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IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION
ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN LEFT BEHIND

A Case Study of a Punjabi Village

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INTRODUCTION

The impact of international migration on a country may be assessed by analysing costs and benefits accruing to various groups of the population. Obviously private rate of return to out-migration are positive because otherwise migration would not have taken place, but that does not necessarily imply that social rate of return is always positive. It follows then, that the cost-benefit analysis without taking into consideration externalities of the migration will not only be incomplete but also quite misleading. It may be noted that while an increase in the incomes of emigrants tends to increase their welfare, there are certain factors such as neglect of children's education, excessive work load, frustration of the left behind and the corruption which tends to decrease the welfare. On balance the result may not necessarily be a positive social rate of return. However, it is very difficult to quantify these externalities and as such one cannot assess exactly the benefits and costs. In the present paper we shall identify these effects and quantify them to the extent possible.

The analysis presented in this study is confined to one small village in tehsil Gujar Khan which has experienced an excessive out-migration. Though the results reported here may not be fully representative of Pakistan because social norms differ from one region to the other, yet we feel that even the results of one village throw sufficient light for reducing our ignorance about the social effects of out-migration. We also hope that it would also stimulate further research in this field.

There are three sections in the paper. Section-I describes the sample and gives the distribution of population into emigrant non-emigrant

population. The effects of migration such as remittances, education, job preference, health and family planning and nutrition are discussed in the second section. Section III presents broad conclusions of the study.

Sample and Data Collection:

The sample¹ of emigrants and non-emigrants² was drawn from six dhoks³ in the village. Number of households from each dhok has been chosen in proportion to the houses in each dhok in the village.

I. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The age-wise distribution of population in the emigrant and non-emigrant samples is shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Age Specific Population Distribution of Emigrant
and Non-Emigrant Samples

Age Groups	Emigrant's Sample				Non-Emigrant's Sample			
	No. of Persons		As a percent of total		No. of persons		As a percent of total	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Male	Female	Male	Female
0- 4	26	16	26.00	10.26	21	27	17.50	18.88
5- 9	25	23	25.00	17.95	25	19	20.83	13.29
10-14	13	19	13.00	12.18	22	16	18.33	11.19
15-19	5	19	5.00	12.16	12	12	10.00	6.39
20-24	4	13	4.00	8.33	4	8	3.33	5.59
25-29	4	16	4.00	10.26	2	8	1.67	5.59
30-34	1	12	1.00	7.69	-	20	-	13.97
35-39	-	7	-	4.48	5	9	4.17	6.29
40-44	2	11	2.00	7.05	6	8	5.00	5.59
45-49	1	4	1.00	2.56	2	3	1.67	2.09
50 & above	19	11	19.00	7.05	21	13	17.50	9.09
Total	100	156	100.00	99.99	120	143	100.00	99.96

1. There are 50 households in each sample.
2. Non-emigrants include the internal or local migrants.
3. Dhok is a cluster of houses, also known as hamlets.

The number of females is greater than males in the working age group (15-44 years) showing incidence of heavy male out-migration at the international and local levels.

II. EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

Remittances

Remittances both in cash and kind are the major benefit of international migration. Remittances in Pakistan increased from Rs. 822.8 million in 1974-75 to Rs. 1,451 million in 1978-79. The increase in remittances during the recent years has been mainly due to increase in remittances from the Middle-East. The share of remittances from Middle-East increased from 49 percent in 1974-75 to over 80 percent in 1976-77, where it has stabilized over the last two years.

Utilization of Remittances

The data on remittances is usually difficult to analyse because it is not easy to ascertain as to what proportion of it represents savings and what proportion is consumed or invested. Various studies⁴ on international migration in under-developed countries have shown that these remittances stimulate housing activities. In the village under study in response to what major investments have been made after emigration, it was found that 71 percent of the investments accounted for the renovation and building of new houses. The other major heads of investment have been land and live-stock, which have shares of fifteen and seven percent of the total remittances saved respectively. (see Appendix Table 1). The very low share of land acquisition in total investment is very striking.

4. John Corell and others: Migration from Rural Areas. IDS. 1976. page 99-100.

This is mainly due to the fact that in the absence of men, the women of emigrant households have to take care of agricultural tasks also. With the incoming remittances the emigrant's households prefer to purchase most of the things from the market than to grow themselves.

Education

A primary school was started in 1968 on self-help basis by the villagers and emigrants made donations. The school was up graded to middle in 1978, while a primary school for girls has also been established. There are four teachers for the eight classes and they all come from the adjoining villages.

At the time of survey 262 children were enrolled in the school at different levels. Some boys were reported going to Gujar Khan city for matriculation.

As will be seen from Table 2, the number of school-going children upto class three is greater in the emigrant sample - 22.08 percent of males and 11.35 percent of females, compared to non-emigrant's sample of 13.3 percent of males and only 3.48 percent of females. However, beyond class three the position is reversed - 14.28 of males are going to school in the former group compared to 17.76 percent in the later. Differential in behaviour is due to higher incidence of drop-out among the emigrant's children. They show little interest in education as they feel they are going abroad sooner or later. It is believed that they would be working as unskilled workers, and to continue education seems to them totally useless. This view is not of the children only, the parents also share the view. They do not realize the importance of investment in human capital. Their time horizon is very short.

Table 2

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Educational Levels of Emigrant's and Non-Emigrant's Sample
(EMIGRANT'S SAMPLE)

	NUMBER OF PERSONS				AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
None Quran only	35 -		112 2		45.45		79.43 1.42	
Class	Comple- ted	Incomp- lete	Comple- ted	Incomp- lete	Comple- ted	Incomp- lete	Comple- ted	Incompl- ete
I	-	5	-	10	-	6.49	-	7.09
II	-	6	3	5	-	7.79	2.12	3.55
III	-	6	-	1	-	7.79	-	0.71
IV	1	3	1	-	1.30	3.90	0.71	-
V	4	2	5	-	5.19	2.60	3.55	-
VI	2	1	-	-	2.60	1.30	-	-
VII	-	5	-	-	-	6.49	-	-
VIII	7	-	1	-	9.09	-	0.71	-
IX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	1	-	-	-	0.71	-
Total;	77		141		99.99		100.00	

Contd/.....

(NON-EMIGRANT'S SAMPLE)

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Table 2 (Continued)

	Number of persons				As a percent of total			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
None	39		102		43.33		88.69	
Quran only	-		3		-		2.61	
Classes	Completed	Incompleted	Completed	Incompleted	Completed	Incompleted	Completed	Incompleted
I	-	2	-	2	-	2.22	-	1.74
II	-	4	-	1	-	4.44	-	0.87
III	2	6	-	1	2.22	6.67	-	0.87
IV	5	3	-	-	5.55	3.33	-	-
V	7	4	2	-	7.78	4.44	1.74	-
VI	2	4	1	1	2.22	4.44	0.87	0.87
VII	-	5	1	1	-	5.55	0.87	0.87
VIII	4	-	-	-	4.44	-	-	-
IX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	3	-	-	-	3.33	-	-	-
Total	90		115		99.96		100.00	

Sometimes increase in the workload of children after the out-migration of elder ones has been held responsible for drop-out. However, data does not bear that out because majority of the household's reported that work load did not change due to out-migration.

Table 3
Workload of Emigrant's Children

Nature of Change	Increase	Decrease	Same	NA/NR	Total
No. of households	6	2	34	6	50

NA = Not applicable
NR = No response

Desired Education for Children

Table 4
Desired Education for Children

Educational Levels	Emigrant's Sample				Non-Emigrant's Sample			
	No. of persons		As a per- cent of total		No. of persons		As a percent of total	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Religious	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Primary	16	-	32	-	18	1	36	2
Middle	-	-	-	-	9	3	18	6
High	20	13	40	26	6	7	12	14
Secondary	-	7	-	14	1	9	2	18
B.A.	1	9	2	18	1	8	2	16
M.A.	2	14	4	28	1	7	2	14
As much as they want	-	3	-	6	-	1	-	2
No education	8	-	16	-	5	1	10	2
NA/NR	2	4	4	8	5	10	10	20
Religious and primary	-	-	-	-	4	3	8	6
Total	50	50	100	100	50	50	100	100

It is very important to note that because of traditions, which become more binding as they go up the ladder of social status, 40 percent of the mothers in the emigrant sample who desired and could also afford to send their daughters to high school could not do so. It is argued that the girls are not supposed to earn a living, it is considered rude even to think of girls taking a job, especially among the rich households. Amongst the non-emigrant sample, female education is not seriously hindered by poverty⁵ and the traditions. It is interesting to note that as long as people are poor and work load is quite high, parents cannot send their children to school, but when poverty and work load are not the constraints they feel well-off and are bound by traditions of that group wherein ^{the} girls are not to earn a living. Therefore, female education in villages is caught in a vicious circle.

The desire for some minimum education for girls enabling them to read and write letters, and necessary for becoming aware of the world around, was emphasized by mothers in the light of their own experiences.

Job Preference

The highest priority was accorded to going abroad in the two samples, followed by office work and army. Only one woman in the non-emigrant's sample desired her son to be a farmer. Seventy-two percent of the women in the emigrant's sample and 70 percent in the non-emigrant's sample disapproved of any kind of job for their girls and they emphasized that girls are not supposed to earn a living.

5. Although education is free they could not afford the expenditure on books, clothes, shoes etc.

Table 5

Job Preference for Children

Types of jobs	Emigrant's Sample				Non-Emigrant's Sample			
	Number of persons		As a percent of total		Number of persons		As a percent of total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Army	8	-	16	-	6	-	12	-
Office	7	-	14	-	9	1	18	2
Abroad	22	-	44	-	25	-	50	-
Engineer	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Pilot	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Teacher	1	4	2	8	-	6	-	12
Nurse	1	2	2	4	1	4	2	8
Farmer	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Driver	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
None	-	36	-	72	1	35	2	70
Nurse/Teacher	-	2	-	4	-	-	-	-
Others	-	2	-	4	-	-	-	-
NA/NR	9	4	18	8	6	4	12	8
Total:	50	50	100	100	50	50	100	100

As a direct result of the demonstration effect of emigration that allures the youth and the parents alike, the desire to go abroad is very high. Pucca houses, money from abroad, electric appliances and clothes are very strong attractions for them. Now that the village is to get electric power supply very shortly the use of television sets, room heaters and refrigerators, which have already been brought in, will add further fuel to the fire of emigration. The struggle to leave the country will become more bitter thus accentuating the existing shortage of semi-skilled and unskilled labour.

Health and Family Planning

A multi-purpose dispensary has recently been set up in one of the dhoks but most of the people in other dhoks were not aware of its existence.

However» the main source of medical treatment as shown in table 6 has been the private doctors in Gujar Khan.

Table 6

Source of Medical Treatment

Sources	Emigrant's Sample		Non-Emigrant's Sample	
	Number of households	As a percent of total	Number of households	As a percent of total
Government hospital	1	2	-	-
Hospital & private doctor	1	2	4	8
Private doctor only	44	88	34	68
Homeopath	4	8	-	-
Homeopath & doctor	-	-	7	14
Maulvi/pir and doctor	-	-	5	10
Total:	50	100	50	100

However, the visit to the private doctor was not so frequent as it may appear from the number of users. It was undertaken only in case of extensive illness. Six migrant households reported change in the mode of treatment after the migration because now they are able to afford for better treatment.

Attitude Towards Family Planning

Almost all the women were aware of family planning programmes; 96 percent and 92 percent in the emigrant and non-emigrant samples respectively.

Table 7

Knowledge of and Attitude Towards Family Planning

Years	Emigrant's Sample		Non-Emigrant's Sample	
	Number of respondent's	As a per-cent of total	Number of respondent's	As a per-cent of total
Heard of Family Planning	48	96	46	92
Not heard of Family Planning	1	2	2	4
N. A.	1	2	2	4
Approve of family planning	33	66	40	80
Disapprove of family planning	15	30	9	18
NA/MR	2	4	1	2
Total:	50	100	50	100

Of the 96 percent of women who had heard of family planning in the emigrant's sample, sixty-six percent approved of it while in the non-emigrant sample eighty percent approved of it. The major reason for the high rate of acceptance among the latter group/the more children you have the hindrance to work increases and consequently poverty rises. This is corroborated by their responses to the question of difference between two births where 34 percent of women in non-emigrant sample desired a gap of four years between two births compared to 24 percent of emigrant's sample. The gap between two births desired by women in the two samples is given in Table 8.

Table 8

Difference Between Two Births

Years	Emigrant's Sample		Non-Emigrant's Sample	
	Number of respondents	As a per-cent of a total	Number of respondents	As a percent of total
2	11	22	6	12
3	16	32	16	32
4	11	22	17	34
5	6	12	9	18
5-6	6	12	2	4
Total:	50	100	50	100

Another reason put forward for a considerable gap between two births ranging between two to four years was that child birth is very expensive. These costs include the fees of mid-wife who charged Rs. 50/60 for delivering a girl and Rs. 150/200 for the boy, plus a suit of clothes and sweetmeat. Besides that it was customary to entertain friends and relatives, give presents to close relatives and alms to the poor at the birth of a boy. The mother too had to be given good diet and they could not afford these expenditures. Thus we see that increased female labour force participation, poverty and high cost of rearing children has led to a decline in the demand for children.

Adoption of Family Planning Methods and Corruption

That the out-migration can lead to social strains and costs may be seen from the fact that the list of contraceptive users contained the wives of emigrants and unmarried girls too. It may be noted that the contraceptives have been provided to them recently but these women have been using the indigenous contraceptives such as gur⁶, leaves of berry trees grinded and wrapped in cloth, the inner pulp of kiker⁷ trees formed in a stick shape, harir - a fruit used in medicines prepared by hakims, it is round/and about an inch in diameter. They are inserted into the uterus and according to them due to their warm effect they all prevented conception very effectively. The village mid-wives are entrusted with these secrets. Although everybody knows about the affairs of the others it is never pointed out no matter how badly their relations are strained.

8

Batool, reports high rate of female corruption in five villages in Chakwal where there has been heavy male out migration. No one talks about

6. Gur. Raw sugar, unclarified sugar made by cooling boiled sugar-cane juice.
7. Kiker. An umbriferous acacia tree widely scattered in the Punjab plains.
8. Batool, Naheed. "Male-female interaction". unpublished M. A. Thesis (Anthropology) 1980.

it as it is common to all the villagers and also because the emigrants are now rich people and they are respected for their wealth.

From the facts reported above we see that on the one hand the increased awareness of contraceptive use among the village women despite illiteracy⁹ will have the effect of reducing fertility which has its advantages at both the individual and the national level. On the other hand high rate of female corruption is a very disturbing aspect of migration. It stands in sharp contradiction to the values of an Islamic society where chastity is the most superior virtue. It is too great a price to pay for the "much needed foreign exchange" which emigrants earn.

However, these findings cannot be generalized for all migrants from Pakistan. These may be 'a-typical' villages because of excessive and exclusive male out-migration. However, the mere fact that corruption is at that large a scale is very disturbing.

Nutrition

A comparison of the dietary patterns of the emigrant and non-emigrant households has been made to see whether (i) the consumption levels of the emigrant's families would improve considerably with the incoming remittance and (ii) these families would be more conscious about the health and diet of the expecting and lactating mothers and children than those of non-emigrants.

Monthly adult male equivalent consumption in kilograms of some commodities which could be easily quantified is recorded in table 9.

9. It is generally argued that family planning methods can only be effective if the women are educated so that they can learn and follow them easily. However, in case of these women who are not educated we see that there are other factors like poverty, work and frustration which compell them to adopt family planning methods.

Table 9

Monthly Per-Capita (Adult male equivalent) Consumption of:

Commodities	(weight in Kgs.)	
	Emigrant Households	Non-Emigrant Households
Meat	0.807	0.431
Ghee	1.581	1.229
Sugar	0.411	0.669
Gur	3.552	2.785
Wheat	22.18	21.128
Maize	6.92	3.807
Tea (lbs)	0.544	0.362

Table 9 clearly shows that the level of consumption is significantly higher for the emigrant's households than those who did not emigrate. One exception is that sugar consumption of the non-emigrant sample is greater, but this is due to supply constraint as households in this sample belonged to army who could easily get as much sugar as they desired. However, the total consumption of gur and sugar for the emigrant families is greater than that of the non-emigrants.

Another exception is the consumption of maize which is generally regarded as inferior to wheat, is higher among the emigrant families. This, as explained by the women of non-emigrant families is so because they do not consider it proper to serve maize bread instead of wheat, to the men who are at home.

In order to see if there were any differences in the consumption patterns of the emigrant and non-emigrant samples for different family sizes the above table was disaggregated by eleven family sizes (Appendix table 2). With minor exceptions the overall trend in the consumption of the above mentioned commodities remain very much the same.

Consumption data regarding the commodities like fruit, milk, eggs, chicken and vegetables, which are not reported here, have been in terms of how many times a week these commodities are used. They show that the consumption level of the emigrant's families is higher than that of the non-emigrants in case of these commodities also.

In order to determine the awareness and importance of better nutrition among the females the above dietary patterns were supplemented by asking questions to expecting or lactating women or other women of child bearing age as to whether special diet should be given to expecting/lactating mothers and children below five years of age. They were further asked if they themselves were given this special diet or it was given to women in their families.

Table 10 shows that the degree of awareness regarding the necessity of extra care for expecting mothers and younger children is relatively higher among the females of non-migrant households.

However, when it came to how many were actually given? the response was very divergent in the two samples. Among the emigrant households, 24 percent reported getting special diet during pregnancy, 14 percent during lactation got some additional good diet especially milk, and 42 percent of the households were giving special diet to their children. Among the non-emigrant sample only 12 percent of women reported getting special diet during pregnancy, and 4 percent during lactation. Fourteen percent of the households gave some kind of additional diet to the children below five years of age.

Table 10

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Should Special Diet be given to Mother and
Children ?

Emigrant Households (a)

Responses	Expectant Mothers				Lactating Mothers				Children below five year's age			
	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total
Number of respondents	38	4	8	50	33	11	6	50	42	1	7	50
As a percent of total	76	8	16	100	66	22	12	100	84	2	14	100

Non Emigrant's Households (b)

Responses	Expectant Mothers				Lactating Mothers				Children below five year's age			
	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total
Number of respondents	38	8	4	50	37	7	6	50	44	-	6	50
As a percent of total	76	16	8	100	74	14	12	100	88	-	12	100

Table 11

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Special diet is given to mothers and children

Emigrant Households (a)

Responses	Expectant Mothers				Lactating Mothers				Children below five year's age			
	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total
Number of respondents	12	34	4	50	7	39	4	50	21	25	4	50
As a percent of total	24	68	8	100	14	78	8	100	42	50	8	100

Non-Emigrant Households (b)

Responses	Expectant Mothers				Lactating Mothers				Children below five year's age			
	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total	Yes	No	NA/NR	Total
Number of respondents	6	41	3	50	2	45	3	50	7	40	3	50
As a percent of total	12	82	6	100	4	90	6	100	14	80	6	100

The major reason for not giving special diet to the mothers was poverty; 68 percent of the emigrant and 32 percent of the non-emigrant's sample women said they could not afford it. The mothers quite often lamented "when we cannot afford good food for children how can the mother swallow it". Fifty percent of the emigrants and 80 percent of the non-emigrants households said they could not afford special diet for their children.

From the above analysis we see that the inflow of remittances has definitely alleviated the poverty of a section of population in the village. Although the composition of the diet remains the same for two groups the international migrants are certainly better fed compared to the others.

CONCLUSIONS

The study brings out very clearly the social costs of outmigration. No doubt, the inflow of remittances has alleviated the poverty of a section of population in the village. However, the relatively higher levels of income accompanied by the inflow of luxuries such as T.V. sets, and refrigerators, etc. have eroded the incentives for getting educated. It may be noted that even those who can afford to pay for higher education prefer to pay huge sums of money to the recruiting agents for their quick exodus from the country, then to acquire the education. Interestingly enough the contact with the outside world has not resulted in any change in attitudes towards females education. The girls are not educated because they are not supposed to earn a living, though they continue to work on farms. Moreover, because of the absence of male members from the land, there has been some adverse effect on agricultural production.

Our analysis suggests that increase in the female labour force participation especially in the poorer households has led to a decline in the fertility because child rearing has become expensive and, too many children are a hindrance to work. Family planning practices have been adopted by these households.

While adoption of the family planning practices has resulted in lower rates of fertility, the awareness of corticosteroids, coupled with long absence of males has resulted in higher rate of corruption among the women left behind.

As said before remittances have eased the poverty of a section of population and the nutritional standards of the emigrant families have improved. The females in the two samples know better the health and nutritional needs of the mothers and small children. However, the awareness did not result in the provision of these needs as they are as low in the emigrant families as among the non-emigrants. This leads us to the conclusion that while government is making every effort to provide maximum facilities to the emigrants because they are a major source of foreign exchange earnings the social consequences of this mass exodus should not be completely ignored.

APPENDIX TABLE 1

Investments

No.	House Purchased/ Build	Land	Live Stock	Renovated the house	Dug well	Total
1.	90,000	45,000				
2.	60,000					
3.	60,000					
4.	50,000	18,000				
5.	35,000					
6.	33,000					
7.	Built the house					
8.	"					
9.	"					
10.	"	6,5000		4,700	7,000	
11.	"		10,000	2,000		
12.	"		24,000			
13.	"			5,000		
14.	"			4,500		
15.	"			7,000		
Total	323,000	69,500	34,000	23,200	7,000	461,700
Percent of total	71.042	15.053	7.364	5.025	1.516	100.0

Appendix Table 2

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Monthly per capita (adult male equivalent) consumption by
Different Family Sizes

No. of h/h Adult male equivalent	4 1.9	2 2.5	2 2.8	2 3.7	4 3.8	2 3.9	2 4.7	1 4.8	1 5.4	1 5.8	1 7.7
Int. Mig.	1.134	1.306	0.486	0.490	0.417	0.697	<u>MEAT</u> 0.289	0.740	0.672	2.346	1.885
Local Mig.	0.537	0.453	0.486	0.367	0.362	0.348	0.240	0.740	0.370	0.083	0.154
Int. Mig.	1.790	2.177	1.457	1.594	1.625	1.163	<u>GHEE</u> 1.154	2.221	0.840	2.346	2.356
Local Mig.	1.566	1.451	1.006	1.347	1.551	0.872	0.723	1.723	0.840	1.095	0.589
Int. Mig.	2.473	7.546	2.356	4.413	3.163	3.489	<u>GUR</u> 4.342	2.926	5.034	3.120	7.067 ⁷
Local Mig.	2.312	1.451	4.850	1.471	2.924	3.024	2.702	1.777	1.007	1.564	-
Int. Mig.	23.877	17.334	23.315	19.61	36.999	23.26	<u>WHEAT</u> 27.823	18.515	16.789	12.510	28.277
Local Mig.	29.35	17.417	29.159	9.807	19.689	13.953	17.369	22.22	9.408	3.26	16.493
Int. Mig.	0.519	0.363	0.523	0.675	0.624	0.770	<u>TEA</u> 0.552	0.816	0.370	0.344	0.130
Local Mig.	0.460	0.400	0.305	0.228	0.256	0.266	0.408	0.184	0.516	0.516	0.258
Int. Mig.	0.477	-	-	-	0.238	0.238	<u>SUGAR</u> 0.289	0.185	-	-	-
Local Mig.	0.857	0.725	0.404	0.367	0.397	-	-	0.185	0.166	0.156	0.649

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