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LEVELS, TRENDS AND PATTERNS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION IN MYANMAR

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Levels, Trends and Patterns of Internal Migration in Myanmar

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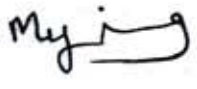
Foreword

Migration, one of the three components of population change, has become an important focus of research and policy development in many developing countries mainly because international and internal migration flows have increased in magnitude as well as in terms of complexity over the past decades. As a result, migration and its implications are receiving increasing attention at policy level. Within this context, the Department of Population in the Ministry of Immigration and Population and United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) started a project to study the levels, patterns and trends of migration within Myanmar based on data and information from a series of Fertility and Reproductive Health Survey conducted during the period of 1991 and 2007.

The objective of the study is to improve the knowledge on the importance and implication of migration process as one of the main factors influencing population growth at sub national level. It also looks at the relationship between migration and development process. Moreover; this study sheds some lights on the patterns and trends of internal migration in Myanmar and presents the social and demographic characteristics that influence internal migration in Myanmar. The results are intended to serve as a basis for the development of policy instruments and to provide basic information for future researches. I hope that this paper will be a starting point for a more comprehensive study on migration and development within the context of Myanmar.

This report is one of the products resulting from the long term co-operation between Department of Population and UNFPA and I hope that I will be able to provide more valuable products. I would like to acknowledge the important contribution of the technical staff from Department of Population for the successful implementation of this project.

Lastly, I appeal to data users and readers to put the information contained in this report to good use and for the prosperity of the country.



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Recent concerns over international migration have overshadowed the much bigger movement of people who migrated internally within the border of their own country and there is very little information on internal migration within Myanmar. This study aims to fill this gap and tries to analyze and present the levels, patterns and trends of internal migration in Myanmar based on data and information from a series of Fertility and Reproductive Health Surveys conducted during the period of 1991 and 2007.

Findings from the study show that internal migration in Myanmar increased during the last few decades and the pattern of migration has changed overtime. The study found that 14 out of 100 people moved in 2007 compared to 10 out of 100 people in 1991. Traditionally men were dominant in terms of migration in Myanmar. However, like in other countries in the world, Myanmar women are migrating more. Findings from this study show that among internal migrants of Myanmar, 54 percent were women in 2007. There exists a decline in the relative share of rural-urban and urban-rural migrations and an increase in both the share of urban-urban and rural-rural migrations at national level from 1991 to 2007. Urban to urban movement was highest at 40 percent followed by rural to rural movement at 25 percent. This could suggest the dominance of agricultural sector in the economy especially as it relates to job creation for the unskilled workers. In terms of recent migration, that is movement during the last 5 year preceding the 2007 survey, the highest movement was seen among the youth aged 20 to 24.

The major findings of this study are summarized as follows.

- A decline in the relative share of rural-urban and urban-rural migration streams and an increase in both the share of urban-urban and rural-rural migration streams at national level.
- High rate of out-migration occurred in less developed regions and 10 (ten) out of 14 (fourteen) states and regions lost population during the period of 1991 and 2007 with a consistent pattern.
- An increase in the proportion of female migrants which was brought about largely by increase of female mobility in urban-urban and urban-rural stream of migration.

- Regions which are relatively less developed are likely to send more women migrants than male migrants to more developed regions where as more developed regions are likely to send more men than women to less developed regions.
- There has been no major change in the broad pattern of migration between 1991 and 2007 at the national level. The relative importance of various streams of migration and characteristics of migrants are quite similar over the study period.
- As reported in other studies, this study confirms the migration selectivity by age, sex, marital status and level of education.
- Females are more likely to have migrated than males. For lifetime migration, the largest proportion of male and female migrants falls in the age group 30 - 34. However, the corresponding proportion for recent migration was for the age group 20 - 24.
- The gender dimension in migration with very high female dominance in the older age groups for all type of migration streams.
- Males migrate to work in better jobs or jobs that require strength while women migrate to work in agricultural sector or join their families.
- Although more women are migrating for employment reasons, especially in the agricultural sector, the main reason for migration was assumed to be employment for males and marriage for females.
- Although, migration reduces the likelihood that women will live with immediate family members, it rarely takes women outside the family network, and in so far as it is related to marriage, it often involves only the exchange of one dependent position (child) for others (spouse, daughter-in-law).
- However, women are increasingly migrating on their own or as heads of households.
- Education level of migrants, especially of women, increased during 1991 and 2007.

Migration is a crucial factor in the population growth and more importantly in the socio-economic development in the country, especially in employment and provision of social services to the migrants and their families. It is important therefore, that migration levels, patterns and trends be taken into consideration in the formulation and implementation of social, economic and political policies.

Since the substantial influx of migrant population to Yangon Region deteriorates the livelihood of the population in the city including that of the migrants. The current government policy of creating satellite cities and expanding others like Naypyitaw should continue. This policy is already changing the stream of migration from Yangon to other cities, and from the study there is clearly an increase in the urban-urban migration stream. In addition several social, economic and environmental policy options have to be taken to overcome migration amongst the less educated as they would make the population of the poor to increase in the urban areas. The main concentration should be on the elimination of the urban poverty and creation of employment opportunities.

There should be need to mechanize farming in the country so that the many female migrants who are taking up agricultural jobs may improve their productivity and be able to earn better pay as the return on investment would be higher. This would also include refurbishing the existing middle level training colleges offering agricultural training and services.

It will be necessary to conduct more detailed research on migration both internal and international, and their linkages with development. This is essential for evidence-based policy dialogue, development planning and programme formulation. The current study provides only some information on levels, trends and patterns of internal migration of Myanmar. It cannot provide conclusive evidence regarding all migration issues, particularly pertaining to the determinants and consequences of internal migration in Myanmar. The need to study international migration is also paramount as there are lots of Myanmar people residing out of the country and therefore knowing their characteristics would be very pertinent for the future of the country.

Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Background

Migration, one of the three components of population change, has become an increasing focus of research and policy development in many developing countries. Internal and international movements exert varying degrees of influence on specific countries or regions, depending on a mix of political, social, economic and environmental factors (Gagahe, 2000).

However, recent concern over international migration has overshadowed the much bigger movement of people who migrate internally within the borders of their own country (Asia-Pacific Population Journal, Vol. 20, No. 3). While international migration has received more attention in recent debates on migration, internal migration is far more significant in terms of the number of people involved and perhaps even the quantum of remittances and poverty reduction potential. (Internal Migration and Development: A Global Perspective, IOM 2005).

One of the great transformations of the past century has been the shift from an essentially rural society to one dominated by cities, in which migration has played a critical role. Temporary migration between village and town, monies sent back home and the loss of the best and the brightest in origin communities, are as significant domestically as they are internationally. After a burst of concern in the 1960s and early 1970s, internal migration has taken a back seat in research and policy concerns to international migration, although signs exist that a resurgence of interest in internal movements is occurring. It would be wrong, however, to assume that internal and international migrations are separate entities: there are significant linkages between the two that are as yet poorly understood. Whether migrants arriving in the largest city in a country are likely to spill over into international movements or whether people leaving to go overseas generate internal movements to fill the resultant vacuum are but two intriguing research and policy concerns. However, if a central concern is to see how migration is related to development and given that most migrants move internally, any programmes to manage migration for the benefit of the poor must incorporate internal migration, not just movements across international boundaries.

In the Asian and Pacific region covered by the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), the last three decades have seen a substantial increase in the scale, diversity and complexity of population movements between geographic regions. That has resulted in a significant redistribution of the population from rural to urban areas, blurring the economic, demographic and social characteristics of rural and urban areas in the region (Hugo, 1992). Net rural-urban migration has contributed much to the growth of the urban population in the ESCAP region (ESCAP, 1998). In several countries, migration from the countryside has occurred in reaction to natural resource depletion, calamities, civil conflicts, poverty and other pressures on rural areas. Moreover, internal migration cannot be discussed without considering the upsurge of international movements within the region and to other parts of the world (Skeldon, 1992). The migration experience of the ESCAP countries and their government policies regarding migration and spatial distribution are so divergent that the experience of one country must be interpreted with caution if used to guide the formulation of appropriate migration and development policies in another country.

Over the last decade, the landscape of Myanmar has changed remarkably. Migration has played a crucial role as a component of people's livelihood strategies and in shaping the national economy following improvements in market, communications and transport, and access to electricity. The countryside is no longer confined to food production but is now a source of labour for urban areas. Internal migration is but one discernable force of change amidst growing diversity and complexity in the pattern of migration.

Hence migration has become an increasing focus of research and policy development in many developing countries. The internal movement of people in Myanmar is more visible and increasingly far more important than external movements, which more often than not are for educational purposes. In the developing world, internal migration is strongly associated with rural-to-urban drift. However, this process involves a number of different movement streams, characterized by varying patterns and processes associated with various socio-economic factors in places of both origin and destination (Pryor, 1975).

With these caveats in mind, this study examines the levels, trends and pattern determinants of internal migration of Myanmar and tries to bring out the interrelationship

between migration and development. Attempt is also made to draw some policy recommendations based on the findings and discussions.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The study is mainly concerned with the deep understanding of migration process as one of the main factors influencing population growth or decline in the given geographical areas of Myanmar and relationship between migration and development process. The specific objectives are to:-

(a) examine the pattern and trend of internal migration in Myanmar,

(b) understand the profile of migrants,

(c) investigate the social and demographic characteristics that influence internal migration in Myanmar, and

(d) provide policy makers with findings, policy implications and recommendations on internal migration and development.

1.3 Organization of the report

This report comprises seven chapters. Chapter one presents the background information about migration and objectives of the study. Review of existing literature in terms of overall migration, selectivity of migration, internal migration in other countries as well as regional disparities within Myanmar are detailed in chapter two. In chapter three, there is discussion on sources of data, definition of concepts on migration, methodology and data limitation. The results of the study are detailed and discussed in chapters' four to six. The last chapter summarizes the key findings of the study, policy recommendations and recommendations for further research.

Chapter II

Review of Literature

This chapter reviews existing literature and attempts will be made to capture the recent trends and patterns of international and internal migration around the world from earlier studies and researches. It narrows down to the situation in Myanmar.

In 1966, after the revision of Ravenstein's "Laws of Migration" Lee attempted to construct a completely new theory on migration. He provided a general framework to analyze the volume of migration, to develop the "streams" and "counter streams" of migration and the characteristics of migrants. Lee developed new concepts on push and pull factors and intervening obstacles involved in migration process. He noted that "no matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult" the process of migration is; it will include a place of origin, a place of destination and the set of intervening obstacles (Lee, 1966).

According to Lee, the key factors of migration are associated with the area of origin, area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal issues. He tried to explain the factors affecting migration in terms of the positive and negative characteristics of both the origin and destination. Push factors could include exorbitant housing costs, growing gridlock, rising crime rates, skyrocketing tax rates, poor climate, or lack of a satisfying well-paying job. Pull factors could include the promise of a higher paying job, a pleasant physical setting, the availability of affordable housing, a desirable climate, or the lure of nearby family members. However, it was also observed that a push factor for some could be a pull factor for others (Kuby et al., 2003).

Todaro (1976) argues from economic point of view as he is an economist. He pointed out the importance of economic motive in the matrix of factors influencing the decision to migrate. Economic growth creates disparities and inequalities in wealth and socio-cultural quality of life among different countries and among different areas within countries. These differences appear to be strong incentives for movements from places with limited opportunities to the areas with higher level of opportunities (Guest, 1999).

According to the "New Economics of Migration Theory" by Stark (1991), migration is influenced by family factors. This theory is in contrast with the conclusion of neoclassical

economic theory that focuses on an “individual’s maximization of expected income and assumes that markets are complete and well-functioning” (Massey et al., 1993:458). Under the new economic regime, decision-making is not only the individual’s but also that of family who decide for possible diversification of family labor. The theory assumes that “wage differentials are not necessary conditions for migration to occur” because household may have incentives to diversify risks through migration even in the absence of wage differential (Massey et al., 1993: 439).

Moving in and out, migrants contribute to the population growth and redistribution both in place of origin and place of destination regardless of when and where it takes place. Both internal and international movements reduce the pressures of population growth by transferring the people out of places. Inappropriate population distribution patterns are said to cause a number of problems in the majority of the developing countries (Prasartkul, 1977), hence, policy makers, scholars, demographers, economists and social scientists are becoming highly concerned with the problems of undesirable distribution of population. In general, migration can change population distribution much more than that of natural increase of population.

The causes and consequences of migration patterns differ from country to country and from community to community due to the socio-economic, political and legal environment and situation of the particular area of origin and destination. Thus, keeping in mind all the above mentioned, each research or study on migration should try to reveal, specify and describe the set of factors or patterns of migration, which will be appropriate to those areas of origin and destination.

The "New Household Economics theory of Migration" emerged to challenge many of the assumptions and conclusions of neoclassical economic theory (Stark and Bloom, 1985). The fundamental view of this theory is presented in Stark (1991) and Stark and Bloom (1985). Unlike in the neo-classical approach, households not individuals are in a position to control risks to their economic well-being by diversifying the allocation of household resources, such as family labor. While some family members can be assigned economic activities in the local economy, others may be sent to work in other labor markets where wages and employment conditions are negatively correlated or weakly correlated with

those in the local area. In the event that local economic conditions deteriorate and activities fail to bring in sufficient income, the household can rely on migrant remittances for support.

2.1 Selectivity of migration by empirical evidences

It is widely accepted that migration is a selective process. According to Ravenstein (1885) and Lee (1966), migration is age selective and 'not a random sample of the population at origin.' Certain individuals are more likely to migrate based on their personal characteristics. As migration is selective by age (young people are more migratory in comparison with their older counterparts), so the concentration of migrants in the young age groups is associated with family formation and reproduction, as well as with the changes in population size, social structure and demographic size-composition of areas of origin and destination. Many studies found that young adults were much more mobile than older people (Long, 1988; Ammassari and Black, 2001)

Migration is often seen as an event that is primarily undertaken by males, in fact single males are generally said to predominate in migration (Ammassari and Black, 2001). However, women also migrate in response to opportunities and constraints. Decisions to migrate are taken within the context of opportunities and constraints faced (Jolly, 2003). In contrast with above findings, the United Nations (2003) reports that 49 percent of total 175 million international migrants are females who migrate for economic reasons. In consonance with above report, internal migration in Japan, the Philippines and Thailand are strongly female oriented, while flows in the Republic of Korea and Indonesia are also in favour of female. However, internal migration in South Asian countries is still predominantly male, though female participation is increasing (UN, 2003).

Marital status is one of the characteristics conventionally accepted as closely associated with the propensity to migrate. Earlier studies of internal migration consistently found that married men (many accompanied by their families) and single women were most prevalent in Latin American migration patterns (Todaro 1976). Many researchers have found that the young and unmarried people are more likely to migrate. Once people get married, marital responsibilities tie them to a more sedentary life. Hence, it becomes an obstacle to migration prospects.

Schooling increases the propensity to migrate, and highly educated workers are much more likely than others to migrate frequently and for longer distances (Waggoner, 2004) since more jobs are open to the educated and experienced ones. Ammassari and Black (2001) also found that education increases the tendency to migrate. Some reasons could be higher wage differentials for the educated when compared to uneducated as well as requirement of higher educational qualifications in the urban economy. But there are also some contradictory evidence that suggest a positive association between high propensity of migration and low education and illiteracy. For instance, labourers with little or no education start their migration experience earlier than educated migrants (Lipton, 1982; Zohry, 2002).

As occupation is one of the main economic status indicators, it is an important variable for migration decision making. It has a very close relationship with economic factors such as wages and opportunity for work, which are accepted as determinants of migration. Many studies have found that unemployment and poverty are the main reasons for out-migration for seeking job.

In most of the developing countries, 'rural–urban' migration is dominant and a large proportion of migrants are from the agricultural sector. Often, agricultural production is not sufficient for household income, hence farmers migrate from rural villages to urban towns to seek better jobs (Chamratrithirong, 1995). According to the microeconomic theory migration from rural to urban areas will exist as long as the expected utility (income) exceeds that at their rural origin area (De Jong, 1999).

2.2 Internal migration in other countries

In South Asia, internal migration flows are considered to be significantly larger than international migration (Deshingkar, 2005). The internal migration of people within the country's border is of four types; rural-to-rural migration, rural-to-urban migration, urban-to-urban migration and urban-to-rural migration. In Bangladesh, for example, nearly two thirds of migrations from rural areas were to urban areas. Rural-to-rural migration was 10 per cent compared to the overseas migration of 24 per cent; estimates indicate a 6.3 per cent annual increase in migration to the capital Dhaka (Deshingkar, 2005). Two thirds of the urban growth since independence in 1979 could be attributed to internal migration, with 25

per cent of the population living in urban areas in 2000; up from 6.2 per cent in 1965 and 9.9 per cent in 1975 (Afsar, 2003).

In India, an estimated 20 million people annually migrate temporarily (Deshingkar, 2005). During the 1999-2000 period, internal migration dominated over all other forms of movement and accounted for about 62 per cent of all movements (Afsar, 2003). During the same period, rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban migration stood at 24.5 and 24.4 per cent, respectively (Skeldon, 2003). According to the 2001 census in Nepal, the total number of internal migrants stood at 2,929,062 constituting 13.2 per cent of the population (KC, 2003). This shows an increase from 9.6 per cent reported in 1991. Out of the total internal migration, 68.2 per cent was rural-to-rural with people moving to agricultural sustainable areas, rural-to-urban migration accounting for 25.5 per cent (KC, 2003). Internal migration in Nepal is also heavily influenced by the Maoist insurgency.

The current urban growth rate in Pakistan is double that of the national population growth rate. According to a 1998 Population Census, rural-to-urban migrants accounted for 8.2 per cent of the total population (Menon, 2005). One major characteristic of internal migration in Pakistan is the significant movements related to marriage and family (Gazdar, 2003). Economic migrants account for 20 per cent of the total migrants (Menon, 2005).

According to the 1994 Demographic Survey in Sri Lanka, 14.6 per cent of the population migrated internally. This figure shows a slight increase from the 1981 Census figures of 13.5 per cent. The high proportion of female migration, both internal and overseas, is a major characteristic in Sri Lanka. In 1994, 13.3 per cent (down from 13.8 per cent in 1981) of the male population were migrants compared to 15.6 per cent of the female population (up from 12.5 in 1981) (Ukwatta, 2005). In Afghanistan, some recent studies have suggested a growing increase in internal migration for economic purposes. Approximately 22 per cent of rural households in Afghanistan have at least one member who has migrated over the past five years (Opel, 2005). In a recent survey in three major cities; Kabul, Heart and Jalalabad, it was found that out of the sample size of 997, nearly half had migrated within the last year from a rural area and most of them were either planning to (nearly 50 per cent) or had already settled (13.4 per cent) in urban areas (Opel, 2005).

Internal migration is South Asia could be long-term or permanent. The seasonal migration prevalent in South Asia is circular in nature with agricultural labour migrants migrating from rural-to-rural and urban-to-rural areas, as well as across-borders during harvesting seasons.

2.3 Internal migration and regional disparities in Myanmar

The first detailed data on migration in Myanmar became available from 1991 Population Changes and Fertility Survey (PCFS) conducted by the Department of Population in collaboration with United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The survey included questions on place of birth, duration of residence for all persons and place of residence five years ago for persons aged 5 and over. Place of birth and place of residence 5 years ago were recorded down to the ward/village tract level (PCFS, 1995).

According to the 1991 PCFS, it was found that 1 (one) in 10 (ten) persons in Myanmar changed the state or region of their residence at least once between birth and the time of the PCFS. One fifth of persons aged 50 and over had moved at least once. Nearly half the former groups were return migrants, however, persons who moved at least twice but who were living in the state or region of their birth at the time of the survey. Lifetime migrants are heavily concentrated among a small number of migration streams. The five largest migration streams account for 29 percent of all non-return migrants. Yangon region is the only place to gain population as a result of life time migration. With reference to information on state or region of residence five years prior to the survey, overall, 1.5 percent of the population reported a net move during this period. The age pattern of five year migration is typical, showing a concentration of movement among young adult ages. Gender differences in migration were remarkably small (PCFS, 1995).

After 1991 PCFS, there was no migration information at nationwide level until the 2001 Fertility and Reproductive Health Survey (FRHS). According to the 2001 FRHS, the percentage of urban-urban migrants (33.5%) exceeds that of the rural–urban migrants (25.4%). The former shows a shift of people from small towns/cities to bigger towns/cities where social and cultural benefits are concentrated and employment opportunities, particularly in the manufacturing sector, are more rapidly available. The stream of migration that is least significant is the urban-to-rural migration stream. It is only nine percent of all

migrants moving from an urban to a rural area. Another migration stream, which involved a relatively large proportion of migrants, is the movement within the rural area, which consisted of 32 percent of total migrants. This was due most probably to the increased movement toward more developed rural areas where the government had planned to exploit raw materials for export and to expand domestic manufacturing industries.

Regarding selectivity, Myanmar also conforms to the pattern of age selectivity of migration. There was a clear over-representation of young adults of both sexes aged 25 to 39 among the migrants, in all urban and rural categories. The peak occurs at the age group (30-34) for both males and females and both urban and rural. Moreover, females tended to migrate at the younger ages than males.

Chapter III

Data and Methodology

3.1 Source of data

As there is no survey that has been conducted specifically on migration in Myanmar, data for this study is therefore drawn from three other forms of surveys; 1991 Population Changes and Fertility Survey (1991 PCFS), 2001 Fertility and Reproductive Health Survey (2001 FHRS) and 2007 Fertility and Reproductive Health Survey (2007 FHRS). These surveys were implemented by the Department of Population of the Ministry of Immigration and Population with funding from UN Population Fund (UNFPA). The surveys used two questionnaires, one for household information and the other for individual characteristics. The household questionnaire was used to collect information on all usual residents and visitors present on the night before the interview date in households in the selected sample segments. For this study, information from household questionnaire was used.

3.2 Geographical boundaries

Administratively Myanmar is divided into 7 states and 7 regions. Each state and region is divided into districts. Each district consists of townships. Each township consists of a number of wards and village tracts. Therefore, a ward or a village tract is the smallest administrative unit. In these surveys migration information was collected at the ward/village tract level, the analysis in this report is done at state/region level.

3.3 Definitions

3.3.1 Lifetime migrants

Lifetime migrants include those, at the time of interview, who were living in a place different from his/her birth place plus return migrants. Return migrants are the migrants who have returned to the place of birth after moving to some other places.

3.3.2 Five year migrants (Recent migrants)

Five year migrants are people who moved within the five year period preceding the survey. This measure is based on the place of residence five years ago for persons aged 5 years and over, and on place of birth for persons under age 5. In addition, the persons who

moved within five years are also included in this category (differing residence at the time of survey and place of residence during the 5 year period.

3.3.3. In-migration

In this study, in-migration is defined as a movement of person(s) who moved from other State/ Region into the current State/ Region of enumeration.

3.3.4. Out-migration

Out-migration is defined as a movement of person(s) who moved out of the State/Region of enumeration to other State/Region.

3.3.5. Net-migration

Net-migration is defined as the difference between in-migration and out-migration. If the in-migration exceeds out-migration, the term net in-migration is used, which takes a positive sign. Similarly, net out-migration is applied when out- migration exceeds in-migration and it takes a negative sign (United Nations, 1970:3).

3.3.6. Gross-migration

The gross migration rate is defined as the sum of the in- and out-migration rates.

3.4 Methods of Analysis used in the study

This study employs both bivariate and multivariate techniques and the unit of analysis is individual lifetime migrants. As the primary purpose of this study is to present the detailed information on internal migration in Myanmar, the first level of analysis is the presentation and interpretation of descriptive information. Most of the information is provided in tabular form, especially matrix form for regional stream of migration.

Moreover, migration rates and duration of current residence by different types of migrants are presented in separate tables by age and sex. In the same way, descriptive analysis of migration patterns is done through bivariate presentation of different categories of types of migration by selected socio-demographic background characteristics. For the data processing, SPSS Software was used to analyze the data.

The second level of analysis uses the binary logistic regression to determine what impact individual characteristics (such as place of births, gender, age, education and occupation) have on the decision to migrate.

3.5 Data limitation

There are some limitations in using data from 1991 PCFS, 2001 FRHS and 2007 FRHS to determine the effect of factors on the migration status of respondents in Myanmar. First, some of the independent variables (such as respondent's current occupation and educational attainment and marital status) measure characteristics after migration but still need to be included as determinants of migration status because the data before migration are not available. Another limitation is that all these surveys were not migration surveys. Consequently, some important questions such as reason for migration, remittances, social networking were not included. Had these questions been included, a clearer picture on migration situation in Myanmar could have been observed.

In the sample selection process, 7 states and 7 regions are regrouped into 9 domains. Kachin, Kayah and Shan were combined into one domain; Kayin, Mon, Tanintharyi were grouped in one domain; and Chin and Sagaing comprised another domain. Other states and regions represent individual domains. Sample selection was based on domains, not on state and region level. As the current study is done based on state and region, some small states such as Kayah and Chin may not reflect the real situation.

Chapter IV

Trends and patterns of internal migration

This chapter discusses the migration findings from the 2007 FRHS, and trend data from 1991 PCFS and 2001 FRHS. The first part of the analysis is on descriptive while multivariate analysis results is outlined in the chapter six.

4.1 Migration stream

As mentioned in the review of literature there are broadly four kinds of migration streams namely: rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-rural and urban-urban. All are present in Myanmar and all discussed because each has a unique characteristic of its own.

4.1.1 Urban-Urban migration

Urban-urban migration is the predominant form of spatial movement in Myanmar which has fluctuated between 1991 and 2007. For example, in 1991, 69 per cent of inter-state movements had urban areas as origin, while in 2001, about 59 per cent of all lifetime movements took place between urban areas. Again in 2007, about 65 per cent of all the inter-municipal movements occurred between cities. Information in Table 1.1 shows that this movement was ranked as first in all three surveys under study. Due to the size of metropolitan agglomerations in Myanmar, a large fraction of migration takes place between small administrative regions within the same metropolises such as Yangon City metropolitan area, Mandalay and Bago. This type of migration flow usually takes place from the centre to the periphery and has implications for urban de-concentration which require further study.

4.1.2 Rural-Urban migration

Studies on internal migration clearly demonstrate that greater job opportunities in the cities and metropolitan areas 'pulled' migrants from rural areas (Skeldon, 1997: Hugo, 1991; Asfar, 1999, 2000). As a result, the share of rural-urban migration has been increasing in most countries in South-East Asia.

However, the situation in Myanmar was in the opposite direction. The proportion of rural-urban migration has been decreasing from 30 percent in 1991 to about 25 percent

both in 2001 and 2007. The share of rural-urban migration was ranked as second highest in 1991, but over the period of ten years, rural-rural migration has overtaken it. Since then rural-urban migration was ranked as third highest, although it is now considered that this movement must have increased in terms of volume.

4.1.3 Rural-Rural migration

In Myanmar, rural-rural migration accounted for roughly 18 percent of all movements in 1991. However, this kind of movement has almost doubled to about 32 percent and overtaken the rural-urban movement and was ranked as second biggest movement in 2001. Although the proportion has dropped to about 26 percent in 2007, it is still the second biggest movement in Myanmar according to 2007 FRHS. One possible reason may be that labourers from poorer regions travels to the agriculturally prosperous these are often irrigated areas, which have more job opportunities.

Rural-rural migration is typically undertaken by poorer groups with little education and other assets as it requires lower investments. There is a strong case for devising support programmes that cater especially to the needs of rural-rural migrants.

4.1.4 Urban-Rural migration

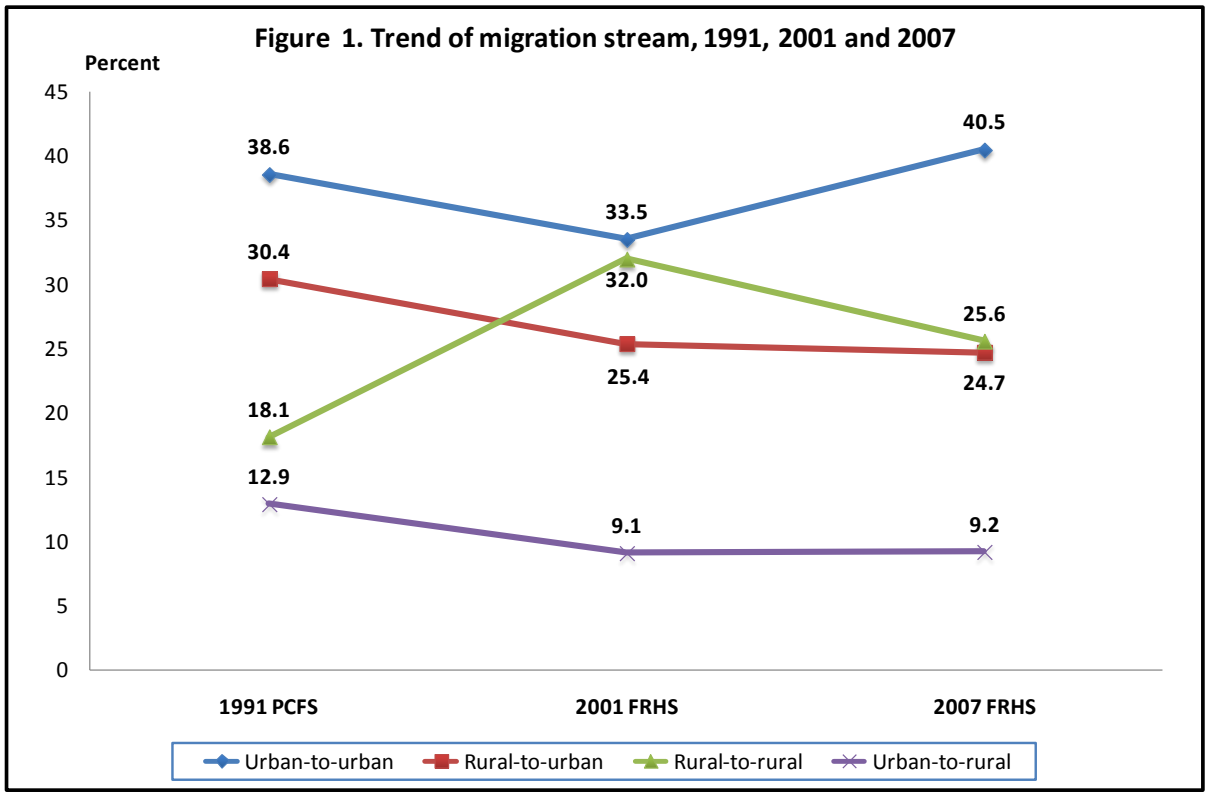
Urban-rural movement can occur when people retire back to their villages or as in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1980s and 1990s with retrenchment under structural adjustment programmes especially in the case of Uganda and Zambia (cf. Potts, 1995; Tacoli, 2001). A crucial factor for this movement seems to have been access to land in both the city and rural areas.

A majority of urban-rural migrants are returnees. This trend has been noted especially in writings on Africa: in a study of Mambwe villages of Zambia (Pottier, 1988) it was seen that former migrants were returning to their villages in the late 1970s as the copper belt economy went into decline.

Like in other South-East Asian countries, urban-rural movement in Myanmar decreased from about 13 percent in 1991 to about 9 percent both in 2001 and 2007. It is the least significant movement among all movements in all three surveys.

Table 4.1 Percent distribution of lifetime migration stream by residence, 1991 PCFS, 2001 FRHS and 2007 FRHS

Migration Stream	1991 PCFS	Rank	2001 FRHS	Rank	2007 FRHS	Rank
Urban destination	**69**		**58.9**		**65.2**	
Urban-to-urban	38.6	1	33.5	1	40.5	1
Rural-to-urban	30.4	2	25.4	3	24.7	3
Rural destination	**31**		**41.1**		**34.8**	
Rural-to-rural	18.1	3	32.0	2	25.6	2
Urban-to-rural	12.9	4	9.1	4	9.2	4



4.2 Inter-state migration flows

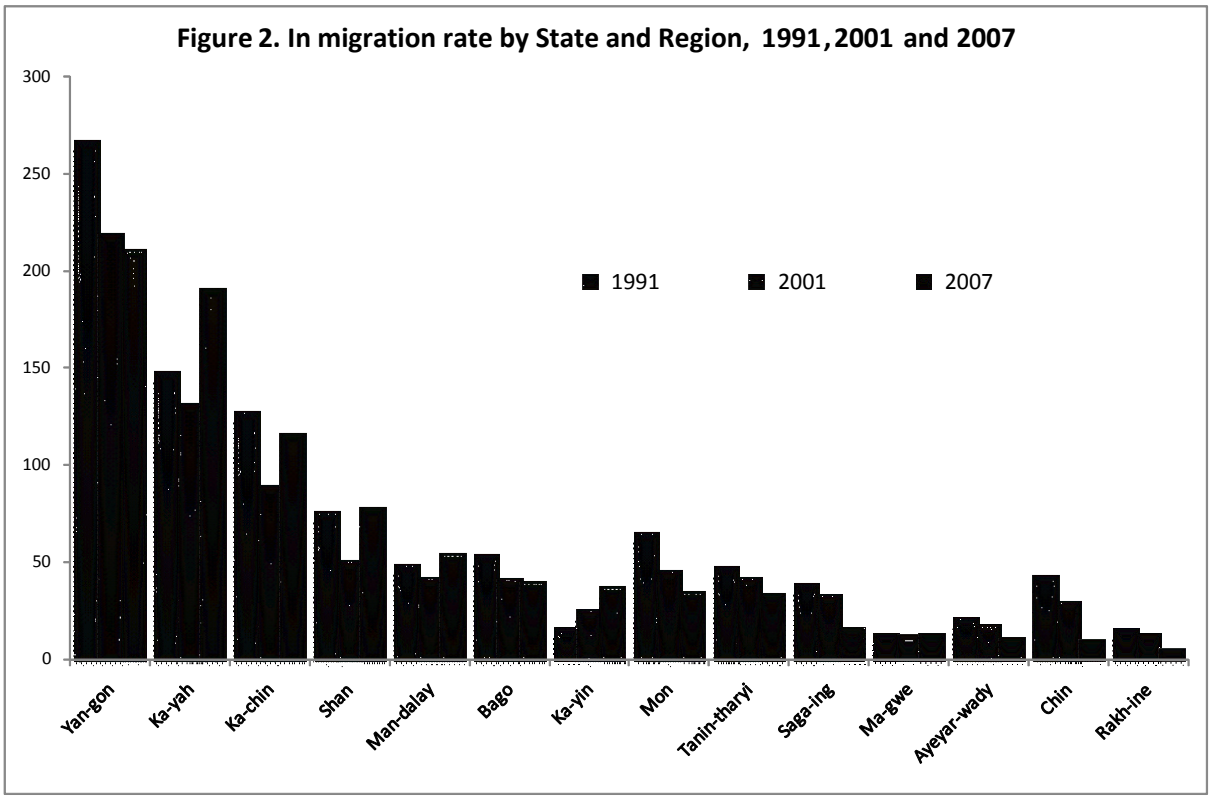
Inter-state migration is movement flows to and from other states or regions. These flows will be presented using two types of migration; lifetime and five-year migration.

4.2.1 Lifetime migration

Lifetime migrants are defined as those who are living in a place different from their place of birth, and this includes plus return migrants. Estimates from three surveys under study suggest that lifetime internal migration has fluctuated during the last 15 years. The proportion of lifetime migrants increased (from 10.4 percent to 16.4 percent) between 1991 and 2001, and decreased to 13.7 percent in 2007.

4.2.1.1 In-migration

In-migration is defined as movement of person(s) from other state/region into the current state/region of enumeration.



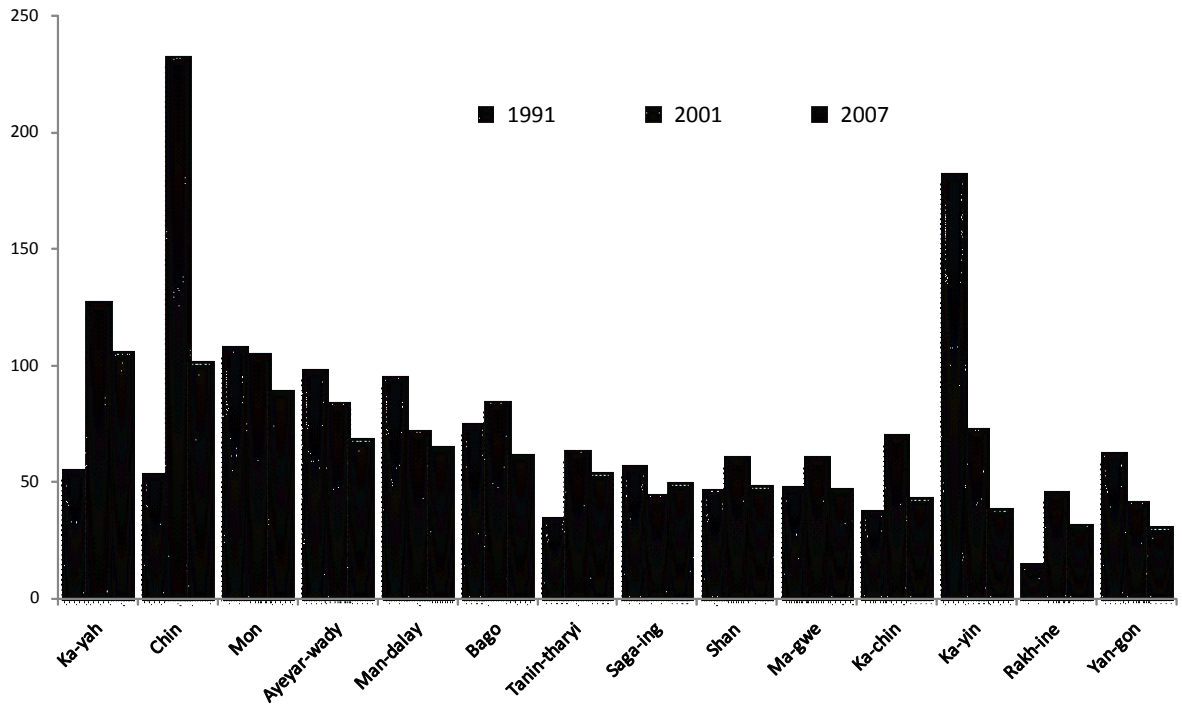
Trend data in Figure 2 presents an interesting scenario of in-migration rate during the period of 1991 and 2007. According to 2007 FRHS, Yangon region has the highest in-migration rate (267 per thousand) followed by Kayah state (147 per thousand), Kachin state (127 per thousand) and Shan state (75 per thousand). Rakhine state manifested the lowest in-migration rate (15 per thousand) followed by Chin state (43 per thousand).Trend data analysis reveals that in-migration rate follow a similar pattern for 1991 and 2001.

4.2.1.2 Out-migration

Out-migration is defined as movement of person(s) who moved out of the particular state/region to the other state/region. Figure 3 presents trend data of out-migration rate for the years 1991, 2001 and 2007.

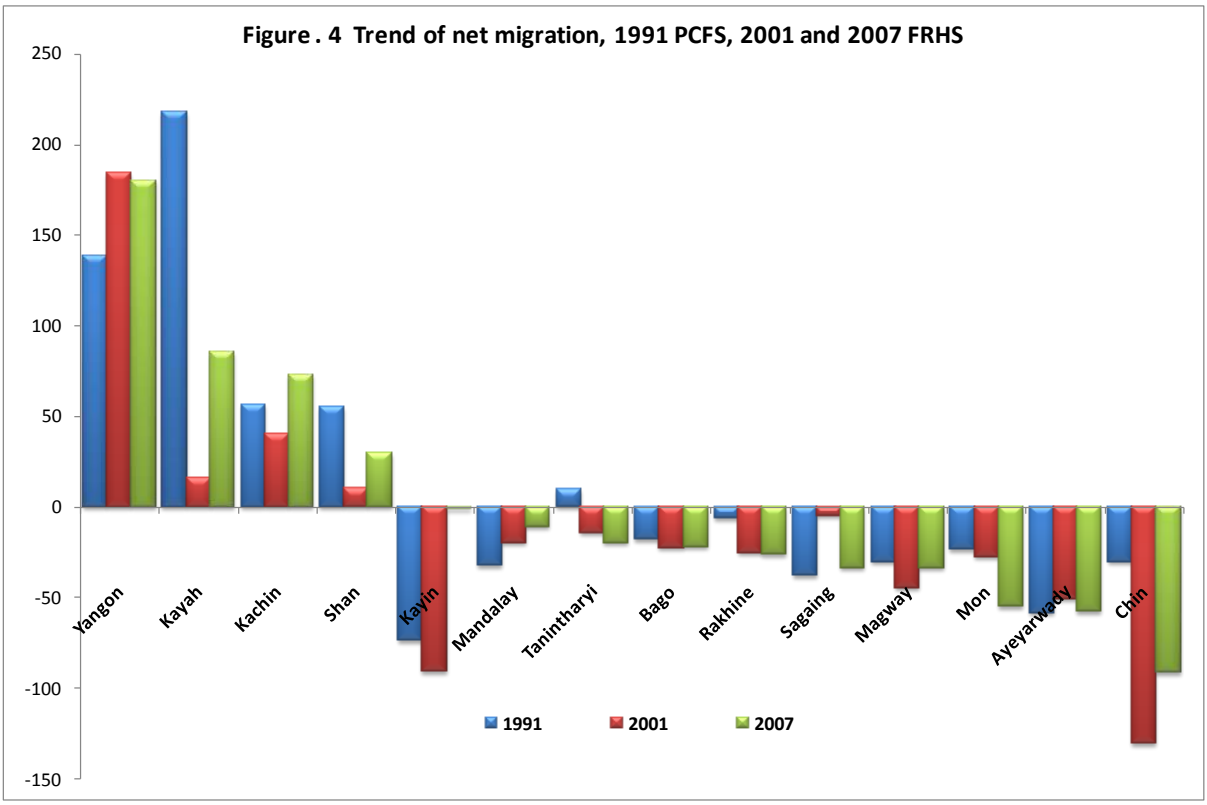
In 2007, the highest out-migration was observed in Kayah state (105 per thousand) followed by Chin state (101 per thousand), Mon state (89 per thousand) and Ayeyarwady Region (68 per thousand). As expected Yangon region had the lowest out-migration rate (30 per thousand). Rakhine state also had a low rate of out-migration (31 per thousand). Although there are some inconsistencies the way out migration occurred in some states and regions during the period of 1991 and 2007, the overall pattern looks the same.

Figure 3. Out- migration rate by State and Region, 1991, 2001 and 2007



4.2.1.3 Net-migration

Net-migration is defined as the difference between in-migration and out-migration. If the in-migration exceeds out-migration, the term net in-migration is used, which takes a positive sign. Similarly, net out-migration is applied when out- migration exceeds in-migration and it takes a negative sign. The net-migration rates for each state/region during 1991, 2001 and 2007 are presented in Figure 4.



Yangon, with other four states and regions (Kayah, Kachin, Shan and Tanintharyi) have shown a positive net migration rate while other states and regions recorded negative net migrations ranging from 30 to 74 per thousand in 1991. Ten years later, the pattern of net-migration rate remains the same except that Thanintharyi region had shown a negative net migration rate.

Gain of population in Yangon region is consistent throughout the period of 1991 and 2007. This finding is not surprising because Yangon was the capital and commercial hub of Myanmar during that time. Almost all consumer commodities are flown to Yangon from all regions and Yangon is the economic hub of the country which creates a lot of employment opportunities. Industrial zones around the Yangon metropolitan areas also spawn jobs for low educated people throughout the country.

Kachin state also gained population during the same period with a consistent pattern. The reasons for that may be explained by the job opportunities in jade and gold mines in the region which attracted migrants from around the country. Similar reason may apply to Shan state which also gained population during the study period. However, most of the jobs created in these regions are suitable only for men. This situation may have resulted

in imbalance of sex ratio among migrants. This is presented and discussed under section 4.3, Table 4.3 Which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Another salient finding is the consistent loss of population from Chin state which is situated in the north-western part of the country. In all the three surveys, Chin state lost people to other regions with highest rates among all states and regions. The net-migration rate increased during 1991 and 2007 (30 people per thousand in 1991, 130 people per thousand in 2001 and 91 per thousand in 2007). It is a hilly region where transportation is difficult and has less agricultural land compared to other states and regions. This is a perfect example of migration theory in which push and pull factors play an important role. Lack of job opportunities had pushed people from Chin state and better income jobs in other regions have pulled those people out of Chin state to other regions.

4.2.1.4 Gross-migration

The overall importance of migration for a given state or region may be summarized by the gross migration rate, defined as the sum of the in- and out-migration rates.

The highest gross migration rate is reported in Kayah state (296 per thousand) and this high rate was boosted mainly by high in-migration rate (190 per thousand), the highest compared to other states and regions. The second highest gross migration rate was recorded in Yangon (194 per thousand). However, unlike Kayah state, this high value is due almost entirely to an exceptionally high in-migration rate (210 per thousand). Other noticeable high gross migration rates are manifested in Kachin state (158 per thousand), Shan state (126 per thousand), Mon state (123 per thousand) and Mandalay region (118 per thousand). The lowest gross migration rate is in Rakhine state (36 per thousand).

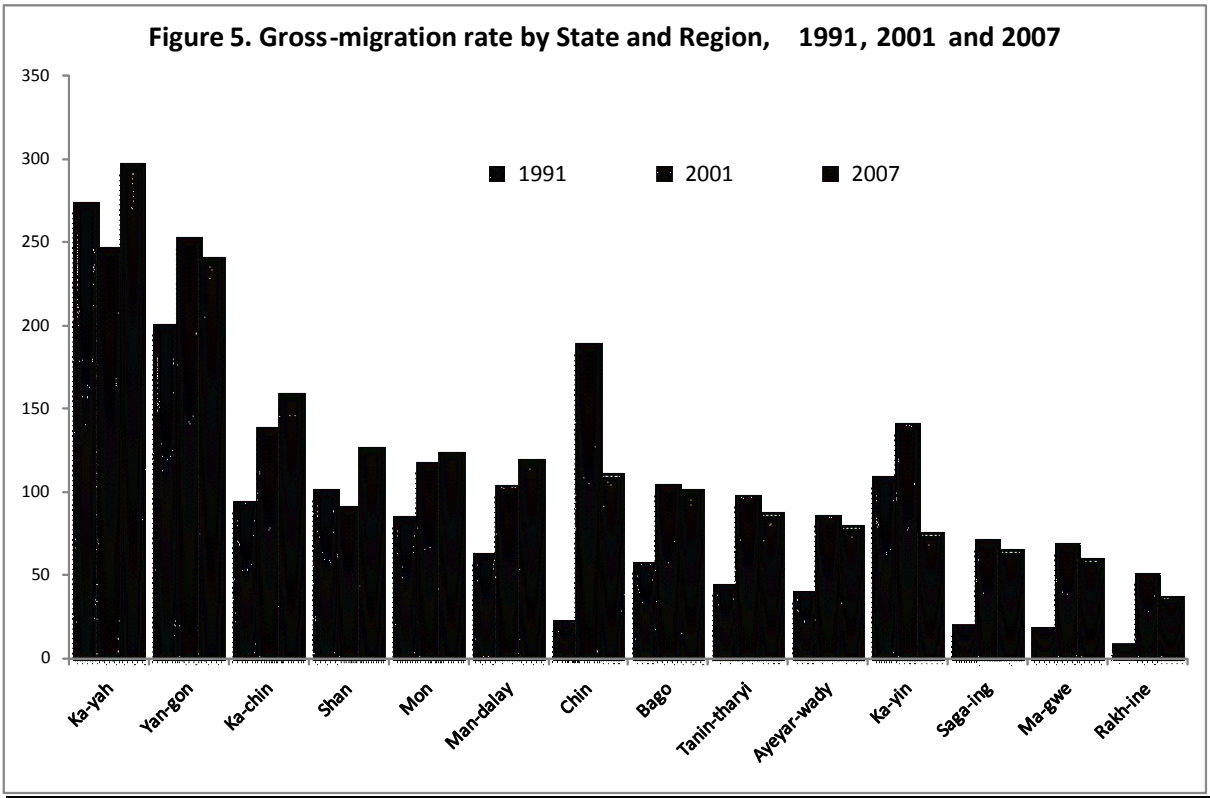
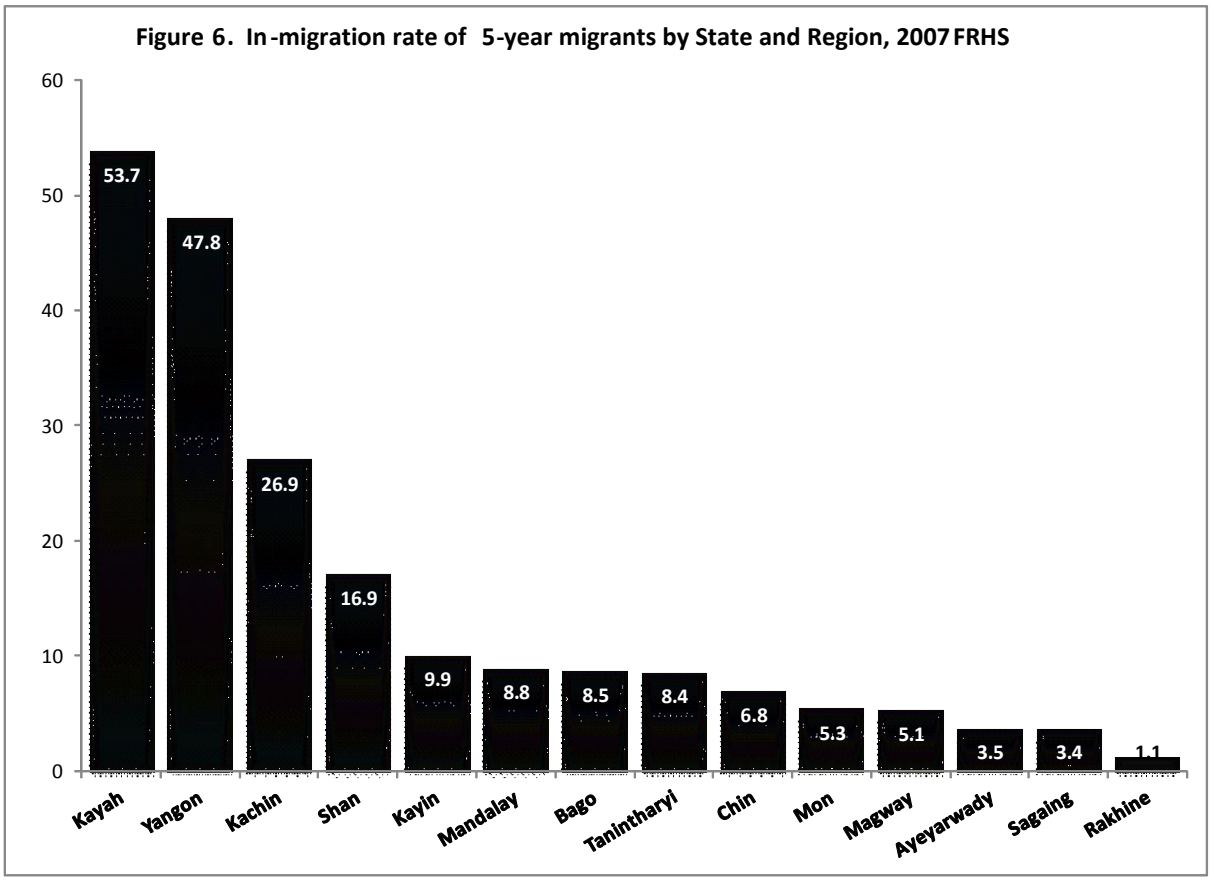


Table. 4.2 Trend of in-migration, out-migration, net-migration and gross migration rate of lifetime migrants, Myanmar, 1991, 2001 and 2007

Migration rate	Place of Current Residence													
	Ka-chin	Ka-yah	Ka-yin	Chin	Saga-ing	Tanin-tharyi	Bago	Ma-gwe	Man-dalay	Mon	Rakh-ine	Yan-gon	Shan	Ayeyar-wady
In														
1991	93.5	273.2	108.6	22.4	19.1	44.0	56.8	17.6	62.5	84.2	8.3	200.4	101.0	39.5
2001	20.4	28.7	10.4	18.1	7.5	13.5	6.8	5.7	5.9	12.5	4.1	53.7	13.7	5.0
2007	26.9	53.7	9.9	6.8	3.4	8.4	8.5	5.1	8.8	5.3	1.1	47.8	16.9	3.5
Out														
1991	37.0	55.1	182.1	52.7	56.5	34.4	74.6	47.9	95.0	107.6	14.6	62.1	46.0	97.8
2001	19.9	52.1	25.3	22.8	6.8	15.9	13.9	14.3	19.7	14.2	5.0	13.1	9.8	13.9
2007	15.6	35.8	7.4	36.6	8.7	20.7	14.4	7.5	15.3	14.3	9.4	9.4	9.5	14.5
Net														
1991	56.5	218.1	-73.5	-30.4	-37.5	9.6	-17.8	-30.3	-32.5	-23.3	-6.3	138.3	55.0	-58.3
2001	0.5	-23.3	-14.9	-4.6	0.6	-2.4	-7.1	-8.6	-13.8	-1.6	-0.9	40.6	4.0	-8.9
2007	11.3	17.9	2.6	-29.8	-5.2	-12.2	-5.9	-2.3	-6.5	-9.1	-8.3	38.4	7.4	-11.0
Gross														
1991	130.4	328.3	290.7	75.1	75.6	78.4	131.4	65.5	157.4	191.8	22.9	262.5	147.0	137.3
2001	40.3	80.8	35.7	40.9	14.3	29.5	20.8	20.0	25.6	26.7	9.1	66.8	23.5	18.9
2007	42.4	89.5	17.3	43.3	12.1	29.1	23.0	12.6	24.0	19.6	10.5	57.2	26.5	18.0

4.2.2 Five-year migration

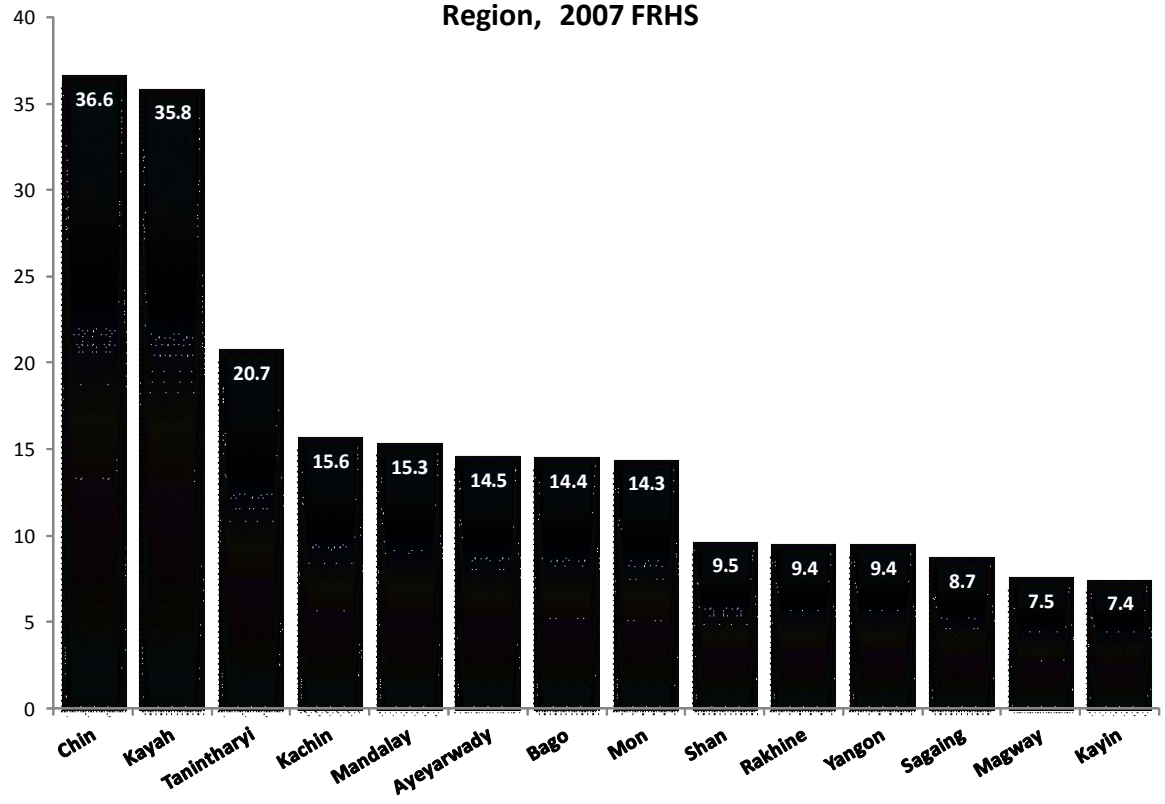
The FRHS provides information on movement over the five year period preceding the survey. A person whose residence five years prior to the survey is in place A and whose residence at the time of the survey is in place B is a net migrant from A to B during this period. Moreover, place of last residence is also provided in the questionnaire. For some migrants, place of current residence and place of residence five years ago may be the same, but the place of last residence and place of residence five years prior to the survey are not the same. In this case, we can check the duration in current residence. If the duration in current residence is less than 5 years, then this person has made at least two moves during five year period preceding the survey.



Information on in-migration rate (Figure 6) reveals an interesting pattern in which Kayah state (54 per thousand) and Yangon region (48 per thousand) are at the top and Rakhine state (1 per thousand), Sagaing state (3 per thousand) and Ayeyarwady region (3 per thousand) are at the bottom.

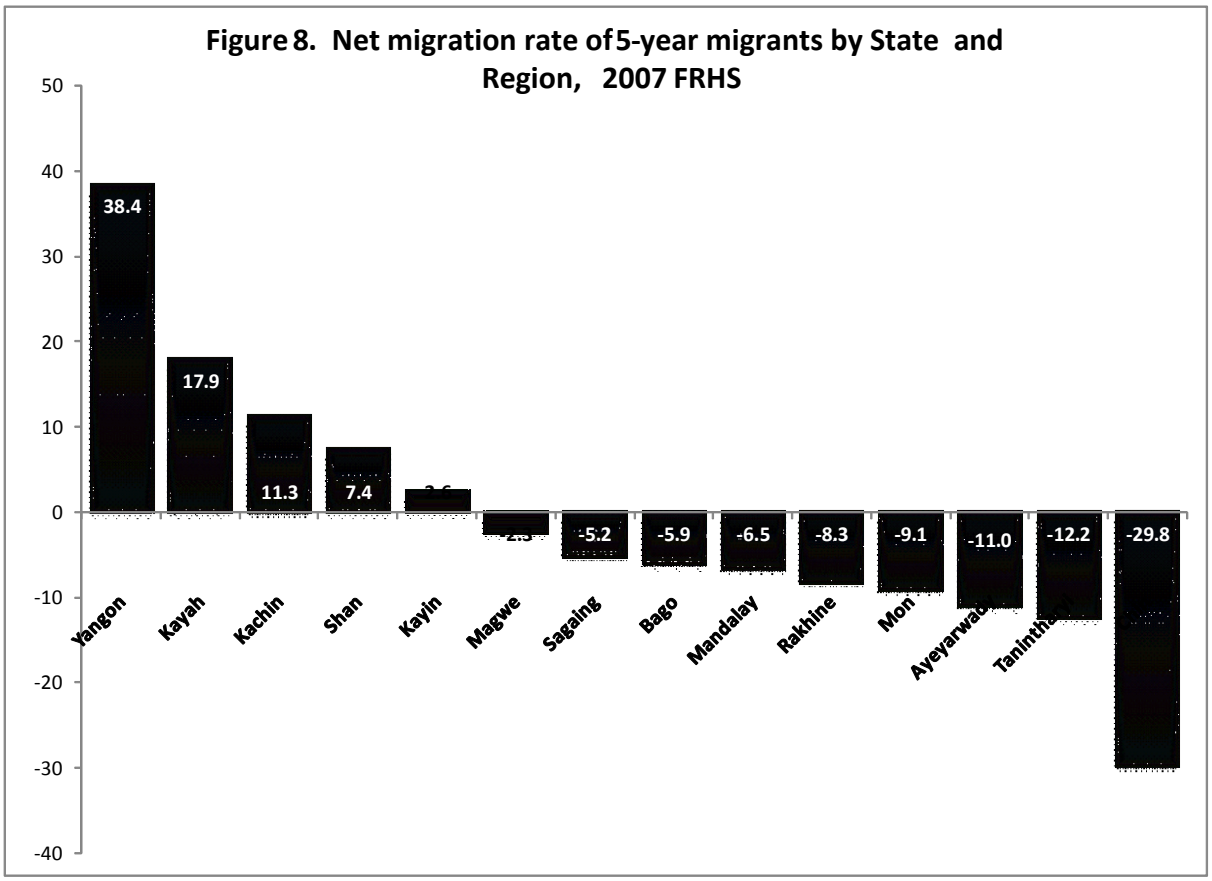
Chin state (37 per thousand) and Kayah state (36 per thousand) are clear outliners from the rest of the states and regions in terms of out-migration as depicted in Figure 7. It is possible the effect of sampling which is based on domains. Out-migration rate of Shan state, Rakhine state, Yangon region, Sagaing region, Magway region and Kayin state remain below 10 per thousand people in 2007.

Figure 7. Out-migration rate of 5-year migrants by State and Region, 2007 FRHS

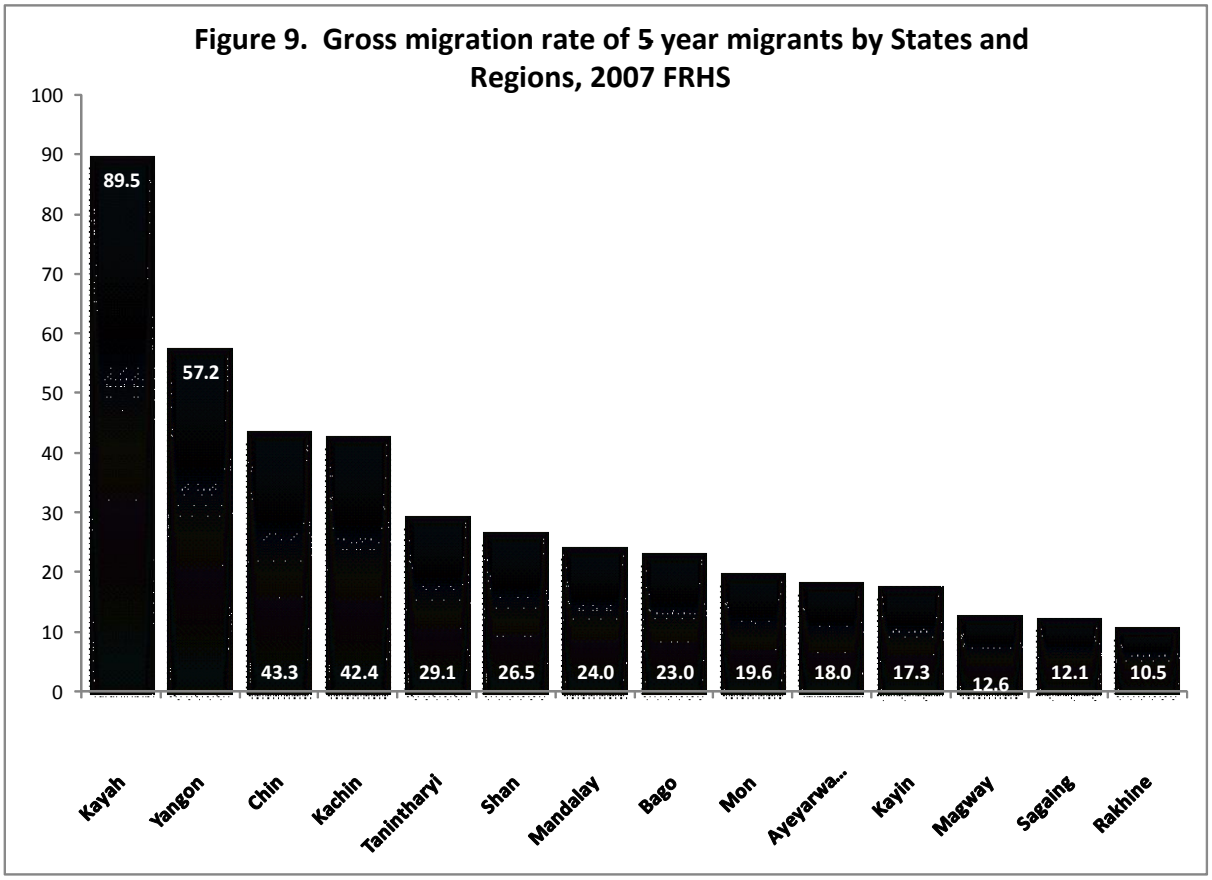


Net-migration rate of five-year migrants presented in Figure 8 shows almost a perfect pattern. Yangon tops the list of five states and regions that had gained population in 2007. Other four states and regions that had gained population in 2007 were Kayah, Kachin, Shan and Kayin. It is interesting to note that all regions except Yangon lost population in 2007. Most notable is the Ayeyarwady region which lost about 57 people per 1000 people. One reason may be that Ayerarwady is close to Yangon region where job opportunities are plenty. On the other hand, this reason may not apply to Bago region, which is also close to Yangon region, but population lost due to migration was only 22 people per 1000 people. Both regions are famous for extensive agricultural industry because of fertile soils and favourable weather. Hence, with the absence of data on reason for migration, we may only

postulate that people from these areas moved out seeking for better income jobs for opportunities in other regions.

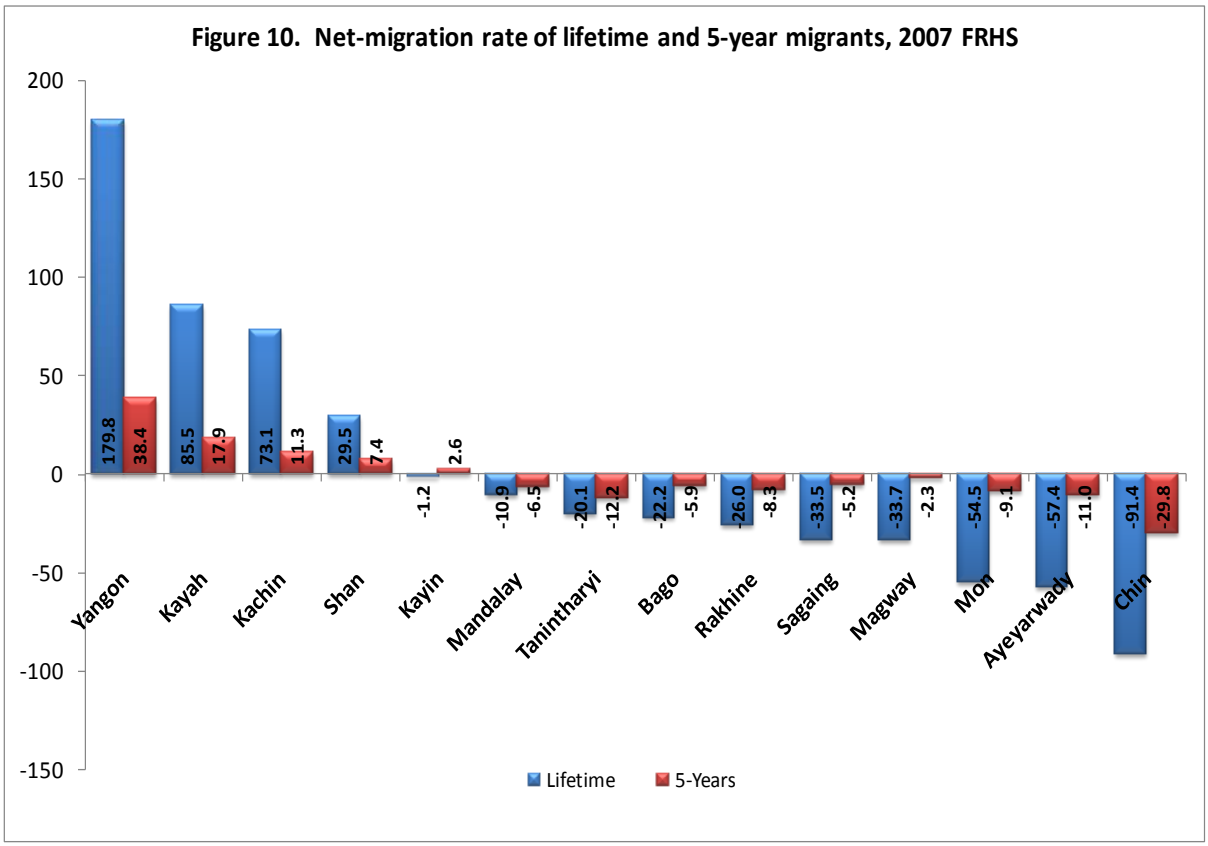


Gross migration rate for five-year migrants shows that Kayah state and Yangon region were at the highest levels of 90 per thousand and 57 per thousand, respectively. The lowest levels were found in Magway region (13 per thousand), Sagaing region and Rakhine state (11 per thousand). These results are summarized in Figure 9.



4.2.3 Comparison between lifetime and five-year migration

Figure 10 presents the comparison between net-migration rate of lifetime and five-year migration for 2007. The information from this graph presents a strikingly similar pattern between the two types of migrations. Out of five regions which have shown positive net-migration rate for recent migration, four regions have positive rates for lifetime migration namely Yangon, Kayah, Kachin and Shan. Only Kayin has shown different rates between the two migrations. It is possible that the out migration rate might be reducing in recent years. Except for that the rest of the rates follow the same pattern. Yangon region had the highest rate while Chin state had the lowest one for both two types of migration.



4.3 Principal migration streams

A different approach to the analysis of lifetime migration streams, focusing on absolute rather than relative size, is provided by ordering the inter-place migration streams by size, from largest to smallest. There are a total of 196 streams of which 14 are return flows, leaving 182 flows between states and regions. Table 4.3 shows the largest 40 of the latter streams, which account for 85 percent of all non-return migrants in 2007. In addition to identifying the places of origin and destination, and the number of persons migrating; the table shows the number of migrants in the stream as a percent of total non-return migrants and the sex ratio of the stream (100 times number of males divided by number of females). Table 4.3 also shows, in the 'Return Flow' column, the index number of the return flow, if included among the 40 largest flows. The largest flow, for example, is that from Ayeyarwady to Yangon, numbering 1,236 persons, or 14.8 percent of all non-return migrants. The number '26' shown in the 'Return flow' column shows that the return flow from Yangon to Ayeyarwady is the 26th largest flow, numbering 82 persons, or 1 percent of total non-return migrants.

The five largest streams are Ayerarwady to Yangon, Bago to Yangon, Mandalay to Shan, Sagaing to Mandalay and Mandalay to Yangon. The centrality of Yangon in the migration flow is clearly indicated: the 40 largest flows include 11 into Yangon and 4 out to other states and regions. Mandalay follows Yangon, with flows to and from 12 other states and regions. Shan stand third with flows to and from 10 other regions and closely behind is Bago with 9 flows. In the fifth place was Sagaing with 7 flows. Magway was notable for sending migrants to Yangon, Mandalay, Shan, Bago and Sagaing receiving migrants only from Mandalay. Rakhine appeared only once on the list, as a source of migrants to Yangon. Chin also appeared only once sending migrants to Sagaing.

Data from the 'Sex ratio' column reveals that Ayeyarwady and Bago send more females migrants than males to Yangon. That is understandable because Yangon is close to those two regions and females from those regions can move easily to Yangon to study or work in service sectors. On the other hand, movement from Mandalay to Shan is clearly dominated by males. This also is possible because some parts of Shan state are situated at the border areas and accesses to those areas may be too difficult for female to migrate. Besides, some job opportunities in Shan state, such as labourers in quarry and jewel mines are more suitable for males than females. It is notable that other regions such as Magway, Sagaing, Bago and Yangon also send more male migrants to Shan state. However, Shan send more female migrants to Mandalay, Yangon and Kayah. Mon, Kachin, Kayin and Tanintharyi also send more females than male migrants to other regions.

The picture drawn from the scenario mentioned above is that relatively undeveloped regions such as Shan, Kachin, Kayin and Mon are more likely to send female migrants than males to more developed regions such as Yangon, Mandalay or Bago. On the other hand, those regions in the hilly areas of the country receive more male migrants than females. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this situation may result in imbalance sex ratios at destination and origin areas. Moreover, it has some implication on social and health problems among the migrants and also families left behind. Those males who migrated, especially who went alone, are at risk of getting sexually transmitted diseases if they go to sex workers or have sexual relationship with other women. Usually, migrants with low education have little or no knowledge on safe

sex and have high risk of getting sexually transmitted diseases. For those women who migrated, especially those who went alone, are at risk of violence, discrimination, human trafficking and other social problems.

Table 4.3 Principal Migration Streams, 2007 FRHS

Index	Migration Stream	Return Flow	Number	Percent	Change	Cumulative Percent	Sex Ratio
1	Ayeyarwaddy to Yangon	26	1236	14.8	7.2	14.8	77.8
2	Bago to Yangon	12	634	7.6	1.9	22.3	79.6
3	Mandalay to Shan	11	478	5.7	0.5	28.1	105.2
4	Sagaing to Mandalay	32	432	5.2	0.0	33.2	83.1
5	Mandalay to Yangon	22	431	5.1	0.3	38.4	95.0
6	Mon to Yangon	-	402	4.8	1.4	43.2	68.9
7	Magwe to Yangon	27	283	3.4	0.5	46.6	105.1
8	Rakhine to Yangon	-	239	2.9	0.6	49.4	106.0
9	Magwe to Mandalay	-	192	2.3	0.1	51.7	113.3
10	Sagaing to Kachin	-	187	2.2	0.0	53.9	133.8
11	Shan to Mandalay	3	186	2.2	0.3	56.2	63.2
12	Yangon to Bago	2	158	1.9	0.0	58.0	92.7
13	Shan to Yangon	35	155	1.9	0.1	59.9	68.5
14	Sagaing to Yangon	-	149	1.8	0.3	61.7	104.1
15	Tanintharyi to Yangon	-	128	1.5	0.1	63.2	62.0
16	Mandalay to Bago	30	121	1.4	0.1	64.7	95.2
17	Mon to Kayin	20	112	1.3	0.1	66.0	69.7
18	Shan to Kachin	-	102	1.2	0.0	67.2	72.9
19	Magwe to Shan	-	99	1.2	0.1	68.4	125.0
20	Kayin to Mon	17	94	1.1	0.0	69.5	77.4
21	Chin to sagaing	-	93	1.1	0.0	70.6	93.8
22	Yangon to Mandalay	5	89	1.1	0.0	71.7	67.9
23	Magwe to Bago	-	88	1.1	0.0	72.7	131.6
24	Mandalay to Kachin	38	86	1.0	0.0	73.8	120.5
25	Ayeyarwaddy to Bago	36	86	1.0	0.0	74.8	87.0
26	Yangon to Ayeyarwaddy	1	82	1.0	0.0	75.8	82.2
27	Mandalay to Magwe	7	80	1.0	0.1	76.7	90.5
28	Magwe to Sagaing	-	71	0.8	0.0	77.6	163.0
29	Sagaing to Shan	-	70	0.8	0.1	78.4	169.2
30	Bago to Mandalay	16	63	0.8	0.0	79.2	90.9
31	Bago to Shan	-	62	0.7	0.0	79.9	100.0
32	Mandalay to Sagaing	4	58	0.7	0.0	80.6	114.8
33	Mon to Bago	-	56	0.7	0.0	81.3	80.6
34	Kachin to Yangon	-	52	0.6	0.0	81.9	67.7
35	Yangon to Shan	13	51	0.6	0.0	82.5	104.0
36	Bago to Ayeyarwaddy	25	50	0.6	0.0	83.1	100.0
37	Kayin to Yangon	-	49	0.6	0.0	83.7	53.1
38	Kachin to Mandalay	24	48	0.6	0.0	84.3	65.5
39	Shan to Kayah	-	45	0.5	0.0	84.8	60.7
40	Ayeyarwaddy to Shan	-	44	0.5	0.5	85.3	91.3

Information from Table 4.4 indicates that among the first largest flows, three flows, Ayeyarwady to Yangon, Bago to Yangon and Mandalay to Shan, were same as in 2007. It is remarkable that, in 2001, the highest flow of migrants (14 percent) was also from Ayeyarwady to Yangon. It is amazing that sex ratio of top three flows are same as in 2007. Overall trend of migration streams in 2007 also follow more or less similar pattern of 2001. The same analysis is done for 1991 and presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.4 Principal Migration Streams, 2001 FRHS

Index	Migration Stream	Return Flow	Number	Percent	Change	Cumulative Percent	Sex Ratio
1	Ayeyarwaddy to Yangon	11	1478	14.1	6.1	14.1	91.0
2	Bago to Yangon	14	841	8.1	2.4	22.2	81.6
3	Mon to Yangon	28	588	5.6	0.7	27.8	79.8
4	Mandalay to Yangon	30	519	5.0	0.9	32.7	111.0
5	Mandalay to Shan	10	420	4.0	0.1	36.8	124.6
6	Magwe to Yangon	-	412	3.9	0.6	40.7	95.3
7	Rakhine to Yangon	-	345	3.3	0.0	44.0	109.1
8	Sagaing to Mandalay	18	342	3.3	0.8	47.3	115.1
9	Chin to sagaing	-	254	2.4	0.5	49.7	98.4
10	Shan to Mandalay	5	205	2.0	0.2	51.7	83.0
11	Yangon to Ayeyarwaddy	1	181	1.7	0.0	53.4	79.2
12	Magwe to Mandalay	32	177	1.7	0.0	55.1	92.4
13	Sagaing to Kachin	40	176	1.7	0.0	56.8	151.4
14	Yangon to Bago	2	171	1.6	0.0	58.4	83.9
15	Mandalay to Bago	35	169	1.6	0.0	60.1	96.5
16	Tanintharyi to Yangon	-	164	1.6	0.0	61.6	86.4
17	Shan to Kachin	29	163	1.6	0.0	63.2	89.5
18	Mandalay to Sagaing	8	159	1.5	0.0	64.7	93.9
19	Shan to Yangon	-	158	1.5	0.1	66.2	83.7
20	Sagaing to Yangon	-	150	1.4	0.2	67.7	114.3
21	Kayin to Mon	39	130	1.2	0.0	68.9	80.6
22	Bago to Mon	-	129	1.2	0.0	70.1	87.0
23	Magwe to Bago	-	127	1.2	0.1	71.3	108.2
24	Ayeyarwaddy to Bago	33	115	1.1	0.1	72.4	94.9
25	Kayin to Bago	-	100	1.0	0.1	73.4	117.4
26	Magwe to Shan	-	94	0.9	0.0	74.3	123.8
27	Magwe to Sagaing	-	89	0.9	0.0	75.2	134.2
28	Yangon to Mon	3	87	0.8	0.0	76.0	112.2
29	Kachin to Shan	17	83	0.8	0.0	76.8	88.6
30	Yangon to Mandalay	4	82	0.8	0.1	77.6	70.8
31	Kachin to Yangon	-	75	0.7	0.0	78.3	78.6
32	Mandalay to Magwe	12	71	0.7	0.0	79.0	108.8
33	Bago to Ayeyarwaddy	24	69	0.7	0.0	79.6	68.3
34	Rakhine to Ayeyarwaddy	-	69	0.7	0.0	80.3	109.1
35	Bago to Mandalay	15	65	0.6	0.0	80.9	103.1
36	Mandalay to Kachin	-	65	0.6	0.0	81.5	132.1
37	Kayin to Yangon	-	60	0.6	0.0	82.1	93.5
38	Sagaing to Shan	-	60	0.6	0.0	82.7	150.0
39	Mon to Kayin	21	58	0.6	0.0	83.2	132.0
40	Kachin to Sagaing	13	53	0.5	0.5	83.7	43.2

Table 4.5 Principal Migration Streams, 1991 PCFS

Index	Migration Stream	Return Flow	Number	Percent	Change	Cumulative Percent	Sex Ratio
1	Ayeyarwaddy to Yangon	8	277713	13.30	4.70	13.00	93.00
2	Bago to Yangon	9	159276	7.63	2.00	30.00	92.00
3	Sagaing to Mandalay	26	118540	5.68	0.20	35.00	97.00
4	Mandalay to Yangon	20	72540	3.47	0.60	44.00	103.00
5	Mon to Yangon	13	115131	5.51	2.00	41.00	75.00
6	Magwe to Yangon	38	48814	2.34	0.30	57.00	156.00
7	Rakhine to Yangon	-	30921	1.48	0.00	69.00	127.00
8	Magwe to Mandalay	35	42448	2.03	0.00	59.00	114.00
9	Shan to Mandalay	2	28901	1.38	0.10	74.00	71.00
10	Yangon to Bago	3	51780	2.48	0.10	52.00	86.00
11	Shan to Yangon	19	22753	1.09	0.20	81.00	67.00
12	Sagaing to Yangon	-	26838	1.28	0.10	75.00	112.00
13	Tanintharyi to Yangon	13	17697	0.85	0.00	85.00	65.00
14	Mandalay to Bago	28	49528	2.37	0.00	54.00	102.00
15	Yangon to Mandalay	6	29579	1.42	0.00	72.00	96.00
16	Magwe to Bago	-	18761	0.90	0.10	83.00	117.00
17	Ayeyarwaddy to Bago	7	39585	1.90	0.10	63.00	113.00
18	Yangon to Ayeyarwaddy	1	55054	2.64	0.20	50.00	73.00
19	Mandalay to Magwe	12	17375	0.83	0.10	88.00	116.00
20	Bago to Mandalay	10	19418	0.93	0.00	82.00	91.00
21	Mon to Bago	25	25702	1.23	0.10	76.00	85.00
22	Bago to Ayeyarwaddy	14	59518	2.85	0.20	47.00	94.00
23	Kayin to Yangon	13	17503	0.84	0.00	87.00	70.00
24	Mandalay to KSK	21	178960	8.57	0.90	22.00	118.00
25	Sagaing to KSK	-	38392	1.84	0.10	65.00	126.00
26	Magway to KSK	-	35792	1.71	0.10	66.00	121.00
27	Bago to KSK	-	34593	1.66	0.20	68.00	90.00
28	Yangon to KSK	27	30194	1.45	0.00	71.00	89.00
29	Magway to Ayewarwady	-	24056	1.15	0.00	77.00	120.00
30	Bago to MTK	23	23535	1.13	0.00	78.00	106.00
31	Yangon to MTK	53234	41824	2.00	0.10	61.00	137.00
32	Mandalay to SC	4	23466	1.12	0.00	80.00	112.00
33	Mandalay to Ayeyarwady	39	19344	0.93	0.00	83.00	70.00
34	Ayeyarwaddy to MTK	37	17810	0.85	0.00	84.00	149.00
35	Ayeyarwaddy to KSK	-	17597	0.84	0.00	86.00	132.00
36	Magway to SC	-	15515	0.74	0.20	88.00	167.00
37	Mon to Ayeyarwady	31	11408	0.55	0.10	89.00	77.00
38	Yangon to Magway	11	10457	0.50	0.00	89.00	48.00
39	Ayeyarwaddy to Mandalay	29	9709	0.46	0.00	90.00	169.00

4.4 Profile of migrants

The profile of migrants includes age and sex structure, education level and occupation. Trend analysis is done to track changes in these characteristics over the period of 1991 to 2007, depending on the availability of comparable data.

4.4.1 Age and sex structure

Migrants are predominantly young adults from low-income families. But the traditional picture of young males leaving their village to find work to support their families is changing as more and more women join their ranks and, increasingly, migrants are more informed about job opportunities at work destination (Asfar, 2003).

Table 4.6 Percent distribution of lifetime migration by sex and stream, 1991, 2001 and 2007

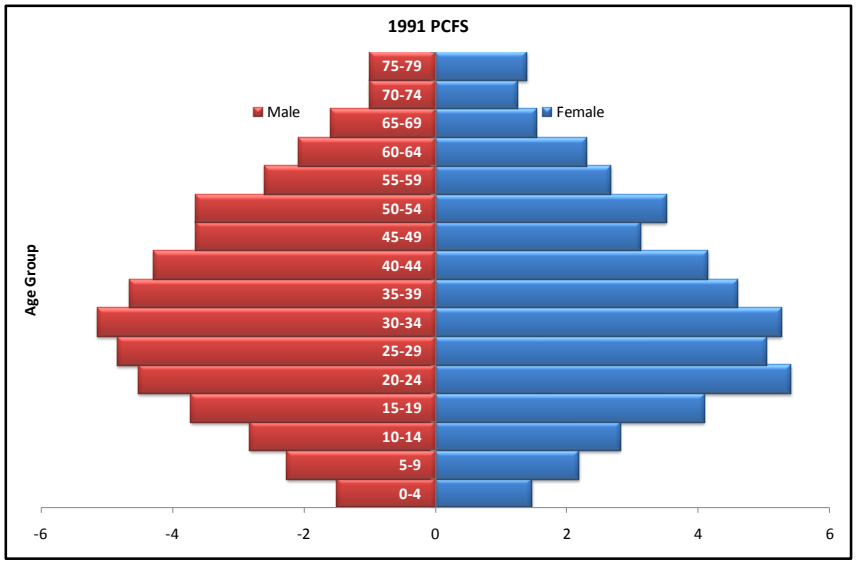
Migration Stream	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
			1991			
Urban-to-urban	2467	48.9	2573	51.1	5040	100.0
Rural-to-urban	3755	46.7	4279	53.3	8034	100.0
Rural-to-rural	4878	48.2	5232	51.8	10110	100.0
Urban-to-rural	863	52.8	773	47.2	1636	100.0
Total	11963	48.2	12857	51.8	24820	100.0
			2001			
Urban-to-urban	4909	46.3	5688	53.7	10597	100.0
Rural-to-urban	3755	46.7	4279	53.3	8034	100.0
Rural-to-rural	4878	48.2	5232	51.8	10110	100.0
Urban-to-rural	1484	51.9	1374	48.1	2858	100.0
Total	15026	47.6	16573	52.4	31599	100.0
			2007			
Urban-to-urban	3925	45.0	4805	55.0	8730	100.0
Rural-to-urban	2444	45.9	2884	54.1	5328	100.0
Rural-to-rural	2584	46.8	2934	53.2	5518	100.0
Urban-to-rural	961	48.6	1017	51.4	1978	100.0
Total	9914	46.0	11640	54.0	21554	100.0

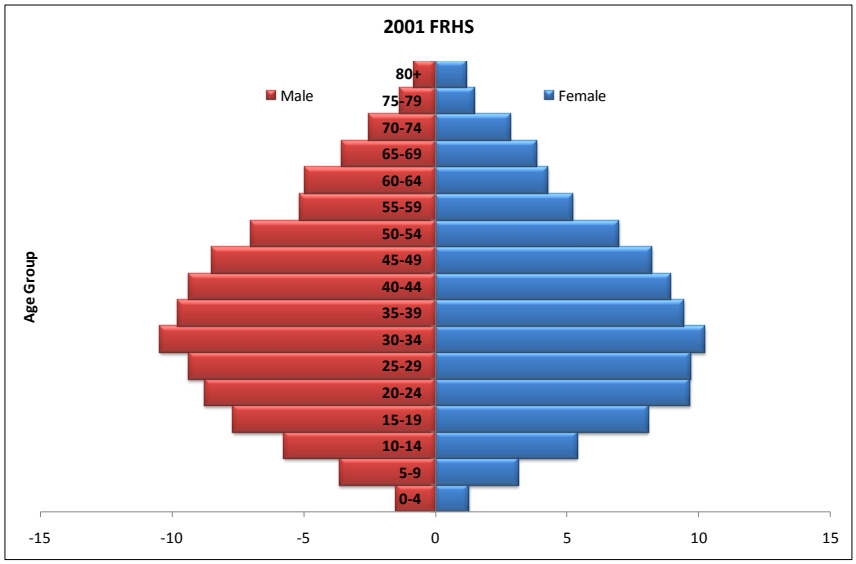
In Myanmar, of the 24,820 lifetime migrants recorded in 1991, about 52 percent were females and 48 percent were males (Table 4.6). The proportion of female migrants increased slightly (53 percent) in 2001 and (54 percent) in 2007. The increase in female migration was largely due to increase of female mobility in the urban-urban and urban-rural stream of migration. The proportion of females in other two streams also improved slightly. These trends suggest that females in Myanmar are more mobile than males in all streams of migration in 2007.

The largest proportion of male and female lifetime migrants falls in the age group 30-34 in 1991 and this trend remain the same in 2001 and 2007. This is presented in a population pyramid (figure 11), which shows that people 20-50 are more likely to migrants than other age groups.

For five-year migrants, the largest proportion of male lifetime migrants falls in the age groups 15-19 and 20-24 for female in 1991 (Figure 12). However, the largest proportion of both males and females was in age group 20-24 in 2001 and 2007. The predominance of young males and females can be explained by the fact that generally that is the age when males migrate in search of employment or get better education at tertiary level while females migrate as a result of getting married plus in search of employment.

Figure 11. Age and sex structure of lifetime migrants, 1991, 2001 and 2007





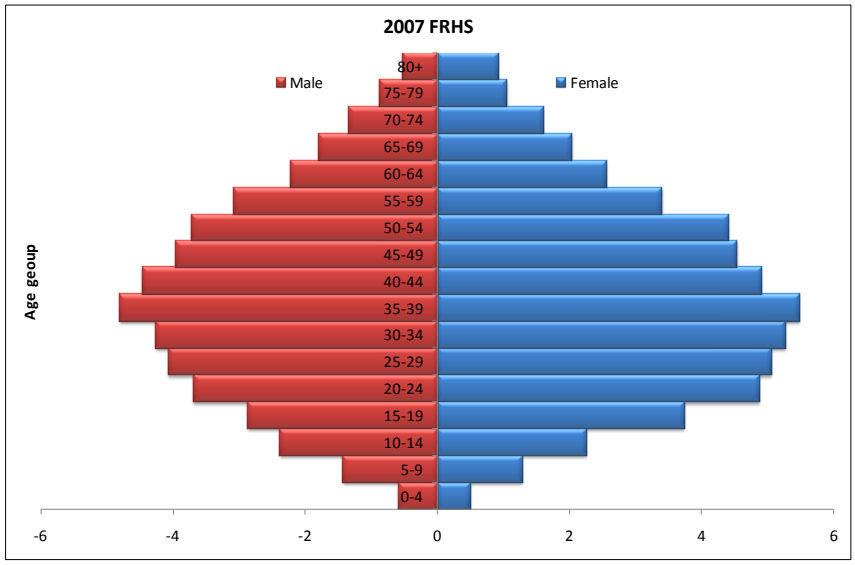
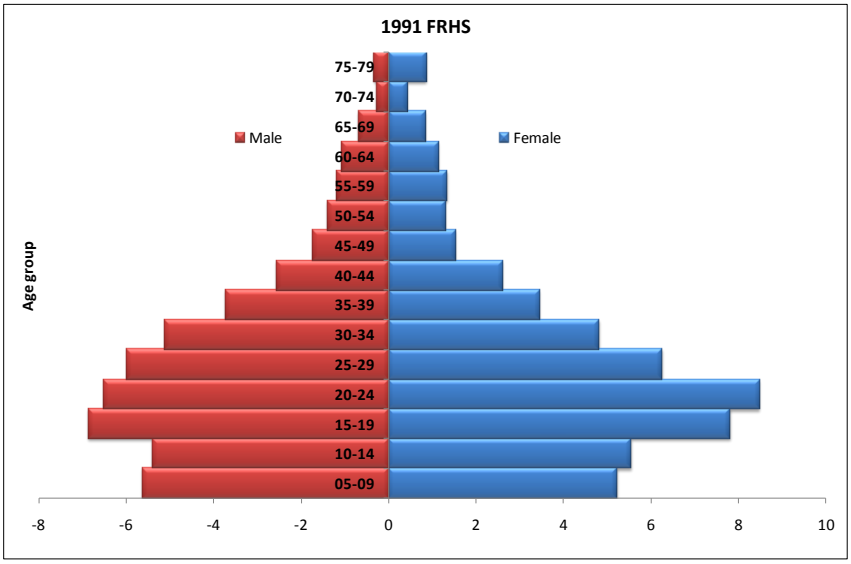
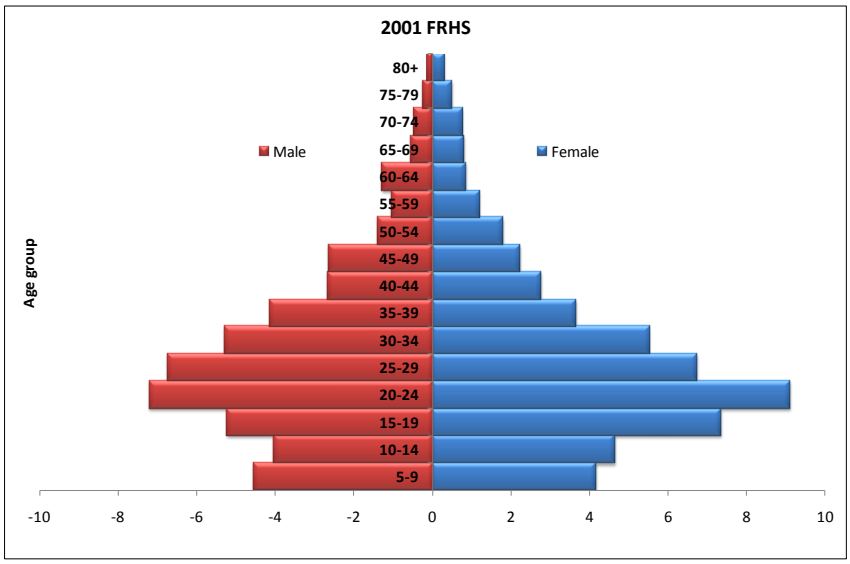
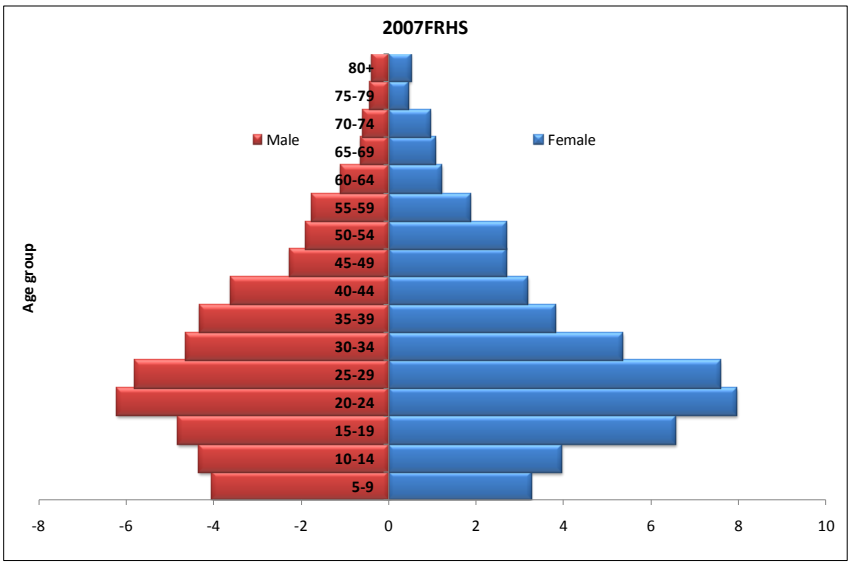


Figure 12. Age and sex structure of five-year migrants, 1991, 2001 and 2007







4.4.2 Education

Early studies of migration found that relatively better educated males aged between 15-30 years with relatively more contacts or capital required for the initial transport and establishment costs had the highest propensity to migrate. Several studies from India show that migration is high among the most and least educated with a tendency for the illiterate to engage in seasonal migration and the better educated to travel for regular white collar jobs or business enterprise. In China, earlier studies found that migrants had a higher level of education (de Haan, 2000) but new evidence suggests that the best educated are avoiding migrating if they can (GHK/IIED, 2004).

The comparison of education level of all lifetime migrants during 1991, 2001 and 2007 presents an interesting pattern (Table 4.9). In 1991, female migrants with no education constitute about half (43 percent) of all female migrants. However, in 2001, this proportion dropped by about half to approximately 25 percent and declined further in 2007 to 11 percent. In other words, about 1 in 2 female migrants had no education 1991 while only 1 in 10 female migrants had no education in 2007. That is a dramatic improvement which may be brought about partially by improved education level of females in general. The improvement in education level of female migrants was more noticeable in the increased proportion of female migrants with university education which constituted only 2 percent in 1991, but increased to 14 percent in 2007. Proportion of female migrants with middle school and high school level education also increased substantially between 1991 and 2007.

As for the male lifetime migrants, the only noticeable change between 1991 and 2007 was decrease in proportion of migrants with no education level from 24 percent to 6 percent and increased proportion of migrants with university education from 8 percent in 1991 and 13 percent in 2007. Changes in other level of education are negligible.

Table 4.9 Education level of lifetime by sex, 1991, 2001 and 2007

Education	1991		2001		2007	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No education	24.3	43.1	13.6	24.7	5.9	11.1
Primary	24.7	39.1	29.0	47.2	27.4	35.7
Middle School	26.8	11.2	26.4	14.4	27.9	20.4
High School	16.2	4.6	16.7	7.1	18.6	14.8
University	8.0	2.0	8.5	3.5	13.0	14.0
Others	0.0	0.0	5.8	3.0	7.3	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	9673	10013	15329	16964	9977	11440

For the five-year migration, the pattern of female lifetime migrants was repeated again with increased proportion in higher level of female education (middle school, high school and university education) (Table 4.10). For male recent migrants, decreased proportion in no education was observed as a result of increased proportion in high school and university education.

Table 4.10 Education level of 5-year migrants by sex, 1991, 2001 and 2007

Education	1991		2001		2007	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No education	25.8	42.3	13.4	22.8	7.5	10.1
Primary	29.1	38.6	28.4	42.9	27.1	33.5
Middle School	26.0	11.8	28.1	17.9	26.2	21.5
High School	12.4	5.0	16.7	9.8	19.2	16.0
University	6.6	2.3	10.9	5.0	14.8	16.4
Others	.0	.0	2.6	1.5	5.2	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	3171	3377	3044	3354	2179	2433

4.4.3 Occupation

Occupation, one of the most important socio-economic indicators, has played an influential role in the migration decisions. Therefore, trend data analysis was done and presented in Table 4.11. The proportion of both male and female lifetime migrants who were not working at the time of the survey dropped sharply during 1991 and 2007. The drop was more noticeable for male migrants who were not working from 25 percent to 16 percent. For the female counterparts, it was 60 percent in 1991 and 47 percent in 2007. This phenomenon suggests that more people (both males and females) are mostly moving for employment reason.

Table 4.11 Occupation of lifetime migrants by sex, 1991, 2001 and 2007

Occupation	1991		2001		2007	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not working	24.5	59.2	14.9	49.1	15.9	47.4
Student	-	-	9.7	9.2	8.4	7.3
White collar	6.6	4.6	6.8	2.0	6.0	1.6
Blue collar	48.1	25.3	38.0	18.7	32.7	19.6
Elementary Worker	-	-	6.0	1.5	6.4	1.5
Agricultural worker	18.9	10.7	11.9	13.3	13.0	12.9
Others	2.0	.2	12.8	6.2	17.6	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	9205	9551	14767	16423	9749	11559

For male migrants, about half (48 percent) worked as blue collar workers in 1991. Although the proportion dropped to 38 percent in 2001 and 33 percent in 2007, it remained as the highest among all types of occupation for males. However, for the females, although the proportion of not working was decreasing, it is the highest for 1991, 2001 and 2007. This finding may suggest that the main reason of migration was employment for males and marriage for females.

However, the drop in the share of female migrants who are not working and increase in the proportion of those who work in the agricultural sector (11 percent in 1991 and 13 percent in 2007) suggest that more females are migrating for employment reasons especially to work in the agricultural sector. This factor may also account for the high rural-rural migration stream.

Data in Table 4.12 reveals that the trend of recent migration follows more or less similar pattern of lifetime migration. The share of migrants who are not working declined sharply which was more noticeable for male. Although the proportion of blue collar workers decreased, it is the highest for male migrants while not working was the highest for females. The proportion of male migrant who worked as agriculture workers declined while the proportion of female migrants who work in this sector increased suggesting that more female participated in the agricultural sector.

Table 4.12 Occupation of 5-year migrants by sex, 1991, 2001 and 2007

Occupation	1991		2001		2007	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not working	29.6	63.4	11.1	46.2	13.3	43.7
Student	-	-	14.6	14.1	13.9	11.5
White collar	5.7	4.6	7.8	2.2	6.8	1.7
Blue collar	46.5	24.1	31.7	14.0	28.4	19.1
Elementary Worker	-	-	7.7	2.6	6.6	1.8
Agricultural worker	15.9	7.7	13.9	11.7	13.8	12.3
Others	2.2	.2	13.1	9.2	17.2	9.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	2797	3031	2753	3087	2000	2336

4.4.4 Marital status

Many studies have shown that marriage is a strong influencing factor for migration. Upon marriage at least one of the partners, and usually both partners, migrate. Data in Table 4.13 supports this phenomenon. More than half of male and female lifetime migrants were married in 1991 and increasing trend was observed for 2001 and 2007. On the other hand, the shares of single migrants (both males and females) declined during the same period. The same pattern was observed for recent migration (Table 4.14).

Table 4.13 Marital status of lifetime migrants by sex, 1991, 2001 and 2007

Marital status	1991		2001		2007	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single	35.4	33.8	33.0	30.9	30.3	29.8
Married	59.4	52.0	62.0	54.9	65.3	55.7
Widowed/Divorced/ Separated	5.2	14.2	5.1	14.2	4.5	14.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	10007	11966	15582	17195	10204	11966

Table 4.14 Marital status of 5-year migrants by sex, 1991, 2001 and 2007

Marital status	1991		2001		2007	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single	52.2	49.9	48.5	46.3	45.5	37.6
Married	44.9	41.0	48.3	44.8	51.5	48.8
Widowed/Divorced/ Separated	2.9	9.0	3.3	8.9	3.0	13.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	3178	3384	3044	3354	2189	2489

Chapter V

Gender Dimensions of internal migration

Several studies indicate that until recently, migration was dominated by men (de Haan, 2000). But more and more women are migrating for work now and not just as accompanying spouses. This so-called "autonomous female migration" has increased because of a greater demand for female labour in certain services and industries and also because of growing social acceptance of women's economic independence and mobility. In fact the feminization of migration is one of the principal recent changes of population movement. The reasons for women's migration are complex and may include both economic and non-economic factors. Migration can be an option to escape social control or gender discrimination (Posel, 2003) as well as prejudice in their home community if they pursue socially stigmatized work (ranging from certain manual wage labour to sexual services; cf. Tacoli, 2001).

Despite the females domination in all migration streams, gender dimension of internal migration in Myanmar have never been considered in the previous studies. Women are preferred as workers because they can be paid lower wages than men, are assumed to be more docile and are considered better suited to perform repetitive tasks. Japanese factory managers in Thailand also reported that they prefer female workers over male workers because female workers register lower levels of job turnover (NESDB, 1992).

Female migrant labour is especially attractive because of the ability of employers to exert greater control over the activities of workers when they are removed from their families and communities.

In the following sections the relationship between gender and migration is examined in detail. This section will concentrate on gender differences on some characteristics.

5.1 Gender selectivity

5.1.1 Gender and age

Differences in the age-sex selectivity of migration create substantial demographic imbalances in the rural and urban population. In Table 5.1, the age-specific sex ratios

(number of males per 100 females) are shown for a number of population groups. Both urban and rural population is female dominated, but the dominance is more evident in urban areas (sex ratio of 86 and 90). In the urban areas females are the majority after age 15 while in the rural areas females dominated after age 10 with the sex ratio lowest in the age group 80 and above for both urban and rural areas.

Table 5.1 Age-specific sex ratios for urban and rural populations and migration streams, Myanmar, 2007

Age	Urban	Rural	Migration stream			
			Urban-urban	Urban-rural	Rural-urban	Rural-rural
0-4	104.6	100.1	141.5	53.6	95.0	118.2
5-9	108.8	100.3	100.0	179.1	94.4	105.6
10-14	105.2	99.1	104.2	107.1	141.7	98.0
15-19	89.9	96.2	88.1	60.0	82.7	71.4
20-24	88.7	89.4	85.9	69.9	72.2	67.3
25-29	87.5	85.1	80.6	94.2	75.4	72.6
30-34	77.9	86.1	75.7	81.4	83.3	80.5
35-39	80.1	87.5	76.5	90.4	109.0	97.5
40-44	83.2	83.9	85.1	97.3	83.7	98.2
45-49	78.9	88.9	70.9	103.4	101.4	96.3
50-54	71.6	84.7	72.5	78.2	115.7	100.4
55-59	78.1	83.3	86.8	80.4	122.2	98.9
60-64	76.8	82.7	77.9	78.0	131.0	102.8
65-69	73.8	80.7	79.3	89.6	78.3	98.2
70-74	70.0	77.2	90.2	73.7	82.6	83.1
75-79	69.6	75.7	70.7	88.6	171.4	81.4
80+	51.6	63.5	56.5	64.9	66.7	40.7
Total	**86.5**	**90.4**	**81.7**	**84.7**	**94.5**	**88.1**

The age-specific sex ratios of the general population are magnified in migration streams. Overall migration is dominated by females, with only 85 males migrating for every 100 females. Females dominate in all types of migration streams with highest in urban-

urban movements and lowest in rural-urban movement. Females' dominance in migration was most apparent for young women aged 15-24. Females usually undertake migration related to life-course events such as marriage, completion of education and entry into the labour force, at earlier ages than males do and this can explain the dominance of female migrants at younger ages. It is interesting to note the exceptionally high dominance of females in the age group of 80 and above all types of migration streams. Although the numbers involved are small, many probably migrated upon being widowed and move to live with their children who had previously migrated to other places. Because of the potential dependency of this group, they may require special attention by planners or social programmes.

5.1.2 Gender and marital status

At ages 15-24 there are 88 never-married male migrants for every 100 never-married female migrants (Table 5.2). Although never-married females outnumbered never-married males, the proportion increased at older age groups. This reflects the later age at marriage of males compared to females. This finding was supported by very high proportion of married female migrants at young age group of 15-24 (sex ratio of 48), but the married females' dominance was reduced by half at older age group 25-39 (sex ratio of 86). Moreover, married males outnumbered females (sex ratio of 118) at oldest age group of 40 years and above.

Table 5.2 Sex ratios of migration streams by marital status and age: Myanmar, 2007

Age/ Marital status	Non-migrant	Migration stream				
		Urban-urban	Urban-rural	Rural-urban	Rural-rural	Total
15-24						
Single	100.3	95.2	67.5	102.1	102.5	88.3
Married	65.2	58.1	57.8	44.0	38.5	48.3
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	85.8	60.0	40.0	100.0	16.7	47.8
Total	**94.2**	**86.9**	**65.4**	**76.7**	**69.0**	**76.1**
25-39						
Single	83.5	82.6	82.1	65.6	92.5	82.4
Married	90.5	78.7	95.7	97.0	83.9	85.8
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	34.4	30.0	22.2	29.4	44.4	30.7
Total	**85.4**	**77.5**	**88.3**	**87.9**	**83.7**	**82.6**
40+						
Single	40.5	38.0	60.3	41.7	58.7	45.6
Married	107.9	107.8	118.7	136.0	125.8	117.6
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	31.6	24.9	23.5	34.3	25.6	25.4
Total	**79.6**	**77.8**	**85.5**	**102.3**	**94.9**	**86.0**

Although the number of migrants who are widowed, divorced or separated is only a small proportion of all migrants, the streams are dominated by females, especially at older ages. This suggests that women who are widowed, divorced or separated are more likely to migrate than men in same marital conditions.

5.1.3 Gender and education

In Table 5.3 the sex ratio of the cross-classification of migration stream and educational attainment are shown for the three age groups. For age groups, 15 - 24 and 25 - 39, the sex ratio increased with education, peaked at middle school education and decreased again. However, for age group 40 years and above, the sex ratio increased with education, peaked at high school level and decreased a little at university level.

Table 5.3 Sex ratios of migration streams by education and age: Myanmar, 2007

Age/ Education	Non-migrant	Migration stream				
		Urban-urban	Urban-rural	Rural-urban	Rural-rural	Total
15-24						
No education	72.2	66.7	22.7	57.1	59.6	51.6
Primary	85.1	71.3	66.7	109.1	57.8	67.0
Middle School	115.3	105.0	99.1	83.7	93.8	98.1
High School	104.0	94.2	63.3	56.9	84.9	80.5
University	69.0	78.2	43.3	72.7	45.2	66.0
Total	**93.4**	**88.0**	**66.5**	**78.1**	**70.0**	**77.2**
25-39						
No education	61.2	19.4	31.1	68.8	63.7	50.2
Primary	72.2	71.2	65.6	73.7	69.0	69.2
Middle School	128.5	104.2	133.3	118.9	135.9	119.3
High School	110.1	91.4	99.0	104.8	86.4	93.8
University	56.3	59.9	79.7	37.9	64.3	61.7
Total	**83.4**	**78.3**	**89.0**	**89.2**	**85.4**	**83.6**
40+						
No education	38.7	18.4	34.9	27.5	40.3	33.8
Primary	68.4	43.4	51.7	59.2	80.0	58.7
Middle School	146.6	90.0	160.4	165.4	224.3	130.0
High School	138.9	118.9	156.8	162.5	450.0	141.3
University	80.4	100.0	226.4	117.9	230.8	118.5
Total	**74.9**	**80.8**	**90.1**	**105.5**	**99.4**	**89.8**

At young age group of 15-24, females dominate in all type of streams except for the urban-urban movement of male migrants with middle school education. However, for older age group of 25-39, female dominance was reduced in higher level of education, especially for middle school education. At these ages, female dominance was exceptionally high for those with no education, so much so that there are only 19 males with no education for every 100 females with same education for urban-urban stream. This pattern was magnified for the oldest age group of 40 years and above. Females with no education and primary education outnumbered their male counterparts, but for higher education levels, males overwhelmed females greatly. This is a good example of migration selectivity, where more females with low level of education migrate more than males do and males with higher levels of education migrate more than females do.

There are several possible explanations for these patterns. Occupations for which female migrants have access may require lower level of education than those for which male migrants have access. Or it may be that females with lower levels of education have more restricted opportunities at place of origin compared with males and therefore are

under more pressure to migrate. The effects of gender differences in migration patterns among educational groups are potentially important.

5.1.4 Gender and occupation

At the youngest ages, all migration streams have sex ratios that favour women for occupational category of agricultural worker and not working. This pattern was repeated again for older age groups but for larger extends. What is most striking is the male dominance in occupational category of white collar, blue collar and elementary workers for all age groups and migration streams. What we can envisage from this finding is more men migrating to work in better jobs or jobs that require strength at the destination while women migrate to work in agricultural sector or not working at all.

One plausible reason for high proportion of female migrants who were not working at the time of survey was that those women probably have migrated to get married and after marriage they become housewives and do not work. This finding is consistent with the study of Gazdar where he reported that one major characteristic of internal migration in Pakistan is the significant movements related to marriage and family (Gazdar, 2003). In India, females constitute a significantly higher proportion of rural ward migrants mainly on account of marriage.

Table 5.4 Sex ratios of migration streams by occupation and age: Myanmar, 2007

Age/ Occupation	Non-migrant	Migration stream				
		Urban-urban	Urban-rural	Rural-urban	Rural-rural	Total
15-24						
Not working	33.6	38.5	19.6	20.6	8.2	23.9
Student	103.5	98.3	53.9	71.9	113.3	85.0
White collar	201.6	157.1	71.4	1000.0	100.0	162.5
Blue collar	117.1	122.0	116.7	109.7	111.5	115.8
Elementary Worker	118.9	142.9	105.6	133.3	85.7	121.2
Agricultural worker	62.0	86.2	76.5	69.2	45.8	76.6
Others	132.5	134.9	148.9	161.9	113.9	133.3
Total	**94.2**	**86.9**	**65.4**	**76.7**	**69.0**	**76.1**
25-39						
Not working	14.9	16.2	10.7	4.6	2.9	11.1
Student	122.7	111.1				188.9
White collar	210.0	272.7	242.9	300.0	475.0	280.3
Blue collar	112.2	110.1	166.4	116.1	119.6	123.1
Elementary Worker	251.0	544.4	318.2	255.6	387.5	410.6
Agricultural worker	55.7	83.3	75.5	76.3	60.0	76.3
Others	128.3	149.2	178.4	169.4	156.3	160.7
Total	**85.4**	**77.5**	**88.3**	**87.9**	**83.7**	**82.6**
40+						
Not working	29.4	32.7	42.9	38.1	29.8	35.5
Student						
White collar	312.1	331.7	512.5	1250.0	260.0	375.8
Blue collar	122.9	142.9	199.3	163.0	163.4	163.1
Elementary Worker	286.3	662.5	333.3		560.0	554.0
Agricultural worker	55.3	113.0	95.0	97.9	66.1	97.4
Others	115.0	143.7	179.8	155.3	142.0	152.7
Total	**79.6**	**77.8**	**85.5**	**102.3**	**94.9**	**86.0**

5.2 Trends in female internal migration

To examine trends in female migration, data from three surveys (1991, 2001 and 2007) are used. As the aim is to examine the changes in female migration patterns, only results for females are presented.

5.2.1 Trends in demographic selectivity

In Table 5.5 the age distribution of female migrants by four type of migration streams are shown. For all migration streams, the proportion of migrants aged 0-14 declined between 1991 and 2007. This can be attributed to the decline in fertility that took place over the period. The decline is more evident for rural-urban migrants, with 18.9 percent of rural -urban migrants in 1991 aged 0-14 compared with 3.9 percent of migrants in 2007.

Table 5.5 Percentage age distribution of females by migration stream, 1991, 2001, 2007

Age	All	Migration stream			
		Urban- urban	Urban- rural	Rural- urban	Rural- rural
1991					
0-14	11.2	11.2	7.5	18.9	12.2
15-19	8.8	9.1	7.6	12.4	7.7
20-24	11.0	11.2	9.2	15.3	10.5
25-29	10.4	11.1	8.7	12.4	10.0
30-34	10.9	12.0	9.8	12.2	9.6
35-39	8.8	8.4	8.8	6.7	11.1
40-44	8.0	7.6	8.4	6.3	9.5
45-49	6.0	5.3	7.9	2.8	6.3
50-54	6.6	6.4	8.3	4.0	5.8
55-59	5.2	4.9	6.4	2.1	6.1
60+	13.1	12.7	17.2	6.9	11.3
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
2001					
0-14	14.3	10.3	9.4	8.1	13.2
15-19	9.8	9.0	7.5	7.8	7.1
20-24	10.8	9.7	7.4	9.4	9.1
25-29	11.1	10.0	7.5	8.0	11.1
30-34	12.0	11.2	8.3	7.7	13.7
35-39	10.0	10.4	8.6	7.4	10.3
40-44	9.6	8.7	8.8	8.0	8.6
45-49	7.1	8.5	8.5	7.9	9.1
50-54	5.1	6.2	8.4	8.2	5.7
55-59	2.5	4.7	6.8	6.9	3.8
60+	7.4	11.2	18.8	20.4	8.3
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
2007					
0-14	4.7	4.5	5.0	3.9	7.1
15-19	7.4	7.0	5.4	7.6	6.5
20-24	9.5	8.7	7.8	9.4	7.3
25-29	12.0	9.2	8.6	7.7	9.6
30-34	12.4	9.6	8.8	9.1	10.9
35-39	9.8	10.6	9.2	8.7	11.3
40-44	10.2	9.5	8.8	7.7	9.1
45-49	7.3	8.9	8.8	7.2	7.8
50-54	6.9	7.8	8.1	8.7	8.4
55-59	5.3	5.8	7.0	7.4	6.9
60+	8.9	14.5	18.8	20.0	9.7
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

A small decline in proportion of female migrants was observed at young adult ages. In 1991 about 20 percent of female migrants were aged between 15 and 29 while in 2007, the corresponding percentage was 17. The decline in proportion of migrants who were children and young adults were compensated for by increases in the proportion of migrants at older ages. For example, the proportion of rural-urban female migrants aged 45-49 and

aged 60 years and above were almost 3 percent and 7 percent respectively in 1991, but increased to about 7 percent and 20 percent in 2007.

5.3 Implication of internal migration for female living status

Among both academicians and policy makers there have been concerns expressed that migration of females result in their being at risk of exploitation because of the poor living conditions in places where they move to. Others have argued that migration by females provide new opportunities and hence lead to improvement in their status. Data from the surveys under study do not allow a detailed evaluation of these arguments. However, data on living arrangements provide an opportunity to compare female migrants and non-migrants on this dimension.

It can be seen from Table 5.6 that most women live with immediate household members. As women proceed through life cycle their position in relation to household heads also changes, although they remain in a dependent position.

For non-migrant women aged 15-24, more than two thirds were the child of the household heads in 2007. At age 25-39 about half remained as children while about 38 percent were the spouse of the household heads. At ages 40 and over, mortality of husband or divorce had left 24 percent as head of their households while another 55 percent remained as spouses.

Data from the same table reveals that migration reduces the likelihood that women will live with immediate family members. For migrant women aged 15-24, only about half were the child of the household heads and about 18 percent live with distant relatives. Because migration is often undertaken in conjunction with marriage, a higher proportion of migrants than non-migrants are found in the spouse or daughter-in-law categories. The proportion of women who live with non-relatives never exceed 20 percent for all age groups, ranging from high of about 18 percent to low of only 3 percent. At older ages there is a reduction in the proportion of migrants living apart from family members, primarily because many marry and occupy the position of spouse or daughter-in-law. Therefore, although migration reduces the likelihood that women will live with immediate family members, it rarely takes women outside the family network, and in so far as it is related to

marriage, it often involves only the exchange of one dependent position (child) for others (spouse, daughter-in-law).

Table 5.6 Percentage distribution of females aged 15 and above by relationship to head of household and migration stream: Myanmar, 2007

Age/ Relationship to head of household	Non-migrants	Migration stream				
		Urban-urban	Urban-rural	Rural-urban	Rural-rural	Total
15-24						
Head	0.3	0.7	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.7
Spouse	4.6	4.0	6.1	14.5	15.6	8.2
Son/daughter	75.5	53.7	41.5	45.9	38.4	46.2
Son/daughter in law	4.8	8.1	6.9	16.9	26.8	12.9
Parent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Grand child	7.1	8.1	4.9	2.3	3.1	5.5
Other relative	6.2	17.3	26.4	14.0	11.1	18.0
None Relative	1.4	8.2	13.2	5.8	4.5	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
25-39						
Head	2.4	4.9	3.4	3.4	3.0	3.9
Spouse	38.4	34.3	40.9	51.7	63.9	45.6
Son/daughter	44.5	37.0	27.0	21.8	11.4	26.3
Son/daughter in law	7.4	10.7	14.0	12.6	14.6	12.7
Parent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Grand child	1.5	0.9	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.7
Other relative	5.0	9.6	9.9	6.9	4.4	8.0
None Relative	0.8	2.6	4.1	3.2	2.1	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
40+						
Head	23.6	13.7	16.2	9.7	11.4	13.4
Spouse	55.4	33.2	38.7	43.8	53.1	40.5
Son/daughter	9.6	28.8	19.4	23.3	14.8	22.5
Son/daughter in law	1.1	5.3	5.3	8.0	9.1	6.5
Parent	3.4	2.1	2.1	2.3	3.0	2.4
Grand child	0.1	3.3	2.3	3.0	1.5	2.6
Other relative	6.3	10.5	11.8	7.4	5.4	9.3
None Relative	0.6	3.1	4.1	2.6	1.8	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The findings mentioned above are supported by information from Table 5.7. For migrants aged 15-24 and 25-34 about 3 (three) percent of recent female migrants live with non-relatives compared to only one percent (0.2%) for non-migrants.

Table 5.7 Percentage distribution of females aged 15 and above by living arrangement: Myanmar, 2007

	Non-migrant			Lifetime migrant			5-year migrant		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-24									
Living alone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.5
spouse only	0.5	0.7	0.6	1.0	1.8	1.5	1.2	2.4	1.8
with child only	9.3	8.9	9.1	6.7	3.8	5.1	6.2	4.0	4.9
with grandchild only	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.5
with other relative only	1.5	2.0	1.8	2.8	3.2	3.0	3.7	4.7	4.3
Non relative	0.1	0.2	0.1	2.3	0.9	1.5	5.8	1.8	3.5
with family member	77.0	74.1	75.6	59.8	55.8	57.5	46.1	39.9	42.6
with family and others	11.2	13.7	12.5	26.7	33.9	30.8	35.9	46.5	41.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
25-39									
Living alone	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.9	0.3	0.6	1.9	0.6	1.2
spouse only	1.9	1.4	1.6	2.5	2.1	2.3	4.3	3.3	3.8
with child only	6.1	7.5	6.8	3.5	4.4	4.0	2.9	4.1	3.5
with grandchild only	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1
with other relative only	2.3	2.7	2.5	2.4	3.2	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.8
Non relative	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.6	2.2	1.8	2.0
with family member	76.9	75.6	76.2	68.1	66.6	67.3	59.6	57.1	58.2
with family and others	12.3	12.4	12.3	21.9	22.8	22.4	26.2	30.2	28.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
40+									
Living alone	1.5	2.4	2.0	0.9	2.0	1.5	2.2	1.7	2.0
spouse only	4.5	3.6	4.0	4.8	3.8	4.3	4.6	4.1	4.3
with child only	4.3	9.7	7.3	3.1	8.4	5.9	2.4	8.5	5.6
with grandchild only	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.4
with other relative only	2.2	4.1	3.3	2.0	3.5	2.8	2.2	3.9	3.1
Non relative	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.5
with family member	75.5	65.3	69.8	69.2	58.9	63.7	59.2	49.7	54.1
with family and others	11.6	14.0	12.9	19.5	22.4	21.1	28.9	30.9	30.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chapter VI
Multivariate analysis

The descriptive analysis presented in the previous section of this report brings out the relationship between status of migration and background characteristics of migrants. It also provides an actual description of the existing situation. But the effects of socio-economic and other factors on the status of migration are complicated and multivariate analysis modeling is applied to provide a deeper understanding of the independent effects of each variable. To determine the relative importance of factors that are related to migration status, as well as to establish which of the variables have independent effects, three binary logistic regression models were estimated. Binary logistic regression is used because the dependent variable, migration status, is measured as a nominal level of measurement.

Place of birth (state and region) and place of birth (urban and rural) are included in the first model. Then gender, age and marital status of respondents are added in the second model. Then to study the effect of education of respondents on their decision to migrate, and to determine the influence of respondent's occupation on the migration status education attainment and current occupation were added in the third model.

The results shows that place of birth has significant relationship with the migration status. People born in Chin state are about 1.2 times more likely to migrate than those born in Yangon region. This likelihood of migration is statistically significant in model 1 and model 3. Similarly, people born in Kayah state are 1.4 times more likely to migrate compared with those born in Yangon region. For other states and regions, likelihood of migration is lower than Yangon Region. This makes sense as Yangon being the capital city of Myanmar, people born here have very few of migrating.

People born in urban areas are about 3.3 times more likely to move compared to people born in rural areas in model 1. However, when gender, age and marital status were controlled for in Model 2, the likelihood increased to about 3.5 times. When education and occupation were controlled for in Model 3, the likelihood decreased to about 2.4 times.

Gender has negative relationship with migration after controlling for education and occupation. Males are about 8 percent less likely to migrate than females. Simply put men with both no education and occupation are less likely to move than women of same caliber.

Another variable that have strong significant impact on the probability of migration is age. Older persons are more likely to migrate at least once in their life time than younger ones. In Model 2 when place of birth and gender are controlled for, children (0-14) are about 40 percent less likely to migrate than young adult (<15-24). Older adult aged 25-44 are about 1.3 times more likely to migrate than reference group (15-24). In Model 3, when the education and occupation were also controlled for, the odds ratio of migration of those aged 15-24 remained the same. The odds ratio of migration of older age groups increased a little when the education was controlled and they are about 4.5 times more likely to migrate than youngest group.

In terms of education, except for respondents who have no education, every level of education has significant effect on migration. The odds ratio of respondents who have a middle school education undertaking migration are 1.4 times higher than the odds ratio for those who have attained primary education. Similarly, respondents with high school education are 1.6 times and university educations are 2.1 times more likely to migrate than those with primary education.

Labor force participation also has strong impact on respondent's decision to migrate. Those who work as white collar worker have higher likelihood of migration compared to those who work as agriculture worker. However, students and blue collar workers are less likely to migrate compared with agriculture worker.

Table 6.1. Odd ratios of lifetime migration by background characteristics (2007 FRHS)

Background characteristics	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	0.217 ***	0.123 ***	0.145 ***
Birth Place (State and Region)			
Yangon Region (****)			
Kachin State	1.074	1.104	1.165
Kayah State	1.304	1.388 *	1.417 **
Kayin State	0.305 ***	0.280 ***	0.297 ***
Chin State	1.234 ***	1.207	1.326 ***
Sagaing Region	0.354 ***	0.322 ***	0.365 ***
Tanintharyi Region	1.093	1.070	1.071
Bago Region	0.780 ***	0.713 ***	0.742 ***
Magway Region	0.383 ***	0.349 ***	0.393 ***
Mandalay Region	0.499 ***	0.468 ***	0.507 ***
Mon State	0.482 ***	0.431 ***	0.426 ***
Rakhine State	0.666 ***	0.659 ***	0.669 **
Shan State	0.791 ***	0.752 ***	0.883 **
Ayeyarwady Region	0.632 ***	0.567 ***	0.609 ***
Birth Place (Urban/ Rural)			
Rural (****)			
Urban	3.311 ***	3.504 ***	2.399 ***
Gender			
Female (****)			
Male		1.001	0.919 ***
Age			
15-24 (****)			
0-14		0.593 ***	0.727 ***
25-44		1.259 ***	1.287 ***
45+		1.668 ***	1.782 ***
Marital status			
Single (****)			
Married		1.967 ***	2.148 ***
Window/ Divorced		1.648 ***	1.823 ***
Education			
Primary school (****)			
No education			0.985
Middle school			1.381 ***
High school			1.610 ***
University			2.119 ***
Occupation			
Agriculture worker (****)			
Not working			0.948
Student			0.655 ***
White collar			1.259 ***
Blue collar			0.482 ***
Elementary worker			1.061
Chi-Square (df)	9253.61(14)	13684.46(20)	15936.22(31)
Number of cases	105024	105024	105024

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05 **** Reference category

Chapter VII
Conclusions and Recommendations

Migration phenomenon and the characteristics of migrants are important factors in the socio-economic development of any country whether developed or developing. Examination and understanding of the volume, levels, pattern of migration and the characteristics of migrants, is therefore beneficial to policy makers as well as planners to formulate better policies on socio-economic and political development in the country for future. From this study the following are the major findings and major recommendations.

7.1. Key findings and conclusions

There exists a decline in the relative share of rural-urban and urban-rural migrations and an increase in the share of urban-urban and rural-rural migrations at national level from 1991 to 2007. This could suggest the dominance of agricultural sector in the economy especially as it relates to job creation for the unskilled workers.

The study has brought out the high rate of out-migration from the less developed regions of the country in which ten out of fourteen states and regions recorded negative net migration rates during the period of 1991 and 2007. The study further shows that regions which are relatively less developed were more likely to send more women migrants than male migrants to more developed regions whereas in the more developed regions, more men migrants than females were sent to the less developed regions. In overall, there was an increase in the proportion of female migrants, it is plausible that more women migrate for employment reason, especially in the agricultural sector, the main reason for migration was assumed to be employment for males and marriage for females.

As reported in studies in other countries, the study confirms migration selectivity by age, sex, marital status, level of education and occupation. It concludes that in the case of life time migration, the largest proportion of male and female migrants falls in the age group 30-34. And that females were more likely to have migrated than males. However, the corresponding proportion for recent migration was highest among the age group 20-24.

The study brought out the gender dimension in migration with very high female dominance in the older age groups for all type of migration streams. This may be due to higher life expectancy on the side of women and once their husband die they migrate to the urban areas to join their children who are working. It is further reported that males migrate to work in better jobs or jobs that require strength while women migrate to work in agricultural sector or not working at all.

It is found that people born in Chin state are about 1.2 times more likely to migrate than those born in Yangon region. Similarly, people who were born in Kayah state are 1.4 times more likely to migrate compared with those who were born in Yangon region. For the other states and regions, the likelihood of migration is lower than Yangon region. It is interesting that multivariate analysis model showed that gender has negative relationship with migration after controlling for education and occupation. That in the absence of education and occupation, males are about 8 percent less likely to migrate than females.

7.2. Policy Recommendations

- As migration is a crucial factor in the population growth and more importantly in the socio-economic development in the country, especially in employment and provision of social services to the migrants and their families. It is important that migration levels, pattern and trends be taken into consideration in the formulation and implementation of social, economic and political policies especially in the urban areas.
- Since the substantial influx of migrant population to Yangon Region deteriorates the livelihood of the population in the city including that of the migrants. The current government policy of creating satellite cities and expanding others like Naypyitaw should continue. This policy is already changing the stream of migration from Yangon to other cities, and from the study there is clearly an increase in the urban-urban migration stream. In addition several social, economic and environmental policy options have to be taken to overcome migration amongst the less educated as they would make the population of the poor to increase in the urban areas. The main concentration should be on the elimination of the urban poverty and creation of employment opportunities.

- Mechanize farming in the country so that the many female migrants who are taking up agricultural jobs will improve their productivity and be able to earn better pay as the return on investment would be higher. This would also include refurbishing the existing middle level training colleges offering agricultural training and services.

7.3. Need for further research

- This study provides only some information on levels, trends and patterns of internal migration of Myanmar. It cannot provide conclusive evidence regarding all migration issues, particularly pertaining to the determinants and consequences of internal migration in Myanmar. The need to study international migration is also paramount as there are lots of Myanmar people residing out of the country and therefore their characteristics would be very pertinent. More detailed research on migration both internal and international and their linkages with development are essential for evidence-based policy dialogue, development planning and programme formulation. Further research should, therefore, be conducted in the following areas; (i) reasons for migration (ii) the impact of migration on gender equality and women's empowerment, and labour migration in a globalized economy (iii) likely pattern of population redistribution in response to the socio-economic and political changes taking place in Myanmar; (iv) the incidence of circular migration and commuting; (v) the impact of internal migration on women's age at marriage, fertility, economic participation and status; (vi) the impact of rural-urban migration on urban employment, incomes, housing and so on and the relationship between rural-urban migration and the incidence of urban poverty. Further research in these areas will certainly enhance the understanding of the trends, patterns and implications of internal migration in Myanmar.

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