CHAPTER – II

REIVIEW OF LITERATURE
Migration of men from India to abroad is a common phenomenon from 1950's. There is temporary migration, seasonal migration and permanent migration. The international migration from India during the post-independence period may be divided into two phases. The first phase took place during 1950's and 1960's. People with administrative, technical and professional qualifications and experience migrated in search of better jobs and prospects. The principal destinations were the United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada and on a small scale, to Western Europe, Australia and African countries. The second phase of migration began in the mid-1970's toward the oil-rich Middle East countries. Available information suggests that the migrants from Kerala are about 50 to 60 percent of the total Indian migrants in the Middle East. Kerala also accounts for the major share of total remittances from the Gulf by all the Indians together.

There are very few literature and research works available on the Impact of male migration on the families left behind. And whatever literature is available is on the economic issues and health issues of the family members of the male migrants. Research on social and psychological issues of the woman and children of the male migrant are very few or non existent. But the economic issues and health issues can be useful to understand the psychological and social issues related to family members underlying the male out migration. The review of literature includes research work and literature from all around the world and is not restricted to the Indian society.

Impact of male migration on women

Zachariah(1998) observed that the main impact taking place in the migrants' household are brought through remittances and their utilization. Therefore, remittance is an important intermediate determinant of the consequences. This is also a migration-promoting factor.
One of the priority items of disposition of an emigrants' savings was improvement of the quality of his housing. A significant part of the remittances are used for the education of their children. But the average number of years of schooling of the members of the non-migrant households is found to be higher than that of the emigrant households. Sex, age, marital status, education, occupation, community, etc. are some of the factors that will promote migration selectivity. Although the study had covered some comparisons between migrants and non-migrants, it is observed that the difference between migrants and non-migrants is a “mixture of selectivity and consequence”. Therefore it is not possible to differentiate between the two.

Migration involves a minimum of two areas, namely, the area of origin and the area of destination. Thus the study concludes that at a place of origin, the framework of the determinants of migration from Kerala State include four elements: demographic expansion, agricultural stagnation, educational expansion, and the failure of the state level institutions to provide the required support and milieu for growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors in the state.

At the destination, in the metropolitan cities of India and in the Gulf countries, what Kerala lacked in terms of employment opportunities was available in large measure. In brief, migration is one of the positive outcomes of the Kerala model of development.

Nair gives a detailed account of the Government policies, along with performance and prospects of returned migrants. Returned migrants are in general, middle-aged persons with low levels of education, skills and experience. After return one-half remain unemployed and of the other half, a few retire from active work and the rest enter into self-employment, mostly in the services sector, or get into salaried job, or become wage labour in agriculture or fishing. The study also states that these returned migrants are receiving little assistance from the State Government or any other institution for rehabilitation and development. The socio-political and economic climate in the state has remained unfriendly to investment. Also, there are a variety of constraints such as
scarcity of land, segmentation of the labour market, wage rates much higher than labour productivity, militant trade-unionism, political ideology inimical to the growth of the private capitalist sector and inadequacy of the energy and transport infrastructure. Loss making, public capitalist sector enterprises have discouraged returned migrants from entrusting their savings with Government and other fake private sector enterprises. The study had been concluded with an optimistic hope that the novel experiment, peoples’ participation programmes begun for local level developments will lead to immense possibilities of development in the state, by offering new opportunities for channeling the development potential of the returned migrants into productive investments³.

Nair (1998) provides the trends and Government policies of migration to the Middle East from India and from Kerala in particular. In this context, he says that while the Gulf boom of 1973 had provided opportunities for Indians, these opportunities were grasped more readily by Keralites than by persons from other parts of India. As the flow increased so rapidly by the second half of 1970's, many academics studied the various aspects of the phenomenon. These studies were based on micro-level sample surveys of households in emigration pockets in different parts of Kerala, mainly to analyze the socioeconomic characteristics of the emigrants' households. Some other surveys were also carried out by the Government of Kerala in 1987, 1992-93, respectively. The Government of Kerala conducted a sample household survey in the 14 districts of the state canvassing 42,367 households, which collected detailed information on all phases of the migration processes such as volume, periodicity and disposition of remittances. Nair (1986) observed that emigrants normally come from relatively large families. Emigration to the Middle East is a 'chain' process, those already abroad helping emigration of relatives and friends through financial support, advice on job and providing with job visas. The incidence of emigration is found to be largely region and community specific. Most of the migrants are poor, with few assets at the time of first migration. Majority of the recent studies reveal that it is the not-so extremely poor and the not-so-extremely rich, who participate actively in the emigration process. But earlier studies had noted that most migrants came from poor, rural facilities (Mathew and Nair, 1978).
Studies indicate the age profile of Kerala emigrants to the Middle East has remained almost unchanged. The major positive result of Gulf migration in Kerala has been at the micro-level; improvement of consumption levels, housing conditions and the asset levels of individual households. The Government of Kerala does not have any policy in respect of migration. It does not even keep reliable information about the magnitudes involved, such as the number of migrants abroad, the number of returned migrants, details of working and living conditions in the countries of work, problems faced by their households, volumes of remittances received, etc. It is the Government of Kerala, which benefited more directly from migration than the Central Government. Migration has helped to reduce the proportion of population below the poverty line and improve the standard of living in thousands of households in an inhospitable domestic environment of stagnant production and incomes, mounting unemployment and serious resource constraints.

John P. Mencher conducted a study on female headed / female supported households in rural areas in Tamil Nadu and Kerala. This study focuses on female supported as well as female-headed households. This study is primarily concerned with the question of the question of the survival of the households. Here the study concentrated on the female-headed households not only due to migration only, but due to other reasons too. After selecting the sample into two categories, landless and land-owned, 15 case studies were also conducted to support the findings of the major study. The conclusion of the study revealed that the existence of land or other assets does not prevent a woman from becoming the sole support and the head in the household. What does play a part is whether or not the couple is embedded in a larger, extended household. In the case of landless, most of them are exceptionally poor, except for the rare case where a son sends remittances. Many cannot compete in the market for agricultural labour because of age. So they survive either working in the home of a middle-class family or begging. There are about 20 million female-headed / female supported households in India when we take a conservative estimate. They are not all elderly widows. Some are young with small children, some with small children resulting from desertion, divorce, or husbands
working away from home. Not all have been female-headed throughout the life of the household, but many have been for a significant period of time.

Zachariah, Mathew and Rajan (2000) observed that by the year 2000, there would be an increase in migration inflows and a decrease in migration outflows. According to a data of 1998, out of the total 63.5 lakhs families in Kerala, there are 37.5 lakhs emigrants. This means that we have 60 emigrants from every 100 families. International migration was at an increased rate in 1970's. During the periods from 1988 to 1992 and from 1993 to 1997 there were 120% increase in the number of migrants from Kerala. About 95% of the Keralite emigrants are in the Middle East countries. Of these, Saudi Arabia has 40%, Dubai has 11.2% and migration to United States of America is only 2.2%. Kerala is also receiving a huge amount of money from these Malayali emigrants. 35,304 million rupees were remitted in the year 1998 alone, by these emigrants. The state is also receiving other valuable items like gold, clothes, electrical and electronic goods, etc., through the emigrants.

Gulati (1973) observes how the phenomenon of male migration affects the women left behind, how they respond to the situations thus created and what strategies they adopt in order to survive in the absence of their men. She classified the impact of migration in the household into long and short terms. Short-term impacts are those felt by the household immediately after the migrant leaves home, and long-term impacts are those felt in course of a few years especially after the initial migration costs are covered. The impact of migration on a family was a dynamic process, which kept constantly changing with the length of migrant’s stay abroad. With the passage of time, women took on increasing responsibilities for managing the household activities. As a result women’s isolation decreases thereby increasing their mobility, which in turn widens their outlook. All these experiences resulted in gaining self-confidence. The study concluded that time seems to be a greater resolver of difficulties for most of the women in whose instances the case studies were conducted. This does not mean that there is no problem at all. But the study shows that failures are less than success. The case studies support the fact that these women are more than capable of dealing with tasks that traditionally men have excluded.
them from. In a very few cases she has observed that some of them even take up income-generating activities.

T.V. Shekar (1990) is of the opinion that the women left behind, adjusted very well to the challenges brought by male migration. Women gained self-confidence, self-esteem and better status within the family. The general assumption that the absence of the husbands may lead to family disruption was not substantiated by the findings of this study. During their difficult times, the relatives provided necessary help. After the return of the migrant husbands, it was observed that the wives participated in decision making, but the execution of major household activities were taken over by their husbands. Thus migration had resulted in a more capable woman and a better understanding in the family after the migrants' return. This has an important sociological relevance.

Zachariah and Rajan (1998) reveal that one of the major impacts of migration on women was separation from husbands who emigrated or moved to other States in India, leaving their wives and children at home. The number of married men and women in the sample totaled 10,712 and 12,253, respectively, giving an excess of 1,541 married females. The difference, as a proportion of the number of married women, that is, husband-wife separation ratio (HWSR), was 12.6 per cent. Thus, a minimum of 12.6 per cent of the married women in Kerala were living apart from their husbands. Applying the ratio to the total number of married females in the State, 981,000 married women in Kerala were living apart from their husbands.

There is one special group of women called Gulf Wives in the study. The term Gulf wives refers to married women whose husbands are, or have been migrants. They include women whose husbands were migrants at the time of the survey and whose husbands had returned after migration to the Persian Gulf countries.

The impact of migration on Gulf wives has made itself felt in several ways, but principally through remittances and husband-wife physical separation. Remittances have brought in considerable income to Gulf wives and their households. Increased income has led to several changes in lifestyle and consumption patterns, such as ownership of land,
housing and household amenities; the nutritional and health status of the members of the households; social status, as reflected in the relationship of the family and the community; and the quality of children’s education. Women who had previously been accustomed to a protected lifestyle have been called upon to take charge of a number of household tasks, both within the house and outside it, as a result of their husband’s migration. Women who had been unaccustomed to handling large sums of money have become responsible for the financial management of the household. They have had to open bank accounts and approach public offices for a variety of purposes. Women who have succeeded in taking on the additional responsibilities have developed new expertise and self-confidence. They have become more autonomous and have risen in social status. Others who have failed to rise to the challenge have become targets of displeasure among their husbands and other members of their families and have even developed social and psychological problems.

The impact of migration on women can be positive, negative or both, depending on the ability and background, as well as the family environment in which the women are placed. A starting point for examining the impact is provided by the answers given by Gulf wives to the question about problems they have faced and the benefits they have received from the migration of their husbands. All the Gulf wives in the sample were asked a general question about the good and the bad things they had experienced as a result of the migration of their husbands. They were asked to list three good experiences and three bad experiences in their order of importance. Loneliness is by far the leading problem, followed by added responsibilities, indebtedness owning to loans raised at the time of emigration, inadequate financial returns from emigration, and anxiety.

Reeta Sonawat observed that migration has fundamental implication for women and children. They suffer when the male migrates either alone or with them. The kinship network is broken and the traditional skills are no longer useful in the urban economy (Desai, 1995b). However, it has also been suggested that rather than family disintegration, male migration could lead to more capable and self confident women. This analysis is based on three factors: guardianship of family, residential arrangement, and management.
of major household activities. Nevertheless, it has been observed that after the return of
the emigrant husbands, although the wives continue to participate in decision making, the
execution of major household activities was taken over by their male counterparts
(Sekhar, 1996)\(^\text{17}\).

Ravi Srivastava & S.K.Kumar report that migration has had significant consequences on
poverty levels. Zachariah et al (2002b) reports that migration has had a very significant
impact on the proportion of population below the poverty line in Kerala during the 1990s.
The study notes that the proportion has declined by over 3 percentage points as a result of
remittances received by Kerala households from abroad. It is important to note that the
largest decline has been in the case of the relatively economically backward sections of
people belonging to the Muslim community, the decline being over 6 percentage points.
Another prominent impact, which migration, especially, male migration to the Middle
East, has had, is in relation to the effects on women left behind. This is especially so in
the case of those who are married. A number of studies conducted during the past three
decades have concluded that one of the major problems encountered by wives of
emigrants is loneliness. The extent of such loneliness is reported to be more severe
among younger wives whose husbands migrated immediately after the marriage. Such
solitude had given rise to mental tension in the wives of those migrated during the 1970s
and 80s. Such mental tensions seem to have been reduced in the 1990s. This could
mainly be attributed to the availability of quicker means of communication, new
responsibilities, roles, and leisure activities for women\(^\text{18}\).

Archana K Roy & Parveen Nangia reports that in developing countries like India,
usually rural to urban migration is the most dominant pattern of internal migration. Males
who are pushed by structural poverty and enter in migration streams as a survival strategy
dominate this migration pattern. While male migration provides economic relief to their
families, left behind wives have to bear the burden of increasing responsibilities of
managing their households, and meet social expectations, which leads to greater mental
stress. Invariably they have to look forward to help from others for outdoor and essential
jobs. At the same time, due to disruption of social ties and family life that occur during
moves, especially in a situation of poverty and crisis, there is an increased risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) as many migrants find new sex partners at the place of destination. Such migrants become carriers of STIs and make their wives more vulnerable to such infections when they visit their homes.

In this study the researchers attempt to examine social well-being, mental stress and physical health, especially reproductive health, of left behind wives of male out-migrants and compares them to the wives of non migrants. The study is based on a survey of 354 left behind wives and 192 wives of non-migrants conducted in 2001. The results of multivariate analysis show that left behind wives of migrants are more likely to have greater stress and report the symptoms of reproductive morbidity. Thus for small economic gains, the left behind wives of migrants have to pay a heavy price in terms of physical and mental stress. They accept it as their fate and a must for survival of their families.

This study considers health as physical health in general and reproductive health in particular, measures mental well being in terms of stress, and social well being in terms of support received from family and friends.

The objectives of this study were to examine the impact of male out migration on health status of their left behind wives in the context of (a) physical health, as increase in workload has its toll on the health of women; and reproductive health, since sexual contacts of husbands at the place of destination may make their wives vulnerable to STIs, (b) social well being, as women’s dependence on others goes up when husband is away, and (c) mental stress, as the responsibilities and anxieties are likely to increase in the absence of husband. It is hypothesized that left behind wives of migrants undergo greater mental stress and are more vulnerable to STIs in comparison to the wives living with their husbands (wives of non-migrants). This study is based on primary data collected in 2001 from nine migration prone villages located in two districts of Bihar.

Migration of males directly affects the economic status of their wives through receipt of
remittances. It also enhances their decision-making power. At the same time, increase in workload affects the physical condition of women. Due to migration of husbands, women headed 44 percent of the migrant households. Women were asked about their routine work in the peak agricultural season and lean agricultural season. Contrary to expectations, a relatively higher proportion of wives of non-migrants were engaged in agriculture and livestock activities in comparison to the left behind wives of migrants. This might be because of shortage of working members in their households. In 22 percent of the migrant households land had been given for shared cropping. In many cases, parts of remittances might have been used for hiring labourers for agricultural work. Many migrants also return to their homes to work in their fields during peak agricultural season.

While interpreting the results it should be kept in mind that as per the socio-cultural norms of traditional rural society in Bihar, engagement of a woman in outdoor work is considered as an indicator of low status of the family in the society.

Apart from this, absence of husband increases the responsibility of managing the household affairs such as financial crisis, education and health related problems of children, and additional work. In non-migrant households most of the decisions are taken by husband, whereas in case of migrant households, independent decisions, particularly related to seeking treatment during sickness, and education of children are taken by left behind wives. Women involvement in decision-making is a positive sign of their autonomy, but when they are forced to take that role in the absence of husband, they might have to undergo severe mental stress, as they are illiterate and less exposed to the outside world in a male dominated society. In such a situation their dependence on others like family members and friends increases even for petty things. In the absence of husband, relatives and friends provide social support. More than half of the left behind wives reported that they depend for outdoor jobs on their fathers-in-law or brothers-in-law

Gulati (1993) also found that in the absence of their husbands, left behind wives of gulf migrants were dependent on close relatives. Presence of adult males in the family
provided left behind wives a kind of protective umbrella and saved them from potential exploitation. For seven percent of the left behind wives neighbours provided help in outdoor chores, but 16 percent of them had to do such jobs by themselves. One exhausted woman said, I have to work like a man and do all the manual work myself, such as preparing channels for irrigation, repairing roof of my house, etc. Nearly one-fifth of the left behind wives perceive dependency on others as a major problem. In the absence of any supportive male member in the family, they have to repeatedly request others for help in the work related to agriculture, marketing, buying medicines or fulfilling social obligations. At times they have to accept whatever others demand in lieu of help. In the process, sometimes they get cheated or do not get satisfactory services. The common opinion of such women is expressed in the following words. I have to depend upon others for everything. Had my husband been here he would have taken care of everything.

Increasing workload and lack of social support lead to mental stress. Figure shows that the prevalence of irritation and depression/sadness is very high in both migrant and non-migrant groups. Whereas, there is not much variation in the prevalence of irritation for small reasons and suicidal tendency between the two groups, depression and feeling of loneliness are remarkably high in the left behind women. The study shows that a significantly higher proportion of left behind wives are under greater stress (51%) compared to wives of non-migrant household (37%). Further, it is found that mental stress is higher across all the subgroups of left behind wives in comparison to wives of non-migrant households except for perception about husband extra marital relations. Time of migration, number of visits and duration of stay do not affect the prevalence of mental stress among the left behind wives. The result of multiple regression analysis clearly demonstrate that mental stress is significantly higher among left behind wives than wives of on-migrants. The effect of migration of husband increases the mental stress of left behind wives by 0.98 units. Among all the women mental stress was significantly higher for those who belonged to the lower economic class, who earned to supplement their family income, who faced conflict in the family related to sharing of money, who reported having more worries, and the philandering nature of their husbands like drinking and visiting other women.
Work status of women is positively related in both the groups, but it is significant only for left behind wives. It implies that working for wages significantly increases mental stress on left behind wives. The number of worries is positively and significantly related with mental stress for both the groups. Similarly, suspected extra marital relations of husband significantly increase mental stress on both non-migrant and left behind wives. The women whose husbands have a drinking habit are significantly more stressed than women whose husbands do not drink, irrespective of the migration status of the husband. In case of left behind wives, conflict with other family members over sharing of cash (remittances) results in a significantly higher mental stress.

Thus, among left behind wives, women who worked for the sustenance of family, had more number of worries, faced conflict with other family members in sharing remittances, and whose husbands were alcoholic and had extra marital relations suffered more from mental stress. But, time of migration, frequency of visit of migrants and their duration of stay at home have no significant effect on mental stress of women.

Male out-migration from the poverty stricken areas in Bihar has a long history. The poor men migrate mainly in search of jobs. Remittances provide relief from poverty to some extent but the absence of husband from the household has an impact on the lives of women. Contrary to expectation, a majority of these women retain their traditional role of caregivers, remain within the premises of their houses and bear a lower workload than the wives of non-migrants, partially because of their family support.

On the other hand, in the absence of husband, their responsibilities regarding their children's health and education, social expectation and dependency on others, even for minor jobs increases. Those who do not get any support, fight a lonely battle caring for their children and elders. Added to the absence of husband are emotional crisis, non-cooperative behaviour of relatives, drinking habit and extra marital relations of migrant husband, which make their condition worse and increase their mental stress. The
The prevalence of any reproductive morbidity (RTIs/STIs) among left behind wives is found to be significantly higher, although perceived risky sexual behaviour of migrants does not show a direct effect on left behind wives' reproductive morbidity. But women whose husbands migrate towards the western part of India (Maharashtra and Gujarat) and whose husbands migrate after five or more years of marriage are more likely to report symptom of any RTIs/STIs. This indirectly points towards the open culture in western part of India. Based on the sentinel data, National AIDS Control Organization (NACO) has found that prevalence of HIV is high in this region. This indicates that the migrants are more likely to have sexually transmitted infections, and in turn, more likely to transmit these infections to their wives. Another important finding is that reporting of any RTI/STI symptom is more among the women from higher SLI group. In a nutshell, one can say that migration of men provides some economic relief to their families, but the women have to pay a heavy price in the form of excessive physical and mental stress. It does not improve the health status of left behind women; rather, it puts them at a greater risk of developing mental stress and acquiring STDs and HIV.

Gulati (1987) found out that although women are involved in the preparations prior to their men's migration, their involvement does not end there. It is subsequent to actual migration that their involvement increases and can extend to several years of shouldering responsibility and includes making many sacrifices. In coping with this situation, women's age and the stage of material life-cycle at the time of migration are quite important.

In case of young wives many husbands migrate within a year of their marriage and they have not had time to conceive or bear a child. They also include girls who are married to Gulf boys' (unmarried men already working in West Asia) in the course of one of their short home visits. These visits are usually of duration of four to eight weeks. These girls hardly have time to know their men who disappear from the scene for long periods of time.
The few weeks that their men spend with them are socially very hectic and not emotionally rewarding. In one of case studies she has done the girl spent only a week with her husband. She moved constant watch and scrutiny by her in-laws. Her parent gave a dowry in cash specifically to cover a major portion of the boy's migration expenses. That was the condition on which the marriage was agreed upon. Still, the girl felt she had to keep everyone in her husband's house in good humour. That is how her own parents had advised her. Since she hardly knew her husband, the only way she could make certain that her marriage lasted was to keep her in-laws happy. If she had known her husband longer or if she had a child from him, things would have been somewhat better. But she had to rely altogether on the good will of her in-laws.

No less difficult in the separation of these young brides is the emotional side which gets aggravated in strange and less 'friendly environments. Unlike the one-week bride who came from a Muslim household, she studied about two young high caste Hindu brides who opted to stay with their own parents, of course with the consent of their husbands. Both these girls had been given a dowry at the time of marriage, but that did not come in the way of their parents agreeing to their continuing to stay with them after marriage. Among the Nairs, a matriarchal caste to which these two girls belong, it is not uncommon for the girls to continue to stay with their own parents even after marriage. It is the husband who then moves into the girl’s house. Both these girls have a decided advantage in the sense that they are living in a familiar and friendly social environment. That itself should enable them to cope better with their problems.

The older women and those with children often stay with their in-laws. Unlike the young brides, they are better equipped to cope with the problems of separation from their husbands. At least the environment is not unfamiliar, whatever be the relationships they have with their in-laws. Also, having to cope with children (without the support of the husband) utilizes much of the energy of these women so that they have less time to feel emotionally deprived.
A distinction needs to be made, however, between relatively younger wives and those much older in age. Often, a wife who is relatively younger has to submit more often to the control of her mother-in-law than a wife older in age. She narrated about at least one such wife, married for three years but without child as yet. Not having conceived so far is in itself a sort of stigma for her. She has to go through all the increasing number of fasts and other religious observances that her mother-in-laws prescribes. Although she hears regularly from her husband and gets a bank draft in her name, these are not enough to lift her spirits.

Most young wives succeed in bearing children within a year or two of their marriage. The situation of young wives with children is decidedly better. They feel more secure and have a clear role to play within the husband’s family. Given access to money they feel more free to spend. Also, their physical mobility in terms of movement outside the house is far less constrained. That these young wives with children cope with the husband’s family better than wives without children goes without saying. The feeling that they belong fully to the family they are living with is very important. But this does not mean that conflicts do not arise with the in-laws; they do. Wives with children face up to situations of conflict with greater confidence. Also, wives with children do not have to suppress their feelings of tension and be depressed as a consequence. They tend to be more secure in their relationships with their husbands.

Women who have children above 10-years in age and who are able to live independently are in the best situation. Both their age and having older children gives these women a great deal of confidence and support. With the help of their children they can take care of several of their responsibilities independently of other relatives. The less they have to depend on these relatives the more independent they feel.

1. The pattern that emerged in practically all the case studies was that the migrant remits some funds regularly to his wife or mother to meet the household’s consumption needs and the women receiving remittances enjoy considerable freedom in the disposition of funds thus entrusted to them. With their men living
abroad, not only does the women's awareness of the availability of a much broader range of goods and services increase considerably, but also their awareness of the various possibilities of placing their savings. Earlier, not only were they not exposed to the banks but they were unaware of other forms of keeping deposits and lending transactions. Having to shoulder increased responsibilities with regard to the disposition of funds, women of migrant households have become better informed. Of the women we have profiled, there is hardly a case where a woman has not acquired the necessary awareness of things in order to manage her funds reasonably well. The most interesting case discussed by her is of an illiterate woman who is managing the business of running a three-wheeler, sending children to school, taking care of their health and running the house while her husband is working overseas.

2. Children are much in demand in a migrant household. For young wives left behind by husbands for long periods of time, children are a source of security. Also child care keeps the women occupied and at the same time satisfies partially, if not wholly, their emotional needs. As children become older, they become a source of support to their mothers in the day-to-day running of the household. But taking care of older children is a demanding business in that, with their father away for long periods, the mother alone has to support them emotionally as well as keep them disciplined. Decisions with regard to schooling and the day-to-day needs of the children have to be taken primarily by the migrant’s wife. True, the wife is ordinarily in constant communication with her migrant husband. True, also, that relatives on the scene might help, but the ultimate responsibility to ensure that children go to school and do not drop out falls on the wife. What she had observed is that migrants wives acquitted themselves very creditably. The fact that in Alakad village school attendance has significantly improved in recent years is evidence of this. She could found a strong desire on the part of the migrant households to send their children to expensive private schools which taught in English whereas education in public schools is primarily in Malayalam, the local language.

a. The impact of the migration begins quite some time before the migrant actually leaves for the overseas job.

b. The decision to migrate is a joint decision in which women are actively involved.

c. Dependence on immediate family members, other relatives, friends and neighbours of the household is considerable before and after migration occurs.

d. Dependence on funds for financing of migration extends to a wide circle including not only immediate family members, but also distant relatives, friends and neighbours. On the other hand, for the management of the migrant's remittances and protection and support of women, dependence is confined to close relatives like parents, parents-in-law or siblings of the migrant.

e. The kind of dependence that male migration entails for the family varies over time. Initially, there is need for the protection of the women left behind and for their support. They need help in taking on the tasks and responsibilities of the household that they have seldom shouldered before on their own. These include not only the day-to-day running of the house, but also the children's schooling and health care. Then comes the women's need for support in what are totally new tasks and responsibilities which even their men seldom had to take on previously. These include management of large sums of money, repayment of loans, release of jewellery from mortgage, investment of money not immediately required for supervision of building repairs and construction.

f. Where the emigrants children are young, the dependence on relatives for protection is greater than when the children are sufficiently grown-up. The latter tend to be self-reliant.

g. Over time, the women become more self-reliant than they are immediately after the migrant's first departure.
h. The kind of impact migration has is closely related to the age of the wife and the stage of the family life-cycle at the time of migration.

i. The impact on the family is a dynamic process. The degree of change in the women left behind depends on the length of the migrant’s stay abroad.

j. The household composition and residential pattern can change, creating new groupings and alignments.

k. Women have tended to be very cautious however, while making these changes, taking care not to disrupt other relationships.

l. Women take on increased responsibilities for running the households on their own, and even for the management of money and property.

m. The migration of men breaks down women’s isolation, increases mobility and brings them into contact with a wider network of institutions than were in their purview before. This results in their gaining greater confidence and taking on more responsibilities. Some of them even take on income generating activities.

n. Still, there are extraordinary situations when women do need, and invoke, the support of the network of relatives, friends and even institutions.

o. On the whole, failures are fewer than successes. Women of migrant households manage reasonably well in coping with the situations. This is valid regardless of whether the migrant is Muslim or Hindu. Of course, family and other networks, including religious networks, play a generally supportive role. But the major effort to cope with the absence of the male is that of the women immediately affected.

p. Her overall impression is that women from migrant households start with a number of handicaps. To overcome these problems they need considerable support not only from close family members but also from a network of relatives, friends and neighbours. Their dependence on the network increases in the migrant’s absence and on the whole, the network has stood by these women. It is also remarkable how well the women have coped with the situation created by the long absence abroad of husbands and sons, be it in the matter running households, management of funds, child care and education or...
their own loneliness. Her friends in their stories demonstrated that if properly empowered in the ordinary course of things, in education, health care, work participation and sharing of responsibilities, they are more than capable of dealing with tasks that traditionally men have excluded them from.

In a sample survey of emigrant households conducted in five taluks of Kerala State representing five districts noted for high intensity rates of emigration (percentage of migrants in the population) namely Chirayinkeezu, Tiruvalla, Chavakkad, Tirur and Kannur, Gopinathan Nair arrived at the following findings (Nair 1986).

1. At the time of the first migration nearly four-fifths of the migrants were young, below 35 years of age and 50 percent of them were unmarried.

2. The vast majority of the migrant were literate, illiterates accounting for only less than 7 percent. Among the literates, the below-matriculates predominated, accounting for nearly 70 percent. The proportion of degree-holders was extremely small, and formed less than 3 percent.

3. Except for a small proportion of about 6 percent, the migrants and little professional or technical education. In terms of vocational training also, the migrants were mostly an uninitiated lot.

4. The occupational distribution showed that about 6 percent had been, before emigration, in the following categories: professional/technical/administrative personnel, teachers, paramedical workers, draftsmen and surveyors, and clerical and related workers. Nearly 45 percent were skilled or semi-skilled workers. The remaining workers were unskilled or unemployed.

5. Nearly one-half of the migrants had been non-earners at the time of first migration. Two-fifths had earnings of less than Rs 500 per month.

6. The preponderance of Muslims in the number of return migrants may be taken as reflective of the fact that they dominate also in the number of migrant workers to the Middle East.
7. The age distribution of migrants at the time of first migration did not show much difference between religious groups, except for the fact that the proportion of persons above the age of 25 was higher among Christians than among the Hindus and Muslims and that the proportion of persons in the age group of below 20 years was the highest among Muslims.

8. The general educational status of migrants belonging to the Muslim community was the lowest, of the Hindus higher and of the Christians, the highest. The proportion of matriculate and higher qualified persons was about 16 percent among Muslims, 37 percent among Hindus and 71 percent among Christians.

9. The most important reason for migration given by 45 percent of the respondents was lack of employment opportunities at home. About 27 percent reported that migration was sought mainly to discharge family obligations and responsibilities such as marriage of sisters/daughters, education of children or medical treatment of members of the households. For another 23 percent, the most important reason was entitlement to a higher level of living. The proportion of Christians who reported that the main reason for migration was to raise the standard of living was higher than the proportion from the other two religious groups.

10. The information regarding the opportunities for migration reached the majority of migrants not through official or institutional channels or mass media, but through friends, relatives and neighbours in the Gulf region.

11. The expenditure of migrants on various items such as passport, visa, medical check up, air ticket and NOCs (no objection certificate) on an average amounted to a little over Rs. 9,000. The vast majority of the respondents (63 percent) had incurred only less than Rs. 10,000; for 41 percent the costs had been only less than Rs. 5,000.

12. Two-fifths of the migrants resorted to borrowing for mobilizing funds for financing costs of emigration. The major source of borrowing was from friends and relatives because the terms of borrowing from them were very
liberal. About one-fourth of the migrants had their own savings, and nearly one-fifth were able to draw upon their parents' savings.

13. The major destinations of migration were Dubai, Abu Dhabi and other UAE centres which together accounted for more than two-thirds of the total number of emigrants. Saudi Arabia employed about one-eighth and Qatar more than one-twelfth. One in every twenty worked in Bahrain and one in every twenty-five in Oman.

According to the results of the survey which covered 42,367 households in the 14 districts of Kerala, the number of Keralite migrants of the Gulf countries was estimated to be 6,41,387 and those to other foreign countries 27,480. Thus out of a total of 6,68,867 international migrants, Gulf countries accounted for 95.89 percent and only 4.11 percent were in other foreign countries. The results also showed that while 94.8 percent of Keralite migrants to the Gulf consisted of males, the corresponding percentage of migrants to other foreign countries was only 74.28 percent. This finding thus corroborated the widely prevalent impression that Gulf migration is almost 'all male' proposition. Further, 71.9 percent of the migrants to the Gulf countries were males and 3 percent were females in the age group 25-45. Although the entire range of the age group 25-45 cannot be considered to represent youth, as implied by the study, it is still valid to infer that migration is predominantly a youth phenomenon. While the illiterates, male as well as female, formed only 2.7 percent of the Gulf migrants, literates with schooling below SSLC (matriculation) formed as high a percentage as 64.1 percent. Graduates and post-graduates formed only 5.9 percent. This finding confirms the prevalent view that the proportion of unskilled labour is the highest in the case of migrants to the Gulf countries. Obtaining employment was given as the major reason for migration by 87.5 percent of the respondents. While 91.3 percent of the migrant workers in the Gulf countries did not have their families with them, the corresponding proportion for migrants to Europe and America was 42.6 percent. According to the survey, it was estimated that 1.17 lakh persons had returned from the Gulf by the end of December 1992. The major reasons for the reverse flow consisted of (i) completion of the construction projects, (ii) availability of cheap labour from other countries, and (iii) curtailment of wages and prerequisites.
Around 12 percent of the returnees left on health grounds while 13 percent cited family problems.

Gulf wives are defined as those married women whose husbands are, or have been migrants to countries of the Gulf. They include women whose husbands were migrants at the time of the survey and whose husbands had returned after migration to the Gulf countries. The consequences of migration of these women would be different from those of women in non-migrant households or who themselves had been migrants. Therefore, a special survey was conducted in 8 of the 14 districts to elicit information on the consequences of emigration on Gulf wives. The districts selected were: Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Pathanamthitta, Alappuzha, Ernakulam, Thrissur, Palakkad, and Kozhikode. They constitute about 65 per cent of the state’s population.

All married women in the sample households whose husbands were outside India at any time (as ascertained by earlier survey) were interviewed using a special questionnaire. Information was collected under the following headings:

1. Personal characteristics of the women and their husbands.
2. History of separation of the wives from their husbands.
3. Frequency and means of communication between the spouses.
5. Problems with bringing up of children, coping with in-laws, etc.
6. Views about emigration.

Altogether, 891 women were included for this special survey.

The starting point in the discussion with regard to the impact of migration on Gulf wives is the answers to the impact of migration on Gulf wives in the answers given by them in the question of the problems they faced and the benefits they received from the migration of their husbands. All the Gulf wives in the sample were asked to mention three good experiences. The responses on bad experiences are tabulated in the following table.
Distribution of Gulf Wives According to Reported Adverse Consequences of
Migration
(in per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverse consequences</th>
<th>1st choice</th>
<th>1-3 choices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loneliness</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Added responsibilities</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worries about future</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less security</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s health</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental anxiety</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things not done properly</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land dispute</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No financial gains</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has to depend on others</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While examining the consequences of migration on Kerala society, what comes immediately to mind are the huge size of remittances which emigrants send back home, the enormous non resident Indian deposits in Kerala banks, the palatial houses which many migrants have built all over the Kerala rural landscape, and the sophisticated household gadgets and electronic equipment which the migrant households keep in their kitchens and living rooms. Few would think about the enormous transformation that has taken place to Kerala women and its potential impact on Kerala society. Migration has consequences for both men and women. In the case of men, the consequences come about mostly because of their own migration. In the case of women, however, consequences
can come about, not only because of their own migration, but also because of the migration of their husbands.

Women follow men in migration from Kerala while men follow women in return migration to the state. Women are the last to migrate out, but they are the first to return home. Most of the female migrants are married at the time of migration than are male migrants. Female migrants are better qualified than male migrants, but few of them are gainfully employed. Migration causes separation of wives from husbands. Their numbers are the same. Women migrating without the husbands are infrequent, but men migrating without wives are more the rule than the exception. Few married men are left behind by their migrating wives whereas many married women are left behind by their migrating husbands. Both men and women have their own separate gains and losses arising from migration, but women are less equipped to handle them alone without help from their spouses. They have greater problems in dealing with the trauma arising from separation. For many, the trauma was worth the trouble, for at the end of the day, they came out like gold in a melting crucible with 99.9 per cent purity, well equipped to face the world on their own. Emigration from Kerala is essentially a male affair. In 1998, female emigrants numbered 0.13 millions out of a total of 1.36 millions (9.3 per cent). Among emigrants, only one out of every 10 was a woman. Female emigrants were better educated than male emigrants. Among those who reported their educational attainment, 28 per cent of the female emigrants had a degree, but only 9 per cent of the male emigrants were degree holders. About 38 per cent of the female emigrants had passed the secondary level of education, but only 29 per cent of the male emigrants had secondary education. Among emigrants 7.4 percent were females, but among degree holding emigrants as much as 20 per cent were females.

As expected, the economic activity rate is lower among females than among males. The same relationship holds at all stages of the process: before migration in Kerala, after migration at the destinations, and after return to Kerala. Females tend to drop out of economic activity after a stint at emigration. The differential among the emigrants is only
45.3 per cent before emigration but is as much as 76.3 per cent after return to Kerala. Thus, emigration tends to increase labour force participation of females. However, their return is associated with lowering of economic activity and labour force participation rates.

In the State as a whole, the number of married men in the sample was 10,712 and the number of married women 12,253, an excess of 1,541 married females over the number of married men. The difference, as proportion of the number of married women was 12.6 percent. Thus, a minimum of 12.6 per cent of the married women was living away from their husbands due to migration. Applying the ratio to the total number of married females of the State, it is estimated that nearly a million married women in Kerala are living away from their husbands. The absence of husband causes several hardships for wives but at the same time it brings several benefits also. For example, it could give the Gulf wives an opportunity to develop their talents, expertise, status and independence to their full potential. In that respect the initial handicaps could be turned into a blessing for the family and the society in general.

In the opinion of the Gulf wives, the principal problems arising from their husbands' emigration were, in the order of importance:
(a) loneliness; (b) added responsibilities; (c) adverse effect on children’s education; (d) debt incurred to finance emigration; (e) increased anxiety, and (f) financial gains not up to expectation.

As a problem among the Gulf wives, loneliness was more serious than anything else. More than half the number of young wives considered loneliness as their number one problem arising from their husbands’ emigration. Loneliness was measured quantitatively by the length of the period of separation and the frequency of communication between the Gulf wife and her husband. The longer the average period of separation, the higher would be the degree of loneliness. Similarly, the less frequent the communication between the husband and wife, the higher would be degree of loneliness. In the case of about 2.4 per cent of the Gulf wives (about 24 thousand women), their husbands had left
for the Gulf within days after marriage; almost a third left within 3 months from
marriage, and about 45 per cent left during the first year of marriage. Thus, separation
from husbands soon after marriage is indeed a real problem among the Gulf wives. The
situation is much worse among the younger wives, about 2.7 per cent of those whose
husbands had left for the Gulf immediately after marriage. The problem is partly
ameliorated by frequent communication between husband and wife over the phone and
through letters. Almost all the Gulf wives (99 per cent) communicate with their husbands
in one form or the other. Nearly 70 per cent communicated through letters and phone, and
30 per cent communicated through letters alone. Nearly half the number of Gulf wives
communicated once in two weeks. The majority of those who wrote letters also
communicated over the phone. Such frequent communication ameliorated the problem of
loneliness to a large extent. The ability to communicate whenever needed was a great
help for the wives to carry on the load of added responsibilities, especially
responsibilities related to the financial management.

Nearly a third of the Gulf wives, especially the older among them, complained about
added responsibilities because of husbands’ migration: responsibilities to take care of
children’s education, family finances, family health, and fulfilling family obligations in
social, cultural and religious areas. Taking care of children’s education is a major added
responsibility. Most of the Gulf wives had children. More than 75 per cent of those with
children had one child or more in school. As the father is not in station the mother is
responsible to get them admission in school, to arrange for their transport to school, to
find tuition master, to arrange for transport to the tuition place, and to help the children
with their home work. Only a few of the Gulf wives actually take their children to school,
but about 8 per cent take them to the tuition master, and 75 per cent of them help them in
their school work.

Migration results in considerable increase in family finances. Management of the old
and new family assets and income is a major added responsibility of the Gulf wives.
Their husbands were unaccustomed to such responsibilities as there was no money in the
house at the time they left home. So there were not many precedents to follow. The
problem is particularly crucial, as they do not have the full freedom to spend the money the way they like. They have to follow the husbands’ directions to a great extent and keep the in-laws in good humour. Problems arising from emigration should be balanced against benefits from it. Economic gains arising from remittances are the principal benefits of migration. Almost all the Gulf wives stressed the economic benefits in one form or the other as the principal gains from their husbands’ emigration (56 per cent mentioned financial gains, 28 per cent mentioned ability to own a good house and 6 per cent mentioned ability to pay back debt). Basically, the source of all benefits was remittances. Almost all emigrants (97 per cent) send home remittances and 80 per cent of them sent them in their wives’ names. As a result, the status and the authority of the Gulf wives in their households have risen considerably. On an average, the remittance was about Rs 35,000 per year or about Rs 3,000 per month. The receipt of large remittances in their own names and entrusting them with the responsibility of managing the finances were major factors which have raised the status of the Gulf wives and improved their autonomy, independence and expertise in managing their affairs. Half the number of the Gulf wives had houses or lands in their names; 4 out of 10 had their own income which they kept under their control; 7 out of 10 keep bank accounts, but most of them spend money according to directions from husbands. But in the matter of daily household expenses, personal requirements, children’s needs, etc, women spend money at their discretion. These are important indicators of the autonomy and economic independence of the Gulf wives.

There are positive as well as negative consequences of migration of their husbands for the Gulf wives. On balance, what is the consequence? The responses of the Gulf wives to the two questions are stated below. First, “Would that not be nice if your husband leaves the Gulf job and return home?” Surprisingly, nearly 60 per cent of the Gulf wives replied that they really wished their husbands came back home. For them, the added responsibilities and the loneliness weighed too much on them. But for the other 40 per cent, the economic benefits out-weighed the costs. Second, all the Gulf wives were asked another question: “If you have a daughter of marriageable age, whom do you like her to marry? Someone working in Kerala, someone working in another state in India, or
someone working in the Gulf countries?” None (less than three per cent) of the Gulf
wives wanted a man working in another state in India as her son-in law. Had the same
question been asked 30 years ago, the answer would have been overwhelmingly in favour
of persons working in a metropolis in India, such as Bombay or Bangalore. But today the
situation seems to be totally different.

Only about 14 per cent preferred persons working in the Gulf countries. An
overwhelming 83 per cent preferred a boy working in Kerala as their son-in-law!
Having gone through the experience of a Gulf wife, they seem to have second thoughts
about their husbands’ emigration. It is all right from the economic point of view, but not
so if all factors are taken into consideration. Those who have gone through the trauma of
separation would prefer jobs in Kerala, if they could. For them, all that glitter in the
Arabian sands is not gold. There is considerable sacrifice involved on their part at the
destination and on the part of their wives and children back in Kerala. There is still
another side to the whole question of the balance sheet. What is described above is the
short-term point of the individual Gulf wives. The picture is different if one considers the
long-term perspective and from the point of the society in general. More important than
the visible economic benefits to the Gulf wives, but partly as a result of them, are the
subtle changes in the women’s self-confidence and in their ability to get things done in
the man’s world. Loneliness yes, mental strains yes, hard work yes, minor problems with
in-laws and children yes, but at the end of the day, they would have developed an inner
capacity to get things done, not only within households but also in the community. The
ISD and the internet cafes in every corner of the state have come handy to prevent the
problems of loneliness from getting out of hand. The husband is physically away, but his
helping hand is close by just, at the other end of the communication line. The husbands’
absence, increased economic resources at their disposal, and the ability to communicate
with their men whenever needed all have became instrumental in transforming the shy
dependent girls into a self confident autonomous managers with status that is equal to
those of any men in the neighbourhood. They get a larger vision of the world around
them. The subtle transformation that has taken place among the gulf wives would have a
more lasting imprint on the Kerala society than any material changes which migration has brought about.\textsuperscript{28}

Reeba Varkey (2004) finds that Kerala state face a problem of migration of men from Kerala to other parts of India and abroad, to earn their living. Under such conditions their women, who are left behind, are forced to do the duties of men also. These women are actually over burdened. The project “Impacts of male migration to gulf countries on the emigrants households of Kottayam municipal area” investigated the impacts of male migration on the family left behind, especially on female members, in and around Kottayam town. The study analyzed the problems as well as prospects of women in these emigrant households. Also, a well-constructed comparative study has been done between migrant and non-migrant households selecting respondents from all the 32 wards of Kottayam Municipal area. There are economic, social and psychological impacts as a result of their reversal in sex roles. The study included, how well these women adjust to the new situations thus created; measured the levels of their self-esteem and confidence and the levels of their socioeconomic conditions before and after migration. In addition to the problems of the migrant’s spouse and children, the parents and elderly also undergo a lot of personal and social constraints as well as advantages. Therefore an analysis of elderly people in such households was also included in the study. The respondents were of 55 years and above age. Other members of the household such as migrant’s in-laws, siblings, etc., were also interviewed to get a picture of the entire household.

The population of the study constituted all the gulf male migrant’s households in Kottayam Municipality. The researcher had identified 338 households, which have male migrants, and from this she collected information from 100 migrant households. Non-migrant households were selected for a comparative study and the selected households are the neighbours of the migrant households. The objectives of the study were

1. To analyze the changing role and status of women due to male migration.
2. To analyze the impact of male migration on children.
3. To analyze the economic, social, and psychological problems faced by women and other members of the household due to male migration.

4. To examine the prospects of emigrants' households

and the hypotheses were

1. Due to reversal of roles women are experiencing greater social and economic independence.

2. Income of the migrant families are greater than the expenditure.

3. Due to single parenting, the disciplining of the children become difficult in the migrants' households.

4. Women in the emigrants' households have psychological problems.

She concluded in her study that male migration has brought tremendous positive changes to the females of emigrants' households in Kottayam Municipal area. First of all they have attained a better status in their families and in the society. But about half of them feel that they have a lower status in the family than their husbands and it appeared as though they liked to remain so. They became more responsible and capable, and also courageous. The migrants' wives are bold enough to face adverse situations and have become more self-reliant and autonomous. They have developed confidence in taking decisions on their own and improved their responding capacity. Migrants' wives are getting sufficient freedom in the households, where there is no mother-in-law. If the mother-in-law is present she would be deciding everything. In those households where mother-in-law is not present, the housewives feel greater responsibilities than before. In most of the migrant households the mothers-in-law are observed to be more powerful than the father-in-law. Majority of the migrant wives expressed the view that they have no difficulty in carrying out the new responsibilities they got as a result of their husband's migration.

There are short-term impacts and long-term impacts as a result of male migration. Many wives, whose husbands migrated recently, felt that their responsibilities are very difficult.
Due to single parenting, the disciplining of children is found to be difficult in the emigrant households. Just the presence of the father in the family, is found to be a great relief to the non-migrant families. Majority of the non-migrant children responded that they are more obedient to their father than to the mother. Migration has made the children of the emigrant households more mature, responsible, courageous, with increased decision making capacity and efficient. Majority of them help their mothers in household rituals and are anxious to make their mothers happy. But in their mothers' opinion, more than half of them are facing problems like stubbornness, disobedience, extravaganza, late coming, and other behavioral problems from their children.

Children in the migrant families like the presence of the father, especially, the female children, because only when the father is around they get the freedom to move out. Majority of the females in the migrant families spend their leisure time watching television, reading newspapers, magazines, novels, etc, and sleeping. Meanwhile the women in the non-migrant households are engaged in some income generating or creative activities. But the women of the migrant households are not at all interested in any such activities, because they are receiving remittances from abroad. Many of these females are leading very comfortable, luxurious life. Family relationships are stronger in migrant households than in non-migrant households, especially in the case of lower middle class families. In the observation, it is revealed that, many of the migrant households have efficient, capable, respectable and highly matured elderly women, very keen on the welfare of their families, prominent than their male partners. Migration of their sons made these mothers proud, responsible and psychologically strong. An acceptance of elevated “motherhood” is seen in most of the migrant families.

There is also evident that migration brought women empowerment also to the households, apart from its materialistic benefits. Migration empowered the female children of the emigrants' households to a larger extent. In non-migrant households, only widows or those women having irresponsible or drunkard husbands showed the above stated qualities. Migration has brought prosperity and economic security to the emigrant households. Regarding the domestic expenses, there is a considerable increase in the
amount of money being spent after the migration than before, in the households. Gulf-migrant wives are enjoying freedom for spending money. There is also extravaganza. It is observed that most of the middle class and upper class females are spending money very lavishly. Meanwhile, majority of the non-migrant wives are very calculative in spending money. On the basis of the survey and studies, the following problems faced by the wives of the migrants, were identified: (1) Feeling of loneliness, (2) Feeling psychological insecurity, (3) Delayed child-bearing, (4) Difficulty in managing and controlling children, (5) Exploitation and criticism from the family and society, and (6) Negative effects and lack of affection in husband – wife relationship due to long-term absence of the migrant husband.

However, upper class migrants' wives are found to be free from most of these psychological problems. Regarding mental tensions, migrants' females are experiencing a lesser degree of tension than the non-migrant females. In most of the migrant families, there is the presence of parents or in-laws, and the household tries to stay with them, mainly for security. Psychologically, majority of the migrants' wives are in desperate conditions, especially those young girls who are staying with their in-laws. Feelings of loneliness, pain of separation from the husbands, anxiety about the husband and children, and children's indiscipline are their major problems. Though the migration gained them economic freedom, most of them lost social freedom. They fear to go out alone and interact with the public. They may go out only for necessities. In non-migrant households, female go out freely for shopping, and to hotels even if they are alone.

Migrant females reported that actually they are leading a life of a half-widow. Majority of the Gulf migrants' wives are staying with their own parents. Many of them opined that if they stay with the in-laws, there would be quarrel. Because the husband is not around, migrant households are free from husband-wife quarrel. The non-migrant wives reported that they quarrel with their husbands, almost every day. The survey also reveals that the migrants' females have a higher degree of self-esteem, and also a better marital status than non-migrant females. Almost all migrant families have built good houses, or renewed and extended old ones, bought properties and gold, given good education for
their children and have modern life facilities. Those who are in the lower class gained middle class status, and the middle class gained upper class status. The upper class and the middle class migrants have helped their relatives and friends to migrate, and this they consider to be a deed of great satisfaction. 22% of the households in the study have more than 2 migrants in each. The old people in her study reported that the members of the households gave them some attention and they are not interested to go to old age homes. They have strong preference either to live alone or to live with their sons. Their opinion is that during old age it is the responsibility of the children to look after them.

Migrant households contain more elderly population than non-migrant households, in her study. Compared to the elders of non-migrant households, migrants’ old people are leading a very satisfied life. Majority of them are financially secure. Only a few complained of loneliness, while majority of the elders in non-migrant households grieved that they are alone and have a strong feeling that no body needs them because they are old and weak.

Migration of the head or a member of the family provides great financial advantages, but from a sociological as well as psychological point of view, it has some adverse effects too.

Mahmuda Islam’s study is an analysis of the socio-economic backgrounds of the female heads and their roles in the production, distribution and management of household resources. The survey was undertaken in three villages of Bangladesh during 1987. A total of 62 households were identified. Data for the study were gathered by questionnaire and observation methods. The female heads were induced to participate freely in the process of interview and observation. For the study, the head of the household was taken to be that member who exercises, directly or indirectly, control over the resources and the earning potentials of the household and who is recognized as such by all the members. The crucial determinant of the headship is the ability to control and dispose of the
resources of the household, not the ability to produce those resources. Mahamuda also classified the female-headed households into four categories.

1) Households with no adult male member living,
2) Households whose oldest male member is living but incapacitated by illness or disability,
3) Households whose adult earning male member is gainfully employed but continues to remit money to the households, and
4) Households in which the husband is not living but other grownup members surrender authority and control to the adult female member.

Households headed by women are overwhelmingly poor and landless or nearly landless, and female heads are usually illiterate. They are also past their youths. Widows have the greater opportunity of heading households.

Poverty is the single most dominant characteristic of the rural female-headed households. The female heads usually participate directly in the income earning activities and are the main breadwinners of the households. Though freed from the control of the male at the household level, female heads continue to be subjected to patriarchy at the community level.

Status of emigrant women workers from India to abroad was studied by K.R. Lakshmy Devi. The aim of the study was to give a detailed account of the women in the host countries. For this she examined, who they were, type of work they did, the working living conditions, and thus a profile of the socio-economic status of women migrants from India to the Middle East. Two streams constitute women migrant workers from India, according to her. One is those who are professionally qualified and are better paid. The second one is those who are uneducated, unskilled and employed in low paid jobs. The study was based on primary data collected from 504 women migrants of 8 countries of the Middle East. The countries were selected on the basis of the availability of respondents. The study found that housing was the most important problem, which the
migrants face. Majority was unmarried at the time of first migration. Schooling and medical facilities were very costly. Majority of the women in the unskilled category were living alone in the host countries, whereas 70% of the women in the skilled category were living with their families. Skilled category women enjoyed a comfortable living much better than they had in India, prior to migration. On the other hand, unskilled categories like housemaids, ayahs, cleaners, etc., had a low status and got exploited and were abused.

K. Santhi points out that the fact that the female mobility is on the increase. She had examined the labor force participation behavior and earnings of women of migrant households. The households were identified during the course of fieldwork conducted for another project on “Women headed Households”. Labor participation is found to be high among women of such migrant households. While majority of women is self-employed, the others are wage earners. Education is an important variable in the earning functions of females. Experience is found to be important in the determination of earnings for men but not so for women. While higher caste men workers earn less than the lower caste men workers, in the case of women - the result was dubious. The study concludes that in the context of rising family migration, urban housing and employment policies need intentional manipulation so as to improve women’s status and labor participation.

A cultural anthropologist from the University of Michigan, studied the structure and function of female headed households in a rural area of Yunnan, China. The study correlates the status and ability of women to exercise independent authority, with rising income levels. Using household budgets, and participant observation, formal surveys of 100 randomly selected households and semi-structured interviews with a sub-sample of 60 households, he describes the role of women in governing household budgets in areas with heavy male labor out-migration.

Nerina Vecchio and Kartik C. Roy examine female-headed households (FHHs) in the world economy, aspects of their poverty, and the implications of those for sustainable development. Following a general discussion of FHHs in the world community, the
report discusses FHHs in two regions of India, one an example of unsuccessful development and the other of successful development. The research is based on fieldwork in five rural villages. One village comprising mostly female-headed households provided a unique case study. The other four villages include both male and female headed households with a high proportion of female-headed households. The authors found that female-headed households dominate the poorer sections of the community and women's access to resources is limited by cultural, social and economic influences. Women, particularly those in the female headed households, bear the heaviest burdens in times of hardship. The authors go on to show that the benefits of Government development programmes have not reached remote areas.

Hugo (2002) points out that migration frequently results in the separation of family members, which in turn creates a greater dependence on the nuclear family, weakening wider kinship relationships and consequently widening the roles of nuclear family members, especially women. Families of migrants are placed in a vulnerable situation, as those left behind, particularly dependent members, confront social and emotional consequences. The women left behind face many hardships, from loneliness and isolation to financial difficulties. An extended period of family separation has a number of detrimental effects, such as a higher incidence of mental disorder among women and children, lower levels of school performance and impeded social and psychological development among children, and the abandonment of the elderly. One of the consequences of the prolonged absence of migrants from the family has been marital instability and the consequent break-up of the family unit, leading to a higher incidence of divorce among migrant households.

Male out migration has fundamental implication for women and children who are left behind. If the migrant is from the rural area then the kinship network can take the load out of the family members in the absence of the male migrant. But the kinship network is broken and the traditional skills are no longer useful in the urban area and the family members of the person who have migrated have to fend for themselves.
Varuni Ganepola examines the psychosocial wellbeing of individuals and families of those who have migrated overseas due to conflict-related reasons from Sri Lanka. It is generally predicated that remittances from asylum migrants and refugees financially help families in distress in countries of origin. The paper broadly examines the ways in which households and families left behind are changed by the outcomes of asylum migration.

Most families experienced the absence of a household member as another form of stress and sadness. One woman articulated the absence of her husband as a form of death. Where there were young children to bring up, the spouse left behind had difficulty coping emotionally with the absence of the partner. Although families had extended kin support, where emotional endurance is concerned, relatives were little equipped to handle grief and the sense of loss. Day-to-day life consumes the energies of most household members that reflection of the absent partner was sometimes minimal. Triggers such as correspondence (letters, electronic mail, telephone calls) infused great emotion and exposed inner grief. Spouses left behind did not generally discuss their emotions and feelings that absence generates, either with family or friends. The attitude that most displayed was just-get-on-with-it. Interestingly, adult members of families left behind play an important role in the emotional adjustment and sustenance of the asylum seeker. Regular communications with the migrant member often takes the form of reassurance that families will be reunited soon, that financially remittances make a significant and tangible impact on livelihoods, and so on. The migrant member is commonly offered advice and emotional support which mitigate his/her feelings of homesickness. In a sense, these interactions enhance family bonds because of the exchange of emotional expression and the openness of their content.

Adjusting to absence of a family member requires coping with grief (even though the departure is not perceived as permanent) and involves forming a new self-identity, especially for the parent left behind. For example, women, whose husbands have sought asylum overseas, attempt to create a meaningful life for their children and assume the role of household head. However, a fundamental difference that is caused by asylum migration, as opposed to absence due to death or disappearance, is that the sense of loss is not permanent. In addition, the spouse that is left behind is compensated financially by
means of remittances, which makes a significant impact on the empowerment and psychosocial reconstruction of livelihoods of families left behind. It provides financial independence and security which are essential components of post-displacement recovery. Unlike widowed mothers who may have to cope with finding employment and childcare after the loss of her spouse, absence by asylum does not leave women handicapped, especially because of the socioeconomic comfort that remittances provide. Also, it provides families left behind with dignity and a sense of purpose to rebuild a meaningful life. Moreover, there was little or no stigma attached to women whose spouses had migrated overseas. Unlike women coping with death of spouse, women in such circumstances do not have their adjustment process severely hindered by the maledominated society and the social restrictions and perceptions that surround this situation. Generally, Tamil women are often not socially and culturally empowered to function without the protection and support of a male partner. The patriarchal cultural bias in Sri Lankan society can be seen in the role played by the male as the main link in networks of kinship (Perera: 1999). Thus the removal of the male from the network can result in indifference and even hostility towards the remaining family members. Additionally, sexual harassment increases after the death of the husband (Perera: 1999). Women are also discouraged from or ostracised for desiring or engaging in male companionship (Samarasinghe: 2000). But where absence by asylum is concerned, social insensitivity and abuse of women vulnerability are minimal.

Dr. Nazek Nosseir is of the opinion that family is the most important institution in Arab society, as it meets social, political and affective needs of its members. In addition, it provides employment and wealth for both male and female members. Has the family institution been affected by sweeping social changes rocking various aspects of the social organizations within society? In many parts of the world one can see major changes with noticeable impact affecting families. Families have been reduced structurally from the extended form to the nuclear. Lately, one parent families have been increasing and so has the single person household "which can hardly be labeled as a family. Functionally, also, major changes have taken place that encouraged the family to delegate some of its cherished roles to other more specialized institutions in society. More specifically, a
major part of the socialization of children has been turned over to specialized institutions such as day care centers. Education of children is largely handled by schools. For employment, many seek work outside family enterprises.

Countries in North Africa have been affected by major social and economic changes that have impacted the family. One of those changes is the increasing feminization of the family as a result of male migration to urban areas within countries, migration to oil-rich countries in the Gulf or migration to European countries in search of better work opportunities. Usually this male exodus leaving women and children behind puts greater pressure on the women to take over responsibilities previously handled by men. As a consequence, women begin to develop competence, and independence. Some studies have shown that when men returned back and tried to exercise their traditional role as patriarchs, they were met with resentment by their wives and children (Hopkins and Ibrahim, 1997 and Me Murray, 1993).

Among Egyptians, movement that entailed change of residence was traditionally unwelcome and undesirable. However, by the mid 1960s, the changing political, economic and social conditions pushed some of the higher socio-economic classes to emigrate mainly to North America with the intention of staying there. By the mid-1970s, emigration of Egyptians took a different shape with respect to the type of people moving, their destination and length of absence. The large majority of emigrants were unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, many of whom came from rural areas. Their destinations were basically the oil-rich countries in the Gulf or Libya. Presumably most of them left alone, leaving their families behind as they did not intend to stay long “just a few years to accumulate some savings to allow them to build or buy a house, or acquire agricultural land or start some business (Amin, 2000).

Studies of the impact of the migration of heads of households on families left behind show that such moves are taken in order to generate more income to improve the overall standard of living of family members. On the other hand, these moves entail a measure of sacrifice: on the wives who have to take over the responsibility of running the day-to-day
affairs of the household "a task usually carried out by the males; and on the husbands who soon realize that as expatriates in the countries of destination, they have to endure loneliness and hard work as well as living a meager life to have enough savings to send to their families. Studies also show that when these arrangements are prolonged over long periods of time, the new arrangements and division of labor among family members left behind start to solidify and become resistant to change, should the husband/father come back (Stack, 2001)."

James Allen points out that the cohesion of households, communities and states begins to erode when men, women and children migrate to find employment. Some may choose not to migrate. Interviewees from India and Sri Lanka for the Voices of the Poor study (World Bank, 2000) say it is better to be at home and poor than rich but with a fragmented family. A case study in Geruwa, Bihar [India], records that, despite her misery, a poor woman has neither allowed her husband to go out of the village in search of work nor ever migrated herself. The woes of home are far better than the comforts of an alien land, she says. In Banaran village in Indonesia, a poor woman wants to work abroad but does not have the heart to leave her children, apart from not having the money to go. The decision, though, often goes the other way. A woman in Wewala, Sri Lanka says: Yes we go but it is the end of the day.

A descriptive analysis of the data suggests that female-headed households in Bangladesh typically fall into two categories: households headed by widows and households headed by married women, most of whom are the wives of migrants. Households headed by married women however, are wealthier than male-headed households. Though they own less agricultural or homestead land, they have higher incomes, very high levels of remittances, and higher ownership of assets such as jewelry and electronic goods.

Children belonging to households headed by married female-heads are less likely to work outside the home and have stronger educational attainment: they are more likely to have ever attended school, be currently enrolled in school and have completed two years of
primary school. Children belonging to households headed by widows however, are more likely to work outside the home and appear to have a weaker schooling attainments compared to children in male-headed households. Children from households headed by married women on the other hand, have significantly stronger schooling attainment than children from male-headed households: they are 19% more likely to have ever attended school, 8% more likely to be currently enrolled in school and 41% more likely to have finished at least two or more years of school. The findings of this paper suggest that analyses of the consequences of female headship should pay close attention to the causes of female headship. Though the data used in this analysis were drawn from a small region of Bangladesh, this general conclusion extends to international comparisons as well. The causes of female headship vary across different countries and even within countries of the world. In the United States and other industrialized countries for example, female-headed households generally include women who are divorced, separated, single unmarried mothers, and widows (McLanahan and Sandefur, 1986; Wojtkiewicz, McLanahan and Garfinkel, 1990; Folbre, 1991).

In Africa however, a large number of female-headed households in rural areas are “left-behind” households whose male members have migrated to urban areas in search of employment (Lloyd and Blanc, 1996). In Latin America, it is women who migrate to cities and thus there is an increase in female headship in urban area (Mencher and Okungwu, 1989).

The duration of stay by South Asian labor migrants in Middle East countries approximately for 2-3 years away from their families, the men lose their place in the family. In the migrant destination, the men may be lonely, working under difficult conditions, and have little money of their own since they send it all back home, so they look forward to returning home. But home may be profoundly different than the one they left.

In traditional Arabic families, the husbands are responsible for managing the family's interaction with the outside world. But when they leave, their wives take over their jobs
of running of the household, even having control of the finances, which they would never have had before. Other divisions of labor, family arrangements take place, the longer the husbands stay away. The women may have established their own households moving out of their husbands' parents' house, where they had lived when the husband was present and have they now have little to do with his family. And the families aren't willing to return to the old patriarchal relationships once the husbands have returned.

In parts of Africa, even though their husbands have left to find work, the wives and family end up being even worse off than before. And the women become responsible with not just raising the family, but all of the other economic and social activities of the family – from having a subsistence farm to taking produce to market. In Swaziland, families are less stable because so many women have been left to raise the children alone.

When labor migration separates the men from their families, the men typically have been known to have extramarital affairs. In China, Lesotho, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka and some areas of Africa, the affairs have turned into the opportunity for the men to have polygynous relationships: they marry other women, and either keep separate wives and families in each region they've lived in, or simply abandon the first wife and family. Divorce rates are higher in Sri Lanka amongst couples who have had a spouse leave the country for work.

One out of 10 Lesotho married men working in South Africa has abandoned his wife and taken on new ones in South Africa. Most of the abandoned wives become single parents and many of their children are not catered for adequately. Further compounding the tragedy – the abandoned wives often become the targets of married men – which leads to more marriage break-ups.

So many younger men and women in Sri Lanka have emigrated, that the average age of households is skewing older than it was before. Gambling, alcoholism, child neglect, devaluation of morals, extramarital affairs, wasteful consumption of money, even some
suicides are some of the negative effects seen in Sri Lanka that have been identified as the direct or indirect result of labor migration.

With just educated women left, they are re-ordering family structure. Since in Lesotho, it is the most educated men who migrate for work, their migration has fundamentally altered the educational profile of those who remain – meaning the women who are left behind are more educated than the men who remain. This, in turn, has meant that 66 percent believe that education of women has changed the family pattern – the educated women now want to live with men without getting married. For those willing to get married, the men are older when they marry, because the younger ones can't afford the higher bride-price for the educated women. And, when they get married, it's still a problem: 32 percent said that it was women's higher amount of education that was responsible for what are now incessant marriage break-ups.

In Egypt and Morocco, the wealth of the emigrant laborer changes the consumption patterns of the family – to the point that directly or indirectly, the family acquires new aspirations for upward mobility. And-in that, is often a decision not to have additional children, who would hinder the family's chances for greater economic success.

Shoma A. Chatterji found out that in London, general practices during World War II, revealed women admissions accounting for a ratio of 2:1 (Female to Male) for neurotic illness. In Belfast, N. Ireland, the ratio was 3:1 (Female to Male) for all admissions for psychiatric disorders. Significantly, the stress of civil violence was the major contributing factor.. Somasundarams' findings focus on the impact of civil-war mainly on the Tamil communities in Jaffna. She points out that Jaffna alone had 19,090 women-headed households due to the ethnic war. These women looked after their families single-handedly, filled in for the absent male in what had been till then, traditional male roles. They rode bicycles, did the entire shopping, met and argued with authorities, took their children to schools and temples, and generally kept the home fires burning. They were under constant situations of stress that rendered them vulnerable to breakdown. The sex.
ratio of admissions for stress-related mental and neurological disorders tilted towards women as the war went on. This was the price women had to pay to save their society from collapse.

The effect on the family, the widow and the children according to a study by Kumerandran in 1998, has been immense. Another study by Jeyanthy in 1993 assessed the impact of displacement in the North of Sri Lanka on the functioning of the family system. Psychological disturbances in general and symptoms of depression in particular, were more common in displaced families than in those living in their own homes. Disturbances in family dynamics, particularly disputes and quarrels between father and mother were attributed to economic stress, lack of privacy and the interference of others in over-crowded camps.

Among the types of war-related psychiatric problems seen in these women, the commonest is somatization. Physical complaints of heaviness in the head, pressure on the chest, and difficulty in breathing are cultural idioms of distress. They prove the impact of the changed responsibilities women face. Other problems are depression following loss of loved ones, property, dignity, virginity, anxiety and PTSD.

Absence of a male member of the family due to death, disappearance, injury or displacement creates infallible gaps in the functioning of the family unit. The uncertainty or grief about the missing member adds to the maladaptive family dynamics that already sustains during war. The loss of the essential unifying role of the missing member is bound to cause disruption and disharmony within the family. A common situation is where the father has been detained, disappears or killed but the family members have no definite knowledge either about his whereabouts or about this well-being. They are trapped within the vicious circle of what can be termed a 'conspiracy of silence.' The family, mainly the wife/mother, is forced to ensure that further inquiries about the missing man whereabouts or well-being are not made at all as these may lead to more problems for the husband/son in case he is still alive and well. The woman in the family is forced to sustain this conspiracy of silence even when she knows the truth that he is dead, or imprisoned or has gone missing, because under the circumstances, she does not
wish to transfer her own trauma to the rest of the family. In certain cases, the woman is forced to take on the role of a widow and adapt to all the negative implications of being a 'widow' whether she knows or does not know the truth. If the woman shares her trauma with the other members of the family, her trauma could be diluted through sharing. But social conditioning has ensured that she takes it on completely on herself.

The ongoing ethnic conflict between the Sri Lankan and the local Tamils has weakened the extended and nuclear family system, or shattered through factors like displacement, separation, migration, death, detention, disappearance etc. of the members. The traditional family unit as the basic social institution has survived. But its function has changed radically as a result of chronic conflict. The cohesiveness of traditional relationships is no longer the same. The role of the mother has undergone a dramatic transformation due to the rise in the non-traditional responsibilities, activities and the so-called "liberation" she has been forced on her.

Nicola Piper is of the opinion that with regard to the social impact of migration on the origin society, there are two main issues: (1) the situation of the left behind and (2) the extent to which migration results in changing gender roles/dynamics. One of the major social issues relating to international labour migration is the separation of migrants from family. Certainly in interviews both with migrants and origin communities this comes through as the greatest cost of migration. However, with contemporary communication and cheap travel costs it should be possible to allow frequent interaction and return visiting. In fact policy activity prevents this and often even in effect encourages permanent settlement as opposed to circular migration.

The left-behind spouse who is to take on full responsibility for running the household can be the husband/fathers, the wife/mother or the older children in the cases where both parents are abroad. There is some evidence suggesting that left behind men do not adjust to the new situation (by-taking on a more motherly role) as well as left behind women. Also, men often shift certain tasks to other female members of the extended family rather than learning to perform these themselves. This is, however, not always so.
There are a number of issues raised in existing studies referring to inter-personal relationships between transnational split couples. It has been shown that in the case of women going to abroad, this is often not purely for economic reasons, but also because of already existing marital problems, typically to do with abusive or violent relationships (SMC 2004). When such marriages end in divorce, it is therefore too simplistic to argue that this was caused by the overseas migration of the woman.

On the issue of relationships, it has further been reported that the one who migrates often engages in extra-marital relationships while abroad, and this has typically been the men, but there is also anecdotal evidence from women migrants who do just the same, but little concrete research is done. Some research has also shown the adverse, i.e. left-behind wives engaging in extra-marital relationships and using remittances for life with the new partner.

An additional element that impacts upon the spousal relationship is the length of time a spouse spends abroad. A marriage might be more likely to escape the migration experience unscathed if the period of separation lasts only a few years. But this depends also on the situation prior to migration and also on gender differences.

With regard to gender equity, existing research reports that migration can produce positive and empowering experiences for women. This is because migration can be both a cause and a consequence of women empowerment. According to Hugo (2000: 287), migration may be an outcome of empowerment but can also function as a catalyst for setting off the empowerment process. This is especially the case in LDCs [less developed countries] where women often have minimal control over resources and a limited voice in decision-making in the household or community and where their exposure to new ideas and thinking has hitherto been restricted. His analysis of the empowering process of migration has led Hugo (2000: 288) to a tentative conclusion that an empowering experience for women is influenced by the context in which the migration occurs, the type of movement, and the characteristics of the women involved. According to him,
empowerment is more likely to occur when the migration draws women from rural to urban areas, separates them from a family group, engages them in employment outside the home in formal sector occupations, and takes place within the legal framework for an extended period. Thus, in a specific context migration can be empowering for women\textsuperscript{21}.

On the occasion of the World Day of Migrants and Refugees in 1993, celebrated as the International Year of the Family, Pope John Paul II sounded out this appeal: I would like to ask all those who at all levels are concerned with promoting the authentic well-being of the family, to consider carefully the problems of the immigrant family, precisely in the light of the particular difficulties which it faces today, sometimes tragically (Dr. Nilda M. Castro)\textsuperscript{22}.

A case study in East Flores showed that many married men migrate to support their wives and children, thus causing a separation of husband and wife for extended periods. In an earlier study, Hugo observed that induced separations for extended periods due to international labor migration can lead to marital instability and the consequent permanent break-up of the family unit. The study in East Flores confirmed this finding. In fact, one of the most frequently voiced comments about the impact of migration in Sabah (East Malaysia) was marriage break-up. The study stated that some men and, to a lesser extent women, have taken an extra or substitute spouse in Malaysia. In the early 1990s concern over this issue was so great there was a local government move to initiate a transmigration scheme to resettle the wives and families of (Indonesian) men working in Malaysia to West Kalimantan so that they could visit more frequently. This did not succeed because the local matrix of extended family, community and church support is an important source of support to the women left behind.

Another effect of prolonged separation is that the wife, left behind with the children, has to assume unaccustomed roles, like becoming the head of the household. She does most of the decision-making in the family, which she might have wanted to share with her husband. She becomes more independent, perhaps because she has no other choice. At the same time, this separation loads all the household work and responsibilities on the -
wife and children. This leads to marital conflict, as many wives hold their husbands responsible for their overburdened lives. Even the children have to do more in the house to compensate for their father absence. Especially when wives are working mothers, household chores could be overwhelming for the children and could cause resentment towards both parents.

Separation of the family due to migration could be detrimental to family cohesion and marital stability. Some migrants who are separated from their families are concerned about whether their spouses are being faithful back in the home village. Such concerns transmitted to them through letters or social networks could lead to psychological stress and even to marital breakdown and divorce (ESCAP, 2001). However, it has been observed that some families have adopted more modern ways of living and have strengthened their families by making good use of remittances.

The impact of migration on the spouse left behind will vary depending on whether the migrant is male or female. When men migrate, the impact on the women left behind can be considerable, especially in those societies where women traditionally have limited roles outside the household. This may involve being put in decision-making positions traditionally reserved for men, an increased workload combining responsibilities inside and outside the household, and spending and investing the remittances. Female migration can put considerable stress on the family and traditional social systems. When men are left behind, as is common in the Philippines, the husbands may start drinking as they feel diminished in self-worth, or start new liaisons during the absence of the wife. These developments may give rise to problems affecting the welfare of the children left behind.
Impact of male migration on children

Some research findings show that absence of the father seems to have an impact on the social, psychological, moral and cognitive development of his children. In the typical patriarchal families, children develop a certain concept of the father as someone who exercises authority and provides protection and security. In cases of children with absent or separated fathers, studies show that father concept becomes distorted, particularly if this absence/separation occurs when the children are quite young. The early father child relationship has been found to be important for the child self-esteem and self-confidence. Paternal deprivation seems to result in the development of certain apprehensions in children, as well as impaired development of successful peer relationships (Abdalla, 2001).

Ann Whitehead and Imam Hashim in Children and Migration observed that globally, high rates of adult migration in various forms means that the numbers of children affected by all kinds of migration world-wide is truly staggering. This section comments on the difficulties of estimating the numbers of children affected by parental migration and then reviews the themes in the literature on its effects. The numbers of children living in households affected by migration in the communities of origin can be very high. More migration research has been done on international or transnational labour migration than on internal migration, although there are good reasons to believe that many more households are affected by internal and local regional migration than by transnational flows. It is, however, very difficult to identify migrant households of all kinds within normal national statistics, as the kinds of households in which the left behind family members live can be very varied in their composition. Variation in household composition means that there is no standard household form which the migration of one member produces (for example, not all female-headed households are the result of migration) and, that it is not immediately apparent whether a child whose parent or parents are not living in the same household is that of a migrant household member, a divorced couple or an orphan.
A recent nation-wide survey in South Africa found fully 25% of all households have members who are migrant workers, but this proportion rises to over 40% of households in deep rural areas (SAMP 2004). Much more typical information is that from Bangladesh, where there are no available figures for national rates. Instead, case studies of specific rural areas suggest that between 18 and 40% of rural households have at least one migrant member living and working elsewhere (Afsar 2003). Recent case study research in areas of high circular migration suggests that between 50-60% of people living in rural Tanzanian households have at least one member away, while the figure for rural Mali was 80% (Tacoli 2002).

Although these figures are only illustrative, and they do not refer only to migrants who have children, very many migrants do, and, thus, they suggest that living in a family with at least one parent away for long periods is part of the normal experience of childhood for many children in the developing world. However, very little research directly addresses the issue of what effects the absence of a parent has on the well-being of children in households and families left behind.

The extent to which it is fathers, mothers, or both parents who migrate and whether they leave their children behind varies very much from circumstance to circumstance. Historically, for example, male labour migrants in Southern Africa were not allowed to bring their families with them due to colonial, and later, apartheid labour movement regulations (O Laughlin 1998). There are also barriers to many migrants being accompanied by spouses and children, either because they lack legal status in their host communities, or because their legal status (for example as temporary labour migrants) does not carry the entitlement to bring their families for the duration of their contracts.

Sometimes both parents migrate, leaving children behind. Central American and Mexican families with young children often make arrangements for children to stay with relatives in their home country. They do this in order to avoid exposing them to uncertainty and protect them from the dangers of traveling without documents and crossing the US border (Orellana et al 2001). Migration of both parents, leading to a number of households in rural areas being composed of elderly grandparents and the young children of migrant
parents, has become very common in South Africa, with concern about the well-being of both grandchildren and grandparents. There are indications of a growing counter-trend, in which parents take their children with them, in part because of better educational facilities at the destinations (SAMP 2004).

Some critics say that when mothers migrate, their children are harmed; they may become malnourished, neglected, unruly and truant from school. They predict a higher divorce rate, a rise in extramarital affairs, misuse of money, drug addiction, gambling and other social ills due to the absence of one spouse (Gunatilleke, 1992; Rodrigo, 1998). While some blame migration for the breakdown of family life, others point to economic hardship, alcoholism, sexual and physical abuse, infidelity and desertion as underlying reasons for people choosing to leave their homes (Pongsapich, 1995).

Research on the impact of the mother or father migration on left-behind children is still in its infancy and there are slightly contradictory findings to date on a number of issues, such as whether children do better or worse in school and whether the impact of a mother absence is worse than the impact of the father absence. In the case of the Philippines, an earlier study (Battistella and Conaco 1998) indicates that children with parents away suffered in their social development and psychological well-being, especially when the mother was abroad. This was not confirmed in quite the same way in a more recent study (SMC 2004) where children of migrating parents were doing better on a number of scores, including their performance at school. This is partly related to the affordability of private education through the remittances, which is of higher quality and children thus do better on the whole.

The growth of migration in the ESCAP region has affected the welfare of a significant number of children. It is estimated that between 3 and 6 million children have been left behind by Filipino parents working overseas; the equivalent figure for Indonesia is one million, while for Thailand it is half a million (Bryant, 2005). The magnitude of the number of children affected by international migration warrants investigation of the problems and opportunities faced by children of migrants and the policies towards them.
A literature survey by Bryant (2005) of the social cost of separation on children left behind cited various difficulties, including neglect, poor performance in school, delinquency and psychological and relationship problems. Additional problems cited include claims of children being estranged from their parents and seeing them only as sources of gifts and money and children blaming problems of delinquency, drug abuse and premarital sex on their parents absence.

Boyz N the Hood includes, among many topics, a father's essential role in his son's healthy development and the disastrous effects a father's absence has on children and society. Arthur Salm's review (1991) reveals that the main character, Tre, has a father who strongly influences and guides him. His father's involvement in his life allows Tre to learn about responsibility, dedication, and morality. As a result, Tre avoids the social problems that pervade his South Central Los Angeles neighborhood, such as selling drugs, gang involvement, addiction, and violence. However, Tre's peers, who lack fathers, often fall victim to such problems. Through the film it is clear the father is extremely important in properly raising and teaching his son; consequently father absence has many negative effects on the son. Indeed, father absence is an extremely serious and fast growing social problem facing America today. Besides its disastrous effects on the son's mental and social development, father absence also poses serious threats for society, including gang-violence, delinquency, increased crime rates, and increases in drug abuse and addiction.

According to Popenoe (1996) delinquency and involvement in crime rank high among the many detrimental effects which father absence has on children. Reported violent crime has increased 550 percent between 1960 and 1996. The population, on the other hand, has increased only 41 percent. Between 1983 and 1992, juvenile arrest rates for murder increased 128 percent. According to Popenoe, such increased crime rates, especially those perpetrated by juveniles, represent a serious consequence which father absence has for society. For example, in A General Theory of Crime, written in 1990, two criminologists, Michael R. Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi, conclude that children living...
in single-parent families are more likely to involve themselves in crime than children in families where both parents are present. Popenoe also presents statistical information, concerning criminal percentages, which reveals that most violent criminals are from single-parent families without fathers. Popenoe mentions, "Sixty percent of America’s rapists, 72 percent of adolescent murderers, and 70 percent of long-term prison inmates come from fatherless homes". Conclusions gained from 50 major studies on the family structure’s effects on child development and children’s actions in society revealed that father absence serves as a key factor in delinquency and crime. The studies were synthesized to reveal that children from families without fathers are more likely to involve themselves in delinquency (Popenoe, p. 62)\textsuperscript{37}. Of course this does not imply that all children who experience father absence will involve themselves in delinquent activities, only that there exists a higher chance that some will. The delinquency that results from father absence also includes gang violence. In their article Lahey, Gordon, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Farrington (1999) revealed that family structure and involvement are causes behind adolescent gang entry. They found that almost half the gang members they interviewed grew up in a single-parent home (pp. 261-267)\textsuperscript{43}.

Difficulties in education may also arise in children who lack fathers. Popenoe (1996) mentions another major study, known as the National Surveys of Children, which reveals that children from single-parent families, especially boys who live with only their mother, are more likely to display problematic behavior in school(p. 62). Likewise, in her book (1994), McLanahan also reveals that children who live with only one parent are more likely to do worse in school, attend school less, and to concern themselves less with college\textsuperscript{31}.

Father absence can also affect the way a male views women and sexual relationships. For males, father absence may lead to a decreased respect for women and sex, which leads to an increased chance that fatherless males will take part in early sexual activity and experience fatherhood as teenagers (Ancona, pp. 59-60). In Crisis in America: Father Absence (1998), Frank Ancona presents the father as an essential figure in developing the
son's ability to form lasting and loving relationships with women. From the father, the son learns self-control, maturity, and respect for women (pp. 59-60). When a male child has a father in his life, he learns to view sex as a special and important part of the male-female relationship, in which both partners are equal. However, male children who lack fathers in their lives often view women as less than equal (p. 60). Furthermore, according to Ancona (1998), some males without fathers in their lives are much more likely to participate in casual sex because they possess little respect for females and do not view sex as either special or meaningful. To such males, the purpose of a sexual relationship with a female is to secure their own "macho" identity for themselves and for their peers. These male children have not been taught by their fathers to respect women, or to respect sexual relationships. As a result, some males who lack fathers often do not understand and/or care about the importance that love, mutual respect, and equality have in a relationship. They are simply concerned with using women and sexual relationships as a means to achieve pleasure and gain stamina with their peers.

Ancona concerns father absence as a growing problem in American families. According to Ancona, a father's absence harms children and causes societal problems, such as violence, gang involvement, drug addiction, and teenage pregnancy. In one section Ancona presents the father as an essential figure in the son's ability to form lasting and loving relationships with women. From the father, the son learns to utilize self-control, to act maturely, and to respect women. When a male child has a father in his life, he learns to view sex as a special and important component in the male-female relationship, in which both partners are equal. However, for male children who lack fathers in their lives, women are often viewed as less than equal. Males without fathers in their lives are much more likely to participate in casual sex, because they have little respect for females and do not view sex as either special or meaningful. These males did not have fathers in their life to teach them to respect women or to respect sexual relationships.

Gil, Vega, and Biafora (1998) analyze the effects family structures and family risk factors have on black, Hispanic, and white adolescent boys and their drug use. They wanted to
compare the family structures and family risk factors in the three ethnic groups to determine just how much influence the family had on drug use among male adolescents. Previous family influence studies had concluded that the two-parent nuclear family was the most beneficial to teenagers and later found evidence that alternative family structures were just as efficient as the two-parent family. Evidence also proves that family structure and some family risk factors are specific to each ethnic group. Scientists were able to draw conclusions on family influence and drug use based upon male adolescents in Florida who answered surveys over three years. They divided the families into four types: two-parent families, single-mother families, mother and other adult families, and families that changed from the two-parent type to any other type. Gil, Vega, and Biafora also took into account the effects which family pride, family cohesion, family communication, family drug use problems, and parent derogation play. The scientists analyzed how family structure affects drug abuse, how family risk factors affect each ethnic group's drug use, and how family risk factors and family structure combine to affect drug use.

Lahey, Loeber concerns the factors that cause adolescent gang involvement. Lahey, Gordon, Loeber, and Stouthamer-Loeber (1999) considered "conduct disorder behavior", peers, family income, and parental supervision as possible causes behind adolescent gang involvement. An analysis of the Rochester Youth Development Study identified insufficient parental supervision as a minor cause of gang entry. The Seattle Social Development Project also revealed that a family's changing structure is another contributing cause to gang membership. Lahey, Gordon, Loeber, and Stouthamer-Loeber conducted a similar experiment to find gang membership causes. Their results revealed family structure and involvement as partial causes behind gang involvement. They found that almost half the gang members they interviewed grew up in a single-parent home. They did not consider this statistic important, but they included lack of parental supervision as a factor behind adolescent gang entry.

McLanahan (1994) concerns how father absence affects child development, as well as the negative social implications for those effects. Such consequences for children include an
increased teen pregnancy rate and leaving school. McLanahan presents statistical information to support her claim that father absence has negative effects on children. For example, from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, a study conducted in 1979, it was shown females who grow up without fathers are 2.5 times more likely to experience teenage pregnancy. The study also showed that male and female children who lack fathers are 1.4 as likely to leave school. McLanahan also revealed that children who live with only one parent are more likely to do less well in school, to concern themselves less with college, and to attend school less.

Popenoe (1996) concerns how father absence affects child development and the negative factors that consequently arise in society, such as juvenile delinquency and violence. Popenoe uses much statistical information to support his claim, including increased percentages of violent crime and arrests of juveniles for murder. Popenoe also includes information on conclusions gained from 50 major studies concerning the family structure's effects on child development and children's actions in society, including delinquency. A synthesis of the studies concluded that children from families without fathers are more likely to involve themselves in delinquency. Another major study, known as the National Surveys of Children, revealed similar patterns. Popenoe also included statistical information concerning criminal percentages, which showed that the majority of violent criminals are from single-parent families without fathers. In another section Popenoe discusses the causes behind and possible remedies for father absence. Although there are several causes, two main factors are the increasing divorce rates in American marriages, as well as the increasing teenage pregnancy rate. Since both divorce and teenage pregnancy are primary causes for father absence, stopping these factors is essential in ending the problem.

Salm (1991) presents a brief summary, as well as mentioning the film's strong messages and values for modern society. The movie revealed that the main character, named Tre, has a father who strongly influences and guides his development during his young life. Through his father's involvement in his life, Tre learns responsibility and dedication, and
successfully avoids the social problems that affect his peers. Such social problems include selling drugs, involvement in gangs, addiction, and violence. Tre works hard not to become involved in these activities, and instead wishes to escape his neighborhood's violent cycle through a strong, college education. On the other hand, Tre's friend, Doughboy, lacks a father in his life. Although Doughboy's mother is in his life, she favors Doughboy's brother Ricky over him. Without a father, or even a caring and influential mother in his life, Doughboy spends time in prison and involves himself in drug dealing. He eventually participates in gang-related violence and ultimately falls victim to the neighborhood's violent cycle.\(^{36}\)

Several studies have attempted to examine the changes brought by overseas migration on Filipino families. Among the aspects examined are: impacts of male migration on the wives left behind (e.g., Arcinas and Bautista, 1992\(^{39}\); Go and Postrado, 1986\(^{40}\)), impacts of wives' migration on husbands and children (e.g., Pingol, 2001\(^{41}\); Asis, Yeoh and Huang, 2002), parental absence and children left behind (e.g., Cruz\(^{43}\), 1987; Battistella and Conaco\(^{44}\), 1996), negotiating family ties (Asis, 2003; Asis, Yeoh and Huang\(^{42}\), 2002), and economic impacts and use of remittances (e.g., Arcinas and Bautista, 1992; Go and Postrado, 1986). The economic impacts of migration on families generally converge in pointing out that on the whole, and in the short-run at least, migration has enabled families to experience economic improvement. Better housing, funds for the education of children or family members, or capital to start a business are the usual indicators of migrant families' material improvement. The non-material impacts are more variable and are more difficult to delineate. The difficulty of mapping out non-material consequences and methodological limitations - e.g., cross-sectional design, limited sampling, or the lack of comparison with non-migrant families - should be considered in the interpretation of the findings of extant studies.\(^{(Asis Mauja M.B.-Fabio Baggio, 2002)\(^{38}\)}

Findings from the 1996's study on grade school children offer a clearer picture of the effects of parental absence on the situation of children. The study was clear about the parameters it wanted to measure (physical development, social-psychological indicators,
Moreover, the design took account of different forms of parental absence: father-absent, mother-absent and both parents-absent. Most of all, it offered a comparison of children from migrant families vis-à-vis children whose parents are non-migrants. Among others, the study confirmed that the children left behind experience loneliness and abandonment, but at the same time they also understand their parents’ departure. The study found that the children of migrant parents lagged behind in school performance compared to children with both parents present. Children left behind also tended to be less socially adjusted than children whose parents were both present. In terms of spiritual and moral formation, the study suggested that the absence of parents did not have a negative impact on the children left behind, CBCP, Manila 1996.

Shareen Joshi (2004) is of the opinion that the empirical evidence on the adverse impact of female-headship on children’s welfare lacks consensus. Several studies using data from the United States and Latin America have indeed found that children from female-headed households experience lower educational and occupational attainment, and in some countries, higher risks of teenage parenthood. Other studies however, argue that these apparent correlations arise due to pre-existing disadvantages of families and are thus not causal in any way (Painter and Levine, 2000). Furthermore, evidence from several developing countries in Africa and Asia suggest that children from female-headed households may have higher schooling attainment than children from male-headed households (Lloyd and Blanc, 1996; Pong, 1996; Kennedy and Peters, 1992). There are several possible reasons for the lack of consensus in this literature. First, there are difficulties in defining female headship: definitions of headship employed in national surveys, the criteria used by survey respondents on the field, and the definitions based on contributions to household income do not always coincide (Rosenhouse, 1989; Kennedy and Peters, 1992; Kennedy and Haddad, 1994; Handa, 1996). Second, most analyses of female headship do not take into account the heterogeneity within the group of female household heads (exceptions are Rosenhouse, 1989; Kennedy and Haddad, 1992; Handa, 1994; Handa, 1996; Dreze and Srinivasan, 1998). Typically, the group includes widows, divorced women, single women, abandoned women McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) and...
Seltzer (1994) provide a comprehensive review of evidence from the US, Barros, Fox and Mendonca (1995) provide evidence from Brazil.

In their sample of seven African countries, Lloyd and Blanc (1996) find that though female headed households are economically disadvantaged relative to male-headed households, children in these households are more likely to have attended school and completed grade 4 than children in male-headed households. In Cameroon, for example, 81 percent of children in female-headed households complete fourth grade by age 14, compared to 60 percent of children in male-headed households of like income. Kennedy and Peters (1992) find that in Kenya and Malawi, though female-headed households are in the lowest income group, the nutrition status of pre-school children in these households was significantly higher than in any other type of household. Similarly, in Malaysia, Pong (1996) finds that children of widowed mothers have similar school participation rates as children of two-parent families.

Researchers have found that Arabic children are profoundly affected by their father's absence in those traditionally patriarchal societies. With a father present, they would develop a concept of fathers as an authority figure, as well as a source of protection and security. But since their fathers are gone, the children seem to be more fearful. Suffering poorer self-esteem and self-confidence, they have difficulty in forming peer relationships.

In South Asia, older children are forced to take on responsibilities once held by their absent parents – which means that they sometimes must drop out of school in order to take care of younger siblings or other household chores.

An unexpected result of parental migration in some South Asian and Arab countries is that, in areas where the extended family tradition had appeared.
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