



MONGOLIA: INTERNAL MIGRATION STUDY



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FOREWORD

I am pleased to introduce “Mongolia: Internal Migration Study”, the first comprehensive nationwide study providing baseline data to advise human-centred policymaking in Mongolia.

Through interviews with over one thousand migrant and non-migrant households across the destination and origin areas, the study significantly enhances our understanding of the nature of internal migration in Mongolia. It explores themes like migrants’ characteristics, drivers of migration, and the conditions of migrant populations at their destination in detail. It offers a comparative picture of quality of lives of migrant versus non-migrant populations, including access to education and health services, opportunities of employment and quality of infrastructure, housing, water and sanitation.

The findings show that majority of migrant households did not move in response to a specific event. Rather, economic considerations and the desire for improved living conditions are the main motivating factors for migration. Pursuit of further education, better health services and support of family members also were identified as drivers of internal migration. The study showed that the majority of migrants feel better off in the places of destination. Although migration has a long tradition in Mongolia, the contemporary trends are marked with high share of households moving to urban areas, resulting in intensive urbanization and depopulation of rural homes or places of origin.

Technical experts from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) helped develop the study’s quantitative and qualitative methodology. One of the leading Mongolian research organizations, the Population Training and Research Centre of the National University of Mongolia, carried out the field research for this comprehensive assessment. Financial support was provided by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. On behalf of IOM, I take this opportunity formally to acknowledge these partner organizations’ essential contribution to completing this study to its high standard.

Now that the baseline data is available, IOM stands ready to support the Government of Mongolia in devising and implementing necessary interventions and evidence-based policies to improve government services and regulations to support Mongolia’s internal migrants and host communities.



Richard Fairbrother
Officer in Charge
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DEFINITIONS AND KEY CONCEPTS

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS	
Aimag:	According to the Law of Mongolia on Administrative and Territorial Units and their Management (1993), the total territory of the country is divided into 22 administrative units, i.e. 21 aimags and the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. Aimags and the capital city are the primary administrative units.
<i>Soum</i> :	Aimags are divided into <i>soums</i> . <i>Soums</i> are the secondary administrative units.
<i>Bagh</i> :	<i>Soums</i> are further divided into <i>baghs</i> , which are the smallest administrative units.
District:	The capital city of Ulaanbaatar is divided into nine districts. Districts are the secondary administrative units.
Khoroo:	Districts are divided into <i>khoroos</i> , which are the smallest administrative units.
URBAN	
Urban:	An urban location is defined as the capital Ulaanbaatar, or aimag centre. Conversely, all <i>soums</i> are considered rural locations.
DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS	
Dependency ratio:	A measure indicating the number of dependents, aged 0 to 14 and over the age of 65, to the total population, aged 15 to 64. This indicator gives insight into the share of nonworking age individuals relative to working age individuals.
Median age:	The age that divides a population into two numerically equal groups, that is: half the people are younger than this age and half are older.
EDUCATION LEVEL	
No education:	A person who did not complete 3rd grade (between 1975 and 1996), or 4th grade (until 1975, or between 1997 and 2004), or 5th grade (after 2005) of secondary school. Also, children who are currently attending 1–6th grade of secondary school in 2018 or those who dropped out of school will be considered as having no education.
Primary education:	A person who graduated 3rd grade (1975–1996), 4th grade (1997–2004), 5th grade (after 2005) of secondary school. Also, person who attended and graduated from an informal and distance learning programme.
Secondary education:	A person who graduated 7th grade (until 1975), 8th grade (between 1975 and 2004), and 9th grade (2005 and after) of secondary school in day, evening, external programme, and participated in and graduated the basic education programme and has got a certificate of basic education.
High secondary education:	A person who graduated 10th grade (before 2006), 11th grade (2006 and after) of secondary school in a day, evening and external programme, and participated in and graduated informal education programme and has got a certificate.

Technical and professional education:	A person who graduated from a Vocational Training Centre (formerly a technical and vocational school) and has got a vocational certificate. Also, a person who graduated from a vocational college abroad and/or locally (formerly a technical) or same level schools and has got a certificate or diploma.
Bachelor's degree:	A person who graduated from an international or national university, institute or college in day or evening classes or correspondence courses and has got a diploma of bachelor or same level document to certify the educational level. Also, a person who graduated a 3-year programme from the Teachers University before 1964, a person who graduated the Political Party Institute before 1966, a person who graduated a two year course at the Institute of Political Party, or those who graduated from the Evening Institute for Marxism-Leninism and the Labour Institute for the East will belong to this classification.
Master's degree:	A person who graduated from an international or national university, institute or college in day or evening classes or correspondence courses and has got a diploma of master or same level document to certify the educational level.
PhD and higher:	A person who graduated from an international or national university, institute or college in day or evening classes or correspondence courses and has got a diploma of doctoral or same level document to certify the educational level.
EMPLOYMENT	
Employed:	A person who has a permanent job or a person who had at least one day's paid job during the week before the survey date. Those on annual, sick, or maternal leave will be considered employed.
Unemployed:	A person who is actively looking for a job during the week prior to the census date despite unemployment registration with the labour and welfare service department.
HOUSEHOLD	
Household:	<p>Household is a group of people who live together in one house, with a joint budget and jointly provide their food and other basic needs. Members of a household should be family or relatives; there can be some members in the household with no relation to the other members.</p> <p>A single person, or two or more persons who have common provision for food and other essentials, such as pooling of income. Household members may be related or unrelated.</p>
Household head:	The household head is determined by the members of the household. The household head is a family member who usually resides in the household, is over 16 years of age, is the main contributor to the household income, and plays a significant role in decision-making of the household.

Household members:	Household members are one person or a group of people who are relatives or family members that live together in one housing unit, with a joint budget, and jointly provide food and other basic needs. However, relatives and other people who are not members of the household can live in this household at the time of the survey.
MARITAL STATUS	
Never married:	A person who is above the age 15 and has never been married.
Married:	A person who has registered the marriage in the civil registration agency and has a marriage certificate.
Living together:	A person who is living with his/her partner (regardless of the duration), but not registered with the civil registration agency and does not have an official marriage certificate.
Separated:	A person who is separated but not legally divorced, and not living with someone else regardless of the duration.
Divorced:	A person who is legally divorced and has not married again, and is not living with someone else regardless of the duration.
Widowed:	A person who has not married again or is living with someone else after the death of a wife/husband regardless of the duration.
MIGRATION	
Migrant household:	A household in which all members migrated to their current place of residence within three years prior to the survey and resides in the place of destination for at least 180 days.
Non-migrant household:	A household that did not participate in migration in the period of three years prior to the survey, residing in areas selected by the survey that were considered origin areas of residence.
SOURCE OF WATER	
Improved source of water:	Includes sources that, by nature of their construction or through active intervention, are protected from outside contamination, particularly faecal matter. It comprises piped water on premise such as piped household water connection located inside the user's dwelling, plot or yard. Other improved sources include public taps, protected wells, natural spring and rainwater collection.
Unimproved source of water:	Includes unprotected dug well, unprotected natural spring, cart with small tank/drum, tanker truck, surface water (river, dam, lake, pond, stream, canal, and irrigation channels), and bottled water.
SANITATION FACILITY	
Improved sanitation facility:	Includes facilities that hygienically separate human excreta from human contact, such as piped sewer connections, single pit latrines with slab or covered pit and ventilated improved latrines.
Shared facility:	Shared sanitation facilities are otherwise-acceptable improved sanitation facilities that are shared between two or more households but are not considered improved. Shared facilities include public toilets or pit latrines.
Unimproved sanitation facility:	Unimproved sanitation facilities do not ensure a hygienic separation of human excreta from human contact and include open pits and open defecation (in fields, forests, bushes, bodies of water, and so on and so forth).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Internal migration within Mongolia has a long tradition that continues even today. More recent trends, however, are exceptional in that the share of households moving from rural to urban areas, including the capital city of Ulaanbaatar, is relatively high resulting in urbanization and depopulation of certain rural areas of origin. Given the challenges in both urban and rural areas owing to internal migration, it is no surprise that the issue has become a core policy concern for the country. Nonetheless, the last internal migration survey was conducted in 2009, and there has been shortage of thematic or in-depth study on the topic since.

This report fills that gap by providing up-to-date evidence on internal migration in Mongolia. The analysis relies on data from a recently conducted household survey across areas of both origin and destination, covering 3,715 individuals within 1,001 households. In addition, qualitative methods, including focus group discussions and in-depth stakeholder interviews, were employed to support interpretation and add nuance to the statistical findings. Using this complementary mixed-methods approach, the findings should be of great value to policymakers working on this topic.

Considering the basic characteristics of the sample, the age distribution indicates that migrants are more likely to be young working-age individuals compared to non-migrants. In addition, migrants on average have higher levels of education reflecting greater educational opportunities for young adults, and potentially movement for the reason of attending higher education in an urban setting. Labour market activities differ across migrants and non-migrants, principally due to the type of job opportunities available in urban against rural areas. Despite these differences in labour market activity, average monthly income and expenditures are largely similar, although rural-based non-migrant households show the lowest levels of both. On the other hand, migrant households spend on average a higher share of their monthly income on food, household goods and housing.

In terms of general living conditions, migrant households have lower levels of home and land ownership compared to non-migrant households across both rural and urban areas. Nearly all urban households, regardless of migration status, benefit from improved sources of drinking water including piped water on premises, whereas urban migrant households are more likely to use shared sanitation facilities. In addition, non-migrant households in rural areas live relatively farther away from health services, potentially motivating rural to urban internal migration. On the other hand, urban-based migrant households on average live further away from the nearest secondary school reflecting their location on the periphery of towns.

As for the drivers of migration, rural-to-urban migration, especially to Ulaanbaatar, is by far the most prevalent direction of movement, although urban to rural is also significant in Selenge and Dornogovi aimags. Economic considerations, moving

for family welfare and the desire for improved living conditions are the primary motivating factors for migrant households to move from their communities of origin. Conversely, the reason to select one destination over another largely depends on non-economic considerations including joining family or better access to social services. Women are found to play a key role in the decision-making process of migration, either as the head of the household or spouse. The knowledge migrants have of the destination areas prior to movement appears to be limited, although those who did, had primarily received related information from family relatives and friends. Finally, the cost of rural to urban migration is much higher than all other types of movements.

Turning to the circumstances related to migration, the types of challenges migrant households faced prior to moving were predominately economic in nature, mostly in terms of having difficulties finding a job. Alternatively, even though the majority of migrant households do not report having had a problem once arriving at destination, those that did mostly referred to difficulties with their living conditions including not having a proper dwelling or permission for land for residence. The lack of registration is a prevalent issue for migrant households especially in Ulaanbaatar, since many view their stay as temporary or perhaps because of the irregular nature of their movement in light of recent restrictions to move to the capital city. Regardless, very few migrant households believe their situation has worsened after moving.

Lastly, with respect to migration intentions, most households intend to permanently settle in their current place of residence, meaning plans for future migration are low. And although migrant households frequently travel to their areas of origin to visit relatives, more than one half would not return permanently under any circumstances. Better working conditions seem to be fundamental for migrant households to even consider future return to their original communities.

In light of the report's findings, the following recommendations are proposed in greater detail:

1. To take into account internal migration in development planning and sectoral and inter-sectoral policies.
2. To cover migrant population with social protection policies and programmes.
3. To improve migrants' access to information.
4. To improve living conditions at places of origin in order to support return migration.
5. To develop a sustainable, balanced development policy directed towards eliminating urban and rural development disparities.
6. To support the registration of migrants.
7. To increase awareness-raising, training and advocacy in order to support social cohesion among migrants and non-migrants, and assist migrants in overcoming challenges.
8. To conduct regular national research on migration in order to support evidence-based policies.

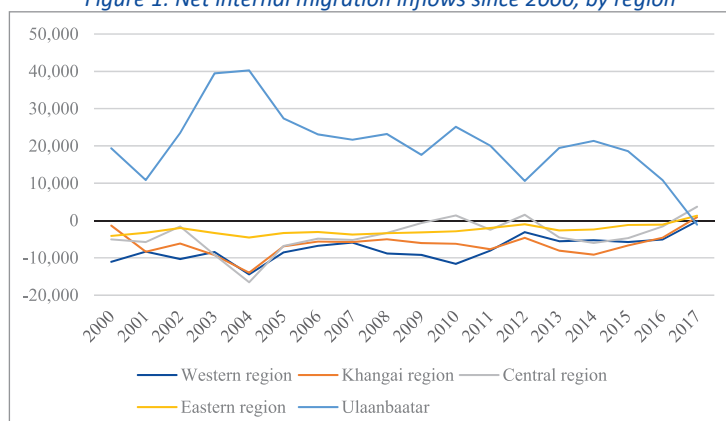
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Justification

Given the importance of nomadism throughout Mongolia's history, it is not surprising that internal migration is a recurrent theme. For example, the withdrawal of Soviet subsidies and exposure to globalization and a market economy in the early 1990s significantly influenced movement from urban to rural parts of the country as large swaths of population took advantage of their newly enshrined freedom of movement in order to return to work in the rural economy, particularly animal husbandry (Guinness and Guinness, 2012). In more recent years, however, the principle direction of flow has been rural to urban especially towards the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. Overall, the National Statistics Office (NSO) notes that since the turn of the century an average of 103,000 Mongolians have been involved in some form of internal migration annually (NSO, 2017).

Internal migration within Mongolia is not uniform, with certain geographic regions losing parts of their population to movement while others gain. Figure 1 illustrates net migration inflows (i.e. inflows minus outflows) since the year 2000 across all five regions including Ulaanbaatar. Over most of this period, Ulaanbaatar has attracted the most number of internal migrants from elsewhere, averaging a net inflow of around 21,000 persons per year. Conversely, the Western region has lost most of its population over this time, with an average net outflow of 8,000 persons every year. Interestingly, however, 2017 shows a reversal of this general trend especially in Ulaanbaatar which can be attributed to an official ban on new inflows into the capital. Still, even though the recent restrictions certainly have led to a substantial decline in the number of households deciding to move to the capital, the drop presented here may also simply reflect a greater number of unregistered migrants who are not accounted for in official statistics. Overall, these aggregate figures help provide a basic backdrop to understanding internal migration across Mongolia, but they also conceal a much more nuanced perspective including why migrant households decide to leave their places of origin and their conditions at destination.

Figure 1: Net internal migration inflows since 2000, by region



There are a number of fundamental reasons that may motivate an individual to decide to leave their place of origin and choose a new location to reside. Typically, the place of origin may have limited job opportunities, inadequate living conditions and low quality of health and education services. Indeed, previous studies have shown migrants in Mongolia are attracted to urban areas, including the capital city, precisely because of the prospects to resolve the abovementioned issues.¹ These fundamental motivations are likely still driving many of the movements today, but how they relate with other key dynamics including regional-specific changes remains underexplored.

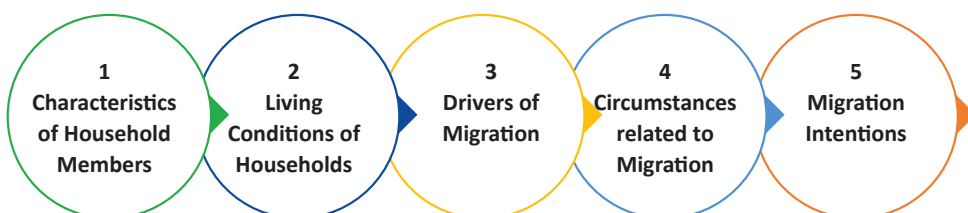
Due to a number of pressing challenges emerging in both urban and rural areas because of internal migration, it is little surprise that it has become a core policy issue for the country. For instance, inflows towards Ulaanbaatar puts pressure on social services particularly in the ger districts of the city; increases air, soil and water pollution; leads to a rise in inappropriate land use; and contributes to unemployment and poverty. On the other hand, rural areas are faced with negative consequences like depopulation, desertification and loss of human resources. To address these and other related challenges, it is critical for officials to be well-informed of the nature of internal migration, including the conditions of migrant populations at destination and drivers of their movement in the first place.

The last internal migration survey was conducted in 2009,² and there has been shortage of thematic or in-depth study on the topic since. The NSO conducted a mid-term Population Census in 2015, which collected data on general trends of internal migration and its flows. However, detailed information on the causes of migration, determinant factors in places of origin and destination, challenges related to migration, the process of decision-making and other migration-related factors were not covered. Moreover, there is a lack of policy on internal migration based on latest statistics, absent are clear-cut measures by the government to coordinate migration, and there is a continuous need to resolve the question of social services for migrants as well as other pressing issues faced by them including residency registration, land permission, air pollution and poor hygiene.

With the objective to provide up-to-date evidence of value to policymakers working on internal migration in Mongolia, the research team conducted a comprehensive household survey on the topic. The survey was carried out by the research team of the Population Teaching and Research Centre (PTRC) of the National University of Mongolia (NUM) under the project “Understanding and managing internal migration in Mongolia”, with technical and financial assistance from the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

1.2. Goals and Objectives

The present study aims to contribute to the understanding of internal migration in Mongolia by looking at the following themes:



The following research questions were explored in the above-mentioned thematic areas:

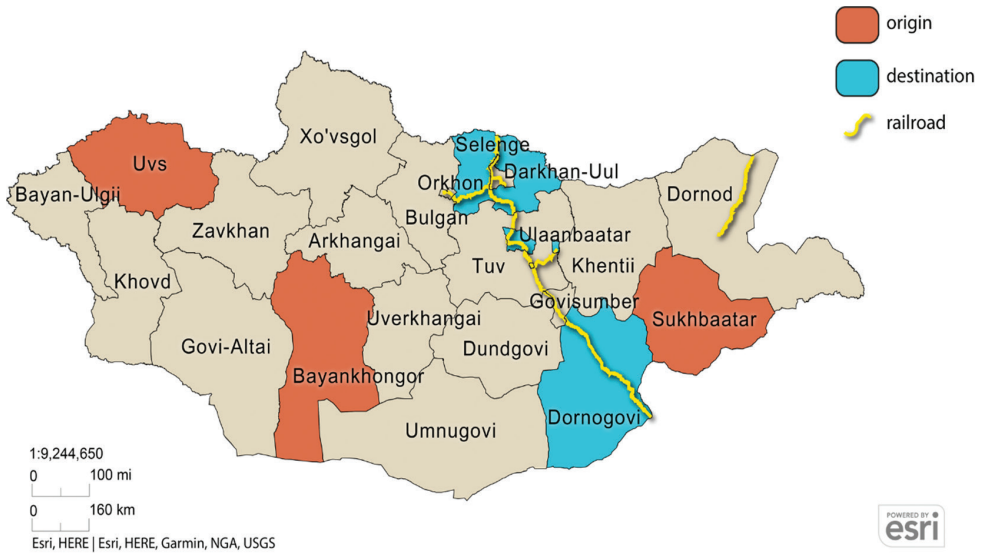
1. What are the sociodemographic profiles of migrant households?
2. Which contextual factors in rural areas drive Mongolians to make the decision to migrate to urban areas?
3. Which contextual factors in urban areas drive Mongolians to make decision to migrate to other urban areas?
4. What individual, household and community level “events” and circumstances trigger Mongolians to make the decision to migrate?
5. What challenges and vulnerabilities do Mongolians face before migration and upon arrival in new locations?
6. How do migrants prepare for the move?
7. How do migrants select a final destination in Mongolia?
8. What perceptions did migrants have of the target destination areas prior to migrating?
9. What perceptions do migrants have of their origin?

In order to answer these research questions, both quantitative and qualitative methods were developed and applied to provide a more holistic understanding. The quantitative data is used as the first source to answer the main questions of the study, with the qualitative evidence providing complementary interpretation.

1.3. Methodology

Mongolia is divided into five regions according to economic regionalization, namely the Western, the Khangai, the Central, the Eastern and the Ulaanbaatar regions. According to the Law on Administrative and Territorial Management of Mongolia (1993), the total territory of Mongolia is divided into 22 primary administrative units, or more precisely 21 aimags and the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. Aimags are further divided into soums while Ulaanbaatar is divided into districts. Soums are then subdivided into baghs and districts into khoros, which are the smallest administrative units.

Figure 2: Aimags selected for sampling



Source: Administrative GIS data is from the Administration of Land Affairs, Geodesy and Cartography of Mongolia (ALAGaC).

This map is for illustration purposes only. The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the International Organization for Migration.

Selection of areas to be covered by the household survey was based on NSO's official statistics on internal migration from 2010–2016 as illustrated in Table 1. More specifically, aimags were divided into two categories: “place of origin” and “place of destination” based on absolute inflows, but also taking into consideration net inflows. Figure 2 represents the aimags selected for sampling. Aimags within the Central and Ulaanbaatar regions were principally categorized as destination areas, whereas those in the Western, Khangai and Eastern regions were, for the most part, viewed as places of origin.

A multistage, random sampling method was applied with sampling conducted in four stages. First, three aimags categorized as origin areas within regions showing some of the highest out-migration were chosen, namely Uvs (Western region), Bayankhongor (Khangai region), and Sukhbaatar (Eastern region). Selenge and Dornogovi aimags were selected from the destination areas as places with high in-migration compared to other aimags, as was Ulaanbaatar since it had the highest net inflows. Second, two soums were selected from each aimag. One soum had to be the aimag centre, whereas the other had to be rural and with a population size close to the average population size of all other soums in that aimag. Of the nine Ulaanbaatar districts, the two with the highest net inflows, namely Bayanzurkh and Songinokhairkhan, were selected. Third, two baghs from each soum or khoros from each district were selected randomly, although one had to be the soum centre. In total, 20 baghs and 10 khoros were selected for the survey. Fourth, household selection was performed using a sampling frame based

on household data from each of the selected bagh/khoroos' official Household Registration Database. From the prepared registration data, which includes information on migration status, 30 households from each bagh and 40 households from each khoroo were randomly selected to be covered by the survey. In total 1000 households were selected for the survey, although an additional household was covered in practice. Table 2 provides a summary of sampling at all levels.

Table 1: Number of internal migration flows according to region and aimag/city

	2010–2016		Net inflows	Categorization of area
	Inflow	Outflows		
WEST	22,798	67,256	-44,458	
Bayan-Olgii	1,242	9,604	-8,362	Origin
Govi-Altai	3,002	10,890	-7,888	Origin
Zavkhan	6,488	17,352	-10,864	Origin
Uvs	4,709	14,318	-9,609	Origin
Khovd	7,357	15,092	-7,735	Origin
KHANGAI	47,302	94,345	-47,043	
Arkhangai	4,585	13,813	-9,228	Origin
Bayankhongor	4,375	11,658	-7,283	Origin
Bulgan	8,286	11,564	-3,278	Origin
Orkhon	18,750	24,424	-5,674	Destination
Ovorkhangai	5,291	18,276	-12,985	Origin
Khovsgol	6,015	14,610	-8,595	Origin
CENTRAL	85,293	101,682	-16,389	
Govisumber	5,398	4,570	828	Destination
Darkhan-Uul	19,304	24,375	-5,071	Destination
Dornogovi	10,495	10,525	-30	Destination
Dundgovi	4,278	10,484	-6,206	Origin
Omnogovi	9,767	6,794	2,973	Destination
Selenge	20,158	22,912	-2,754	Destination
Tov	15,893	22,022	-6,129	Destination
EAST	19,359	32,529	-13,170	
Dornod	5,342	10,889	-5,547	Origin
Sukhbaatar	4,612	7,237	-2,625	Origin
Khentii	9,405	14,403	-4,998	Origin
ULAANBAATAR	207,772	81,629	126,143	
Ulaanbaatar	207,772	81,629	126,143	Destination

Source: NSO, 2017.

The primary unit of the survey was the household, with a main respondent providing responses for each household member. Given the purpose of the study, both migrant and non-migrant households were targeted across the destination and origin areas, respectively. A migrant household is defined as one in which

all household members moved to their current place of residence within three years prior to the survey and resides in the place of destination for at least 180 days. Ultimately, the survey collected information on 3,715 persons (1,433 non-migrants and 2,282 migrants) living in 1,001 households (360 non-migrant and 641 migrant households).

Table 2: Sample size

Aimag/city	Soum/district	Selected		Covered:
		Number of bagh/khoroo	Number of households per each bagh/khoroo	Total number of households
Areas of Origin				
1. Uvs	1. Tes	2	30	60
	2. Ulaangom	2	30	60
2. Bayankhongor	1. Erdenetsogt	2	30	60
	2. Bayankhongor	2	30	60
3. Sukhbaatar	1. Uulbayan	2	30	60
	2. Baruun-Urt	2	30	60
Area of Destination				
1.Dornogovi	1. Zamiin-Uud	2	30	60
	2. Sainshand	2	30	60
2.Selenge	1. Bayangol	2	30	60
	2. Sukhbaatar	2	30	60
3.Ulaanbaatar	1. Bayanzurkh	5	40	200
	2. Songinokhairkhan	5	40	201
TOTAL		20/10	600/400	1,001

Apart from the household survey, focus group discussions were conducted with 8–10 persons from both migrant and non-migrant households in each selected *bagh/khoroo*. In-depth key informant interviews were also performed with registration officers and other related officials in charge of migration issues in the local areas. Ultimately two groups participated in the discussions from each selected *bagh/khoroo*, of which one was comprised of household representatives and the other representatives of local administrative staff and officials.

1.4. Structure of the Report

This study is descriptive, in that the principle aim is to draw out notable trends in the survey data in order to provide a better understanding of present-day internal migration in Mongolia. Considering the themes and research questions defined prior to data collection, the main comparison of interest is between migrant and non-migrant households as well as the four types of migration flows, that is, rural–urban, rural–rural, urban–urban and urban–rural, when looking at migrant households exclusively. However, because of the relevance of rural versus urban locations more generally, as well as female versus male patterns, these comparisons are also explored where relevant. For ease of quick reading,

the key message of each paragraph is highlighted in bold which can be read in succession as a concise summary of the report's main findings.

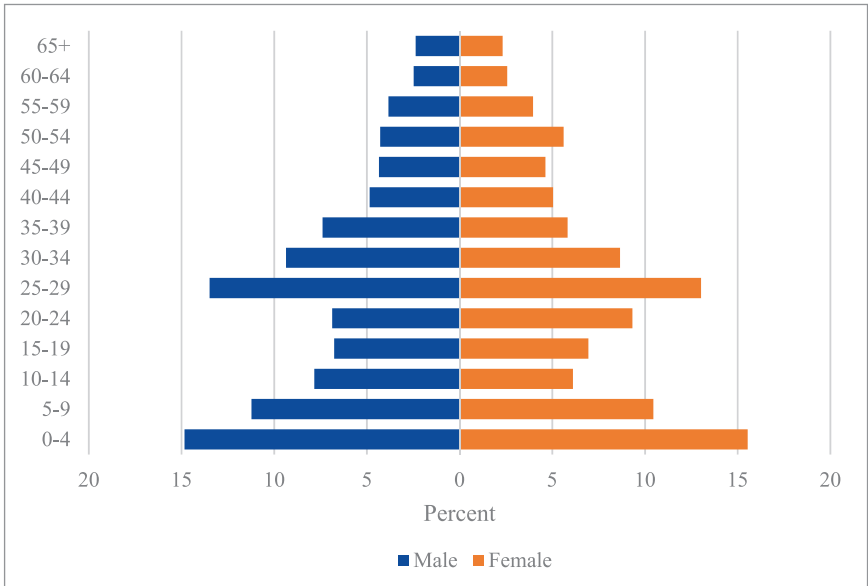
The report, including this introduction, consists of seven sections along with references and appendixes. Section 2 details the basic characteristics of household members covered by the survey, while Section 3 describes the living conditions of households. Focusing solely on migrant households, Section 4 presents a detailed account of internal migration flows as well as the reasons for migration and other key factors prior to making the journey. Section 5 examines the circumstances related to migration including challenges faced at origin and destination, registration and subjective opinions of life after migrating. Section 6 focuses on future migration intentions including return to communities of origin. Finally, Section 7 concludes with recommendations based on the report's key findings.

2. BASIC CHARACTERISTICS

2.1. Demographic Profile

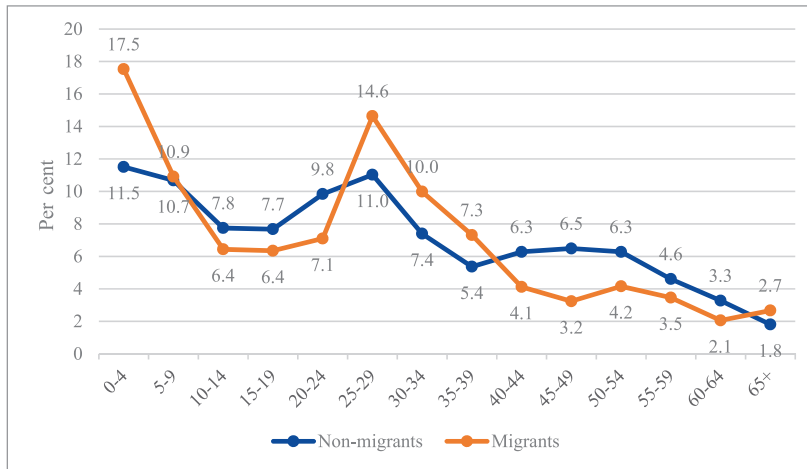
The general structure of the population covered by the survey is similar to that of the population at large in Mongolia. Figure 3 illustrates the population pyramid of the sample by age and sex, represented by five-year age groups. Of the sample population, 48 per cent are male, and 52 per cent are female. This represents a male-to-female sex ratio of 0.91, which is comparable to the official sex ratio of the total population at 0.97, based on the 2015 census (NSO, 2016). Likewise, the median age of population covered by the survey is 25 years, which is similar to the official figure of 28 years.

Figure 3: Population pyramid, by age and sex



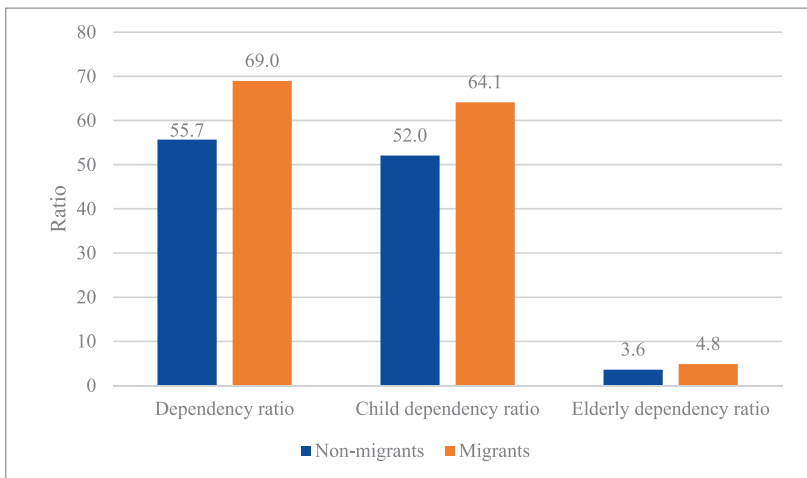
The age distribution of migrants indicates that young working-age individuals are more likely to be on the move. Figure 4 highlights the age structure of migrants and non-migrants in the sample population. While the percentage of non-migrants does not show great fluctuation across all age groups, the share of migrants increases sharply within the 25–29 age bracket and remains above non-migrants through 35–39 years of age. Moreover, the percentage of migrants aged 0–4 is six percentage points higher than non-migrants suggesting movement by families with young children. Indeed, young adults aged 25–39 and children under ten comprise the majority of population in migrant households. Looking at gender differences, females aged 20–24 are more likely to be migrants than their male counterparts within the same age category, reflecting the internal migration of female university students and young mothers moving with their slightly older spouses.

Figure 4: Age distribution



The relatively high dependency ratio for migrant households reflects their support of other family members, and children in particular. Figure 5 shows that the overall dependency ratio— including both children (0–14 years) and elderly (65+ years) as dependents – is 13 points higher for migrant households compared to non-migrant households. In other words, an average migrant household has nearly seven dependents for every ten working age adults compared to an average non-migrant household which fewer than six dependents. By separating the overall ratio between children and the elderly, it is clear that the difference is predominately based on migrant households having more children to support.

Figure 5: Dependency ratios

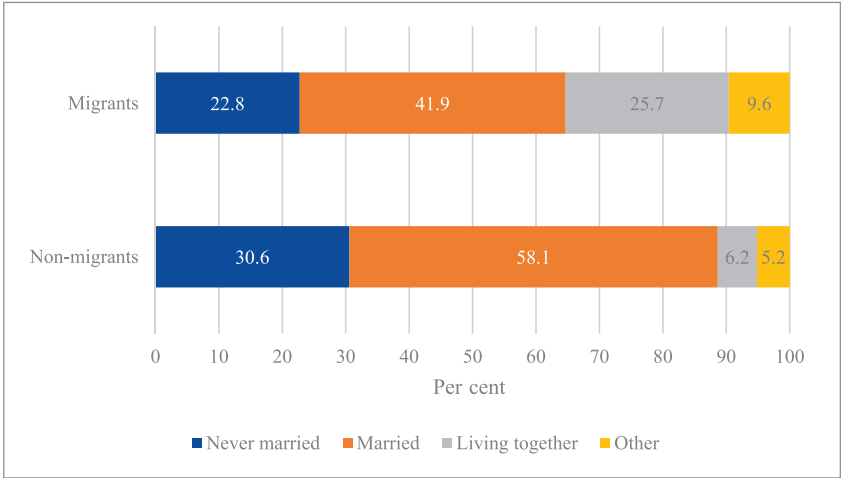


Note: The dependency ratio is the number of children (0–14 years) and elderly (65+ years) over the number of working age adults (15–64 years).

The majority of individuals are either married or living with their partners, however there is a notable difference between migrants and non-migrants for this indicator. Figure 6 represents the marital status of the surveyed population

aged 15 and over. Most individuals across both groups are married or living with their partners. But corresponding to the earlier evidence that migrants are likely to be younger, migrants are less likely to be officially married when compared to non-migrants (42% versus 58%). Conversely, migrants are four times as likely to be living together (25% versus 6%).

Figure 6: Marital status



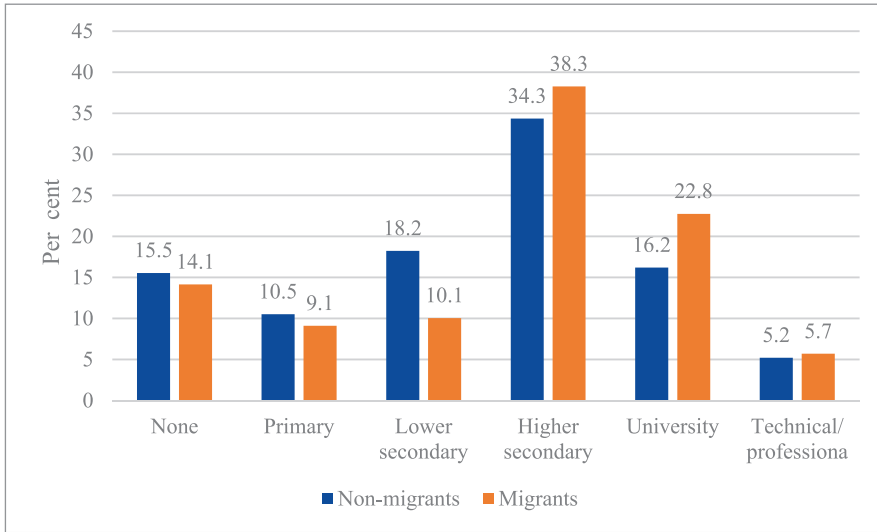
Note: Marital status is only considered for the sample population aged 15 and over. The category ‘Other’ includes being separated, divorced and widowed.

2.2. Educational Attainment

Migrants, on average, have higher levels of education than non-migrants reflecting greater educational opportunities for young adults, and potentially movement for the reason of attending higher education institution. Figure 7 shows the highest level of educational attainment for all individuals aged six and over. Approximately 38 per cent of migrants have completed at least higher secondary level of education, followed by 23 per cent who have a university level of education including a Bachelor’s or Master’s degree. This is consistent with the fact that many migrants are young adults who presumably have had greater opportunities to continue their education compared to their older counterparts, and that many move to destination areas precisely for the reason of attending vocational schools, colleges and universities. Around 15 per cent of the total sample has no schooling whatsoever, with no discernible difference across the two groups.

Across gender, females have a greater rate of higher education completion. More specifically, 23 per cent of all women have a Bachelor’s or Master’s degree, compared to 17 per cent of men. In addition, female migrants are better educated than female non-migrants, just as are male migrants compared to non-migrants.

Figure 7: Educational attainment



Note: Education is only considered for the sample population aged six and over. 'University' includes both Bachelor's and Master's degrees.

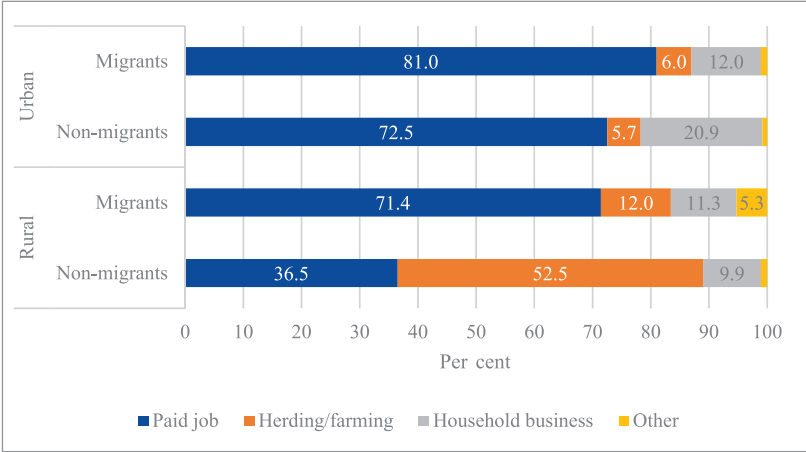
2.3. Employment

Labour market activities differ across migrants and non-migrants, principally due to the type of job opportunities available in urban as compared to rural areas. Around one half of the total population surveyed indicated working in the week prior to the survey, with the share five percentage points lower for migrants compared to non-migrants (47% to 52%). Of those that did indicate employment in the week prior, Figure 8 illustrates the different labour market activities across urban and rural locations. Migrants are significantly more likely to be working in a paid job relative to non-migrants in both areas, yet the difference between groups is notably higher in rural areas. Conversely, more than one half of rural non-migrants are involved in herding and farming activities. Taking into consideration the prior findings on education, this suggests that individuals with higher education settle down in urban areas due to the availability of waged employment opportunities, which are scarcer in rural areas.

Among all individuals not working, the vast majority are not looking for a job. Over 70 per cent of the sample, not working in the week prior to the survey, is inactive, in other words, they are students, retired (e.g. pensioners), sick/disabled people or those caring for their children and other family members. Migrants, in particular, are considerably more likely to be taking care of children and family members compared to non-migrants (27% compared to 10%). Conversely, only about a quarter of the not working are active on the labour market indicating they could not find a suitable job, with this figure significantly lower for migrants than non-migrants (19% as against 31%).

Gender differences are most apparent when it comes to looking after family members. Around a third of females not working take care of children and other family members compared to only four per cent of men. Similarly, female migrants are much more likely to be involved in this activity compared to female non-migrants (41% to 16%).

Figure 8: Labour market activities

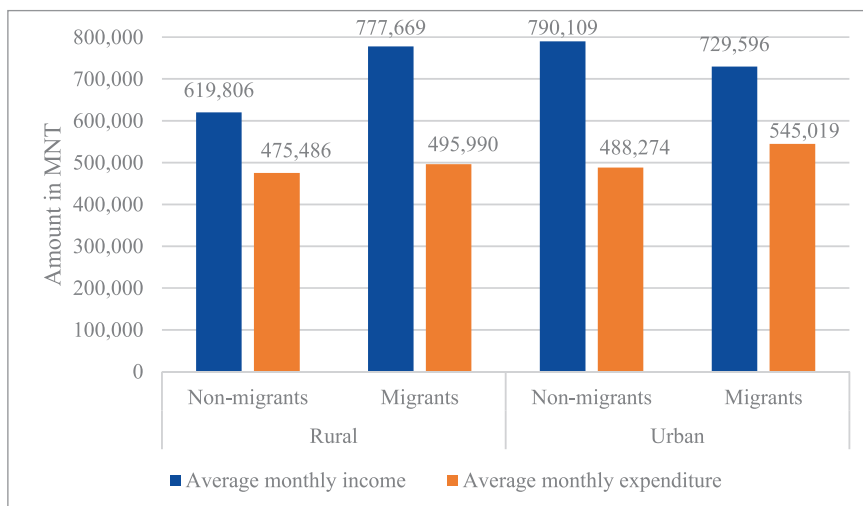


Note: Labour market activity is only considered for the sample population aged 15 and over.

2.4. Income and Expenditures

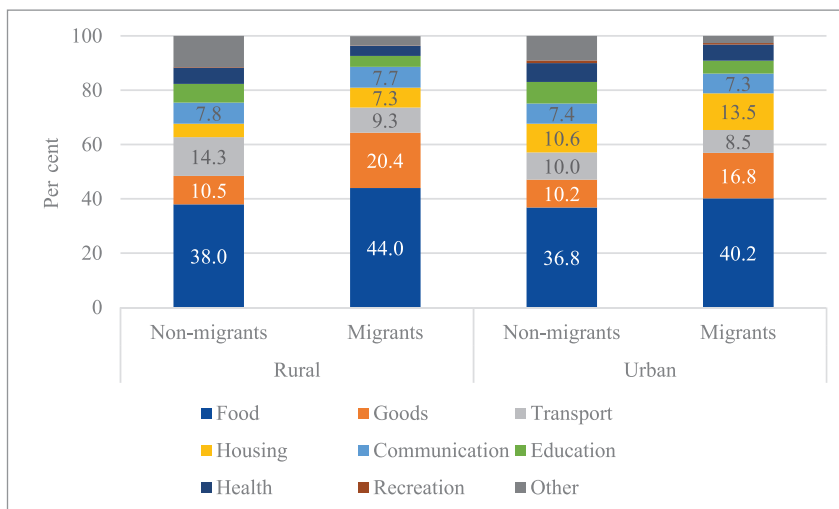
Despite differences in labour market activity, average monthly income and expenditures are largely comparable across migrant and non-migrant households, although rural-based non-migrant households show the lowest levels of both. Figure 9 shows the average monthly income and expenditures for migrant and non-migrant households in both rural and urban areas. In the urban contexts, non-migrants have on average around MNT 60,000 (or USD 25) higher income compared to migrants. In contrast, migrants’ average expenditures are greater by around the same amount, revealing migrants may have a more difficult time saving. In addition, migrant households in rural areas seem to earn more in one month than their counterparts in urban locations, and spend around MNT 50,000 (or USD 20) less. Non-migrant households in rural areas both earn and spend the least amount on a monthly basis, likely reflecting their specific work activity of livestock breeding.

Figure 9: Average monthly income and expenditures



Migrant households spend on average a higher share of their monthly income on food, household goods and housing. Figure 10 is a representation of the share of monthly expenditures on individual items or activities. Between migrant and non-migrant households, both in urban and rural areas, migrants spend a higher percentage of their total monthly income on food, household goods and housing. In addition, and as expected, in urban settings a larger share of total expenditures go to housing regardless of migratory status.

Figure 10: Average monthly expenditure by various items/activities



3. LIVING CONDITIONS

3.1. Housing and Land

Traditional dwellings called gers are the predominant form of housing across the entire population, however, migrant households in rural locations have higher rates of living in a building. Table 3 shows the type of dwellings occupied by migrant and non-migrant households, broken down by rural against urban locations. Both groups are most likely to live in a traditional ger, but the share is significantly higher among non-migrants in rural areas. Migrants in rural areas, on the other hand, have a higher likelihood of living in a building, and more specifically, in an apartment or single family self-contained house. Alternatively, there are no significant differences across dwelling types within urban locations with about one half of both groups living in gers and the other in apartment buildings. Given the fundamental link between basic housing and well-being, it is also important to note that a ger is not connected to the central heating, water supply and sewage system. On the other hand, although a ger is a more limited form of accommodation, the supply of apartments is far lower in rural areas while those in urban settings including Ulaanbaatar the prices are relatively on the higher end.

Migrant households have lower levels of home ownership across both rural and urban areas. Table 3 highlights the clear difference in home ownership across migrants and non-migrants, again broken down by rural against urban locations. The gap is especially large in rural areas, with non-migrants 41 percentage points higher more likely to own their residence compared to migrants. This general pattern is also reflected across all types of homes, indicating migrant households have a lower ability to purchase their accommodation due to limited income and/or savings, regardless of whether it is a traditional ger, and apartment block or other. This may also indicate migrant households' inability to acquire residency permits upon moving to new location, and lack of knowledge about the processes required to do so.

Table 3: Housing %

	Rural		Urban	
	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants
<i>Housing type</i>				
Ger	75.6	43.8	54.4	53.5
Building	23.9	55.4	45.6	46.4
Apartment	4.4	17.4	23.3	26.0
Convenient single family house	3.9	1.7	2.8	2.5
Single family house	15.6	29.8	18.3	15.2
Public dwellings	0.0	6.6	1.1	2.7
Non-living quarter	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2
Others	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0
<i>Housing ownership</i>				
Private	97.8	57.0	90.0	73.9
Rent	0.6	8.3	2.8	9.4
Occupy without renting	1.7	34.7	7.2	16.7
Number of households	180	121	180	520

Land and livestock ownership vary considerably across non-migrant and migrant households residing in urban as compared to rural areas. Corresponding to home ownership, Table 4 illustrates how migrants have considerably lower rates of land ownership in both rural and urban areas. Nonetheless, the share of privatized land ownership as well as livestock ownership is higher for migrants in rural areas, indicating they may have moved to that location for the specific purpose of engaging in livestock production. In addition, of all those households that own land, only a small percentage of the land is arable and the median size in hectares is relatively limited especially for migrants in rural areas, again suggesting that it is used for livestock rearing as opposed to crop farming.³

Table 4: Land and livestock ownership %

	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>	
	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants
Land ownership	73.9	30.6	50.0	29.2
Privatized	79.0	91.9	90.0	81.6
Non-privatized	21.1	8.1	10.0	18.4
Arable land ownership	6.1	1.7	2.8	2.1
Median size of arable land (in hectares)	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.5
Livestock ownership	17.8	82.6	23.3	12.7
Number of households	180	121	180	520

Most households have access to electricity, yet the rate is significantly lower for rural non-migrants, who to a large extent, are dependent on animal dung as a fuel source for both heating and cooking. Table 5 illustrates the households that are connected to electricity, the source of heating, as well as the type of fuel used for heating and cooking purposes. The majority of all the households in the sample are officially connected to the power grid, that is, they have a contract with the local power supply agency. Still, a considerable share of non-migrants in rural areas live in households with no electricity due to the remoteness of their residential areas and nomadic way of life. The main source of heating, either centralized heating or a boiler/fire, is also similar across all groups aside from rural non-migrants who are considerably more likely to use the latter.

Migrant households, to a great extent, are reliant on wood for heating and raw coal for cooking, both of which clearly contribute to pollution. Table 5 also shows that even though the majority of both migrant and non-migrant households are connected to the power grid, many opt to use coal-, dung-, or wood-fired

³ According to Law on Land Allocation of Mongolia (2002), the size of plots of land allotted for ownership for family needs vary depending on location. In Ulaanbaatar and along the main national level roads connecting aimags with Ulaanbaatar, individuals are entitled to up to 0.07 hectares or 700 square meters of land, in the aimag centers this figure is 0.35 hectares or 3500 square meters, and in the administrative subdivision (soum) centers and villages up to 0.5 hectares or 5,000 square meters. The period for allotting residential land was from 2005 to 2013.

stoves for both heating and cooking purposes because of cost considerations. For example, of those households using a boiler/fire as a source of heating, most use raw coal as fuel opposed to dung, which is mostly used by the rural non-migrants. Migrant households in both locations are also more likely to use wood than their non-migrant counterparts. And while relatively more households use electricity for cooking than heating, the share of households using wood, raw coal and dung is considerable depending on the location. For instance, rural non-migrants are again more dependent on dung as a fuel for cooking, whereas migrants across both rural and urban areas have higher rates of using raw coal. The relatively higher use of wood for heating and raw coal for cooking among migrant households in urban areas likely results in greater pollution in the neighbourhoods where they reside.

Table 5: Electricity, source of heating and fuel for heating/cooking %

	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>	
	<i>Non-migrants</i>	<i>Migrants</i>	<i>Non-migrants</i>	<i>Migrants</i>
Electricity	66.7	96.7	100.0	96.2
<i>Source of heating</i>				
Centralized heating	4.4	24.0	25.0	29.8
Electricity	0.0	0.8	1.1	0.0
Boiler/fire	95.6	75.2	73.9	70.2
<i>Fuel for heating if source is boiler/fire</i>				
Electricity	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Wood	2.3	33.0	9.0	22.2
Raw coal	25.0	60.4	75.9	75.1
Dung	72.7	4.4	15.0	1.6
Other	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.8
<i>Fuel for cooking</i>				
Electricity	13.3	38.8	46.7	46.2
Wood	7.2	17.4	11.7	11.4
Raw coal	11.1	40.5	27.8	38.3
Dung	68.3	3.3	13.3	1.2
Other	0.0	0.0	0.6	3.1
Number of households	180	121	180	520

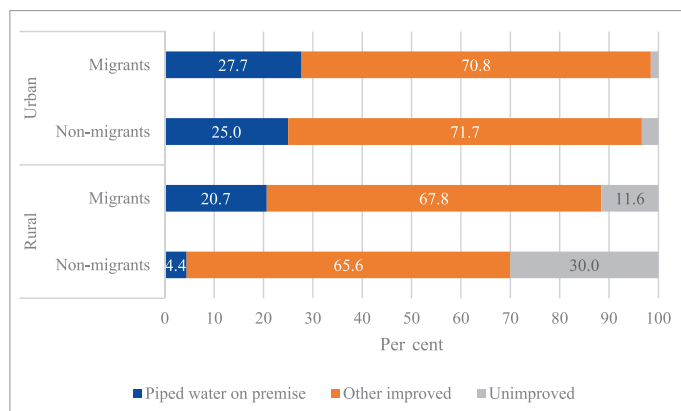
Note: The category 'Other' for heating includes gas and coal-washing by-product, and for cooking it includes gas and usually eat out (not at home).

3.2. Water and Sanitation

Nearly all urban households benefit from improved sources of drinking water including piped water on premise, whereas rural non-migrant households have a much higher share of using unimproved sources of water. Figure 11 shows the source of drinking water for households depending on whether it is piped water on premise (i.e. user's dwelling, plot or yard) from a centralized water supply source; from another improved water source like public taps, protected well/spring, or rainwater collection; unimproved or unprotected well/spring, tanker truck, surface water (e.g. river, dam, lake) or bottled water. Within urban locations, both migrant and non-migrant households nearly all benefit from either piped water on premise or other improved sources of water. On the contrary, in

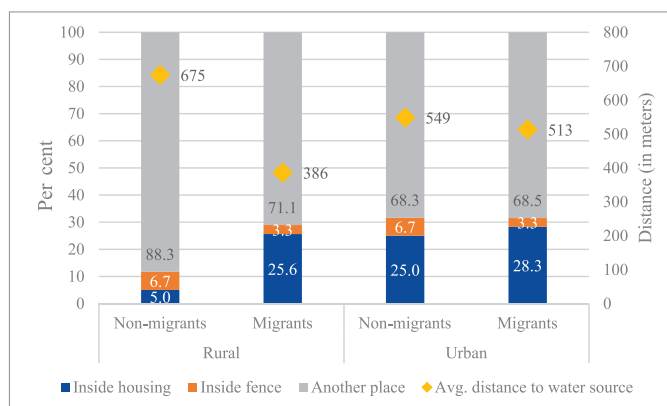
rural areas nearly 30 per cent of non-migrant households receive their drinking water from unimproved sources compared to 12 per cent of migrant households, with the difference nearly entirely due to migrant households having piped water on premise.

Figure 11: Source of drinking water



There is little difference in the location of a water source for most households, aside from rural non-migrant households who are more likely to have to travel at times, long distance to fetch water. Figure 12 illustrates how a similar share of urban-based households, regardless of migratory status, have their water source on their premise. Still, around two-thirds of urban households collect water from outside of their property, with the average distance a little more than half a kilometre for both groups. In the case of rural households, there is a significant difference between migrant and non-migrant households with the vast majority of the latter (88%) having to collect water from a substantial distance. Moreover, the average distance for fetching water for those households that do not have a source on premise is nearly twice as much as for non-migrant compared to migrant households (675 metres as against 386 metres).

Figure 12: Location of water source and distance, if in another place

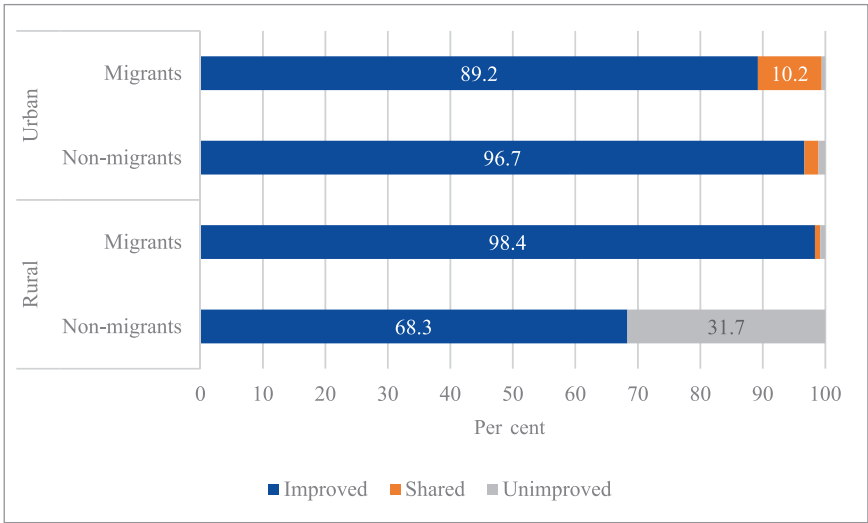


Note: Average distance (in meters), indicated by the yellow marker, only refers to those households responding that their water source is in another place.

Even though urban-based migrant households are located at a similar distance to their main water source as non-migrant households, the time it takes for them to collect water is significantly higher. As just discussed, migrant households in urban areas live around the same distance to their main source of water relative to non-migrant households. However, they are about four times as likely to spend 30 minutes or more collecting water (19% against 5%) reflecting the fact that they may be more likely to have to wait at a public tap due to heavy use and therefore longer lines. In rural areas, there is no difference in the time to collect water across migrant and non-migrant households.

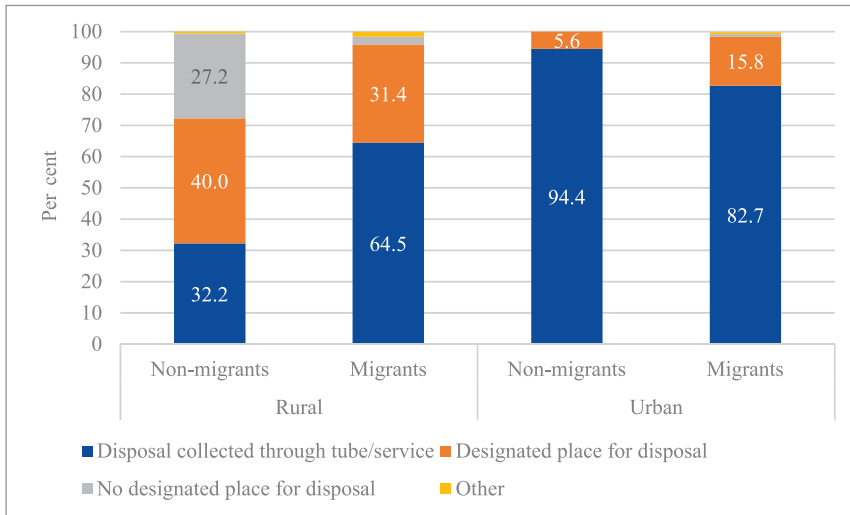
Rural-based non-migrant households have considerably lower access to improved sanitation facilities, whereas urban migrant households are more likely to use shared facilities. Figure 13 shows how improved sanitation facilities are used by the majority of the sampled population. Still, non-migrant households in rural areas are much more likely to have no facility and rely on open defecation. Moreover, about 10 per cent of migrant households in urban locations are dependent on shared facilities such as public latrines, which is significantly higher than non-migrants in those same areas.

Figure 13: Sanitation



Waste management varies considerably across urban and rural settings, with a relatively high share of rural non-migrants having no designated place for waste disposal. Figure 14 highlights how households residing in urban areas are much more likely to have their waste collected by a central service, or have a designated waste point to leave their garbage. Between these two options, migrant households are slightly more likely to rely on the latter reflecting their general marginalization. Alternatively, the share of households in rural areas that have their household waste collected is considerably lower, and a significant share of non-migrant households have no designated place for waste disposal, leading to dumping on open land, posing risk of soil contamination.

Figure 14: Waste disposal



3.3. Health and Education Services

Non-migrant households in rural areas live relatively farther away from health services, potentially motivating rural–urban internal migration, whereas the use of services, if needed, are comparatively higher for migrant households in both urban and rural locations. Table 6 shows the difference in access to health services between migrant and non-migrant households across both rural and urban settings. Non-migrant households residing in remote rural areas live on an average 8.8 kilometres from the nearest family health centre or hospital, and have slightly lower use of health services when needed in comparison to migrants in those same areas. Conversely, in urban contexts, migrant households live slightly farther away from the nearest health centre or hospital, however, again have higher rates of use when needed than non-migrant households.

Migrant households across both rural and urban areas have higher rates of preventative medical check-ups and basic doctor consultancies. Table 6 illustrates why households visited a health service in the six months prior to the survey. The most common reasons include doctoral consultancy and preventative medical check-ups, which are more common for migrant than non-migrant households across both rural and urban contexts. Alternatively, non-migrant households are more likely to receive specialized medical care or chronic disease control. In addition, antenatal care, vaccinations and active medical control for children 0–1 years old are relatively high among migrants in urban areas.

Perhaps more importantly, the reasons for not receiving health services despite the high demand vary considerably. For example, migrants in rural areas are more likely to mention lack of registration documents or lack of money for not accessing health care, whereas migrants in urban settings are likely to mention the distance to the hospital or poor quality of health services. This illustrates the importance

of officially registering one's residency in order to access services like healthcare, and the challenges one faces when unable to do so. Conversely, non-migrants, in both rural and urban areas, frequently mention that they are too busy with their job to visit the health centre.

Table 6: Access to health services %

	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>	
	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants
Avg. distance to nearest family health centre/hospital (measured in kilometres)	8.8	1.7	1.0	1.8
If needed, used health services in the last 6 months	90.1	96.4	83.3	91.0
<i>Received health services for...(*)</i>				
Emergency health care	2.2	7.5	7.0	5.3
Antenatal care	12.1	11.3	11.3	16.4
Vaccination	16.5	12.5	15.7	26.0
Chronic diseases control	12.1	8.8	14.8	10.2
Active medical control for children 0–1	18.7	17.5	14.8	25.0
Preventive examination	33.0	56.3	32.2	47.0
Doctoral consultancy	42.9	52.5	41.7	55.9
Specialized medical care	34.1	12.5	33.0	22.4
Other	1.1	0.0	0.9	0.7
<i>Did not receive health services because...(*)</i>				
Lack of registration documents	6.1	51.5	0.0	0.0
Hospital is too far away	3.0	6.1	0.0	33.3
Poor quality of health services	3.0	24.2	10.0	66.7
Too long queues	21.2	18.2	30.0	0.0
Lack of money	0.0	27.3	0.0	0.0
Busy with job	63.6	9.1	70.0	0.0
Other	0.0	12.1	0.0	0.0
Number of households	180	121	180	520

Note: (*) health services received are only calculated for households that received services in the six months prior to the survey. Alternatively, reasons for not receiving health services are only calculated for households not receiving services in the six months prior to the survey, but had a need to do so. Both are multiple response questions and therefore percentages may not sum up to 100 per cent.

Box 1: Qualitative evidence on health services

The burden on hospitals and schools has increased due to the increasing number of migrants. There are about 18,500 registered residents in the soum. The number of unregistered citizens is 5,000. It is difficult to say that the quality of basic services is good, however, one cannot say that the quality is poor. The poor quality perhaps may be due to inadequate knowledge and skills of the teacher or a doctor, and not because of the number of patients and students per doctor or a teacher. If the person has residency registration, he/she can access all services provided by the state. Knowledge, expertise, communication skills of the staff are good. Although the number of soum residents exceeds the normal size, public officials of all levels, such as the family doctors, kheseg leaders, and state registration officers carry out their duties adequately, providing public services promptly without any delay.

-Governor B., Zamiin Uud soum, Dornogovi aimag

Three family group practices (FGPs) are operating. They face problems with working conditions, human resources; the quality of services is low. The aimag hospital services are satisfactory, a number of new equipment were installed in the last couple of years, but there is a high turnover of the hospital director has changed often and there is a shortage of human resources

-Social worker C., Baruun-Urt soum, Sukhbaatar aimag

It is difficult to access public services, when one has two addresses. Even having a check-up at a hospital is problematic. I have a seasonal job, I need to get treatment in winter, I have constant headaches, but one has to pay for services at the private clinics.

-Migrant T, 32 years old, 26th khoroo, Songinokhairkhan district, Ulaanbaatar

The load of FGP is very heavy, but the quality is good. Our khoroo is quite big with a population of 20,000, but it handles the burden, looks for and finds unregistered pregnant women as well. Doctors themselves find new mothers for check-ups. Transportation means and equipment are not up to the standard, and accessibility is low. I have check-ups at FGP at the khoroo, I have never been to the district hospital. It is difficult to get an appointment there, there are long queues.

-Migrant N, 47 years old, 22nd khoroo, Songinokhairkhan district, Ulaanbaatar

Urban-based migrant households, on an average, live farther away from the nearest secondary school compared to non-migrant households reflecting their location on the margins of towns. Table 7 represents access to education across migrant and non-migrant households in both rural and urban areas. The average distance to the nearest secondary school is considerably higher for migrant households compared to non-migrant households in urban settings, 6.8 kilometres as against 1.1 kilometres. On the other hand, rural-based non-migrant households live on an average 14.9 kilometres away from schools and other public services, which again emphasizes their remote living situation.

Attendance for school-aged children 6–15 years old is universally high. Table 7 also shows that there are very few school-aged children not attending schools on a daily basis, regardless of the rural or urban contexts, or migratory status. Still, a few children from rural non-migrant families not attending school cite the distance as a key reason for skipping classes, whereas few children from urban migrant households note poverty and no residence registration.

Table 7: Access to education %

	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>	
	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants
Distance to secondary school (in kilometres)	14.9	5.7	1.1	6.8
Attendance by school-aged children 6-15	97.8	99.2	99.4	99.6
<i>No attendance because...(*)</i>				
Too far	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Poor house	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
Do not have residency registration	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
Others	75.0	100.0	100.0	50.0
Number of households	180	121	180	520

Note: (*) The question is multiple response, therefore percentages may not add up to 100 per cent.

Box 2: Qualitative evidence on education services

Although accessibility of basic services is adequate, the question of the quality of services should be considered. Since there are only middle schools in soums, households move to the aimag centre to enrol their children in high schools and they stay at the centre with their children. Although accessibility of kindergartens is satisfactory, herders do not have an opportunity to enrol their children in kindergartens and they have to move to the soum centre to enrol young children in primary schools. That is why, almost all bagh households have a ger in the soum centre and herder's families live separately in two locations, which, in my opinion, affects stability of families as well.

-Deputy Governor, Uulbayan soum, Sukhbaatar aimag

Our khoroo's school is school number 65. The load is heavy; children have to study in three shifts. A number of children from migrant households, I think, eight or nine children are still not enrolled at school. There are parents, who asked me to find schools for their children. We try to involve them in informal schooling as well. It is also quite far from here to school number 12 in Bayankhoshuu. Five children from the 6th kheseg, two-thirds of all children of third kheseg are covered under informal training, there is also one from 8th kheseg. Informal training enrolls only children who are older than 4th graders.

-M., 42 years old, 26th khoroo, Songinokhairkhan District, Ulaanbaatar

3.4. Government Actions to Improve Living Conditions

Households prioritize better infrastructure and working conditions as the two most important policy measures for the government to take. Table 8 shows a variety of actions that the respondents believe the government could take to support better standard of living. Across all subgroups, better infrastructure and working conditions (e.g. long-term contracts and higher salaries) are emphasized, and especially for non-migrants located in urban areas and rural areas, respectively. Both non-migrant and migrant households within urban settings frequently cite better dwellings, where as non-migrant households across both rural and urban areas refer to a better environment for doing business. In addition, migrant households, particularly in rural areas, stress having high quality health services.

Table 8: Government actions to improve the living conditions %

	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>	
	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants
Better infrastructure	32.8	42.1	47.5	37.8
Better dwelling	16.1	19.0	35.2	33.6
Better environment for doing business	18.3	6.6	24.0	11.8
Better working conditions	44.4	36.4	33.0	38.4
Higher quality health facilities	13.9	26.4	13.4	11.8
Higher quality education services	7.8	5.0	4.5	7.5
Better administrative procedures	13.9	5.0	10.6	6.9
Better governance	8.9	6.6	8.9	4.6
Better environment for living	23.3	28.1	16.2	32.8
Good access to information	2.8	5.8	2.2	1.5
Protection from discrimination	7.8	0.0	5.0	1.7
Do not want to answer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Do not know	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	3.3	9.9	3.4	8.3
Number of households	180	121	179	518

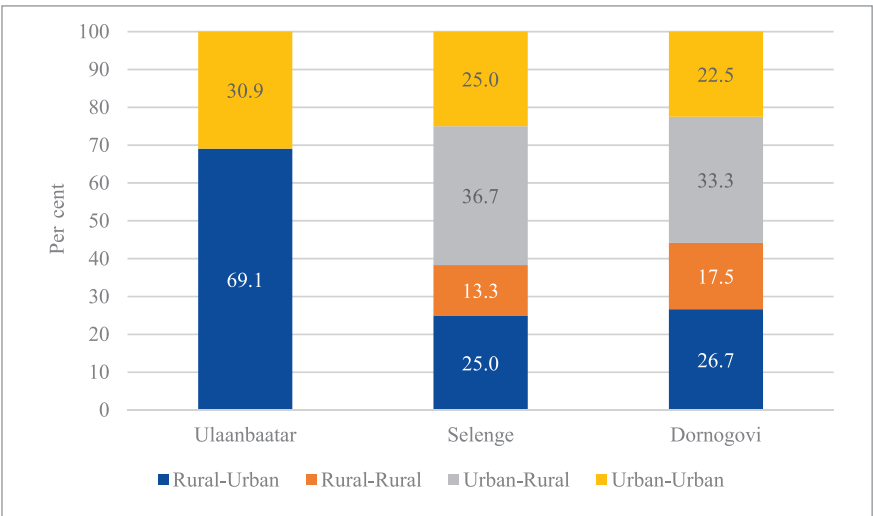
Note: The question is multiple response, therefore percentages may not sum up to 100 per cent.

4. DRIVERS OF MIGRATION

4.1. Migration Flows

Internal migrants in Ulaanbaatar predominately come from the rural areas of Mongolia, but the direction of flows vary considerably in the other two aimags selected as destination areas. The household survey covered a total of 641 migrant households across three separate so-called ‘destination’ areas: Ulaanbaatar, Selenge and Dornogovi. Figure 15 provides the direction of internal migration based on the categorization of both previous and current residence as either urban or rural. As expected, rural to urban migration is prevalent especially in the case of Ulaanbaatar which attracts the highest share of rural migrants among the three destination areas. Still, urban to urban movement is considerable in all three cases, as is urban to rural migration in Selenge and Dornogovi. The mixture of flows highlights the varied nature of internal migration across Mongolia, which is not characterized as simply rural to urban movement.

Figure 15: Migration flows



Intra-aimag flows are prevalent in Dornogovi and Selenge, but not in Ulaanbaatar. While one may imagine internal migration across long distances, a fair share of the migrant population moved within their original aimag. In Dornogovi, nearly one half of the migrant population are originally from the same aimag, whereas it is about a quarter in the case of Selenge. Only in the capital, Ulaanbaatar, intra-city flows are the lowest from among the three destination areas.

Box 3: Qualitative evidence on migration flows

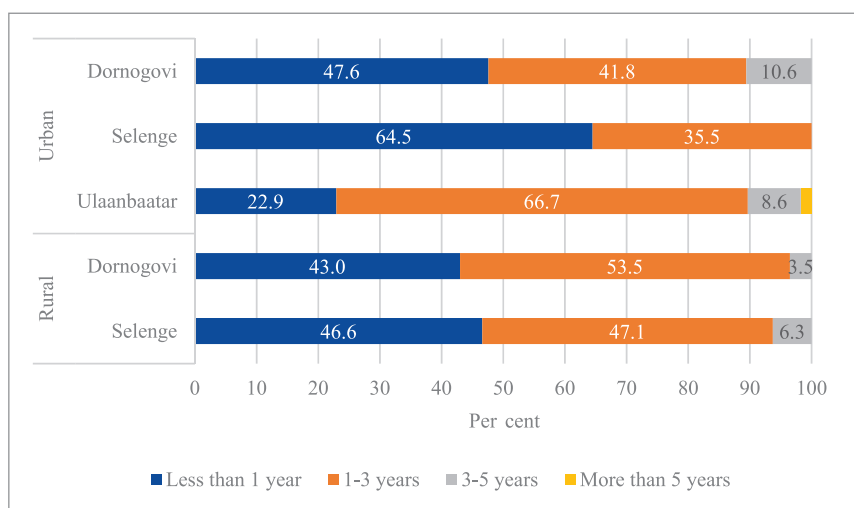
The number of migrants has been constantly growing in the last decade. In the next three years, this number is not going to decrease; on the contrary, it will grow. The number of out-migrants is much lower than the number of in-migrants. Although there is a ban on migration, migrants come and live here without registration.

-Governor B, Zamiin Uud soum, Dornogovi aimag

In most cases, migrant households have only been living in their current residence for a few years indicating the importance of recent inflows to those locations.

Figure 16 illustrates the duration migrant households have lived at the current residence from the time of the survey, broken down by both rural against urban locations across all destination aimags. Notably, the vast majority of households have only moved to their current location in the last three years, and many more within the last year alone. However, in Ulaanbaatar, a small share of migrants also have been living there for five or more years reflecting the more traditional nature of inflows towards the capital.

Figure 16: Time since moved to the current location

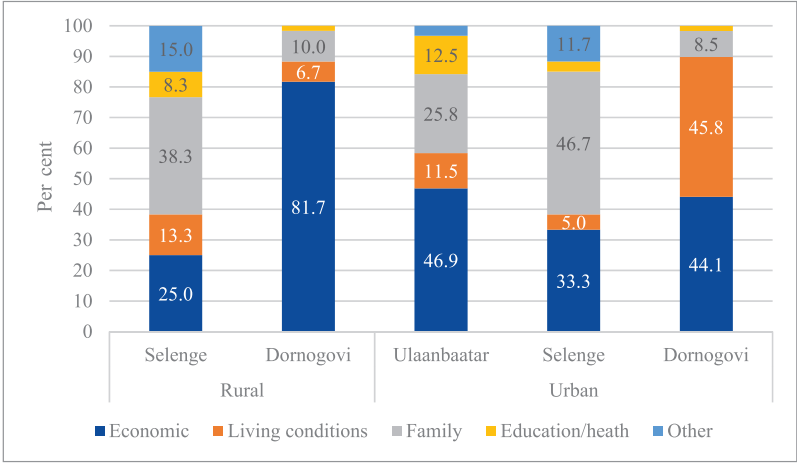


4.2. Reasons for Migrating and the Decision-making Process

Economic considerations, moving for family reasons and the desire for improved living conditions are the main motivating factors for migrant households to move from their communities of origin. Figure 17 represents the main reasons given by migrant households for moving from their original communities, across both rural or urban areas of destination in each aimag. Interestingly, migrant households that moved to rural Dornogovi did so mainly because of the lack of job-related economic opportunities at the area of origin, whereas those that migrated to urban Dornogovi did so mainly due to inadequate living conditions. Economic

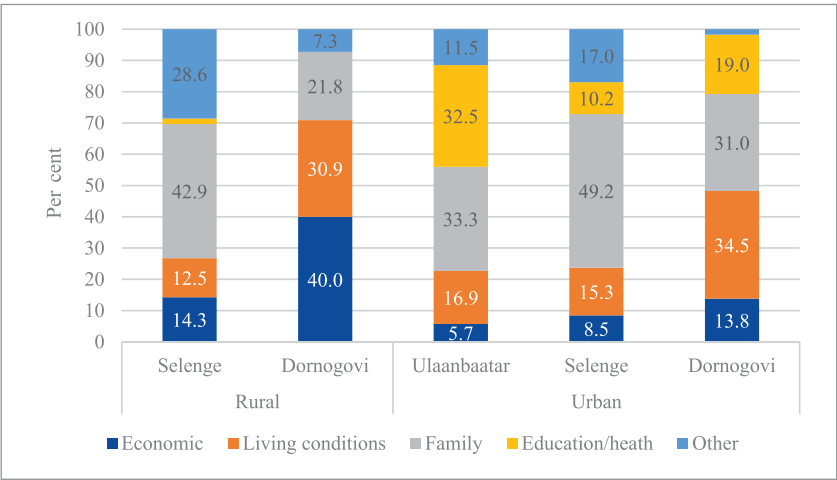
considerations are prevalent in all other cases as well, especially for those that moved to urban areas like Ulaanbaatar. This likely reflects the shortage of jobs in areas of origin as well as the high expectations for employment opportunities in urban areas.

Figure 17: Main reason for moving from the community of origin



Conversely, the reasons migrant households move to one destination over another are more mixed. Figure 18 shows that economic considerations are still prevalent in the case of rural locations in Dornogovi, as are better living conditions in urban areas of the same aimag. However, family-related reasons appear to be important for selecting the destination areas in most other cases. Moreover, education and health are essential factors attracting migrant households to Ulaanbaatar, and to a lesser extent in urban parts of Dornogovi. This last finding reflects the fact that basic public services, including education and healthcare services, are concentrated in urban areas, and their quality and accessibility are generally better.

Figure 18: Main reason for moving to the destination



Age and gender of the household head play a part in the decision for moving from one location to another. Older heads of households, particularly those who are 60 years and older, are more likely to say they migrated due to family-related reasons, meaning they were joining family members who had already established themselves in the destination areas. The same applies to female-headed households, who were around 13 percentage points more likely to say they moved to join family compared to their male-headed counterparts. Conversely, male-headed households were more likely to move for job-related economic reasons.

A greater share of household heads that moved for economic reasons are in paid work or are involved in private family business at destination. Even though we are not able to compare labour market activity before and after migration, we are able to check the activity of those individuals who have moved for job-related economic reasons, which helps indicate achievement of objectives. Indeed, a larger number of those household heads, whose key motivating reason for moving was economic, are in paid labour or are involved in private family business compared to being engaged in herding/farming or other activities.

Box 4: Qualitative evidence on the reasons for migrating

People without livestock, those who are unemployed, and those seeking an opportunity to improve their livelihood move to Ulaanbaatar. Some either lost their livestock during the dzud, or their children are enrolled in colleges and universities in Ulaanbaatar, or parents have joined their children to look after grandchildren, and the like. Young people come here to look for jobs and are of course attracted by urban development, urban culture.

-Administrator B, 22nd khoroo, Songinokhairkhan district, Ulaanbaatar

A driving force prompting households and individuals to migrate is to search for jobs and good quality schools out of concern for the future of their children. The impact of climatic change on migration is very low. In the past years little rain and poor grass growth have pushed herders, especially those with a small number of livestock animals, to move to settlements in order to improve their livelihood.

*-Head of Social Policy Development Department, Sainshand soum,
Dornogovi aimag*

We came here to improve our livelihood and to live together in one place, because it was difficult to live in two places. My husband is from the city and is self-employed. I have yet to find a job yet, and I am looking for it. At present, I take my child to and from the kindergarten. My husband earns about MNT 500,000 a month, which is not sufficient for us. I would really like to find and do any job that's available.

*-Migrant L, 24 years old, 26th khoroo, Songinokhairkhan district
Ulaanbaatar*

I came to Bayangol soum in September 2017. I moved here with seeing an advertisement for a herder. Now I am working as a herder at the farm. I receive a monthly salary of MNT 600,000. The farm owners are very good people. We built our ger in a small yard next to a larger yard. I am planning to stay here so I can get a registration and become a local resident. People do not register immediately after arrival because they want to know better the local people's character. Now I know that the work and farm owners are okay, so I have decided to stay back. The work is easy; we milk the cows, feed them in winter and herd them on pasture in warm seasons. We clean the yard.

-Migrant O, 32 years old, Bayangol soum, Selenge aimag

Natural disasters impact rural-urban migration. There is drought in summer, dzud in winter. People lose their livestock and are tired of herding. People, who lose their livestock, cannot find any jobs in the countryside, so they move to the city and other settlements to make a living. There are also many violations in rural areas. People with many livestock, wealthy, with many relatives discriminate and oppress the others who are poorer.

-Migrant M, 37 years old, 11th khoroo, Bayanzurkh district, Ulaanbaatar

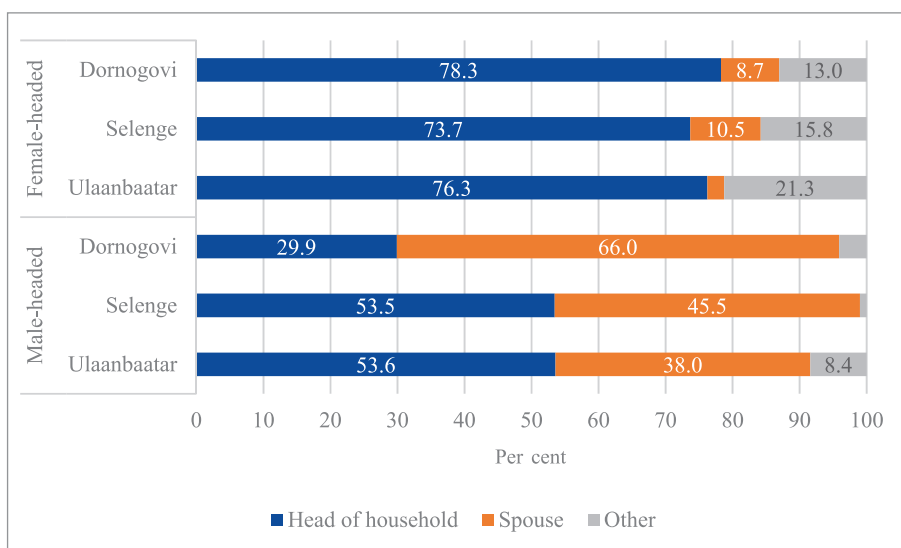
We moved to the city to join our children after we lost our livestock during dzud. My wife and I are both retired, our pensions are MNT 250,000 a month each, which is sufficient for us, for food. We are going to stay here, but as we did not receive the migration form, we are considered temporary residents.

-Migrant L, 69 years old, 26th khoroo, Songinokhairkhan district, Ulaanbaatar

The majority of migrant households did not migrate in response to a specific event. Only four per cent of the sample mentioned moving because of a specific occurrence, such as an environmental disaster. Of the small number of households that did move because of an event, the most common reason was because of a dzud or severe winter, during which livestock were lost. Not surprisingly, most of these households originated from rural areas and almost all headed towards Ulaanbaatar.

Women play a key role in the decision-making process to migrate. Figure 19 illustrates the person who made the decision to migrate, categorized by female-headed and male-headed households across all destination aimags. Notably, women in female-headed households are much more likely to have taken the decision to move compared to other individuals (such as children, parents, siblings). Similarly, the spouses in male-headed households are highly involved in this kind of decision, re-emphasizing the importance of women in decision-making related to migration.

Figure 19: Person in a household taking the decision to migrate



Other family members play a part in the decision to move especially when the destination is an urban area. Looking at who had taken the decision by migration flows (e.g. rural–urban), no obvious pattern is found between the head of the household and spouse. Nonetheless, other members including sons and daughters, parents and siblings are more likely to be involved in the decision when moving towards urban settings like Ulaanbaatar. This may reflect the importance of family-based migration to urban centres found earlier.

4.3. Preparation and Costs associated with Migration

The share of migrant households that had information about the destination beforehand is relatively limited. Table 9 shows that only about one half of migrants moving between rural areas had information about the destination prior to movement. That share is considerably higher for all other flows, with highest for those moving towards urban areas. In addition, the type of information is quite different based on the origin and destination area. For instance, households that moved either from rural to urban or urban to urban sought out more information on job opportunities, educational and professional opportunities, housing conditions and health services. On the other hand, migrants moving from urban to rural were particularly interested in understanding the living conditions in their preparation.

Family members, relatives and friends at destination were important sources of information for migrant households that moved towards urban areas. Table 9 also illustrates how family members, and especially relatives, provide most of the information for rural to urban and urban to urban movements. Interestingly, the number of migrants who have mentioned living earlier in that location concerning urban to rural flows indicates return migration after years elsewhere. Moreover, even though the share of households receiving information from mass media is

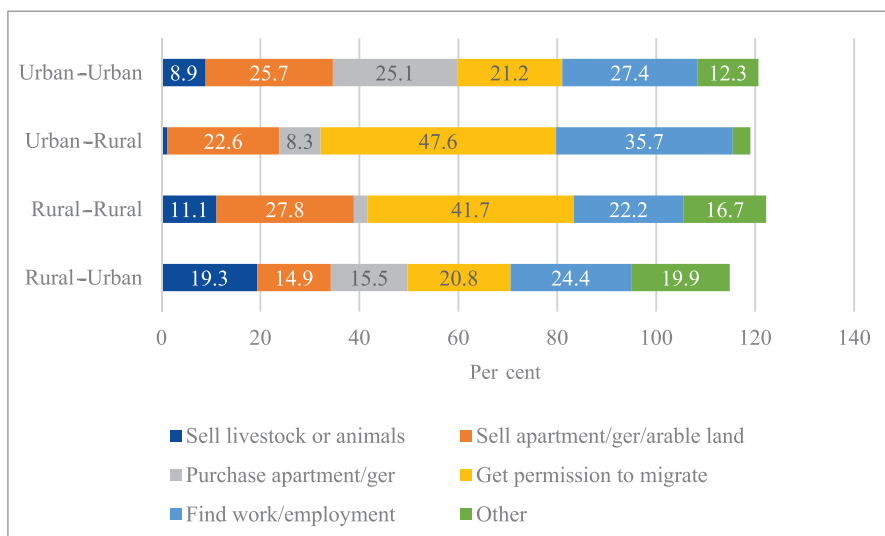
limited, the internet and Facebook appear to be relatively valuable sources for those that moved to urban destinations.

Table 9: Information about destination prior to migration %

	Rural-Urban	Rural-Rural	Urban-Rural	Urban-Urban
Information about destination	68.0	51.4	64.3	72.8
<i>Type of information</i>				
Job opportunity	57.2	42.1	38.9	55.0
Educational and professional opportunity	27.5	0.0	0.0	22.1
Housing condition	17.5	5.3	9.3	25.2
Health services	14.8	0.0	0.0	14.5
Market and shops	14.0	5.3	9.3	20.6
Living environment	40.2	26.3	50.0	45.0
Others	5.7	47.4	25.9	5.3
<i>Source of information</i>				
Lived here before	7.8	21.1	35.2	11.3
Visited previously	35.5	31.6	29.6	30.8
From children	14.3	5.3	5.6	8.3
From parents/siblings	19.9	21.1	14.8	21.1
From relatives	45.5	26.3	27.8	42.9
From friends	21.6	5.3	16.7	15.8
Through mass media	10.0	0.0	0.0	15.8
TV	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.5
Newspaper	0.0	0.0	3.7	1.5
Internet	3.0	0.0	0.0	6.0
Facebook	3.5	5.3	1.9	6.8
Twitter	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
From local governor/business	0.4	0.0	0.0	3.0
Do not know	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	1.7	5.3	7.4	5.3
Number of households	231	19	54	133

The ways in which a household prepared for migration do not differ greatly vastly across the different types of flows. Figure 20 demonstrates the different actions taken leading up to migration, with households moving towards rural areas illustrating the requirement to get permission before migrating, whereas those who moved towards urban destinations were much less likely to do so. Many households also sold assets prior to migrating including livestock or animals as well as apartments, gers or arable land. In addition, households moving towards urban destinations mention the purchase of housing including an apartment or a ger.

Figure 20: Preparations for migration

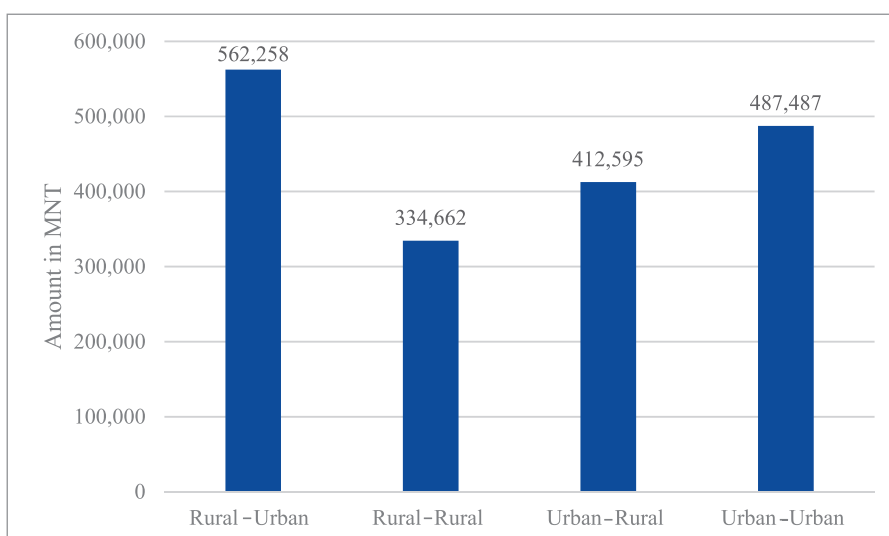


Note: The question is multiple response, therefore percentages may not add up to 100 per cent.

The cost of rural to urban migration is much higher than all other types of flows.

Figure 21 provides evidence that the total cost of movement (in MNT) varies significantly depending on whether one moves from/to a rural or urban area. As expected, rural to urban movement is the most expensive, with urban to urban the second most costly. Moving towards rural areas is substantially cheaper taking into consideration the expenses one incurs upon migration.

Figure 21: Costs of migration

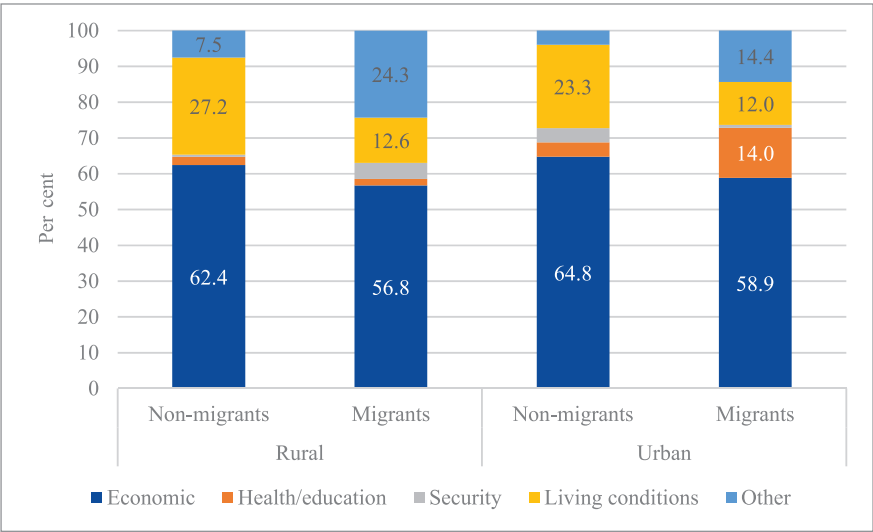


5. CIRCUMSTANCES RELATED TO MIGRATION

5.1. Challenges in the Place of Origin

Economic issues at origin are widespread for both non-migrant and migrant households across all locations. Figure 22 highlights how the main challenge for all households, regardless of migratory status or context, is largely economic in nature. More specifically, migrant households often cite having had experience finding a job in the former community or origin, and the same goes for non-migrant households in their current community. Migrant households in urban environments, and especially those households that moved to Ulaanbaatar are also more likely to emphasize problems around access to health and education services. In addition, non-migrant households routinely mention issues around living conditions, which primarily consist of rural households not having pasture land and urban households having difficulties in their dwelling. Security does not seem to be a serious problem for any of the four subgroups. The prevalence of economic challenges for migrant households found here is consistent with the results of the previous section which showed that economic considerations primarily motivated movement from the origin place of residence.

Figure 22: Main challenges faced by households at origin

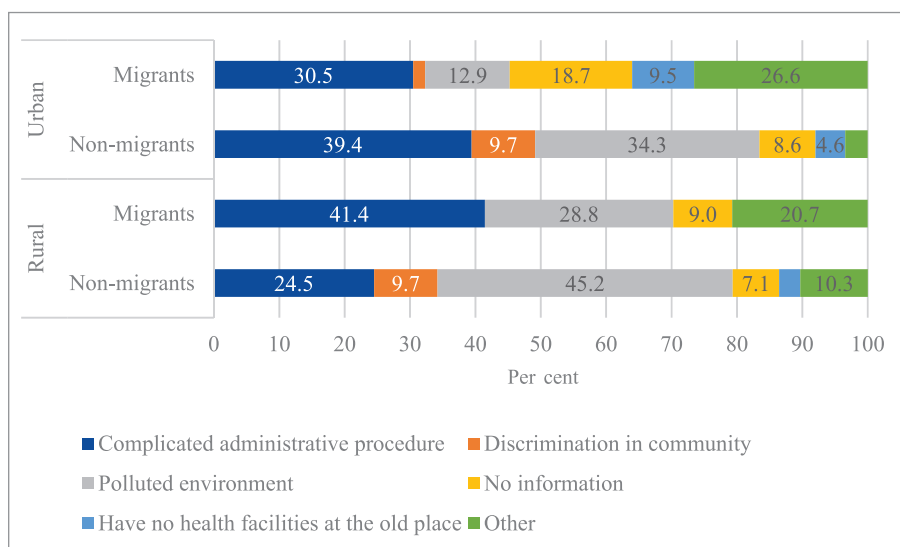


Note: The main challenge for migrant households refers to those in the former community of origin, whereas for non-migrant households it is for the current community.

Challenges at the community level are more likely to be bureaucratic or environmental. Figure 23 illustrates pressing issues at the community level, again looking at the communities of origin for migrant households and current communities for non-migrant households. The issues are mixed across contexts, however complicated administrative procedures (e.g. extensive paperwork required, long waiting times) are often mentioned by all subgroups, but especially

rural migrants and urban non-migrants. In addition, all groups, especially rural-based non-migrant households, emphasize pollution in the local environment as the most serious problem. Moreover, migrant households in urban contexts are much more likely to note the lack of information as their main concern, whereas non-migrant households are more likely to cite discrimination. The share of “other” responses is also relatively high. Such issues in this category include political instability, division of local residents due to loyalty to different political parties, lack of places for leisure activities, poor accessibility and quality of educational services and infrastructure problems.

Figure 23: Main challenges faced by communities of origin



Note: The main challenge for migrant households refers to those in the former community of origin, whereas for non-migrant households it is for the current community. The question is multiple response, therefore percentages may not sum up to 100 per cent.

Box 5: Qualitative evidence on challenges for communities of origin

In my opinion, migration is strongly related to the policy pursued by the local government and measures taken by them. This is clearly demonstrated on the example of our area. Previously, our aimag lagged behind in development compared to other aimags. In the last decade, a good policy on aimag development was adopted and participation of local community has improved, which led to rapid development of the aimag and greater immigration. Although there are workplaces in Ulaanbaatar, migrants have limited opportunities to prosper, time and money are needed to adapt to new conditions and find their place, people are not able to make savings, so many of them return to the aimag. In other words, people have started comparing the situation realistically. Those who returned to the aimag are quite exhausted. Unfortunately, due to over politicization in the last two years, the rate of development has become slower. The development plan has not

yet been approved because of discussion on the topic of new governor. I hope that in the next three years in-migration increases. A lot will depend on good management.

-Deputy Governor in charge of Social Affairs, Baruun Urt soum, Sukhbaatar aimag

5.2. Challenges at Destination

A significant share of migrant households had no major problems upon arrival at destination, however, those that did commonly refer to the challenge of not having a dwelling, permission for land or a job. Table 10 provides a breakdown of the various challenges migrant household faced at destination, across the different migration flows. Overall, the majority of migrant households faced no problems whatsoever, although those moving from rural to urban areas are more likely to have had a problem as compared to others. In terms of specific challenges, migrants most commonly mention not having had housing upon arrival with again the share higher for rural to urban households compared to other flows. Not receiving permission for land is also noted as a considerable problem for households moving towards urban areas. In addition, finding a job is a significant difficulty faced by nearly all households aside from those moving from urban to rural areas.

Migrant households moving towards Ulaanbaatar and rural parts of Dornogovi are more likely to report having faced a challenge upon arrival at destination. Beyond a breakdown of challenges by migration flows, looking at problems by specific locations of destination illustrate how movement towards Ulaanbaatar and rural parts of Dornogovi are most associated with challenges compared to all other areas. Migrant households report that finding proper housing in both cases is a considerable challenge, as are the ability to get land and find work. In addition, a number of households in each report had had difficulties accessing social welfare services. Issues reported about access to social services more generally like health and education are limited, however, a relatively significant share of households in rural parts of Dornogovi do highlight problems over receiving proper health services.

Female-headed migrant households report more difficulties at destination than male-headed households. Even though the difference is not great, female-headed households are around five percentage points more likely to report having had faced a challenge upon arrival compared to their male-headed counterparts. Specific types of issues that are more prevalent for female-headed households include problems finding proper accommodation, permission for land, access to social welfare and health services.

Table 10: Main challenges faced by the migrant households at destination %

	Rural– Urban	Rural– Rural	Urban– Rural	Urban– Urban
Had difficulty of any kind	39.8	35.1	25.0	30.4
<i>Type of difficulty</i>				
No dwelling	29.2	18.9	17.9	21.5
Could not get a permission for land	21.2	5.4	8.3	13.3
No electricity/water	5.0	5.4	0.0	3.3
Could not find job	17.1	21.6	4.8	13.8
Hard to live in urban areas	2.4	0.0	0.0	2.2
No kindergarten/school for children	3.8	2.7	1.2	3.3
No access to social welfare services	6.8	8.1	3.6	2.8
No access to health services	2.4	2.7	4.8	2.8
Discrimination in community	0.6	0.0	1.2	0.0
No sanitation facilities	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.6
Hard to reach public transport	0.6	0.0	0.0	2.2
No help/assistance from relatives	2.1	2.7	2.4	1.1
Do not want to answer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Other (specify)	2.7	2.7	1.2	2.2
Number of households	339	37	84	181

Note: The question is multiple response, therefore percentages may not add up to 100 per cent.

A household's ability to overcome challenges is higher in rural destination areas, and the support of family and friends seems most crucial. Of those migrant households noting difficulties upon arrival at destination, the ones moving from rural to urban areas indicate the lowest likelihood of overcoming them compared to all other flows. Alternatively, nearly all households moving from urban to rural areas are able to cope with the challenges encountered. In terms of strategies to do so, most households rely on the help of relatives and friends. For instance, the assistance from parents, children and other relatives is high across all locations with little difference between them. Conversely, for those households that indicate they are not able to overcome their challenges, the most common reason is because either they are short on money or their economic conditions are poor.

Box 6: Qualitative evidence on challenges at destination

We moved to the city because I did not have work in Selenge and I hoped to find a job in the city to improve our livelihood. I couldn't find a job right after arrival, then I didn't have a place to live when I found work, so I had to commute to work from Tov aimag from my relatives' place where we stayed. Then I got a land permit in Ulaistai, built a yard and a small house. Even then we found it difficult adjusting to the new life and it was not easy. When we lived in Ulaistai we had a few cows, so I went to work and my wife herded the cows and looked after the kids. The oldest went to school, the youngest did not go to the kindergarten because the kindergarten was overcrowded, so the child had to stay at home. My monthly salary was MNT 400,000 to

500,000, so we somehow managed to make ends meet. As the amount of salary depended on the amount of work done, I had to work more hours to get a higher salary. After the city authorities passed a decision that forbid ownership of livestock in Ulaanbaatar and because of the difficulties with adaptation, we sold our yard with the house and returned to our own aimag.

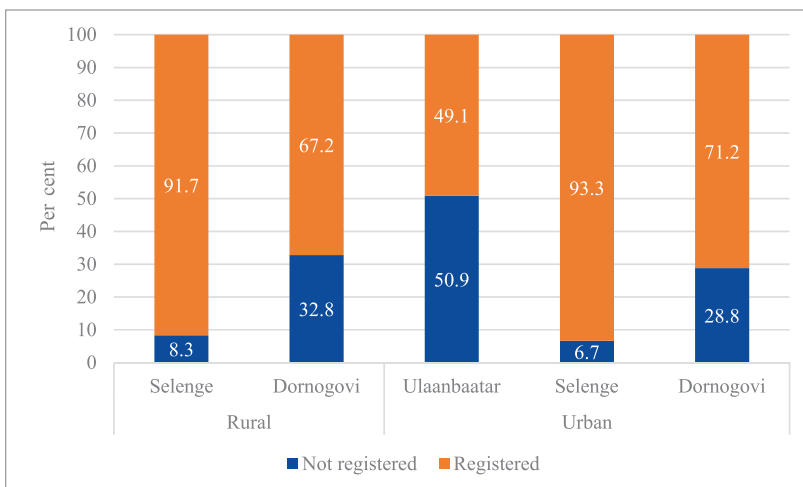
-Citizen A, 33 years old, Sukhbaatar soum, Selenge aimag

5.3. Registration

Residency registration for migrant households is relatively low in Ulaanbaatar, and to a lesser extent, in both rural and urban parts of Dornogovi. Even though Mongolian law requires an individual to register their new address of residence when moving, Figure 24 highlights how the share of migrant households officially registered is considerably low in certain locations. Particularly in the case of Ulaanbaatar, registration is about 50/50 among the sampled population, which may reflect the recent ban on migration to the capital city, with the ban technically effective from January 2017 to 2020. Nonetheless, registration is essential for access to basic social and welfare services, as well as the ability to receive employment and access other legal rights in the administrative unit of the destination area. Thus, being unregistered has significant implications for the well-being of those households who have failed to register.

Only about a third of registered households got registered within the legal timeframe. When changing permanent or temporary residency, an individual is obliged to notify the local officials in seven to ten days. In the sample covered, just under a third of migrant households registering managed to do so on time, whereas a considerably share took longer than six months. Across destination areas, the time to register was longest in the urban parts of Selenge and Ulaanbaatar.

Figure 24: Registration of residence



The main reason for not registering one's household in Ulaanbaatar is that residency is expected to be temporary. Even though temporary residency changes are expected to be reported, three-fourths of non-registered migrant households in Ulaanbaatar did not register because they did not expect the move to be permanent. In addition, 20 per cent did not register because they do not have permission which is consistent with the earlier ban on movement to the capital city.

Unregistered households are more likely to have challenges upon arrival at destination. As is to be expected, migrant households that do not register are nearly 20 percentage points more likely to report having difficulties at destination compared to registered households (72% to 54%). The types of issues unregistered households face are consistent with the prior overall findings reported, specifically no housing or permission for land, difficulties finding work, and less access to social welfare services as well as health and education.

Box 7: Qualitative evidence on registration

There are many communal houses in ger districts. It is very difficult to make registration of their residence, it is difficult to know who is registered or who is not registered. Many households that move here from rural areas all stay together in one yard. It is unclear if they are relatives or not, all are temporary residents. [...] Young families that are renting an apartment or a yard often do not register, which leads to a number of problems as pregnant women are not able to get prenatal care and maternity houses will not admit them at the time of delivery as they are unregistered. There are many households that are registered under a certain address, but do not live there, but they get social welfare benefits. The renting issue needs to be sorted out, because a lot of problems come from this issue. There are many people who are not registered anywhere. They are not included in the capital city's population, so all planning and quantitative indicators are distorted as some people are not registered anywhere. It is obvious that their rights will be violated, because they did not honour their civic duties, do not have a registration, so they are not complying with the state laws. There are many instances when residents move from their old place of residence to a new without notifying the relevant authorities of the change of address in the ger district. They justify their move saying that this is an easier way to access welfare benefits under their old address in the old khoroo as they do not want to be caught up in additional paperwork. Although we have a law on migration, it is not being implemented. The official, who conducts registration must be given the right to fine and a certain timeframe for registration should be followed. As the Law on Conflict includes an article on fines of MNT 20,000 while the registration fee is only MNT 2,500, almost ten times smaller, some households regard it as a considerable amount of money to pay, so they leave unregistered. Our

khoroos do not have internet connection, so registration should be entered at a khoroos with an internet connection.

-Registration officer A, 8th khoroos, Bayanzurkh district, Ulaanbaatar

[...] although migrants are registered for access to medical, education, livelihood and maternity services, they are not able to fully access the services. Students ask for registration as temporary residents in a district in the outskirts of the city, although they rent an apartment in the city centre. However, they do not live in the district where they had originally registered, but live at their relatives'. Although the Constitution of Mongolia states that a citizen should receive free medical and education service, the family group practices (FGPs) ask for temporary resident registration, if one needs a medical check-up. That is why, the temporary resident ID has become an object for gaining profit. It is difficult to demand from a pregnant woman to bring a temporary resident ID. It is useful to get a visa pass, when one resides in a remote district. Although the Mongolian Law on Offences states that a citizen must access medical and education services, and receive welfare services in any part of the country, accessibility of services is unsatisfactory.

-Administrator E, 9th khoroos, Bayanzurkh district, Ulaanbaatar

There are many unregistered households. Some went to the countryside, then came back and are now unable to get a registration because of the ban. Without registration they cannot access basic social services. Only pregnant women and newborn are eligible for services from the FGP, others cannot get their services. Unregistered pregnant women can give birth only at the National Maternal and Infant Health Centre and they say the waiting list is long, so in case of emergency delivery one has to go to private clinics. If one does not have money, that's the end. Children are registered in schools and kindergartens on temporary resident ID, but accessibility of kindergartens is very poor. Out-migrants do not like to get a migration registration, especially nowadays, because it is difficult to return to Ulaanbaatar from the countryside due to the ban. To get a medical check-up in a state hospital one has to have an Ulaanbaatar registration. There are many people with two addresses, so one person is counted in two places. Many households live without registration at the current address of residence.

-Kheseg leader B, 5th khoroos, Bayanzurkh district, Ulaanbaatar

The number of out-migrants is lower than the number of in-migrants. In general, the migrants pass through the ger district, because it has fewer requirements. Three to six households can live in one yard. Regardless of limitations, the number of unregistered people is large. There are about 1,000 unregistered households because of the ban on migration. People continue to move here regardless of the ban.

-Administrator E, 9th khoroos, Bayanzurkh district, Ulaanbaatar

5.4. Subjective Opinion of Life after Migration

Whether migrants view their household's situation as better after migration varies by specific aspect of their lives and type of flow. Table 11 presents the share of migrant households that indicate an improvement in their life on a variety of issues. Overall, very few respondents think their household's situation has worsened in the wake of migration, with most indicating it is the same if not believing it has improved. Regardless, the majority of migrant respondents across all locations believe their household is better off in relation to work or employment. Interestingly enough, the figure is highest for migrants moving towards rural destinations perhaps reflects the prior difficulties in finding a job, which motivated the migration event in the first place. Conversely, a greater share of migrant households in urban areas think their situation is better in comparison to rural contexts along a number of issues including educational and professional skills, children's education, housing conditions, healthcare, specialized medical care, public transportation, markets and recreation.

Of those migrant households that believe their household's situation has worsened, most moved from urban to rural destinations. Even though the number of respondents who say their situation has worsened along the various aspects is relatively small, a few key findings stand out. For instance, 16 percent of rural to rural migrant households are likely to view their housing conditions as worse, which is considerably higher than all other types of flows. Similarly, a comparably higher share of urban to rural migrant households view their situation as worse in terms of children's studies, specialized medical service and public transport.

Table 11: Improved situation after migration %

	Rural-Urban	Rural-Rural	Urban-Rural	Urban-Urban
Work/employment	59.3	67.6	63.1	59.1
Educational and professional skills	41.6	32.4	15.5	45.3
Children's studies	43.1	18.9	17.9	38.1
Family relations	33.0	24.3	31.0	35.9
Relationship with friends, family, and the like	31.6	24.3	34.5	34.8
Housing condition	37.8	18.9	32.1	43.6
Health care	25.7	10.8	11.9	27.1
Specialized medical care	43.7	8.1	3.6	38.7
Public transportation	54.3	10.8	14.3	46.4
Market, buying and selling	62.5	35.1	53.6	56.9
Life satisfaction and environment	42.8	29.7	48.8	47.5
Recreation	27.4	10.8	21.4	26.5
Participation in social activities	31.0	29.7	22.6	38.7
Number of households	339	37	84	181

Box 8: Qualitative evidence on changes to a migrant household's situation

Everyone says that even an unemployed in Ulaanbaatar can make ends meet by wheeling carts at the market or cooking and selling food. That is why, everyone is striving to get here. It might be true, in the countryside there is no development and no work places.

-State registrar A., 8th khoroo, Bayanzurkh district, Ulaanbaatar

It is good to live here with my children. We rent a stall in a shopping centre. This kind of work is suitable for someone who is retired like me. The situation with medical services is a little difficult, I have to go back to Darkhan-Uul aimag if I need a check-up, and that is easier for me because I have not officially registered my transfer to Ulaanbaatar as I am registered here as a temporary resident. I do not want to settle here permanently, I am going to return to Darkhan.

-Migrant X, 61 years old, 6th khoroo, Songinokhairkhan district, Ulaanbaatar

There are different households, some find jobs and improve their livelihoods, and some move here from the countryside and their the quality of their life remains the same as it was in back in the rural area. Households and individuals that have found permanent jobs improve their households. However, some households sell all their livestock, move here, then cannot find jobs in the city and their livelihood deteriorates.

-Administrator D, 22nd khoroo, Songinokhairkhan district, Ulaanbaatar

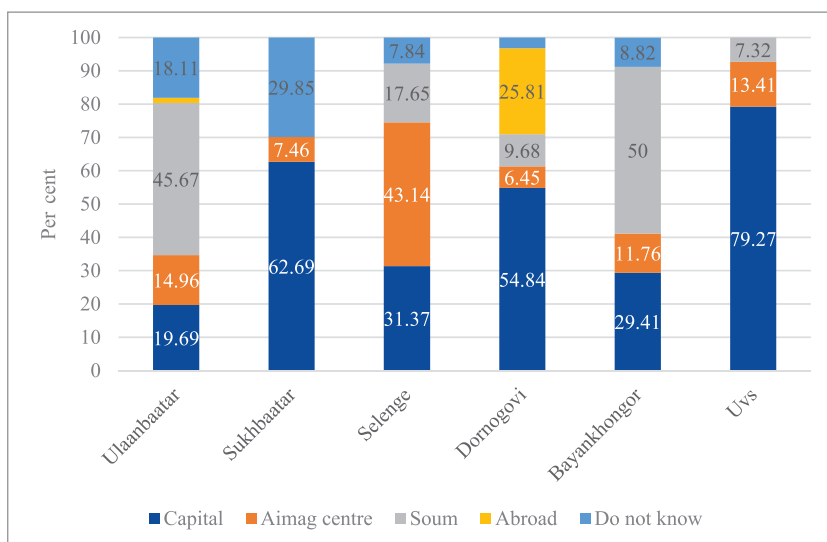
6. MIGRATION INTENTIONS

6.1. Future Migration

The majority of both migrant and non-migrant households plan to permanently settle in their current place of residence, indicating a low percentage of households that have intentions to migrate in the future. There is no significant difference concerning plans to permanently settle across the two groups, with only 13 per cent of each implying the possibility of future movement. When looking within rural against urban settings, however, migrant households in rural locations are slightly more likely to want to move on than the non-migrants, 19 per cent as against 13 per cent, whereas that share does not differ across the two groups in urban contexts.

The preferred destination of rural non-migrant households potentially wanting to move in the future is typically the capital city, while the opposite is true for urban migrant households. Figure 25 illustrates where potential future migrant households would want to move to, disaggregated by whether they currently live in rural or urban locations and migratory status. Interestingly, rural non-migrant households wanting to move overwhelmingly choose the capital city as the destination of choice, compared most strikingly to urban migrant households, who prefer a soum, or the countryside. The aimag centre is also a common choice for all subgroups other than urban non-migrants, perhaps representing a compromise between the two extreme environments given it is an urban settlement but not the national capital. In addition, only a relatively few households perceive international migration as an option, particularly migrant households currently living in rural locations.

Figure 25: Preferred destination



The motivation to move in the future is highly associated with the intended destination. The main reason for wanting to leave one's current location is much more likely to be for improved living conditions if the preferred destination is the capital city compared to an aimag centre or soum. Likewise, the intention to study and access for children's education are the main drivers of moving to the capital city relative to the other two areas. Conversely, for households that would like to move to a soum, the principle reason is to join relatives, whereas health reasons appear to be a factor in the decision to want to move to an aimag centre.

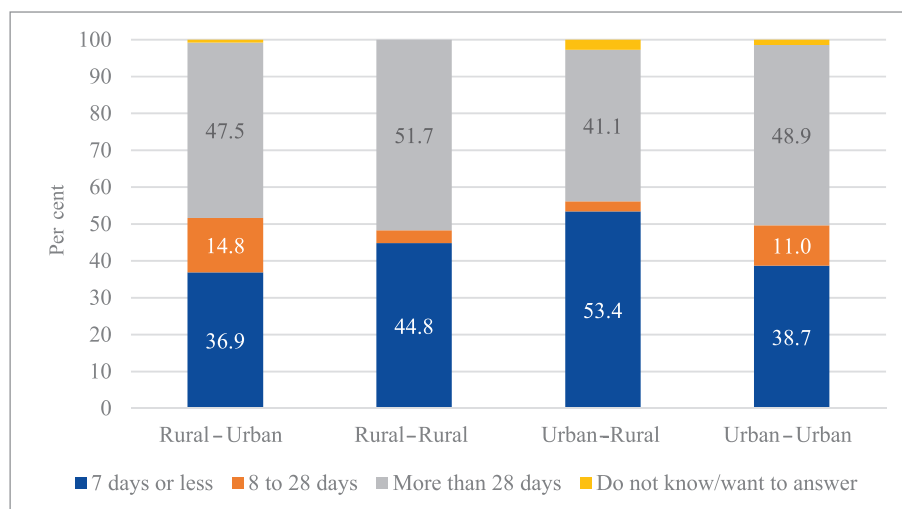
There are also notable differences with respect to why migrant and non-migrant households intending to permanently settle in their current location want to do so. For instance, migrant households not planning on moving again commonly cite work opportunities, a good living environment and an improved life as their main reasons for wanting to settle. Conversely, non-migrant households in both rural and urban contexts, in comparison to migrants, more often say they enjoy the present location. In addition, both groups similarly refer to having their relatives close by as the reason for wanting to settle.

6.2. Return Migration

Periodic return to areas of origin is common among all migrant households. Around three-quarters of migrant households spend time in their areas of origin, although that share is highest among urban to rural migrant households, 86 per cent, indicating frequent trips back to the capital city or other urban settlements from they had moved. Rural to urban migrant households, on the other hand, have the lowest rate of return, 70 per cent, reflecting the inability or lower preference to spend time in their rural communities of origin.

Most migrant households returning to their areas of origin go for short trips, one week or less, or longer periods of over a month. Figure 26 portrays the average time spent at origin when returning categorized by the type of migration flow. Interestingly, even though it was just presented that migrant households currently located in rural areas go back to urban origins more often, they also spend less time there on average compared to other flows, more specifically, they account for 53 per cent of households returning to an urban area from their current rural location. On the contrary, urban households returning to both rural or other urban areas of origin are more likely to spend an extended period of time there.

Figure 26: Average time spent in the area of origin



The reason for return, in almost all cases, is predominately to visit relatives. Not surprisingly most migrant households return to their origin areas to spend time with their relatives. Still, a relatively few households, on the whole only 6 per cent, mentioned returning for work-related purposes although there are no significant differences based on the type of areas.

More than one half of migrant households would not, under any circumstances, permanently resettle in their areas of origin. The main reason many migrant households do not foresee a future in their communities of origin is the lack of employment policies, especially those currently residing in urban locations with better job opportunities. Similarly, many urban-based migrant households cite the lack of education and health policies at origin as the main impediment to return, again reflecting the better services provided at destination. For those migrant households originally from rural areas, the lack of policies targeting rural development is often mentioned, whereas households originally from urban areas commonly refer to environmental pollution as the main reason for not wanting to return.

Better working conditions are essential for migrant households to consider future return. Table 12 illustrates the improvements migrant households view as necessary to even consider returning to their original communities. The most common issue is better working conditions. Better infrastructure and living environment are also often mentioned, particularly in the case of currently rural-based migrant households that would be returning to urban and rural areas of origin, respectively. In addition, the importance of improved health and education services are highlighted by currently urban-based migrants, indicating their motivations for movement in the first place.

Table 12: Necessary improvement to consider returning to origin permanently %

	Rural– Urban	Rural– Rural	Urban– Rural	Urban– Urban
Better infrastructure	46.1	37.5	57.5	36.4
Better dwelling	32.6	37.5	32.5	33.0
Better environment for doing business	42.6	31.3	22.5	29.5
Better working conditions	66.7	87.5	72.5	56.8
Higher quality health facilities	27.0	6.3	7.5	22.7
Higher quality education services	19.9	6.3	10.0	17.0
Better administrative procedures	32.6	37.5	20.0	21.6
Better governance	13.5	6.3	7.5	9.1
Better environment for living	32.6	50.0	37.5	36.4
Good access to information	11.3	12.5	5.0	3.4
Protection from discrimination	3.5	6.3	7.5	2.3
Do not want to answer	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.1
Do not know	0.7	0.0	2.5	0.0
Other	6.4	0.0	7.5	3.4
Number of households	141	16	40	88

Note: The question is multiple response, therefore percentages may not add up to 100 per cent.

Box 9: Qualitative evidence on potential return migration

I have not thought about going back to the place of origin. If the state will implement a restocking programme, I might move to Tsagaannuur soum, otherwise, there is no work there for me, so I will not go back. I am thinking of settling here permanently.

-Citizen O, 32 years old, Bayangol soum, Selenge aimag

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Conclusions

This report provides up-to-date evidence on internal migration in Mongolia. The analysis relies on data from a recently conducted household survey across areas of both origin and destination, covering 3,715 individuals within 1,001 households. In addition, qualitative methods, including focus group discussions and in-depth stakeholder interviews, were employed to support interpretation and add nuance to the statistical findings. Using this complementary mixed-methods approach, the findings should be of great value to policymakers interested in and working on the topic of internal migration.

In sum, internal migration in Mongolia is largely driven by unequal economic and social development between areas of origin and destination, that is urban as against rural. Moreover, since current migration trends highlighted in this report are comparable to those of the past 15–20 years, it can be expected that these trends will continue into the near future too. The following are more specific conclusions made in consideration of the quantitative and qualitative findings:

- ***Migration continues to contribute to urbanization.*** Of the four types of migration flows, rural to urban and especially to Ulaanbaatar is the most prevalent. Still, the direction of flows varies depending on the aimag in question, with urban to rural migration considerable in both Selenge and Dornogovi aimags.
- ***Migrants are typically younger and looking for work opportunities in the urban labour market.*** The majority of migrants are young working-aged adults aged 25–39 years, deciding to leave their places of origin in order to find improved working conditions. However, jobs are relatively scarce in the formal sector of urban labour markets, resulting in many to be engaged in informal activities under uncertain conditions.
- ***Economic reasons primarily drive migrants to leave their places of origin.*** The majority of migrant households did not move because of a specific event, instead left their places of origin due to lack of jobs and opportunities to improve their general living conditions. However, the reasons for selecting a specific destination are more mixed and include non-economic considerations such as joining family, relatives as well as better health and education services.
- ***The knowledge migrant households had about destinations prior to moving was limited.*** Most migrant households migrated without any knowledge about the area they chose to move and settle in. Of those that did have information, they generally received it from family and friends already at destination.
- ***Difficulties faced by migrant households in their areas of origin before moving were predominately economic in nature, whereas issues at destination are related to living conditions.*** Most problems migrant households faced at origin were related to a lack of jobs or income sources. At destination, the most pressing challenges include not having a dwelling or permission for land ownership.

- **Registration of residence among migrant households is relatively low especially in Ulaanbaatar.** The number of unregistered migrant households is significant in the capital city and to a lesser degree in Dornogovi aimag. Moreover, of those many households that did register had not done so within the legal timeframe. The main reason for not registering one's household in Ulaanbaatar is that residency is expected to be temporary, however, it is assumed that the restrictions to move into the capital city also play a part.
- **Very few migrant households believe their situation has worsened after moving.** Most migrant households view their situation as improved along a number of dimensions, especially with respect to work and employment.
- **Future migration intentions are low among all households.** The majority of both migrant and non-migrant households plan to permanently settle in their current place of residence, meaning, future plans to migrate are limited. And while migrant households frequently travel to their areas of origin to visit relatives, more than one half would not return permanently under any circumstances.

The comprehensive findings illustrated not only here, but throughout this report are relevant for several reasons. For one, understanding the way in which migrant households differ in comparison to non-migrant households in terms of general well-being helps inform policy priorities in both origin and destination areas. As an example, many migrant households in Ulaanbaatar are found to be unregistered limiting their access to basic social services and contributing to marginalized living situation. This has implications not only for migration-specific policy but also urban policy, more generally. Second, a greater understanding of the nature of internal migration today has significance for planning in the future. This report details what drives migrants to leave their origin communities, what attracts them to certain destination areas, the challenges and opinions they have of their situation, as well as future migration intentions. Taking into consideration the updated evidence on internal migration allows policymakers to better plan the way in which these trends may impact development in Mongolia.

7.2. Recommendations

The findings illustrate that internal migration is an important factor in the social and economic development of Mongolia. Given the implications for both areas of origin as well as destination, it would be sensible for policymakers to take into consideration the overall and more specific trends in order to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of such movement. With respect to policy, the following recommendations are proposed:

1. **Take into account internal migration in development planning and sectoral and inter-sectoral policies.** The majority of the population that migrate are economically active, educated, and young working-age individuals. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen labour market policies in areas of origin and destination that will increase and diversify the type of activities that support

employment. For instance, programmes that provide information and skills training at origin for the type of jobs in demand at destination would help improve matching between potential migrant workers with actual positions. In terms of planning the budget for the social sector, it is also important to earmark financing related to migration in the budgets of both places of origin and destination, and especially Ulaanbaatar, to fund such innovative programmes. Moreover, migrants should not be viewed as temporary residents, but equally with permanent residents, therefore budgets and planning should be adjusted, and attention should be paid to reducing the strain on social services at the district/khoroo levels.

2. ***Cover the migrant population with social protection policies and programmes.***

Although migrant households mostly have better economic opportunities and social services compared to that in their places of origin, their opportunities for housing, land ownership and jobs remain limited, in large part, due to their lack of registration and therefore marginalization at destination. Subsequently, migrant households should be provided with an opportunity to access public and social services, as well as receive welfare services through the social security policy during a certain period after migration, for example, up until they are able to resolve their residence issues, when they receive land and secure housing.

3. ***To improve migrants' access to information.*** Migrant households mostly rely on information from informal sources, in other words, from relatives or friends about the places they plan to settle in. The government could support the dissemination of information about various locations, especially those where there is interest in attracting migrants. This information could be disseminated openly through official channels, for instance, public radio, television and newspapers, and promoted to provide the general public with more detailed information including opportunities for business and employment, housing conditions, available services, so on and so forth.

4. ***Improve living conditions in places of origin in order to support return migration.*** Policy measures supporting return migration to places of origin could be integrated into rural development policies, which needs to emphasise on improving living conditions as well as job opportunities for return migrants and potential would-be migrants. Similarly, even though the topic of remittances was not covered in this study, efforts could be explored to support migrants' ability to save and send money back to areas of origin with the intention of returning in the future.

5. ***Develop a sustainable, balanced development policy directed towards eliminating urban–rural development disparities.*** Rural and regional development policies are necessary to improve the livelihood and the living conditions of the rural population. Rural households lack income and livelihood sources due to a shortage of jobs. Programmes like microloan schemes could be designed that create the conditions for the population to engage in business and create enhanced employment opportunities. Similarly, policy measures should be taken to motivate and support households in urban areas who wish to move towards rural areas. For instance, the development of educational institutions like colleges and universities outside of the capital in other regional

aimag centres and towns could help lead to industrial and service centres in places outside the capital city.

6. ***Support the registration of migrants.*** Given the high number of unregistered migrant households especially in Ulaanbaatar, it is advised to improve the system of registration of migrant households which includes awareness-raising among migrants themselves about the benefits of registering upon arrival. Similarly, a revision to the ban on migration to Ulaanbaatar might be sensible considering the unintended effect of less registration, and as a result, lower access to public and social services and an expansion of informal areas in the city.
7. ***Increase awareness-raising, training and promotional work in order to support social cohesion among migrants and non-migrants, and assist migrants in overcoming challenges.*** Migration has both positive and negative influences on local communities. It is suggested to provide the general public and administrative staff of public institutions with accurate information in order to improve appreciation of internal migration in Mongolia. Attention should be paid to supporting research findings and migration statistics, which contribute to the development of policies and programmes that alleviate the potential negative consequences of migration.
8. ***Conduct regular national research on migration in order to support evidence-based policies.*** Detailed information on birth and mortality in Mongolia are collected every three to five years through national surveys. However, there is lack of timely thematic research on migration. For instance, the Population and Housing Census collects general data on the level of migration, as well as its flows and directions only once every ten years. Official statistics on the causes and consequences of migration, or on problems and challenges faced by migrants, are not published in detail. Sample surveys are conducted periodically when considered necessary. Therefore, it is essential to recognize the three major demographic components that impact the population size and its distribution – namely, birth, mortality and migration – to the same degree and conduct regular research on migration at the national level.

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