

ANALYSIS OF FACTORS RELATED TO THE PROCESS OF RURAL-TO-
URBAN MIGRATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF ASIA

by

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M. S., Tehran University, 1978

A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree

MASTER OF REGIONAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

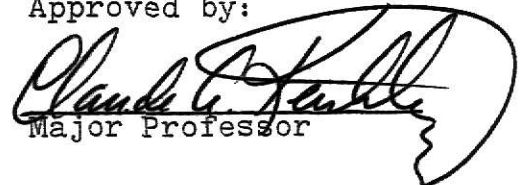
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1981

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to take this opportunity to express his deepest appreciation to his major advisor, Professor Claude A. Keithley for his helpful and valuable guidance throughout the academic program. Special thanks are due to Professor Clarence A. Johnson, Dr. John W. Keller and Dr. E. W. Nafziger for their kind help and guidance throughout this work.

My appreciation is also extended to my parents for their continuous support and encouragement throughout my life. Without their help and confidence in me, this degree could never have been achieved.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Urban Growth in Asia

World population is growing very rapidly. It is being projected that by the year 2000, there will be almost 6 billion people living on this planet. Recent data indicate that developing countries around the globe are experiencing a faster growth in their population in comparison to the developed and industrialized countries. In Asia, the largest areal continent, the overall population is growing by the rate of 2.2 percent per annum. "In 1975, Asia was inhabited by 56.9 percent of world population. It is expected that by the 21st century 58.5 percent of world population will inhabit somewhere in Asia."¹

The growth of population and the process of urbanization have been the two major phenomenon during the past few decades in Asia. By looking at the past history of world urbanization it becomes evident that many large cities of Asia are experiencing an unprecedented growth both in terms of physical boundaries and population.

¹Population Dynamics and Educational Development

(Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, 1974), pp. 1-16.

Table (1) shows the rate at which the population has been urbanized during the past two decades in various countries of Asia.

As table(1) indicates in a typical low-income per capita country in Asia less than one-fourth of total population were living in urban areas in 1980. However, these countries have experienced a higher average annual growth rate of urban population in comparison to the middle-income countries in 1970's. "For example Bangladesh and Afghanistan had 6.6 and 5.4 percent of average annual growth in their urban population respectively during 1970's. In India, between 1960 and 1980, the average annual growth rate of urban population stabilized but the number of cities of over 500,000 persons jumped from 11 to 36 cities."²

The middle-income and capital-surplus oil exporting countries in Asia are presently facing high rates of urban population but at a constantly decreasing rate. "The problem is perhaps most acute in Taiwan, South Korea and Iran, where the percentage of urban population was respectively 77, 55 and 50 percent of their total population in 1980. These three countries had 4.1, 4.8 and 4.9 percent average annual growth in their urban population respectively during 1970's, while that in industrialized countries was only 1.2 percent

²See table (1), p. 3.

TABLE 1

URBANIZATION IN ASIA

Country	Urban Population as a percent of Total Population		Average Annual Growth Rate (percent)	
	1960	1980	1960-70	1970-80
<u>Low-Income</u>				
Bangladesh	5	11	6.5	6.6
India	18	22	3.3	3.3
Afghanistan	8	15	5.4	5.6
<u>Middle-Income</u>				
Taiwan	58	77	3.3	4.1
South Korea	28	55	6.2	4.8
Philippines	30	36	3.9	3.6
Malaysia	25	29	3.6	3.5
<u>Capital-Surplus Oil Exporters</u>				
Iran	34	50	4.7	4.9
Iraq	43	72	6.2	5.4
Kuwait	72	88	10.4	7.2

Source: World Development Report, 1980 (Washington, D.C. :
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development,
1980), pp. 148-149.

of total population during 1970's."³ This comparison shows the seriousness of population growth in urban areas of developing countries of Asia.

The principal reasons for the rapid growth of population in urban areas were the natural increase of population as well as the continuous flow of in-migration from rural areas. However, as the past research indicate, the in-migration has added to the accelerated growth of urban population in some Asian countries.

The big urban agglomerations and metropolitan centers are now expanding their population at estimated annual rates of 4 to 5 percent. As much as one-fourth of this rapid increase may be due to in-migration from small towns and rural areas. In cities like Bombay, Bangkok, Jakarta, or Manila, up to two thirds of all inhabitants have at some point flocked into the city as migrants.⁴

Table (2) shows the growth of population in selected cities of Asia by the year 2000.

Migration in Asia

Everett S. Lee defined migration as "a change of residence from one community, or any geographical unit, to another one within a single country. This action is either permanent or at least semi-permanent."⁵ In many developing countries of Asia, the primary pattern of migration occurs

³World Development Report, 1980 (Washington, D. C., International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1980), pp. 148-149.

⁴Population Dynamics and Educational Development, p. 103.

⁵M. P. Todaro, Internal Migration in Developing Countries: A Review of Theory, Evidence, Methodology and Research Priorities (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1976), pp. 16-17.

TABLE 2

POPULATION GROWTH IN SELECTED CITIES OF ASIA

City	1970 Population (millions)	1980 Projected Population (millions)	2000 Projected Population (millions)
Baghdad (Iraq)	2.5	5.1	11.1
Karachi (Pakistan)	3.1	5.0	11.8
Tehran (Iran)	3.2	5.4	11.3
Bangkok (Thailand)	3.2	4.8	11.9
Manila (Philippines)	3.5	5.6	12.3
Jakarta (Indonesia)	4.4	7.2	16.5
Seoul (South Korea)	5.3	8.4	14.2
Bombay (India)	5.8	8.3	17.0
Calcutta (India)	6.9	8.8	16.6

Source: United Nations. Population Division. "Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth." New York, 1980.

between urban and rural areas, and over various time periods.

The rural areas in Asia are predominantly farmlands. As a result of rapid growth of population and lack of adequate job opportunities, there is the factor of surplus labor in agriculture sector with almost zero marginal productivity. Consequently, to take advantage of, at least, greater accessibility to a larger employment demand particularly in the non-productive service sectors, and presumably for a higher per capita income, the influx of the urban immigrants continues to grow.

Presently, the rates of rural-urban migration are exceeding the rates of urban job creation in some Asian metropolitan areas. The urban industrial sectors are not capable of hiring all the existing labor force as a result of having low levels of productivity. Therefore, these areas are experiencing high open unemployment and underemployment rates.

Some scholars consider the urbanization a phenomenon to be encouraged, since it speeds up the process of social change required for rapidly advancing technology, however the movement of human resources to urban areas of developing nations creates diseconomies for urban centers and for rural areas. M. P. Todaro noted: "we must recognize that migration in excess of job opportunities is both a symptom of and a contributing factor to Third World underdevelopment, and no longer is being viewed by economists as a beneficent

process necessary to solve problems of urban labor demand."⁶

Besides employment some of the particular problems created by these enormous population shifts are environmental pollution, shortages in housing, food supply and other public services. It is being assumed that problems accompanying rural-urban migration can not be diminished by retarding migration. They can only be affected by providing acceptable alternatives after reviewing the flow of migration, its pattern and impacts.

Growth of Labor Force in Asia

A significant and perhaps the dominant factor in the transfer of human resources is the unprecedented rate of labor force growth. Table (3) shows the trend of labor force growth in Asia. "It is being projected that the labor force population will grow at minimum rates of 2.1 and 2.6 percent per annum respectively in East and South Asia during 1980's. The rate of growth will be even faster during the 1990's."⁷

Although the total labor force rate of growth increases dramatically, the rates in the industrial sector lag sufficiently to produce the high rates of unemployment and underemployment in many countries of Asia.

Table (4) shows the overall employment and unemployment

⁶Todaro, Economic Development in the Third World, p. 187.

⁷See table (3) , p. 8.

TABLE 3

LABOR FORCE GROWTH RATES IN ASIA

Region	Labor Force Growth Rate (percentage)		
	1970-80	1980-90	1990-2000
South Asia	2.3	2.6	2.9
East Asia	1.6	2.1	2.5

Source: M. P. Todaro, Internal Migration in Developing Countries: A Review of Theory, Evidence, Methodology and Research Priorities (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1976), pp. 12.

TABLE 4

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN ASIA

All Asia	1960	1970	1973	1980	1990
Employment (million)	340,211	413,991	441,330	516,800	660,300
Unemployment (million)	24,792	31,440	34,420	43,029	59,485
Unemployment Rate (%)	6.8	7.1	7.2	7.7	8.3

Source: Yves Sabolo. "Employment and Unemployment."
International Labour Review.

This table excludes China.

in Asia between 1960 and 1990. The projection indicates the rate of unemployment will rise steadily and the total number of unemployed labor force may reach 59 million by the year 1990. "Since the industrialization in less-developed countries has been much slower than that of urbanization, in most Third World countries the percentage of population living in cities greatly exceeds the proportion engaged in manufacturing."⁸ Furthermore, the continuous flow of labor force to urban areas has become a cause of growing concern to most developing countries.

Scope of Study

It is the objective of this report to identify some factors which are assumed to influence the process of rural-to-urban migration in developing countries of Asia. Although migration and its determinants varies with each country, there may be some common factors within this process which can be presented as a profile for this movement.

In the first chapter the determinants of migration will be investigated. It is significant to know the economic and noneconomic factors prevailing in the urban and rural areas which cause the migration. In the second chapter, the characteristics of migrants will be reviewed in an effort to recognize the potential migrants in rural areas. The third

⁸M. P. Todaro, Economic Development in the Third World: An Introduction to Problems and Policies in the Global Perspective (New York: Longman Publishing Co., 1977), p. 173.

chapter will focus on the impact of migration on both rural and urban areas. In the fourth chapter, the potential national policies of migration will be considered. Finally, chapter five summarizes the report and presents the conclusions to this study.

CHAPTER II

DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION

Migration is usually a response to the existing social and economic imbalances between urban and rural areas. One primary motivation behind migration is the lack of economic opportunity in the rural areas. Nevertheless, there are other reasons which contribute to this movement, such as different urban attractions, more public facilities and greater freedom in large cities.

For many years numerous scholars in various fields such as planning, policy making, demography, and economic have been continuously attempting to isolate the determinants of migration from rural to urban areas. Although the factors which cause the migration vary with each country or any other geographical unit, nevertheless the conclusion being suggested by the scholars indicates that the differences between city and village in terms of income, wage and employment are the primary factors for the movement of people. But there is no doubt that many people are also moving to urban areas because of noneconomic factors existing in rural or urban areas.

Furthermore each individual who decides to leave a rural area has a specific motivation for his or her action.

Although there are differences between migrants in terms of their motivation, any migration regardless of its causes can be defined as an attempt to achieve something new. Mytle R. Reul noted; "it may be a need for a better job, more security, money, prestige, recognition, or freedom; or a different way of life for oneself or one's family. It may be the need for a personal gratification or the need to be near relative."¹

Economic Determinants

There are several economic determinants existing in rural areas which have caused the out-migration of people. Those to be considered here are:

1. Land distribution and agricultural productivity
 2. Modernization of agricultural production
 3. Income and employment differentials
1. Land Distribution and Agricultural Productivity

One of the factors affecting the out-migration from rural areas is the distribution of cultivable land among the population. Despite the fact that numerous land-reform programs have been implemented in many countries of Asia, still the pattern of land distribution is unequal. "In India often more than half of all land is owned by the top 10 percent of landowners, while the majority of farmers must be content with less than one acre. In Sri Lanka, the 65

¹Joseph W. Eaton, ed., Migration and Social Welfare (New York: National Association of Social Workers, INC., 1971), pp. 6-7.

percent of farmers possessed only 20 percent of cultivated land in 1970."²

This inequitable distribution of land brings huge profits to a very small fraction of population and a growing poverty for the majority. Furthermore, the gap between rich and poor in land ownership in rural areas would stimulate the poor people to leave the rural areas. The data indicate, "the total land-man ratio for Asia increased from 87 people per square kilometer in 1970 to an estimated 97 in 1975, 109 in 1980, and 121 in 1985."³ If the level of agricultural productivity remains low and the land-man ratio rises, there would be more pressure on the land and consequently a decline on the average income of poor people living in rural areas. Thus, low levels of agricultural productivity in rural areas of Asia would induce further out-migration.

2. Modernization of Agricultural Production

One of the primary goals of many developing countries in Asia is to introduce agricultural innovations in their countries. Many attempts have been made in regard to the modernization of agricultural production with different degrees of success. The primary purpose for investing in technological innovations is to increase the production as a solution to

²Profiles of Rural Poverty (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1979), pp. 14-15.

³Social Science Research Institute, International Christian University, ed., Asia Urbanizing: Population Growth & Concentration (Tokyo: The Simul Press, 1976), p. 20.

offset the decreased availability of land and low level of productivity. But by a movement towards modernization in agriculture production, there exists the incentive for the landowners to diminish the number of farm workers in rural areas.

Apparently, there is not much evidence to suggest that agriculture innovations have had a direct impact on migration in Asia. Very few studies have been made on this issue, and no major conclusions have yet been reached. It is improper to suggest that the developing countries should delay the modernization of their agricultural productions, but it is important to fully investigate the extent of modernization and its effects on unemployment. Parvin Visaria noted in his paper presented at a seminar in Manila, on the "Effects of Agricultural Innovations in Asia on Population Trends" in 1972: "if the labour-displacing effects of technical change exceeded the employment-creating effects, the migration would surely result."⁴

Nevertheless, the application of technical innovations in agricultural production in some circumstances should be considered as an intervening mechanism that may result in out-migration. Future studies and research in this area will result in a better understanding of this issue.

⁴Alan Simmons, Sergio Diaz-Briquets, and Aprodicio A. Laquian, Social Change and Internal Migration: A Review of Research Findings from Africa, Asia and Latin America (Ottawa: International Development Research Center, 1977), p. 47.

3. Income and Employment Differentials

Many scholars consider the differentials of income and employment as the two significant economic factors which influence the out-migration from an area.

"In 1954, W. A. Lewis developed a model which explained the process of rural to urban migration."⁵ According to the Lewis' model, there is a surplus labor living in the agriculture sector who almost have zero marginal productivity, and their incomes are only at a subsistence level. Lewis suggested that the transfer of the surplus labor to the urban industrial sectors would be beneficial both for the labor force and the industries. Thus, the out-migrants would be able to secure jobs with higher wages in urban areas. The income differential would not only persuade the surplus labor in rural areas to move, but it would also compensate the monetary frictions which exist in the process of moving. Lewis also suggested that the transfer of surplus labor to urban areas would not have any harmful impacts on the agricultural sector. He noted that the social cost of these labors is almost zero. It means there would be no loss to the agricultural out-puts because of the departure of surplus labor to urban areas, and the urban industrial sectors would increase their levels of out-put by employing the surplus labor from rural areas.

⁵See for example, Everett E. Hagen, The Economics of Development (Homewood: Richard D. Irwin, INC., 1980), pp. 194-195.

One significant element which has contributed to the continuous flow of migrants was defined by M. P. Todaro. He noted in his economic theory of rural-urban migration; "the migrants usually respond to rural-urban differences in terms of expected earnings rather than actual earnings."⁶ Therefore in many cases the actual income during the first few years of living in urban areas is far less than the expected earnings. The problem: migrants do not often consider that the probability of obtaining urban jobs is usually low. "The chances of securing an urban job for a potential migrant is inversely related to the rate of urban unemployment."⁷

During the past few years many studies have been initiated in different countries of Asia in order to identify the major economic factors which induce the internal migration. Some of the conclusions are presented below:

"In 1968, De Voretz found that in the Philippines the income growth rates that represent employment opportunities were insignificant in affecting migration. He noted only very large income differentials induce people to move."⁸

In 1970, another study in Thailand indicated that more

⁶Todaro, Economic Development in the Third World, pp. 194-195.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Simmons, Social Change and Internal Migration, pp. 49-50.

than half, (56 percent) of migrants in urban areas gave economic reasons as the primary reason for the moving. The second most frequently given reason was the educational factor which was cited by 11 percent of the migrants."⁹

"In 1971, Alden Speare worked on migration differentials in Taiwan. He noted that a person is more likely to move if the present value of all future monetary benefits from moving is greater than the monetary costs involved."¹⁰

"Michael Greenwood's regression studies on internal migration in India, in 1971, also concluded that the difference between discounted present values of income between areas of origin and destination were particularly significant in long-term migration, although distance was found to be an important intervening variable."¹¹

The conclusion of all these studies indicate that economic factors, such as employment and income differentials, have had significant influence on the past out-migration from rural areas.

Noneconomic Determinants

The noneconomic determinants of migration are usually derived from the different social, cultural and physical factors. Although the emphasis has largely been on the

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

economic determinants as the primary motivation for migration, these factors can also have significant impacts on the movement of people.

1. Social Factors

Out-migration from rural areas may be stimulated by different social factors, such as family structure, social prestige and social conflicts.

Kinship and family structure in rural areas usually encourage the migration. There is a tendency among rural people that every young man should go to a city in order to have some experiences. Evidently rural families often support the migrants during the period that they are looking for jobs in urban areas. Some scholars suggest that financial support of a migrant is like a long term investment for the family. In the long run, the experience and skill of a returned migrant would be an asset for the family and the village.

In North-Thailand, every young man considers spending a few months or even years working in an urban center before returning to the village to settle down, marry, and follow the traditional village way as a part of his maturation.¹²

Migration is also influenced by the presence of friends and relatives in urban areas. Most often a potential migrant does not have any major source of information in regard to the job opportunities existing in cities. In this situation migration is significantly facilitated and even highly

¹²John Connell, Biplab Dasgupta, Roy Laisley, and Michael Lipton, Migration from Rural Areas: The Evidence from Village Studies (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 50.

encouraged by the help of family members or friends who are living in urban areas. The probability of becoming a rural-urban migrant seems to increase directly in response to the numbers of the farmer rural households already living in towns. "A study of migration to five urban centers in three continents (Africa, Asia, and Latin America) found that 80 percent of migrants obtained information from relatives or friends, and less than one percent from newspapers or radio."¹³

Having a low social prestige in village also may encourage a person to migrate. Moving to an urban area is being viewed as an opportunity to achieve a new status and thereby rising the social prestige. Upgrading educational level in urban areas is one option being pursued by many migrants for achieving higher status in life time.

Separation from family, friends and other sources of social support is one way for having autonomy and independence in life. By leaving the village, a migrant would experience greater freedom which can be a combination of danger and opportunity. Nevertheless, migrant's life would no longer be tied up to the constraints of rural life which often happen to limit the degree of success.

Another factor which has always influenced migration is the social conflict in rural areas. Political and ideological differences existing in rural areas usually result

¹³Ibid., p. 28.

in significant conflicts. "Population-displacing in Indonesia before and after its independence is one example. Darul Islam movement, a Javanese revolt, sank economic opportunities in rebel held areas so much that the towns of Tasikmalajs and Bandung grew by 390 and 480 percent respectively. The Permeta Rebellions in Central Sumatra also led to heavy out-migration as troops of the central government took over some areas within the country."¹⁴ In 1980, the war between Iran and Iraq destroyed a number of villages and cities along the border between the two countries. In Iran, thousands of people were forced to leave their hometowns. Majority of the people moved to major urban areas, such as Tehran and Isfahan.

Social factors of out-migration can be largely dependent on individual perception of his own condition. These factors would likely be different with each place or individual.

2. Physical Factors

The gap between urban and rural life may also stimulate migration. Presently, living standards in rural areas are low and amenities are scarce. Having limited infrastructure in rural areas is a major concern to anyone who plans to leave the village. Lack of potable water system and electricity as well as other public services such as, health and educational centers influence migration. Moving to an

¹⁴Simmons, Social Change and Internal Migration, p. 52.

urban area may provide decent housing accommodation as well as various public services.

There are other problems mostly related to the living environment which may force the people to move to other areas. These problems mainly include climatic and meteorological disasters, such as droughts, floods and famine.

Bengal* famine is an exceptional meteorological disaster which occurred in 1943. "It was estimated that this catastrophe forced about 100,000 people living in rural areas of Bengal to move to Calcutta."¹⁵ This unprecedented flow of people created severe problems for the city of Calcutta.

In 1975, thousands of people living in rural areas of South Korea were left homeless because of the flood. A large number of rural residence crowded into Seoul.

Another significant factor which directly affects the migration and its volume is the distance between the origin and destination. "Ravenstein's law of migration indicates that the rate of migration between two places would be inversely related to the distance between these two places."¹⁶ Various studies in migration literature suggest that the migrants tend to move to the nearby urban areas rather than

*East Bengal became Bangladesh in 1971.

¹⁵W. R. Aykroyd, ed., The Conquest of Famine (London: Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1974), p. 69.

¹⁶Todaro, Internal Migration in Developing Countries, p. 15.

taking long distance trips. However those migrants who are planning long-term migrations seem to have the propensity to travel far from home. Unfortunately, there is not much information concerning the impact of distance on the migration in developing countries of Asia.

3. Cultural and Communication Factors

Cultural factors have also been identified as a likely determinants of internal migration. The existence of cultural opportunities and the availability of "more things to do" in towns are usually being cited by the migrants as a rational for their movement.

Communication facilities have also been influential on the volume of migration. In rural areas of Asia, it is usually difficult to get news about the job market and other events happening in the urban areas. The poor members of villages tend to obtain their information through their friends and relatives, while the better-off villagers have better access to the communication facilities such as, radio newspaper, television and theater.

Push-Pull Theory

Many scholars consider the "push-pull" theory as the basic motivation of rural-urban migration in Asia. There are many economic factors existing in rural areas which push the people away from these areas. These factors are the primary reasons for the existing stagnation and poverty in the small towns and villages. Simultaneously, there are various economic factors and positive reasons in the large cities which pull a potential migrant away from rural areas.

In Southeast Asia people are being attracted to the cities with the expectation that they will be able to find a way of life and a standard of living that are dependent on industrial development. Also, people are being pushed toward the cities because of the bankruptcy of the peasant economy under the pressures of population growth and commercialization.¹⁷

Push Theory

The "push theory" discusses the inability of most people living in small towns and villages, working in the agricultural sector to equalize their incomes to a level consistent with those living in urban areas. In addition, there are other disadvantages prevailing in rural areas such as, hard work in all types of weather, long work days, the uncertainties about the future crops and prices, and poor living conditions. Under these circumstances it becomes desirable for some people to leave the rural areas in an

¹⁷Lucian W. Pye, "The Politics of Southeast Asia," in Leonard Reissman, The Urban Process: Cities in Industrial Societies (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p.218.

effort to avoid these disadvantages, and to improve their conditions under which they labor and live.

Pull Theory

"Pull theory" considers some factors prevailing in the city as the cause for the attraction of people from rural areas. These factors can be called "bright city lights." The factors such as better educational and medical facilities, more individual freedom, greater comfort and many other urban services are perceived as advantages of living in urban areas.

There are some scholars who argue that these factors have more influence on the out-migration of people from rural areas, consequently they favor the "pull theory" in comparison to the push theory. But in many cases, it is very difficult to separate the push and pull factors because they are interrelated.

The "push-pull" theory is essentially a classification of different determinants and variables effecting the internal migration. There has been some criticism regarding the use of this theory. Some scholars argue that "the model oversimplifies the process through which the migrant must go in reaching a decision to migrate. Even worse, it treats the migrant as if he really does not have a part in the decision at all."¹⁸

¹⁸Eaton, Migration and Social Welfare, p. 36.

Conclusion

There are many factors prevailing in rural areas of Asia which induce the people to move to urban areas. Past research in a number of developing countries have suggested that economic factors were the primary reasons for the out-migration from rural areas. Income and employment differentials between rural and urban areas are frequently being cited as the two significant economic factors influencing internal migration. However, the noneconomic factors were also affecting the decision to migrate. The relative impact of economic and noneconomic factors may vary with each country and individual.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

There has always been a tendency in knowing the characteristics of the people who take the initiative to move. For many years, numerous scholars have been continuously investigating the characteristics of migrants in different countries of Asia. Although the characteristics of migrants vary with each country, nevertheless the scholars believe that there are some similarities among the migrants in terms of their characteristics. These similarities can not truly represent the characteristics of all migrants with different nationalities, but it can help to recognize the common characteristics of internal migrants.

The characteristics of migrants are divided into three broad categories: demographic, educational and economic. The factor variables of the demographic determinant are age, sex and marital status of migrants, while those of the educational determinant emphasizes the level of education, skill and training of migrants. Finally, the economic determinant includes the occupation and income of migrants in the rural areas.

1. Demographic Characteristics

Age: There is a general consensus among scholars that persons

most likely to move are frequently in their twenties. "The average age of migrants is often in the 20-29 age-group. However, in some cities such as Manila, the average age is in the 15-19 age-group."¹

The most frequently cited explanation for the heavy out-migration of young adults to urban areas is employment. Since many young adults are frequently underemployed in rural areas and have not yet established families, therefore they are more likely to move to the cities. Young migrants are also moving for reasons such as education or marriage. Young adults who move to urban areas are able to enhance their education and skills through the urban educational institutions. Those migrants who complete higher education in urban areas mostly stay in the cities for at least a few years after their graduation. Since the majority of the young migrants are single, some of them may marry while they are living in urban areas.

The movement of older population to urban areas is less evident and popular in comparison to the young adults in rural areas of Asia. Age and family restrictions often limit their choices of destination and occupation. The older populations usually do not attempt to move unless they have enough savings for the period of relocation, and enough skills to secure jobs. As a result of these problems, the older

¹Robin J. Pryor, ed., Migration and Development in South-East Asia: A Demographic Perspective (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 323.

population are usually less enthusiastic to leave their hometowns, even though they may not be satisfied with their living condition in the rural areas.

Sex: "In many parts of Asia migration patterns are dominated by the movement of male migrants. This fact can be explained by the assumption that single females are more restricted in their movements by traditional societies. In addition, females participate less in education and this effects the migration pattern, both directly by reducing migration to schools, and indirectly because they lack qualification for many jobs."² Therefore the patterns of female migration in developing nations of Asia usually follows the patterns of family or household migration.

"However in Asia, young females have dominated the pattern of movement in few countries such as the Philippines and Thailand. In the Philippines the females have more propensity to migrate than males. This may be explained by the fact that Philippine is more westernized than other neighboring countries, and women are more likely to pursue their careers independently in other places. It must be taken into account that the sex ratio for total population in the Philippines was 96 males for every 100 females in 1970."³

In general, some studies suggest that while the women

²Connell, Migration from Rural Areas, p. 43.

³Pryor, Migration and Development in South-East Asia, p. 237-324.

participate less in long distance migration, they seem to dominate the short distance moves. But, regardless of the distance, it is expected that increases in education and independence of women in rural areas may help to increase the propensity of the women to move to urban areas.

Marital Status: "Various studies have suggested that a typical young male migrant in a developing country is more likely to be single than to be married, with the exception of a seasonal migrant who is little inhibited by marital status."⁴ In general, it is easier for a single person to leave the rural area than a married person. There are indications that families are more involved in long-distance and long-duration migration. "In South-East Asia, wives and children are free to either remain in villages, or to accompany or follow their husbands or fathers later, so that the marital status may not be a crucial differential."⁵ The conclusion is the pattern of internal migration in Asia is dominated by the single male migrants.

Family Size: There are indications that single migrants tend to come from relatively large families. The reason is, when a member of a large family leaves the village, the family can compensate the income and out-put of the farming family. Also a large family is able to support the young migrant untill a job is found in an urban area.

⁴Ibid., p. 324.

⁵Ibid.

A major determinant of who migrates is often the traditional "order-of-birth". There are some reports that in some villages in India, the farmers' older sons were kept away from school so that they may remain on the family farm while younger sons were given some schooling in preparation for migration. This pattern is existing in other villages in different countries such as Sri Lanka."⁶ There is hardly any information which would suggest which daughter will migrate.

The family size seems to inversely affect the movement of married migrants. "The number of children in migrant households is smaller than in non-migrants households. A survey in Malaysia in 1967, concluded that the migrants were more likely to have three to four children as compared to four or more with non-migrants."⁷

2. Educational Characteristics

Education and skill are the two primary characteristics of each internal migrant. "Presently, there is enough evidence to suggest that there is a positive correlation between the educational level and the propensity to move to urban areas among those living in rural areas."⁸ The idea that the

⁶Connell, Migration from Rural Areas, pp. 45-46.

⁷Pryor, Migration and Development in South-East Asia, p. 324.

⁸Ibid., p. 325.

majority of rural-urban migrants are illiterate and unskilled tend to be changing in various developing countries of Asia. During the past few years, the unskilled labor force have become less interested in leaving the rural areas. One of the reasons is that the rural people have become aware that the urban industrial employers are basically hiring those who have the best educational qualifications. Thus without having any education or particular skill, the chances of getting an urban job is far less than what a migrant expects before leaving the village.

"The data indicate those who migrate are relatively more educated than those they leave behind. Michael Greenwood's regression study of India in 1971, suggested that the propensity to migrate does indeed increase with higher education. In 1972, Prachabmoh estimated in Thailand, 10 percent of the country's migrants have 7 or more years of school as compared to 2 percent of non-migrants. In Malaysia, similar results have been suggested."⁹

The indications are that a great number of employment opportunities in urban areas require a minimum level of education and skill. Consequently only the educated and skilled migrants can expect to secure urban jobs with relatively higher incomes in comparison to the subsistence incomes in rural areas.

⁹Simmons, Social Change and Internal Migration, p. 65.

Some studies have also shown that the educated migrants are more likely to move to areas with already high levels of education. These areas are primarily the major cities. Unfortunately, there is not enough information to suggest any correlation between the educational level of migrants and the type of employment that they typically acquire in urban areas.

One must conclude that although a significant number of rural-urban migrants are illiterate and unskilled, those who usually leave the village have attained higher level of education than those who decide to remain in the village.

3. Economic Characteristics

Internal migration usually occurs with a select group of movers with a wide range of economic characteristics. Those significant characteristics which appear to cause migration vary with each country or each migration flow.

In Asia, many efforts have been made to investigate the occupation and income level of internal migrants from rural areas. Some scholars believe that the flow of migration is dominated by those of the low economic status. They explain that people who have incomes only at subsistence level are more eager to leave the rural areas.

On the other hand, there are other scholars who have argued against the idea that the poorest or lowest-status groups are the likeliest to migrate. "These scholars have

noted that the members of better-off families in the villages are those who can best afford the costs, risks, and delayed returns associated with migration. In fact they mentioned that immobility is frequently a consequence of extreme poverty."¹⁰ Their assumption is that poor people are faced with numerous obstacles and disincentives in their movements to urban areas. The poor and landless people can hardly afford to leave their jobs in rural areas, unless it becomes inevitable that they can secure better jobs in urban areas.

The overall conclusion suggests that the migrants originate from two economic classes. "One group includes the poor, landless and illiterate migrants who are usually being pushed into towns or other rural areas as a response to the socio-economic imbalances between the two areas. The other group includes mainly the farmowners as well as the educated and skillful workers who are more likely to be pulled into large urban areas by attractive economic opportunities. The assumption is the poor and landless migrants still predominate the overall pattern of rural-urban migration in absolute terms."¹¹

¹⁰Connell, Migration from Rural Areas, p. 18.

¹¹Todaro, Internal Migration in Developing Countries, p. 28.

Generalizing the Common Characteristics of Migrants
in Developing Countries

There appears to be a set of common characteristics of the typical migrant in a developing country of Asia as surmised by the various studies.

Generally the typical migrant in a developing country is more likely to be: (1) male, except in a few countries like the Philippines and Thailand; (2) single, because it involves less restrictions; (3) in the age group 20-29; (4) more educated (at least literate) than non-migrants; and (5) a member of a large family who seeks to supplement the family income or to obtain higher education and skill. Nevertheless there is some strong evidence that the migrants to urban areas in some developing countries are more likely to be poor, uneducated and from various age groups.

CHAPTER IV

IMPACT OF MIGRATION

The preceding chapters reviewed the role of migration and its determinants as a response to social, economic and cultural changes in developing countries of Asia. This chapter will briefly review some of the consequences of rural-urban migration on both the places of origin and destination.

In Asia, migration studies have usually focused on the pattern of migration and its causes as well as the migrants characteristics. Few of these studies have extended their investigations beyond these aspects of migration. Little has been written about the consequences of internal migration on urban and rural areas. Few comprehensive comparisons are being made on the before and after conditions of migration in rural and urban areas.

Impact of Migration on Rural Areas

The evidence suggests that any heavy out-migration from a village or a small town may have significant impacts on those who are left behind. These impacts may be categorized as economic, demographic and social.

1. Economic Impact

The economic impact of internal migration on a rural

area may either be beneficial or detrimental. Since little attention is given to economic consequences of rural-urban migration in Asia, it is still early to come up with any conclusions. Nevertheless, it is possible to foresee some of the potential economic consequences of migration.

It is being assumed that out-migration from a rural area would decrease the rate of surplus labor in agricultural sector. Thus, there would be a lower man-land ratio in the rural area. Having less people working on a farm would result in relieving the pressure on the land. Heavy out-migration may also affect the level of agricultural productivity. It is not clear whether a decrease in the number of labor force would also decrease the level of agricultural productivity or not. Having an increase in the level of farm production may respectively increase the income per capita. Some studies have speculated that under certain conditions out-migration may result in increased productivity. "M. E. Harvey has stated that:

in the area of out-migration, pressure on land resources is reduced, and the marginal productivity of labor may even increase. If the marginal product of the out-migrants from this region is lower than the average for the area, per capita income might increase among the remaining labor force."¹

Also other scholars argue that migration may encourage innovations. They explain that heavy out-migration from a village may result in introducing technological innovations

¹Simmons, Social Change and Internal Migration, p. 33.

in agricultural production in an effort to compensate the decline of farm production. However this theory is only applicable to those villages which have adequate capital to invest in agricultural mechanization.

Apparently in other circumstances the out-migration may have adverse effects on the level of agricultural productivity. This fact is explained by the assumption that the departure of the young and skilled labor force from a rural area would result in forcing more pressure on the unskilled and older population left in the village. In this situation there would be a decline on the level of production and per capita income.

The conclusion, further research is needed before one verify or reject these theories. Nevertheless, any heavy out-migration would certainly divert the rural capital and human resources away from the village, and thereby weakens the economic status of village, at least in the short run.

A factor which may have positive consequences on the rural economy is the remittance, which represents the flow of cash and goods from urban to rural areas. The significance of remittances is mainly due to the social obligations to the family members and hometown. There are indications that in many countries of Asia, the migrants living in urban areas usually transmit a part of their incomes to their villages. Unfortunately in most cases there are no data on the amount remitted. Some scholars have suggested that remittances are

either cash flows or urban goods, such as clothing, urban foods, bicycles and transistor radios.

In two villages close to Bangkok 49 percent of migrants sent back remittances, interestingly, the village with a higher rate of migration had a larger proportion of its migrants sending back money, 56 percent compared to 39 percent for the other village.²

Another study also examined migration from the rural North West Frontier Province of Pakistan to the urban centers of Punjab and Sind during 1971-72.

Based on the interviews with both migrants and migrants' families in the rural areas, the survey found that, remittances were sent by 91 percent of the migrants. On the average, migrants remitted 37 percent of their monthly income.³

It is being suggested that remittances may result in substantial contribution to the rural economy through various patterns of investment. In some villages, the households have invested the remittances in education of children, thus stimulating them to remain in the village. However, in some circumstances, education may induce the rural residence to leave the village.

Another pattern of development that was stimulated by remittances is house-building. "In 1972, P. Visaria in his research in rural India found that cash remittances enabled the farmers to generate savings. However, the saving was invested not in agriculture, but in better housing, which

²Connell, Migration from Rural Areas, p. 92.

³Oded Stark, Economic-Demographic Interactions in Agricultural Development: The Case of Rural-to-Urban Migration (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1978), p. 44.

seemed to be a more immediate need."⁴

In other cases the remittances were adequately high for long term investments in the village, such as mechanizing agricultural production.

2. Demographic Impact

Evidently, out-migrants from a rural area are mostly the young men. Thus a heavy migration leaves behind the children, female and old people. Apparently this pattern of migration would decrease the birth-rate in rural areas. "In 1970, one study in India indicated the percentage of babies (0-4) to women of childbearing age drops from 60.5 percent in case of low migration villages to 53.3 percent in high migration villages."⁵

A heavy out-migration of young adult males may significantly change the sex-ratio in rural areas. Some scholars suggest that the impact of migration tend to delay marriage, and thereby reducing the fertility rates. This theory is also applicable to those married migrants who leave their wives behind in villages. In overall internal migration may result in declining the rates of natural population growth.

The absence of young male migrants would also increase the proportion of total population economically dependent

⁴Simmons, Social Change and Internal Migration, p. 60.

⁵Connell, Migration from Rural Areas, p. 140.

in the rural villages. There would be more pressure on those persons in the productive age who are left in the village and must support the children and old people. The indications are the pressure would mainly be on the women who should do farmwork as well as taking care of children.

3. Social Impact

Very little has been written in regard to the social impacts of out-migration on rural villages. However, there are indications that departure of young and skilled people to urban areas would gradually modify some rural traditions. The migrants would become familiar with a new way of life totally different from rural life. Urban traditions would replace the old ones. Those migrants who return to village would gradually affect the rural life. In general, the expectations would raise, and the significance of higher education for children, and particularly women, would prevail. This can do much to enhance the status of women in rural villages. The family planning would receive more attention in the villages and rural inhabitants may internalize lower fertility norms.

Overall, migration may have significant impacts on the social structure of rural population that might help to overcome the rural poverty. In smaller scale it may even change the family structure. One scholar has noted:

migration tends to undermine the control of the younger generation exercised by parents because of the separation factor. The absence of the father in those cases where

migration is heavily male selective has an obvious effect on wives, family discipline and authority, and family relationships.⁶

Impact of Migration on Urban Areas

Large urban centers have experienced great deal of difficulties because of the continuous flow of in-migrants. Unfortunately, there are few studies dealing with the consequences of migration on the urban areas. The results has been more of negative consequences, while few scholars have speculated on positive consequences in the long run. It is the purpose of this section to analyse some of the effects of rural-urban migration on some key factors of urban life, such as labor force, employment, wage levels, housing and urban services.

1. Labor Force

There are indications that influx of migrants from a rural area may have some demographic impact on the urban labor force. It is being suggested that the age and sex composition of an urban labor force may gradually change as a result of uninterrupted flow of young male migrants from rural areas. The scholars speculate that urban labor force in many Asian countries is dominated by young male workers in the age group of 20-29 years.

The fertility of migrants is another factor which

⁶Calvin Goldscheider, Population, Modernization, and Social Structure (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), P. 211.

might affect the future growth of urban labor force.

"Apparently, the fertility of migrants is higher than that of native urban population, since the latter are more familiar with the family planning programs. The Philippines is perhaps the only country in Asia that migrants have lower fertility rates than native urban population. The apparent reason is that the females who came to Manila have already been exposed to various family planning programs. Overall there are indications that migration to urban centers has rapidly reduced the fertility levels of migrant women. Nevertheless there is no evidence to show that the movement of rural people to urban areas has led to greater fertility in the latter areas."⁷

The other important factor to be considered is the difference between the level of educational achievements of rural migrants with those of urban labor force. "Mendoza-Pascual's survey of Philippine in 1966, concluded that migrants on the average, were better educated than the population at places of destination. She referred to the fact that an individual migrant selects a place where his or her qualifications are at an advantage."⁸ Evidently Philippine is an exception, scholars argue that in general the educational level of a rural-urban migrant is less than

⁷Simmons, Social Change and Internal Migration, p. 61.

⁸Ibid.

an average urban residence because of having limited access to educational centers in rural areas. Also, there is not much evidence to suggest that the continuous flow of migrants to urban centers may significantly affect the overall urban educational levels.

2. Wage Levels and Employment

Rural-urban migration may also have impact on the urban unemployment rates. In those urban centers that are experiencing labor shortages, rural -urban migration can be a positive action. But if the migration result in having surplus labor in an urban center, then it is expected to raise the unemployment and underemployment rates, and thereby causing social and monetary diseconomies. Apparently in such conditions the wage levels may be affected by having competition among workers over the available positions.

"There are indications that surplus labor in the market tend to diminish the urban wage levels. But there is not enough evidence to suggest that rural-urban migrants should be blamed for any diminution of urban wages since these are usually fixed in any case."⁹ It is difficult to assess how the migration flow does affect the average urban wage or income.

Participation of migrants in urban labor force is another major concern to scholars. "It is being assumed that

⁹Ibid., p. 62.

urban unemployment rate of rural-urban migrants is lower than the average urban unemployment rate. In a study of migrants to the Bangkok Metropolis conducted in mid-1974, migrants were interviewed in about 6500 households who had moved into the city during the November 1972-June 1974 period. Nearly three-fourths of the migrants were farmers before they moved from their villages. During the survey, only 2.4 percent were unemployed. The unemployment rate for all male migrants was lower than for the total population.

Another study in Calcutta, in 1971, also concluded that open unemployment has generally been lower among the migrants than among residents."¹⁰

In explaining the results of surveys, scholars consider that the rural-urban migrants are usually willing to accept any kind of work regardless of job status. For many of them, a job is an urgent need because they will have difficulties surviving without working. On the other hand, the urban residents are not usually interested in accepting the least attractive jobs. Those who are educated and skilled prefer to spend more time finding acceptable and decent jobs. Therefore in general the migrants spend less time in looking for jobs, and as a result, the average income of the migrants is usually less than the urban resident. "The inability of rural migrants to compete with urban residents has been attributed to human capital deficiencies, such as problems

¹⁰Stark, pp. 53-55.

of adjustment, skills or experience, disadvantages associated with education and origin in an economically disadvantaged area, and earning differentials associated with regional differences in the quality of schooling."¹¹ Although the average income of rural migrants is usually low, still they believe that they have improved their income levels by moving to urban centers.

Further studies are needed to compare the urban unemployment rates in various job categories before and after migration in urban centers of Asia.

3. Housing and Urban Services

Urban slums and uncontrolled settlements can be found throughout Asia. The increased concentration of population in cities, partly due to the heavy in-migration, and shortage of decent living accommodations have been the primary reasons for the existence of slums. Today, the continuous influx of rural migrants to urban areas is not only expanding the existing slums, it is also causing the shortage of housing and other public services within the urban areas. Apparently, the rate of urban growth has exceeded the growth of urban services in many Asian countries. Inadequate supplies of water, electricity, sewage, drainage, public transport and educational facilities are widely existing. Having limited financial resources, many national governments in Asia can

¹¹Leon B. Perkinson, "Are Migrants Universally Disadvantaged?", Growth and Change Vol. II, 3 (Jully 1980):17.

hardly afford to expand the urban services and relieve the shortages. The overall impact of these shortcomings may be a decline in the standards of living, particularly among the urban poor population and rural migrants.

Urban Slums

There is no doubt that the concentration of rural migrants and urban poor people in slums have tremendous effects on the future of urban communities. "The urban slums lead to the spread of disease, which strains the medical facilities of the average city far beyond their capacity. The masses of unemployed or underemployed youth in close contact encourage the spread of prostitution, crime, and political unrest, all threats to an ordered and peaceful community, and to stability of the government itself."¹²

In evaluating the impact of slums on urban communities, the living conditions of rural migrants should not be overlooked. "While thousands of people are living in substandard housing, many countries have found themselves unable to provide even one-fifth of the required number of houses in the past decade."¹³ There is an urgent need to improve the living standard of rural migrants and prevent further expansion of urban slums. Although rural migrants are poor, their contribution to the urban economy can not be underestimated.

¹²Simmons, Social Change and Internal Migration, p. 36.

¹³Improvement of Slums and Uncontrolled Settlements
(New York: United Nations, 1971), p. 17.

Overall Impact of Migration

The overall impact of migration on urban and rural areas is very profound. It is suggested that out-migration may lead to better allocation of resources, such as farmland, and thereby increases the average income of farmers. Rapid urbanization would even induce faster industrialization. Surplus labor from rural areas would be shifted to urban industries and productivity would raise. In the long run, returned migrants may contribute to modernization of rural areas. Furthermore migration may help to increase the rate of economic growth in both urban and rural areas and compensate the socio-economic imbalances between the two areas.

On the other hand, it is argued that migration may end up to be detrimental and more aggravate the existing problems in urban and rural areas. The loss of human resources and rural capital may decline the level of agricultural productivity. The average income of farmers would decrease, and finally a stagnant economy may stimulate more out-migration to urban areas. Simultaneously, the result of such continuous movement is the large concentration of population in urban areas, and these concentrations generate such serious problems as pollution, crime, unemployment, shortage of public services and a higher per capital cost for public expenditures.

Further research is needed for future assessment of the consequences of internal migration in Asian countries.

CHAPTER V

POTENTIAL NATIONAL POLICIES FOR MIGRATION

Rural-to-urban migration is a significant phenomenon in developing countries of Asia. It is a principal reason for the decline of rural communities and over-crowding of some urban areas. During the past few years, the major objective of many developing countries has been based on defining possible alternatives to retard or redirect the migration flows and patterns away from the traditional paths that too frequently lead the migrants to big cities. There have been numerous efforts in different countries of the world to formulate various programs and policies to deal with internal migration.

Among the many examples of what has been tried to limit the growth of large urban cities are regional development (Greece, Finland), decentralization of government activities (The Netherlands), relocation of the capital (Brazil, Tanzania), support of new towns (Japan, Britain), dampening of wage differentials between urban and rural areas (Zambia), reorientation of education towards agriculture interests (Indonesia, Tanzania), subsidies for industrial location (France, Sweden and Togo), rural land reclamation (Kenya), and even a "citizenship tax" on living in the city (Seoul) in South Korea.¹

¹R. Freedman, and B. Berelson, "The Human Population," Scientific American, September 1974, pp. 31-39.

The effect of such policies have not generally been well evaluated to determine the extent to which policy inputs worked in relation to other important social and economic forces, determining migration. Since the effects of internal migration on the cities and rural areas are difficult to approach, no single alternative is suitable for the variety of situations found in Asian cities. Flexible policies which are pursued must be realistic in their understanding of the present forces operating within the cities. "Population movement must not solely signify transfer of poverty, but it must be undertaken selectively to such a degree that it will have the best demographic and economic effects for the area of departure or destination."²

It has been concluded that policies designed to influence migration should mainly balance the regional development in urban and rural areas. Rural development and alternative growth centers in intermediate-size cities are two policies which may somehow reverse the trends of migration at the source or redirect it to places other than large cities. Family planning is another policy which would help to relieve the population pressure in crowded areas.

Rural Development

The economic disparity between urban and rural areas has been a major concern to many national governments of Asia.

²Simmons, Social Change and Internal Migration, p. 65.

Evidently, various efforts have been directed towards filling the economic gap between rural villages and urban cities, and thereby influence the flow and intensity of migration. Rural development is one alternative which emphasizes on the increase of agricultural productivity as well as provision of rural industries. "The aim of rural development is not only the development of rural condition in a narrow economic sense, but also to balance social and economic development of particular areas or regions, with a special awareness for the optimum utilization of local resources and a wider distribution of the benefits from that development."³

In overall, rural development may diminish the flow of out-migration from rural areas or stimulate the rural migrants living in cities to return to their hometowns. Those rural development policies to be considered here are:

1. Land reform and supportive services
2. Introducing small-scale labor intensive industries
3. Development of rural infrastructure
4. Decreasing socio-economic imbalances between urban and rural areas.
5. Education and rural development

³Industrialization and Rural Development (New York: United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 1978), p. 21.

1. Land Reform and Supportive Services

Rural poverty and particularly income differentials among rural peasants in some Asian countries is partly due to the unequitable distribution of land. Land reform is being viewed as a necessary step for balancing the average income of rural residence and thereby diminishing the income differentials between urban and rural areas. It is suggested that redistribution of ownership or use of land among the poor farmers is a significant step for agricultural development in Asian countries.

Land reform can take on many forms: the transfer of ownership to tenants who already work on the land (as in Cuba, Ethiopia, Japan and Taiwan); transfer of land from large estates to small farms (as in Mexico); the appropriation of large estates for new settlement (as in Kenya); and the improvement and subsequent development of large private or state-owned lands into farmer cooperatives (as in China and Tanzania). Furthermore the objective of land reform is the transfer of land ownership or control directly or indirectly to those who actually work on the land.⁴

One can hypothesize that an effective land reform program would gradually increase the agricultural productivity as well as the average rural income. In the long run, agriculture would make further contribution to the economic development of a rural area.

Apparently an effective land reform program discourage further out-migration form the village. But in some cases after a temporary slow-down in rural migration, people might

⁴Todayro, Economic Development in the Third World, p. 227.

again continue to leave the village. This theory can be explained by the assumption that high productivity and income may stimulate rural families to move to urban areas to pursue higher education or other personal aspirations. Nevertheless more research is needed before suggesting any definite correlation between land reform and migration.

The success of a land reform program is mainly due to the provision of supportive services by national governments. There are indications that a land reform program might fail if the government does not provide supportive services, such as credit and bank loans, farm equipments, storage facilities, marketing and better transportation. "Even where land reform is not necessary or where productivity and incomes are low (as in much of South-east Asia), the external support services along with appropriate government pricing policies related to both farm inputs and outputs would be an essential condition of sustained agricultural process."⁵

2. Introducing Small-Sale Labor-Intensive Industries

Introducing small-scale labor intensive industries is one alternative to stimulate economic development in rural areas of Asia. Having a surplus of underemployed laborers in rural areas, one may suggest that effective utilization of this abundant human resources in small industries might significantly contribute to diversification of rural economy.

⁵Ibid., p. 228.

Rural industrialization would increase the rate of rural employment and thereby decreases the flow of out-migration.

Promotion of rural industries requires a significant amount of capital. Apparently, the rural localities often do not have the financial capabilities for the industrial investments. Under this circumstances the government should either invest or provide adequate incentives for investments of private sectors in rural areas. In selecting the kind of industry, various factors should be considered, such as indigenous skills, raw materials ,energy supplies and market opportunities. "If small industrial enterprises are to contribute significantly to rural development, they need to be viable in the long term. It means, the industries should be profitable and self-generating in terms of capital, skills and technology."⁶ Some of the alternative industries to be considered are:

1. Traditional handicrafts
2. Processing of agricultural products
3. Processing of minerals and natural resources
4. Providing rural infrastructure

3. Development of Rural Infrastructure

One significant factor which contributes to the successful growth of labor intensive industries is the existence of rural infrastructure. Also development of low-cost and labor intensive rural infrastructure is a potential alternative

⁶Industrialization and Rural Development, p. 28.

for rural industrialization. Therefore any investments on building rural infrastructure would not only be beneficial for future industrialization of the area, it would also be a source of rural employment. Some of the necessary rural infrastructure to be considered are: roads, drainage and irrigation systems, electricity and communication facilities, educational and health services.

4. Decreasing Socio-Economic Imbalances between Urban and Rural Areas

The socio-economic imbalances between urban and rural areas is considered as a primary cause of internal migration. One proposed alternative for influencing the pattern of population distribution is to diminish the socio-economic disparities between cities and rural villages. Land reform program, provision of small industries and building infrastructure would all contribute to the rural development. As the rural economy is strengthened by the government, some of the economic disparities between the two areas would eliminate. The income being generated by industries and agriculture would enhance the social condition of rural life. Rural residence would become interested in participating in local affairs and their attentions would focus on improving the general welfare of the people.

Furthermore, implementation of development policies would gradually affect the flow of migration to urban areas, and rural population would be encouraged to remain in their hometowns.

5. Education and Rural Development

Rural education is a significant factor which may affect the process of rural development in any developing country. Unfortunately, in rural areas of Asia, the importance of having a well-designed educational program has usually been overlooked. In the past, rural education has not contributed to the development of rural areas because of the inappropriate curriculum being used. Apparently the result of this negligence has led to the out-migration of educated individuals to urban areas.

Presently, there is an urgent need for modifying the pattern of rural education, if the objective is to halt the out-migration of human resources. "Some of the factors that should be considered in formulating a new rural education system are:

1. The sysyem should involve the adults as well as children.
2. The curriculum and educational activities should be designed mainly by the members of the community in order to solve the problems of community.
3. The teachers should be chosen from the community with specific trainings needed for that community.
4. The program should be designed to show people how to improve the quality of life in rural areas as well as how to make rural life more stimulating and attractive.
5. The new program should at least be partially financed and supported by the community."⁷

⁷Population Dynamics and Educatioanl Development, pp. 237-38.

Policies to Redirect Migrants Away from Large Cities

There is another set of alternatives which may affect the pattern of population distribution in Asian countries. These alternatives consider the establishment of growth centers and new towns as potential destinations for rural migrants. The scholars suggest that if rural out-migration can not be stopped at the source and the large cities are already over-populated, the migrants might be directed to the growth centers or new towns. Under some circumstances a particular rural area may not be economically viable for extensive development, thus government should concentrate its investments in areas with significant growth potential. The growth centers would provide adequate job opportunities for those who are either underemployed or unemployed in surrounding areas. In overall, the growth center would contribute to the industrial decentralization and would diminish the rate of in-migration to large cities. One may conclude that promotion of growth centers may result in even distribution of population.

Lloyd Rodwin has pointed out;

the conviction that urban growth does not take place the way it should is no longer the view of merely a few sensitive intellectuals and professional urbanists. It has become one of the dominant beliefs of the age. If somehow we could determine the best locations for urban growth, and could steer economic activities and families into these areas and away from less desirable ones, we would have powerful weapons for changing our environment. Instead of being stricken or overwhelmed by movements of population and economic activity, we could help communities

and regions adjust more effectively to these changes."⁸

The past experiences have indicated that in selecting an intermediate-size city as a growth center several factors, such as location and population should be carefully evaluated. The location of the center in relation to the surrounding areas and its population in various stages of development should be a major concern in the whole process of planning. "The location needs to be rich in resources and far enough from the central city. It should have a combination of urban and rural characteristics to form an integrated whole. It has to be planned as a region, more or less self-contained, though planning should be linked to national development plan."⁹ Also the access of the growth center to markets, skilled labour, utilities and other services should be carefully examined and planned. The socio-economic and environmental impacts of the center on the whole region should also be evaluated.

The establishment of growth centers or new towns is far more expensive than it would appear. Apparently only very few developing countries in Asia are financially capable of approaching this alternative program. Japan is at least one country in Asia, which has been successful in implementing

⁸Lloyd Rodwin, "Nations and Cities," in Niles M. Hansen, *Intermediate-Size Cities as Growth Centers* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), p. 3.

⁹Simmons, *Social Change and Internal Migration*, p. 108.

the regional growth policies. Nevertheless, a close collaboration of government with interested private sectors within the developing countries would help to set-up the growth centers.

Family Planning and Declining Fertility

Poverty and low standards of living have stimulated the poor people to have more children in less-developing and developing nations of Asia. Children are being viewed as potential alternatives to increase family incomes. Evidently, rapid population growth has contributed to the underdevelopment of Asia in the past. Scholars have continuously recommended that those Asian countries experiencing high fertility rates must limit their population growth. "They have indicated that the average rate of fertility in Asia was 5.3 and 4.5 births per woman in 1968 and 1975 respectively, while that in developed nations, (Europe, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Soviet Union) was 2.4 and 2.1 in 1968 and 1975 respectively. According to these estimates, the world's total fertility rate had dropped from 4.6 to 4.1 birth per woman between 1968 and 1975."¹⁰

During the past few years some efforts have been made to reduce the fertility rates in some Asian countries. Providing socio-economic motivations as well as family planning services are two potential alternatives for declining

¹⁰ Amy Ong Tsui and Donald J. Bogue, Declining World Fertility: Trends, Causes, Implications (Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1978), pp. 4-17.

fertility. The first alternative includes factors which might induce the motivation to control the fertility. Some of the factors to be considered here are as follows:

1. Decreasing the income inequality within the society may affect the fertility rate. There are indications that a rise in family income as a result of fair income distribution is likely to decline the fertility rate.

2. Decreasing infant mortality and providing adequate health facilities within a country would discourage a high fertility rate among the poor families.

3. Providing education for every person and particularly for women would significantly affect the rates of fertility in Asian countries.

4. Participation of women in labor force would contribute to the significance of family planning in developing countries.

5. Urbanization and migration would also have impacts on the size of migrants' families.

The other alternative is the provision of family planning programs, such as postponement of marriage, limiting the number of children and changing the traditional attitudes toward family size. These programs are likely to have great impacts on the growth of population in developing countries. It should be emphasized that in most cases socio-economic development should be coupled with family planning programs in order to decrease the fertility rate.

Having a low fertility rate in urban and rural areas would certainly affect the general welfare of society. A stable population in rural areas would relieve the pressure on the land. There would be less stimulation for out-migration as a result of having adequate job opportunities. Simultaneously a decline in natural growth of population in urban areas and a decrease in flow of rural migrants would eliminate some urban problems. Furthermore, Asian governments must stimulate and support small family norms through appropriate alternatives.

Generalization of Migration Policies

The majority of Asian governments have formulated different policies in order to influence internal migration, and thereby to balance the regional development in their countries. Some of the policies to be reviewed here are as follows:

1. Rural development is being considered as a primary policy for decreasing rate of rural out-migration. However, it might also help to return the migrants from other places to the rural areas:
2. Population distribution policies should not be limited to urban and rural areas. It is important to promote networks of small and medium-size cities to relieve the pressure on large towns, while still offering an alternative to rural living.
3. Decreasing the fertility rates in urban and rural areas by providing family planning services.
4. Asian governments should provide information to the rural population concerning social and economic conditions in the urban areas, particularly information on the availability of employment opportunities. Provision of such services in rural

areas might discourage the out-migration of those people who do not have any prospects of finding jobs.

Should national policies not be vigorously implemented, one would expect that the large metropolitan areas will become increasingly crowded, polluted and unfit for human habitation. Simultaneously, the rural areas and small towns will exhibit less potential for development. It would be highly important to limit and influence this movement through careful and well-organized programs and policies.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this report was to underscore some of the past research in the area of internal migration in developing countries of Asia. The attempt was directed towards some of the common factors which affect the process of urbanization in Asia. In this regard, the preceding chapters reviewed the role of migration, its determinants and its impact on both the places of origin and destination. In each chapter several case studies from different countries were presented in order to reinforce the assumptions and theories of migration. Nevertheless, lack of adequate information or having contradictory results in some cases made it difficult to verify some of the assumptions. Furthermore, this report aimed to analyse both the facts and assumptions in regard to internal migration. As a conclusion to this report, Chapter V covered some of the alternative policies which may influence the pattern of population distribution in Asian countries.

One may conclude that the unprecedented rate of population growth and urbanization in Asia have been the two major obstacles which have slowed down the pace of growth in urban and rural areas. Today, a large percentage of the

population in developing nations do not benefit from the expansion of economy within their countries. Although in average, the rate of gross national product within each developing country is increasing, yet the number of families who do not have adequate access to public services, food, shelter and employment is increasing.

The result of underestimating and partially understanding, the significance of urbanization has led to the failure of the Third World countries to distribute the income equitably among their dependent urban population and to provide them with the basic requirements of subsistence. One significant factor contributing to the persistence of underdevelopment has been the lack of a comprehensive planning. The future development of urban and rural areas in every Third World country must be based on a general development plan. A development plan should include a set of operational priorities as well as an administrative organization and procedure gear to minimize the deleterious effects of the socio-economic forces that prevail within and without the Third World.

Externally, the developing nations should strengthen their economies and reduce their dependence on developed nations through a more self-reliant approach to developing skills and to utilizing their indigenous natural resources.

Internally, strengthening the government's organization and administration capability in development planning should be accompanied by an increase in the people's participation

in this process. The elimination of inequality, poverty and low productivity would depend on political will and consensus to implement development plans. The need in the future is to guide and control the process of urbanization and industrialization with sets of definitive and implementable public policies that are strategically formulated within the constraints of monetary and economic criteria. The economic growth within developing nations requires an orderly pattern of population distribution as well as an equitable system of income distribution.

The people of the Third World have the capability and capacity to achieve these objectives. The successful and sustained socio-economic development and growth can only lead to the unification of the people and their governments through the expected, increasing benefits which will accrue to the urban centers and rural communities of Asia.

During the past decade a wide variety of research has been conducted on the issue of migration in developing nations of Asia. Unfortunately, most of these studies have only concentrated on specific aspects of migration, such as migrants characteristics and patterns of movement. In fact the other aspects of migration, such as causes and consequences of this movement, have received little attention or almost are neglected by scholars. While many studies dealt with characteristics of migrants and their living conditions before moving, very little is being written about the migrants

after their in-migration to urban areas. It is not yet clear whether the past out-migration have had beneficial impacts on the rural areas or not. Furthermore, many aspects of internal migration in Asia need further research.

By considering the significance of rural-urban migration, the need for a shift in emphasis within the area of migration and population distribution becomes very necessary. Some of the subjects that need further research are as follows:

1. The economic impact of migration on source and destination areas. Such research is necessary to learn more about the impact of migration on average income and productivity in rural areas, as well as the consequences of migration on urban unemployment, housing and other public services.
2. The rural-urban migration effects on the income distribution and the rate of population growth in urban and rural areas. There are indications that an equitable distribution of income may result in having lower fertility rates. Further research is needed in order to verify this assumptions.
3. Although there are indications that more education increases the propensity to migrate, it is still necessary to conduct more studies in regard to the relationship between education and migration.
4. Further information about the characteristics of non-migrants and returned migrants should be collected through conducting different surveys in urban and rural areas.

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ANALYSIS OF FACTORS RELATED TO THE PROCESS OF RURAL-TO-
URBAN MIGRATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF ASIA

by

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M. S., Tehran University, 1978

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree

MASTER OF REGIONAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

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1981

The history of world urbanization indicates that many large cities of Asia are experiencing an unprecedented growth of urban population. The principal reasons for this rapid growth were the natural increase of population as well as the continuous flow of in-migration from rural areas. But, as the past research indicate, the in-migration has added to the accelerated growth of urban population in some Asian countries.

One primary motivation behind migration is the lack of economic opportunity in the rural areas. Nevertheless, there are other reasons which contribute to this movement, such as different urban attractions, more public facilities and greater freedom in large cities.

There are indications that a typical migrant in a developing country is more likely to be male, single and in the age group 20-29. Although a significant number of rural to urban migrants are illiterate and unskilled, those who usually leave the village have attained higher level of education than those who decide to remain in the village. The assumption is that the poor and landless migrants still dominate the flow of rural-urban migration in Asia.

The overall impact of migration on urban and rural areas is usually very profound. In some circumstances the out-migration may lead to a better allocation of resources, thereby increasing the level of agricultural productivity in rural areas. The average income of farmers would rise

and the general welfare of rural residence would improve.

On the other hand, as the past experiences indicate, migration may further aggravate the existing problems in urban and rural areas. The transfer of human resources and rural capital may decline the level of agricultural productivity. The average income would decrease, and the socio-economic imbalances between urban and rural areas would intensify. Also, the result of such continuous movement in urban areas would be the large concentration of population. These concentrations generate such serious problems as pollution, crime, unemployment as well as shortage of housing and public services.

In order to retard or redirect the migration flows away from large urban areas, the developing countries of Asia should carefully select those policies which would balance the socio-economic disparities between urban and rural areas.

Considering the dilemmas that today's governments are facing, more research in this area should be conducted to learn about the interplay between population growth, its pattern of distribution, and the influence of migration in Asian countries.