

Formal sector internal migration in Myanmar

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Summary: nearly half of all formal sector workers have undertaken significant internal migration for work. A major migration dynamic is the net import of migrant labour, particularly young male migrants, from Ayeawaddy Region to Yangon Region. Migration in the formal sector in the Dry Zone tends to be from one Region in the Dry Zone to another, although there is still a net export of migrant labour from the Dry Zone to Yangon. The majority of migrants send back remittances, confirming the role that remittances have on household economies.

Key findings:

- Over one-third (38.9%) of formal sector workers in sample had migrated for work from one State/Region to another for work
- Nearly half (48.7%) of formal sector workers in the sample had either migrated from one State/Region to another, or had migrated from one part of their native State/region to another for work, with over half of all formal sector workers in Yangon being migrants
- Nearly three quarters (71%) of all migrants to the formal sector are from four regions: Ayeawaddy, Yangon, Mandalay and Bago.
- The majority of migrants in formal sector labour in Yangon are from Ayeawaddy Region, whereas migrants in the Dry Zone tend to be from other States/Regions within the Dry Zone.
- Ayeawaddy Region and the Dry Zone are net exporters of migrant labour to the formal sector, whilst Yangon is a net importer. The majority of the migrants from Ayeawaddy are young men, whereas of the small but significant number of migrants into the Delta, the majority were younger women. Yangon Region imports younger men, but exports older men. Migrants into the Dry Zone tended to be older men, and again, those migrants from the Dry Zone were more likely to be younger women.
- Those migrating to Yangon or the Delta were less likely to migrate with their families than migrants to the Dry Zone. Migrants from the Dry Zone were also more likely to migrate with families. This suggests a difference in pattern of migration to the formal sector, whereby workers in the Dry Zone are more likely to be male, married, and migrate within the Dry Zone with their families.
- Overall, 78% of all formal sector migrants sent back remittances. Rates of remittance sending were highest amongst migrants from Ayeawaddy Region, and amongst workers working in the Dry Zone. Remittance rates for migrants working in Ayeawaddy Region was significantly lower. Younger men were more likely to send back remittances than older men, unmarried women were more likely to send back remittances than married women, and .overall, remittance rates were highest for younger, unmarried migrants.

Background Globally, the estimates of the population of internal and external migrant populations are between 750 million and one billion¹, with continued growth in numbers in the 21st century. The inter-relatedness of migrant labour and certain national or regional economies means that on one hand, certain economies rely heavily on low-cost migrant labour to maintain competitiveness, whilst at the same time, remittances form a major contribution to GDP in numerous countries which supply migrant labour². Recent studies of the Myanmar migrant labour force in Thailand highlight the dependence of certain sectors of the Thai economy on Myanmar migrant labour, where an estimated 3.5 million migrants in either regular or irregular status are in Thailand; roughly 3 million of these migrants are in the labour market. In Thailand, 76 per cent of the total migrant workforce³ is from Myanmar, meaning that Myanmar migrants constitute approximately 7 per cent of Thailand's total working population.⁴ Smaller studies of migration in 6 state/Regions as part of QSEM revealed that migration is a common coping strategy, with 26-30% of all households having a family member migrating, and overall village population migration levels ranging from less than 2% in Shan State to over 10% in Mandalay Region. International, non-seasonal migration was highest in States bordering neighbouring countries, whilst in the central and delta areas, the migration was predominantly internal and seasonal.⁵ Studies from the Dry Zone⁶ show that remittances make up over 10% of all household income, and in 6% of all households was the main source of income. Remittances made up 15% of all income for the poorest households, compared with 5% of income for the richest households.⁷ Female-headed households were twice as likely as male-headed households to be reliant on remittances as the main household income source. Households where remittances were the main source of income were nearly 6 times more likely to be classified as vulnerable than those where remittances were not the main source of income (30.3% vs. 5.3%). Thus, research evidence underscores the significant role of remittances in household income, both from internal and external migration. However, little is known of the scale and patterns of internal migration in the formal sector. Although statistics estimate the formal sector workforce to be around 650,000⁸ (around 2% of the total labour force), this figure is likely to be higher. Given the likely expansion in the formal sector workforce in Myanmar due to the emphasis on industrialization and technology-based industry in the proposed economic reforms, knowledge of current internal migration patterns in the formal sector is vital in order to anticipate future trends.

¹ Skeldon, R (1997) *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective* Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman

² Taylor, E. J. 1999. 'The new economics of labour migration and the role of remittances in the migration process.' *International Migration* 37: 63–88

³ J.H. Huguet and A. Chamratrithirong (eds.), *Thailand Migration Report 2011*, (Bangkok, IOM, 2011).

⁴ Thai Department of Employment, Ministry of Labour IOM Migrant Information Note (MIN), Issue #21 (September 2013)

⁵ LIFT/World Bank (2014) *Qualitative Social and Economic Monitoring (QSEM) Summary of Round Four Report*

⁶ SPPRG Household Survey 2013-14

⁷ Poorest were in the lowest quintile for asset value; richest were in the highest quintile for asset value

⁸ This is based on records from the Social Security Board. However, it is assumed that not all formal sector workers are registered with the SSB. Likewise, the recent verification process identified a significant proportion of workers who were enrolled, but who were no longer working in the sector.

Research objectives & methodology: Much of the research in Myanmar to date has focused either on seasonal, internal migration or external migration. Little is known on the extent to which the formal sector is supported by migrants from other parts of the country, and, given the emphasis on an expansion of industrialized, formal sector employment envisaged by the new economic reforms, an estimate of the current proportion of formal sector workforce which is migrant can help in making projections on likely future migration patterns incurred in response to industrialization. Given those knowledge gaps concerning internal migration in the formal sector, the research proposal was formulated in collaboration with the Social Security Board, under the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security of the Government of the Union of Myanmar, with the objectives to consider the following research questions:

- What is the proportion of the current formal sector workforce which has migrated from one State/Region to another for work?
- What proportion have migrated within their native State/Region for work in the formal sector?
- What are the main giving/receiving States/Regions?
- What are the patterns of remittances

Between December 2013 and December 2014, data was collected from a sample of employees enrolled into the Social Security Board's Social Security system, in tandem with the SSB's own verification process for group members. The proportion of workers in formal sector is currently estimated to be around 2% of the entire workforce of Myanmar, and included factories, offices, and other places of employment with workers registered in the social security scheme. Government workers are also part of the scheme, but were not included in this study, as their migration could be considered less 'voluntary'. A tripartite agreement was signed between the Social Security board, SPPRG and ActionAid to provide funding and questionnaires to SSB, with data entry to be conducted by an IT firm subcontracted by SSB, and analysis and publication to be undertaken by SPPRG. The questionnaire was designed to be anonymized, simple, and to be able to be machine-scanned for rapid data entry. Questionnaires would be handed out to by SSB staff who were conducting the verification process to employees to complete as they waited for the verification process for the social security board membership. Completion was voluntary, and afterwards, completed forms were collected and returned by SSB staff. The form had no aspects which could lead to subsequent identification of either the worker or the factory, and were simply collected by Township. In total, a 10% weighted sample was identified from 650,000 registered workers. Due to catastrophic failures by the subcontracted IT firm⁹, the data entry was delayed 12 months and the usable sample, after weighted adjustment, was 2.5% of the total registered workforce. However, after excluding government staff¹⁰ from the sample the overall sample was 3%, and, at over 15,000, this represents a large enough sample size to satisfy statistical significance. Efforts are being made to secure the remaining data, which will allow more detailed analysis of migration at State and Regional level. The questionnaire is available as Appendix 1. Respondents were asked to indicate age and sex, and then whether they had migrated from another State/Region in order to work here, and if so, from what State/Region. If they had not migrated from another State/region, they were further asked whether they had migrated from a different area of their native State/Region to work. They were asked if they had migrated with their family, whether they sent back

⁹ U Aung Soe Moe

¹⁰ Government staff are included in the social security board, but were not included in the survey as their migration is considered 'involuntary'

remittances, and, if female, a series of questions on workplace practice. Response was voluntary and anonymized, so that no employees were forced, coerced or incentivized to participate. Completed questionnaires were returned to the IT firm for machine reading and coding, after which data was sent to SPPRG for collation and analysis. The final overall sample size was 15,765, and was 55% male and 45% female, with 49% under 25 and 51% over 25, with females sampled were more likely to be over 25 (52.6%) than males (43.5%).

Results

What is the scale of internal migration in the formal sector?

The overall migration rate was 38.9%, suggesting that well over two-thirds of the workforce in the formal sector had migrated from another place. (Table 1) However, when migration within a State/region was included, this figure rose to nearly 50% who reported as having moved either from another State/Region to work, or from the countryside to the city to work. (Table 2).

Table 1: Migration rates (migration from one State/Region to another) by gender and age range

	Male	Female	Total
Under 25	52.7%	38.3%	46.8%
Over 25	38.2%	21.3%	29.8%
Total	46.2%	29.6%	38.9%

Migration rates analyzed by gender showed statistically significant differences in the rates of migration by gender and age group, with the highest rates of migration amongst men aged under 25, and the lowest rates of migration were amongst females over 25.

Table 2: Total internal Migration rates (including those who indicated migrating within their native State/Region)

	Male	Female	Total
Under 25	56.2%	52.2%	55.1%
Over 25	48.7%	35.1%	42.1%
Total	52.8%	43.5%	48.7%

When considering what proportion of workers in different locations are migrants, we can see that migrant labour forms the majority of formal sector labour in Yangon, and a significant minority in both Ayeyarwaddy and the Dry Zone (here, Dry Zone is considered Sagaing, Mandalay, Bago and Magwe Regions)

Table 3: Migration rates from one State/Region to another, showing by current work location

	Male	Female	Total
Ayeyarwaddy	24.3%	51.3%	45.0%
Dry Zone	34.3%	27.8%	30.3%
Yangon	50.5%	56.4%	53.0%

Who are the 'winners' and 'losers' in formal sector internal migration?

When analyzing the place of origin for migration, and the destination (place of work) we can estimate which areas are net importers and which areas are net exporters of migrant labour, and also determine whether there are age and gender differences in the trends. Moreover, by looking at remittance rates, we can also estimate the extent to which areas which export migrant labour will benefit from remittance income. Firstly, by looking at the total migrant population in the sample, we can see that the majority are from Ayeawaddy Region, Yangon Region, Bago Region and Mandalay Region. However, there are interesting variations by age and sex, with Mandalay region providing the largest proportion of over-25 males. (Table 4). This looks at the proportion of ALL the migrants in the sample who are from that State/Region.

Table 4: Migrants (from one State/region to another) as % of all migrants in that category

Migrant source as % of all migrants	Kachin	Kayah	Kayin	Chin	Mon	Sagaing	Mandalay	Magwe	Yangon	Rakhine	Ayeawaddy	Shan	Bago	Tanintharyi
Male <25	0.2%	1.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.6%	0.9%	2.1%	2.7%	1.7%	2.1%	77.9%	0.7%	6.5%	0.8%
Male>25	1.1%	1.5%	3.2%	9.6%	1.9%	10.7%	24.1%	4.8%	21.0%	6.2%	5.9%	1.1%	6.1%	2.8%
Male total	0.6%	1.2%	1.9%	4.5%	1.1%	4.5%	10.3%	3.5%	8.9%	3.6%	51.2%	0.9%	6.3%	1.5%
Female<25	1.4%	1.1%	3.8%	2.4%	1.7%	3.0%	5.5%	9.9%	10.2%	13.2%	26.1%	0.8%	19.2%	1.6%
Female>25	2.5%	0.8%	8.1%	4.2%	3.9%	2.2%	5.6%	10.6%	12.3%	8.1%	26.5%	1.4%	11.7%	2.2%
Female total	1.8%	1.0%	5.3%	3.0%	2.5%	2.7%	5.5%	10.2%	11.0%	11.4%	26.3%	1.0%	16.5%	1.8%
TOTAL	1.0%	1.1%	3.1%	4.0%	1.6%	3.9%	8.7%	5.7%	9.6%	6.2%	42.8%	0.9%	9.8%	1.6%

When analyzed by rates of migrancy according to origin in Table 5 (which measure the proportion of migrants as a percentage of the entire sampled population) a more complex picture emerges, with rates highest amongst those originating from Ayeawaddy, but again showing that the majority of migrants, both male and female, from Ayeawaddy, were younger. Analyzing migrant profiles from places like Sagaing, Mandalay and Magwe, male migrants tended to be older whereas female migrants tended to be younger.

Table 5: Migrancy rates by origin, disaggregated by age and sex

Migrancy rate by source	Kachin	Kayah	Kayin	Chin	Mon	Sagaing	Mandalay	Magwe	Yangon	Rakhine	Ayeawaddy	Shan	Bago	Tanintharyi
Male <25	0.1%	0.5%	0.6%	0.8%	0.3%	0.5%	1.1%	1.4%	0.9%	1.1%	41.1%	0.4%	3.4%	0.4%
Male>25	0.4%	0.6%	1.2%	3.7%	0.7%	4.1%	9.1%	1.8%	8.0%	2.4%	2.2%	0.4%	2.3%	1.0%
Male total	0.3%	0.5%	0.9%	2.1%	0.5%	2.1%	4.7%	1.6%	4.1%	1.7%	23.6%	0.4%	2.9%	0.7%
Female<25	0.5%	0.4%	1.5%	0.9%	0.7%	1.2%	2.1%	3.8%	3.9%	5.1%	10.1%	0.3%	7.4%	0.6%
Female>25	0.5%	0.2%	1.7%	0.9%	0.8%	0.5%	1.2%	2.2%	2.6%	1.7%	5.5%	0.3%	2.4%	0.5%
Female total	0.5%	0.3%	1.6%	0.9%	0.7%	0.8%	1.6%	3.0%	3.2%	3.4%	7.8%	0.3%	4.9%	0.5%
TOTAL	0.4%	0.4%	1.2%	1.6%	0.6%	1.5%	3.4%	2.2%	3.7%	2.4%	16.6%	0.4%	3.8%	0.6%

In order to look at trends and patterns of migration, and determine the net 'winners' and losers' in migration, we analyze the sample according to the place of work and place of origin (Table 6).

Table 6: Migrancy rates by origin, according to region of employment

% of migrants in that area	Kachin	Kayah	Kayin	Chin	Mon	Sagaing	Mandalay	Magwe	Yangon	Rakhine	Ayeyarwaddy	Shan	Bago	Tanintharyi
Ayeyarwaddy	4.2%	7.5%	6.7%	8.3%	0.8%	9.2%	5.8%	10.0%	10.0%	2.5%	21.7%	1.7%	8.3%	3.3%
Dry Zone	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.3%	17.2%	48.4%	0.3%	33.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Yangon	1.0%	1.0%	3.3%	4.2%	1.7%	2.0%	3.9%	6.2%	6.6%	7.2%	49.1%	1.0%	11.0%	1.7%

Looking at migration INTO the Delta and Yangon, we see that migrants into those two areas are from all across the country, but with the highest proportion in Ayeyarwaddy (after intra-Region migration from one part of Ayeyarwaddy to another) are from Yangon Region, Magwe, Sagaing, Bago and Chin. In Yangon Region, almost half the migrant labour is from Ayeyarwaddy Region, with the next biggest provider being Bago Region. However, migrants INTO the Dry Zone (Sagaing, Mandalay, Magwe and Bago Regions) tended to be predominantly from within the Dry Zone itself, particularly Sagaing and Mandalay, with migrants from Yangon being the largest non-Dry Zone provider. Thus in terms of net import/export of migrant labour (Table 7), Ayeyarwaddy Region is a net exporter of migrant labour, sending 13 migrants for every one they received. Yangon is a net importer, receiving 8 migrants for every one they sent; the Dry Zone is a net exporter of migrant labour, sending 8 labourers for every one they receive. In many ways, this is consistent with the relative size of the formal sector, whereby, based on the numbers of workers registered in the social security system, the formal sector in Yangon is 21 times larger than Ayeyarwaddy Region, and nearly twice as large as the Dry Zone.

Table 7: Ratio of inbound and outbound migration by current location

	Ayeyarwaddy	Dry Zone	Yangon
Net import/export of migrant labour as ratio	In-bound/Outbound ratio		
M <25	1: 60	1: 75	35: 1
M >25	1: 3	1: 3	2: 1
Male total	1: 32	1: 5	8: 1
F <25	1: 4	1: 239	8: 1
F >25	1: 4	1: 108 ¹¹	7: 1
Female total	1: 4	1: 173	8: 1
Overall	1: 13	1: 8	8: 1

¹¹ small numbers of female migrants in the Dry Zone means that the ratios are not statistically significant for female migrants in the Dry Zone

Analysis of disaggregated data as shown in Table 8 demonstrates a more complex picture of the net import/export of migrant labour, whereby the major movement of labour is by males under 25 from the Delta and the Dry Zone to Yangon. Although the ratios of inbound: outbound women migrants to and from the Dry Zone are very high, suggesting a significant exodus, the actual numbers are small. In fact, in the entire sample there were no recorded female migrants to the Dry Zone from other States/Regions outside the Dry Zone.

Table 8: Migrant profile of migrants to/ from regions, as % of all migrants working in that region/from that region

Migrant Profile as % of all migrants to/from region	Ayearwaddy		Dry Zone		Yangon	
	In-bound	Out-bound	In-bound	Out-bound	In-bound	Out-bound
M <25	17.0%	75.9%	1.9%	18.1%	52.1%	11.3%
M >25	16.0%	3.4%	98.1%	40.0%	11.8%	52.2%
Male total	33.0%	79.3%	100.0%	58.1%	63.8%	63.5%
F <25	41.5%	13.1%	0.0%	28.8%	23.2%	21.5%
F >25	25.5%	7.5%	0.0%	13.0%	12.9%	15.0%
Female total	67.0%	20.7%	0.0%	41.9%	36.2%	36.5%

Table 8 illustrates the sex and age breakdown of migrants to and from regions, again showing that the majority of the migrants from the Delta are young men, whereas of the small but significant number of migrants into the Delta, the majority were younger women. Yangon Region imports younger men, but exports older men. Migrants into the Dry Zone tended to be older men, and again, those migrants from the Dry Zone were more likely to be younger women. These two tables demonstrate that although there is an overall exchange of formal sector labour between different regions, that exchange of both uneven in terms of numbers, and also in terms of the profile of migrants.

Who is migrating?

Just over one quarter of all migrants reported migrating with their families. However, this was more likely amongst migrants who had migrated TO the Dry Zone, especially older male migrants. Female migrants working in Yangon were also more likely to report having migrated with their families.

Table 9: proportion of migrants who migrated with family by current location

	Ayearwaddy	Dry Zone	Yangon	All areas
Male <25	0.0%	0.3%	6.2%	
Male >25	11.1%	57.9%	13.0%	
Male total	11.1%	58.2%	19.3%	
Female <25	1.2%	1.2%	16.4%	
Female >25	6.0%	0.0%	17.3%	
Female total	7.1%	1.2%	33.7%	
TOTAL	8.3%	40.1%	25.3%	26.8%

When analyzing by point of origin, migrants from Mandalay and Sagaing were more likely to migrate with their families, and again, proportions were higher amongst older male migrants. A large cohort of young male migrants from Ayeawaddy Region migrated without their families, and this group forms a large segment of the overall migrant population in the formal sector. This points to a possible difference in the demographics and dynamics of migration both to and from the Dry Zone, as compared to Ayeawaddy Region.

Table 10: proportion of migrants who migrated with family according to origin, as percentage of migrants in the category who reported migrating with their families

Proportion in category who migrated with family	Kachin	Kayah	Kayin	Chin	Mon	Sagaing	Mandalay	Magwe	Yangon	Rakhine	Ayeawaddy	Shan	Bago	Tanintharyi
Male <25	0.0%	33.3%	38.5%	43.8%	57.1%	36.4%	42.3%	25.0%	38.1%	38.5%	1.1%	55.6%	5.2%	60.0%
Male >25	75.0%	27.3%	31.8%	11.8%	57.1%	82.1%	92.5%	39.4%	17.1%	86.4%	40.5%	50.0%	43.9%	40.0%
Male total	54.5%	30.4%	34.3%	17.9%	57.1%	76.4%	86.0%	32.3%	19.8%	68.6%	2.8%	52.9%	18.6%	46.7%
Female <25	0.0%	14.3%	36.4%	15.4%	60.0%	15.8%	27.3%	16.9%	41.0%	25.9%	23.0%	50.0%	12.1%	11.1%
Female >25	33.3%	50.0%	50.0%	35.7%	69.2%	75.0%	42.1%	30.6%	63.4%	42.3%	42.4%	20.0%	31.0%	62.5%
Female total	17.6%	22.2%	43.5%	25.9%	65.2%	33.3%	32.7%	22.1%	50.0%	29.9%	30.0%	33.3%	17.1%	35.3%
TOTAL	32.1%	28.1%	39.5%	19.8%	61.4%	66.4%	75.0%	26.3%	31.2%	45.2%	8.3%	46.2%	17.8%	42.6%

Where's the money coming from (and going to)?

Finally, we examined the extent to which migrant workers in the formal sector reported sending money back to families, as an indication of potential remittance flow from cities to rural areas. Overall, the majority of migrants do send remittance back to families, particularly those in the Dry Zone and Yangon. However, the proportion of formal sector migrants working in Ayeawaddy Region who sent back remittances was much lower.

Table 11: percentage of migrants who send remittance back to family by current place of work

	Ayeawaddy	Dry Zone	Yangon	Total
Male <25	2.9%	0.9%	62.6%	
Male >25	26.5%	93.1%	13.4%	
Male total	29.4%	94.0%	76.0%	
Female <25	9.0%	0.0%	51.0%	
Female >25	6.4%	40.0%	33.3%	
Female total	15.4%	40.0%	84.3%	
TOTAL	19.6%	91.7%	78.8%	78%

When analyzed in terms of place of origin of the migrant worker (and hence, probable destination of the remittance, again we can see that in most areas, the majority of migrants send remittances back to families, with the highest rate being in Ayeawaddy Region, and lower rates for migrants from States like Chin and Kayah, as well as Bago and Sagaing Regions.

Table 12: Proportion of migrants sending back remittances, by origin

Proportion in category who send back remittance	Kachin	Kayah	Kayin	Chin	Mon	Sagaing	Mandalay	Magwe	Yangon	Rakhine	Ayeawaddy	Shan	Bago	Tanintharyi
Male <25	66.7%	75.0%	38.5%	56.3%	100.0%	50.0%	64.0%	53.1%	55.6%	66.7%	98.8%	50.0%	15.6%	71.4%
Male >25	85.7%	22.2%	66.7%	27.3%	60.0%	52.6%	72.0%	71.4%	85.9%	100.0%	72.2%	62.5%	60.5%	73.3%
Male total	80.0%	52.4%	55.9%	32.9%	71.4%	51.7%	68.0%	61.7%	82.5%	80.5%	97.9%	56.3%	30.4%	72.7%
Female <25	37.5%	42.9%	63.6%	53.8%	90.0%	55.6%	72.4%	86.4%	89.5%	92.2%	82.5%	75.0%	93.0%	66.7%
Female >25	50.0%	50.0%	83.3%	78.6%	92.3%	85.7%	73.3%	81.1%	73.3%	83.3%	72.3%	75.0%	73.0%	62.5%
Female total	43.8%	44.4%	73.9%	66.7%	91.3%	64.0%	72.7%	84.4%	83.9%	90.1%	78.9%	75.0%	88.2%	64.7%
TOTAL	57.7%	50.0%	66.3%	41.3%	83.8%	57.4%	70.2%	75.6%	83.0%	87.3%	94.2%	62.5%	63.3%	69.2%

There was very strong correlation between age under 25 and sending remittances for men, but the correlation was less strong for women. Unmarried women were more likely to send back remittances than married women. Overall, male migrants were more likely to be married than female migrants, and not surprisingly, married migrants were more likely to report having migrated with their families. Although remittance rates were higher for younger, unmarried migrants, overall rates were high, except for male migrants over 25.

Table 13: migration rates and remittance rates by age, sex and marital status

	% Migrants		Migrated with family		Send remittances	
	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single	Married
Male <25	49%	25%	3%	56%	93%	60%
Male >25	32%	38%	15%	65%	76%	26%
Female <25	41%	14%	18%	57%	77%	58%
Female >25	24%	14%	32%	53%	74%	51%

Discussion and conclusions:

This study identifies a significant feature of internal migration, illustrating that almost half of the formal sector workers sample had migrated for work, with a substantial trend to workers moving to Yangon for work. Given that a quarter of these moved with their families, this represents a significant movement of labour and people within the country. Also, given than the majority are sending remittances back to family,

this also represents a significant source of household income for labour exporting areas. Three factors, however, make it difficult to extrapolate the findings to predict likely future scale of migration for formal sector work in the case of increased industrialization. Firstly, a major factor would be the locations of such industrial expansion, which would necessarily influence the labour flow. If, for example, major industrial development took place in Ayeawaddy Region, that could result in more localized migration. Secondly, another factor is the type of industrialization, influencing the labour skill requirements. Thirdly, at some point the labour 'pull' from the formal sector will significantly compete with labour 'pull' from both non-formal sectors within the country, and also formal and non-formal sectors in other countries which typically attract Myanmar migrant labour. To what extent is the labour pool, or sections of it, are limited in terms of skills, mobility and willingness to migrate for work? However, by combining the findings from this study with data and projections from industry, we can develop different projections for internal formal sector based on a range of scenarios.

Three findings of interest from this study also merit further discussion. Firstly, there is the trend of younger age migrants from Ayeawaddy Region going to work in Yangon, whereas migrants going from other places to the Dry Zone tended to be older. There are two possible explanations for this trend. The nature of the formal sector into which migrants are moving may be different, with different skill requirements. At present, the data does not allow for analysis according to industrial sector. Secondly, it is possible that workers from the Delta migrating to Yangon may well represent newer, younger migrants moving into newly created industrial jobs in Yangon, whereas migrants to the Dry Zone may represent more qualified workers, or workers who migrated several years ago. Again, where a significant number of recorded migrants in the Dry Zone were those who moved from one Region to another in the Dry Zone (e.g. from Sagaing to Mandalay), these also were almost all men over 25 years of age. This is the second interesting observation, whereby migration in the Dry Zone was more localized, and tended to be older, married men moving with their families-with almost no female migrants in the Dry Zone. Again, industrial sector analysis could help, as well as recording of the time of migration. However, statistical analysis demonstrates that this represents a significant difference. Although the Dry Zone represents a net exporter of migrant labour, it also appears to have a different pattern of migration than other parts of the country. The final observation of interest Overall, though, it appears that the pattern of formal sector migration is different in different parts of the country. This may reflect differing labour market demands, or may reflect particular trends in broader labour force movement. The final point of note is the differences in remittance rates, with workers in Ayeawaddy Region, despite being less likely to have migrated with their families, being far less likely than migrants in other areas to send remittances back to families. This could reflect differences in remuneration of workers, or possibly increased difficulties in sending remittances back as compared to those working in larger metropolitan areas like Yangon or Mandalay.

The large sample size of this study permitted rigorous demonstration of statistical significance for comparisons between sub-groups, but it is hoped that release of the larger data set by the subcontracted IT firm will allow for more detailed comparisons of different States and Regions, particularly in the Dry Zone.