Female Internal Migration: The case of Peru

A comparative analysis of the socioeconomic situation of young internal migrant and non-migrant women in Peru

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Abstract

The purpose of this study has been to provide a comprehensive analysis of the socioeconomic situation of migrant women in the context of Peru, a country historically marked by internal migration rates. It has been found that migrant women are socially excluded in relation to three socioeconomic indicators (1) employment sector, (2) educational attainment and (3) healthcare coverage, predominantly in the latter. Moreover, through the application of the theory of social mechanisms, the underlying factors that perpetuate the reproduction of the social exclusion of these women were thoroughly analyzed, where explanations at the macro level, namely, the overall social downgrading of rural population and the persistent centralization in the country, as well as the micro level; namely, the migrant status and rural background of these women have operated as the explanatory factors behind the social exclusion of these women, portraying discriminatory practices in the capital city of Peru.

Key words: socioeconomic situation, internal migration, social exclusion, social mechanisms

List of abbreviations

INEI - National Institute for Statistics and Information

ENAHO - National Household Survey

CEPAL - United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

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1.- Introduction

Internal migration is an inherent component of every country in the world, bringing about not merely spatial and demographic changes but also shaping both receiving and sending societies at a national, community as well as the individual level. (CEPAL, 2018) Despite the fact that international migration is at the forefront of most policy discussions, the number of internal migrants around the globe considerably surpasses international migration rates three to four times. (Selon and Shilpi, 2021: 2) In the same way, multiple studies have highlighted how this area has been generally under researched, and especially for least developed economies, this occurs due to several methodological aspects such as the lack of available national data, and the complexity of measuring internal migration. (ibids.) Thus, there remains a need for a more comprehensive analysis of the dynamics of internal mobility in developing countries, considering the major transformations they have undergone in the last centuries. In particular, the region of Latin America has experienced a significant and rapid urbanisation process beginning during the second half of the 20th century and, fostered primarily by high rates of rural to urban mobility. (Rodríguez-Vignoli and Rowe, 2018) To date, Latin America is one of the most urbanised regions in the world, accounting for 81% of the population living in urban areas. (UN Population, 2018) It is also worth noting the spatial profile of this migrant population; women are starting to migrate internally at a greater scope than men in the region, which pinpoints the need for the acknowledgement of the different circumstances and experiences of female migrants. (Rodríguez-Vignoli and Rowe, 2018) In fact, migration has been regarded as being potentially beneficial for the improvement of living standards; yet it can also be a cause for social exclusion. This occurs vastly among rural-urban migrants, who are excluded from various spheres of life and do not enjoy the same economic, social, and political rights as other urban citizens, and often concentrate in vulnerable areas within their own country. (Haas et al, 2019)

Having identified the gaps in research encompassing internal migration, this present study will analyse internal mobility in the context of Peru, a country historically marked by high rates of rural to urban movements of the population. (Yamada, 2010) Using micro data from the

National Statistics, it will examine specifically the situation of internal migrant women through a comparative analysis of the young migrant and non-migrant female cohorts of the population. This is a key area for research considering that there are very few studies that address specifically internal migration from a gendered approach in the country, and that acknowledge how the relationship between migration and human development operates in gender differentiated ways. Thus, several socio economic key indicators of well-being will be thoroughly analysed and compared amongst both subgroups (migrant and non-migrant) of the population.

1.1.- Research Aims

The purpose of this present study is to provide insight into the socioeconomic situation of young women who have migrated to the capital city, Lima. More specifically, the study aims to develop a comprehensive analysis of the socioeconomic situation of migrant women in order to identify how their circumstances and experiences are different from their non-migrant counterparts. Furthermore, using the sociological theory of social mechanisms, as well as the notion of social exclusion, this paper will analyse the factors that contribute to the marginalization of these women, considering and examining both societal and individual factors. The results will be used to critically investigate and contribute to the discussion of inequality, social and economic segregation as well as a consideration of a needed gendered approach towards studies on internal migration in the country.

A quantitative approach has been taken; using microdata from the *National Household Survey (ENAHO)* from the INEI in the country, this paper will compare the socio economic situation of young migrant women and their non-migrant counterparts on three key indicators of well-being:

(1) Employment status
(1.1) Employment Sector
(2) Educational attainment
(3) Access to healthcare

Thus, this research is firstly concerned with showing the variation of these indicators amongst both subgroups, determining in which aspects these women are in a disadvantaged position and finally, what processes, at both micro and macro level are perpetuating that panorama.

1.3.- Research Questions

Therefore, this thesis seeks to answer the following research questions:

RQ₁: What is the socioeconomic panorama of young migrant women in the capital city of Peru in comparison to their non-migrant counterparts?

RQ₂: How are these disparities evidenced - in which socioeconomic aspects?

RQ₃: Which social mechanisms are perpetuating the reproduction of the social exclusion of these women?

2.- Background

2.1.2.- Internal migration in Peru

Internal mobility rates began to gain prominence and dynamise in the country since the beginning of the 1950s, when the first wave of internal migration took place, and have since then reconfigured the country socially, economically and culturally. (Sanchéz, 2015) Migrants primarily settled in Lima, the capital, and established themselves in *barriadas* (shantytowns), a colloquial term used to refer to these settlements. Since there was insufficient economic growth as well as a mediocre and centralised government to sustain the rapid population expansion, migrants were obliged to live in the outskirts of the cities in abandoned hillsides, forming large informal settlements. (Silva, 2020) These are still present until today and are considered the poorer areas of Lima.

Starting from the late 80s, the second migration wave occurred; two major events directly affected the volume and patterns of this migration stage; a financial crisis caused by high levels of hyperinflation and an intense episode of internal violence during the period of 1988-1993. (Yamada, 2010) The former caused the country's economy to shrink by 30% and hyperinflation levels reached the highest point in 1990, amounting to 7650%. The latter was fundamentally

provoked by two terrorist movements, namely "*The Shining Path*" and, to a leser extent, MRTA (*Revolutionary Movement of Tupac Amaru*), which were predominantly present in the rural areas of the southern and central Sierra departments of the country. The spread of this internal conflict portrayed a detrimental panorama, causing mass assassinations, kidnappings of officials and peasants, forced labor of young people, armed stoppages, and combat with official and unofficial armed forces. (ibids.) Thus, many families were forced to abandon their homes and relocate into safer provinces, the majority fleeing to the capital city, Lima. (Yamada, 2010, p.106) At the same time, the proportion of rural population throughout this time gradually decreased in the country, reaching 25% of the total population in 2007. (Sánchez, 2015) Notably, this period was remarkably relevant for the study of internal mobility in the country, causing major sociodemographic changes. Even though the relative size of migration rates have declined since then, this process has persisted to manifest and millions of Peruvians have continued to migrate internally. (ibids.)

2.1.2.- Uneven development and centralisation

Inequality is a historical and structural characteristic of the Peruvian society; despite the fact that during the last decades the country has experienced a period of sustained macroeconomic growth as well as a significant reduction in poverty and income inequality levels, deep-rooted disparities amongst different segments of the population, coupled with low upward mobility and the heterogeneity of regional development, have persisted in the country. (CEPAL, 2015) A prominent factor associated with this panorama is the centralization of social, economic, political and cultural dimensions in the coastal region of the country and to a much greater extent in the capital city, Lima. With regards to the economic axis, Lima concentrates approximately 53% of the total GDP in the country as well as 57% of the whole manufacturing industries present in the nation; moreover, concerning the population scope, more than half of the total population live in the coastal regions of the country. (Miranda, 2016: 158) These disparities are further pronounced between urban and rural areas. This is evidenced by the fact that the rural population, particularly within Andean provinces, present lower access to basic services and infrastructure, as well as highest levels of poverty and extreme poverty, with an estimated 82% of the population living in extreme poverty. (World Bank, 2017; Miranda, 2016) When closely examining the rural-urban disparities in access to basic infrastructure services; generally, there has been considerable progress on it for both areas in the country; nevertheless, the gap to access to adequate water and sanitation services is significant, and only 64% of rural

households have access to safe water and merely 44% of rural areas present sanitation coverage. (World Bank, 2017) Furthermore, concerning educational indicators, primary and secondary enrollment rates have increased substantially at a national level, and even though they are slowly improving, learning outcomes remain low and are further exacerbated at the rural-urban level. (ibids.)

Thus, it is clear that poverty, indigence, and vulnerability are greatly concentrated in the rural parts of the country. The persistent capital centralization has been a determining aspect in the (re)production of the present socioeconomic inequalities in the country, as well as a driving factor of the migration of millions of Peruvians in the lookout for better life opportunities. (Miranda, 2016)

2.1.3.- Spatial profile of internal migrants

In later years, there have been some changes in the dynamics of internal migration in the country, such as the diversification of destination departments, yet, inclusion gaps remain a concerning issue within the study of internal migration. (INEI, 2020) A report by INEI (2020) describes the socio demographic structure of migrant and non-migrant population. In general, Lima continues to be the main attraction destination within the country with the highest number of migrant population. However, other departments have emerged as new centres of attraction, namely, Arequipa, San Martín and La Libertad. (INEI, 2020)

When analysing the profile of internal migrants according to certain sociodemographic characteristics for the period 2007-2017, a predominant feature of the migrant population, independent of gender and other aspects, is the fact it is mostly young people, particularly in working age (18-25 years old) who migrate, stressing the narrow link between labour and migration. (ibids.)

Table 1. Number of internal migrants segreggated by sex, 2017

Migrant Status

Gender	Nº of migrants	Nº of non- migrants	Was not born	Total
Male	1 269 889	11 347 827	1 833 041	14 450 757
Female	1 224 411	11 938 422	1 768 294	14 931 127
Total	2 494 300	23 286 249	3 601 335	29 381 884

Source: INEI, 2017. Author's elaboration

Table 1. shows the segregation by gender of the migrant and non-migrant population for the year 2017. It is noted that the total number of migrants was around 2.5 million, and segregated by sex, it can be seen than men migrate internally slightly more than their female counterparts. There are some disparities evidenced in the literature; with regards to the indicator of educational levels by migrant status, the INEI (2020) report shows that for Lima, the educational attainment of migrants is lower than for their non-migrant counterparts. Furthermore, migrants present slightly lower employment levels than non-migrant citizens, a difference of almost 1,4 porcentual points. (INEI, 2020)

3.- Literature Review

Existing literature on the subject of internal migration in the country has primarily focused on analysing the drivers and determinants of rural to urban internal mobility, placing particular attention to the economic and demographic perspectives of it, and to a lesser extent, the social dimension. Very few studies have approached this topic merely on the female population.

3.1.- Main drivers of internal migration

Yamada (2010) presents an analysis of the recent trends of internal migration patterns in the country. Particularly, the author explores the association between internal mobility and the functioning of the labour market by looking at the years 2002-2007, a period of great economic

expansion in the nation. He stresses that it is economic factors which impact individuals' decision to migrate, in the lookout for better living standards through improved access to social and economic infrastructure. The author particularly examines certain indicators of living standard in relation to access to public social services - namely electricity, water, sewage and education - of this cohort of the population. According to his findings, there was a considerable improvement on access to all these services in the destination districts of migrants. Thus, access to public services represents a pull factor for migrating. Likewise, another study by Sanchez (2015) addressed the drivers of migration and in particular the relationship between internal migration and well-being. Similarly to Yamada (2010), the author emphasises the desire to improve their living standards to escape poverty as a factor driving internal migration, along with the attractiveness of regions with sustained economic growth, cities with a greater coverage of basic amenities, access to education, health, and housing. He also highlights environmental change and entrepreneurship as further drivers of internal mobility. Moreover, other authors have taken a qualitative approach such as the work of Velázquez (2019), who went beyond the analysis of internal migration patterns to explore the socio-demographic profile of migrants. Following recent reports, she states that it is mostly the young cohort of the population that migrate, and with the highest level of education attained

This directly affects the demographic and social composition of rural areas, where in later decades there has been an ageing of the population, having important implications for the elderly left behind and negative repercussion for the development of rural areas.

3.2.- Social dimension of internal migration

Fewer literature has focused on the social dimension of internal migration and most literature is outdated. The author Merino (2008) explores the experiences of internal migrants in Lima, acknowledging the present discrimination and social exclusion of this sector of the population. He stressed that cultural differences, the inefficient management of the urbanisation process forced this sector of the population to move into the poorest and more isolated parts of the city. All of these aspects further posed a challenge for the migrant's subsequent development in Lima. (Merino, 2008) Moreover, another work that unveils the social reality of internal migrants in the capital city is Silva (2020). The author particularly focuses on the period of the construction of the "Wall of Shame", a ten-feet high and 10 km-long wall that was built in 1985 separating the richest and poorest districts in the city, Surco and San Juan de Miraflores, respectively. He measures economic, political and social outcomes on the impact of barriadas

on the situation of migrants. Among the results, the author highlights several aspects; firstly, that there has been no effort by any government till today to eliminate the wall; moreover the persistence of etnich and racial discrimination have perpetuated this situation and the lack of intention by the Lima population to demand action, and finally, there has been no consideration of the economic contribution of the barriadas to the Peruvian economy. (Silva, 2020)

Finally, an interview study by Orbegoso (2018) confirms the difficult social reality of rural migrants, who are increasingly exposed to practices of discrimination and social exclusion due to their ethnic features, mode of speaking, among other things. Another relevant implication this study revealed is how these exclusionary practices affect the identity of migrant, who in the search to be accepted, uproot from their customs, and change their behavior patterns.

3.3.- Rural women and the informal sector

Literature on the situation of women migrants in Peru has been greatly limited. One of the very few studies that investigates internal migration from a gendered approach is by the author De la Riva (2018), who studied the situation of rural migrant women and their intersection in the informal labour market, considering migration from Puno in 2016, an Andean city in the southeastern part of the country. Among her findings, she states that 43,5% of women have migrated in order to access basic services (water and electricity), and the rest have done so in the lookout for a better life for them and their families. She further states that taking part in informal commerce as part of the informal sector arises as a subsistence mechanism to meet their basic need, due to the difficulties they encounter to access formal jobs for their situation of poverty. Following recent trends, she states that it is mostly young men and women who migrate, and with the highest level of education attained.

4.- Methodology and data

4.1.- Data

The data used for this study was retrieved from the INEI's (National Institute for Statistics and Informatics) website. The survey selected was ENAHO (National Household Survey), and the microdata was selected for the year 2019. ENAHO is considered the main instrument for population data collection in Peru, gathering information on key social, demographic and economic indicators of the living conditions of occupants. (Perfecto, 2009) This survey came into force in 1995 and has since then been applied on a quarterly basis and undergone relevant improvements in methodology and sampling. (Sánchez and Chafloque, 2019) It is considered representative of the national population since it is administered in both rural and urban areas, and registers information across all 24 regions in the country. (ibids.)

ENAHO applies a probabilistic, stratified, multistage and independent sampling; for the year 2019, the sample was composed of 36,994 private homes, corresponding to 23,346 homes within urban areas and 13,648 households in rural areas. The survey data is divided by a total of 31 modules, each concerning different indicators, such as health, household conditions, education, employment, among other themes. The modules selected for the construction of the socioeconomic indicators relevant for this study are the following:

a.   Module 3 - Education

b.   Module 4 - Health

c.   Module 5 - Employment and Income

Module 3 is concerned with assessing the educational level of household members, as well as determining the percentage of population with special educational needs, it also evaluates indicators on the access to internet and mobile phone services. It generally assesses the scope of the national Education System and the progress in the development of education. Furthermore, Module 4 was concerned with evaluating the conditions of households in terms of infrastructure and the access to healthcare services, being public or private, as well as the

household expenditure on health services. Finally, Module 5 was only directed to people older than 15 years old; this section seeks to unveil the economic characteristics of household members and make an evaluation of the existing workforce int he country - salary, working hours and activity status.

The quantitative micro data selected from the four modules was filtered, merged and analysed based on the study needs and dynamics using the software programme IBM SPSS 2017.

4.2.- Variable specifications and operationalization

Table 2. Operationalization of variables in the study

Variable	Indicators	Answers	Measure Scale	Categorization
Internal Migration	5 years ago..., did you live in this district?	Yes	1	Non-migrant
		No	2	Migrant
	Gender	Male	1	Male
		Female	2	Female
	Age	0-99	18-25	Young Adulthood
Employment Status	Last week from...to...did you have any work?	Yes	1	Employed
		No	2	Unemployed
Access to healthcare	Healthcare sector		1	Public health care
			2	Private healthcare
			1	Coverage

		0	No Coverage
	General coverage		
Education	What is the last year or grade of studies and level that you passed? - Level	0	No education
		1	Primary Education
		2	Secondary Education
		3	Higher Education

4.2.1.- Selected variables

Table 1. presents the operationalization of each variable relevant for the study. The first variable, internal migration, in ENAHO the question was formulated as *5 years ago..., did you live in this district?* Following the interviewer's manual provided by the INEI, this particular variable seeks to comprehend recent trends of internal migration in the country, especifically, during the previous five years. This is the frequency generally used in international census investigations and surveys. With regards to gender, as it has been previously mentioned, only the female sector of the population was selected for this study, and since it has been identified that it is mostly the youth that migrates internally, young adult women from 18-25 years old were selected. Two subgroups will be analyzed and compared on the three indicators of socioeconomic status:

a) Young non-migrant women (18-25)
b) Young migrant women (18-25)

In order to examine the first indicator, employment status, the question selected was*: Last week, from ... to ..., did you have any work? (Not considering housework)* that determines the employed population during the referenced time. Following the answers "Yes" and "No", these were categorized as "employed" and "unemployed", accordingly. Concerning the second indicator, educational attainment, the Peruvian education system according to ENAHO is classified as illustrated in Table 2. The question selected was: *What is the last year or grade of studies and level that you passed? - Level*. To facilitate the use of frequency tables and graphs

throughout the analytical process and for visualization, the provided levels were further classified as follows:

Table 3. Recodification of the variable education attainment

ENAHO indicators	Measure Scale	Recoded variables	Measure scale
No level	0	No education	1
Pre-Primary	1	Primary Education	2
Primary Uncompleted	2		
Primary Completed	3		
Secondary Uncompleted	4	Secondary Education	3
Secondary Completed	5		
Higher Non-University Uncompleted	6	Higher Education	4
Higher Non-University Completed	7		
University Uncompleted	8		
University Completed	9		
Master's Degree/PhD	10		

Finally, Table 3 shows the recodification for the third indicator, access to healthcare. Two variables were computed; the first one differentiates between access to public or private healthcare and the second assesses the general coverage of healthcare, i.e, whether these women have access to healthcare at all or not. The Peruvian health system is highly complex and involves different financing institutions. Within the public sector, three health services are distinguished: SIS (Integral Health Insurance), ESSALUD (Social Health Insurance of Peru) and Social Security of the Police and the Army. On the other hand, the social security services within the private sector are composed by: Health Provider Companies, Private Insurance, College insurance and Private School Insurance. (ENAHO, diccionario) Thus, the questions: *The healthcare service to which you are affiliated is: ... ?(for each service)* were selected and then categorised as access to public or private healthcare accordingly. In order to determine the

general coverage of social security, these two categories (private and public) were put together and computed as one variable "healthcare coverage"; when it takes the value of "1" it is considered as "coverage" contrary to the value of "0" for "No Coverage".

Table 4. Recodification of the variable access to healthcare

| ENAHO indicators		Recoded variables	Measure scale
The healthcare service to which you are affiliated is: ...?	ESSALUD	Public Healthcare	1
	SIS		
	Social Security of the Police and the Army		
	Private Insurance	Prívate Healthcare	2
	Health Provider Companies		
	College insurance		
	Private School Insurance		

5.- Theory

5.1.- Social Mechanisms

Mechanism-talk among the social sciences, and particularly within theoretical discourse in the field of sociology, has gained increased prominence in later decades. (Hedström and Ylikoski, 2013) Based on the work of Merton and Coleman, the theory of social mechanisms originated as an analytical middle-ground approach towards the study of social phenomena. In that sense, it emerged as a reaction and criticism of the covering-law approach to explanations, seeking to establish an intermediary and more flexible level of analysis between laws and pure narrative or storytelling. (Hedström and Ylikoski, 2013) Therefore, it is a middle range theory in the

sense that it aims to provide simple yet clear theoretical explanations, and more importantly, present some degree of generality, such that they are not restricted to a single application but can partially explain a range of similar phenomena. (ibids.)

Following a social-mechanisms approach presents two important implications; firstly, it implies opening the "black box" and finding the articulations or explanations that have caused observed or empirical relationships. Secondly, an essential part of applying social mechanisms focuses on making connections between the micro and macro level. Thus, initially one should identify the mechanisms by which social structures influence or constrain individuals' action, as well as how their social environments shape their desires and beliefs; and then how these actions generate various intended and unintended social outcomes at the macro level. (Hedström and Ylikoski, 2013: 4)

Figure 1. Typology of social mechanisms
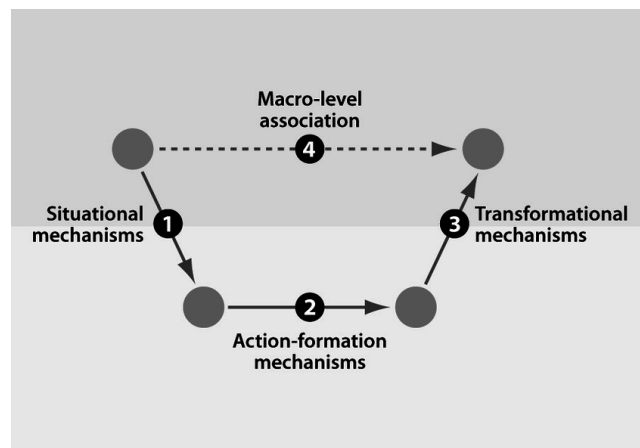
Source: Hedström and Ylikoski, 2013

5.2.- Social exclusion

The concept of social exclusion will be used throughout the study's analysis as an explanatory factor of the disadvantaged position of migrant women in relation to their non-migrant counterparts. This notion is complex and multidimensional in nature, it was initially developed and studied in industrialized economies, more specifically in European countries for the analysis of social inequality, yet it is gradually gaining prominence in the study of developing societies. (Saith, 2007) It does not present a clear-cut definition but has been constantly

redefined, yet it has generally been defined as the process in which individuals or communities are systematically disadvantaged, do not enjoy the same rights and are unable to fully participate in the society in which they inhabit. (Kabeer, 2000) On the same note, it is relevant to pinpoint that the approach of social exclusion in the developed world deals primarily with issues related to the welfare state and formal employment; however, exclusionary processes manifest differently in developing nations, where factors such as poor access to basic infrastructure, decent work or political rights are still latent. (Saith, 2007) One of the prominent features of the notion of social exclusion (SE) is its multidimensionality, that it is not limited to the analysis of economic indicators but also explores social, cultural, or political arenas as well as the intersectionality of these; moreover, its dynamism entails that those exclusionary processes can occur at different societal levels, at different points in time and for various segments of the population. (Khan, 2014) Furthermore, it is relational, in the sense that there are unequal power relations that exacerbate and cause the (re)production of unequal terms of access to social participation. (ibids.)

5.2.1.- Social exclusion in developing contexts

SE has been a highly contested concept mainly due to conceptual and theoretical issues, and since it was initially applied in rich countries, its transferability and/or application in developing contexts has been a relevant concern among several authors. (Saith, 2000) Along this line, the author Saith (2000) pinpoints that among studies of social exclusion in developing contexts, there has been a focus on the identification and the outcomes of the social exclusion of certain segments of the population. She further states that this approach does not capture the complexity of the social reality in developing countries nor the processes that have led to that state of marginalization. Yet, if approached correctly, this concept can provide a powerful explanatory tool for the analysis of the processes and mechanisms that lead to the exclusion of certain socioeconomic groups of the population. (Saith, 2001). Thus, the author emphasizes the need for shifting the focus on processes rather than merely identifying the socially excluded and treating social exclusion as an outcome without consideration of the factor that have led to those circumstances.

Having identified the complexity of this concept, this study is primarily concerned with the relative dimension of this notion, since it seeks to comprehend the exclusion of a cohort of the population in relation to another segment of society; moreover, through the application of the

theory presented, social mechanisms, this paper further aims to identify the processes by which this social exclusion manifests itself in the Peruvian context.

6.- Results

The first part of the analysis consists of presenting the frequency and descriptive statistical results for each socioeconomic indicator.

4.1.- Employment Status

Graph 1. assesses the employment status of migrant and non-migrant young women. It is portrayed that the percentage of unemployed women slightly surpasses that of their non-migrant counterparts, reaching 55%. Thus, it is inferred that employment levels are higher for non-migrant women, yet this difference is small, and unemployment can be perceived as an obstacle for both cohorts of the population.

Graph 1. Employment status of young (18-25) migrant and non-migrant women
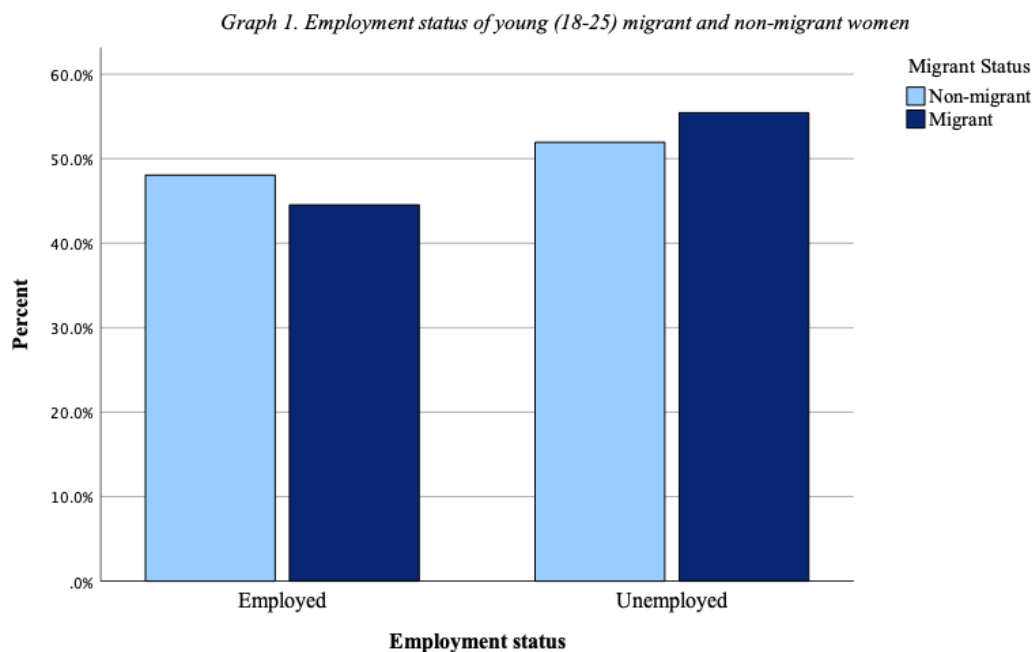
4.2.- Informality

Graph 2. illustrates the percentage of migrant and non-migrant women according to their position in the formal or informal sector of the labour force. It is evidenced that a higher percentage of migrant women work within the informal sector, reaching almost 80%. Likewise, a considerable percentage of non-migrant migrant also take part in the informal sector. This shows that informality remains a strong generalized problematic in the country.

Graph 2. Employment sector by migrant status of young women (18-25)
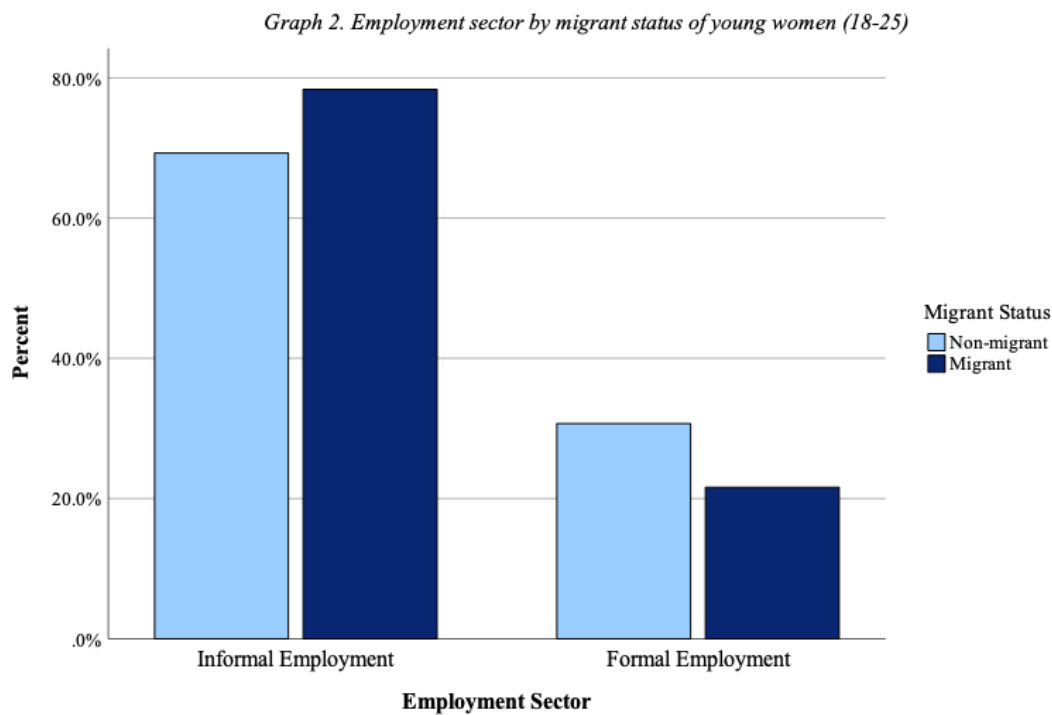
4.3.- Educational attainment

Graph 2. shows the percentage of women according to their education level for both migrant and non-migrant women. It can be seen that there are varying values according to the level of education. It is relevant to highlight that for both subgroups, the majority of women have a higher education level. However, there are differences among both subgroups, the percentage of non-migrant women who present a higher education level is relatively higher than for their migrant counterparts, reaching almost 57%, while the value approximates 50% for migrant women.

Graph 2. Educational attaintment by migrant status of young women (18-25)
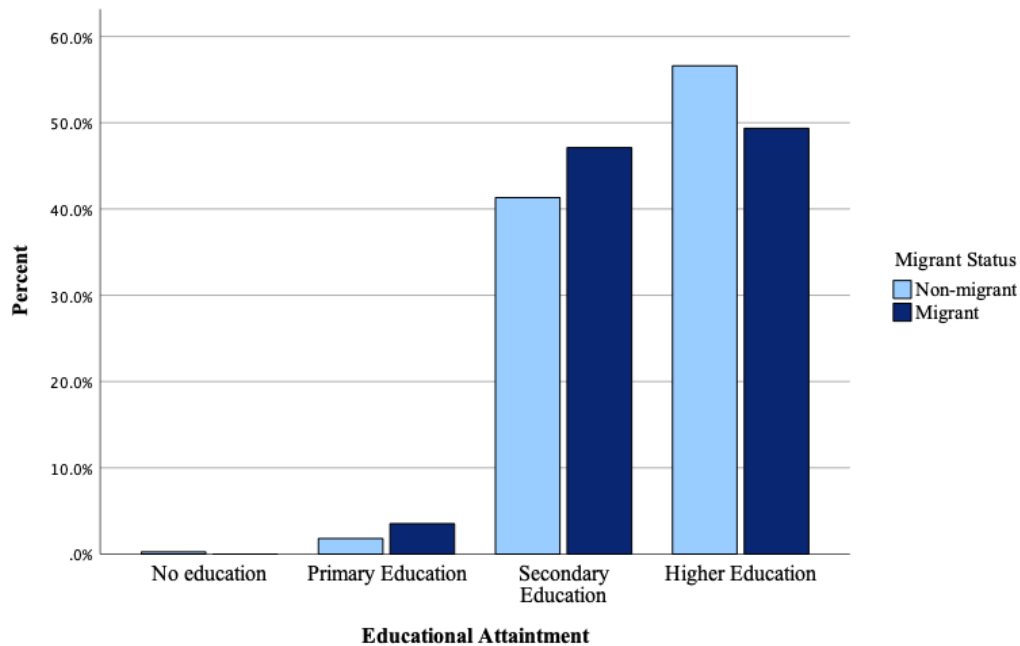
4.4.- Access to healthcare

Graph 3 shows the overall healthcare coverage of women according to their migrant status. It is noticed that the percentage of non-migrant woman who have access to healthcare - independent of it being public or private - is relatively higher than that of migrant women. More than 50% of migrant women have no healthcare coverage. These results portray a worrying picture of the general situation of access to healthcare by Peruvians, as well as how these differences are further exacerbated amongst both subgroups of the population.

Graph 3. Healthcare coverage of young women (18-25) by migrant status
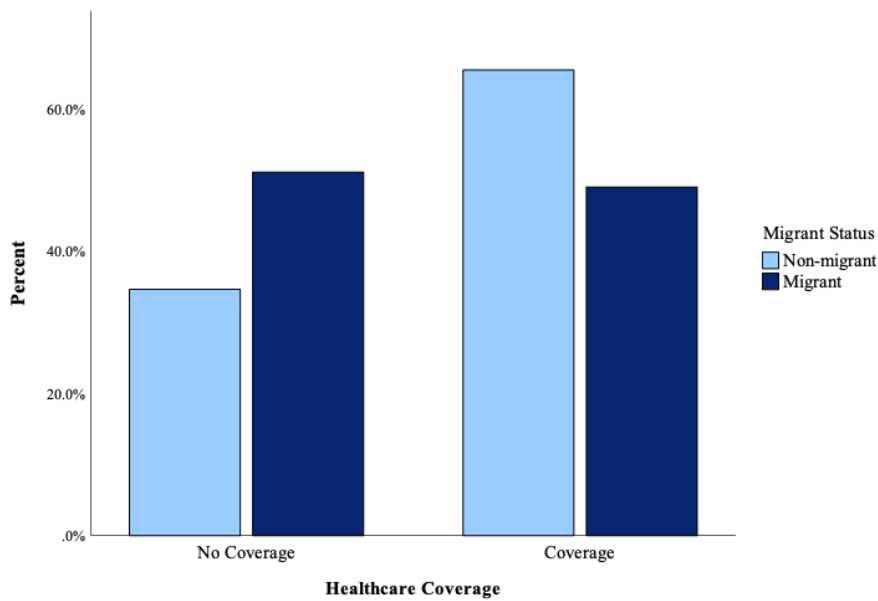
4.5.- Correlation among variables

In order to further explore to what extent the socioeconomic situation of women is explained by their migrant status a chi-square test was run and presented in Table 5. Firstly, it shows that for the first indictor, employment status, the correlation among both variables is statistically significant. Furthermore, the value of Cramer's V was also included in this bivariate analysis, determining the strength of this correlation. It has a value of 0.02, meaning that there is a very weak association between both variables. These results are aligned with the data presented in Graph 1., portraying the prevalence of the issue of unemployment in the country, and particularly in Lima, independent of migrant status. Regarding the third indicator, educational attainment, the chi square value shows that the correlation between educational attainment and migrant status is statistically significant. Furthermore, the value of Phi and Cramer's V is 0.113, signifying that the strength of this correlation is moderate. Thus, it has been identified that the there is a marked difference on the educational attainment amongst both subgroups of the population. The results for the chi-square test for the fourth indicator - healthcare coverage - shows that there exists a correlation between health coverage and migrant status, and that it is statistically significant. The Phi value is 0.098, determining a moderate correlation amongst both variables.

Table 5. Correlation between socioeconomic indicators and migrant status

| Variable correlated with migrant status	P value (statistical significance)	Phi and Cramer's V. value
Emloyment status	<.001	0.20
Employment sector	<.001	0.18
Educational Attaintment	<.001	.113
Health Coverage	<.001	.098

6.- Analysis

In relation to the first and second research questions of this present study, the socioeconomic panorama of migrant women in comparison to their non-migrant counterparts has been presented based on relevant socioeconomic indicators. The results of the descriptive statistics and correlation tests have illustrated that there exists a variation mostly in the socioeconomic indicator of (4) access to health care, as well as (3) educational attainment and (2) employment sector, yet to a lesser extent. On the other hand, it has been shown that unemployment remains a latent problem in Lima and affects both subgroups almost equally. This second part of the analysis is aligned with the third and last research question, which seeks to comprehend the social mechanisms behind the exclusionary processes that lead to the disadvantaged position of these women.

The basis of this second part of the analysis will be the explanatory and analytical underpinnings of the theory of social mechanisms. It is relevant to clarify that factors at the micro and macro level will be considered regarding the situation of migrant women before migrating, through an examination of what has been presented in the background and existing research; and once established or having migrated, based on the quantitative findings of this

study. This is primarily due to two reasons; as stated in Section 4., social exclusion is a process that does not occur at a specific point in time, but it is highly dynamic and relational to the power structures present in different social environments. Thus, if only the situation of women after having migrated is considered, other factors that might influence these exclusionary processes could be omitted. Likewise, the detrimental situation of rural areas in the country was presented in the Section 2, showing that even before migrating, this sector of the population is in a disadvantaged position in relation to urban areas. Moreover, by examining the macro panorama prior to internal migration and after having migrated, a more holistic picture and a more solid analysis can be delivered, aligned with the complexity of the theory of social mechanisms and considering the fact that past research on internal migration in the country has primarily focused on patterns of migration. Table 8. summarizes and presents the main analytical framework that will be used for the explanation of the social mechanisms that are perpetuating the disadvantaged position of internal migrant women in the country.

Table 8. Analytical framework based on theory of social mechanisms
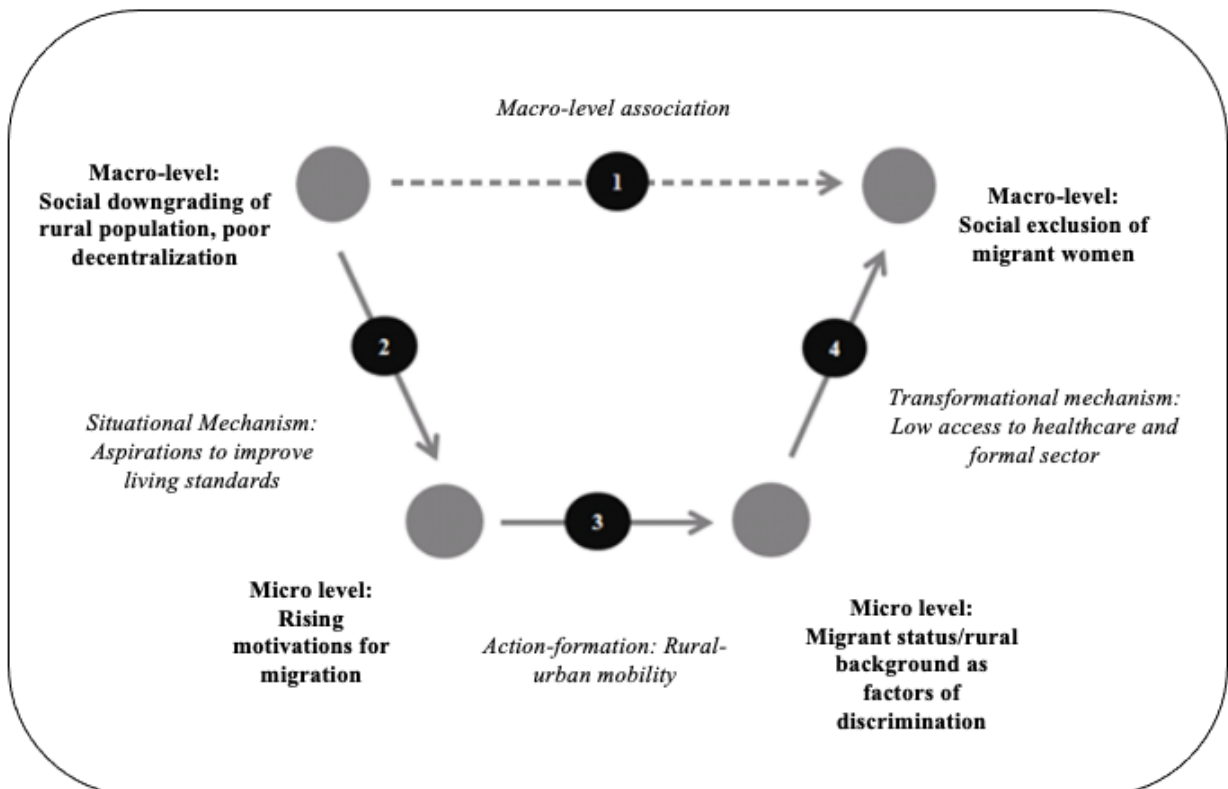
Initially, the table illustrates that there is a macro-level association between two factors; the social downgrading of rural population coupled with the poor efforts to decentralize economic,

social, and political arenas in the country; which is directly related to the social exclusion of migrant women in the capital city, Lima. In that sense, it is relevant to establish the potential mechanisms behind this association. As presented in section 4. the first analytical component of this theory deals with comprehending the macro-level factors - social structures - that influence individuals' behavior and how this social environment shapes their beliefs and spirations. Thus, the first factor of analysis is the issue of centralization in the country. The persistent concentration of economic, social, and political activity predominantly in the capital city, Lima, has led to the uneven development of country's regions. The other relevant macro-level factor that also potentially presents important implications for the social exclusion of the migrant cohort of the population is the overall social downgrading of the rural population. It is directly related with centralization processes in the country. Thus, the low attention placed on the development of rural areas has caused prominent structural inequalities, which are evidenced among different cohorts of the population, evidenced by the fact that poverty levels, as well as low coverage of basic amenities have concentrated in the rural areas of the country. (Miranda, 2016; World Bank, 2017) Thus, it can be inferred that even before migrating, these women are in a more disadvantaged position in comparison to the female cohort of the population in Lima. All these factors have limited the improvement of human development, socioeconomic growth and has represented an obstacle for escaping poverty by the rural population. (Ibids.) Now, this lack of prosperity in rural regions has directly affected the desires and beliefs of young migrant women in the country. Thus, generating a situational mechanism in which women in rural areas present aspirations to improve their living standards and thus, motivations for migration emerge. Aligned with the findings of Yamada (2010) and Sánchez (2015), indeed, the lack of governmental attention and investment in the rural parts of the country has been a primary driver of the young population's decision to migrate with the aspirations to find better opportunities and improve their living standards. Thus, an action-formation mechanism that emerges is the process of internal migration, rural women migrate stablish majoritarely in the coastal regions of the country, primarily in Lima.

Studies that have focused on the social dimensions of internal mobility in the country, such as Merino (2008) and Silva (2020) have highlighted that discrimination has historically represented a strong problematic in the country and has had direct implications for rural migrants. Due to cultural differences, as well as the inefficient management of urbanization processes by the State, at initial stages of internal mobility, they were obliged to locate in the outskirts of the capital city, almost segregated from the rest of the population in the city,

stablishing themselves in the so-called *barriadas* (informal settlements). Moreover, as evidenced by Orbegoso (2018) rural migrant women are increasingly exposed to practices of discrimination, due to their ethnic looks, way of speaking; forcing them to shift their customs and traditional practices in order to be accepted in the host societies. Thus, past research has identified that discriminatory practices have continued to reproduce and have affected the integration of women migrants in Lima. It represents an explanatory factor of the social exclusionary processes in the capital city of Peru, manifested by the continuous discrimination that persists and has considerable implications for their everyday lives. In fact, as evidenced by Orbegoso (2018) rural migrant women are increasingly exposed to practices of discrimination, due to their ethnic looks, way of speaking; forcing them to shift their customs and traditional practices in order to be accepted in the host societies. Thus, the migrant status of these women, as well as their rural background, are factors that have perpetuated discriminatory practices towards women migrants in Lima.

As determined by the quantitative pat of this study, there is a social exclusion of women principally, explained by the transformative mechanism, differences in access to healthcare and the prevalent presence of this subgroup within the informal labour sector. Section 6.1 will analyze in further detail how this social exclusion manifests and the implication it can represent for this sector of the population. Moreover, it will look at the indicator of educational attainment, in order to discover the potential explanatory factors behind those findings.

6.1.- Social exclusion persists

Despite it has been shown that migrant women present similar levels of educational attainment in relation to non-migrant women, they are more likely to present lower levels of healthcare coverage as well as higher chances of being part of the informal sector. Thus, in light if this panorama, it is relevant to analyze what are the repercussions that the lack of access to healthcare, as well as being part of the informal sector has on the physical well-being and these women. Firstly, with regards to the indicator of access to healthcare, much literature has evidenced the important repercussions that the lack of access to healthcare can imply for women. In the context of Peru, the government started the healthcare programme called SIS (Integral Health Insurance), which is predominantly directed to reach the poorest and most marginalized sectors of the population. Yet, a study by Samuel et al. (2020) has shown that these efforts have not been evidenced in practice and there are persisting gaps in healthcare

coverage in the country. A significant factor to take into consideration is that one of the main obstacles that internal migrants face is that they are more prominent to take part in the informal sector, which directly affects their access to healthcare, since they do not count with official documentation to access the quality services that individuals with formal documentation can access to. Another factor that influences their accessibility to healthcare services is that particularly for socially excluded populations are not aware of their entitlement to a range of social services available for them. (Samuel et al., 2020)

6.2.- Education as a tool for social mobility

An interesting finding in relation to the indicator of educational attainment is that there is no considerable difference among both subgroups of the population. Non-migrant women present a slightly higher educational attainment; yet, for both subgroups, most women have reached higher education. It is firstly relevant to consider that the phenomenon of internal migration in the Peruvian context has evolved throughout time and operates differently from what it used to do during the 1950's and 80s, where large, forced movements caused millions of Peruvians to relocate, without a specific profile of migrants, and not consideration of their individual desires and aspirations. Nevertheless, following the second migratory wave, internal migration emerged as a mechanism to improve living standards of rural Peruvians. Thus, aligned with the findings of the author Yamada (2010), internal migration became a mechanism for improving their living conditions; thus, a direct driver of internal migration in the country has been the desire of migrants to have greater access to social and economic infrastructure, one factor being access to education. Indeed, the author found that in comparison to their situation in origin communities, migrants have improved their living standards in terms of better access to public services. Moreover, authors such as Crivello (2009) have explored the link between education and migration stating that this is particularly relevant in the Peruvian context. Aligned with his statement that education is one of the primary reasons for migrating among the youth, and how they connect internal mobility with the process of "becoming someone in life", following the present findings, migrant women could have migrated due to educational purposes, yet there is also the identified trend: it is mostly the women with higher educational attainment who have greater possibilities for migrating.

Following this present analysis, the social mechanism behind exclusionary processes of young female migrants in the capital city has shown that contextual factors - the centralization of social economic and political activity and the social downgrading of the rural sector - as well as individual factors - the migrant status and rural background of women is an explanatory factor of the social exclusionary processes in the capital city of Peru. Despite it has been shown that migrant women present similar levels of educational attainment in relation to non-migrant women, they are more likely to present lower levels of healthcare coverage as well as higher chances of being part of the informal sector.

8.- Discussion

All in all, this present study has contributed to a more comprehensive analysis of the socioeconomic situation of migrant women in the Peruvian context in relation to their non-migrant counterparts. Very few research has approached the topic of internal migration from a gendered approach, considering that it has been seen than women and men migrate internally at almost the same extent; this study has further contributed to acknowledgement of the different circumstances and experiences for both cohorts - men and women - of the population.

It has been found that there are varying differences among both subgroups of the population in relation to three of the four socioeconomic indicators studied: (1) access to healthcare, (2) employment sector and (3) educational attainment. There is a significant difference in the percentage of women who present healthcare coverage, disfavoring the migrant cohort of the population. Nevertheless, the difference of employment status among both groups was not significant, illustrating a panorama of high levels of unemployment for women independent of their migratory status. Thus, three significant issues are affecting the urban population in Lima, higher levels of unemployment, a prevalent informal sector, and the lack of healthcare coverage. The prevalence of the informal sector states the urgent the need for government policies that target this issue, which has important implications for the women's access to other services. The analysis developed based on the theory of social mechanisms has stressed that centralization of almost all socioeconomic spheres, as well as the overall social downgrading of the rural sector of the population are a persistent problematic in the country, and despite improvements in economic growth and reduction of poverty and extreme poverty levels, structural inequalities are perpetuating the social exclusion of certain cohorts of the population.

(World Bank, 2017) Social discrimination has also been identified as a contributing factor of the social exclusion of migrant women, stressing the need to explore this dimension and the implications it has for women, and in general, for vulnerable groups of the population.

8.1.- Further Research

Having stablished that there is a social exclusion of migrant women in relation to their non-migrant counterparts, it would be of great relevance to explore other socioeconomic indicators that could also be influencing the disadvantaged position of migrant women. For instance, a question that directly tackles if they have experiences discriminatory practices. Likewise, there is a general need for greater attention on the topic of internal migration in the country, as well as a further exploration of the situation of vulnerable groups and their experiences, such as indigenous people, who have presented considerable rates of rural to urban mobility. Moreover, there has been a quantitative bias on studies related to internal migration, indeed, taking a mixed approach, for instance could provide a more complete approach and findings for the analysis of the situation of internal migrants. Lastly, it has been seen that it is mostly young people who internally migrate, and with higher levels of education; therefore, it would be of high relevance to explore the repercussion this has for rural communities, where aging population and declining fertility rates have characterized this sector.

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