

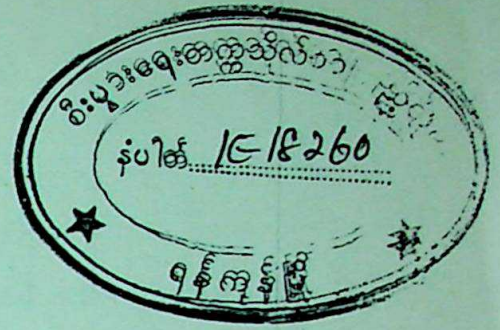
RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN BURMA

MA HLA MYINT (1980)

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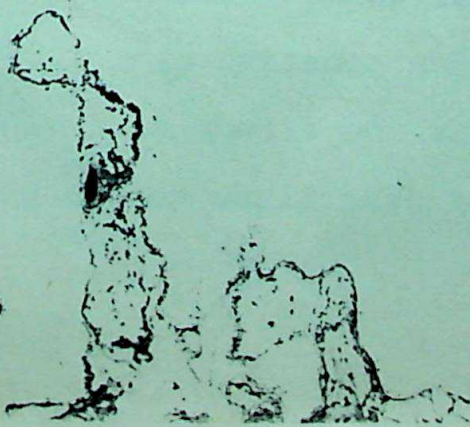
Acceptance

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

One of the names that historians certainly will not fail to give our century is the age of the New Nations. For, evidently the convulsive emergence of the colonies into independence and their subsequent struggle to join the ranks of the prosperous, powerful and peaceful is the most remarkable revolution of our times. Taking the world as a whole men are now preoccupied with no subject more than they are with the travail of the New Nations.

The New Nations, have as a common feature low productivity of human labour, that is to say the predominance of the agricultural labour force and traditional modes of agriculture, the absence or insufficiency of industry etc. Of course, there is considerable room for variation within these structural features from country to country. Thus, the developing nations are faced with the paramount task of extricating themselves from positions of low per capita income. Prescriptions for the cure of this economic malady come from many sources. Sociologists have studied the process of modernization and its concomitant social and cultural changes and have offered advice on high levels of social strategy. Economists have come up with various growth theories and have produced diverse solutions which are often contradictory to one another. For example, the developing country

is told that it must concentrate on physical capital formation, but also that investment in human beings is also important. General education is to be stressed but also that technical manpower is a sine qua non for development. Industrialization is to be emphasized but not at the expense of agricultural productivity nor in disregard of the laws of international comparative advantage. Hence, it is inevitable that the developing country must endeavour, however difficult, to make a choice of these prescriptions or combinations thereof, either implicitly by inaction or explicitly by positively stated plans and efforts at movements towards these goals.

However, from the multitude of theories on growth and development it could be concluded that the general consensus is: industrialization is an absolute must for development. Industrialization as a tool for economic development has as its essential feature establishment of new industries. It is the usual practice of emerging countries to choose as the sites for these new productive units existing cities which prior to independence were either colonial capitals or sea ports. The new industries require additional manpower which can be supplied only partly by marginal unemployed natives of the cities. The bulk of the extra labour force thus consist of migrants from other parts of the country lured to the cities by the attraction of new employment and increased income. Thus urbanization and internal migration

1 Sundrum, R.M., "Urbanisation: The Burmese Experience", Economics Paper No.16, Department of Economics, Commerce and Statistics, University of Rangoon, March 1957.

follow as an inevitable corollary of industrialization.

The ideal development situation would be one in which increased output and income of extended industries would demand for increased agricultural consumption. This is supplied by the rich hinterland and increased agricultural productivity. Hence, the happy picture of healthy growing economy in which the principal sectors of industry and agriculture complement each other in the development efforts.

However, the real life development scenario is not such a clear sign of well being in the economy. Industrialization and its concomitant urbanization and internal migration often do not result in increased output and raised incomes, both to social and economic factors. Urbanization and economic stagnation can be seen occurring together in the developing countries.

The exodus of people from rural areas may not be in response to the increased demand of industry. Social factors such as war and insurrection and economic factors of acute poverty in the willages due to falling agricultural output usually "pushed" rural inhabitants to migrate to large cities. These migrants who are lacking in education and occupational skills may only be able to drift into tiny handicraft shops and unskilled work in construction or personal services rather than find employment in the growing industrial sector.

Thus the usual signs of economic development - urban migration accompanied by expanding secondary and tertiary sectors and relatively contracting primary ones - are seen. But development, as usually conceived of by social scientists as industrialization - the growth within the economy of technologically advanced, high-productive activities - is sadly lacking. This unhappy situation is depicted by frustration of industrial labour, political unrests and the squalor of urban conglomerations.

It is the purpose of this thesis to trace the economic development of the Burmese economy and relate it with an account of its concomitant internal migration. In particular, the characteristics of migrants, patterns of movement and the adjustment to changing social and economic conditions of urban life will be explored to understand and explain migration's role in the economic development of the country.

Chapter II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

a) Definition

Migration conveys different meanings to different sets of people. To the labour analyst it is constrained within the narrow confines of labour mobility and can be defined as the movements by workers among employees, occupations, industries, locations or any combinations of them. A more general definition of migration would include all movements which involve changes in geographic locations not only of labour, industrial or agricultural but embraces all people. However, for the purpose of this thesis migration means only internal migration or rural-urban migration, that is, movements of people from rural regions to towns and cities.

b) Major Concepts

From a cursory survey of the existing literature could be seen the role migration has played over the last two centuries. The experiences of English peasants moving into cities during the Industrial Revolution is different from the international migration of Europeans to America at the turn of the present century. The stimuli to which migration is a response differed from country to country and from period to period. Thus the forces which caused European migration to America are quite different

from the factors which forced rural agricultural labour to move to urban cities in the developing nations.

However from the welter of existing theories of migrations can be excerpted three theories which explain, predict and describe the phenomena. One is wage based and endeavor to explain migration as a result of wage differentials between geographic locations and attempts to predict that the same wage differential will act as a mechanism which would put a stop to the steady flow of migrants into the city. The second is cost oriented and conceives of migration as an investment in human capital. This cost is then balanced against the benefits to be derived from the decision to move and arrive at a set of decision rules which would initiate the rural inhabitant on to the road to the city. The third is a ramification of the second, which takes into account the probability of employment - a very relevant consideration in a case of acute urban unemployment - in computing the wage differential. The model then describe this differential both as a determinant of labour supply to the urban sector as well as a function of the pool of urban employment.

(1) The Wage Differential

Nineteenth century economic theory attributed internal migration as a result of geographic differences in labour productivity as reflected in wage differences. The sources for the

geographic differences is the marginal productivity of labour, and hence wages, are given as, differential fertility rates, factor immobility, the path of innovation and lack of information due to poor communication about opportunities in other areas.

Even in the unlikely case of complete factor and product equilibrium in all parts of the country, the difference in fertility rates would disrupt this balance. Rural fertility rates are generally higher than that of the cities so that the resulting faster rate of growth of rural population would upset the balance in population distribution. As these rural children matured to join the labour force the supply of rural labour would increase, relative to that of the urban labour. Assuming that other factors of production remained constant, productivity differences between villages and towns would arise, inducing migration.¹

Labour productivity in agriculture may be low because of capital immobility as shown by the hesitance to invest in agriculture. Even if the marginal productivity of capital is the same for agriculture and industry, the differences in labour productivity could persist due to the reluctance of farm families

1 Herrick, B.H., "Urban Migration and Economic Development in Chile", 1965. The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p.12.

to move to the city. What then causes this factor immobility? Social attitudes play a large part in forming the relative degree of mobility. These social attitudes may sometimes be the economic rationale for factor immobility. For example, older workers from the farm are reluctant to move to the city not because of sentimental ties to home and village but because the pay-off period in computing the present value of the stream of expected marginal increase in productivity, hence wages, with which they must equate the cost of the move (both monetary and non-monetary) is shorter than that of the younger worker.

Innovation does not occur at random nor are its effects evenly distributed over the whole economy. If mobility is anything less than perfect, there will be a period of productivity differential followed by a period of adjustment of the differentials. These adjustments usually involve movement by people.

The gap in information about opportunities in other regions may be real when the media of communication among different parts of the country is inadequate to transmit news of new conditions and changes. However, this lack may reflect deeper cultural differences between the villages and the cities. Even when news are available from the media, deep rooted traditions, natural resistance to change and illiteracy may prevent it being received.

The logical conclusion of this theory is that the wage-differential which triggered migration has a double beneficial effect of tending to equalize marginal productivity among men and among regions, thus resulting in an overall welfare in the economy. A worker moves only when his marginal product, i.e. his wage, is higher at the destination than at his origin. Workers in the agricultural sector whom he leaves behind will have a larger per capita land and capital to work with, resulting in an increase in their productivity. At the destination, however, the opposite effect will take place. Output per worker will fall marginally when the migrant becomes employed. Thus the response by migrants to economic opportunities will gradually decrease and eventually disappear with migration petering.

(2) Cost of Migration as Investment in Human Capital

In the recent literature, the cost of migration is conceived of as a form of investment in human capital. Unable to explain satisfactorily the sources of economic growth when simple aggregates like man hours of labour and units of physical capital are used, economists have resorted to expenditures which improve, in an economic sense the quality of the human inputs into the economic process. Although attention was focused mainly on education, the proponents of the human capital model also dealt with better health, on-the-job training, labour market information flows and internal migration.¹

¹ Much of this work was summarized and extended in a special issue of the Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 70, No. 5, Part 2 (October 1962).

Shultz¹ and Sjaastad² in their respective works set forth that part of the investment in the human agent, in terms of migration would result whenever there is a positive difference in the returns and cost relationship of the investment. They were explicit in their definitions of the costs and returns. Specifically, the decision rule for capital accumulation, by way of migration, should consist of comparing the returns expressed as difference in capitalized alternative earning streams of two activities, migration and non migration, given the parameter values for the rate of interest and for the duration of each activity with the cost of migration. Mathematically, the general human capital model for migration can be formulated for the discrete time period case as³

$$\sum_{t=0}^a \frac{W(t)}{(1+r)^t} - \sum_{t=0}^a \frac{R(t)}{(1+r)^t} - C(0) > 0$$

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- 1 Schultz, T.W., "Investment in Human Capital", American Economic Review. Vol. 51, No.1 (March 1961), p.14.
- 2 Sjaastad, L., "The Cost and Returns of Human Migration", Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 70, No.5, Part 2, (October 1962).
- 3 Yotopoulos, P.A. & Nugent, J.B., "Economics of Development - Empirical Investigations", 1976. New York, Harper & Row, Publishers, p.226.

For the continuous time case, the model is

$$V_u(0) = \int_0^n W(t)e^{-rt} dt - G(0)$$

$$V_R(0) = \int_0^n \int_0^n - R(t)e^{-rt} dt$$

where V_u and V_R are discounted present values and other symbols are defined as above. The urban wage rate and the rural incomes are now functions of time. The urban-rural differential can be written as

$$\alpha = V_u(0) - V_R(0)$$

where W = expected annual wage rate in the urban sector
 R = annual income from rural employment
 C = cost of migration
 n = number of years the individual expects to work
in the rural or urban sector
 r = the relevant rate of interest

Thus the model allows for inter area wage differential to continue without provoking migration, but only if they were smaller than the costs of moving.

The specific terms which enter into the computation of costs and returns would throw some light on the pattern and stages of migration as well as the characteristics of the migrants and their adjustments to urban life. Sjaastad divided the costs into money and non money costs. Money costs include the direct costs such as cost of transportation involved in the actual movement from one location to another. The non money costs are more interesting and more ambiguous. They include the opportunity costs of migration i.e. the income foregone while in the process of movement as well any other expenditure incurred by way of food, lodging, transportation, while the migrant is looking for an urban job and settling down to the life of the city. Sjaastad also included psychic costs of migration, i.e. the disutility of severing from the familiar social setting of the rural villages and the feeling of lost and insecurity in adjust-

ing to the new ways of the city. However, the psychic cost sometimes may well be negative if one considers the movement from a backward village to a cosmopolitan capital.

This model successfully explains many of the "facts" of migration. First, they explain the direction and stages of migration. On account of the rural urban wage differentials, migration takes place from low income rural region to higher income urban cities. Because of the direct costs of migration which undoubtedly vary with distance and the psychological cost of adjusting to unfamiliar environments the various versions of the human capital model predict that migration is likely to be accomplished by a series of short intermediate moves from village to small town and then to cities. This stage approach to migration was also formulated as one of the "laws of migration" by Ravenstein¹ and was substantiated by the empirical studies of Herrick.²

Secondly, the human capital model can determine successfully who the migrants are. For example it predicts that -

1. Younger migrants can expect a longer life horizon over which they can capitalize their earnings differential.

In the mathematical model this is represented by "n"

1 Ravenstein, E.G. "The Laws of Migration", Journal of Royal Statistical Society, Vol. 48, No.2 (June 1885).

2 Herrick, B.H., 1965. "Urban Migration and Economic Development in Chile". Cambridge, Massachusetts, The M.I.T. Press.

in the equation, which is greater for the young. This age effect is strengthened by other age correlations: younger people are poorer, less experienced so that their rural earnings would be lesser. Besides, they have less place attachment and less seniority rights attached in a job which indicates a low cost of migration, both money and psychic. Further, they are less risk averse which can be reflected in assigning a lower, discount rate "r" to their future earning streams in the mathematical model.

2. Migrants are disproportionately single. This is because the cost of migration "C" is lower when there are no other family members or personal possessions to be moved.
3. Migrants to large cities have higher education than the populations from which they originate. This is explained by the cross rate of returns to a joint decision to invest in education and migration is higher than the ordinary rate of return on either investment alone. This observation of the human capital model implies a contradiction between it and the view of the labour surplus theories of neo-classical dynamics, that it is the amorphous mass of the unemployed or underemployed who leave the farms to become marginal workers in the cities. However, the implication of the human capital model suggests that since the marginal product of the educated migrants is above average both in the place of origin and destination, migration will lead to

decreasing the average income in the village and increasing it in the urban sector.

4. A substantial majority of the migrants to large cities have either friends or relatives already living there. This is explained by the lower costs of migration, both money and psychic when there are friends and relatives who are willing to provide food, lodging or any other form of assistance and give familiar atmosphere while the migrant is searching for a job and adjusting to the new ways of the city.

(3) Probability of Employment

A simple modification is introduced to the model of migration by making the rural urban wage differential, both a determinant of the labour supply to the urban sector and a function of the pool of urban employment. The emphasis in this model is on the direct cost of moving, especially the urban wage foregone while the migrant is seeking an urban job. This becomes especially important when the situation is one of acute urban unemployment. The process of migration is not a one stage process, moving out of farm into an urban job. It is one in which there is an intermediate stage, while the unskilled rural worker who migrate to the city spends his time eking out a parasitic existence between marginal employment and open unemployment. In fact, there is little difference between open unemployment and

this type of disguised unemployment. This period should appropriately be considered for discounting the rural-urban differential.

Suppose the urban-rural differential net of migration costs, is 100. If the probability of finding an urban employment is only one-half, then the real differential is reduced to 50. This adjusted differential can be written as -

$$d = \pi (W - R)$$

where W and R are the urban and rural wage respectively both net of out of pocket migration costs and π is the probability of obtaining an urban job in any period.

Thus d represents the net wage differential between rural and urban employment discounted by the factor π which is the probability of finding a job. The probability of finding a job in turn is related to the existing pool of unemployed workers and the net rate of urban job creations.

Mathematically $\pi = \frac{\lambda N}{S-N}$

where

N = urban employment

S = size of total urban labour force

λ = net rate of new urban job creation

This means that if more jobs are created relative to the unemployment, chances of getting a job is increased. The rate

of new job creation in turn is dependent on the existing wage rate and another factor, say k , which is the increase in industrial output net of labour productivity changes; otherwise the rate of industrialization. Therefore, as more and more industrialization takes place, the number of new jobs created would increase the demand for labour. This increased demand would absorb the existing pool of unemployed, increasing the probability of obtaining a job for the potential migrant.

The migration response function is the elasticity of rural labour supply to the urban sector with respect to the rural-urban wage differential properly discounted by the probability of finding a job. If this function i.e. if the response of supply is greater than the response of the demand for labour in respect of the same stimulus, the supply of labour would exceed the demand resulting in unemployment. Thus the model explains how cases of massive urban migration have taken place in the face of high unemployment rates in the urban sector.

(4) Evaluation of the Concepts in the Burmese Context

The wage differential analysis fails to explain satisfactorily why the exodus of farm families to the urban sector had continued over the decades in the face of rising unemployment in the cities. The wage rate is subject to serious definitional problems. A lot of the rural wage rate is imputed rather than

monetary. Then again, the wage differential concept did not give sufficient emphasis to social and psychic factors which must be included in the consideration of urban wage. These short-comings may well be the causes which explain the persistence of the wage differential despite decades of well established routes of migration. P.

The wage base on which these theories are built is the capitalization of the stream of earnings to be derived from the two alternative courses of action, migration and non-migration. The scope of the decision is thus extended over a longer time span. The model is highly sophisticated and capable of being expressed mathematically as well. However, in the real world, the practical potential migrant, a rural farmer will neither have the education nor the exposure to such highly mathematical and sophisticated ideas, to stop, ponder, and weigh his alternative capitalized earnings in such a refined manner. To the poverty stricken farmer, it does not matter what his cumulative income in the next ten to fifteen years means to him now. He is more concerned with earning a higher wage presently, to feed him and his hungry family. Secondly, the model does not give adequate weight to the social and psychic considerations. Perhaps that is the reason why the model fails to explain that the same stimulus of a higher wage, after proper discounting of the probability of finding employment gets a much greater re-

response on the supply side of migrant labour than the demand for migrant labour that exist in the urban city. A farm labourer migrate to the city not only for pecuniary reasons. Other social benefits such as opportunities to educate his children in better schools; to provide vocational training; to improve his education and training. Sometimes it may be for reasons to sustain better (sometimes even special) medical treatment for one of the family members who is stricken with some chronic disease, that the rest of the members migrate to the city. In case of civil war or insurgency the need for security is the prime force which induced movement from village to city.

A farm labourer, on a holiday visit to the city may become impressed with the bright lights and other amusements and may conclude that only those lucky and blessed individuals who have earned meritorious deeds in the past lives become urban citizens. Thus migration can be inspired by psychic causes which were not given due consideration in the model.

Thirdly, the model is not definite as to what really trigger off the exodus of the farm workers. A prospective migrant, however poor due to low agricultural wages, and however strong the pull of the city by way of immediate higher wages, social and psychic benefits, will still hold on to his land for a different set of social and psychic reasons; such as, love of home and village,

acceptance of village life as his fate, etc. This "push" of rural poverty and the "pull" of urban gratification are weighed against the disutilities that the move to the city would entail. Even if the alternative to move has a heavier weight, the farmer will still be tied to his village until the critical level is reached when the farmer will give way to the pull of the city.

Fourthly, the model does not include considerations for expectations. The discounting of the earning streams, W and R for urban and rural income respectively, have no provision for possibilities of a higher W and a lower R . The compounded effect of higher education, better health, improved training might well raise the level of W , while the probability exists of the rural situation getting worse and thus might lower R .

Fifthly, the stimuli which trigger migration are different for different countries, peculiar to its system and environment, and within a country from period to period. Thus the priorities for the stimuli is different from time to time. Sometimes it is the economic reason which induced migration while at other times it may be the social or the psychic reason which primed the move. This the model fails to establish.

Finally, the theoretical framework would be beset with data problems in case of empirical justification. The compilation of the rates of industrialization, new jobs creation, the differen-

tial wage rates, would be possible, at a cost, for an advanced industrial economy, but would demand a lot of time, expense and labour which are sadly lacking in a case like Burma.

(c) Frame of Analysis

Following a brief review of the existing theories, a theoretical framework for the present thesis will now be presented.

An individual rural worker deliberating to move to the urban city would think in terms of totality taking into consideration a scheme of costs and benefits which would form the framework of this decision. In the process of matching costs and benefits he would arrive at a system of net gratification for each of the decision variables, i.e. whether to remain in the rural community or move to a new urban environment. What factors should be considered in drawing up the scheme of costs and benefit? They would include monetary, social and psychic factors. The rural net gratification can be defined as the sum total of economic, social and psychic benefits he is currently enjoying minus the cost in terms of the expected gratification of the urban city which he has forfeited by remaining in the village. Likewise, the urban net gratification would be total of the expected monetary, social and psychic incomes less the disutility of severing himself from the familiar surroundings and adjusting to a new urban situation. The economic benefits for the rural setting

would include the money income that the rural worker earns at periodic intervals as well as the imputed wages he earns by way of free food and lodging provided by the employer during the planting and harvesting seasons; and financial aids in terms of loans that are advanced to him and his family both in cash and in kind. However, money income is naturally low due to the inexpedient nature of agricultural methods; inability to utilize and/or prejudice against modern methods of cultivation and deep rooted traditions and natural resistance to change.

The social income of rural labour would include the feeling of confidence in working in a familiar environment and being engaged in hereditary activities in which he is used to all his life and hence proficient to a certain degree. The psychic income may be expressed as the farmers love of his land and village; the satisfaction of belonging to a society which he accepts and in which he is accepted.

Against the total of these gratifications which the potential migrant is currently consuming must be weighed the negative gratifications, consisting of economic, social and psychic incomes that he is being deprived of to arrive at the net rural gratification. These negative incomes would be expressed as the marginal income that he expects to earn by the decision to migrate.

At the other end, the expected urban gratification can also be classified as money, social and psychic.

In the city, with the assumption of industrialization, one can expect to find employment in one of the newly established industrial enterprises. The wages from such employment could reasonably be expected to be higher than the low rural wages that one is about to forgo. Besides, women who had hitherto not been earning any money wages in the village could be expected to be absorbed into the industrial labour force and thus supplement the family's money income. Thus the urban money income could considerably be higher than that of rural money income. In addition, the urban job offers other attractions by way of social security benefits and group insurance. However, industry demands some degree of skill and training which might be found lacking in agricultural labour so that the probability of being excluded from industrial employment has to be considered in arriving at the marginal increase in money income. Moreover, the imputed wages that are currently earned in the village might well be the reason that chained the farmers to their villages.

The social income that one expects to earn in the city would be higher living standards, provided by way of better housing, modern sanitation, a more adequate medical care; greater opportunities for education; in the city there are better educational facilities, for basic and higher education, as well as for vocational training; more organized recreational facilities; law and order which provide security against adverse

elements political or otherwise; better transportation and a greater access to mass media. Against the sum total of social income must be weighed the negative effects of the move. There is the period in which the migrant must search for an urban job; during which he must depend on friends and relatives for his daily requirements of food and lodging. The adjustments to a new work environment, and learning a new trade could be a high social price which a migrant would be reluctant to pay.

The city offers greater expressions of psychological satisfaction. To a young village swain, the city dweller is the personification of Win Oo, Zaw One or whoever is the current movie hero. More ambitious village youths see political leaders like Bogyoke Aung San, literary geniuses like Zawgyi, Minthuwan and Dr. Htin Aung, in the persons of urbanites. Thus villagers especially the younger ones leave their birth place for the city in an attempt to fulfil their life's ambitions and aspirations. The psychic cost that he has to pay, will be in terms of the anomie of being alone in a strange and far away place, often without the security of even earning a steady income. The cool and distant atmosphere of the urban community does little to reassure a farm fledgling used to the close knitted environment of the village.

After careful consideration of the net gratification from the alternative courses of action; i.e. to remain in the rural

area or move to the city, even if a potential migrant arrive at a positive difference in the net urban-rural gratification, he may hold on to his land until he reaches the snapping point: the minimum level beyond which he cannot survive either economically or emotionally when the need to migrate becomes urgent and inevitable. Thus urban migration or movement of people from their rural agricultural setting to the industrial urban city will result when the net gratification between the geographic locations reaches a certain minimum.

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/The forces which drives the villagers towards this "Snapping point" may be stimulated by different sets of problems at different times in different places. Sometimes it is the bleak economic atmosphere as reflected in low agricultural incomes and its concomitant rural poverty which pushes farmers out of the villages to the attraction of higher industrial income in the cities. During a social upheaval, as in the case of insurgency villagers are pushed out of the villages to escape the atrocities of insurgents; political or otherwise; to seek the security of the urban centre. In the first case; economic well being was the prime consideration while in the second social gratification or security outweigh any other reasons. Sometimes expectations of a higher psychological satisfaction may well be the pull of the farmers to the cities.

From this theoretical framework can be derived the following hypotheses for the purpose of the analysis.

- (1) Migration is a result of (economic consideration) when the push factors of acute poverty prevail in rural areas from which the migrants originate.
- (2) Migration is a result of social consideration when the pull factors of better social conditions are expected in urban cities, the migrants' destination.
- (3) Considerations of net gratifications are often coloured by expectations rather than current receipts.

(d) Methodology

The data for the analysis was taken from the Urban Social Survey which was conducted jointly by the Department of Research, Institute of Economics and the Central Statistical Organization in April 1972. The purpose of the survey was to investigate the conditions of employment in ten largest urban centres and also to analyse the social conditions of the working population by way of housing, income, migration and movement. Accordingly, the questionnaire for the survey was designed to include a series of models each concerning with a particular topic of research. The first module is concerned with the social and personal back-

and of the respondent while the second and third are related questions of job experience with the final module pertaining problems of migration and urbanization. || ✓

The (ten urban[✓] centres for the survey were chosen in the order of their relative size of population. Hence, all the major towns in Burma were ranked according to the size of their population and the first ten towns as shown below were chosen to represent the total population of the country. Since the objective of the survey was to investigate problems related to employment, only the working[✓] age population was included in the study. | ✓

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
1	Rangoon	3,40,881
2	Mandalay	73,180
3	Moulmein	32,635
4	Bassein	23,199
5	Pegu	22,948
6	Henzada	17,668
7	Monywa	16,316
8	Akyab	15,110
9	Myingyan	13,386
10	Taunggyi	12,329

Complete enumeration of the working-age population in all the selected towns would not only be impossible, but also be uneconomical. As a result the survey opted for a sample survey only. Then again, there exist no up-to-date data, other than the list of households available at the Township National Registration Offices. Thus the sample was a randomly selected one of households. To choose a random sample of households from the complete list of households, which itself was not in existence would require a large amount of clerical labour; to compile the list of households for each city, each household identified by the name of head of household as well as by its location. Hence, a stratified sample is employed. An explanation of the procedure in choosing the sample for Rangoon would illustrate the sampling technique used.

Greater Rangoon was divided into eight sub areas or stratas, each representing a distinct geographical area with more or less uniform social and economic conditions. These stratas, in turn were grouped into primary units each consisting of 50 households. A study of the list of households for the townships revealed that not only the number of households but also their pattern of subdivision varies from township to township and hence between stratas. Thus, in the first stage a sample of a proportional number of primary units was chosen. In the next phase, a fixed number of five households or secondary units was selected for

each of the chosen primary units.

Finally a careful census of the names and addresses of the selected households was prepared by checking with the Township National Registration Office. From within this enumerated families only those members who are economically active i.e., those within the working-age of 16-60 are surveyed. The same procedure is adopted in all the ten cities. The size of the sample is about 10,000 people for the whole country.

From the given description of the Urban Social Survey, it could safely be concluded that the sample is truly representative of the working population of the whole economy.

The fact that the sample survey included only the working age population, could not seriously endanger the representativeness of the data for the analysis to be made with respect to the purpose of the thesis.

The module on migration furnished us with data on place of origin, number of years of residence, adjustment to urban life, reasons for migration, and patterns of migration. These informations when cross classified with the migrants' other economic and social characteristics like age, sex, educational qualification, marital status, employment and type of occupation to which migrants are absorbed into in urban cities, income dif-

ference due to migration, and probability of employment which are covered in the other modules would be adequate for the analysis of the different problem areas with which we are concerned. From this analysis, we would be able to arrive at -

- (1) The characteristics of the migrants and relate it to their role in economic development.
- (2) The pattern of migration geographically and economically in relation to the general pattern of economic development.
- (3) The problems that migrants have to face in their adjustment to urban life.

Chapter III

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO MIGRATION

Causes of Migration

In this chapter attempt will be made to examine the factors that influenced the rural-urban migration in Burma and compare them to the broad generalizations given in the existing migration literature. In doing so the facts which are in conformity as well as those that are at variance could be brought to light, thus arriving at the facts which are peculiar to the Burmese experience.

As aforementioned, the causes of migration stemmed either from the wage differential as given in the "Wage Differential" concept or the net gain from the decision to move computed as the difference between the cost of migration and the discounted value of the stream of expected earnings as presented in the "Migration as an Investment in Human Capital" concept. In both these cases the key consideration is the "wage" which is the monetary remuneration of the prospective migrant at the place of origin as well as his expected income at the destination in the urban city. However, this wage, especially at the original village is more often imputed rather than absolute so that a correct figure for "wage" is very difficult, if at all possible to arrive at. The monetary wage at the urban centre is better

defined but considerations of social benefits introduce the same problem of determining, with some degree of certainty, an accurate wage. To avoid this problem of computing a well defined "wage", but at the same time not to fail in the endeavour to examine the wage related facts of migration, the alternative course of analysing the characteristics of migrants which could be identified with the wage related causes of migration was used.

Characteristics of Migrants

It is generally assumed that migration is not only an integral part of industrialization and economic development but may also become a major instrument of social change. The urban setting represents a fertile ground for the generation of social and economic changes, and these are spread to the rural areas by the process of migration. There are abundant evidences of such cases in western countries where migration between villages and towns have played an important role in bringing change to rural areas. However, there are also cases, as in India where it is claimed that "migration has had only negligible effects and is therefore, unimportant as a tool for social change."¹

1 Zacharia K.C., "Bombay Migration Study: A Pilot Analysis of Migration from Asia Metropolis" in "The City in Newly Developing Countries: Readings on Urbanism and Urbanization" edited by Gerald Breese, Princeton University, Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969, p.367.

How do we account for the discrepancy in these two types of situations? The stimuli which provoke economic and social change vary from country to country and within the same country from period to period. Migration is one of the responses to these stimuli and the characteristics of the migrants determine to some extent whether it is an effective tool of social change or a mere concomitant of social and economic change.

The characteristics of migrants which are usually referred to as migration selectivity by demographers in the sense that migrants do not represent a random sample of the population but rather a group with special characteristics. This migration selectivity can be defined either in terms of the population groups from which the migrants come or in terms of those they join at their destination. If the character of the migrants do not differ significantly from that of the rest of the population, the problems relating to labour in the developing nations can be considered without an artificial distinction between migrants and natives. In other words, this would be the case of migrants' role being negligible in the development process. On the other hand, if the migrants represent a distinct group, then they merit further study as a special group with particular problems and potentials and to determine to what extent they are responsible for the economic and social changes that are necessary for development.

In this thesis, the characters of the migrants are compared with those of the natives of the urban centres. Thus both the migrant and native populations are classified with respect to age, sex, education, and occupation. Standardizing within each of these classifications, a system of relationships between the selected characteristic and the type of stimuli to which the migrants had responded is established to prove the hypotheses that were established in Chapter II.

Broad generalizations about the selectivity of migration are easy to find. Donald J. Bogue has written.¹ "It is widely appreciated that migration is highly selective of younger persons. This arises because each coming generation must adapt to the social and economic changes that are taking place. This is the price "neophytes" must pay to get an acceptable and secure social and economic "niche" in the social organization. Where these changes require a shift of population, it is the younger more flexible and less burdened members who reexamine the distributional imbalance and make the needed movements. As a corollary of this, if marital status is determined before migration, it is found that migrants tend to be single, widowed, or divorced persons rather than married." Bogue generalized further that

1 "Techniques and Hypotheses for the Study of Differential Migration: Some Notes from an Experiment with U.S. Data", Proceedings of the International Population Conference, 1962, Vol. 2, Session 4, Paper No. 114 as quoted in Herrick.

demographers had yet been unable to establish any other migration differential and concluded that "further universal migration differential do not exist and should not be expected to exist."¹

General Definition ✓

For the purpose of this thesis migrants are defined as those who are born in places other than that of their present domicile. The Urban Social Survey provided the individuals respondents to give as his birth place or his origin a geographical district which is identified by the name of the district town. As the ten chosen urban centres are district towns, the migrants to these centres would only be those who are born outside these districts. These districts are not comparable for any practical analysis, so that if the district is taken as measure to decide the place of domicile many migrants would disappear for that classification. Hence a refinement is made for the definition of migrant for analysis in this study. Even if an individual is born within the district of his present domicile if he answered in another classification his birth place as either a village or a small town, he is then classified as a migrant in the present urban centre. For example a particular respondent from Rangoon, giving his district of birth as Rangoon but that his origin as a village, say Hlawga, or a small town say Hmawbi then he is classified as a migrant in Rangoon.

1 Ibid.

The Sample Population

Out of a total of 8944 respondents 6029 could be classified as migrants according to this definition. Thus 67% of the total respondents answered to be migrants. The sample being truly representative of the total population we could conclude that migration rate in Burma as 67%. Further, it is found that out of the total migrants 62% are living in Rangoon with 9%, 5%, 5% distributed in the next three most thickly populated towns, Mandalay, Moulmein and Bassein and the rest sparsely scattered over the remaining towns. Hence, the analysis of both migrant and native populations in Rangoon would suffice as representative of the population for the whole country.

Age and Sex Distribution

The urban social survey which is the chief source of data for this thesis is concerned only with the economically active population. Accordingly, the sample include only individuals who are economically active, that is, only those who are in the ages between sixteen and sixty are recorded in the sample data. Tables 1 and 2 give relevant statistics on the age and sex distribution extracted from the survey data.

It can be seen from Table 1 that 67% of the total population are migrants with only 33% as natives. This large percentage of migrants could be accounted for by the definition

of migrants by which individuals whose present residence is not his place of birth are classified as migrants. Thus in the sample two-thirds of the population happen to be migrants.

From Table 2 could be observed that the migrant population is distributed almost evenly in the first three age groups, each being 25% roughly, with the other two age groups accounting for the remaining 25%. Thus 75% of the migrants are below the age of forty-five and 50% younger than thirty-five years. The corresponding percentages for the natives show 51% in the 16-25 age group and 19% in the next. Thus 70% of the native population are younger than thirty-five. The last two age groups record only 15% of the native population. From this it could be concluded that the migrants as a group are older than the natives due to the weight in the 16-25 age group. There are many plausible explanations for this. The urban social survey was taken in 1972 about twenty five years after the end of the war. The abnormal loss of lives in the urban centres during the war could be taken as one of the reasons for the depletion of adult population. The natives of urban centres adhere to normal fertility patterns. Since independence, measures had been taken to improve medical facilities and to institute better living standards in the cities so that not only fertility rates had been raised but also infant mortality had been lowered. Hence, the presence of a high percentage, 51% of the natives in the youngest age group,

16-25, who were born after the end of the war. On the other hand, the internal migration process has been going on over the years, sometimes trickling at other times enmasse.

An examination of the number of years of residency in the chosen centres (refer Table 10), shows that more than 40% of the migrants have been living in the cities for over twenty years. This fact should raise the average age of the migrants. But cross examination with the age at arrival of migrants in the total column of Table 3, we find 22% and 27% of migrant males and females respectively arrived at the urban centres before they were fourteen years old. Hence, even the long years of residency in the cities did not increase the average age of the migrant. Table 3 also indicates that 56% and 65% of males and females migrate to the urban centres before they are twenty-five and a further 26% and 25% between the ages of twenty-five and forty leaving only 18% and 7% males and females respectively in the "above forty" age group at arrival. This explain the fact that ^{although} migrants as a group are older than the natives 50% of them are younger than thirty-five. (Refer Table 2). This is in confirmity with the generally accepted fact of migration that migrants are young. As Bogue¹ suggested migration is a response to social change and it is the younger more flexible village youth who make the necessary adjustment.

1 Ibid.

We can conclude at this point that as far as age is concerned migrants are different from the natives only in the fact that a much higher percentage exist in the youngest age group. How does this characteristics effect social and economic development?

The high incidence of youth among the natives of the cities taken together with the generally accepted notion of the town-dwellers' better appreciation of education, this would lead us to the conclusion that about half the native population would be engaged in the pursuit of education either in schools or at higher institutes of learning. Hence most of the active labour force in the urban centres would be composed of migrant labour. From the high percentage of arrivals younger than fourteen years we can conclude that about a quarter of the migrants moved into the cities not for economic reasons, that is, in anticipation of better jobs and have higher wages, although there had been occasions of village girls younger than fourteen who were brought to the cities to be employed as domestic servants. Perhaps this account for a slightly higher percentage; 27% as compared to 22% of females than males in this age group. Another explanation of this observation would be that the young are sent to the cities in search of better educational facilities. This fact will be explained further when educational characteristics of the migrants are analysed. A more probable explanation would be that contrary

to the general pattern on marital status of migrants that migrants tend to be single, the Burmese situation depicts that 70% of the migrants are married, so that these young people moved into the cities to accompany the parents when the whole family migrated. (Refer Table 4).

The analysis thus far lead us to the conclusion that the migrants in keeping with the general pattern are young adults and also that 67% and 78% of the males and females respectively arrive at the urban centres before they were thirty years old. (Refer Table 3). How do we relate this characteristic to the stimuli of which migration is the response? When young people decided to move it would be in anticipation to improve themselves either economically or socially or both. From Table 2 it could be observed that almost equal percentage of males and females exist in each age group of the migrants. This observance coupled with the fact that 70 percent of the migrants were married would lead us to conclude that contrary to the general pattern that migrants are single, Burmese migrants moved as families. This indicates that social considerations played a greater role as a stimulus to migrate. Young married couples accompanied by minor children will not be lured to the cities where the probability of employment is not very high. Thus the decision to migrate would only stem from the possibility of improved social conditions by way of better educational and medical facilities. On the other

hand, it may well be to escape the atrocities of the insurgents during the time of insurgency. The periods in which a large exodus of rural workers occurred; during the decade 1947-57; coincided with the "height" of insurgency period. (Refer Table 17).

The economic stimuli for this characteristic can be put in the form that younger people are more capable of taking to new employments like rickshaw pulling or to heavy work in construction. In other words they could adapt to the urban conditions and environment more easily than the older rural worker. Again being a younger member of the village community, both their social and economic standing would naturally be lower than that of the village elders so that anticipation of better monetary wages for males and added income of the wives who could be absorbed into the urban work force could be the economic rationale for the young married couples to migrate to the urban centres. Summing up, migration in most cases was a leap into the dark and younger persons are comparatively more courageous to take this risk.

For an analysis of the sex distribution Table 1 is again used. Division of the total population into the sex ratios shows that (68.2%) of the males are migrants and (31.8%) natives, while (61%) of the females are migrants (38.2%) are natives. From these figures we could conclude that there is a slight edge in male percentage which could be explained by the males who are heads of families who come ahead of their wives and families

in search of better jobs to the cities. Another explanation lies in fact that most well to do landed families in the rural villages send their sons to the cities for better education.

The larger percentage of males among the migrants is at variance with the experiences of other developing countries where the tendency is for more women to leave the villages to be employed as domestic servants in the cities. Perhaps this could be reconciled to the Burmese situation by the large number of remigrants i.e., those who go back to the villages after a short stint in the city, who were not included as migrants at the time the survey was taken. Many young women come to Rangoon and other larger towns, and the bulk of them enter the domestic service. Domestic service is an unstable occupation, characterized by many small employers (that is, households which hire only one or at most two servants) and high turn over. Inevitably, some of the migrant girls whose entire work experience in the city consisted of domestic service become discouraged and returned to their former homes. Besides, the survey was taken during the month of April a month in which most villages celebrate their village pagoda festivals to which most young girls return annually. This accounted for the lowering of the sex ratio when the group of all migrants was considered. The return home of the young females in the migrant group pushed the ratio down. However, when sex is cross tabulated with age we see that the per-

centage for the (16-25) age group is slightly higher for females. This may be due to the fact that young women who are conventionally employed in the domestic service tend to be more migratory than men in the comparable age group. This is also confirmed by the sex ratio in the same age group among the natives which is almost equal. This may imply that the larger number of young women among the migrants was due to the presence of domestic servants. Thus the general phenomenon of women migrating to be employed as domestic servants in cities is also prevalent in Burma.

The distribution of sex in all other age groups present a somewhat equal percentage of the population between males and females as seen from Table 2. From this we can conclude that families as a whole undertake to migrate together, either to escape the extreme poverty of the villages or in search of better social and economic conditions in the cities.. Comparable figures for the natives in the various age groups indicate that there is no significant difference in the number of men and women.

What final conclusion can we make from the analysis of age and sex? The number of the migrants who arrived at the cities before they were of working age, would not swell the ranks of the unemployed. They would normally be expected to continue their education and thus spread the advantages of migration to

attract more rural workers into the urban cities. If this were the case, then migration is to some extent responsible for social changes to the villages. How far this is true will be examined when analysis of education is made.

The equal number of males and females who migrated together as families would raise the rate of women participation in the urban labour force. However, it is traditional for village women to be employed only in domestic chores like house-keeping, weaving the families' necessary clothes and caring of farm cattle. Thus, when they arrive at the cities they were reluctant to join the urban labour force. This will be examined further when we deal with employment.

Education

Two conflicting but equally plausible hypotheses have been established with respect to education in migration literature. The first maintains that, since migration is the response to social change it is the bright and alert fellow who is aware of the changing conditions who takes the opportunity of the changes and accordingly adjust to it by moving to an urban area. Hence, the migrants would have a higher than average education. The second hypothesis however is based on the distressing conditions of rural communities. The bleak social conditions of the villages, where poverty, long hours of work often involving whole

families, danger of insurgency are rampant, allow only limited opportunities for education. Thus education outside of the big cities is so restricted that a migrant from a rural village would virtually be illiterate.

The only questionnaire relating to education in the Urban Social Survey was for the level of education of the respondents during the predetermined week of the survey. Thus information relating to their educational qualification at the time of their arrival at the urban centres was not available. This unfortunately was responsible for the inability to identify education of the migrants with that of people they left behind in the villages. According to the "Urban Rural Population Distribution and Settlement Patterns in Asia"¹ illiteracy was still a predominant feature in most Asian villages. However, it is traditional practice in Burmese villages to send their sons to the village monastery for secular as well as religious education. This practice, together with the literacy campaign which had been going on since 1965 accounted for the high rate of literacy prevailing in Burma. The literacy rate of about 67% of the population is one of the highest in the developing world.² The Asian study mentioned earlier also claimed that migrants in cities generally had

1 "Urbanization: Developing Policies and Planning", International Social Development Review, No. 1, United Nations.

2 The literacy rate is very high compared to countries such as Bangladesh (23%), India (29%) and Malaysia (60%). "Development in Burma: Issues and Prospects." Documents of World Bank, July 1976.

a lower educational level, poorer work status and lower incomes than the natives, but that they compared favourably in these respects to the rural population they left behind. The validity of the second part of this statement cannot be tested for the reason cited earlier, but that of the first part will be analysed when migrants educational characteristic is compared with that of the natives. The responses to the question on the level of education are classed as follows:-

1. Illiterate
2. Received only monastic school education
3. Finished Primary School
4. Finished Middle School
5. Finished High School
6. Attending institute of higher education
7. Graduate of a university or institute
8. Have attended some post graduate classes
9. Holder of a post graduate degree or diploma

Table 5 indicates that out of a total of 6127 respondents classified as migrants only 800, a mere 13% are completely illiterate. The corresponding figures for the natives are 246 and 7.79%. The lower absolute number for the natives can be explained by the fact that 67% of the total sample population (Table 1) are migrants. However the fact that illiteracy is prevalent even in the urban centres called for some explanation. It must be remembered that the survey included all social stratas so that some of the households interviewed would include the lowest social classes like beggars and menials which account

for the illiterates in the natives of urban areas. The 13% of the migrants could be the women who had not have even the advantages of monastic education. From Table 10 we could see that more than 40% of the migrants had been living in their present domicile for more than twenty years so that the illiterate migrant would include those who had not been exposed to the basic education given by the literacy campaign. Table 5 also indicates that 31% of the migrants and 20.3% of the natives have had only monastic school education. The figure for the migrants is easily acceptable but that of the natives needs to be explained.

Individuals who are children of migrants born in the cities after the parents had migrated would be classified as natives according to our definition. We have already indicated that most migrants are young married couples. Their struggle in the cities, first in search of a job, then adjusting to new work environments added to which was the necessity for the wife to go outside the home to work to supplement the family budget, often necessitated their sending back their children to their parents in their original village.

These children would naturally be exposed only to the monastic education in the villages. Thus, when they rejoined their parents in the cities they have had only monastic school education. The sample must have included this type of individuals as natives having only monastic school education. If

this generalization was valid, we could conclude that migration was not due to social considerations of seeking better educational facilities for their children, but some other causes like social upheaval in case of insurgency or economic considerations.

The natives supremacy over the migrants in all over levels of education can be seen from Table 5. This observation can be explained by the fact that natives as a group are younger than the migrants. 51% of the natives are younger than 25. Thus the natives who were born recently, the better educational facilities available in the cities together with the accepted tenet of cities dwellers' better appreciation of education accounted for the natives' superior educational level. Besides, the migrants as a group are older than the natives as we have already shown earlier. Although migrants are young when they arrive (Table 3) the long average length of residence (Table 10) means that the adult migrants are older as a group than the natives. Owing to education gain over time in most countries especially developing ones like Burma, the natives, relatively younger as a group would have had a better chance of education than the migrants. How much of the natives educational superiority can be traced to difference in age composition between them and the migrants as these a priori statements have suggested? Table 6 indicates that for the youngest age group being considered, an almost exactly equal percentage of migrants and natives had finished primary) middle and high school education. This indicates the

strides being gained in education in the recent years which wiped out the gap in educational attainments of the migrants and natives.

From Table 7, we can deduce that for each of the educational levels considered, there was a greater incidence in the younger age groups both for migrants and natives except in the two lowest levels. Here, there were more cases of illiteracy among the migrants but the opposite appeared to be true for the natives. The general pattern then is that when age increases the level of education become lower. This situation favoured the average educational level of the natives as they are the younger group and was unfavourable to the senior migrants.

We can conclude at this point that as far as education is concerned Burma conforms to the general Asian pattern of migrants having lower educational qualification than the natives. From there, we can go on to surmise that in the urban labor market the migrants, handicapped with lower education would find themselves lacking in skill and training required for urban industrial jobs and thus ended up with lower work status and hence lower incomes.

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Employment

Employment is another important variable to be considered in the stimulus - response relationship of migration. Consideration of the rate of employment, the participation of women in the urban labour force, and the employment status may very well explain the rationale for migration as well as its effect on industrialization and economic development.

The questionnaire on the conditions of employment, centres on the basic question of "What respondent has been doing in the predefined week?" The responses to the question was divided into eleven categories, each representing important conditions of employment. These eleven categories are given below:

- Category 01 - not engaged in any employment due to old age or retirement
- 02 - not engaged in any activity due to ill health or physical handicap
- 03 - not engaged in any employment voluntarily as personal preference, or because of custom. This class includes beggars, idle rich etc.
- 04 - studying at school
- 05 - keeping household
- 06 - engaged in non-remunerative voluntary social works
- 07 - not employed and seeking employment
- 08 - engaged in gainful employment

Category 09 - engaged as an apprentice

10 - holding a job but not at work. This category includes persons on vacation on leave, on strike, suspended from work, temporarily relieved of duty or not working at present because of temporary reorganization of work etc.

11 - working on odd jobs, temporary jobs

The answers given by the respondents classed as migrants and natives as well as that of the total population of the sample, cross tabulated with age is given in Table 8.

For an analysis of the rate of employment, the word "employment", or its converse "unemployment" has to be properly defined. If we include in our definition of "unemployment" only those who are currently out of work and expressly seeking work, in other words only (manifest unemployment), the unemployed would be only those whose response is classified in category 07. However, we must not take employment to be synonymous with labour force which would be defined as to include all the respondent in categories 06 - 11.

Extent of Expressed Unemployment of Migrants and Natives

	Migrants	Natives	Total of Sample
Total working age population	6103	3520	9623
Total labour force	3797	1832	5629
Number of unemployed	192	169	361
Percentage of total working age population	3.14	4.8	3.75
Percentage of total labour force	5.07	4.76	6.40

as shown

The rate of unemployment according to the given definition above was 3.14, 4.8 and 3.75 percent of the total working age population for migrants, natives, and total of sample respectively and 5.07, 4.76, 6.40 percent of total labour force for each of the categories. Thus there exist no significant difference between migrants and natives to warrant a more refined analysis in respect of the rate of employment for the migrants as a group. However, this small percentage rate of unemployment is rather puzzling since this rate not only stands very low when compared with those of neighbouring countries, and also appear contrary to the common notion that Burma is experiencing acute urban unemployment.

One of the possible explanations of this finding is that respondents, even if unemployed, are reluctant to admit that fact to a stranger because of the loss of esteem.

The extent to which migrants are involved in the distribution of employment status and its concomitant effect on economic and social change can be studied by further cross classifying with other migration differentials.

1 Percentage of unemployment to total working age population.

Indonesia	5.0%
Bangladesh	7.0%
Sri Lanka	11.0%
Thailand	6.0%

World Tables 1977. World Bank.

Table 8 indicates that the expressed unemployment is highest among the younger age group, i.e. below 25 years. This table also indicates that unemployment 28% and 21% respectively, for migrants and 47% and 12% among the natives an interesting fact can be observed is that 4.56 of the natives as against 3.23% of the migrants are found to be included in the category of unemployed. Why should the unemployment be more prevalent among the natives than the migrants?

Generally, it could be assumed that, because of their local social contacts, natives rather than migrants stood a better chance of being employed. However we should realise that the urban social survey interviewed all persons within the working age group so that natives of various age groups (of which as we have already seen 51% are in this group) and social background would have been interviewed. On the other hand, the migrants as a group are likely to include a higher proportion of adults who have moved into the city to seek employment. Again, since migrants continued stay in the city depends on their being employed, it is reasonable to expect that a larger percentage of them are already gainfully employed.

The observation that the rate of employment is lowest for the youngest age group suggest that the rate of absorption of new entrants to the labour force is much slower than the rate

of increase of the working age population itself. It is estimated that about 800,000 persons¹ a year are reaching the working age and a substantial number of them will be entering the labour market. While this rate of increase in rural areas may be more readily absorbed, the same rate of increase in the urban area if coupled with a high rate of rural-urban migration poses a serious problem especially when the industrial development in the established urban centres have slackened in the last few years, both because of diversion of industries to the less developed rural regions and also because of the slow growth of private industries. How then do we account for the continued streams of rural urban migration? The answer may lie in the fact that in spite of the efforts for rural development by setting up new industries, they are still in their gestation period so that economic and social benefits of remaining in the rural regions have not been realized by the rural villagers as yet.

Next we consider the cross-classification with sex as indicated in Table 9. As expected 71% of the males as against 32% of the females of the total respondents are employed. To study sex as a migration differential, we look at the relevant percentages for migrants and natives. It can be observed that

1 "Condition of Employment in Ten Largest Cities in Burma", unpublished paper by Dr. K. M. Kyi, Research Department, Institute of Economics, Rangoon, Burma.

78% of migrant males are employed whereas only 58% are employed in the native group. This can be explained ^{by the fact} that the natives include a large number of the young adults who are still actively engaged in the pursuit of education. Further migrant males being heads of families who have made the decision to move and borne the cost of migration are reluctant to return to their place of origin are thus willing to accept positions lower than what they deserve, for those who have expended some time and effort to obtain some training, or for those without any training to take up jobs considered menial or lowly paid. Thus although the rate of employment may be higher the migrants generally have a poorer work status and lower income than the natives as observed in the Asian study.¹

The relevant figures for females showed that 36% of the migrants as against 25% of the natives are employed. This indicate that migrant women have a higher participation in the labour force. This fact may be linked with our earlier observation that women supplement the family income by being absorbed into the labour force. This could lead us to the conclusion that economic considerations were the reasons which pushed young couples out of the villages. However, a look at the

1 Urban Rural Population Distribution and Settlement Patterns in Asia; in Urbanization: Development Policies and Planning, International Social Development Review, No.1, United Nations, p.48.

response for those who were keeping households, 50% of the migrant women as compared to only 25% of the natives are classified in that category, from which we might deduce that rationale other than economic was which primed the exodus of the village couples. The analysis of these characteristics of migrants could not only give us the motivation for migration but could also indicate the reasons for migration.

Reasons for Migration

In Asia as a whole, ^{the} so called "push" and "pull" factors have influenced both the scale and nature of rural-urban migration and Burma is no exception.

For the purpose of this thesis, the push factors would generally be social upheaval during the period of insurgency and poverty and low income of the villages, which account for both social and economic factors. The pull factors would be the attractions of urban industrial jobs with their concomitant raised incomes as well as social benefits of improved educational and medical facilities. The responses to the question "Reasons for moving into the present domicile" given in the urban social survey are classified as:-

1. Insecurity in the neighbourhood
- ✓ 2. Anticipation of better job

3. Poverty in the place of origin
4. Miscellaneous*
5. Existence of friends
- ✓ 6. To further education
7. Decided to stay while on a visit
8. Government transfer
9. Unclassified

* This class includes a variety of answers: because of existence of spouse, children, parents, relatives.

The following is a presentation of the percentages of all migrants in the sample to the ten chosen urban centres.

Percent of Migration to each of the Ten Urban Centres

<u>Urban centre</u>	<u>% of total migrants</u>
Taunggyi	3.2
Rangoon	61.4
Mandalay	9.3
Moulmein	5.3
Bassein	5.1
Pegu	5.0
Henzada	2.6
Monywa	3.2
Akyab	2.6
Myingyan	2.4

From the above table we can see that Rangoon being the largest urban centre attracted the largest number of migrants. On the other hand could we not argue that 67% of the population (refer Table 1) being migrants: was ^{it} because of the migrants that Rangoon

had developed into the largest urban centre, or whether Rangoon being the largest urban centre attracted the largest number of migrants? To answer these questions we need to analyse further into the reasons for migration, and then surmise whether migration is due to urbanization or whether urbanization is a result of migration.

Table 11 is a cross tabulation of the urban centres with that of the reason for migration. From a cursory look at the table it could be observed that except for Bassein and Henzada, the highest percentage of reasons for migration in all the centres was the vague category (4), saying existence of spouse, children, parents and relatives. This could lead us to a number of conclusions.

Since this category represents a variety of rather ambiguous answers like "for the existence of spouse," the respondents answer could mean that either the wife joined the husband or vice versa. Since there were about equal number of males and females among the respondents, only half this percentage could be taken as the reason for migration as family reasons. Further the existence of family members as a reason for migration could mean any of the following reasons:

- (a) for further education of children
- (b) to receive medical care for a member of the family

- (c) to seek urban employment when either the wife or the husband or the parents were already employed in urban jobs
- (d) to keep home for members of the family already employed.

Since no refinement of these reasons was available in the survey we could not say for certain whether it was economic or social consideration which put the respondents on to the road to the city. Hence, we could only conclude that both economic and social considerations were given due weight when migration was considered. } ??

Another interesting conclusion that could be made from this observation is related to the cost of migration as an investment. When cost of investment was defined to include not only the absolute cost of transportation from the place of origin to that of the urban centre, but also the loss of income and expenses to be incurred during the time the migrant is searching for an urban job, the economic cost of migration would be very high. Besides, there is also the social and economic costs to be considered. These costs, other than the absolute fare, would be greatly reduced if there existed family members to help the migrant to tide over this critical period. Also, the probability of employment would be increased if an already employed member could put in a word for the new arrival in his search for urban

job. If this observation is valid, then migration is due to urbanization.

The cases of Bassein and Henzada were in the reverse direction. The most significant reason of migration in both cases was due to insecurity in the neighbourhood. The period of arrival of migrants to Bassein and Henzada as shown in Table 12 showed that the highest percentage of arrivals in both these centres happened to be in the five year period 1946-50 which coincided with the height of the insurgency. These two facts complement each other in the conclusion that the most significant reason for migration to Bassein and Henzada was social upheaval. Hence, urbanization is a concomitant of migration and not its cause. The two categories (2) and (3) gave the economic rationale for migration and taken together they represent the next significant reason for migration. From Table (11) we could observe that economic rationale was predominant in the recently urbanized centres like Taunggyi, Pegu and Myingyan with 32.9%, 26.3%, 39.4" respectively of the respondents giving this answer.

Beside these explicit reasons given by the respondents we could imply some^{more} by looking at the periods at which the migrants arrived at the urban centres. The general trend for all cities was that urbanization began from about 1951 and gaining momentum

in the two decades between 1951-70. Looking at the percentages for Rangoon we find that 51% of the migrants moved in during the years 1956-70, during which (industrialization) in Rangoon was at its highest. Comparable figures for the less urbanized centres like Taunggyi, Pegu and Monywa are 70%, 45%, 55% respectively leading us to conclude that, although there were no large scale industrialization programmes during the period in these centres, they nevertheless developed as commercial centres and small scale industrial complexes.

From the given analysis we can conclude that a heavier weight is accorded to economic considerations as against social considerations by the migrants in their deliberation for migrating to the urban centres. Of course, there was always the expectation of improved social consideration which would inevitably follow improved economic circumstances.

The analysis of the factors contributing to migration presented in this chapter could also be related to the extent to which the migrants were able to adjust to the urban environment.

Chapter IV

PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT TO URBAN LIFE

One of the most dramatic phenomena of recent decades has been the urbanization of large segments of the world's peasant folk, particularly in rapidly industrializing countries. Burma being also a developing nation had experienced urban growth spasmodically from the colonial times, slacking since the depression to the age of independence and picking up momentum ever since. This urbanization caused the uprooting of rural peasants from their familiar environment and planting them in new atmospheres of residence, work, recreation etc. This adjustment process involves problems the migrants had to face as well as their solution to them. An interesting corollary of this is the migrants decision to make his changed status permanent or not.

The problems that the migrants faced could be generally broken down into physical, economic, social and psychic.

Physically, it is envisioned as drastically altering the dwelling, changing the accoutments within the home as well as the neighbourhood surrounding it transforming the appearance as well as the mode of dress of the migrant himself.

However, we have also shown that many migrants gravitate to areas lying close to the rural-urban fringe. That is, migration is short distance from village to small towns or from small towns and villages in the fringe of the urban centres themselves. Thus the new places have at least the cultural semblance of the rural villages.

Burmese peasants used to open spaces with small huts as dwelling place found themselves stuffed in small urban apartments in downtown areas or small shacks in the suburbs known by various names as squatter areas, shanty towns and slums. Rural peasants used to the natural system of disposal for human excretions viewed city life with distaste with respect to its waste disposal system but enjoyed the benefits of urban sanitation not available in the villages.

The classic case of rural peasants, often unkindly portrayed as country bumpkins, copying the appearance in dress and mode of conduct of the urbanite is often the theme of many comic performances.

Economically, the migrant is seen as adjusting to changed occupation and rhythms of work, to a new division of labour within the family and to different relationships between work associates.

In their villages of origin, migrants were engaged almost exclusively in agriculture. Men worked long and hard during the sowing and harvesting periods. These periods of activity were followed by seasons of maintenance and community sociality like village pagoda festivals. The basic rhythm of rural life thus dictated large finite jobs alternating with lighter routine work. The migrant male in the city with his lower educational and technical skill is more often employed as manual labourer. This occupation he found more taxing even though the work load is evenly distributed over-time except for cases of peddlers, tea shop assistants etc. and domestic servants.

Women's work was more evenly distributed with child care, the preparation of food, collecting of firewood and tending of livestock performed daily. These endeavours did not provide women with monetary wages so that their contribution to the family income was imputed rather than monetary. The role of women is usually changed by migrating to the city. The increased cost of higher urban living standards called for the wife to supplement the family income, so that women found themselves engaged in work outside of their homes and adjusting to new work relationships both with the employers and associates. This feature of women being income earners result in the division of labour within the home. Rural males, considered to be lords and masters of their home had to participate in the household chores, thus

esulting in a change of cultural values also.

Socially, it is hypothesized that the migrant weans himself from the intimacy of the village to the harsh superficial relationships inherent in urban life, adapts himself from the homogeneous peer group to the diversified reference groups of the city and suffers a reduction in proximity social life and neighbouring.

The urban jobs called for changed employer-employee relationships which are often contractual rather than implied. Migration results in the meeting of people from various geographical districts and ethnic groups so that the cohesiveness of the village atmosphere is sadly lacking in the urban job situation.

Psychologically, he is assumed to undergo a revolution in motivation and values. The achievement oriented urban values and the intensity of industrial motivation are in sharp contrast to the free and easy life of the villages where religious teachings emphasized on peace and tranquillity of unpossessiveness and contentment in one's fate.

In summary, according to the rural-urban dichotomy a villager is deemed to be dropped, unarmed into the heart of the urban city to assimilate or perish.

Occupation of Migrants

Migration will be more efficient as an allocator of economic resources if the migrant is easily accepted into the urban culture and if he in turn accepts it. This is usually referred to as commitment of labour to his job. A committed worker is one who stays on the job and who has severed his major connections with the land. He is a permanent member of the work force, receiving wages and being dependent for making a living in enterprise managements which offer him work and direct his activities at the work place.¹ This statement wrapped up the four types of problems that migrants faced that were mentioned earlier. How fast and how well a migrant became committed to his new urban job depended to a large extent to the type of occupation in which he was employed. In the next few paragraphs an attempt will be made to classify these industrial occupations and relate them with the ease of entry and the extent of economic benefits offered by each.

One of the questions in the urban social survey was "In what type of occupation are you presently engaged?"

1 Clark Ker, et, al, "Industrialism and Industrial Man", Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960, p.170.

The responses to this question are categorized as:

01. Processing of Foodstuff
02. Cheroot and allied tobacco products
03. Textile; this include only weaving of textiles.
04. Shoes and Apparel. This include tailoring.
05. Bamboo, Timber and Allied Products, not including the making of furniture.
06. Furniture
07. Paper and Paper Products
08. Printing and Allied Industries
09. Leather and Allied Leather Products not including shoes.
10. Rubber and Rubber Products.
11. Chemicals and Production of Chemicals
12. Production of Petroleum, Kerosene and Coal
13. Production of Non-metallic Products. This includes production of glass, ceramics, brick and tile, etc. but not including petroleum and coal.
14. Production of Basic Metals not including iron and steel.
15. Production and Processing of Metals not including machinery and spares for transport vehicles. This class includes small scale industries, foundries, workshops, lathe machine shops etc.
16. Production of Machinery and Spares not including electrical goods.
17. Production and Repair of Electrical Goods

18. Production and Repair of Transport Vehicles
19. Other Industries like Goldsmith, Toy Manufacturers
20. Agricultural Industries
21. Extractive Industries
22. Commercial Enterprises
23. Transport and Communication Enterprises
24. Construction
25. Energy
26. Services including Insurance, Banking, Lawyers, Doctors, Teachers, Beauticians, Laundries, Waiters and Photographic Shops
27. General Administration
28. Armed Services Personnel
29. Others

Table 13 is the distribution of these occupations in each of the levels of education. From the column representating the total sample of migrant population we can see that the three most significant occupations are commercial enterprises, transport and communication enterprises and services. All these classifications are rather vague because commercial activities could mean the management of large corporations to hawking of boiled beans on the streets. Transport and communication services could range from management of airways, telegraph companies, and trucking to rickshaw pulling. Services also present

similar problems. The importance in the type as well as the level at which the migrants are occupied defined the extent of the problem of assimilation by the migrant. The importance of the occupation is reflected in each of the levels of education so that for each level, the same occupation happened to have the same level of significance. To relate the level of education as a variable in the adjustment to urban life to a particular type of occupation, Table 14 is referred to. Here a distribution of levels of education in each of the occupation is given. Now we find that in the case of commercial activities 50% of the responding migrants are near illiterates and 95% with only high school education. The same type of analysis in respect of sex and age in Tables 15 and 16 respectively indicated that for those engaged in commerce, there was an equal number of males and females, but that the age distribution is almost equal for all the age groups.

From these observations we could conclude that migrants are engaged in petty trading where both men and women of all ages are equally capable. How do you relate this to the extent of labour commitment? We can conclude that these activities are more or less transient in nature taken up by the migrants while waiting for better openings. The prevalence and dominance of this type of occupation explained why urbanization cannot bring about development.

A similar analysis is made of transport and communications as a type of occupation by referring to the same tables. We observed that 95% of the respondents in this class are males indicating the dominance of males for manual transport like rickshaw pulling and bus and taxi driving. The corresponding figures for education and age support the findings that in this sector also migrants are occupied in the lower status job. What can we conclude from the analysis so far? The young migrants with low educational qualifications are occupied in jobs requiring little skill and qualification so that the problems of learning a new skill involving cost in time and energy and money are never encountered. But other economic problems of low income, higher cost of living and social problems of adjusting to new job with changes in rhythm as well as hours of work, new employer-employee relationships have still to be met. This explain the absence of development in the face of rapid urbanization.

Problems on Arrival

An important facet of the adjustment to urban life is the problems that migrants had to face on arrival at the urban centre. The problems of immediate significance would be to find a place of dwelling especially as whole families had moved in, and the means to support the families while the husband or the wife or both are looking for jobs. In the case of Burmese migrants, we

have already found that the most frequent reason given for the move was the existence of family members, so that these problems would be reduced in intensity. The relatives would be willing to finance emergency loans if required, provide with a place to live even if their own lodgings are small and help find urban jobs. The intensity of the adjustment problem on the arrival, therefore, is dependent on the length of time before a migrant obtained an urban job. Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not include the information on the lapse of time between arrival and employment. However, there is a question calling for the migrant to state whether he obtained an urban job within six months of arrival in the urban centre. Out of the total of 6029 migrants, 1536 answered to the affirmative so that 25.47% of the migrants became employed within six months of arrival.

This small percentage could be explained by analysing age-sex distribution given in table 9. According to the table a very significantly larger percentage of males 78% as against 36% obtained employment. This is due to the nature of the enterprise in which migrants were employed as we have shown in our analysis of occupation. Thus the females who arrived in equal number to the males had to wait longer than six months for urban jobs.

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Severing of Ties with Native Village

How well the migrant got adjusted to urban life could also be measured by the year of residency and its resulting effect and the severing of ties with his native village and hence with agriculture. Table 10 indicates that with the exception of Taunggyi recording a low percentage 18.4% and Monywa and Akyab with 34.5% and 38.1% respectively in all other urban centre more than 40% of the migrants had been residing in the present domicile for over twenty years.

We could conclude from table 18 that the migrants since before 1930, the percentage of migrants who had gone back to their original birth place had been less than 10%. However, it is interesting to note that the percentages increased during the period of the depression and immediate prewar and war years and during the sixties when industries slackened due to greater measures at rural development were taken. This is also the period during which agricultural policy of the government is revised, raising the price of agricultural products, mechanization of agriculture, and increasing of agricultural credit.

In conclusion, we could say that migrants in Burma adjust rather well to the urban surrounding. The explanation for this lies in the fact that except for Rangoon with comparable features with other larger Urban Centre of developing countries, the

remaining centres are mere immediate centre or rather conglomeration of villages. Thus there is little difference, physically, socially and psychically between the villages and these urban centres.

Besides the development of commercial and secondary activities in urban centres paralleling with the poverty in the village brought to the fore, distinct economic as well as social advantages of the urban centres. This could will be the reason for the permanent nature of migration. The expanding urban infrastructure sufficient to accommodate the increase in population due to migration, in respect of health and education, transport etc. not only provided jobs in these sectors but also made life easier for the migrants used to a lower standard of living in the village. Even in the extreme cases of migrants being employed as menials and low income manual worker in transport and communication, which afforded little if any improvement in economic conditions the Buddhist religion values of reconciling to one's fate as inevitable could be the reason which kept the migrant in the city.

The nature of the problems of adjustment to urban life and the conditions which induced the type of adjustment could be related to the patterns of migration to measure the extent of the role migrants played in economic development.

Chapter V

PATTERN OF MIGRATION

Contrary to popular belief, Asian rural population is far from immobile as the high rural-urban migration rates demonstrates. Migration, which is traditional to many Asian cultures takes place not only to the largest cities but also to the medium sized and smaller urban centres.¹ The Burmese conform in this respect to the Asian pattern. The rate of migration according to the Urban Social Survey is 67%. There is a saying in the Burmese language that "Without a move to another village, there will be no advancement of station in life." Thus migration had also been part of the Burmese culture.

Geographical Pattern

From the table below we can see that Rangoon which is the largest urban centre received only 61% of the migrants followed by Mandalay having 9%. Thus there also exist medium and small sized urban centres to which rural inhabitants migrate for reasons both economic and social.

1 Urban Rural Population Distribution and Settlement Patterns in Asia; in Urbanization: Development Policies and Planning, International Social Development Review, No.1, United Nations, p.48.

Table showing the percentage of migrants to various urban centres.

<u>Urban Centre</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Taunggyi	3.2
Rangoon	61.4
Mandalay	9.3
Moulmein	5.3
Bassein	5.1
Pegu	5.0
Henzada	2.6
Monywa	3.2
Akyab	2.6
Myingyan	2.4

In Asian countries, as in those of other industrialized countries, the growth of many urban centres have been stimulated by economic activities facilitated by favourable location and by political and social factors.

From the analysis of geographical locations, we could conclude that the urban centres originally developed as commercial centres. Thus it is easily conceivable that most of the migrants to these centres were at the beginning engaged in commercial activities. Starting usually as trading ports for the Europeans during the colonization period, these ports soon became railway termini, thus giving access to a hinterland of human and material resources.

The ten urban centres we are concerned with in this study conformed exactly to this pattern. Rangoon, Moulmein, Bassein and Akyab were seaports which served as export points of Burma's agricultural, forest and mineral resources and also as the entry points for the import of manufactured products which the imperialists forced on their colonies as markets for the finished products of their industries. Also these four cities are situated at the mouth of Irrawaddy River for Rangoon and Bassein and Salween and Kaladan for Moulmein and Akyab, respectively. Thus these centres are provided with a rich hinterland of rice growing regions in the river basins. Hence they also served as commercial centres for the trading of rice. It is only natural that Rangoon with the largest hinterland and connected to the delta region by a network of the Irrawaddy's tributaries affording cheap and easy river transport, developed into the colonial capital. Later, after independence, in keeping with the general pattern of development of Asian cities it became the largest industrial complex in the country. Mandalay, the traditional capital of Burma lies on the rail route connecting Rangoon with the major areas in Burma's rich agriculture, forest and mineral resources are developed for export. Henzada enjoys the position of being on the Henzada-Bassein, and Tharawaw-Henzada rail route as well as on the Irrawaddy River. This affords easy river and rail transport for the trading of agricultural produce especial

rice, grown in the rich Irrawaddy valley. Monywa enjoys a similar advantage lying close to the junction of the Irrawaddy and Chindwin rivers, the only commercial link with Upper Chindwin valley. Taunggyi close to the terminus of the Rangoon-Shwenyaung rail route is the only access to the Shan State. Myingyan also enjoys being a commercial centre connecting the major trading centres of dry zone products along the Upper Irrawaddy river.

However, even during colonial times, the imperialist realized that by partly processing the agricultural produce at the point of production, large savings in transportation expenses could be made. Thus, the industrialization process in Burma started with industries allied to agriculture. Hence, the development of processing industries like rice and timber milling, processing of cooking oil in these centres which had already been developed as agricultural and commercial centres. These developments created new job positions, but the natives of these centres who were already enjoying commercial benefits were reluctant to take up these position, resulting in an influx of villagers to these newly opened industrial centres.

The following paragraphs would trace the pattern of development of these centres from the responses to the questions in the Urban Social Survey and relate it to the stimulus-

response relationship. The purpose of this exercise would be to determine whether migration and its concomitant urbanization results in development or the reverse case of over urbanization without the accompanied development.

Origin of Migrants

The module on migration in the Urban Social Survey includes a question on the birth place of migrants. The question is divided into two parts, the first a classification of the type of origin and the second the district to which it belonged. The responses to the first are classed as -

1. District town.
2. Small town, where there existed either a township office or a police station or a market signifying the existence of a municipality: in other words the smallest administration unit.
3. Village.

The responses to the second part are district town as given below.

- | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Mawlaik | 11. Yamethin | 21. Hanthawaddy | 31. Akyab |
| 2. Monywa | 12. Pakokku | 22. Thahton | 32. Kyaukphyu |
| 3. Shwebo | 13. Magwe | 23. Moulmein | 33. Sandoway |
| 4. Sagaing | 14. Minbu | 24. Tavoy | 34. Bhamo |
| 5. Katha | 15. Thayet | 25. Mergui | 35. Myitkyina |
| 6. Khanti | 16. Prome | 26. Henzada | 36. Putao |
| 7. Mandalay | 17. Tharawaddy | 27. Myaungmya | 37. Lashio |
| 8. Kyaukse | 18. Hmawbi | 28. Maubin | 38. Kyaukme |
| 9. Meiktila | 19. Toungoo | 29. Pyapon | 39. Taunggyi |
| 10. M. ngya | 20. Pegu | 30. Bassein | 40. Loilem |

41. Kengtung
42. Kunlong
43. Mindat
44. Falem
45. Loikaw
46. Pa-an
47. Kawkareik
48. Rangoon
49. Others

Table 17 gives the type of origin of migrants who have moved into the ten urban centres. From it we can see that the pattern of movement to Rangoon the largest urban centre is 24.3%, 39.3% and 36.3% from district town, small town and village respectively. Comparable to this pattern are those of Mandalay, Moulmein, Pegu, Akyab and Taunggyi. All these centres by virtue of being commercial centres lying on the land routes as well as river transport attracted migrants from and a wider peripheral whereas other centres being mere trading depot of their hinterland received only those of the immediate villages.

From the responses to the second part of the question, a matrix with fifty rows for the district towns and ten columns (Refer Table 19). for the ten urban centres is drawn. The intersecting element of the district towns and the urban centres of the same name represent the number of migrants to the urban centres from the small towns and villages in that district, who were classified as migrants in accordance with the refinement of the definition.

The significant findings from the matrix are 79% of the migrants to Rangoon are from the districts in the Irrawaddy, Pegu, Rangoon and Tenasserim Divisions which formed a wide locus of easy access to Rangoon: the remaining 21% came from other divisions. Mandalay the next largest urban centre had 39%, 35% of its migrants from Sagaing and Mandalay divisions, respectively. Thus 74% of the migrants originated in its immediate vicinity. Other urban centres had more than 85% of their migrants from their own divisions; thus the distance covered by migration was greatly reduced. From this we could agree with Ravenstein¹ that long distance movers went to large cities, and that migrants to the largest cities came largely from other smaller cities rather than from the country side.

Short distance migrations are made to small urban centres. This fact can be explained by social factors. Being small urban centres, they were not much different from the environment to which the migrants were accustomed to in the villages, beside the security of assured assistance financial or otherwise by one's family in case of emergency. The special trait of the Burmese of being clannish and love of one's birthplace prevented migrants from moving further afield. The economic rationale for these short distance movements could be the cost of migration as whole families moved.

¹ "The Law of Migration", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, No. 2, (June 1885), p.167-227.

Another possible explanation would be social upheaval: during the period of insurgency people just moved into the nearest urban centre to avoid the persecution of the insurgents in the villages as in the case of Bassein and Henzada.

In conclusion we could say that migration and its accompanying urbanization would lead to development if the stimulus was economic like the establishment of new industries and businesses but if it were social, then excessive migrants swelling the superfluous labour force would result in problems of over-urbanizations that most developing countries are facing at present. Moreover, even if the stimulus was economic, there must be increased rate of industrialization to parallel the increased population for sustained development.

Chronological Pattern

From a cursory look at Table 12 we could see that there was some extent of migration before 1930. 13% of the migrants to Rangoon had been in the urban centre before 1930. This period could be identified with that of the period of commercial development and the beginning of industrialization of secondary industries. The next fifteen years showed a slackened pace of migration probably due to the depression and its aftermath, general feeling of insecurity just before the outbreak of the Second World War and during the period itself. There was a dramatic increase in

migrants to some of the urban centres especially Bassein, Henzada, Moulmein and Akyab in the next five years 1946-50. This was height of the insurgency period and these towns were situated in the areas most hit by the insurgents. Thus, migration during this period could be explained by the social upheaval. The next two decades from 1951-70 showed a steady rate of migration in all the urban centres when commercial and industrial activities picked up momentum when some degree of stability was obtained after the insurrection. This is also the period in which most industries were established following the national economic plans for industrialization. The first factory to be established by the state was the Brick and Tile Factory in Danyingone after the first Two Year Plan. This was followed by the Textile Mill in Thamaing in 1950. Following the Pyidawtha Plan, the Industrial Development Corporation was established in 1952. This step taken to increase the rate of industrialization led to the development of Rangoon as the largest industrial complex with other centres like Mandalay and Moulmein having a share of the development resources. However although the rate of migration increased it would be seen that it increased at a diminishing rate beginning with the nineteen sixties. This indicates the existence of a curb in the flow of migration to the larger urban centres. The increase in the rate of migration to some of the smaller urban centres like Taunggyi and Pegu in this

iod could be taken as a diversion in migration trend.
fer Table 10).

ages of Migration

is generally assumed that migration proceeds in stages, and that migrants to the larger cities arrived not directly from the villages but from some intermediate urban centre usually a small town. In the Burmese context we would say with some degree of confidence that Rangoon is about the only chosen urban centre which has the attributes comparable to other metropolitan areas of Asia and the rest of the world. The other centres could only be classified as intermediate small centres according to the standards of other developing countries of Asia. This fact is confirmed by the observation from Table 18. With the exception of Rangoon, Taunggyi and Pegu more than 75% of the migrant population to these centres was from the nearby small towns and villages in the immediate vicinity. A refinement in the stages of migration from this crude analysis was made possible by a question in the module on migration in the Urban Social Survey. The question called for the migrants previous mobility and the respondents were allowed to trace up to three previous movements. The responses are classified by the type of origin from which they had moved such as district towns, small towns and villages. In forming patterns for the stages of movements from these

responses, analysis was first made of the hit count of those who gave either one, two or three moves in answer to this question.

The hit count is given below.

<u>Number of moves</u>	<u>Hit count</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	3388	56.2
2	2484	41.2
3	157	2.6

From the above table, a very insignificant 2.6% of the migrants have had more than two moves. This may be due not only to the permanent natures of migration but also in part to the respondents impatience when answering to this particular question when they were interviewed. Thus, we traced the pattern of the stages of migration having only two previous moves. The patterns that could be drawn for each of the responses, that is having either one move or two moves together with the percentages within each category is given below.

1. One step from the place of birth straight to the present urban centre.

<u>Pattern</u>	<u>%</u>
(a) From village	48
(b) From small town	26
(c) From district town	20
(d) From another chosen urban centre	6

2. Two steps from birth place through an intermediate centre to the present urban centre.

<u>Pattern</u>	<u>%</u>
(a) From village through small town	65
(b) From village through district town	22
(c) From village through urban centre	3
(d) From small town through district town	6
(e) From small town through urban centre	1
(f) From district town through urban centre	2
(g) From urban centre through urban centre	1

From the above analysis we could conclude that 48%, 56%, or 31.2% of the total migrants move from the village straight to the urban centre. This class of migrants would include the migrants born in the peripheral villages who had migrated to the nearest urban centre. This small percentage of respondents who gave their birth place as villages is at variance with the large percentages recorded most urban centres in Table 17. Here we must remember that these figures are for the total survey, so that the large percentage: 61% for Rangoon: (see table in page 56) with most migrants having more than one move pulled this percentage down to the low figure.

From the patterns given above 65% + 22% + 6% of the migrants answered that they arrived at the present centre through an intermediate small centre. This made 94% of 41.2% or 38% of the total sample population. We can conclude that the stages of migration in Burma confirm to the general pattern of migration from birth place through an intermediate urban centre to the large urban centres.

What general conclusions can we arrive at from the above analysis? The short distance moves through an intermediate stage indicated the weight given to both economic and social considerations. Short distance moves other than these due to social upheaval in which case both the economic and social costs of remaining in the villages was higher than that of migration played an important aspect of the rural-urban migration in Burma.

The rest of the cases indicate that short moves involve lower both monetary and psychic costs which made easier decision in the decision to move. The evidence of social benefits was more easily recognized; thus migration played an instrumental role in bringing about further migration. But urbanization due to these causes could not result in development. These short moves to less advanced urban centres could only have the benefits of, at most only high school education and up to the period of the survey technical and vocational education had not reached

these smaller urban centres so that migrants to these centres would still be lacking in educational and technical skills. Further, large scale industrialization scheme have not yet reached these centres to any extent so that the superfluous migrants could not be absorbed in the limited industries existing in the urban centres. Thus these migrants had to be employed in low status and physical jobs in services, transportation and construction.

Those migrants who risked to move further afield had the benefit of industrial employment in larger urban centres like Rangoon and Mandalay. Even in those centres where the pace of industrialization is slackened due to diversion to the rural districts and during the period of adjustment after nationalization of private industries, heavy rates of unemployment with its economic and social effects was seen among the migrants.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS

The discussions of the general framework of migration and its relation to economic development given in Chapter II could be summarized as follows:

1. Migration and its concomitant urbanization was due to the existence of a rural-urban dichotomy in respect of economic and social conditions. This dichotomy either "pushed" the poor, low income, illiterate villager out of the country side or, anticipation of better working and living conditions "pulled" the rural inhabitant into the bright lights of the urban centres.

A corollary of this statement would be that the stimulus to which migration was a response differed from country to country and within the same country from one period to another.

2. Migration proceeded in stages, from the village to the intermediate urban centre, usually a small town and then to the large urban centres.

3. Development would follow migration and urbanization and the influx of migrating peasants could be

absorbed into an expanding industrial structure. Conversely, if the industrial sector is not adequate to accommodate the superfluous labour force created by excessive migration, unemployment, the predominant feature of over urbanization would become inevitable.

A corollary of this statement would be that an expanding industrial sector must be complemented by an urban infrastructure of public housing, modern sanitation, schools and services such as public health, finance, transport etc. Without this accompaniment, other features of over urbanization such as over crowded dwellings, poverty and squalor of slums, inadequate transport system, etc. would be inherent in urban centres.

4. If the gap in rural-urban socio economic differential could be narrowed, then there would follow proportionate reduction in the pressure of migration and its concomitant over urbanization.

A corollary of this statement would be that remigrations would follow the reduction in socio-economic differences between the villages and the urban centres.

The findings of the investigations presented in the preceding chapters are to correct all these a priori impressions.

First, during the early periods of migration, or the first wave of migration, there was evidence of differences in rural and urban socio-economic conditions. Income of peasants were low due to low agricultural production using traditional methods; low agricultural prices and high agricultural rents. On the other hand, the development of commercial centres and the establishment of processing industries allied to agriculture, or secondary industrial sector with attending urban infrastructure created an urban environment in sharp contrast to the bleak atmosphere of the villages. Thus during the period of commercial development, migration to the commercial and secondary industrial centres resulted in the happy picture of development.

The decrease in the rate of development of these commercial and secondary industrial sectors due to the depression and the threat of the Second World War during the nineteen thirties, would have narrowed the socio-economic gap between the rural regions and urban centres. This slackening of the pace of migration during the same period is an indication of the existence of the rural-urban dichotomy.

The second wave of migration which occurred after independence, was due to social upheaval in the villages on account of rampant insurgency in most parts of the country. During such a period of insecurity the nearest urban centre was preferable

to the atrocities of remaining in the villages, so that the difference in social conditions between rural regions and urban centres was the contributing factor for migration.

In all the three cases cited above, it could be concluded that the dichotomy was the stimulus to which migration was a response. Moreover, the stimulus during the first wave was economic in nature while the second was coloured by social considerations. This point is in conformity with the corollary to the first statement.

Secondly, the stimulus during the second wave of migration being social rather than economic, the nearest urban centre that offered security was chosen as the destination for migration. Thus migration was short distance which led to the spiralling effect. These urban centres with their existing resources of capital and technology which were greatly depleted during the war were already at their optimum level of operations, so that without extending the existing activities, the influx of migrants could not be absorbed by the available demand for labour. Thus problems of over urbanization became inherent, and pushed the population of these centres to the larger ones especially Rangoon, where economic and social conditions were obviously superior. This migration proceeded in stages from

Thirdly, during the first wave of migration, the poor illiterate workers were willing to be absorbed into commercial and secondary enterprises that required little or no technical and educational qualifications so that migration to these centres resulted in development without its undesirable accompaniment of over urbanization.

Different streams of migrants on various stages of migration during the second and subsequent waves, converged to Rangoon. The reason for the attraction of the largest number of migrants in each stream, stage and wave to Rangoon was due first to its importance as the colonial capital with its urban infrastructure of administrative, transport, housing, health, education, finance and other facilities. Thus Rangoon emerged not only as the national capital after independence, but also the largest commercial centre in the country and later when the formal process of industrialization began, as the site of the nations expanding industrialization.

The older migrants in Rangoon were individuals with long periods of residency since most migrants arrived young at the centres. These migrants due to their early arrival and low educational qualifications were absorbed into lower status commercial activities petty trade, or construction or transport which provided the services necessary to support the

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Following commercial activities and expanding urban infrastructure. However, when the bulk of the migrants arrived during the second and subsequent waves, most migrants had been exposed to the benefits of the immediate centres so that their general educational level was higher than the earlier migrants. Some of these migrants also pursued further education while some joined the labour force. Those who joined the labour force were usually employed in lower income occupations of small scale businesses and a still lower class of menials, construction and transport workers. The better educated "elite" composed of the later and earlier arrivals who availed themselves of the benefit of urban education and the young better educated natives formed a pool of prospective emigrants into industrial undertakings. If the available national resources of capital and technology were able to accommodate the entire pool, then there would be no pressing problems of unemployment, and economic and social development would inevitably follow.

However, the crux of our development problems like that of developing nations happened to be restricted capital and technology. Moreover, "the emerging countries are developing under peculiar economic, social and demographic conditions which require special measures for social and economic progress in both rural and urban areas within the framework of national planning. Technical and

financial assistance from industrialized countries are one of them.¹ Thus the diversion of capital resources to the less developed rural areas at the expense of efficiency location, reduced the amount of capital investment available to Rangoon. Again following a policy of strict neutrality, Burma during the nineteen sixties had refrained from accepting technical and financial aid from other countries in any considerable amount, so that problems of restricted resources was still paramount. ✓

Hence the available limited capital rendered impossible the expansion of industries to the extent that all the competing workers be employed in industrial activities. Besides, the nationalization of private industries which took place during 1967: ✓ slackened the pace of private industries also, so that the demand for labour by industry was further reduced. These reasons coupled with the better qualified individuals, especially university graduates, reluctance to be employed in non-industrial jobs raised the rate of unemployment to alarming heights.

The plight of the emerging nation is not confined to limited industrial expansion with its concomitant unemployment

¹ "Urbanization and Economic and Social Change, An Exploratory Demographic Investigation", in Urbanization: Development Policies and Planning, International Development Review, 1, United Nations.

seen in other spheres as well. There would also be
 facilities for urban housing, sanitation, health etc.
 If population growth is not in harmony with the development
 sectors, which was the case in Rangoon as well as other
 centres, problems of over urbanization became unavoidable.
 Presentation of the above nature and patterns of migration,
 effect on urban life would be in support of the third state-

Finally, when the Revolutionary Government adopted the
 of "balanced growth between geographical regions and
 different ethnic groups within the framework of the
 plan" in 1964 diversion of resources to rural areas
 led in the reduction of rural-urban differential in economic
 social considerations for example, the construction of dams
 Mashaung and Kalagon Dams in the Kachin State made water
 available to the surrounding villages,² thus raising agricul-
 ture production and income of these areas. The construction
 of many industries, at Sinde, fertilizer plant at Kyunchaung
 cement factory at Thayet, on the western bank of the Irrawaddy
 cases of economic development spreading to rural regions with

 င်းရင်းသားလူမျိုးများအရားနှင့်ပတ်သက်၍ တော်လှန်ရေးကောင်စီ၏ခံယူချက်ကို
 ဦးရုံးအကောင်အထည်ဖော်ရေး " မြန်မာ့ဆိုရှယ်လစ်လမ်းစဉ်ပါတီ၊ ပါတီ
 ဦးရုံးရေးဗဟိုကော်မတီဌာနချုပ်၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၂၂ "

attending improvements in social conditions.

One of the cardinal sins that most emerging nations committed in their over zealous efforts at industrialization was the neglect of agriculture. When urban centres developed there must also exist a rich hinterland capable of providing food for the growing urban population as well as a market for the product of the industries. The revision in the agricultural policy of the government to abolish agricultural rents, to mechanize agriculture and to raise the price of agricultural products which occurred during this period raised agricultural incomes, thereby narrowing the income gap between rural regions and urban areas. These realistic policy measures for balanced growth between different geographical regions and ethnic groups not only alleviated the pressure of over urbanization in Rangoon but also resulted in the increased rate of population growth of other urban centres. The slackened pace of migration to Rangoon and the increased rate to other urban centre particularly Pegu and Taggyi during the period 1965-70 served as indication for the proportional relationship between development efforts and the rate of migration. This fact together with the increased rate of remigration, or the reversed of trends in movement of population back to the village from the urban centre could be taken as confirmation of the last statement.

The conclusions that were stated in the preceding paragraphs were supported by the World Bank report in its assessment of the Burmese economy during the nineteen sixties as "Tenancy and agricultural rents were abolished, and the land holdings made more equal. Health and education facilities were distributed more widely among the population. The government was well within reach of its objective to provide universal basic education. Malnutrition was largely eliminated. By the end of the period, the presence in many villages of banks, tractor stations, co-operatives, state buying depots, local administration bodies, schools and health clinics suggested that a far smaller dichotomy existed between rural and urban life in Burma than is found in most developing countries."¹

Hence, due to social and economic characteristics peculiar to Burma and the different values accorded them at various stages in its struggle for industrialization and development, the path that migration took and its influence on the concomitant urbanization and development cannot be expected to parallel those of which characterized countries whose urbanization was precipitated by the industrial revolution.

World Bank Report as quoted in "The Cautious Search for Success", Far Eastern Economic Review, January 18, 1980.

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Table - 1. Distribution of Sex of Migrants and Natives by various age groups. (Percentages)

S E X	A G E							all age groups
	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-60			
Male	Migrants	50.2	75.7	77.5	78.2	78.7		68.2
	Natives	49.8	24.3	22.5	21.8	21.3		31.8
Female	Migrants	52.1	71.5	76.4	77.1	71.3		61.8
	Natives	47.9	28.5	23.6	22.9	28.7		38.2
Total of Sample population	Migrants	51.2	73.5	77.0	77.6	75.2		67.4
	Natives	48.8	26.5	23.0	22.4	24.8		32.6

Table-2. Distribution of Migrants and Natives by

Sex of various age groups. (Percentages)

Age	Sex of various age groups. (Percentages)					
	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-60	
MIGRANTS	Male	24.43	25.01	25.35	19.11	6.10
	Female	27.37	25.57	24.36	18.00	4.70
NATIVES	Male	51.99	17.23	15.79	11.44	3.55
	Female	50.20	20.34	14.99	10.69	3.78

All age groups

8.2

.8

8

100%

Distribution of urban centres by marital Status. (Percentages)

	1	2	3	4	5
	18.9	74.0	3.6	3.5	100.0
	24.7	69.8	2.0	3.5	100.0
	23.1	70.9	2.4	3.6	100.0
	21.8	71.5	1.2	5.5	100.0
	18.7	73.4	3.2	4.7	100.0
	23.1	70.1	4.2	2.6	100.0
	24.7	72.2	0.6	2.5	100.0
	26.2	69.2	0	4.6	100.0
	22.6	70.4	3.8	3.2	100.0
	18.6	4.5	2.8	4.1	100.0
	23.6	70.5	2.2	3.7	100.0

Table - 7. Distribution of Education Levels of Various age of Migrants and Natives. (Percentage)

Age Education	Migrants					Natives					Total				
	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-60	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-60	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-60
1	12	24	31	24	9	26	23	27	17	7	15	24	30	22	8
2	16	23	31	23	7	35	19	23	16	6	21	22	29	21	7
3	32	25	22	17	4	56	17	13	11	4	41	22	18	15	4
4	39	27	19	12	3	63	18	11	7	2	49	23	15	10	3
5	31	31	16	18	4	56	16	15	10	3	41	25	16	15	4
6	58	27	7	5	3	80	14	2	4	0	68	21	5	5	2
7	26	44	19	9	2	39	47	13	2	0	30	45	17	7	1
8	37	50	12	0	0	33	33	33	0	0	36	45	18	0	0
9	0	33	50	17	0	17	33	33	17	0	6	33	44	17	0
Total	26	25	25	18	5	52	18	15	11	4	35	23	22	16	5

Table - 8 . Distribution of Employment Status in various age groups of Migrants and Natives. (Percentages)

Employment Status	Migrant						Natives						Total					
	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-60	*1 Total	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-60	*2 Total	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-60	*3 Total
1	0	0	0	0	11	1	0.1	0.2	0.6	1.7	10.2	0.7	0	0	0	3	11	1
2	0	1	1	3	2	1	0.8	1.0	0.6	3.2	5.9	1.3	1	1	1	3	4	1
3	2	1	1	1	3	2	2.9	1.7	2.1	3.5	3.4	2.7	3	1	1	2	3	2
4	28	1	0	0	0	8	47.2	2.8	0.8	0.6	0	25.2	1	1	0	0	0	14
5	21	29	29	26	23	26	11.9	29.8	25.3	28.6	19.5	19.2	16	30	28	27	22	24
6	1	0	0	0	1	0	0.2	0	0.4	0	0	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	7	3	1	1	1	3	7.3	3.3	1.3	1.2	1.7	4.8	7	3	1	1	1	4
8	37	62	64	60	56	55	26.1	58.7	66.5	58.7	57.6	42.9	31	61	64	60	56	51
9	2	0	0	0	0	1	2.4	0.2	0	0.3	0	1.3	2	0	0	0	0	1
10	0	1	1	2	1	1	0.3	1.2	1.3	0.9	0	0.7	0	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	2	2	3	2	2	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.5	1.7	1.1	1	2	2	3	2	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* 1 = Total of all age groups of Migrants .

* 2 = Total of all age groups of Natives .

* 3 = Total of Sample population .

Table - 9. Distribution of Migrants and Natives by Sex and Employment

Status . (Percentages)

Employment Status	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Migrants	Male	1.4	1.2	1	9	1	0.5	3	78	1	2
	Female	1	1	2	6	50	0.2	3	36	0.7	2
	Male	1	1	2	8	26	0.3	3	57	1	2
Natives	Female	0.7	1	2	26	1	0.1	6	58	1	1
	Male	0.7	1	4	20	36	0.2	4	25	0.4	1
	Female	0.7	1.3	3	23	19	0.2	5	40	0.7	1
Total	Male	1.2	1.3	1-3	15	1.2	0.4	4	71	1.3	2
	Female	1.0	1.3	3	11	45	0.2	3	32	0.6	1
	Male	1.0	1.3	2	13	24	0.3	4	51	0.9	2

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Table - 10 . Distribution of urban centres by the number of years of Residency(Percentages)

Centre	< 2	2- 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	> 20	Total
Aggi	5.1	17.4	28.1	20.4	10.7	18.4	100% <i>hmt</i>
on	2.9	12.4	17.1	15.8	11.9	40.0	100
lay	2.1	8.1	16.3	10.6	19.7	43.3	100
ein	3.4	13.7	15.9	9.8	15.9	41.5	100
n	3.2	5.7	12.3	13.3	7.9	57.6	100
	6.5	10.0	12.0	14.9	16.5	40.1	100
	3.8	5.1	13.9	4.4	17.1	55.7	100
	3.6	5.1	27.4	17.3	12.2	34.5	100
	3.8	9.4	8.8	21.3	18.8	38.1	100
	0.7	7.5	8.5	11.6	17.1	44.5	100
ota	3.1	11.2				40.9	100

39:00
175.15
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Table - 11 . Distribution of urban centres by reasons for Migration
(Percentages)

Reasons Urban Centre	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Taunggyi	2.1	28.7	7.2	48.2	0.5	3.6	0.5	8.7	0.5	100.0
Rangoon	10.2	18.0	7.9	45.6	0.3	6.7	1.1	4.0	6.2	100.0
Mandalay	4.4	20.8	12.1	51.0	0.2	5.7	1.3	3.2	1.3	100.0
Moulmein	25.6	10.4	5.7	46.7	0.6	2.8	0	6.3	1.9	100.0
Bassein	50.4	11.0	3.6	24.9	0	3.2	0.4	2.1	4.6	100.0
Pegu	16.3	18.8	6.5	43.5	0.7	2.5	0	8.7	2.9	100.0
Henzada	55.4	9.6	5.7	19.1	0	5.1	0.6	2.6	1.9	100.0
Monywa	5.8	18.4	7.9	50.5	0.5	5.3	1.1	3.7	6.8	100.0
Akyab	36.7	10.8	7.6	36.1	0.6	3.8	0	4.4	0	100.0
Myingyan	12.9	26.5	12.9	39.4	0.8	3.0	1.5	2.3	0.8	100.0
Total of Sample Population	14.5	17.6	7.9	44.1	0.3	5.6	0.9	4.3	4.7	100.0

Table - 13. Distribution of type of occupation by the levels of education of migrants. (Percentages)

⑤	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	⑩*
1	16.89	8.87	6.42	4.51	3.63	2.38	2.60	16.67	0	7.4
2	4.67	3.61	4.89	0.52	0.33	0	0	0	0	3.09
3	2.22	4.06	4.54	2.83	0.33	2.38	0	0	0	3.40
4	2.67	5.07	6.63	3.04	0.99	2.38	0	0	0	4.44
5	3.33	3.61	2.37	2.31	1.32	1.19	2.60	0	0	2.75
6	0.45	1.33	1.40	0.42	0	0	1.30	0	0	0.98
7	0.22	0	0.35	0.42	0.33	0	0	0	0	0.22
8	0.22	0.51	1.33	2.10	1.65	0	0.65	0	0	1.109
9	0	0.57	0.28	0.11	0	0	0.65	0	0	0.30
10	0.22	0.19	0.42	0.10	0	0	0	0	0	0.22
11	0.22	0.70	1.05	1.47	0.33	1.19	0.65	0	0	0.88
12	0.22	0.25	0.49	0.52	0.99	0	0	0	0	0.40
13	0.45	0.70	0.28	0.52	6.33	0	1.30	0	0	0.50
14	0	0.95	1.05	0.63	0.66	0	0	0	0	0.75
15	1.55	1.71	2.44	1.68	0.33	0	0	0	0	1.73
16	0	1.01	1.68	1.99	0.66	2.38	0.65	0	0	1.29
17	0.22	0.38	0.91	1.15	2.31	0	0.65	0	0	0.78
18	0	0.89	2.79	1.78	0.99	2.38	0.65	0	0	1.55
19	1.11	2.03	3.35	1.99	1.98	0	0	0	0	2.21
20	5.11	4.75	4.47	4.09	1.98	1.19	1.30	0	6.67	4.74
21	0	0	0	0.21	0.33	0	1.30	0	0	0.10
22	38.6	7.46	20.67	19.60	11.88	9.53	9.09	0	6.67	22.15
23	0	0	12.43	11.64	8.25	4.76	1.30	0	5.57	11.62
24	0	0	3.63	3.04	3.30	0	4.54	0	6.66	3.72
25	0	0	0.98	0.52	0.66	0	0	0	0	0.50
26	0	0	7.33	15.41	27.07	27.38	46.75	50.00	60.0	11.74
27	0	0	2.44	10.67	22.77	26.19	16.23	16.67	13.33	5.65
28	0	0	0.42	1.89	1.98	1.19	0.65	0	0	0.78
29	0	0	4.96	4.82	6.62	15.48	7.11	0	0	0.78

Table - 14. Distribution Level of education by type of occupation of migrants (Percentages)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	(c)
200.60	37.94	24.93	11.65	2.98	0.54	1.09	0.27	0	100
13.64	37.01	45.45	3.25	0.65	0	0	0	0	100
5.92	37.87	38.46	15.98	0.59	1.18	0	0	0	100
5.43	36.20	42.99	13.12	1.36	0.90	0	0	0	100
10.95	41.60	24.82	16.06	2.92	0.73	2.92	0	0	100
4.08	42.86	40.82	8.16	0	0	4.08	0	0	100
9.09	0	45.46	36.36	9.09	0	0	0	0	100
1.85	14.81	35.19	37.04	9.26	0	1.85	0	0	100
0	60.0	26.66	6.67	0	0	6.67	0	0	100
9.09	27.27	54.55	9.09	0	0	0	0	0	100
2.27	25.0	34.10	31.82	2.27	2.27	2.27	0	0	100
5.0	20.0	35.0	25.0	15.0	0	0	0	0	100
8.0	44.0	16.0	20.0	4.0	0	8.0	0	0	100
0	39.47	39.47	15.80	5.26	0	0	0	0	100
8.14	31.40	40.70	18.6	1.16	0	0	0	0	100
0	25.0	37.5	29.69	3.13	3.12	1.56	0	0	100
2.56	15.39	33.33	28.21	17.95	0	2.56	0	0	100
0	18.18	51.95	22.08	3.89	2.60	1.30	0	0	100
4.55	29.09	43.64	17.27	5.45	0	0	0	0	100
10.90	35.55	30.33	18.48	2.85	0.47	0.95	0	0.47	100
0	0	0	40.0	20.0	0	40.0	0	0	100
5.7	35.03	26.86	16.97	3.27	0.72	1.27	0	0.09	100
5.2	30.80	19.20	4.33	0.69	0.35	0	0	0.17	100
16	28.11	25.68	5.41	0	3.78	0	0	0.54	100
56.0	20.0	8.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
0.01	17.98	25.17	14.04	3.94	12.33	0.51	1.54	100	100
8.34	12.45	36.50	24.55	7.83	8.90	0.36	0.71	100	100
1	16.66	50.0	16.67	2.78	2.78	0	0	100	100
33	25.72	16.67	5.07	4.71	3.99	0.36	0	100	100
71	28.	17	6.09	1.69	3.10	0.12	0.3	100	100

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MATRIX OF MIGRANTS MOVEMENT

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Table - 15 . Distribution of type of occupation by sex of migrants. (Percentage)

Occupation	Sex	Male	Female	Total
1	✓	50.41	✓49.59	100
2	✓	9.27	✓90.73	100
3	✓	42.77	✓57.23	100
4	✓	43.64	✓56.36	100
5	✓	71.85	✓28.15	100
6		91.84	8.16	100
7	✓	63.64	✓36.36	100
8		83.33	16.67	100
9		93.33	6.67	100
10		100	0	100
11	✓	75.0	✓25.0	100
12		90.0	10.0	100
13	✓	79.17	✓20.83	100
14		89.19	10.81	100
15		95.35	4.65	100
16		98.44	1.56	100
17		94.87	5.13	100
18		96.05	3.95	100
19	✓	78.50	✓21.50	100
20	✓	77.62	✓22.38	100
21	✓	20.0	✓80.0	100
22	✓	48.76	✓51.24	100
23		95.26	4.74	100
		92.27	7.73	100
		86.96	13.04	100
26		67.42	✓32.58	100
27		81.88	18.12	100
		97.22	✓2.78	100
			26.47	100
				100