CAUSES FOR MIGRATION OF FISHERMEN

The socio-economic origins of the migrant fishermen are discussed and the nature of fishermen migration traced in the previous chapters. This chapter intends to examine what brought them to the new places or what made them to leave the old places, for fishing activities. For a thorough evaluation of the various forces that motivated them to migrate, an insight into the Indian rural setting, the attitude of the fishermen and the values they nurture mostly is therefore necessary. The love of the fishermen for his native village is so great and the sense of security he derives there from is immense. They like to live in the midst of the relatives in their native land. They develop a profound affinity to the surroundings in which they born. Further cultural ties with the environments are too strong that disruption of inter-personal relationships with near and dear matters much obviously in an act of migration. In such a backdrop it will be interesting to enquire into the various factors responsible for migration of such a large number of fishermen for fishing activities to far off places, hither to unknown to them.

Commenting on the reason for migration from rural to urban areas Kingsley Davis remarked that ‘The glittering life of the city, the faster pace, the greater opportunities, the wider social horizon all have meant little to villagers. He has generally come to the city for one reason only-to find remunerative job’.

Researchers have obtained diverse findings with regard to the importance of push or pull factors. So it necessitates a fresh look to identify the major factors
in labour migration and their comparative significance. The present study has been
planned to focus on this issue. Migration is a highly selective one. However grave
their problems might be, all the fishermen at a particular place of origin may not
choose to migrate. The various forces that make up such selectivity in migration
are enquired into and an attempt has also been made to identify the important
factors influencing migration by fitting a regression model.

5.1 MOTIVES FOR RURAL-OUTWARD MIGRATION – THEORETICAL
   PERSPECTIVE

Explanation for push-pull mechanism of migration has been one of the
major themes of a substantial volume of migration literature. Push and pull theory
was developed in order to explain cause or motive of migration. It was
Revenstein,¹ who started the ball rolling by providing the motivating factors of
migration. He stated that among the different motives, the inherent desire of men
to better themselves in material aspects is the most important in influencing the
decision to migrate.

Following the footsteps of Ravenstein, Stouffer² developed the theory of
‘intervening opportunities’ as the basis of migration, in which he proposed that
there may not necessarily be a relationship between mobility and geographical
distance, as Ravenstein’s law proposed, instead the number of migrants is directly
proportional to the number of opportunities in the distance, is inversely
proportional to the number of intervening opportunities. It was Lee³ who took up
the mantle from Stouffer and put forward a general scheme of migration analysis.
He introduced a simple conceptualization of migration involving a set of factors at
origin and destination and a set of intervening obstacles and a series of personal factors. The forces exerting influence on migrants were divided into pluses and minuses. The former pull them away. There are 'z' and a set of intervening obstacles and a series of personal factors. There are zeros also, in which the competing forces are more or less evenly balanced. The intervening obstacles included distance, cost of transport and restrictive immigration laws.

Migration has become an interdisciplinary subject and researchers usually concentrate on the measurement of the volume of migration neglecting its economic and social consequences. Almost all disciplines are interested in analyzing the consequences and other aspects of migration neglecting its causes. For instance, demographers have largely concentrated on measurement of the volume of migration neglecting its economic and social consequences.

In the opinion of Amal Datta the push-pull theories are concerned mainly with the rural-urban migration, which has also been important in the context of migration. Indeed, the push and pull factors operate not only in respect of rural-urban migration but also in respect of other types of internal as well as international migration. Ashis Bose identified that indeed there is a push back factor in urban areas. In India, for example the urban labour force is sizeable, the urban unemployment rates are high and there also exist pools of under-employed persons. All these factors act in combination as deterrents to the fresh flow of migration from rural to urban areas and are called as 'push back factors'.

In the opinion of Moosa, the factors, which cause migration, can be grouped as voluntary and involuntary. People migrating owing to economic
hardships and move to seek better opportunities falls under voluntary migration. Sometimes migration or mass movements occur out of emergency conditions such as natural disaster, earthquakes, floods, storms, cyclones, famines etc. They are involuntary in nature.

Stressing the importance of transportation development, Subramanian insisted that over the past two decades or so travel facilities and communication either by motor road or railroad have increased with the result those families and kinship groups get pushed out from their native locations and bulge in groups in pulling centers in search of occupations. Thirlwall stated that rural out-migration is a positive function of expected wage differences.

Richard. E. Rhoda came to the conclusion that attractive factors tend to hold people in the areas of pull otherwise unattractive factors may be thought of as push factors. In his opinion development activities in rural areas are designed to increase production and improve the quality of life in rural areas which consequently reduce the propensity for rural out-migration.

Naresh Kumar and Sidhu saw the motives for migration as whether people migrate due to compelling circumstance which push them out of the place of origin or they are lured by the attractive conditions, which can be termed as pull factors in the new place. The factors influencing the decision to migrate are complex in nature. Since migration is a selective process affecting individuals and which contain social, economic, educational and demographic characteristics, the relative importance of economic and non-economic factors may vary not only between nations and regions but also within defined geographic areas and
population. Moreover some of these factors affect most people in much the same way while others affect different people in different ways. It is not necessary that in one area only push or pull factors should operate. In fact, both push and pull factors operate simultaneously in the same area. It is because of this that it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between push and pull factors.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the 'Westward movement' of American farmers played an indispensable part in the development of the vast resources of the interior. A contemporary example of the same kind is provided by 'Eastward' migration of farmers in the development of Soviet Union.

To Simon Kuznets, the higher economic level in the prehistoric phases of the developed countries must have been associated with pattern of population movement. In the olden European countries, which entered the phase of rapid population growth and industrialization in the nineteenth century could have taken advantage of the escape valve provided by migration. He also observed that the acceleration in the volume of migration during the three quarters of a century proceeding World War I was partly due to the easing of inter-continental transportation by steam ships and of inter-continental migration in Europe from East to West and later from South to North by railways.

5.2 THE MOTIVATOR

Social networks in the rural life are usually close-knit and social life in fishermen communities is organised on the basis of personal relations which are of high social value. Most of the people belong to families that have lived within the
same village for generations together. Their occupation, fishing is inherited from their forefathers. Given such a social life, it is thoroughly appropriate to analyse in detail as to who actually motivated migration. The key and vital decision to leave for an alien place required a high degree of caution and consultation. Hence, the objective here is to find out who influences most the decision to migrate, whether it is the respondent himself, the family members, his relatives or friends who had already moved for fishing in such new places.

Table – 5.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Motivator</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Number of migrants</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Colachel</td>
<td>Kodimunai</td>
<td>Thoothor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Migrant himself</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Migrated family members</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Migrated relatives</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Migrated friends</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>64</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey data

Table-5.1 indicates that only 81 (40.5 per cent) fishermen migrated purely on their own accord. This group appears to be motivated by the need for achievement, a desire to do well for the sake of an inner feeling. As such fishermen that fall under this category are rather trend setters who are bent upon tracing new opportunities. They identified the existence of income generating opportunities in fishing outside their village, provided information and contacts for their successor. The remaining fishermen 119(59.5 per cent) on the other hand are motivated and guided either by the relatives or friends or other members of the
family who have migrated earlier. This is because the volume of migration from one specific place to another tends to rise once a small nucleus of persons from the place of origin has established itself in the place of destination.

The influence of relatives already used to migrate at the present places appears to be profound in that 54 (27 per cent) migrants were motivated by them. Besides, relatives and other members of the family constituting 40 (20 per cent) and friends of the migrants constituting 12.5 per cent (25 out of 200) also played a prominent role in encouraging them to migrate. Initial problems of migration at a new place might have warranted preferring places which have already become identified centres of migrants. From this, it can be inferred that the desire to be close to family members’ relatives and friends promotes chain migration which significantly increases the rate of migration.

A village-wise analysis shows that the number of fishermen who migrated on their own accord is relatively large in the case of Colachel and Kodimunai, 26 and 25 out of 200 respectively. The reasons could be proximity of the destination to the place of origin. The success stories of earlier migrants are popular in these villages. These factors helped them to a large extent in the migration process. Similarly in respect of migrants motivated by the relatives, their number is quite large at Thoothoor. From this, it can be inferred that longer the distance involved greater is the preference of the individuals to choose the same place of destination where their relatives had already migrated for fishing activities.

The choice of destination was thus significantly influenced by the relatives and friends already migrated at the place of destination. A few earlier studies on
migration also emphasises that most of the migrants are guided by the kith and kins in the previous migration flows. Greenwood\textsuperscript{12} presented a hypothesis that previous migrants from one region to another exert a magnificent influence on the direction of current migration. In a test on the data of India, he found that migrants have shown strong tendency to move to localities which has previously attracted natives of their region. The study made by Oberoi and Manmohan Singh\textsuperscript{13} also suggests similar trends in respect of motivation of migration.

Migration is primarily motivated by search for occupational opportunities to improve one’s lot in life. The volume and direction are influenced by the existence of such opportunities. Such a search results in the movement of people from low opportunity areas to high opportunity areas. From this emerge two important dimensions. Firstly, the local environment of the migrants at the place of origin offers little chance for growth. Secondly, the opportunities at the place of destination are so attractive as to ensure a better life. Since persons respond differently to the set of negative and positive factors at the place of origin and destination, it goes without saying as has been put by Lee that migration is a highly selective one.\textsuperscript{14} Based on these dimensions push and pull theory in developed to explain the causes for migration. The push and pull attributes of place of origin and destinations are recognized by Bagne.\textsuperscript{15} He suggests that there are positive and negative aspects of migration provoking situation. Migration generally takes place when the positive pull factors at the place of destination out number the negative push factors at the place of origin.
Nevertheless the push and pull factors are inseparable. They are like the 'Siamese twins'. The combined effect of the two forces is analogous to that of the two blades in a scissors. In a scissors, the strength of one blade is not independent of the strength of the other. Similarly, the influence of push factors (forces that drive out the migrants from the old places) is not independent of the influence of pull factors (the forces that induce them to the new frontiers). It is not proper to assume that the fishermen are simply driven out by certain compulsions. No doubt compulsions might be there, but equally instrumental in triggering off the process of migration is the strength of inducements by which the migrants are lured. Likewise, it is meaningless to assume that the fishermen are pulled towards the new places just because of the hope of many inducements there. Equally important is the pressure of the compulsions at the old place that has driven them to the new areas. Mitchell\textsuperscript{16} has distinguished the casual determinants of the incidence of migration, the set of unique circumstances which induce a particular person to leave his place from those underlying conditions of the socio-economic system in which he leaves. In the present study also the push and pull theory as elucidated earlier is relied upon in order to explain the forces behind migration.

5.3 PUSH FACTORS

The push factor involves a force which acts to drive people away from a place and the pull factor is what draws them to a new location. Generally, the situations and inconveniences prevailing in the native village with regard to employment and livelihood compels people to migrate. The factors forcing the fishermen to migrate have been classified into:
5.3.1 Personal Factors

Personal factors include the family conditions of the migrant fishermen. The socio-economic status of the respondent and his family are considered as personal factors in the present study.

Table - 5.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Factors</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colachel</td>
<td>Kodimunai</td>
<td>Thoothor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low income</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment and under employment</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To fulfill self aspirations</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey data

Table - 5.2 shows that for 40 per cent (80 out of 200) of migrants low income in their native place is the primary driving force among the personal factors. The poor economic conditions in the native villages force the fishermen to migrate to other places, where income earning opportunities are brighter. The poor are simply those members of the society whose incomes fall below the standard minimum.
Poverty is another primary factor for 52 (26 per cent) fishermen. They alleged that they could not meet the needs of their family. Poverty is a condition of life so characterised by low standards of living, malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, high infant mortality and low life expectancy as to be beneath any reasonable definition of human decency.\(^7\) In the words of Peter Towsend, ‘Poverty is a situation in that ‘individuals and families whose resources over a time face seriously short of the resources commended by average individual or family in the community in which they live in.’\(^8\) Moreover, 50 (25 per cent) fishermen forced to migrate for want of employment. The higher number of unemployment days at the place of origin forced the fishermen to move outside for additional employment. Yet another reason is underemployment. Underemployment is far worse than unemployment as it degrades the moral and working capacity of the fishermen. In underemployment situation the worker gets some work for a few weeks or even for a few months, but they are forced to remain idle for the rest of the year. This feature is very common in the coastal villages of Kanyakumari district. This paves way for the migration of fishermen from a labour surplus region to labour deficit region. This movement follows a definite calendar every month. It is seen from the table that only 18 (9 per cent) fishermen had stated that they had migrated to fulfill their self aspiration.

5.3.2 Occupational Factors

Employment in the fishing industry is seasonal in nature. Since fishing is an occupation that needs certain specific circumstances, the problems relating to fishing at the place of origin are discussed here.
Table - 5.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Occupational Factors</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Number of migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colachel</td>
<td>Kodimunai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish famine</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky bottom of sea</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncalm sea and tidal waves</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent cyclones</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey data

Table - 5.3 indicates that the nature of uncalm sea and tidal waves constituted 36 per cent (72 out of 200) among occupational factors. Thus this is one of the principal determinants of the rate of migration of fishermen. During the month of July and August there will be big and lengthy tides in the entire coast of Kanyakumari district. If the fishermen enter into the sea after struggling for few hours to earn their daily bread, there is no security to their life and property (crafts and gears). On many occasions they return from the sea loosing their crafts and gears. The ‘Muttom Tragedy’ on the 28th October 1986 was a bitter experience for the extent of risks involved due to big and lengthy tides during some seasons. This situation reduces the number of working days and also increases the replacement cost.

Another primary occupational factor which necessitated the migration of fishermen from Kanyakumari district is the nature of rocky bottom of the sea. As much as 59 (29.5 per cent) migrants told that this is one of the principal determinants of migration to other areas. In most of the fishing villages in
Kanyakumari district, the prevalence of rocky bottom in the near-shore area provides many hardships for the entry and exit of crafts into the sea. In addition to this, to prevent soil erosion and damage of house in the near shore area the state government has laid big stones for over seven kilometers. This prevents the entry of fishermen for fishing. This situation paves the way for the damage of crafts and gears. It often causes heavy capital loss and loss of life also. It increases the repairing and replacement costs and also investment in brand new crafts and gears in the case of wreckage. Yet another primary occupational factor which induced migration of fishermen is fish famine. Out of the total sample migrants, 44 (22 per cent) fishermen stated that ‘fish famine’ is the main thrusting force for their migration. Non availability of fish in different regions of the sea due to various natural and biological changes is considered as fish famine in the present study. After few hours of struggle in the turbulent sea, the fishermen return to shore without any catch. They fail to catch or there will be very poor landings due to fish famine. Moreover, being a living thing fish moves to different places during different seasons. Fishermen from developed countries easily locate fish shoals by using modern techniques like remote sensing. However, the traditional fishermen in the third world countries like India use only outmoded techniques (use of sail and rows only). Out of the 9920 crafts in operation, 5392 (54.35 per cent) were non-motorised crafts.20

Only 25 (12.5 per cent) of the migrants stated that the occurrence of frequent cyclones as a determining factor for their migration. Cyclonic storms often hit the coastal villages every year during months of October, November and December. The fishermen cannot venture into sea for fishing during these seasons.
5.3.3 Family Factors

Factors relating to the family of the migrants also compel migration. They include the large size of the family, indebtedness due to various reasons, family rivalry and also family pressure to earn more income.

Table 5.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Personal Factors</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colachel</td>
<td>Kodimunai</td>
<td>Thoothor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems of large family</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of indebtedness</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family rivalries</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure of family members</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey data

Table 5.4 indicates that 32 per cent of the migrant fishermen (64 out of 200) were forced primarily by indebtedness. Modern civilization has resulted in ostentatious living. Not withstanding the income of the family the fishermen spend lavishly on ceremonial occasions like marriages and other ritualistic affairs. The expenditure of fishermen families on food, clothing, transport, education of the children and for other modern facilities may not be in tune with income of the family. All these result in indebtedness. Once heavy debt is incurred he sees no way to repay it. He feels that the better employment opportunities at destination will enable him to accomplish the task. Fulfillment of the desires of the family members is stated to be the primary reason by 62 (31 per cent) migrants to move
away from their native place. The necessary impetus for migration in the present case was provided by the members of the family such as wife and children.

Increase in the size of the family beyond the earning capacity is another primary factor responsible for migration of 42 (21 per cent) migrants. As explained in the previous chapter, one third of the migrants hailed from joint families. In most of the cases, the size of the family was too large to thrive on with the existing means of income. In such a case the only way out for the members was to separate from the family to destine for a better life. Indian family is not like the nucleus family of the West. Besides parents and a large number of children it includes grand parents, some times great grand parents, widowed aunts, permanently handicapped or disabled members. Most of the studies on migration do suggest that migrants come from relatively large families in which the needs have expanded relative to the local earning capacity.21

Out of the total sample migrants, for 32 (16 per cent) migrants family rivalries was the motivating force. Though not significant in terms of the number of respondents in other factors, this factor is also important. It is held that joint family system lacks cohesion due to conflicts among the members of the family. The attitude of the young man who has a craving for freedom feels oppressed by the hierarchical rigidities. The nature of the youngman's integrity in the society, their quest for independence from traditional authority and discipline, make them to participate in migration.
5.3.4 Local Factors

In addition to the factors discussed above, factors like fishery infrastructure, cost of inputs like ice and water, competition between the traditional and mechanized crafts in the place of origin, known as local factors also compelled migration.

Table – 5.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Factors</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colachel</td>
<td>Kodimunai</td>
<td>Thoothor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High cost of ice and water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of landing, anchoring and berthing facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition between MCs and MBs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey data

Table-5.5 shows that lack of landing, anchoring and berthing facilities was the main local factor for 73 (36.5 per cent) migrants to migrate from Kanyakumari district. The mechanized boats need necessary landing, anchoring and berthing facilities to carry out loading and unloading activities in fishing. Such facilities are helpful to the fishermen to carry out with ease their routine activities in fishing. However, such facilities are not available for the mechanized boat fishermen in Kanyakumari district at present. Another driving force is the non-availability of fishing harbour facility in Kanyakumari district. At present the district is having one minor fishing harbour at Chinna Muttom. This harbour is insufficient and not...
provided with facilities necessary to accommodate more than 1000 mechanised
boats operating in this district.

Yet another primary local factor for 61 (30.5 per cent) migrant fishermen
which forced them to migrate from Kanyakumari district is the high cost of ice and
water. Fish is a highly perishable commodity. The fishermen stay in the distant
seas for days together in search of fishes. To preserve the catches for many days
the mechanized boats need huge quantity of ice cubes to chill them. Chilling is a
process of reducing the temperature of foods including sea foods, so as to stem the
deterioration of their quality\(^22\). However, the availability of ice is inadequate.
Frequent power cuts often disrupts the normal functioning of the ice plants, which
further worsens the situations. Even if the fishermen get necessary quantity of ice
cubes they have to pay very high price for the same. On an average every
mechanized boat needs 1600 kgms. of ice per trip.

Every mechanized boat needs on an average 3000 litres of water per trip.
Water is used to clean the gears and to meet the requirements of the fishermen in
the day-to-day activities, while they are staying in the sea. Since there are no
facilities to fill the mechanized boats with water, water is costlier to them.
Moreover, pure water is scarce in the coastal villages. Out of 47 Coastal Villages
30 are facing drinking water shortage.\(^23\) This situation may be attributed to the
diversion of funds allotted under integrated drinking water supply to coastal
villages to other developmental purposes in the interior villages.
5.4 PULL FACTORS

So far, the compulsions or the push factors for migration of fishermen are discussed. Equally or sometimes more significant are the factors that pulled or induced them to migrate. Mostly they relate to the facilities at the destination centres. However pressing might be the compulsions, migration does not take place unless the fishermen are hopeful of better opportunities at destination. The push and pull factors for migration are so inter twined that the influence of which factor is greater cannot be ascertained accurately. This is because the degree of intensity to migrate may vary from individual to individual and from time to time. However, the result of all these factors whether compulsions or inducements is the movement of people from low opportunity areas to high opportunity areas.

5.4.1 Personal Inducement

Personal factors inducing fishermen migration mostly relate to the personality of the individual. They refer to various aspects regarding how he perceives the material aspects in the new environment. On the basis of such perception in the things around him, the fishermen plan his endeavour in a way to achieve the goals.
Table - 5.6

PERSONAL FACTORS INDUCING THE FISHERMEN TO MIGRATE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal factor</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Number of migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colachel</td>
<td>Kodimunai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Ambition to become rich</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) urge to achieve success in occupation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Success story of early migrants</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey data

Table-5.6 shows that the success of earlier migrants in their attempt to get more employment and income has induced 120 (60 per cent) migrants to migrate followed by ambition to become rich (21 per cent) and urge to achieve success in their occupation (19 per cent).

a) Success stories of early migrants

Success stories of early migrants induced 120 (60 per cent) fishermen to migrate. However, it does not mean that mere migration brings fortunes. Here and there a few cases of failures are also not uncommon. But by and large, since it is highly selective one, fishermen resort to migrate only after properly weighing the relative merits and demerits involved. The influence of early migrants was so profound because a great majority followed them. The streams are directed to different coastal regions in various states in different periods of time depending upon the fishing seasons. During the initial period in the sixties the volume of migration was mild and it picked up generally in the later years. Thus, it can be
inferred that the place of destination continued contacts with the places of origin and promoted migration by encouraging others left behind to follow them.

As revealed in the earlier section of this chapter 59.5 per cent of the fishermen are motivated by relatives, friends and other family members who have already migrated to the new fishing centres (see Table-5.1) The visits of the early migrants to the places of origin provide a lot of information to the prospective migrants. Quite naturally in the process, people at the place of origin become familiar with the alluring success made by them. The prosperity of the neighbour next door to him will undoubtedly arouse so much interest in anybody. The seed of the idea of migration is thus sown in the minds of the people at the place of origin. As has also been explained in the beginning of the present chapter, wherever migration takes place a few in the beginning initiate it to be followed by a large number of people later, provided the prosperity is assured of, which is normally perceived by the success of the earlier migrants.

b. Ambition to become rich

‘Ambition to become rich’ is the primary personal factor that induced 42 (21 per cent) migrants. It must be noted that ambition is not something which is akin to greed or windfall. Greed results in disaster and windfall makes one a speculator. The lack of ambition among the people in most of the developing and underdeveloped nations is one of the causes attributed by Galbraith for their backwardness.23 Thus the biggest obstacle to progress in India also is deemed to be the limited aspirations of her people.24
c) Urge to achieve success in Occupation

As much as 19 per cent (38 out of 200) of the migrant fishermen stated that the motivating force which induced their migration is the urge to achieve success in their occupation, fishing. The common saying ‘aimless life is goalless game’ emphasizes the importance of such a motive. Thus, this motive nourishes the achievement motivation, brings in economic growth, and brings in development not in any one segment of the economy but it results in total growth.

A strong spirit of emulation or a high ‘demonstration effect’ occurs only where some people are currently demonstrating the effects of additional effort or risk-taking. If life in the village has been much of the same for generations and no one in the village has before him the picture of people moving to ever higher standards of living through their willingness to risk-taking the expenditure of additional effort or the acceptance of additional risk will seem rather absurd.^^

5.4.2 Occupational Inducement

Success in migration depends not only on an individual’s motivation and his abilities but also on a permissive environment which provide incentives and opportunities for the aspirant migrants. As such, it is time to focus attention on the various attractions of the place of destination that lured the migrant fishermen.
Table - 5.7

OCCUPATIONAL FACTORS INDUCING THE FISHERMEN TO MIGRATE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational factor</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colachel</td>
<td>Kodimunai</td>
<td>Thoothor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of ice, water</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of fuel</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of landing, anchoring berthing facilities</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of fishing harbour</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey data

Table -5.7 reveals that the availability of fishing harbour at destination is the primary occupational factor that pulled 80 (40 per cent) migrants. The availability of fishing harbour facilities at destination point makes it easier to unload the catches and to transport them to different locations with in very limited time. Further, the availability of these facilities helps the fishermen in loading the mechanized boats with the required fishing gears and other necessities such as ice and water, and to unload the catches without much difficulty. The existence of landing, anchoring and berthing facilities in the destination places constituted the pull factor for 27.5 per cent (55 out of 200) of the migrants. This in turn will help to increase the number of fishing trips. As already seen, these facilities are not available at present in the coastal areas of Kanyakumari district.
The next important factor which induced the migration of fishermen from Kanyakumari district is the availability of ice and water at the destinations. As much as 16.5 percent (33 out of 200) migrants told that this is an important factor which pulled them towards other areas. As already seen the facilities for the required supply of ice and water are almost nil for the mechanized boats in the district.

Yet another pull factor which induced the migration of fishermen to various coastal states is the non-availability of facilities for fuelling the mechanized boats. 32 (16 per cent) fishermen stated that there are no direct fuelling facilities for boats in the coastal areas. Since the mechanized boats have to be fuelled directly by diesel bunks at the sea-shore itself such facilities are very important. At present there are no direct fuelling facilities for mechanized boats in Kanyakumari district. Fishermen use hundreds of plastic barrels to head-load diesel from the diesel bunks. They are carried to the mechanized boats by vallams. Such a process is time consuming and costlier. Thus, it can be concluded that the availability of fishing harbour, and facilities for landing, anchoring and berthing are the predominant factors that attracted many fishermen to other coastal States.

5.5 FACTORS INFLUENCING FISHERMEN MIGRATION

Fishermen in general migrate to other States after the mechanization process has been strengthened through liberal credit from formal credit agencies. To identify the important factors which force fishermen to migrate the following regression model has been built.
5.5.1 Regression Model

To identify the significant variables influencing fishermen migration the following six variables have been used: family size \((X_1)\), number of working days at the place of origin \((X_2)\), income at the place of origin \((X_3)\), number of working days at the place of destination \((X_4)\), income at the place of destination \((X_5)\) and debt \((X_6)\). Of them family size, income at the destination and debt are significant. The remaining variables are insignificant. Family size and income at the destination influence migration positively. However, debt influences migration negatively. This implies that as migrated members increase, debt decreases. The six variables taken together are capable of explaining 68 percentages of variations in the dependent variable.

### Table 5.8

**FACTORS INFLUENCING FISHERMEN MIGRATION**

*(Result of the Regression Model)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Regression Coefficients</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-0.495</td>
<td>0.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Size</td>
<td>0.073*</td>
<td>0.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWDO</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YO</td>
<td>-4.25E-006</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWDD</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YD</td>
<td>1.01E-005*</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt</td>
<td>-6.54E-006*</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at one per cent level.

In the next stage, the three insignificant variables are dropped and the three significant variables are retained. In this case also family size and income at the destination positively influences migration of fishermen. Debt influences negatively. These three variables alone capable of explaining 67 percentage of variations in the dependent variable. Omission of three insignificant variables has
not reduced much the value of adjusted $R^2$ and the explanatory capacity of the model.

Table 5.9

**FACTORS INFLUENCING FISHERMEN MIGRATION**

(Result of the Regression Model)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Regression Coefficients</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>0.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Size</td>
<td>0.074*</td>
<td>0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YD</td>
<td>9.28E-006*</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt</td>
<td>-6.60E-006*</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at one per cent level.

5.6 THE DIRECTION OF MIGRATION

The directions of people's movements have always been guided by their specific needs of the time. During the hunting stage when the people led more or less nomadic life migration of human beings was constantly in search of rich hunting grounds. In the pre-transitional stage of development of a country where settled living become the way of life, migratory movements assumed a definite and regular path and migration of people took place from rural to another rural area in search of rich pastures and fertile land for cultivation and with the advent of modern transport and communication, as the country entered early transitional stage of development the movements of people were directed from rural to urban areas. In the later transitional stage of development of a country, people are encouraged to migrate in large numbers from smaller towns to big and specialized metropolitan cities in search of employment opportunities. In super advanced stage of a country the migration is mostly from urban to rural areas. The rising cost
of living in mega cities and pollution in urban areas, forces people to undertake reverse migration in modern days. In recent times people migrate to the countryside to enjoy the luxury of a second home away from smog and urban congestion.

Lee introduced a simple conceptualization of migration involving a set of factors at origin and destination and also a set of intervening obstacles and a series of personal factors. The forces exerting influence on migrants were divided into pluses and minuses. The former pull individuals towards them and the latter tend to drive them away. There are zeros also in which the competing forces are more or less evenly balanced. The intervening obstacles included distance, cost of transport and restrictive immigration laws. The set of factors at origin and destination and intervening obstacles were schematically depicted below.

**Fig. 5.1 Factors Influencing Migration and Intervening Obstacles**

![Diagram of factors influencing migration and intervening obstacles]


### 5.7 CONSTRAINTS TO FISHERMEN MIGRATION

The fisher folk belong to a self-activating community. This particular section of population is rooted in their ancestral coastal soil and has greater apathy to spatial or occupational mobility. Further, a vast majority of the fishermen
reside in independent households scattered over the entire length and breadth of the seashores, a pattern quite different from the clustered interior villages of the rest of India. In addition to these, there prevailed absence of population pressure in the coastal soil. Even though high birth rates prevailed, death rates have also been equally high due to epidemics like cholera, malaria and infant mortality. The low degree of monetization and social rigidities also acted as constraints on migration of fishermen. The fishermen also suffered from social disabilities such as palatability and immovability, lack of right to own land or other property for centuries together. In spite of the fact that several fishing communities have accepted a religion, which proclaims the equality of man, even in these groups they found themselves on the lowest rung of the social ladder, despised, rejected and considered inferior. Lack of transport facilities acted as another constraint for migration. The fisherfolk found it difficult even to market their catches. Since fish is highly perishable even some of the local markets were not easily accessible for them. It is stated that nearly 80 to 90 per cent of the produce was carried by head load for miles even during the second decade of the 20th century.

The greater access to communication and transport had widened the scope for employment opportunities in distant waters spread around the peninsular India, the Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal. Fishermen started to move to these areas where fish was available in plenty. It is said that the tendency of spatial mobility has existed among fisherman from time immemorial. However, the technological and scientific developments and subsequent changes in fishing reinforced the tendency for migration only from the second half of the twentieth century.
REFERENCES


7. Subramaniyan, R (1986), ‘Social Change in Rural Communities’ in Thekamalai (Editor) ‘The Process and Effects of Modernisation in Indian Rural Communities’, No.59, Tamil University, Thanjavur, p.23.


