

An Investigation into the Phenomenon of Migration

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ABSTRACT

Migration has become a widespread phenomenon especially in Third World Countries. The main objective of this paper is to put forth the various aspects related to migration such as the theories of migration, causes, types and effects of migration as also the obstacles to migration as analysed in Part I. While Part II deals with migration in various countries like India with special reference to Kerala owing to the enormous number of international and internal migrants from Kerala.

Introduction

Migration is the process of changing an individual's normal place of habitation by crossing an administrative boundary for solving his economic problems. According to Isaac (1947), migration is the "movement of people from one permanent residence to another permanent or temporary residence for a substantial period of time by breaking social and cultural ties". (p. 1). Rogers defines a migrant, as "an individual who at the end of a given time interval no longer inhabits the same country of residence as at the start of the interval" (UNO 1984, p. 214). Mandal (1981) puts it in terms of changing the residence and breaking social and cultural attachment which the migrant had in his place of origin. For him, migration is an individual attempt to find a solution to the existing economic environment and social problem confronting the individual. In short, migrant is delineated as "a change of residence over the predefined boundaries of an area for a certain period to get employment" (Bilsborrow et al. 1984, p. 5).

It is essential to examine important theories of migration to study various aspects of migration.

Theories of Migration

There are many theories of migration put forward by economists. Some important theories such as Ravenstein's laws of migration, Lee's theory of migration,

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Lesiw-Fei-Ranis model of migration, Sjaastad's human investment theory, Haris Todaro model and Todaro's model of migration are briefly recapitulated here.

(a) *Ravenstein's Laws of Migration*

Ravenstein put forward his laws of migration in 1885 and 1889. According to him, migration is a step-wise process aimed at areas of abundant opportunities and is controlled by distance, which brings about a counter stream of return migrants (Mandal, 1981).

(b) *Lee's Theory of Migration*

According to Lee, there are push factors which have negative impact tending to enforce migrants to leave areas of their origin. There are also pull factors which are positive factors luring migrants to goal areas. Lee also opines that for every major migration there is a counter stream, which means that there are always return migrants whose pre-migration conceptions did not conform with reality or who failed to attain their objectives (Mandal, 1981).

(c) *Lewis-Fei-Ranis Model of Migration*

This explains the procedure of rural-urban transfer of labour from the labour surplus to labour deficit areas. Lewis put forth this model in 1954 which was expanded by Fei and Ranis in 1961. Here, migration is considered as an equilibrating process in the dual economy with a traditional agricultural sector and a modern industrial sector with full employment. As long as surplus labour prevails in rural areas, migration will go on.

(d) *Sjaastad's Human Investment Theory*

Sjaastad's Human Investment Theory or Human Capital Theory (1962) explains the decision to migrate in terms of an individual's expected costs and returns. Here the costs and returns consist of both monetary and non-monetary components. Because of the existence of urban-rural difference in wages, migration is aimed at higher-income urban areas from low-income rural areas.

(e) *Harris-Todaro Model*

Harris-Todaro Model was developed in 1979 as a two sector model of internal migration from rural areas which produces agricultural products to urban areas where the production of manufactured goods is going on. Although certain improvements have been made in Todaro's model (Todaro, 1964), its basic idea that people migrate due to the difference in urban-rural real income remains widely accepted (Todaro and Harris, 1970).

(f) Todaro's Model of Migration

Todaro suggests that the decision to migrate depends upon two factors which are the 'expected income differentials' in rural and urban areas and the 'probability of attaining employment in the urban sector'. It is actually an improvement over Sjaastad's human capital model. Todaro explains rural urban migration as a two stage process. In the initial period, when the migrant arrives from the rural area, he remains unemployed or underemployed and over a period of time, he secures a formal sector job and has high earnings. Thus, even though individuals may experience a loss in income in the initial period, in the second stage he compensates it.

Apart from methodological and conceptual problems arising in the model, Todaro's model is criticized on the ground that it assumes homogeneity in skills and attitude of migrants. Moreover, it does not consider non-economic factors. Sabot (1975) has found that certain assumptions of Todaro models are unrealistic in connection with developing countries. It is relevant to analyse different types of migration streams as also various patterns of migration.

Migration Streams

Migration can be categorised into individual migration which consists of individuals or groups of individuals and family migration which consists of families. It can be a pioneer movement, group migration or mass migration. The pioneer movement is comparatively small and generally precedes other types of movements due to its path-breaking and innovative nature. Group migration occurs when a large proportion of a group with certain identity migrates at about the same time in the same direction, usually for identical purposes. Mass migration occurs when communities participate in migration, which becomes a social pattern of behaviour (Bilsborrow et al., 1984).

There are long term migrants, who change both their usual residence and activity for a prolonged period. Long term migrants come under two categories which are working life migrants and life time migrants. The working life migrants include people those who leave an area and occupy their adult working life elsewhere but maintain some contacts with the area of origin with the intention of returning at some later date. Migration can be again classified into primary migrants who are first time movers and repeat migrants or multiple move migrants which included return and onward migration (Bilsborrow et al., 1984).

Multiple move migrants can be further classified into step migrants and circular migrants. The circular migrants stay for a short time in an area and finally move to the area of origin. The difference between step migrants and circular migrants is that unlike circular migrants, they do not have the intention of returning to their area of origin in the near future. Chain migration occurs when migrants move to places which they already know and where they have established contacts

or at least some indirect knowledge through relatives and friends (Bilsborrow et al. 1984). By a long term migrant, we mean a person who has changed residence by passing over a geographic region within last five years.

Causes of Migration

History tells us the story of long distance, age old long waves of migration of communities. Aryan and Muslim migration come under this category. But causes of the aforesaid migrations are associated with the political condition, religious expansion, urge to improve living conditions and for food and employment (Mandal, 1981). Sociologists have considered a wide range of factors influencing individual and household migration decisions including demographic factors such as age, sex, education, race, household size and geographic factors such as distance (ILO, 1984).

Isaac (1947) says there can be many objectives for migration. Even though the motives will vary from individual to individual, the economic motive predominates among all the cases. Migration is likely to occur when the individual is in a position to move out of the place and can improve his 'real income'. He points out four reasons for migration. Firstly, due to the imbalance in the population growth people migrate. When population increases, the available technical knowledge and natural resources remain the same, due to which the per capita share of those for an individual decrease, and as a result, the surplus population will move out, where conditions are better. Secondly, people migrate due to opening up of new opportunities. For instance, a new discovery of natural resources like gold or oil will tempt people to migrate. Thirdly, when natural resources are almost exhausted in a country, realizing that there is no point in living there, people will migrate. Fourthly, due to technological inventions or discoveries which influence the standard of living of the people, migration will increase. Moreover, when a new trade route is opened, people become interested to migrate since they can improve their standard of living. Whenever some new trade route is opened, it becomes the centre of attention of the world trade. For instance, in the sixteenth century, there was a shift in world trade from Mediterranean to Atlantic. As a result, trading centres like Venice, Geneva and Pisa lost importance and wealth, which prompted people to migrate (Isaac, 1947).

Kuznets maintains the increase in the rate of migration after First World War was 'partly due to the easing of intercontinental transportation in Europe from East to West and later from South to North, by railways. But in large part, it was due to the spread of economic modernization and industrialization (Mandal 1981).

It is also said that search for means of livelihood is the chief cause of migration. Migration occurs due to economic causes such as high pressure of population on land, lack of proper livelihood, availability of mineral resource somewhere else,

the improvement in trade and commerce, poverty and income inequality. According to Harris and Todar, migration occurs mainly due to economic resources such as the difference in the urban and rural expected earnings. In the model developed by Todaro (1969), the decision to migrate from rural to urban areas is attributed to two factors such as 'urban rural real income differential' and the 'probability of obtaining an urban job'. There is direct proportionality between the difference in the economic opportunities between rural and urban regions and the flow of migrants. Todaro says all the descriptive and econometric internal migration studies prove that people migrate mainly for economic reasons. The World Development Report (1990) established that economic factors like poverty, income inequality and unemployment are the main causes of migration.

Effects of Migration

A brief review of economic, geographic and demographic effect of migration is given here.

Since the workers shift from rural areas of less productivity to urban areas with more productivity, their income rises. Due to increase in income, there is increase in demand for rural output, which in turn raised the demand for rural labour and increased wages (ILO, 1984).

Regarding effects of migration on income distribution, opinions differ. Adelman and Robinson argue that migration improves income distribution, while Singh and Rodgers say the migration does not improve it. Todaro and others opine that migration causes urban surplus labour by increasing unemployment and underemployment. Standing, Oberoi and Sing are of the view that migrants participate in the labour force to a greater extent than natives (ILO, 1984).

Migration is likely to affect rural fertility in many ways. It affects the level and distribution of rural income which is expected to influence fertility. Secondly, out-migration of males or females in large numbers creates imbalance in sex ratio. Again, large scale migration of married people may create disturbing effect on family structure (ILO, 1984).

Large scale migration in cities increases the demand for infrastructure facilities and social services such as schools and hospitals, transport and communications, water, electricity, housing, cultural and recreational facilities. As a result, non-migrant's living standard tends to get reduced since housing, education, transport and other facilities get widely distributed. In cities, it is difficult to meet the increasing demand for these services (ILO, 1984). Even though migration has been observed to be edifying for individual migrants, he has to confront many obstacles to migration.

Obstacles to Migration

An individual can be considered as flushed with success by migration, only if he can adjust to the changed circumstances. There are certain obstacles to migration defeating the process of migration, which are briefly pointed out below.

According to Isaac (1947), imperfect knowledge about the job opportunities in the new country is one such factor (ILO, 1984). To make an individual's migration successful, information about the cultural, social, climatic and economic conditions must be available to the prospective migrant. Sometimes, in addition to lack of information, lack of his ability to adjust to the new surroundings and unexpected changes in the new conditions also make migration a failure and people may re-migrate. Difficulties of transportation is another obstacle. Wide disparities in climate may discourage migration as observed in the case of Europeans who avoided settling in the tropics or in the Arctic regions of Canada (Isaac, 1947).

There are cultural obstacles to migration like the cultural links between the individual and his native country, cultural factors like prejudice, customs, folkways, mores and habits. So accommodating to a new environment becomes difficult for the individual (Isaac, 1947). It implies that migration of an individual is a failure if the post-migration living conditions worsen.

Similarly, if an individual finds that after his migration, the conditions of life become better in his home country, his migration can be considered as counter productive or redundant (Isaac, 1947).

Therefore, an individual's migration is fully related to his own perception and judgment about his 'future prospects' in both countries. It depends upon his expected hopes and desires and realized hopes and desires (Isaac, 1947).

Migration in Various Countries

In the changing world, in most of the countries, the increase in labour supply far exceeds the increase in demand for it. Migration is adopted by the individual himself or by the government as a means to solve unemployment.

China, which is an over populated country, successfully tackled serious unemployment problem through migration. The Chinese government's policy is to encourage surplus labourers to transfer out of crop farming into agricultural sidelines or non-agricultural work. The Chinese People also shift jobs without changing residence or without any formal migration. Since Chinese government is aware that it would be dangerous if there is migration from rural to urban areas, it frames the migration policy in such a way as to compel the urban youth to migrate to rural areas. The migration survey conducted in China in the year 1986 found out that permanent migrants in 1985 constituted two per cent of the surveyed rural areas to cities. Now the government policy encourages 'out migrants from

villages to move to other rural places or to the smallest urban places'. So in China, population migrations occur within nearer destination than the farther ones, which is comparatively less expensive. It also puts less pressure on the urban infrastructure and therefore it minimizes the disequilibrium situation. The China migration survey of 1986 reveals that, obviously, migration is a carefully controlled process in China (Bannister, et al., 1989).

In order to solve unemployment, circular migration is adopted in African countries (Sabot, 1970). The World Development Report (1980) brings out that in most of the cases, rural urban migration impart an upward push on the incomes of the migrants. It is observed that in Kenya, chances are five times more for an educated person to migrate than the uneducated. A study conducted in Tanzania reveals that 90 per cent of men who left their villages had some schooling. Similarly, it is pointed out that in Colombia, migrants had higher income than urban natives with same level of education (World Development Report, 1990).

In countries like Philippines, Indonesia, Egypt and Tanzania, unemployment was found lowest among those with middle school qualification, and less for university graduation. Permissive emigration is suggested as a measure to reduce unemployment. Thus, emigration has helped Egypt and Philippines to earn foreign currency (Leonor, 1985).

About Tanzanian people's migration, Sabot (1970) says that migration is motivated by the objective to secure employment and the destination of the migrant is the location of productive resources (World Development Report, 1980).

It is found that in Latin America, African countries and in some Asian countries like Thailand and Philippines, the migration of females and males are due to economic reasons (Oberai, et al., 1989). Studies relating to rural-urban migration of male and female in selected developing countries like Korea, Indonesia, Java, Iran and Thailand revealed that approximately more than fifty per cent of males and twenty five per cent of females migrated for either seeking job or better jobs (UNO, 1982).

Sabot opines that the propensity to migrate increases as the level of education of the migrant increases. For instance, "rural residents with education of standards 1-4 are nearly three times as likely to migrate as those with no formal education. Drop outs from standard 5-8 are nearly four times as likely to move as rural resident with one to four years of education and the propensity of post-primary leavers to migrate is nearly twice that of those with primary education, more than twenty times that of those with no education". He thus underlines that the propensity to migrate from rural to urban areas increases as the education attained increased.

Migration is considered to be important since it contributes to economic growth by transferring surplus labour from low productivity to high productivity area and

is acknowledged in economic theory long back. In developed countries, rapid economic and social changes are observed which is followed by population redistribution between the areas of origin and the area of destination of migrants. So the migration flows have a clear impact on several problems of the development process like employment as well as regional development. Having narrated the migration in various countries, the process of international and internal migration in the Indian economic context is explained next.

International Migration in India

Though migration is a common phenomenon everywhere in the world, probably the number of migrant workers are larger in India, than in any other Asian country (Dre'se and Sen, 1997). After the attainment of India's independence there were basically two waves of international migration. The first wave of migration started in 1950 and included a considerable number of Indian workers who migrated to Britain, United States, Canada, Western Europe and Australia. This registered a diminishing scale from 1970 onwards.

The second wave of migration started in large scale to Middle-East countries, especially to oil exporting countries, due to discovery of large number of oil sources. A new economic policy was framed in order to provide new amenities like hospitals, schools, houses, improvement of transportation and communication. As a result, the demand for semi skilled and unskilled workers and to a smaller extent, highly skilled technical experts also increased. The phenomenon continued upto 1982. After that it started to decrease due to sharp fall in the oil prices and fall in the oil revenue (Gulati and Mody, 1983). The reasons of decline in migration is said to be the oil crisis since 1983, Gulf War of 1990 and the availability of cheap labour from other Asian countries. In October–November 1990, about 1.2 lakh Indians were evacuated out of which seventy per cent were Keralites. Some of them went back to other Gulf countries (Government of Kerala, 1992).

As Table 1 shows, the per centage of total migrants were 30.61, 31.24 and 27.68 respectively in India, according to 1971, 1981 and 1991 Census while the number of Intra-district migrants were maximum in number.

Total emigrants to Gulf countries from India include mainly people from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Goa, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. However, out of all these seven states, Kerala sends maximum number of migrants, say more than fifty per cent of the total (UNO,1982).

Internal Migration in India

If we consider internal migration in India, it includes the flow of people from one district to another and one state to another. Oberai, Sardana and Pradhan (1989) say that Kerala and UP had a high rate of out-migration between 1951 and

1971. A large number of people from these states migrated to other parts of the country and in such a way these states lost maximum population as a result of migration.

Table 1
Population & Types of Migrants based on Place of
Last Residence Data: India 1971-1991

	1971	1981	1991
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
Total Population	548159652	665287776	838537936
Place of last residence – same as enumeration	380387242 (69.39)	457427197 (68.76)	606454963 (72.32)
Interdistrict	104994480 (19.15)	127235883 (19.12)	140357053 (16.74)
Intradistrict	35775707 (6.53)	51011805 (7.67)	58841198 (7.02)
Interstate	18852228 (3.44)	23539337 (3.54)	26689595 (3.18)
International	7516726 (1.37)	6070334 (0.91)	5927882 (0.71)
Unclassifiable	633269	3184	297245
Total Migrants % of migrants to Total Population	167772410 (30.01)	207860579 (31.24)	232112973 (27.68)

Source: Singh DP (1998), Internal Migration in India:1961-1991 Demography India, Journal of the Indian Association for the Study of Population, Vol. 27, No. 1, New Delhi.

Mandal (1981) opines that in North Bihar, migration arises due to unemployment, occurrence of natural calamities like flood or drought, rising population and marriage. He says it can happen also due to problems of defence, non-availability of food or may be due to war. Sinha and Sinha put it in terms of quest for employment. They say, “the high per centage of people in the immigrants indicates that people migrate to the city minly in search of employment (Mandal, 1981).

Kasar (1992) says seasonal migration is very common in India. In Tamil Nadu, a large number of labouring families are seasonal migrants. Even in states like Assam, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat, it is widespread. Kasar opines that “seasonal migration of farm labour is a major constituent of the intra-rural migration in the country”. He attributes better developed agriculture and growth of agro based industries which tempt poverty-ridden farmers from Beed, Osmanabad, Aurangabad and Solapur districts in Maharashtra to migrate.

Papola maintained that before 1971, marriage has been the important reason for migration. He says thirty six per cent of the migrants come under that category while that of migration due to unemployment constituted 27 per cent and 22 per

cent migrated due to movement of family. After 1976, due to movement of family, 32 per cent migrated. Next important reason was unemployment (25 per cent) and marriage got third priority with seventeen per cent (Sodhi, 1978).

Murty and Murty (1980) also opined that the dominant factor which depends upon migration is marriage and other related factors. According to them, geographical and economic factors hold less importance. Zacharia says an important aspect related to migration is the attitude of the people to move between villages and towns over the time period and to return to their original place. In India, such re-migration occurs everywhere. Ambannavar pointed out that 42 per cent of Maharashtra's population were migrants in 1975 where male and female migrants were 32 per cent and 52 per cent respectively. The higher per centage of female migrants was obviously due to marriage. It is also pointed out that inter-district migration are economically less significant while long distance migration has more economic importance since these migrants are educated males of working class people in Maharashtra.

Migration in Kerala

Keralites are considered to be a community with high incidence of migration for the attainment of subsistence. In Kerala, migrations are voluntary in nature. It is said that "voluntary migration is the result of personal choice based on economic considerations involving search for better rewards for labour and living conditions" (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, 1976). The reasons for migration are mainly categorized into five, which are employment, better employment, other economic reasons, education and others that include marriage and allied factors.

Dolly Sunny (1999) argues that due to the extent and severity of the problem of unemployment prevailing in the domestic labour market of educated and the inability of the Government of Kerala to provide employment opportunities, the large number of educated unemployed out migrate.

Gulati and Mody (1988) opine that reasons for migration are mainly high density of population and high unemployment rate. On account of insufficient work opportunities and more developed educational infrastructure, a student is forced to continue his studies for long time in Kerala compared to other states. The number of unemployed increases over time and naturally, he migrates in search of job.

Prakash (1989) says that "the high rate of growth of population and industrial backwardness tempted many labourers to migrate to other parts of Kerala, other parts of India and abroad. Nair (1981) opines that a large number of out migration occurs due to stagnation in the employment market, since the unemployment situation of the state has been alarming and worsening day by day. He gives certain other reasons also such as high density of population, spread of education and improvement of standard of living. All these factors are favourable for increasing the pace of migration.

Nair (1981) argues that 45 per cent of the respondents had migrated to secure a job due to shortage of employment opportunities in Kerala. Another 27 per cent migrated due to family obligations. The third stream of people migrated for improving the standard of living of their household.

The international out-migration from Kerala can be divided into two streams on the basis of the skill attained by the migrants. One stream consists of unskilled workers from rural areas while the second stream includes comparatively better educated men and women from urban areas. The majority of the migrants from Kerala are to Middle East countries (Gulati and Mody, 1983).

There were 1,86,509 migrants from Kerala in the Middle East countries in 1980, out of which 69.2 per cent had below secondary level education and comprised 20.3 per cent of skilled and 48.9 unskilled, 24.7 per cent had secondary education, whereas 11.5 per cent of the total possessed certificates of diplomas and 13.2 per cent did not possess any certificates. 4.6 per cent possessed degrees in general professional subjects, while 4.6 per cent possessed degrees in technical subjects as given in Table 2.

Table 2
Per centage Distribution of Migrant Workers According to
Educational Status and Destination, 1980 Per centage
Distribution According to Educational Status

<i>1</i>	<i>No. of migrants</i>	<i>Skilled</i>	<i>Unskilled</i>	<i>Possessing certificate diploma in technical subjects</i>	<i>Not Possessing certificate diploma in technical subjects</i>	<i>Possessing degree in general professional subjects</i>	<i>Possessing diploma in technical subjects</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>
1. Middle East Countries	186.5 (36.6)	20.3	48.9	11.5	13.2	7.8	1.5	100
2. Non Middle East Countries	21.2 (4.2)	11.7	24.8	19.3	18.5	10.6	7.8	100
3. Other States within India	301.0 (50.2)	16.4	32.8	16.6	25.6	6.5	2.0	100
4. Total	509.6 (100.0)	17.7	30.8	14.8	20.8	6.3	2.1	100

Note: Figures in brackets in col. 2 give per centage distribution of total migrant workers from Kerala according to their present location.

Source: Gulati & Mody (1983), Remittances of India Emigrants to the Middle East, CDS Working Paper no. 182, CDS, Trivandrum.

As per the survey conducted by Directorate of Economics and Statistics in 1982, Kerala had 2.03 lakh people working abroad and 1.87 lakh of them were in the Middle East. Among Indian workers in the Middle East in 1979, Keralites were more than half of the total. The importance of migration from Kerala is clear from Nair's (1983, p. 2) statement that "a region such as Kerala, which accounts for less than 4 per cent of India's population is sending half of the total migrant to Arab countries".

Majority of migrants are rural people. Among the urban migrants there are engineers, doctors, contractors and other professional workers etc. who constitute less than 10 per cent. In this context Nair (1983) Gulati and Mody (1983) opine that since the share of highly qualified migrants to Middle East countries was low, the Gulf migration did not constitute a serious problem of brain flow; but it was predominantly a flow of brawn. He made the significant observation that during eighties migration of professionally qualified people was rare and such persons were migrating to western countries and Africa (Nair, 1983). This will be clear when we examine the per centage of workers who were given emigration clearance in the year 1982-85. The data is given for the years 1982 to 1985. The number of unskilled people is very high when compared to skilled ones as given in Table 3.

Table 3
Per centage Distribution of Workers who were Granted Emigration Clearance by Protector of Emigrants, Trivandrum, 1982-85

<i>Category Skilled and Semi Skilled</i>	<i>1982</i>	<i>1983</i>	<i>1984</i>	<i>1985</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
Construction Workers (Masons & Contractors)	28.6	24.5	25.3	23.7
Technical & Production Process Workers	23.0	50.7	41.7	40.6
Transport Operators	7.6	6.4	5.3	5.8
Office Workers (Accountants, Clerks, Typists, Stenographers etc.)	3.9	5.2	3.3	2.8
Nurses	0.2	0.1	1.4	0.1
Unskilled Household Workers (Cooks, Ayahs etc.)	3.3	2.7	5.3	6.6
Other Unskilled Workers	33.4	10.4	18.2	20.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Nair P.R. Gopinathan (1987), Impact of Migration and Remittances & the Kerala Economy Implications for State Planning Preliminary draft of the paper presented Asian Development Programme, ILO, Geneva.

The statistics related to non-resident Indians and Keralites bring out the fact that out of 30 lakh Indians in Gulf countries, 16 lakh are from Kerala as given in

Table 4, though the number of Gulf migrants sharply declined during the period of Gulf war (Government of Kerala, 1999).

The number of out-migrants to Gulf countries, when compared to inter-state migrants are at a decline now due to fall in employment opportunities in Gulf countries. The distribution of Kerala's outmigrants to various places in 1980 implies that, about three fifths migrated to other Indian states, over one third to Middle East countries and less than one twentieth to foreign countries (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, 1976).

Table 4
Country-wise Migration

<i>Sr. No.</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Indians</i>	<i>Keralites</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
1.	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	16.00	8.00
2.	United Arab Emirates	6.50	3.50
3.	Kuwait	2.50	1.25
4.	Bahrain	2.00	1.25
5.	Oman	1.50	1.00
6.	Qatar	1.50	1.00
	Total	100.00	100.00

Source: Government of Kerala (1999), Economic Review, 1998, State Planning Board, Thiruvananthapuram.

Zacharia's study of Greater Mumbai migrants reveals that while comparing with migrants from other states the migrants from Kerala had a high level of education. About 33 per cent of males and approximately 43 per cent of females from Kerala were matriculates. The number of illiterates among outmigrants from Kerala were less than other states. It is observed that "the migration pattern of Kerala, in recent years has been beneficial to the state in the sense that it has tended to reduce the pressure of population on the resources of the estate such as good schools and hospitals. Migrations from the state are concentrated among the young adult ages where the problem of unemployment is severe" (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, 1976).

There are certain adverse demographic effects of migration. The peculiar sex composition of Kerala is partly due to a large outflow of males from Kerala. As per 1991 census, the sex composition of Kerala is 1022 females per 1000 males.

Among the outmigrants from Kerala, the male outmigrants outnumber the female outmigrants which shows an entirely different picture from that of the general population of Kerala. Since migration is chiefly motivated by employment opportunities and wage for better living, it is natural that more males outmigrate. Thus, the migration of large number of males is therefore an important reason for

imbalance in sex ratio in Kerala, even though migration enables them to enhance their economic prospects by securing employment.

The analytical investigation of outmigration flows in par with the level of education attained establishes that migration is not a random process, but a selective one, dependent on the nature of employment opportunities available in various regions or countries which in turn determines the internal and international streams of migration.

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