

URBAN MIGRANTS AND OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE IN THREE COUNTRIES UNDERGOING TRANSITIONS

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Migration has been largely seen as a response to economic conditions at places of origin and destination. Within this perspective, both the decision to move and the choice of destination are determined by the perceived availability of better socioeconomic opportunities (Todaro, 1997); people use migration to improve their work status, either by obtaining employment if they had no jobs in places of origin, or by obtaining better jobs if they already had had previous work experience.

Yet research based solely on economic assumptions ignores the underlying structural forces that also affect the migration decision-making process (Rodenburg 1993: 274). Government policies, ecological factors, cultural norms, and a range of social factors may have direct effects on spatial mobility and labor force participation. Many less developed countries (like China, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and South Africa) have been undergoing major sociopolitical changes with accompanying transformations of the economic systems and shifts in the control on spatial mobility. In addition, environmental degradation caused by drought and leading to food shortages may also engender heightened levels of migration.

As a result of these various transitions and transformations, large numbers of persons have moved from rural areas to cities, often as unauthorized residents, for varied lengths of time, stimulated by the increasing rural pressures on resources and the perceived as well as actual urban opportunities (Anh et al. 1996; Yang and Guo, 1999; Goldstein, Goldstein, and Gu, 1993). Many of these migrants move only on a temporary basis; some circulate between rural and urban or between urban places. In the process, they help to transform the labor force from one that is overwhelmingly agricultural to one much more heavily involved in the secondary and especially tertiary sectors of the economy. At the same time, as urbanization levels rise, the potential pool of urban-origin migrants increases and urban-urban movement takes on greater importance.

A multiplicity of factors are involved in determining who moves, the choice of destination, and the type of move undertaken, and these factors are closely tied to the local and national context in which they are occurring (Massey et al, 1987; Findley, 1990; Richards, 1990). No single definition of temporary migration can fit the great variety of movements identified (Chapman and Prothero, 1985), nor can one be certain that what was initially intended to be

temporary does not, over time, become a permanent change in residence. The complexities of the role of permanent migration are therefore compounded by the simultaneous flow of temporary migrants (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996; Standing, 1985; Prothero, 1987). In some situations, one form of mobility may serve as the stimulus for the other; in other situations, one may substitute for the other (Hugo, 1982; Skeldon, 1990). Temporary moves may have dramatic consequences not only by increasing the absolute number of persons who move, but also by providing opportunities for women to enter the labor force and by altering gender roles within occupations. This paper will examine how various types of mobility are related to gender and to changes in labor force status and occupational distribution in three countries B Vietnam, Ethiopia, and South Africa¹.

Migration Status, Occupation, and Gender

In countries which have had strictly controlled population mobility, especially to urban places -- such as Vietnam, Ethiopia, and South Africa, permanent migrants often moved because the government decided their labor and skills were needed in various places around the country. Since all production and administration was government controlled, little occupational mobility occurred without government sanction. Free movement of permanent migrants and most temporary migration was very limited.

The introduction of a market economy could lead, as it did in China, to large increases in surplus labor in rural areas as a result of greater efficiency in agriculture and to the need for more service and manual laborers in urban places. Together with the relaxation or actual repeal of residence restrictions, the migration situation and the distribution of workers by occupational status is likely to change. Especially notable may be a surge in temporary migration, with such migrants apt to be less educated persons engaged in the provision of services, petty trade, or unskilled occupations. These changes probably affect men and women differently.

From the few studies that systematically compare the occupational mobility of male and female migrants, it appears that migration is more beneficial to men than to women (Findley and Williams, 1991). The common argument is that, because of gender-role socialization, which accords greater importance to men's careers (Shihadeh, 1991; Markham et al., 1983), men have more access to formal education and other job-related training and experience than women. As a result, migrant males have better employment opportunities than migrant females (Maxwell, 1988; Sandell, 1977). In addition, unlike men whose spatial mobility is usually associated with the search for better economic conditions, many women migrate for other than economic reasons or to supplement the earnings of their husbands (Thadani and Todaro, 1984).

This study examines the linkages between type of migration and changes in the work status of men and women. Following models that associate migration with economic considerations, we hypothesize that migration is associated with greater participation in the work force. But the magnitude of the change will depend on the type of migration, the characteristics of the migrant (especially gender), and government policy. We also recognize that contextual

factors, not directly examined in this assessment, including environmental conditions and levels of development, will have an important impact on the relations being measured.

In many societies, gender-role socialization creates occupational boundaries that limit women's access to the work force, especially in professional and higher income earning jobs (Ariffin, 1993). Nonetheless, migration, especially in societies undergoing economic, political, and social transitions, may enable women to join the labor force in urban destinations. Thus, even though migrant women may still hold less prestigious jobs than migrant men, we expect migration to break sex-occupational boundaries by increasing women's opportunities for obtaining employment at destination.

These complex relations have seldom been systematically researched. In particular, only limited attempts have been made to distinguish permanent and temporary migration and to measure their differential impact on labor force status and occupation. One endeavor that has focused on types of migration is the Project on Migration in Relation to Economic Change, Women's Status, Reproduction, and Health in Countries Undergoing Economic, Political, and Demographic Transitions. The project was sponsored by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in Vietnam, Ethiopia, and Guatemala, and by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation in South Africaⁱⁱ. This paper reports some of the results of that project.

The Settings

Despite their quite disparate levels of development and strong cultural differences, all three countries in the project have recently undergone economic, social, and political transitions. Vietnam, where the project was initiated, underwent economic restructuring (*Doi Moi*) in 1986, which transformed the economy from one that was strictly planned to one that was market-oriented and open to joint ventures with foreign investors. In the period before *Doi Moi*, the planned economy emphasized gender equality and strong control of spatial movement. After 1986, when individual entrepreneurs were able to make their own decisions about hiring and when controls on movement were relaxed, migration, especially in the form of temporary mobility, increased rapidly as people moved to urban areas in search of employment (Dang, 1999). Between 1986 and the time of the survey in 1997, two periods are distinguishable. The first, 1986-91, was a time of rapid development of small, individual enterprises. During 1992-97, more emphasis was placed on foreign investment and larger joint enterprises requiring a more skilled labor force.

Ethiopia has also experienced a number of demographic, social, political, and environmental changes that are conducive to heightened levels of migration. Since the mid-1970s, Ethiopia has experienced two periods of economic reforms, related to changes in its form of government. Its economy was restructured in the 1970s to a socialist regime (commonly referred to as the *Dergue*), and again in the early 1990s from an economy that was centrally planned to one that is market oriented. The 1970s, in particular, were characterized by widespread military campaigns (Lindstrom and Berhanu, 1999; Webb and von Braun, 1994; Rahmato, 1994) that created large migration flows. Environmental conditions in the late 1980s

and early 1990s were also unstable, with civil unrest and periods of severe drought leading to widespread famines in various parts of the country (1984-91). Population mobility in this period heavily involved rural-to-rural migration, much of it forced by government policies. With the overthrow of the *Dergue* in 1991, a more stable period characterized Ethiopia, with a return to a market-oriented economy, greater stability in rural areas, and fewer incidents of civil unrest. During this time (1992-98), we would therefore expect a decline in permanent migration from rural to urban areas. Yet, temporary migration may have increased because persons making only a subsistence living in rural areas may have sought opportunities to augment their income with urban jobs while still retaining their land and considering their village their usual place of residence.

In South Africa, the period beginning in 1986 and continuing into the 1990s saw the dismantling of apartheid, the abrogation of the Pass Laws, and the abolition of the homelands, as well as establishment of a black government in 1994. All these changes are associated with changes in migration patterns, with heightened migration in 1986-94, followed by greater stability in 1995-99. Yet migration patterns in South Africa differ from those in most developing countries because almost 65 percent of the South African population is already urban. The 1990s have therefore seen an increase in intra- and inter-urban migration, especially among the non-black population. Blacks, on the other hand, are increasingly moving out of the townships surrounding cities into the open spaces in the cities themselves. At the same time, many black men commute on a weekly or monthly basis to their urban workplaces while leaving their families in rural villages or small towns. These "rural" households are thus not dependent on farm income, but rather on the wages some of their members earn in cities.

Sources of Data

To gain insights into the relation between types of migration, the transitions occurring in each country, and individual characteristics, field surveys were undertaken in each country. Migrants were broadly divided into three groups: non-migrants, permanent migrants, and temporary migrants. The exact definitions varied somewhat to take account of national differences, but in each country, non-migrants were persons who resided at the time of the survey in their place of birth. In general, permanent migrants had been living at place of survey for some time and considered themselves settled at that location. Temporary migrants were more likely recent in-migrants and thought of their home place as elsewhereⁱⁱⁱ.

The surveys were designed to provide coverage of non-migrants, and each type of migrant. In Vietnam and Ethiopia, the surveys included large, medium, and small cities and rural areas. In urban areas, a multi-stage selection process was used: sample areas and households were selected randomly^{iv}. Within households, individual respondents were chosen by quota on the basis of their migration status, as identified in the household screener. This was done to ensure that adequate numbers of each type of migrant were obtained for analysis. As a result, the data cannot provide estimates of the relative numbers of each kind of migrant. Rural areas were chosen purposively to provide information on high in- and out-migration areas; households and individuals were chosen randomly within these rural locations.

In Vietnam, the survey was undertaken in 1997 in specified locations in six provinces, including four urban and two rural areas. A total of 1847 households were included in the sample, and -- since more than one person could serve as an individual respondent per household -- 2502 individual respondents were interviewed. In Ethiopia, the five most populous regions of the country were included in the survey, undertaken in 1998. In each region, an urban and a rural location were sampled, for a total of 1616 households, yielding 2500 individual respondents.

The survey in South Africa was designed somewhat differently. It focused exclusively on the black population and research resources allowed a national random sample. The sample included 56 locations; it encompassed 2363 households, in each of which one person served as respondent. The survey thus covered the full range of urban and rural places, including formal and informal urban locations, tribal villages, and farms. The resulting data can be used to provide estimates of the prevalence of various migration types within the black population. The survey was undertaken in South Africa in 1999-2000.

The data sets from these three countries, while differing in some details, provide a broad basis for comparative cross-national analyses. In each country, the focus has been on understanding the dynamics of the migration process and the differences between various forms of migration. Similar background characteristics were collected for all the respondents as well as full migration histories.

In the following analysis, our data will be restricted to respondents living in urban places at the time of the survey. Rural residents are excluded because few of them are temporary migrants and because in Vietnam and Ethiopia rural persons are largely farmers who do not change their occupation if they move from one rural location to another. We begin with a brief description of the characteristics of the samples and how these differ across countries and by migration status^v. Attention then turns to whether and how permanent and temporary migration is associated with obtaining/continuing employment and whether the patterns differ for women and men. Finally we will turn to analysis of occupational differences to determine if gender differences in occupations change in relation to migration.

Characteristics of the Sample Population

The urban populations of the three countries being compared in this analysis -- Ethiopia, South Africa, and Vietnam -- differ in their socio-demographic composition, reflecting variations in their underlying demographic situations as well as differences on how the urban samples were selected. Differences extend both to within-country and comparisons of the non-migrant, permanent migrant, and temporary migrant segments of the urban population and the cross-country comparisons of similar migrant status groups. It is important to note such differences before proceeding to the assessment of the relation between migration and work status (Table 1).

For South Africa and Vietnam, those age 25-44 years constitute almost half of the non-migrants, followed by those under age 25. By contrast, almost three-fourths of the Ethiopian non-migrants were under age 25, reflecting the very high fertility and the relatively recent growth of urban places, so that most of the older populations are, in fact, migrants. The age profiles of the permanent migrants at time of the survey are much more similar among the three countries, with between 49 and 59 percent in the 25-44 age group. However, whereas Ethiopia and South Africa had almost one-in-five permanent migrants in the 15-24 group, only 3 percent of those in Vietnam were as young. This probably reflects the control Vietnam exercised over permanent migration to urban places, restricting it to those with occupations needed by the planned economy. This may also explain why more permanent migrants in Vietnam were in the 45-64 age group. In all three countries, more of the permanent migrants than non-migrants were age 45 and older, and substantially fewer were under age 25, especially in Ethiopia.

The age composition of the temporary migrants was quite different. Like permanent migrants generally, they moved mostly early in adulthood. But because temporary migrants moved much recently, the relative number of temporary migrants under age 25 is greater than the percentage of young permanent migrants, especially in Ethiopia and Vietnam. In contrast to permanent migrants, comparatively few of the temporary migrants were age 45 and over, especially in Ethiopia and Vietnam.

Among non-migrants, the overall sex composition varies minimally among the three countries, and between non-migrants and permanent migrants^{vi}. However, among temporary migrants in all three countries, females constitute a minority, between 44 and 49 percent. Leaving home on a temporary basis is evidently somewhat easier and more acceptable for men than for women, especially when it involves persons who are younger and not married.

The age differences noted earlier are reflected in marital status of the different migrant groups. Less than one-in-five non-migrants in Ethiopia were married, reflecting their heavy concentration in the under 25 age group. By contrast, as many as three-fourths of the Vietnamese were married at the time of the survey, reflecting their older age composition. In South Africa, despite an age profile that is older than Ethiopia's and quite similar to Vietnam, only 28 percent of the non-migrants are married. The generally low level of marriage is due to a variety of factors, including especially past labor policies under apartheid that caused the separation of men and women, providing no incentives for either men or women to marry.

The permanent migrants displayed different marital status patterns. In all three countries, especially in Ethiopia, more permanent migrants than non-migrants were married, partly reflecting their older age composition. Again, the percentage in South Africa is well below that of Ethiopia and less than half of that of Vietnam. The conditions of the black permanent migrants to urban places, especially in the period of apartheid, were evidently not conducive to establishing legal marital bonds. Indeed, the pattern for temporary migrants in South Africa is also different from that in other two countries. Far fewer of the temporary than permanent migrants in Ethiopia and Vietnam are married (consistent with their younger ages). The difference between temporary and permanent migrants in South Africa is, however, much

smaller, and the proportion of married temporary migrants in South Africa is actually higher than in Ethiopia. This suggests that in South Africa those leaving an area temporary are more likely to have already established families at place of origin; more may have moved temporary in search of more income for those families. This would be consistent with the somewhat higher concentration of temporary migrants in South Africa among those age 45 and over.

In general, migration to urban places in developing countries is assumed to be heavily from rural locations. Yet, as such countries become increasingly urban (South Africa is a case in point), more movement overall, and especially movement into urban places, is likely to be inter-urban as individuals move from smaller to larger urban places and as urban residents seek better opportunities in other urban places. Especially in countries where residence in urban places is controlled, such as Vietnam, rural-to-urban migrants are more likely to have difficulty obtaining urban residence than those who already hold urban registration. Also, government sponsored migration is much more likely to involve individuals with training experience, and skills associated with urban occupations.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in Ethiopia and Vietnam, a majority, although a small one, of the permanent migrants to urban places moved from other urban places. By contrast, in South Africa, just over four in ten reported urban places. That more did not do so, given the country's high level of urbanization, suggests that with the breakdown of apartheid, many more blacks are able to move from rural homelands to the black townships and to cities.

In Vietnam, most temporary migrants to urban places originate in rural locations. This undoubtedly reflects the stricter controls that have characterized rural-urban movement in Vietnam. As a result, more mobility has been temporary since this does not require official approval. In Ethiopia, a majority of temporary migrants, even more than among permanent migrants, are urban in origin. Apparently, the high rates of unemployment characterizing urban places result in migration to search for new opportunities in other urban places. In South Africa, a majority of the temporary movers, like the permanent migrants, originated in rural homelands. As suggested earlier, this may result from the greater freedom that blacks have gained to leave the homelands and settle in urban places in the post-apartheid period.

One would expect temporary migrants to move more frequently than those making a permanent change in residence. The data do not, however, support this expectation. In both Ethiopia and South Africa, just over 40 percent of both permanent and temporary migrants reported more than one move. By contrast, in Vietnam the permanent migrants experienced more multiple moves, 57 percent compared to only one-third of the temporary movers. In part, this pattern may reflect the frequency with which government officials and those employed in government-owned industries are transferred as the need for their services changes. Also, with the weakening of the control system, more of the rural-to-urban temporary migrants may take up longer residence in the cities even though they still do not have permanent residence permits.

Another key background variable is duration of residence. Because of the importance for migration patterns of political and economic transitions in each of the countries, we use periods

of move in term of political-economic change that may have had an impact on migration rather than fixed intervals. The assumption is that each period is associated with conditions conducive to more or less migration (see pp. 3-4), especially if the transition resulted in a relaxation in the controls over permanent residence in the big cities, and to some extent, in smaller urban places. The patterns are very clear in Ethiopia and Vietnam, but not in South Africa (Table 2).

In Ethiopia and Vietnam, two-thirds of the permanent migrants took up residence in their current urban location in the early period. By contrast, less than 10 percent of the temporary migrants did. In Ethiopia, more than 60 percent of the latter migrated after the onset of the major social, economic, and political changes of 1991; in Vietnam, more than 90 percent migrated after the economic reforms introduced in 1986. However, in both countries, most temporary migrants arrived in the period immediately preceding the surveys, 1992-1998 in Ethiopia and 1992-1997 in Vietnam. This suggests that when temporary migration occurs it is heavily short-term, and that high percentages return to origin or move onward after 5-6 years. During these same post-transition periods, only 4 percent of permanent migrants in Ethiopia and about one-third of those in Vietnam arrived in their urban destinations. Clearly, the underlying transitions that occurred, and which have resulted in less control of movement to urban places, have increased the number of temporary movers relative to the number of permanent migrants.

In South Africa, however, the distributions by period are virtually the same for the permanent and the temporary migrants; about one-third of each group made their last move to urban places in each of the three periods. This suggests that controls that existed did not significantly affect the types of movement for blacks, and that there may have been less return movement even though the migration was regarded as temporary. More likely, the controls channeled moves to specific locations, and much of the migration was initially forced. The establishment of urban townships to house the black labor force who worked in industries owned by whites contributed greatly to the high level of urbanization in South Africa. Many black males who moved to the townships left their families behind in the black homelands (mostly rural) and considered their urban locations as temporary residences. For some, however, such movement may have been regarded as permanent in the absence of any intent to return to origin and because their moves were seen as permanent by the white majority. Thus, the contextual situation in the respective countries very much affects the patterns of change. These differences are critical in interpreting the assessment of the relationships between migration and labor force participation discussed below.

A final background variable examined here is the reason for move to the current place of residence (Table 3). Reasons, categorized in four broad groups, differ both by type of migration and by gender as well as among countries. Among women, family and marriage is a major motive for permanent migration (46-50 percent) in all three countries, as women either join their spouse who moved earlier or move to the residence of their new husband. By contrast, only one-in-five men moved permanently for family and marriage. For men in Ethiopia, job-related reasons accounted for largest number of permanent moves, almost half. In South Africa, however, the search for better conditions was the primary motive for male permanent migration. By contrast, in Vietnam, a large percentage of men moved for "other" reasons, primarily because

they were demobilized military personnel return to civilian life (almost four in ten). In both South Africa and Vietnam, only one-fourth of all male permanent migrants moved for job-related reasons. The search for better opportunities and a better life motivated one-fifth of male moves in Ethiopia and Vietnam, compared to almost half of those in South Africa. In all three countries, it was the second most important reason for female migration, accounting for as many as four-in-ten permanent moves by South African women.

In contrast to permanent migration, family and marriage contributed less importantly to male and especially female migration in Ethiopia and Vietnam as well as among men in South Africa. However, it ranked first among female temporary migrants in South Africa, half of whom moved for this reason. The search for better opportunities was by far the most important reason for temporary migration in Vietnam for both men and women and also explained most of the male movement in South Africa and a considerable part of female temporary movement. In Ethiopia, this reason accounted for about one-third of both male and female temporary migration, a percentage close to that of job-related reasons, which far exceeded the importance of this category in South Africa and Vietnam. Also deviating from pattern of other countries, almost one-fourth of all males and one-fifth of all females in Ethiopia cited other reasons as their motive for moving temporarily. This is partly because their mobility may have resulted more often as a result of push factors at origin (where drought and environmental degradation wiped out many farmers) than the pull of opportunities in urban places. Overall, therefore, these data point to the value of distinguishing between permanent and temporary migrants as well as the continuing need to take gender into account in any assessment of reasons for migration. And they also point to the important role of country-specific conditions that contribute to the dynamics underlying the population redistribution process.

Labor Force Status

We turn now to the relation between migration and labor force status, by first examining labor force status at the time of the survey. We will then focus in greater depth on changes in labor force status over the course of the migration process. For this analysis, we distinguish all respondents who were employed at the time period under consideration; all other adults are classified as not working^{vii}.

Sharp differences characterize the three countries in the percentage of the sampled populations who were employed at the time of the survey (currently) (Table 4). For non-migrants, this varied from only 23 percent of those in Ethiopia to as many as 72 percent of those in Vietnam. Almost six-in-ten South Africans were in the labor force. This variation reflects differences in economic conditions, in the ideology of government policies (Vietnam, for example, has placed great emphasis on the duty of every person being productively employed), and in the composition of the sampled population. Reflecting age composition, more Ethiopians reported themselves as students^{viii}. Ethiopia and South Africa resembled each other in the percentage of permanent migrants who were working (almost half of the adult population), but in Vietnam over seven-in-ten were employed. For both South Africa and Vietnam, the percentages were virtually identical for permanent migrants and non-migrants, but in Ethiopia twice as many

permanent migrants as non-migrants were working, in part because of their somewhat older age structure.

One would expect more temporary migrants to be employed, both because of their younger ages and because of their motives for movement. Yet, the difference between the temporary and the permanent migrants is not great, and only for Ethiopia do the temporary migrants differ markedly from the non-migrants. Other factors, including personal characteristics besides age, may well account for the variations.

For all three countries, the percentage employed is higher for men than for women, but the gender difference is least for Vietnam, reflecting the communist ideology that women and men are equally entitled and indeed required to engage in productive activities. In Vietnam, for all three migrant categories, at least seven-in-ten men (as many as eight-in-ten male temporary migrants) were working. Similarly, seven-in-ten non-migrant and permanent migrant females were economically active; for female temporary migrants, the percentage working was further below that of men than was true of the other two groups, but still involved seven-in-ten. For Ethiopia and South Africa, labor force participation rates of women were considerably below those of comparable male migration status groups, although the differential between male and female temporary migrants in Ethiopia was smaller.

How does migration itself affect the labor force status of those who move? Initial insights into this can be gained from comparison of the percent working of the two migrant groups before migration and at the time of the survey, recognizing that the longer duration of residence of the permanent migrants in Ethiopia and Vietnam allows more time for change.

For Ethiopia and South Africa, the current levels of labor activity of both permanent and temporary migrants were above those characterizing these two groups before migration. For Vietnam, again likely reflecting government policy, the differential was minimal and mixed in direction. In fact, in Vietnam and especially in South Africa the increases in labor force participation were sharpest for temporary migrants; in Ethiopia, the change experienced by the permanent migrant group was slightly above that of the temporary migrants.

The data by sex suggest that the patterns of change were not uniform for men and women. In Ethiopia, both temporary and permanent migration were associated with substantial increases in the levels of labor force participation for women, but this was not true of men. In South Africa, both permanent and temporary migrant men and women experienced increases in participation level, but the changes were greater for the men. Vietnamese men and women show no uniform gender differences for the two migration status groups in either the direction or extent of change, and only for temporary migrants was the level of labor force participation of both men and women substantially greater at time of the survey than before the move. Yet, the relative changes for this migration group were less than for men and women in South Africa and for women in Ethiopia.

Changes in Labor Force Status

Cross-sectional comparisons provide only restricted insights into the dynamics of the relation between migration and change in labor force status. An advantage of these survey data is that they allow assessment of the actual changes that occurred between the month before migration and the time of the survey^{ix}. In particular, we examine the percent working at the time of the survey by both those who were working before migration and those who were not working then. This allows us to determine whether more of the latter have obtained employment in conjunction with migration, and, if so, whether the patterns of change differ between permanent and temporary migrants.

Again, we find that the patterns are not uniform (Table 5). In Vietnam, seven-in-ten permanent migrants who were working before migration also reported being employed at the time of the survey (currently). Almost eight-in-ten permanent migrants in Vietnam who were not previously working did so currently, suggesting that in this country, where employment has been so high, migration was associated with enhancing such participation for those not previously working. In South Africa, too, seven-in-ten of the permanent migrants working before migration were in the labor force currently, but in contrast to Vietnam, this was true only of 43 percent of those who were not working before migration. Clearly, even though many permanent migrants moved to improve their economic status, for those not working before migration, not even a majority was employed at the time of the survey. The same pattern characterized Ethiopia, although the levels of employment for both the permanent and the temporary movers were lower than those of their counterparts in South Africa.

In Vietnam, the gender differences in current levels of labor force participation of permanent migrants who were previously working were minimal, but for those not working earlier, men were far more likely than women to be working at the time of the survey. In both South Africa and Ethiopia, women were at a disadvantage in both categories. Both among those working previously and those not working, far fewer women than men were in the labor force currently, although for both men and women the percentage currently working was lower for those who had not been working earlier, point to a continuation of earlier patterns for many.

For temporary migrants, the levels of current work for those who had worked before migration were higher than for the permanent migrants. For Vietnam and South Africa, eight-in-ten in this category were in the labor force and for Ethiopia it was two-thirds. This suggests that temporary movement is strongly associated with continued involvement in the labor force at the temporary destination. However, the same is not uniformly true of those who did not work earlier. Only about half of those in South Africa and six-in-ten of those in Vietnam, who were not working before migration, were employed currently. Although attesting to a substantial influx into the labor force by temporary migrants in these countries, the levels are well below those of the permanent migrants. By contrast, in Ethiopia, only one-third of the temporary migrants who were not working before migration did so by the time of the survey, suggesting that such movement for many individuals not working earlier results in frustrated efforts to become active labor force participants.

Among temporary migrants, fewer of the women than of the men in each country who were in the labor force before migration were also economically active currently. The difference was especially great for South Africa, but the same pattern was true also of Vietnam with smaller differences. For both men and women, the levels of labor force participation of temporary migrants not working earlier were uniformly lower than among the same sex group who had worked earlier, but the differences were especially sharp for men and women in Ethiopia and women in South Africa. In fact, in Ethiopia, more women than men, who did not work before move, were working currently.

Age is a key variable affecting labor force participation, which generally reaches peak levels in the 25-44 age range. Here we focus on whether age differences characterize those migrants who worked before moving and those who were not employed before migration (Table 6). For permanent migrants, the data show consistently across countries that levels of labor force participation were considerably higher at the time of the survey for those age 15-24 who worked prior to moving compared to those who did not. This is not surprising since many of the latter may have been either too young to work or enrolled as students before moving and may have continued in such non-economic activities after moving, moved for family reasons (especially women), or have been disadvantaged by conditions at place of destination from entering the labor force. That it is more likely the former explanation is suggested by the fact that for Ethiopia and South Africa, even for age groups 25-44 and 45-64, labor force participation rates of those not in the labor force earlier are well below those of the permanent migrants who were in the labor force earlier. For these age groups, Vietnam is again an exception, and again the communist ideology of more universal engagement in economic activities may account for this. Yet, even for Ethiopia and South Africa, a majority of migrants in the 25-44 age group and a considerable proportion of those age 45-64 were currently in the labor force, even though they had not been before moving, suggesting that migration is associated with greater involvement in work.

For temporary migrants, for both those in the labor force before migration and those not, persons under age 25 had lower labor force participation rates than older age groups (with the exception of Vietnamese with previous work experience), but the differences tended to be larger for those who were not in the labor force before they migrated. This suggests that more of these younger individuals may have migrated for non-economic reasons. But in all countries and for all ages, those previously in the labor force consistently had higher labor force participation rates than those who were not previously in the labor force.

Interestingly, if one compares the permanent and temporary migrants in similar age groups and with comparable pre-migration labor force statuses, for Ethiopia and South Africa more of the temporary migrants (with a few exceptions) were in the labor force. For Vietnam, the levels were either higher than or about equal to the high levels characterizing the permanent migrants. This suggests that, for those previously working, for temporary migrants of all ages economic factors are more closely associated with migration than is the case for permanent movers. For those not previously in the labor force, the pattern is much more mixed within countries, but similar for Ethiopia and Vietnam. There, fewer of the persons age 25-64 not

previously working were employed at the time of the survey compared to similar age categories of permanent migrants who were in the labor force before migration. For South Africa, this was clearly characteristic only of those under age 25.

The Determinants of Employment

The foregoing descriptive analysis has pointed to both national and gender differences in the likelihood of being employed before and after migration. A more comprehensive, in-depth assessment of the importance of various factors in the employment situation is provided by a logistic regression analysis of the likelihood of working. Since the patterns differ by country and for males and females, we have calculated two models, one for females, the other for males for each country in our study. Independent variables entered into the equations include the basic background characteristics of age, education, and marital status, plus a series of variables related to migration: type of move, rural/urban origin of move, period of move, reason for move, and whether the respondent had made only one or multiple moves (Table 7).

Men and women in the working ages 25-44 are more likely to be employed than either the very young or older population; the effect is particularly strong for men in Ethiopia and women in South Africa. In general, education through high school has a positive effect on the likelihood of being employed for both women and men in Vietnam and for women in South Africa, for whom it extends through higher education. The returns to education are negative for men and women in Ethiopia (except for women with higher education) and for men with higher education in South Africa. These patterns suggest that differential employment opportunities are available in the three countries, reflecting their levels of development. Being married has a negative effect on women, but a positive effect on men. In most cases, however, the relation is not significant.

On the whole, the migration variables show little significance for the likelihood of being employed and even the directions of the effects have no consistent pattern across gender and country. Only in South Africa is being a temporary migrant significantly more likely to result in employment, and this only for males. There is no significant difference in the likelihood of being employed between rural-urban and urban-urban migrants. Generally, more recent moves result in lowered likelihood of finding work; this is especially true of males in Ethiopia. But even moves in the intermediate period are associated with being less likely to be employed, compared to those who moved early. Clearly, finding work takes time, and even the major economic and political changes experienced in three countries under observation have not, in the short term, guaranteed more employment in urban destinations. Multiple moves are, in most cases, associated with less likelihood of employment; this is especially significant for women in Vietnam.

Not surprisingly, compared to family-related reasons, persons who move in connection with jobs or to search for a better life (which often means getting better employment) are much more likely to find work at destination. This is especially true for South African males. It is true only for job-related movers in Ethiopia, both men and women. For South African and Vietnamese women, those who moved in search of better life were more likely than others to be

employed at the time of the survey. Moving in search of better life may result in lack of work for both men and women in Ethiopia, where employment opportunities in cities are very limited, and for men in Vietnam, where such moves may be made in order to enter programs of higher education. The contrasts with job-related moves likely reflect the closer ties that the latter have to job transfers and networks that facilitate finding employment.

The lack of distinctive patterns for the determinants of working that are used here suggests that personal characteristics and migration variables alone cannot explain the observed variations. Among other factors that will need to be considered in future analyses are migrant networks, which may enable migrants to obtain information about and connections to job opportunities, migrant resources, and linkages to places of origin. Equally important are the contextual variables, including stage of economic development, government policies, and environmental conditions. All of these play an important role in providing employment opportunities, as suggested by the cross-country comparisons of our analysis. If anything, this multivariate analysis suggests that migration itself may play a less important role, or at least not a consistent role across countries, than do the characteristics of the migrants themselves and the context in which migration takes place.

Occupational Change

We turn next to a comparison of the occupational structure^x, by gender, of the non-migrants, permanent migrants, and temporary migrants, to gain insights into whether migration is associated with occupational change. In this evaluation, we examine only the occupational profiles, not the actual shifts on an individual basis from one occupational category to another. Following this evaluation, attention turns more specially to whether the gender boundaries between occupations have been affected by migration and, if so, whether the patterns of change differ for permanent and temporary migrants.

The three countries display some similarities and also some marked differences in the occupational composition of their labor force (Table 8). Among non-migrants in Ethiopia and Vietnam, the commercial/service groups dominates the occupational structure, encompassing over half of all employed men and women. By contrast, in South Africa this segment is quite small, although more non-migrant women than men are so employed. The most prominent occupation in South Africa is worker, including over seven-in-ten employed non-migrant men and almost six-in-ten non-migrant women. White collar workers (high and low combined) are second largest occupational group among male non-migrants in Ethiopia, about one-quarter of both men and women. In South Africa and Vietnam too, about one-in-four non-migrant women are engaged in white collar work, but somewhat fewer men are. In Vietnam, workers rank third in importance among both men and women, as they do among men in Ethiopia. In Vietnam, somewhat surprisingly, about ten percent of the male and female non-migrants in urban places are engaged in farm work; this probably reflects the overextended boundaries of the large cities that result in inclusion of agricultural activities within the urban areas.

For the migrants, the two occupational profiles refer to work activities in the month before migration and at the time of the survey. Again, both differences and similarities characterize each country's gender-specific profiles and the patterns of change. Among permanent migrants, the occupational profile of Ethiopian men shifted from heavily involvement in agriculture (39 percent before migration compared to only one percent currently) to much greater concentration in commercial/service activities (19 percent to 59 percent). More were also involved in the worker category, but fewer were in the residue "other" grouping. The proportion in white collar work changed minimally, accounting for one in four of the permanent migrants.

By contrast, South Africa male permanent migrants showed minimal change in occupational profiles, which closely resembled the non-migrants. By far the largest number was and remained in the worker category. Vietnamese male permanent migrants had still a different pattern. For them, the percentage in the combined two white collar job categories increased some, and the number in commercial/service activities rose five-fold to four-in-ten employed men. By contrast, the very heavy pre-migration concentration in the other category (44 percent), reflecting the high proportion in the military, declined sharply as demobilization led to both migration and entry into the civilian labor force. Here again, the country-specific context of the social/economic conditions very much affects the way in which migration is related to occupational redistribution.

The experience among male temporary migrants in the three countries differed from that of the permanent migrants. In Ethiopia, as for permanent migrants, the percentages in white collar jobs before migration and at the time of the survey were similar, but at a lower level than for permanent migrants. Like the permanent migrants, temporary movers show a strong upward shift in the percentage of both workers and those engaged in commercial/service activities, which doubled from 21 to 43 percent. This was, however, substantially below the 56 and 59 percent characterizing non-migrants and permanent migrants, respectively. Employment as workers was clearly more available to temporary migrants than to permanent movers. As expected, the sharpest downward change was in the percentage of farmers.

Like their permanent migrant counterparts, the occupational profile of male temporary migrants in South Africa changed only slightly between the month before migration and the time of the survey. In both periods, just over eight-in-ten were engaged as workers, even more than the seven-in-ten non-migrants and permanent migrants at the time of the survey. Evidently, the shift in location did not involve any major shift in the general type of work. In part, this is because farming was not a common activity for blacks before migration, a situation quite different from that in Ethiopia and Vietnam.

In Vietnam, about half of the temporary migrants had been farmers before they moved, but only nine percent were at the time of the survey. Many of these had shifted into commerce/service work or other kinds of manual labor; the percent reported in commerce and service work doubled, as it did in Ethiopia, and the percent classified as workers rose even more sharply. The level for commerce/service work closely resembled that of the non-migrant males, and that for workers was almost twice as high. Thus, while both commerce/service work and

manual labor provided the key sources of employment for temporary migrants, in Vietnam, as in Ethiopia, manual work was relatively more available. This contrasts strongly with the pattern of change for permanent migrants, for whom more opportunities arose in commerce and service work. Interestingly, before migration, far fewer male temporary than permanent migrants were in the “other group,” composed largely of military and police. Evidently when demobilization occurred, most of those affected made a permanent move, taking advantage of the benefit of permanent registration that demobilization conferred.

How do the patterns for female migrants compare? In Ethiopia, permanent female migrants also experienced a major shift out of farming, and our cross-sectional data point to a substantial shift into commercial/service work, as was true of men. Manual work also rose, but not to as high a level as that characterizing men.

In contrast to the male permanent migrants in South Africa whose current occupational profile was very similar to what it had been before movement, the profile of female permanent migrants did change, with a decline in the percent engaged as workers (79 to 65 percent) and an increase in the percentage in white collar work (17 to 24 percent). While the percent in commerce/service rose a little, the low level was below that of the non-migrant females. In South Africa, commercial/service work does not seem to offer wide opportunities to either migrant women or migrant men.

In Vietnam, quite a difference pattern is revealed by the comparative data. As in Ethiopia, a sharp decline occurred in the percent of permanent migrant women engaged in farming; yet 11 percent remained so employed. A reduction also occurred in the small “other” category, suggesting some impact of demobilization even for women. As for men, only small changes characterized the white collar group. However, the percent in commerce/service work increased substantially, to almost half of all permanent female migrants, a level above that of the male migrants but quite similar to that of the non-migrant men and women. Also like the men, fewer female permanent migrants were in manual work at the time of the survey than in the pre-migration period, but for women the decrease was even sharper. For permanent migrants, manual work was evidently not a major attraction, a pattern reversed from that in Ethiopia and more similar to South Africa.

Turning to the female temporary migrants, we find that in Ethiopia such movement resulted in noticeable decreases in farmers and white collar workers. The latter is especially puzzling, but may reflect an attempt by such women to reap the benefits of greater income in other areas of the economy, especially commerce/service work. In fact, the percent in the commerce/service work category doubled from 40 to 80 percent of all female temporary migrants who worked, higher even than among the female permanent migrants, the male permanent and temporary movers, and the non-migrants. Commercial/service work obviously was regarded as an opportunity area for women temporary moving to their new urban destination as it was for permanent migrant women.

Like the male temporary movers in South Africa, but different from the permanent female migrants, the occupational profile of female temporary migrants at the time of the survey in South Africa differed minimally from that characterizing the pre-migration period. Moreover, with the exception of commercial/service workers, it fairly closely resembled the profile of the female non-migrants, suggesting that occupational selectivity in connection with migration was not particularly operative among this group. In Vietnam, by contrast, major shifts occurred, driven very much by the shift out of farming. The percentage in white collar work increased somewhat among temporary migrants. Both commerce/service work and manual work showed substantial increases. These changes closely paralleled those characterizing male temporary movers in Vietnam, suggesting that both men and women sought out the same types of activities when they moved temporary. The substantial increase in the percent engaged as manual workers stands in sharp contrast to the decline in the percent so engaged among the female permanent migrants in Vietnam. Clearly, temporary migration and permanent migration operate quite differently in this respect. The high percentage of Vietnamese temporary migrants engaged as manual workers also contrasts with the low percent of Ethiopian temporary migrant women who were manual workers, even while the Vietnamese percent was substantially below the high level of such occupational affiliation in South Africa. Again, therefore, we note the important influence of contextual social, economic, and political factors that affect the type of work men and women do and the extent to which temporary and permanent migrants engage in such activities.

Occupational Sex Boundaries

The assessment of whether the gender boundaries in occupational composition have changed in association with migration follows an approach proposed by Jacobs (1989). Following the work of Goodman (1981) and Breiger (1981), Jacobs defined three occupational boundaries associated with sex: (1) “male occupations” in which women account for less than 30 percent of the work force; (2) “female occupations” in which women make up more than 70 percent of the work force; and (3) “integrated occupations” in which women account for 30 to 70 of those employed. In table 8, this classification scheme is applied to occupational data for Ethiopia, South Africa, and Vietnam, for the non-migrants at the time of the survey and for the permanent and temporary migrants in the period immediately preceding migration and also at the time of the survey. This allows identification and comparison of the gender boundaries among the three migration status groups at the time of the survey as well as of the changes in the boundaries between the before and migration and the current period^{xi}. The table shows only the percent of women in each occupational category at the various points in time. The necessary use of broad groupings obviously masks important differences within categories between more specific occupations. Much larger samples (ideally, census data) would be needed for such specific evaluations.

The data suggest a number of differences among countries and between migration status groups within a country; they also suggest changes over time in association with migration. Among non-migrants in Ethiopia, the high white collar and commercial/service categories display low levels of integration, with between 39 and 49 percent women. Workers, by contrast,

is a male occupation with only 27 percent women. In South Africa, the percent female for both the low white collar group and the commercial/service category also qualify them as integrated, but at higher levels than Ethiopia's two highest status groups. Like Ethiopia, workers are more heavily male in South Africa, but unlike Ethiopia, they still qualify as integrated at low level. The "other" group also meets the criteria for being integrated. Overall, therefore, the occupational composition of those South African groups for whom the sample contains enough cases, is integrated. Vietnam displays a balanced sex composition for non-migrants across the broad occupational categories used in this analysis, suggesting that for non-migrants the labor force is reasonably integrated across occupations. This may reflect greater role of ideology in Vietnam in achieving goals of sexual equity in the work force. Communist ideology, especially under the centrally planned economy, officially prohibited gender bias in employment; women were employed in all sectors of the economy albeit not always at the same levels of responsibility or compensation as men. One impact of *Doi Moi*, the economic reconstructing, may have been to introduce greater inequality as more competitive conditions developed.

For permanent migrants at the time of the survey, there is no clear pattern of difference when the percent of females in specific categories is compared with that of the non-migrants. In Ethiopia, the permanent migrant high white collar category is a male occupation, but the permanent migrant manual workers are more integrated than the non-migrants. The gender composition of the occupational categories for the South African permanent migrants shows general integration, just as the non-migrants did. In Vietnam, the differences between permanent migrants and non-migrants tend to be small and all the groups continue to qualify as integrated, generally at levels higher than those in Ethiopia and South Africa.

How does the current situation compare with that before migration? On balance, for Ethiopia there was a small increase in the percentage of permanent migrant women working, but this pattern did not extend to all groups. High white collar workers moved toward more integration, although it was still male dominated. The commercial/service sector remained integrated, but at a lower level. In South Africa, the overall change associated with the permanent migration was minimal but resulted in a small decrease in the overall percent of women who were working relative to men. This change characterized the low white collar and especially the worker groups. Overall, Vietnam resembled Ethiopia, with a small increase in the percent of women among the employed permanent migrants. Yet, before migration, all occupations but "other" were integrated and, in fact, farmers/peasants qualified as a female occupation. By the time of the survey, all occupations could be classified as integrated.

At the time of the survey, temporary migrants in Ethiopia has somewhat fewer women than men compared to the permanent migrants and the non-migrants, but they met the minimum level to be classified as a gender integrated labor force. This was not true of all occupational categories, however; manual workers, farmers, and white collar workers were all heavily male. Nonetheless, a significant shift had occurred in level of integration compared to before migration, when the overall percentage of women in the work force was only half as high as at the time of the survey. Only the commercial/service workers group was integrated, at a minimal level. By

the survey, the level of integration had risen for all groups, and substantially so for commercial/service workers, which remained the only integrated group.

South Africa provides a sharp contrast to Ethiopia. Overall, declining female participation characterizes temporary migrants who, in fact, went from a low level of integration to being male dominated. In large measure, this reflects the high concentration of males in manual work among the temporary migrants before migration, and even a greater male dominance of this very large occupational category at the time of the survey. The low white collar group, which was the second largest for both men and women, changed minimally and remained quite integrated. As a result of both the occupational composition of temporary migrants and the changes in gender balance over time, the employed temporary migrants in South Africa's black population was more highly male than either the permanent migrants or the non-migrants. In this respect, South Africa differed sharply from Ethiopia and Vietnam.

In Vietnam, the temporary migrant level of integration (about 45 percent) remained unchanged from before migration to the time of the survey. However, within a number of the specific occupational categories increases in the percentage of women occurred; only farmers saw a decline. Most significant, however, is that every occupational group continued to be integrated. Together, the data for Ethiopia, South Africa, and Vietnam suggest that differential opportunities in the job markets exist for men and women, depending on the types of move made and the structures of the particular labor markets.

The broad index employed in this analysis suggests that women in most migration status groups are integrated into the labor force, and that migration does not uniformly contribute to higher levels of integration. The data also show that migration to urban places enhances the probability of working for permanent and temporary migrant women in Ethiopia and, to a limited extent, for permanent migrants women in Vietnam. Women migrants are more disadvantaged in South Africa. At the same time, the shifts within the broad occupational categories, although selective, comparatively few in number, and diverse among countries, do favor greater gender integration after migration. For the three countries examined here, however, these data do not allow us to conclude that movement to urban places constitutes a major factor effecting major gender occupational integration.

Conclusions

Our analysis has explored a unique set of migration survey data for Ethiopia, South Africa, and Vietnam to gain some insights into the relation among employment and occupation on the one hand and various types of migration on the other for persons living in urban places. These countries have undergone dramatic transitions within the past two decades in their economic and political structures, and many of the changes have resulted in a relaxation of constraints on mobility. As a result, mobility in these countries has likely become much more complex than earlier, with individuals resorting to a variety of mobility strategies, including permanent relocation and temporary migration.

Several assumptions underlie our analysis. Because so much migration is economically motivated, we assumed that migration would result in higher labor force participation for women and men. We also assumed that changing economic structures of the three countries would result in greater opportunities for women to enter a variety of occupations and that these opportunities would be most particularly realized by migrants. Overlying these two expectations is the realization that individual characteristics will be important determinants of labor force outcomes, and that gender is an especially important differentiator. Moreover, the national contexts within which migration occurs will play a key role in determining outcomes.

Our findings suggest that individual characteristics are important in determining employment, but that their importance varies by country, and type of migration seems to have little effect on employment. Women generally have lower levels of employment than men, but level of employment after migration tends to be higher than it is before the move. In Ethiopia, women who migrate improve their employment situation more than men, but the opposite pattern characterizes migrants in South Africa, and in Vietnam the pattern is mixed. Beyond these differentials is the lack of consistency across countries in the relation of any given characteristics to likelihood of being working. Much more salient is the national context in terms of level of development, political structure, and traditional gender roles.

The relation of migration type to occupation was addressed by examining broad occupational profiles for men and women. On the whole, the occupational distributions for non-migrants and permanent migrants were quite similar within each of the three countries, and this was characteristic of both men and women. Temporary migrants had distinctive distributions, but the differences varied by country and by gender. The distributions before migration and at the time of the survey also differed for the two migrant groups, and varied by country and gender. Outstanding in Ethiopia and Vietnam is the great increase in the percentage of commerce/service workers among both men and women, and the increase in female temporary migrant manual workers. The distributions before move and at time of survey were quite similar to each other in South Africa among both women and men. Migration seems to have had little impact on the percent of females in a given occupational category. Within the broad categories used, most occupations were integrated, having 30-70 percent women.

The findings from this analysis must be considered exploratory and suggestive. Much more detailed analysis is required in order to untangle the very complex relations being examined here. Clearly, the national context is of prime importance in helping to explain the patterns (or lack thereof) identified for the different migrant status groups. Vietnam, with its stress on the importance of all persons being productively employed and its dynamic economy, clearly has different patterns of employment than Ethiopia or South Africa, where unemployment levels are very high and economic development is low. The kinds of networks that are available to migrants, either through formal programs or through ties among kin or ethnic groups is another important source of differences that needs to be considered. In South Africa, for example, where apartheid led to high levels of urbanization as black population was segregated into rural homelands, networks are likely to be quite different from those in Ethiopia, where ethnicity plays a more central role.

Whether migration results in better employment for women or instead in a greater feminization of occupations cannot be fully addressed through the use of the broad categories we have employed. Our finding of general integration masks important differences in specific occupations and, within occupations, of level of pay. Women may well be distributed similarly to men even by specific occupation but still receive lower salary and be considered in a lower position. To test such differences requires much larger data sets than are available here.

Complex interactions characterize migration as a mechanism for economic advancement. In some respects, economic/political restructuring and liberalization of migration to urban places have led to decreasing gender differentials in participation in the labor force and to greater gender integration. This may reflect the growing opportunities provided by development of private enterprises, including commercial and service activities. But in some situations, the reverse has been true. As a result, we do not find strong evidence that, across nations, women have benefited more than men from such developments or that permanent or temporary migration consistently leads to higher rates of participation in the labor force or to greater gender integration. It may well be that migrant women, especially temporary movers, are overburdened by family obligations at destination and/or origin, and are thereby hampered in their ability to find the kinds of jobs that would enhance their economic position.

While greater freedom of movement and ability to engage in private enterprise undoubtedly give women and men more autonomy, these developments have not yet successfully contributed to significant gender equality in the work force. Rather, to a considerable degree, the patterns, as revealed by the broad categories employed here, still reflect the latent influences of the pre-transition economies and ideologies, the cultural expectations about the roles of women and men, and the demands and opportunities of the existing economic structures. Perhaps it is premature to expect that the transitions in Ethiopia, South Africa, and Vietnam, and the subsequent role of migration will already have major impacts on labor force patterns and gender differentials. A generation or more may be needed for such changes to manifest themselves. Moreover, the interactions between migration and labor force are quite likely country-specific and can be understood only within national economic, political, and cultural frameworks.

Evidence that type of movement is an important element in some countries in determining labor force participation and occupational gender differentiation suggests the value of distinguishing between permanent and temporary migration in measuring labor force change. Differences between the two groups may be particularly significant for policy makers. The substantial number of temporary migrants, their gender composition, and lower likelihood of being integrated into the place of destination argues for continuing sensitivity to their adaptation to life in urban places.

Notes

ⁱ Guatemala was also included in the Migration Training and Research Project sponsored by the UNFPA. However, at the time this paper was being prepared, the data set from Guatemala was not yet ready for analysis.

ⁱⁱ In each country, a collaborating institution worked with the Brown University team. In Ethiopia, it was the Demographic Training and Research Center; in South Africa, the Centre for Population Studies; in Vietnam, the Institute of Sociology; and in Guatemala, the Center for Urban and Regional Studies.

ⁱⁱⁱ The definition of permanent and temporary migrant status varied somewhat for each country. In Ethiopia, a permanent migrant was living in a place other than place of birth, but considered current place (where the interview occurred) as the usual residence; a temporary migrant was also living in a place other than place of birth but considered some place other than the current one as the usual residence.

In Vietnam, permanent migrants were not living at place of birth and had official registration at current place of residence. Temporary migrants were not living at place of birth and did not have official registration at current place; their registration was still at another place.

In South Africa, permanent migrants were living away from place of birth but considered their current place as their only residence. Temporary migrants were also living away from place of birth but had a residence elsewhere than the place where they were currently living.

^{iv} Detailed descriptions of the sampling designs for each country are available on request.

^v The number of cases in the urban samples are 1672 in Ethiopia, 1714 in South Africa, and 1861 in Vietnam.

^{vi} It is important to stress that the sampling design in each country affects the overall percentage of men and women in the analysis. In order to insure adequate cases of both men and women, the design called for approximately equal numbers of each sex group in the otherwise randomly chosen respondents in each migration status group. The gender composition of the sample does not, therefore, reflect that in the general population. No controls were exercised, however, with respect to the occupational affiliation of selected respondents. This allows for comparisons of the gender differentials in the composition of specific occupational categories. Yet even such comparisons may not reflect those in the general population and should be regarded as only suggestive.

^{vii} In the discussions that follows, the terms “working,” “employed,” and “in the labor force” are used interchangeably to refer to those who reported themselves as working at the respective times. Excluded are students, housewives, retirees, and those seeking work.

^{viii} Many Ethiopian youth migrate to cities and join temple-run schools as a way to obtain room and meals and avoid unemployment in a situation where few jobs are available.

^{ix} In fact, the data sets allow a three-point comparison, since information is available on status immediately following the move. Time restrictions do not allow attention to the intermediate period here.

^x For this analysis, occupations have been grouped into broad categories to allow cross-national comparisons. The groupings generally reflect occupations of similar status. Thus, high white-collar occupations include professional, manager, cadre, and technician. Low white-collar workers consist of clerical employees. Commerce and service workers are persons in sales and service providers; this category includes weavers in Ethiopia. Workers encompass anyone in construction, industry, and semi skilled or unskilled work. The “other” category is miscellaneous, as the name implies, but consists primarily of persons in the military or police, mainly in Vietnam.

^{xi} See note *vi* for a discussion of gender selection in the samples.

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Table 1. Selected Characteristics of the Urban Population by Migration Status

	Ethiopia	South Africa	Vietnam
Percent Female			
Non-Migrants	58.5	55.0	52.3
Permanent Migrants	58.6	54.7	51.3
Temporary Migrants	44.5	44.8	48.8
Age Distribution			
Non-Migrants			
15-24	73.4	26.8	28.0
25-44	22.0	50.4	55.6
45-64	3.7	16.7	11.6
65+	0.9	6.2	4.8
Permanent Migrants			
15-24	18.2	19.1	3.2
25-44	49.4	55.1	58.7
45-64	25.5	19.6	32.0
65+	7.0	6.1	6.1
Temporary Migrants			
15-24	58.8	25.6	38.8
25-44	31.2	57.9	51.6
45-64	6.3	11.9	7.8
65+	3.7	4.6	1.8
Percent Currently Married			
Non-Migrants	17.5	28.1	75.5
Permanent Migrants	56.8	36.3	88.8
Temporary Migrants	22.2	30.0	63.1
Percent Urban Origin of Last Move			
Permanent Migrants	50.2	43.7	53.1
Temporary Migrants	55.5	44.3	32.3
Percent with Multiple Moves			
Permanent Migrants	44.7	40.6	56.8
Temporary Migrants	44.2	44.8	34.9

Table 2. Period of Move* by Migration Status

	Ethiopia	South Africa	Vietnam
Permanent Migrants			
Early	66.0	34.6	67.9
Mid	30.4	31.8	19.6
Recent	3.7	33.6	12.5
Temporary Migrants			
Early	4.4	30.1	9.6
Mid	32.6	34.0	19.9
Recent	63.0	35.9	70.5

* The periods of move vary for each country as follows:

Ethiopia: pre 1984; 1984-91; 1992-98

South Africa: pre 1986; 1986-94; 1995-99

Vietnam: pre 1987; 1987-91; 1992-97

Table 3. Reasons for Last Move by Sex and Migration Status

Reason for Move	Ethiopia		South Africa		Vietnam	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Permanent Migrants						
Job-related	44.3	17.5	24.1	7.1	24.3	16.2
Better Life	18.7	21.9	46.6	38.6	18.4	22.8
Marriage/family	19.6	46.2	23.1	46.6	18.8	50.2
Other	17.4	14.5	6.3	7.7	38.5	10.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Temporary Migrants						
Job-related	36.3	30.7	19.0	7.5	3.9	1.4
Better Life	34.9	34.6	60.0	37.4	77.7	65.4
Marriage/family	4.1	15.6	18.5	51.0	12.3	27.5
Other	24.7	19.0	2.4	4.1	6.1	5.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4. Percent Working Before Migration and at the Time of the Survey (Currently), by Sex and Migration Status

	Ethiopia		South Africa		Vietnam	
	Before	Current	Before	Current	Before	Current
Total						
Non-Migrants	NA	23.4	NA	56.5	NA	72.0
Permanent Migrants	38.0	46.5	38.1	51.3	74.3	71.4
Temporary Migrants	40.5	46.4	33.3	59.7	65.6	74.7
Males						
Non-Migrants	NA	31.1	NA	67.0	NA	76.3
Permanent Migrants	59.0	62.7	45.7	65.3	81.6	72.2
Temporary Migrants	56.3	49.7	38.0	72.3	67.3	80.0
Females						
Non-Migrants	NA	18.0	NA	46.5	NA	68.1
Permanent Migrants	23.2	35.1	31.8	38.8	69.7	70.6
Temporary Migrants	20.7	42.3	27.1	39.9	61.4	69.2

Table 5. Percent Currently Working by Labor Force Status Before Move, by Sex and Migration Status

	Ethiopia	South Africa	Vietnam
Permanent Migrants			
<u>Working before move</u>			
Male	68.1	80.9	68.5
Female	40.0	58.3	70.6
Total	58.0	70.9	69.5
<u>Not working before move</u>			
Male	55.0	57.4	88.7
Female	33.6	32.3	70.7
Total	39.5	43.1	77.0
Temporary Migrants			
<u>Working before move</u>			
Male	67.5	88.2	86.1
Female	62.0	67.6	75.7
Total	66.2	81.9	81.4
<u>Not working before move</u>			
Male	26.2	70.4	66.0
Female	37.2	28.7	59.8
Total	32.9	53.2	62.0

Table 6. Percent Currently Working by Labor Force Status Before Move, by Age and Migration Status

	Ethiopia	South Africa	Vietnam
Permanent Migrants			
<u>Working before move</u>			
15-24	38.9	63.2	66.7
25-44	68.4	71.2	84.4
45-64	50.8	72.9	57.9
65+	42.3	--	16.7
<u>Not working before move</u>			
15-24	19.1	37.7	28.6
25-44	51.1	45.6	84.0
45-64	36.8	40.0	70.0
65+	*	*	33.3
Temporary Migrants			
<u>Working before move</u>			
15-24	62.9	60.0	84.9
25-44	69.3	80.5	81.3
45-64	72.7	92.3	70.0
65+	*	*	66.9
<u>Not working before move</u>			
15-24	30.6	31.8	56.9
25-44	44.1	61.4	71.4
45-64	33.3	38.5	47.1
65+	*	*	80.0

* Fewer than 10 cases

Table 7

Logistic Regression Predicting the Likelihood of Being Employed at the Time of the Survey, by Sex

	Ethiopia		South Africa		Vietnam	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agei						
25-44	1.365**	1.193*	.518	1.395**	.898*	.503
45-64	1.039*	-.452	.185	2.020**	-.767	-.058
65 +	-.135	-1.114	3.788	-2.245	-2.304**	-.782
Educationii						
Middle school	-.747*	-.260	-.431	.652**	.608	.576*
High school	-.519	-.592*	-.299	.877*	.826*	.860**
Higher	-.332	.529	1.602*	2.163**	.489	.439
Currently marriediii	.504	-.965**	.544	-.412	.651*	-.121
Temporary migrantiv	.587	.583	.585*	-.154	.303	-.305
	-.105	-.155	.236	.246	.465	-.056
Period of movevi						
Mid	.008	-.110	.112	-.166	-.027	-.094
Recent	-.997*	-.213	-.043	-.408	-.045	.169
Reason for movevii						
Job-related	.982*	1.068*	2.173**	.851	-.386	.450
For better life	-.323	-.037	1.979**	.624*	-.044	.483*
Other	-.154	-.134	2.465**	-.135	-.190	-.159
Multiple moverviii	-.037	.182	-.311	-.195	-.012	-.433*
	.387	-.367	2.260	-1.351	1.185	.836
	455	491	442	349	585	592

*P<0.05

**P<0.01

i The 15-24 age group

ii Primary school or less

iii Not currently married

iv Permanent migrant

v Rural origin

vi For Vietnam, the periods of move are 1987-91 and 1992-97; the reference category is before 1987. For Ethiopia, the periods of move are 1984-1991 and 1992-1998; the reference category is before 1984. For South Africa, the periods of move are 1986-94 and 1995-99; the reference category is before 1986.

vii Family-related reasons

viii Once-only mover

Table 8

Occupation, Before Move and Current, by Sex and Migration Status
(Males)

	Ethiopia		South Africa		Vietnam	
	Before	Curren	Befor	Curre	Before	Curre
Non-Migrants						
High white collar	NA	20.0	NA	2.9	NA	15.7
Low white collar		5.7		16.8		2.5
Commerce/service		55.7		4.8		53.2
Worker		15.7		71.6		15.8
Farmer		2.9		-		10.7
Other		-		3.8		2.1
Total percent		100.0		100.0		100.0
Total number		70		208		241
High white collar	27.1	26.1	-	1.4	18.6	20.9
Low white collar	0.7	2.0	17.0	17.7	3.0	5.8
Commerce/service	18.8	58.8	3.4	4.3	8.1	39.8
Worker	3.5	11.1	79.6	73.2	18.6	15.0
Farmer	38.9	1.3	-	-	8.1	14.1
Other	11.1	0.7	-	3.3	43.6	4.4
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	144	153	147	209	236	206
High white collar	26.0	24.2	1.3	2.9	8.7	6.6
Low white collar	0.6	-	12.7	8.6	0.5	4.1
Commerce/Service	21.9	43.0	5.1	5.1	27.2	52.4
Worker	14.2	24.8	81.0	82.3	9.7	26.2
Farmer	36.1	8.1	-	-	47.9	9.0
Other	1.2	-	-	1.1	6.0	1.7
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	169	149	79	175	217	244

Table 8 (cont.)

Occupation, Before Move and Current, by Sex and Migration Status
(Females)

	Ethiopia		South Africa		Vietnam	
	Before	Curren	Befor	Curre	Before	Curre
Non-Migrants						
High white collar	NA	15.8	NA	0.7	NA	20.4
Low white collar		8.8		26.8		3.8
Commerce/service		66.7		10.5		51.7
Worker		7.0		58.2		12.4
Farmer		-		-		9.4
Other		1.8		3.9		2.3
Total percent		100.0		100.0		100.0
Total number		57		153		234
High white collar	6.3	10.7	0.8	4.4	24.7	21.6
Low white collar	5.0	5.0	16.3	19.1	7.7	6.1
Commerce/service	42.5	72.7	3.3	5.9	19.3	48.8
Worker	2.5	9.9	78.9	64.7	20.8	9.9
Farmer	41.3	0.8	-	-	21.7	10.8
Other	2.5	0.8	0.8	5.9	5.8	2.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	80	121	123	136	207	213
High white collar	28.0	10.8	2.4	1.7	6.1	7.0
Low white collar	4.0	2.0	33.3	31.7	2.2	4.9
Commerce/Service	40.0	80.4	7.1	3.3	27.6	42.3
Worker	6.0	5.9	57.1	61.7	12.2	34.5
Farmer	20.0	1.0	-	-	51.4	7.4
Other	2.0	-	-	1.7	0.5	3.9
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	50	102	58	60	181	203

Table 9

Percent Females in Each Occupational Category
Before Move and Currently, by Migration Status

	Ethiopia		South Africa		Vietnam	
	Before	Curren	Befor	Curre	Before	Curre
Non-Migrants						
High white collar	NA	39.1	NA	*	NA	55.8
Low white collar		*		53.9		60.8
Commerce/service		49.4		61.5		55.3
Worker		26.7		37.4		43.3
Farmer		*		-		45.8
Other		*		42.9		*
Total		44.9		42.4		49.3
High white collar	11.4	24.5	*	*	53.7	51.7
Low white collar	*	*	44.4	41.3	69.6	60.9
Commerce/service	55.7	49.4	*	47.1	67.8	61.9
Worker	*	41.4	45.3	36.5	49.4	40.4
Farmer	37.1	*	-	-	70.3	44.2
Other	11.1	*	*	53.3	10.4	*
Total	35.7	44.2	45.6	39.4	46.7	50.7
High white collar	24.1	23.4	*	*	36.7	46.7
Low white collar	*	*	58.3	55.9	*	33.3
Commerce/Service	35.1	56.2	*	18.2	45.9	61.0
Worker	11.1	14.0	27.3	20.4	51.2	52.2
Farmer	14.1	7.7	-	-	47.2	40.5
Other	*	-	-	*	7.1	*
Total	22.8	40.6	34.7	25.5	45.5	45.0

*Less than 10 cases in base population