

Gulf Migration and Its Economic Impact

The Kerala Experience

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Inflow of large amount of Gulf remittances and its spending has resulted in unprecedented economic changes since mid-1970s in poor and industrially backward economy of Kerala. The Gulf migration has helped the migrant households to attain higher levels of income, consumption and acquisition of assets, resulting in overall reduction of poverty in Kerala. But, on the other hand, the Gulf remittances have also pushed up prices of land, construction material, consumer foods and charges on health, education and transport, adversely affecting non-migrant households belonging to poor, middle class and fixed income groups.

THE price hike of oil in 1973 and the consequent earnings of large revenue had accelerated a process of industrialisation and social change in the west Asia countries necessitating the services of large number of foreign workers. Large number of workers began to migrate to the west Asia from India since then. The migration which started with a few thousands per year during the mid-1970s assumed large proportions during 1980s and 1990s. Currently, the total stock of Indian migrants in the west Asia is estimated as 28 lakhs. Of this, the migrants from Kerala are estimated as more than 14 lakhs. Currently, Kerala is getting about Rs 5,500 crore from the Gulf as workers' remittances. The migration and the flow of remittances had resulted in unprecedented economic changes in Kerala's economy since the mid-1970s. Though a number of studies are available on the various aspects of Gulf migration, only a few have examined the economic impacts [Prakash 1978; Gopinath Nair 1989; DES 1987; and Thomas Issac 1993]. But the studies do not give a comprehensive account of the economic impact of migration on the regional economy. The objective of the paper is to examine the economic impact of Gulf migration on the regional economy of Kerala.

In order to explain the impact of migration we present the following hypothesis: Since the mid-1970s, the factor which had the greatest impact on regional economy, especially on labour market, consumption, savings, investment, poverty, income distribution and economic growth, has been the Gulf migration and migrant remittances.

This paper is presented in six sections. In the first two sections we present the analytical framework and the trend in migration and remittances. In the subsequent sections, we examine the impact on labour market, consumption, savings and investment, poverty and income distribution and regional economy.

I Analytical Framework

Based on the nature and characteristics, international labour migration may be classified as traditional type and contract type. In the traditional type of migration people from developing countries are migrating to developed countries to avail of better jobs, opportunities, living conditions and to settle there. On the other hand in contract migration, return is an essential part of the migration process. Here the workers are hired for contractual jobs for a definite time period and expected to return after the expiry of the period. Usually during the period of stay abroad, they leave their families behind in their home country. In order to support their family, the emigrants send remittances on a regular basis. The economic impact of contract migration will be substantial on the domestic economies of the labour exporting countries. The areas which witnessed substantial impact are labour market, balance of payment, savings, investment, distribution of income and regional economic development. Attempts were made to develop an analytical framework for analysing this macro-economic impacts.

According to a study of Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP), contract type of migration can be viewed as factor movements in response to rate of return differentials, i.e., the wage differential [ESCAP 1987]. The inter country wage differential is a result of difference in factor endowments, i.e., the relative imbalance of supply and demand for labour. The study says that the economic impact of contract type of migration and remittances is centred around the direct effects on national income and the indirect effects through the balance of payment, consumption, savings, investment, prices, wages and employment.

For constructing an analytical framework Deepak Nayyar distinguishes between the macro-economic impact of labour flows

on the one hand and financial flows on the other, although the two are often interwoven [Nayyar 1994]. The impact of labour flows on output and employment at a macro-economic level depends on the magnitude of the outflow of workers, the employment status before emigration and the skill composition of migrants. In macro-economic terms, the impact of international labour migration on the balance of payments depends not only on how it influences the components, but also on the consequent increase in consumption, investment and government expenditure, taken together.

Ashwani Saith has presented a methodological approach which analyses the phenomenon of migration within a macro-economic perspective where the impact on economy and society as a whole can be identified and evaluated [Saith 1989]. Within the analysis of the overall macro-economic impact, four areas are identified: the influence that the migration phenomenon may have had on aggregate national economic strategies within a medium-term perspective; second, the impact of migration on the balance of payments of the labour exporting country; third, the impact on the aggregate rate of savings and investment in the economy; and fourth, the impact on the sectoral pattern of investment. Under labour aspects, the major issues relate to impact on output and growth of labour withdrawal from the economy, questions related to labour substitution and turnover of migrant labour, skill formation and the unemployment among the return migrants. The distributional dimensions of migration especially its impact on poverty and income inequality are raised at the level of household, local community, regional and national level. It is pointed out that all the above mentioned issues and topics discussed will govern the overall impact of migration.

Among the approaches mentioned above, the approach of Saith is more comprehensive and covers most of the aspects relating to macro-economic

impacts. But for analysing the economic impact of migration for a region, we can confine to those aspects which are more relevant to the region. Though the impact on balance of payments will influence the macro-economic magnitudes of a regional economy, this aspect is not included in our analysis. The following analytical framework is used in our analysis. The economic impact of international labour migration depends on the magnitude of migration, the employment status of migrants prior to migration, the skill composition of migrants, the type of migration, wages and net savings earned and the volume of remittances. For our analysis, economic impact on the following area is identified: labour market, consumption, savings, investment, poverty, distribution of income and regional domestic product.

II Trends in Migration and Remittances

Accurate data relating to Indian labour outflows and return flows are not available. The basic source of data about labour outflows is the data provided by Protector General of Emigrants (PGE) in the Ministry of Labour. Due to many problems, the labour outflow data give only a rough approximation of the magnitude of out-migration of workers. Based on the annual outflow of labour from India to the west Asia, we may classify migration into four phases, viz, the initial phase of steady growth between 1976 and 1979; the peak phase between 1980 and 1983; the declining growth phase between 1984 and 1990 and the revival phase between 1991 and 1995 (Table 1). The worst year in the history of Indian migration to the west Asia was 1990, when about 1.80 lakh Indians were repatriated from Kuwait and Iraq due to the Gulf war. Of this more than one lakh persons were Keralites.

According to the ministry of external affairs, the total stock of Indians including workers and non-workers in the west Asia was 12.35 lakh in 1990 prior to the conquest of Kuwait. The current estimate of Indian migrants is 28 lakh. Of this, the non-workers such as wives and children of migrant workers are about 10 to 15 per cent. It is estimated that of the total stock of Indian migrants, the share of Keralites is more than 50 per cent (Table 2). Data on the annual labour outflows from India suggest that there was a steep increase in the migration to the Gulf between 1991 and 1995. During 1990s the major destinations of Indian migrants to the west Asia were Saudi Arabia, UAE, Oman, Bahrain and Kuwait. Nearly 62 per cent of the workers migrated to the Gulf during the year 1990 were unskilled and skilled construction workers. During the 1990s

a disturbing development was the repatriation of large number of migrant workers from UAE in 1996. It is estimated that in the latter half of 1996, more than 60,000 migrants were forced to return to India due to introduction of new migration regulations and its strict enforcement. Of the returnees, more than 40,000 were Keralites.

The intensity of migration to the Gulf is not uniform throughout Kerala. A survey conducted in 1980 suggested that the intensity rate, i.e., number of Gulf migrants per thousand population was high in northern parts compared to southern parts of Kerala. It was found that the intensity rate was highest in Trichur district followed by Malappuram, Pathanamthitta, Cannanore and Trivandrum. In southern Kerala, only two districts, viz, Trivandrum and Pathanamthitta have a high intensity of Gulf migration. On the other hand, in northern Kerala, the districts which have a high intensity of migration are Trichur, Malappuram, Calicut, Cannanore and Kasargod. Hence, the impact of the migration is greater in northern districts than in southern districts.

Regarding the remittances sent by the migrant workers, we do not have accurate data. Based on the World Bank data an attempt is made to estimate the remittances received in India. Though World Bank gives the total remittances sent by Indian workers from foreign countries, no country-wise figures are available. So we have made an estimate based on two assumptions. First, it is assumed that the share of remittances from the west Asia is 75 per cent. The assumption is based on the findings of a study of Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific in 1987 on international migration and remittances [ESCAP 1987]. Second, the share of Kerala is assumed at 50 per cent, as Keralites account for more than half of the Indian migrant workers in the west Asia. The estimated remittance received in India and in Kerala from the migrant workers in the West Asia is given in Table 3. The Table 3 shows that the workers' remittances from the west Asia to Kerala rose from Rs 824 crore in 1980 to Rs 1,310 crore in 1990 and Rs 5,539 crore in 1995. Currently, the remittances account for 22 per cent of the state domestic product of Kerala. Due to the return of large number of migrant workers from UAE in 1996, it is likely that the remittance flows will decline during 1996 and 1997.

III Impact on Labour Market

Given that the intensity of migration differs in different districts of Kerala, the economic impact of migration is not uniform throughout Kerala (Table 4). The

impact is greater in seven districts where the intensity of migration is high. In this section the impact of migration on the labour market is examined.

A major impact on the labour market is the reduction of unemployment through migration of unemployed labour force. We have sufficient evidence to show that a substantial share of migrants were unemployed prior to migration. The DES

TABLE 1: ANNUAL LABOUR OUTFLOW FROM INDIA

Year	Number in Thousands	Year	Number in Thousands
1976	4.2	1986	113.5
1977	22.9	1987	125.4
1978	69.0	1988	170.1
1979	171.8	1989	126.2
1980	236.2	1990	141.8
1981	276.0	1991	192.0
1982	239.5	1992	416.8
1983	225.0	1993	483.3
1984	206.0	1994	425.4
1985	163.0		

Sources: (1) Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

(2) Ministry of Labour, 1996.

TABLE 2: STOCK OF INDIAN MIGRANTS IN THE
WEST ASIA COUNTRIES

Year	Number of Indian Migrants (in Lakh)	Number of Keralite Migrants (in Lakh)
1979	5.01	2.50
1981	5.99	2.99
1983	9.16	4.58
1987	9.57	4.78
1990	12.35	6.17
1991	16.50	8.25
1996	28.00	14.00

Note: The share of Keralite to the total Indian migrants is assumed as 50 per cent.

Source: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

TABLE 3: WORKERS' REMITTANCES FROM WEST
ASIA TO INDIA AND KERALA

Year	Remittances to India (Rs in Crore)	Remittances to Kerala (Rs in Crore)	Remittances to Kerala as Per Cent of Net Domestic Product of Kerala
1980	1648	824	21.5
1981	1560	780	19.2
1982	1822	911	19.3
1983	1986	993	17.9
1984	2236	1118	18.2
1985	2036	1018	15.6
1986	2242	1121	15.2
1987	2648	1324	16.0
1988	2414	1207	13.1
1989	2732	1366	12.8
1990	2620	1310	10.7
1991	4670	2335	15.4
1992	4132	2066	12.0
1993	7174	3587	19.0
1994	11714	5857	27.0
1995	11078	5539	21.5

Sources: The World Bank, 1995.

The World Bank, 1997.

survey estimated that the activity status of 40 per cent of migrants prior to migration was unemployed [DES 1987]. Another study, based on a sample survey of about 700 returned migrants, revealed that the activity status on the eve of first migration of 38 per cent of the migrants was unemployed [Gopinathan Nair 1986]. Though the migrants also include underemployed and employed persons, the available evidences indicate that the migration has eased the problem of unemployment to a great extent. In majority of the districts in Kerala, the migration had helped to reduce the rate of unemployment significantly (Table 4).

The migration has resulted in reduction in supply and increase in the demand for certain categories of workers, especially construction workers. Many parts of Kerala began to experience severe shortage of construction workers since the end of 1970s. This may be attributed to three reasons. First, the major share of workers migrated to the Gulf are construction-related workers including skilled workers like carpenter, mason, etc. This has considerably reduced the supply of skilled and unskilled construction workers. Second, a good part of the remittances received from the Gulf was spent by the households for constructing new houses, buildings and boundary walls, repairing houses, improving land, etc, resulting in steep increase in the demand for construction workers. Third, lack of interest of young people especially the educated, to engage in manual work. This shortage of workers has increased the wages of construction and other categories of manual work, promoted the mobility of non-construction workers into construction sector resulting in the migration of Tamil workers to Kerala.

Available evidences suggest that there is a correlation between the growth rate of construction workers' wages and the various phases of migration. For instance, during the peak period of migration, i.e., during the first half of 1980s, the growth rate of construction workers' wages was high.¹ On the other hand, in the declining phase of migration during the second half of 1980s, there is a perceptible fall in the rate of growth of wages compared to earlier period. With the revival of migration since 1991, there has been a spurt in the growth rate of wages. A similar trend in case of the wages of agricultural workers can also be observed.

The shortage of construction workers and increase in wages have not led to the introduction of capital intensive technique on a large scale. The shortage of labour is largely met by migration of construction workers from neighbouring states, especially from Tamil Nadu. There is also

resistance from trade unions to introduce mechanisation in loading and unloading of materials. In Kerala, the entire loading and unloading of construction materials is done manually by workers belonging to powerful trade unions. But during 1990s, due to the state government's policy, the capital intensive techniques are used in the construction of public projects like railway, national highway and infrastructure and construction of big buildings and flats in the private sector.

Another change that occurred in the labour market due to the Gulf opportunities was the introduction of vocational education and training for skills. In order to migrate to the Gulf, unemployed youth began to join courses that helped them to get skills required for jobs in the west Asia. A number of vocational courses were started by private agencies to train young people. The courses include construction-related courses, motor operation, machine operation, welding, computer operation, catering, tailoring, technician, paramedical courses, etc. This has resulted in a qualitative change in the vocational education system in Kerala.

Reabsorption of return migrants in the labour market is another issue. A majority of migrants were forced to return to Kerala due to termination or cancellation of work contracts or fall in wages. The crucial issue is whether they can re-enter into the domestic labour market. The factors which determine their re-entry are their willingness to accept domestic low paid jobs, to start their own enterprise or engage in self-employment. Starting an industrial or commercial unit depends on their experience, their enterprise in running the unit and the amount of savings they can mobilise. Available evidence suggests that after their return, majority of Gulf migrants are not willing to work in traditional occupations or as casual labourers. They aspire to start their own business or engage in self-employment. Two surveys which collected information about the activity status of return migrants revealed that many of them were absorbed in the labour market in 1993 compared to 1987.

IV

Impacts on Consumption, Savings and Investment

The impact of migration on consumption, savings and investments largely determined by the amount of remittances sent by migrants and the utilisation pattern of remittances. The DES survey [DES 1987] which is based on a sample of 1,467 migrant households, 690 non-migrant households and 411 households with Gulf-returned persons, estimates that the average annual remittances sent per migrant which was Rs 10,455 in 1987. Besides, the average

value of articles brought by a migrant during his sojourn was estimated at Rs 7,800, assuming one visit in three years. Comparing the monthly income of migrant and non-migrant households, the survey found that the income of migrant households was much higher.

Due to higher income, the monthly expenditure was also higher in the case of migrant households compared to non-migrant households. The migrant households incurred higher expenditure on food, clothing, education, fuel, light, travel, entertainment, medical expenses, etc. The households also spent more money on marriages, other ceremonies and on the durable goods.

The survey also gave information about the utilisation pattern of remittances. The utilisation of remittances excluding current consumption was worked out for a period of five years from 1982-1986. It was found that of the total utilisation, 21 per cent as spent for purchasing or improving land and 36 per cent for construction, improve-

TABLE 4: DISTRICTWISE DISTRIBUTION OF INTENSITY OF MIGRATION AND REMITTANCES IN 1980

District	Number of Migrants Per 1,000 Population	Migrants as Percentage of Openly Unemployed	Remittances as Percentage of Net Domestic Product
Trivandrum	8.1	10.3	24.3
Quilon	6.7	7.8	19.0
Alleppey	7.2	11.4	24.3
Kottayam	2.4	4.1	7.3
Idukki	0.3	0.8	0.8
Ernakulam	1.5	2.3	3.2
Trichur	15.5	33.2	47.0
Palghat	3.4	7.1	11.7
Malappuram	14.5	55.3	61.9
Kozhikode	6.5	13.2	18.2
Cannanore	8.3	24.5	23.3
Kerala	7.3	13.3	21.5

Note: Pathanamthitta, Wynad and Kasargod districts were not in existence in 1980. Of these, Pathanamthitta and Kasargod districts have a high intensity of Gulf migration.

Source: DES, 1982 and Table 3.

TABLE 5: WORKERS REMITTANCES AND PLAN EXPENDITURE IN KERALA

Year	Remittances (Rs in Lakh)	Plan Expenditure (Rs in Lakh)	Plan Expenditure as Percentage of Remittances
1980-85 (VI Plan)	462610	180162	38.9
1985-90 (VII Plan)	603545	254691	42.2
1990-91 (Annual Plan)	130980	66269	50.6
1991-92	233455	71952	30.8
Total	1430590	573074	40.0

Sources: Same as Table 3; DES, 1993.

ment or purchasing buildings. Expenditure on gold ornaments, education and repayment of loans accounted for 21 per cent of total expenditure. It is significant to note that only a small share was spent for starting business. Nearly 8 per cent was invested in banks and other financial institutions.

In order to assess the impact of remittances on the asset generation, the survey provided information of the asset position of the households prior to and after the migration. The asset position of the migrant households was compared with that of non-migrant households. It was found that there was a considerable increase in the assets of migrant households after the migration compared to non-migrant households. Assets such as land, buildings, gold ornaments, motor vehicles, consumer durables, pumpsets, etc., registered an increase.

To conclude, the migrant households had higher income, better consumption levels and asset position compared to non-migrant households. They invest major share of their savings in land and houses. Their investment in business is small, and in productive activities almost nil. Investment in savings and financial assets are also small. The above evidence corroborate the commonly held view that the migrant households are not investing in productive activities.

V

Impact on Poverty and Income Distribution

The impact on poverty and income distribution may be classified into direct and indirect impact. The direct impact is on the migrant households which received remittances. The indirect impact includes all those spill-over effects such as increase in wages, employment opportunities, increase in the price of land, consumer items, services, etc. The impact has affected the welfare of the migrant and non-migrant households differently.

The information available in the micro level studies on the socio-economic status of the migrants on the eve of migration suggests that majority of the migrants were poor at the time of migration. Micro level studies were conducted during 1977 and 1978 in the villages of southern and northern parts of Kerala which showed that majority of the migrants belonged to poor families, lived in rural areas, engaged in low productivity traditional activities such as fishing, agricultural labour, household industry and service sector jobs such as helpers in country tea shops and salesmen in grocery.³ A subsequent study based on a sample of about 700 returned migrants in 1984 revealed that nearly 58 per cent of the migrant households were

classified as poor households [Gopinathan Nair 1986].

Thus, the available evidences suggest that the poor households receiving remittances from the west Asia attained substantial increase in their income levels. It is likely that a large number of low income households climbed to higher income levels due to the receipt of remittances. The impact is bound to be great as seven districts of Kerala have a large concentration of migrants.

The large inflow of remittances had resulted in a spurt in construction activities and employment. Similarly large employment opportunities were generated in tertiary sector like transport, communications, trade, commerce, education, health services, banking, etc. There was increase in wage rate of all categories of casual workers. Thus, the receipt of remittances to the poor households, the generation of employment in construction and tertiary sector and the increase in wage rate have resulted in the increase in income levels of poor people in Kerala. The estimates regarding poverty also support the above trend. Recently, the Planning Commission using revised poverty norms has estimated that the people below poverty line in Kerala has declined from 53 per cent in 1977-78 to 32 per cent in 1987-88 [Planning Commission 1993]. But the entire reduction in poverty cannot be attributed to Gulf migration. The state government has been implementing a number of poverty alleviation schemes since the 1970s and the 1980s.

The hike in price of land, commodities and services due to the inflow of remittances has affected distribution of income in favour of some sections of people while adversely affecting others. Available information suggests that the inflow of remittances had pushed up prices of land in urban and rural areas in those districts where the intensity of migration has been high. It is reported that there had been a continuous increase in the price of land in rural and urban areas of Trivandrum district between 1975 and 1983 [Gopinathan Nair 1989].

The impact of the price increase was different on different sections. With the steep increase in price of land, the owners of the land got a windfall when they sold their land. Prior to mid-1970s, there was not much demand for rural land and the increase in the price of land was only nominal. With the inflow of remittances, the migrant households began to purchase land resulting in steep increase in land price. This trend attracted a lot of speculative investment pushing up the prices further. In this process, those who owned land and those invested in land for speculative purposes got windfall gains in income. On the other hand, the poor, middle class, the fixed income groups who were in need of land for constructing houses found it to be beyond their reach to purchase land. The price hike had adversely affected their welfare and purchasing power.

Another impact was the increase in price of construction materials, consumer goods, food products, rent rates and increase in charges of health, education, transportation, etc. The flow of remittances and the consequent increase in demand pushed up the prices of all the above items. Here also, sections which were adversely affected were the poor, the middle class and fixed income groups. They began to experience a steady fall in their purchasing power and welfare as a result of the price hike.

VI

Impact on Regional Economy

This section examines the impact of migration and flow of remittances on the economic development of Kerala. We have already seen that the volume of remittances received in seven districts of Kerala was very large (Table 4). Compared to the plan expenditure incurred during the successive plans for economic development, the remittances received was much larger. Between 1980 and 1992, the total plan expenditure in Kerala was equivalent only to 40 per cent of the remittances received from the Gulf (Table 5).

The flow of remittances has also led to the generation of more savings in a backward economy like Kerala. There has

TABLE 6: GROWTH OF BANK DEPOSITS IN KERALA

Ending March	Total Deposit (Rs in Crore)	Of which NRE Deposit (Rs in Crore)	Growth of NRE Deposit (Per Cent)	Share of NRE Deposit to Total (Per Cent)
1988	4811	1369	-	28.4
1989	5667	1584	15.7	27.9
1990	6620	2012	27.0	30.3
1991	7858	2304	14.5	29.3
1992	9671	3039	31.9	31.4
1993	12112	4499	48.0	37.1
1994	14941	6015	33.6	40.2
1995	17458	6886	14.4	39.4
1996	20171	8103	17.6	40.2
1997	23029	9956	22.8	43.2

Source: SPB, 1998, *Economic Review 1997*.

been a steady growth in NRE deposit in the banks (Table 6). Of the total bank deposits the share of NRE deposits by 1997 was about 43 per cent. Currently, the total deposits in the banks of Kerala is about Rs. 23,000 crore.

Thus, inflow of large amount of remittances and its spending has resulted in unprecedented economic changes in a poor and industrially backward economy of Kerala. The capital scarcity experienced by the economy was solved to some extent due to the accumulation of NRE deposits. These evidences suggest that the factor which gave the biggest push to the Kerala's economy since mid-1970s had been the remittance flows from the Gulf.

Since the economic prosperity of Kerala largely depends on the Gulf migration, the return of more than 40,000 migrant workers from United Arab Emirates in 1996 and 30,000 workers from Saudi Arabia in 1997 has created a recession in the state's economy. Available evidence suggests that the exodus from the UAE and Saudi Arabia has arrested the boom in economic activities in all the seven districts having a high intensity of Gulf migration. It is reported that there has been a substantial fall in trade, commerce and construction activities in all the seven districts during 1996 and 1997. The price of land and real estate also fell by about half in these districts.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Among the total Indian migrants to the Gulf, Keralites account for more than half. More than half of the remittances is sent by Keralites. The remittances received in Kerala from migrant workers from the Gulf account for 22 per cent of the net domestic product of Kerala. The large-scale migration and flows of remittances have resulted in unprecedented economic changes in Kerala. Widespread changes have taken place in labour market, consumption, savings, investment, poverty, income distribution and regional development. The migration has resulted in reduction of unemployment, created shortage of construction workers, upgraded skills, increased wages and promoted the migration of construction workers to Kerala. Available evidence suggest that the migration has helped the migrant households to attain higher levels of

income, consumption and acquisition of assets compared to non-migrant households. As the majority of the migrant households are poor, the inflow of remittances has substantially reduced poverty in Kerala. The migration has pushed up prices of land, construction materials, consumer goods, food articles, rent and charges on health, education, transport, etc. This increase in prices has adversely affected the non-migrant households especially those belonging to poor, middle class and fixed income groups.

As the volume of remittances received in Kerala was very large, the impact of it on the regional economy has been obviously very great. Compared to the amount of plan expenditure for economic development, the remittances received in Kerala are much larger. The remittances have given the biggest push to the poor and industrially backward economy of Kerala. Thus, the factor which has had the greatest impact on Kerala's economy since the mid-1970s has been the Gulf migration.

Notes

[This is a revision of the paper presented in the International Conference on 'Kerala's Development Experience', organised by the Institute of Social Science at New Delhi on December 8-11, 1996].

- 1 For average daily wage of skilled and agricultural workers, see Table A.
- 2 For current activity status of returned migrants see the Table:

Activity Status	DES Survey 1987 (Per Cent)	DES Survey 1992-93 (Per Cent)
Employed	19.4	4.6
Self-employed	24.2	31.9
Employer	1.6	23.3
Unemployed	49.0	20.6
Household worker	5.8	17.4
Others	-	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Sources: (1) DES, 1987; (2) DES, 1994.

- 3 During 1977 and 1978 individual scholars conducted sample surveys in Elakonam, Koipram, Kadakkavur, Pervumvathura, Puthukurichi, Chirayinkil, Chengannur, Chavakkad and Tirur, and collected information about the socio-economic characteristics of migrants. A summary of the findings of the surveys were given by P R Gopinathan Nair (1983).

TABLE A

Year	Carpenter	Mason	Paddy Field Workers (Rs)	
			Male	Female
1980-81	19.82	19.78	11.13	7.91
1985-86	42.84	42.80	26.08	15.10
1990-91	54.47	53.98	35.77	21.11
1996-97	128.54	127.81	92.18	60.52

Source: SPB, *Economic Review* 1997, 1998.

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