

abortion made birth control extremely difficult. Legal abortions fell from a million in 1965 to 52 000 in 1967. However, rising maternal and infant mortality rates associated with the restrictions on abortion marred the policy's initial success.

The increase in live births was short-lived. After the police returned to more normal duties, the number of abortions increased. The incentives provided by the state were not enough to sustain an increase in birth rate, which again began to decline. By 1983 the birth rate had fallen to 14.3 per 1,000, the rate of annual increase in population had dipped to 3.7 per 1,000, and the number of abortions again exceeded the number of live births.

Romanian demographic policies continued to be unsuccessful largely because they ignored the relationship of socio-economic development and demographics. Currently, Romania's birth rate is 10.3 per 1,000 (185th in the world) and its total fertility rate is 1.39 children per woman (198th in the world).

Abortion in India

In India, ultrasound technology, coupled with a traditional preference for boys, has led to mass female foeticide. Although gender-based abortion is illegal, parents are choosing to abort female foetuses in such large numbers that experts estimate that India has lost 10 million girls in the past 20 years. In the 12 years since selective abortion was outlawed only one doctor has been convicted of the crime.

The prejudices against having a daughter run deep in India, where tradition dictates that when she is married a woman's family must pay the groom's family a large dowry. By contrast a son is considered an asset. Even leaving aside the wealth his bride will bring, a boy will inherit property and care for his parents in old age.

Selective abortion has been accelerating in a globalizing India. Wealthier and better-educated Indians still want sons: a survey revealed that female foeticide was highest among women with university degrees. The urban middle classes can also afford the ultrasound tests to determine the sex of the foetus. For the two years up to 2005 India had just 880 female babies born to each 1,000 males.

The shortage of women has had some negative social effects: unmarried young men are turning to crime, and violence against women has increased. Some men in the rich northern state of Haryana have taken to buying brides from other parts of India. Many of these wives become slaves and their children are shunned.

Migration

People migrate for a number of different reasons. Most voluntary migrants are people moving either for work (this is especially true for

More material available:

www.oxfordsecondary.co.uk/ibgeography
Read how unsafe abortions kills 70 000 women a year

To do:

Study Figure 1.18, which shows safe and unsafe abortions per 1,000 women aged 15–44, in 1995 and 2003.

- Define the terms safe and unsafe abortion.
- In which regions are the most unsafe abortions found?
- In which regions are most safe abortions found?
- Suggest reasons for the varied pattern of abortions in Asia.
- Comment on the changes in safe and unsafe abortions between 1995 and 2003.
- "Female foeticide is a social necessity." Discuss.

To research

Visit <http://news.bbc.co.uk> for the article "Europe's terms for terminations" and see how access to abortion varies across Europe. Comment on the differences in access to abortion within the EU.

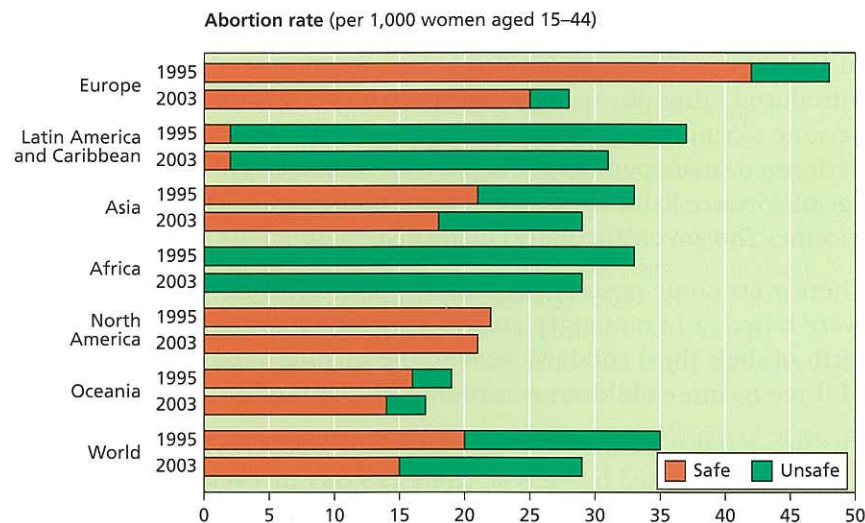


Figure 1.18 Global abortions, 1995 and 2003

young people), to retire to a small town or coastal area (this is especially true in some rich countries) or to live in a smaller urban area for a better quality of life than they had in a large urban area. Others may migrate for educational or health reasons. In contrast, forced migrations may be due to civil conflict, environmental damage or some form of persecution.

Migrations are commonly divided into a number of types:

- forced or voluntary
- long distance or short distance
- international or internal.

Theories of migration

A number of laws and theories relate to patterns of migration. One of the earliest was that of Ernest Ravenstein, who investigated migration in the northwest of Britain up to and during the 1880s. He found that:

- Most migrants proceed over a short distance. Due to limited technology/transport and poor communications, people know more about local opportunities.
- Migration occurs in a series of steps or stages, typically from rural to small town, to large town to city, i.e. once in an urban area, migrants become "locked in" to the urban hierarchy.
- As well as movement to large cities, there is movement away from them (dispersal). The rich move away from the urban areas and commute from nearby villages and small towns (an early form of suburbanization and counter-urbanization).
- Long-distance migrants are more likely to go to large cities. People will know only about the opportunities in large cities of distant places.
- Urban dwellers migrate less than rural dwellers, since there are fewer opportunities in rural areas.
- Women are more migratory than men over short distances, especially for marriage and in societies where the status of women is low.
- Migration increases with advances in technology such as transport, communications and the spread of information.

Another model of migration is Zipf's **inverse distance law**, which states that the volume of migration is inversely proportional to the distance travelled, i.e. $N_{ij} \propto \frac{1}{D_{ij}}$, where N_{ij} is the number of migrants between two towns, i and j , and D_{ij} is the distance between them. Stouffer refined this model in the 1940s using the idea of **intervening opportunities**. He stated that the number of migrants going to a place was proportional to the number of opportunities at that location, but inversely proportional to the number of opportunities that existed between the two places. Thus $N_{ij} \propto \frac{O_j}{O_{ij}}$, where O_j are the number of opportunities at j , and O_{ij} the number of opportunities that existed between i and j .

One of the most widely used models is that of Everett Lee (1966), who describes migration in terms of

Migration – the movement of people, involving a change of residence. It can be internal or external (international) and voluntary or forced. It is usually for an extended period (more than a year) and does not include temporary circulations such as commuting or tourism.
Remittances – transfer of money or goods by foreign workers to their home countries.



Figure 1.19 The Roman Catholic population in Brunei contains many Filipinos.

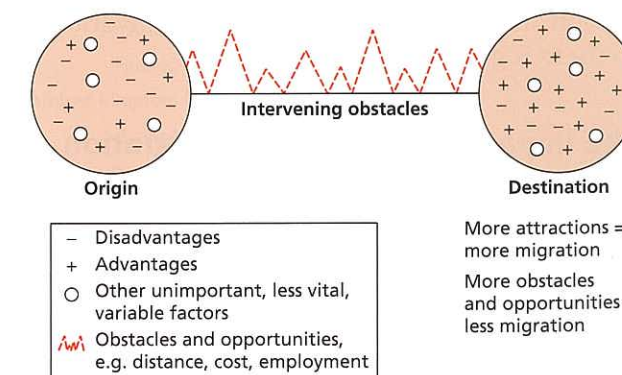


Figure 1.20 Lee's push-pull model of migration

push and pull factors (Figure 1.20). Push factors are the negative features that cause a person to move away from a place. These include unemployment, low wages and natural hazards. Pull factors are the attractions (real or imagined) that exist at another place. Better wages, more jobs and good schools are pull factors. The term "perceived" means what the migrant imagines exists, rather than what actually exists. This may be quite close to or very different from the reality.

All these models are simplifications, and contain hidden assumptions that may be unrealistic. For example:

- Are all people free to migrate?
- Do all people have the skills, education and qualifications that allow them to move?
- Are there barriers to migration, such as race, class, income, language or gender?
- Is distance a barrier to migration?

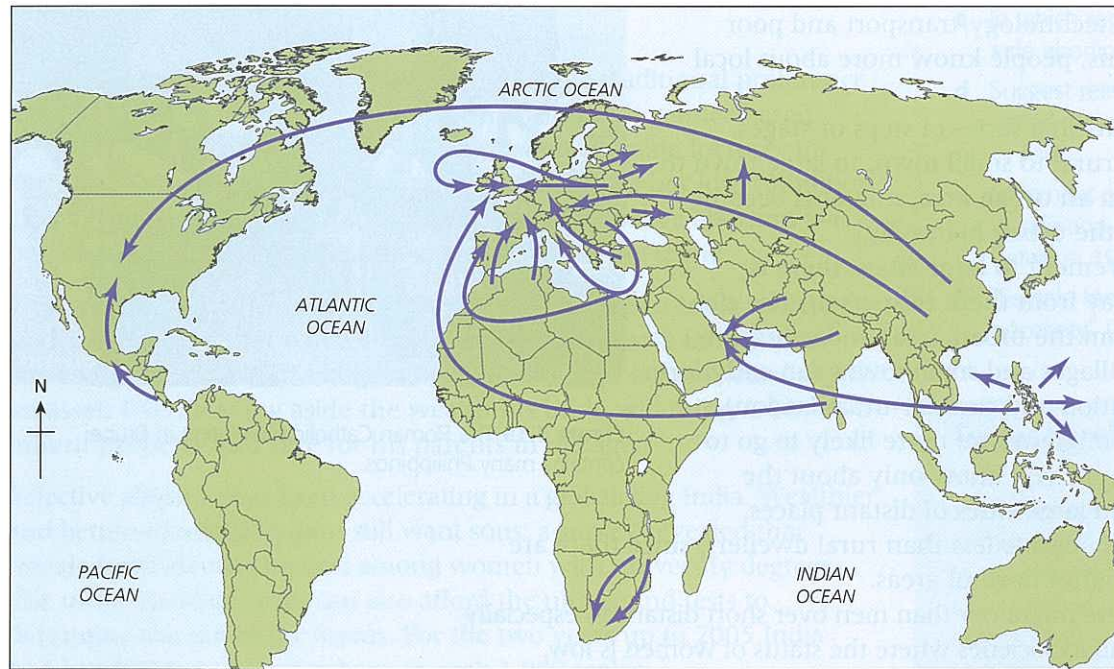


Figure 1.21 Some important current migration routes

The number of international migrants in the world today, both legal and illegal, is thought to total perhaps 200 million. That adds up to only 3% of the world's population, so there is great potential for growth.

The impact of international migration

International migrations can have a range of positive and negative impacts on both the source area and the destination. Some economies could not function without foreign workers. In the United Arab Emirates, for instance, they make up an astonishing 85% of the population. For the moment few other countries rely so heavily on outsiders, but in a number of developed countries, including the UK and the USA,

To do:

Study Figure 1.21, which shows some of the world's most important current migration routes.

Using an atlas, if needed, identify

- i the countries sending migrants to South Africa
- ii the continent destinations of migrants from China
- iii the sources of migrants to Russia
- iv the sources of migrants to the Middle East.

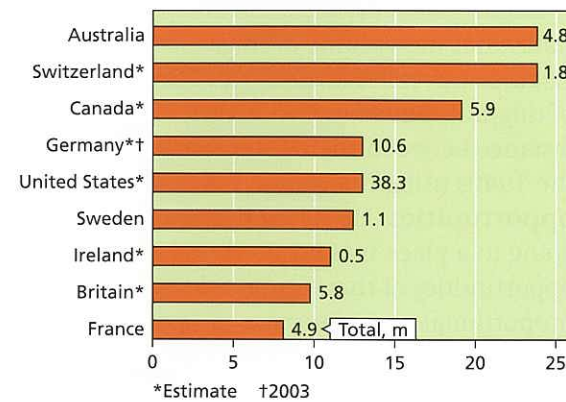


Figure 1.22 Foreign-born population in selected OECD countries, % of total population, 2005

OECD – Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development, largely composed of developed countries.

foreigners typically make up 10–15% of the labour force and their share is rising. Migrants fill around half the new jobs created in Britain today, often because they have skills that locals lack (from plumbing to banking) or because natives scorn the work (from picking fruit to caring for the elderly).

Migrants help to create jobs, because a good supply of labour encourages those with capital to invest more. In contrast, countries where migrants have been kept at arm's length, such as Germany, complain about a chronic shortage of skilled workers such as engineers, scientists and programmers.

The view from poor countries

According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), many of the world's least developed countries are losing large parts of their already shallow pool of skilled professionals, hindering their ability to pull themselves out of poverty. UNCTAD showed that in 2004 a million educated people emigrated from poor countries out of a total skilled pool of 6.6 million – a loss of 15%. Haiti, Samoa, Gambia and Somalia are among those that have lost more than half their university-educated professionals in recent years. The health sector, in particular, has suffered. In Bangladesh, 65% of all newly graduated doctors seek jobs abroad. However, remittances make up a significant part of those countries foreign earnings.

The problem is heightened by many developed countries such as the US and the UK actively gearing their employment policies to welcome more migrant workers in an attempt to make up for labour shortages. In 2005 between a quarter to a third of all practising doctors in countries such as the UK, the US, Canada and Australia were trained in another country. Whereas sub-Saharan Africa on average has only 13 doctors for 100 000 people, the US level is close to 300. Africa, in particular, suffers from large outflows of labour due to political conflict, unstable economic conditions and low wages.

The "brain drain"

Migrants to rich countries are often better educated than the native population. According to the OECD in 2008 fewer than 20% of locals in OECD countries are university educated compared with almost 25% of foreign-born workers. However, immigrants find it harder to match their skills to a job than locals do. The more educated migrants are, the more likely they are to be overqualified for their work. In Greece, for example, migrants are three times as likely to be overqualified for their job as locals. Immigrants to Spain, Sweden, Italy and Denmark are twice as likely as locals to be overqualified. New Zealand's immigrants tend to be better matched to their jobs than the native population is.

China suffers the worst brain drain in the world. Despite the booming economy and government incentives to return, an increasing number of the country's brightest minds are relocating to wealthier

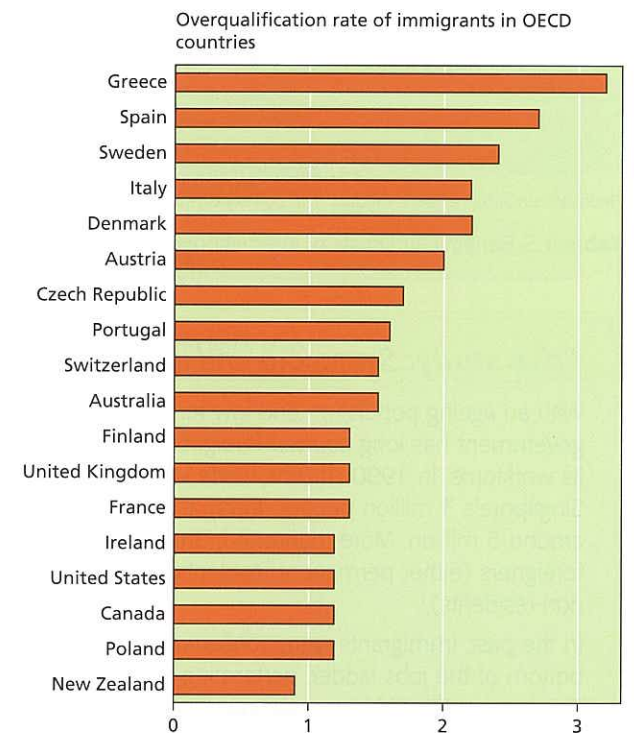


Figure 1.23 The brain drain