

A PROPOSED STUDY OF MIGRATION

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SECTION I : Introduction.

Migration takes many forms of which : migration from rural to rural areas, from rural to urban areas, from urban to urban areas and from urban to rural areas. It is migration from rural to urban centres which it is intended to deal with here.

The need for such a statistical investigation of migration at designation centres in capital, large, medium and small towns is mainly due to the fact that most of the existing studies have been carried out at the origin, i.e. on villages and on households still at villages, who had migrant members and thus missed whole family migrants. The process of migration and, in particular, migration in search for employment has profound impact on employment in agriculture and the level of per-capita income in the village of origin. What is much more important is the fact that any policy on employment, education, improvement of housing, transport, communication,

The author acknowledges the benefit of his discussion with Mrs. B.N. Chinnappa and her fruitful suggestions. As the chairman of the workshop on employment, the author has benefited from his discussion with other members of the workshop. A most up to date picture of the recent and previous work on employment and migration was provided for the author through the work done by the I.D.S. staff members. The most relevant was the I.D.S. discussion paper No.39, Jan.1974 on "Migration from rural areas: the evidence from village studies" by J.Connell, B.Dasgupta, R.Laishley and M.Lipton.

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electricity, etc., which does not allow for the inflow of migrants is short sighted and may have to deal with much more complicated situations. improvement of the town infra-structure to cope with an unusual increase in population is not easy to achieve and a policy aiming at restricting the rate of inflow of migrants may have to be considered. In order that such a policy may be successful it has to be based on a deeper understanding of the process of migration and migrants. Moreover, measures may have to be undertaken to provide employment and social aids to migrants.

The treatment will proceed as follows. In section II factors leading to migration are introduced. In section III a summary of some evidence from the obvious work is given. section IV presents a survey on migration.

SECTION II : FACTORS LEADING TO MIGRATION

With few exceptions most of the previous studies on migration divided the factors which have a bearing on migration into villages push factors and towns pull factors. Owing to the complexity of migratory process these factors are considered here to be fallen under four sub-classes. These are simple push factors, simple pull factors, complex push-pull factors and other factors.

a) Push of the village factors may be stated briefly as

- I - mainly economic factors such as harvest faller, flood, earthquakes, cyclone and famine
- II - mainly political such as: riots, war, family quarrells,

village quarrells, rational, and religious riots.

- iii- mainly the result of technical change e.g., taste may change and the demand on non-agricultural products is eliminated which enduces migration of labour engaged in such production.
- iv - mainly land-based such as landlessness, scarcity of land, etc.,
- v - factors of social nature such as the inheritance of inferior social position that migration has to be undertaken in order to escape such hirarchies.

Pull of the urban centres factors

- i - availability of educational needs for children and youth.
- ii - availability of medical care.
- iii- attraction of social life: clubs, picture-houses, and theatres etc.
- iv - proximity of urban centres
- v - access to roads
- vi - satisfaction of certain targets, e,g,, debts settlement buying land. building a house, and improving land etc.
- vii- avallability of relatives or friends

Complex push-pull factors

- i - maldistribution of land or genually maldistribution of income in urban areas is generally considered as only a push factor pushingout starving peasants from rural to urban areas. However, maldistribution of land incomes provide economics surplus to large land-holders which enables them to enjoy urban social life.

- ii - commercialization of cash-cropping in town is being cropping is taken to be a village push factor.
- iii- None availability of employment opportunities, lack of employment duration or seasonality of employment, and lower employment earnings are all push factors in rural areas. Yet the availability of employment opportunities, the longer duration of employment and the relatively high employment earnings in urban areas are all pull factors.
- iv - seeking bride-price is a push factor to young males after marriage, Yet target migrants are likely to settle in town after marriage. Here marriage is pull factor.

D- Other factors

- i - degree of population concentration in the village
- ii - size of the village
- iii- the degree of literacy in the village

SECTION II : SOME EVIDENCE FROM THE PREVIOUS WORK

A) Multiplicity of migration factors.

In their quantitative and qualitative study on Indian villages, J. Connell, B. Dasgupta, R. Laishley and M. Lipton regressed each of the three dependent variables,

- (1) total migrants as a percentage of total population,
 - (2) working migrants as a percentage of adult population; and
 - (3) student migrants as a percentage of total population,
- against five push factors and against five pull factors.

The push factors are :

- (i) Percentage of all agricultural labourers in total population.
- (ii) Percentage of land owned by bottom 25% of households
- (iii) Ratio of total population to total cultivated land in village,
- (iv) Yield per hectare of main subsistence crop.
- (v) Crude literacy rate.

The pull factors are :

- (a) percentage of cultivated village land under main cash crop.
- (b) percentage of village produce sold.
- (c) distance from the nearest town,
- (d) distance from the main road.
- (e) crude literacy rate for males.

The Multiple correlation coefficient was between .71 and .87 although the coefficients were rarely significant yet the study reveals the necessity of considering a group of factors simultaneously rather than dealing with one or two factors only.

B) The degree of land scarcity.

Most of the following studies suggest that the level of out-migrants from the village is related to the degree of land-scarcity in the village. However, migrants tend to change the picture after some time. It was found that migrants caused man/land ratio to decrease and thus led to an increase in cash/cropping. Thus migration helps to cause and cure land scarcity.

Baxter ⁽²⁾ An inverse relationship was found between land/man ratios and off-village migrants of a group of pakistani villages. Rochin ⁽³⁾

C) Cash-Cropping.

A 0.5 rank correlation was estimated for migration and per capita income from wages and crop-selling. Welsh and Triln ⁽⁴⁾ Also a positive correlation of migration with the proportion of non-agricultural income. Upton ⁽⁵⁾ A positive relationship between number of migrants and low opportunities for cash cropping measured as low land/man ratio. Either because low demand for cash crop leads to a decrease in income or because smaller risk is accompanied with subsistence cropping. Goddard ⁽⁶⁾ A negative relationship was found between the number of coffee trees, (as one type of cash cropping) and the rate migration in New Guinea. Harris ⁽⁷⁾ Therefore it is clear for such evidence that the existence or shortage of cash-cropping is decisive factor in limiting or encouraging migration respectively.

D) Employment and diffusion of information on employment opportunities. A perfect rank correlation of unemployment rates and migration rates was found for villages whose migrants outflow to Delhi Deshmulk ⁽⁸⁾ Little attention was directed at the empirical study of diffusion of information to expected migrants from villages with respect to available employment opportunities. either in urban or other rural centers. The I.L.O. mission to Ceylon in 1971 was surprised by the co-existence at the same time of the year, of unemployment accompanied by low-wages in

some rural areas with labour scarcity at high-wages available nearby. I.L.O.⁽⁹⁾

Seasonality of agricultural employment.

A negative correlation of number of seasonal migrants with land/man ratio was found for a number of villages subdivided by district in Turkey. Turkey: Ministry of village affairs.⁽¹⁰⁾

A more direct evidence on the relationship between seasonal migrants and availability of employment opportunities could have been tried by seeking the relationship between number of seasonal migrants and ratio of area of land under cultivation and harvesting and total area of land. For villagers at easy reach of urban areas migration is undertaken on a seasonal basis, a temporary return to the village at harvest times and to lower extent at planting times may take place. In a permanent type of job such a movement is almost impossible. However, in casual type employment, self-employment and family operated small scale craft jobs, seasonal migration can be undertaken at a reasonable cost.

The effect of disasters.

It was remarked that migration in the 19th. Century Irish famine was not undertaken by the poorest villages in the west whose poverty was so great to the extent that fares out could not be afforded and thus it was concluded that it is not always the poorest of villages which expels migrants, although land shortage is an important factor motivating them. Cousens⁽¹¹⁾

SECTION IV: DESIGNING A SAMPLE SURVEY ON MIGRATION.

The statistical need for such an empirical study for some developing countries may be justified on the grounds that outflow of migrants from rural areas to urban centres is being undertaken at a rate which is most likely to be much higher than can be absorbed by existing infra-structure of urban areas. Even if roads, housing, transport, etc., may have to be expanded,

It is probable that this could only be done at a much slower rate than the rate of the migrant inflow mainly due to the scarcity of material, equipment and capital resources. In addition to problems crowding in housing, roads and transport, more pressure is bound to be put on communications, electricity, schooling and health-centres, etc. Moreover, unemployment and food supplies are likely to come at the top of the list of priorities which need urgent action.

It may be that there are many other problems for the developing countries to deal with. Yet the problems created by migration inflow into the towns may have to be faced sooner or later. The first step in the right direction is to acknowledge the priority of collecting statistical information on migration outflow from rural to urban centres. Subsequently funds and personnel could be then be made available for such an enquiry.

In order to study migration in a satisfactory manner, the coverage of the statistical sampling survey should allow generalization, in the sense that not only capital but also some, if not all, large, medium and small town should be included. The main concern here

is to study migration at destination.that is not meant to minimise the role of the study of migration at origin in the village. All that is implied is that from both the point of view of problems in urban centres emanating from migration as well as from the point of view of migration's effect on employment, migration at destination seems to be the most relevant. However, if statistical needs should arise to study migration at origin this may well be undertaken at a later stage, thus it falls outside the scope of this study.

Concentration on migration at destination is not meant to overlook either the multi-staginal practice of migration not the dynamic factors of the process of migration. The proposed sample survey is designed with the view of studying these factors. Moverover, a distinction between permanent, temporary and seasonal migration is also to be taken into consideration and attended to.

In designing a sample survey on migration a five- stage project of collecting the required data is considered. The first stage involves deciding upon a sampling frame. In the second stage, first-stage sampling units are to be drawn. The third satge requires the listing of relevant households. In the fourth stage a draft for a schedule to be used as an experiment on a pilot sampling survey is undertaken . The fifth stage aim at collecting sample data.

The first stage : deciding upon a sampling frame.

Ideally the sampling frame should include all districts in the capital, large, medium and small towns. For each district a break-down by blocks should be provided. Districts should be arranged in a descending order, according to the outcome of two criterias-

(i) The number of blocks in each

(ii) The square-mile density of population.

This in effect amounts to considering the second criteria as some sort of weight to the first one. The intention is to generate a greater degree of representativeness in the sample to be drawn through a consideration of various income levels. This is especially important because densely populated districts are occupied by large numbers at the lower end of income distribution. In such districts, moreover, most of the migrant newcomers.

The second stage : drawing first stage sampling units.

A stratified random sample of blocks is a suitable procedure. Yet it is not practical in view of the lack of knowledge about variance in various districts. The same end may be achieved through drawing a systematic random sample of ordered districts that are weighted by population density.

The third stage : the listing of relevant households.

In this stage a complete enumeration should be undertaken for each household living in the blocks drawn in the second stage. The objective of this stage is to provide the required statistical sampling units.

Although this stage is ranked as intermediate in this project, it can be made most beneficial as a result of the information required in the listing stage. After all, this stage is bound to be expensive, and it seems unwise if not exploited.

It has to be remarked that it goes without saying that specially recruited and sufficiently trained enumerators should be put under a strict supervision and equipped with a comprehensive yet short list on basic data.

For each household, the first question to be asked should be concerned with the number of the members of the household who moved to the town within a specific reference period. If the answer is none, no more questions should be added and the next household should be interviewed. If, on the other hand, any number of migrants is given, the following short list of information is requested.

- (i) Name , address, age, sex, occupation, formal and education, number of children and other dependents of the head of the household, and for each individual migrant;
- (ii) Age-sex, place of birth, marital status;
- (iii) Number of dependents living with the migrant and those who are left behind;
- (iv) present and previous occupation;
- (v) Relationship of the member to that head of the household.
- (vi) Date of departure from the place of birth, and date of departure from previous address;

- (vii) Intended length of period of stay;
- (viii) Purpose of movement to town.

By the end of the listing stage a preliminary tabulation and then simple analysis have to be made before any further stage could take place. A number of cross classification is thus most useful, such as sub-classification of household by number of migrants, a number of different criterias such as

- (i) sex-males or females;
- (ii) marital status-single, married, widow;
- (iii) type of migration-temporary or permanent;
- (iv) Type of movement to town-direct or indirect;
- (v) length of period of stay-less than one year, from 1 up to less than 2 years;
- (vi) present state of employment in a reference period.

Through simple analysis of the listing stage data, some preliminary though most informative estimates could be achieved e.g. number and percentage of migrants from rural to urban areas. The marital-sex-age and occupation structure of migrants could also be roughly indicated. Also the average number of migrants per household can be obtained. The impact of migration on both the supply of labour and the unemployment situation in urban areas is another possibility. The percentage of migrants getting employment and the average time period which has to be waited before migrants can get employment and the percentage of migrants who move directly from their places of birth to the town and the

percentage of migrants who intend permanent migration and other aspects of migration can be brought under scrutiny.

Fourthly: Drafting a Schedule

Guided by the answers of the listing stage and the preliminary estimates of its analysis, a schedule can now be drafted with the intention of a better understanding of migrants' conditions. The final form of such a schedule can be attained upon the findings of a pilot survey that may be randomly selected from the households having various numbers of migrants.

As a draft of a questionnaire on migration, subject to a test in a pilot survey, the following points and information may be introduced :-

- (i) Locality ;
- (ii) Name of the head of the household;
- (iii) Address;
- (iv) Number of migrants in the household.

Then for each individual migrated:-

- (i) Name;
- (ii) Relation to head of the household;
- (iii) Sex;
- (iv) Age;
- (v) Place of birth;
- (vi) Marital status;
- (vii) Religion;
- (viii) Language;
- (ix) Father's educational attainment;

- (xi) Educational attainment;
- (xii) Pre-migration occupation and earnings;
- (xiii) After-migration occupation;
- (xiv) Number of hours worked at the previous day;
- (xv) Number of days worked per week;
- (xvi) weekly or monthly payment;
- (xvii) Number of all children and their educational attainment;
- (xviii) List of dependents left in village;
- (ixx) Sum of money sent home per period;
- (xx) Size of land holdings owned or rented and derived net revenue;
- (xxi) Other types of property and derived revenue;
- (xxii) Sum of money received per period from the village;
- (xxiii) Main reasons for migration;
- (xix) Length of time waited before getting employment, after arrival;
- (xx) Number of jobs occupied;
- (xxi) The date of first employment in town.

The information obtained through pilot survey should be treated in a fashion similar to the treatment of the listing stage information i.e. it has to be tabulated and subjected to analysis and use should be made of the main findings in order to finalize the questionnaire.

The fifth stage: Finalising the Schedule and Collecting data

One of the main advantages of undertaking a pilot survey is to obtain a deeper insight as to the questions' formulation and

ambiguity that may have been involved. Also the open questions may appear as a result reducible to countable alternatives or suitable to some alternatives and semi-open to others. Moreover, tabulation and analysis of the pilot survey data should expose the most serious deficiencies in the type of statistical data requested by the drafted schedule. The most significant benefit of the fourth stage is to allow finalisation of schedule and thus give the signal for a confident start of collecting the required data from the final sampling units as decided in the listing stage.

Before ending this paper a few concluding remarks may be made :-

Firstly, ending up with completed forms from the fifth stage, needless to say, is not the end of the matter. If any benefits at all are to be drawn from such an expensive type of sample survey, such data should be classified, tabulated and made available for statistical analysis through giving priority for publication at the earliest possible date.

Secondly, cross-sectionally based data is usually criticised on the grounds that they provide data on the level of variables and thus tend to miss changes and the dynamic factors that are likely to be decisive in introducing the change. Bearing such possible deficiency in mind and being concerned about the cost of repeating costly sample surveys, the following points are to be noted:

- (i) In formulating the schedule's draft, some of the would-be dynamic factors are looked after, such as the dynamic

process of the multi-stage movement from the place of birth to the town of destination via other intermediate employment centres, type of occupation in town and village, length of time waited for first employment, number, composition of dependents in town and at village, remittance sent back. father's occupation and educational attainment, etc...

- (ii) In undertaking the sampling survey, three time intervals could be spread over various seasons of the year in order to consider seasonal employment and accompanied seasonal temporary migration, e.g. the listing stage can be undertaken during one season, tabulation and analysis of this stage's information is carried out; in the next season the pilot survey may be carried out and sufficient time is allowed for tabulation, analysis, and finalising the schedule; final sample may be carried out at the following third season.
- (iii) The final sample may further be divided into two or more parts in order to undertake each part at different time periods. Such a suggested procedure has the advantage of providing the means for variation's measurement while preserving the coverage of the sampling survey intact..

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