

Internal Migration
of **Women** in
developing **Countries**



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VIII. FEMALE MIGRATION AND LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN A MEDIUM-SIZED CITY OF A HIGHLY URBANIZED COUNTRY

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Although migration research in Latin America has been more abundant than in other regions, relatively little has been devoted to the study of female migration, even though it is well known that women have outnumbered men in rural-urban migration in most countries of the region from 1950 to 1970 (ECLAC, 1990). Studies on the labour force participation of female migrants in urban areas of Latin American countries consistently indicate that domestic service is more frequently performed by recent migrants than by long-term migrants or non-migrants.¹ The literature on the subject is highly dominated by the view that single young women migrate from rural areas to join the urban labour-market as domestic servants—or sometimes as pedlars in countries where the indigenous population is an important component of the total—though some authors have noted the heterogeneity characterizing female migration (Orlansky and Dubrovsky, 1978; Herold, 1979; Raczynski, 1983).

Most of the studies available consider migration during the 1950s and 1960s, but important changes occurred in both the patterns of mobility and the status of women in the region during the 1970s and 1980s. The proportion urban reached very high levels in most countries of the region and rural-urban migration, which had tended to predominate during the 1950s and 1960s, became less important in several countries during more recent decades (Lattes, 1984 and 1990). That is, migration in general became a more complex phenomenon, as different types of movements of relatively equal importance coexisted. There are also indications that the migration flows directed to the largest cities in the region may have become less important in relative terms, whereas several medium-sized cities have become more attractive for migrants (Lattes, 1990). Indeed, an increasing proportion of the

younger residents of the largest cities, many of whom are the children of migrants, are moving to smaller urban centres where job opportunities are growing and the quality of life is better.

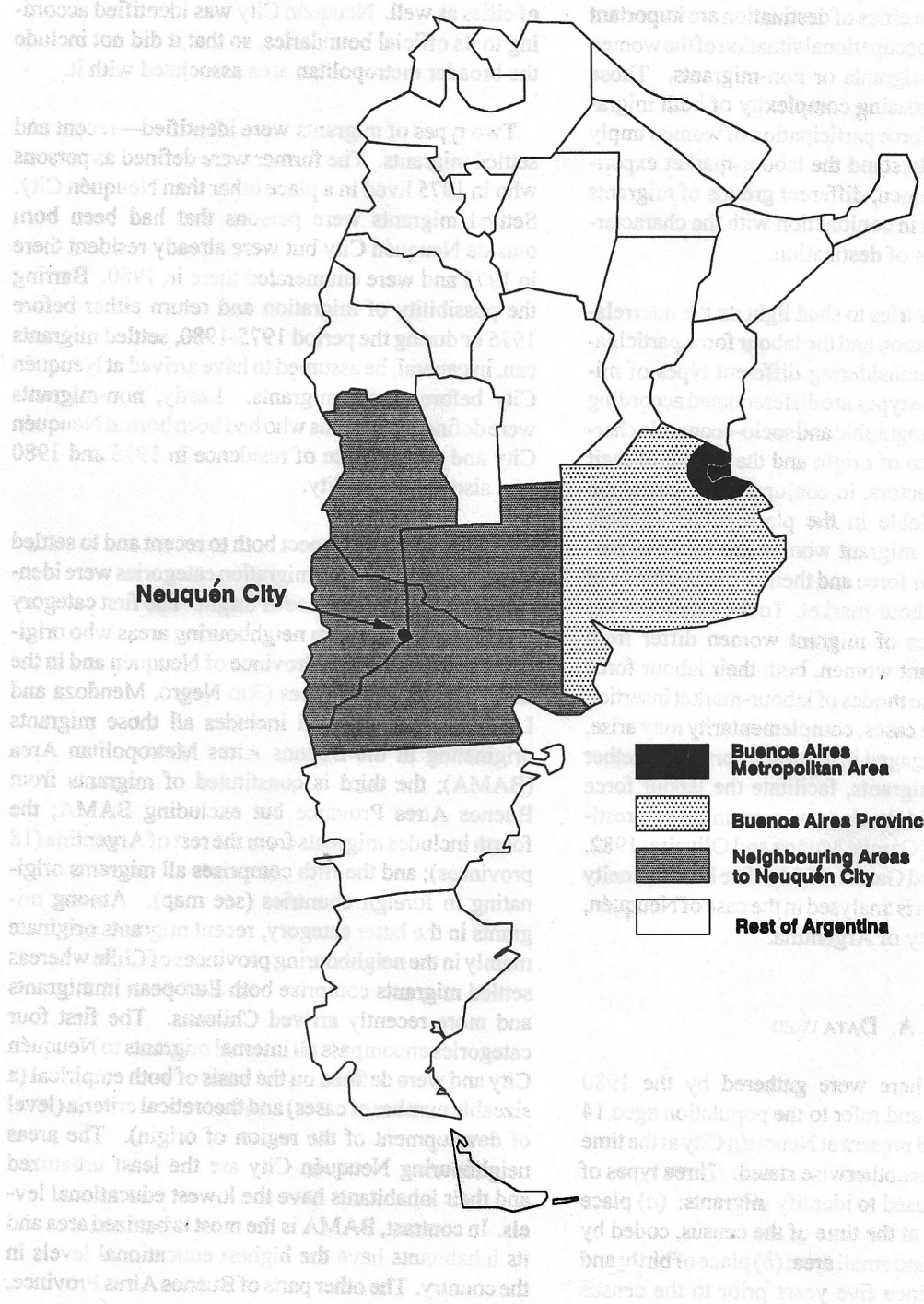
During the period 1960-1990, Latin American women benefited from changes associated with the urbanization and modernization processes, such as the general improvement of their educational levels and changes in the roles and status of women associated with the growing feminist movement and the action of international and other organizations during the United Nations Decade for Women. In addition, in Latin America as a whole, the share of women in the labour force increased as a result of both a decrease of male labour force participation and an increase of that of women (ECLAC: 1990, and Pedrero: 1992). However, one must interpret such trends with some caution, because they may be the result of better statistical accounting of the labour force participation of women. Yet, the evidence indicates that female participation increased even in the modern economic activities where their selective underregistration is less likely (Wainerman and Recchini de Lattes, 1981). Despite those positive trends, the employment of women continues to be highly concentrated in occupations that have been traditionally considered “female”, most of which are generally less prestigious and worse paid than those where men dominate (PREALC, 1978).





In a study of female migration in Chile, Herold (1979) underscores the heterogeneity characterizing it. In particular, she notes the distinct nature of migration to the largest urban agglomeration, Santiago, as compared with that of migration directed to other urban areas of Chile. Female migrants enumerated in small and medium-sized cities were usually older, better educated and, if economically active, engaged in higher status occupations than those at Santiago. The findings from another analysis of 28 Chilean cities (Raczynski, 1983) agreed with Herold's study. Raczynski concludes that the characteristics of in-migrants to Santiago,

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Argentina: location of Neuquén City and of the main regions of origin of internal migrants



-  Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area
-  Buenos Aires Province
-  Neighbouring Areas to Neuquén City
-  Rest of Argentina

whether male or female, are quite different from those of in-migrants to other Chilean cities. Furthermore, women migrating to the three largest cities in the country are doubly affected by being migrants and by the typical sex segregation of the labour market. The characteristics of the cities of destination are important determinants of the occupational situation of the women in them, whether migrants or non-migrants. Those studies and the increasing complexity of both migration and the labour force participation of women imply that in order to understand the labour-market experience of migrant women, different groups of migrants must be considered in conjunction with the characteristics of their places of destination.

The present study tries to shed light on the interrelations between migration and the labour force participation of women by considering different types of migrant women. Those types are differentiated according to the women's demographic and socio-economic characteristics, their area of origin and the timing of their migration. Such factors, in conjunction with the job opportunities available in the place of destination, determine whether migrant women are likely to participate in the labour force and their particular mode of insertion into the labour-market. To the extent that the basic characteristics of migrant women differ from those of non-migrant women, both their labour force participation and the modes of labour-market insertion will differ. In some cases, complementarity may arise, as when women engaged in domestic service, whether migrants or non-migrants, facilitate the labour force participation of middle-class women in more prestigious occupations (García, Muñoz and Oliveira, 1982, cited by Oliveira and García: 1984). The heterogeneity of female migration is analysed in the case of Neuquén, a medium-sized city of Argentina.

A. DATA USED

The data used here were gathered by the 1980 population census and refer to the population aged 14 or over resident and present at Neuquén City at the time of the census, unless otherwise stated. Three types of information were used to identify migrants: (a) place of usual residence at the time of the census, coded by province, locality and small area; (b) place of birth; and (c) place of residence five years prior to the census

date. The last two pieces of information were coded by province; and it was indicated whether they referred to provincial capital cities and one or more categories for each province, encompassing in most cases only the rest of the province and in a few cases a city or group of cities as well. Neuquén City was identified according to its official boundaries, so that it did not include the broader metropolitan area associated with it.

Two types of migrants were identified—recent and settled migrants. The former were defined as persons who in 1975 lived in a place other than Neuquén City. Settled migrants were persons that had been born outside Neuquén City but were already resident there in 1975 and were enumerated there in 1980. Barring the possibility of migration and return either before 1975 or during the period 1975-1980, settled migrants can, in general, be assumed to have arrived at Neuquén City before recent migrants. Lastly, non-migrants were defined as persons who had been born at Neuquén City and whose place of residence in 1975 and 1980 was also Neuquén City.

In addition, with respect both to recent and to settled migrants, five different migration categories were identified on the basis of place of origin. The first category is that of migrants from neighbouring areas who originated in the rest of the Province of Neuquén and in the three bordering provinces (Rio Negro, Mendoza and La Pampa); the second includes all those migrants originating in the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area (BAMA); the third is constituted of migrants from Buenos Aires Province but excluding BAMA; the fourth includes migrants from the rest of Argentina (18 provinces); and the fifth comprises all migrants originating in foreign countries (see map). Among migrants in the latter category, recent migrants originate mainly in the neighbouring provinces of Chile whereas settled migrants comprise both European immigrants and more recently arrived Chileans. The first four categories encompass all internal migrants to Neuquén City and were defined on the basis of both empirical (a sizeable number of cases) and theoretical criteria (level of development of the region of origin). The areas neighbouring Neuquén City are the least urbanized and their inhabitants have the lowest educational levels. In contrast, BAMA is the most urbanized area and its inhabitants have the highest educational levels in the country. The other parts of Buenos Aires Province,

as well as the rest of the country, are characterized by medium levels of urbanization and education (see table 25).

Women were considered to be in the labour force if they worked during the week preceding the census or if, being unemployed, they were looking for work during that period and had worked before. Those who had never worked were excluded from the labour force estimates because there was no information on their occupation. The latter category constituted a very small proportion of the total female labour force.

TABLE 25. LEVEL OF URBANIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, REGIONS OF ARGENTINA, 1980

Region	Percentage of population in urban areas	Percentage of women aged 14 or over by educational attainment ^a		
		Low	Medium	High
Neighbouring areas	68.5	37.7	46.3	16.0
Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area	99.4	20.3	54.9	24.8
Buenos Aires Province	82.9	26.4	53.9	19.8
Rest of Argentina	69.9	38.0	44.0	18.0

Sources: Argentina, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda, 1980*;

Series B, *Características generales: total del país* (Buenos Aires, n.d.);

Series D, *Población: total del país, por provincia, departamento y localidad, República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, n.d.);

Series B, *Características generales: Capital Federal* (Buenos Aires, 1981);

Series B, *Características generales: partidos del gran Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1981); Series B, *Características generales: La Pampa* (Buenos Aires, 1981);

Series B, *Características generales: Neuquén* (Buenos Aires, 1981);

Series B, *Características generales: Río Negro* (Buenos Aires, 1981);

Series B, *Características generales: Provincia de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1982);

Series B, *Características generales: Mendoza* (Buenos Aires, 1982).

^aLow indicates incomplete primary school; medium indicates completed primary school but incomplete secondary school; high indicates completed secondary school or higher levels of education.

B. URBANIZATION AND FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN ARGENTINA

Argentina is one of the most urbanized countries in the world (Lattes, 1990) because, even in comparison with developed countries, its process of urbanization began early (Recchini de Lattes, 1975). Its relatively small rural population began to decrease in the 1950s and its urban population has traditionally been highly concentrated in the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area, whose population size has always been more than 10 times that of the second largest city in the country. However, the process of population concentration in the largest urban agglomeration stopped in the 1950s (see table 26). Thus, both the BAMA share of the total urban population of the country and its rate of growth have been decreasing, especially since 1970 (Lattes, 1990). Such trends are the result of the increasing out-migration experienced by BAMA coupled with a reduction of its attractiveness for in-migrants, both those originating in other regions of Argentina and those from abroad (Lattes and Mychaszula, 1985). In contrast, migration to medium-sized cities in Argentina (those having between 50,000 and 999,999 inhabitants) has been increasing and their share of both the total and overall urban population of the country has been growing (see table 26). Furthermore, the total number of medium-sized cities in Argentina rose from 15 to 41 during 1950-1980 (Vapnarsky and Gorjovskiy, 1990). Because of the high level of urbanization in Argentina and the dynamism of its cities, urban-urban migration has predominated in recent decades.

In Argentina, female labour force participation is high by Latin American standards but low when compared with that in developed countries, and most economically active women are concentrated in a narrow set of occupations. The proportion of economically active women grew rapidly from 1947 to 1970 and then more slowly until 1980, reaching 26.9 per cent among women aged 14 or over. The share of women in the total labour force reached 27.5 per cent in 1980, the highest in several decades, as female labour force participation rose concomitantly with a decline in male participation.

TABLE 26. INDICATORS OF URBANIZATION AND URBAN STRUCTURE, ARGENTINA, 1950-1980

Year	Percentage urban in Argentina	Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area as a percentage of		Medium-sized cities ^a as a percentage of	
		Total Argentina	Urban Argentina	Total Argentina	Urban Argentina
1950	65.8	30.6	46.4	16.2	24.3
1960	73.3	33.5	45.8	20.5	26.9
1970	79.3	36.1	45.5	24.8	31.3
1980	83.0	35.6	42.9	28.4	34.2

Sources: Alfredo E. Lattes and Sonia María Mychaszula, "Urbanization, migration and urban deconcentration in Argentina", Buenos Aires, 1985 (mimeographed); and César A. Vapnarsky and Néstor Gorojovsky, *El crecimiento urbano en la Argentina*, Colección Estudios Políticos y Sociales (Buenos Aires, Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1990).

^aThose with between 50,000 and 999,999 inhabitants.

The levels of female labour force participation displayed a fair degree of variation among the provinces and the federal capital, ranging from 22.2 to 33.7 per cent among women aged 14 or over in 1970. In 1980 that range had widened, with a low of 21.3 and a high of 40.2 per cent among women aged 14 or over. In 1980, the provinces with the highest female labour force participation levels were those located in the Patagonian region, where in-migration was also the highest (Mychaszula, Geldstein and Grushka, 1989; and CELADE, 1990). As in other Latin American countries, the incorporation of women into the Argentine labour market has been dual, with many of them working in manual occupations, particularly as domestic servants, and significant numbers working in non-manual occupations that include professionals and clerical or sales workers (ECLAC, 1989).

C. ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC EXPANSION OF NEUQUÉN CITY

Neuquén City is the capital of the Province of Neuquén, located in the northern Patagonian region, in an area of fluvial valleys known as the Alto Valle. A river separates Neuquén City from a neighbourhood of Cipolletti City, in the Province of Río Negro. In fact, Neuquén City is part of a larger metropolitan area—the Alto Valle de Río Negro y Neuquén or, in short, the Alto Valle Metropolitan Area—which encompasses both Neuquén City and Cipolletti City, as well as 14 smaller municipalities located mainly in the Province of Río Negro (Vapnarsky and Pantelides, 1987). Although it would have been desirable to analyse the migration and labour force participation of women in

terms of that metropolitan area, given the important economic and social interactions within it, the data did not permit such analysis because neither place of birth nor place of residence in 1975 was coded in such a way as to allow identification of the Alto Valle Metropolitan Area. Focusing on Neuquén City was the best possible compromise and it has some advantages in terms of policy implications because the city is administratively independent of that part of the metropolitan area that belongs to the Province of Río Negro.

During the 1930s and 1940s, when Neuquén was still a national territory rather than a province, Neuquén City had few administrative functions, sharing with other cities of the region the commercial and financial services required by the agricultural colonies located in Alto Valle. During those decades, its demographic growth was moderate. In 1955, when Neuquén was granted provincial status, the official functions of the city were multiplied and it began to grow faster. Other economic changes and the political stability that characterized the province for almost 30 years favourably affected the socio-economic structure of both the province and the city, leading to remarkable economic and demographic growth which greatly contrasted with the national process, especially in the 1970s. Thus, during the period 1970-1980, gross domestic product grew at an average annual rate of 10.7 per cent in the Province of Neuquén, as compared with 1.0 per cent for the country as a whole (Kloster, 1992).

When the north-western part of the Province of Neuquén, historically the most populated area, was affected by adverse policies against the economic activities predominating in that area, the population

began moving to areas closer to Neuquén City, located in the eastern part of the province. In the early 1960s, the exploitation of oil and natural gas increased considerably in the province, attracting a number of enterprises and related services to the city. In 1968, the construction of a hydroelectric complex in the province also triggered the growth of businesses, as well as of financial, personal and social services in the City. During the 1970s, the growth of the energy sector was accompanied by an increase in the manufacturing sector. The provincial government created an industrial park at Neuquén city and adopted tax incentives to attract investment. The movement of both capital and people to Neuquén City necessarily entailed the development of basic infrastructure. The construction sector grew continuously, together with wholesale and retail trade, hotels, restaurants, transportation, communications, entertainment and recreation, and professional and social services. All these activities generated increasing employment opportunities that attracted migrants from other parts of Argentina and from the neighbouring Chilean provinces.

Migration played an important role in the growth of Neuquén City from the time of its inception at the beginning of this century. The city has been populated by several waves of migrants, most of whom originated in the city of Buenos Aires and Buenos Aires Province as well as in Europe. Table 27 presents indicators of the population growth of Neuquén City and of the role played by migration. The population almost doubled during the 1960s and more than doubled

again during the 1970s. From a population of 12,900 in 1950,² the City reached 90,000 in 1980³, with net migration contributing more than 55 per cent of total population growth in every period since 1950. Since most migrants were in their prime reproductive ages upon arrival, they also contributed positively to the natural increase of Neuquén City. As is further illustrated below, the important contribution of migration to the demographic growth of Neuquén City has had profound consequences for its population structure, which is largely shaped by the different cohorts of migrants. In addition, at the provincial level, sharp decreases in both infant mortality and total fertility were recorded for the period 1970-1980. Those trends were probably paralleled by the city and are indicative of the very dynamic process of demographic and socio-economic change that it has been undergoing, which includes a substantial increase in the labour force participation of women as indicated by the gross number of years of working life.

D. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF FEMALE IN-MIGRANTS TO NEUQUÉN CITY

In 1980, migrants constituted over 77 per cent of all women aged 14 or over in Neuquén City. A majority (51 per cent) were settled migrants, that is, persons that in 1975 were already residents (see table 28). Recent migrants (those who had moved to Neuquén City after 1975) constituted 26 per cent of the women aged 14 or over, thus surpassing the proportion of non-migrants

TABLE 27. DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS OF NEUQUÉN CITY, 1950-1980

Year	Neuquén City			Neuquén Province		Neuquén City	
	Population	Growth rate per 1,000	Growth due to net migration (percentage)	Population as percentage of province population	Infant mortality	Total fertility	Gross years of working life for women
1950.....	12 850	-	-	14.8
1960.....	22 500	56.0	56.0	20.5
1970.....	43 001	64.8	67.3	27.8	108.4	5.2	16.5
1975.....	60 097	66.9	57.0	4.8	..
1980.....	90 089	81.0	64.3	36.9	32.3	4.3	18.9

Sources: César A. Vapnarsky and Edith A. Pantelides, eds., *La formación de un área metropolitana en la Patagonia: población y asentamiento en el Alto Valle*, Informes de Investigación del CEUR, No. 7 (Buenos Aires, Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales, 1987); and Sonia María Mychaszula and E. E. Kloster, "Crecimiento migratorio de la ciudad de Neuquén, cambio de la participación económica y del tamaño medio de la familia", solicited paper for the Conference on The Peopling of the Americas, Veracruz, Mexico, 1991.

TABLE 28. DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AGED 14 OR OVER BY AGE GROUP, MARITAL STATUS AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, ACCORDING TO MIGRATION STATUS AND REGION OF ORIGIN, NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980
(Percentage)

Migration status and region of origin	Number of women	Percentage	Age group			Marital status			Educational attainment		
			14-24	25-44	45-69	Single	Married	Widowed, divorced, separated	Low	Medium	High
Non-migrants	6 482	22.7	35.6	18.3	13.6	33.5	18.7	15.9	20.5	26.8	16.8
Total number of migrants	22 040	77.3	64.4	81.7	86.4	66.5	81.3	84.1	79.5	73.2	83.2
TOTAL	28 522	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Recent migrants	7 432	26.1	30.2	27.7	17.0	27.7	26.4	19.6	20.3	24.9	39.1
Argentina											
Neighbouring areas	3 945	13.8	18.6	13.3	8.2	16.4	13.2	10.4	13.9	13.5	14.6
Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area	898	3.1	2.3	3.8	3.1	2.3	3.4	3.6	1.3	2.7	7.5
Buenos Aires Province	718	2.5	2.0	3.1	2.1	2.2	2.7	2.3	1.1	2.3	5.6
Rest of Argentina	1 205	4.2	4.3	5.0	2.5	4.2	4.6	2.4	2.0	4.0	8.9
Other countries	666	2.3	3.0	2.5	1.0	2.6	2.5	0.9	2.1	2.4	2.5
Settled migrants	14 608	51.2	34.2	54.0	69.4	38.9	54.8	64.5	59.1	48.3	44.1
Argentina											
Neighbouring areas	7 558	26.5	20.3	27.7	32.7	23.1	27.3	31.5	36.3	24.0	15.1
Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area	834	2.9	2.3	3.0	3.7	2.5	3.0	3.6	0.8	3.2	6.1
Buenos Aires Province	1 314	4.6	2.5	4.1	8.5	2.9	5.1	6.7	2.5	5.2	6.9
Rest of Argentina	1 708	6.0	3.5	7.1	7.3	4.4	6.8	5.8	3.5	5.8	10.9
Other countries	3 194	11.2	5.7	12.1	17.1	6.0	12.7	16.9	16.0	10.2	5.1

*Low indicates incomplete primary school; medium indicates completed primary school but incomplete secondary school; high indicates completed secondary school or higher levels of education.

(22.7 per cent). Among both settled and recent female migrants, more than half in each category originated in neighbouring areas; and among settled female migrants, approximately one fifth originated outside Argentina, mainly in neighbouring provinces of Chile.

The contribution of migrants varied considerably according to age group. Among the youngest women (those aged 14-24), migrants accounted for only 64 per cent of the total mainly because that group includes many of the locally born daughters of migrants who arrived during the 1950s and 1960s. In contrast,

migrants accounted for 82 per cent of women aged 25-44 and for 86 per cent of those aged 45 or over. As in the case of the total female population aged 14 or over, settled migrants accounted for greater proportions of the female population in each age group than recent migrants and the proportions of settled migrants increased with age. Thus, among women aged 25-44, 54 per cent were settled migrants and the equivalent proportion was 69 per cent among women aged 45 or over. Recent migrants, in contrast, accounted for declining proportions of women as age increased, reflecting the fact the migrants are generally concen-

trated at younger ages at the time of migration. Interestingly, the proportion of female migrants originating in foreign countries was especially high among women aged 45 or over (18 per cent) and most belonged to the settled category, indicating the effect that past levels of international migration, mostly from Europe, had had on Neuquén City.

Similar distribution patterns were observed with respect to marital status, as it is highly correlated with age. Thus, migrants accounted for a relatively low proportion of single women (67 per cent) and for considerably higher proportions of married (81 per cent) and of widowed, divorced or separated women (84 per cent). Settled female migrants were more numerous among all marital status groups, particularly among the widowed, divorced or separated, whereas recent migrants accounted for slightly over one quarter of both single and married women.

With regard to educational attainment, migrants were somewhat overrepresented among women with incomplete primary education and among those with at least a completed secondary-school education. They were slightly underrepresented among women who had completed primary education but had not completed secondary school. In relation to their proportion in the entire population, recent migrants tended to be overrepresented among the most educated group of women. Such overrepresentation was especially marked among recent migrants from BAMA, Buenos Aires Province and the rest of Argentina. In contrast, settled female migrants, especially those originating in neighbouring areas and in foreign countries, tended to be underrepresented in the group of women with high educational attainment. Settled migrants from the other three regions were all overrepresented in that group.

Although in 1980 the number of female migrants in Neuquén City was almost the same as the number of male migrants (the sex ratio was 99.9 men per 100 women), there were important differences between the two populations (see table 29). Among recent migrants, men constituted 52 per cent, thus outnumbering women, whereas among settled migrants, they constituted 49 per cent, being therefore outnumbered by women. The differences were even more marked for the different migration streams (see sex ratios in table 29). Women tended to outnumber men among

migrants from neighbouring areas, both with respect to recent and to settled migrants, and there was also a preponderance of women among recent migrants from foreign countries (most of whom originated in Chile). In contrast, men outnumbered women in every other stream. Therefore, these data appear to corroborate the hypothesis made by Ravenstein (1885) with regard to the fact that women tend to predominate in migration flows over shorter distances.

Table 29 also permits a comparison of the age distribution of different groups of migrant women with that of non-migrants. The non-migrant female population is highly concentrated in age group 14-24, which accounts for about half of all non-migrant women aged 14 or over. This remarkable concentration is the result of the earlier migration of women of reproductive ages whose children constitute a large proportion of the non-migrant population. Recent migrants tend to be more concentrated in age group 25-44 and even in that aged 45 or over. Settled migrants display an even older age distribution, with a very high proportion in age group 45 or over, reflecting indirectly the time elapsed since migration. Among recent female migrants, those originating in neighbouring areas and in foreign countries tend to be significantly younger than the rest. In contrast, among settled female migrants, those originating in Buenos Aires Province and in foreign countries tend to be older.

There is a high correlation between the age distribution and that by marital status. Thus, the proportion single is higher among those groups having the highest proportions of young women (non-migrants and recent migrants, especially those coming from neighbouring areas and from foreign countries). To control for the effect of age, the distributions by marital status have been standardized. Such standardization reduces the differences between the different groups considered, indicating that age is the major factor behind the differences observed at first. It is worth noting, however, that according to the standardized distributions, migrant women are slightly more likely to be married than non-migrants and that they are also considerably less likely to be widowed, divorced or separated.

With respect to the distribution by educational attainment, table 29 shows that there are important differences between migrant and non-migrant women. In particular, a higher proportion of migrant women

TABLE 29. SEX RATIO BY MIGRATION STATUS AND DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AGED 14 OR OVER BY MIGRATION STATUS AND REGION OF ORIGIN, ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP, MARITAL STATUS^a AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT^b, NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980
(Percentage)

Migration status and region of origin	Number	Sex ratio	Age structure			Marital status			Age-standardized marital status			Educational attainment ^b			Age-standardized educational attainment ^b		
			14-24 25-44 45-69			Single	Married	Widowed, divorced, separated	Single	Married	Widowed, divorced, separated	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
			14-24	25-44	45-69												
Non-migrants	6 482	90.7	49.7	36.8	13.5	42.9	49.7	7.4	30.5	58.2	11.3	31.0	54.6	14.3	34.8	49.8	15.4
Total of migrants	22 040	99.9	26.4	48.4	25.2	25.1	63.4	11.5	28.6	61.0	10.4	35.3	43.9	20.8	34.6	45.0	20.4
TOTAL	28 522	97.8	31.7	45.7	22.6	29.1	60.3	10.6	29.1	60.3	10.6	34.4	46.3	19.3	34.4	46.3	19.3
Recent migrants	7 432	107.8	36.7	48.6	14.7	30.9	61.1	8.0	28.9	60.4	10.7	26.8	44.2	29.0	29.3	44.1	26.6
Argentina	3 945	94.4	42.6	44.0	13.5	34.6	57.5	8.0	28.8	59.8	11.4	34.5	45.1	20.4	36.7	43.5	19.8
Neighbouring areas...	898	123.9	23.2	54.8	22.0	21.7	66.0	12.2	27.7	60.8	11.6	14.0	39.9	46.1	14.4	44.4	41.2
Metropolitan Area	718	173.0	25.5	55.7	18.8	24.9	65.6	9.5	27.3	62.4	10.4	14.9	42.2	42.9	17.3	46.7	35.9
Buenos Aires Province	1 205	119.5	32.2	54.3	13.5	28.6	65.4	6.0	29.4	61.9	8.7	15.9	43.4	40.7	20.0	46.2	33.8
Rest of Argentina	666	74.2	40.4	49.7	9.9	32.3	63.5	4.2	29.2	61.5	9.3	31.1	47.9	21.0	36.6	45.7	17.6
Other countries	14 608	95.9	21.2	48.2	30.6	22.1	64.6	13.3	28.6	61.0	10.4	39.7	43.7	16.6	36.8	46.5	16.7
Settled migrants	7 558	83.0	24.3	47.8	27.9	25.3	62.1	12.6	30.0	59.1	11.0	47.0	41.9	11.0	44.7	44.2	11.1
Argentina	834	118.8	25.1	46.3	28.7	25.3	61.5	13.2	29.4	59.4	11.2	9.4	50.0	40.6	8.6	50.1	41.3
Neighbouring areas...	1 314	110.6	17.2	40.9	41.9	18.3	66.4	15.3	28.1	63.0	8.9	18.7	52.5	28.8	13.5	53.9	32.6
Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area	1 708	107.1	18.3	54.1	27.6	21.4	68.4	10.2	30.1	61.3	8.6	20.2	44.5	35.2	18.5	47.6	33.9
Province	3 194	108.6	16.0	49.5	34.4	15.5	68.5	16.0	24.3	65.6	10.1	49.1	42.1	8.8	45.6	45.7	8.6
Rest of Argentina																	
Other countries																	

^aObserved and standardized by age. The age distribution used as standard is that of all women aged 14-69 resident in Neuquén City.

^bLow indicates incomplete primary school; medium indicates completed primary school but incomplete secondary school; high indicates completed secondary school or higher levels of education.

have completed secondary school or higher levels of education than non-migrants and that difference is maintained after standardization by age. Recent female migrants are better educated than both settled migrants and non-migrants, especially when they originate in BAMA, in Buenos Aires Province or in other non-neighbouring provinces of Argentina. Settled migrants with the same origins also display relatively high levels of educational attainment, especially those coming from BAMA, who may have arrived in Neuquén in relatively recent periods. That is, migrant women from within Argentina originating in other than neighbouring areas constitute an educated élite among the female residents of Neuquén City. In contrast, among migrants from neighbouring areas and those from foreign countries, the proportion of women who have not completed elementary education is relatively high, even higher than among non-migrants.

All these comparisons indicate the heterogeneity characterizing migrant women. Recent female migrants from neighbouring areas, whether from Argentina or from neighbouring countries, tend to be younger and have lower levels of educational attainment than other recent female migrants. Those originating in other regions of Argentina, including Buenos Aires Province and BAMA, tend to be older and to have higher levels of educational attainment. Among settled migrants, the patterns are not so distinct because the group itself is more heterogeneous, incorporating as it does the net migration gain over a period of several years of various in-migration waves. Yet, settled migrants from neighbouring areas and those from foreign countries display also considerably lower levels of educational attainment than those originating in other areas.

E. LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF FEMALE IN-MIGRANTS TO NEUQUÉN CITY

In Latin America, migrant women tend to have higher labour force participation than non-migrant women at the place of destination (Raczynski, 1983; Elton, 1978; and Orlansky and Dubrovsky, 1978). With very few exceptions (see Raczynski, 1983; Herold, 1979; and Martine and Peliano, 1978), most studies on the labour force participation of migrant women refer either to capital cities or very large

metropolitan areas and do not control for characteristics that are expected to influence labour force participation among women, such as marital status, education or number of children. Raczynski (1983) notes that the proportion of women in the labour force, whether migrant or non-migrant, is higher in those cities having an employment structure in which manufacturing and service activities predominate.

The literature comparing the economic activity of migrants with that of non-migrants in the place of origin is even scarcer; and the few studies available refer to periods when migration originated mainly in rural areas, where female labour force participation has been traditionally low in most Latin American countries, at least as far as available statistics indicate. Economic activity tends to increase when migrants arrive in urban areas, especially large metropolitan areas (Elton, 1978). However, such experience is becoming less relevant for countries like Argentina, where most internal migrants are now moving from one urban area to another and sometimes from large urban agglomerations to smaller ones.

To compare the labour force experience of female migrants at Neuquén City and non-migrants according to the 1980 census, the gross number of years of working life was calculated in the usual way, that is, by multiplying the age-specific activity rates by the length in years of each age interval and adding them up over the full age range being considered. The resulting indicators for each group of women considered are shown in table 30. Two groups of non-migrants were used. Those listed as "total" correspond to the population of non-migrants at Neuquén City in 1980. Those identified by region of origin include all persons resident in the respective regions in 1980. Ideally, recent migrants at the place of destination should be compared with the population at the place of origin as it was before migration (in this case, as of 1975), but the information needed to perform that comparison is not available. The closest approximation possible is to consider the characteristics of the resident female population, irrespective of migration status, as of 1980. Because at the provincial level in 1980, recent in-migrants constituted a small proportion of the total resident population (CELADE, 1990), the inclusion of recent in-migrants in the calculation of labour force indicators for the areas of origin is not likely to bias those indicators significantly.

TABLE 30. GROSS NUMBER OF YEARS OF WORKING LIFE FOR WOMEN AGED 14-69, BY AGE GROUP, MIGRATION STATUS AND REGION OF ORIGIN, NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980

Region of origin	Non-migrants	Recent migrants	Settled migrants
A. Age group 14-24			
Neighbouring areas	3.4	4.9	4.0
Buenos Aires			
Metropolitan Area	4.4	3.8	3.8
Buenos Aires Province	3.7	4.4	4.1
Rest of Argentina	3.0	4.1	4.0
TOTAL	4.0 ^a	4.7	4.0
B. Age group 25-44			
Neighbouring areas	6.2	8.9	8.8
Buenos Aires			
Metropolitan Area	7.8	9.7	11.1
Buenos Aires Province	7.1	10.1	9.9
Rest of Argentina	6.4	8.9	10.6
TOTAL	9.4 ^a	9.2	9.4
C. Age group 45-69			
Neighbouring areas	3.6	6.0	6.1
Buenos Aires			
Metropolitan Area	4.9	5.5	6.1
Buenos Aires Province	4.3	4.6	5.6
Rest of Argentina	3.9	2.9	6.8
TOTAL	6.4 ^a	5.2	6.1
D. Total			
Neighbouring areas	13.2	19.8	18.9
Buenos Aires			
Metropolitan Area	17.1	19.0	21.0
Buenos Aires Province	15.1	19.1	19.6
Rest of Argentina	13.3	15.9	21.4
TOTAL	19.8 ^a	19.1	19.5

Source: For resident female population in regions of origin, Argentina, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos: *Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda, 1980*; Series D, *Población: total del país, por provincia, departamento y localidad* (Buenos Aires, n.d.).

^aRefers to non-migrant women in Neuquén City. It is therefore not the weighted average of the rest of the figures in this column which refer to the resident female population in the different regions of origin in 1980.

As table 30 indicates, there is relatively little difference between the estimated gross number of years of working life of non-migrant women in Neuquén City and those of migrant women, whether recent or settled

migrants. Indeed, non-migrant women have a slightly higher gross number of years of working life than recent migrants. The differentials, however, vary considerably by age group. Thus, among those aged 14-24, recent migrants have 0.7 year of working life more than non-migrants, a difference of 18 per cent. At ages 25-44, the difference between the two groups is minimal, 0.2 year in favour of non-migrant women, but it increases again for age group 45-69, with non-migrants surpassing once more recent migrants by 1.2 years. That is, although young recent migrants tend to work more than non-migrants and settled migrants, over age 25 the latter work for longer periods than the former. There are also differences between the various migration streams. Among recent female migrants, the number of gross years of working life is markedly lower for those originating in the rest of Argentina, whereas among settled migrants the lowest value occurs among those from neighbouring areas, although the differences between streams are less marked.

When the years of working life are calculated for populations in the area of origin, they indicate that both recent and settled migrant women in Neuquén City would work considerably longer during their lives than women in the areas of origin were the labour force participation rates observed in 1980 to remain constant. This finding supports the hypothesis that most women migrate for economic reasons and female labour force participation is strongly determined by existing economic opportunities. The largest differences are between recent female migrants from areas neighbouring Neuquén City and the female residents of those regions (6.6 years) and between settled female migrants from the rest of Argentina and female residents of that region (8.1 years). The consideration of specific age groups further indicates that for both of those areas of origin, the number of years of working life is higher among female migrants, whether recent or settled, in each age group than among the female population resident in the areas of origin. For BAMA, however, younger female residents (ages 15-24) have more years of working life than their migrant counterparts in Neuquén City, whereas for other Argentine provinces, recent female migrants aged 45-69 have less years of working life than either residents of those provinces or migrants from those provinces that settled in Neuquén City.

TABLE 31. GROSS NUMBER OF YEARS OF WORKING LIFE FOR WOMEN AGED 14-69, BY MIGRATION STATUS, AGE GROUP AND MARITAL STATUS, NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980

Age group	Single			Married			Widowed, divorced, separated		
	Non-migrants	Recent migrants	Settled migrants	Non-migrants	Recent migrants	Settled migrants	Non-migrants	Recent migrants	Settled migrants
14-24	5.3	6.4	5.5	2.1	1.9	1.7	a	a	a
25-44	15.9	17.1	17.0	7.5	7.1	6.8	16.2	16.7	16.5
45-69	10.3	12.7	11.9	5.2	4.2	4.3	8.7	6.6	8.3
TOTAL	31.5	36.2	34.4	14.8	13.2	12.8	24.9	23.3	24.8

*Not available because of the small number of cases observed.

Given that age is highly correlated with marital status and that the latter factor is also highly correlated with female labour force participation, it is important to consider the gross number of years of working life according to type of migrant, marital status and age (see table 31). The non-migrants considered in this case are only those enumerated in Neuquén City in 1980. Interestingly, only among single women do migrants, whether recent or settled, consistently have more years of working life than non-migrants in every age group. Among married women, in contrast, the number of years of working life is consistently higher among non-migrants than among migrants, whether recent or settled; and the same relationship tends to hold among widowed, divorced or separated women except for age group 25-44. That is, the distribution by marital status is crucial in determining the types of differentials between migrant and non-migrant women. In terms of the differences between recent and settled female migrants, there is a tendency for the former group to have more years of working life than the latter if they are single or married and for almost every age group. However, the differences between the two groups of migrant women are generally smaller than those between them and non-migrants.

To take into account variations arising from the place of origin, the number of years of working life were calculated for two groups of women, single women aged 14-24 and married women aged 25-44, by migration status and place of origin (see table 32). For all the regions of origin considered, recent young single migrants have more years of working life than their settled counterparts. Among married women, however, settled migrants originating in Buenos Aires

TABLE 32. GROSS NUMBER OF YEARS OF WORKING LIFE FOR SINGLE MIGRANT WOMEN AGED 14-24 AND MARRIED MIGRANT WOMEN AGED 25-44, BY REGION OF ORIGIN, NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980

Region of origin	Single aged 14-24		Married aged 25-44	
	Recent migrants	Settled migrants	Recent migrants	Settled migrants
All migrants	6.4	5.5	7.1	6.8
Argentina				
Neighbouring areas	6.7	5.8	6.9	6.5
Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area	5.5	4.7	8.3	10.0
Buenos Aires Province	6.5	5.2	8.4	8.7
Rest of Argentina	5.8	4.6	6.4	9.1
Other countries	6.1	5.7	5.3	4.9

Province, BAMA and the rest of Argentina have more years of working life than both their recent migrant counterparts and married non-migrants. Those groups of settled migrant women, in addition to being highly educated, also have in their favour a longer stay in the city and a better knowledge of it that is likely to facilitate their making arrangements to take care of their domestic duties even when they themselves work outside the home.

A direct comparison of the labour force participation of recent female migrants to Neuquén City with that of the population in the areas of origin by age and marital status was only possible through the indirect standardization of the labour force participation rates sepa-

TABLE 33. COMPARISON OF OBSERVED AND AGE-STANDARDIZED^a PROPORTIONS OF SINGLE AND MARRIED WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE, BY SELECTED REGIONS OF RESIDENCE OR ORIGIN

Region of residence or origin	Single		Married	
	Observed	Standardized	Observed	Standardized
Neighbouring areas	43.2	61.2	17.3	28.6
Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area	50.9	51.7	22.7	30.2
Buenos Aires Province	43.9	60.9	21.3	30.8
Rest of Argentina	37.1	54.5	18.4	23.4

Source: Argentina, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda, 1980*; Series D, *Población: total del país, por provincia, departamento y localidad* (Buenos Aires, n.d.).

^aThe proportions were standardized by multiplying the resident population by age and marital status by the proportion of migrant women in the labour force of Neuquén City according to region of origin.

rately for single and married women. Standardized indicators were calculated by multiplying the resident population of each area of origin classified by age and marital status by the proportions of women in the labour force observed among recent migrants to Neuquén City classified by age, marital status and area of origin (see table 33). Standardization was not applied to the group of widowed, divorced and separated women that were recent migrants because their labour force participation rates were based on a very small number of cases.

As table 33 indicates, the standardized proportions of women in the labour force which represent the experience of recent female migrants in Neuquén City are consistently higher than those observed among the resident population of the areas of origin. That is, even after controlling for age and marital status, recent female migrants to Neuquén City have higher labour force participation rates than the resident population of their places of origin. It is noteworthy that only among single women originating in BAMA are the observed and standardized labour force participation rates relatively similar, indicating that both female residents in BAMA and female migrants originating there have equal propensities to participate in the labour force.

F. THE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANT WOMEN AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

The evidence concerning the relation between education and female labour force participation is mixed: although most case-studies show that a positive relation exists between the two factors, some studies

document that the relation follows a U-shaped curve (Standing, 1978). The data for the female population of Argentina as a whole show a positive relation, with women having higher levels of educational attainment being more likely to participate in the labour force, a relation that holds true even when controlling for age and family status (Wainerman, 1979; Sautu, 1991). The data on non-migrant and migrant women at Neuquén City corroborate the existence of a positive relation between educational attainment and female labour force participation among both female non-migrants and settled migrants (see table 34), but for recent migrants the relation is better described as J-shaped, with women that did not complete elementary school and those that completed secondary school or attained a higher level having more years of working life than recent female migrants with intermediate levels of educational attainment.

Table 34 also shows the number of years of working life by age group, educational attainment and migration status. There are, however, few generalizations that can be made from those data. The number of years of working life tend to be highest among women who have completed secondary school or attained a higher level, irrespective of migration status. Among those women, the differentials between migrants and non-migrants vary by age group. Under age 45, the highest number of years of working life are exhibited by non-migrant women, followed by settled migrants and lastly by recent migrants. For age group 45-69, the 9.7 years of working life among settled migrants is considerably higher than the 8.3 or the 8.1 years of recent migrants or non-migrants, respectively.

TABLE 34. GROSS NUMBER OF YEARS OF WORKING LIFE, BY AGE GROUP, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND MIGRATION STATUS OF WOMEN AGED 14-69, NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980

Age group	Non-migrants	Recent migrants	Settled migrants
<i>A. Low educational attainment</i>			
14-24	3.2	4.7	3.4
25-44	6.3	6.8	6.5
45-69	5.5	5.2	5.3
TOTAL	15.0	16.7	15.2
<i>B. Medium educational attainment</i>			
14-24	3.7	4.1	3.5
25-44	9.2	6.8	7.9
45-69	6.5	3.9	5.3
TOTAL	19.4	14.8	16.7
<i>C. High educational attainment</i>			
14-24	6.4	4.7	5.8
25-44	15.2	13.1	14.1
45-69	8.1	8.3	9.7
TOTAL	29.7	26.1	29.6
<i>D. Total</i>			
14-24	4.0	4.6	3.9
25-44	9.4	9.1	8.8
45-69	6.4	5.2	5.8
TOTAL	19.8	18.9	18.5

*Low indicates incomplete primary school; medium indicates completed primary school but incomplete secondary school; high indicates completed secondary school or higher levels of education.

Similarly, among women with intermediate levels of educational attainment (completed elementary school but incomplete secondary), non-migrants have higher years of working life if they are over age 25. Settled migrants exhibit the next higher levels, followed by those of recent migrants. Only among the youngest women, those aged 14-24, do recent migrants with intermediate educational levels have more years of working life than their non-migrant and settled migrant counterparts. It would seem, therefore, that education as a promoter of labour force participation has a greater impact on non-migrant women or on settled migrants than on women who have migrated more recently, probably because women belonging to the first two groups have had time to develop better strategies to combine their reproductive and their productive roles.

Among the women with the lowest educational attainment (incomplete primary), recent migrants have a higher number of years of working life than non-migrants and settled migrants when under age 45. For those aged 45-69, non-migrants and settled migrants again exhibit higher number of years of working life, although the differences between the groups are relatively small.

Differentials by region of origin are considered only for age group 25-44; and they indicate that among women with intermediate and higher levels of educational attainment, settled migrants tend to have longer years of working life than recent migrants. The few exceptions include women originating in Buenos Aires Province (excluding BAMA), though for them the differences between settled and recent migrants are small; and women from foreign countries with an intermediate educational level. Also noteworthy is that among those with low educational attainment, recent migrants have a slightly higher number of years of working life than settled migrants, especially among migrants originating in other countries. With regard to differentials by region of origin and educational attainment, no clear pattern emerges among either recent or settled migrants (see table 35).

These comparisons have shown that the labour force participation of both migrant and non-migrant women varies considerably according to level of educational attainment and age group. In general, the number of years of working life among women aged 25-44 are higher in both absolute and relative terms than among younger or older women; and for that age group, the years of working life tend to increase with educational attainment for each group of women considered—non-migrants, recent and settled migrants—thus corroborating the traditional relation between educational attainment and labour force participation typical of the Argentine population. The only possible exception to this pattern is that of recent migrants, for whom the number of years of working life among women with low and intermediate educational levels remains the same. That lack of increase, coupled with the low number of years of working life observed among recent migrants aged 14-24 and 45-69, with medium levels of education, is responsible for the J-shaped relationship observed between the educational attain-

TABLE 35. GROSS NUMBER OF YEARS OF WORKING LIFE FOR MIGRANT WOMEN AGED 25-44,
BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT,^a NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980

Age group	Low		Medium		High	
	Recent migrants	Settled migrants	Recent migrants	Settled migrants	Recent migrants	Settled migrants
All migrants	6.8	6.5	6.8	7.9	13.1	14.1
Argentina						
Neighbouring areas	7.1	7.0	7.2	8.9	13.7	14.2
Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area	^b	^b	6.6	8.5	12.2	14.1
Buenos Aires Province	^b	^b	7.3	7.2	14.5	14.1
Rest of Argentina	^b	^b	5.5	7.2	13.0	15.3
Other countries	6.3	5.8	7.5	6.5	9.0	10.8

^aLow indicates incomplete primary school; medium indicates completed primary school but incomplete secondary school; high indicates completed secondary school or higher levels of education.

^bNot available because of the small number of cases observed.

ment and the labour force participation of recent migrants in general. These comparisons therefore suggest that recent migrants have a significantly different experience from either their settled or their non-migrant counterparts in terms of how their educational attainment relates to their labour force participation. As was suggested above, it may be that recent migrants face added constraints or, in some cases, added pressures to participate in the labour force in comparison with those experienced by women that had been living at Neuquén City for longer periods. In particular, their marital status and other family characteristics are likely to play a significant role in mediating the relation between education and labour force participation.

G. THE POSITION OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE LABOUR-MARKET

As is well known, economically active women are usually confined to a narrow set of occupations that are labelled "women's work" and include some of the less prestigious and more poorly paid jobs with few prospects for promotion. Given that in Argentina economically active women tend to be either manual workers, especially domestic servants, or professional, clerical and sales workers (ECLAC, 1989), the question is whether the different types of migrants in Neuquén City find themselves segregated into the same set of occupations and to what extent that segregation varies between migrant and non-migrant women.

To address that issue, the occupational distributions of non-migrant women, recent and settled female

migrants by region of origin are compared. According to the distributions by occupation presented in table 36, women in Neuquén City appear to conform to the dual incorporation into the labour-market already described for Argentina as a whole. Thus, irrespective of migration status, high proportions of economically active women work as clerical and administrative workers or as sales workers, on the one hand, and as domestic service workers, on the other. Among non-migrant women, nearly 51 per cent work as clerical or sales workers, compared with 36 per cent among recent migrants and 38 per cent among settled migrants. Those in domestic service account for 19 per cent of non-migrant women, 28 per cent of recent migrants and 22 per cent of settled migrants. In contrast, the group of occupations requiring higher qualifications—namely, professionals, administrative and managerial workers, teachers, clerical supervisors, managers and foremen, and technical workers—accounts for 13 per cent of non-migrant women, 25 per cent of recent migrants and 20 per cent of settled migrants. That is, higher proportions of migrant women than of non-migrants tend to work in occupations requiring higher skills, but migrants are also more likely than non-migrants to work in domestic service, thus corroborating their greater tendency to experience a dual incorporation into the labour-market.

It is worth noting that, given the rapid economic and demographic growth of Neuquén City, active campaigns for the recruitment of highly skilled workers, particularly professionals, were carried out in the rest of the country, especially by disseminating vacancy announcements in the national universities for the

TABLE 36. DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AGED 14-69 IN THE LABOUR FORCE, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, MIGRATION STATUS AND REGION OF ORIGIN, NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980
(Percentage)

Occupational group	Non-migrants	Recent migrants	Settled migrants
<i>A. Distribution by migration status</i>			
Total distribution	22.6	28.5	48.9
Professional	6.7	56.8	36.5
Administrative and managerial workers	22.0	24.4	53.7
Teachers	13.6	36.5	49.9
Clerical supervisors, managers and foremen	18.8	25.9	55.4
Technical workers	21.2	25.3	53.5
Clerical and related workers	29.1	27.1	43.8
Sales workers	27.4	22.3	50.3
Specialized workers	21.5	20.3	58.2
Labourers and other unqualified workers	25.3	11.6	63.2
Domestic service workers	18.8	35.1	46.1
Occupations inadequately described	21.5	30.7	47.9
<i>B. Distribution by occupational group</i>			
Professional	0.8	5.3	2.0
Administrative and managerial workers	0.4	0.3	0.4
Teachers	6.7	14.3	11.4
Clerical supervisors, managers and foremen	0.9	0.9	1.2
Technical workers	4.4	4.2	5.1
Clerical and related workers	32.7	24.2	22.8
Sales workers	17.9	11.6	15.3
Specialized workers	6.5	4.9	8.1
Labourers and other unqualified workers	8.0	2.9	9.2
Domestic service workers	19.2	28.4	21.7
Occupations inadequately described	2.7	3.0	2.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Highly skilled workers	13.2	25.0	20.1
Medium-level workers	57.1	40.7	46.2
Unskilled workers	27.2	31.3	30.9

recruitment of civil servants. One can indirectly ascertain the success of such campaigns by noting that when each occupational category is distributed according to migrant status, recent female migrants are heavily overrepresented among professionals (see the lower panel of table 36). They are also overrepresented among teachers and slightly less so among domestic workers and occupations inadequately described (probably encompassing mostly unqualified occupations). Settled female migrants, in contrast, are either underrepresented or adequately represented in all those occupational categories, but they are overrepresented among administrative and managerial workers, cleri-

cal supervisors, managers and foremen, technical workers, sales workers, specialized workers, and labourers and other unqualified workers. Despite such differences, however, both groups of migrant women tend to be highly overrepresented both in occupations requiring higher skills and in those requiring minimum skills. Non-migrant women, in contrast, are overrepresented in the middle-level occupations.

With respect to region of origin, there are marked differences in the occupational distribution of migrant women originating in neighbouring areas and foreign countries, on the one hand, and those originating in

BAMA and the rest of Buenos Aires Province and in other Argentine provinces on the other (see table 37). Among both recent and settled female migrants, those originating in areas neighbouring Neuquén City tend to be concentrated in unskilled work, especially in domestic service, or in middle-level occupations (clerical and related workers, sales workers and specialized workers). Thus, the former category accounts for 42 and 39 per cent, respectively, of recent and settled female migrants from neighbouring areas, whereas the

TABLE 37. DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AGED 14-69 IN THE LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND MIGRATION STATUS, NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980
(Percentage)

Occupational group	Buenos Aires				
	Neighbouring areas	Metropolitan Area	Buenos Aires Province	Rest of Argentina	Other countries
<i>A. Recent migrants</i>					
Professional	1.7	13.9	13.2	8.3	0.4
Administrative and managerial workers	0.1	0.3	1.3	0.6	0.0
Teachers	10.7	18.0	20.3	26.2	1.3
Clerical supervisors, managers and foremen	1.0	1.6	0.6	0.6	0.9
Technical workers	3.1	6.3	6.8	4.7	4.4
Clerical and related workers	22.6	28.3	26.0	31.8	10.1
Sales workers	11.0	13.9	14.8	10.1	11.0
Specialized workers	4.6	5.4	6.4	3.4	7.0
Labourers and other unqualified workers	4.0	1.1	2.9	1.0	2.2
Domestic service workers	37.9	8.2	6.4	10.8	59.6
Occupations inadequately described	3.5	3.0	1.3	2.4	3.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Highly skilled workers	16.6	40.1	42.2	40.4	7.0
Medium-level workers	38.2	47.6	47.2	45.3	28.1
Unskilled workers	41.9	9.3	9.3	11.8	61.8
<i>B. Settled migrants</i>					
Professional	0.6	10.1	3.6	4.1	0.7
Administrative and managerial workers	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.0
Teachers	6.5	24.5	24.8	26.8	2.0
Clerical supervisors, managers and foremen	0.8	3.2	1.1	2.0	0.8
Technical workers	5.6	4.0	4.0	4.7	5.0
Clerical and related workers	22.9	29.7	27.2	29.5	11.4
Sales workers	13.6	17.9	18.9	12.6	19.8
Specialized workers	8.0	3.7	9.5	5.7	11.8
Labourers and other unqualified workers	12.3	2.6	2.9	3.5	10.1
Domestic service workers	26.6	1.2	4.0	8.2	35.4
Occupations inadequately described	2.7	2.9	3.2	2.3	3.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Highly skilled workers	13.9	42.1	34.3	38.3	8.5
Medium-level workers	44.5	51.3	55.6	47.8	43.0
Unskilled workers	38.9	3.8	6.9	11.7	45.4

latter accounts for 38 and 45 per cent, respectively, of the same groups. Among migrants originating in other countries, those that arrived recently are even more concentrated in unskilled occupations (62 per cent), particularly in domestic service (60 per cent), with middle-level occupations accounting for considerably lower proportions than in other groups (28 per cent). Settled migrants from other countries also have high percentages in unskilled occupations (45 per cent) and in middle-level occupations (43 per cent), but the distribution between the two is more balanced.

In contrast, migrant women originating in the rest of Argentina tend to be fairly evenly distributed between the highly skilled occupations and middle-level work. Recent female migrants, in general, comprise higher proportions in the highly skilled occupations than settled migrants, though some exceptions arise by region of origin. Thus, among recent migrants originating in BAMA, 40 per cent were in highly skilled

occupations, compared with 42 per cent among settled female migrants from the same region. For Buenos Aires Province and the other provinces of Argentina, the equivalent proportions of highly skilled workers were 42 and 40 per cent among recent migrant women and 34 and 38 per cent among settled migrants. In all cases, the proportion of female migrants originating in those three regions and working in middle-level occupations surpassed 45 per cent and even reached 56 per cent among settled migrants originating in Buenos Aires Province.

Another interesting comparison is that of the occupational distribution of women in the regions of origin with that of recent migrant women in Neuquén City by region of origin. Such a comparison, however, must be interpreted with some caution, because the occupational distribution in both the area of origin and that of destination is dependent upon the economic structure of each location. Table 38 presents the occupational

TABLE 38. OBSERVED AND STANDARDIZED^a DISTRIBUTIONS OF WOMEN AGED 14-69 IN THE LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND REGION OF ORIGIN
(Percentage)

Occupational group	Resident population of							
	Neighbouring areas		Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area		Buenos Aires Province		Rest of Argentina	
	Observed	Standardized	Observed	Standardized	Observed	Standardized	Observed	Standardized
Professional	2.2	1.8	3.4	12.1	2.6	11.0	2.3	7.4
Administrative and managerial workers	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.5
Teachers	13.1	11.7	7.9	14.9	12.0	16.8	14.1	25.5
Clerical supervisors, managers and foremen ...	0.8	1.0	0.9	2.2	0.6	1.8	0.6	0.5
Technical workers	4.9	3.9	4.8	7.2	4.7	9.2	4.9	4.6
Clerical and related workers	19.1	21.4	25.2	27.6	18.2	23.9	17.9	30.2
Sales workers	13.7	11.1	13.4	15.1	13.6	15.3	12.8	12.1
Specialized workers	14.7	5.8	18.9	6.4	18.1	7.8	13.5	4.1
Labourers and other unqualified workers	7.0	4.0	3.7	2.2	5.0	4.2	5.6	0.9
Domestic service workers ..	21.2	35.2	18.5	9.6	19.8	7.9	23.5	11.5
Occupations inadequately described	3.2	4.1	3.0	2.6	5.2	1.2	4.7	2.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Highly skilled workers	21.2	18.5	17.3	36.6	20.1	39.8	22.0	38.5
Medium-level workers	47.5	38.3	57.5	49.1	49.9	47.0	44.2	46.4
Unskilled workers	28.2	39.2	22.2	11.8	24.8	12.1	29.1	12.4

Source: Argentina, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda, 1980*; Series D, *Población: total del país, por provincia, departamento y localidad* (Buenos Aires, n.d.).

^aStandardized distributions were calculated by multiplying the resident population by age group by the proportion of recent migrant women classified by occupational group according to region of origin.

distribution of the female labour force resident in the different regions of origin and the standardized distribution obtained by multiplying the resident population by age group by the proportions of recent migrants originating in the relevant region in each occupational category.

The comparison between the observed and the standardized occupational distributions indicates that whereas migrants from areas neighbouring Neuquén City are selected downward in the occupational scale with respect to the population in the areas of origin, those from other regions are selected upward. Thus, for BAMA, the proportion of highly skilled workers among the female labour force resident in the area amounted to 17 per cent, whereas that implied by the occupational distribution of recent female migrants to Neuquén City was more than double, reaching almost 37 per cent. The equivalent comparison for the unskilled categories amounted to 22 per cent among residents versus 12 per cent according to the migrant distribution. As table 38 indicates, the comparisons for both Buenos Aires Province and other Argentine provinces indicate similar differentials. In contrast, the economically active female population resident in areas neighbouring Neuquén City comprised 21 per cent of highly skilled workers, 48 per cent in the middle-level occupations and 28 in the unskilled jobs, which compare favourably with the percentage distribution implied by the occupations of recent migrants—19 in highly skilled occupations, 38 in middle-level and 39 in unskilled. That is, recent migrants from areas near Neuquén City are highly selected from the lower end of the occupational scale and adequately selected from the high end to the detriment of those in middle-level occupations. Those from farther away are, on the contrary, adequately selected from the middle range of the occupational scale and highly selected from the upper end, implying that they can exercise greater selectivity in entering the local labour-market than can migrants from areas in the vicinity.

Further insight into the segmentation of the labour-market can be gained by considering the labour force participation of women in the formal and informal sectors of the economy. The literature on the topic is abundant (see, for example, PREALC, 1990a and 1990b; Portes, 1990); and it generally emphasizes the relative vulnerability of workers in the informal sector,

given that they often join the labour-market because of survival needs and must accept working conditions that are far below those of workers in the formal sector. Thus, informal sector workers normally lack all types of social benefits, earn lower incomes and are more likely to be subject to environmental hazards. Undocumented migrants, ethnic minorities, the young and women are more likely to work in that sector (Castells and Portes, 1990).

The identification of workers in the informal sector was carried out using the PREALC definition, which includes all non-remunerated family workers, all own-account workers except professionals and all domestic servants. Table 39 presents the proportion of men and women in the formal and informal sectors by migration status, age group and two broad regions of origin. In this case, only internal migrants have been considered, since many migrants from other countries have an illegal status that may influence their relative propensity to join the informal sector. The data indicate that among women, those in age groups 14-24 and particularly those over age 45 have the highest propensity to work in the informal sector, irrespective of their migration status. Overall, however, recent female migrants are considerably more likely to work in the informal sector than either settled female migrants or non-migrant women. That is, the younger and older recent female migrants appear to be the most vulnerable in terms of their likely employment, a finding that corroborates the widespread view that young female migrants have a high tendency to work in domestic service and that older women who work do so by necessity, often because they lack male support. According to the data given in table 39, domestic service is the predominant form of work among women participating in the informal sector, especially among those aged 14-24 and, to a lesser extent, among older women, whatever their migration status. Commerce is also important, but far fewer women engage in it. Yet, again irrespective of migration status, commerce is a more likely activity among women over age 45.

When the data by area of origin are considered, they confirm the important differences existing between female migrants originating in areas neighbouring Neuquén City and those originating in the rest of Argentina: the former are two or three times more likely to work in the informal sector than the latter,

TABLE 39. DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALE AND FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY SECTOR, MIGRATION STATUS, AGE GROUP AND REGION OF ORIGIN, NEUQUÉN CITY, 1980
(Percentage)

Sector and industry	Total				Neighbouring areas				All other Argentina			
	14-24	25-44	45-69	Total	14-24	25-44	45-69	Total	14-24	25-44	45-69	Total
A. Recent migrants												
<i>Female</i>												
Formal	52.3	78.3	57.0	66.9	40.7	68.8	52.5	54.7	80.8	87.9	64.0	84.2
Informal	47.7	21.7	43.0	33.1	59.3	31.2	47.5	45.3	19.2	12.1	36.0	15.8
Of which:												
Commerce	2.3	4.7	9.2	4.2	2.4	5.7	6.5	4.3	1.9	3.7	13.5	4.0
Domestic service	42.9	13.9	27.2	25.8	53.9	22.5	34.5	37.7	15.9	5.4	15.7	9.0
<i>Male</i>												
Formal	86.8	84.5	78.3	84.2	86.6	82.6	79.7	83.2	86.9	86.6	76.4	85.4
Informal	13.2	15.5	21.7	15.8	13.4	17.4	20.3	16.8	13.1	13.4	23.6	14.6
Of which:												
Commerce	4.5	4.9	7.9	5.2	3.6	3.8	6.1	4.1	5.7	6.0	10.2	6.5
Domestic service	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
B. Settled migrants												
<i>Female</i>												
Formal	67.9	75.6	62.0	71.2	62.1	69.1	53.0	64.2	83.1	86.4	77.2	83.9
Informal	32.1	24.4	38.0	28.8	37.9	30.9	47.0	35.8	16.9	13.6	22.8	16.1
Of which:												
Commerce	3.3	5.4	9.1	5.7	2.5	5.0	9.0	5.2	5.4	5.9	9.3	6.5
Domestic service	26.9	15.3	21.4	19.0	33.8	22.1	30.5	26.6	8.8	4.1	6.0	5.3
<i>Male</i>												
Formal	87.5	83.3	77.9	82.6	88.1	82.7	77.5	82.7	85.9	84.1	78.3	82.5
Informal	12.5	16.7	22.1	17.4	11.9	17.3	22.5	17.3	14.1	15.9	21.7	17.5
Of which:												
Commerce	3.1	4.6	7.7	5.2	1.9	3.6	5.9	3.7	6.5	6.1	9.6	7.3
Domestic service	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
C. Non-migrants												
<i>Female</i>												
Formal	70.7	80.2	62.6	74.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Informal	29.3	19.8	37.4	25.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Of which:												
Commerce	2.5	4.7	10.9	4.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Domestic service	25.4	12.1	21.8	18.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Male</i>												
Formal	86.9	83.0	78.6	84.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Informal	13.1	17.0	21.4	16.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Of which:												
Commerce	3.0	4.4	6.4	4.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Domestic service	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

whether they be recent or settled migrants. There are, however, important differences between recent and settled female migrants originating in neighbouring areas. Whereas among female migrants from other areas of Argentina about 16 per cent in either migrant category, recent or settled, work in the informal sector, among female migrants originating near Neuquén City, the proportion of settled migrants in the informal sector, 36 per cent, is considerably lower than that among recent female migrants, 45 per cent. Consideration of differentials by age indicates that whereas settled and recent female migrants from areas near Neuquén City have similar tendencies to work in the informal sector if they are over age 25, younger women (those aged 14-24) are considerably more likely to work in the informal sector if they are recent migrants (59 per cent) than if they are settled migrants (38 per cent).

To conclude, it is worth comparing the experience of women in terms of their insertion into a segmented labour-market with that of men. As table 39 indicates, the proportion of female migrants in informal activities is considerably higher than that among male migrants, whether recent or settled. Thus, whereas among male migrants, 16 and 17 per cent, respectively, of recent and settled migrants work in the informal sector, the equivalent proportions among female migrants are 33 and 29 per cent. Differences are more marked between male and female migrants originating in areas neighbouring Neuquén City, whose proportions in the informal sector are 17 and 45 per cent, respectively, for recent migrants; and 17 and 36, respectively, for settled migrants. In contrast, among migrants from other parts of Argentina, the differences by sex are small; and among settled migrants, males have a slightly higher proportion in the informal sector (17.5 per cent) than females (16.1 per cent).

In general, the different groups of men considered show similar tendencies to participate in the informal sector, irrespective of migration status or origin, so that the overall proportions in that sector vary over a relatively narrow range, from 14.6 to 17.5 per cent. In contrast, the equivalent range for women is from 15.8 to 45.3 per cent. In addition, there is a clear tendency among men for the proportion in informal sector activities to increase with age, a tendency that is not so clear-cut among women, for whom informal sector activity

is relatively high at younger ages (14-24), particularly because of those engaging in domestic service. Lack of similar employment possibilities for young men and the fact that they probably spend more time in school are a couple of the factors keeping their informal sector participation low.

H. CONCLUSION

The labour force participation of migrant women has not received sufficient attention and thus the general view that most female migrants in Latin America are young single women moving to work as domestic servants in the cities has not been based on sufficient empirical evidence. This study, by focusing on a medium-sized city of Argentina which has largely been populated through migration, indicates that the migration of women is a considerably more complex phenomenon which cannot be properly characterized by such simplistic stereotypes.

The evidence with regard to Neuquén City, where 77 per cent of the female population can be classified as in-migrant, amply exemplifies the heterogeneity characterizing female migration. The most interesting differences detected have been those associated with region of origin. Thus, female migrants originating in areas neighbouring Neuquén City, which are less developed than the rest of the country, tend to be downwardly selected in terms of both education and occupation. Among recent female migrants from those areas, 35 per cent had not even completed elementary education. In addition, among the economically active women, 38 per cent worked as domestic servants and 45 per cent were classified as working in the informal sector. It is this group, without doubt, that best conforms to the stereotype mentioned above. However, it constitutes a relatively small proportion of recent female migrants (fewer than one fourth). Furthermore, recent female migrants from areas neighbouring Neuquén City that are economically active also include nearly 17 per cent working in highly skilled occupations (mostly as teachers) and a majority (55 per cent) working in the formal sector.

At the other end of the spectrum, recent female migrants from BAMA and from the rest of Buenos Aires Province are upwardly selected in terms of

educational attainment and occupation. They exhibit relatively high labour force participation rates; and among the economically active women, at least 40 per cent work in highly skilled occupations. Very few engage in domestic service (only 8 per cent of those originating in BAMA do) and their levels of participation in the informal sector are likely to be low and similar to those of migrant men originating in the same areas.

Settled female migrants originating in BAMA have similar characteristics to those of recent female migrants from the same area, tending to have relatively high levels of educational attainment and a tendency to work in highly skilled occupations. By virtue of the longer time that they have spent in Neuquén City, settled female migrants from Buenos Aires are probably better off than those arriving more recently, because the former are more likely to have developed better strategies to combine their reproductive and their productive roles. An indication of their "privileged" position is that the proportion in domestic service is the lowest in any migrant group (1.2 per cent). Given their modes of insertion into the labour force, female migrants from Buenos Aires, whether recent or settled, may be taken to represent the most "independent" component of the migration stream, since their migration is likely to have been prompted by economic considerations related to labour-market opportunities. Nevertheless, it is important to note that, as with any other migrant group, most women originating in BAMA, whether recent or settled, have been married.

Although the case of Neuquén City is very special, both within Argentina and even more within Latin America, this study sheds light on the important role that female migrants have played in a city characterized by rapid economic growth. Among all migrants enumerated at Neuquén City, women are almost as numerous as men, though they are slightly underrepresented among recent migrants. Their participation in the labour force is high in comparison with that of women in the areas of origin. There are many indications that female migrants are able to take advantage of the labour-market opportunities open to them in Neuquén City. Highly qualified female migrants are attracted from relatively distant areas, whereas nearby areas are the sources of generally less skilled female

migrants. The costs of migration associated with distance probably contribute to that dichotomy. Although distance may not be the determining factor behind that dichotomy in other situations, the dichotomy itself is likely to arise more generally. Indeed, the coexistence in female migration streams of highly skilled women and the unskilled is likely to characterize many other situations in Latin America, especially as internal migration becomes increasingly dominated by urban-urban flows. Thus, at Neuquén City, most economically active women among recent migrants worked either in highly skilled occupations (25 per cent) or in middle-level occupations (41 per cent). Consequently, the slightly over 28 per cent that worked in domestic service can scarcely be called representative. Although the vulnerability of the latter group cannot be denied, it is important not to stress it at the expense of ignoring the experience of their better educated sisters. A more balanced approach to the study of female migration is clearly necessary.

NOTES

¹See Simmons, Diaz-Briquets and Laquian (1977); Elton (1978), Martine and Peliano (1978); and bibliographical reviews by Jelin (1978), Crummett (1987), and Tienda and Booth (1988).

²This figure and that for 1960 were estimated by Vapnarsky and Pantelides (1987) by adjusting the 1947 and 1960 census figures and interpolating them. The adjustments made were based on a detailed analysis of settlement maps of the period. The census figures themselves indicated that smaller numbers of persons were present in 1947 and 1960, namely, 9,165 and 16,738, thus implying still higher rates of population growth.

³According to Vapnarsky and Gorojovsky (1990), Neuquén City and Cipolletti City constituted an integrated urban agglomeration of 131,000 inhabitants in 1980. The Alto Valle Metropolitan Area (including Neuquén City, Cipolletti City and another 14 smaller urban centres), had increased from 81,000 persons in 1950 to 305,000 in 1980. That is, Neuquén City has grown faster than the rest of the Alto Valle Metropolitan Area (Vapnarsky and Pantelides, 1987).

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During the past 10-year development period the high gear in Thailand, per capita income increased more than 17 times from 2102 in 1960 (Parsons 1977) to 35,197 in 1989 (Thailand 1992). There was a significant shift in the structure of the economy away from agriculture and towards industry and services. The National Economic and Social Development Board reports that the share of agriculture in gross domestic product (GDP) dropped from 15 to 14 per cent between 1980 and 1989 and that of services rose from 22 to 43 per cent during the same period. Since the early 1970s the country has been oriented towards manufacturing exports so that by 1990 the percentage of manufactured exports in total exports reached 75 per cent up from a mere 3 per cent in 1980 (Bank of Thailand 1976 and 1991).

Concomitantly, the level of urbanization also increased. The percentage of people living in urban areas rose from 13 per cent in 1962 to 33 per cent in 1989. The change was not as dramatic as that experienced by some other countries in the region. In the Republic of Korea, for instance, over the same period the level of urbanization increased from 22 to 74 per cent. In Malaysia the level of urbanization was already 26 per cent by 1967 and it rose to 42 per cent in 1989 (World Bank 1991). The level of urbanization in Thailand has tended to lag behind that of many comparable countries, mainly because the majority of people in the countryside has failed to attain people in the countryside. During the past 10-year however, growth in agricultural output declining from an annual rate of 4.3 per cent in the 1970s to 3.7 per cent in 1980-1986 and to 1.9 per cent during 1988-1989.

A. THE CONTEXT OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: INFLUENCE AND EXPORT-LED GROWTH IN THAILAND

Economic development in Thailand has been based both on the expansion of labor-intensive and export-oriented manufacturing and on the provision of the service sector, both as a source of foreign exchange earnings and as a source of employment. During the past 30 years, the service sector in Thailand has always been more important than the industrial sector in terms of its contribution to GDP and to an employment generation. Rather than expanding the traditional form of industrialization, Thailand has undergone a new paradigm shift in its development strategy. This led to a deliberate policy on the part of the Government (Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya 1987) during the 1980s economic growth was based largely on the expansion of agricultural exports and to a lesser extent on labor-intensive. Beginning in the mid-

In terms of urbanization, Bangkok Metropolitan area includes the cities of Bangkok proper and adjacent Thailand and the five provinces surrounding Bangkok which together with Bangkok Metropolitan constitute the Bangkok Metropolitan Area, the developed and

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