in the hope to get employment opportunities in the mega cities such as Mumbai had given employment to women in textile factories, fish markets whereas many are also engaged in the informal sectors like bars and hotels as dance girls which enabled them to earn for their living. Women are also seen in technical, academics and other professional areas in metropolitan cities thereby bringing a change in the family structure which leads to the development of nuclear families or small families. Women's traditional role as house wives change to dual role as home makers and working professional balancing both the families and work sector. Unfortunately the growing participation of women outside the domestic sector has also created conditions for the state and the urban governments to take legal steps for protection of women especially for those who are absorbed in informal sectors with no security measures. There have been many cases in Delhi where women from different parts of countries as well as from Bangladesh who heavily flood the city to engage in domestic work. Often there are reports of exploitation, violation, sexual abuse by the owners to whom many underage girls are kept as forced labour. These migrants who come to metropolis for investment and growth are often subjected to insecurities. In case of Mumbai and Delhi there are majority of female migrants are from north Indian belt such as UttarPradesh, Bihar who occupy skilled jobs as well as unskilled jobs mainly as labour contractor; Southern part of India such as Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Kerela also migrate to big cities in research centres, educational institutes, MNCs, public sectors and private enterprises. The increasing female migrants in Indian cities had led to gender mainstreaming in the governance structure where gender blending has become crucial for accountability and eradication of inequality by providing a gender sensitive city development. Most of the poor migrant women are urban slum dwellers that lack access to safe drinking water,

sanitation, solid waste management, no electricity. It is now an urban reality that young girls and women are molested sexually harassed when they go to search for safe place to get access to toilets often leading to health and environmental hazards. Women also lack housing facilities because they don't have ID cards, any formal bank account which pushes them further into informal market and financial vulnerabilities in the cities especially in the poor, developing countries. Another issue that arises from the illegal migration from the neighbouring countries is that the women who lack education and technical skills are excluded from the market economy which affects the urban economy and environment in a negative manner. Since poverty is one of the major factors for migration to cities in the global south the women are willing to take up jobs which are underpaid with no security frameworks such as maternity leave, health care. The discrimination which women face in labour market is often unreported because they are not aware of their rights; often women who come to cities to start a new venture are unable to do so since they lack collaterals, skills; young girls looking for jobs are unable to travel freely and safely due to rising harassment of women and unsafe roads are major hurdles faced by women in the cities including mega cities such as New delhi (UN report, Khosla). Gendering the city thereby becomes crucial not only from the perspective of the security and safety but also a major legal issue that emerges from the migration is the issue of citizenship. Many women migrants who move to cities as refugees facing environmental disasters or political instability are often denied citizenship because different countries have different rules of immigration. This process of human mobility presents a huge scope for economic and social advancements but it needs to incorporate gender into the migration policy especially in the Global south such as South Asia which is still comparatively poor than other regions. Deconstruction of the women not just as a mere entity in the process but rather seen as an important participant in human mobility whereby the state must try to focus on women migrants by providing safety nets to ensure rights of women and make their movement safe. The role of civil society, state organs also need to be vigilant to ensure that women related crimes such as trafficking, sex trade, prostitution, bonded labour are curbed to zero.

CONCLUSION:

The policies and legal frameworks are gender biased which do not look at women migrants independently but as dependents of male counterparts. There is a rise of violation of human rights and United Nations, NGOs playing a major role in suggesting policy frameworks for protecting the rights of women. It is also important for countries like Bangladesh and Nepal to ease the restriction in migration to prevent illegal migration. Government needs to deal with the condition of living of women who are living in urban slums and in order to ensure safety and security of state review the approach in which the urban migration is dealt with. Human trafficking is contentious issue world wide and a major threat to human security. South Asia has become a major hub of trafficking of women which needs to be controlled addressing the underlining structural problems rather than border control. CEDAW(Convention on Elimination of All Forms Of Discrimination Against Women), Beijing Platform For Action, United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime(Palermo Convention) had drawn provisions for protection of women's rights that needs to be implemented in right spirit. Women in armed conflict are given protection under UN Security Council (UNSC) Resolution, 1325 in 2000 which aims to protect women's rights and similarly urges state to protect rights of women refugees and displaced persons. Civil Society also has a major role to play in protecting the rights of women migrants (Reeves and Jolly 2005).

Female migration all over the world has different trends and characteristics which are opening sources of opportunities and risks. The independence and desire for good life, escape from torture, abuses have induced women to cross borders. In this migration journey women are exposed to varieties of vulnerabilities which make them a prey to all the smugglers and women traffickers who make business out of it. It is the vulnerability which prevents women from speaking out and claim for their rights. Human mobility is a common phenomenon and a part of entire developmental process. It is expected that there will be more women migrants henceforth the state as well as civil society must provide them with the space for development keeping in mind the national security by preventing illegal influxes and activity. Legal protection and guarantees are required to provide an environment where women can make their choice.

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