

## URBANIZATION IN LOWER MYANMAR (1852 – 1941); AN OVERVIEW

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### Abstract

The population of Lower Myanmar was estimated at 1.43 million in 1852. Its population rose from 2,747,148 in 1872 to 8,917,733 in 1941. The main basis of urbanization in Lower Myanmar is the statistical records given in the Census Reports of Burma from 1872. The decennial census reports are available from 1872 to 1931 and a few figures from the 1941 census report relating to population of some large towns. The proportion of urban population to total population declined from 1881 to 1921. The urban population has been increased during 1921 to 1931 than previous time. Urbanization in Myanmar has been influenced by a number of basic economic factors. The pull of agricultural expansion dominated in the influence of urban development and the rate of urbanization actually declined. This paper outlines the demographic patterns and social structure of colonial Myanmar society in Lower Myanmar. In addition the decennial census of Myanmar undertaken by the British will be analyzed and interpreted.

**Keywords:** Demography, Census, Urbanization, Religion, Races, Lower Myanmar.

### Introduction

The urbanization process has been associated with other important economic and social transformations. Cities are important spatial framework that derives development and poverty reduction in both urban and rural areas. Urbanization is the continuous process of transformation from being of rural to urban character, and the continuous changes within the urban area itself as it grows by natural increase and by migration from other areas. Urbanization in Lower Myanmar is somehow different not only from the Western countries but also from the Southeast Asia countries. The census towns of Myanmar also included all municipalities and cantonments regardless of whether their population fell short of 5000 or not. In the absence of any precision in the definition of census towns, the term urbanization has a limited meaning in Myanmar. This study will discuss the socio-economic pyramid that was taken place during the colonial period. This paper outlines the demographic patterns and social structure of colonial Myanmar society as delineated by the dominant explanatory models of colonial Myanmar history.

### Research Question

To analyze why the importance of urbanization in the socio-economic development.

### Literature Reviews

Regarding the population figures, some historians have attempted a detailed examination of Myanmar population records. Michael Adas' important work of economic and social history, *The Burma Delta* is primarily a study of the development of rice industry in the delta area of Myanmar. Although this entails an examination of internal and international migration and some use of population statistics, it is not focused on the changes of population. J. Russell Andrus' *Burmese Economic Life* and J. F. Furnivall's *Colonial Policy and Practice* contain some facts on historical demography. R. M. Sundrum, whose paper, *Population Statistics of Burma* contains important historical references. *Disease and Demography in Colonial Burma* written by Judith.

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L. Richell emphasizes the demographic changes in Myanmar between 1891 and 1941. Maung Maung Lwin's *Burmese Urbanization; An Overview* and San Win's *Towards a New Urbanization Policy in Burma* studied the whole Myanmar urbanization. However, these publications did not emphasize the population figures and urbanization for Lower Myanmar.

### **Aim and Objective**

The purpose of this paper is to examine the social structure and social changes in Lower Myanmar during the colonial period.

### **Data and Method**

Based on the Census Reports and the Census Tables, this paper will be highlighted. An analytical method and interpretation method will be used.

### **Structure of the Paper**

The population of Lower Myanmar was estimated at 1.43 million, when the British occupied it in 1852 and the average density was only 19 person per-square mile. When the Maritime Provinces were amalgamated into British-Burma in 1862, the population rose to 2.201 million and the density was 27 per-square mile. The population of Lower Myanmar rose from 2,747,148 in 1872 to 8,917,733 in 1941, an increase of 224.61 percent per-year. The Lower Myanmar population therefore increased trebled during the 70 years period between 1872 and 1941. This growth of population during the pre-war period was mainly because of increase in natural growth, increasing efficiency of enumeration and the influx of non-indigenous races, mostly Indians.

With regard to the population returns, two features deserve special notice namely; the preponderance of agriculture in economic life of Lower Myanmar and the predominance of foreigners, particularly Indians in the urban life of Lower Myanmar. The local government adopted two main criteria in considering what constituted the census town in Myanmar. In general, all the settlements with 5000 inhabitants and above were treated as towns. But census towns of Myanmar also included all municipalities and cantonments regardless of whether their population fell short of 5,000 or not. It is therefore a matter of accident whether a community ranging from 4 to 6 thousand inhabitants was treated as a towns and a village.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of any precision in the definition of census towns, the term urbanization has a limited meaning in Myanmar. Based on these conditions, attempts will be made to present the historical and contemporary facts concerning urbanization in Lower Myanmar and to pose the problems raised by this phenomenon.

The main basis of urbanization in Lower Myanmar is the statistical records given in the Census Reports of Burma from 1872. The decennial census reports are available from 1872 to 1931 and a few figures from the 1941 census report relating to population of some large towns. The pre-war census included all settlements which had a population of 5000 and over. The growth of urban population in Lower Myanmar can be summarized as follows in the table. Table

<sup>1</sup> (a) *The Census of British-Burma, 1881*, Rangoon, government press, 1881, p. 28, ( Hereafter cited as *Census of British-Burma, 1881*)

(b) C.C. Lowis, *Census of India, 1901, Volume XII, Burma, part I, Report*, Rangoon, government printing, 1902, p. 14

(c) C.Morgan Webb, M.A, I.C.S, *Census of India, 1911, Volume IX, Burma, part I, Report*, Rangoon, government printing, 1912, p.16.

(1) illustrates urban population of Lower Myanmar and the changes in the percentage of urban to total population during the period between 1872 and 1931.

**Table 1 Urban population in Lower Myanmar (1871-1931)<sup>1</sup>**

Census Year	Lower Myanmar population	No. of towns	Urban population	Percentage of total population	Percentage increase
1872	2,747,148	20	357,648	13.00	-
1881	3,736,771	20	425,775	11.40	19.05
1891	4,658,627	25	540,672	11.6	26.99
1901	5,580,158	30	606,779	10.87	12.23
1911	6,932,830	43	775,261	11.18	27.78
1921	7,047,706	47	790,680	11.22	1.99
1931	7,967,855	54	1,045,341	13.12	32.21
1941	8,917,733	-	-	-	-

In the above table, urban population is taken as the population of cities each with population over 5,000. The table shows that number of towns increased from 20 to 54 and number of urban population increased from 358 thousands to 1045 thousand during 1872 to 1931. In this table, the proportion of town dwellers to total population was 13 percent in 1872 and 11.4 percent in 1881. In the later censuses, in spite of the increase in number and population of census towns, the growth of urban population failed to keep pace with that of the total population, so that the proportion of urban to total population fell from 13 percent to 11.22 percent during 1872 and 1921. These decades coincided with the peak period of extension of acreage under paddy cultivation in Lower Myanmar.<sup>2</sup> It can be explained by the fact that economic condition in Lower Myanmar pulled people away from towns towards the colonization of fertile lands. M. Shein gave explanation to this point as follow;

These two decades (1891-1911) coincided with the peak period of extension of acreage under paddy in Lower Myanmar and the most plausible explanation of the phenomenon is that economic condition pulled Burmans away from towns towards the colonization of fertile swamps.<sup>3</sup>

At the census of 1881, the urban population has increased in numbers but bears a less proportion to the dwellers in the country than in 1872. During the decade 1872-1881, many persons who have their houses in the towns are away trading or are employed in agricultural

<sup>1</sup> (a) *Census of 1891, Imperial series, Volume IX, Burma Report, Volume I*, Rangoon, government printing, 1892, p. 21 (Hereafter cited as *Census of 1891, Burma Report*)

(b) *Census of India, 1901, Volume XII, Burma, part II, Imperial tables, table III*, Rangoon, government printing, 1902, table III, (Hereafter cited as *Census of India, 1901, Burma, part II, tables*)

(c) *Census of India, 1911, Volume IX, Burma, part II, tables*, Rangoon, government printing, 1912, table III, (Hereafter cited as *Census of India, 1911, Burma, part II, tables*)

(d) *Census of India 1921, Volume X. Burma, part II, tables*, Rangoon, government printing, 1923, table III (Hereafter cited as *Census of India, 1921, Burma, part II, tables*)

(e) *Census of India 1931, Volume XI, Burma, part II, tables*, Rangoon, government printing, 1933, table III (Hereafter cited as *Census of India, 1931, Burma, part II, tables*)

<sup>2</sup> J.S Furnivall, *An introduction to the political Economy of Burma*, Rangoon, Cambridge university press, 1957, p. 5

<sup>3</sup> Maung Shein, *Burma's transport and foreign trade, 1885-1914*, Rangoon, Department of Economics, 1964, p. 17. (Hereafter cited as M.Shein, *Burma's transport*)

pursuits elsewhere at the time of census taken. A great part of the growth of urban population in this decade is due to immigration.<sup>1</sup> As regards the decade 1911-1921, the urban population in Lower Myanmar increased from 775, 261 in 1911 to 790,680 in 1921. But the percentage increase fell to 1.99 compared with the other decades. During the decade, 1921-1931, the urban population in Lower Myanmar increased to 1,045,341. It can be assumed that there has been some movement from the rural area to the towns during this decade. Regarding the causes of city growth, it can be pointed out that it may refer to the demographic question of whether the urban expansion is due to migration or to natural increase.

Over 75 percent of the urban population in Lower Myanmar lived in large towns of over 10,000 inhabitants, whereas the small towns, about double the number of large towns, absorbed the remaining urban population.<sup>2</sup> Many of the census towns were merely collecting and marketing centers for the agricultural produce of the surrounding places and also centers for distributing imported goods to the countryside. Thus, Census towns ranged from the large export and industrial centers on the one hand, to the purely agricultural or rural community on the other.<sup>3</sup> Table (2) shows the population of the largest cities whose population exceeded 5,000 from 1872 to 1931 and increased at each enumeration.

**Table 2 Fifteen Largest Cities in Lower Myanmar<sup>4</sup>**

Name of town	1872		1881		1891		1901		1911		1921		1931	
	Population	Rank	Population	Rank	Population	Rank	Population	Rank	Population	Rank	Population	Rank	Population	Rank
Yangon	98,745	1	134,176	1	180,324	1	234,881	1	293,316	1	341,962	1	400,415	1
Mawlamyine	46,472	2	53,107	2	55,785	2	58,446	2	57,582	2	61,301	2	65,506	2
Sittwe	19,230	5	33,989	3	37,938	3	35,680	3	37,893	3	36,569	4	38,094	4
Pyay	31,157	3	28,813	4	30,022	5	27,375	5	26,911	5	26,067	5	28,295	7
Patheingyi	20,688	4	28,147	5	30,177	4	31,864	4	37,081	4	42,563	3	45,662	3
Toungoo	10,732	9	17,199	6	19,232	8	16,146	8	18,546	8	19,332	8	23,223	8
Hinthada	15,307	6	16,724	7	19,762	7	24,756	6	25,052	7	23,651	7	28,542	6
Dawei	14,469	7	13,372	8	15,099	9	22,371	7	25,074	6	27,480	6	29,018	5
Nyaungdon	9,680	11	12,673	9	20,235	6	12,779	11	12,500	12	9,883	13	9,925	13
Shwedaung	12,654	8	12,373	10	12,424	10	10,787	13	9,021	14	9,108	14	8,408	15
Myeik	9,737	10	8,633	11	10,137	13	11,987	12	14,889	10	17,297	10	20,405	10
Paungde	5,630	13	6,727	12	10,233	12	11,105	14	12,104	13	14,154	12	13,479	12
Bago	4,416	14	5,891	14	10,762	11	14,132	10	17,104	9	18,769	9	21,712	9
Myanaung	5,636	12	5,416	15	5,489	15	6,351	15	8,331	15	7,793	15	9,072	14
Thaon			6,388	13	9,683	14	14,342	9	14,392	11	15,091	11	16,851	11

In this table the fifteen leading cities in 1931 are shown, together with their population and rank in previous censuses. It can be seen that there was considerable shifting up and down the scale. Yangon and Mawlamyine have always been the first and second places. Sittwe, Pyay and Patheingyi have changed places several times. Seventy years before in 1872, the largest cities had only 305 thousand inhabitants or 11.09 percent of the Lower Myanmar population. In 1931, the largest cities had a combined population of over 759 thousand or 9.52 percent of the total population in Lower Myanmar.

<sup>1</sup> *Census of British-Burma, 1881*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, Burma, part II, tables, table, III*  
*Census of 1891, Burma Report*, p. 21

<sup>3</sup> M. Shein, *Burma's transport*, p. 17

<sup>4</sup> *Census of 1891, Burma Report*, p. 22  
*Census of India, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, Burma, Part II, tables, table III*

Among the largest cities of Lower Myanmar, Yangon played an important role as a primate city throughout the history of Myanmar urbanization. Besides, administrative, commercial, banking and other socio-economic activities were concentrated in Yangon and it accelerated the rapid growth of population. Table (3) shows the population distribution between Yangon and all the other towns.

**Table 3 Population Distribution between Yangon and Other towns (In Thousands)<sup>1</sup>**

Census Years	Yangon	All towns	Percent
1872	98	357	27.45
1881	134	425	31.53
1891	180	540	33.33
1901	234	606	38.61
1911	293	775	37.8
1921	341	790	43.16
1931	400	1,045	38.28

It can be seen in the table that population of Yangon in 1872 was only 98 thousand and it increased more than four times in 1931. From around 1872, Yangon's population share became a little more than one third of the total population of all towns until 1891 and nearly half of the total urban population from 1901 to 1931. In addition, table (4) represents the dominating feature of Yangon as a primate city when compared with the secondary towns. Sittwe, Mawlamyine and Patheingyi were considered as secondary towns and among them Mawlamyine was the second largest town in Lower Myanmar.

**Table 4 Population distribution between Yangon and secondary towns<sup>2</sup>**

Census Years	Yangon	Average in secondary towns	Ratio
1872	98,745	28,796	3.42
1881	134,176	38,414	3.49
1891	180,324	41,300	4.37
1901	234,881	41,996	5.59
1911	293,316	44,185	6.64
1921	341,962	46,881	7.31
1931	400,415	49,754	8.05

It can be seen in the above table that the size of Yangon population was nearly four times that of the average size of secondary towns and it increased 6 times in 1901 to 8 times in 1931. Yangon population was also many times larger than the secondary towns and played an important role for the British-Burma in the colonial period.

One interesting aspect of pre-war urban scene in Lower Myanmar was the predominant character of non-indigenous races. Although no analysis of the urban population by races was made until 1931 in the census series, religious and racial differences coincided so closely that

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, Burma, part II, tables, table IV*

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, Burma, part II, tables, , table IV*

non-Buddhist urban inhabitants may be regarded as foreigners. Table (5) shows the religious distribution of population by census towns.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 5 Religious distribution of population by Census towns**

Religion	1901%		1911%		1921%		1931%	
	Actual	Percent	Actual	Percent	Actual	Percent	Actual	Percent
Buddhist	386,356	63.67	414,180	53.42	457,691	57.89	542,335	51.88
Animist	10,900	1.8	18,195	2.35	16,684	2.11	22,584	2.16
Hindu	138,102	22.76	179,600	23.16	111,601	14.11	353,598	33.83
Mohamedan	88859	14.64	113,474	14.64	130,247	16.47	146,495	14.01
Christian	25,137	4.14	35,930	4.63	41,110	5.2	55,536	5.31
Other	1,838	0.3	3,545	0.46	15,47	61.96	19,224	1.84

In the above table the relative share of Buddhist in total urban population decreased from 63.67% in 1901 to 51.88% in 1931, while other non-indigenous races such as Indians (Hindu and Mohamedan combined) increased from 37.4% to 47.84% during the 1901 to 1931 period. This decreasing share of Buddhist in urban areas is the main factor of downward situation in pre-war period urbanization. The dominating feature of non-Indigenous races in the urban population was more pronounced in the case of sea-port and industrial towns. Yangon, Mawlamyine, Sittwe and Patheingyi were considered as large port cities and Insein and Thanlyin were included in the industrial towns. Table (6) shows the religious distribution of population by type of towns in 1931.

**Table 6 Religious distribution of population by Type of towns (1931)<sup>2</sup>**

Religion	Six industrial and sea-port towns		Remaining 46 towns	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Buddhist	218,493	37.4	323,842	58.3
Animist	9,586	1.6	12,998	2.3
Hindu	191,287	32.8	162,311	29.2
Mohamedan	106,014	17.2	40,481	7.3
Christian	40,473	6.9	150,63	2.7
Other	18,016	3.1	1,208	0.2
Total	583,869	100	555,903	100

The above table shows that the share of Buddhists in six industrial and seaport towns was only 37.4% and it was quite lower than the proportion of Indians (Hindu and Mohamedan combined). But, in the remaining 46 towns the largest portion was occupied by Buddhists. This situation means that the urban scene of strategic towns in Lower Myanmar was completely dominated by non-indigenous races. This supports the point that the Indians dominated urban occupations and commercial and industrial life of Lower Myanmar. According to J.s. Furnivall, quoting from early administrative reports, "Already in 1861, the towns police were chiefly

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, Burma, part II, tables, table V*

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India, 1931, Burma, part II, tables, table V*

Indians. And a large number of natives of Indians are permanently settled in the sea-port and large villages<sup>1</sup>.

In the 1921 and 1931 censuses, the population was classified by race so that the foreign races could be identified directly. Before that, the population was classified only by religion, because that classification was considered the more significant one for Indian proper and applied to Myanmar also as Myanmar was part of the Indian Empire. The indigenous population is identified with the religious groups, Buddhists and Animists up to 1931.<sup>2</sup> Recognizing the importance of religion, the census authorities have included religious affiliation on the schedule of every census. Table (7) gives the absolute figures for each religion from 1872 to 1931. From a numerical point of view the only important religion in Lower Myanmar is Buddhism. The number of Buddhists increased from 2,447,831 in 1872 to 6,350,603 in 1931, an increase of 159.44 percent per year.

**Table 7 Population by Religion in Lower Myanmar (1872-1931)<sup>3</sup>**

Religion	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Buddhist	2,447,831	3,251,584	4,043,506	4,817,774	5,166,967	5,640,293	6,350,603
Animist	110,514	143,581	149,021	158,552	178,893	182,917	192,059
Hindu	36,658	88,177	142,522	245,984	329,870	399,670	450,698
Mohamedan	99,846	168,881	210,649	287,187	351,589	387,957	493,007
Christianity	52,299	84,219	111,982	133,619	180,953	188,745	258,479
Other	-	329	947	2,557	4,140	17,565	17,565

Table (8) gives the percent of the population in each religion from 1872 to 1931. It is derived from table (7) which gives the absolute figures.

**Table 8 Percent of total population in each Religion (1872-1931)**

Religion	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Buddhist	89.1	87.01	86.80	85.34	83.17	82.74	81.78
Animist	4.02	3.84	3.20	2.81	2.88	2.68	2.47
Hindu	1.33	2.36	3.06	4.36	5.31	5.86	5.80
Mohamedan	3.63	4.52	4.52	5.09	5.66	5.70	6.35
Christianity	1.90	2.25	2.40	2.37	2.91	2.77	3.33
Other	-	0.01	0.02	0.05	0.07	0.26	0.27

It can be noted in the above table that there has been a continuous decline in the proportion of Buddhists since 1872 and corresponding increase in the proportion of Hindus,

<sup>1</sup> J.S Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and practice, A comparative study of Burma and Netherlands India*, (London, Cambridge University press 1957)

<sup>2</sup> Sundrum, R.M., "Population Statistics of Burma", *Economic Research Project, Statistical Paper, No.3, December, 1957*, University of Rangoon, p. 22

<sup>3</sup> (a) Census of British Burma, 1881, p. 40.

(b) *Census of India, 1891, Imperial Table, Imperial Series, Volume x, Burma, Part II, tables*, (Rangoon, government printing, 1892) table VI

(c) *Census of India, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, Burma, part II, tables, Table VI*

Muslims and Christians. The decline in the proportion of Buddhists is not, of course, a decline in absolute numbers but merely indicates a slower rate of increase than the Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The large increase for Hindus and Muslims are mainly due to immigration. In the case of Muslims, inter-marriage of Indian Muslims with female indigenous races is also partly responsible for the increase of their proportion. The steady increase in the proportion of Christians from 1.9 percent in 1872 to 3.3 percent in 1931 is due to the conversions from other religions.<sup>1</sup>

In 1931, there were 54 towns and cities in Lower Myanmar for which data on occupations were obtainable. These towns were mostly places with more than 10,000 inhabitants. Only 7 towns had more than 25,000 and over in 1931. They had over 600 thousand people or 60.8% of the total urban population of Lower Myanmar. At the 1931 census, the population was divided into earner, working dependents and non-working dependents. Based on this classification, the occupational structure of the cities in Lower Myanmar can be examined. Table (9) indicates the general distribution of workers by occupation.

**Table 9 Distribution of Workers by Occupation (1931)<sup>2</sup>**

Occupation	Worker (earners & working dependents)	Percent share
All Occupations	3,390,602	-
CLASS A- Production of Raw Materials.	2,324,379	68.6
Sub-class I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	2,317,698	68.4
Sub-class II. Exploitation of Minerals	6,681	0.2
CLASS B- Preparation and Supply of Material Substances.	855,829	25.2
Sub-class III. Industry ... ..	325,650	9.6
Sub-class IV. Transport ... ..	150,320	4.4
Sub-class V. Trade ... ..	379,859	11.2
CLASS C- Public Administration and Liberal Arts	129,651	3.8
Sub-class VI. Public Force	14,075	0.4
Sub-class VII. Public Administration	27,663	0.8
Sub-class VIII. Professions and Liberal Arts.	87,913	2.6
CLASS D- Miscellaneous	80,743	2.4
Sub-class IX. Persons living on their income.	4,872	0.1
Sub-class X. Domestic Service	31,273	0.9
Sub-class XI. Insufficiently described occupations.	32,237	1.0
Sub-class XII. Unproductive	12,361	0.4

The above table shows that the number of workers was only 3,390,602 or 42.57 % of the total population of Lower Myanmar. In this table, the proportion of workers is given for each class and sub-class. It can be noted that 68.6% of the workers were engaged in the production of raw materials such as agriculture, forestry, livestock, fishery and mining. In particular, the agricultural sector accounts for the greatest share of 68.4%. With respect to the non-agricultural sector, the main industries were trade, industry (manufactures) and transport, whose shares are

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India, 1931, Burma Report*, pp. 207-208

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India, 1931, Burma, part II, tables, table V*



11.2%, 9.6% and 4.4% respectively. But these industries have a close relationship with agriculture and the great majority of occupations were directly or indirectly related to agriculture. According to the census of 1931, the number of workers in the Industrial sector was 326 thousand, which constituted nearly 10% of the total. This figure seems to be a little high due to the inclusion of a number of domestic workers. Public service and professions numbered 129 thousand, accounting for 3.8% of total workers. It can be concluded from the above table that the economy created during the colonial period was agriculture dominated.

The expansion and elaboration of Myanmar political and economic system under colonial rule and the ensuring creation of numerous new administrative, commercial, industrial, and agricultural niches attracted immigrants not only from the countryside but more prominently from Europe, India and China. The integration of Myanmar into British India triggered a steady stream of seasonal laborers whose journey was facilitated by the falling cost of steamship travel. Thousands of people came from the Indian subcontinent annually to work in Myanmar's paddy fields, rice mills, factories and docks. The colonial government and companies hired upper caste Bengali as clerks, and Tamils from Madras usually became household servants. The Chinese immigrants made their presence known mostly as trader but also as craft men.<sup>1</sup> Census data from the early decades of the twenty century indicated the distribution of workers of each racial group. Table (10) shows Race and occupational distribution of Lower Myanmar in 1931.

**Table 10 Race and Occupational Distribution of Lower Myanmar (1931)<sup>2</sup>**

Table (10) Race and Occupational Distribution of Lower Myanmar (1931)<sup>1</sup>

Occupations	All Races	Burmese	Other Indigenous Race	Chinese	Indians	Indo - Burmans	European & Allied	Anglo-Indians	Other Races
All Occupations	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
CLASS A-Production of Raw Materials	697	737	855	151	337	585	46	33	58
Sub class I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	695	737	853	121	334	584	33	30	57
Sub class II. Exploitation of Minerals	2	0.36	2	30	3	1	13	3	1
CLASS B.- Preparation and Supply of Material Substances.	239	208	114	788	517	324	495	486	683
Sub-class III. Industry	89	72	61	203	185	91	107	127	83
Sub-class IV. Transport	41	20	8	20	167	56	248	224	226
Sub-class V. Trade	109	116	45	565	165	177	140	135	374
CLASS C.- Public Administration and Liberal Arts.	39	41	24	27	53	47	400	378	185
Sub-class VI. Public Force	4	3	2	1	11	4	191	23	1
Sub-class VII. Public Administration	8	5	3	4	24	16	56	141	23
Sub-class VIII. Professions and Liberal Arts.	27	33	19	22	18	27	153	214	161
CLASS D. - Miscellaneous	25	14	7	34	93	44	59	103	74
Sub-class IX. Persons living on their income.	1	2	1	3	2	7	18	49	23
Sub-class X. Domestic Service	10	4	3	19	41	16	5	15	40
Sub-class XI. Insufficiently described occupations	10	3	2	6	46	11	35	33	8
Sub-class XIII. Unproductive	4	5	1	6	4	10	0.2	6	3

Table (10) shows that while the indigenous population of Myanmar was comprised principally of agriculturalists, Chinese and Indians specialized in trade and unskilled labour respectively. Europeans and Eurasians who specialized as clerical workers, technical experts and professionals clustered around the upper echelon of the socio-economic pyramid. The indigenous races, especially the Myanmar were very few in Industry, trade and particularly in civil services.

<sup>1</sup> J.J Bernisson, *Report of an enquiry into the standard and cost of living of the working class in Rangoon*, Rangoon, Superintendent, government printing and stationary, 1923, pp. 3-12,

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India, 1931, Burma, part II, tables, table, XI*

## Conclusion

Regarding the Urbanization in Lower Myanmar, the proportion of urban population to total population declined from 1881 to 1921. This decline is probably associated with the great agricultural development during the decades. Because of the agricultural economy, Lower Myanmar has always been predominantly rural. But, the urban population increased during the decade 1921-1931. The increased of urban population during 1921 to 1931 has been at a faster rate than previously. The urban population in Lower Myanmar has included a large proportion of foreign immigrants who have been predominantly male. Urbanization in Lower Myanmar has been influenced by a number of basic economic factors. In the early phase, the rate of urbanization was decided by the balance between the growth of commerce and industry on the one hand and the agricultural expansion on the other. The pull of agricultural expansion dominated in the influence of urban development and the rate of Urbanization actually declined. Population growth and urbanization are given sufficient attention in economic policy which must, necessarily seek to restructure the economy.

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