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1988

INDIVIDUAL MIGRATION AS A FAMILY STRATEGY: YOUNG WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES

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Discussion Paper Number 35
December 1987

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ABSTRACT

Migration behavior by individuals, migration decisions and migration outcomes are not neutral to the needs and constraints facing the migrants' families who stay put. In this paper we present and analyze evidence from the Philippines suggesting that the choice of migrant members and migration destination are largely determined by familial characteristics. We obtain several interesting insights into the migration process. The standard human capital approach explains the inverse relationship between the age of migrants and the propensity to migrate through the longer payoff period facing the young. However, we find that the young age of migrants is explained by their greater amenability to familial income needs and familial manipulation. This amenability also seems to explain the preference for daughters over sons as migrants. Likewise, the initial labor market performance of migrants is accounted for not, as in human capital theory, by migrants' low skill levels but rather by familial needs which mandate participation in labor market activities that secure certain if low short run returns.

I. INTRODUCTION

A major feature of economic change nowadays in Third World countries is the rapid growth of their cities caused by the in-migration of men and women from rural communities as well as by high rates of natural increase. In many countries migration streams to the cities have been dominated by men. Yet in many Latin American countries and in the Philippines women's migration to the cities is at least as prevalent as men's; in several other Asian countries the number of women migrants is growing more rapidly than the number of male migrants. However, the distinct migration patterns of women have not been examined in detail until quite recently. Most migration studies focus on the movement of men, with the assumption either that men are the decision makers in the migration process and women are tied movers, or, if women migrate alone, that they follow the same routes, are motivated by similar considerations, and experience the same consequences as do male migrants.

Recent work on women migrants has suggested that these assumptions may not be valid. In several developing societies women increasingly migrate alone.[1] Since women perform different roles than men in society, the economy and the family, the reasons for their migration may also be different. In many cultures daughters are under the control of their parents to a greater degree than sons are, and, correspondingly, the

migratory behavior of women may be influenced more than that of men by familial considerations.

Social scientists have tended to explain migration either through macro-oriented analyses of net flows between regions, or through the study of personal traits such as age, education, familial status, occupation, aspirations, attitude toward risk, etc. The human capital approach views migration as an action that an individual undertakes in order to increase the likelihood of reaping a higher future return on investments in human capital assets such as education and training. Yet to a certain extent, all migrants are influenced by the constraints, opportunities and objectives of people around them and in particular by the needs and resources of their families.[2] Under fairly general conditions, a desirable strategy of a rural family in coping with unstable agricultural income is to send a family member to work in the city. A large proportion of rural-to-urban migrants in developing countries are unmarried and remit a significant part of their earnings home to their parents, thereby reducing the income variance associated with work in agriculture. Because of their immediate need for more certain or additional income, families may be more interested in present earnings than in future prospects.

Reasons for migration may be thought of as forming a continuum from purely individual to family-dominated. Certain characteristics of migrants may allow us to estimate where on

the continuum the reasons for their migration tend to fall. In this paper, our main hypothesis is that in the Philippines women migrate for family reasons to a greater extent than do men. Furthermore, young women migrants are closer to the family end of the continuum than are older women migrants. The family needs which lead to migration may also help us understand why more migrants than non-migrants are in wage-earning occupations and why women migrants accept jobs which, while affording a steady short-term income, do not confer much long-term stability.

It is quite difficult to determine, let alone measure, the reasons for migration. In some studies migrants are interviewed and asked about factors impinging upon their decision to migrate. The notorious problems with this approach are that migrants may not remember all factors relevant at a previous point in time, may have changed their perceptions of the decision because of post migration experience, or may not be able to articulate the decision process. In this paper, family influence on the migration decision will be <u>inferred</u> from the relationship between family characteristics and migration by a daughter. For reasons to be specified below, we expect that family variables such as parents' education and occupation and the number of children in the family will be better predictors of the migration of daughters than of sons, and of the migration

of young daughters (aged 15 to 24) than of daughters 25 years and older.

II. WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES

In the Philippines a majority of rural-to-urban migrants are women, and a substantial proportion of the labor force is female. Our contention is that a significant part of the explanation for the considerable rural-to-urban migration by young women in the Philippines cannot merely be attributed to structural, macro-economic factors such as the nature of the light, labor-intensive industrialization and the rapid development of urban services. To a large degree, women's opportunities and roles in the economic sphere have been intricately shaped by the interplay of cultural and historical forces. Philippine culture has long recognized the independent economic role of women. In pre-Spanish times women not only worked in the fields and raised livestock but they also handled most of the trade.[3] This tradition of women traders continues in the present day with women in control of retail sales in market stalls and small shops. A woman's migration from home in search of work opportunities is thus perfectly consistent with the acceptance in Philippine culture of such economic roles.

The early colonization of the Philippines by Spain brought Christianity and with it a patriarchal structure of authority. The Spanish Code of Laws confined women to the home. They were

forbidden to transact business or to dispose of property.[4] The Christian teachings brought by the Roman Catholic priests included admonishments to women to be obedient, passive and pious. As will be pointed out below, this cultural shift has an important bearing on the extent to which implicit contractual arrangements between parents and daughters are likely to be honored.

The American occupation from 1898 to 1946 introduced public education for both males and females. Over time, this has been translated into educational attainment for the two sexes which by now is approximately equal.[5] On the whole, women are thus likely to possess the minimal human capital traits necessary to facilitate entry into the urban labor market. Women have also gained political and other rights, but these rights have not translated into similar pay for the performance of similar work.[6] Women can and do have access to urban labor markets, but the economic environment they face and the political factors underlying this environment appear insufficient to support or sustain severance of social and economic ties with their rural families.

It thus seems that <u>in comparison with men</u>, women's urban jobs are likely to pay less but reasonably well and be moderately secure in the short-run. It should be noted that if the urban job pays <u>too</u> well, the migrant may be able to save some income in the capital market of the urban economy in

addition to, or instead of, remitting part of the income and thus escape her or his dependence upon the family earlier than otherwise. Similarly, the migrant may not need to depend on the family if the urban job is too secure. (Clearly, though, if the job pays very badly or is very insecure the rural family may be required to support the migrant continuously - an outcome the family will surely regard as unfavorable). Daughters may thus depend on their families more than sons do because their jobs do not pay as well and are less likely to result in a long-term stable income stream. Once we add to these considerations women's strong devotion to their families and their considerable willingness to abide by the decisions of their parents, we can see the rationale of Filipino families who so often choose to send a daughter rather than a son to work in the city as a strategy for advancing familial well-being.

III. THE DATA SOURCES

Two national surveys constitute the data sources for this paper. The National Demographic Survey (NDS), conducted in 1973 by the Population Institute of the University of the Philippines, covered a nation-wide random sample of households selected with a multi-stage procedure that insures proportional representation of each region of the country. The subfile used contains information about each married woman who resided in the sample households, a total of 9331 women. Using personal

interviews, this survey collected information on place of residence at the time of the survey, eight years earlier, and at birth, as well as data on educational attainment, occupation and other personal and family characteristics.

The Status of Women Survey (STW), conducted in 1976, collected more detailed data from a smaller sample of single and married women and some of their husbands. The STW, in a two-hour interview, collected information on job history and migration history, along with education and family background variables. The nationwide sample consisted of 1,997 adults, 1,598 women and 399 men. The women were between the ages of 18 and 59 and the men were all husbands of married female respondents. Although only about a third of the population was living in urban areas at the time of the survey, half the sample was selected from rural areas and half from urban areas as defined by the National Census and Statistics Office. This was a deliberate attempt to adequately study women living in urban areas of various sizes. The sampling for rural areas was carried out in three stages. First, one province was chosen to represent each of 10 regions. (Western Mindanao was excluded from the study because of security problems.) Then the rural sample of 40 barrios was allocated among the sample provinces according to the size of the rural population in the region it represented. Specific barrios were chosen randomly. From each barrio, a systematic random sample of 20 households was drawn,

and one woman aged 18 to 59 in each household was randomly chosen to be interviewed. Five husbands in each barrio were also interviewed. The urban sample was divided into two parts: Large urban areas, (Greater Manila, Cebu, Iloilo, Bacolod and Davao) and smaller areas with populations of 10,000 to 50,000. The 50 sample barangays were distributed among the urban areas according to their population size. A different sampling fraction was used for the large and small areas so that an adequate sample could be drawn from the small cities. The barangays were chosen randomly, 16 households from each barangay were randomly sampled, and 16 women and four men were interviewed. Because of the different sampling fractions, data analysis was conducted separately for the rural, small and large urban samples.

IV. MIGRATION PATTERNS OF FILIPINAS

Filipinas are among the most geographically mobile of Asian women. Their high rates of migration and their predominance over men in rural-to-urban migration are confirmed by our data. In addition, the life history information shows that women are more likely than men to migrate as teenagers and that a good proportion of women's migration occurs well before marriage.

In the NDS, migration is measured by comparing place of residence at three points in time. Settled migrants are those who have moved between birth and 1965, but did not move between

1965 and 1973. Recent migrants are those who moved only in the eight years prior to the survey while frequent migrants are those who changed residence in both time periods. Respondents were divided into four groups based on size of place of residence at the time of the survey: Metropolitan Manila residents; those in large regional centers (the cities of Cebu, Bacolod, Iloilo and Davao, which have populations of over 200,000 each); people living in other urban areas, which will be referred to as "towns"; and those in rural communities.

Over two-fifths of the women in the NDS were migrants (42.6 percent). The majority of these were settled migrants (29.3 percent of all women), while 13 percent had migrated in the eight years before the survey (Table 1). There are significant differences in the proportion of migrants living in each of the four size-of-residence groups described above. While 64.7 percent of rural residents have never migrated, only 35.8 percent of Metro Manila women and 33.5 percent of women in regional centers have not migrated. Thus migration appears to feature in the lives of a substantial proportion of Filipinas.

The STW survey, with its migration history data, allows the measurement of migration at various ages. Most migration at very young ages is undertaken with parents. In order to examine mainly migration undertaken by women alone, or, after marriage, with their husbands and children, any change of residence before the age of 15 will be disregarded in this section.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of recent and settled migrants by current place of residence (1973 NDS)

	Current residence				
Migrant Type	Rural	Small town	Regional center	Manila	Total
Non-migrants	64.66	56.39	33.49	35.75	57.44
Settled migrants rural origin	19.39	23.97	33.72	41.06	24.11
urban origin	4.43	4.61	9.24	7.87	5.22
Recent migrants rural origin	4.62	5.80	12.93	10.01	6.02
urban origin	1.23	1.54	1.15	1.45	1.31
Frequent migrants rural origin	5.00	4.69	8.08	2.35	4.68
urban origin	0.70	3.01	1.38	1.52	1.21
Total (N)	100.00% (6001)	100.00% (1431)	100.00% (433)	100.00% (1449)	100.00% (9314)

Fifty-four percent of the women in the STW survey had migrated after age 14 (Table 2). Of these, over half, or 32 percent of the total sample, migrated between the ages 15 to 24, 13 percent migrated only after age 24 and 8 percent moved in both age brackets. The predominance of migration at young ages is especially true of female residents of Manila, half of whom migrated between the ages of 15 and 24. A large majority of these women migrated several years before they married and almost all were living with their parents before their move.

Table 2. Percentage distribution of migration before and after age 25 by current place of residence (1976 STW)

	Current residence				
Age at migration	Rural	Small town	Regional center	Manila	Total
15 to 24	26.6	36.5	35.6	45.9	32.4
25 and over	12.7	14.0	13.8	12.0	13.1
Both age groups	8.0	9.8	5.6	5.0	8.0
No migration after age 14	52.8	39.8	45.0	37.1	46.5
Total (N)	100.00% (798)	100.00% (480)	100.00% (160)	100.00% (159)	100.00% (1597)

V. EFFECTS OF FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS ON MIGRATION

Many Filipinas migrate at very young ages and the destination for a large majority of them is Metro Manila. It is our contention that the decision to migrate and migration patterns are often not purely individual but rather are determined by family resources and needs. There are several aspects of family life and economic conditions that might affect whether or not a daughter migrates. These include family income, parents' occupations, and other measures of the family's financial situation, which would indicate both the family's need for additional independent income from a migrant daughter, and the resources available to finance her move to the city.

Clearly, the benefits conferred by a daughter earning away from home need to be compared with the opportunity costs associated with her absence from home. The extent to which a daughter is needed for work in the family's home may be determined by the occupations of her parents as well as by the number of children in the family.

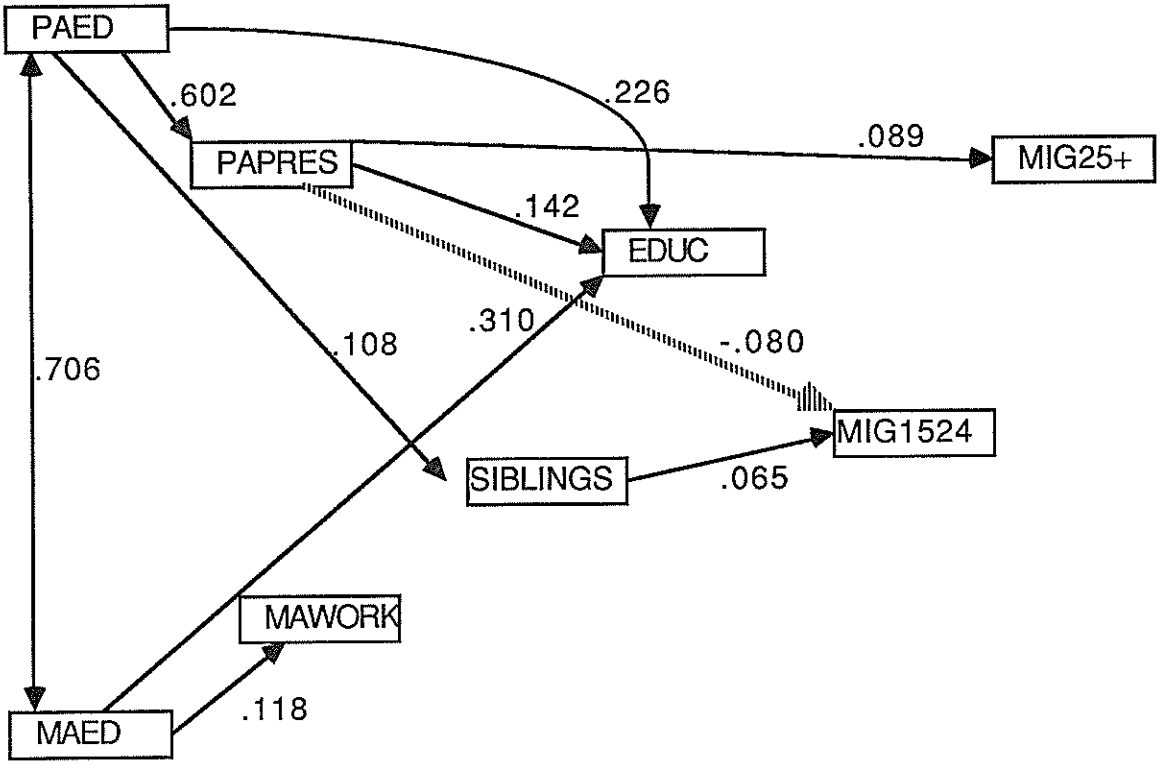
The socio-economic status of the family is indicated by the parents' education and the father's occupation, which is measured with a prestige scale developed for the Philippines.[7] The prestige score for each occupation was estimated using the average education, income, age and number of persons in the occupation, assigning each occupation a score from 1 to 100. Mother's work outside the home might be expected to affect the migration pattern of her daughter in two ways: a replication effect and an income effect. As she helps to earn the family's income, she and her husband may expect a daughter to also work outside the home and so may be more likely to send her to the city. The daughter may want to follow the model set by her mother and so may be more willing to accept a role as income earner for the family. However, when a mother supplements the family income, there may be less need for extra earnings from a migrant daughter.

The number of siblings may also play a role in the decision whether or not a daughter would migrate both because more children mean more mouths to feed and a need for more income, and

because a large number of children ensures that someone will be left to help out with work at home, even if one or several siblings move to the city. For both of these reasons it is expected that migrants would tend to come disproportionately from large families.

The STW contains information on the age of women at migration, and thus allows us to check whether the effects of family characteristics are different for younger migrants than older ones. In general, we expect that women who migrate between the ages of 15 and 24 will be affected most by family traits, indicating that their migration is more a manifestation of family needs than individual aspirations. A path analysis was used to measure the direct and indirect effects of family characteristics on migration before and after age 25. In the path model education is placed before migration, since the data indicate that few migrants continue their education after their move. Mother's work and father's occupation are measured at the time the daughter was 16 and so are also placed before migration.

The path diagram displaying standardized regression coefficients (Figure 1) shows that the two family variables which help predict migration between the ages of 15 to 24 are the prestige of father's occupation which has a negative effect on migration and the number of siblings which is positively related to migration. It is interesting that education, which is usually positively related to migration, does not have an effect on



PAED is father's educational attainment in years of schooling

MAED is mother's educational attainment in years of schooling

PAPRES is the prestige score of father's occupation

EDUC is respondent's educational attainment in years of schooling

MAWORK is whether or not mother was employed outside the home

SIBLINGS is number of brothers and sisters

MIG1524 is migration between the ages of 15 and 24

MIG25+ is migration after the age of 24

All displayed coefficents are significant at $\alpha = .05$

Figure 1. Effects of Family Characteristics and Education on the Migration of Women (1976 STW)

migration at young ages, although in the next figure we shall see that education does positively affect migration after age 24. That daughters of fathers with lower prestige occupations, who probably also earn low incomes, are the ones most likely to migrate helps support the claim that families in need of extra income send young daughters to the city. The number of siblings may also indicate a need for more income, as well as the labor supply available for substitution in farming or other tasks. When this path analysis is conducted separately for rural-born and urban-born women, an important difference is that the number of siblings has a strong positive relationship with migration for women from small towns, but an insignificant relationship for rural-born women. A large family may be able to find work for all its members on a farm, but in a town a large number of children may be a liability resulting in daughters' being sent to the city.

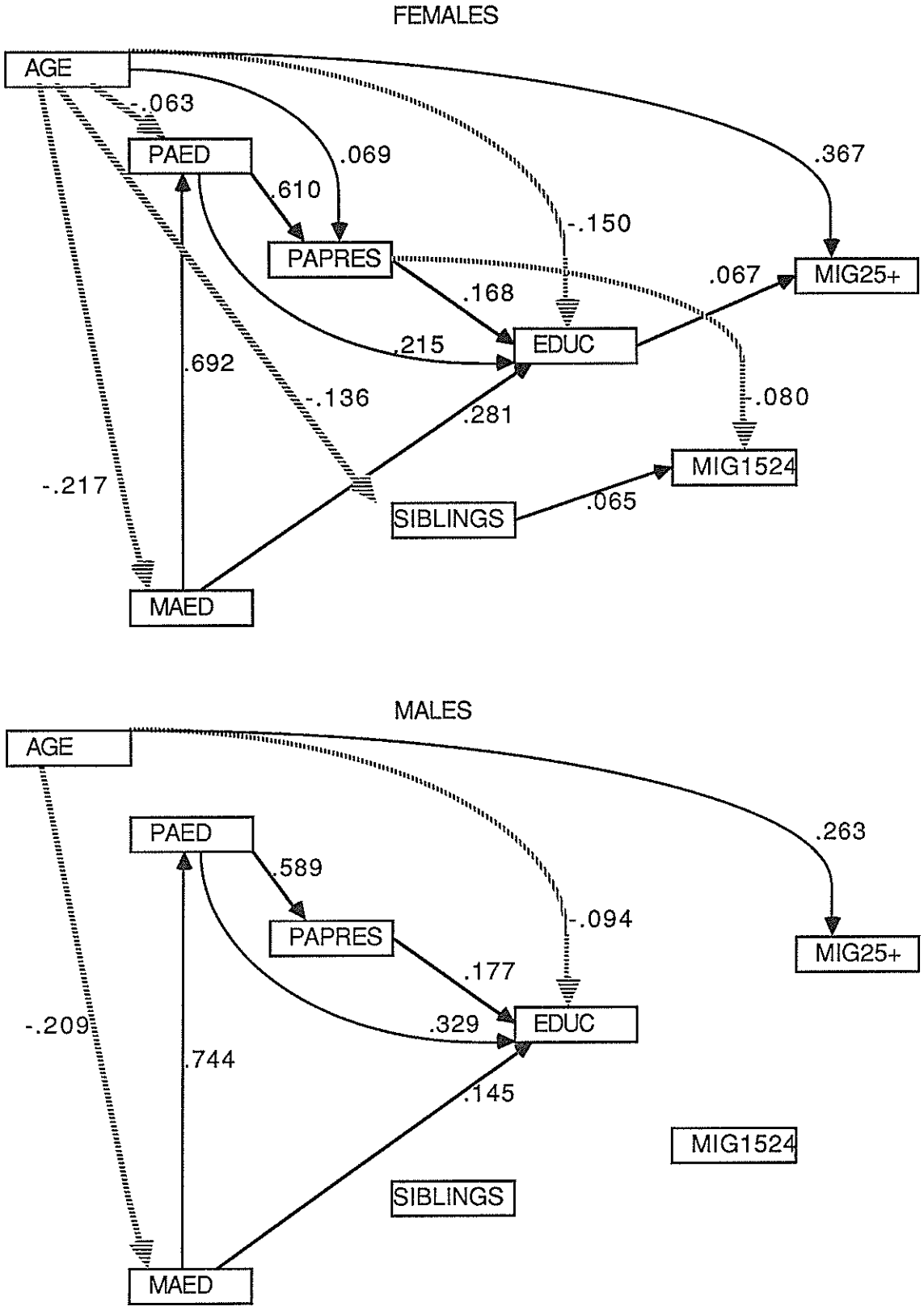
A mother working outside the home has no effect on her daughter's migrating. It may be that the positive replication effect on attitude toward women's work is offset by the negative income effect of increased family income. Mother's education does not have a direct effect on migration, but does affect her daughter's education, and this effect is stronger than that of father's education.

The relationships in the path diagram may be affected by the age of the women. Not only would age be related to increased

migration, but it should also have a negative correlation with education, as the schooling of younger cohorts has been increasing. The next diagram (Figure 2) includes age as an independent variable and compares the path coefficients for women and men.

In the previous diagram, migration after age 24 seemed to be positively related to father's prestige. However, when age is controlled this relationship disappears. As we might suspect, migration increases with age, simply because older women have had more years in which to migrate. The small but positive effect of education on migration after age 24 is also evident in this diagram.

The path diagrams show that family characteristics, especially father's occupation and the number of siblings, are related to the migration of daughters. It is our hypothesis that family characteristics are more important in explaining the migration of daughters than that of sons. The path diagram for the males in the STW sample supports the hypothesis, since none of the family variables are related to the migration of a son, either before or after age 25. While it would be preferable to test this hypothesis using a larger and more representative male sample, the results support the tentative notion that a daughter's migration is controlled by her family to a larger extent than a son's migration.



All displayed coefficients are significant at $\alpha = .05$

Figure 2. Effects of Age and Family Characteristics on the Migration of Women and Men (1976 STW)

VI. EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON OCCUPATION AND INCOME

Families may not only determine whether or not a daughter migrates but also exert influence upon the type of work she obtains when she gets to the city. This may contribute to the explanation of why jobs held by migrants differ from those of urban-born women, as has been found in a study of Asian women.[8]

Jobs can be divided into those that generate wages, unpaid work in a family enterprise and self-employment. While working for wages often indicates a job in the modern sector, there are also low-wage jobs in traditional service occupations, such as maid, waitress or shop assistant. Women who are self-employed often own their own small shop or are market vendors or dressmakers. These women may not earn a steady monthly income, but their jobs can relatively easily be combined with child care and housework and so are preferred by many married women. Unpaid family workers are women with the lowest personal income and the poorest chance for mobility.

No matter what their destination, migrant women are more likely than non-migrants to be wage earners (Table 3). This is true of migrants to rural communities as well as of those who move to large cities. We might expect that fewer migrant women would be workers in a family enterprise since many women migrate alone. Yet women migrants are also less likely to be self-employed. The differences are greatest in rural communities

Table 3. Percentage distribution of type of occupation by migrant type (1973 NDS)

Type of occupation	Migrant type				
	Non-migrant	Settled migrant	Recent migrant	Frequent migrant	Total
Wage earner	28.9	41.2	49.1	43.7	34.6
Self employed	46.5	45.3	35.8	43.7	45.3
Family worker	24.6	13.5	15.0	12.6	20.0
Total (N)	100.00% (2131)	100.00% (1106)	100.00% (226)	100.00% (190)	100.00% (3654)

where recent migrants are twice as likely as non-migrants to earn wages (41 percent for migrants versus 21 percent for non-migrants). Half of non-migrants and 38 percent of recent migrants are self-employed. In Metro Manila 70 percent of recent migrants and 74 percent of frequent migrants are wage earners, versus 67 percent of non-migrants and 64 percent of settled migrants. Settled migrants are more likely than recent migrants to be self-employed and their jobs are more similar to those of non-migrants. The effect of migration on type of occupation remains when place of birth and education are controlled.

There are several possible explanations for the fact that relatively more migrants are found in wage occupations, even after controlling for education and birthplace. One is the

young age of recent migrants. Young women are more likely than older women to be wage earners, while older women tend to be self-employed. Forty-three percent of working women aged 15 to 29 earn wages, as against 38 percent of women 30 to 44 and 26 percent of those 45 and over. Independent of education, age is a factor in the type of job a woman performs because of the rapidly changing mix of occupations in the labor market. When older women started to work there were fewer wage-earning jobs available, and so these women tended to be self-employed in craft or sales occupations. With the rapidly growing urban centers and increasing industrialization have come more wage-earning jobs and employers who readily hire young women with no labor force experience. However, within each age group, migrants are still more likely than non-migrants to earn wages. Thus age may explain the type of work only partially.

Another explanation, and one that is not so easy to test, is that self-employment may not be as accessible to migrants as it is to urban-born women. To be successful in one's own business may depend not only on owning some capital, but also on information and network capital, viz. having connections with prospective customers, suppliers, persons in authority, etc. This might explain why settled migrants are more likely to be self-employed than are women who have recently moved to the city.

Yet it may also be that migrants willingly choose to take wage jobs and the reasons that they do so may be the same as those that spurred their very migration: their family's short-run need for a stable source of income. If it is true that the family is instrumental in deciding that a daughter should migrate, it is probable that the family would also have a say in the preferred pattern of earnings and the kind of job the daughter undertakes in the city. If the family wants a quick and steady source of income, it may prefer the choice of a wage-earning job, and since it may expect remittances from a daughter (as well as willingness to remit) to decrease after a few years when she may marry and have other obligations, the family may not be too concerned with the long-run stability of the job or in the long-term chances for upward mobility.

While a majority of both urban-born women and rural-to-urban migrants earn wages, the types of jobs held by each group are often very different. The next table (Table 4) shows in more detail that the types of occupations held by women in Metro Manila are contingent upon their migration status.

Twenty-two percent of non-migrants but only 6 percent of recent migrants are professionals. Part of this difference is due to the young age of recent migrants. However, non-migrants are also more likely to be clerical workers and sales workers. Recent migrants are much more likely to be in service work, in particular domestic work as maids or lavanderas. Settled

Table 4. Percentage distribution of occupation of migrants and non-migrants: Manila residents

Occupation	Migrant type				
	Non-migrant	Settled migrant	Recent migrant	Frequent migrant	Total
Professionals	22.2	21.2	5.7	21.4	20.4
Managers	1.8	5.3	0.0	0.0	3.4
Clerical workes	20.5	15.9	8.6	14.3	17.0
Sales workers	38.0	27.4	25.7	35.7	31.6
Farm workers	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.4
Craft workers	11.7	17.7	11.4	7.1	14.6
Service workers	1.8	1.8	20.0	14.3	3.6
Domestic service	3.5	10.2	28.6	7.1	9.0
Total (N)	100.00% (171)	100.00% (226)	100.00% (35)	100.00% (14)	100.00% (446)

migrants, who have been in Manila for at least eight years, have an occupational distribution more similar to that of non-migrants, although they are more likely than Manila-born women to be in domestic service and less likely to be sales workers.

In general, recent migrants are found in the jobs requiring the least skills, yielding low pay. These jobs do not offer the prospects of upward mobility or advancement. Of 156 women who worked in domestic service in 1965, only 47 percent were still employed in any occupation eight years later. Of those who were employed in 1973, the large majority, 60 women, were still in

domestic service. Only 14 of the 156 had moved to other jobs in sales or crafts. Thus women who migrate to the city do not find many opportunities to secure a stable or prestigious job. However, if their migration is not motivated by individual aspirations, but by the short-run needs of their family, the basic concern would be to earn a quick and steady income. Thus, the next question to consider is whether migration indeed increases a woman's income.

The women in the STW earned an average of 231 pesos a month (Table 5). (At the time of the survey the official exchange rate was around 8 pesos to the dollar). While this seems like a small amount in dollars, it is an important contribution to the family income in a poor country where the average family income was under 600 pesos a month at the time of the survey.

Table 5. Mean monthly income by age at migration and current residence in pesos (1976 STW)

		Age at migration			
Current residence	Non-migrant	15-24	25 +	15-24 & 25 +	Total
Rural	152.65	167.04	155.35	138.50	155.66
Small town	293.06	290.78	320.42	431.61	315.44
Large city	187.96	191.57	266.60	246.75	208.05
Total	205.34	230.71	247.29	311.50	231.06
(N)	(270)	(202)	(105)	(66)	(643)

As expected, rural women earn less than urban women. However, it is surprising that women in small towns earn more on average than those in large cities. One explanation for this rather substantial difference (315 per month in towns versus 208 in cities) might be the larger numbers of migrants in large cities who dampen unskilled wages. Yet, when we compare the incomes of non-migrants only, the gap between small and large cities remains. In the towns more women are self-employed while in the large cities more are wage earners. Self-employed women, working in shops and as dressmakers, may not earn a steady income but tend to average a higher income than do wage earners.

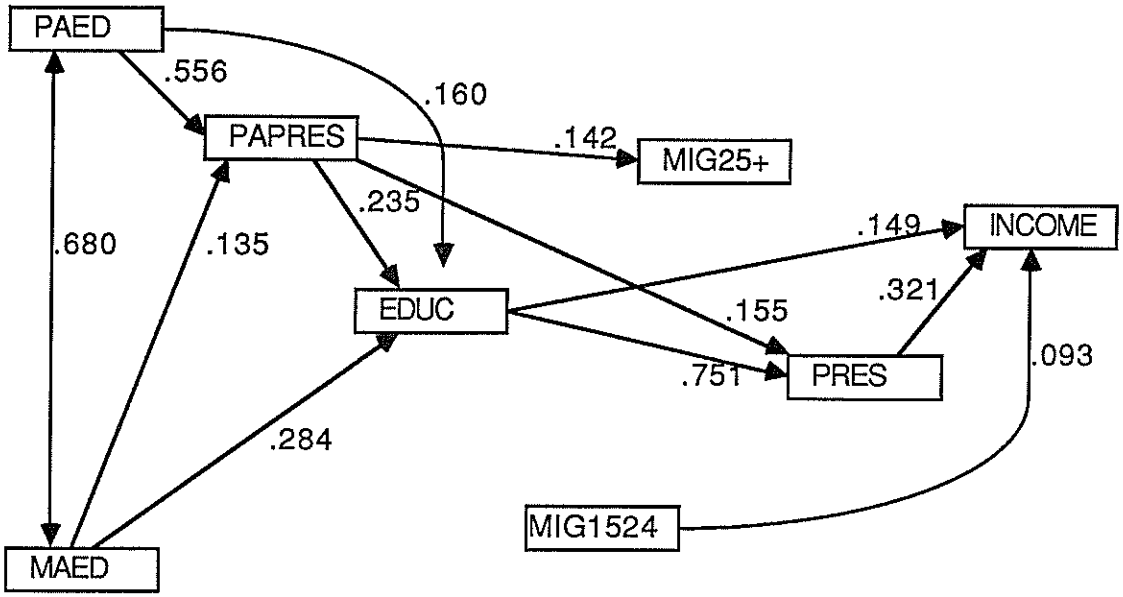
If women seem to do better in small towns than in large cities, earning higher incomes and holding self-employed occupations that easily combine with childcare and household tasks, why do not more women migrate to the towns instead of flocking to the large city? The small town "bundle" of opportunities would seem to better fit the personal needs of the migrants themselves. Yet the needs of the sending family may be better served by the opportunities for wage earning in the large city. That women who with equal ease can migrate to small towns end up in large cities in spite of the adverse effect this has on their own long-run employment and income prospects could constitute evidence in support of our family decision hypothesis.

Families send young daughters to the city to add to the family income. Our data indicate that migrants to the large city have a higher average income than rural non-migrants. Yet not only migration, but family characteristics, education and age also have effects on income. A path diagram will help to disentangle these effects.

The largest direct effects on income for rural born women are their occupation and education (Figure 3). There is also a smaller positive effect of early migration on income. With educational attainment and occupation controlled, women who moved out of a rural community at a young age earn more than those who stayed behind.

A similar path diagram for males shows that migration does not have an effect on income once education and occupation are controlled. This suggests that women get some special advantage from migrating to the city that men do not enjoy. Perhaps women, more than men, are underemployed in rural communities. In this case underemployment will be defined as not being able to work as many hours as desired. If women who move to the city are able to work longer hours than they would have if they remained in the rural community, this may help explain why they are able to earn more.

Especially in the large cities, there are appreciable differences in the hours worked by migrants and non-migrants. While urban-born women work 44 hours a week, all migrant groups



PRES is the prestige score of the daughter's occupation
INCOME is the daughter's monthly income in pesos

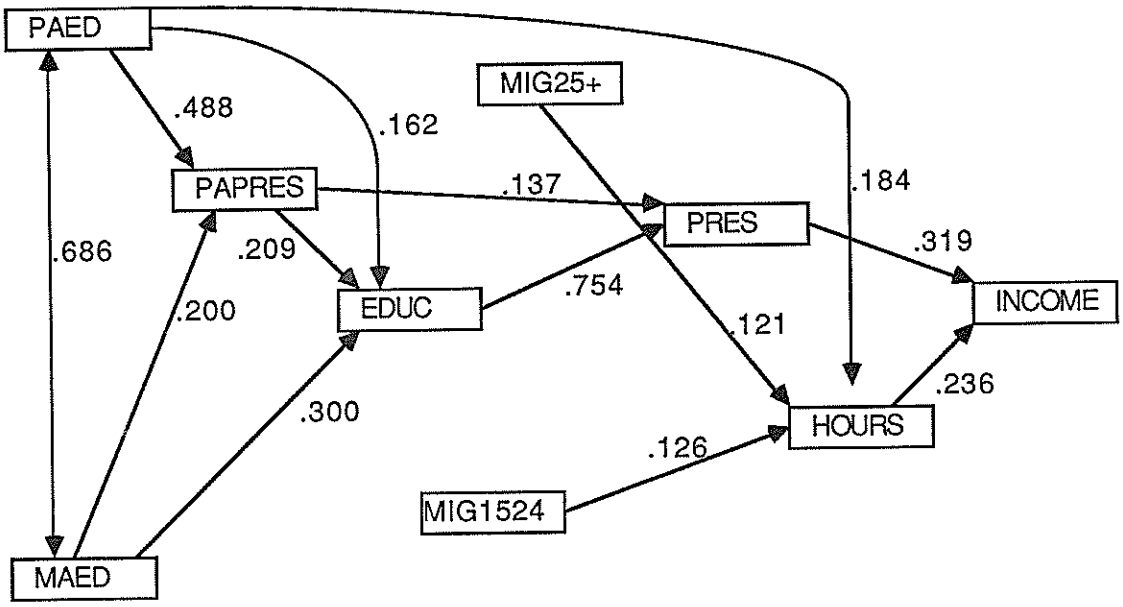
All displayed coefficients are significant at $\alpha = .05$

Figure 3. Effects of Migration on Personal Income for Rural-born Women (1976 STW)

work more than this, with recent migrants working 51 hours and settled migrants an average of 47 hours a week. Rural non-migrants work an average of 37 hours a week. Thus, on average a recent migrant from a rural community to the large city can expect to work 14 more hours a week than she did at home. This longer work week may explain the increased income that migrants enjoy.

The path diagram with hours added supports this explanation (Figure 4). When hours are controlled, the direct effect of migration on income disappears. In other words, migration both before and after age 25 increases the hours a woman works and this is what increases her income. Father's education also increases hours worked, perhaps because educated fathers have connections that help them find good jobs for their daughters. While father's education increases his daughter's income through increasing the hours she works, the daughter's own education affects her income through the occupation she enters.

To summarize our findings, there are three paths to a higher income. One is getting a good job, and for this a good education is important. Another path to a higher income is working longer hours, and this is the path taken by most migrants. A third path is the combination of a good job with migration and longer hours, which is the pattern of some older migrants. Young women migrants to the city do not get prestigious jobs or jobs that have high hourly earnings. They



HOURS is the number of hours worked per week

All displayed coefficients are significant at $\alpha = .05$

Figure 4. Effects of Hours of Work on Income for Rural-born Women (1976 STW)

do get jobs that allow them to work more hours a week than they would in rural areas, and so increase their income.

VII. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Even when an individual migrates alone, he or she may be acting as an agent on behalf of a principal back at home. In many cultures, the family is an especially strong unit that exerts influence over a daughter or son even after they are adults and have left home. In such cultures, the family can be thought of as an economic unit as well as a social grouping that transcends well-defined labor markets and geographical loci.

The foregoing analysis raises and partly addresses three questions: first, what are the factors which make it more likely that a family will send a member to the city, and second, why, in some societies, does the family usually choose to send a daughter rather than a son. The third question is what are the consequences of the family decision on the type of occupation and work history of the woman migrant.

A family will decide to send a migrant if there is a need for additional or more steady income, if the expectation that migration will confer such benefits is reasonably high, and if the opportunity cost associated with migration is low. In our analysis, father's occupational prestige is a rough indicator of the economic position of the family. Fathers with the poorest jobs are the ones who are the most likely to send a young

daughter to the city. The number of siblings in the family also reflects the income needs of the family and how easy it would be to substitute for the departure of a member. Larger families are more likely to send a member to the city.

But why is it that in many societies the family usually decides to send a son, while in the Philippines (and, for that matter, in many Latin American countries too) a daughter is the one most often sent? Part of the explanation may have to do with the work performed at home and the possible jobs available in the city. The work of sons on the farm and in craft manufacturing in the rural community may be more valued than that of daughters. In the cities, many jobs are clearly sex segregated. Jobs dominated by women include domestic service and sales jobs as well as clerical jobs and work in labor-intensive manufacturing such as garment production. Employers often prefer to hire women because they are considered to be more docile and compliant and can also be paid less than men.[9] There are, of course, jobs open to men, but many of these, such as construction work and labor on the docks, are seasonal and may depend on such factors as size of crop production and even the weather. Therefore, although women may earn less per day than men, their jobs are such that they may yield more certain income throughout the year than jobs held by men. This job stability may be strongly preferred by risk-averse rural

families seeking to minimize the variance associated with their income.

The likelihood that once migrating, the migrant member will share his/her urban-earned income with the family back at home could be of equal importance. Families in the Philippines may be willing to rely on daughters to supplement their income because traditionally daughters maintain close ties with their families of origin even after marriage. In addition, daughters are taught to be responsible family members, taking care of younger siblings, for instance, while sons are given more freedom and are expected to be more independent. Thus a daughter sent to the urban area can be relied upon to help support her parents and to aid in the education of brothers and sisters. Even though she might be expected to earn less, a higher proportion of her income is likely to be shared (remitted). Girls are taught to be responsible in their service of the family, and are dependent on the decisions of their parents concerning their education, work and even their social activities. It is no wonder then that the close ties between the daughter and her parents give rise to a causal relationship between the characteristics of her family and her migration pattern, while by and large the migration of sons is not related to family traits.

The choices that migrant women make concerning their work may be at least partially explained by the familial nature of

the migration decision. Migrants to large cities are found in different types of jobs than are urban-born women. They are in wage-earning jobs such as domestic service in which they earn a steady income to help support their families. They are less likely to be self-employed in occupations which might give them more stable employment throughout their lives, yet yield less or less certain income in the short-run.

The urban occupations that migrants hold allow for little upward occupational mobility, and they more often lead to unemployment after a few years. However, migration gives women the chance to earn more than they would have if they remained in the rural community. Migrants increase their income not by earning a higher hourly wage but by working more hours per week in the city. Thus migration is a solution to underemployment in the rural area and allows the woman and her family to make better use of her time.

Faced with declining income from farming and rural crafts, families in rural communities often decide to send one of their members to the city to earn additional or more certain income. Whom they choose to send will depend on the type of work that remains to be performed at home, what opportunities there are for work in the city, and who can be counted on to send home part of the urban wage. In the Philippines, it is daughters who can be expected to better meet the family needs, hence, it is they, rather than sons, whom the family entrusts with the

migration task. And it is not that females are inherently more mobile than males. The clue to deciphering the patterns of individual migration by sex may lie not in individual attributes per se but in the specific interactions of these attributes with familial objectives and opportunities.

NOTES

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