

PROFILE OF EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA:

A comparative study of Kerala and Punjab

Parveen Nangia and Uma Saha

During the past few decades international migration has taken new strides in India. Hundreds of thousands of Indians are emigrating every year to the developed countries in search of better quality of life and higher income. Many are quitting their regular jobs for the greener pastures abroad (Subramanian, 2001; Dutta-Sachdeva and Baruah, 2001). In most of the countries official route is either through the close family links or work permit. The lure of foreign jobs is so strong that many of the aspiring emigrants who do not have close family ties or work permit adopt illegal means to go abroad. It is difficult to get data on the quantum of illegal migration. In India, complete information is not available even on the legal outmigration from the country. Data on international migration in the country are almost non-existent and hardly any attempt is being made to obtain data on a regular basis and in a systematic manner (Premi and Mathur, 1995). Some researchers have tried to analyse data obtained from Census and other sources to estimate the number of Indians overseas (Davis, 1951; Desai, 1963; Jain, 1982; Madhvan, 1985). However, there are several limitations to such studies. Recently Zachariah and his colleagues (1999) provided estimates of outmigration (including emigration) from Kerala state of India based on a large sample survey conducted throughout the state. The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) conducted in 1992-93 also collected information on international migration from two most emigrating states of India, namely Kerala and Punjab.

Patterns of Emigration from India in Historical Perspective

Emigration from India is not a new phenomenon. For centuries Indian workers have been emigrating to join the labour force of several countries. Indian migration in the modern times can be traced back to the 18th century when the slavery was abolished and the colonial rulers required labour to work on plantations (Sandhu, 1969).

During the 18th and 19th centuries workers were sent from India as indentured labourers in the Caribbean and African countries. India and China were the main suppliers of indentured labour to the erstwhile European colonies (Neymark and Cervantes, 1996). It is estimated that 3 million Indians emigrated to different parts of the world between 1800 and 1945. Out of these 2.2 million went to Ceylon, Burma and Malaysia; 420,000 to East Africa and Mauritius; 400,000 to the west Indies and Fiji; and 50,000 to the United States of America, United Kingdom and Canada and other countries (Madhavan, 1985). Until 20th Century males dominated emigration. When women started migrating in large numbers such migration became more of a permanent character. Those emigrants from India who moved independently for business or jobs did quite well in the destination countries. The vast majority of them were involved in petty business.

In the post colonial era two patterns of emigration emerged from India, one took place mainly towards the industrialised countries, particularly United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada and Australia; and the other one was directed towards the oil rich West Asian countries. The first stream comprised of mainly the professionals (doctors, engineers and scientists), technicians and skilled workers. Indian doctors and technical workers migrated in large numbers to United Kingdom until the mid 1960s when demand was met by the local workers (Premi and Mathur, 1995). Emigration to United Kingdom was at its height during the 1960s. It slowed down in 1970s and stabilised at a much lower level in the 1980s. In contrast, emigration to North America began in the early 1950s, gathered momentum in the 1960s when the immigration policies of the receiving countries changed, and reached significant numbers in 1970s and thereafter (Nayyar, 1994).

Emigration towards the Middle East is basically oriented to labour and servicing occupations on a contract basis. This type of emigration flourished as a result of economic boom due to hike in oil prices after 1973. The rapid economic growth in the oil exporting countries of Middle East led to an increase in the construction activity to create infrastructure. The heavy demand for skilled and unskilled labour was fulfilled by the foreign labour, as the local population was not adequately trained to satisfy the increasing needs of labour market. This motivated many skilled and semi-skilled workers from several countries, including India, to go there in search of better economic gains. By the mid 1980s India was the second largest supplier of manpower to the countries of Middle East.

It is estimated that around 15 million Indians live abroad (World Migration Report, 2000). Every year hundreds of thousands of Indians emigrate. In 1997 alone 416 thousand Indians left the country to join their compatriots working abroad (Govt of India, 1999). Indian professionals and technical workers migrate in large numbers, more or less permanently, for jobs in USA, Canada, United Kingdom and Australia. Last year only more than 23000 Indians got the US immigration visa and more than 17000 got the Canadian immigration visa. (Dutta-Sachdeva and Baruah, 2001). Australia and New Zealand are the new emerging destinations for Indians, with more than 2000 arrivals every year for permanent settlement in each of these countries (World Migration Report, 2000).

Table 1 shows the labour outflows from India from 1976 to 1997. The effect of economic boom in the Middle East as a result of hike in the oil prices in 1973-74 is visible on labour migration from India, which jumped from a mere 4 thousand in 1976 to 276 thousand in 1981. After that it went down gradually and reached a low of 114 thousand in 1986. The annual flow of labour remained less than 200 thousand until 1991. The effect of economic liberalisation in India is visible on the labour migration from 1992 onwards, as it again jumped to more than 400 thousand per annum. One striking feature of labour migration from India is that more than 90 percent of the migrants go to the Middle East.

Table 2 shows the labour outflows from India to different countries from 1991 to 1997. More than two-thirds of the migrants for work went to Saudi Arabia in 1991. The second highest intake was from Oman at 12 percent. A very small proportion of labour flow is towards countries other than the Gulf region. Over the years the position started changing rapidly. Migration to United Arab Emirates went up from 8 percent in 1991 to 27 percent in 1997, whereas, the share of Saudi Arabia declined from 68 percent to 52 percent during this period. It is reported that there is a slump in the labour market in Saudi Arabia because of the general economic constraints as a result of fall in oil prices and replacement of expatriate labour by the Saudi nationals. Apart from that there is more rigorous scrutiny of visa applications from India.

Causes and Effects of Emigration

International migration is influenced by the demand and supply of local labour, wage differential between place of origin and destination, migration policies of the two countries and their relations with each other. At the individual level it depends upon the availability of work permit and the possibility of getting a job. The desire to avoid professional isolation, impatience with the slow rate of career advancement in India, and oversupply of trained manpower in certain fields are other factors contributing to emigration from the country. Encouragement from friends and family members acts as a motivating force in migration. Economic globalisation has acted as a catalyst in international migration from India.

Some of the studies conducted in Kerala show that unemployment is the main reason for emigration from the state (Gulati, 1993; Nair, 1986). Zachariah and his colleagues (2001) attribute demographic expansion, agricultural stagnation, educational expansion, and lack of growth in secondary and tertiary sectors as the main reasons for outmigration from Kerala.

Emigration from the country is not only helping reduce the situation of unemployment but also earn foreign exchange. Labour migration has helped the country in earning foreign exchange through remittances. The amount of remittances (including remittances through gifts) was less than 3 billion US dollars in 1980-81. Throughout the eighties it remained so. In the nineties it increased rapidly from 3.6 billion US dollars in 1991-92 to nearly 12 billion US dollars in 1997-98 (Table 3). Various incentive schemes for investment in India by the Non Resident Indians (NRIs) and the permission to bring gold while returning to the country are the contributory factors to sudden spurt in the amount of remittances.

According to a study by Nair (1986), on an average a migrant saved 45-46 percent of his income, probably all of which was remitted back home. Another study based on the National Family Health Survey shows that 44 percent of the emigrants from Kerala had sent remittances during one-year period prior to the survey (Chengrong and Nangia, 1997). Yet another study shows that the average remittances received in Kerala during 1998 was Rs. 25,000 per emigrant and the remittances received in cash constituted 9 percent of the State Domestic Product (Zachariah et al., 2001).

Policy on Emigration

The Government of India's policy is quite relaxed towards emigration. High population growth and unemployment rate are the main reasons for a favourable policy towards emigration. The contribution of the remittances to the foreign exchange reserve of the country is another issue. However, government is quite concerned about the welfare of growing number of emigrants. It has adopted a policy to regulate the process of deployment, which takes place through recruiting agents who are registered with the Ministry of Labour to carry on the business of manpower export. In 1983, Emigration Act was passed to safeguard the interests of Indian workers working abroad on contract basis. Under this Act only those recruiting agents who are registered with the Ministry of Labour can conduct the business of recruitment for overseas employment.

The Government of India is considering setting up Manpower Export Promotion Council, which could undertake the task of promotion of the Indian personnel and services abroad. The specific tasks of the Council could be to provide technical support services, undertake publicity and promotional work for Indian manpower abroad, communicate and liaison with the international agencies and foreign employers and act as a focal point for dissemination of information and market intelligence (Government of India, 1999).

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FROM KERALA AND PUNJAB

This part of the study is based on data collected from the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) conducted throughout the country in 1992-93. This survey, inter alia, collected limited data on international migration for two states, viz. Kerala and Punjab, which are known for their high level of emigration. A comparative study of the data obtained from the survey for emigration from these two states is presented here. It is also supplemented by the information collected through some other studies. The NFHS sample is designed to provide estimates for a state as a whole and for its rural and urban areas separately. The required sampling rates for rural and urban areas were determined by allocating the sample proportionally to the population of the two areas. In Kerala a total of 4387 and in Punjab 3213 households were surveyed.

The NFHS shows that Keralites have a much higher tendency to emigrate than Punjabis, as out of the total households surveyed in Kerala and Punjab, 21 percent in the former and 3 percent in the latter can be termed as emigrant households, since they have one or more members living outside India.

One basic difference in emigration pattern from Kerala and Punjab is in terms of the place of origin. The emigrants from Kerala originate from a much wider area, with the highest contribution of Mallapuram (21 percent), Kannur (15 percent) and Thrissur and Kollam districts (11 percent each). On the other hand, majority of emigrants from Punjab originates from one district only, i.e. Jalandhar (52 percent). The next important contribution to emigration from

Punjab is by Hoshiarpur district (16 percent) (data not shown in the table).

Emigrant Households:

Table 4 shows the characteristics of the households from where emigration has taken place in Kerala and Punjab. Emigration is directly related to the educational status of the head of the household. From both the states propensity to emigrate is highest from those households where household head has completed education level of high school or above, and it is least from those households where head is illiterate. The plausible explanation could be that better educated heads have higher income and they are better informed about the availability of opportunities abroad as well as more open to the idea of emigration of their family members in search of better standard of living. At the same time, the family members of more educated household heads are likely to be better educated and skilled to take up jobs abroad.

International migration is based not only on the educational level of the household, but also on its economic status. Table 4 shows that the propensity to emigrate is more from better-off families. In both the states those with greater landholding have higher proportion of migrant households, e.g. in Kerala 26 percent of the households with landholding of 6 acres or above are migrant households compared to only 19 percent of those who do not have any agricultural land. Similarly, the proportion of migrant households in Punjab is 7 percent in households with 6 acres or above land compared to only two percent in households without any agricultural land. It is also found that in both the states proportion of migrant households is more from pucca houses (having roof, walls and floor made up of durable material) than from the semi-pucca houses, although in Kerala, from kutcha houses (with roof, walls and floor all made up of temporary material) nearly one-third of the households have at least one emigrant. Since the international migration requires much greater investment of money, only the better-off families can afford to send their members out of India. Conversely, the condition of the houses from where somebody has outmigrated might have improved through remittances. Nevertheless, many poorer families also manage to send some of the family members abroad, particularly young boys, with the desire to improve their economic status. For that purpose some of them have to mortgage their

property and belongings. In fact, the desire to get better income is so strong that many youths try to emigrate illegally. In September 1996, more than 170 Indian youths, who were trying to illegally emigrate to get jobs in USA, Canada and Germany, were drowned off the Greek coast. Some of the survivors told that they had paid upto Rs. 4,00,000 (approximately US \$ 9,000) each for getting a job abroad. Many of them had taken loans for paying this huge sum (Bhardwaj, 1997). Reports of such illegal immigration and the tragedies faced by the potential immigrants appear quite frequently in the newspapers.

Emigrant Population

Table 5 shows the characteristics of emigrants from the two states. Most of the emigrants (nine out of ten) from both the states are young males (below 45 years). However, the migrants from Punjab are comparatively younger (55 percent below 30 years of age compared to 31 percent from Kerala). Although emigration from both the states is highly male selective, females have a better stake in emigration from Punjab (16 percent) compared to Kerala (7 percent). The proportion of unmarried people among the migrants is higher in Punjab (33 percent) compared to Kerala (18 percent). Nearly one-third of the emigrants from both the states are Hindus. From Punjab, the rest are Sikhs, whereas from Kerala, Muslims comprise of more than two-fifths, and Christians one-fifth of all the current emigrants.

The educational level of emigrants from Kerala and Punjab also differs. A majority of migrants from Kerala (55 percent), which has the best literacy status in the country, are literate but below middle pass, and a substantial proportion (25 percent) have completed, at least high school level. On the other hand, from Punjab a much higher proportion (61 percent) have completed at least high school. A higher proportion of emigrants from Punjab are completely illiterate compared to Kerala (8 percent and 1 percent, respectively).

The educational level and skill of the migrants reflects upon the kind of job they get at the place of destination. Table 6 shows the occupational distribution of emigrants from the two states. Majority of emigrants from Punjab (60 percent) and nearly half (49 percent) from Kerala work

as 'production and related workers, transport equipment operators, and labourers'. From Kerala, 14 percent of the emigrants are engaged in 'sales' work and 11 percent in 'professional, technical and related jobs'. The share of migrants from Punjab in these jobs is much lower, 7 and 3 percent, respectively. It is obvious from Table 6 that the problem of brain-drain from Kerala is much higher than from Punjab. It is noteworthy, as suggested by Table 7, that most of the migrants from Kerala go to the Middle-East, particularly to Saudi Arabia (38 percent), United Arab Emirates, particularly Dubai (26 percent), and other Gulf countries (25 percent), where generally they work on contract basis and are expected to return after the contract is over. About 20 percent of the households interviewed in Kerala belonged to the return migrants. Therefore, one gets some consolation that this is not a permanent loss of manpower to the nation. In fact it is only an adjustment mechanism of tackling with our unemployment problem, through which people get jobs and better earnings, and when they return to India they have sufficient financial standing to start a business of their own. But from Punjab, nearly one-third of the emigrants go to the Gulf countries, especially to United Arab Emirates (22 percent). The other important destinations for migrants from Punjab are Canada (20 percent), England (15 percent) and USA (11 percent). The chances of permanent settlement in these western countries are much higher.

Majority of emigrants from both the states have migrated in the recent past (within 5 years prior to the survey). A quarter of migrants from both the states have been living at the place of destination for more than 10 years. The mean duration of living abroad is 5.4 years for Punjabis and 6.2 years for Keralites.

One of the limitations of the NFHS data is that it does not provide information on the households from where all the members have emigrated. In another study conducted in Punjab by International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), Mumbai, it is found that a substantial number of houses in many villages of the most emigrating districts of Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur are locked because the entire household has emigrated (mainly to Europe or North America). The palatial houses in the villages, with all modern amenities, constructed by the emigrants emancipate the wealth acquired by them in a foreign land. Such display of wealth is a stimulus

to youngsters to go abroad. Many of them prefer to remain unemployed and wait for a job in a foreign land. The expatriates try to enhance their social status in the village by keeping their big houses guarded by watchmen, which are open only occasionally when somebody from the family visits India to take stock of the property and meet friends and relatives.

On one hand, through the permanent settlement of Indians abroad the country is relieved of some population pressure, and on the other it is a loss of skilled manpower to the country. However, the country gains the much-wanted foreign exchange through remittances sent by the emigrants. They help in national productivity and create a more favourable position of India in terms of its balance of payment. It is believed that the remittances from abroad have contributed a great deal to the Green Revolution in Punjab. The NFHS data show that during the one year period prior to the survey 42 percent of the emigrants from Punjab and 44 percent from Kerala had sent some remittance to their families in the form of cash. The data show that remittance are mainly used by the families on constructing a house, buying land and jewellery. In the Punjab study by IIPS it is found that emigrants send remittances not only for the family, but also contribute to the overall development of their native villages. They provide money for the construction of schools, roads, community centres, Gurdwaras (religious places of Sikhs) and digging of wells and installing pumps for providing drinking water to the community. In fact, when villagers want money for some developmental work, they approach expatriates for help. According to these villagers, Indian Diaspora is always willing to help in all possible ways.

Summary

Emigration from India is on the rise. More than 400 thousand persons are emigrating from the country every year. This helps in reducing unemployment to some extent. A very large majority of these migrants go to the Middle East to work on contractual jobs. The country is being benefited through the remittances sent by the emigrants. During 1997-98 nearly 12 billion US dollars were received in India in the form of cash or kind. These remittances have not only helped in raising the standard of living of the households from where somebody has emigrated, but also helped in the development of the areas from emigration is quite high.

Emigration from Kerala is much higher than from Punjab. Majority of emigrants from Punjab come from one single district, i.e. Jalandhar, whereas emigrants from Kerala originate from a much wider area spread over many districts. Since most of the emigrants from Kerala go to the Gulf countries, where they are not allowed permanent residence, their skills are only a temporary loss to the country. On the other hand, most of the Punjabi emigrants go to the western countries where they seek permanent immigration. Their higher level of skill and education is a permanent loss to the nation. Majority of emigrants from Punjab and nearly half from Kerala work in production and transport related activities. Emigrants are mostly young males and hail from socially and economically better off families. From Punjab, Sikhs and from Kerala, Muslims have a greater stake in emigration.

References

- Bhardwaj, Ajay. 1997. "Travel agents take youth for a ride", *The Times of India*, Oct. 15.
- Chengrong, Duan and Parveen Nangia. 1997. "Emigration from Kerala: Characteristics of Migrants and their Contribution to Household Economy", *IASSI Quarterly*, 16 (3 & 4): 226-257.
- Davis, K. 1951. *Population of India and Pakistan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Desai, R. 1963. *Indian Immigrants in Britain*, Oxford University Press, London.
- Dutta-Sachdeva, Sujata and Bonita Baruah. 2001. "Westward Ho: Passport to a Better Life", *The Sunday Times of India*, January 14.
- Government of India, Ministry of Labour. 1999. *Annual Report 1998-99*, Ministry of Labour, New Delhi.
- Gulati, Leela. 1993. *In the Absence of Their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- International Organisation of Migration. *World Migration Report:2000*.
- Jain, P.C. 1982. "Indians Abroad: A Current Population Estimate", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Feb. 20: 299-304.
- Madhvan, M.C. 1985. "Indian Emigrants: Numbers, Characteristics, and Economic Impact", *Population and Development Review*, 11(3), September, 457-481.

Nair, P.R.G. 1986. *Asian Migration to the Arab World: Migration from Kerala (India)*, A study sponsored by the United Nations University, Tokyo, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandram.

Nair, P.R.G. 1993. *International Labour Migration Statistics in India*, Asian Regional Programme on International Labour Migration, Asian Regional Team for Employment Promotion, International Labour Organization, New Delhi.

Nayyar, D.1994. *Migration Remittances and Capital Flows: The Indian Experience*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Neymark, Kristen and Mario Cervantes. 1996. "Asian Migration to OECD Countries", Migration and Labour Market in Asia: Prospects to the year 2000. OECD Document.

Premi, M.K. and M.D. Mathur. 1995. "Emigration Dynamics: The Indian Context". *International Migration*. 33(1): 627-663.

Sandhu, K.S. 1969. *Indians in Malaya: Some Aspects of their Immigration and Settlement 1786-1957*, Cambridge University Press, London.

Subramanian, Rachna. 2001. "Relocation Blues", *The Sunday Times of India*, January 14.

Zachariah, K.C., E.T. Methew and S. Irudya Rajan. 1999. *Migration in Kerala State, India: Dimensions, Determinants and Consequences*, Working Paper 1, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram.

Zachariah, K.C., E.T. Methew and S. Irudya Rajan. 2001. "Impact of Migration on Kerala's Economy and Society", *International Migration*, 39 (1):63-85.

Table 1
Annual outflow of labour migrants from India, 1976-97

Year	Number of emigrants	Percent of emigrants to Middle East	Year	Number of emigrants	Percent of emigrants to Middle East
1976	4200	na	1987	125356	97.2
1977	22900	na	1988	169844	97.7
1978	69000	na	1989	126786	95.1
1979	171000	na	1990	141816	94.2
1980	236200	na	1991	192003	96.0
1981	276000	na	1992	416784	96.7
1982	239545	93.6	1993	438338	95.5
1983	224995	96.9	1994	425385	95.1
1984	205922	96.4	1995	415334	93.0
1985	163035	98.4	1996	414214	93.7
1986	113649	96.1	1997	416424	92.8

Note: na = not available

Source: World Migration Report:2000 (1976-81, D. Nayyar. 1989. "International labour migration from India: A macro economic analysis" in R. Amjad (ed.) *To the Gulf and Back, Studies on the Economic Impact of Asian Labour Migration*. New Delhi: ILO/ARTEP; 1990-92 S.K. Sasikumar. 1995. "International labour migration in India", *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 4(4): 555-563; 1993-97 *Annual Report*. Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India)

Table 2
Percent distribution of labour flows from India by destination, 1991-97

Country	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Bahrain	4.5	3.9	3.6	3.2	2.7	4.0	4.3
Kuwait	3.7	4.7	6.2	5.7	3.5	3.5	3.2
Oman	11.6	9.8	6.6	5.9	5.4	7.3	7.2
Saudi Arabia	68.2	63.6	61.5	62.5	61.8	51.7	51.5
United Arab Emirates	8.0	14.5	17.6	17.8	19.2	27.2	26.6
Others	3.7	3.3	4.6	4.8	7.0	6.3	7.2

Source: Emigration Division, Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India, 1999.

Table 3**Annual remittances received in India from emigrants, 1980-81 to 1997-98**

Year	Remittances in	
	Rs. (Crores)	US \$ (Millions)
1980-81	2137	2707
1981-82	2083	2333
1982-83	2431	2525
1983-84	2648	2568
1984-85	2982	2509
1985-86	2716	2219
1986-87	2991	2339
1987-88	3533	2724
1988-89	3865	2670
1989-90	3824	2295
1990-91	3711	2069
1991-92	9419	3587
1992-93	8124	2651
1993-94	16513	5265
1994-95	25416	6200
1995-96	28660	8506
1996-97	43968	12367
1997-98	43764	11830

Source: Reserve Bank of India (taken from Ministry of Labour, Government of India, 1999)

Table 4**Characteristics of the households with emigrants from Punjab and Kerala, 1992-93**

Characteristic	Punjab	Kerala
Sex of household head		
Male	2.7	17.9
Female	10.5	31.9
Education of household head		
Illiterate	2.4	15.4
Literate < middle	3.9	21.5
Middle complete	3.4	23.0
High School & above	6.3	25.5
Type of house		
Pucca	5.1	20.1
Semi-pucca	1.4	10.9
Kutcha	-	33.0
Agricultural land		
No land	2.2	18.5
< 1 Acre	2.3	24.0
1-5 Acre	4.2	27.7
6 Acre & above	6.6	26.4
Total % (migrant household)	3.3	20.7
Total households interviewed	3213	4387

Source : National Family Health Survey, 1992-93

Table 5
Characteristics of emigrants from Punjab and Kerala, 1992-93

	Punjab	Kerala
Age		
< 30	54.9	30.8
30-44	32.0	56.9
45-59	11.1	11.4
60+	2.0	0.9
Sex		
Male	84.3	92.8
Female	15.7	7.2
Religion		
Hindu	32.0	36.6
Sikh	68.0	-
Muslim	-	42.2
Christian	-	21.2
Marital Status		
Currently married	66.7	81.6
Separated	-	0.1
Widowed	-	0.2
Never married	33.3	18.1
Education		
Illiterate	8.0	1.2
Literate < Middle	15.3	54.9
Middle	16.0	19.0
High School & above	60.7	24.9

Source : National Family Health Survey, 1992-93

Table 6
Occupational distribution of emigrants from Punjab and Kerala, 1992-93

Type of Work	Punjab	Kerala
1. Production and related workers, transport equipment operators & labourers	59.5	49.1
2. Sales workers	6.5	14.4
3. Clerical workers	3.3	7.8
4. Professional, Technical & related workers (higher level)	1.3	6.4
5. Professional, Technical & related workers (lower level)	1.3	4.6
6. Service workers	4.6	5.4
7. Farming, fishing, hunting & logging	2.0	1.8
8. Administration, executives, managerial	2.0	1.5
9. Others	19.6	9.0

Source : National Family Health Survey, 1992-93

Table 7
Destination of emigrants from Punjab and Kerala and duration of their stay, 1992-93

Country of destination	Punjab	Kerala
USA	10.5	3.8
Canada*	19.6	-
England*	15.0	-
UAE (Dubai)	22.2	25.9
Saudi Arabia**	-	37.8
Oman**	-	11.8
Other Gulf countries	11.1	13.0
Other countries	21.6	7.5
Duration of stay		
< 5 years	56.2	50.8
5-9 years	19.6	24.5
10 or more years	24.2	24.7
Mean duration (years)	5.4	6.2
Sent remittances in past 12 months	42.0	44.0
Total Migrants	153	1302

*Included in others in case of Kerala

**Included in other Gulf countries in case of Punjab

Source : National Family Health Survey, 1992-93