

FEMALE MIGRATION TO PHILIPPINE CITIES AND TOWNS: FACTS AND ISSUES

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the first urbanward move made by ever-married women aged 15-49 years who were interviewed for the 1983 National Demographic Survey. An analysis of the characteristics of rural-urban migrants and all other types of migrants was undertaken to verify whether the popular notion that rural-urban migrants are selective of the better segment of the population has empirical basis. Given the link between migration and urbanization, this paper also looked at the differential composition of migrants to towns and cities. Findings provide substantial empirical evidence that urbanward migration in general, and in migration to cities in particular, involve more young, single, and better-educated females. The findings also indicate that migrants are absorbed in the urban labor market in a relatively short period of time; there were improvements in financial status gained by the migrants. The existing rural-urban and inter-urban differentials in employment opportunities must be altered to achieve a more rational spatial distribution of the country's population.

INTRODUCTION

Movement from village to "town" or "city" within a country's national boundaries is characteristic of most developing nations today. It is only one of the many flows which partially account for urban growth; however, it is an important one since it implies unequal regional and sectoral development. It is often viewed as an important element of change and develop-

ment, and as such, has gained prominence in economic and social development planning in developing countries like the Philippines.

Interest in city/town migration dates back to the late sixties when the rural-rural frontierward migration dramatically shifted to rural-urban migration (Perez, 1983). More recently, however, intra-urban migration flows have exceeded rural-urban migration flows. During the period 1970-1975,

intra-urban migration accounted for 30 per cent of total movements. Rural-urban migration, on the other hand, made up only 18 per cent of total moves. Despite the observed decline in volume of rural-urban migration over the years, it still remains a significant item in the development agenda.

This paper addresses the need to unravel the complexities of rural-urban migration. It attempts to distinguish rural-urban migrants from other types of migrants, to examine the geographical distribution of the rural origins of urbanward migrants, and to differentiate the migrant to the "town" from the migrant to the "city".

DATA

The present analysis is limited to the first migration since age 15 of ever-married women aged 15-49 who were interviewed for the 1983 National Demographic Survey (NDS). The rural-urban migration being studied therefore refers to the first urbanward move made by the women respondents. Of the total 5,364 ever married women in the sample, about half (51%) or a total of 2,713 reported having migrated at least once since age 15. Of these, two in seven (28%) or a total of 754 experienced a rural-urban migration. Variation in total cases in the different tabulations appearing in subsequent sections of the paper is due mainly to the exclusion of cases of "no

information" on either row or column variables.

DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES OF MIGRATION FLOWS

Although precise data are lacking, one may very well arrive at approximations of the selectivity of migration through an analysis of the basic traits of migrants at the time of migration. An analysis of the characteristics of rural-urban migrants and all other types of migrants was undertaken to verify whether the popular notion that rural-urban migrants are selective of the better segment of the population, relative to other types of migrants (i.e., rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban), is true for the women sampled in the survey.

Age

The universality of age selectivity in migration is an uncontested fact. Data in Table 1 reinforce such a statement. While it may be true that migrants are generally young, they are disproportionately represented in the rural-urban migration stream. Close to nine in ten (87%) of the rural-urban migrants were in the young adult ages 15-24 years, with two-thirds found in the younger five-year age group. On the average, nearly three in four migrants of urban origin bound for rural destinations were in the same age

groups. Common to all these migrants, however, is the larger proportion at younger ages, i.e., ages 15-19. Estimates of mean age at time of move indicate that ruralward migrants were two years older than urbanward migrants. Of the two types of urbanward migrants, the rural-urban migrants (19.5 years of age) were younger at the time of migration. The effect of such movement on the age composition of the urban labor force is one demographic aspect of labor force growth deserving attention.

Education

Most analyses of educational characteristics of rural-urban migrants indicate that the rural out-migrants are better educated than those left behind

in areas of origin but may not be as educated as the natives in the destination areas. It is important that migrant educational characteristics be known in order to assess the impact that migrants will have on both origin and destination areas.

Information from the survey permits differentiation among various types of migrants in terms of educational attainment at the time of migration. Data in Table 2 reveal very little variation in the educational level of migrants. However, 4 per cent of the rural-rural migrants were unschooled. The corresponding proportion for the other types of migrants was about one per cent. Forty-three per cent of rural-rural migrants had completed elementary education at the time of migration. However, it is clear that mi-

Table 1. Per Cent Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Age Group at Time of Move and Type of Migration Stream

AGE GROUP OF WOMAN AT TIME OF MOVE (Years)	TYPE OF MIGRATION STREAM				TOTAL
	Rural- Rural	Urban- Urban	Urban- Rural	Rural- Urban	
15-19	44.9	59.3	47.3	67.6	56.7
20-24	29.3	26.1	26.6	19.8	25.1
25-29	14.4	8.6	14.0	8.9	10.7
30-34	6.7	3.9	8.0	2.5	4.8
35-39	2.9	1.1	3.0	0.9	1.7
40-44	1.8	0.6	1.1	0.1	0.8
45-49	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.2
ALL AGES	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	523	1023	447	706	2699
Mean Age	21.9	20.2	21.8	19.5	20.6

grants to urban destinations are better educated than the rural bound migrants. This is especially true for intra-urban migrants with over two in five (42%) having high school diplomas and at least one in ten (10%) with some college education. Moreover, it is worth noting that urban-rural migrants had a much larger proportion who were college educated than their rural-urban counterparts. One in fourteen (7%) urban-rural migrants had their college degrees. The corresponding proportion for rural-urban migrants was one in thirty-three (3%). This difference may be attributed to the hypothesis that most urban-rural migrants are essentially return migrants whose primary objective in moving to an urban area is to pursue higher education. However, for lack of appropriate data, this observation remains conjectural.

Another interpretation may be the easier accessibility to higher education by urban residents due to the concentration of better educational facilities in urban areas.

Marital Status

Recent female urban migration has been made independent of family migration since the women move as unmarried individuals. In earlier times, women formed part of a larger family migration where the family head, usually the husband, initiated the migration to the urban destination, followed by the wife and children. There is now substantial evidence that migrants to urban destinations are mostly single while migrants to rural destinations are mostly married. This is clearly borne out by data presented in Table 3. The

Table 2. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Educational Attainment at Time of Move and Type of Migration Stream

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	TYPE OF MIGRATION STREAM				TOTAL
	Rural-Rural	Urban-Urban	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban	
None	4.3	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.6
Primary	26.1	8.6	17.8	16.4	15.5
Intermediate	42.7	30.8	39.0	41.6	37.3
High School	21.6	42.2	28.4	32.7	33.5
Some College	1.7	10.5	6.3	4.6	6.6
College Graduate	2.9	6.8	7.0	2.8	5.0
Post Graduate	-	0.1	-	-	-
Vocational	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.5
ALL LEVELS	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	523	1023	446	703	2695

majority of urban in-migrants were unmarried at the time of migration. This is most pronounced among rural-urban migrants, with about three-fourths (75%) moving as single persons. Among the urban-urban migrants, the proportion migrating as single persons was lower (61%). In contrast, migrants to rural destinations were largely married at the time of migration. Two-thirds (67%) of the rural-rural migrants were married. Likewise, well over half (56%) of urban-rural migrants were reported married at the time of move.

The above observations imply some modification in fertility norms and behavior of unmarried rural-urban migrants after some exposure to an urban environment. It is in this context that rural-urban migration is often alluded to as a possible tool for fertility reduction. However, one has to pay equal attention to the rising incidence of adolescent fertility in the

towns and cities. Do these young, single female rural-urban migrants exacerbate adolescent fertility? Raymundo (1984) for instance, in her study of young and adolescent fertility in the Philippines, has explicitly expressed concern about the effect of urban exposure on the attitudes towards premarital sex of spatially mobile young single girls.

Main Activity Prior to Migration

Various studies have recognized that as an area undergoes development, the degree of participation of women in economic activities increases. In addition, the dichotomy in labor force participation between the urban and rural sectors is a manifestation of the spatial distribution of labor force activities. There is substantial evidence in Table 4 supporting such an observation.

Relative to other migrant groups,

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women Aged 15-49 by Marital Status at Time of Migration and Type of Migration Stream

MARITAL STATUS	TYPE OF MIGRATION STREAM				TOTAL
	Rural-Rural	Urban-Urban	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban	
Never Married	32.4	61.2	42.7	74.9	56.1
Married	67.1	37.4	56.3	24.0	42.8
Widowed	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.5
Separated/Divorced	0.2	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	523	1024	447	706	2700

rural-urban migrants appear to be the group with the largest proportion (33 per cent) without any economic activity during the last three months of stay in their previous residences. Similarly, 30 per cent of the rural-rural migrants had no economic activity prior to migration. By contrast, a larger proportion of migrants from urban origins to either other urban or rural destinations were working prior to migration. This is particularly true for urban-rural migrants, two in five (40%) of whom were working at the time of migration.

Another interesting difference between migrants from rural and urban origins is the proportion reporting housework as their main activity. An assessment of the data reveals that in general, migrants from rural areas had larger proportions engaged in housework prior to migration. This indicates the greater labor force participation of urban women. It is a known fact that

women in rural areas do not report what would in effect constitute economically productive activities in towns and cities. Moreover, sex role differentiation limits opportunities for gainful work in villages.

Occupation at Time of Migration

A refinement of the previous findings on the main activity of the migrants before migration is the occupational distribution of migrants who were working prior to migration. Two-sevenths (28%) of the women respondents who had ever moved were working. Information on their occupations reinforces the differences observed between migrants from rural and urban origins.

Table 5 presents data on the occupational distribution of migrants who had been working in their previous places of residence. It is not surpris-

Table 4. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Main Activity Prior to Migration and Type of Migration Stream

MAIN ACTIVITY	TYPE OF MIGRATION STREAM				TOTAL
	Rural-Rural	Urban-Urban	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban	
None	30.3	20.9	18.6	32.8	25.5
Working	22.8	30.3	40.4	20.0	27.8
Unemployed	1.8	1.7	1.3	1.5	1.6
Student	6.0	27.6	12.8	16.3	18.0
Housework	39.1	19.5	26.9	29.4	27.1
ALL ACTIVITIES	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	523	1025	447	706	2701

ing to find that migrants originating from rural areas were mostly gainfully occupied in the agricultural sector. Over one-third (36%) of rural-rural migrants had agricultural occupations. A slightly smaller proportion (31%) were similarly engaged among the rural-urban migrants. On the other hand, migrants from the urban areas were largely in the service sector. Close to half (48%) of the urban-rural migrants stated they had service-related jobs prior to migration. The proportion among intra-urban migrants in the same sector was 38 per cent.

The data substantiate the argument that the net impact of migration, especially on the demand and supply of labor, depends on the types of migration flows and socio-economic structures of the populations of origin and of destination. The data suggest a loss of ag-

ricultural labor in rural origins and a depletion of service workers in urban origins as a consequence of out-migration. Furthermore, such a finding leads one to question the possibility of absorbing rural women in the urban labor market. Less controversial is the defined sectoral distribution of occupations accompanying the development and maturation of the economy of a given area at a given time.

RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS IN FOCUS

Past studies on rural-urban migration in the Philippines have not adequately examined the differences between the migrant to the city and the migrant to the town. The 1983 National Demographic Survey allows finer analysis of the differentials between these two types of migrants. Of

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Main Occupation Prior to Migration and Type of Migration Stream

MAIN OCCUPATION	TYPE OF MIGRATION STREAM				TOTAL
	Rural-Rural	Urban-Urban	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban	
Professional	4.5	5.9	6.7	2.1	5.2
Administrative	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.3
Clerical	2.2	10.0	4.1	2.1	5.9
Sales	20.2	23.9	18.4	22.4	21.7
Service	17.3	37.5	48.0	18.7	33.3
Agriculture	35.7	6.8	9.6	30.6	16.5
Production	20.1	15.9	11.8	24.1	17.1
ALL OCCUPATIONS	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	119	312	181	139	750

the total rural-urban migrants, over three-fourths (76%) were migrants to the cities. It seems plausible to state that the urban growth in the country attributable to migration is primarily due to a concentration of migrants in cities rather than in towns. This situation warrants closer scrutiny of the composition of city and town migrants since the differential composition of these two types of urban migration flows has policy implications.

The ensuing discussion focuses on the differential composition of urban in-migrants in terms of basic socio-economic traits. Differences, if any, in the reasons for urban in-migration to the city and the town are likewise discussed. Most importantly, the dynamics of migrant absorption into the urban labor market are described.

Basic Characteristics

While migrants to urban destinations are mostly young, it is interesting to note that the migrants to the city are even younger than those who move to the towns or *poblaciones*. As gleaned from Table 6, 88 per cent of the city migrants were in the age range 15-24, with over two-thirds (68%) found in the age group 15-19, at the time of migration. In contrast, migrants to other urban areas of the same ages were relatively smaller in number. Only 78 per cent were aged 15-24 at the time of movement. Estimates of mean age at time of movement show that the city draws in younger migrants. The city migrants' average age on arrival was 20 years while migrants to towns were a year older (21 years).

On the other hand, there was only

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women Aged 15-49 by Age at Time of Migration and Type of Urban Destination

AGE GROUP (Years)	URBAN DESTINATION		
	City	Poblacion	Total
15-19	68.1	57.6	65.6
20-24	19.8	20.9	20.1
25-29	8.1	13.2	9.3
30-34	2.0	6.0	2.9
35-39	1.3	1.4	1.4
40-44	0.4	0.8	0.5
45-49	0.3	0.1	0.2
ALL AGE GROUPS	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	574	180	754
Mean Age	20.1	21.3	20.3

a slight difference in the educational attainment of the two types of migrants. But data in Table 7 clearly support the popular notion that migrants to the city are better educated than those bound for the *poblacion*. The proportions with intermediate and primary education among the city migrants exceeded the corresponding proportions among the migrants to the towns. However, the fraction of mi-

grants to the *poblacion* with college degrees was more than twice that of the migrants to the city.

The marital status of women greatly influences their labor force participation. Table 8 shows that although urban in-migrants are mostly composed of unmarried women, there are more single female migrants to the city than to towns. The difference amounted to 24 percentage points. In

Table 7. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Level of Education at Time of Migration and Type of Urban Destination

LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	URBAN DESTINATION		
	City	Poblacion	Total
None	1.1	1.6	1.2
Primary	15.9	22.2	17.4
Intermediate	43.2	35.7	41.4
High School	32.4	30.6	32.0
Some College	4.6	4.3	4.5
College Graduate	2.0	4.8	2.7
Vocational	0.8	0.8	0.8
ALL LEVELS	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	571	180	751

Table 8. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Marital Status At Time of Migration and Type of Urban Destination

MARITAL STATUS	URBAN DESTINATION		
	City	Poblacion	Total
Never Married	78.6	55.0	73.0
Married	19.5	44.8	25.5
Widowed	0.5	0.1	0.4
Separated/Divorced	1.4	0.1	1.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	574	180	754

the city the ratio of single to married migrant was 8:2; the corresponding ratio in towns was 5:4.

Most moves are associated with economic reasons such as unemployment in previous residence. About one-third (32%) of the migrant women recorded in Table 9 had no economic activity during the three months prior to their migration to either city or town. If they did have some activity, it was primarily housework. Only one-fifth (21%) were economically active. There were relatively more students among city than town migrants prior to migration.

Verification of the migrants' occupations prior to migration reveals little variation in the distribution of economic activity for the two types of migrants. However, professionals (4%) in *poblaciones* exceeded those in cities by three per cent. Moreover, data in Table 10 suggests that migrants to the city were better prepared for the

manufacturing sector as relatively more of them were in production-related jobs prior to migration.

Reasons for Rural-Urban Migration

Lee's (1966) theory on migration remains a basic tenet of most migration analyses. The 1983 NDS captures situations in both origin and destination areas that may reveal the positive and negative factors that stimulate or hinder migration.

It is clear from Table 11 that most moves, especially the cityward ones, were prompted by economic push factors at the area of origin. Among those with city destinations, over one-half (55%) reported economic factors as the main reason for leaving their previous residence. The corresponding proportion among those who migrated to other urban areas was 43 per cent. Family-related reasons ranked as the

Table 9. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Main Activity at Time of Migration and Type of Urban Destination

MAIN ACTIVITY	URBAN DESTINATION		
	City	Poblacion	Total
None	32.6	32.3	32.4
Working	20.9	21.6	21.1
Unemployed		1.5	1.0
Student	17.2	13.0	16.2
Housework	27.8	32.2	28.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	574	180	754

Table 10. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Occupation at Previous Residence and Type of Urban Destination

OCCUPATION	URBAN DESTINATION		
	City	Poblacion	Total
Professional	1.1	4.3	1.9
Clerical	1.9	2.1	2.0
Sales	22.6	24.9	23.2
Service	20.2	20.6	20.3
Agriculture	30.2	32.1	30.6
Production	24.0	16.0	22.0
ALL OCCUPATIONS	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	118	39	157

Table 11. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Reason for Leaving Place of Origin and Choosing Destination and by Type of Urban Destination

REASON FOR LEAVING ORIGIN AND CHOOSING DESTINATION	URBAN DESTINATION		
	City	Poblacion	Total
1. Reason for Leaving Origin			
Economic	54.7	43.4	52.0
Education-related	10.4	6.8	9.5
Family-related	14.5	19.4	15.7
Marriage	8.1	19.3	10.8
Housing	2.9	3.8	3.1
Peace and order	1.8	1.3	1.7
Others	7.6	6.0	7.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	573	179	752
2. Reason for Choosing Destination			
Economic	44.5	43.8	44.4
Education-related	6.5	6.8	6.6
Family-related	29.6	21.8	27.7
Marriage	4.9	11.5	6.5
Housing	11.2	7.9	10.4
Peace and order	0.8	2.8	1.2
Others	2.5	5.4	3.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	572	178	750

second most important reason for leaving previous residence.

Another interesting finding is that marriage as a reason for migration was more common among town migrants than among those city-bound (19% as against 8%). This is reinforced by data on reasons for choosing particular destinations. Five per cent of the migrants to the city said that marriage dictated the choice of the area of destination. The corresponding proportion among the migrants to town was 12 per cent.

Further analysis of the data on reasons for choosing the destination reveals the importance of the presence of a family member or kin being present at the destination area. Three-tenths of city migrants (30%) chose the particular destination because of "family" reasons. The analogous fraction among town migrants was 22 per cent.

Migration Decision-Making and Family Influence

In an effort to consider other factors influencing the decision to migrate, data on the pervasiveness of family influence in the decision-making process was gathered by asking the respondents who made the decision to migrate.

Table 12 records the differentiation between migrants to cities and to other urban areas. Although it is common for the respondents to have decided by themselves, a substantially larger proportion of city migrants (57%) made the decision themselves.

The corresponding proportion among the migrants to other urban areas was over one-third (37%). The strong family ties inherent in Filipino families is evident from the data as immediate members of the family,

Table 12. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Migration Decision-Maker and by Type of Urban Destination

DECISION-MAKER	URBAN DESTINATION		TOTAL
	City	Poblacion	
Myself	57.3	37.2	52.6
Spouse	13.1	35.2	18.2
Children	0.2	0.0	0.2
Parents	12.0	11.4	11.8
Siblings	6.4	5.9	6.3
Other relatives	8.6	3.9	7.5
Employers	1.1	1.1	1.1
Others	1.3	5.3	2.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	564	171	736

such as spouse and parents, also influenced the decision to migrate. The spouse and parents of both types of migrants played key roles in the calculations of benefits and costs of migrating. The role of the spouse, however, was more dominant among migrants moving to towns than among those moving to cities.

Besides immediate family members, relatives can also play vital roles in the migration decision. This is recognized by the individual potential migrant who relies on information about the potential destination from informal channels such as friends and relatives.

Ritchey (1976) observed that in general, research indicates that relatives and friends are the migrant's source of information about the receiving area prior to migration. There is substantial evidence in Table 13 to

show that perception of the destination was shaped by relatives and friends resident in areas of destination rather than by broadcast or print media. Nearly four-fifths (79%) and seven-tenths (70%) of the city migrants and town migrants, respectively, learned about their urban destinations from relatives and friends residing in such destinations. It is apparent that decisions as to potential destination points are biased in favor of that destination for which information is available from personal contacts. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the migrants to town had actually visited the place. One may infer from this observation that some urban migrants, specifically migrants to smaller urban areas or non-city areas, may be temporary migrants to the area or even be cyclical migrants with intentions of migrating seasonally, depending on the

Table 13. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Source of Information on Urban Place by Type of Urban Destination

SOURCE OF INFORMATION	URBAN DESTINATION		TOTAL
	City	Poblacion	
Resident relatives and friends	78.6	69.9	76.6
Non-resident relatives and friends	9.7	8.8	9.5
Mass media	0.7	0.0	0.5
Travel agency	0.8	0.4	0.7
Visited place	3.1	10.5	4.8
Others	7.1	10.4	7.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	555	169	724

urban labor market needs in non-farm activities. Recent evidence from Southeast Asian countries has revealed a considerable variety of movements, referred to as "circulation", usually characterized as being short term, repetitive, and lacking any declared intention of a permanent change in residence (Goldstein, 1978).

Relatives and friends have always been associated with migrant assimilation. Taeuber's (1970) study of family, migration and industrialization found that decisions and adjustments tended to be familial which facilitated the migration and minimized the adjustments to the new environment. The same observation is true among the women interviewed in the 1983 NDS. As gleaned from Table 14, over two-thirds (69%) received assistance from relatives and friends at destination. As revealed by data in Table 15, such assistance primarily comprised temporary shelter during the initial stages of the migrant's adjustment to a new setting.

Clearly, the function of the family,

more specifically the extended family network, is an important component of the migration decision-making process. It is understandable that people would choose to migrate to places about which they have information and where they can expect some aid or support in adapting to a new place. The assurance of aid and support in the new environment increases the expectation of success and therefore induces a potential migrant to make the move.

Migration and the Urban Labor Market

Current trends in urbanward migration are discussed in the light of the significant decline of subsistence farm production activities and the corresponding growth of wage labor in non-farm production activities. This reflects the shift from nonmarket-oriented to market-oriented migration patterns as evidenced by the predominance of rural-urban migration and the recent emergence of intra-urban migration.

Table 14. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Assistance Received at Urban Destination

RECEIVED ANY ASSISTANCE	URBAN DESTINATION		TOTAL
	City	Poblacion	
Yes	73.5	56.4	69.5
No	26.5	43.6	30.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	562	172	734

Ensuing discussions will shed light on questions regarding migrant absorption into the urban labor market. While studies have confirmed employment of

migrants in urban areas, few have dealt with the temporal aspect of migrant employment. Data in Table 16 show that most migrants found work in the

Table 15. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Type of Assistance Received and by Type of Urban Destination

TYPE OF ASSISTANCE RECEIVED	URBAN DESTINATION		TOTAL
	City	Poblacion	
Stayed with them	47.2	52.6	48.2
Assisted with money	2.2	7.2	3.2
Assisted in finding job	9.5	7.2	9.1
Assisted in finding accommodation	2.0	6.2	2.8
Assisted in actual moving	1.2	3.1	1.6
Stayed with them and assisted with money	16.1	13.4	15.6
Stayed with them and assisted in finding job	15.4	3.1	13.0
Stayed with them, assisted with money and in finding job	4.6	3.1	4.3
Stayed with them and assisted in actual moving	1.8	4.1	2.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	409	97	506

Table 16. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Employment Status Within a Month's Time from Arrival in Urban area and Type of Urban Destination

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	URBAN DESTINATION		TOTAL
	City	Poblacion	
Employed	54.1	42.9	51.5
Unemployed	11.1	5.4	9.7
Did not look for work	34.8	51.7	38.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	552	170	722

new environment within a month's time. While over one-half (54%) of the city migrants found work in a month's time, a relatively smaller proportion (43%) among town migrants were able to do so. A plausible explanation for this difference is the higher probability of employment in service-oriented jobs connected with the informal sector of the city economy. It has been commonly observed that urban in-migrants are over-represented in precarious positions as production or service workers in the informal sector. Their entry into low-status, low-income jobs is an offshoot of lower wage aspirations than those of urban natives. Moreover, the migrants' desire for security in an alien environment renders them more willing to accept low-paid work avoided by the urban natives.

Whether migration in effect results in a change in occupational status among urban in-migrants is another issue of interest. Table 17 reveals that

change in occupational status is more characteristic of migrants to the city than among the migrants to towns. Slightly over three-fourths (76%) of city migrants reported that their first job in the receiving area was different from the job they last had in their previous residence. By contrast, a larger proportion (54%) of migrants to towns stated that their first job in the town was the same as their job during the three months prior to migration. It is clear from such data that the segmentation and structure of the labor force in the city is far greater and diversified than what prevails in smaller non-city urban areas.

Implicit in this finding is the direct link between migration and labor force changes. One may even posit that the visible differentiation between urban and rural territories is an actual physical manifestation of differentiation of economic activities which in turn defines the individual's perception of occupational opportunities.

Table 17. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Difference or Similarity of First Job in Urban Destination and Last Job in Previous Rural Residence and Type of Urban Destination

DIFFERENCE/SIMILARITY OF JOBS	URBAN DESTINATION		TOTAL
	City	Poblacion	
Jobs Similar	24.0	53.6	30.2
Jobs Different	76.0	46.4	69.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	111	29	140

Benefits of Rural-Urban Migration

One argument in favor of encouraging rural-urban migration, a basic premise of most accommodationist policies of population distribution, is that migrants who have remained in the city or town are financially better-off than if they had continued to stay in their rural villages. Whether or not this is true for female urban migrants in the Philippines may be verified by asking the individual migrants to assess their incomes in their urban destinations as against their rural origins.

In general, urban migrants gained in terms of income as shown in Table 18. This is true for migrants to the city,

over three-fifths (62%) of whom reported their urban jobs as higher paying than their previous rural jobs. The corresponding proportion among the migrants to smaller urban areas was a little over one-half (52%). Among town migrants, 26 per cent reported no difference between their incomes before and after the move. The corresponding proportion among those in the city was about a fifth (19%).

Complementing the finding on the improvements in income of migrants, a question was asked if they had realized sufficient savings since they moved to the urban area. The data disclose that about half did have savings (Table 19).

Table 18. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Comparison of Incomes Before and After Rural-Urban Migration and Type of Urban Destination

COMPARISON OF INCOME BEFORE AND AFTER RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION	URBAN DESTINATION		TOTAL
	City	Poblacion	
Urban income higher	62.4	51.8	60.2
Urban income lower	18.2	22.2	19.0
No difference	19.4	26.0	20.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	110	29	139

Table 19. Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Women Aged 15-49 by Ability to Save and Type of Urban Destination

ABILITY TO SAVE	URBAN DESTINATION		TOTAL
	City	Poblacion	
Able to Save	50.3	54.0	51.0
Not Able to Save	49.7	46.0	49.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	362	80	443

To conclude, therefore, that rural-urban migration is beneficial because of improvements in financial status is to have unrealistic expectations about urban earnings. Furthermore, such private consequence does not reflect social benefit cost ratios, i.e., improvements in private earnings may not necessarily correlate with gains for society.

Rural-Urban Migration and Regional Development

The data set permits in-depth analysis of the assumed relationship between development and rural-urban migration. For this purpose, a separate analysis of the regional origins of female migrants to the City of Manila was undertaken, and the results are presented in Table 20.

It will be observed that Region VIII, comprising the relatively depressed provinces of Leyte and Samar in the Visayas, was the main source of female migrants to Manila. The rural sector of this region accounted for one-fifth (20%) of total female migrants to the city. Ranking second was Region V, another region made up of relatively depressed provinces such as Masbate and Sorsogon. Economic indicators presented in other studies reveal that these two regions have been identified as regions lagging in development. Using 1980 census data, Raymundo (1983) showed that among regions that have already experienced urbanization, these two regions had relatively low levels of urbanization of 22 per cent. One may surmise from this finding that

Table 20. Percentage Distribution of Regional Origins of Ever-Married Women Aged 15-49 Migrating to Manila, and Regional Levels of Urbanization in 1980

REGION	PER CENT MIGRATING TO MANILA	LEVEL OF URBANIZATION, 1980
PHILIPPINES	100.0	100.0
I. Ilocos	14.0	23.8
II. Cagayan Valley	2.7	15.5
III. Central Luzon	9.9	41.8
IV. Southern Tagalog	14.3	36.9
V. Bicol	14.9	21.5
VI. Western Visayas	12.7	28.3
VII. Central Visayas	5.5	32.0
VIII. Eastern Visayas	20.4	21.8
IX. Western Mindanao	1.1	17.0
X. Northern Mindanao	2.5	26.6
XI. Southern Mindanao	1.1	33.5
XII. Central Mindanao	0.9	18.8

out-migration from the rural areas of less developed regions to the urban areas of the more developed regions results primarily from conditions of economic stress at point of origin.

Further examination of the origins of the migrants revealed the relative importance of the volume of migration to the primate city from neighboring regions like Region IV. Pernia and Paderanga (1981), in their study of urban spatial development in the Philippines, had identified Southern Tagalog as part of a central industrial region which continues to grow due to a comparative advantage in industrial activity. Moreover, because of the diversification of economic activities, the areas of such central industrial regions appear to experience self-sustaining growth. The proximity of Southern Tagalog to the metropolitan region may be considered a key element in the significant share of migrants from this region to Manila. With better information about opportunities in the city and improved road networks linking the two regions, the female out-migration from the rural areas of Southern Tagalog may be considered a response to the pull of urbanization and industrialization forces in the City of Manila.

Overall, the data support the theory implicit in most migration-development paradigms that rural-urban migration will necessarily occur as areas undergo development.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

Findings on the differential composition of the migration streams provide substantial empirical evidence that rural-urban migration involves more young and single females than other migration streams. Moreover, urbanward migrants are differentiated in terms of probabilities of employment because of variations in educational qualification. Migrants from rural origins, being less educated, may not be able to compete with those from urban origins for jobs in the formal sector of the urban economy. Many observers have noted that employers tend to use educational attainment as a typical criterion for selection of their workers.

Differences in characteristics of the four migrant groups substantiate the popular notion that rural-urban migrants are selective of the better segment of the population than rural-rural migrants. The data likewise suggest that urban-urban migrants are a little better off than the rural-urban migrants. When viewed as a tool of labor force redistribution, migration occurs as an integral part of the equilibrating process of human and natural resources between developed and developing areas.

Analysis of the differentials between migrants to the cities and migrants to towns corroborates the congruence between place and people

characteristics observed earlier for migration stream differentials. City migrants are relatively younger and more educated. Further, the city draws more single girls than the town. In fact, most of the single women migrating to town were motivated by marriage.

Although migrants were absorbed in the urban labor market in a relatively short period of time, the improvement in financial status gained by the migrants may not be sufficient basis for concluding that rural-urban movement is desirable. The massive influx of young girls poses yet another dimension to urban problems, the rising incidence of adolescent fertility. While there is generally economic betterment among individual migrants, one should not be blind to societal costs and the burdens imposed by the migration of young single females to towns and cities.

It is also known that urbanward migration is predominantly towards the cities. This implies the need to redirect investments to other smaller urban areas to avoid the undesirable consequences of excessive migration to primate cities currently plaguing the country's urban development. Large agglomerations of population often entail numerous social costs and lead to breakdown of urban services. The growth of large cities and the prospects of their continued expansion magnifies the problems of income and development inequities inherent in primate urban patterns.

Once again, the crucial factor is the inequitable distribution of opportunities. Plans that would broaden the participation of women in non-farm production activities in rural areas appear justified. A flourishing agricultural base can support a network of decentralized, labor-intensive industries that would process agricultural products and produce simple, affordable goods useful to the populations in the rural areas. Until the basic factors causing wide rural-urban and inter-urban differentials in employment opportunities are altered, the tremendous flow of young single females to Philippine cities and towns will continue unabated.

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