

Internal Migration in Nepal in 1971: Direction of Flow, Sex and Age Characteristics

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1 Introduction

According to the 1971 Census, the population of Nepal was 11.6 million and is growing at the rate of over 2 percent per annum. Geographically, Nepal can be divided into three main areas, namely, Mountain Hill and Plain.

The Mountain areas range in altitude from 16,000 feet to 29,028 feet above sea level. The areas account for almost 35 percent of the total land areas and include about 10 percent of the total population of the country. The Hill areas range in altitude from above 1000 feet to about 16,000 feet and account for 44 percent of the land area and 52 percent of the total population. The plain areas range from about 200 feet to 1000 feet above sea level and cover about 21 percent of the total land area and 38 percent of the total population.

There is historical evidence that internal migration in Nepal was very limited in the past when the country was divided into several petty kingdoms and principalities. The conquest of Kathmandu valley by king Prithvinarayan Shan and the subsequent expansion and unification of Nepal resulted in the eastward migration of the Nepalese population. ¹ Due to the lack of data on size and characteristics of migration it bears only historical importance.

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1. Asquoted in Kansakar, V.B.S., A Policy Review of Research on Migration and Employment in Nepal,

In absence of employment opportunities outside the agricultural sector and due to limited cultivable land area in the Mountain and Hill areas, there has been a tradition of out migration of Mountain and Hill people to India mainly due to economic reasons. More recently there has been a movement of Hill and Mountain people for permanent settlement in the Plain. This trend has particularly accelerated after the eradication of malaria in the Plain areas in the early sixties.

There is a dearth of research on internal migration in Nepal. Due to the paucity of data the trends of internal migration in the past cannot be traced out. It was only in 1952/54 that Nepal had its first scientific census. The second and the third censuses were conducted subsequently in 1961 and 1971. Due to the changes in the boundary of the administrative districts in the intercensal periods, the trends in internal migration during the decade are difficult to measure. Moreover, it was only in the 1971 Census that a detailed classification of place of birth and place of enumeration data are available for every individual. Due to the limitation of data the main focus of this paper will be to examine the direction of flow of life-time migrants as indicated in the 1971 Census and to study the sex-age characteristics of migrants.

For the purpose of this study the country has been divided into ten geographical regions and the internal migration from and to these regions will be studied.

Findings

Direction of flow

Table 1 presents the percentage of in-migrants born outside the region of residence. Plain areas, particularly in the Eastern and Central regions, have the larger number of in-migrants. Over three-fourths of the in-migrants to Plain areas were born in their respective Hill areas. For example 80.4 percent of in-migrants to Eastern Plain were born in Eastern Hill, 76.3 percent of in migrants to Central Plain were born in Central Hill and, similarly, 79.6 percent of in-migrants to Western plain were born in Western Hill. So the major flow of in-migrants to the Plain has been from the respective Hill areas. Eastern Hill, Kathmandu Valley and Central Hill have also received a large number of in-migrants in comparison to the rest of the regions. About 48% of the in-migrants to Eastern Hill were from Eastern Mountain and 28% from Kathmandu Valley. About 39% of in-migrants to Kathmandu Valley were from Eastern

Hill and about one-third from Center Hill. Over half of the in-migrants to Central Hill were from Kathmandu Valley and over one-fourth from Eastern Hill. It is clear from this table that the major flow of in-migrants to Plain areas are from the Hill followed by Mountain, while the migrants to the Kathmandu Valley are from Eastern and Central Hill.

Table 2 shows the percentage of out-migrants living outside the regions of birth. As expected, Hill areas have the larger number of out-migrants particularly in the Eastern and Central regions. This table also shows that about 80% or more migrants who left Hill areas have settled in Plain areas. Also the majority of the out-migrants from Mountain areas are found to have settled in the Plain areas. 33.4% of out-migrants from Kathmaudu Valley have settled in Central Hill, followed by Central Plain (27.2%) and Eastern Plain (19.2%). In the past the population of Kathmandu Valley have migrated to Central and Eastern Hill but after the accessibility of link road with Central and Eastern Plain there has been a trend of out-migration from Kathmandu Valley to Eastern and Central Plain.

It can be seen from Table 3 that Plain areas have the higher percentages of in-migrants. Of particular interest is that among the Plain areas Eastern Plain has a higher percentage of in-migration followed by Central Plain and the Western Plain have the lower percentage of in-migration. The varying percentage of in-migration among Eastern, Central and Western Plain may be due to the attraction of land for cultivation. Particularly in Eastern Plain land is comparatively more fertile than in the Central and Western Plain. The Eastern Plain receives around 70 to 75 inches of rainfall while Western Plain receives only 30 to 35 inches. The climate in Western Plain is rather marginal with some summers exclusively rainy causing floods and other summers remaining very dry. The population density is also highest in the East and decreases towards the west following the rainfall distribution pattern.² It is noteworthy to mention that malaria eradication was successful quite early in Eastern Plain while the Western Plain was not free of malaria until later.

The percentage of out-migration is higher in Eastern Hill and declines towards the west. This difference may be explained by the same reasons as above. Immediately after the malaria was controlled in Eastern Plain and due to the alluvial nature of land and high potentiality of agricultural productivity, it attracted a higher proportion of in migration from Eastern Hill. The Mountain and Hill areas in Eastern region are more remote and have lower potentiality.

2. Shrestha, M. N., Spatial Distribution and Change of Population in Nepal, Proceedings of Workshop Conference on Population, Family Planning and Development in Nepal, Berkeley, California, August 24-29, 1975, pp. 62-79.

lity for agricultural purpose compared to the Central and Western region. So the push factor in Mountain and Hill and pull factor in Plain in Eastern region increased the proportion of out-migration from Mountain and Hill areas to the Plain. Comparatively the Hill areas in Central and Western region are flat in nature and also includes some fertile valleys.

It can also be seen from this table that Hill and Mountain areas have net loss of population and Plain areas have net gain of population due to migration. The net migration is higher in the Eastern Plain and decreases towards the west. The effectiveness index calculated as the ratio of netmigration to gross migration also shows that the Plain areas have the higher effectiveness index of over .9. This index is higher relative difference between in-migration and out-migration. The lower effectiveness index of-.26 for Kathmandu Valley and Central Mountain shows the lower relative difference between in-migration and out-migration.

Table 4 presents the out migration and in-migration rates from and to the regions. This rate is calculated on the basis of actual population risk of movement. It is also evident from this table that the highest out-migration rate of 10.25% was found in the Eastern Hill followed by Kathmandu Valley (7.2%). Other Hill and Mountain areas have about the same out-migration rate (4-5%). The rate of internal migration for the country as a whole is 4.5%, that is, in 1971, 4.5% of the population were living outside their region of birth. Since no fixed prior date is known of these life-time migrants and no comparable data are available prior to the 1971 Census it is hard to see any change in the trend of internal migration.

The rate of in-migration is found to be the highest in Eastern Plain (1.99%) followed by Central Plain (1.62%) and Western Plain (0.66%).

Sex Characteristics of Migrants

It has generally been observed that migrants are selective and they substantially differ from non-migrants with respect to social and economic characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, education, etc. Due to the limitation of data the present study is focused only on the sex and age characteristics of the migrants.

The overall sex ratio of the population of Nepal in 1971 was 101.4 males per 100 females, while the sex ratio of migrants is more favorable to males which is 107.1 males per 100 females. It can also be seen from Table 5 that there exists a substantial variation in sex ratio of

in-migrants to that of out-migrants by regions. In general it is observed that sex ratio of in-migrants in Kathmandu Valley and Plain areas are highly favorable towards males. The higher sex ratio of in-migrants to the Plain areas are obviously due to the migration related to economic reasons. The higher sex ratio of in-migrants to Kathmandu Valley (139 males per 100 females) may be attributed to the fact that there is an attraction of availability of job opportunities and educational facilities in Kathmandu Valley. Due to this reason more males than females in-migrate to Kathmandu Valley for the purpose of higher education and job opportunity. The sex ratios of in-migrants are lower in Mountain and Hill areas.

The sex ratio of out-migrants does not seem to differ as considerably as it does with in-migrants. However, the sex ratio of out-migrants is higher in the Hills (Eastern and Central) and Kathmandu Valley, while the sex ratio of out-migrants from the Plain areas and Eastern Mountain is lower.

These variations in sex ratio of in-migrants and out-migrants can be more explained if we specifically look at the sex ratio of migrants from one region to another. It can be observed in Table 7 that sex ratio of migrants between Hill and Mountain is female dominated within the regions, which is more prominent in Eastern and Western regions than in Central region (shown in block). Of particular interest in this table is that there are more females among the migrants when migration occurs between the adjacent regions. For instance, sex ratio of migrants from Central Hill to Western Hill is 29.8 and from Western Hill to Central Hill is 26.0. Also the sex ratio of migrants from Eastern Plain to Central Plain and vice-versa is lower. The main reason for this lower sex ratio of migrants between Hill and Mountain of the same region and migrants from Hill to Hill and Plain to Plain in the adjacent region are obviously due to the marriages contracted between persons in these areas. Furthermore, the Hill and Mountain regions have great similarity in their social and cultural habits. Hence, as was propagated by Lee³, that females dominate in short distance migration seems to hold true in Nepal.

It can also be observed from this table that sex ratio is higher among the migrants from Mountain and Hill to Plain. The sex ratio is slightly lower among the migrants from Hill to Plain than from Mountain to Plain. For instance, sex ratio of migrants from Eastern Mountain to Eastern Plain is 115.5 and from Eastern Hill to Eastern Plain is 114.5. In Central region,

3. Lee, E.S., A Theory of Migration, Demography 3 (1966), pp. 47-58.

sex ratio of migrants from Mountain to Plain is 122.2 and from Hill and Plain is 110.9 and in Western region these figures are 120.1 and 109.4 respectively. This would also indicate the male domination in the long distance migration. The sex ratio is higher when migration has occurred from East to West and vice-versa. It is also interesting to note that migrants to Kathmandu Valley are highly characterized by more males than females. The sex ratio of migrants to Kathmandu Valley from the Western regions are much higher. These are 244.1 from Western Hill to Kathmandu Valley and 174.8 from Western plain to Kathmandu Valley. One of the major reasons of attraction of male migrants is obviously the opportunity of education and employment aspiration in Kathmandu Valley. This phenomenon may be more pronounced when we examine the age characteristics of migrants in the following section.

Age Characteristics of Migrants

It has generally been observed that migrants are age selective and it is expected that the proportions in age group 15-34 among the migrants are much higher than among the non-migrants. In order to examine the age selectivity of migrants and to see the impact of migration, population below 15 years of age has been deleted from the age distribution. Because in the age group below 15 years many of the children of migrants will be included with the non-migrants since they will have been born in the region of destination. The inclusion of it may obscure the results. Furthermore, since there is a striking difference in sex selectivity of migrants as observed in Table 6, age distributions of migrants and non-migrants aged 15 years and over have been presented for males and females separately in Tables 7 and 8. Index of dissimilarity has also been shown in Table 7 and 8. This index indicates the absolute differences in age distribution of migrants and non-migrants. The higher the index of dissimilarity, the larger is the age selectivity of the migrants. The index of dissimilarity of '100' would reveal the complete dissimilarity and of '0' would reveal the complete similarity of age distributions of migrants and non-migrants.

It can be observed from Table 7 that except for Kathmandu Valley there is not any striking difference in age distribution of migrants and non-migrants in other regions. The index of dissimilarity also shows that it is higher for Kathmandu Valley. Eastern and Central Mountain also show the higher index of dissimilarity, however, the magnitude of migrants in Mountain regions is lower. It is surprising to note that Plain areas which have been the areas of destination for the majority of the migrants in the recent past, did not show much variation in

age distributions. It is also true that the Plain areas have been able to attract migrants from Hill and Mountain only after malaria was eradicated in the recent past. The only possible reason for the small differences in age distributions of migrants and non-migrants could be that the migrants in Plain areas involve older persons as well as young adults. In the case of migrants in the Hill areas, the same reason could be applied. In addition to this, there is some evidence that migration flows to Hill areas have been going on for quite a long time and therefore the age structure may have been adjusted itself.

There is a striking difference in age distributions of migrants and non-migrants in Kathmandu Valley. Over three-fourths of the migrants belong to age group 15-34 while only over half of the non-migrants belong to this age group. The attraction for young adult males in Kathmandu Valley is mainly due to the availability of educational facilities and employment opportunities.

Presented in Table 8 is the age distribution of female migrants and non-migrants by regions. The lower index of dissimilarity indicates the absence of age selectivity of female migrants in Nepal. In an agricultural country like Nepal with extremely low female literacy, the motives behind the females, migration either depend upon the marriage or the movement of their husbands. The former type of migration has been taking place for quite a long time and age structure may itself have adjusted and in the latter case, recent trend of migration from Hill to Plain areas involves the movement of the family which includes both older persons and young adults.

Summary and Conclusions

In the present paper an attempt has been made to examine the direction of flow of internal migration and its sex and age characteristics. Due to the limitation of the data available for the study, the analysis has been confined to internal migration as indicated in the 1971 Population Census of Nepal. The data that have been used for this study are life time migrants obtained from cross-classification of individuals by place of birth and place of enumeration in ten geographical regions of Nepal.

It has been found that Plain areas have become the main areas of destination of the migrants. Over three-fourths of the migrants to the Plains were born in their respective Hill regions. All the Plain areas have shown net in-migration while Hill

and Mountain areas have shown net out-migration. The rate of in-migration is also high in the Plain areas and rate of out-migration is high in the Hills than Mountains. Rate of in-migration is comparatively higher in Eastern and Central Plain than in Western Plain. The overall rate of inter-regional migration in Nepal is only 4.5%, which reveals that in 1971, 4.5% of the population were living outside their place of birth. Since no fixed prior date is known of this life-time migrants and no comparable data are available prior to the 1971 Census, it is hard to see any change in the trend of internal migration in Nepal.

The sex selectivity of migrants has become quite evident. More females than males were found among migrants that have occurred between Hill and Mountain. This may mainly be due to the marriages contracted between persons in these areas. Sex ratio was lower among migrants which occurred within the short distance. In the long distance migration sex ratio was much higher.

The age distribution of migrants and non-migrants aged 15 years and over has been examined for males and females separately. In the case of males it was observed that except for Kathmandu Valley, there is not any striking difference in age distribution of migrants and non-migrants could thus be due to the reason that migration in Nepal involves older persons as well as young adults. However, the migrants in Kathmandu Valley have higher proportion in the age group 15-34 compared to non-migrants in the same age group. The educational facilities and employment opportunities centered in Kathmandu Valley may have attracted the majority of young adults. The absence of any difference in age distribution of female migrants and non-migrants would further lead us to conclude that except for Kathmandu Valley, migration in Nepal is very unusual in that it involves older persons as well as young adults.

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Table 1. Percent Distribution of Lifetime In-Migrants to Region of Residence from Region of Birth in Nepal, 1971

Region of Residence	Region of Birth											
	Eastern			Kathmandu			Central			Western		
	Mountain	Hill	Plain	Mountain	Valley	Mountain	Hill	Plain	Mountain	Hill	Plain	
TOTAL												
Eastern	100.00											
Mountain (6385)		79.15	5.62	10.68		0.02	3.52	0.45	0.06	0.47	0.02	
Eastern Hill (17498)			21.38	27.82		0.06	1.98	0.63	0.02	0.11	0.05	
Eastern Plain (185799)				4.70		0.03	1.38	1.83	0.02	0.13	0.08	
Kathmandu												
Valley (26440)		13.18	38.64	6.46		0.53	32.83	4.32	0.51	2.33	1.20	
Central												
Mountain (1223)		0.74	5.23	0.41	9.98		81.77	0.82	1.06	0.0	0.0	
Central Hill (29752)									0.38	9.11	0.26	
Central Plain (161751)									0.04	2.36	0.29	
Western												
Mountain (2125)		0.33	0.42	0.80	2.49	0.05	4.28	0.52		90.73	0.38	
Western Hill (5063)									0.04			
Western Plain (70885)									28.22		14.08	
Western Hill (5063)		0.14	1.03	0.81	26.66	0.00	28.07	0.99	11.13			
Western Plain (70885)									0.46	79.55		

Figures in the parentheses are number of in-migrants.

Table 2. Percent Distribution of Lifetime Out-Migrants from Region of Birth to Region of Residence in Nepal, 1971.

Region of Residence	Region of Birth											
	Eastern			Kathmandu			Central			Western		
	Mountain	Hill	Plain	Mountain	Valley	Plain	Mountain	Hill	Plain	Mountain	Hill	Plain
TOTAL	100.00 (37916)	100.00 (186843)	100.00 (10267)	100.00 (45484)	100.00	100.00	100.00 (2095)	100.00 (140642)	100.00 (6504)	100.00 (9681)	100.00 (65780)	100.00 (1739)
Eastern												
Mountain	-	2.7	3.5	1.5	-	-	0.05	0.16	0.45	0.04	0.05	0.06
Eastern Hill	22.13	-	36.44	10.70	-	-	0.53	0.25	1.71	0.04	0.03	0.46
Eastern Plain	55.95	79.96	-	19.18	-	-	2.91	1.83	52.26	0.34	0.37	8.63
Kathmandu												
Valley	9.19	5.47	16.64	-	-	-	6.73	6.17	17.54	1.40	0.94	18.17
Central												
Mountain	0.02	0.03	0.05	0.27	-	-	-	0.71	0.15	0.13	0.00	0.00
Central Hill	3.56	4.25	3.58	33.36	28.74	-	21.92	-	21.92	1.16	4.12	4.37
Central Plain	8.84	7.12	36.32	27.20	60.24	87.72	-	-	-	0.66	5.80	26.85
Western												
Mountain	0.02	0.00	0.17	0.12	0.05	0.06	0.17	0.06	0.17	-	2.93	0.46
Western Hill	0.02	0.03	0.40	2.97	0.00	1.01	0.77	14.76	0.77	14.76	-	41.00
Western Plain	0.26	0.43	2.91	4.70	0.76	2.08	5.03	81.46	5.03	81.46	85.76	-

Figures in the parentheses are number of out-migrants

Table 3 Lifetime Migration Gain and Loss by Geographic Regions in Nepal 1971..

Region	In-Migration (a)	Out-Migration (b)	Net-Migration (a-b)	Effectiveness Index (a-b) / (a+b)
Eastern				
Mountain	1.26	7.48	-6.22	-0.71
Eastern Hill	3.45	36.86	-33.41	-0.83
Eastern Plain	36.65	2.03	34.62	0.90
Kathmandu				
Valley	5.22	8.97	-3.75	-0.26
Central				
Mountain	0.24	0.41	-0.17	-0.26
Central Hill	5.87	27.74	-21.87	-0.65
Central Plain	31.91	1.28	30.63	0.92
Western				
Mountain	0.42	1.91	-1.49	-0.64
Western Hill	1.00	12.97	-11.97	-0.86
Western Plain	13.98	0.34	13.64	0.95
ALL	100.00	100.00		
NUMBER	506921	506921		

Table 4 Lifetime In-Migration and Out-Migration Rates by Regins in Nepal, 1971

Region	Total pop.		Out-Migration Rate	Total Pop.		In-Migration Rate
	born in	Living out		born out	Living in	
Eastern Mountain	670745	37916	5.65	10547790	6385	0.06
Eastern Hill	1822184	186843	10.25	9396351	17498	0.19
Eastern Plain	1874239	10267	0.55	9344296	185799	1.99
Kathmandu Valley	631635	45484	7.20	10586900	26440	0.25
Central Mountain	51464	2095	4.05	11167071	1223	0.01
Central Hill	2490475	140642	5.65	8728060	29752	0.34
Central Plain	1252188	6504	0.52	9966347	161751	1.62
Western Mountain	452421	9681	2.14	10766084	2125	0.02
Western Hill	1467134	65750	4.48	9751401	5063	0.05
Western Plain	506050	1739	0.34	10712485	70885	0.66
ALL	11218535	506921	4.52		506921	4.52

Table 5. Sex Ratio of Lifetime Migrants (in and out) by Regions in Nepal, 1971

Region	Sex Ratio	
	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants
Eastern Mountain	54.5	87.8
Eastern Hill	47.2	111.4
Eastern Plain	114.7	94.0
Kathmandu Valley	129.1	108.2
Central Mountain	91.7	101.2
Central Hill	95.2	113.2
Central Plain	110.8	83.6
Western Mountain	29.1	101.6
Western Hill	49.3	101.0
Western Plain	114.8	80.8
Nepal	107.1	107.1

Table 6. Sex Ratio of Lifetime Migrants (in and out) from and or to Region of Birth and Region of Residence in Nepal, 1971.

In-Migrants to Region of Residence	Out-Migrants from Region of Birth												
	Eastern			Kathmandu			Central			Western			
	Mountain	Hill	Plain	Valley	Mountain	Hill	Plain	Mountain	Hill	Plain	Mountain	Hill	Plain
Eastern Mountain	-	41.45	117.58	152.59	*	122.77	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Eastern Hill	28.41	-	93.83	57.69	*	42.39	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Eastern Plain	115.47	114.50	-	130.66	*	176.86	62.09	*	*	*	142.00	*	*
Kathmandu Valley	117.81	101.74	163.17	-	*	159.68	137.21	*	*	*	244.13	174.78	*
Central Mountain	*	*	*	771.43	-	70.94	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Central Hill	113.61	112.48	121.69	105.69	64.48	-	101.13	*	*	*	25.99	*	*
Central Plain	117.16	117.86	66.70	114.70	122.18	110.91	-	*	*	*	117.93	97.05	*
Western Mountain	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	21.95	*
Western Hill	*	*	*	90.95	*	29.77	*	*	*	*	37.14	-	44.62
Western Plain	*	273.02	173.30	157.28	*	158.88	118.00	*	*	*	120.09	109.41	-

* Cases less than 100.

Table 7. Age Distribution of Migrants and Non-Migrants Aged 15 Years and Over by Regions in Nepal, 1971.

Age Region	M A L E S												I.D.
	15 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 44		45 - 54		55 - 64		65 +		
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	
Eastern Mountain	37.30	31.51	34.16	22.56	14.83	18.56	7.12	12.57	3.92	8.90	2.68	5.89	17.4
Eastern Hill	30.62	32.16	25.26	23.26	19.84	18.46	11.24	12.28	7.88	8.15	5.16	5.69	3.4
Eastern Plain	30.25	27.43	25.79	26.43	21.29	21.59	12.42	13.76	6.42	6.86	3.83	3.93	2.8
Kathmandu Valley	50.82	30.61	26.79	24.00	11.62	18.63	5.49	12.33	3.21	8.73	2.07	5.69	23.0
Central Mountain	38.89	30.48	29.56	22.42	14.09	19.16	8.13	13.29	5.95	9.13	3.37	5.52	15.6
Central Hill	28.53	30.69	26.95	21.52	21.25	18.86	12.07	1324	7.45	9.07	3.75	6.61	7.8
Central Plain	31.65	24.90	23.36	27.11	20.25	22.43	13.39	14.13	7.18	7.03	4.17	4.39	6.9
Western Mountain	33.93	28.88	29.46	25.71	16.67	19.61	12.50	12.55	5.36	8.73	2.08	4.52	8.8
Western Hill	31.20	30.69	27.67	24.84	17.36	19.33	11.98	12.68	7.71	8.05	4.08	4.41	3.3
Western Plain	31.55	29.19	26.35	27.19	20.66	21.24	12.62	12.47	6.28	6.22	2.54	3.69	2.6

M = Migrants; NM = Non-Migrants; I.D. = index of Dissimilarity.

