



# 人口流动与 农村妇女发展

Migration and Rural Women's Development

郑真真/解振明 主编

外出对农村妇女家庭婚姻观念及行为的影响

农村妇女的外出经历

人口流动对农村妇女计划生育与生殖健康的影响

农村妇女外出务工模式

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外出对农村妇女生育观念和生育行为的影响

“农村留守妻子”现象

# 人口流动

与

## 农村妇女发展

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关知识、提高了自主意识而发生变化。婚或未生育过的妇女，外出流动的经历会和行为产生影响？这也是我们这次调研众面前对避孕节育这样的隐私问题通常是提问的方式很难获得真实的信息，为此，题，“有报道说，近来未婚人流呈上升趋势，避孕节育服务？”通过假设情况调查外，还组织了专题组讨论和个别访谈，通过调查，我们期望能够得到对此类敏感问题满意的

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女的人工流产态度和行为产生影响？

地区，人工流产被视为避孕节育措施，人们普遍认识到人工流产对妇女健康的影响很大。因此，一些地方被作为提高计划生育工作质量的指标。同时，农村使用比例较高，加上一年几次的孕情检查，使得一些农村地

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# 序 言

“人口流动与农村妇女发展”课题从 1998 年开始酝酿。经过几年的努力，今天，该课题的研究成果终于汇集成一本专著，正式出版，令人欣喜。从 1994 年开罗国际人口与发展大会和 1995 年北京第四次世界妇女大会以来，妇女发展问题，特别是农村妇女发展问题越来越受到特别的关注；而另一方面中国的人口态势自改革开放以来就进入了由“静”而“动”的历史性转折。如何在人口流动的状态下考察农村妇女发展问题，正是这个课题力图回答的问题。

“人口流动与农村妇女发展”课题试图通过调查研究描述 20 世纪最后 20 年发生在中国大地上的人口流动对农村妇女生活所产生的影响，特别是外出打工对妇女的婚育观念行为以及生殖健康和计划生育的影响。为此，把研究的对象定位在 20~35 岁的农村妇女，包括曾经外出打工已回乡的妇女和从未外出过的妇女。

这次调查选择了在四川和安徽两省进行。四川省和安徽省是我国的农业大省，也是人口大省（分别为中国第三位和第八位）。而且是人口大量跨省流动的省份，四川省和安徽省在 1998 年的跨省输出农村劳动力分别高达 298 万和 268 万，分别为全国的第一、第二位。项目组选择这两个省为代表来反映人口流动对农村妇女的影响在全国的情况，应该说是十分合适的。

这次调查研究采用了定量调查和定性访谈相结合的方法。2000 年 8~9 月，课题组先后在安徽和四川两省共选择了 4 个县（安徽省的怀宁县和枞阳县，四川省的兴文县和长宁县），8 个乡镇，20 多个行政村，调查了 3200 多农户，重点对 20~35 岁在家的妇女进行了问卷调查。同时在每个县还组织了 6 种不同类型的小组座谈会和若干个人户访谈。此次调查共计组织了 47 次座谈会，入户访谈 50 多户。课题组对调查地点、样本人群、调查方法和实施都给予了精心考虑和组织，以尽可能保证调查质量，反映客观实际。

本书提供了由课题组成员根据调查结果分别或联名撰写的调查报告 5 篇, 专题研究论文 6 篇。这些报告和论文所反映的人口流动对农村妇女的影响是十分令人振奋的。这些报告和论文用调查所得的大量数据和访谈结果生动地表明, 有过外出经历的妇女和没有外出经历的妇女在妇女权益、思想观念、理想追求、婚育行为等方面均有明显差异。与从未外出的妇女比较, 有外出经历的妇女往往生育子女较少, 生育意愿较弱, 避孕知识较多, 保健意识较强, 在婚育和性生活中更表现出自主倾向。而且在家庭生活中, 不仅收入水平和生活水平较高, 也更敢于坚持自己的意见, 表现出更平等的夫妇关系和更少的家庭暴力。

外出的一个重要原因当然是为了脱贫, 如一位安徽妇女所言: “出去打工是因为安徽农业收入太低了”。但是, 如果认为农村妇女外出仅仅是由于经济原因, 恐怕是一种过于狭隘的估计。调查中, 妇女们所表达的“为了见世面、长见识、开阔眼界、寻求更好的前途”等等, 反映了在改革开放的大潮中, 广大农村妇女中所蕴藏着的把握和改变自己的人生的强烈意愿和迫切追求。在外出过程中, 尽管她们往往经历了种种颠沛流离, 但也从中提高了能力、增强了自信, 极大地改变了她们对人生的认识, 坚定了把握自身命运的坚强信念。所有这一切都不能不影响到她们对家庭、婚姻、生育、保健、夫妇关系等方面的观念和行为。她们表现出对早婚多育的格格不入, 要求在交友和婚恋上的自主权力。而且, 这种影响在越早外出、越年轻外出, 特别是在结婚前和生育前就外出的农村妇女中表现得格外强烈。本书的作者也反映, 由于课题设计所限, 在调查人群中, 对年轻妇女, 特别是未婚外出妇女存在着偏低估计的情况。这也说明, 人口流动对农村妇女的影响实际上可能比书中的调查结果所反映的还要强烈得多。而书中所反映的外出妇女在流入地所经历的自身权益难以得到保障、人流较多、感染性病艾滋病的风险较大、得到计划生育生殖保健的机会较少, 等等, 也提示我们, 面对人口流动的大潮, 社会调整滞后。

美国西南大学的罗康教授在论文中提到, 中国目前正在经历着人类历史上在和平时期前所未有的、规模最大的人口迁移活动。而这一点往往不为许多人包括一些人口学工作者所意识。人类历史上每一次重大的人口变动总是和重大的社会变革相伴而行。古今中外, 概莫能外。如此大规模的人口流动

将被证明是中国数以亿计的广大农民与千百年来的“乡土社会”彻底告别的根本之举。这种大规模的人口流动不仅是市场经济发展之必然，而且也必将成为我国社会发展的一个强大的推动力。它对中国社会发展的推动力之大，对中国人口和计划生育影响之深远，可能要远远超出我们的想像，但我们已经可以从本书的报告和论文中生动而强烈地感受到这一点。

我们在十年前对中国在 20 世纪后半期的 50 年中的人口态势所做的简单的归纳中曾提出，如果说，50 年代的中国人口转变主要是以死亡率的下降为转移，70 年代的人口转变主要是以生育率的下降为主导的话，那么，可以有充分的理由相信，90 年代将是一个以人口迁移和人口流动为特征的 10 年，是以人口城市化和劳动力非农化为特征的 10 年。人口流动在中国人口态势的全局中如何处于一个中心的角色，应该说，“人口流动与农村妇女发展”研究给了我们一个很好的和有力的注脚。

人口变动表现为三大形态，即生育、死亡、迁移。由于它们各自所具有的不同的变化规律，人们往往倾向于把它们分别来进行研究。而“人口流动与农村妇女发展”课题恰恰是把“迁移”和“生育”两大领域的探索在同一个课题中联结起来考察，这既是实践所需，也是该研究思路的精彩之笔；而进一步把人口变动和社会发展联结起来考察，更是可圈可点。这一课题再一次证明，人口研究只有和社会实践对话，才能结出丰硕的成果。

几年来，课题组的全体成员为了本课题的成功实施倾注了大量的心血。经过多年的锤炼，结合社会实践开展人口研究，把定量调查和定性访谈结合起来，国内外学者互相合作，已经成为这一支研究队伍的特色所在。在本书出版之际，我愿意向参与这项研究的中国社会科学院人口与劳动经济研究所的郑真真博士和中国人口与发展研究中心解振明、郭太平、娄彬彬、刘鸿雁、汤梦君等研究人员，美国鲍都因学院牛瑞琴（Rachel Connelly）教授和美国西南大学罗康（Kenneth Roberts）教授表示真诚的敬意，对在本课题的实地调查中得到的四川、安徽两省和兴文县、长宁县、怀宁县、枞阳县等四县的有关部门的大力支持和广大农村妇女的积极参与表示衷心的感谢。福特基金会能够为如此有意义的课题提供资助，再次体现了福特基金会长期以来坚持的根据国际人发大会的精神鼓励发展中国家开展社会科学研究的一贯方针，令人钦佩。

十年前，在开罗召开的国际人口发展大会使“生殖健康”、“生殖权利”、“妇女权益”、“优质服务”成为国际社会的共识。在迎接国际人口与发展大会十周年到来之际，本书得以问世，可谓恰逢其时。相信本书的出版对于中国人口与计划生育在 21 世纪的发展的战略思考，对于国际人口与发展大会《行动纲领》在中国的进一步实现，对于“十六大”提出的全面实现小康社会的宏伟目标的推进，都会提供诸多有益的启示。

顾宝昌

2004 年 1 月于芍药居



# **Abstract**

## **PART ONE Background and Introduction to the Project**

### **1. Introduction by Zheng Zhenzhen**

One of the most significant effects of economic reform in China, one that is integral to the process of reform itself, has been massive labor migration from rural areas. By official household statistics, the “floating population” of China, defined as all those persons away from their place of household registration, was 31 million in 1990 and 144 million in 2000. The direction of migration has been mainly from the rural areas to urban areas, and from the less-developed middle to the more-developed eastern regions. In addition, most migrants return to their villages regularly or after a few years. This book examines the impact of this migration on the reproductive health (very broadly defined) of two groups of women in rural China most directly affected by labor migration, returning migrant women and the wives of the male migrants.

The analyses contained in this book are all based on a study that took place in four counties of Anhui and Sichuan in 2000 by a research team composed of scholars from China and USA. More than 3000 women were surveyed on their migration history. Those who had migrated were asked about their experiences, both in cities and after return home, the impact of migration experience to their life, their status within the household, their reproductive health, and their aspirations for their children. In addition, many focus groups and individual interviews were held in order to fill in the emotions behind the survey answers. Both survey results and interviews with villages inform our analysis throughout the volume. Over all we expected that the experience of working in cities not only brought home more income to these rural families, but also urban concepts,

attitudes, and even lifestyles. In the book, we are interested in how much impact migration had and how long the impact is likely to last after the women returned to their home villages.

This book is a result of teamwork, from the initiation of the project to the end of book editing. The multiple perspectives and views as well as diversified writing styles provide rich answers to the question: what are the impacts of migration to rural women in China?

## 2. The Objectives and Contents of the Study by Xie Zhenming

This study examines the impact of migration during 1980's and 1990's on the life of rural women. The framework for the study design listed a large number of variables related to women's life in order to examine the effect of the migration experience: ever migrated or not, when, how far, for how long, and the life during migration and after return. The objective of this study is to examine the impact of migration on the reproductive health of two groups of women in rural China most directly affected by this process, returning migrant women and the wives of the male migrants. We hypothesize that women in the first group bring home new concepts, norms and skills, as well as financial resources, acquired in the urban area. Does what they have experienced, learned and earned in the city affect their future reproductive health in terms of their general level of health, their fertility, their educational aspirations for their children, their health seeking for themselves and their families, their sexual behavior and expectations, their status in the family and their gender role expectations? For the second group of rural women directly affected by migration, those whose husbands have been or are currently migrants, does the absence of their husbands change these women's reproductive health in any significant ways?

Information was collected to answer these questions, including a survey among rural women aged 20~40 in four counties, two in each of the provinces of Sichuan and Anhui. A large number of variables of interest were collected, including respondent's individual and family information, the migration history of the respondent, the migration of the husband (if ever migrated), marriage and childbearing of the respondent, reproductive health and contraception of the respondent, concepts of gender issues and family relationship (please refer to appendix 2). A village information sheet was also developed to collect information

on each village involved in the survey. Of the 3186 respondents, one third are returned migrants and more than half have husbands who have migrated.

Besides the survey, focus group discussion were also conducted, as well as home visits of local families. In each township we organized six focus group discussions: 1) married female returnees, 2) single female returnees, 3) married women who had never migrated, 4) single women who had never migrated, 5) women whose husband had migrated, and 6) husbands who had migrated. All together 23 focus group discussions and more than 50 home visits were conducted.

The fieldwork was carried out in four counties, two in Anhui and two in Sichuan in the Fall of 2000. The data were collected using a stratified sampling frame: two townships from each of two counties in each province were selected, and three to five villages were chosen from each township. The criteria for selection of counties and townships were that they were mainly agricultural areas, neither among the most nor the least developed of these, and that migration was prevalent enough in these locations to yield a sample size of migrants sufficient for statistical significance. As the primary focus of the study was the effect of migration on women's status and reproductive health in rural China, where marriage and childbearing usually begins when women are in their early 20's, the survey was restricted to all the women from 20 to 40 years old who could be located in the village.

**Table 2 - 1 Persons (person/times) involved in fieldwork (females in bracket)**

Location	Local Participation			Research team members	Fieldwork coordinators of province, city/county
	Interviewers	Village assistants	FGD recorders		
Anhui					
Huaining	22(6)	18(7)	3(1)	7(4)	8(2)
Zongyang	22(12)	18(6)	4(0)	7(4)	8(2)
Sichuan					
Xingwen	22(12)	36(13)	4(0)	5(3)	7(2)
Changning	22(10)	36(12)	4(0)	5(3)	7(2)
Total person/times	88 (40)	108(38)	15(1)	22(14)	30(8)

The interviewers were selected from county or township staff and middle

school teachers. All of them have senior high school or higher education, and most of them are women. The research team divided into two parts, one group in charge of survey and quality control, another for focus group discussions. Village leaders introduced typical women and families to the team for home visits. Most team members participated in individual interviews also.

### 3. Introduction of the Fieldwork Sites and Survey Respondents by Guo Daping

The four counties from which we collected information share common features: the land is quite limited given the size of the population; household income depends heavily on agriculture, mainly on rice production, and about 90% of residents live in rural areas. There are few township enterprises in any of the four counties. Those common characteristics ensure that: (1) there are enough returned migrants to interview; (2) the influence of having migrated will be easily identified given the local situation; and (3) the economic status are about average or slightly below, neither too poor nor very developed. In sharing these common characteristics, the four counties show a variety of migration patterns, as discussed later, which provides variation on the circumstances of migration. We expected these differences to affect the impact of migration on the lives of returning migration. As it turns out, the similarity of the migration experience is more important than the exact circumstances of that migration.

**Table 3-1 Population and economic statistics of the four counties in 1999**

County	Population (thousand)	Percentage population rural	Gross agricultural output (1990 prices, million yuan)	GDP / capital (yuan, current prices)	Land type
Huaining, Anhui	779.4	89.6	836	3576	Alluvial Plain
Zongyang, Anhui	946.0	91.2	796	2445	
Xingwen, Sichuan	423.0	89.4	302	1974	Mountainous
Changning, Sichuan	422.0	90.5	423	2969	Hilly

Data sources: Sichuan Statistical Bureau. *Sichuan Statistical Yearbook 2000*. China Statistics Press, 2000; Anhui Statistical Bureau. *Anhui Statistical Yearbook 2000*. China Statistics Press, 2000; State Statistical Bureau. *Social-Economic Statistics Summary by County (City) of China, 2000*. China Statistics Press, 2000.

Table 3 - 1 provides some basic information on the four counties. Of the two counties in Anhui, the economic situation of Huaining is better, for although both counties are major grain producers, Zongyang is easily flooded. This has led to a long history of seasonal migration from this county. The Anhui counties have a tradition of commerce, with famous "Hui Shang" (merchants from Anhui) travelling all over China in the last several centuries. At the time of our study, a larger proportion of Anhui returned migrants work in "commerce," which can be as large as a company or as small as one single individual.

The Sichuan county, Xingwen, is the poorest of the four counties. It has high mountains and hills. It is officially designated a poor county (pinkun xian) by the national government. The local government, as part of its poverty alleviation program, encouraged all families to send their youth to the cities to work. Changing has a better economy, is closer to the city of Yibin, and has a large bamboo forest that attracts tourists from southern China.

Out-migration from both counties in Sichuan started later than from Anhui and has only become common since the mid-1990's. There are, therefore, hardly any women over 30 years old who have had migration experience in Sichuan, while in Anhui, women in their fifties tell stories of their migration experience in the city in the early 1980s, when there were very few migrants. The difference is observable from people's attitude toward migration, for example, their comments on who should migrate and when to migrate. People in Anhui counties are more tolerant, while in Sichuan, people are still concerned about morality in the migration of young, single girls. Sichuan women are more likely to be married before their first migration.

Tables 3 - 2 and 3 - 3 described basic information about survey respondents and their first migration episode.

**Table 3 - 2 Basic information of the respondents by county**

Variable	Anhui Province		Sichuan Province		Total
	Huaining	Zongyang	Xingwen	Changning	
Mean current age	30.6	30.5	29.7	29.2	30.0
Married ( % )	97.9	96.5	98.8	98.4	97.9
Education( column % )					
Illiterate	21.7	37.1	5.1	4.5	17.0

续表 3-2

Variable	Anhui Province		Sichuan Province		Total
	Huaining	Zongyang	Xingwen	Changning	
Primary school grad	54.4	44.6	73.4	63.7	59.1
Middle school grad	22.3	17.3	19.3	29.6	22.1
Ever migrated ( % )	52.8	35.4	26.3	31.2	36.2
Current occupation ( column % )					
Housework	11.6	11.6	22.2	13.8	14.8
Farming	60.3	74.6	71.0	70.7	69.3
Employee	17.3	9.8	2.3	8.3	9.3
Self employed	9.0	2.7	3.1	2.9	4.4
Other	1.8	1.3	1.4	4.3	2.2
Sample size	760	805	801	820	3186

Table 3-3 Information On The First Migration Episode

	Anhui Huaining	Anhui Zongyang	Sichuan Xingwen	Sichuan Changning	Total
Respondents	401	285	211	256	1153
Mean age at first migration episode	23.48	20.94	24.62	24.38	23.26
Migrated before marriage ( % )	37.9	58.6	25.1	17.6	36.2
Migrated to another province ( % )	88.3	74.3	78.2	75.7	80.2
Destination was big city ( provincial capital or Beijing or Shanghai ) ( % )	31.3	20.8	40.8	30.7	30.3
Destination was mid-small city ( % )	45.0	58.5	36.0	52.4	48.3
Average period of stay ( months )	8.67	12.5	14.53	13.69	11.79
Employment status ( column percentage )					
unemployed	3.0	11.9	5.2	4.3	5.3
self employed	54.1	6.0	3.3	12.5	23.7
employee	42.4	81.4	90.5	80.0	69.2

续表 3-3

	Anhui Huaining	Anhui Zongyang	Sichuan Xingwen	Sichuan Changning	Total
manager	0.5	0.7	1.0	3.1	1.2
Major job (column percentage)					
factory worker	22.9	46.7	64.5	48.6	42.1
restaurant worker	19.2	12.3	12.3	13.7	15.0
retailer	49.1	4.6	1.9	8.6	20.5
other	8.8	36.9	21.3	29.1	22.4

## PART TWO Research Reports

### 4. The Impact of Migration to Women's Family Planning and Reproductive Health by Xie Zhenming

This report was the project's first report published in a Chinese journal, *Population and Family Planning*, October 2001, this report is mainly based on survey results, compares differences between ever-migrated women and never migrated women in the sample regarding family planning and reproductive health issues, and analyzes possible causes of the observed differences. The major findings of the paper are summarized below:

- The average number of children ever born to migrated women is less than that the average number of children ever born to never migrated women, however, both groups display equally strong son preference.
- The desired number of children is lower among migrated women, and even lower than the actual number of children they have.
- Almost all women expressed high expectations for their girls' education.
- More migrated women knew about the contraceptive methods of oral pills and condoms and a larger proportion of them report not being satisfied with the contraception method they currently used. However, about half of women were not knowledgeable about possible side effects of the contraception they currently used, and about 40% of women who reported some side effect said that they would not go to visit a doctor for a contraceptive side effect, with no difference between migrated and never migrated women.
- Migrated women attained their reproductive health knowledge from more

sources, but they reported more induced abortions than never migrated women.

- More migrated women knew about sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, but all respondents were only partially correct regarding how to prevent or reduce exposure to sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS.

## 5. Migration Experience of Young Rural Women by Lou Binbin et al

This report utilizes information from both interviews and focus groups to tell migration stories of women, from their initial motivation to migrate, to their life and working condition in the destination, their happiest and harshest experiences, the motivation for going home, and their life after back to home village.

The report concludes that the lives of rural women in Sichuan and Anhui are changed by the experience in many ways. They live in houses and watch televisions purchased with money earned from migration. A few run businesses funded with money saved as migrants. They think about their experiences as migrants with a great deal of ambivalence, the triumphs of autonomy and self-made successes mixed with memories of hard work, lack of sleep, and difficult living conditions. They view their current life in the countryside through a more critical lens, often contrasting the clothing and hygiene standards of urban and rural life. While most return to substantially the same life they left before they migrated, they are more empowered within that life by their experiences outside the village. The potential of future migration also becomes part of their own and their family's set of choices, so that even if they never migrate again, they are changed by the possibility of migrating. They also think about migration in terms of their children. For many, that means a greater emphasis on education so that their child can compete in the larger marketplace. However, for some, it means that the opportunity cost of staying in school is higher. They will send their children "out" as soon as they can.

Substantial differences between the women of Sichuan and Anhui have been noted in the circumstances of migration, i. e., age of migration, marital status at migration, duration of migration, occupation, and destination. Similarly, we found some differences by location in their struggle with rural life upon their return. But in the area of their relationship with migration, i. e., their memories of migration and the sense that they may "go out" again, no significant differences were found between provinces. Age or marital status (they cannot be



disentangled) was also found to be an important category of difference, with younger migrants motivated less by money goals and more by a sense of adventure or an expansion of skills. Upon their return, younger women were more critical of village life and likely to expect to migrate again. Future research is needed to establish whether this generation gap will remain over time or will dissipate with age. More time must also pass in order to assess whether the increased likelihood of migration such that it becomes an expected “rite of passage” will change the impact that the migration experience has on rural women’s lives as it reduces the selection aspect of migration.

#### **6. The Impact of Migration on Rural Women’s Opinion on Family and Marriage and their Practice by Liu Hongyan**

By integrating survey results and qualitative information, from both the focus group discussions and individual interviews, this report analyzes the impact of migration on the rural women’s opinions about marriage and families. A strong relationship was found between migration experience and some of the opinions while others showed no relationship between migration experience and opinions. The major conclusions are:

- A strong impact was observed among unmarried migrants on the selection of their future husband. The survey results show that more migrated women changed boyfriends (rather than marry their first boyfriend). Similarly more women who had migrated before marriage selected their husband by themselves. However, the data also shows that more women who migrated after marriage said that they decided by themselves about whom to marry, compare to those who never migrated which indicates that women who migrated maybe in general more independent than nonmigrating women even if they had never migrated.
- Migration has a slight impact on the likelihood of marrying a man from outside the county but the effect is not strong.
- Migrated before marriage significantly increased the age at marriage.
- Migrants were more tolerable about premarital sex. Concerns about premarital sex were mainly on premarital pregnancy and its possible consequences to marriage. Most of the survey respondents agreed that contraceptive services should be provided to unmarried youth, with a significantly higher proportion agreeing with this statement among migrated women.
- There is a strong correlation between migration status and the women’s