1. Introduction

Migration is one of the three factors that affect population change together with fertility and mortality. Migration's role in population change is not limited to increases or decreases of population size, but also includes its impact on spatial distribution of population. This distribution of population through migrations raises, among others, substantial questions of demographic and socio-economic importance. This paper analyses the patterns of internal migration and reasons for migration from the 2006 census data.

2. Migration patterns

2.1: Lifetime Migration

A life-time migrant refers to a person who was enumerated at a place other than their place of birth (UN 1970). When interpreting lifetime migration statistics one needs to be aware of their limitations. Life-time migration taken from census data is only a snapshot of migratory behaviour among the people. It does not reveal, for example, when the migration took place. It also does not take into account people who may have completed migrations during the years preceding the census. Nevertheless, it shows the general level of mobility within the country and is a good measure of the population redistributive function of migration. For the purposes of this analysis, a life-time migrant is defined as one who was born outside their island of usual residence, and had lived in that island for more than one year.

In 1985, over 22 percent of the resident Maldivian population were enumerated outside their island of birth. This figure was slightly lower in 1995, when 19 percent of the people were enumerated outside their island of birth. The 2000 Census indicates that about 18 percent of people were enumerated in an island which was not their island of registration. In 2006 almost 33 percent of the population were enumerated outside their island of birth. These figures show that there has been a significant increase in the number of migrants over the six years since 2000. It is highly likely that the migration levels will be much higher if all moves within a person's lifetime are accounted for by measuring levels of circulation and short term moves.

Table 1 shows gross life-time migration for Male' and other atolls for the census years 1995 and 2006. It shows that the geographical share of migrants in the atolls and Male' have evened out over the last 10 years, and the existence of a significant number of movements within the atolls. In 1995, about 56 percent of all life-time migrants were enumerated in Male' as opposed to 44 percent in the atolls. In 2006, both Male' and the atolls had almost equal number of migrants. Despite the above trends, it should be noted that Male' constitutes just a single island and that almost half of all migrants were resident in Male' in 2006

Table 1: Gross lifetime migrants by region, 1995 & 2006

	Lifetime Migrants			
Locality	1995	Percent	2006	Percent
Male'	23,956	56.48	48,691	49.619
Other atolls	18,456	43.52	49,438	50.381
Total	42,412	100	98,129	100

Table 2 shows total and percentage distribution of lifetime migrants by atoll for 2006. It shows that 33 percent of the Maldivian population were enumerated outside their atoll of birth: of which 50 percent were enumerated in Male'. This means that 33 percent of Maldivians had changed their atoll of residence at least once in their lifetime. According to the 2006 census, nearly half of all residents in Male' and Kaafu atoll were born elsewhere.

Amongst the atolls, Kaafu Atoll (47.2 %) had the largest number of migrants in its population. Alifu Dhaalu (35.71 percent), Raa (33.95 %), Shaviyani (32.40 %) and Baa (30.68 %) also had high percentage of migrants in their populations. Almost half of all migrants were enumerated in Male'(49.62 %), followed by Kaafu atoll (7.51 %) and Raa atoll (5.11 %).

2.2: Life-time Migration at Atoll Level

The number of migrants in Table 1 shows gross migrants enumerated in islands other than their islands of birth and is the total number of lifetime migrants enumerated in 2006 for Maldives. Due to the small size of island populations, the most appropriate level of aggregation for migration data for the Maldives is at atoll level. Table 3 below shows the number of people born and resident in an atoll, and number of out-migrants and in-migrants by atoll for the resident Maldivian population in 2006 . Table 3 also shows corresponding rates for in-migrants and out-migrants.

The out-migration rate (OMR) is computed for out-migrants as a proportion of all those born in an atoll, and the in-migration rate (IMR) is computed for in-migrants as a proportion of those resident in an atoll at census enumeration. The net rate is the difference between IMR and OMR. The table excludes those with unknown birthplaces and Maldivians born abroad.

The migration rate for Maldives in 2006 was 34 (Table 3). The corresponding rate in 1995 was 15. All atolls except Male', Kaafu and Alifu Dhaalu had net migration losses. Almost all of the net migration gains were in Male'. Male's net migration gain was 50,924. The atoll with the highest net loss was Seenu with 8,525 followed by Gaafu Dhaalu with 6,627.

Table 2: Total & percenntage distribution of lifetime migrants by atoll, 2006

Atoll			Percantage	
	Lifetime Migrants	Atoll Pop	Atoll Pop	of total migrants
Haa Alifu	2,436	13,495	18.05	2.48
Haa Dhaalu	2,243	16,237	13.81	2.29
Shaviyani	3,868	11,940	32.40	3.94
Noonu	2,056	10,015	20.53	2.10
Raa	5,010	14,756	33.95	5.11
Baa	2,939	9,578	30.68	3.00
Lhaviyani	2,198	9,190	23.92	2.24
Kaafu	7,368	15,441	47.72	7.51
Alifu Alifu	1,685	5,776	29.17	1.72
Alifu Dhaalu	2,992	8,379	35.71	3.05
Vaavu	584	1,606	36.36	0.60
Meemu	1,341	4,710	28.47	1.37
Faafu	689	3,765	18.30	0.70
Dhaalu	1,365	4,967	27.48	1.39
Thaa	2,248	8,493	26.47	2.29
Laamu	2,446	11,990	20.40	2.49
Gaafu Alifu	1,441	8,262	17.44	1.47
Gaafu Dhaalu	2,136	11,013	19.40	2.18
Gnaviyani	595	7,636	7.79	0.61
Seenu	3,798	18,026	21.07	3.87
Male'	48,691	103,693	46.96	49.62
Total	98,129	298,968	32.82	100.00

Table 3: Total in - migrants, out - migrants & net migrants & corresponding rates by atoll, 2006

Atoll	Resident	Born	Born and Resident	Migrants			Migration Rates		
				Out	In	Net	OMR*	IMR*	Net
Haa Alifu	12,884	17,676	10,800	6,876	2,084	(4,792)	39	16	-23
Haa Dhaalu	15,698	21,653	13,671	7,982	2,027	(5,955)	37	13	-24
Shaviyani	11,501	13,134	7,773	5,361	3,728	(1,633)	41	32	-8
Noonu	9,365	12,281	7,722	4,559	1,643	(2,916)	37	18	-20
Raa	14,308	19,074	9,313	9,761	4,995	(4,766)	51	35	-16
Baa	8,777	10,910	6,388	4,522	2,389	(2,133)	41	27	-14
Lhaviyani	8,535	10,407	6,670	3,737	1,865	(1,872)	36	22	-14
Kaafu	13,394	8,589	6,355	2,234	7,039	4,805	26	53	27
Alifu Alifu	5,121	5,505	3,779	1,726	1,342	(384)	31	26	-5
Alifu Dhaalu	7,533	7,412	5,100	2,312	2,433	121	31	32	1
Vaavu	1,287	1,744	908	836	379	(457)	48	29	-18
Meemu	4,467	6,587	3,207	3,380	1,260	(2,120)	51	28	-23
Faafu	3,496	4,103	2,954	1,149	542	(607)	28	16	-13
Dhaalu	4,613	6,181	3,409	2,772	1,204	(1,568)	45	26	-19
Thaa	7,601	11,980	5,976	6,004	1,625	(4,379)	50	21	-29
Laamu	11,252	13,134	8,973	4,161	2,279	(1,882)	32	20	-11
Gaafu Alifu	7,786	10,799	6,468	4,331	1,318	(3,013)	40	17	-23
Gaafu Dhaalu	10,338	16,965	8,452	8,513	1,886	(6,627)	50	18	-32
Gnaviyani	7,322	9,543	6,856	2,687	466	(2,221)	28	6	-22
Seenu	17,027	25,552	13,522	12,030	3,505	(8,525)	47	21	-26
Male'	93,769	42,845	42,615	230	51,154	50,924	1	55	54
Total	276,769	276,074	180,911	95,163	95,163	0	34	34	0

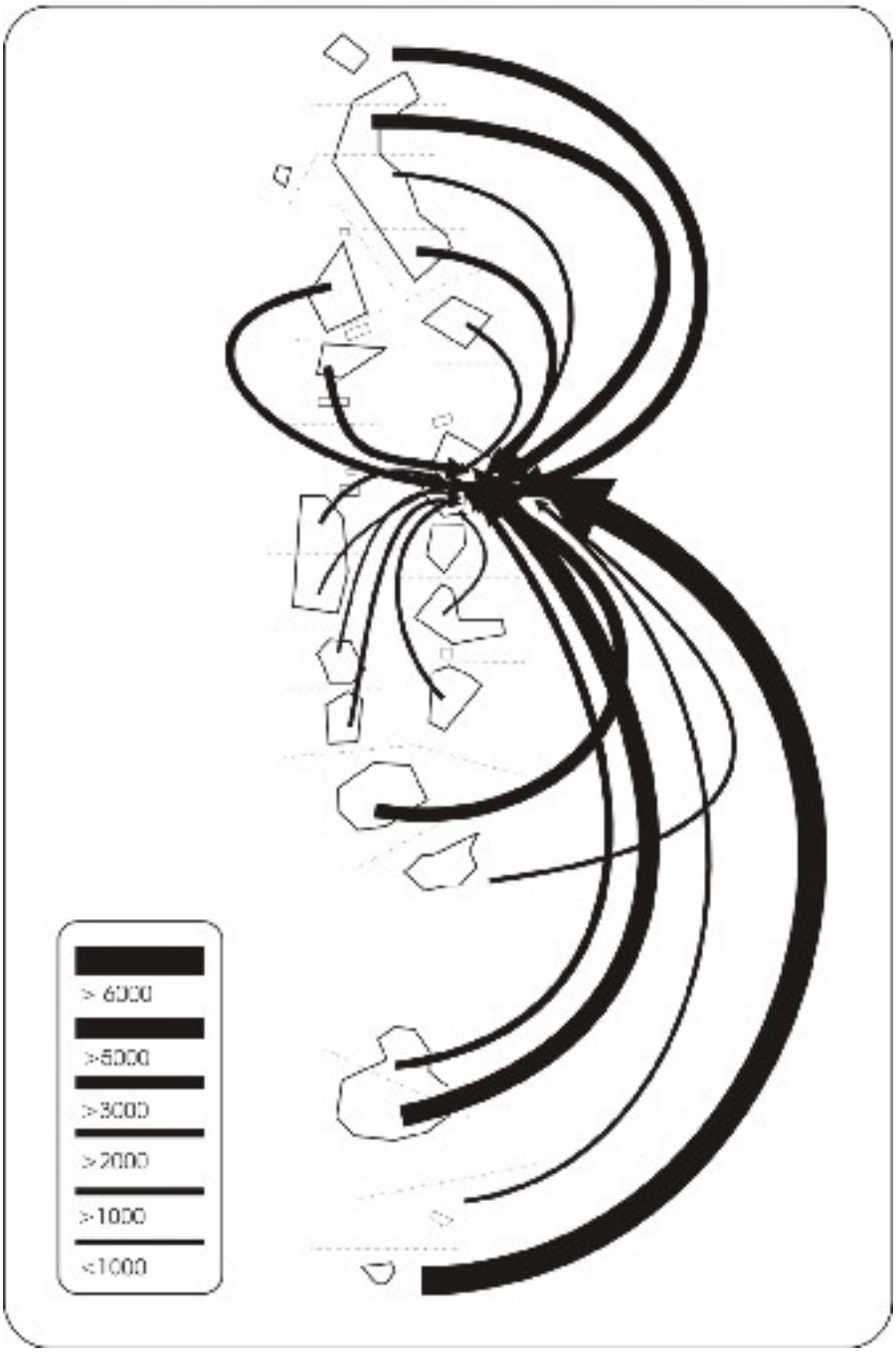
The migration rates reveal the impact of migration on atolls more than the gross and net migration figures as they represent the number of people staying or leaving an atoll as a proportion of the total atoll born population.

The migration rates in Table 3 are calculated per 100 persons. Raa Atoll and Meemu Atoll had the highest OMR of 51. It means that out of every 100 persons born in these atolls, 51 were living elsewhere. Fourteen atolls had OMRs higher than the national average, and only Kaafu atoll and Male' had higher IMRs than the national average.

2.3: Lifetime migration to male'

Male' is the main urban centre in the country and has the largest proportion of lifetime migrants in the country. In 1995, 45 percent of Male' population consisted of migrants. In 2006 the proportion of migrants in the Male' population was 53 percent. Figure 1 shows migrants streams to Male'. In 2006, Seenu Atoll (12 %) and Gaafu Dhaalu Atoll (11 %) had the highest number of lifetime in-migrants in Male', followed by Thaa, Haa Alifu and Haa Dhaalu with eight percent each.

Figure 1: Lifetime migration streams to Male', 2006



3. The Sex and age composition of migration

This section analyses migration composition based on sex and age. Migrants tend to differ from the rest of the population in a number of ways. For example, the majority of migrants may be young and more educated than their counterparts, and the migrant stream may be dominated by males or females. Migration also changes the age and sex structures of both receiving and loosing areas.

3.1 Sex composition of migrants

Sex ratios have been used for the analysis of sex composition of migration. The sex ratio measures the number of males per hundred females in a population. This analysis shows the number of male migrants per 100 female migrants for all regions. A ratio above 100 means an excess of male migrants over female migrants and a ratio below 100 means an excess of female migrants over male migrant.

According to the 2006 census, lifetime migration was significantly gender selective in the Maldives. The ratio of male to female migrants for all lifetime migrants was 118 males per 100 females. In 1995, the figure was 109.

Table 4: Lifetime migrants by sex & sex ratios, 2006

	Life time Migrant	
	Total	Percent
Female	45,035	45.89
Male	53,094	54.11
Total	98,129	100.00
Sex Ratio	118	

The total sex ratios may be disaggregated for each atoll to show the significance of gender selectivity by atolls. Table 5 shows distribution of life time migrants by age and sex for all atolls. The most significant finding was the slightly higher number of women migrants in Male'. One reason for this may be the large number of women who migrate to Male' for family related reasons. About 34 percent of women migrants in Male' had migrated for a combination of family related reasons, including marriage and as a parent or guardian. Another 3 atolls, Haa Dhaalu, Shaviyani and Raa had more female lifetime migrants than male migrants. The average sex ratio for all atolls (144) was much higher than the total ratio for the country, which was 118, suggesting an uneven distribution of males and females through lifetime migration in the atolls. Kaafu atoll had the highest number of male lifetime migrants, not surprising given the large number of male migrants workers in Kaafu atoll resorts. Kaafu atoll was followed by Alifu Alifu and Alifu Dhaalu atoll, both of which have the highest number of resorts after Kaafu atolls.

Table 5: Lifetime migrants by sex ratio by atolls, 2006

Atoll	Male	Female	Ratio
Haa Alifu	1,292	1,144	113
Haa Dhaalu	1,072	1,171	92
Shaviyani	1,894	1,974	96
Noonu	1,026	1,030	100
Raa	2,405	2,605	92
Baa	1,769	1,170	151
Lhaviyani	1,370	828	165
Kaafu	5,993	1,375	436
Alifu Alifu	1,247	438	285
Alifu Dhaalu	2,181	811	269
Vaavu	373	211	177
Meemu	751	590	127
Faafu	394	295	134
Dhaalu	762	603	126
Thaa	1,157	1,091	106
Laamu	1,324	1,122	118
Gaafu Alifu	801	640	125
Gaafu Dhaalu	1,108	1,028	108
Gnaviyani	333	262	127
Seenu	1,896	1,902	100
Atoll Total	29,148	20,290	144
Male'	23,946	24,745	97
Maldives	53,094	45,035	118

3.2 Age selectivity of Lifetime Migrants

Almost half of all migrants in the Maldives in 2006 were in the ages 15 to 35 years, of which 38 percent were in the age group 20 to 39 years. Figure 2 and 3 shows percentage distribution of migrants and proportion of migrants by broad age group.

The age distribution of migrants followed the typical pattern observed in a number of countries with a higher percentage of migrants in the adolescent and youth ages. As shown in Figure 2 the percentage distribution of migrants fell slightly from the youngest age group of 0-4 years to the 5-9 year age group, after which it climbed steeply to reach a high of 15 percent for the 15-19 year age group. The number of migrants declined steadily from the 20-24 year age group to older ages.

Figure 2: Percentage distribution of life-time migrants by broad age group, 2006

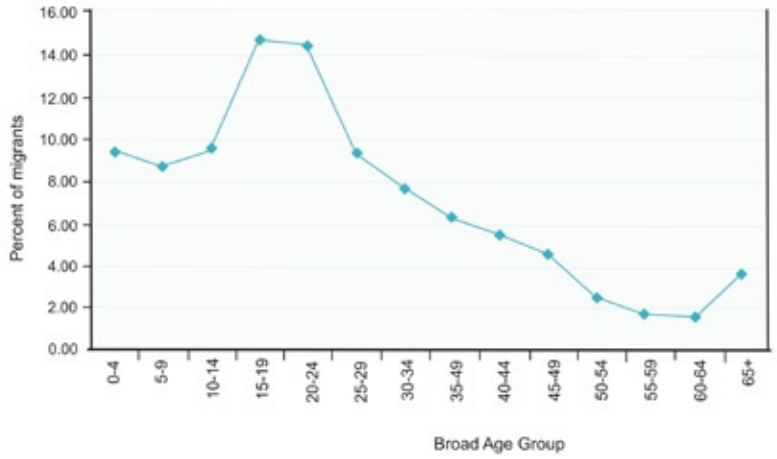
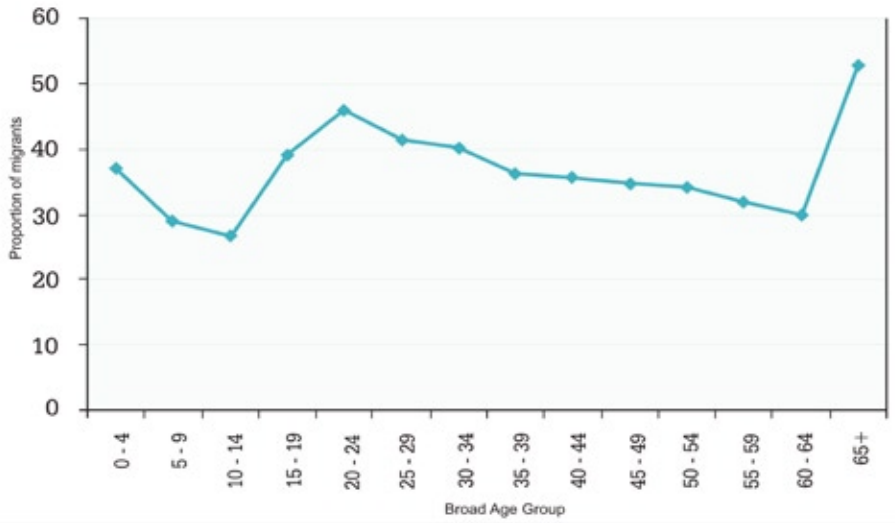


Figure 3: Proportion of lifetime migrants by broad age group,2006

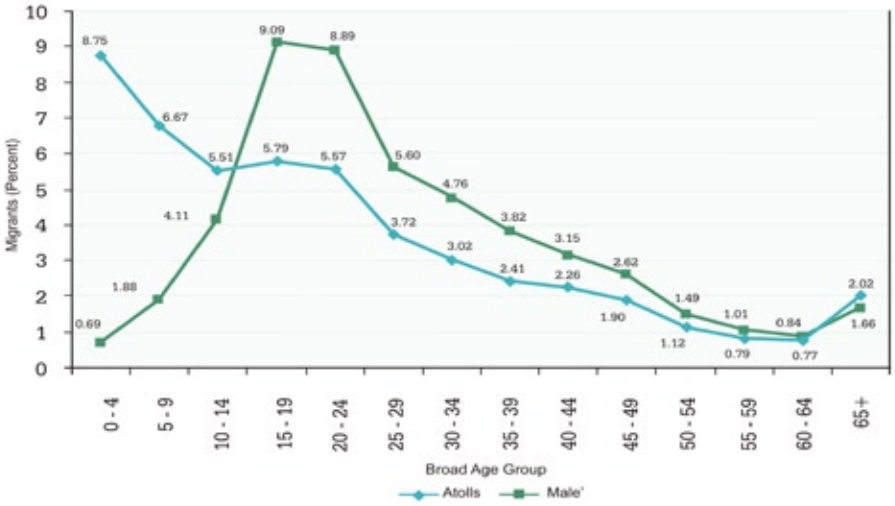


There was a sharp increase in the proportion of migrants from ages 10-14 years, peaking at 46 in the 20-24 age group. In 2006, for every 100 person in the 20-24 age group 46 were migrants. The migration rate shows the impact of historical mobility on the age structure, as the proportion of migrants in young ages is relatively small compared to other ages. The total migration rate by age for Maldives is also heavily influenced by the migration rate of Male' which had the highest level of in-migrants in the country.

Figure 4 shows distribution of lifetime migrants by age for Male' and other atolls. The major difference in the two distributions is that for the atolls the majority of migrants were in the very young ages. Almost 21 percent of all lifetime migrants were in the ages 0-14 years, with the peak gain in the youngest age group of 0-4 years. The corresponding figure for Male'was seven percent. The reason for the high number of migrants in this age group in the atolls may be due to the number of children born in hospitals and health centres in other islands. The 15-29 year age group was the most prominent migration age group for Male' with almost a quarter of all migrants

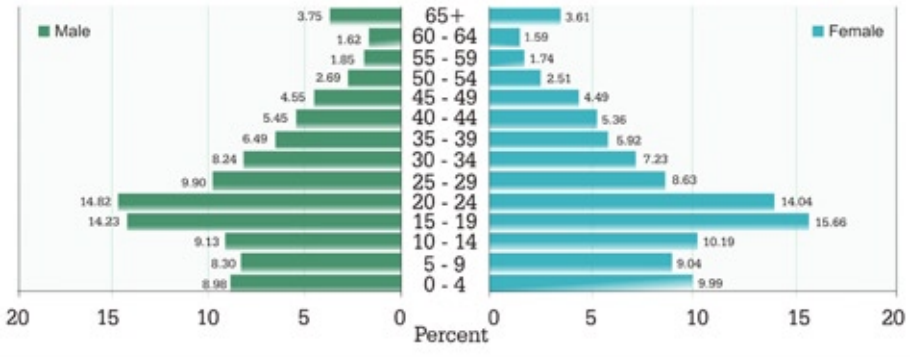
in that age group, with a peak in the age group 15-19 years. The corresponding figure for the atolls was 15 percent. Another interesting observation is the plateau in the ages 15-20 for Male', and the sharp fall in the number of migrants from thereon. There is no inherent peak in the atoll distribution of migrants, but there is a plateau between the ages 10-24 and a steady drop thereafter.

Figure 4: Percentage distribution of lifetime migrants by broad age group for Male' & other atolls, 2006



The age distribution of migrants is affected by the sex distribution of migrants. As seen in Figure 5 there were only slight differences in the distribution of lifetime migrants by age and sex. The peak age for migrant men was the 20-24 age group, while for women it was the 15-19 year age group.

Figure 5: Percentage distribution of lifetime migrants by broad age group by sex, 2006



The observed differences in age and sex of migrants may be further analysed at the atoll level to see how migrant patterns in atolls reflect the overall differences. Figure 6 and 7 below shows significant differences in age-sex patterns when migrants are classified by region. In the atolls there were no major differences in distribution of migrants except for a slightly higher proportion of male migrants in the young and youth ages groups. Female distribution of migrants was more even across the age groups compared to males. In Male' there was a high proportion of men in the 15-24 ages compared to women, and very low number of migrants in the very young ages.

Figure 6: Percentage distribution of rural lifetime migrants by age & sex, 2006

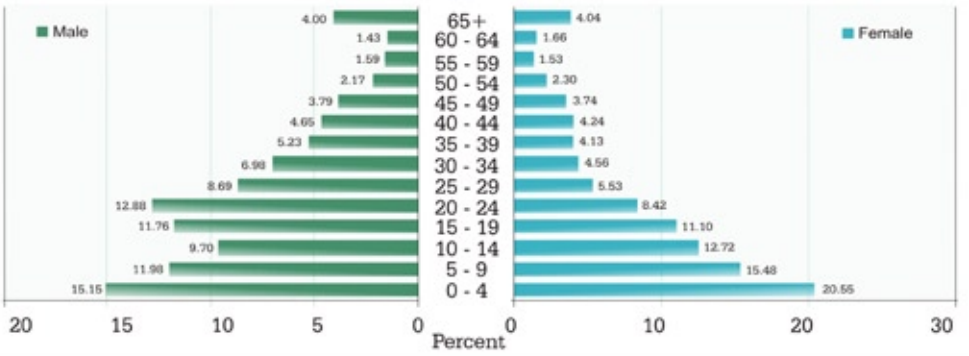
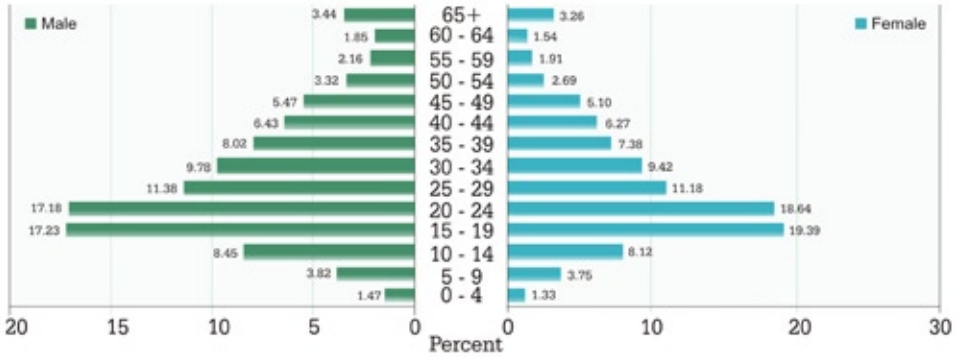


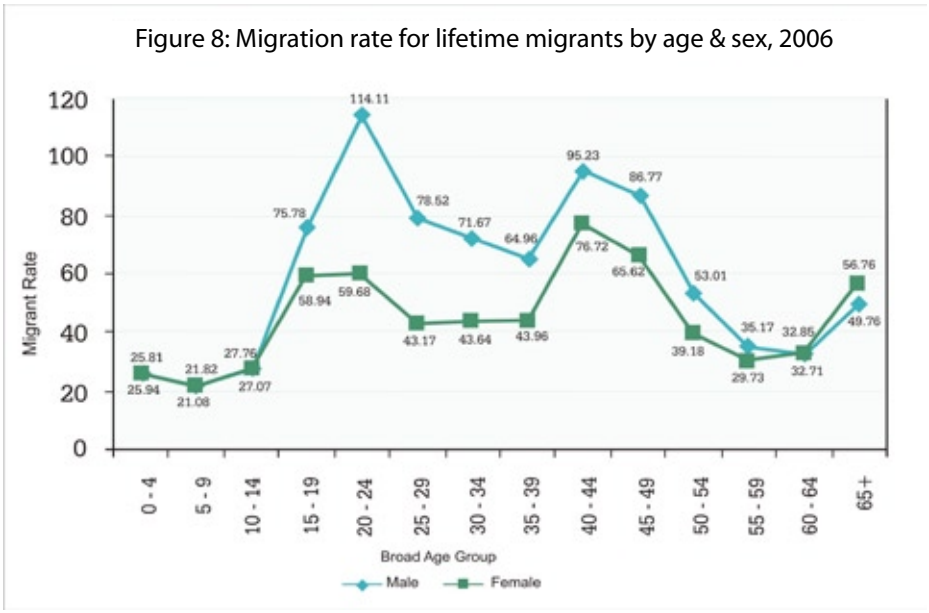
Figure 7: Percentage distribution of urban lifetime migrants by age & sex, 2006



Even though the sex differences are slight within regions, there were major differences in the distribution of migrants between Male' and other atolls. In the atolls the largest proportion of migrants are in the very young ages. In the atolls the distribution of migrants between men and women under age 10 was 27 and 36 percent respectively. For Male' the corresponding figure was five percent for both sexes. Consequently, in Male' the highest percent of migrants are in the ages 15-29 years. The sex distribution of migrants in these age groups were 45 and 49 percent respectively for Male', while the corresponding figure for atolls was 43 and 38 percent. For the old ages, the differences between Male' and atolls were negligible.

Even though the overall distribution of migrants by age were similar, there were some significant differences in the total age-sex migrant rate (Figure 8) The total migrant rate for both sexes was almost the same for age groups under 14, after which the rate for men exceeds all age groups until around ages 60 to 64 years, after which there was a slight increase in the migrant rate for women. Figure 8 therefore shows that even though the distribution of migrants by age were similar for both sexes, the proportion of migrant men to the total population exceeded that of women, revealing the impact of migration of men on the age structure of the population.

Figure 8: Migration rate for lifetime migrants by age & sex, 2006



The distribution and rates for migrants above are for gross migrants and includes all those who were enumerated in an island other than their island of birth in 2006. While this represents the overall age pattern for Maldives, the greatest amount of mobility in the Maldives is between Male' and the atolls and to a lesser extent between atolls. The analysis will therefore be extended to in-migration and out-migration by atoll to highlight compositional differences.

Table 6: Percentage distribution of In/Out & net-lifetime migrants by broad age group for Male' & other atolls, 2006

Broad Age Group	Atolls (Migrants)			Male' (Migrants)		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
0-4	8.50	3.27	5.22	1.34	29.63	-28.29
5-9	9.34	5.27	4.07	3.75	11.11	-7.36
10-14	5.33	7.46	-2.13	8.26	5.56	2.71
15-19	10.75	16.32	-5.57	18.40	3.70	14.69
20-24	17.21	17.82	-0.60	18.04	12.96	5.08
25-29	11.79	11.44	0.35	11.30	3.70	7.59
30-34	9.51	9.52	-0.01	9.51	3.70	5.81
35-39	7.08	7.52	-0.44	7.68	3.70	3.97
40-44	5.95	6.25	-0.29	6.36	7.41	-1.05
45-49	4.93	5.19	-0.26	5.29	3.70	1.58
50-54	2.42	2.83	-0.42	2.99	5.56	-2.56
55-59	1.80	1.97	-0.18	2.04	0.00	2.04
60-64	1.69	1.70	0.00	1.70	0.00	1.70
65+	3.70	3.44	0.26	3.35	9.26	-5.91
Total	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00

Table 6 shows percentage distribution of in/out and net lifetime migrants by broad age group for Atolls and Male'. The largest percentage of in-migrants for atolls and Male' were concentrated in the ages 15-29 years. About 40 percent of atoll in-migrants and 48 percent of in-migrants to Male' were in those age groups. The highest loss of migrants in Male' were in the very young age 0-9 years and old age group 65 and above. For Male' the biggest gain in migrants was in the working ages between 15 and 39 years of age, with migrants peaking in the age group 15-19 year age group. In the atolls in-migrants peaked in the 20-24 year age group.

Figure 9: Net lifetime migration rate by broad age group for Male' & other atolls, 2006

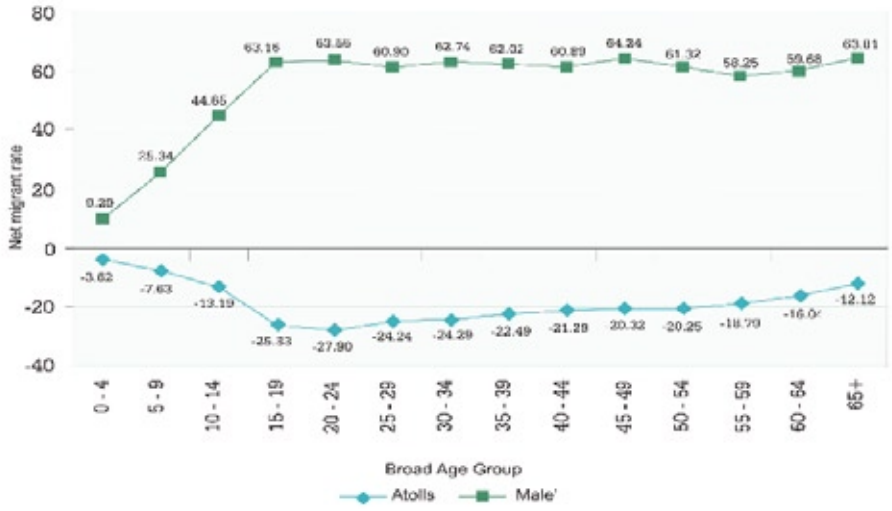


Figure 9 shows net migrant rate by age for Male' and other atolls. It shows the impact of migration on broad age groups. As stated above the atolls had a net gain of migrants only in the very youngest age group and the highest net loss was in the 20-24 year age group. Male's net loss was in the youngest age group only. The highest net gains were in the very old ages of 60-64 years. As the above age distribution of migrants are for age at census enumeration, it does not show the true age at migration which may be the reason for the high level of migrant gains in the older ages for Male', as the figure shows the results of historical patterns of migration.

4. Reasons for Migration

Migration theories are abound with explanations for migration. The reasons for migration may be economic, social, environmental or political. In the 2006 Census, all migrants were asked about their reason for migration. The question was close ended with ten possible responses: for education, for employment, to live on this island, due to marriage, as a parent/guardian, for medical purpose, to live temporarily due to tsunami, to live permanently due to tsunami, due to population consolidation programme and other reasons. Although the question on reasons for migration has been refined from previous years, inclusion of the response, "to live on this island/live with the family" has added a significant distortion to the results derived from the census. More than a quarter of all migrants had stated this as their reason for migration. Table 7 shows frequency distribution of lifetime migrants by reason for migration.

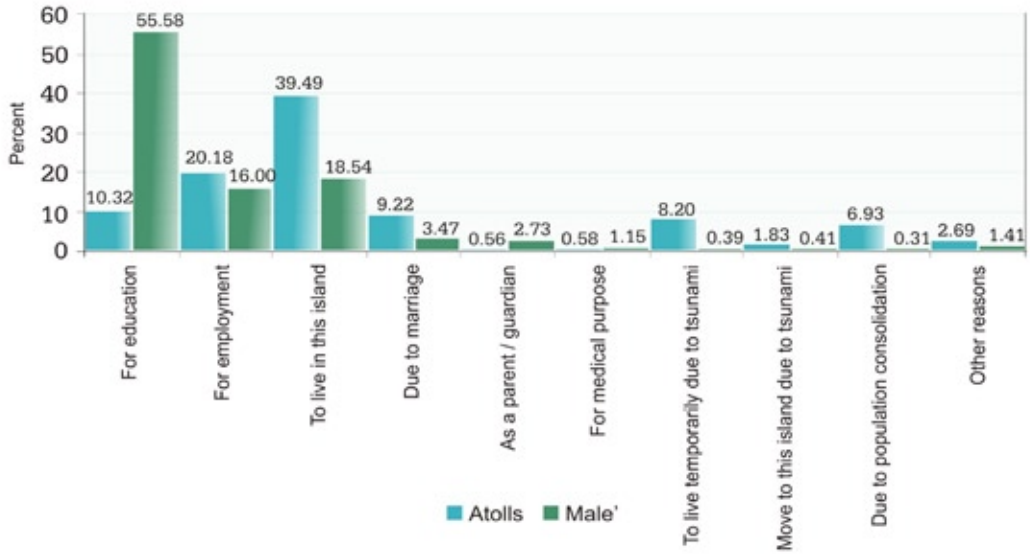
Table 7: Frequency distribution of lifetime migrants by reason for migration, 2006

Reason for Migration	Total	Percent
Education	29,215	33.50
Employment	15,737	18.04
To live in this island/live with family	25,086	28.76
Marriage	5,476	6.28
As a parent/guardian	1,457	1.67
Medical Purpose	761	0.87
Temporarily due to tsunami	3,664	4.20
Permanently due to tsunami	959	1.10
Due to population consolidation program	3,088	3.54
Other reasons	1,774	2.03
Total	87,217	100.00

Over 33 percent of all lifetime migrants enumerated in 2006 reported to have migrated in search of better education opportunities. To live in the island and employment were the other two most often cited reasons for migration.

Figure 10 shows reasons for migration to Male' and to other atolls reported by lifetime migrants. It shows that education was the single most important reason why people migrated to Male'. For other atolls the most important reason for migration was to live on that island and employment. For atoll lifetime migrants, education was the third most important reason for migration.

Figure 10: Percentage of lifetime migrants by reason for migration for male' and other atolls, 2006



4.1 Reasons for Migration by Age

As shown above migration is highly age selective for all migration periods. This section analyses migration reason by age for lifetime migrants to see if there were differences in age selectivity for the reasons cited for migration. The reasons for migration followed the general lifecycle of the population. A higher percent of migrants in the very young and young ages migrated for education purposes, and working age migrants had migrated for employment and business. This broad pattern was shared by both sexes in both regions (Table 8). While the same pattern was seen for Male', the concentration of males and females in the age group 15-19 was significantly high. This may be due to availability of higher education and vocational training opportunities in Male'. To live on this island also an important reason for migration at younger ages which may be cited by children who migrate with parents or family members. As expected, a large proportion of those citing employment as the main reason for migration were in the ages 20 to 30 years. However, in the atolls there were younger women citing employment reasons for migration.

Table 8: Percentage distribution of reasons for migration reported by lifetime migrants by age & sex for other atolls, 2006

	Atolls													
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65+
For education	6.04	16.50	40.15	36.98	5.18	1.71	1.06	1.42	0.79	0.43	0.34	0.47	0.50	0.38
For employment	0.13	0.47	0.47	13.57	35.04	33.86	31.60	24.59	19.38	15.16	12.64	13.68	12.12	6.73
To live in this land	43.27	38.87	27.42	30.95	40.38	41.57	41.96	44.19	42.52	43.89	42.08	46.04	42.48	43.27
Due to marriage	0.25	0.16	0.09	1.35	8.65	12.36	12.32	12.97	15.03	15.66	15.57	12.17	14.53	13.49
As a parent/guardian	0.38	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.19	0.36	0.62	1.24	1.51	1.40	1.16	1.04	0.80	0.46
For medical purpose	0.13	0.05	0.00	0.14	0.38	0.38	0.72	0.45	0.58	0.47	1.23	1.42	2.30	2.46
Temporarily due to tsunami	35.09	28.71	18.18	8.26	4.76	3.71	4.20	5.07	5.99	7.72	7.58	5.19	5.41	6.26
Permanently due to tsunami	7.30	5.19	3.29	1.85	0.92	1.35	1.16	1.63	1.68	1.55	1.57	1.13	1.00	1.61
Population consolidation pogram	6.54	9.32	9.23	6.00	3.07	3.51	4.81	6.70	8.25	7.91	10.45	11.13	14.33	15.87
Other reasons	0.88	0.63	0.70	0.79	1.42	1.21	1.56	1.75	4.28	5.82	7.38	7.74	6.51	9.45
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	Male'													
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65+
For education	42.44	79.81	90.65	87.18	64.06	50.80	43.00	34.16	24.03	19.43	18.09	14.01	10.73	7.37
For employment	0.84	0.16	0.13	7.20	21.82	21.89	18.29	21.44	21.78	24.14	25.67	22.68	23.85	20.34
To live in this land	45.38	16.31	7.19	4.02	8.65	17.27	24.39	28.31	34.99	35.82	37.68	40.74	41.73	46.76
Due to marriage	0.42	0.05	0.05	0.37	3.46	5.69	5.03	5.59	5.84	6.23	5.29	8.19	4.47	4.08
As a parent/guardian	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.12	0.41	2.25	5.15	6.05	7.43	7.67	6.95	5.46	7.00	4.16
For medical purpose	2.73	0.69	0.39	0.26	0.48	0.66	1.12	1.22	1.59	1.44	2.13	3.21	4.32	9.85
Temporarily due to tsunami	1.47	0.80	0.65	0.33	0.31	0.21	0.18	0.32	0.38	0.22	0.47	0.36	1.19	0.96
Permanently due to tsunami	3.15	1.17	0.68	0.22	0.21	0.25	0.41	0.32	0.45	0.22	0.16	0.36	0.30	1.36
Population consolidation pogram	0.42	0.05	0.05	0.00	0.01	0.06	0.48	0.49	0.55	0.96	1.11	0.95	2.24	1.44
Other reasons	3.15	0.96	0.18	0.31	0.59	0.91	1.96	2.09	2.94	3.88	2.45	4.04	4.17	3.68
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

4.2 Reason for migration sex differentials

Education is the main reason for lifetime migration for both men/boys and women/girls. Almost 37 percent of all migrant women stated education as the reason why they had migrated, while the corresponding figure for men was 31 percent (Table 9). However, employment rank above other factors for men, while for women to live on this island/live with the family and marriage are the next two most important reasons for migration. For women, employment and business are not important motivations for migration. The higher percentage of men who had migrated for employment may be those employed in resorts and the women who cite to live on this island/live with family and marriage as reasons for migration may include some of the women who had migrated with men who take up employment, or who have migrated to accompany school age children.

Table 9: Percentage distribution of lifetime migrants by sex, 2006

	Female	Male
For education	36.73	30.68
For employment	4.28	30.05
To live in this land/live with family	33.17	24.92
Due to marriage	9.43	3.53
As a parent/guardian	2.88	0.61
For medical purpose	1.13	0.64
To live temporarily due to tsunami	4.74	3.73
Move to this island due to tsunami	1.29	0.93
Due to Population consolidation pogram	4.15	3.01
Other reasons	2.19	1.90
Total	100.00	100.00

The differences in migration motivation may be analysed more closely by controlling for sex and region. Table 10 shows migration reason by sex for lifetime migrants for Male' and other atolls.

Table 10: Percentage distribution of lifetime migrants by sex, by region, 2006

	Male'		Atolls	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Other reasons	1.94	0.87	2.50	2.82
For education	56.18	54.96	12.10	9.02
For employment	5.35	27.02	2.93	32.75
To live in this land/live with family	23.35	13.57	45.61	35.03
Due to marriage	5.91	0.95	13.89	5.83
As a parent/guardian	4.41	0.98	0.95	0.28
For medical purpose	1.66	0.61	0.46	0.67
To live temporarily due to tsunami	0.44	0.34	10.19	6.75
Move to this island due to tsunami	0.46	0.35	2.34	1.45
Due to Population consolidation pogram	0.30	0.33	9.04	5.39
Other reasons	1.94	0.87	2.50	2.82
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 10 shows that for lifetime migrants, education was the most important reason for migrating to Male', this is the case with both men and women. More than half of all (55 percent) lifetime migrant men who were enumerated in Male' had migrated for educational purposes.

For women the corresponding figure was 56 percent. For migrant men in Male', employment was the next most important reasons for migration. However, for migrant women in Male', to live on the island/live with family was the next most important reason after education. In the atolls, to live on the island/live with family was the most important reason for both men and women. There were more migrant women who had migrated for education purposes in the atolls. Employment was the single most important reason why men migrated in the atolls. Marriage was also an important reason why women migrate in the atolls. About 14 percent of women had migrated for marriage in the atolls. After, to live on the island/live with family, marriage (35 percent) was the most important reason for migration for females in the atolls.

5. Conclusion

This analysis based on census data has shown that lifetime migration continues to increase with successive censuses. The major migration stream in the Maldives is from the atolls to Male'. In 2006 more than half of all lifetime migrants were enumerated in Male'. The high level of migration to Male' is seen in the composition of its population. More than half the population of Male' were migrants.

The age distribution of migration followed the universal patterns identified in other migration research particularly for developing countries with a high proportion of migrants in the young adult ages. Migration was lower in younger ages, but peaks at ages 15-19 after which it drops significantly towards older ages.

The main reason people changed their place of residence was for educational purposes. About 1/3 of all migrants cited education as their reason for migration. This was the main reason for migration to Male' as well. In the atolls, apart from to live on the island/live with family, employment and education was important factors that prompted people to move to another island.

There are several demographic, economic and social consequences of migration. These arise out of the selectivity of migrants, the direction of migration and composition of migrants. Migration is selective of individuals with certain characteristics and age and sex selectivity contributes most of the demographic impact of migration. For example, the young age structure of migrants contributes to high rates of natural increase in Male', through lower crude death rates and higher crude birth rates. Conversely, out-migration of young adults from atolls leads to an older age structure and high dependency ratios, which slows atoll development. Migration is also one factor which exerts its influence on sex ratios as migration is generally sex selective. Age selectivity of migration and the differences in sex ratios have implications for household structures, fertility and dependency. It is important therefore to undertake a comprehensive analysis of migration data to highlight the consequence of migration on these variables.