The Fourth Migration Survey General Results

I Introduction

- 1 Overview
- 2 Methodology and response rate

II Recent migration trends

- 1 Residence five years earlier– decreasing trend of migration
- 2 Reasons for migration

III Trends of lifetime migration

- 1 Average number of moves in a lifetime
- 2 Places where respondents have lived
- 3 Places of birth and present residence

IV Migration and metropolitan areas

- 1 Period of the last move
- 2 Patterns in inter-regional migration
- 3 Patterns in intra-regional migration
- 4 Migration patterns and ages of migrants
- 5 Migration patterns and reasons for migration

V Return (U-turn) migration

VI Household and migration

- 1 Household by migration type
- 2 Migration type of household by the age of household head
- 3 Family type of household and migration patterns of household
- 4 Migration type of household and residence of household head five years earlier
- 5 Migration type by reason for migration of household head

VII Migration of the elderly

- 1 Percentage of thoseth elderly who lived at a different residence five years earlier
- 2 Reasons for migration
- 3 Destination of migration

VIII Leaving home and migration

- 1 Experience of leaving home
- 2 Reasons for leaving home
- 3 Age when leaving home

IX Residence five years ahead and reasons for migration

- 1 Prospects for migration in the next five years
- 2 Prospects for migration by region of residence
- 3 Reasons for migration



Department of Population Structure Research

I Introduction

1 Overview

The aging of the Japanese population has been proceeding not only at the national level but also at the regional level, and has consequently been demanding that each region copes with the problem. In general, population change in a region is produced by birth, death, and migration. Since regional differences in birth and death have been decreasing, migration has come to have larger effects on regional changes of population. *The Fourth Migration Survey* aims to clarify various aspects of migration such as migration history, reasons for migration, and prospects for future migration, and provideeo some basic statistics to deal with the oncoming acceleration of population aging and subsequent regional population changes. This survey, as one of the Population and Social Security Surveys undertaken by our Institute, was conducted on July 1, 1996 as the fourth national migration survey following those in 1976, 1986, and 1991.

2 Methodology and response rate

The objects of the survey were all household heads and household members in 300 districts, which were randomly selected from among the survey districts of *Comprehensive Survey of Living Condition of the People on Health and Welfare, 1996.* Household heads were asked to fill in questionnaires, put them in envelopes and seal them. These envelopes were later collected by survey personnel.

The household was the unit for distributing questionnaires. Out of a total of 15,131 questionnaires distributed, 14,494 (95.8%) were collected. Among these, 14,083 were valid. The rate of valid response was 93.1%.

When we compare the regional distribution of survey respondents with the data of the 1995 Population Census, the percentage of respondents in the Tokyo region is 2.8% greater, and that in Chubu-Hokuriku is 1.5% less than the present survey. The percentages in other regions, however, are within a range of +/- 1% of those in the Population Census (Table 1). Furthermore, the data on age structure show that in almost all age groups, differences in the percentage of total remain within the range of +/- 0.5%. Considering the difference in the date of surveys (about one year), these discrepancies are rather small. Therefore, respondents in the present survey seem to represent the total population of Japan well.

Table 1 Percent Distribution of the Japanese Population by regions in the country: Selected years 1995, 1996

Region	1996 (The 4 th Survey on Geographical Mobility)		1995 (The 1995 Population P	Difference in percentage	
	Total population	Percentage (%)	Total Population (in thousands)	Percentage (%)	
Total	40,400	100.0	125,570	100.0	-
Hokkaido	1,820	4.5	5,692	4.5	0.0
Tohoku	4,088	10.1	12,322	9.8	0.3
Kita-Kanto	2,359	5.8	6,943	5.5	0.3
Tokyo	11,624	28.8	32,577	25.9	2.8
Chubu, Hokuriku	2,578	6.4	9,944	7.9	-1.5
Nagoya	3,571	8.8	10,810	8.6	0.2
Kinki	6,320	15.6	20,627	16.4	-0.8
Chugoku	2,133	5.3	7,774	6.2	-0.9
Shikoku	1,531	3.8	4,183	3.3	0.5
Kyushu, Okinawa	4,376	10.8	14,697	11.7	-0.9

Note: Regions stated in the above table each include the following prefectures:

Hokkaido: Hokkaido

Tohoku: Aomori, Iwate, Miyagi, Akita, Yamagata, Fukushima, and Niigata prefecture

Kita-Kanto: Ibaraki, Tochigi and Gunma prefecture

Tokyo: Saitama, Chiba, Tokyo and Kanagawa prefecture

Chubu, Hokuriku: Toyama, Ishikawa, Fukui, Yamanashi, Nagano and Shizuoka prefecture

Nagoya: Gifu, Aichi and Mie prefecture

Kinki: Shiga, Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo, Nara and Wakayama prefecture Chugoku: Tottori, Shimane, Okayama, Hiroshima and Yamaguchi prefecture

Shikoku: Tokushima, Kagawa, Ehime and Kochi prefecture

Kyushu, Okinawa: Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, Oita, Miyazaki, Kagoshima and

Okinawa prefecture

II Recent migration trends

1 Residence five years earlier – decreasing trend of migration

As in the previous survey, the present survey asked respondents to specify the location of residence five years earlier (on July 1, 1991). These answers enable us to obtain information on general trends of recent migration; that is, whether migration in the most recent five years was more active or not, compared to migration in the past. The Population Census of 1990 also contains the same information on migration. Questions on migration, however, are only asked every 10 years. Furthermore, the definition of migration was changed in 1990, which made it difficult to compare the data of 1980 and 1990. Therefore, the recent trend of migration at a national level, especially by age, can be documented only by the present survey. It should be noted, however, that the data on residence five years earlier could not count every move in the last five years. For example, if a person left a parent's home in April 1992, studied at a university in a different prefecture for four years, and returned home in March 1996, these moves are not counted as migration.

Table 2 shows the results of the present (4th) and previous (3rd) surveys. Respondents with "residence five years earlier is unknown" are omitted. The data of the present survey indicate that in total, 22.2% of respondents lived in a different residence five years earlier. Data by age show that the percentage of "different residence" is highest in the 25-29 age group at 49.5%. After this age group, the percentage decreases as age rises. As for "different residence," the share of "the same municipality," i.e., relatively short-distance moves, becomes larger in higher age groups. In the 20-24 age group, the percentage of "different prefecture" is high, indicating that a large number of respondents in this age group migrated long distances to enter the labor market or higher educational institutes in the last five years.

The results of the 3rd survey display that the percentage of those who lived in a different residence five years earlier (1986) is 26.7% in total, 4.5% higher than in the 4th survey. When compared by age, the percentages in the 3rd survey are larger in all age groups, showing that migration in 1991-1996 was smaller than in 1986-1991. The second half of the 1980s was the time of "Bubble Economy" when a re-concentration of population in the Tokyo metropolitan area was highlighted. While the difference in migration between these two periods is not necessarily explained solely by economic situations, it is better to keep in mind such an economic background when we focus on the details of the survey results.

Concerning respondents who lived in a different residence five years earlier, the percentage for "foreign country" increased a little. But those of other categories, i.e., "same municipality," "different municipality in the same prefecture," and "different prefecture" decreased. When compared by age, changes in the 15-29 age group (ages when migration behavior is most active) are conspicuous. Above all, the decrease in the percentage of "different prefecture" in the 20-24 age group is largest at 5.7% points. It can thus be summarized from Table 2 that while the recent decrease of migration is observed in all age groups and in both short- and long-distance moves, the most outstanding change is displayed by long-distance moves in the 20-24 age group, which are closely connected to educational advancement and entering the labor market. It should also be noted that an analysis by sex reveals a more marked decreasing trend in females than in males (not shown in the tables). As has already been shown, the percentage of "different prefecture" in the 20-24 age group decreased 5.7% points in total. This figure decreased 5.0% points in males and 7.5% points in females, indicating that long-distance migration in 20-24 year-old women decreased most considerably.

Table 2 The location of residence 5	years earlier	(men and women)
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(%)

The 4 th arms of	Lived at the same	Lived at a different	Lived in a different locality	Lived in a different city/	Lived in a	Lived in a
The 4 th survey of	residence	residence	in the same city/town/	town/village in the same	different	different
Geographical Mobility (1996)	5 years earlier	5 years earlier	village 5 years earlier	prefecture 5 years earlier	prefecture	country
Total	77.8	22.2	8.6	6.5	6.8	0.3
5 to 9 years old	67.9	32.1	12.9	9.7	9.2	0.4
10 to 14 years old	79.2	20.8	10.5	4.5	5.3	0.5
15 to 19 years old	81.2	18.8	6.8	5.2	6.6	0.1
20 to 24 years old	67.2	32.8	9.8	9.4	13.4	0.3
25 to 29 years old	50.5	49.5	15.4	17.1	16.4	0.6
30 to 34 years old	51.4	48.6	16.6	15.6	15.8	0.7
35 to 39 years old	66.6	33.4	13.2	9.5	9.9	0.8
40 to 44 years old	78.3	21.7	8.9	6.2	6.2	0.5
45 to 49 years old	84.8	15.2	7.2	4.0	3.9	0.1
50 to 54 years old	87.4	12.6	5.8	4.0	2.7	0.2
55 to 59 years old	91.8	8.2	4.1	2.2	1.8	0.1
60 to 64 years old	93.9	6.1	3.2	1.5	1.3	0.1
65 years old and over	93.8	6.2	3.4	1.5	1.2	0.0
	-		-			(%)

The 3rd Survey of	Lived at the same	Lived at a different	Lived in a different locality	Lived in a different city/	Lived in a	Lived in a
•	residence	residence	in the same city/town/	town/village in the same	different	different
Geographical Mobility (1991)	5 years earlier	5 years earlier	village 5 years earlier	prefecture 5 years earlier	prefecture	country
Total	73.3	26.7	11.0	7.5	8.0	0.2
5 to 9 years old	64.1	35.9	15.7	10.4	9.7	0.2
10 to 14 years old	75.7	24.3	11.5	6.2	6.5	0.1
15 to 19 years old	76.3	23.7	10.7	5.0	7.8	0.1
20 to 24 years old	60.5	39.5	9.8	10.3	19.1	0.3
25 to 29 years old	44.2	55.8	19.0	18.0	18.5	0.3
30 to 34 years old	48.4	51.6	17.3	18.5	15.6	0.2
35 to 39 years old	63.4	36.6	15.4	10.8	10.2	0.2
40 to 44 years old	73.9	26.1	12.4	6.6	7.0	0.1
45 to 49 years old	80.6	19.4	9.8	5.1	4.5	0.0
50 to 54 years old	84.4	15.6	7.8	3.8	3.6	0.3
55 to 59 years old	86.8	13.2	6.9	3.3	3.0	0.1
60 to 64 years old	89.7	10.3	4.7	3.7	1.9	0.0
65 years old and over	90.3	9.7	6.0	2.1	1.6	0.0

2 Reasons for migration

As for the reasons for migration to the present residence, respondents were requested to choose the most important reason from among 15 alternatives. Here we examine the data of respondents aged 15 years and over by aggregating 15 alternatives into 7 categories: 1. admission to school, 2. job-related reasons, 3. housing-related reasons, 4. to live with/near parents/children, 5. moved with parents/spouse, 6. marriage/divorce, and 7. others (Table 3). We analyze the results by sex.

According to Tables 4 and 5, the most popular reasons for migration are "housing-related reasons" (33.6%) and "job-related reasons" (29.5%) for males, and "moved with parents/spouse" (53.6%) and "marriage/divorce" (19.8%) for females.

Data by age group indicate that for males, the percentage of "housing-related reasons" is over 40% in all age groups above 35 years old. In the 55-59 age group, this percentage is 53.2%. "Job-related reasons" account for the highest percentages in the 20-24 age group and the 30-34 age group. In the 25-29 age group, however, "marriage/divorce" is the primary reason. In the case of females, "moved with parents/spouse" shows very high percentages regardless of age, although "marriage/divorce" is the biggest reason in the 25-29 age group (44.0%). As for other notable characteristics, relatively high percentages of "to live with/near parents/children" are shown by men in their 30s and 40s.

Comparison with the results of the 3^{rd} survey is difficult because of some changes in the way of asking about the reasons for migration and in alternatives included in the questionnaire. It seems, however, that the basic distribution of major reasons for migration does not differ significantly.

Table 3 The 15 options among which the respondents picked as the reason for their moving to a different place, the wording used in the questionnaire distributed in 1996

moving to a different place, the v	vording used ii	n the questionnaire distributed in 1996
The wording used in the questionnaire		The larger categorization
1.Admission to school		1.To attend school
2.For the first job	_	
3.For new job offers		
4.Job transfers	─	2.For work-related reasons
5.To take over family business		
6.Following the retirement from work		
7.For reasons related to housing problems	\neg	
8.For reasons related to living environment	├	3.For a better living situation
9.For reasons related to commuting to school or w	ork—	
10.To move in with parents		4.To move in with parents/children
11.To move in with children		4.10 move in with parents/children
12.As parents/spouses moved	→	5. Following a decision made by the head of the house
13.Marriage		6.For a marital arrangement
14.Divorce		o.For a mantar anangement
15.For other reasons	>	7.For other reasons
		•

Table 4 The reasons for moving of those who moved during 1991-1996: Male movers 15 years old and over

	Total population	To attend school	related		with parents	Following a decision made by the	Following a marital	For other reasons	Unknown
	population	3011001	reasons	living situation	/children	head of the house	arrangement	16030113	
Total	37,000	3.5	29.5	33.6	4.5	7.9	13.2	4.9	2.9
15 to 19 years old	238	17.2	19.3	5.0	1.7	52.9	0.4	2.1	1.3
20 to 24 years old	484	14.9	28.9	21.5	1.7	15.9	10.7	5.0	1.4
25 to 29 years old	634	0.6	30.8	23.7	2.2	5.0	32.0	3.6	2.1
30 to 34 years old	693	0.9	32.6	29.4	5.6	2.9	22.7	4.2	1.7
35 to 39 years old	474	0.4	29.5	44.1	6.3	2.7	9.3	4.9	2.7
40 to 44 years old	384	0.8	29.4	49.2	6.0	2.6	3.9	3.4	4.7
45 to 49 years old	300	0.7	35.7	47.0	4.7	1.0	1.7	6.0	3.3
50 to 54 years old	190	0.5	31.1	47.4	1.6	2.1	3.2	8.9	5.3
55 to 59 years old	126	0.0	23.0	53.2	4.8	0.8	1.6	11.1	5.6
60 to 64 years old	71	0.0	26.8	49.3	1.4	1.4	2.8	9.9	8.5
65 years old and over	106	0.0	15.1	41.5	23.6	3.8	0.9	6.6	8.5
Men who moved during 1986-1991 (for comparison)	2,440	5.3	24.1	30.0	3.1	10.2	13.5	9.3	4.5

Table 5 The reasons for moving of those who moved during 1991-1996: Female movers 15 years old and over

	Total population	To attend school	related	For a more convenient living situation	To move in with parents /children	made by the	Following a marital arrangement	For other reasons	Unknown
Total	3,534	2.9	4.4	10.6	4.1	53.6	19.8	3.0	1.6
15 to 19 years old	212	23.1	7.1	5.2	0.9	59.0	2.4	1.4	0.9
20 to 24 years old	427	11.5	13.6	13.1	0.9	33.5	22.0	4.7	0.7
25 to 29 years old	780	0.3	4.4	7.2	2.3	38.2	44.0	2.6	1.2
30 to 34 years old	685	0.1	2.0	5.8	3.2	60.1	25.1	2.3	1.2
35 to 39 years old	428	0.2	1.6	8.6	2.1	75.9	9.3	1.4	0.7
40 to 44 years old	256	0.0	2.0	13.7	1.2	73.8	6.3	2.0	1.2
45 to 49 years old	230	0.4	1.7	17.8	3.0	68.3	6.1	0.9	1.7
50 to 54 years old	142	0.7	3.5	16.2	1.4	57.7	8.5	7.0	4.9
55 to 59 years old	89	0.0	3.4	18.0	7.9	61.8	2.2	3.4	3.4
60 to 64 years old	75	0.0	2.7	21.3	10.7	48.0	1.3	9.3	6.7
65 years old and over	210	0.0	3.3	20.0	30.0	33.8	0.5	7.1	5.2
Men who moved during 1986-1991 (for comparison)	2,695	4.7	6.1	7.8	3.0	48.9	20.7	4.5	4.2

III Trends of lifetime migration

The present survey contains questions on the careers of individuals so we are able to grasp the locations of his/her residence at major events in life such as birth or marriage. Such information cannot be collected from national-level migration data sources such as *Annual report on the internal migration in Japan derived from the basic resident registers* and Population Census. Furthermore, the present survey added new questions on the total number of migrations in a respondent's life and all the names of prefectures in which the respondent has ever lived. Thus, the present dataset includes unique information that was not collected in the past. Here we briefly describe the survey results on the total number of migrations in a respondent's life, regions in which one has lived, and relationships between birthplace and present residence.

1 Average number of moves in a lifetime

Table 6 shows the average number of migrations in a lifetime by sex, age, present profession, region of present residence, and birth region. For all respondents, the average number of migrations is 3.12. The average is slightly higher in males (3.21) than in females (3.03). As for relationships with age, the average number of migrations simply increases as age rises until 40 for both males and females. After the age of 40, however, it displays a complicated trend. If age specific rates of migration do not differ by birth cohort, the number of migrations should simply increase as age rises. This means that in birth cohorts now aged 40 years or above, age specific migration rates have differed from cohort to cohort. A large number of migrations among respondents in their 50s seems to be affected by the fact that these people (born approximately between 1937-46) encountered a period of high economic development when they were in their 20s and thus migrated actively.

Results by profession show that the average number of migrations is 4.07 for those engaged in "professional, manager, clerical, or related work," but is only 1.46 for "agriculture, forestry, fisheries, or related work." Such differences by profession seem to be produced not only by differences in opportunities for job change or transfer, but also by different migration experiences with educational advances and labor market entry between professions.

Data by region of the present residence indicate that the most migratory respondents are those living in the Tokyo region. Their average number of migrations is 3.61 for males and 3.38 for females. Low averages are observed among residents of Northern Kanto, Tohoku, Chubu-Hokuriku, and the Nagoya region. Except for Hokkaido, migration experience in Japan shows a West-High/East-Low tendency. On the other hand, data by region of birthplace clarify that the average number in the Tokyo region, alongside the Nagoya region, is lowest. This means that the high average among present residents in the Tokyo region is produced by those who were born outside the Tokyo region and currently live there. These respondents have experienced a large number of migrations. Those born in the Tokyo region, on the other hand, have migrated less. Birthplaces displaying a high level of migration are Hokkaido, Tohoku, Chugoku, Shikoku, and Kyushu-Okinawa. This seems to be caused by the fact that those born in these regions tend to migrate to other regions (mainly the metropolitan areas) at the time of educational advances and entry into labor market.

Table 6 The average times people had moved since birth until 1996

By age			
	Men and women	Men	Women
Total	3.12	3.21	3.03
0 to 4 years old	0.41	0.42	0.40
5 to 9 years old	0.88	0.92	0.83
10 to 14 years old	1.12	1.13	1.11
15 to 19 years old	1.36	1.39	1.33
20 to 24 years old	1.99	2.01	1.97
25 to 29 years old	2.89	2.90	2.88
30 to 34 years old	3.67	3.80	3.55
35 to 39 years old	3.98	3.94	4.03
40 to 44 years old	4.22	4.44	4.00
45 to 49 years old	4.12	4.34	3.89
50 to 54 years old	4.24	4.60	3.88
55 to 59 years old	4.27	4.37	4.17
60 to 64 years old	4.03	4.24	3.83
65 years old and over	3.89	4.19	3.67

<u> </u>			
	Men and women	Men	Women
Total	3.62	3.82	3.33
Professionals/Business	4.07	4.55	3.39
executives/Clerks			
Sales people	3.68	3.84	3.51
Factory workers	3.31	3.33	3.28
Agriculture/Forestry/Fishery	1.46	1.31	1.63

4.00

4.10

by regions of residence in 1996					
	Men and women	Men	Women		
Total	3.12	3.21	3.03		
Hokkaido	3.32	3.40	3.25		
Tohoku	2.67	2.71	2.62		
Kita-Kanto	2.33	2.32	2.34		
Tokyo	3.50	3.61	3.38		
Chubu/Hokuriku	2.80	2.89	2.71		
Nagoya	2.83	2.87	2.78		
Kinki	3.17	3.26	3.09		
Chugoku	3.22	3.47	2.99		
Shikoku	3.25	3.42	3.08		
Kyushu/Okinawa	3.10	3.18	3.03		

By places of birth			
	Men and women	Men	Women
Total	3.12	3.21	3.03
Hokkaido	3.69	3.79	3.58
Tohoku	3.24	3.32	3.17
Kita-Kanto	2.49	2.54	2.43
Tokyo	2.71	2.67	2.75
Chubu/Hokuriku	3.14	3.29	3.00
Nagoya	2.71	2.82	2.60
Kinki	2.88	2.97	2.79
Chugoku	3.37	3.70	3.06
Shikoku	3.57	3.64	3.50
Kyushu/Okinawa	3.66	3.75	3.57
Different country	6.64	7.34	6.02

2 Places where respondents have lived

By occupational status

Others

As a new question added to identify places where respondents have lived, the present survey asked household heads and their spouses to specify prefectures (and countries) in which they had lived since birth. Such information could reveal facts such as what percentage of people living now in Tohoku had ever lived in Tokyo or the Tokyo region.

3.85

Table 7 shows that the average number of prefectures in which a respondent had lived is 2.13 (including prefecture of the present residence). Respondents who had lived only in one prefecture, i.e., who had never moved out of the prefectures of the present residence, account for approximately 40% of the total. The percentage of those who stated two prefectures, that is, one prefecture other than that of the present residence, is around 30%. Only around 30% of respondents have experience of living in three or more prefectures.

Table 7 The number of prefectures the heads of the houses and their spouses had lived in since birth until 1996

The number of prefectures where they had lived	(%)
1	40.3
2	30.8
3	15.9
4	7.4
5	3.1
6 to 10	2.4
11 or more	0.1
The average number of prefectures where they had lived	2.13

On the other hand, Table 8 describes the relationships between present residence and places where a respondent has lived. It shows that 43.2% and 25.1% of all respondents (23,359) have experience of living in the Tokyo region and the Kinki region, respectively. Since the percentages of those currently living in the Tokyo and the Kinki regions (cf. in the table) are 30.0% and 16.0%, respectively, major differences between these figures (e.g., 43.2% vs. 30.0%) seem to be produced by those who currently live outside the Tokyo or Kinki region, but once came to seek education or work and lived there for a while. In Tohoku and Kyushu-Okinawa, the percentages of "region in which one has ever lived (total)" also surpass those of "region of present residence" considerably. This is because there are a number of respondents who are currently living in other regions among those born in Tohoku or Kyushu-Okinawa. When we look at the percentages in Tohoku from top to bottom in the table, 27.1% of present Tohoku residents once lived in the Tokyo region. Among present Chugoku and Shikoku residents, those who have lived in the Kinki region outnumber those who have lived in the Tokyo region. On the other hand, the numbers of the former and the latter are almost the same among Kyushu-Okinawa residents. These results illustrate that the Tokyo region has a nationwide sphere of population interaction, while in the Kinki region, Chugoku and Shikoku are the only regions where a large number of the present residents have experiences of living there.

Table 8 The regions in which the heads of the houses and their spouses had lived since birth until 1996

The regions in							ns they lived in 19					
which they had lived	see Note	Nationwide	Hokkaido	Tohoku	Kita-Kanto	Tokyo	Chubu/Hokuriku	Nagoya	Kinki	Chugoku	Shikoku	Kyushu/Okinawa
Total	100.0	-	-	-	_	-	-	-	_	-	-	-
Hokkaido	4.7	7.3	100.0	4.0	1.3	4.5	1.5	2.6	1.2	1.2	1.7	1.5
Tohoku	9.2	17.0	8.4	100.0	9.9	17.7	6.3	5.0	2.4	1.5	2.2	1.7
Kita-Kanto	5.3	9.5	2.4	3.7	100.0	9.9	2.9	1.7	1.3	1.4	0.9	1.1
Tokyo	30.0	43.2	14.4	27.1	35.9	100.0	29.3	14.0	12.9	15.5	13.2	16.2
Chubu/Hokuriku	5.9	12.3	2.3	4.5	5.8	11.2	100.0	10.6	4.6	3.0	2.8	2.1
Nagoya	9.1	14.1	2.7	2.8	1.9	6.2	8.8	100.0	6.9	3.8	4.2	6.2
Kinki	16.0	25.1	2.4	3.3	2.7	10.0	6.7	12.8	100.0	22.3	28.2	16.3
Chugoku	5.3	10.5	0.9	1.3	1.0	4.8	1.7	4.4	12.0	100.0	9.8	7.2
Shikoku	3.8	6.6	1.0	0.3	0.7	2.5	1.4	2.3	7.3	5.1	100.0	1.9
Kyushu/Okinawa	10.7	17.7	4.6	1.2	1.5	8.7	2.8	10.8	11.7	14.0	7.1	100.0
Different countries	-	3.6	2.4	2.7	2.7	4.4	3.7	3.3	3.4	5.4	2.2	3.6

The proportions of those who lived in a particular region in 1996

3 Places of birth and present residence

It is certain that relationships between birthplaces and the present residences play an important role in long-term changes of population distribution. Questions on birthplace, however, have not been asked in Population Census since 1950. Table 9 compares the number of respondents by region of birth and by region of present residence. In the Tokyo, Nagoya, and Kinki regions, the numbers by present residence are larger than those by birthplace, but vice versa in other regions. In the above three metropolitan regions, in-migration from other regions surpasses out-migration to other regions. Net in-migration is especially big in the Tokyo region (net in-migration rate is 34.6%), which accounts for three fourths of total net in-migration in Japan. On the other hand, net out-migration rates are high in Tohoku (22.8%) and Kyushu-Okinawa (18.2%). These results indicate a long-term trend that those born in non-metropolitan areas have concentrated in the three metropolitan regions, especially Tokyo.

Table 9 The rate of those immigrating and those emigrating by region (Men and women)

emigrating by region (went and women)										
The population	The population	Immigrant minus	The rate of immigrants							
who lived in 1996	who were born	emigrants	to emigrants (%)							
(1)	(2)	(3)=(1)-(2)	(4)=(3)/(2)							
39,345	39,345	0	0.0							
1,769	1,888	-119	-6.3							
4,008	5,193	-1,185	-22.8							
2,294	2,536	-242	-9.5							
11,334	8,423	2,911	34.6							
2,507	2,967	-460	-15.5							
3,482	3,124	358	11.5							
6,153	5,549	604	10.9							
2,062	2,373	-311	-13.1							
1,480	1,740	-260	-14.9							
4,256	5,203	-947	-18.2							
-	349	-349	-100.0							
	The population who lived in 1996 (1) 39,345 1,769 4,008 2,294 11,334 2,507 3,482 6,153 2,062 1,480	The population who lived in 1996 (1) 39,345 39,345 1,769 1,888 4,008 5,193 2,294 2,536 11,334 8,423 2,507 2,967 3,482 3,124 6,153 5,549 2,062 2,373 1,480 1,740 4,256 5,203 - 349	The population who lived in 1996 (1) (2) (3)=(1)-(2) (2)=(1)-(2) (2)=(1)-(2)-(2)=(1)-(2)=(1)-(2)=(2)-(2)=(2)-(2)=(2)-(2)=(2)-(2)=(2)-(2)=(2)-(2)=(2)-(2)=(2)-(2)=(2)-(2)=(2)-(

People who did not announce the place of their birth are not included.

Table 10-a provides more details on the relationships between the present residence and birthplaces. It shows, for example, that about 70% of those born in Tohoku currently live in the same region, and about 20% currently remain in the Tokyo region. In the case of the Tokyo region, more than 90% of those who were born there currently remain in the same region, indicating low mobility. On the other hand, Table 10-b shows that among those now living in the Tokyo region, those who were born there account for 68.4%, and that around one third of the present residents in-migrated from other regions. Again, Tables 10a and 10b clarify that the Tokyo region has received population from all over Japan, while the main sources of in-migration to the Kinki region are limited to the west of Kinki. In the case of Tohoku and Kyushu-Okinawa, more than 90% of the present residents were born in the same regions. The number of those born outside is very small.

Table 10 The relationship between the places of birth and the places of residence in 1996 (men and women)

The places of residence in 1996 of people from different regions

(%)

The places of							aces of b					
residence in 1996	Nationwide	Hokkaido	Tohoku	Kita-Kanto	Tokyo	Chubu/Hokuriku	Nagoya	Kinki	Chugoku	Shikoku	Kyushu/Okinawa	Different countries
Nationwide	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Hokkaido	4.5	82.2	1.6	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	1.2	4.6
Tohoku	10.1	1.5	72.6	0.6	1.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	2.6
Kita-Kanto	5.8	0.3	1.6	79.3	1.4	8.0	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	2.9
Tokyo	28.8	12.0	20.0	17.6	92.0	16.4	5.3	5.3	8.7	6.0	9.1	41.5
Chubu/Hokuriku	6.4	0.4	0.8	0.6	1.2	74.4	1.1	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.6	4.3
Nagoya	8.8	1.7	1.7	0.6	0.8	3.6	87.7	1.7	2.6	2.0	3.9	9.7
Kinki	15.6	0.9	1.0	0.6	1.3	3.0	3.8	88.1	11.8	11.2	6.4	14.6
Chugoku	5.3	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.5	1.3	72.7	2.0	2.2	9.2
Shikoku	3.8	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.9	1.1	76.0	0.8	1.7
Kyushu/Okinawa	10.8	0.4	0.3	0.3	1.1	0.4	0.5	1.5	2.1	1.1	75.3	8.9

The places of birth of people who lived in different regions in 1996

(%)

	- 1 - 1 -			- 3								(/
The places of							laces of b					
residence in 1996	Nationwide	Hokkaido	Tohoku	Kita-Kanto	Tokyo	Chubu/Hokuriku	Nagoya	Kinki	Chugoku	Shikoku	Kyushu/Okinawa	Different countries
Nationwide	100.0	4.8	13.2	6.4	21.4	7.5	7.9	14.1	6.0	4.4	13.2	0.9
Hokkaido	100.0	87.7	4.6	0.2	1.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.3	3.4	0.9
Tohoku	100.0	0.7	94.0	0.4	2.9	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2
Kita-Kanto	100.0	0.2	3.6	87.7	5.1	1.0	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.4
Tokyo	100.0	2.0	9.2	3.9	68.4	4.3	1.5	2.6	1.8	0.9	4.2	1.3
Chubu/Hokuriku	100.0	0.3	1.8	0.6	4.0	88.1	1.4	1.2	0.4	0.5	1.2	0.6
Nagoya	100.0	0.9	2.5	0.4	2.0	3.1	78.7	2.8	1.8	1.0	5.9	1.0
Kinki	100.0	0.3	0.8	0.2	1.8	1.5	2.0	79.5	4.5	3.2	5.4	0.8
Chugoku	100.0	0.4	0.8	0.3	1.5	0.5	0.8	3.4	83.6	1.6	5.6	1.6
Shikoku	100.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	1.0	0.4	0.1	3.3	1.8	89.4	3.0	0.4
Kyushu/Okinawa	100.0	0.2	0.4	0.2	2.2	0.3	0.4	1.9	1.2	0.5	92.1	0.7

People who did not announce the place of their birth are not included.

Lastly, by focusing on the case of the Tokyo region, we summarized age-specific features of the relationships between birthplaces and present residences. As already mentioned, the percentage of those who were born in the Tokyo region is 68.4% of the present Tokyo-region residents. Among those in their 20s, however, this percentage reaches 73.9%. The percentages in other age groups are: 63.2% in 30-39 age group, 53.8% in 40-49 age group, 53.4% in 50-59 age group, and 58.3% in 60 and over age group. Those who are now in their 40s and 50s—cohorts with lower percentages of residents born in the Tokyo-region—include a large number of people who came from other areas to the Tokyo region for the purpose of educational advance or entry into the labor market in the 1960s and 1970s, a period when the population of the Tokyo region sharply increased. It could also be noted that respondents currently under the age of 30 correspond to the generation of those cohorts' children ("Tokyo second generation"). This is considered to be one of the main reasons why the percentage of residents born in the Tokyo-region is high among this younger generation.

IV Migration and metropolitan areas

In this section, we discuss migration regarding metropolitan areas. Boundaries and names of metropolitan areas are the same as those in the 3rd survey, that is, the three metropolitan areas are the Tokyo region (Tokyo, Saitama, Chiba, Kanagawa), the Chukyo region (Aichi, Gifu, Mie), and the Osaka region (Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo). The other 37 prefectures are defined as non-metropolitan area. Data used here are for migration from the previous residence to the present residence, i.e., the last move in each individual's migration career. Migration in the last five years (July 1991–June 1996) and in the last one year (July 1995–June 1996) is tabulated separately.

1 Period of the last move

Table 11 shows the number of migrations by region of the present residence (the Tokyo region, the Chukyo region, the Hanshin region, and the non-metropolitan area) and by period. In this table, "mover" means one who migrated to the present residence, and "non-mover (stayer)" means one who remained in the present residence from birth.

According to Table 11, the percentage of movers of the total (37,780 respondents with valid answers) is 77.9%. When compared by region, percentages in the metropolitan areas are higher than the national average, but that in the non-metropolitan area is much lower. In the latter area, those who never moved account for 26.6%. This result is in accord with the empirical law that mobility is higher among metropolitan residents than among non-metropolitan residents. Concerning the percentage of movers in the last five years, the percentage is 24.4% for all respondents. But the same trend, i.e., the metropolitan figure is higher than the non-metropolitan one, can be also observed. When we limit the period of move to the last year, the percentage of movers decreases to 6.4%.

Table 11 The period of immigration

The period of immigration			Movers		
The places of residence in 1996	Total	Immigrated at some time before 1996	During 1991-1996	During 1995-1996	Settlers
All Japan	37,780 100.0	,	•		, , ,
Tokyo region	11,060 100.0	,	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		, -
Tokyo region	3,339 100.0	,			644 19.3
Hanshin region	4,717 100.0	,	•		
Non-metropolitan areas	18,664 100.0	,	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· ·	4,958 26.6

2 Patterns in inter-regional migration

Next, patterns of inter-regional migration for recent movers (those who moved to the present residence within the last five years) are analyzed. Table 12 shows the previous residence of migrants (including foreign countries) by region of the present residence. It is clear that the majority of migrations are intra-regional. In the metropolitan areas, the percentage of intra-regional migrants of all migrants is around 80%. This percentage reaches 87.3% in the non-metropolitan area. The number for inter-metropolitan migrations is not very large, but it is notable that in-migration and out-migration stand almost at the same level in either pattern for Tokyo-Chukyo, Tokyo-Hanshin, or Chukyo-Hanshin. This

fact implies that in inter-metropolitan migration, a counter-stream of the same level is compensatively produced for each migration flow. As for migration between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, net in-migration to the Chukyo region is outstanding. The Tokyo region also records net in-migration. But the Hanshin region experiences a net outflow. Percentages of in-migration from abroad are all less than 2%, and are extremely low compared to internal migration.

Table 12 Patterns in regional movements (1991-1996)

The previous residence		Talava ragion	Chulaia ragion	Llanahin ragion	Non motropoliton orașe	Other countries
The place of residence in 1996	Total	r okyo region	Chukyo region	nansnin region	Non-metropolitan areas	Other countries
Total	8,982	2,909	766	1,150	4,071	86 (people)
Total	100.0	32.4	8.5	12.8	45.3	1.0 (%)
Tolaro region	3,021	2,489	30	83	375	44
Tokyo region	100.0	82.4	1.0	2.7	12.4	1.5
Chulava ragion	841	25	668	14	118	16
Chukyo region	100.0	3.0	79.4	1.7	14.0	1.9
Hanshin ragion	1,158	85	23	927	119	4
Hanshin region	100.0	7.3	2.0	80.1	10.3	0.3
Non motropolitan areas	3,962	310	45	126	3,459	22
Non-metropolitan areas	100.0	7.8	1.1	3.2	87.3	0.6

3 Patterns in intra-regional migration

To discuss migration concerning metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions in more detail, patterns of intra-regional migration, in which the majority of migrations are categorized, need to be grasped. In the present analysis, intra-regional migrations are divided into several groups. Firstly, migrations are grouped into intra-prefecture migration (relatively short-distance) and inter-prefecture migration (relatively long-distance). Especially in the non-metropolitan region, distances and natures of migration are expected to differ considerably between intra- and inter-prefecture movements as the region is large. As for the metropolitan areas, inter-prefecture migrations are further divided into three groups according to their directions. To be specific, every metropolitan region is divided into the central area (Tokyo region: Tokyo, Chukyo region: Aichi, Hanshin region: Osaka), and the periphery (Tokyo region: Saitama, Chiba, Kanagawa, Chukyo region: Gifu, Mie, Hanshin region: Kyoto, Hyogo). Based on this demarcation, 1. moves from periphery to central area, 2. moves from central area to periphery, 3. moves from periphery to periphery are counted.

Table 13 shows the number of migrants in the last five years by migration pattern. It indicates that in every region, intra-prefecture migrations account for more than 80% of intra-regional migrations. This result suggests that, as is observed in a number of other migration data, the number of migrants sharply increases as migration distance shortens. As for intra-metropolitan migrations, center-periphery migrants outnumber those of periphery-center or periphery-periphery movements.

Table 13 Patterns in intra-regional migration (1991-1996)

	Movement by type		Intra-prefecture	Inter-prefecture						
The place of residence	in 1996	Total	intra-prefecture		Peripheral to Central	Central to Peripheral	Peripheral to Peripheral			
Total	Total		6,407	1,136						
TOTAL		100.0	84.9	15.1						
Total		4,084	3,534	550	170	268	112 (people)			
	rotai	100.0	86.5	13.5	4.2	6.6	2.7 (%)			
	Tokyo region	2,489	2,069	420	93	230	97			
Metropolitan areas		100.0	83.1	16.9	3.7	9.2	3.9			
Metropolitari areas	Chukyo region	668	637	31	18	7	6			
	Chukyo region	100.0	95.4	4.6	2.7	1.0	0.9			
	Hanakin ragion		828	99	59	31	9			
Hanshin region		100.0	89.3	10.7	6.4	3.3	1.0			
Non motropoliton areas		3,459	2,873	586						
Non-metropolitan areas			83.1	16.9						

4 Migration patterns and ages of migrants

Migration patterns selected here for analysis are the following nine patterns: Intra-metropolitan migrations are divided into 1. intra-prefecture migration, 2. center-bound migration, 3. periphery-bound migration, and 4. inter-periphery migration. Inter-regional migrations are grouped into 5. inter-metropolitan migration, 6. non-metro-to-metro migration, and 7. metro-to-non-metro migration. As for intra-non-metropolitan migration, 8. intra-prefecture migration and 9. inter-prefecture migration are the categories prepared.

Table 14 Distribution of movers by type of move and age (1991-1996)

Age of movers	Total	0 ~ 14	15 ~ 19	20 ~ 24		30 ~ 34	35 ~ 44	45 ~ 54	55 ~ 64	65+ (year)
Total	8,754	1,879	581	1,051	1,552	1,115	1,332	697	298	249 (people)
Total	100	21.5	6.6	12.0	17.7	12.7	15.2	7.9	3.4	2.8 (%)
Within a metropolitan area	3,470	728	192	418	622	431	549	297	133	100
Intra-prefecture	100.0	21.0	5.5	12.0	17.9	12.4	15.8	8.5	3.8	2.9
Within a metropolitan area	169	19	21	27	44	25	15	10	4	4
Toward the center	100.0	11.3	12.4	16.0	26.0	14.8	8.9	5.9	2.4	2.4
Within a metropolitan area	266	42	10	37	61	41	37	13	17	8
Toward the peripheral	100.0	15.8	3.8	13.9	22.9	15.4	13.9	4.9	6.4	3.0
Within a metropolitan area	112	26	8	17	26	14	12	2	2	5
Within the peripheral	100.0	23.2	7.1	15.2	23.2	12.5	10.7	1.8	1.8	4.5
Metropolitan area-to-	259	43	14	32	43	45	48	26	6	2
metropolitan area	100.0	16.5	5.4	12.4	16.6	17.4	18.5	10.0	2.3	8.0
Non-metropolitan areas	607	111	116	63	91	101	73	35	6	11
to metropolitan areas	100.0	18.2	19.1	10.4	15.0	16.6	12.0	5.8	1.0	1.8
Metropolitan areas	472	123	19	58	73	66	68	41	9	15
to non-metropolitan areas	100.0	26.0	4.0	12.3	15.5	14.0	14.4	8.7	1.9	3.2
Within non-metropolitan areas	2,822	621	163	356	492	304	446	227	114	99
Intra-prefecture	100.0	21.9	5.8	12.6	17.4	10.8	15.8	8.1	4.1	3.5
Within non-metropolitan areas	577	166	38	43	100	88	84	46	7	5
Prefecture-to-prefecture	100.0	28.9	6.6	7.5	17.3	15.3	14.6	8.0	1.2	0.9

Table 14 shows the number of migrants in the last five years by age and by migration pattern. When we look at age distribution in total migration patterns, it is clear that most active migrants are those in their 20s and early 30s, especially those in the late 20s. In terms of migration pattern, "metropolitan to non-metropolitan" and "intra-non-metropolitan (inter-prefecture)" show high percentages of 0-14, indicating the existence of a relatively large number of ancillary migrants in these patterns. In "non-metropolitan to metropolitan" and "intra-metropolitan (periphery to center)," the percentage of

15-19 (ages when migration related to educational advance and entry to labor market predominates) is remarkably high. In intra-metropolitan migration, the 25-29 age group and its adjacent categories display high percentages, implying that job-related migration accompanied by new job, job change, or job transfer is active within the metropolitan regions. Ages 35-54 show high percentages in "inter-metropolitan" migration.

5 Migration patterns and reasons for migration

Lastly, the relationships between migration patterns and reasons for moves are considered. Table 15 shows the number of migrants by the above migration pattern and by reason for move (six categories).

Table 15 Distribution of movers by different reasons for migration (1991-1996)

Bassan for migration	Total	To receive	For work-	For reason	To move in with	Accompanying	Following a marital	For other
Reason for migration	Total	higher education	related reasons	related to housing	parents/children	parents/guardians	arrangement	reasons
Total	8,700	241	1,199	1,622	303	3,865	1,177	293 (people)
Total	100.0	2.8	13.8	18.6	3.5	44.4	13.5	3.4 (%)
Within a metropolitan area	3,450	27	164	890	123	1,586	516	144
Intra-prefecture	100.0	0.8	4.8	25.8	3.6	46.0	15.0	4.2
Within a metropolitan area	168	10	36	27	2	41	45	7
Toward the center	100.0	6.0	21.4	16.1	1.2	24.4	26.8	4.2
Within a metropolitan area	261	7	34	63	10	95	41	11
Toward the peripheral	100.0	2.7	13.0	24.1	3.8	36.4	15.7	4.2
Within a metropolitan area	111	7	10	25	6	46	13	4
Within the peripheral	100.0	6.3	9.0	22.5	5.4	41.4	11.7	3.6
Metropolitan area-to-	258	13	123	1	3	98	15	5
metropolitan area	100.0	5.0	47.7	0.4	1.2	38.0	5.8	1.9
Non-metropolitan areas	600	74	231	20	12	212	40	11
to metropolitan areas	100.0	12.3	38.5	3.3	2.0	35.3	6.7	1.8
Metropolitan areas	470	12	146	22	22	223	29	16
to non-metropolitan areas	100.0	2.6	31.1	4.7	4.7	47.4	6.2	3.4
Within non-metropolitan areas	2,806	56	255	566	115	1,272	448	94
Intra-prefecture	100.0	2.0	9.1	20.2	4.1	45.3	16.0	3.3
Within non-metropolitan areas	576	35	200	8	10	292	30	1
Prefecture-to-prefecture	100.0	6.1	34.7	1.4	1.7	50.7	5.2	0.2

"Admission to school" indicates a high number in "non-metropolitan to metropolitan." "Job-related reason," which includes "obtained job," "changed job," "job transfer" and "retirement," displays high numbers for relatively long-distance movements such as "inter-metropolitan," "non-metropolitan to metropolitan," "intra-non-metropolitan (inter-prefecture)," and "metropolitan to non-metropolitan." We could thus understand that a number of long-distance migrations are connected to job-related reasons. Numbers of "housing-related reason" are high in intra-metropolitan migrations (except "periphery to center") and "intra-non-metropolitan (intra-prefecture)," but are very small in "inter-metropolitan" and "intra-non-metropolitan (inter-prefecture)." This means that the vast majority of housing-related migrations are short distance. "To live with/near parents/children" shows relatively high numbers in "intra-metropolitan (periphery to periphery)" and "metropolitan to non-metropolitan." The number of "moved with parents/spouse" is small in "intra-metropolitan (periphery to center)." This implies that family migration is relatively rare in migration bound for city center. Migration by marriage, on the other hand, shows a high number in "intra-metropolitan (periphery to center)." But its numbers are quite small in long-distance movement patterns such as "intra-non-metropolitan (inter-prefecture)" and "inter-metropolitan."

V Return (U-turn) migration

"U-turn migration" has been widely used as an expression meaning return migration in Japan. In this section, we observe the state of U-turn migration by creating relatively simple migration patterns based on prefecture-level data of birthplace for the present residence and migration process (migration experience) between these two places. To be more concrete, migration patterns are defined as follows. For those whose birthplace and present residence are both in prefecture A, there are two possibilities. One is a pattern of "within-prefecture settlement" where there is no record of living outside prefecture A in a respondent's migration history (as far as present data can grasp), and the other is "U-turn to birth prefecture" where a respondent has experience of living outside prefecture A. When one's birthplace and present residence belong to different prefectures, this person was treated as an "I-turn" migrant. It should thus be noted that U-turn migration observed here is not limited to moves undertaken by those who migrated from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas and "U-turned" to the birthplace.

Table 16 shows age-specific U-turn migration of household heads and their spouses. Firstly, out-of-prefecture migration rates, which indicate the percentage of those who have experienced at least one out-move from birth prefecture, show that in every generation, the rate is a little higher for males than for females. This result fits the general understanding that the distance of migration tends to be long for males and short for females. In the case of males, the out-of-prefecture migration rate is highest for those under 30 years old. The percentage of those who have experienced out-moves generally decreases with age. As for females, differences by age are not clear until 50 years old. After that, however, the out-of-prefecture migration rate becomes lower in the higher age group. "I-turn rate," i.e., the percentage of those living in prefectures other than birth prefectures (Table 16(3)) is generally lower in higher age groups, except for 50-54 male and 45-49 female.

Percentages of I-turn migrants among all out-of-prefecture migrants (Table 16(4)) show a decreasing trend from younger to older generations, but after they hit bottom in the 40-49 age group, these percentages start increasing up to the 55-59 age group. "I-turn rates (b)" are high among generations around the 55-59 age group. This means that the percentages of those who have not re-migrated to birth prefectures are high. Trends among female respondents are somewhat different. I-turn rates (b) decrease from the age groups of 20s to 40-44, and then increase up to 60-64.

The percentage of U-turn migrants of the total out-of-prefecture migrants (Table 16(5)) is 27.2% for males and 24.9% for females. In the case of males, the percentage decreases from the age groups of 40s to 55-59. The generation with the lowest U-turn rate seems to include a large number of people who moved from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas in the period of high economic development and settled in cities. The increase of U-turn rates in ages over 60 could be partly caused by return migration to birthplaces etc. after retirement. Females show almost the same tendency, although some generational differences exist.

Table 16 The U-turn rate of the heads of the houses and their spouses (Men)

(IVICII)						(70)
Ago	Total	The rate	The rate	The I-turn	The I-turn	The U-turn
Age	population	of settlers	of movers	rate (a)	rate (b)	rate
Total	10,575	44.7	55.3	40.3	72.8	27.2
30 years and under	1,210	32.8	67.2	58.3	86.8	13.2
30 to 34 years old	912	35.6	64.4	49.1	76.3	23.7
35 to 39 years old	930	42.0	58.0	39.5	68.1	31.9
40 to 44 years old	1,056	39.2	60.8	39.7	65.3	34.7
45 to 49 years old	1,364	42.8	57.2	37.3	65.3	34.7
50 to 54 years old	1,118	42.2	57.8	41.3	71.5	28.5
55 to 59 years old	1,076	49.8	50.2	39.3	78.3	21.7
60 to 64 years old	1,065	55.3	44.7	32.7	73.1	26.9
65 years old and over	1,844	55.1	44.9	31.4	69.9	30.1

(%)

(Women)						(%)
Λαο	Total	The rate	The rate	The I-turn	The I-turn	The U-turn
Age	population	of settlers	of movers	rate (a)	rate (b)	rate
Total	10,527	50.4	49.6	37.3	75.1	24.9
30 years and under	1,101	45.4	54.6	46.4	85.0	15.0
30 to 34 years old	960	46.9	53.1	40.1	75.5	24.5
35 to 39 years old	968	47.8	52.2	36.3	69.5	30.5
40 to 44 years old	1,080	45.7	54.3	37.2	68.6	31.4
45 to 49 years old	1,392	44.8	55.2	40.2	72.8	27.2
50 to 54 years old	1,139	52.0	48.0	35.7	74.4	25.6
55 to 59 years old	1,058	53.1	46.9	35.8	76.4	23.6
60 to 64 years old	1,000	56.5	43.5	35.0	80.5	19.5
65 years old and over	1.829	57.6	42.4	31.7	74.7	25.3

⁽¹⁾The rate of settlers = the rate of those who had always lived in the prefecture of birth to all those who were born in the prefecture

⁽²⁾The rate of movers = the rate of those who had experienced living in a different prefecture other than the prefecture of birth to all those who were born in the prefecture

⁽³⁾The I-turn rate (a) = the rate of those who had emigrated from the prefecture of birth to all those who were born in the prefecture

⁽⁴⁾The I-turn rate (b) = the rate of those who had emigrated from the prefecture of birth to all those who had experienced living in a different prefecture other than the prefecture of birth (5)The U-turn rate = the rate of those who had come back to their hometown after living in a different prefecture to all those who had experienced living in a different prefecture other than the prefecture of birth.

VI Household and migration

The household often functions as a unit of migration, and a household change is frequently accompanied by migration. The relationship between migration and household is an important issue for both household studies and migration research. Data on household migration can be obtained from the 1990 Population Census, but these lack information on reasons for migration so it is impossible to observe household migration from the viewpoint of the causes of move. This section analyzes household migration types not only by variables such as age of household head, family type of household, or residence of household head five years earlier, but also by household head's reason for migration.

1 Household by migration type

Household migrations are categorized here into the following three types. A household in which all the present members (excluding those who died or moved out in the past because their data are not collected) did not live in the present residence five years earlier is defined as a household with "all members moved." If at least one of the present household members lived in the present residence five years earlier (regardless of his/her relational status in family), this household is called a "partly moved" household. Furthermore, a household where all the present members lived in the present residence five years earlier is defined as a "no move" household. To be precise, there are possibly some household members who repeatedly moved between the present residence and other places in the last five years. It is also possible that there are out-movers in "no move" households. But, since the Population Census uses a similar categorization of household migration (household with "all the related members that moved," with "some related members who moved," and with "no related members who moved"), the above grouping is used here. The number of "no move" households is 9,661, 68.6% of the total 14,083 households. The number of households with "all members moved" is 3,654, and that with "partly moved" is 670, accounting for 25.9% and 4.8% of the total, respectively (Table 17).

Table 17 Households by migration type (for the period 1991-1996)

•		All members moved			
Total households	14,083	3,654	670	9,661	98
Percentage (%)	100.0	25.9	4.8	68.6	0.7

2 Migration type of household by age of household head

Distribution of household migration types by age of household head shows that the percentage of "all members moved" is high among households with young heads. As the head's age rises, this percentage decreases. Up to the 30-34 age group, for example, the percentage is approximately between 60-95%. But, it becomes less than 50% after 35 years of age. In the 60-64 and over age group, it is about 5%. This tendency is basically the same even if we add the percentages for "partly moved" to that of "all members moved." As the head's age rises, the total percentage of "all members moved" and "partly moved" decreases. In the 35-39 age group, it declines below the 50% level. It decreases to approximately 10% in the 65-69 and over age group. On the other hand, the percentage of "no moved" becomes larger in higher age groups. It surpasses 50% in the 35-39 age group, and reaches about 90% in the 65-69 and over age group.

In sum, the percentage of "all members moved" is higher in households with younger heads. As the head's age rises, the percentage of "no move" increases. This tendency seems to be related to the fact that households with young heads are in the phase of household formation, and that many of these household

heads moved in from other places when leaving home or by marriage and formed new households (Figure 1).

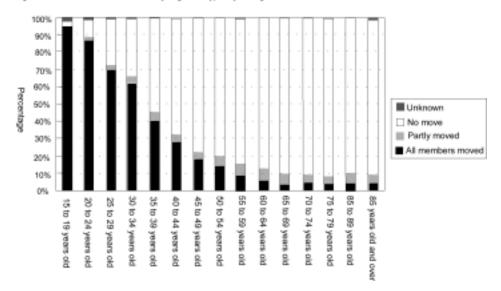
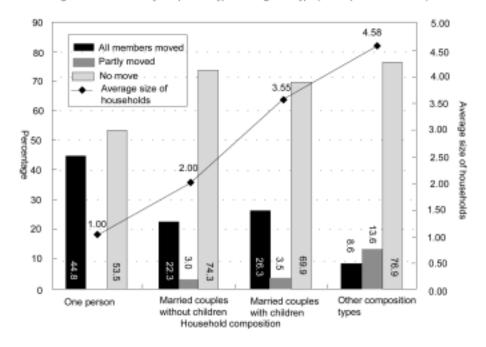


Figure 1 Distribution of households by migration type, by the age of the heads of the houses





3 Family type of household and migration patterns of household

Data on household migration by family type show that "no move" during the last five years (1991-1996) accounts for the largest percentage for every family type. Even the smallest percentage of "no move" (in "one-person") exceeds 50% (53.5%). This percentage is 69.9% for "parent(s) with child(ren)," 74.3% for "married couple only," and the highest 76.9% for "other." As for households with movers, the percentage of "all members moved" is highest for household with the fewest household members, that is,

"one-person" household (44.8%). The percentages for "parent(s) with child(ren)," "married couple only," and "other" are 26.3%, 22.3%, and 8.6%, respectively. The percentage for "partly moved" is 13.6% in "other," which contains the largest number of household members on average. The percentages for "parent(s) with child(ren)" and "married couple only" are 3.5% and 3.0%, respectively.

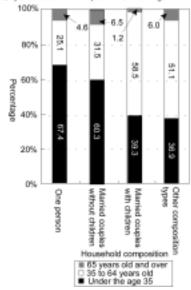
In sum, while the percentage for "no move" is high for every household migration type, the percentage for "all members moved" is also high in "one person" and other households with fewer members on average. On the other hand, the percentage for "partly moved" is high in relatively large "other" households. These facts suggest that smaller households tend to face more migrations (Figure 2).

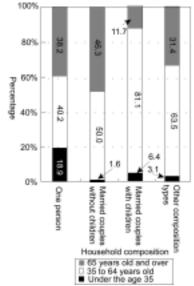
Characters of households differ according to age of household head, even when their family types are the same. In general, it is considered that households with younger heads are in the phase of household formation while those with older heads have existed for a certain time. This tendency seems to influence the migration types of households. Therefore, the distribution of the age of household head is examined here for "all members moved" and "no move" households. The age of household head is divided into "under 35," "35-64," and "65 and over," because the percentages of "all members moved" are over 50% under 35 years of age, and those of "no move" are stable at around 90% over 65 years of age. The distribution of the age of household head shows that for households with "all members moved," the percentages for "under 35" are very high, i.e., 67.4% and 60.3% for "one person" and "married couple only," respectively. For "parent(s) with child(ren)" and "other," the percentage of the "35-64" age group exceeds 50%, but the "under 35" age group also accounts for about 40%. The percentages for the "65 and above" age group are low in the range between 1.2 and 6.5%. As for households with "no moves," the percentages for the "35-64" age group are highest. But those of the "65 and above" age group are also high: 38.2% and 46.3% for "one person" and "married couple only," respectively. The percentages for "under 35" are low (Figure 3, 4).

In sum, there are a large number of young-head households in the stage of household formation among households with "all members moved." On the other hand, households with "no move" show a high percentage of old-head households.

Figure 3. Households all of whose members had moved during the period 1991-1996, by the household composition and the age of the heads of the houses

Figure 4. Households any of whose members had not moved during the period 1991-1996, by the household composition and the age of the heads of the houses





4 Migration type of household and residence of household head five years earlier

This section, by looking at the residence of household head five years earlier, examines where households with "all members moved" came from. Distribution of residence five years earlier shows that the percentages for "different place in the same municipality as the present" and "different prefecture" are almost the same, i.e., 34.0% and 35.0%, respectively. "Different municipality in the same prefecture as the present" accounts for 29.5%. As for the distribution by age of household head, "different prefecture" shows the highest percentage (42.2%) in "under 35" age group. In the "35-64" age group and the "65 and above" age group, the percentages for "different place in the same municipality as the present" are the highest, 41.8% and 56.2%, respectively. Frequencies by family type (Table 18, 19) show that in a "one-person" household, the percentage for "different prefecture" is highest at 48.1%. On the other hand, "different place in the same municipality as the present" accounts for the largest percentage of "married couple only" (36.5%), "parent(s) with child(ren)," (42.6%), and "other" (44.2%). In sum, households with young heads and with simple family compositions are more likely to move across the boundaries of prefectures.

Table 18 The place of residence in 1991 by the age of the heads of the houses: Households all of whose members had moved during the period 1991-1996 (%)

all of whose members had meved during the period feet feet									
Age of the heads of the houses	Total	Under the age 35	35 to 64 years old	65 years old and over	Unknown				
Total households	3,654	1,921	1,525	130	78				
In the same municipal	34.0	25.9	41.8	56.2	47.4				
district as in 1996									
In a different municipal	29.5	30.8	28.4	22.3	32.1				
district in the same prefecture									
In a different prefecture	35.0	42.2	27.9	21.5	19.2				
Abroad	1.3	1.0	1.8	-	-				
Unknown	0.2	0.2	0.1	-	1.3				

Table 19 The place of residence in 1991 by household composition: Households all of whose members had moved during the period 1991-1996

Households all of whose members had moved during the period 1991-1996 (9									
Household composition	Total	One	Married couples	Married couples	Other composition	Unknown			
Tiouseriola composition	TOtal	person	without children	with children	types	OTIKITOWIT			
Total households	3,654	1,336	556	1,522	233	7			
In the same municipal	34.0	21.6	36.5	42.6	44.2	14.3			
district as in 1996									
In a different municipal	29.5	29.1	32.2	28.6	30.9	42.9			
district in the same prefecture									
In a different prefecture	35.0	48.1	29.5	27.2	24.0	42.9			
Abroad	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.4	0.4	-			
Unknown	2.0	-	0.4	0.2	0.4	-			

5 Migration type by reason for migration of household head

Lastly, the reasons for migration of household heads are examined for households with "all members moved." Among the head's reasons of migration during the last five years, "reasons related to housing conditions" account for the largest percentage at 25.1%. Other reasons with a large frequency are "job transfer" (17.7%), "marriage" (11.1%), "reasons related to living environment" (7.0%), "obtained job" (6.6%), "transportation to workplace/school" (5.6%), and "admission to school" (5.1%). Housing-related reasons such as "housing conditions," "living environment," and "transportation" account for very high percentages, while reasons related to life events at young ages, such as "admission to school" and "obtained job" are also popular (Figure 5).

Focusing on the seven reasons with a percentage of over 5.0 points, the distribution of the age of household head is examined. For reasons related to "housing conditions" and "living environment," the "35-64" age group shows the highest frequency, but for other reasons, the "under 35" age group accounts for the largest percentage. These results for reasons for migration seem to reflect the tendency that households with "all members moved" are more conspicuous among young-head households (Table 20).

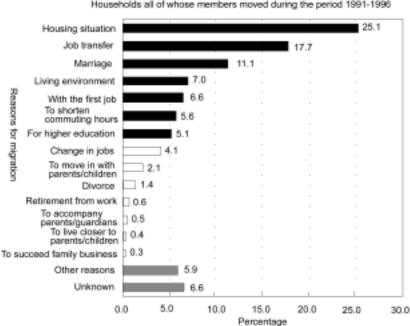


Figure 5 Distribution of households with different reasons for migration: Households all of whose members moved during the period 1991-1996

Table 20 Reasons for migration by the age of the heads of the houses: Households all of whose members had moved during the period 1991-1996

whose members had moved during the period 1991-1996							
Age of the heads of the houses	Total households	Under the age 35	35 to 64 years old	65 years old and over	Unknown		
Housing situation	918	28.3	65.1	5.0	1.5		
Job transfers	646	50.3	48.6	0.2	0.9		
Marriage	405	88.6	11.1	0.2	-		
Living environment	254	46.1	47.6	5.9	0.4		
With the first job	241	88.0	8.7	1.2	2.1		
To shorten commuting hours	206	75.7	23.8	-	0.5		
For higher education	185	94.6	4.3	-	1.1		

VII Migration of the elderly

1 Percentage of the elderly who lived at a different residence five years earlier

In the present survey, 5,813 respondents, or 14.4% of the total, are elderly people of 65 years of age or older. Table 21 shows migration rates of elderly people, i.e., the percentages of those who lived at a different residence five years earlier. Compared to the results in the 3rd survey, these percentages are lower in all age groups. For example, the percentage of total elderly respondents who lived at a different place five years earlier is 9.7% in the former survey, but only 6.2% in the present survey. As for the differences between males and females, the migration rate is higher for female respondents, while it is lower than that of the former survey for both males and females. It seems that migration rates of the elderly were also affected by economic recession, which has brought down recent migration rates in general.

According to age, the percentage of those who lived at a different residence five years earlier increases from 5.6% in the 65-69 age group to 6.9% in the 75-79 group, but after this age group, it decreases slightly. The same tendency can be observed for both maless and females. The present survey, like the former one, did not include those who lived in institutions (such as elderly care facilities) as objects of the survey. If data for these people are included, migration rates of the elderly would become higher especially in the older age groups.

Table 21 The percentage of those who lived at a different residence

5 years earlier: Selected years 1991, 1996						
Age	1991	1996				
65 to 69 years old	8.9	5.6				
70 to 74 years old	10.7	6.0				
75 to 79 years old	10.6	6.9				
80 to 84 years old	9.8	6.8				
85 years old and over	8.0	6.7				
65 years old and over	9.7	6.2				

Those who did not announce the location of their previous residence are not included.

2 Reasons for migration

Table 22 indicates elderly respondents' major reasons for migration to the present residence during the last five years (single answer). While there are some differences among age groups, the main reasons are "to live with/near children" (25.9% of the total elderly respondents), "moved with parents/spouse" (23.5%), "reasons related to housing conditions" (19.1%), and "reasons related to living environment" (8.0%). As for differences by age, "to live/near children" is more frequently cited by respondents who are 75 years of age or over (32.3% of the total elderly of 75 years old or over). The percentage giving this reason is a little lower in the 65-74 group (21.8% of the total elderly of 65-74 years old), and increases with age. "Retirement" is conspicuous in the 65-74 age group.

Table 22 Reasons for migration of older movers: For the period 1991-1996 (%)								
٨٥٥	65 to 69	70 to 74	75 to 79	80 to 84	85 years old	65 years old		
Age	years old	years old	years old	years old	and over	and over		
Retirement from work	9.1	8.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.2		
Housing situation	23.6	17.2	19.0	15.4	12.0	19.1		
Living environment	6.4	5.7	9.5	12.8	12.0	8.0		
To move in with children	17.3	27.6	27.0	35.9	40.0	25.9		
/To live closer to children								
To accompany parent/spouses	30.0	18.4	25.4	17.9	16.0	23.5		
For other reasons	10.0	10.3	11.1	12.8	20.0	11.4		
Unknown	3.6	12.6	7.9	5.1	0.0	6.8		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

3 Destination of migration

Table 23 shows the percentages of within-municipality moves of all migrations (those who lived at different places in the same municipality five years earlier/the total respondents who lived at different residence five years earlier). This table clarifies that the majority of the elderly migrations were undertaken within the same municipality (54.6% of all elderly movers). The percentage of within-municipality moves among elderly movers is considerably higher than the percentage among all respondents who moved (31.4%). This means that elderly movements are shorter distances compared to the cases in other age groups. In comparison to the results of the last survey, however, the percentage of within-municipality moves of the total elderly migrants decreased (61.7% in the 3rd survey). Trends according to age, or differences between males and females are not very clear.

Table 23 The percentage of older adult movers who lived

in the same municipal district as 5 years earlier						
Age	1991	1996				
65 to 69 years old	62.9		59.2			
70 to 74 years old	64.5		52.2			
75 to 79 years old	52.4		60.3			
80 to 84 years old	66.0		53.3			
85 years old and over	66.7		33.3			
65 years old and over	61.7		54.6			

Note: The proportion of those who lived in the same municipal district as 5 years earlier in 1996, among those who had moved during the period 1991-1996. Those who did not announce the location of the previous residence are not included

VIII Leaving home and migration

1 Experience of leaving home

The present survey asked household heads and their spouses for their experiences of leaving home, reasons, and ages when leaving home. Respondents with experience of "leaving home" are defined as those who left their parents' home and established independent households. Table 24 shows data on experiences of leaving home, reasons, and age when leaving home by sex, birth cohort, and birthplace (metropolitan or non-metropolitan area).

For males, the percentages with experience of leaving home are around 70% for those born before 1940. This is true whether they were born in the metropolitan or non-metropolitan areas. This percentage, however, exceeds 80% for those born in 1940 and after, and surpasses 90% for those born in 1950 and after. While data on siblings are not shown here, such an increase in the rates of having experienced leaving home, despite the increase in the percentage of the first son among siblings in the post-war period, suggests a growing tendency for even the first son to leave the parents' home and establish separate households, regardless of sibling relations. Females also show a similar trend by birth cohort, but their percentages for leaving home are higher than those of males.

2 Reasons for leaving home

Against the background of an increase in the rate of entering higher educational institutes, the percentages of those who left home for educational advance have been increasing for both males and females in the generations born in 1950 and after. This trend is more outstanding among those born in the non-metropolitan areas. In the case of males born in non-metropolitan areas, considerably high percentages for leaving home (60% strong) are accounted for by leaving home to get a job in the generations born in the 1930s and 1940s. In the generations born in 1960 and after, getting a job is still the biggest reason for leaving home, but admission to school comes to show a similar percentage ("admission to school" 41.3%, "obtained job" 44.5%). For females born in non-metropolitan areas, the main reason for leaving home changed gradually from getting a job plus marriage to marriage, and then getting a job increased. In the generation born in the 1960s, however, admission to school became the second largest reason following marriage ("marriage" 34.8%, "admission to school" 32.7%, "obtained job" 25.8%). These results indicate that influenced by periodic situations, reasons for leaving home have sharply changed among non-metropolitan born females. In contrast, females born in metropolitan areas show relatively simple patterns of leaving home. Getting a job and marriage altogether account for more than 80% of the reasons for leaving home in all generations born before 1950. In particular, the percentage for marriage is strong at 60%. In the generations born in 1950 and after, marriage still remains the biggest reason for leaving home. In any case, the percentage of metropolitan-born females who do not leave home until marriage remains at over 60% in all generations from those born pre-war to recent birth cohorts.

3 Age when leaving home

Factors such as postponement of marriage and increased accessibility to higher education, which gained momentum in the post-war period, play a role in prolonging the period of stay with parents and raising the age of leaving home. In general, the timing of leaving home is considered to be later for females, because more females stay with their parents until marriage. This tendency is more conspicuous among

metropolitan-born females. In the generation born between 1960 and 1969, for example, the mean age for leaving home is 21.5 for non-metropolitan-born females, but is 23.4 for metropolitan-born females. Children who do not become independent from their parents (or parents who do not become independent from children) are more prominent in metropolitan areas. Furthermore, it should be noted that because this survey only collected information on home leave from household heads and their spouses, the data for younger generations presented here do not contain data on youngsters who stay with parents but might leave home after the survey. Therefore, the age for leaving home of these recent generations may be actually higher than the present data (Figure 6).

(Men)	1 1)
								ge home st time
								22.2
Non-m								21.7
Met								23.2
Before								22.3
								23.0
1920 t								21.1
								22.1
1930 t								23.1
		70.2	29.8	15.7	42.1	29.2	13.1	23.7
1940 to 1949	1.364 816	1,170 85.8 644	194 14.2 172	19.2	754 64.7 293	107 9.2 175	80 6.9 77	21.9
	010	78.9	21.1	15.0		27.3	12.0	23.5
1950 t								21.3
								23.5
1960 t								20.8
								22.6

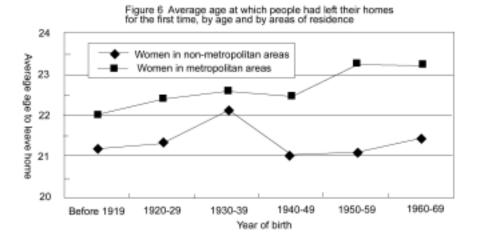
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Table 24 Experience of living apart from parents: The heads of the houses and their spouses

(Women) (Top: population Bottom: Percentage) Reason for leaving home Experience of living apart from parents Average age Total Year of birth when left home Other Higher Marriage population Positive Negative First job for the first time education reasons 3,302 7,763 6,839 924 1,007 1,997 471 Total 88.1 11.9 14.9 29.5 48.7 6.9 22.1 4,719 4,184 535 775 1,500 1,638 232 Non-metropolitan areas 88.7 11.3 18.7 36.2 39.5 5.6 21.4 3,044 2,655 389 232 497 1,664 239 Metropolitan areas 87.2 12.8 8.8 18.9 63.2 9.1 22.6 Before 1919 181 133 48 6 54 61 11 73.5 26.5 40.9 46.2 8.3 21.2 4.5 78 104 26 5 16 51 75.0 25.0 6.6 21.1 67.1 5.3 22.0 1920 to 1929 529 401 128 35 113 212 35 75.8 24.2 8.9 53.7 8.9 21.3 28.6 355 262 93 150 32 17 60 73.8 26.2 12.4 6.6 23.2 57.9 22.4 1930 to 1939 938 736 202 70 226 396 34 78.5 21.5 9.6 31.1 54.5 4.7 22.2 621 491 130 27 308 35 111 79.1 20.9 7.3 5.6 23.1 64.0 22.6 1940 to 1949 1,183 1,082 101 148 480 393 52 91.5 8.5 13.8 44.7 36.6 4.8 21.1 718 617 101 36 155 387 35 5.9 5.7 85.9 14.1 25.3 63.1 22.5 44 1950 to 1959 1,043 1,004 39 247 415 290 96.3 3.7 29.1 4.4 21.1 24.8 41.7 609 576 33 72 85 367 50 94.6 5.4 63.9 8.7 12.5 14.8 23.3 17 1960 to 1969 828 286 56 845 269 212 98.0 2.0 32.7 25.8 34.8 6.8 21.5 637 631 75 70 401 83 6 99.1 0.9 11.9 11.1 63.8 13.2 23.4



IX Residence five years ahead and reasons for migration

1 Prospects for migration in the next five years

For the first time in the series of Migration Surveys, the present survey collected data on the prospects for migration. It is true that there are quite a few cases of people moving for reasons that were unforeseen several years before (such as job transfer and marriage). Nevertheless, questions on the prospects for migration were included in the survey because it was considered that these data might provide effective information when we examine future trends of migration.

Concerning the prospects for migration in the next five years (residence five years ahead, to be precise), 20.5% of respondents answered that they would move ("would be in a different place five years ahead"). This percentage is lower than the actual rate of migration in the past five years (22.2%, the percentage of those living at a different residence five years earlier). As already mentioned, the migration rate in the last five years is lower than the one in the 3rd survey. Therefore, this result seems to indicate that the decline of migration will possibly continue in the future. It should be noted, however, that this decline in the migration rate of all respondents is mainly caused by declines in the age-specific rates in the 25-34 age groups (Figure 7, for comparison, ages of future migration are those five years ahead). Since 25-34 are the ages when people could not easily make plans for the future, the reliability and the stability of these results would not necessarily be high. Nevertheless, it is still noteworthy that such prospects for future migration are considered, partly, to reflect individual intentions such as "will not move," "do not want to move," or "do not think I will move," and that the prospects including such intentions point to a low level of migration in the future. Respondents in the 25-34 age group approximately correspond to the birth cohorts of 1965-1974. These cohorts maintain higher percentages of the metropolitan-born than adjacent cohorts. Because migration in Japan has been undertaken mainly by youngsters moving between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, this characteristic plays the role of decreasing mobility. In this sense, the prospects presented here are considered to be rational. As for other age groups, Figure 7 shows the possibility of increasing mobility in the 35-69 age groups. In particular, the difference in the 35-44 age group is conspicuous. People in these age groups generally change residences actively. It would be interesting to discuss whether their high mobility is caused by intentions to change residence or by more wide-ranging migration such as U-turn.

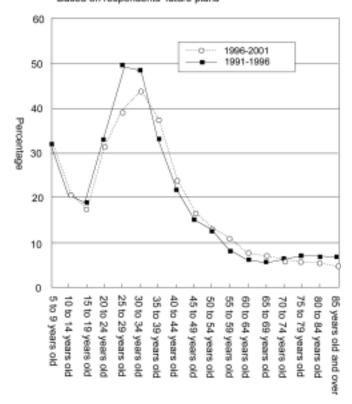


Figure 7 Possible moving rates for the next five year period: Based on respondents' future plans

2 Prospects for migration by region of residence

Figure 8 shows future mobility by the present residence. The highest rate of migration is 30.2% in Shikoku. The lowest is 14.0% in Chubu-Hokuriku. The rate in the Tokyo region was expected to be high, but it is 23.0%, ranking it third. The distribution of future residence (respondents who would not move are also included) shows that in every region, residence five years ahead is concentrated in the same region as the present residence. The percentage of those who remain in the same region is highest for residents of Tohoku (90.7%), and lowest for those of the Tokyo region (82.7%).

Patterns of migration in Table 25 show that the pattern most frequently chosen by respondents is "not decided yet" ("destination is not known" in the questionnaire, 33.7%). Certainly, there is a large number of people who could foresee migrating but do not know the destination. The other large categories are "intra-metropolitan" (27.3%) and "intra-non-metropolitan" (23.5%). When "not decided yet" is excluded and the percentages are recalculated for a comparison with the past trend, it is clear that there is a big difference in the percentages of moves between the non-metropolitan and metropolitan areas. Compared to the trend in the last five years, the percentage of moves into the metropolitan area is smaller, and that from the metropolitan area is bigger. It is difficult to determine whether this result should be interpreted as a trend of dispersion from the metropolitan area, or if this difference is caused by the nature of migration, i.e., return migration from the metropolitan area has definite destinations but the destinations of migrants who will move to get education or a job in the future are not yet clear. At least, it should be noted that even if one agrees with the latter opinion, this trend could be interpreted to suggest that strong metropolitan-oriented intentions in migration ("destinations must be the metropolitan areas") have been weakening. The issue here is whether opportunities are actually provided in the non-metropolitan areas in line with this change in intentions. In fact, there is a high probability that metropolitan-bound migration

would not decrease so considerably.

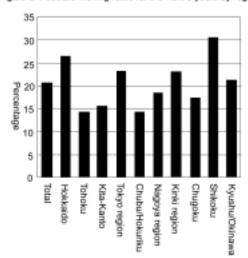


Figure 8 Possible moving rates for the next 5 years by region

Table 25 Future patterns in region-to-region migration

	(%)
- 4	$\alpha \alpha \alpha$

Migration pattern	1996-2001	1996-2001 (Unknown excluded)	1991-1996
Within a metropolitan area	27.3	41.1	44.7
Within Tokyo region	14.2	21.3	25.4
Non-metropolitan areas to metropolitan areas	3.0	4.5	7.9
Non-metropolitan areas to Tokyo region	2.0	3.0	5.2
Metropolitan areas to non-metropolitan areas	6.5	9.8	5.3
Tokyo region to non-metropolitan areas	4.6	6.9	3.5
Metropolitan area-to-metropolitan area	2.1	3.2	3.4

3 Reasons for migration

Table 26 shows characteristic reasons for migration in the future (13 categories). Since this tabulation is based on data of individuals, "moved with parents/spouse" accounts for the largest percentage (32.1%). Except for this category, the biggest reason is "marriage" (10.2%), followed by "job transfer" (8.1%) and "reasons related to housing conditions" (6.8%). When categories are summarized into several homogeneous groups, the percentages are as follows; "job-related reasons" 16.2%, "reasons related to housing and environment" 12.3%, "admission to school" 4.3%, and "to live with/near parents/children" 4.2%.

Table 26 Reasons for possible migration (%)									
	Total		Within	Non-metropolitan	Metropolitan	Within non-			
Reasons	population	Percentage	metropolitan	areas to	areas to non-	metropolitan	Not decided yet		
	population		areas	metropolitan areas	metropolitan areas	areas			
For higher education	353	(4.3)	10.2	14.2	2.0	14.7	54.1		
With the first job	520	(6.3)	17.9	9.4	7.7	16.2	47.9		
Change in jobs	126	(1.5)	15.9	9.5	13.5	27.0	25.4		
Job transfers	672	(8.1)	7.3	4.8	12.1	31.0	35.7		
To succeed family business	26	(0.3)	38.5	-	19.2	30.8	-		
Retirement from work	60	(0.7)	23.3	-	25.0	30.0	8.3		
Housing situation	563	(6.8)	48.5	0.2	3.7	31.1	13.5		
Living environment	274	(3.3)	43.1	0.7	13.1	17.2	25.2		
To shorten commuting hours	184	(2.2)	60.9	1.1	7.1	10.3	20.1		
To live with parents	288	(3.5)	44.4	1.4	12.8	31.6	5.2		
To live with children	56	(0.7)	41.1	8.9	7.1	32.1	7.1		
To accompany the head of the house	2,655	(32.1)	32.4	2.5	7.4	31.6	22.7		
Marriage	847	(10.2)	34.8	0.7	1.7	16.5	40.6		
Other reasons	241	(2.9)	25.3	2.5	6.2	21.6	40.7		
Total	8,274	(100.0)	27.3	3.0	6.5	23.5	33.7		

While it is easily imagined that migration patterns between (or within) the metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas differ by reasons for migration, what is characteristic in migration prospects is the percentage "not decided yet." The high percentages of this category are shown in "admission to school" (54.1%), "obtain job" (47.9%), "marriage" (40.6%), and "job transfer" (35.7%). Judging from the nature of migration based on these reasons, the high frequencies of "not decided yet" are understandable. Nevertheless, the percentage in "admission to school" is still outstanding. According to the data of migration reasons in the last five years, 30.7% of migration by "admission to school" were those moving from the non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas. Therefore, a large part of such "not decided yet" migration for education would end up in metropolitan-bound moves. It should be noted, however, that destinations of these potential metropolitan-bound migrants are "not decided yet," and that this again points to the above-mentioned weakening trend in the inclination for the metropolitan areas.

Lastly, since migration from the metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas has been gaining wide attention, the characteristics of the prospects for such migration are summarized. Reasons with higher percentages of "metropolitan to non-metropolitan" migration, compared to the actual percentages of such migration in the past, are as follows; "retirement" (25.0% in prospect, 1.7% in the last five years), "reasons related to living environment" (13.1%, 1.2%), "to live with/near parents" (12.8%, 7.2%), and "obtain job" (7.7%, 3.2%). These differences should be interpreted as gaps between desires and reality. The important point, however, is that orientation to non-metropolitan areas is at a high level. These data suggest an ample possibility of achieving such covert demands through various efforts such as creating better conditions and disseminating accurate information on non-metropolitan-bound migration.