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# Trends in Migration and Urbanization in Selected ESCAP Countries

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION  
FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC  
BANGKOK, THAILAND



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1988

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## PREFACE

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## I. THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA



## INTRODUCTION

Over the past three decades the Republic of Korea has transformed itself from a physically devastated country into a developed country with a thriving economy and a rapid pace of social and demographic change. Internal migration has played an integral part in that development, both reflecting and contributing to it.

The Second World War and the Korean conflict, 1950-1953, caused major population dislocations on the Korean peninsula. Later the predominant flow of migration was from rural to urban areas as national economic development strategies promoted industrialization. By 1980 most migration in the country was between urban areas.

Migration trends have been recorded by quinquennial censuses of population and a national migration survey. The 1960 census recorded place of birth and the 1970 census added residence five years previously. By 1980 the census asked place of birth, and residence one and five years prior to the census, as well as questions regarding commuting. In 1983 the National Bureau of Statistics and the Korea Institute for Population and Health conducted the Korean National Migration Survey, which obtained information on a large number of aspects of migration, including reason for moving, assistance related to migration, satisfaction with move and future migration plans. A summary report and second-stage analysis from the survey have been published.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this paper is to highlight the major findings of the recent censuses and survey regarding internal migration and urbanization trends in the Republic of Korea.

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<sup>1</sup> The Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics (NBOS), Economic Planning Board (EPB); and Korea Institute for Population and Health (KIPH), *The Korean National Migration Survey 1983, The First Country Report* (Seoul, 1985).

The Republic of Korea, KIPH; NBOS, EPB; and United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), *International Symposium on National Migration Surveys in Asia*, Seoul, 17-19 April 1985 (Seoul, 1985).

Ehn Hyun Choe, Young Il Chung and Yong Chan Byun, eds., *Internal Migration and Socio-economic Development - Secondary Analysis of National Migration Survey* (Seoul, KIPH; NBOS, EPB; and UNFPA, 1986).

## A. RECENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT\*

### 1. Economic growth and structural changes

It is important to place any review of migration in the Republic of Korea in the context of the thorough socio-economic changes that have occurred there in the recent past. The country that emerged from the Second World War and the Korean conflict was in a desperate situation. Thirty to forty per cent of the total capital stock had been destroyed. Fewer than 10 per cent of adult males had studied beyond primary school. Rural family and village organization was virtually destroyed by the dislocations of the Korean conflict.<sup>2</sup>

In 1955 only 14 per cent of the gross national product was contributed by manufacturing and construction, while 44 per cent was from agriculture. The country had very limited natural resources, with no petroleum.

The Government of the Republic of Korea has charted its economic and social development with a series of five-year development plans, the first of which was implemented in 1962-1966. To compensate for its lack of natural resources, the country has followed a development strategy of labour-intensive manufacturing for export. This approach, in conjunction with a firm commitment to development and an adaptable and industrious labour force, has produced a high rate of economic growth over the past two and a half decades (table 1).

From 1960 to 1983, Korea maintained an average annual growth rate of the gross national product (GNP) in real terms of 8.1 per cent. When this is discounted for the average rate of population growth of 2.0 per cent a year, the per capita GNP has achieved a real growth rate of 6.0 per cent since 1960.

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\* Portions of this section were contributed by Ehn Hyun Choe, Young Il Chung and Yong Chan Byun of the Korea Institute for Population and Health.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Repetto, "Socio-economic influences on the fertility decline in Korea" in Robert Repetto, et al., *Economic Development, Population Policy, and Demographic Transition in the Republic of Korea*, Studies in the Modernization of the Republic of Korea: 1945-1975 (Cambridge, Massachusetts; Harvard University Council on East Asian Studies, 1981).

Table 1. Republic of Korea, economic and population growth, 1960-1984

Year	Gross national product at constant prices		Population		Gross national product per capita	
	Index	Average growth rate (per cent)	Total (thousands)	Average growth rate (per cent)	Index	Average growth rate (per cent)
1960	100		25 012		100	
1965	137	6.3	28 705	2.8	119	3.5
1970	232	10.5	32 241	2.3	180	8.3
1975	357	8.6	35 281	1.8	253	6.8
1980	505	6.9	38 124	1.5	331	5.4
1984	667	7.0	40 578	1.6	412	5.5

Source: Calculated from Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *Korea Statistical Yearbook* (various years) (Seoul).

In 1961, per capita GNP equalled \$US 82 (at current prices). This had reached \$316 in 1972 and \$1,999 in 1984.

Rapid economic growth has entailed a major transformation of the society in the last two decades. The importance of agriculture has been halved over that period while that of manufacturing and exports has increased dramatically (table 2). The value of industrial production (at current market prices) increased by 170 per cent from 1965 to 1970 and again from 1970 to 1975. Industrial production doubled between 1975 and 1980.

The contribution of exports of goods and services to gross national production increased tenfold from 3.3 per cent in 1960 to 37.7 per cent in 1980. During that time, the share of GNP contributed by the secondary sector (defined as mining, manufacturing, construction, electricity and gas) more than doubled from under 20 per cent to over 40 per cent. The proportion of GNP deriving from the primary sector was halved to about 16 per cent in 1980.

These changes in economic production have been reflected in similar changes in the industrial distribution of the labour force. Whereas in 1960 two thirds of workers were in the primary sector (agriculture, forestry and fishing), by 1980 only about one third were. An especially precipitous decline in the proportion of primary sector workers occurred

between 1975 and 1980 when their percentage dropped from 46 to 34. During that period the number of workers in the primary sector declined by 14 per cent from 5.42 million to 4.66 million, or by more than 150,000 workers per year.

Of the decline in the proportion of primary sector workers from 1960 to 1980, 60 per cent was absorbed by the secondary sector and 40 per cent by the tertiary sector. The proportion of workers in the secondary sector tripled from 9.3 to 28.7 per cent between 1960 and 1980, while the proportion in the tertiary sector increased from 24 to 37 per cent.

## 2. Demographic transition

This restructuring of production and employment was accompanied by great demographic and social changes. Prior to the Korean conflict there was little change in fertility; the crude birth rate (CBR) averaged 42 per thousand population between 1910 and 1950.<sup>3</sup> Between 1950 and 1955 the CBR averaged 40. After the conflict, a short-lived recovery in fertility occurred so that the CBR reached a peak perhaps as high as 47 in 1959 and averaged 45 during the period 1955-1960.

<sup>3</sup> Tai Hwan Kwon, *et al.*, *The Population of Korea* (Seoul, The Population and Development Studies Center, Seoul National University, 1975), p. 12.

**Table 2. Structural indicators of the economy of the Republic of Korea, 1960-1981**

Indicator	Year					
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981
Index number of industrial production <sup>a</sup>	100	178	485	1,300	2,727	3,012
Exports as a percentage of GNP <sup>b</sup>	3.3	8.5	14.7	28.1	37.7	41.4
Industrial composition of GNP <sup>b,c</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Primary	35.2	38.1	28.0	24.9	16.3	17.9
Secondary	19.8	24.6	30.1	34.3	41.7	40.9
Tertiary	45.0	37.3	41.9	40.8	42.2	41.3
Industrial distribution of labour force <sup>d,e</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Primary	66.5	58.7	51.0	45.9	34.0	34.2
Secondary	9.3	13.2	20.0	23.4	28.7	27.6
Tertiary	24.2	28.1	29.2	30.7	37.3	38.2

Source: Calculated from Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *Korea Statistical Yearbook* (various years) (Seoul).

<sup>a</sup> Including mining, manufacturing and electricity.

<sup>b</sup> At current market prices.

<sup>c</sup> Primary: agriculture, forestry and fishing.

Secondary: mining, manufacturing, construction, electricity and gas.

Tertiary: water and sanitation; transportation, storage and communication; wholesale and retail trade; banking, insurance and real estate; ownership of dwellings; public administration and defence; services; and rest of the world.

<sup>d</sup> The same industrial categories as in c, except that electricity and gas are in the tertiary sector.

<sup>e</sup> Employed persons aged 14 and over (13 in 1960).

Mortality, on the other hand, had declined steadily during the first third of the twentieth century. The crude death rate (CDR) fell from 34 per thousand in 1910-1915 to an average of 23 between 1935 and 1950. The Korean conflict resulted in an excess of deaths estimated at 1.6 million in the south<sup>4</sup> and raised the CDR for 1950-1955 to 33. After the war, mortality immediately declined to levels much lower than before the war, with the CDR equalling 16 in 1955-1960.

Both fertility and mortality declined rapidly coincident with the initiation of the Government's policy of planned economic development during the 1960s. There is a sizeable range in estimates of past levels of fertility and mortality, but all series of estimates confirm large decreases between 1960 and 1975, after which declines have been much more gradual since low levels have been achieved (table 3).

Estimates of the CBR in 1959 range from 43 to 47, but by 1970 it had fallen to about 30. The CBR declined further to 23 in 1980. In the near future, further declines in the CBR will be difficult to achieve because the large cohorts of women born during the post-conflict recovery in fertility will be reaching their prime child-bearing years. Although the CBR appears to have levelled off in about 1980, the total fertility rate has continued to fall and was estimated at 2.7 children in 1982.

The crude death rate fell from an estimate of 14.6 in 1960 to 9.0 in 1970 and to 6.7 in 1980. Further reductions in the CDR will also be difficult to achieve because of the age structure, although life expectancy can be expected to continue increasing steadily.

### 3. Social changes

The Government's five-year development plans have induced substantial social as well

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Table 3. Estimates of fertility and mortality in the Republic of Korea, 1960-1982

Indicator	Year					
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1982
Crude birth rate	43.0 <sup>a</sup>	37.0 <sup>a</sup>	30.0 <sup>a</sup>	24.6 <sup>b</sup>	23.4 <sup>b</sup>	23.3 <sup>b</sup>
Crude death rate	14.6 <sup>c</sup>	11 <sup>c</sup> (1966)	9.0 <sup>d</sup>	7.3 <sup>b</sup>	6.7 <sup>b</sup>	6.5 <sup>b</sup>
Total fertility rate	6.0 <sup>c</sup>	5.3 <sup>e</sup>	4.4 <sup>e</sup>	3.5 <sup>c</sup>		2.7 <sup>f</sup>
Male life expectancy	51.9 <sup>g</sup>	57.7 <sup>g</sup>	59.8 <sup>d</sup>	61.5 <sup>h</sup>	62.7 <sup>b</sup> (1978-79)	
Female life expectancy	55.7 <sup>g</sup>	62.3 <sup>g</sup>	66.7 <sup>d</sup>	68.1 <sup>h</sup>	69.1 <sup>b</sup> (1978-79)	

<sup>a</sup> Korean Institute for Family Planning, *Statistics on Population and Family Planning in Korea*, vol. 1, December 1978 (Seoul), p. 137.

<sup>b</sup> Republic of Korea, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, *Yearbook of Public Health and Social Statistics 1982, and 1983* (Seoul, 1982 and 1983) p. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Sawon Hong, *Population Status Report: Korea* (Seoul, Korea Development Institute, 1978), pp. 12, 16, 140.

<sup>d</sup> Republic of Korea, *op. cit.* in footnote b, for 1981.

<sup>e</sup> Tai Hwan Kwon, "The Historical Background to Korea's Demographic Transition," ch. 2 in Robert Repetto, *et al.*, *Economic Development, Population Policy, and Demographic Transition in the Republic of Korea* (Cambridge, Harvard University Council on East Asian Studies, 1981), p. 25.

<sup>f</sup> Korea Institute for Population and Health, 1982 National Family Health Survey (unpublished data).

<sup>g</sup> Interpolated from estimates presented in source cited in footnote c.

<sup>h</sup> Interpolated between 1970 and 1978-1979 estimates.

as economic and demographic changes since 1960. Health and education services have been expanded greatly. A steadily rising age at first marriage is an indicator of a fundamental change in society. The mean age at marriage in the Republic of Korea increased by 2.4 years between 1960 and 1980, from 21.5 to 23.9 years (table 4).

The total population divided by the number of physicians may serve as a summary indicator of health services. As may be observed from table 4, that ratio was nearly halved between 1960 and 1980, from 3,200 to 1,700. The number of licensed physicians tripled from 7,765 in 1960 to 23,742 in 1981. The impression that health care was steadily being improved is confirmed by the increases in life expectancy between 1960 and 1980 noted in table 3. In addition, the infant mortality rate declined from 56.3 in 1960 to 36.8 in 1980.

The educational level has made impressive gains since 1960. One indicator of educational progress is presented in table 4, the enrolment ratio of second level schools, taken as middle schools, general high schools and

vocational high schools. The gross enrolment ratio tripled between 1960 and 1980. Especially large increases were achieved after 1970. In 1970, 38 per cent of all persons ages 12-17 were enrolled in school. By 1980, this figure had risen to 74 per cent. Another indication of basic social change during the past two decades is the rapid increase in the enrolment ratios of females. In 1960, the female enrolment ratio was less than 40 per cent of the level of the male ratio. In 1965 it had increased to about 60 per cent of the male level and in 1980 it was 90 per cent of the male level.

## B. URBANIZATION AND MIGRATION\*

### 1. Urbanization

The political disturbances that Koreans have been subjected to during this century have forced them to be a highly mobile population. The Korean conflict, 1950-1953,

\* Portions of this section were contributed by Ehn Hyun Choe, Young Il Chung and Yong Chan Byun of the Korea Institute for Population and Health.

Table 4. The Republic of Korea, selected social indicators, 1960-1980

Indicator	Year				
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Singulate mean age at marriage <sup>a</sup>	21.5	22.9(1966)	23.3	23.7	23.9
Population per physician <sup>b</sup>	3 221	2 645	2 159	2 100	1 690
Second level school enrolment ratios <sup>c</sup>					
Gross: Total	27	35	43	57	82
Males	38	44	52	66	85
Females	14	25	34	49	77
Net:					
Total	—	31	38	53	74
Males	—	38	46	60	77
Females	—	23	31	45	70

<sup>a</sup> Calculated from population census data.

<sup>b</sup> Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *Korea Statistical Yearbook*, various years (Seoul).

<sup>c</sup> Second level consists of middle school, general high school and vocational high school. Gross ratios are all students at the second level divided by persons aged 12-17 (x100) while net ratios are students aged 12-17 divided by population 12-17 (x100).

Sources: 1960, 1965: *UNESCO Yearbook*, 1977.

1970, 1975: *UNESCO Yearbook*, 1980.

1980: Republic of Korea, Economic Planning Board, *Social Indicators in Korea 1983* (Seoul, 1983) and Republic of Korea, Ministry of Education, *Statistical Yearbook of Education 1980* (Seoul).

witnessed mass exchanges of population. Kwon has estimated that 286,000 persons moved to the north while 646,000 moved south, representing a net increase of 360,000 persons for the south.<sup>5</sup> In addition, it is estimated that about one quarter of the population in the south was dislocated at some time during the war. Thus, at the time of the armistice, the Republic of Korea had a very unsettled population. As will be seen in the following sections, the population has continued to migrate at a high rate during the more recent period of rapid socio-economic development.

As would be expected for a country that has been industrializing at a fast pace, the Republic of Korea is also rapidly urbanizing. The proportion of its population living in urban areas has doubled from 28 per cent in 1960 to 60 per cent in 1980 (table 5). The definition of urban employed in table 5 is all *si* (designated cities) at the time of a census

plus all *eub* (county seats) with a population of 50,000 or more. Were a broader definition of urban used, to include all *eub* of 20,000 or more, the proportion urban in 1980 would equal 66.4 per cent (refer to map 1).

The high growth rates since 1960 of the four largest cities and of the aggregate of other urban areas are presented in table 5. Seoul's growth was considerably faster than that of the other large cities between 1960 and 1970 but has slowed considerably since then so that by 1975-1980 Seoul's growth rate was lower than that of the other large cities and of the other urban areas as well. Seoul's population was 9.2 million in October 1983 and had grown by 3.23 per cent over the previous year. The growth rates of Busan and Daegu also peaked in 1966-1970 while that of other urban areas did so in 1970-1975. Incheon, however, recorded a higher growth rate in 1975-1980 than in the earlier periods. Although the rate of growth of the urban population has been declining since 1966-1970, the depopulation of the rural areas

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*



Table 5. Percentage urban<sup>a</sup>, city and other urban size and growth rates, Republic of Korea, 1960-1980

	Percentage urban	Seoul	Busan	Daegu	Incheon	Other urban	Non-urban areas	
		<i>Size in thousands</i>					<i>n</i>	
1960	28.1	2 445	1 164	676	401	(29)	2 327	17 941
1966	34.4	3 805	1 430	847	529	(23)	3 418	19 131
1970	41.4	5 536	1 881	1 083	646	(39)	3 866	18 423
1975	50.9	6 889	2 454	1 311	800	(46)	6 204	17 051
1980	60.0	8 364	3 160	1 605	1 084	(52)	8 246	14 977
		<i>Average annual rate of growth</i>						
1960-1966		7.58	3.53	3.87	4.75		6.59	1.10
1966-1970		9.37	6.85	6.14	5.00		3.08	-0.94
1970-1975		4.37	5.32	3.82	4.28		9.46	-1.55
1975-1980		3.82	4.97	3.98	5.98		5.60	-2.55

Sources: Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Migration, Urbanization and Development in the Republic of Korea* (Bangkok, 1980), p. 8.

Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *1980 Population and Housing Census Report*, vol. 1, *Complete Enumeration*, 12-1 *Whole Country* (Seoul, December 1982), pp. 22-29, 265.

<sup>a</sup> Urban is defined as all *si* plus those *eub* with a population over 50,000.

has gained momentum. The rural population decreased by over 2.0 million between 1975 and 1980, experiencing a negative growth rate of 2.55 per cent.

In the great majority of developing countries, net migration contributes less than half of total urban growth. A United Nations study found that the percentage of urban growth attributable to internal migration and reclassification (of previously rural areas to urban areas) averaged under 40 per cent for three countries in Africa, nine countries in Northern America, and nine countries in South America, and averaged 46.6 per cent for 11 countries in Asia.<sup>6</sup>

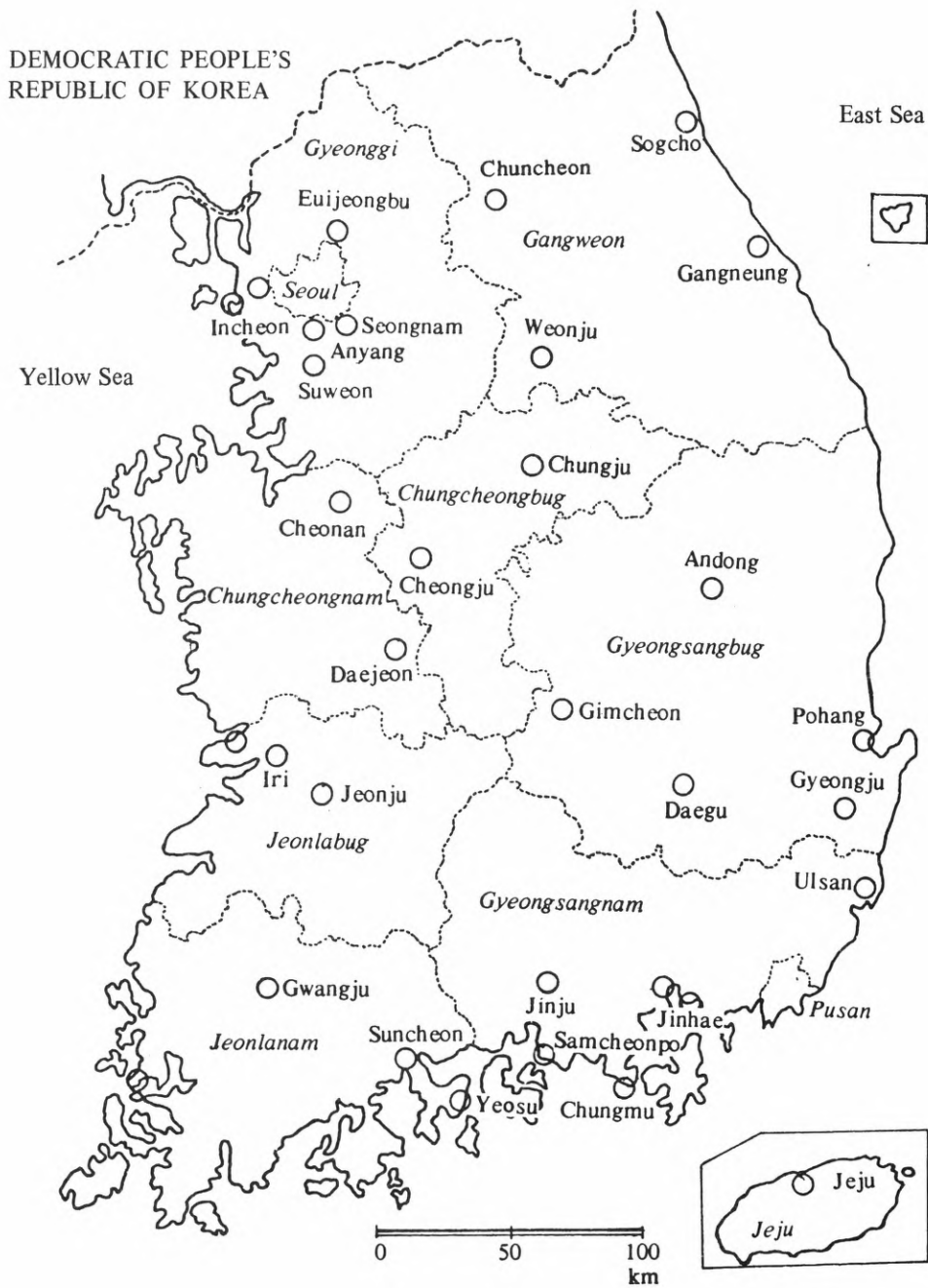
In contrast, in the Republic of Korea migration, annexation and reclassification together have accounted for approximately 70 per cent of urban growth since 1960 (table 6), and this is a conservative estimate because of the restrictive definition of urban

used. Migration and annexation accounted for 78 per cent of Seoul's growth in the period 1960-1970 and 63 per cent in the period 1970-1980. The percentages for Busan were 60 and 72. Between 1960 and 1970, 69 per cent of urban growth was attributable to migration, annexation and reclassification.

Similar calculations are made for 1970 to 1980 employing an urban definition of cities with a population over 50,000. It was not possible to calculate precisely the population in cities reclassified as urban, but it was estimated to be 1.5 million. If it is assumed that the urban rate of natural increase equalled the national rate of 1.73 per cent, then 58 per cent of the urban growth between 1970 and 1980 was due to migration and annexation and another 16 per cent was due to reclassification. For rural areas, the same calculations indicate that natural increase between 1970 and 1980 amounted to 3.5 million persons but that reclassification resulted in a loss of 1.5 million persons and out-migration in a loss of another 5.5 million. In sum, the population of the rural

<sup>6</sup> *Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E. 79. XIII.9), p. 24.

Map 1. Provinces and cities of the Republic of Korea



The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

..... Boundary of province  
 ○ Location of city

Source: Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Population of the Republic of Korea*, Country Monograph Series No. 2 (Bangkok, 1975), p. 6.

Table 6. Components of city and urban growth in the Republic of Korea, 1960-1980

(in percentages)

	1960-1970			Total
	Natural increase	Net migration	Annexation and reclassification	
Seoul	21.7	73.1	5.1	100.0
Busan	40.4	53.3	6.3	100.0
All urban (32 cities)	31.1	60.5	8.4	100.0
	1970-1980			Total
	Natural increase	Net migration and annexation	Reclassification <sup>a</sup>	
Seoul	37.3	62.7	—	100.0
Busan	28.0	72.0	—	100.0
Daegu	39.5	60.5	—	100.0
Incheon	28.1	71.9	—	100.0
Other urban	16.8	49.0	34.2	100.0
All urban (56 cities)	26.2	57.9	15.9	100.0

Source: Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Migration, Urbanization and Development in the Republic of Korea* (Bangkok, 1980), pp. 8-9 and 32-33.

<sup>a</sup> Assuming a total of 1.5 million persons in *eub* reaching a population of 50,000 between 1970 and 1980.

areas decreased by nearly 3.5 million persons during that period.

## 2. Migration

As implied in the preceding section, the population of the Republic of Korea is highly mobile. If migration is defined as a move between districts (*gu, si or gun*) in the five years preceding the census, it may be observed from table 7 that migration rates have nearly doubled from 12.1 per cent of the population in 1966 to 23.2 per cent in 1980. An especially large increase in the proportion migrating occurred between 1975 and 1980.

A slightly greater proportion of females than of males has been defined as migrants in the last four censuses. Perhaps because the Republic of Korea has well-developed transportation and communication systems and is not a large country, distance is not

a great barrier to movement. Interprovincial migration has nearly equalled or exceeded intraprovincial migration since 1961-1966.

The census measurement of migration is, in fact, a sizable underestimate for two reasons. First, multiple moves by an individual during the five years prior to a census are not measured. In the one-year period prior to the 1980 census, 7.9 per cent of males, 8.2 per cent of females and 8.1 per cent of the total population aged five and over migrated. If these are representative annual rates, the number of moves over a five-year period would be about 40 per cent of the population, rather than the 22-24 per cent recorded by the 1980 census.

Secondly, the census does not measure moves within a district. An indication of the importance of this type of migration was given by the 1966 census which found that 11 per cent of the population aged five and over were living in different houses in the

**Table 7. Percentage of population aged five and over who migrated during five years prior to census, by distance category and sex, for 1966, 1970, 1975 and 1980**

Census year and distance category	Male	Female	Total
<i>1966</i>			
Total percentage migrating	11.6	12.6	12.1
Intraprovincial	6.0	6.4	6.2
Interprovincial	5.6	6.2	5.9
<i>1970</i>			
Total percentage migrating	16.0	16.4	16.2
Intraprovincial	7.1	7.0	7.1
Interprovincial	8.9	9.4	9.1
<i>1975</i>			
Total percentage migrating	16.6	18.1	17.4
Intraprovincial	7.9	8.2	8.1
Interprovincial	8.8	9.9	9.3
<i>1980</i>			
Total percentage migrating	22.6	23.8	23.2
Intraprovincial	11.7	12.0	11.8
Interprovincial	10.9	11.8	11.4

*Sources:* For 1966 and 1970, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Population of the Republic of Korea*, Country Monograph Series No. 2 (Bangkok, 1975), p. 139.

For 1975: Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *1975 Population and Housing Census Report*, vol. 2, *Five Per cent Sample Survey*, 3-3, *Internal Migration and Housing* (Seoul, August 1978).

For 1980: Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *1980 Population and Housing Census Report*, vol. 2, *15 Per cent Sample Survey*, 3-3, *Internal Migration* (Seoul, December 1982).

*Note:* Migration is defined as a change of residence between *gu*, *si*, or *gun*. Provinces are defined as the nine provinces plus the two special cities of Seoul and Busan.

same district as in 1961.<sup>7</sup> If moving to another house were defined as migration, the five-year rate would have been 23 per cent, rather than the 12 per cent reported by the 1966 census.

As the Republic of Korea has become more urbanized, rural-to-urban migration has decreased in importance and urban-to-urban migration has become the dominant flow, now comprising more than half of all migration. If migration is defined as interdistrict moves within the last five years and urban defined as all *si*, migrants as measured by the 1970 and 1980 censuses could be categorized as follows:

	1970 <sup>8</sup> (per cent)	1980 <sup>9</sup> (per cent)
Rural-rural	14.7	7.3
Rural-urban	42.2	33.1
Urban-urban	34.3	50.6
Urban-rural	8.9	8.9
	100.0	100.0

<sup>8</sup> Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Migration, Urbanization and Development in the Republic of Korea* (Bangkok, 1980) table I-1B).

<sup>9</sup> Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *1980 Population and Housing Census Report*, vol. 2, *15 Per cent Sample Survey*, 3-3, *Internal Migration* (Seoul, December 1982), table 3.

<sup>7</sup> Economic, and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Population of the Republic of Korea*, Country Monograph Series No. 2 (Bangkok, 1975), p. 138.

Age-specific migration rates are presented in table 8 for total, rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban migration, 1975-1980. Overall, female migration rates are seen to be greater than male rates for each category, although male rates are higher from age 30 to age 49. From table 8 and figures I and II it is apparent that migration is closely linked to the life cycle of individuals, with the highest migration rates occurring at the ages of leaving school and taking first employment. The lower rates for males between the age of 15 and 24 may be partially explained by males staying in school longer, but there is also obviously a marked delay in migration until males finish their military service.

Some of the high rate for females ages 25-29 may be due to migration for marriage. The increase in migration rates for females over age 50 is no doubt related to retirement, widowhood and the migration of their children upon whom they are dependent.

Overall urban-to-urban migration rates are now significantly higher than rural-to-urban rates, but rural-to-urban rates are much higher at the peak ages of migration, 15 to 29 years for males and 15 to 24 years for females. Male rural-to-urban migration exhibits a strong tendency towards delay until completion of military service, whereas females exhibit very high rates of rural-to-urban move-

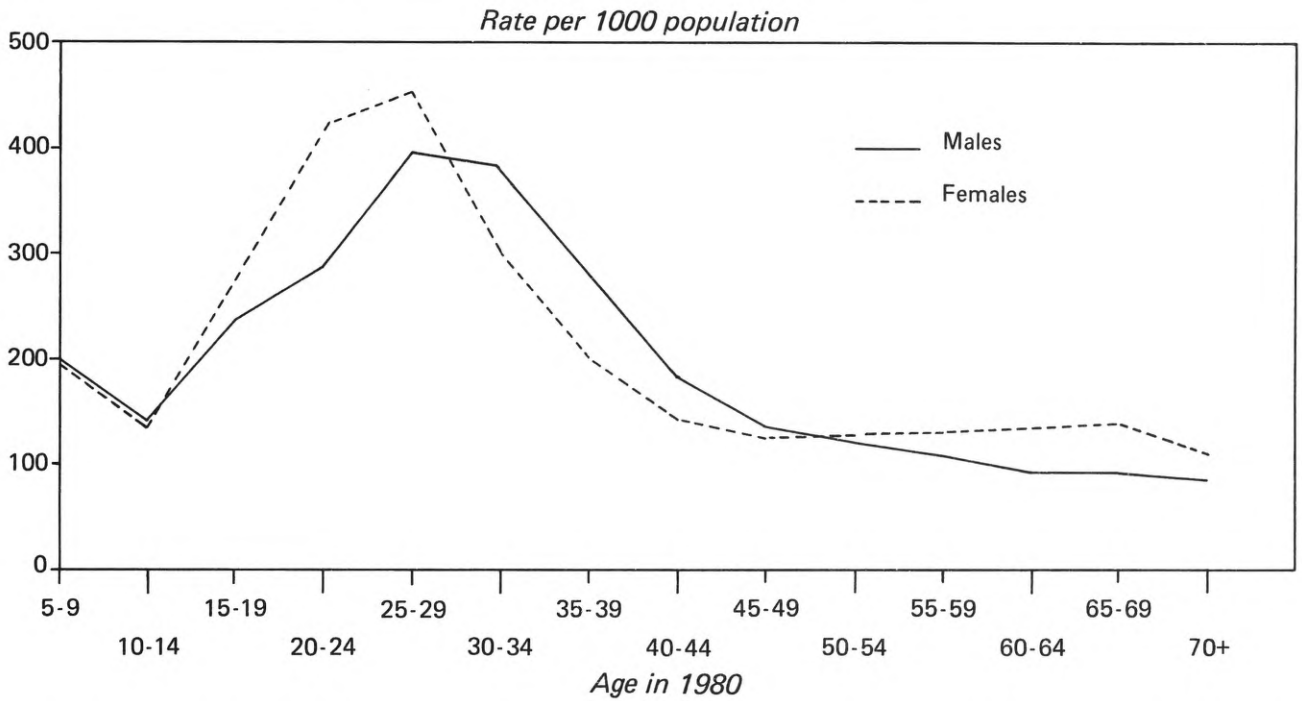
**Table 8. Migration rates for major streams, for 1975-1980 as measured by 1980 census by sex and age**

Age in 1980	Total migration rate per 1000		Rural-to-urban migration rate per 1000		Urban-to-urban migration rate per 1000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5+	226	238	164	177	228	236
5-9	200	197	117	106	223	225
10-14	146	139	107	92	158	158
15-19	236	277	275	350	174	181
20-24	286	418	269	469	248	317
25-29	393	451	382	382	336	403
30-34	379	307	275	197	365	308
35-39	272	199	159	121	280	212
40-44	179	141	101	82	196	161
45-49	136	123	67	59	159	159
50-54	119	126	46	57	156	168
55-59	109	129	38	62	152	178
60-64	96	136	32	68	151	187
65-69	95	138	36	72	151	188
70+	87	112	36	54	146	166

*Source:* Calculated from Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *1980 Population and Housing Census Report*, vol. 2, *15 Per cent Sample Survey*, 3-3, *Internal Migration* (Seoul, December 1982).

*Note:* The base for the total migration rates is the total population aged five and over in 1980. The other rates are based on the average population at risk, that is the 1980 population aged five and over minus gross in-migration to the sector (of origin), plus half of the gross out-migration from the sector.

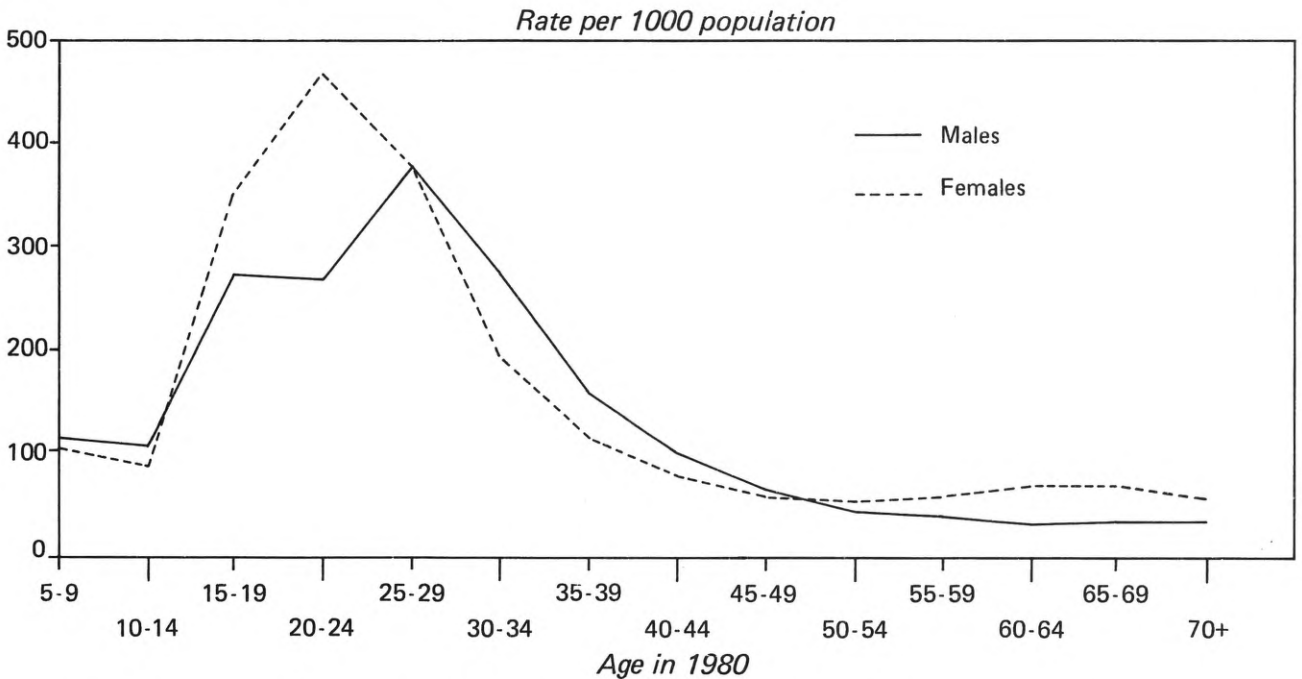
**Figure I. The Republic of Korea: total migration rates for 1975-1980 as measured by the 1980 census, by sex and age**



*Source:* Calculated from Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *1980 Population and Housing Census Report*, vol. 2, *15 Per cent Sample Survey*, 3-3, *Internal Migration* (Seoul, December 1982).

*Note:* The base for the total migration rates is the total population aged five and over in 1980.

**Figure II. The Republic of Korea: rural-to-urban migration rates for 1975-1980 as measured by the 1980 census, by sex and age**



*Source:* Calculated from Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, *1980 Population and Housing Census Report*, vol. 2, *15 Per cent Sample Survey*, 3-3, *Internal Migration* (Seoul, December 1982).

*Note:* The rates are based on the average population at risk, that is the 1980 rural population aged five and over, minus gross in-migration to the rural sector, plus half of the gross out-migration from the rural sector.

ment between ages 15 and 29. Nearly 40 per cent of the females aged 10-24 living in rural areas in 1975 had moved to a city by 1980; nearly 47 per cent of those aged 15-19 in 1975 had moved to a city by 1980. Urban-to-urban migration rates display a level and age pattern roughly similar to total migration rates (table 8).

### C. KOREAN NATIONAL MIGRATION SURVEY

A wealth of detailed migration data was collected by the Korean National Migration Survey (KNMS) of 1983 conducted jointly by the National Bureau of Statistics, Economic Planning Board; and the Korea Institute for Population and Health. The survey questionnaire was based on one developed by ESCAP, which comprised both a household questionnaire and an individual migration history questionnaire.<sup>10</sup> The survey interviewed 8,897 households and recorded data for 36,714 usual household residents.

Survey results were tabulated by three residence categories. The first was the city of Seoul plus all the cities except Song-tan in surrounding Kyonggi Province. The second was other urban areas defined as designated cities (*si*) with a population of at least 50,000, of which there were 50 in 1983. The third residence category was all other areas and was labelled as rural.

The proportion of lifetime migrants and of migrants in the previous five years by residence category of origin and destination is presented in table 9. As noted earlier from census data, moves originating in rural areas, including rural-to-urban moves, have decreased substantially. Moves both originating and ending in urban areas have become more significant than rural-to-urban moves. In fact, the KNMS underestimates urban-urban migration because moves within the city of Seoul were not defined as migration, whereas the census defines moves between *gu* (districts) in Seoul as migration.

Much of the urban-to-rural migration recorded by the KNMS consists of moves to newly established housing, industrial and governmental complexes in areas of Kyonggi Province. While those areas are still defined as rural, in fact their lifestyle is urban.

<sup>10</sup> Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *National Migration Surveys, Survey Manuals, II. The Core Questionnaire* (Bangkok, 1980).

**Table 9. The Republic of Korea, percentage distribution of migrants by migration stream**

	Life-time migrants	Migrants during 1978-1983
Total	100.0	100.0
Rural-rural	25.7	12.8
Rural-other urban	24.4	19.0
Rural-Seoul	22.7	13.3
Other urban-rural	4.2	10.1
Other urban-other urban	8.2	11.5
Other urban-Seoul	6.5	8.6
Seoul-rural	2.0	9.2
Seoul-other urban	1.6	5.9
Seoul-Seoul	5.0	9.6

*Source:* Derived from Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, Economic Planning Board; and Korea Institute for Population and Health, *The Korean National Migration Survey 1983, The First Country Report* (Seoul, 1985), tables 3 and 17.

*Note:* Seoul refers to the city of Seoul plus other cities in Kyonggi province. See the text for a more complete definition of the residence categories.

Table 10 illustrates several aspects of migration patterns in the Republic of Korea. As anticipated, the proportion of lifetime migrants increases with educational level, although the category "never attended" is an exception. As also expected, the proportion of migrants is higher in urban than in rural areas, and higher in Seoul than in other cities. This pattern does not hold for those persons who have attended at least junior college or college, however, partially because gaining higher education for persons in rural areas and smaller cities required migration but also because many of the persons in rural areas with higher education have been assigned there by their employer.

Females are much more likely to have migrated than males. This holds for each of the three residence categories and for lower levels of educational attainment. Among persons in urban areas who have attended at least high school, however, males have slightly higher migration rates. Perhaps female migration rates exceed those for males because females migrate both for employment and for marriage or other family reasons, whereas

**Table 10. Proportion of lifetime migrants among the household population age six and over by residence category, sex, and educational attainment, 1983**

Sex and educational attainment	Residence category			
	Total	Seoul <sup>a</sup>	Other urban	Rural
<b>Both sexes</b>				
Total	63.1	70.2	67.7	53.1
Never attended	68.7	82.9	79.3	61.8
Primary school	55.1	58.2	60.2	49.8
Middle school	62.0	73.2	66.7	47.8
High school	68.6	75.0	71.0	54.5
Junior college or higher	74.7	73.5	76.5	75.6
<b>Male</b>				
Total	59.0	69.1	66.1	44.4
Never attended	51.6	67.8	67.9	44.2
Primary school	46.2	49.9	54.7	39.2
Middle school	57.6	71.6	64.6	40.9
High school	68.8	76.1	72.4	53.4
Junior college or higher	77.4	77.8	78.2	73.5
<b>Female</b>				
Total	67.1	71.3	69.2	61.7
Never attended	76.7	87.8	83.7	71.0
Primary school	68.4	64.4	64.3	59.6
Middle school	66.4	74.5	68.7	55.8
High school	68.5	73.6	69.3	56.3
Junior college or higher	68.3	64.5	72.1	84.9

Source: Same as table 9, pp. 188-211.

<sup>a</sup> Seoul refers to the city of Seoul plus other cities in Kyonggi Province. See the text for a more complete definition of the residence categories.

males migrate primarily for employment, as will be seen. Although female migration rates are greater, educational attainment and residence category are much weaker determinants of migration among females than males.

An advantage of a migration survey over a census is that it is feasible to ask subjective questions such as reason for moving or concerning satisfaction with the move. In the KNMS persons administered the individual migration history questionnaire were asked the principal reason for their first move after the age of 15 and for their most recent move. The results of the latter question, by migration stream, are presented in table 11. Even in a detailed survey with well-trained enumerators, the response to the question was not fully satisfactory. About 13 per cent of the responses were categorized as "other" and 14 per cent were considered "unknown". The remaining responses must be interpreted

with caution but it appears that economic motives for migration are about three times as prevalent as family motives. Moves related to education were much less important than those for family reasons among females, but the difference among males was not large. Females were less likely to move for economic reasons than males, but more likely to move for family reasons.

Among males, economic reasons increased in importance with moves from rural to urban areas, but there was no particular relationship for females. Moves related to education were primarily to urban areas for both males and females. Among males, moves for family reasons were more likely to be to rural areas, but again there was no particular relationship for females. It may be concluded that although migration appears to be primarily for economic reasons, a variety of other reasons are also important.



In the Korean National Migration Survey, migrants were asked to compare living conditions at their current residence with those at their previous residence. The results are presented in table 12 by assigning 1 point to "worse", 2 points to "the same" or "don't know" and 3 points to "better". In general, both males and females are more satisfied

with their current living conditions. Females were less satisfied than males, however, with regard to type of work, family and friend relationships, and the housing, health care and food situation.

Rural-to-urban migrants reported the most improvement in their living conditions while

**Table 11. Percentage distribution of individual migrants by reason for last move, migration stream and sex, 1983**

Sex and migration stream	Reason (per cent)						
	Total	Economic	Educational	Family	Environmental	Other	Unknown
<b>Both sexes</b>							
All streams	100.0	47.4	6.8	17.4	1.6	12.8	13.9
Rural-rural	100.0	42.3	2.2	19.3	1.3	19.7	15.1
Rural-other urban	100.0	48.1	17.2	9.9	1.6	7.1	16.0
Rural-Seoul	100.0	42.0	17.2	19.6	0.6	5.2	15.3
Other urban-rural	100.0	33.6	4.3	21.4	1.8	1.7	21.5
Other urban-other urban	100.0	47.8	6.5	18.7	1.6	13.2	12.2
Other urban-Seoul	100.0	44.8	16.4	13.9	2.4	2.1	20.3
Seoul-rural	100.0	54.1	2.4	17.8	2.4	15.4	8.1
Seoul-other urban	100.0	47.2	10.2	21.3	1.2	6.7	13.0
Seoul-Seoul	100.0	54.1	7.1	15.5	1.8	9.5	12.0
<b>Male</b>							
All streams	100.0	56.2	7.5	9.8	2.1	15.7	8.7
Rural-rural	100.0	48.2	1.2	12.2	0.6	27.4	10.3
Rural-other urban	100.0	62.7	11.4	0.0	2.6	11.4	11.9
Rural-Seoul	100.0	58.5	27.4	4.7	1.9	4.7	1.9
Other urban-rural	100.0	30.6	5.6	18.1	3.0	22.3	20.5
Other urban-other urban	100.0	59.8	7.1	9.6	2.3	14.1	7.1
Other urban-Seoul	100.0	51.6	22.2	7.2	5.2	1.3	12.4
Seoul-rural	100.0	54.1	4.9	9.8	4.9	19.1	7.7
Seoul-other urban	100.0	55.0	12.5	15.0	1.9	9.4	6.2
Seoul-Seoul	100.0	67.2	9.1	7.4	2.0	10.2	4.3
<b>Female</b>							
All streams	100.0	39.6	6.3	24.2	1.2	10.3	18.5
Rural-rural	100.0	37.7	3.0	25.0	1.8	13.7	18.8
Rural-other urban	100.0	38.3	21.0	16.3	1.0	4.3	18.7
Rural-Seoul	100.0	33.9	12.2	26.7	0.0	5.4	21.7
Other urban-rural	100.0	38.7	2.3	26.7	0.0	10.4	23.5
Other urban-other urban	100.0	38.1	6.0	26.1	1.0	12.5	16.2
Other urban-Seoul	100.0	39.0	10.0	19.8	0.0	2.8	27.7
Seoul-rural	100.0	54.0	0.0	25.7	0.0	11.8	8.6
Seoul-other urban	100.0	34.0	6.4	33.0	0.0	2.1	24.5
Seoul-Seoul	100.0	42.8	5.4	22.4	1.8	9.0	18.6

*Source:* Derived from Republic of Korea, National Bureau of Statistics, Economic Planning Board; and Korea Institute for Population and Health, *The Korean National Migration Survey 1983, The First Country Report* (Seoul, 1985), table 16.

*Note:* Seoul refers to the city of Seoul plus other cities in Kyonggi province. See the text for a more complete definition of the residence categories.

**Table 12. Comparison by migrants of living conditions at current residence with those at previous residence, Korean National Migration Survey, 1983<sup>a</sup>**

Aspect of living condition	Sex		Migration stream			
	Male	Female	Rural to	Rural to	Urban to	Urban to
			rural	urban	rural	urban
All aspects	2.24	2.17	2.12	2.30	2.01	2.17
Type of work	2.20	2.10	2.12	2.26	2.08	2.11
Income	2.25	2.20	2.20	2.36	2.08	2.19
Education or skill obtained	2.36	2.32	2.12	2.57	1.84	2.28
Schooling of dependants	2.36	2.32	2.21	2.71	1.62	2.26
Living near family	2.14	2.00	1.96	1.99	2.23	2.09
Relationship with relatives, neighbours and friends	2.21	2.11	2.14	2.06	2.32	2.16
Housing conditions	2.11	2.06	2.14	1.99	2.17	2.08
Health care	2.02	1.92	1.87	1.85	2.19	2.03
Food	2.27	2.20	2.20	2.25	2.14	2.21
Shopping	2.30	2.25	2.10	2.61	1.59	2.21
Transport	2.36	2.33	2.76	2.76	1.56	2.23
Environment	2.26	2.19	2.26	2.18	2.26	2.17

*Source:* Jong Joo Yoon, "A study of individual migration histories in Korea," in Ehn Hyun Choe, Young Il Chung and Yong Chan Byun, eds., *International Migration and Socio-economic Development - Secondary Analysis of National Migration Survey* (Seoul, Republic of Korea, Korea Institute for Population and Health; National Bureau of Statistics, Economic Planning Board; and United Nations Fund for Population Activities, 1986), pp. 168-169.

<sup>a</sup> One point assigned for "worse", 2 for "the same" or "don't know" and 3 for "better" "Not applicable" was excluded.

urban-to-rural migrants reported the least improvement. The major factors accounting for the differences by migration stream were the education opportunities for both the respondents and their dependants, and shopping and transport facilities. Among all migrants, it was these factors that they were most satisfied with after moving.

Overall, the least improvement was reported for health care and for housing conditions.

#### D. CONCLUSION

The Republic of Korea has undergone extensive economic, social and demographic restructuring since 1960 and patterns of urbanization and internal migration have been closely interrelated with those changes.

The proportion of the labour force in agriculture was halved between 1960 and 1980, while that in the secondary sector tripled. The proportion of the population living in urban areas, by national definition, increased from 28 to 60 per cent during those two decades. The non-urban areas lost over 2.0 million population in only five years from 1975 to 1980. The 1983 Korean National Migra-

tion Survey (KNMS) found that 58 per cent of the population had migrated at least once in its lifetime.

In response to heavy rural-to-urban migration and the concentration of the population in Seoul, the Government has implemented a number of policies to redistribute population away from the capital. While Seoul's population has reached about 10 million and is growing at approximately 3.0 per cent a year, its growth rate is now lower than that of the other large cities and of the urban population as a whole.

Subjective questions in the KNMS indicated that while economic motives were predominant in migration decision making, factors related to the family and to education were also important. Migrants greatly valued improvements in educational opportunities, and the urban amenities of shopping and transport. Urban-to-rural migrants reported that the greatest deterioration in their living conditions occurred in these areas. The policy implication is obvious. In order to induce people to move to or remain in certain areas, it is important that those areas have not only employment opportunities but also good education, shopping and transport facilities.



## II. THAILAND



## INTRODUCTION

Although the speed of socio-economic transformation in Thailand has been less dramatic than in the Republic of Korea, Thailand has maintained a steady pace of development over the past three decades that has affected nearly all strata of society and has reached all areas of the country, albeit to different extents.

Rates of permanent migration have been only modest. About 17 per cent of the population may be considered lifetime interprovincial migrants. On the other hand, circular and temporary migration are common patterns and when these are taken into account the population of Thailand is quite mobile. The majority of migration is within rural areas, but the other streams, particularly movement within urban areas, are gaining in importance.

There are two main sources of data on migration in Thailand, the decennial censuses and an annual survey of migrants to the Bangkok Metropolis. The 1980 Population and Housing Census asked location of birth; duration of current residence; and where duration was less than five years, place of previous residence. Current and previous residence were tabulated by municipal and non-municipal area. A special report on migration, based on a 1.0 per cent sample of the population, was published for the 1980 census by the National Statistical Office (NSO).<sup>1</sup>

In addition the NSO has conducted nine surveys since 1974 of migrants to the Bangkok Metropolis and vicinity. The 1984 survey is the most recently published one and covered five provinces in addition to Bangkok.<sup>2</sup> This paper summarizes information on migration in Thailand available from those sources.

### A. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE

Indicators of economic and social development have shown consistent improvement over the past two decades. The gross domes-

<sup>1</sup> Chintana Pejaranonda, Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Migration*, 1980 Population and Housing Census, Subject Report No. 2 (Bangkok, National Statistical Office, no date).

<sup>2</sup> Thailand, Office of the Prime Minister, National Statistical Office (NSO), *The Survey of Migration into the Bangkok Metropolis and Vicinity, 1984* (Bangkok, no date).

tic product (GDP) increased by an annual average of 7.8 per cent between 1965 and 1973, and 6.8 per cent between 1973 and 1984. Per capita gross national product reached \$US 860 in 1984, and had maintained an average rate of increase of 4.2 per cent per annum from 1965 to 1984.

Economic growth was led by industry, especially manufacturing, and services, although two thirds of the labour force remain in agriculture. In the decade between 1973 and 1984, agricultural production expanded at an average annual rate of 3.7 per cent; industrial production, 8.7 per cent; manufacturing, 10 per cent; and services, 7.5 per cent. Between 1965 and 1984 the proportion of GDP contributed by agriculture declined from 35 to 20 per cent, that from industry increased from 23 to 28 per cent, and that from services increased from 42 to 52 per cent.<sup>3</sup> In terms of labour force structure, the proportion in agriculture declined from 84 per cent in 1960 to 69 per cent in 1982, while the share in industry more than doubled and that in services increased by 75 per cent during the same period (table 13).

Thailand is distinctive for the high proportion of females in the labour force. Among persons aged 11-59, the labour force participation rate in 1982 was 80 per cent for males and 74 per cent for females. Females comprise 47.6 per cent of the labour force. Nearly 59 per cent of females in the labour force are unpaid family workers, mostly in agriculture, however, and another 4.6 per cent are unemployed.<sup>4</sup> The female labour force structure is similar to that for males, but with a somewhat lower proportion in the industrial sector. The active participation of females in the labour force is reflected in their propensity to migrate. Female migration rates exceed those of males in many migration streams, especially in migration to Bangkok.

A degree of social development is also indicated by improvements in enrolment ratios. Between 1970 and 1980, the gross enrol-

<sup>3</sup> The World Bank, *World Development Report 1986* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 180-184.

<sup>4</sup> International Labour Office, *1985 Yearbook of Labour Statistics* (Geneva), tables 1 and 2A, from July-September 1982 Labour Force Sample Survey.

Table 13. Thailand, proportion of labour force in major sectors by sex, 1950-1982

Sex and sector	1950	1960	1970	1980	1982
Both sexes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	85.7	83.7	79.8	70.9	68.5
Industry	2.8	4.4	6.0	10.3	10.7
Services	11.5	11.9	14.2	18.8	20.8
Males	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	82.9	80.2	76.3	67.9	66.4
Industry	3.6	5.7	7.4	12.5	12.8
Services	13.5	14.1	16.3	19.6	20.8
Females	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	88.6	87.5	83.7	74.2	70.6
Industry	1.9	3.0	4.4	7.8	8.5
Services	9.5	9.5	11.9	18.0	20.9

Sources: 1950-1980: International Labour Office, *Economically Active Population 1950-2025*, vol. 1, *Asia* (Geneva, 1986), table 3.

1982: International Labour Office, *1985 Yearbook of Labour Statistics* (Geneva), table 2A, from July-September 1982 Labour Force Sample Survey.

ment ratio<sup>5</sup> for primary school increased from 83 to 99 and that for the second level increased from 17 to 29. Female enrolment ratios are nearly equal to male ratios; they are 97 and 101, respectively, at the primary level and 28 and 29 at the second level.<sup>6</sup>

The social transformation occurring in Thailand is most apparent from demographic measures. In the 15 years from 1960-1965 to 1975-1980, the growth rate declined from 3.0 to 2.3 per cent per annum. The total fertility rate dropped from 6.4 to 4.3 children and expectation of life at birth increased by more than seven years (table 14).

## B. URBANIZATION

The level and pace of urbanization in Thailand have remained relatively low. As reported by decennial censuses, the proportion urban was 12.5 per cent in 1960, 13.2 per cent in 1970 and 17.0 per cent in 1980. The definition of urban used is areas that have been designated by Royal Decree as municipalities. This definition is an underestimate of the actual level of urbanization for two reasons, however. First, some areas of an

urban nature have not been so designated. A partial correction for this omission is possible by considering designated sanitary districts with a population of at least 5,000 persons to be urban. If this is done, the proportion urban is increased to 16.2 per cent in 1960 and 20.8 per cent in 1970. The 1980 census reported a population of 2,962,364 in urban sanitary districts. If these are included in the urban population, the proportion urban in 1980 was 23.6 per cent.

The concept of municipal area also underestimates the urban population because it does not change rapidly enough to incorporate urban growth on the fringes of a city, outside of the designated area. The population in those areas may be large and the fastest growing part of a city's population. The Comprehensive Planning Division of the Ministry of the Interior has established planning areas for most of the large cities in the country. The population of the planning area for Chiang Mai was 70 per cent greater than the municipality population in 1979. For Nakhon Ratchasima the population of the planning area was 83 per cent larger; for Hat Yai, 30 per cent, and for Chonburi, 92 per cent.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The gross enrolment ratio is the number of students of all ages enrolled in school at a specified level, expressed as a percentage of the population in the ages appropriate for that level. Thus the ratio may exceed 100.

<sup>6</sup> UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook 1985* (Paris), table 3.2.

<sup>7</sup> Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), *Comparative Study on Migration, Urbanization and Development in the ESCAP Region, Country Reports V. Migration, Urbanization and Development in Thailand* (Bangkok, 1982), p. 24.

Table 14. Thailand, demographic indicators, 1950-1980

Indicator	1950	1960	1970	1980
Population (in thousands)	20 320	26 867	36 370	46 516
Percentage urban	10.5	12.5	13.2	17.0
	<u>1950-1955</u>	<u>1960-1965</u>	<u>1970-1975</u>	<u>1975-1980</u>
Growth rate (%)	2.74	3.02	2.58	2.34
Crude birth rate	46.6	43.5	35.1	31.6
Crude death rate	19.2	13.4	9.3	8.3
Total fertility rate	6.6	6.4	5.0	4.3
Life expectancy				
Male	45.0	51.9	57.7	59.3
Female	49.1	56.1	61.6	63.2

Source: *World Population Prospects, Estimates and Projections as Assessed in 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.XIII.3).

While urbanization has proceeded slowly, there is some indication that the process is gaining speed. Between 1960 and 1970, urban population growth was not much faster than rural growth, 3.3 and 2.6 per cent, respectively. Between 1970 and 1980, however, the urban population increased at an average annual rate of 5.2 per cent, compared with only 2.2 per cent for the rural population (table 15).

Census figures indicate that the urban population is becoming more concentrated. The population of the Bangkok Metropolis (incorporating the twin cities of Bangkok and Thonburi) grew at a rate of 6.3 per cent between 1970 and 1980, while the combined population of the ten largest cities grew at a rate of 6.1 per cent and the total urban population by 5.2 per cent. The proportion of the urban population living in the Bangkok Metropolis increased from 54.8 to 61.5 per cent between 1970 and 1980, and that living in the ten largest cities from 65 to 71 per cent (table 16). Bangkok provides one of the most extreme cases of urban primacy in the world. In 1980 its population was 46 times as large as that of the second largest city, Chiang Mai.

The appearance of increasing urban concentration should be interpreted cautiously, however. As was noted above, the designated municipal area of many cities excludes a size-

able proportion of the population living at the edges of the city. In addition, each region of the country contains a major growth pole that is growing faster than Bangkok. In the north, the population of Phitsanulok increased at an average rate of 8.6 per cent between 1970 and 1980. Although officially Nakhon Sawan is included in the north region, its location could actually be considered to be central (map 2). Its population increased at a rate of 7.0 per cent during the period 1970-1980 and it has become the third largest city in the country. The largest city in the north-east, Khon Kaen, grew at a rate of 10.7 per cent in the period 1970-1980, and the largest city in the south, Hat Yai, at 6.7 per cent. In spite of the somewhat faster growth rates of these cities, and their importance to their regions, Bangkok clearly remains the dominate city in the country in every important sphere.

The high growth rates of some of the cities shown in table 15 are not attributable to natural increase and migration alone, but also to the annexation of peripheral areas. One estimate indicates that Bangkok annexed a population of at least 700,000 between 1970 and 1980; Khon Kaen, 30,000; and Hat Yai, about 19,000.<sup>8</sup> For the urban pop-

<sup>8</sup> ESCAP, *op. cit.*, p. 27.



Table 15. Population and growth rates of the ten largest cities, 1960, 1970 and 1980

Rank	1960		1970			1980		
	City	Population	City	Population	Growth rate <sup>a</sup>	City	Population	Growth rate <sup>a</sup>
1.	Bangkok-Thon Buri	1 703 346	Bangkok-Thon Buri	2 495 312	3.8	Bangkok Metropolis	4 697 071	6.3
2.	Chiang Mai	65 736	Chiang Mai	83 729	2.4	Chiang Mai	101 594	1.9
3.	Nakhon Ratchasima	42 218	Nakhon Ratchasima	66 071	4.5	Nakhon Sawan	93 935	7.0
4.	Lampang	36 486	Udon Thani	56 218	6.0	Hat Yai	93 519	6.7
5.	Hat Yai	35 504	Hat Yai	47 953	3.0	Khon Kaen	85 863	10.7
6.	Nakhon Sawan	34 947	Nakhon Sawan	46 853	2.9	Phitsanulok	97 942	8.6
7.	Chonburi	32 498	Sumut Prakan	46 632	7.6	Nakhon Ratchasima	78 246	1.7
8.	Ayuthaya	32 368	Songkhla	41 193	2.8	Udon Thani	71 142	2.4
9.	Songkhla	31 014	N. Sri Thamarat	40 671	4.5	Songkhla	67 945	5.0
10.	Udon Thani	30 884	Ubon Ratchathani	40 650	0.9	Nakhon Sri Thamarat	63 162	4.4
	Ten largest cities	2 045 001		2 965 282	3.7		5 432 419	6.1
	Urban areas <sup>b</sup>	3 273 865		4 553 100	3.3		7 632 916	5.2
	Rural areas	22 984 051		29 844 274	2.6		37 191 624	2.2

Source: Thailand, National Statistical Office, Population and housing census reports for the whole kingdom and the provinces 1960, 1970 and 1980 (Bangkok).

<sup>a</sup> Intercensal growth rate.

<sup>b</sup> The urban population is defined as that in municipal areas.

**Table 16. Summary measures of urbanization, 1960, 1970, 1980**

Measure	1960	1970	1980
Percentage urban <sup>a</sup>	12.5	13.2	17.0
Percentage of urban population in Bangkok Metropolis	52.0	54.8	61.5
Percentage of urban population in ten largest cities	62.5	65.1	71.2
Two-city primacy index <sup>b</sup>	25.9	29.8	46.2

Source: Table 15.

<sup>a</sup> Urban areas are defined as the designated municipal areas.

<sup>b</sup> The population of the largest city divided by the population of the second largest city.

ulation as a whole, area annexation contributed about three times as much growth as net rural-urban migration between 1970 and 1980 (table 17). Only about half of urban growth is due to natural increase. In a sense, area annexation is caused by migration, however. As migrants settle on the periphery of cities, the new areas take on an urban nature and eventually become incorporated into the existing cities.

Table 17 indicates that the components of growth for the Bangkok Metropolis occur in about the same proportion as for the urban population as a whole, although net migration is somewhat more important. Net migration to Bangkok during the period 1970-1980 exceeded net rural-urban migration by a considerable margin, indicating that much migration to Bangkok is from other urban areas. One study found that about one third of the migrants to the Bangkok Metropolis between 1975 and 1980 came from other municipal areas.<sup>9</sup>

### C. MIGRATION

Permanent migration in Thailand occurs at a relatively modest rate but temporary and circular migration appear to occur at a much higher rate, although measurement of the latter is not precise. In the 1980 Census of Population and Housing, migrants were defined as persons aged 5 and over who had changed their usual place of residence, with students and persons living in institutions enumerated at the place where they were living. Between 1975 and 1980, 7.6 per cent of the population aged five and over migrated,

<sup>9</sup> Larry Sternstein, *Spatial Aspects of Recent Internal Migration to and from Bangkok* (Bangkok, Thailand, Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, Department of Policy and Planning, 1984), p. 19.

**Table 17. Estimated urban population growth by components of growth, 1960-1970 and 1970-1980**

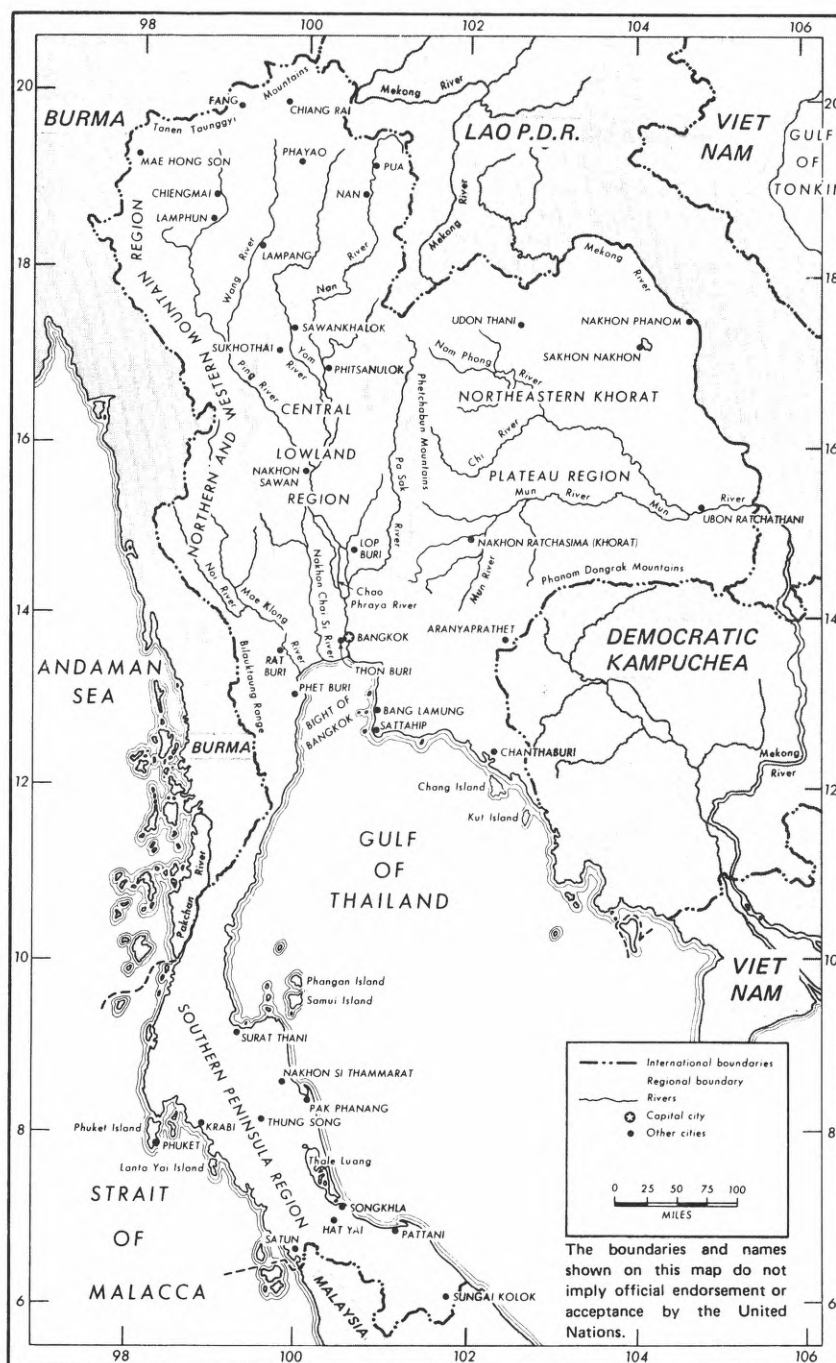
Component of growth	Total urban population				Bangkok Metropolis	
	1960-1970		1970-1980		1970-1980	
	Number (thousands)	Percentage	Number (thousands)	Percentage	Number (thousands)	Percentage
Urban growth	1 836	100.0	2 418	100.0	2 201.8	100.0
Natural increase	916	49.9	1 311	54.2	1 083.4	49.2
Area annexation	120	6.5	823	34.0	701.6	31.9
Net migration	800	43.6	285	11.8	416.8	18.9

Sources: Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Comparative Study on Migration, Urbanization and Development in the ESCAP Region*, Country Reports V, *Migration, Urbanization and Development in Thailand* (Bangkok, 1982), p. 29.

Chintana Pejaranonda, Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Migration*, 1980 Population and Housing Census, Subject Report No. 2 (Bangkok, National Statistical Office, no date).

Note: For 1960-1970, net migration is calculated as the balance of the other figures. For 1970-1980, net migration is assumed to be equal to twice the net migration for 1975-1980, and natural increase is calculated as the balance of the other figures.

Map 2. Thailand



Source: John W. Henderson and others, *Area Handbook for Thailand* (Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1971), p. xiv.

but only 4.6 per cent moved between chang-wat (provinces) or from abroad (table 18).

In the Bangkok Metropolis, comprising Bangkok and Thonburi, 13.8 per cent of the population were recent migrants. The second largest proportion of migrants was found in the central region, excluding Bangkok, 8.6 per cent. The highest proportion of inter-provincial migrants among all migrants, 69 per cent, was also found in the central region.

Nationally a higher percentage of males, 8.0, were recent migrants than females, 7.1, but in the Bangkok Metropolis 14.2 per cent of females were five-year migrants compared with 13.4 per cent of males.

The level of interprovincial migration doubled from the 1960 to the 1970 census but had stagnated by the 1980 census (table 19). Longer-distance moves continued to increase, however. The number of interregional

Table 18. Population five years of age and over by migration status, region of residence, and sex, 1980

Sex and migration status	Whole Kingdom		Bangkok Metropolis		Central (excl. B.M.)		North		North-east		South	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Both sexes												
Total	38 940 500	100.0	4 252 400	100.0	8 511 100	100.0	8 006 400	100.0	13 331 600	100.0	4 839 000	100.0
Non-migrants	33 790 700	86.8	3 228 400	75.9	7 368 700	86.6	7 074 600	88.4	11 846 600	88.9	4 272 400	88.3
Unknown migration status	2 202 100	5.7	436 200	10.3	414 400	4.9	405 300	5.1	752 000	5.6	194 200	4.0
Migrated since 1975	2 947 700	7.6	587 800	13.8	728 000	8.6	526 500	6.6	733 000	5.5	372 400	7.7
Same changwat-same amphoe	489 400	1.3	54 600	1.3	109 300	1.3	117 000	1.5	153 400	1.2	55 100	1.1
Same changwat-different amphoe	681 500	1.8	157 100	3.7	114 700	1.3	112 400	1.4	207 700	1.6	89 600	1.9
Other changwat or abroad	1 776 800	4.6	376 100	8.8	504 000	5.9	297 100	3.7	371 900	2.8	227 700	4.7
Males												
Total	19 268 800	100.0	2 070 300	100.0	4 161 900	100.0	3 998 600	100.0	6 623 600	100.0	2 414 400	100.0
Non-migrants	16 625 300	86.3	1 575 100	76.1	3 580 700	86.0	3 516 400	88.5	5 829 100	88.0	2 124 000	88.0
Unknown migration status	1 103 300	5.7	218 400	10.5	208 800	5.0	204 800	5.1	374 600	5.7	96 700	4.0
Migrated since 1975	1 540 200	8.0	276 800	13.4	372 400	9.0	277 400	6.9	419 900	6.3	193 700	8.0
Same changwat-same amphoe	262 600	1.4	27 300	1.3	55 800	1.4	60 900	1.5	90 400	1.3	28 200	1.2
Same changwat-different amphoe	355 700	1.8	74 800	3.6	58 700	1.4	61 200	1.5	117 400	1.8	43 600	1.8
Other changwat or abroad	921 900	4.8	174 700	8.5	257 900	6.2	155 300	3.9	212 100	3.2	121 900	5.0
Females												
Total	19 671 700	100.0	2 182 100	100.0	4 349 200	100.0	4 007 800	100.0	6 708 000	100.0	2 424 600	100.0
Non-migrants	17 165 400	87.3	1 653 300	75.8	3 788 000	87.1	3 558 200	88.8	6 017 500	89.7	2 148 400	88.6
Unknown migration status	1 098 800	5.6	217 800	10.0	205 600	4.7	200 500	5.0	377 400	5.6	97 500	4.0
Migrated since 1975	1 407 500	7.1	311 000	14.2	355 600	8.2	249 100	6.2	313 100	4.7	178 700	7.4
Same changwat-same amphoe	226 800	1.1	27 300	1.2	53 500	1.2	56 100	1.4	63 000	0.9	26 900	1.1
Same changwat-different amphoe	325 800	1.7	82 300	3.8	56 000	1.3	51 200	1.3	90 300	1.4	46 000	1.9
Other changwat or abroad	854 900	4.3	201 400	9.2	246 100	5.7	141 800	3.5	159 800	2.4	105 800	4.4

Source: Chintana Pejaranonda, Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Migration*, 1980 Population and Housing Census, Subject Report No. 2 (Bangkok, National Statistical Office, no date), table 9.

Note: A changwat is a province and an amphoe is a district.

**Table 19. Interprovincial migration streams, by region, 1955-1960, 1965-1970 and 1975-1980**

Current residence	Total interprovincial migrants	Region of previous residence				
		Bangkok	Central	North	North-east	South
<b>1955-1960</b>						
Bangkok	131 370	—	81 214	13 947	26 745	9 464
Central	210 211	40 006	123 762	15 560	25 860	5 023
North	156 721	8 900	30 270	90 702	26 002	847
North-east	206 194	8 890	10 758	4 896	180 353	1 252
South	84 555	6 529	10 850	1 482	6 998	58 696
<b>1965-1970</b>						
Bangkok	298 791	—	166 181	36 555	66 813	29 242
Central	456 081	82 823	248 103	47 231	62 936	14 988
North	315 734	14 646	58 035	195 703	43 920	3 430
North-east	430 668	23 592	45 646	26 130	330 486	4 814
South	173 730	8 867	18 486	3 775	11 519	131 083
<b>1975-1980</b>						
Bangkok	340 792	—	144 397	43 178	119 661	33 556
Central	502 869	115 355	218 084	53 727	95 890	19 813
North	269 827	20 945	38 746	165 972 <sup>a</sup>	40 558	3 606
North-east	314 910	20 059	32 142	17 438	241 034 <sup>a</sup>	4 237
South	183 642	14 033	20 046	7 225	12 582	129 756

Period	Total interprovincial migrants	Total interregional migrants	Interregional as a per cent of interprovincial migrants
1955-1960	789 006	335 493	42.5
1965-1970	1 675 004	769 629	45.9
1975-1980	1 612 040	857,194	53.2

Source: Census data as published in Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Migration in Thailand: A Twenty-five-year Review*, Papers of the East-West Population Institute, No. 100 (Honolulu, East-West Center, July 1986), table 6.

<sup>a</sup> Adjusted for movement between provinces split into two provinces during the period 1970-80. Such movement was not considered interprovincial migration.

migrants grew from 770,000 in the 1970 census to 857,000 in the 1980 census. Table 19 indicates that while the number of intraregional interprovincial moves declined for each region between 1970 and 1980, the number of moves out of the north, north-east and south regions increased. Migration within and from the central region declined significantly but that into the central region and to Bangkok increased. The interregional migration streams that increased by the greatest amount between 1965-1970 and 1975-1980 were those from the north-east to Bangkok and the central region, and that from Bangkok to the central region.

Coincident with the decline in intraregional migration between 1965-1970 and 1975-1980 was a large decrease in the proportion of rural-to-rural moves among all moves (table 20). Rural-to-urban migration comprises a small proportion of the total, only 12.0 per cent in 1965-1970 and 15.4 per cent in 1975-1980. In fact, in the exchange of migrants between rural and urban areas, urban areas had less of an advantage in the latter period than in the former. Urban-to-urban migration increased more and exceeded the total of rural-to-urban migration by 1975-1980. These observations must be treated with caution, however, because of the large

**Table 20. Percentage distribution of migrants 1965-1970 and 1975-1980 by migration stream**

Migration stream	1965-1970	1975-1980
Total	100.0	100.0
Rural to rural	71.7	56.0
Rural to urban	12.0	15.4
Urban to rural	6.2	10.2
Urban to urban	10.2	18.5
Migrants for whom place of origin is unknown		
Number	419 000	209 900
Percentage of all migrants	12.6	7.1

*Sources:* Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Comparative Study on Migration, Urbanization and Development in the ESCAP Region, Country Reports V. Migration, Urbanization and Development in Thailand* (Bangkok, 1982), p. 24; and

Chintana Pejaranonda, Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Migration, 1980 Population and Housing Census, Subject Report No. 2* (Bangkok, National Statistical Office, no date), table 5.

number of migrants for whom place of origin by urban or rural classification is not known.

In the five years prior to the 1980 census, 80 per 1,000 males aged five years and over (in 1980) changed residence, including moves within districts, and 71 per 1,000 females did so (table 21). Female migration occurs at a younger age than male migration (see also figure III). The migration rate among persons aged 15-19 years is higher for females than males. Age-specific migration rates peak for females aged 20-24 and for males aged 25-29. Age-specific migration rates for moves from one non-municipal area to another are lower but have essentially the same pattern as for all moves (table 21 and figure III). For migration from non-municipal to municipal areas, however, the rate for females is slightly higher than that for males, and the female rates from age 5 to age 24 equal or exceed the male rates. Similar relationships are found for rates of migration originating in municipal areas. For moves from municipal to non-municipal areas, the male rate was 46 per

1,000 and the female rate was 37. For moves from one municipal place to another, the rate for females, 83, was slightly higher than for males, 82.

The Bangkok Metropolis exerts a strong attraction on persons looking for work, especially on young persons and more for females than males. Figure IV demonstrates that the age distribution of female migrants to Bangkok is considerably younger than for all female migrants. In computing the data for migrants to Bangkok used in figure IV, it was necessary to divide data for 10-year age groups into 5-year age groups using Newton's formula.<sup>10</sup> In this case the method probably exaggerates the proportion aged 10-14 at the expense of that 15-19, but the conclusion noted above remains valid.

An exceptionally strong flow of migration has developed for young females from the rural north-east to Bangkok. In the 1984 Survey of Migration into the Bangkok Metropolis, 60,185 of the 97,393 migrants during the previous two years were females, and 29,406 (49 per cent) were aged 10-19.<sup>11</sup> Among those, only 18 per cent were from the surrounding central region whereas 18,661 (63 per cent) were from the distant north-east region. Among those migrants from the north-east, 16,897 (91 per cent) were from villages.

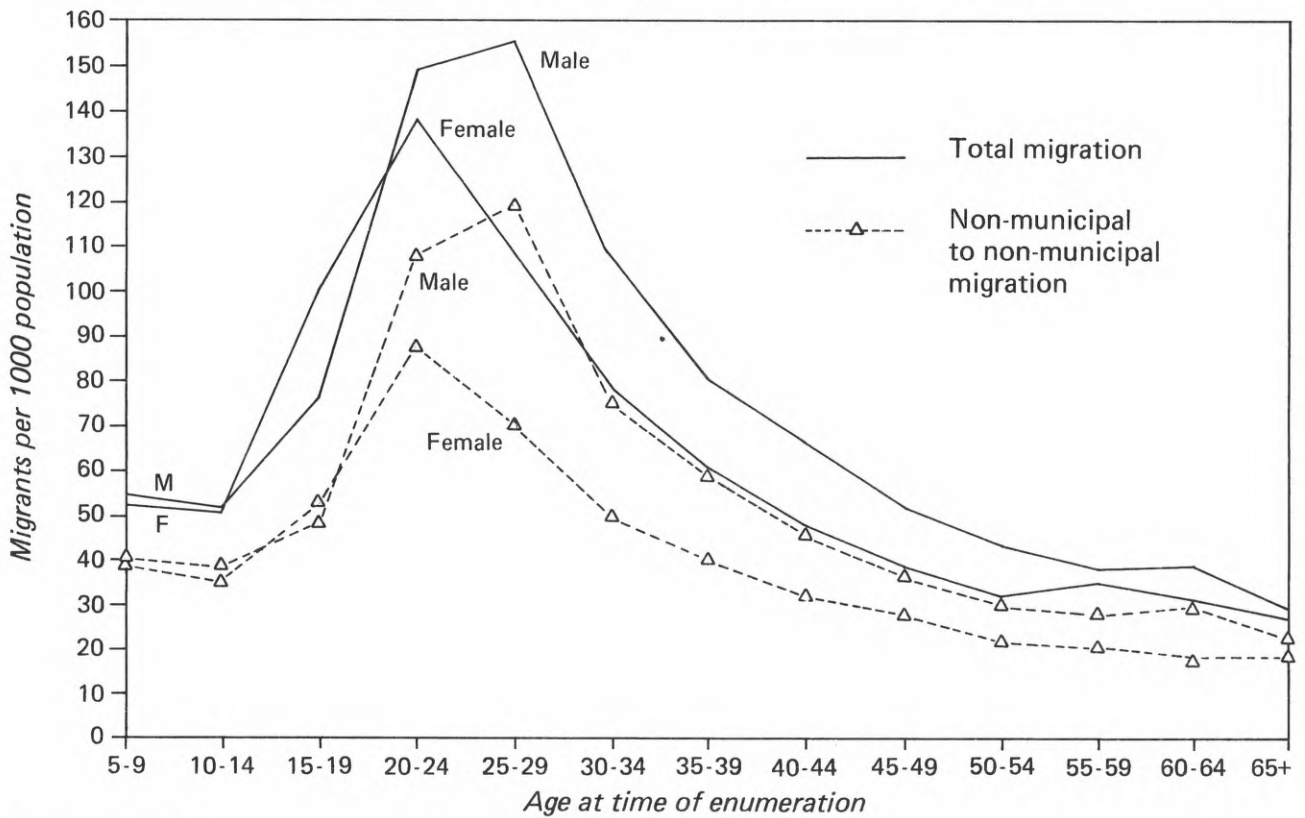
An indication of the high degree of circular migration is provided in table 22. As the reference period for the annual survey of migration to the Bangkok Metropolis is two years, that period overlaps that of the previous survey by one year. It is possible to observe the number of migrants who reported that they arrived in a particular month in one survey who are also enumerated one year later, as has been done in table 22. A steady decline in the proportion of migrants remaining one year later may have been expected as months further in the past are examined. In fact, no such decline is apparent, but the data indicate a strong seasonality in migration stability, or conversely in circulation.

In both 1981 and 1982, the largest number of migrants reported arriving in May, prior to the re-opening of school after the March to May summer break. The retention rate

<sup>10</sup> *Manuals on Methods of Estimating Population. Manual III: Methods for Population Projections by Sex and Age* (United Nations publication, Sales No. 56.XIII.3), p.5.

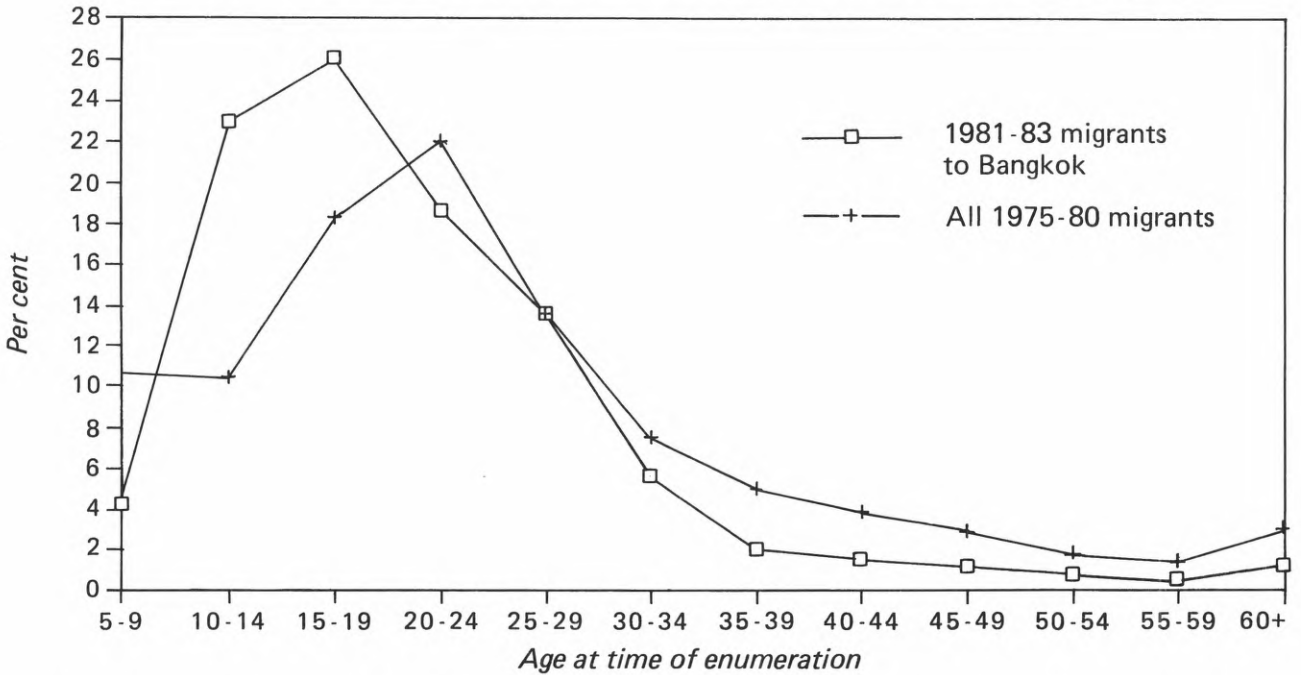
<sup>11</sup> Thailand, *op. cit.* in footnote 2, table 1.

Figure III. Thailand: age-specific migration rates, 1975-1980



Source: Table 21.

Figure IV. Thailand: percentage distribution of all female migrants, 1975-1980, and of female migrants to Bangkok Metropolis, XI-1981 to X-1983, by age group



Source: Chintana Pejaranonda, Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Migration, 1980 Population and Housing Census Subject Report No. 2* (Bangkok, National Statistical Office, no date), table 2.

Calculated from Thailand, National Statistical Office, *The Survey of Migration into the Bangkok Metropolis and vicinity 1984* (Bangkok, no date), table 1.

Table 21. Migration rates for major streams by age and sex, for 1975-1980 as measured by 1980 census

Age in 1980	Total migration rate per 1000		Non-municipal to non-municipal migration rate per 1000		Non-municipal to municipal migration rate per 1000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5+	80	71	56	46	14	15
5-9	55	53	40	39	6	6
10-14	52	51	38	35	7	9
15-19	77	97	48	54	20	33
20-24	148	138	107	88	32	38
25-29	155	109	119	71	27	21
30-34	105	77	74	50	19	15
35-39	81	60	57	39	12	9
40-44	66	48	46	32	8	7
45-49	52	39	37	28	7	4
50-54	44	31	30	22	7	4
55-59	38	34	28	21	4	4
60-64	38	31	30	19	4	7
65+	29	26	22	18	4	3

Source: Chintana Pejaranonda, Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Migration*, 1980 Population and Housing Census, Subject Report No. 2 (Bangkok, National Statistical Office, no date), tables 2 and 5.

Note: The base for the total migration rates is the total population aged 5 and over, by age group, in 1980. The other rates are based on the non-municipal population at risk, that is the 1980 non-municipal population minus gross in-migration from municipal areas plus gross out-migration to municipal areas. In these calculations, migrants to non-municipal areas from unknown place of origin are assumed to be from non-municipal areas, whereas migrants to municipal areas from unknown place of origin are assumed to be half from municipal areas and half from non-municipal areas.

for May is not particularly high, however, no doubt because students from outside of the city return home at the end of the school year. Migrant retention ratios for 1981 were highest for April, and for 1982 for February. In general the ratios are higher than average for migrants arriving between January and April. These months are the relatively slack period of the agricultural cycle, during the dry season and prior to planting before the onset of the rainy season in June.

Migrant retention ratios were considerably lower for migrants arriving in 1982 compared with one year earlier, perhaps indicat-

ing an increase in the degree of circular migration. Overall the ratios are quite low; only 20-30 per cent of migrants enumerated may be expected to be in Bangkok one year later. The ratios are probably underestimated, however, because repeat migrants within a year would report only the month of their latest arrival. Although in-migration rates are much higher for females, their likelihood of remaining for a full year is much lower than for males.

Similar to findings of other migration studies, the data for Thailand demonstrate that migrants are better educated than non-



Table 22. Migrants to Bangkok Metropolis by month from November 1980 to October 1982  
as enumerated in annual surveys, 1982, 1983 and 1984

Month	Both sexes			Month	Male			Female		
	1982 Survey	1983 Survey	Per cent remaining		1983 Survey	1984 Survey	Per cent remaining	1983 Survey	1984 Survey	Per cent remaining
Nov. 1980	2 517	392	15.6	Nov. 1981	1 194	94	7.9	1 689	96	5.7
Dec. 1980	2 180	476	21.8	Dec. 1981	771	100	13.0	1 391	126	9.1
Jan. 1981	3 803	1 855	48.8	Jan. 1982	1 587	409	25.8	1 727	467	27.0
Feb. 1981	4 088	1 451	35.5	Feb. 1982	1 152	515	44.7	1 719	516	30.0
March 1981	5 235	2 151	41.1	March 1982	1 614	440	27.3	2 090	396	18.9
April 1981	6 490	4 024	62.0	April 1982	2 759	855	31.0	4 374	1 014	23.2
May 1981	8 760	3 462	39.5	May 1982	3 766	703	18.7	5 803	626	10.8
June 1981	5 661	2 196	38.8	June 1982	2 313	551	23.8	3 685	419	11.4
July 1981	5 216	1 435	27.5	July 1982	2 046	452	22.1	4 090	519	12.7
August 1981	7 353	1 685	22.9	August 1982	3 456	398	11.5	5 779	548	9.5
Sept. 1981	9 307	1 519	16.3	Sept. 1982	3 584	530	14.8	6 243	600	9.6
Oct. 1981	9 868	2 773	28.1	Oct. 1982	2 789	852	30.5	5 527	771	13.9

Sources: Thailand, National Statistical Office, *The Survey of Migration in Bangkok Metropolis 1982* (Bangkok), table 16;

\_\_\_\_\_ , *The Survey of Migration in Bangkok Metropolis, Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani and Samut Prakan: 1983* (Bangkok), table 16; and

\_\_\_\_\_ , *The Survey of Migration into the Bangkok Metropolis and Vicinity 1984*, table 16.

migrants and that migrants to larger urban areas are better educated than other migrants (table 23). This conclusion holds most strictly for migrants with a secondary level education. Migrants are twice as likely to have attended university as non-migrants. The proportion of migrants who have attended university is lower for migrants to Bangkok than those to surrounding provinces or those to all destinations. These figures are somewhat misleading, however, as the great majority of migrants who have attended university move to Bangkok. For example, the 1984 survey of migration estimated that in the previous two years 1,479 persons who had attended university moved to the Bangkok Metropolis, compared with 590 who moved to one of the five suburban provinces.

Only a small proportion of migrants in Thailand have a job at their destination before moving (table 24). The higher up the urban hierarchy the destination, the more likely it is that the migrant does not have a job arranged. Among male migrants in the period 1975-1980, 27 per cent of those in non-municipal areas reported moving to look for work or to change jobs. Among those

in municipal areas the proportion was 36 per cent. The categories of reasons for moving are somewhat different for the annual migration survey, but 39 per cent of the male migrants to the vicinity of Bangkok moved to look for work during the agricultural slack season and another 12 per cent moved to change jobs. It is possible that many migrants in the latter category did not have a job arranged prior to migration. Among male migrants to the Bangkok Metropolis, 47 per cent were looking for work during the agricultural slack season and another 21 per cent moved to change jobs.

The migration data reviewed in this section give an impression of a highly mobile population willing to move long distances to seek employment. The degree of circular migration may be very high. Table 22 implies that about 70 per cent of migrants to Bangkok stay for less than one year, with the duration shorter for females than males. The most mobile group in the population are males aged 20-29, but for migration to urban areas female rates exceed those of males, especially for migration to the Bangkok Metropolis.

**Table 23. Percentage distribution of total population and migrants by level of education, by sex**

Level of education	Total population aged 6-29		All migrants 1975-1980, aged 6-29		Migrants to Bangkok Metropolis XI-1981 to X-1983, aged 7-30		Migrants to vicinity of Bangkok Metropolis XI-1981 to X-1983, aged 7-30	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No education	12.2	12.7	9.0	10.7	1.3	1.7	2.4	3.3
Primary level	72.5	75.2	66.7	69.0	70.3	82.1	69.3	76.0
Secondary level	12.7	9.7	18.3	14.4	23.4	12.8	22.8	14.9
University level	2.3	2.4	5.4	6.0	4.2	2.3	4.4	3.3
Other	0.3	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.9	1.0	1.0	2.6

Sources: Chintana Pejaranonda, Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Migration*, 1980 Population and Housing Census, Subject Report No. 2 (Bangkok, National Statistical Office), table 10; and Thailand, National Statistical Office, *The Survey of Migration into the Bangkok Metropolis and Vicinity 1984* (Bangkok), pp. 8, 64.

Table 24. Percentage distribution of migrants by reason for moving, by migration stream

Reason for moving	Migrants 1975-1980			
	Living in municipal area in 1980		Living in non-municipal area in 1980	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
To study	9.4	12.1	3.2	1.9
To accompany person in the household	21.7	39.8	29.3	57.4
For marriage	2.2	5.1	15.8	11.1
To look for work	34.2	25.9	25.5	15.2
To take or change jobs	2.3	1.4	1.5	1.0
For job transfer	10.5	2.3	8.5	2.6
For work, other reason	1.1	1.3	0.9	0.6
To return home	1.3	1.2	3.6	3.4
To move to other residence	6.1	2.5	1.9	0.7
To be ordained	0.9	0.1	2.9	0.2
Other and unknown	10.4	8.4	7.0	5.9

	Migrants XI-1981 to X-1983			
	To Bangkok Metropolis		To vicinity of Bangkok Metropolis	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
To change job	21.1	18.6	12.3	5.3
Look for work during agric. slack season	47.3	47.9	39.4	27.7
To further studies	10.7	8.1	4.1	3.3
Official transfer	3.3	0.2	6.8	2.0
Move with spouse	0.4	11.8	2.0	25.5
Move with head of household	13.9	9.6	24.1	29.5
Other and unknown	3.2	3.9	11.3	6.7

Sources: Chintana Pejaranonda, Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Migration*, 1980 Population and Housing Census, Subject Report No. 2 (Bangkok, National Statistical Office), table 14B; and Thailand, National Statistical Office, *The Survey of Migration into the Bangkok Metropolis and Vicinity 1984* (Bangkok), pp. 4, 60.

#### D. CONCLUSION

It is especially important to examine carefully data for Thailand concerning many aspects of social development. Different interpretations are possible depending on the data used or the definitions employed. For example, the level of female participation in the labour force is one of the highest recorded in the developing world, but about 59 per cent of female workers are unpaid family workers.

According to the census definition of

municipal areas, 17.0 per cent of the population in 1980 was urban. If urban sanitary districts are included, however, the proportion was 23.6 per cent. Between 1970 and 1980 the Bangkok Metropolis grew faster than the combined population of the ten largest cities, which increased faster than the total urban population. Yet the impression of greater urban concentration may be spurious because of the restrictive definition of municipal area and because each region has a growth pole that increased at a higher rate than Bangkok between 1970 and 1980.

Similar complexities arise in studying migration levels. Between 1965-1970 and 1975-1980 the number of interprovincial migrants decreased, but the number of inter-regional migrants increased substantially. Levels of permanent migration are modest. Only 7.6 per cent of the population aged five and over changed residence between 1975 and 1980. The incidence of circular migration, especially between Bangkok and other areas, may be extremely high however.

Overall, male migration rates are greater than female rates, but females predominate at ages 15-19 and in migration to urban areas.

On the other hand, it appears that female migrants to Bangkok are less likely than male migrants to remain for a year or longer.

Taking these observations into account, it is nonetheless clear that Thailand has experienced steady rates of economic, social and demographic change over the past two decades. The proportion urban has increased slowly, but the growth rates of the largest cities, particularly the Bangkok Metropolis, have been high. Migration may be largely seasonal and short-term and apparently provides different economic sectors a responsive and elastic supply of labour.



### III. PAKISTAN



## INTRODUCTION

Economic and social change in Pakistan has been steady over the past two or three decades but has not been as impressive as in the Republic of Korea or in Thailand. In 1984 the per capita gross national product (GNP) in Pakistan (\$US 380) was less than half that in Thailand (\$US 860).

Urbanization has also proceeded steadily, with the percentage of the population living in urban areas increasing from 22 in 1960 to 28 in 1980, but two thirds of urban growth has resulted from natural increase, rather than migration or reclassification.

Based on their last move, 44 per cent of internal migrants changed their residence from a rural to an urban area, but overall rates of migration are low. Only 2.8 per cent of the population moved in the five years preceding the 1981 census. The last move of 65 per cent of all migrants occurred more than 10 years prior to the census. This unusually high percentage reflects the large number of persons who migrated at the time of Independence but who have not moved recently. In contrast to the Republic of Korea and Thailand, female migration rates are much lower than male rates.

The data on migration and urbanization in this chapter are from the 1981 Population Census of Pakistan. Most are taken from the national census report<sup>1</sup> and some are from a provisional copy of a census monograph on urbanization and migration to be published by the Population Census Organisation.

### A. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE

By 1984, per capita GNP had reached \$US 380, or nearly the lower boundary of the World Bank category of middle-income economies (\$US 400). Between 1965 and 1984, per capita GNP had grown at an average annual rate of 2.5 per cent, a rate exceeded by only three other low-income countries (China, Sri Lanka and Uganda) during that period.<sup>2</sup>

Economic growth during the period 1973-1984 was paced by industry, where domestic production increased at an average annual rate of 7.6 per cent. The growth rate for manufacturing equalled 7.5 per cent. The service sector increased at a rate of 6.4 per cent. Agricultural production grew by 3.0 per cent per annum,<sup>3</sup> barely more than the rate of natural increase of the population during the period, 2.7 per cent.

While the secondary sector led the others in growth of production, it did not absorb a commensurate share of the labour force. Between 1973 and 1981, the proportion of the labour force in the secondary sector (mining, manufacturing, utilities and construction) increased only from 14.0 to 15.1 per cent (table 25, with persons for whom activity was not adequately defined distributed proportionately). The share of the labour force in the primary sector declined from 59.1 to 55.4 per cent, and that in the tertiary sector increased from 26.9 to 29.5 per cent.

The female labour force participation rate is exceptionally low, 3.2 per cent of women aged 10 and over in 1981. The low rate is partially a matter of definition, as housewives, even in rural areas, are not considered to be working. The female participation rate in rural areas is 3.0 per cent, and in urban areas, 3.5 per cent.<sup>4</sup>

Levels of literacy and education are low in Pakistan, especially among females. Among persons aged 15 and over in 1981, 36 per cent of males and 15 per cent of females were literate. In 1983, 63 per cent of males and 33 per cent of females of primary school age were enrolled. At the secondary level, gross enrolment ratios in 1982 were 21 per cent for males and 8 per cent for females.<sup>5</sup>

Only 23.3 per cent of the population aged 10 and above have attended school. The percentage equals 14.8 in rural areas and 43.4 in urban areas. Among males, 31.8 per cent have attended school, but only 13.6 per cent of females have. Urban males are the most

<sup>1</sup> Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan* (Islamabad, December 1984).

<sup>2</sup> International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, *World Development Report 1986* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1986), table 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, table 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *op. cit.*, table 14.

<sup>5</sup> UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook 1986* (Paris, 1986), table 3.2.



**Table 25. Percentage distribution of employed persons aged 10 years and above by industry and sex, 1973 and 1981**

Industry	1973			1981		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	58.6	58.3	65.1	52.7	53.2	39.3
Mining and quarrying	1.0	0.8	4.1	0.4	0.4	0.3
Manufacturing	8.3	8.4	5.5	9.2	8.9	15.3
Electricity, gas and water	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.6	0.3
Construction	4.5	4.7	1.7	4.2	4.3	2.4
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	9.3	9.6	3.0	9.4	9.5	6.1
Transport, storage and communication	3.9	4.1	0.6	4.1	4.2	1.7
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	0.7	0.8	0.2	0.8	0.8	0.5
Community, social and personal services	12.7	12.4	18.1	13.7	13.1	29.7
Activities not adequately defined	0.9	0.9	1.9	4.9	4.9	4.5

Sources: Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *Housing, Economic and Demographic Survey-1973*, vol. 2, part 1, *Statistical Tables, Pakistan* (Islamabad); and *1981 Census Report of Pakistan* (Islamabad, December 1984).

likely to have attended school, 51.6 per cent, whereas only 5.6 per cent of rural females have. Of the rural females who have been to school, 70.6 per cent attended only primary school. Thus, only 1.6 per cent of rural females have attended school beyond the primary level. In contrast 18.9 per cent of urban females have attended at least middle school, and 11.1 per cent of rural males and 34.2 per cent of urban males have.<sup>6</sup>

The low levels of educational attainment among both males and females and the low rate of female labour force participation no doubt contribute to the low migration rates noted above.

The relatively slow pace of social development is also reflected in demographic measures. Between 1960 and 1980 declines in

mortality nearly equalled those in fertility, so that there was no appreciable reduction in the rate of natural increase. Between the period 1960-1965 and 1975-1980, the total fertility rate declined from over 7 children per women to about 6, and the crude birth rate dropped from 48.4 to 42.6 (table 26). At the same time life expectancy rose from about 44.4 years to 48.0 years. The relative social status of women is also reflected by the fact that their expectation of life is 2.0 years shorter than that of men. The gains in life expectancy reduced the crude death rate from 21.9 to 16.7. Thus the rate of natural increase equalled 2.65 per cent per annum during the period 1960-1965 and 2.57 per cent during 1975-80.

## B. URBANIZATION

The percentage of the population of Pakistan residing in urban areas increased

<sup>6</sup> Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31.

Table 26. Pakistan, demographic indicators, 1950-1980

Indicator	1950	1960	1970	1980
Population (in thousands)	40 031	50 093	65 706	86 143
Percentage urban	17.5	22.1	24.9	28.1
	1950-1955	1960-1965	1970-1975	1975-1980
Rate of natural increase (%)	2.10	2.65	2.57	2.59
Crude birth rate	49.5	48.4	44.1	42.6
Crude death rate	28.5	21.9	18.3	16.7
Total fertility rate	6.96	7.15	6.52	6.03
Life expectancy				
Male	40.1	45.6	47.5	49.0
Female	37.6	43.1	45.5	47.0

Source: *World Population Prospects: Estimates and Projections as Assessed in 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.XIII.3).

from 22.5 in 1961 to 25.4 in 1972, and to 28.3 in 1981. Because the latter intercensal period was shorter than the earlier (8.3 and 11.8 years, respectively), the pace of urbanization was more rapid during the latter period. Between the 1961 and 1972 censuses the urban population increased by 4.59 per cent per annum, and the rural by 3.25 per cent. During the latter intercensal period the urban growth rate equalled 4.37 per cent per annum and the rural rate was 2.60 per cent. A useful measure of the rate of urbanization is the difference between the urban and rural growth rates during a specified period. During the 1961-1972 period this difference was 1.34, but during the 1972-1981 period it increased to 1.77.

The concept of urban used in Pakistan is relatively comprehensive in that it included 92 Town Committees in 1981 that had a population of less than 10,000.

The population and growth rates between 1951 and 1981 of the 12 largest cities are shown in table 27. Karachi replaced Lahore as the country's largest city in 1951, and by 1981 exceeded the latter in population by more than 2.2 million. Aside from Karachi, the largest cities of Pakistan are concentrated in Punjab Province. Seven of the 12 largest cities are located there, and Islamabad is sur-

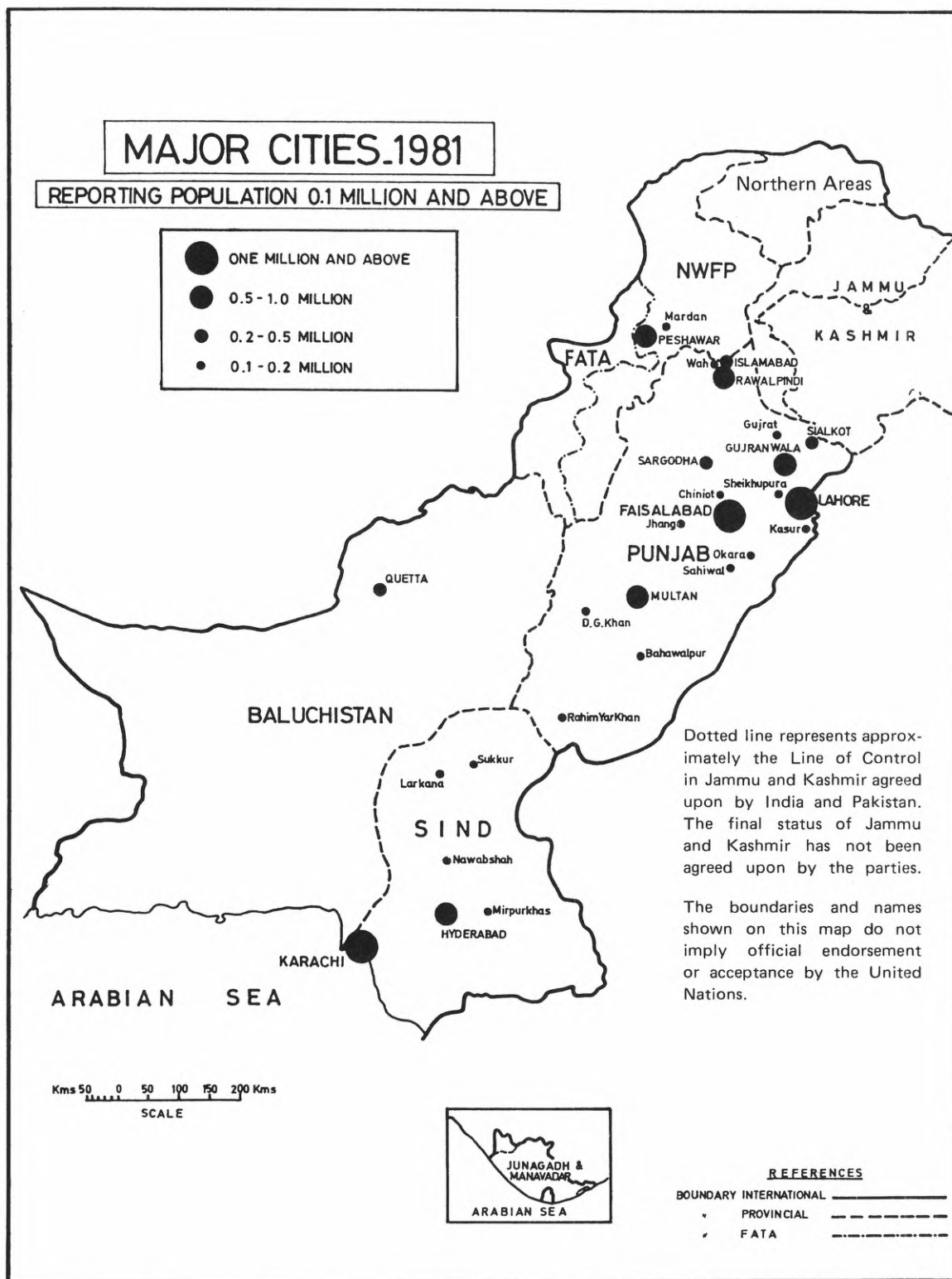
rounded by the province (map 3). Hyderabad, in Sind Province, declined from the third largest city in 1961 to the fifth largest in 1981. During the same period Rawalpindi, in Punjab Province, increased from the sixth to the fourth largest city. Some of Rawalpindi's growth is attributable to its location adjacent to the capital of Islamabad, by far the most rapidly growing of the nation's large cities.

Several measures indicate that urban growth in Pakistan is well-balanced. The average annual inter-censal growth rate of each of the five largest cities declined between the 1961-1972 period and the 1972-1981 period, whereas the growth rate increased for each of the next six cities (table 27).

Although the population of Karachi as a percentage of the total urban population continued to grow between 1951 and 1981, both the level and rate of increase are modest (table 28). The ratio of Karachi's population to that of the second largest city, Lahore, remains low, having only increased from 1.5 in 1961 to 1.8 in 1981. The proportion of the total urban population in the ten largest cities declined slightly between 1972 and 1981.

One explanation for the balance in urban growth is that a high proportion of it results

Map 3. Major cities in Pakistan, 1981



Source: Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, 1981 Census Report of Pakistan (Islamabad, December 1984).

from natural increase rather than from migration or annexation. If it is assumed that the rate of natural increase in urban areas equals that of the total population of the country, natural increase accounted for 73

per cent of urban growth during the period 1961-1972 and 66 per cent during the period 1972-1981 (table 29). Natural increase accounts for a somewhat lower proportion of the population growth of Karachi, 62 per

**Table 27. Population and growth rates of twelve major cities, 1951-1981**

City	Population				Growth rate		
	1951	1961	1972	1981	1951-1961	1961-1972	1972-1981
Karachi <sup>a</sup>	1 068 459	1 912 598	3 515 402	5 208 132	5.9	5.2	4.7
Lahore <sup>b</sup>	849 333	1 296 477	2 169 742	2 952 689	4.3	4.4	3.7
Faisalabad <sup>c</sup>	179 127	425 248	823 343	1 104 209	8.7	5.6	3.5
Rawalpindi <sup>b</sup>	236 877	340 175	614 809	794 843	3.6	5.0	3.1
Hyderabad <sup>b</sup>	241 801	434 537	628 631	751 529	5.9	3.1	2.2
Multan <sup>b</sup>	190 122	358 201	538 949	732 070	6.4	3.5	3.7
Gujranwala <sup>c</sup>	120 852	196 154	323 880	600 993	4.9	4.3	7.5
Peshawar <sup>b</sup>	151 435	217 885	272 697	566 248	3.7	1.9	8.8
Sialkot <sup>b</sup>	156 378	167 294	203 650	302 009	0.7	1.7	4.8
Sargodha <sup>b</sup>	78 447	129 291	200 460	291 362	5.0	3.7	4.5
Quetta <sup>b</sup>	83 892	106 633	158 026	285 719	2.4	3.3	7.4
Islamabad	—	—	76 641	204 364	—	—	11.8

Source: Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan* (Islamabad, December 1984), table 2.4.

<sup>a</sup> Karachi city comprises Karachi Metropolitan Corporation, Karachi Cantonment, Drig Road Cantt., Korangi Creek Cantt., Malir Cantt., and Manora Cantt.

<sup>b</sup> Municipal corporation and cantonment.

<sup>c</sup> Municipal corporation.

**Table 28. Pakistan, summary measures of urbanization, 1951, 1961, 1972 and 1981**

Measure	1951	1961	1972	1981
Percentage urban	17.8	22.5	25.4	28.3
Percentage of urban population in city of Karachi	17.8	19.8	21.2	21.8
Percentage of urban population in ten largest cities	54.5	56.7	56.0	55.8
Two-city primacy index <sup>a</sup>	1.26	1.48	1.62	1.76

Source: Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan* (Islamabad, December 1984), tables 2.3, 2.4.

<sup>a</sup> The population of the largest city divided by the population of the second largest city.

**Table 29. Components of growth of the population of urban areas, Karachi and Islamabad, 1961-1972 and 1972-1981**

Period and component	Percentage		
	Urban areas	Karachi	Islamabad
1961-1972			
Total	100.0	100.0	—
Natural increase <sup>a</sup>	72.8	62.4	—
Net migration, annexation and reclassification	27.2	37.6	—
1972-1981			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Natural increase <sup>a</sup>	66.4	60.2	17.4
Net migration	31.3	39.8	82.6
Annexation and reclassification	2.3		

Sources: Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan* (Islamabad, December 1984), and Census Monograph on Migration and Urbanization, 1987 (mimeo).

<sup>a</sup> Assuming that the rate of natural increase for each area equalled that of the country as a whole, i.e., 3.57 per cent per annum during 1961-1972 and 3.07 per cent per annum during 1972-1981.

cent during 1961-1972 and 60 per cent during 1972-1981. Natural increase was a minor component of the growth of the capital Islamabad between 1972 and 1981; 83 per cent of the growth resulted from net migration, annexation and reclassification.

### C. MIGRATION

Migrants were defined in the 1981 census as persons who had ever changed their place of residence from one district to another, plus those who had moved to Pakistan from another country. The number of migrants was tabulated by duration of current residence and place of previous residence. A total of 9,959,251 migrants was enumerated, or 12.1 per cent of the total population. Males were only slightly more likely to have migrated; male migrants equalled 12.6 per cent and female migrants 11.7 per cent of their respective total populations.

Among the migrants were 4.0 million, or 40.6 per cent, whose previous place of residence was another country (table 30).

This high proportion reflects the large number of persons who moved from India to Pakistan following Independence and partition in 1947, and who have not moved between districts since. The total number of persons who migrated from India and survived until 1981 is obscured, because those who have moved once within Pakistan are tabulated only by their previous (or Pakistan) place of residence.

The place of previous residence was not reported for 652,000 migrants, or 6.5 per cent, and another 106,000 or 1.1 per cent, had moved from Kashmir and Northern Areas. In addition, the census questions on migration were not asked in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), so the number of in-migrants to FATA is not known although the number of migrants from FATA to other provinces is (83,000).

Nearly two thirds (63.4 per cent) of all migrants were enumerated in the Punjab (table 30). That province also attracted roughly 70 per cent of the migrants from Kashmir and Northern Areas, other countries, and

Table 30. Migrants by place of previous residence and place of current residence, 1981

Present residence	Previous residence									
	Total	NWFP <sup>a</sup>	FATA <sup>b</sup>	Punjab	Sind	Baluchistan	Islam- mabad	K+NA <sup>c</sup>	Other countries	Not reported
Total	9 959 251	793 980	83 362	3 516 239	527 219	230 732	8 211	106 410	4 041 121	651 977
Percentage	100	7.97	0.84	35.31	5.29	2.32	0.08	1.07	40.58	6.55
NWFP <sup>a</sup>	491 365	179 376	67 965	99 058	16 135	1 780	955	6 979	78 410	40 707
Percentage	100	36.51	13.83	20.16	3.28	0.36	0.19	1.42	15.96	8.28
Punjab	6 315 775	196 850	7 759	2 667 196	92 067	54 298	4 997	74 639	2 756 298	461 671
Percentage	100	3.12	0.12	42.23	1.46	0.86	0.08	1.18	43.64	7.31
Sind	2 774 516	369 676	6 998	631 578	405 277	56 988	2 157	19 211	1 173 008	109 623
Percentage	100	13.32	0.25	22.76	14.61	2.05	0.08	0.69	42.28	3.95
Baluchistan	264 451	29 490	452	56 424	10 579	117 257	102	1 466	26 737	21 944
Percentage	100	11.15	0.17	4.0	4.0	44.34	0.04	0.55	10.11	8.30
Islamabad	113 144	18 588	188	61 983	3 161	409	—	4 115	6 668	18 032
Percentage	100	16.43	0.17	54.78	2.79	0.36	—	3.64	5.89	15.94

Source: Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan* (Islamabad, December 1984), table 5.1.

<sup>a</sup> North West Frontier Province.

<sup>b</sup> Federally Administered Tribal Areas.

<sup>c</sup> Kashmir and Northern Areas.

places not reported. In the Punjab, 13.4 per cent of the population were migrants.

Although Sind contained fewer migrants, they comprised 14.6 per cent of the total population. In Islamabad, 33.2 per cent of the residents were migrants. If migrants moving from Kashmir and Northern Areas, other countries and places not reported are excluded, the 1981 census recorded 5,159,743 persons who may be considered internal migrants. About two thirds, 65.3 per cent, of all internal migrants moved within a province. The proportion of internal migrants who were intra-provincial movers was the greatest in the Punjab, 88.2 per cent, and the lowest in Sind, 27.5 per cent. The proportion was about half in North West Frontier Province, 49.1 per cent, and Baluchistan, 54.7 per cent.

Sind and Islamabad gained population through internal migration while North West Frontier Province, Punjab and Baluchistan lost population. The largest interprovincial migration flow based on place of previous residence has been from Punjab to Sind, 632,000 (table 30). The reverse flow equals only 92,000, yielding a net gain to Sind of 540,000 migrants. In fact, more persons have moved from the Punjab to Sind than have moved between districts within Sind. If only internal migrants are considered, Sind has a net gain of 945,000 persons and Islamabad has a net gain of 76,000. The other provinces have experienced net losses of population through migration. The net loss equals 429,000 for North West Frontier Province, 493,000 for the Punjab, and 16,000 for Baluchistan.

Among the 5.16 million internal migrants, the last move of 87.6 per cent originated in a rural area (table 31). Rural-to-urban moves accounted for 44.5 per cent of all moves and rural-to-rural moves accounted for 43.1 per cent. Urban-to-urban moves comprise 9.1 per cent of migration and urban-to-rural moves comprise 3.3 per cent.

Among all migrants in Pakistan, 64.7 per cent have lived in their current district of residence for over 10 years (table 32). The percentages are highest in the Punjab and Sind, the provinces that received the largest number of persons moving from India after partition. In these two provinces, only 20.1 and 21.0 per cent, respectively, of the migrants had moved in the five years prior to the 1981 census. The proportion of recent migrants was much greater in the other provinces, equalling 44.0 per cent of the total

**Table 31. Internal migrants by migration stream,<sup>a</sup> 1981**

Stream	Number	Percentage
Total <sup>b</sup>	5 159 743	100.0
Rural-rural	2 221 581	43.1
Rural-urban	2 295 421	44.5
Urban-rural	171 959	3.3
Urban-urban	470 782	9.1

*Source:* Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan* (Islamabad, December 1984), table 5.2.

<sup>a</sup> Based on previous and current place of residence.

<sup>b</sup> The table excludes migrants whose previous place of residence was Kashmir and Northern Areas, other countries, or not reported.

in Islamabad, 48.0 per cent in Baluchistan and 56.4 per cent in North West Frontier Province.

Current rates of migration are relatively low. In the five years prior to the 1981 census, only 3.15 per cent of the male population and 2.43 per cent of the female population moved between districts (table 33). Because 44 per cent of recent moves were from rural to urban areas and only 3 per cent were from urban to rural areas, the proportion of recent migrants among the urban population is about triple that among the rural population. In urban areas, 6.4 per cent of males and 4.4 per cent of females are recent migrants, but in rural areas less than 2 per cent of either males or females are recent migrants.

For the country as a whole, male migration rates exceed those of females in every age group. Male rates are highest between ages 20 and 34, reaching a peak at ages 25-29. On average females migrate at somewhat younger ages, with the highest rate occurring at ages 20-24. The greatest differences between male and female migration rates occur between ages 25 and 39.

The same generalizations may be made for the proportions of migrants among the urban population, although those migration rates are about double those of the country as a whole (table 33 and figure IV). More than 10 per cent of urban males aged 20 to 34 migrated in the five-year period preceding the 1981 census. Female migration rates ac-

**Table 32. Migrants by place of current residence and duration of residence, 1981**

Place of current residence	Duration of continuous residence			
	Total	Less than 5 years	Between 5 and 10 years	10 years or more
All areas	9 959 251	2 303 362	1 211 441	6 444 448
Percentage	100	23.13	12.16	64.71
NWFP <sup>a</sup>	491 365	277 260	72 057	142 049
Percentage	100	56.43	14.66	28.91
Punjab	6 315 775	1 268 285	658 182	4 389 308
Percentage	100	20.08	10.42	69.50
Sind	2 774 516	581 144	404 583	1 788 789
Percentage	100	20.95	14.58	64.47
Baluchistan	264 451	126 932	43 269	94 250
Percentage	100	48.00	16.36	35.64
Islamabad	113 114	49 741	33 350	30 053
Percentage	100	43.96	29.48	26.56

Source: Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, 1981 Census Report of Pakistan (Islamabad, December 1984), table 5.3.

<sup>a</sup> North West Frontier Province.

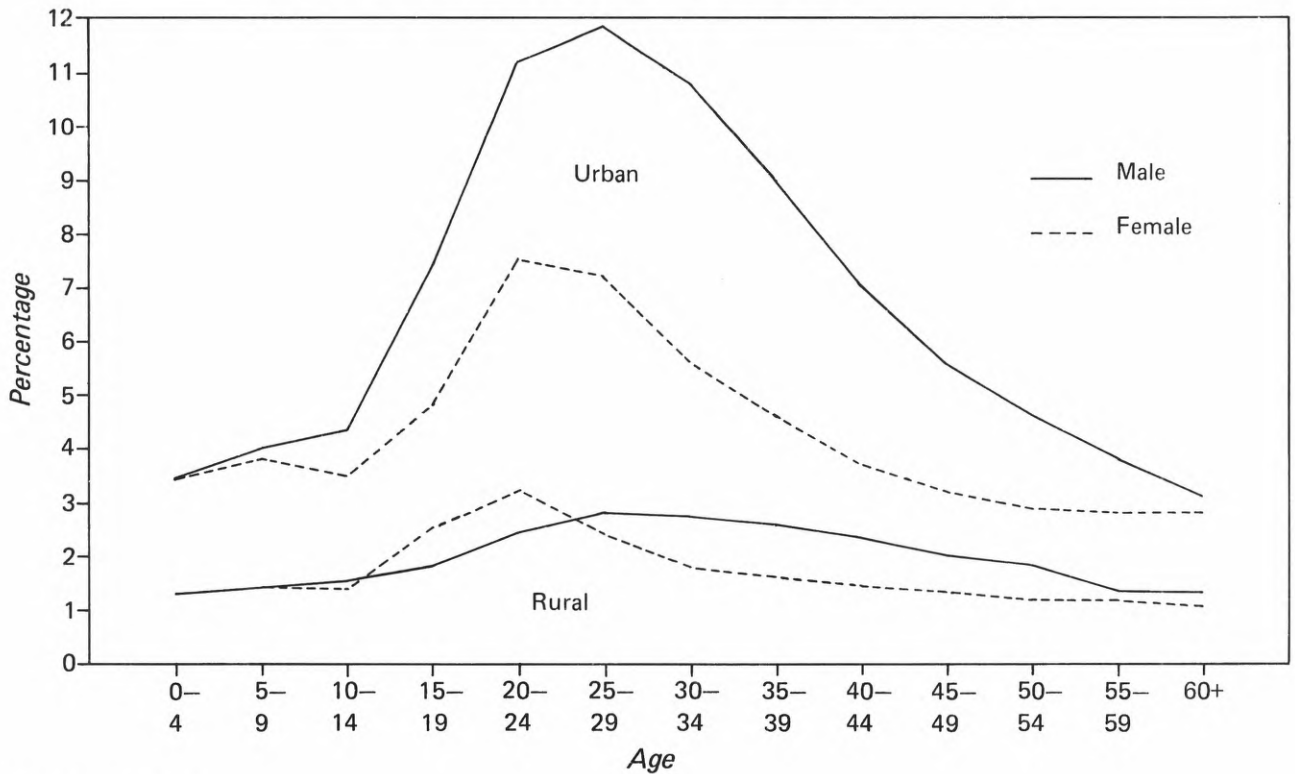
**Table 33. Migrants in the previous five years as a percentage of the population by area of residence, age and sex, 1981**

Age group	Total		Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages	3.15	2.43	6.37	4.37	1.79	1.66
0-4	1.93	1.87	3.42	3.40	1.31	1.28
5-9	2.11	2.02	3.99	3.77	1.41	1.37
10-14	2.33	2.00	4.33	3.51	1.54	1.37
15-19	3.61	3.24	7.35	4.75	1.81	2.50
20-24	5.46	4.61	11.11	7.45	2.36	3.26
25-29	5.70	3.80	11.76	7.14	2.76	2.38
30-34	5.27	2.86	10.83	5.57	2.70	1.78
35-39	4.59	2.49	9.00	4.57	2.57	1.63
40-44	3.74	1.99	7.04	3.67	2.23	1.36
45-49	3.08	1.79	5.48	3.21	2.03	1.27
50-54	2.57	1.64	4.56	2.94	1.80	1.20
55-59	2.04	1.57	3.83	2.80	1.34	1.18
60+	1.75	1.51	3.14	2.81	1.32	1.13

Source: Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, 1981 Census Report of Pakistan (Islamabad, December 1984), table 20.



**Figure V. Pakistan: migrants in the previous five years as a percentage of the total population by area of residence, age and sex, 1981**



Source: Table 33.

hieved their maximum level of 7.4 per cent at ages 20-24. In urban areas, the proportion of migrants among males is nearly double that among females between ages 30 and 44.

Females migrate at younger ages than males, on average, because a higher proportion of female migrants move for marriage and females marry at younger ages. These tendencies are especially evident among the rural population. Although the proportion of migrants in rural areas is low, the percentage of recent migrants among females ages 15 to 24 exceeds that among males of the same age groups. Below age 10, male and female migration rates in all areas are essentially equal because young children move with their family with little distinction by gender.

Both male and female migrants are better educated and engaged in higher-level occupations than their non-migrant counterparts. Migrants aged 10 and above are twice as likely to be literate as non-migrants. Male and female migrants are 43 and 20 per cent literate, respectively, whereas the percentages among non-migrants are 22 and 10. The gap in proportion literate between migrants and

non-migrants is larger for younger age groups, implying that some migration is for the purpose of education.<sup>7</sup>

Just as the urban population is much more likely to be literate than the rural, so are urban migrants. Urban migrants are 40 per cent literate while rural migrants are 16 per cent literate. Among non-migrants the percentages are 25 for the urban population and 10 for the rural.

The population may be grouped into three levels of education: A, degree holders; B, matriculation but below a degree; and C, below matriculation. As expected, migrants are much better educated than non-migrants. Migrants are twice as likely (9.3 per cent) as non-migrants (4.0 per cent) to be degree holders. Among migrants, 31.2 per cent are at level B of educational attainment, compared with 20.8 per cent of non-migrants. Similar relationships obtain for each sex, although males have a higher level of educational attainment than females. Both

<sup>7</sup> Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, Census Monograph on Migration and Urbanization, 1987 (mimeo), chap. 7.

migrants and non-migrants in urban areas are considerably better educated than those in rural areas. Among urban migrants, 10.1 per cent have obtained a degree, while 5.7 per cent of urban non-migrants have done so. In rural areas, 4.7 per cent of migrants and 1.6 per cent of non-migrants are degree holders. In urban areas, 32.4 per cent of migrants are at level B of educational attainment, compared with 23.9 per cent of non-migrants. In rural areas the percentages at level B are 23.9 and 14.9 for migrants and non-migrants, respectively.<sup>8</sup>

Much migration in Pakistan entails a move away from agricultural to other occupations. Whereas 52.4 per cent of the total labour force is in agriculture, only 18.0 per cent of the migrant labour force is (table 34, with workers not classifiable by occupation distributed proportionately among occupations). As a consequence, the proportion of the migrant labour force in each other major occupational group exceeds that of non-migrants. The proportion of migrants in administrative, clerical and service occupations is double that of the total labour force. Because a much smaller proportion of females

(38.7 per cent) than males (53.0 per cent) in the total labour force are considered to be in agriculture, the differences in occupational structure between the migrant and total labour forces are smaller for females than males.

International migration has also become significant recently. The 1981 census asked if any previous members of the household had migrated overseas during the past ten years and were still abroad at the time of the census. In response, 1,708,608 persons were reported to be abroad. Thus, while 11.8 per cent of the population in Pakistan were lifetime migrants, the number of Pakistanis living abroad equalled 2.0 per cent of the resident population. The greatest number of emigrants was from the Punjab, 735,000 or 43.0 per cent of the total. The highest rate of emigration was from North West Frontier Province, however. A total of 591,000 persons from that province was overseas, a number equal to 5.3 per cent of the resident population. Another 300,000 persons from Sind, 77,000 from Baluchistan and 4,000 from Islamabad were also abroad in 1981.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Pakistan, Population Census Organisation *1981 Census Report of Pakistan* (Islamabad, December 1984) p. 38.

**Table 34. Percentage distribution of migrant and total labour force by occupation and sex, 1981**

Occupation	Migrant labour force			Total labour force		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical and related	5.6	4.9	26.4	3.8	3.4	15.9
Administrative and managerial	2.4	2.4	1.5	1.3	1.3	0.8
Clerical and related	6.1	6.1	5.0	3.1	3.1	3.5
Sales	11.4	11.6	5.6	8.1	8.2	4.5
Services	8.2	7.9	17.2	4.1	4.0	8.0
Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing and hunting	14.7	14.8	10.3	50.1	50.7	36.0
Production and related	33.5	33.8	24.8	25.0	25.0	24.5
Workers not classifiable by occupation	18.2	18.5	9.2	4.4	4.3	6.9

Source: Pakistan, Population Census Organisation, *Census Monograph on Migration and Urbanization, 1987* (mimeo).

#### D. CONCLUSION

Pakistan has achieved steady economic and social progress over the past two decades but most indicators of development remain low. The modest rates of socio-economic change are reflected in a relatively slow pace of urbanization and low rates of migration. Between 1965 and 1984, per capita GNP increased at an average annual rate of 2.5 per cent to reach \$US 380. The industrial sector recorded the highest rate of increase in production during that period, but the proportion of the labour force in the secondary sector only increased from 14.0 per cent in 1973 to 15.1 per cent in 1981.

Among the population aged 10 and above, 36 per cent of males and 15 per cent of females are literate. Only 24 per cent of the population aged 10 and above have attended school.

In 1975-1980, the crude birth rate was estimated to be 42.6 per thousand population and the crude death to equal 16.7. The total fertility rate was estimated to exceed 6 children per woman. Life expectancy at birth was less than 50 years.

The pace of urbanization has been moderate. The proportion of the population living in urban areas increased from 22.5 per cent in 1961 to 28.3 per cent in 1981. Ur-

banization has been rather well-balanced, with only 21.8 per cent of the urban population residing in the largest city, Karachi.

Migration rates are also relatively low. Only 11.8 per cent of the population have moved between districts since birth. In the five years preceding the 1981 census, 3.15 per cent of males and 2.43 per cent of females migrated. At the time of the census, however, another 1.7 million Pakistanis were living abroad.

Females have not participated proportionally in economic and social development or in migration. Only 3.2 per cent of females aged 10 and over are considered to be in the labour force. Only 13.6 per cent of females have attended school, although that figure will rise rapidly as in 1983 33 per cent of females of primary school age were enrolled. The secondary school gross enrolment ratio for females was only 8 per cent in 1982, however. Female expectation of life is about 2 years less than that of males. Because female participation in education and employment is minimal, their migration rates are low. Among lifetime migrants in Pakistan, there are 84 females per 100 males. There is no indication of an increasing trend in female migration. Among migrants during the 1976-1981 period, there were 70 females per 100 males.

