

Evaluation of the Migration Process from I-Lan County to Taipei City

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**Submitted in the Fulfilment
of the Requirements for
the Ph.D Degree**

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University of London**



March 2000

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ABSTRACT

The dominant conceptual view of migration is a model of migration based on factors of push and pull; the former drives people away from their place of origin and the latter pulls them toward somewhere else. This study aims, through an examination of rural-urban migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city in Taiwan, to test this conceptual understanding of the migration process. Accordingly, it considers how the migratory process takes place and assesses its impact on both rural and urban change as well as on the processes of economic development and urbanisation. Its general objective is to clarify the dominant view of push-pull factors being the cause of urban migration in developing countries and in Taiwan in particular.

Unlike the dominant conceptual theories which argue that migration results in large part from the pursuit of increased income the central hypothesis of this study is that the majority of out-migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city leave because of factors other than the pursuit of increased incomes. This hypothesis has been tested through undertaking a field-research.

The study addresses two key interrelated issues: the main reason for out-migration occurring in I-Lan county and the characteristics of out-migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei.

The research design and strategy for data collection employed in this study incorporates two representative sample surveys. The first, comprising two hundred interviews, is of 'out-migrants' from I-Lan county, and the second, of one hundred interviews, is of the 'stayers', those who stayed behind in I-Lan county. The quantitative surveys are placed in context by an examination of relevant documentation and qualitative discussions with government officials, 'stayers' and 'out-migrants'.

The findings of this research indicate that migrants do not leave mainly for increased incomes. It is not the poorest who have the highest propensity to migrate to the city. Rather the process of out-migration involves people with higher economic status, better education and skills compared to those who stay in their place of origin. There is also evidence that most migrants leave for better education and improved job opportunities in Taipei city.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people gave their valuable time to discuss various aspects of my research; my sincere apologies to anyone I inadvertently miss out!

I am indebted to Dr. Sheilah Meikle for her guidance, encouragement, criticism and patience, without which this dissertation would not have been possible. My thanks also go to Mr. Michael Safier, Dr. Nadia Taher, who have provided insightful comments on this research. Special thanks to Prof. Nigel Harris for his help and criticism of the literature review. Similar accolades to Stephen Senn, Statistical Professor, Jenny Head, Lecturer, and SPSS expert Sigrid Fuhr at UCL as well as statistician Paul Cockle, all of whom have provided me with a great deal of knowledge for manipulating the data analysis. I extend my thanks to the staff of the Development Planning Unit, University College London, who have been supportive throughout these years. I am also grateful to Liesl Hattingh, Pramila Bennett, Mr. Paul Cunnell and Mrs. Valerie Cunnell, and Ming Ghee Khoo for reading and commenting on the draft.

Many thanks to my countrymen, Dr. Wei-Zen Cheng, Dr. Chong-Guang Su, Mr. Kan Jao and Mrs. Vicky Jao, whose encouragement and advice always pushed me to complete this degree. I am also indebted to Prof. Ko-Ch'ing Liu, who taught me a great deal during the course of my fieldwork, and the governor of I-Lan County, Mr. Hsi-Kun Yu, who issued the formal letter and asked many of his colleagues to help me obtain data from I-Lan county's Population Registration Centres, which made my fieldwork easier in many ways. I feel a sense of loss that they are not here to see the outcome of the work in which they had such a great role.

A special thanks to Miss Su-Chuan Lin and the staff as well as students of the National Taiwan University, Taiwan, who made a great contribution by conducting my questionnaire interviews in Taipei city. My appreciation goes to Miss Li-Wang Cheng, who accompanied me to such a remote area - I-Lan county - from my hometown - Nan Tou city - for the fieldwork. Thanks also to I-Lan residents Miss Fang-Yu Cheng and Hsing-Jane Lin as well as their colleagues at I-Lan Council, who helped me with the questionnaires in I-Lan county.

Finally, I am grateful to all my informants - including those who contributed to quantitative and qualitative data - who patiently filled out questionnaires and endured my hours of questioning. I hope that this dissertation, in some small way, will improve life in I-Lan county.

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, whose love, encouragement, and cheerful support enabled me to overcome many obstacles and to complete this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements	2
Dedication of the Study	3
Table of Contents	4
List of Tables	10
List of Figures	12
List of Cases.....	13
List of Regression Models	13
Map of I-Lan County.....	25
Photos 1-8.....	223-226

Part I: CONTEXT OF BACKGROUND AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE STUDIES LOCATION

Chapter 1: Introduction & Background

1.1 The Argument and Objective of the Research	15
1.1.1 Argument	15
1.1.2 Objective	18
1.2 Research Questions and Hypotheses	19
1.2.1 Research Questions.....	19
1.2.2 Hypotheses	19
1.3 Background Information on I-Lan county - the place of origin	20
1.3.1 Location and Administration Boundary	20
1.3.2 Infrastructure	22
1.3.3 The Economy	22
1.4 Structure of the Thesis	23

PART II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter 2: An Exploration of the Terms ‘Developed’, ‘Developing’ Countries, ‘Urban’, ‘Rural’ and Migration

Introduction	26
2.1 The Definition of the Term ‘Developing’ in Contrast to ‘Developed’ Countries and the Case of Taiwan	26
2.2 Definition of the Term ‘Urban’ in Contrast to ‘Rural’	30
2.3 Difficulties and Imprecision in Defining the Terms ‘Migration’ and ‘Migrant’	37
2.3.1 The Migrants’ Perception of Themselves	38
2.3.2 ‘Migration’ from the Host Native Population’s Point of View	39
2.3.3 ‘Migration’ from the Authorities’ Point of View	41
2.3.4 Discussion on the Definition of the Term ‘Migration’ in Literature	42
2.4 Common Migration Types	47
2.4.1 Rural-urban Migration	48
2.4.2 Rural-rural Migration	48
2.4.3 Urban-rural Migration	49
2.4.4 Intra-urban or Within-the-City Migration	49
2.4.5 Urban-urban Migration	50
2.4.6 International Migration	51
2.4.7 Return Migration	51
2.5 Conclusion	52

Chapter 3: Theoretical Consideration of Motives for Rural-urban Migration, Socio-Economic Characteristics of Migrants and the Process of Migration

Introduction	55
3.1 Discussion of Classical and Neo-classical Theories of Rural-Urban Migration - The Case of Developing Countries	55
3.2 The Case of Migration in Developed Countries	63
3.3 Socio-economic Characteristics of Migrants	68
3.4 The Process of Rural-urban Migration	72
3.4.1 The Process of Finding Accommodation	72
3.4.1.1 The Trap of Urban Poverty, Slum and Squatter Settlements	72

3.4.1.2 Help and Assistance from Family, Friends and Other Types of Migrants'

Networks.....	74
3.4.2 The Process of Searching for a Job	76
3.4.2.1 Typical Urban Jobs of Migrants	76
3.4.2.2 The Role of Family, Kinship and Friends	78
3.4.2.3 The Role of Other Types of Migrants' Networks	80
A. Association based on ethnicity	81
B. Association based on religion and culture	82
C. Association based on language.....	82
D. Association based on place of origin.....	83
E. Association based on surname.....	83
3.4.3 The Relationship Between Migrants and Their Relatives in the Rural Areas.....	85
3.5 Conclusion	85

Chapter 4: The Chinese and Taiwanese Contexts - The Impact of Political, Economic as well as Cultural and Traditional Changes on Migration Patterns

Introduction	89
4.1 Politic-economic Policies During Japanese Colonialism and Migration (1895-1945)	90
4.2 Political Economic Situation in the Post Colonial Taiwan and Migration (1946-1985).....	93
4.3 Political Economic Situation of Present-day Taiwan and Migration (1986- 1998).....	100
4.3.1 The Pursuit of a Luxurious Urban Lifestyle.....	101
4.3.2 The Pressure to Pursue Higher and Better Education.....	102
4.3.3 Motivations for Migrating Abroad.....	103
4.3.4 The Impact of Conscription on Migration	105
4.4 The Importance of Chinese Culture and Traditions and Migration	108
4.4.1 The Traditional Chinese Confucian Family.....	108
4.4.2 Topophilia in Chinese Culture.....	111
4.4.3 Nepotism and Genealogy in Chinese Society.....	113
4.5 Conclusion	116

Chapter 5: Methodology

Introduction	118
5.1 Choice of the Studied Location	118
5.1.1 Why the Destination, Taipei, and the place of Departure, I -Lan County, Were Selected as the Studied Locations	118
5.1.2 Why I-Lan county was selected as the place of departure of migrants for the research.....	119
5.1.3 The limitations and Advantages of this Migration Study.....	120
5.2 Research Design and Strategy for Data Collection.....	122
5.2.1 Research Design	122
5.2.2 Quantitative Data Collection.....	126
5.2.3 Qualitative Data Collection	126
5.2.4 The Questionnaire Design.....	129
5.2.4.1 For the Urban Destination: Taipei City.....	131
5.2.4.2 For the Place of Origin: I- Lan County.....	132
5.3 The Process of Selecting Samples	133
5.3.1 Sampling Method	133
5.3.2 Sample Size.....	135
5.3.3 Sampling Design	136
5.3.3.1 The Process of Selecting Samples of Out-migrants	138
5.3.3.2 The Process of Selecting Samples of Stayers.....	139
5.4 Recruitment, Training and Pilot Testing, Administering the Fieldwork Interviews, Difficulties and How They Were Overcome and Data Processing- SPSS Statistical Software Package	140
5.4.1 Recruitment, Training and Pilot Testing	140
5.4.2 Administering the Fieldwork Interviews.....	142
5.4.3 Difficulties and How They Were Overcome During the Field Study.....	144
5.4.4 Data Processing.....	146
5.4.4.1 SPSS Statistical Software Package	146
5.4.4.2 Reliability and Validity	147

PART IV: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 6: Migrant Characteristics & The Process of Searching for Employment by the Survey Population

Introduction	155
6.1 Demographic and Educational Characteristics of the Studied Population.....	156
6.2 Economic Characteristics.....	162
6.3 Patterns of Migrants' Urban Life Experience and Their Urban Connection	171
6.4 Patterns of Migrants' Employment in Taipei	180
6.5 Conclusion	185

Chapter 7: The Process of and Motivation for Migration

Introduction	188
7.1 Migrants' Networks and the Phases of Migration.....	188
7.2 Pull Factors in I-Lan County - Most important reason for staying in the place of origin .	196
7.3 Push-Pull Factors Affecting Migrant Respondents to Leave I-Lan County.....	201
7.4 Characteristics of Migrants Who Plan to Go Back to I-Lan County	214
7.5 Conclusion	221

Chapter 8: Considering Conclusion and Suggested Further Studies..... 227

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - The Common Criteria Used to Distinguish Between Developed and Developing Countries	239
Appendix - 2A-1 Formal Letters - Issued by the Governor of I-Lan County	240
2A-2 Formal Letter - Issued by DPU, UCL	241
2B-1 How 200 Migrant Respondents Were Chosen	244
2B-2 How 100 Stayer Respondents Were Chosen	246
Appendix - 3A-1 Questionnaires in English Version - the Place of Destination - Taipei City	248
3A-2 Questionnaires in English Version - the Place of Origin - I-Lan	266

3B-1 Questionnaires in Chinese Version - the Place of Destination	
- Taipei City	274
3B-2 Questionnaires in Chinese Version - the Place of Origin - I-Lan	288
Appendix - 4 Literature Review	293
Appendix - 5A - Frequency Tables.....	297
5B - t-test Results	303
 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	 304

List of Tables

Table 1-1: Structure of the working population in I-lan county	22
Table 1-2: Structure of production in I-Lan county	22
Table 2-1: Comparison between developed and developing countries with Taiwan.....	28
Table 2-2: Coding of the world's countries according to their urban definition, 1950-1960 ...	32
Table 2-3: The common criteria used to define the term 'urban' in contrast to 'rural' and the case for Taipei and I-Lan	36
Table 2-4: Different definitions of the term 'migration' in the case of Indonesia and Melanesia by different scholars	45
Table 2-5: The different approaches to the term 'migration' by different scholars	54
Table 3-1: A Comparison between the push and pull factors of the motivation for migration between developed and developing countries	64
Table 4-1: Summary of Political-economic development and migration during the Japanese colonial period.....	91
Table 4-2: Summary of political economic situation in the post colonial Taiwan Until 1985 and migration	94
Table 5-1: The characteristics of the three Poorest Counties in Taiwan	120
Table 5-2: The Characteristics of I-Lan county's Sub-Administrative Areas	133
Table 6-1: Age mean of respondents compared to that of stayers in I-Lan, Taiwan and Taipei	158
Table 6-2: A comparison of job status of migrants and stayers	163
Table 6-3: A comparison of occupational composition of migrants and stayers (excluding students, housewives and retired persons).....	165
Table 6-4: The relationship between respondents' first jobs in the city and their level of education in the pre- and post- migration period	168
Table 6-5: The difference of average mean of land ownership between stayers and pre-migrants	170
Table 6-6: Number of houses owned according to length of stay in Taipei city	171
Table 6-7: Knowledge of job vacancies and a particular job	174
Table 6-8: Type of first job by duration of the search	177
Table 6-9: Duration of the search by whether migrants received help from relatives or friends	178
Table 6-10: Duration of stay in the first job by type of job.....	181

Table 6-11: Duration of stay in the first jobs by marital status and gender ratio	183
Table 6-13: Occupational composition of the respondents who landed their first job within 12 months	185
Table 7-1 Who came with migrants by marital status and gender ratio.....	190
Table 7-2: The reasons for coming to Taipei alone at first by marital status and gender ratio	193
Table 7-3: Duration of staying alone by marital status and gender ratio	196
Table 7-4: Most important reasons for migration as given by migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city.....	202
Table 7-5: Types of jobs that are available or not in I-lan county	209
Table 7-6: Reason for doing the same job if migrants' jobs are available in I-Lan by gender	210
Table 7-7: Whether migrants' types of jobs are available and reasons for doing the same job by type of job	213
Table 7-8: Reasons for not wanting to go back by marital status and gender ratio	215
Table 7-9: The willingness to go back to the village by migrants' type of work	219
Table 7-10: Reasons for not wanting to go back to I-Lan county	210

List of Figures

Figure2-1: The urbanisation process of a place based on the transformation of its source of income and employment of its population as well as its services, facilities and infrastructure.....	33
Figure 2-2: Places used to define types of migration.....	47
Figure 3-1: Factors influencing migrants' access to urban accommodation and employment.....	84
Figure 4-1: Historical relationship between Mainland China and Taiwan	89
Figure 4-2: Main motivations for migrating abroad	103
Figure 4-3: Changing attitudes in Chinese culture in accordance with economic development.....	109
Figure 4-4: Summary of the composition of Chinese urban communities and migrants' connection.....	115
Figure 6-1: Populations of pre-migrants and residents in Taiwan, Taipei city and I-Lan county by age and gender.....	156
Figure 6-2: Marital status of pre-migrants, stayers and the populations in Taiwan and Taipei.....	159
Figure 6-3: A comparison of educational attainment among migrants and Taiwan, Taipei and I-Lan Residents	160
Figure 6-4: Basis of employment in the pre- and post-migration periods.....	169
Figure 6-5: House ownership of pre-migrants and stayers	170
Figure 6-6: Relationship between migrants and earlier settlers in Taipei	171
Figure 6-7: Did yoy have a job offer (excluding students, housewives and retired persons)?	173
Figure 6-8: Channel through which first job in Taipei was obtained by gender	175
Figure 6-9: Length of the search for the first job by gender ratio	176
Figure 6-10: Means of support during the period of searching for the first job by gender.....	178
Figure 6-11: Migrants who came to the city with job offers and without job offers by job status	180
Figure 6-12: Reasons for leaving the first job within 12 months.....	184
Figure 7-1: Visited Taipei city during the year before migration?.....	189
Figure 7-2: The percentage of migrants' families in I-Lan county who receive remittances ..	195
Figure 7-3: Most important reasons for staying in the place of origin by gender	197
Figure 7-4: Willingness of not moving to Taipei city with stated reasons?	201
Figure 7-5: Most important reasons for leaving I-Lan county by marital status	204

List of Cases

Case 6-1: Mrs. Sun - Factor influencing her decision to leave her first job.....	166
Case 6-2: Mr. Lee - Factor influencing his decision to leave his first job.....	166
Case 6-3: Mr. Hung - Importance of urban connections (having relatives) in Taipei city.....	172
Case 6-4: Miss Sung - Facing more difficulties without relatives or friends in the city.....	173
Case 6-5: Mr. Cheng - Factors influencing his decision to stay in his first job	182
Case 6-6: Mrs. Liu - Factors influencing her decision to stay in her first job	182
Case 7-1: Miss Su - student migrant - Coming alone to the city for education	191
Case 7-2: Mr. Wu - Factors influencing his decision to stay in I-Lan county.....	198
Case 7-3: Mrs. Yean - Factors influencing her decision to stay in I-Lan county	199
Case 7-4: Miss Lin - Factors influencing her decision to migrate	203
Case 7-5: Mr. Chow - Factors influencing his decision to migrate	203
Case 7-6: Mr. Wang - The attractiveness of Taipei	214
Case 7-7: Mr. Chung - Factors influencing his decision of wanting to move back to I-Lan county	216
Case 7-8: Mrs. Cheng - Factors influencing her decision of not wanting to go back to I-lan	216
Case 7-9: Ms. Cheng - Weaknesses of I-Lan county that lead to the out-migration of its population from the government's point of view	220

List of Regression Models

Regression model 6-1: Duration of the search for the first job by age and educational.....	176
Regression model 7-1: Who came with migrants on migrating by age.....	192
Regression model 7-2: Reasons for coming alone on migrating	193
Regression model 7-3: Reason for staying in I-Lan county	200
Regression model 7-4: Reasons for out-migrating	205
Regression model 7-5: Whether the job is available in I-Lan county	211
Regression model 7-6: Migrants who would like to go back if there is a similar job in I-Lan	217

PART I: CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE STUDIED LOCATION

Chapter 1: Introduction & Background

Previous studies, especially between the two well-known theoretical views of the classical and neo-classical theories on migration, have largely investigated rural-urban migration from the dominant viewpoint of the push-pull factor. This push-pull factor underlies the assumption of governments and policymakers that poverty in the rural areas of developing countries drives people out.

Rural-urban migration is often considered by governments as problematic to cities. However, Malzberg (1948), Lee (1966), Rex and Moore (1967), Brunn & William (1993) and Westen (1995) demonstrate that the migrant is not generally a carrier of social problems, but rather that his/her experience is usually symptomatic of the existence of such problems or risks for all of a particular age, poverty group, occupation, housing level, marital status or social relation (association or other types of connection) in a given area at a particular time. Thus, the emphasis on the problems of minority populations from different ethnic, linguistic and social backgrounds and their related social problems has served to divert attention from the process of migration and settlement itself.

“The remarkably static theoretical development in the study of migration demands more adequate explanations” (Brunn & William:1993). In order to study comprehensively and understand fully the decision making which underlies the migration process, it is necessary for the researcher to observe both ends of the migration spectrum: the place of origin and the destination. More attention needs to be given to specific groups of migrants who may be identified by the particular nature of their mobility or their distinctive characteristics. This study is therefore an attempt to fill a gap in the knowledge by encouraging an understanding of the actual problems of rural-urban migration through a case study of I-Lan county in Taiwan.

This chapter has 4 sections. Section 1.1 provides a discussion on the argument and objective of the study. Section 1.2 presents the research questions and hypotheses. Section 1.3 provides further details of I-Lan as background to this research. Finally, section 1.4 presents the structure of this thesis.

1.1 The Argument and Objective of the Research

1.1.1 Argument

The following discussion is briefly raised to form both a basic and main argument for this study. The full discussion of the study issues are presented in more details in chapters 2, 3 and 4. This research argues that, if Taiwan is among the more developed nations among developing countries or is very close to developed countries as will be discussed in Chapter 2, the reasons for migrating to the city, therefore concur more with the approach found in developed countries than in developing countries. As Speare (1974:304) and Speare *et al* (1988:1-2) claim, the dominant view of the push-pull or poverty hypothesis as applied to developing countries cannot be used to consider the reasons for rural to urban migration in the case of Taiwan. Little (1979) and Speare *et al* (1988) argue that the reasons for out-migration are more likely to be similar to those found in developed countries than those found in developing countries in the sense that they are not desperate for a higher income. In other words, the main reason for migration is not that the poor are desperate to escape rural poverty and stream to urban areas for a higher income, but it is for other reasons that are less relevant or irrelevant to the search for a higher income, such as job transfers or for education. That is to say, the majority of out-migrants are more likely to have been involved in job relocation or employer redirection than to have merely been looking for a better income.

There are three possible reasons common to most literature (as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3) for saying that out-migration from I-Lan county to Taipei involves other factors than the pursuit of increased incomes. Firstly, there is not enough evidence that out-migrants to Taipei can get much higher wages. For example, Stark (1991:46) states that “in many cases the expected income in the urban area is not larger than the expected income in the rural area”. This is because the majority of migrants are arguably often employed in the low-paying informal sectors of urban economies. Speare *et al* (1988:82) note: “The new migrants do not have difficulties in finding jobs in Taipei, but the jobs they find are not adequate in terms of income and utilization of the education of the migrants.”

Moreover, as migrants are well connected with the place of destination¹ and have information on the prospect of finding work and expected levels of income, it is unreasonable to conclude

¹ This issue was favoured by authors such as Skinner (1974) and Pieke (1995 and 1998) as will be later discussed in chapters 3.4 and 4.4.

that migrants move to urban areas such as Taipei for a higher income if, as Speare *et al* (1988) above found, most migrants work in low-paying jobs.

Secondly, even if migrants earn higher wages in cities than in rural areas, the surplus has to make up for the higher cost of living in urban areas. For example, many researchers² find that in most cities of developing countries, rural-to-urban migrants in towns incur 5 to 20 per cent higher living costs because of the higher cost of food and shelter, transport to work and related services³ in urban areas. Although jobs in Taipei may provide slightly better income than those in rural areas, the cost of living needs to be considered as well since the cost of living in Taipei is higher than in most rural areas of Taiwan. This is a fact that much of the literature referred to fails to take into account. As Speare *et al* (1988:149) note that in the case of Taiwan "the cost of living in Taipei is estimated at 28 per cent higher than that in rural Taiwan". Furthermore, the cost of renting accommodation in urban areas of Taiwan is notoriously high, not to mention the price of buying a house or flat. As Hsiao & Liu: 1997, p. 43) point out:

The housing prices in Taiwan's metropolitan areas (particularly Taipei) were reaching unreasonable, sky-high levels in a very short period of time. It was estimated that the average housing prices in the metropolitan Taipei area multiplied four times from 1977 to 1989, whereas the income per capita multiplied only three times in the same period of time.

Empirical studies in Taiwan observed by Wang (1973), Chiang (1983), Liao (1985) and Chang (1991) regard the main motivations for migration to cities to be a combination of economic and/or employment-related reasons, rather than the search for a better income alone. They grouped these into four or five categories: economic and/or employment-related, social, family and environmental reasons. For example, in an empirical study in San-Chung city, Taiwan, as observed by Chiang (1983), the main reasons for moving to the city are the economic and employment-related factors, accounting for 59.8 per cent of migrants. In addition, another empirical study in Taichung city, Taiwan, observed by Pan (1988), found that migrants moving to Taichung city do so mainly for a better environment, which accounts for 44.65 per cent of migrants.

² Such as Knight, 1971 as mentioned in Lipton, M. (1982), 'Migration from Rural Areas of Poor Countries: the Impact on Rural Productivity and Income Distribution', p.195. and in Sabot, R. H. (ed), *Migration and the Labor Market in Developing Countries.*, (1982).

³ These costs are, of course, largely internal to the migrants themselves; but some are reflected in higher wages paid (and hence apparently higher value added) for their output.

Thirdly, many empirical studies show that the majority of rural-urban migrants are not the poor but the better-off group. As Harris (1995:190) argues that “countless studies have shown that it is not the poor who migrate”. Therefore, they do not migrate to escape rural poverty or to seek better income in urban areas since the difference of incomes between the two areas is rather small. For example, Speare *et al* (1988) show that the ratio of average real income per household by occupation in Taipei to that in Taiwan in general over the period 1979 to 1983 is narrowing. This process has been continuing since rural industrialisation to the present day (Speare *et al*:1988). This indicates that the income gap between the two areas (urban and rural) is narrowing; in which case it does not make much sense to suggest that rural-urban migrants move to escape rural poverty or for better incomes in urban areas.

In order to form the basic research questions for the study, the author speculates that two reasons dominate the motivation for out-migration from I-Lan county. First, improved job opportunities⁴. That is, people out-migrate to Taipei because they want to get jobs of a type which are unavailable in I-Lan county. People are, therefore, leaving I-Lan county not because of better incomes, as found in most developing countries, but for different types of jobs as Taipei has more and varied jobs on offer. For instance, some people do not want to work in the agricultural sector in I-Lan county, they prefer to work in non-agricultural employment of which there is a wider choice in Taipei. As the income from the jobs is not significantly different, the significance lies in the type of job and not the level of income.

Second, better educational attainment implies that out-migrants from I-Lan county, especially young people, come to Taipei to better their educational level (that is, to attend university) since I-Lan county has no university. As Stark (1991:12) states that:

Poor educational opportunities in rural areas induce rural families, especially the wealthier ones, to send their children to school-rich areas, so the absence of education or its availability should have to be held responsible for generating rural-to-urban migration.

This is because of the high regard for and value of education in Confucian culture and tradition, which still has a strong influence over the Taiwanese society. Speare *et al* (1988:49) indicate that “the high Chinese traditional value given to intellectuals and to improving one's education is still highly respected in Taiwan. People thus are highly motivated to pursue better education irrespective of the needs of the economy”. The Confucian culture had structured a

⁴ The concept of job opportunities means that jobs are more appropriate to people's abilities or interests.

political and social order in ancient China in which scholars were the highest class, ranking above farmers, menial labour and merchants. Placed in this context, education was a means of breaking through the class barriers.

In short, it is the attractiveness of Taipei that pulls migrants out of I-Lan county rather than the poverty in the latter that push them away. As Harris (1995:192) states that “it is not poverty but development which induces movement”. Yet, this is only one of the factors that play a role in the migration phenomenon. Other factors, including migrants’ connection and culture, could directly or indirectly influence the decision to migrate, as will be further discussed in chapters 3 and 4. However, these arguments have only been discussed theoretically and still need to be proved in empirical terms. Therefore, two empirical studies were conducted by this study to support the above argument. One was carried out in the place of destination - Taipei city - and the other was conducted in the place of origin of migrants - I-Lan county.

1.1.2 Objective

This research focuses on rural-urban migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city, Taiwan. Its general objective is to redress the dominant view of push-pull factors as the main reasons for rural-urban migration in developing countries. Furthermore, it aims to improve the understanding of the migratory process.

This research, therefore, has two specific purposes:

1. to explore the reason for out-migration occurring in I-Lan county;
2. to analyse the characteristics of migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city to improve the understanding of what differentiates migrants from non-migrants and of how the migratory process takes places.

1.2 Research Questions and Hypotheses

1.2.1 Research Questions

Based on the above arguments, this research emphasises two main questions, followed by many sub-questions related to the study.

(1) What are the socio-economic characteristics of migrants?

- Who is likely to become a rural-urban migrant?
- What type of job do the majority of out-migrants secure in Taipei city?
- Are these jobs in Taipei city of a type that does not exist in I-Lan county?
- If these jobs are available in I-Lan county, why do people need to out-migrate to Taipei for the same jobs?
- For those who out-migrate to Taipei city for education, do these educational facilities not exist in I-Lan county?
- And finally, what are the mechanics of the migration process?

(2) Does the reason for out-migration from I-Lan county comply with the pull or push factor?

- Why do migrants move out of I-Lan county?
- Do they out-migrate to obtain higher wages?
- Can it be proved that people out-migrate from I-Lan county to Taipei city because the poverty factor drives them from their place of origin?

1.2.2 Hypotheses

The majority of out-migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city leave because of factors other than the pursuit of increased incomes.

This hypothesis is the core of this research. It is further divided into four specific hypotheses:

- **First**, the lack of higher educational facilities in I-Lan county leads to the out-migration of its student population.
- **Second**, the lack of skilled or specialised job opportunities in I-Lan county leads to the out-migration of its skilled and well educated population.

- **Third**, the prestigious higher educational facilities and skilled or specialised job opportunities in Taipei attract migrants from I-Lan county.

- **Fourth**, and finally, the process of rural-urban migration is dominated by the better-off section of the rural population and not the poorest one.

1.3 Background Information on I-Lan County - the place of origin

1.3.1 Location and Administration Boundary

Taiwan consists of sixteen counties and two municipalities, divided into four regions. I-Lan county is a county in the northern region (as shown in Table 1-1 above and the map at the end of this chapter). It is located in the north-eastern corner of Taiwan, facing the Pacific Ocean to the east, with neighbouring Hualien county and Taichung in the south, Hsinchu and Taoyuan in the west and Taipei county in the northwest. Its governing centre is 40 kilometres from Taipei and 90 kilometres from Hualien. However, the zigzag route from I-Lan county to other counties and infrequent public transport render it relatively inaccessible. I-Lan county is further blocked by mountains, the Snow Mountains to the north and Central Mountains on the west. I-Lan county had a total population of 467,603 in 1998.

The county government was established in 1950 in I-Lan city, governing 12 townships. Among them, two were mainly for the aboriginal people. The total area is 7,347.47 km², while the mountains, which occupy 65.4 per cent of the total area, is home to only 2.5 per cent of the total population. There is a small, 2.85km² isle - Kuishan - in the north-eastern sea, which attracted about 700 inhabitants in 1975. All of them have since moved to Toucheng, with only garrison troops on the island at present. The following presents a brief history of I-Lan county⁵ as background information. Basically, I-Lan county's history can be divided into five periods:

Before 1796: Undeveloped Period -- before the Governing of Chulo County

I-Lan was originally called Kavalan, which comprised 36 villages of Kavalanese of the Pingpu tribe. In the 17th century, Spaniards and Dutch arrived to cultivate the land as missionaries. In the year of Kanghsi 22 in the Ching Dynasty, Taiwan became part of the Chinese territory

⁵ The following discussion of I-Lan county history is based on Harris (1992 b).

with one prefecture and three counties. In this period, Kavalan was under the control of Chulo county.

1796-1812: Cultivation Period -- from Cultivation by Han People to the Establishment of Kavalan District

In 1796, a man from Changchow named Wu Sha and his 200 companions applied for cultivation rights in this area and arrived at Wushih Harbour by boat. They built their first fort successfully despite efforts by the aboriginal people to stop them. After the death of Wu Sha, his nephew succeeded his business and completed another five forts. When the pirates of Tsai Chien later invaded the area, the pioneers defeated the invaders with the support of the aboriginals. In 1810, the chief of the Kavalan tribe voluntarily presented his people's names to the pioneers and applied for naturalisation. Accordingly, in 1812 the Kavalan District office was established at Wu-Wei (now I-Lan city) with a population of 43,000.

1812-1895: Reorganisation Period -- Reorganised from Kavalan District to I-Lan county

During the time of the Kavalan District (the reorganisation period of 1812-1895), more roads such as the San-Tiao-Ling Road and Su-Hua Road were built for the fast-growing population. In 1875, the district office was reorganised into I-Lan county, covering 12 forts totaling 110,000 inhabitants. According to records, a large number of scholars and artists emerged from this area as a results of its education policy.

1895-1945: Lanyang Three Townships Period -- under Japanese Dominion Status

In 1895, this area was occupied by the Japanese. They changed I-Lan county into three townships -- I-Lan, Lo-Tung and Su-Ao -- under the direct control of the Taipei region. The Japanese made great efforts in industrial and commercial development with I-Lan township as the administrative centre. They constructed the transportation network, including railroads and highways.

1945 until today: The Restoration of I-Lan County Period

A local government was instituted at I-Lan city in 1950 to govern 12 townships with a population of 225,000. I-Lan county was restored.

1.3.2 Infrastructure

I-Lan county has seven provincial rail lines, four county rail lines and 85 township rail lines. The railway connects the area with Keelung and Taipei in the north and Hualien-Taitung in the south. It also has a sea port. The international Suau Harbor has the capacity to handle a cargo volume of about 6,600,000 tons (potentially 1,100,000 tons). The present throughput has reached 4,500,000 tons.

1.3.3 The Economy

Agriculture:

I-Lan, an agricultural area, is a self-supporting region due to the closed terrain. It was named as the farming base in Taiwan's Comprehensive Development Programme announced in 1974, with cereals as the major products. Although the percentage of I-Lan county's agricultural population was less than a third of its total population in 1992, as shown in Table 1-1, it still plays an important role in agricultural activity in Taiwan. (As shown in Table 1-2).

Table 1-1: The structure of the working population in I-Lan county

Year	Total	Agriculture	Industries				Service
			Sub-Total	Manu- facturing	Construc- tion	Electricity	
1971	100.0	44.9%	15.7%	12.1%	3.1%	0.5%	39.4%
1976	100.0	35.4%	25.8%	21.2%	4.2%	0.4%	38.8%
1981	100.0	28.8%	33.5%	26.5%	6.4%	0.6%	37.7%
1986	100.0	24.7%	38.1 %	30.8%	6.7%	0.6%	37.2%
1991	100.0	23.5%	35.5%	27.7%	7.3%	0.5%	41.0%
1992	100.0	23.3%	35.3%	27.3%	7.4%	0.6%	41.4%

Source: Compiled from *Statistical Yearbook of I-Lan County*, 1993

Table 1-2: Structure of production in I-Lan county

Year	Total	Agriculture	Industries	Services
1981	100.0	18.51%	62.63%	18.86%
1986	100.0	18.35%	65.12%	16.53%
1991	100.0	10.30%	68.0 %	21.70%

Source: Compiled from *Statistical Yearbook of I-Lan County*, 1993.

Commerce and industry:

There were about 20,100 firms engaged in commerce and industry at the end of 1990, with a total capital of about 1.4 million N.T dollars. Types of industry include lumber, paper, cement, stone-mining, food, textiles, garments, carbide and alkali. The secondary sector has failed to generate additional employment. The usage rates of the two industrial parks are 94.6 percent and 39.6 per cent respectively, with a net loss of jobs of 29 per cent (1991 and 1986 figures) in manufacturing in the second half of the 1980s. Manufacturing tends to be small-scale and relatively labour-intensive. It also faces a shortage of skills. Consequently, in 1992, I-Lan county had the sixth highest unemployment rate in Taiwan (the Congress of I-Lan County's Regional Development:1990). As Harris (1992b:1) notes:

I-Lan county did not share in the general industrialization of Taiwan and came relatively late to manufacturing. The type of manufacturing attracted seems to have been in the main that likely to be worst hit in the structural change of the second half of the 1980s (and indeed it has significantly declined). Since the county lacks a pool of highly skilled labour, it has limited power to attract the new skill intensive industries. Its comparative advantages lie in its natural environment, rather than its industrial potential, in its traditional activities (agriculture and fishing), its potential for specialized tourism, and its strategic location relative to the high growth markets of southeast and east Asia.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis:

This thesis consists of 8 chapters, divided into four main parts:

Part I - Context and background information on the studied location;

Part II - The review of the literature

Part III - Methodological approach; and,

Part IV - Findings and conclusions.

Part I comprises this chapter.

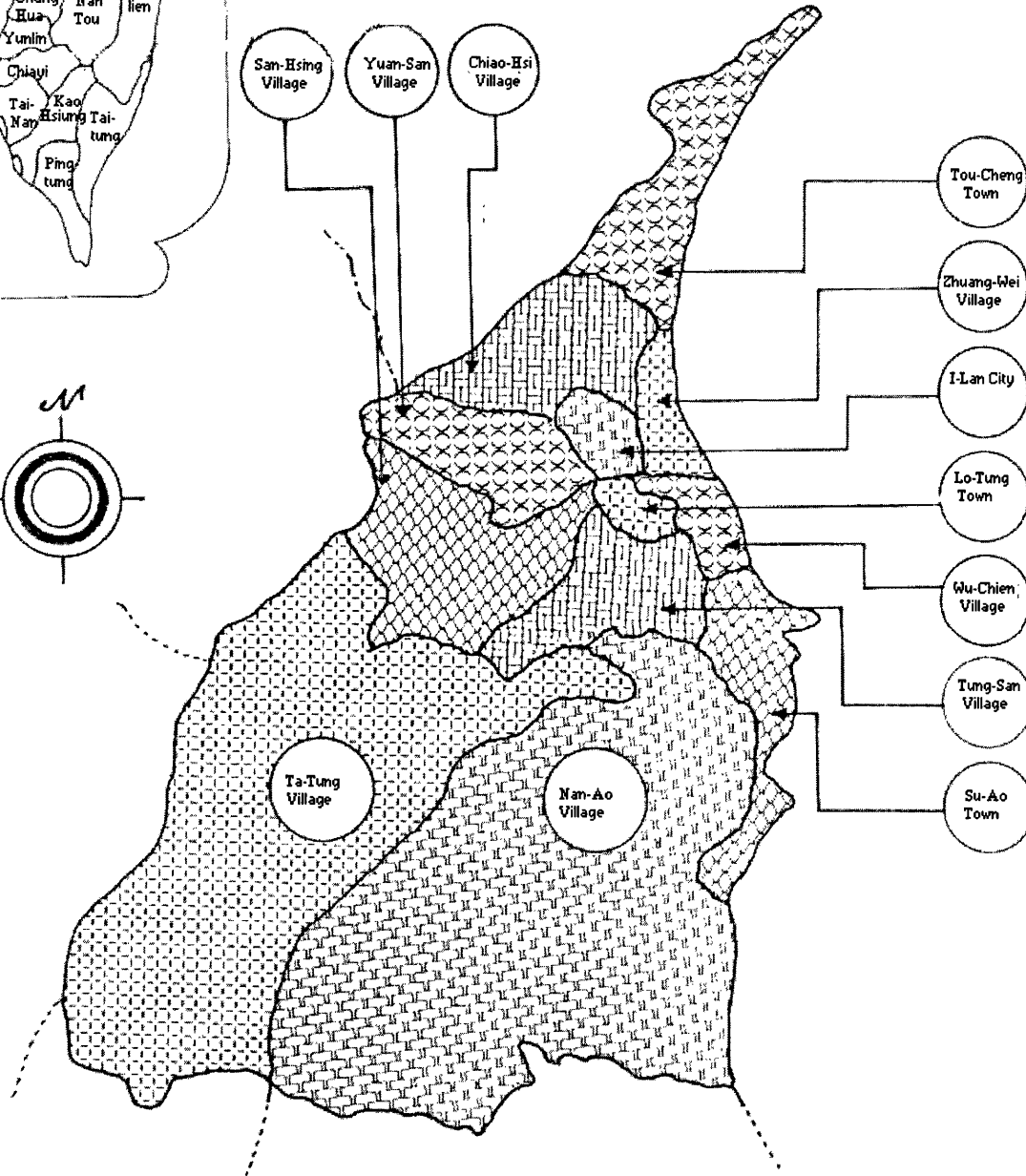
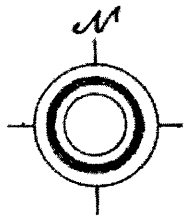
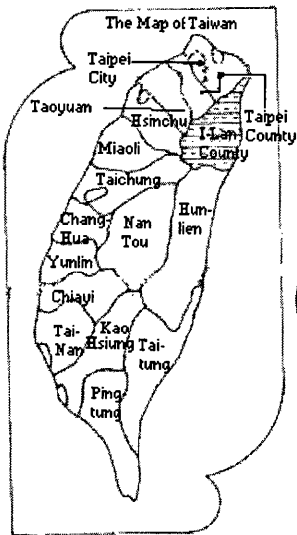
Part II comprises three chapters. Chapter 2 provides a critical discussion on the major census methods used to distinguish between urban and rural areas, and the definitions of migration, including conceptual issues found in the literature. Chapter 3 focuses on the relevant theoretical considerations for this dissertation in general and in the context of developing

countries, which include classical and neo-classical economic theories of rural-urban migration as well as of the relationship between poverty and rural-urban migration. It also analyses the process of migration in terms of how new migrants are facilitated on their arrival and how they adapt to city life. The discussion of the characteristics of migrants is introduced from a theoretical consideration. Chapter 4 discusses the history of political-economic changes as well as Chinese culture and traditions from Japanese colonialist times until the present day in Taiwan, which provide this study with a better understanding of the nature and patterns of migration from rural I-Lan to Taipei.

Part III comprises Chapter 5, which discusses the methodology used in this study. It examines the approach and type of design used, the conditions under which the fieldwork was carried out and the sampling and analytical processes employed.

Part IV encompasses chapters 6, 7 and 8, which analyse the findings from the fieldwork carried out in September, October, November and December 1996 and January 1997 for the quantitative data interviews and in September, October, November and December 1998 for the qualitative data interviews. The findings are drawn from surveys (both quantitative and qualitative data collections), documents (published and unpublished) and other publications. Chapter 6 discusses the characteristics of the survey population. It examines the channels of recruitment for rural-urban migration not only by age, sex, marital status and level of literacy, but also by economic strata and labour skills in relation to the place of origin, as well as how well migrants were assured of finding a job and how well they had their move planned. Chapter 7 explores the essential mechanisms of migration that connect those channels of recruitment that make rural-urban migration possible and the most important motivations for rural-urban migration. Lastly, Chapter 8 concludes the findings of this study.

Map of I-Lan County



PART II: THE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter 2: An Exploration of the Terms 'Developed', 'Developing' Countries, 'Urban', 'Rural' and Migration

Introduction

The definitions of the terms 'developed', 'developing', 'urban', 'rural', and 'migration' are often blurred and vary both from country to country and among different scholars. This thesis argues that these terms are essential in the discussion of migration and this chapter explores their definitions. In an attempt to provide a theoretical background, this chapter discusses all of these terms. It comprises 5 sections. Section 1 is an examination of the definition of so-called 'developing' in contrast to 'developed' countries in general, and also in the case of Taiwan. Section 2 discusses the term 'urban' in contrast to 'rural' in a general context, and in the context of this study. Section 3 presents a detailed discussion of the definition of the terms 'migration' and 'migrant'. Section 4 provides a description of the common types of migration. Finally, section 5 sums up this chapter.

2.1 The Definition of the Term 'Developing' in Contrast to 'Developed' Countries and in the Case of Taiwan

The main purpose of arguing whether Taiwan should be considered a developed or developing country is to reveal the patterns of migration, which in developed countries is different from that of developing ones. Different scholars from various fields use different factors in terms of which they define the terms 'developing' and 'developed' - sometimes also called 'advanced' countries - depending on their individual interest and research focus. As Schilderink (1970:22) notes:

In more economic theoretical terms, it is the national income per capita of the population and the economic structure (that are used to define the terms developed and developing countries). In economic statistical studies, one often finds greater emphasis on the level of exports, imports and the importance of participation in world trade with higher grade products. Sociologists on the other hand will concentrate on variables which better illustrate the social conditions, such as education and medical provisions, communications and housing. Demographers are more concerned with the population growth, life expectancy, infant mortality, extent of urbanisation and this kind of statistics.

As shown in Appendix 1, numerous criteria are commonly used to classify countries for study, including those of Schilderlinck (1970:23-4), the World Bank and United Nations publications¹. However, due to time and space limitations, this study focuses on just some of the above criteria, such as the Gross National Product (GNP) per capita, illiteracy rate, employment distribution, life expectancy and access to safe water, which are compared in Table 2-1. The most common criterion, however, that is used by especially the World Bank and United Nations to classify countries into such groups is the GNP per capita. Yet, even the level of GNP per capita used by the World Bank is changeable.

For example, the World Bank² used the following definition in 1998: "The term 'developing countries' includes low- (\$785 or less) and middle-income (\$786-9,655) economies. The term 'advanced' or 'developed countries' may be used as a matter of convenience to denote the high-income (\$9,656 or more) economies." (World Bank:1998, p.VIII and 187). It is clear that the above classification of the term - based on GNP per capita - is rather vague, since the gap between the low and middle-income countries is very high, for example, from Mozambique's US\$90 to the US\$4,680 of Malaysia in 1997 (World Bank:1998). Moreover, the difference in income of the various groups within a category is too large for them to be considered part of the same category, eg. as shown above, middle-income economies range from \$786 to \$9655.

However, it is not easy and often inaccurate to evaluate or collect data on GNP due to many reasons, including the fluctuation of the currency exchange rate between each nation's currency normally to US\$, the many informal economic activities in most countries which do not report to the government etc. The United Nations (1986:227) reports:

Data for many developing countries, where markets are not as well developed or where data collection systems are rudimentary, require extensive imputations. In all countries a fraction of economic activities occurs in black markets and its value is not adequately represented in official statistics. GNP data for non-market economies such as the (ex-)Soviet Union, Vietnam and Cuba are very difficult to calculate and interpret."

In addition, as the United Nations (1986:227; World Bank, many series) points out, "GNP tell us little about a nation's wealth in human and natural resources". This is because often the national wealth is in the hands of - or the economy is controlled by - a small, privileged group of families,

¹ See World Bank publication series, World Development Report, i.e.: 1996, 1997, 1998; The United Nations publications, Human Resources, i.e., 1996, 1997, 1998.

² See most series of the World Bank and United Nations' publications, for example, World Development Report, World Resources and others.

especially in such countries as Indonesia, Brunei, the Philippines and many countries in Africa and the Middle East. Furthermore, many other indicators are also used to group countries, as the World Bank (for example 1991, 1992) reports: "In addition to classification by income, other analytical groups are based on regions, exports and level of external debt." In short, there seem to be no consensus on the definitions of the terms developing and developed countries. They are therefore defined based on the purpose of data collection (eg. for measuring the level of poverty and development).

Table 2-1: Comparison between developed and developing countries with Taiwan

Indicators	GNP per capita (US\$) in 1997	Adult illiteracy rate 1997 (%)	Employment distribution in 1997			Life expectancy	Access to safe drinking water (%)
			Agriculture (%)	Industry (%)	Service (%)		
Spain	14.791	< 5 %	6.7	29.6	63.7	73 - male 81 - female	99
Portugal	10.422	< 5 %	10.3	32.0	57.7	72.1- male 78.9- female	--
Denmark	29.890	< 5 %	4.3	25.8	69.9	73- male 78.7- female	100
United Kingdom	18.700	< 5 %	1.8	21.2	77.0	74.5- male 79.4- female	100
Ireland	15.142	< 5 %	10.4	23.8	65.8	74 - male 79 - female	--
Taiwan	13.233	< 5%	9.6	38.2	52.3	72- male 77.8- female	99
Korea Rep. of	10.550	< 5 %	5.7	41.1	53.2	69- male 76- Female	89
Malaysia	4.680	11- Male 22- Female	19.2	25.8	55.0	70- male 74- Female	88
Indonesia	1.110	10- Male 22- Female	44.0	18.1	37.9	63- male 67- Female	62
Thailand	2.800	4- Male 8- Female	39.9	22.8	33.2	67- male 72- Female	81
Philippines	1.220	5- Male 6- Female	41.7	16.6	41.6	64- male 68- Female	--

Sources: Compiled from International Labour Organisation: 1998, World Bank:1996, 1997 and 1998, Council for Economic Planning and Development, Taiwan:1998, Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taiwan Provincial Government Republic of China:1998.

Despite the fait-a-compli that Taiwan is internationally regarded as part of mainland China, from which it is automatically considered a developing country like China, in aggregate terms, the island could be considered as very close to or as a developed country in terms of many factors as shown in Table 2-1³:

³ The data and information on Taiwan are abstracted from the Taiwan Statistical Data Book, 1998 - Council for Economic Planning and Development, Republic of China.

This is because in developed countries economic development and services and infrastructure are evenly distributed throughout both urban and rural areas in contrast to in developing ones (World Bank:1998). This seems to be the case in Taiwan, where the wage difference between urban and rural areas is narrowing (eg. the gap between the wages of Taipei and I-Lan county, as shown in Table 2-2). As Marsh (1996:37) adds, "Taiwan became more equal in income distribution, wage differentials and the capital-labour income ratio". Furthermore, the employment distribution between urban and rural Taiwan is also quite similar to that of developed countries, where, according to the UNCHS (1996:57), only a small percentage of the rural population work in the agricultural sector. For example, in I-Lan, which is one of the least developed rural areas of Taiwan, only 23.3 per cent of its population worked in the agricultural sector for a living in 1992 (Executive Yuan: 1993).

The biggest similarities in economic structure between Taiwan and developed countries are the openness of markets to foreign investors, good services and infrastructure, and the quality (skilled and hard-working) of labour forces (ILO:1998, World Bank:1998). In addition, the nature of industries in Taiwan is also similar to that of the developed economies, that is, "capital- and skills-intensive" (World Bank:1998, p.134). Finally, as ILO (1998:13) concludes, "the three decades of sustained growth, averaging about 8 per cent per year (or 5.5 per cent per capita) pushed the four 'tiger' economies (Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea and Singapore) from developing to developed economy status".

Thus, if the above mentioned characteristics for Taiwan are close to those of developed countries, the pattern of migration, including the reason for migration from rural areas, could also be similar. In short, the important point of this analysis is not whether Taiwan is a developed country only in terms of income, but rather in the sense of the structure of Taiwan's economy and structural development because these could affect the pattern of migration, which would then be different from that of other developing countries. As Abu-Lughod (1975) argues that theories developed in other disciplines to explain migration in Western societies have proved to be of limited value to inquiries in less developed countries. Therefore, if Taiwan is close to the developed countries, then the experience of migration could be different from that of the developing countries.

2.2 Definition of the Term 'Urban' in Contrast to 'Rural'

Again, like the terms 'developing' and 'developed' countries discussed above, there is no universal definition of the term 'urban' in contrast to 'rural', which makes the whole idea of defining the terms arbitrary. The term "'urban' is a statistical concept defined by a country's government" (World Resources:1996-97, p.8). Different countries and various studies use different definitions according to their reasons for collecting and using such data, a fact which makes the comparison of census results between countries difficult (Stillwell *et al*:1992, Champion & Fielding:1992).

As UNCHS (1996:77-78) states, "for instance, it would only need India and China to change their definitions of 'urban centres' to definitions commonly used in many European or Latin American nations for Asia to become 50 to 60 per cent urban, as hundreds of millions of what are now classified as rural dwellers become urban". This is not to mention the fact that the definition seems to change over time as human history develops, i.e. from medieval times to the pre-industrial age to today. As Skinner (1977 p.3-4) concludes that in the case of China, the classification of cities or the definition of urban character is often inconclusive as the cities of late Imperial China were on the whole not distinctively 'urban' in Wirth's or Redfield's⁴ sense; they were wretched examples of 'pre-industrial cities' and they were only very imperfectly 'oriental'. Skinner (1977, p.211) adds that "in pre-modern times urbanisation rates for China as a whole are very nearly meaningless and that the question should be reformulated in terms of regions".

The variation of the definition of the terms urban and rural is because countries use a wide variety of criteria for defining urban population and there is no optimum size of city or urban area. As the World Resources (1996-97, p.8) points out:

Because each country sets its own definition of 'urban', there is a bewildering array of definitions around the world. Governments of small or relatively rural countries may simply declare one or more settlements urban, regardless of size or function. In many countries, the definition is based on the threshold number of inhabitants, when a population of a region exceeds a certain threshold, that region is considered as urban. Other governments base their definition on a combination of criteria, such as population density, political function, or predominant activity of the region.

The criteria often used to define the terms urban in contrast to rural include population size, population per capita income, administrative boundary, urban or rural character, importance of

⁴ According to Skinner (1977:3) "Wirth and Redfield sought to characterise the city irrespective of time and place, to isolate what is typically and specially urban in contrast to what are normal or folk phenomena".

political and administrative seat, economic specialisation and services and the infrastructure of a place. However, due to time and space constraints, the population size which is most often used in defining the terms, is discussed separately and the other criteria are discussed together.

Population Size: The most commonly used factor in defining urban in contrast to rural has been population size, but the figure for this differs from country to country, reflecting a variety of social and geographical conditions (Hoselitz:1962; Davies:1972; Oberai:1993 and UNCHS:1996). The size of the population chosen seems to be changing over time. For example, Hoselitz (in 1962) in his study of India defines urban areas as - and confines them to - places with 20,000 inhabitants or more in order to enhance the probability that only places with genuine urban features would be included. Ten years later the size of the population seems to fall a bit lower as Davies (in 1972) shows that 80 per cent of countries define urban places as those areas with populations somewhere within a range of 2,000 to 7,500 inhabitants.

Twenty years later the interval of the population size is also shortened as Oberai (in 1993:205) shows that “most countries choose a minimum between 2,000 and 5,000 persons”. However, there are exceptional cases where the population size is larger, as for example in China “in 1982, for a settlement to be designed as a city, it had to have a population of at least 100,000”. However, “those whose population were less than 100,000 had to command special administrative, strategic or economic importance to qualify for city designations” (Chan:1994, p.23).

Yet, even in a particular place which is defined as urban, its population can still vaguely, and sometimes confusingly, be defined in ways such as urban agriculture and non-agriculture. For example, in the case of China, Chan (1994:28) points out that “the definition of urban population is complicated by the simultaneous usage of another urban population definition, the non-agricultural population of cities and town, or urban agricultural and urban non-agricultural”. Moreover, the physical boundary of a place as urban or city also varies from one place to another. As UNCHS (1996:14) points out:

Caution is also needed when considering the population of individual cities - or comparing population between different cities - since the size of a city's population depends on the boundaries chosen. For instance, the current population of most of the world's largest urban areas, including London, Los Angeles, Shanghai, Beijing, Jakarta, Dhaka and Bombay, can vary by many million inhabitants in any year, depending on which boundaries are used to define their population.

In an attempt to find a solution to the incomparability of data on urbanisation as a result of the variations in definition of urban area based on the population size, Davies (1972) came up with what he termed the “urban definition code”. He stresses the need to accept each country’s definition rather than impose a new (uniform) one. He thus takes the definitions used by the countries themselves in expounding his urban definition code.

As shown in Table 2-2, three groups of countries were identified by Davies (1972): countries without a definition at all (code 9), countries that do not specify a minimum size (code 8) and countries that specify a minimum size (codes 0-7). It can be deduced from the table that of the 214 countries considered, 19 had no definition (code 9), 122 did not specify a minimum size (code 8) and the remaining 73 had a minimum size definition (code 0-7). Of the 73 countries in codes 0-7, 80 per cent define their urban areas in such a way as to be in codes 2, 3 and 4. In other words, an overwhelming majority of countries with a minimum size definition specify a minimum somewhere between 2,000 and 7,500 inhabitants (Davies:1972).

Table 2-2: Coding of the world's countries according to their urban definition, 1950 & 1960

Categories		Countries (1)		Population			
Code Number	Definition of 'Urban'	Number	Percent	1950 (000's)	Percentage	1960 (000's)	Percentage
0	Under 1,000	4	1.9	15,046	0.6	17,483	0.6
1	1,000-1,999	7	3.3	38,816	1.6	49,886	1.6
2	2,000-2,999	27	12.6	430,180	17.2	504,919	16.8
3	3,000-4,999	11	5.1	21,864	0.9	27,980	0.9
4	5,000-7,499	21	9.8	551,423	22.0	667,312	22.2
5	7,500-9,999	1	0.5	999	---	1,349	---
6	10,000-19,999	1	0.5	27,977	1.1	30,431	1.0
7	20,000+	1	0.5	83,419	3.3	93,419	3.1
8	Minimum not stated or not available	122	57.0	1,194,678	47.8	1,439,360	47.8
9	No Definition; Indirect Estimate	19	8.9	137,492	5.5	180,516	6.0
Total		214	100.0	2,501,894	100.0	3,012,659	100.0

Source: Davies, 1972.

Note:(1) The countries have the same code in 1950 and 1960. However, there are sub-categories of Code 8 that involve a difference of one country.

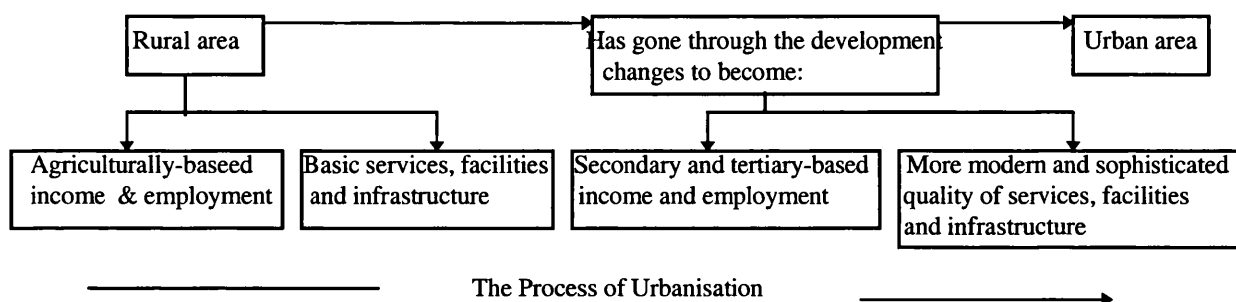
However, these codes also have their shortcomings: they attempt to group countries to enable comparisons, but the comparability is heavily dependent on the 2,000-7,000 range. As mentioned by UNCHS (1986), “if a large portion of the urban population falls in that range, then two countries may each have a minimum within the range and yet their apparent difference in degree of urbanisation will be heavily influenced by the differences in definition”. In short, the definition of the term urban in contrast to rural based on the population size is varied from one country to another

and among scholars as some countries consider any settlement with a population of 2,500 and above to be urban, while others like Japan, Korea and Taiwan require settlements to have more than 50,000 inhabitants to be urban. These variations in definition render much data non-comparable. They also raise the question of what other variables can be used to determine 'urban', while China requires at least 100,000 inhabitants to be urban (Hoselitz:1962, Davies:1972, Renaud:1979, UNCHS:1986, Speare *et al*:1988, Oberai:1993, Chan:1994).

Thus, there does not seem to be a measure of what precisely constitutes an urban area according to the population size (Brown:1990). This is because considering population size alone has its limitations as population size can deceive, especially in circumstances where large concentrations of people performing rural functions, for example in agricultural estates, would result in those estates being defined as urban, and where small settlements are classified as rural even if they perform urban functions (as in the case of Taiwan mentioned below by Speare *et al*: 1988). Therefore, other criteria are used to supplement the weakness resulting from considering the population size alone.

Other Criteria: Proportions of employment, productivity level and per capita income have been suggested for consideration as characteristics of urban settlements. For example, in the case of China, some settlements with a population of more than 3,000 of whom more than 70 per cent are non- agricultural, or a settlement with a population of 2,500-3,000 of whom more than 85 per cent are non-agricultural, are regarded as a town or urban area (Chan:1994, p.23). These classifications also have their shortcomings since they are single measures of economic performance. Moreover, the criteria also change over time, as Chan (1994:26) points out in the case of China that “the consistency and usefulness of these statistics have, however, been profoundly altered by changes in the criteria for urban designations and in the delimiting of the physical urban boundaries”.

Figure 2-1: The urbanisation process of a place based on the transformation of its source of income and employment of its population as well as its services, facilities and infrastructure



Source: Summarised from this section by the author

Sometimes, as illustrated in Figure 2-1, cities have developed from a small rural township as a result of urbanisation. Urbanisation is the process by which a national population shifts from rural activities and from rural settlements to urban activities and settlements of all sizes (Wright:1977). This process was long used by the Chinese Imperial authorities as a way to establish authority in new territories (Wright:1977, p.33-34). Unlike other imperial powers, such as the Romans, the city or an urban character is created only after villages are well established. (Ibid:1977). In other words, many cities or urban areas in China have evolved from villages in order to meet the economic, political and social needs of the rural population (Chang:1977, p.84).

As Speare *et al* (1988:16) point out in the case of Taiwan: “As townships grew in population and took on urban functions, they were reclassified as cities.” However, the transformation from rural to urban characteristics of a place is sometimes vague. For example, in the case of Taiwan, Speare *et al* (1988:21) note that:

Most areas which are classified as urban townships contain an urban centre surrounded by considerable rural area. Because rural population densities in the plain areas of Taiwan are high, a significant proportion of the population of these towns may be rural and thus the total population of the town is not a good indicator of the size of the urban centre. Furthermore, some rural townships have developed significant urban centres but have not been reclassified as urban townships.

This calls for other criteria to be included when defining urban areas. Davies (1972:11) suggests that “for instance, places having an urban character, enjoying a political status as capital of a district or province may be treated as urban, regardless of size, while other places are included only if they reach or exceed the minimum size”. For example, in Taiwan, a city has sometimes been nominated for city status by the authority regardless of size or economic function. For example in the case of the Hsinchu and Chiayi, “county seats which were not already cities were classified as small cities regardless of size” (Speare *et al*:1988, p.16). In Europe up to the Victorian Age, cities were politically nominated by virtue of their commercial, industrial and/or ecclesiastical importance (Ibid:19). Furthermore, in China, apart from the metropolitan cities, the government has since 1990 considered three classifications as urban regardless of the size of the population of a place but according to its political and administrative importance as urban: provincial/prefectural-level cities, county level cities and the towns (Chan:1994, p.31).

Moreover, Oberai (1993:205) notes that:

Other criteria that are used to define an urban area are the number of dwelling units in a locality and characteristics of settlement, such as population density, economic activity, and living facilities. There are also several ways to define “urban agglomeration”. For example, it may be defined in terms of the administrative boundaries of cities or by areas of high population density.

In summary, even with all these alternative urban definitions, it is still important to note that most countries have an underlying standard concept of ‘urban’. Despite the variation in population size, the definitions have more similarity than dissimilarity in a socio-economic sense. The similarity includes the economic specialisation of a place as urban when it is dominated by secondary and tertiary sectors in contrast to a rural place, which is dominated by the agricultural sector; an urban area is an important political and administrative centre while a rural area is less significant. Despite all the difficulties in defining the terms ‘urban’ in contrast to ‘rural’, scholars, planners and government authorities need the terms for their development planning policies. As Davies (1972:18), Stillwell *et al* (1992:225-47) and Champion & Fielding (1992:3-6) note that the data on urban population are extremely useful in analysing social and economic change either for a single country or for a region or a class of countries. Therefore, if the term ‘urban’ is imprecisely defined, such analyses could be misleading.

Table 2-3: The common criteria used world-wide to define the term 'urban' in contrast to 'rural', and in the case of Taipei and I-Lan

Criteria	Urban	*Taipei city	Rural	*I-Lan
Population size	Varies from country to country, but often larger than rural	2,605,374	Mostly smaller than urban, but varies	I-Lan city: 92,038 Ta-tung: 5,708 Tung-shang: 51,828
Population per capita income	Often higher than rural and mainly from secondary and tertiary sectors	In 1996: US\$ 14,278.1 (the percentages of the working pop. in the three sectors are shown below).	Often lower than urban and mainly from agricultural sector	In 1996: US\$ 8,743.8 (the percentages of the working pop. in the three sectors are shown below).
Administrative organisation	More sophisticated and organised than rural	Meets the mentioned criteria of urban area	Simpler and with a less diverse set of functions than urban areas	Meets the mentioned criteria of rural
Urban character	Social structure is more sophisticated than rural, i.e. the very rich, the rich, the powerful politicians, the poor, etc.	Home of the rich, the president, government ministers, politicians, etc.	Simple and normally consisting of villagers, small-scale traders or businessmen and the head of the village	Houses local government employees and insignificant businessmen and villagers
Importance as administrative and political seat	Political centre or seat of province, district, town, etc.	Capital of Taiwan, the centre of commerce and telecommunications	Not applicable	No significant role in the country's political and administrative systems ⁵
Economic specialisation	Secondary and tertiary sectors	Service and hi-tech industries. Working population in: 1- primary: 0.54% 2- secondary: 22.98% 3- tertiary: 76.48%	Normally agricultural sector	Agri., manufact. and service industries. Working population in: 1- primary: 23.3% 2- secondary: 35.3% 3- tertiary: 41.4%
Availability of services and infrastructure	More modern, sophisticated and richer than rural	Centre of the most important and prestigious services and facilities in Taiwan, eg. National Taiwan University, National Ku-Kong museum, National Science park and the new underground railway system.	Basic and modest, if not inadequate	Lacks university, sophisticated hospital, theatre. It has only primary, secondary and high school, and a college.

Source: (1) Summarised from this section by the author; (2) "*" indicates data compiled from Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei City Government and I-Lan County Government, 1997.

In conclusion, as shown in Table 2-3, no universal definition of urban can be found and each country uses different definitions from census to census depending on the purpose of data collection (for example, to measure the rate of urbanisation to aid rural or urban development). Furthermore, definitions could not only differ from country to country, but also change over time. Nevertheless, as indicated by O'Sullivan (1997:xiv), "there are ground rules to the development of

⁵I-Lan city is a very small town with a small population and is not industrialised etc. It is regarded as a city because it is the administrative and commercial centre of I-Lan county. However, in the context of this study its population size fail to be significant as a city compared to Taipei.

all disciplines. The way forward is quite simple: be conscious of methodology". For example, as mentioned earlier, some countries define urban as all human settlements of more than 2,500 people, and others, such as Japan and Korea, define cities as having populations of more than 50,000 (Renaud:1979). It is only once a country can define its urban areas that it can measure its level of urbanisation, and because countries use different definitions for their urban areas, comparison between countries should take this into account (UNCHS:1996). Finally, as shown in Table 2-2³, the place of destination of this study - Taipei - meets all the criteria for it to be considered urban, while I-Lan also meets those of a rural area.

2.3 Difficulties and Imprecision in Defining the Terms 'Migration' and 'Migrant'

The term 'migration' is often used to describe many different ways of movement of the population, which can lead to misunderstandings or confusion unless the term is clearly defined. This is because many similar terms - such as mobility, circulation, movement, commuting, floating, oscillation and sojourning, - are also widely used to describe similar movements of the population. Complicating the matter even further is the fact that, in some cases, the term is very difficult to define or distinguish in the sense that those who have moved from a place of origin maintains some level of commitment with that place. Moreover, a lack of precision in determining the duration of stay in a new place as well as the distance of movement of a supposed migrant also lead to an imprecise definition of the term migration (Jeremy:1987, p.201; Davin:1999, p.20). For example, in the case of China, Scharping (1997:12) shows the difficulty in distinguishing the term migration from others where it is tangled with the fact that:

The movement of peasants is restricted to short-distance commuting for non-agricultural work in township and town enterprises (leaving the land, but not the village), whether it entails longer circulatory sojourns in urban places with land holdings at home being kept (leaving the village, but not the land), or whether it ends up in a lasting rush away from the villages (leaving the land and the village).

Yet, as Abella (1992) argues, all of these terms are sometimes indistinguishable or interchanged by different scholars, academics, international organisations and government institutions. It is understood that such terms are defined in different ways by the mentioned scholars to fit the purposes of their studies. In addition, the available data from which each definition is derived seems to fit only their subject of interest and thus the definitions could not be used as a general definition (Davin:1999, p.20). As Skeldon (1990:25) argues: "Different

definitions, different scales of analysis and different objectives for collecting the data make it difficult to blend the information into a coherent picture.” As in the case of China, Davin (1999:20) points out that “different agencies work with different definitions of migrants and migration that could lead to different evaluation of the terms and the numbers”.

Except for the well-documented academic studies of the term ‘migration’, little attention has been paid to the term ‘migrant’ as viewed by migrants themselves and by the host population and government authorities. In the following discussion these matters are raised to enhance the understanding of the terms ‘migrant’ and ‘migration’.

2.3.1 The Migrants’ Perception of Themselves

There are not many works on the definition of the term from the migrants’ perspective. However, it is understandable that migrants define themselves differently from place to place and according to the atmosphere in and environment of the host places (Li:1994). In a host place where discrimination toward migrants is apparent, migrants do not want to regard themselves as migrants but rather as temporary labourers. Doing so helps them psychologically; it helps them to overcome the pressure of feeling unwanted by reminding them that they are not in the host place permanently, but only temporarily (Davin:1999). In addition, in the case of mainland China where the threat of expulsion from the authorities is very great, migrants do not wish to be defined as migrants at all to avoid official registration (Davin:1999, p.21). However, those migrants who can afford to bribe the authorities to register them as urban residents will try to do so and thus consider themselves as members of the legitimate urban population.

In many cases, although migrants eventually settle for good in the new places, they still consider themselves as being from their place of origin and take pride in that. Many empirical studies in most parts of the world have proved this (Xiong & Lincoln:1994). For example, the concentration of migrants from the same place of origin in host places indicates that apart from the advantages of doing so (as later discussed in chapters 3 and 4), the purpose is also to preserve the lifestyle, tradition and culture of their place of origin⁶.

⁶ See Jeremy (1987), Tilly (1979), Archer (1986), Mabogunje (1972) and Pan (1991).

However, in other cases, migrants try to disguise themselves as the native host place population or gain access to legal urban status and so define themselves as legal temporary, and eventually permanent, residents of the host place in the long term (Yuan:1996). In doing so migrants have to bribe the government authorities for their urban status. For example, in the case of Beijing, China, Davin (1999:110-11) points out that "migrants have the means to bribe local functionaries and thus to obtain papers such as trading licences, clearance forms and temporary residence permits promptly". This is because, as will be discussed next, migrants are in many cases regarded by the authorities and natives as in competition with the host community (Honig:1992). Thus, in order to counter such prejudices, migrants might use any means available to be considered an urban resident. In short, the term 'migrant' is defined differently by migrants in different places and in different situations in the host places.

2.3.2 Migration from the Host Native Population's Point of View

It is not uncommon for the host native population, many of whom are migrants themselves, to define 'migrant' as a hostile term. In these people's minds, a migrant could be a refugee straggler, a political or criminal fugitive, a job seeker (Rowe:1992, p.230). For example, in the case of China, Honig (1992) pointed out that in Shanghai, where the majority of its population are migrants by origin, the urban population - whether self-defined or by government registration - defined and treated migrants as an unwanted part of the population even though many of them came from the same provinces as the migrants. Worse still is the campaign of the urban media against migrants as in China, Davin (1999:151) reports that "the migration of rural people to the urban areas is seen as a problem in China. Headlines and news report constantly associate migrants with overcrowding, chaos, crime, violence, high fertility and illicit sex".

In the case of Taiwan, Gallin & Rita (1974:353) showed in 1974 that migrants to Taipei were described as outsiders and were looked down on by Taipei natives. Twenty-five years later, migrants were still failing to gain access to government welfare and services such as credit, legal aid and social support (Davin:1999). This not only happened in Asian countries, but, as Marshall (1996:27) points out, it also happens in the heart of democratic and civilised Europe, where "in the areas of welfare benefits, both the United Kingdom and Germany discriminate against immigrants and refugees by paying out smaller amounts than those paid to the national population." A

prejudiced⁷ definition of migrants by the host native population is often linked to that population's perception of the migrants' place of origin. No matter how wealthy or intellectual any migrant is, as long as they come from poor places, they are defined as the poor and ignorant. Honig (1992) and Honig & Hershatter (1988) showed this in the case of Shanghai, where the urban native population define migrants from the Shandong, Anhui and Jiangsu province as Subei or Jiangbei people. These terms, according to Honig (1992), imply those who are stupid and ignorant.

Similarly, ethnicity also impacts on the definition of migrants by the urban population. For example, in the case of Hankow city of China, Rowe (1989:50) indicates that "part of the distinction between Hankow people and outsiders (migrants) was ethnic" where migrants from the better parts (economically) of China regarded themselves as the Hankow population and those who came from the poorer parts are regarded by them as the outsiders or migrants. In short, migrants are often defined by the native population traditionally, culturally and socially as of a lower or the lowest status (Honig:1992).

Countless practical examples of hostile attitudes of the host population toward migrants can be found in many countries, including the UK and Australia. One example is the case of the Australian former member of Parliament, Mrs. Pauline Hanson, who became president of the Australian One Nation Party, whose campaign is based on anti-Asian migration policies (Castles & Miller: 1998). In addition, in the cases of Germany and the United Kingdom, Marshall (1996:1) also adds that "at a time of wide spread unemployment, all European countries have experienced outbursts of anti-foreigner violence and general increases in levels of xenophobia as immigrants and refugees are often seen by the poorest sections of society to be competing for housing and jobs."

In summary, as Rowe (1989:278-79) notes: "The crux of the distinction (between urban citizens and outsiders or 'migrants'), whether statutory or not, was between persons who clearly belonged to the city and enjoyed the rights and privileges of community membership, and those who, because of either non-local geographic origin or ascriptive branding (for reasons of ethnicity, religion or occupation) did not." Thus, it seems clear that from the migrants' and host native population's view, the term 'migrant' is defined mainly in terms of the ethnicity, language and culture of

⁷ The prejudiced attitudes of and discrimination by the host population toward migrants are documented in many books, such as those of Honig (1992), Speare *et al* (1988), Rowe (1989), Skinner (1978), Jeremy (1987), Brown & Foot (1994), Davin (1999) etc.

migrants. The common definition, though, is that migrants are seen as unwanted and a challenge to the host population and authorities.

2.3.3 Migration from the Authorities' Point of View

The definition of the term 'migrant' is in the case of most government authorities in the registration or immigration policy. Thus, migrants are often defined as those who have the permission to stay for the long term in the host place in contrast to those who have permission to stay for a shorter term - temporary migrants, and those who do not have any permission - illegal migrants or floating people. Newcomers are often called temporary or seasonal residents, oscillators, commuters or simply illegal migrants. In many cases, the terms migration and temporary migration are no different in character. However, the latter does not imply permission to stay (Day & Xia:1994; Hoy:1996; Davin:1999). This is common in the case of mainland China, where migration is restricted by the government. As its migration policies published in 1958 stipulated, and according to Day & Xia (1994:194):

To move from a rural area to a city, one must hold an employment certificate from an urban employment department, or be enrolled in a university, or have been granted permission by the authorities of urban household registration in the place of destination, and then must apply to migrate by going through the out-migration formalities in the place of origin.

For example, in the case of China, urban migrants are defined by authorities as those who have permission to stay in the city for the long term (more than one year), while those who have permission to stay for a shorter period or have no such permission are regarded as the floating population (Hoy:1996, p.8-9). As Deborah *et al* (1995:115) report: "In the eyes of the authorities, as defined by the Fourth National Census, held in 1990, anyone living away from his or her place of legal residence for less than a year is called 'floating'."

Furthermore, Wang (1993:39) indicates that "floating population include everyone without formal urban residence registration". Sometimes, the two terms (migrants and floating population) are distinguished by the purpose of stay in the host place (Hoy:1996, Davin:1999). For example, again in China, "the concept of temporary residents is different from that of floating population. The latter includes those who make short-term stays in cities for various purposes such as economic, agriculture, industry and commerce purposes" (Wang:1993, p.19). In short, authorities, particularly in China, define migrants as unwanted or problem makers and thus create policies of discrimination against them. As Zhou (1996:140-2) argues "the requirement that migrants must apply for and pay

to obtain temporary or permanent residence certificates exposes them to official and unofficial form of extortion". Finally, the negative view toward migrants is widespread not only in developing countries but also in the developed ones, as the World Resources (1996-97, p.11) concludes, "Many countries, both developed and developing countries, have adopted policies to restrict the flow of migrants to cities". In summary, migrants are defined by most authorities as an unwanted or problematic population.

2.3.4 Discussion on the Definition of the term 'Migration' in Literature

There are two types of migration: voluntary and involuntary. Voluntary migration refers to the movement of people by their own decision or that of their families. By contrast, involuntary migration refers to the forced movement of people from the place of origin to the destination, for example, by external factors such as wars, natural disasters and government development policies. This study is concentrated only on voluntary migration.

There seems to be no consensus among scholars on the definition of the term 'migration' and the term is rather tangled with other terms such as mobility, circulation and oscillation because of the difficulty of classifying the distance and time-scale of the movement. As Jackson (1969), Lee (1966) and Mitchell (1969) recognise that migration is more limited in scope than mobility and specifically exclude such movements as seasonal workers and tourists from their consideration. For example, Mitchell (1969) and Lee (1969) define migration as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. There is no restriction placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act. Yet, Zelinsky (1971) argues that the term mobility is perhaps the most general concept in migration studies. It includes all kinds of territorial movements, both temporary and permanent, over various distances. Kosinski & Prothero (1975:1) and Hornby & Jones (1993:98) state that "migration is a much more restricted term than circulation in that it is normally used only to describe a movement from one administrative unit to another that results in a permanent change of residence". For example, "usually, a migrant is defined as a person who moves from one administrative unit to another" (Kosinski & Prothero:1975, p.1).

Moreover, Kosinski & Prothero (1975:3) propose spatial mobility to include all movements, both temporary and permanent. These two types of mobility are treated jointly, and this

attitude is reflected in the various suggestions⁸ by Kosinski & Prothero for the definition of migration, which range from the consideration of exclusively spatial criteria to social ones.

Furthermore, some authors⁹ claim that sophisticated theoretical formulations might limit our understanding of this complex subject. The reasons for this comment are many, not the least of which is that the term migration has been used to describe an incredibly broad range of activities, from the wanderings of reindeer nomads to the trips to and from school of college students, as mentioned earlier. To alleviate this problem, Mangalam (1968) and Gould & Findly (1994) have suggested a more precise definition of migration, one that sets narrower boundaries for study, yet includes the most important social dimensions of this phenomenon. For Mangalam (1968) the notion of social interaction can be taken a stage further, since moving freely from one social setting to another would normally imply that a decision-making process has also taken place in parallel. Thus, Mangalam (1968:11) has defined migration as follows:

Migration is the relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by a decision-making process on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants.

Yet, the confusion about the terms continues, as Skeldon (1990:12-3) states:

Migration and circulation can be subsumed under the term mobility. Mobility and its subsets, migration and circulation, in practice have to be pragmatically defined. From some courses of data it will not be possible to differentiate at all between long-term residential shifts (migration) and short-term movements (circulation). The term migration is commonly used in the literature explicitly, but more commonly implicitly, to cover both types of movement.

However, Richmond (1994, p.3) argues that the term migration comprises two levels of movement. One can perhaps relate the differences between these two levels of movement to the use of the term 'mobility' as opposed to 'migration'. The former refers to lower-level movement, such as shopping and commuting to work, which tend to be over a short distance and time-scale, while the latter refers to higher-level movement, such as moving to a different boundary and staying there for a certain period of time, which tend to be over a long distance and time-scale. In other words, mobility refers to short-distance movement of the population and a short period of stay in the place

⁸ The following examples are quoted in *People on the Move: Studies on Internal Migration*, edited by Kosinski, L. A. & Prothero, R. M., 1975, p.3.

⁹ Mangalam:1968; Kasdan:1970; Du Toit:1975; Shaw:1975 and Cadwell:1992.

of destination while migration refers to the long-distance movement with a longer period of stay in the place of destination.

Moreover, even these two types of movement are not straightforward. This is because of the variation of the two criteria (the distance of movement and time of stay in the place of destination) which are defined differently by various scholars (as shown below in Table 2-4). Consider, for example, movements such as for temporary work and further education. These invariably result in a change of residence, which is usually only of a temporary nature, lasting from a few weeks to a few years, after which time a return to the previous place of residence may be made (Gould & Prothero:1975, p.41; Brown:1990, p.46). This is, as discussed above, because of the different situations and circumstances of different studies on migration. In other words, theoretical definition of migration, even if clearly defined by an individual for a case study, could not be applied to all cases in general. Moreover, a theoretical rather than empirical orientation towards the study of migration has been further hindered by discipline-bound research and the resultant restricted range of interests. As Dorothy Thomas (in Gould & Findlay ed:1994) argued a long time ago that a fuller understanding of migration required a combination of case studies and statistical analysis viewed against an ecological setting, but few have followed these suggestions.

It is important, however, to recognise the problem resulting from these various levels of migratory movement, some of which are possibly or probably of only a temporary nature, when it comes to examining past migration, since the sources for the study of historic migration patterns invariably fail to indicate both low-level movement and temporary short-term changes of residence¹⁰. Thus, the definition dilemma that confronts mobility researchers is illustrated by the bewildering array of arbitrary distinctions contained in micro-level studies. To illustrate this, definitions of forms of migration and circulation used in two inquiries in South-East Asia and another two in Melanesia are summarised in Table 2-4. The main difference in these simple topologies is the distinction between circular migration, oscillation, commuting and migration. Three criteria - the purpose of the movement, time of stay in the place of destination and the distance of the movement - are used to distinguish the terms as shown in the table.

Furthermore, in an attempt to enrich the criteria used for distinguishing the terms, the intention or plan to return to live in the place of origin of the movers is taken into account by many, including

¹⁰ These general problems of definition in relation to historic migration patterns are discussed in Tilly (1979:177-83).

Zelinsky (1971), Bedford (1973) and Young (1977), as mentioned in Table 2-4. Zelinsky (1971) shows that most definitions of migration include references to permanent change of residence. Movements which are not within this category therefore are those which do not involve any permanent change but are of an oscillatory nature. Those movements where there is no permanent change of residence can be most suitably described by the term circulation to include a great variety of movements, usually short-term repetitive or cyclical in character, but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of a permanent or long-standing change of residence.

Table 2-4: Different definitions of the term ‘migration’ in the case of Indonesia and Melanesia by different scholars

Case	Definition			
	Oscillation	Commuting	Circulation	Migration
Hugo		The mover regularly (though not necessarily every day) goes to a place outside his village to work or attend an educational institute, but returns to the village most nights.	The mover's absence usually involves him sleeping at his destination for continuous periods of up to six months.	The mover is absent continuously from the village for six months or more.
Mantra		A movement across the <i>dukuh</i> (hamlet) boundary for at least six hours and no more than twenty-four hours.	A movement across the <i>dukuh</i> boundary for at least one day, but less than one year.	An intentional shift of residence across the <i>dukuh</i> boundary for one or more years.
Bedford	Routine daily movements - shopping, the journey to work and to school, visiting - and other movements involving an absence from home of less than one month.		Movement involving an absence of more than one month, where the intention of the mover is to return to live in the village at some stage.	Movement where the intention of the mover is to settle at the destination. He/she may visit the village periodically, but has no plans to return there to live.
Young	Routine daily movement as well as brief casual visits on business or for social reasons.		This occurs when a migrant has returned to his village of origin after a period in residence elsewhere, and has no plans for subsequent movement.	Movement where the intention of the mover is to settle at the destination. He/she may visit the village periodically, but has no plans to return there to live.

Sources: Hugo 1978, Population Mobility in West Java; Mantra 1978, Population Movement in “Wet” Rice Communities; Bedford 1973, New Hebridean Mobility; Young 1977, Simbu and New Ireland Migration.

However, the time scale of the movement is the main criterion among the four used to distinguish the four terms. According to the Table, it is clear that the terms ‘oscillation’ and ‘commuting’ are comparably similar as the difference between the four scholars’ criteria is narrow. For example, the time absent from the place of origin is one day or one day and a night (except in the case of

Bedford, where it could last up to one month). On the other hand, there are variations in defining the terms 'circulation' and 'migration' among the four scholars. For example, in the case of the term 'circulation', the time scale of absence in the place of origin varies from more than one day to one year. In the case of the term 'migration', the time is from six months to the rest of a migrant's life. In other words, although each scholar seems to distinguish the terms clearly, they are rather incomparable.

These classifications have been criticised by Ward (1980) and Champion & Fielding (1992). Ward (1980:119-34) argues that such a simple classification of the kind outlined by Hugo tends to fragment explanation and by implication ascribe some intrinsic theoretical significance to what is purely a device to facilitate description and analysis. Champion & Fielding (1992:186) state that: "Migration theories and empirical investigations have their securest foundation in aggregate data analyses, but their insights have been strengthened by the results of behavioural studies". Apart from the extension of behavioural research to cognitive (or perceptual) issues, it has shown little advancement in recent years (Champion & Fielding:1992).

In short, based on the discussion in this section as summarised in Table 2-4, it is clear that the use of more theoretically-based definitions may be limited in practice by the need to depend upon official surveys or this type of research. Despite the difficulties of defining migration precisely, at the root of all of these definitions is a common feature, namely the movement, usually of residence, from one geographical location to another. Besides this common feature, a definition of migration also commonly contains the following elements: a change of residence, movement between different places, duration of stay, distance travelled, motives for migration and commitment to the place of origin. Selection of one or another element depends mainly on the theoretical approach and the data available. Due to this particular reason, differences in opinion also occur in classifying migration into different categories (Mortuza:1992, p.15).

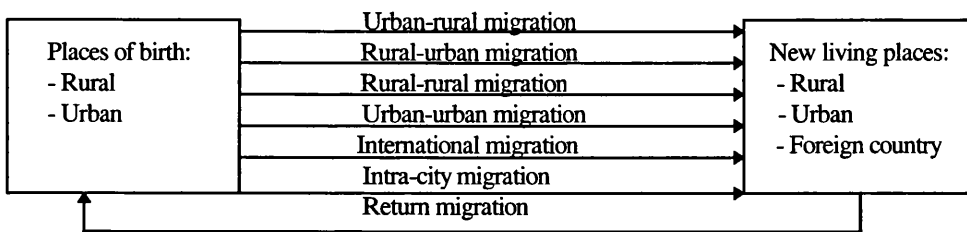
In conclusion, due to the different topics of the studies or their interests and the available data of different locations as summarised in Table 2-5 (at the end of this chapter), one should not try to generalise the definition of the term migration and apply it to different cases. This will never work and only leads to misunderstandings over the issue. As Scharping (1997:13) concludes: "Migration studies have neither succeeded in establishing an all-encompassing ground theory, nor have they been able to develop a universally accepted conclusion. Geographical, sociological, psychological and economic approaches have focused on different aspects of population movement."

It is however, very important that every study related to the issue should set out clearly the many factors or criteria used to define the term ‘migration’ or ‘migrant’ in that study in order to avoid misunderstandings of what these terms refer to. As Parnwell (1993:11) concludes “in spite of problems of definition and classification, it is nonetheless very important to have a clear understanding of the different types of population movement in order to devise adequate and appropriate planning strategies.” Therefore, the common types of migration used in most literature are discussed below.

2.4 Common Migration Types

Migrants are divided into two types relating to the place of birth (as shown in Figure 2-2) and the length of their stay in a place respectively. The first migration type - that relating to migrants’ place of origin - has attracted the most attention in academic field studies and is often further categorised into different types, depending on different scholars’ interests. For example Archer (1986:5-8) claims there are six types of migration relating to place of origin: migration, within the city migration, emigration, internal migration, international migration or immigration and return migration, all of which could form voluntary or forced migration. However, seven types of migration have originated from two main migration types: internal and external migration. With regard to internal migration, this section will briefly discuss urban-urban, rural-urban, intra-city, urban-rural, rural-rural and return migration, while external migration entails international migration or immigration.

Figure 2-2: Places used to define types of migration



Source: Compiled from this section by the author

Abella (1992), Boyd (1989), Kritz & Zlotrik (1992) and Battistella & Paganoni (1996) argue that the conventional distinction is between ‘permanent’ and ‘temporary’ migration, but many other researchers¹¹ have pointed out that the distinction between permanent and temporary,

¹¹ See for example Skeldon (1990), Champion & Fielding (1992), Richmond (1994) and Scharping (1997)

skilled and unskilled, family and non-family, legal and illegal, and other dichotomous classifications may not be too useful because differences between migration types are increasingly blurred in practice. However, the following discussion attempts to identify all the different and interchangeable uses of the term.

2.4.1 Rural-urban Migration

Rural to urban migration has been the subject of countless studies. It is commonly referred to as the movement of people from a place of origin with rural characteristics to place of destination with urban characteristics (these terms are discussed in section 2.2) for what many believe are mainly economic reasons (Fields:1974, Mortuza:1992, Day & Xia:1994, Qian:1996, Rao:1996, UN:1997). Many scholars, as partly discussed in section 2.4, often explain the economic reason for this migration type as being based on the two main factors of urban pull and rural push, with the second dominating the first (a further detailed discussion on this issue is presented in Chapter 3).

Firstly, the urban pull factor refers to the many urban opportunities, such as employment and education, health care facilities and entertainment, which are far better in cities than in rural areas. This is believed to attract people to migrate to cities, and especially the big cities of most developing countries. Secondly, rural push is caused by possible insurgencies along some rural areas and rural poverty. Such poverty can be caused by natural disaster or the limited supply of farmland and the increase of the rural population without the increase of the land, for example where arable land availability decreases due to industrial expansion, which in turn decreases income from cultivation.

2.4.2 Rural-rural Migration

This type of migration is defined as the movement of population from a place of origin with rural characteristics to place of destination also with rural characteristics, regardless of the size of the places. Although this type of migration has not often been the centre of attention for studies and research, the main reasons behind such movement are natural disasters (involuntary migration), government projects, including hydra-electric dam construction, and civil war. Such movement is often temporary in the case of refugee migration in the sense that they will go back to their places of origins once the war has ended, but long-term in the case of government policies where migrants are required to resettle permanently in the new places (Voh:1988).

The movement could also be from one rural area of land pressure to another where land is available. In addition, rural-rural migration also happens because of the traditional movement of settlements from one place to another as a result of agricultural methods, as reported by Silitshena (1983) in the case of Botswana and tribes in other African countries. The method is explained on the grounds that people move from one place of agricultural planting (after two to three harvests) to new ones. However, such activities have become unpopular and have been discouraged by the governments as it affects the environment.

2.4.3 Urban-rural Migration

Urban to rural migration refers to the movement of population from a place with urban characteristics to another place with rural characteristics (the terms urban and rural are discussed in section 2.1). This type of migration is not very common in most developing countries where, as mentioned earlier, rural areas are often the source of poverty as there are a lack of productive job opportunities. Therefore, there are not many reasons for the urban population to move to rural areas. However, the reasons for urban to rural migration could be similar to that of the return migration, where migrants return to rural areas as a retired resident after having worked in urban areas (Yap:1977, Johnson & Salt:1990).

This is because they have saved enough money to invest in the rural areas (either as their birthplace or just a place where they want to spend the rest of their lives) and where they can enjoy an environment that is perhaps less polluted and chaotic than in the cities. It is also noticed that, especially in the form of involuntary migration, large urban populations are forced to resettle in rural areas as a result of government policies. For example, in the case of China during the so-called cultural revolution of Moa Shedong, hundred of thousands of urban residents were forced to resettle in the rural areas (Tan:1994, Deborah *et al*:1995). Similarly and worse, in the case of Cambodia during the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975-79, the entire urban population of that country was evacuated to its rural areas (Khemro:2000).

2.4.4 Intra-urban or Within-the-City Migration

Intra-urban or within-the-city migration refers to the movement of people from one place to another within a city's boundaries. The main reason for such a change in place of residence is mostly believed to be the pressure of increasing accommodation prices or the increased ability of

the residents to afford better accommodation, i.e.: movement from low income to higher income areas (Sabot:1982, Kwong:1987). As Mabogunje (1972) also argues that upward occupational mobility will often be accompanied by changes in residential location within the city.

The movement is a function not only of searching for affordable or convenient accommodation, but also of migrants' length of stay in the city (in other words, their increased commitment to spend at least part of their working life there). In short, intra-urban migration has emerged as mainly the result of low income households moving to cheaper accommodation, especially from the inner city to peripheral areas; and to a lesser extent and as mentioned above, from the low income areas to the higher ones in the case of those who experience an improvement in job and income.

2.4.5 Urban-urban Migration

Urban-urban migration is defined as the movement of people from a place of origin with urban characteristics to a place of destination also with urban characteristics. The majority are assumed to depart from a small city and to move to a relatively big city (Henderson:1988, Gugler:1997). Urban-urban (or inter-urban) migration not only has occurred in developing countries, but also has been the main type of migration for people in Western countries. For example, World Resources (1996-97, p.11) and UNCHS (1996:57) show that "in North America, most migration movements are inter-urban or urban to urban, where in Western European countries the urban to urban migration seems to flow from the more congested urban settlements to smaller urban areas".

Scholars have found countless reasons for such migration. In the case of developing countries, the most common reason for this type of migration is the disparity in economic development between metropolitan or mega-cities and the smaller cities. That is to say, people move from a smaller city with fewer living opportunities to a bigger city with relatively more living opportunities¹² (i.e. better employment and income opportunities).

¹² See most articles on internal-migration, including those by Easterlin(1968), Okun and Richardson (1961), Anzorena & Poussard (1985), Burgess *et al* (1997) and Gugler (1997) who all agree on such assumptions.

2.4.6 International Migration or Immigration

Immigration is defined as the movement of people from one nation state to another. The term immigration is sometimes also called international migration, where people move from one country to another for either economic or political reasons (UN:1997, p.8). For example, according to Salt (1996), in 1992 around 702,900 foreign labour migrants entered Western European countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Spain, Switzerland and the United Kingdom), while the United Nations (1997, p.38) reports that “the world-wide refugee population has risen substantially over the past 30 years from under 2 million refugees in 1965 to some 13.2 million today”.

It is not that simple to classify international migration based only on international boundaries, as the United Nations (1997:8) continues that “not every person who cross an international border is an international migrant”. Other factors have to be taken into consideration such as duration of stay in the country of destination. Yet, various problems could occur as “some tourists may stay longer than persons admitted to undertake seasonal work or undergo training, consideration of duration of stay may not sufficient” (Ibid:8). Moreover, like the definition of migration itself, this type of migration could be classified differently by different scholars for different purposes. For example, “from the state’s perspective, the characterisation of international migrants depends on the factors of citizenship and reason for admission, both of which are legal in character” (Ibid:8). In other words, international migration or immigration could be classified differently for different purposes and according to different approaches, such as those of administrative sources, border statistics sources and household-based inquiries etc.(Ibid:9).

2.4.7 Return Migration

Return-migration refers to the movement of people from their recent places of residence to their birth places (King:1986). In other words, the return-migration, as Archer (1986:8) describes, is the type of migration which “involves a return and resettlement of a migrant population in their original country or area of residence. Such returns may occur quite soon after the original move or occur at specific stages in the life cycle such as the retirement stage”. The main reason behind the return migration is believed to be family-related reasons, such as rejoining the family after a long working life in the city, or other uneconomic reasons such as returning to a better environment in the rural areas where they were born (Liao:1985, Archer:1986). Returning from working abroad after

completing a contract is one of the most common reasons for return migration, especially in the case of developing countries such as Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia etc. (Amara:1995).

Hence, in order to render this empirical research more meaningful and to identify this topic more precisely for the purpose of this research, the present study only deals with rural-urban migration, using the following definition for rural (I-Lan county) to urban (Taipei) migrant and migration:

Migrants are defined as those who move away permanently or for at least 18 months (see further detail in Chapter 5, section 5.3.3) at the time of the interview, from I-Lan county to Taipei. This movement which involves a change of residence from the place of origin - I-Lan county to Taipei for the mentioned period, is considered as rural (I-Lan county) to urban (Taipei) migration.

2.5 Conclusion

There is also no common definition of the terms 'developed' and 'developing' countries. Different scholars use different definitions according to the purpose of their studies. The criteria used to define and distinguish the terms are numerous. However, the most common one is the GNP per capita income of a country. Countries that are classified as developing economies are those that are often considered as low- and middle-income economies, while those that are classified as high-income economies are considered as developed or advanced countries.

As discussed in section 2.1, this criterion is rather unreliable and the gap between the so-called low- and middle-income economies is very high. Thus, many other criteria, such as employment distribution, level of adult illiteracy, life expectancy, access to safe drinking water and the economic infrastructure and services, are used to compare both terms with the case of Taiwan in the context of this study.

Similarly, there is no universal definition of the term 'urban' in contrast to 'rural'. Each country has its own definition of the terms. Any attempts to generalise the definitions of the terms to apply to all countries are misleading. The main criteria used to define the terms, however, are common in most countries and studies. These are population size, population per capita income, administrative boundary, urban or rural character, importance of political and administrative seat, economic specialisation, and services and infrastructure of a place. Among these criteria, population size is the most popular one used in most countries and studies. Since there is no consensus on the

definition of the terms, every study related to the term should adopt a clear definition within its own context in order not to be misinterpreted by another when making comparisons.

Like the terms mentioned above, an attempt to generalise the term 'migration' and 'migrant' is also misleading since different studies use different definitions for different purposes. There are three perceptions of definition of the term 'migrant': that of the migrants themselves, the host population and the authorities of the host places. Migrants' perception of themselves is varied from one place to another depending on the situation of each place. There is no common perception of the term among migrants. Unfortunately, from the host population and authorities' points of view, there seem to be only one view of migrants and that is prejudiced.

Migrants are viewed as trouble makers, unwanted persons and a challenge to the urban population and authorities. Likewise, the term 'migration' is also defined differently by various scholars according to the purposes of their studies. However, it is very important, regardless of the difference in definitions of the term, that in any study related to the term one should define it clearly within the context of the study in order to avoid misunderstanding by others.

Finally, migration is often divided into seven types (as discussed in section 2.4) according to the place of destination and origin or departure, namely rural and urban. In the case of international migration or immigration, the place of destination is a different state nation to that of a migrant's place of origin or departure. In the case of return migration, the place of destination is the birth place of a migrant where he/she moves back after a certain period of absence. However, as mentioned earlier, this study focuses on the rural to urban migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city.

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0 years).

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Chapter 3: Theoretical Consideration of Motives for Rural-Urban Migration, Socio-Economic Characteristics of migrants and the Process of Migration

Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to explore the theoretical motivations for and the process of rural-to-urban migration and to discuss the socio-economic characteristics of migrants. A study of the motives for rural-urban migration can fall into two broad categories: it supports either the hypothesis that the expected high income and job opportunities in urban areas attract the rural population, or that poverty and high unemployment or under-employment in rural areas expel the population from their place of origin and drive them towards the urban labour market in search of a better life.

The chapter starts with a discussion of classical and neo-classical economic theories that have a bearing on understanding the motives for rural-urban migration in the case of developing countries. It then presents a discussion of two theories in the case of developed countries. It continues by discussing the socio-economic characteristics of migrants, including a comparison between migrants, stayers and urban natives. Finally, section 4 provides a discussion of the migration process, including the process of finding accommodation and the search for a job by migrants.

3.1 Discussion of Classical and Neo-classical Theories of Rural-Urban Migration - The Case of Developing Countries

Two main theories - the classical and neo-classical theories - have been the main sources of discussion on migration. Although the two theories were developed at different times, they share a common view: both discuss migration in terms of economic factors. The dominant feature of the classical economic approach to rural-urban migration lies in the theories of Adam Smith and Karl Marx (Smith:1976; Kraus & Hodge:1990). Adam Smith recognised the potential for migration from areas with low labour to areas where the costs are higher. According to Smith (in Skinner:1970,p.178) "...it appears evident from the experience that a man is of all sorts of luggage the most difficult to be transported. If the labouring poor, therefore, can maintain their families in those parts of the kingdom where the price of labour is the lowest, they must be in affluence where it is highest."

Meanwhile, Karl Marx (in Hobsbawm, ed., 1965) argues that capital accumulation and its relation to the growth of the relative surplus population are the two key elements in the rural-urban migration phenomenon. Marx suggests that the appearance of a 'doubly-free' mass of labour power on the labour market and the role of capital in the accumulation of labour and their instruments at given points are the main elements of accumulation (ibid: 111-112). In summary, the classical ideas on rural to urban migration are intertwined with their common themes of the development of capitalism, the role of accumulation and the related aspect of the growth of labour demand on the one hand and the creation of a mass of "free labourers" on the other. In other words, the concentration of economic activities in urban areas as well as their reorganisation lead to increases in urban demand for labour, which in turn necessitates rural-urban transfer of labour. These early classical writings provide an insightful economic theory to explain the rural-to-urban migration of labour.

These classical writings were later further developed by scholars such as Ravenstein (1885, 1889), Lewis (1954), Hoeselitz (1962) and Lee (1963, p.64 and 69). They argue that an emphasis on the development of capitalism creates a situation in which the worker is free to sell his/her labour to an employer within a free market where the labour demand in urban areas is increasing. The 'Laws of Migration' formulated by Ravenstein (1885) represent a major attempt at providing some principles along which to explain the mechanism of the migration process in both an internal and international situation. Basically, Ravenstein (1885) has listed a number of propositions that are key elements in what remains a key theory - one that attempts to explain migration by the establishment of flows conditioned by a number of variables. Its conclusions are as follows:

- (1) Migration proceeds in stages; people tend to move first towards the nearest towns and then to the more rapidly growing cities.
- (2) Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.
- (3) Most migrants move only a short distance. In other words, the rate of migration between two points is related to the distance between these points.
- (4) Townsmen are less likely to migrate than rural residents.
- (5) Migration streams will increase over time as a result of developments in the means of transport and the growth of industry and commerce.
- (6) Migrants moving the longest distances usually prefer to go to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.

Ravenstein (1889) also indicates that heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings and even compulsion have produced and are still producing streams of migration, but none of these streams can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to better themselves in some material respect. The Ravenstein model¹ has remained the most significant theoretical contribution based on the assumption of push and pull factors - those that drive people away from their place of origin and those that act as attractions to pull them toward their place of destination (Schultz:1971, McGee:1971, Nagi:1976). In other words, it provides a model of economic dualism with rural-urban migration as one of the mechanisms whereby the dichotomy between the low (or zero) marginal productivity of the rural areas and the high marginal productivity of the urban sector is modified by the flow of migrants (labour) into the cities. The model assumes a set of factors associated with the area of origin and another associated with the area of destination, together with intervening variables that affect the actual balance of these interests. This push-pull model, dependent upon a set of assumptions underlying the balance of interests of the migrants, assumes a process of rational decision-making and perfect knowledge of the system.

The push factors are generally economic, such as a lack of access to land, lack of employment, low wages, wasted land, drought and population increase, but in some cases also include war, famine and natural disasters (Lewis:1954, Schultz:1971, McGee:1971, Nagi:1976). For example, 76% of migrants in Bangkok (Burgess *et al*:1997, p.217) and most migrants in Dhaka, Bangladesh, (Mortuza:1992, p.109; Gugler:1997) have cited agricultural employment problems (such as drought, destruction of paddy fields, landlessness etc.) as the main reasons for migration to the city. In some other empirical studies observed in Vietnam and Bangladesh, the two most cited reasons for moving from rural areas of Vietnam to Hanoi city were under-employment and, in the case of Bangladesh, low income in rural areas (Li:1996. p, 33). Similarly, Massey *et al* (1994:706) argue that the push factors were stronger than pull factors in the United States in predicting the rate of out-migration from Mexico.

The pull factors offered attractive alternatives to the push factors and, in addition, emphasised the advantages of the urban over the rural existence, with the 'bright lights' and 'delights' available to the urban dweller becoming a beacon to the peasant toiling on the land (Lee:1969, Schultz:1971, McGee:1971, Nagi:1976). As Hart (in Eades:1987, p.75) points out, "migrants have been

¹ Ravenstein, E. G., 1889. *The Laws of Migration*. op. cit., 52(2) 241-301.

drawn to the cities by the unequal concentration of opportunities more than having been pushed out of the countryside by forces originating there". Other positive aspects of urban areas and development also contribute to the pull of migration, as the UNCHS (1996, p.44) points out that "better transportation, growing rural population, more jobs in the cities and a greater awareness of the opportunities available in the cities are bound to have affected the kinds of people who move their destinations and their motives".

The classical theory interprets the role of inter-regional migration in the context of adjustments in supply and demand for labour. If the supply of labour within a region exceeds demand, either wages will fall or unemployment will rise; if demand exceeds supply, a rise in wages will result (Hoselitz:1962, Lee:1966). One consequence may be that employers will be encouraged to relocate their enterprises to regions where labour is plentiful and cheap (Lee:1964). Another possibility is that migration will be encouraged, with unemployed workers moving to regions of labour demand and workers already in employment moving from areas of lower wages to areas where higher pay is available (Hoselitz:1962, Lee:1966).

Analyses of the significance of and reasons for rural-urban migration and the composition of the migrant stream are therefore based on an identification of the nature of the society within which the migration occurs (Lee:1966, p.69). Firstly, if a dynamic capitalist sector can be identified in some urban areas, then the demand for skilled and unskilled labour in these cities and the greater opportunities for social mobility in the modern urban environment might be expected to attract workers from the countryside, even if conditions there were far from tolerable. Such migrants would often be skilled and ambitious, and would be expected to cut their ties with the rural areas rapidly as they commit themselves willingly to urban life. Secondly, if the capitalist industrial sector in a city was weak and the opportunities in the city less attractive, one might expect that 'push' factors would play a greater role in rural-urban migration. In this case, the nature of the migrant stream would depend more on the structure of the rural society it originates from.

If the rural society was still pre-capitalist, the migrants would still be peasants at heart, driven out reluctantly by the poverty caused by landlord exaction and government taxation to supplement the meager output from their holdings by short-term and seasonal labour in the city. If encroaching capitalism was transforming agrarian relations, however, landless agricultural labourers might be expected to form the larger part of the migrant stream. Despite being deprived of their title to the soil and eager to settle in the city, these migrants, like the peasants, might still be forced to return

frequently to their rural roots by chronic urban unemployment and by the burden of debt on their families still in their home villages (Lewis:1954, Lee:1963).

Neo-classical economic theories of rural-urban migration, on the other hand, consider population movement as a rational response to better employment opportunities and higher wages. It thus seems to focus on the pull factors of the place of destination. As Cadwallader (1992, p.8) suggests that "labour moves in response to inter-regional wage differentials, with the volume of movement increasing as the wage differential increases. More specifically, labour will migrate from low-wage to high-wage areas." Most of these theories maintain that migration is directional, following from areas of high unemployment or ones with low wage rates (these factors are similar to the push of the place of origin as mentioned in the classical theory) to more favourable areas until an equilibrium is reached between the supply and demand for labour (Sjaastad:1962, Todaro:1969, 1976, 1977).

For example, Massey *et al* (1994:705) point out "in neo-classical terms, the incentives for migration between Mexico and the United States are large. Average wage rates differ by a factor of five between the two countries; and even after adjusting for the costs of transportation, entry and foreign living, most Mexican workers can expect to earn three times what they would at home." Similarly, in the case of China, urban industrialisation during the 1950s created a mass of new urban jobs and cities demanded a new labour supply from its rural areas. As Chan (1994:p,37) points out "the relative social stability in urban areas and the massive industrialisation programme during the First Five-Year Plan period (1953-57) turned cities into magnets for labourers from the countryside". Thus, it seems that it is the labour demand in urban areas that pull the supply from rural areas.

The main criticisms of the classical theory as presented in Lee's² formulation have been summarised by Todaro (1976, 1977). Todaro (1976, p.2) challenges that:

Migration is no longer viewed by economists as an unambiguous beneficent process necessary to solve problems of growing urban labour demand. On the contrary, migration today is being increasingly looked upon as the major contributing factor to the ubiquitous phenomenon of urban surplus labour and as a force that continues to exacerbate already serious urban unemployment problems caused by growing economic and structural imbalances between urban and rural areas, because rural-urban migration continues to exceed rates of urban job creation and to surpass greatly the capacity of both industry and urban services.

² Lee's theory on migration could also be viewed in many books, including that of Quian (1996).

Alternatively, Todaro has further refined the cost-benefit model for analysing rural-urban migration by adding a term for the probability of the migrant obtaining employment at the destination. Todaro's model (1976) is therefore based on the assumption that rural-urban migration is primarily the product of rational economic decisions by individual migrants. He proposes the following basis: first, a traditional agricultural subsistence sector characterised by zero or very low productivity 'surplus' labour; second, a high productivity modern urban industrial sector into which labour from the subsistence sector is gradually transferred (Ibid:215).

Yet another theory of rural-urban migration concerns the earlier model of Lewis (1954), which regards the economy as consisting of two sectors and has as its basis the traditional rural subsistence sector, which is characterised by zero or very low productivity 'surplus labour', from which labour is transferred to a high productivity, modern industrial sector. The central assumption of Lewis' model is that unlimited supplies of labour are available in the modern sector at a fixed wage. The fixed wage is slightly higher than the average income in the traditional agricultural sector. Hence, this assumption can be interpreted as yet another theory of rural-urban migration. The criticisms of the Lewis model by Rao (1996:9) are:

In brief, the early Lewis predictions did not turn out to be true for these reasons: (1) the rate of growth of the population and labour force was larger than expected; (2) the technology transferred from the rich countries was labour-saving and did better at raising labour productivity than at creating more jobs; (3) the difference between rural and urban incomes was much greater than Lewis assumed, owing partly to trade union action on wages, partly to income differentials inherited from colonial days.

compared to Lewis

However, in a more recent work, Stark (1991), argues that in some other cases, wage differences cannot be the reason for rural-urban migration. In India, for example, better income is a weaker determinant of migration than marriage, although Stark (1991:63) agrees that:

A person who is more relatively deprived can be expected to have a stronger incentive to migrate than a person who is less relatively deprived, and a reference group characterized by more income inequality is likely to generate more relative deprivation and higher propensities to migrate.

Nonetheless, classical and neo-classical theories are criticised by others as being too simplistic to cover all factors that contribute to the migration phenomenon (Amin in McGee:1977, Danesh:1987, Williamson:1988, Castles & Miller:1998). As Mortuza (1992) states that a major problem of push-pull factors lies in the fact that such rural-urban theories or models overlook the

historical process of social, economic and political changes and their effects on migration, which practically limit their applicability to different countries and different regions. Danesh (1987) raises three main points in challenging the two theoretical views. "First, the push and pull theories of migration are too economic in their outlook." In other words, classical and neo-classical theories seem to focus only on economic factors and leave out other factors such as social, cultural, religious and political factors.

"Second, a comprehensive study of rural-migration should ideally incorporate into a unitary schema both pull and push forces in the place of origin and destination. Even Lee, who has been cautious to use both forces in a theory, overemphasises the explanatory power of urban pull in his later writings." In other words, the balance has to be struck between both factors in the place of origin and the destination of the supposed migrants. In doing so, the study of motivation for migration must take into consideration not only the attractiveness of the place of destination, but also the cause of out-migration at the place of origin.

"Third, both push and pull have failed to identify systematically all the major forces of migration both in the countryside and in the cities." This is mainly because the two theoretical views seem to consider the migration phenomenon as an isolated case relating mainly to the economic factor, rather than see it as a complex process that involves many other factors, as mentioned earlier.

The studies of Temple (1975), Speare (1977) and Speare *et al* (1988) disagree with the push and pull model and find that non-monetary factors, especially the location of relatives and the receipt of job information from friends or relatives, are also important determinants of mobility. Rao (1996:11) agrees with this view and challenges the one developed by Todaro:

A major weakness of the Todaro model is the assumption that potential migrants are homogeneous in respect of skills and attitudes and that they have complete information for working out the probability of finding a job in the urban-modern sector. Other assumptions such as, migrants often look for modern sector jobs, wages in the traditional sector are always lower than wages in the modern sector, and the decision to move 'once for all', have also been questioned.

Part of the weakness of the studies on the dominant push-pull model is that they have often neglected to address the question of recruitment versus expulsion, which can apply to different cases from country to country and over time. The push-pull model does not adequately account for

the role cultural notions play in the motivation of people to migrate. As Sjaastad (1962) argues that there are other variables to be considered in migration than merely economic ones. According to Scott (1975) and Danesh (1987), the push-pull model is now regarded as too simplistic because it regards all the forces as external and does not account for personal desires, nor does it mention other important factors such as culture, tradition etc., which also play an important role in the patterns of migration (as later discussed in section 3.5 and Chapter 4).

Moreover, Butterworth (1979) and Harris (1995) claim that although rural poverty is the factor that pushes the migrants off the land, the exodus is selective and poverty alone is not sufficient to cause migration. Skeldon (1990:173) also argues that “in rural areas with rich farmland and access to an urban market, agricultural modernisation and increasing production are more likely to stimulate out-migration than to curtail it over the medium to long term”. This is because, once the population’s living standard improves, they look for better places to live with more advanced technology or more luxurious facilities and services, as are normally available in urban areas.

Thus, it is likely that the part of the population who can afford to do so will migrate to urban areas. For example, Speare (in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.324) argues that **in the case of Taiwan migration to urban areas involved mostly those with higher skills and levels of education.** Therefore, only the relatively rich (in this case, he used the size of the farm as a measure) families migrate because they can afford the cost of living in urban areas, education and training for themselves or their children. In addition, as Massey *et al* (1994:707) point out in the case of emigration from Mexico to the United States, that:

Although expected income is indeed positive and significant in predicting the likelihood of international movement, it does not explain the bulk of the variation nor is it even the strongest effect in the model (migration). Even controlling for differences in expected incomes, such other factors as migrants’ experience and their networks play an important role in structuring the migration decision. Neo-classical theory is clearly supported, but there are suggestions that, by itself, it does not constitute a complete explanation of the migration decision.

In other words, migration is not a simple phenomenon that can be explained by economic factors alone, which seems to be the case in the classical and neo-classical theories. In conclusion, both the classical and neo-classical theories on migration seem to explain the complex phenomenon of migration only in part. There are other factors involved in migration than just the push and pull, economic factors. In other words, migration is motivated by not only economic factors, but also by social, cultural and religion ones. As Barkan (1992:13) concludes:

More fully recognised now is the interconnectedness of such forces and motives: market factors and the distribution of capital, technology, goods and information; transportation technology and the many costs and risks of travelling over greater distances; general cultural norms and traditions regarding migration and commitments to native communities; and familial and individual values concerning the motives for migration, be they for marriage, adventure, necessity, or escape and survival.”

In reviewing this theoretical study, therefore, it is important to note that both theories seem to exhibit a pessimist orientation by emphasising that the miserable conditions in the areas of origin in the countryside account for rural-to-urban migration in developing countries (especially the classical theory, for example Hoselitz (1962) and Lee (1966) stress that the push factors in the place of origin are more important and stronger than the pull factors in the destination in influencing rural-urban migration). Thus, these dominant theories of migration reflect the policy assumption that poverty in rural areas of developing countries drives people out. This assumption has resulted in a deflection of attention from a question of key importance: why is it that not all or even most of the people living in the rural areas migrate to the cities and only a very small minority do? In this study, the question would relate to migration from rural I-Lan county to Taipei city. Is it similar to the theories discussed above, or is it similar to the case of developed countries, as discussed below? The answers to these questions will be obtained in the finding chapters of this study.

3.2 The Case of Migration in Developed Countries

Applying classical and neo-classical theories to the case of migration in developed countries will encounter many problems, including the fact that the economic structure, social welfare, forms of political governing systems and the degree of development between the two worlds are too different. As shown in Table 3-1, although there appear to be push and pull factors in the motivations for migration in both cases, individual factors - especially the main individual factors that strongly influence migration - are rather different.

For example, the main push factor in most developing countries is rural poverty, such as unemployment or underemployment and low income, while the lack of specialised, skilled and/or job transfers applies to developed countries. Yet, previous studies on migration in developed countries show that there are variations of the motivation for rural-urban or other forms of migration from one country to another within the developed world. Not surprisingly, many case studies also show that even in a single country the motivation for migration varies from one area to

another within that country and among different groups of migrants, such as retired migrants and young migrants.

Table 3-1: A Comparison between the push and pull factors of the motivation for migration between developed and developing countries

Indicators	Developing countries	Developed countries
Main 'push' factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inadequate income - High unemployment or under-employment - Lack of access to farmland - Lack of access to even basic services and amenities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of skilled or specialised jobs - High housing/land/rent costs - A change of economic structure in the place of origin - Pollution and congestion
Main 'pull' factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Higher income opportunities - Better services and amenities - More job opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Job transfers/relocation - Cheaper and more pleasant living environment - Wider choices of jobs - Freedom/independence from family

Source: summarised from sections 3.1 and 3.2 by the author

Note: In the case of developed countries, many of the listed factors are difficult to categorise precisely, whether they be pull or push factors, as a result of the small differences or less significance between the place of origin and destination, as mentioned in this section.

A wider variety of job opportunities in urban areas seem to be the main motivation for migration in many developed countries, including the United Kingdom. According to Pooley & Whyte (1991:168) the main motivation of Welsh migrants to English towns is "the larger labour markets". This is because Pooley & Whyte (1991) found that most migrants held similar jobs before and after migration, but they had more choices in terms of working conditions and job satisfaction compared with their places of origin.

Unlike the case of developing countries where rural poverty and a difference in real income between rural and urban areas are arguably the main factors for migrants' move to the city, in the case of developed countries the chance to be free from the family, job transfers and the search for specialised or skilled jobs in urban areas are the most important reasons for migration, as proved in many empirical studies. As Pooley & Whyte (1991:179) argue in the case of the United Kingdom: "Economic necessity no doubt provided a spur, but other influences played their part, and the pull of the town, freedom from parental supervision, and the chance of an independent income were elements." For example, in a study of return migrants in the 1960s, Eldridge (1965) also emphasises that in developed countries low wages are not the main reason for rural-urban migration. Salt & Flowerdew (1986) and Harnet (1987) also suggest that, in the case of the US, UK, France and the Netherlands, "employer-initiated moves form a still higher proportion, accounting for nearly 60 per cent of inter-regional moves".

In addition, a 1963 survey by the United States Census Bureau, which collects statistics on reasons for moving, shows that out of a male labour force of 43 million, 296,000 respondents were transferred in the preceding year. The data of job transfers from 1973 to 1977 were: 761,000 (1973); 832,000 (1974); 726,000 (1975); 797,000 (1976) and 915,000 (1977). These data confirm the rapid increase in the number of job transfers from 1973 to 1974, but shows a rather sluggish rate in the period 1974 to 1975, while it peaks again in 1977. Long (1988:235), who tabulated the 1979 to 1981 American Housing Survey, which is limited to long-distance interstate migrants, found that 'job transfer' was the most frequently stated reason for migration (22 per cent) with about 460,000 households transferred annually.

Most studies on the motivation for migration in developed countries have shown that the push factors of the place of origin are insignificant compared with the pull factors of the place of destination. In the United States, the study by Dejong & Ahmad (1976:279) among migrants that receive welfare benefits across the country also indicate that "it should be noted that the majority of reasons suggested by respondents indicate 'pull' factors at areas of destination rather than 'push' factors at areas of origin". Based on the above findings, Johnson & Salt (1990:18) uphold that financial considerations play a subordinate role in the decision to migrate and "job transfers are the most important source of employment-related migration in the United States".

Moreover, a cross-sectional analysis of migration across the United States from 1965 to 1987, according to Chun (1996:53), also indicates that "job opportunities are the most important determinant in migration". Chun (1996:82) further finds that "incremental employment opportunities provide a strong attraction for migrants". According to UNCHS (1996:56), in the case of Western European countries, migrants are drawn to large cities as it enables them "to take advantage of their higher educational facilities, better job-seeking networks, more varied social opportunities and cheaper rented housing".

However, the high cost of living in urban areas, such as for housing, and the unsatisfactory environment, such as congested traffic and pollution, are the main reasons for out-migration from big cities to the smaller cities or suburban areas, where the costs are lower and the living environment is less stressful. For example, Davis & Southworth (1984:284-5) in their study of internal migration across Great Britain, found that the reasons for moving of migrants are "21 per cent for housing reasons, environmental reasons 9 per cent, job/study reasons 16 per cent (change of job), personal reasons (to get married, ill health, to join relatives/friends, retirements) 37 per cent,

other reasons (to be nearer work, to buy a house/flat) 18 per cent". In a case study of London city, Jackson (1986:34) found that high land and housing prices and congestion cause people to move out of the city. Partly and indirectly, the high cost of land and housing and congestion in a city like London also lead to the relocation of industries. This causes employees to as the time spent travelling from London to the new work site is severely disrupted by the congested traffic in London (Ibid).

Moreover, the changing economic structure of cities of developed countries - from manufacturing and heavy industries to high technology and service industries - also affect the trend of migration (Barkan:1992). As Hornby & Jones (1993:123) point out in the case of the United States, "migration has been a response to changes in the structure of the economy, particularly a move from an economy dominated by manufacturing to one dominated by service industries". This is also found in the developed countries in Europe where old or traditional cities reliant on mining, manufacturing and heavy industries lose their populations to other cities after the introduction of high technology and service industries when the traditional factories fail to survive amid cheaper exports and the fact that labour forces are attracted to the new, skilled jobs in the technology and service sectors (Hornby & Jones:1993). In other words, the main motivation for migration of the population in developed countries is job transfers and job-related reasons.

It is noticed that migration in developed countries has changed from being dominated by rural-to-urban migration before the nineteenth century to being dominated by urban-to-urban migration in the form of movement from large metropolitan areas to smaller cities in the 1980s and 1990s (UNCHS:1996). This is because of more negative environmental living conditions, such as air and noise pollution, in large cities than in small cities. For example, in the United States, the polluted conditions of metropolitan cities seem to have the biggest effect on retiree communities. Resource Papers (1977:31) point out that "the 'push' of metropolitan areas will still affect retirees, and the pull of small towns and rural living should remain an important factor influencing the decision to migrate of the retirees".

A similar case is found in European countries such as the United Kingdom. As Jackson (1986:33-4) indicates: "Considerable internal movement within Britain and between regions is due not to labour market factors as such, but from a desire to move away from areas of congestion in the cities or to move away from the cities altogether." In addition, the improvement of infrastructure and services of small cities contributed to the shift (UNCHS:1996, p.57). For example, many heavily urbanised

cities such as London, Paris, Brussels and Copenhagen have experienced out-migration, while other smaller cities around London, Copenhagen and Randstad in the Netherlands have had in-migration (Ibid).

In many cases, the motivation for migration in developed countries is also strongly influenced by other factors, such as cultural, political and historical links between the society of origin and the host society, which “can be of higher explanatory value than purely economic factors such as wage differentials”. (Fassmann & Munz:1994, p.17). It is argued that people in developed countries do not migrate to a completely strange environment simply for a higher wage. Even if they do so, the destinations would have to have migrant communities where new migrants can seek comfort in the cultural, traditional and ethnic links. As Fassmann & Manz (1994:17) show in an example, “if economic indicators like wage differentials were the only factor, Portuguese citizens would go to Germany rather than to France. As citizens of the European Union they can migrate legally to either of these countries.”

Furthermore, the small difference between what is defined as urban in contrast to rural in developed countries makes the concept of rural-to-urban migration less important. This is because, according to UNCHS (1996:57), “most rural households in West Europe now enjoy a level of service provision that was formerly only associated with urban areas. The rural-urban distinction based on access to urban-based cultural activities is also blurred as a considerable proportion of rural households can get to theatres, cinemas, discos and other urban-based cultural activities.” In this regard, therefore, it is unlikely that the motivation for migration from rural areas to the city is for better access to service and amenities as is the case in developing countries.

Finally, employment distribution in urban and rural areas, which is distinctly different in the case of developing countries, also become blurred in developed countries as “only a small percentage of the labour force work within agriculture and a high proportion of the rural workforce either commute to work in urban areas or work in non-agricultural activities” (UNCHS:1996, p.57). In other words, in most developed countries the impact of rural-urban migration becomes less significant as the difference in the definitions of rural and urban is very small. Thus, it is naïve to conclude that the motivation for rural-to-urban migration in the case of developed countries is for all the factors that rural areas lack, as in the case of developing countries.

In conclusion, although the motivations for migration in both developing and developed countries are included in the explanation of classical and neo-classical theories on migration, such an explanation accounts for only a part of the wider and more complex phenomenon of migration. In other words, the motivations for migration in either developing or developed countries are influenced by many factors such as economic, social, political, cultural, linguistic and religious factors (Barkan:1992). All of these forces play a decisive role, but it is often difficult to distinguish which has the strongest effect on the motivation for migration.

However, what it is reasonably clear is the fact that the different cultures, political governing systems, economic structures, social welfare and development of the developing and developed countries shape differently the motivation for migration. Yet, it is also true that there are different cases among both types of countries, which make generalisations on the motivation of migration less meaningful or more vague. That is why particular case studies are needed, for example for the case of I-Lan county to Taipei migration.

3.3 Socio-economic Characteristics of Migrants

The question of who is likely to become a rural-urban migrant can have different answers depending on the theoretical perspective - whether it is answered from the push or the pull camp. The push perspective stresses the processes of agricultural decomposition by looking at how capitalism in general, and capitalist agriculture in particular, penetrate and decompose rural socio-economic systems and how these changes, in turn, cause the displacement of peasants normally engaged in subsistence farming. Since the displaced peasants typically cannot find work as wage labourers in the countryside, their economic condition is presumed to be the main cause of rural-urban migration. Thus, the poor and often landless farmers are considered most likely to become rural-urban migrants since they have to seek work in other areas in order to survive.

However, from the point of view of the pull factor, the landless and poor farmers are too poor to migrate. Lipton (1982:196) proposes that the poor farmers and landless labourers, who cannot afford the initial cost of relocation, would not be pushed out because they are too poor to move. Other evidence also proves that mass rural-urban migration does not necessarily mean rural poverty has expelled the poor. For example, UNCHS (1996, p.22) points out that "in South East Asia, the demand for women workers in multinational industries and in unskilled and semi-skilled service

occupations (domestic work, informal commerce, the sex industry) is important in drawing young women to cities in Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and South Korea, and not the rural poverty that pushes them out of the villages”.

The views on the characteristics of migrants from these two theoretical camps are only part of the explanation for this complex phenomenon. Other factors also contribute to the recruitment of migrants to urban areas, including migrants’ families, economic situation, connection with the destination and other social factors. The family factor refers to a family’s decision on which family members should be sent to the city and why. Such a decision is often based on the family’s economic situation, which varies from one family to another (i.e. according to the number of children able to migrate). For example, Castles & Miller (1998:25) argue: “The family may decide to send young women to the city or overseas because the labour of the young men is less dispensable on the farm. Young women are also often seen as more reliable in sending remittances.”

The connections with the place of destination and social factors refer to the situation where migrants’ selection is based on the likeliness of recruitment at the place of destination and not at the place of origin. In other words, out-migration in this case occurs only in response to the demand for labour in the place of destination and thus the forces at the place of origin seem to have little influence on the decision on who or how many of the family members should migrate. Therefore, migrants’ family decision seems to have little influence in deciding who and how many of the family members would be allowed to migrate. For example, Castles & Miller (1998:24) argue: “Migratory movements generally rise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonisation, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties.”

Moreover, the economic specialisation of the place of destination also influences migrants’ selection according to gender. As UNCHS (1996:44) points out: “Men move in much greater numbers (than women) to mining towns and major new industrial cities where most available work is only open to men, but women dominate migration flows to most large cities because of job opportunities there in domestic services, office cleaning, shop work, street selling and prostitution.” Furthermore, the economic condition of the place of origin has the same impact, as UNCHS (1996:44) argues that social change and poverty in some rural areas also mean a disproportionate number of young women seek employment outside villages.

Furthermore, the attitudes of different social cultures towards gender also impact on migrants. Because of the Muslim religion and culture in countries in South Asia, North Africa, the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa, migrants in these areas are dominated by men, while in societies with Christian and other religions and cultures, such as in South East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, migrants are dominated by women (UNCHS:1996, p.12). Thus, it seems clear enough that migration is not an isolated phenomenon. It relates not only to economic factors, but also to other factors such as culture, religion and political and social ones. In short, many factors influence the socio-economic characteristics of migrants.

Yet, migration into cities is generally highly selective by age, gender, marital status and education (Tan: 1994, Qian:1996). As Massey *et al* (1993:453) argue: "Migration is a selective process that tends, initially at least, to draw relatively well educated, skilled, productive and highly motivated people away from sending communities." This is partly because well-educated migrants find better opportunities in the urban job market than in the rural economy (Gugler:1997, p.44). Many empirical studies in Taiwan observed by Wang (1973), Chiang (1983), Pan (1988), Chang (1989) and Hsu (1992), and in mainland China by Davin (1999), support the above view and indicate that migrants are selective by age, gender, marital status, occupation and education.

As Schultz (1982:94) points out: "A strong association between age and migration is universally noted; gross migration occurs more frequently among youth at the start of their economically independent lifetime than it does at progressively later ages." For example, in the case of Taiwan, Chiang (1983) found that migrants are highly represented by the age group 25-29 years in the case of San-chung city; Pan (1988) discovered that migrants aged 25-34 are the most significant group in the case of Taichung city.

These two empirical studies also found that the majority of migrants were single with a higher education, and that most migrants were engaged in the tertiary sector. A similar finding also occurred in the case of Mexico, where "migrants are better educated and, on average, better off than non-migrants" (Ballard:1987). In other words, because migrants are often selected from the better strata of the population - physically and mentally - in the place of origin, they are better off than the stayers (Harris:1992).

Crook (1993:25-62) notes the role of industry in selecting and encouraging migrants of a specific age, gender and background. In this context, he points out how the diversity in the composition of

migrants corresponds with the diversity in industrial structure. In the case of Taiwan, Gallin & Rita (in Elvin & Skinner:1974) also show that migrants are highly educated and skilled, and better off than stayers. For example, in many developing countries where the so-called special industrial economic zones are created in which most of the jobs are in manufacturing, the labour is often supplied by young, female migrants, as is the case in Taiwan and other South East Asian countries (Skeldon:1990). In the case of Mainland China, Skeldon (1990:44) also points out that the investment by Hong Kong in the special economic zones of Shen Zhen in the Southern region has created millions of manufacturing jobs, leading to the mass rural-urban migration of especially women.

Turnham's study (1993:132) emphasises the link between migration and education as he shows that:

The close link between formal education and the access to jobs offering opportunities to use and to build upon such as base is well understood by people in developing countries. In the past, despite the evidence of a link to entrepreneurial success as in farming, education has often been interpreted as enhancing potential earning power through access to employment to be found in urban areas. Thus, among the best known "stylised facts" about long-term migration from rural to urban areas within developing countries is the role of education as a selection factor among populations in the areas of out-migration. Many enquiries in rural areas have indicated a pronounced bias to migrate on the part of young, educated persons.

Many other empirical studies have also shown that the level of adult literacy is higher among migrants than stayers, and that those stayers with a better education are also more likely to migrate than the less educated ones (Roussel:1970, Patrick & de Carvalho Filho:1975³, Schultz:1982, Mazumdar:1987⁴). In brief, education is helpful in opening up urban opportunities, and the lack of education among the poorest members of the rural communities may well be a significant factor in the main reason why they rarely migrate.

To summarise, as Rao (1996:28) notes, "migration from a rural area is a selective process in relation to age, gender and the level of education and migrants are drawn overwhelmingly from the upper strata of the society". Therefore, migration is positively selective under most circumstances,

³ Quoted in Schuh, G. E., 'Out-migration, Rural Productivity, and the Distribution of Income', p.178, in Sabot, R. H., 1982 (ed). *Migration and the Labour Market in Developing Countries*.

⁵ See further detail in Mazumdar, D. 1987. 'Rural-Urban Migration in Developing Countries', Published in the *Handbook of Regional and Urban Economics*., Mills, E. (ed); and Roussel, L. 1970. 'Measuring Rural-Urban Drift in Developing Countries: A Suggested Method', *ILO Review*, Vol.101, No.3.

and hence, migrants exhibit above average levels of education and earnings when compared with the populations at the place of origin. However, it is noticed that, as the result of chain migration, where migrants are followed to the city by relatives and friends, the process of selective migration (as mentioned earlier) has declined over time (Massey *et al*:1993, 1994). This is because in chain migration migrants are recruited mainly on the basis of families' or relatives' preference, rather than on the basis of education, skill, economic status and other factors.

3.4 The Process of Rural-Urban Migration

In general, the migration process can be divided into two phases after the decision has been made to out-migrate to the city: the process of finding accommodation and the process of searching for a job. These two migration phases can be considered in terms of monetary and non-monetary costs. The former includes the food, lodging and transport expenses involved in migration. Non-monetary costs include foregoing earnings during the period spent travelling, searching for and learning a new job.

3.4.1 The Process of Finding Accommodation

Migrants' first important task in urban areas is undoubtedly to find shelter, which is many times more expensive than in their place of origin. Most literature on developing countries reveals that the accommodation in urban areas is too expensive for migrants. Consequently, migrants either end up in cheap, rented accommodation in slum and squatter settlements or stay in shared accommodation with relatives or friends. The following discussion aims to highlight these two types of accommodation of migrants in urban areas. In addition, migrants' relatives in the rural areas also support the process of rural-urban migration. This support continues even after migrants have found jobs in the city. However, migrants often start to send remittances to their families in the place of origin soon after they start earning a wage, while at the same time they receive support from the rural areas in the form of food.

3.4.1.1 The Trap of Urban Poverty, Slum and Squatter Settlements

Several studies have found that the housing conditions of migrants are not as good as those of urban natives. Migrants to Tehran, for example, were less likely to be homeowners and lived in housing units with more persons per room than natives (Brown:1983). Other studies also show that

migrants to Bangkok and Manila were disadvantaged relative to natives on most housing measures (Tirasawat:1978; Hendershot:1973). However, these are different from studies of Surabaya and Indonesia. McCutcheon (1983) observes in these two cases that migrants' housing conditions were not significantly different from those of natives. Only those migrants to Surabaya who came from farm backgrounds or who were self-employed with low incomes had poorer housing conditions; these were offset by migrants with a higher level of education who enjoyed better living conditions than the average urban native.

However, the Indonesian case above seems to be an exception since in most cases, migrants are found to have poor housing conditions. For example, UNCHS (1982:26) points out: "As far as squatter settlement is concerned, 9 out of 18 case studies where data was available recorded significant in-migration." The perception that migrants dominate squatting is due to the belief: firstly, that the majority of migrants are poorer than urban natives; secondly, that new migrants face natural difficulties in obtaining access to land; and, thirdly, as Castles & Miller (1998:198) point out, that most migrants have low income and little savings. For example, in the case of Taiwan, Speare *et al* (1988:169) explain migrants' disadvantage in terms of two reasons.

Firstly, as newcomers to the city, they lack access to land and other resources that natives may have inherited or received from relatives in the city. They further argue that it may be relatively easier for a migrant who possesses a proper education and job skills to find employment than it is to acquire land and a house in an already crowded city. Secondly, many migrants are believed to maintain contact with people who remain at their place of origin and may even continue to own land in their village. This limits the resources available for renting a house in the city and, to the extent that they envision eventually returning to the place of origin, it reduces migrants' willingness to make a major investment in the city.

As a result, "only 27 per cent of recent or new migrants to Taipei are homeowners compared with 66 per cent of urban natives" (Speare *et al* 1988:173). In addition, UNCHS (1982:27) states that most urban immigrants originally live in rural villages or towns and then migrate to inner-city slums or other forms of low-income urban housing where they settle more or less permanently. This usually happens when a migrant already has a well-established network of relatives and friends living there. As squatter areas grow, they begin, like slums, to receive more and more migrants directly from the migrants' places of origin. Once the original settlers have established themselves,

they begin to serve as points of entry to the city for a whole network of kinsmen and friends (Angel *et al*:1983).

Thus, the squatter settlement is regarded as “an essential link between rural and urban development forces” (UNCHS:1986). Without these settlements (slum or squatter settlements), migration would perhaps have been limited to a small amount of high-class rural people. Moreover, migrants - who are new in cities, have limited information about the cities and may wish to avoid attention from authorities⁵ - find squatter areas very convenient for working and living. This is because squatter settlements or informal housing generally do not require tenants to undergo any sort of bureaucratic procedure apart from some negotiation when purchasing or renting property. Business is settled within a matter of hours and only involves the property owners and the purchasers/tenants. Angel *et al* (1983) define the term ‘informal housing’ as that with the most personal approach in transaction, the most flexibility and widest variety of arrangements, the least restrictive standards and regulations, and the most communal and traditional neighbourhoods. By contrast, other forms of housing often require bureaucratic procedures and take longer to arrange, which disqualifies most migrants.

However, the squatter settlement is not well known or almost does not exist in Taiwan and, according to Speare *et al* (1988:176), the Taiwanese survey shows that although recent or new migrants are disadvantaged in terms of some living conditions, these improve with the duration of residence in the city. Yet, those who do not own houses live in rented accommodation rather than squatter settlements, unlike the case of other developing countries. It is noticed that the rent has skyrocketed in most urban areas of Taiwan, especially in the metropolitan areas (Hsiao & Liu:1997), which no doubt leaves migrants at a disadvantage. This is because migrants have already spent much of their capital during the migration period.

3.4.1.2 Help and Assistance from Family, Friends and Other Types of Migrants’ Networks

In most studies of migration in developing countries, the surveys on monetary costs show that migrants almost always initially stay with relatives or friends. Thus, food and housing costs are a very small expense compared with the expected return from an urban job. It is also believed that

⁵ In most developing countries government authorities control the movement of population and, in some cases, migration is illegal. Therefore, migrants often do not wish to be involved in any kind of formal activities, e.g. the legal housing market (UNCHS:1986).

contact between the family and the persons settled in the urban areas would not only help to considerably reduce living costs in the urban areas, but also improve the quality of information about employment prospects. Due to these reasons, the variable of contact with family and friends usually plays a significant role in the rural-urban migration process (Speare in Elvin & Skinner:1974, Speare *et al*:1988, Barik:1994, Rao:1996, Li:1996, Gugler:1997, Davin:1999). This has been an important subject of study for the last thirty years.

For example, Flinn & Converse (1970) in their study of Colombia show that relatives and friends played a particularly significant role in helping new migrants settle in the city. Moreover, in their case study of Monterey, Mexico, Browning & Feindt (1971) found that over 80 per cent of all migrants had relatives or close friends already living in the places to which they moved, and that most of the migrants were initially housed by them. This factor clearly affects the migrant's choice of destination.

Jackson (1986) also emphasises the importance of earlier immigrants to the newcomers in adapting to city life. He (1986:60) observes that:

Earlier immigrants from the same place of origin form a basis of contact and communication that can assist and guide in finding accommodation, schools and social life. Hence, there is a tendency for new arrivals to cluster together, with the result that significant groups of immigrants in one area give a far more pronounced impact to migration that would be hardly noticeable if it was evenly distributed throughout the population⁶.

The most important element in choosing where to live within the city initially has to do with where kin or friends are already established, since they usually provide early accommodation and assist in obtaining work (Vaughan & Feindt:1973, Oberai:1993, Castles & Miller:1998). For example, in the case of Taiwan, Gallin & Rita (in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.242) show that "over the years, the great majority of migrants to Taipei have taken jobs similar to those of the first migrants and settled in living quarters close to each other with the help of fellow villagers and kinsmen already in the city".

For example, in the case of Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period, Barclay (1954:119) reports that "the ethnic composition of the urban population was, like its increase, a product of migration

⁶ This can be clearly seen by looking at the census returns for large urban concentrations, but it is important to note that aggregate figures for migrants often conceal the distribution patterns so as to minimise the effect of concentration in certain areas.

from outside cities rather than growth from within". Deborah *et al* (1995:121) reveal that in the case of China, rural-to-urban migrants tended to concentrate in different and separate areas in the cities according to their different dialects, sub-cultures, ethnicity and their places of origin. In addition to the many advantages mentioned above, concentrations and associations of migrants also allowed them to maintain the way of life of their place of origin. Pan (1991:113) concludes that, in the case of China:

The clan association was a home from home, and life for the uprooted immigrants was greatly eased by it. At its most practical it was a welfare agency and a settler of disputes; on a subtler level, and as an organizer of the rituals of ancestor worship, it assuaged the member's nostalgia for the old country, helped to perpetuate descent lines, satisfied the need for a sense of closeness to one's origins and prolonged one's memories of home. In a community always in danger of being diluted by forces in the outside world, the clan association served as an oasis of Chineseness.

3.4.2 The Process of Searching For a Job

3.4.2.1 Typical Urban Jobs of Migrants

It is relatively common that most migrants are said to enter first jobs in the informal ⁷ sector of the city economy. As Oberai (1993, p. 56-90) argues: "The trend in the process of searching for a job is for migrants to find their first job in the so-called informal sector as self-employed persons or as employees of small family businesses." Speare *et al* (1988:163) also argue that "migrants from rural areas are more likely to be self-employed than those from urban areas". Because of this view, rural-urban migrants are often grouped as a part of the urban poor, since their types of employment generate less income, as mentioned⁸ earlier. Although the informal sector is relatively easy to enter for migrants, it also provides them with inadequate income and it lacks long-term security (UNCHS:1982). As Stark (1991:17) mentions: "Entry into low-paying sectors, which may be relatively easy, entails a high probability of discontinuity of employment because of high sensitivity and hence vulnerability of these sectors to market fluctuations." Thus, for example,

⁷ The term 'informal sector', as differentiated from the 'formal' or 'modern' sector in this research, is defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO). It describes that part of the economy where economic activities and enterprises are typically small-scale, labour-intensive, relatively easy to enter, free from union strife and government taxation and with low wages. These characteristics provide informal-sector enterprises with a certain competitive edge in the marketplace, but informal-sector enterprises are also handicapped by lack of access to credit (bank loans, government loans to business, credit from suppliers, advances from buyers etc.) and to raw materials.

⁸ UNCHS(1982:109) notes that the urban poor tend for the most part to be young workers (they have a higher unemployment rate), migrants just entering the labour force, female heads of households and the physically ill and handicapped. This proposition was also held by Oberai (1993: 56- 90).

in Bangladesh, most migrants join the informal sector⁹ since the formal sector of the economy is too small to absorb the vast number of job seekers (Mortuza:1992, Westen:1995, p.28, Burgess *et al*:1997). Similarly, in the case of China, Rowe (1989:48) indicates that “while some new arrivals still manage to set themselves up as small scale businessmen, as innkeepers or shopkeepers, the great majority scrambled for employment as stock-boys, street peddlers, itinerant barbers and other low status occupations”.

The common explanation behind the view that migrants tend to enter into urban informal sector is the fact that most informal employment opportunities require less paperwork, no bureaucratic procedures and are therefore simple or easy to enter. These factors attract migrants to the informal sector despite the low pay of such jobs, since, as mentioned in Chapter 2, migrants often lack the proper documents to meet the requirements of jobs in the formal sector. Moreover, urban natives view many jobs in the informal sectors as dirty and humiliating. They decline to compete for these jobs and so leave it to migrants. For example, in the United States, Mexican migrants tend to find work in the low-paid manual labour markets, where the jobs have been declined by the natives (Manssey *et al*:1993,1994).

The type of migrants' urban jobs also tends to differ for male and female migrants. Male migrants tend to have more advantages than their female counterparts. UNCHS (1996:12) points out that this is due to the nature of the majority of urban jobs, which demand or prefer male to female labour. Furthermore, it is also linked to a woman's perceived right to work outside the home by some societies, religions and cultures, for example in Muslim countries.

However, the status of migrants might be improved after a few years of residence in an urban area. Stark (1991:29-30) argues that studies on migration and wage equation show that migrant workers earn less than native-born workers with similar characteristics during the first few years after migration, but more thereafter. Moreover, migrants' urban jobs are also influenced by their

⁹ In this case, informal sector is defined as follows:

(a) The informal sector, as its name suggests, is not formal in character. Thus, the economic activities in any field not formally recognized by an appropriate authority may be included as activities under the informal sector (Uddin 1983:11).

(b) In terms of unit, “the informal sector in Dhaka is defined to comprise those economic enterprises which employ fewer than 10 persons (including the owner) per unit and which simultaneously satisfy one or more of the following conditions: (1) it operates in open premises; (2) it is housed in a temporary or semi-permanent structure; (3) it does not operate from spaces assigned by the government; (d) it operates from residences or a backyard; and (e) it is not registered” (Amin 1981:81). Note: The two preconditions above are quoted in *Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh: Causes and Effects* by Mortuza:1992.p,120. For more details about the informal sector's credit, finance, training, working conditions and workers' organisations, see the *Urban Informal Sector in Asia* by Sethuraman, S.V.(1992). Chapters 6,7 and 10.

specialisation in the place of origin and their connections in the city (as discussed later in the role of family and friends). Skeldon (1990:140) notes that "migrants from particular areas tend to specialise in particular occupations". In the case of Shanghai city in China the specialisation of Subei or Jiangbei people is rickshaw peddler (Honig:1992).

3.4.2.2 The Role of Family, Kinship and Friends

Migrants are commonly believed to be well connected, well informed and often have their moves well planned. The greater access the migrant has to all sorts of information before migration, the better will be his/her chance of finding a job in the city. In this regard, many migrants end up in the urban areas working in the same jobs as their relatives or friends who migrated earlier (Crissman:1967, p.186; Pieke & Benton:1995, p.13; Pieke:1998, p.132). Mabogunje's model (1972), for example, suggests that the decision to migrate to cities depends on the type of information migrants receive from earlier migrants to the city. This proposition is similar to that of Schultz (1982:98), as he indicates that:

Individual information on residence, employment and earnings status permits one to dispense with the crude assumption underlying most aggregate analyses of migration - that the potential migrant occupies a representative position in the aggregate distribution of characteristics thought to determine the probability of migrating.

In this regard, Lipton (1982:217) notes:

Migration, while neither a technology nor an input, is also more accessible to those who have resources and access to networks providing benefits, and can get information and borrow money to incur acquisition costs. Such people seize most of the scarce opportunities for really successful migration.

In a case study of Sao Paulo, Hogan & Berlinck (1976) prove that access to information before migration is positively related to the status of the first job in Sao Paulo. Further explanation in this study by Hogan & Berlinck emphasises the importance of the first job as it determines the migrant's initial adaptation to the city and such adaptation, once established, changes only with much difficulty. In their empirical study, about 55 per cent of their sample were still in their first jobs at the time of the interview; another 30 per cent had moved only a scale-step away. Similarly, Massey *et al* (1994:731) indicate that in the United States, Mexican migrants who have social ties in the place of destination not only have their wages increased, but also their working hours and thus their monthly incomes. Many others further conclude that the family connection is the source of a large pool of potential migrants in the sense that, for example, in the case of the United States, once the

early migrants become legal resident aliens, they gain the right to petition for the entry of their spouses and children (Arnold *et al*:1989; Teitelbaum:1989; Jasso & Rosenweig:1990; Massey *et al*:1993, 1994).

Most of migrants' decisions to move to cities are based on careful judgement and many result from information from families and friends in the cities about job opportunities there. In the case of Taipei city and according to the Taiwan Provincial Labour Force Survey (1984) in 1984, only 10 per cent of the unemployed persons used government employment agencies to obtain job information. Thirty-five per cent obtained job information from relatives or friends, 5 per cent used private employment services, while 46 per cent relied on newspapers for job information. A similar case was also found in the United States among the retiree migrant population. As Resource Papers (1977:8) points out: "Numerous retirement communities in Arizona, Florida and elsewhere lure retired persons from the East or Midwest through a chain information process in which friends influence each other."

In many cases, the geographical extent of the job search tends to be extremely limited, as are the resources used to obtain information. Most had looked for work only within their immediate area and had used local sources of information like the local newspapers, job centres and personal contacts (Massey *et al*:1993). This process, however, is not so much the result of an unwillingness to contemplate opportunities in other areas as it is a reflection of the appropriate search procedure for the type of job sought, which is almost always manual and requiring few skills (Jasso & Rosenweig:1990). Since these types of jobs can generally be filled from within the native or local labour market, few employers will advertise them beyond local outlets or even employ newcomers.

This process of searching for a job places migrants in the category of the urban unemployed¹⁰, which results in a dependence on their savings, aid from their friends or self-employed work, instead of them waiting for or seeking a job opportunity. In short, the family and kinship connection of migrants in the place of destination is very important to their success or failure, since it reduces the cost (i.e. during the job search) and risk (i.e. of being unemployed) of migration (Massey *et al*:1993, p.449).

¹⁰ Unemployment is defined as the state of being without work for a reasonably long but unspecified period of time while being willing to work.

3.4.2.3 The Role of Other Types of Migrants' Networks

Apart from the importance of family and friends in the process of migration and adapting to urban life of migrants, other networks based on migrants' ethnicity, culture, language, birthplace (province, district or village) and even surname are as important not only economically, but also socially (Skeldon:1990, Brown & Foot:1994, Pieke:1998, p.12; Li:1998, p.26-7; Davin:1999). "Network connections constitute a valuable form of social capital that people draw upon to gain access to foreign employment and high wages (Choldin:1973; MacDonald and MacDonald:1974; Boyd:1989; Gurak and Caces:1992; Ho:1993; Massey *et al*:1994)."

For example, in the case of Chinese immigrants in New York, Kwong (1987:89) indicates: "Migrants' economic position, i.e. migrants' ability to get a good job or operate a prosperous business, was determined by membership of an association. The larger and more powerful the association, the greater the advantages for the individual. Businessmen needed an association, lest they be squeezed out by someone with more powerful backing. So, in order to survive, people joined associations. Membership was not voluntary." Battistella & Paganoni (1996:5) add that "rather than all migrants competing equally for jobs and reasonable wages, the labour market is seen as segmented along social or ethnic, gender and class lines".

Also, in the United States, Massey *et al* (1994:720) argue that "markets are indeed segmented; immigrants are selectively excluded from the primary labour market and found disproportionately in the secondary labour market, where they earn limited returns to education, skills and experience". Even in a country where labour markets function indiscriminately, association remains a centre for traditional and cultural celebration, and political power for the migrant community. As Brown & Foot (1994:29) point out:

Associations are also part of the politics of Chinatowns. They tend to become politically aligned, and leadership of umbrella organizations and the community as a whole is achieved by building up support through leadership in several key associations under the umbrella. Traditional associations are also vehicles of cultural expression and retention. Their periodic rituals reinforce values and norms associated with kinship, respect for age and seniority, and attachment to the home in China.

Moreover, Massey *et al* (1994:729) indicate that migrants' connection with the destination is sometimes the most important factor in the decision to migrate, while other factors in the place of origin are less relevant. In short, the link provides vital resources for individuals and groups, and it

is also referred to as the social capital of migrants in the place of destination (Castles & Miller:1998). There are many types of networks or associations that migrants form to help or assist each other in the new places. For example, in Taiwan, Schipper (1977, p.653) points out there are five types of associations: those based on common interests, place of origin, living in the same street or quarter of the city (residential associations), kin group and the care of parents.

A. Association based on ethnicity: It is widely known, especially in countries that are made up of many ethnic groups, such as Indonesia and Nigeria, that conflicts are often ignited by ethnic differences. This also applies to migrants who come from different ethnic backgrounds to that of the host place. As Ayata (in Eades:1987, p.245) points out: "Migrants are aware of the fact that ethnicity is a very useful tool in providing access to various resources. In maintaining social networks and ethnic identities, one very useful asset is the ethnic association. The association helps to reinforce, and sometimes to create, the social atmosphere of the hometown." This also applies to migration in European countries, as Pooley & Whyte (1991:170) point out in the case of Welsh migration that "adjustment to a new community was facilitated by a well-established network of contacts and institutions in those English towns that had substantial Welsh communities. Welsh families remained relatively self-contained in England."

Battistella & Paganoni (1996) also show that women migrants from different ethnic backgrounds are treated differently in their new host places. They add that "in a segmented labour market, racial or ethnic minorities and women are normally confined to the worst jobs, face higher risks of unemployment and have limited mobility prospects" (Ibid:5). Thus, it seems that the failure or success of migrants are also partly dependent on migrants' networks based on ethnicity in the host places and their gender.

Rowe (1989:200) indicates that, in the case of China in the 18th century "many occupations were dominated by men of a single native background (e.g. Cantonese pipe fitters), and those that were not were usually organised into competing local-origin labour gangs. Competition for economic resources was thus regularly expressed in ethnic terms." The case also applies to immigrants, as in the case of Chinese immigrants to South-east Asian countries, where Crissman (1967:186) shows that "in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, carpenters and mechanics are Cantonese, hardware sellers are Hokkien, cobblers and traditional drug dealers are Hakka, shirt sellers, pepper merchants and restaurant and hotel proprietors are Hainanese. Teochiu are found in many occupations and monopolise rural peddling." This is also the case in modern day China (Davin: 1999, p.113). In

short, this association provides the basis for lasting networks that unite people across borders and generations (Castles & Miller:1998).

B. Association based on religion and culture: These factors are known to influence migrants' lives in the new places. It also applies to both international and internal migration. For example, oil-rich Middle-Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have rather recruited Muslim migrant workers - especially those employed as servants - from the Philippines, Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia than from the non-Muslim population. In the case of India, Keyes (in Eades:1987, p.87) points out that "the culture syncretism and Christian religion which characterises Catholic Goans gave them an advantages over their Hindu and Muslim counterparts in acquiring service jobs and they quickly moved into this economic niche". Similar cases are also found in European countries, as Fassmann & Munz:1994:17) give an example of migrants from Finland and Denmark in Sweden, the Irish in the United Kingdom, Dutch and French in Belgium, Austrians and Poles in Germany, and to some extent also Italians in Switzerland and France who have "similar culture, language and community opportunities". These factors play a decisive role in migration.

In addition, by staying in contact with friends of the same religion and culture, this association provides migrants with many direct benefits, including help with maintaining their identity. Castles & Miller (1998:199) point out that "cultural associations aim to preserve homeland language, folklore and tradition, and often set up mother-tongue or religious classes". They also raised the following example: "In recent years, the most significant religious development has been connected with migration of Muslims (Ibid:199)."

C. Association based on language: Different geographical regions of most countries are inhabited by different ethnic groups who have different dialects, if not different languages. The dialects are often incomprehensible to other groups. Thus, migrants of a dialect different to that of the host place face difficulties in adapting to life in the new place, including finding work (Strand:1995).

A good example is the case of China, where migrants were often harassed, hated and discriminated against in urban areas. Honig (1992:82) points out that in Shanghai, Subei and Huai'an rural people were discriminated against and despised as being ignorant and primitive because of their dialects. Similar discrimination was found during an earlier period of Hankow city, China, as Rowe (1989:49) points out that "in some cases, this linguistic distinctiveness served to isolate the individual immigrant, particularly those at lower ends of the social scale". Golas (1977, p.556)

concludes: "As strangers and outsiders, they often met with discrimination at the hands of the local populace and naturally preferred to associate with others who shared the same hardships." Furthermore, as mentioned early in (B) that in European countries, the similar language between Irish, Scotch, Welsh and English, between the Finn, the Dane and the Swede, between the Dutch, Portuguese and French also play an important role in the process of migration in those countries (Fassmann & Munz:1994).

D. Association based on place of origin: The chances of success in the host place for migrants from different regions or villages depend on how strong, prosperous and powerful their fellow villagers are in the host places. This is because those earlier migrants who have become employers could recruit their workers from the same regions they came from rather than from other regions. As Crissman (1967:190) points out that "custom and jobs are given to co-members (the Chinese native place community) in preference to outsiders". Rowe (1989:41) adds that in the case of China "native place ties often served as the vehicle for employee recruitment".

Similarly, in the case of Taiwan, Gallin & Rita (in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.351) show that "almost all migrants (from Hsin-hsing village to Taipei) depended upon village-derived connections to take care of their immediate needs for employment and housing". This happens because of advantages to both employers and employees, such as, firstly, the instinctive trust between them based on them originating from the same area; secondly, both have a good understanding of each other's daily lives and are able to communicate; and, thirdly, any problems or dissatisfaction that occur in business are easier to solve between the two (Rowe:1989).

For example, in Shanghai, China, Honig (1992:11 & 70) reports that "social and economic relations were defined by local origins. ...People in management and supervisory positions tended to hire relatives, friends or people from their home district." The importance of the place of origin connection for migrants applies to both internal and external migration. As Brown & Foot (1994:21) argue in the case of Chinese immigrants, "the migration destination for Chinese within China and overseas have always tended to follow networks formed by kin and home-locality connections".

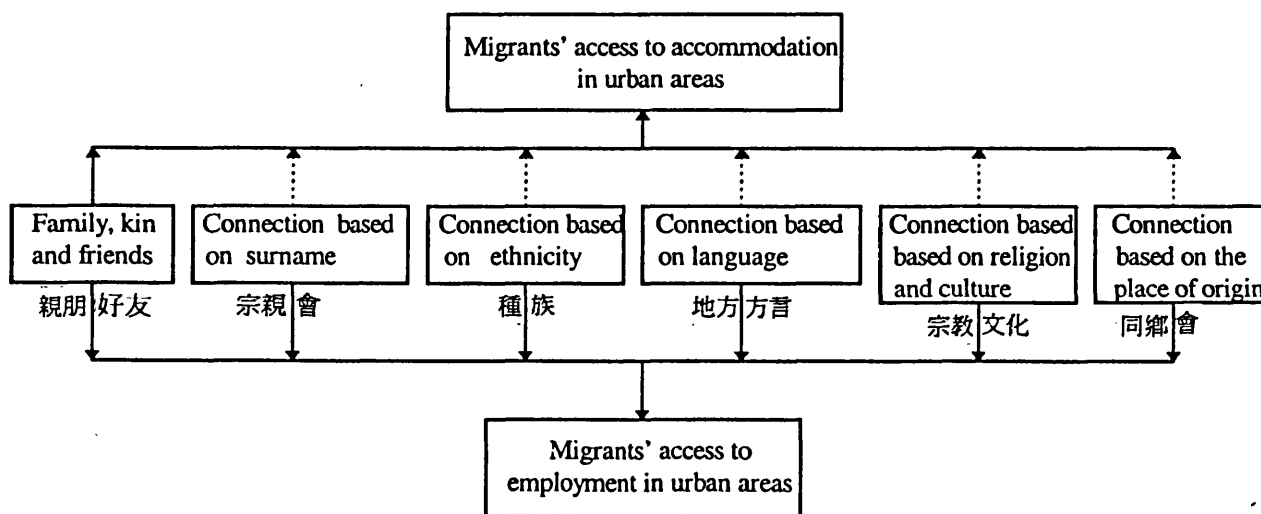
E. Association based on surname: This connection refers to where all members share one surname (family name) such as Chang, Hung etc. Most Chinese believe that people with the same surname have a common ancestor who lived thousands of years ago. This practice is well known

among the Chinese immigrants living outside China (Baker:1977, p. 506). Li (1998:28) indicates: "If they not only share the same surname but come from the same area, that is, the same village or the same county, the relationship between them is even stronger. As descendants of one ancestor, no matter how long ago, they are relatives even now and should be eager to help one another." It is noticed that the association based on surname is weaker than other associations and is not well known in most cities of China (Baker:1977, p.507).

In short, as Rowe (1989:49) indicates that in the case of China "rural migrants came equipped with ties to fellow-villagers who had urbanised earlier, or linked up with compatriots immediately upon arrival. These local origin ties brought newcomers into apprenticeship and contract-labour systems, or provided them with guarantors in finding work with natives of other areas." Similarly, Pieke (1998:11) points out: "New migrants enter a ready-made social environment: employment, friends, relatives, recreational patterns, way of life and career are to a large extent predetermined."

It can be concluded that, as illustrated in Figure 3-1, it seems clear that migrants' connections with the host places play an important role in their success or failure in those new places and thus could be the decisive determinant in the rate of migration flow from the place of origin and the concentration of migrants from different backgrounds (ethnicity, religion and culture, language, locality) in a host place. This is clearly because such connections influence not only migrants' choice of job, but also their living places in the new areas.

Figure 3-1: Factors influencing migrants' access to urban accommodation and employment



Note: —————> This arrow represents a strong connection and very common and very strong influence on migrants
> This arrow represents a weaker or uncommon connection and thus provides little help to migrants

Sources: Summarised from this section by the author

3.4.3 The Relationship Between Migrants and Their Relatives in the Rural Areas

Before rural-urban migrants settle down (find a job and accommodation) in the urban areas, their families are left in rural areas, either receiving remittances from migrants or eventually moving to stay with the migrants. In a case study of Calcutta, India, Sen, as early as 1970 (in Eames's study: 1970), shows that a very large proportion of migrants who had moved to the city in search of jobs initially left their families behind. This may have been partly because of a number of difficulties in the city (such as finding accommodation or searching for first jobs) and partly because their incomes were inadequate to meet the living expenses of their families in the city (Eames:1970, Davin:1999). Similar arrangements were also observed in an empirical study in Nigeria by Gugler (1997) thirty years later.

Migrants' families in the rural villages remain in close contact with them, also in the form of exchanging assistance. For example, Speare (in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.327) indicates that in the case of Taiwan, migrants send their savings back to villages while their rural families send them food. In some other cases, migrants receive monetary assistance from their parents in the villages. Finally, migrants also attend important activities such as the weddings of relatives, religious ceremonies and New Year in their rural hometowns.

Speare (in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.328) shows that in the case of Taiwan: "Although migrants to the city resulted in a reduced frequency of interaction with the husband's relatives, it did not radically affect attendance at large family gatherings. Attendance at weddings, funerals, New Year's celebration and religious festivals was almost as frequent among migrants as non-migrants." As Castles & Miller (1998:27) add: "People stay in touch with their place of origin, and may seek marriage partners there." In summary, migrants tend to maintain contact with their families in the place of origin

3.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is relatively clear that classical and neo-classical theories associate considerable migration with the process of economic development and a growing labour demand in urban centres. Existing theories of migration such as Ravenstein's laws of migration, Lee's theory of migration and Todaro's model of rural-urban migration, as discussed, can be classified into two major camps: the urban pull perspective and the rural

push perspective. A considerable number of scholars consider 'urban pull' to be the real reason for migration. They generally argue that the possibilities of higher paying jobs as a formal means of social mobility and the absence of rigid social norms and values characterise the urban centres (which includes the job opportunities available in cities) and 'pull' rural residents to the cities (Mangin:1967, p.66; Nelson:1970, p.11; Gilbert: 1992).

In contrast, the other camp asserts that 'rural push' is the stronger motivation for migration. These factors are the lack of land, poverty and famine, the increase of the rural population and, to some extent, the wars and natural disasters that 'push' rural population out of the villages. However, both theories only partly explain the complex migration phenomenon. Other factors, including migrants' families, social, cultural and religious factors, as well as psychological factors are also involved in the decision to migrate. In short, migration is a complex phenomenon that cannot be explained by only economic theories; ones has to take into consideration other factors such as culture, religion and tradition.

It is clear that the characteristics of migration in developing countries are different from those in developed ones. This is mainly due to the difference in economic structure and level of development of the two worlds. First, although the motivation for migration in the case of developed countries could also be explained by the push and pull theories, the nature of the factors differ. The pull factor in developed countries is mainly employment related (job transfer or more professional work) and involves better services and facilities rather than the opportunity to earn a higher income, as in the case of developing countries. This is because in the case of developing countries, where many rural-urban migrants move to cities for higher or better incomes, the better service facilities in urban areas are less relevant to their motivation for migration since these services and facilities are likely to be too expensive for them. Second, unlike the rural push of the developing countries where rural poverty is the main cause of rural-urban migration, this is not the case for developed countries. Job transfer seems to be the main reason for migration in the case of developed countries.

In other words, rural-urban migration in developed countries is not mainly the result of the push and pull factors, but of economic changes in the places of destination and origin, such as the transformation from mining, heavy and manufacturing industries to high technology or service industries. In some cases, the economic failure of traditional economies in the place of origin in developed countries also lead to the out-migration of the population. In short, as

Johnson & Salt (1990:57) conclude: "Neither classical nor neo-classical economic models are of much use because the migrants (of the developed countries) are not a homogeneous group responding to labour market conditions, but instead consist of a series of specialist non-competing groups."

There seems to be a disagreement between the two theoretical camps on the socio-economic characteristics of rural-urban migrants. The push factor theory concludes that landless, poor farmers who were pushed out of the villages dominate migrants. The pull factor theory, in contrast, challenges this view and asserts that migrants are dominated by the better off population. Schools from the first camp support their argument by saying that the landless, poor farmers have to migrate out of their rural areas and seek work in other areas in order to survive. Scholars from the last camp point out that these farmers are too poor to be able to migrate.

It is, however, difficult or even impossible to judge whether either camp is right or wrong since both these two schools of thoughts have numerous empirical studies to support their conclusions. The important point to note is that the situation varies from country to country. Each case might be valid for one country but not for another. Moreover, there seems to be a consensus among most studies that rural-urban migration is highly selective by age, gender, marital status and education. In other words, migrants tend to be young, single, skilled and educated. However, there are two different findings for migrants' gender depending on the religious and cultural factors of each country. In other words, female migrants are found in larger numbers in countries of non-Muslim practice and vice versa in those where Islam is practised.

In the process of migration three aspects are important to migrants' life in the city - the process of finding accommodation, work and their relationship with their families in the place of origin. Firstly, migrants are found to be vulnerable to ending up in urban slum and squatter settlements. This is because migrants are newcomers in the cities and so do not have enough savings to cover the high price of property in the city. In addition, migrants in some cases still own property in the place of origin, which limits their resources for obtaining urban housing. Moreover, migrants seem to concentrate in areas where their fellow migrants live, which leads to the concentration of migrants in the slum and squatter areas of the cities. There is a consensus among scholars that in the process of finding accommodation, migrants receive help

from their relatives or friends who live in the destination. This leads to the above-mentioned concentration of migrants in particular areas of cities.

It is a common conclusion that migrants tend to get jobs, especially their first jobs, in the informal sector as, for example, street vendors, shop assistants, rickshaw drivers and other types of low-paying and insecure jobs. Similarly, during the search for a job migrants also receive help and information from their friends and relatives who live in the cities. There are many cases where, as a result of connections with family and friends, migrants end up working in the same jobs as their relatives and friends. Migrants also receive help through other networks, such as those based on migrants' ethnicity, surname, religion and culture, language and the place of origin. All of these types of networks may have different levels of effectiveness in helping migrants, but all are vital for the success or failure of migrants in urban areas.

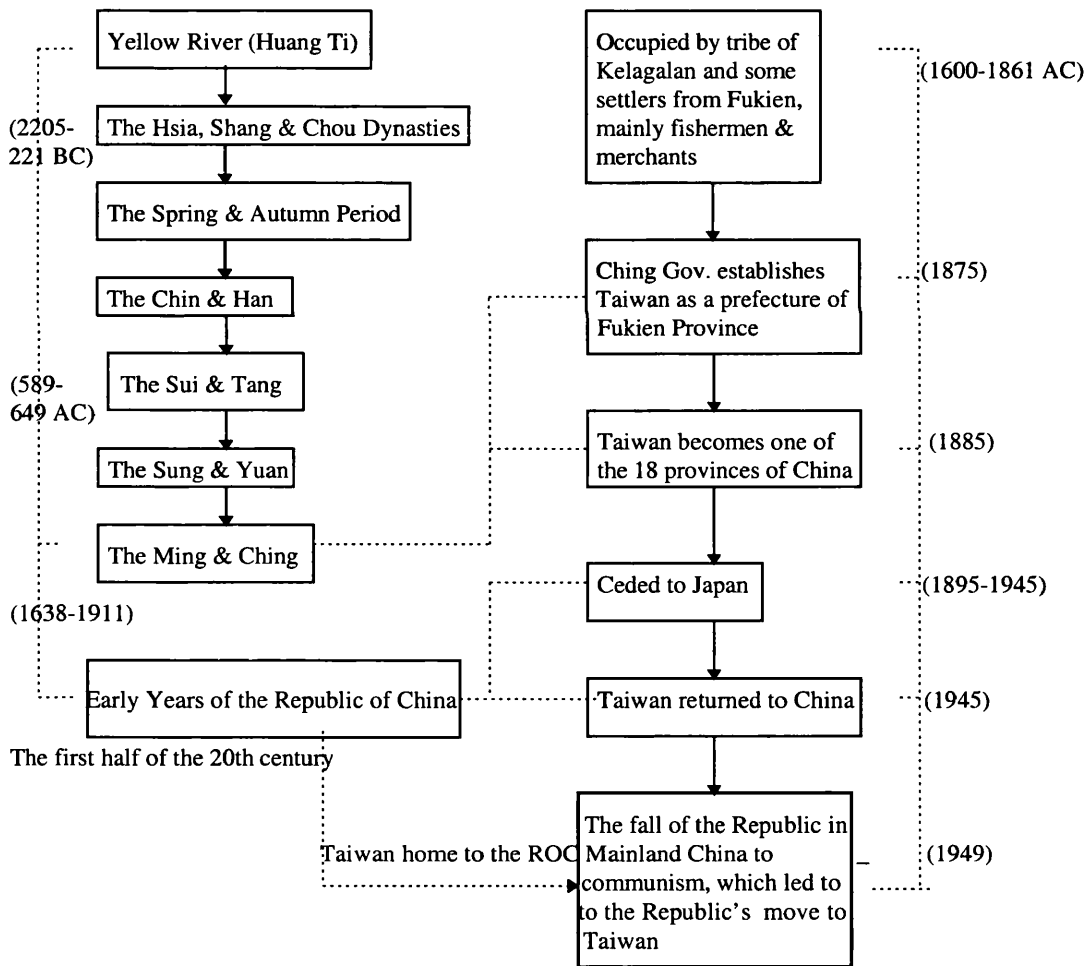
Finally, although help from friends or relatives in the destination is important for migrants during the process of migration, help from their families in the place of origin also play an important role. It is not uncommon that even after migrants settle down in urban areas, help from their families in rural areas continue, especially in the form of food parcels, since food is expensive in urban areas in addition to the high cost of accommodation. However, in exchange for food and in the long term, migrants also send back their savings to help their families in the place of origin. Other factors, including religious and social factors, also encourage migrants to remain in contact with their families in the place of origin, where they attend weddings, funerals, New Year's celebrations and other important occasions. In conclusion, both migrants and their families benefit from keeping in touch with each other after migration.

Chapter 4: The Chinese and Taiwanese Contexts - The Impact of Political and Economics well as Cultural and Traditional Changes on Migration Patterns

Introduction

Taiwan has been the destination of migration for its current population at different stages since the early 17th century (as shown in Figure 4-1). Since then, there have been three main events that have affected the movement and growth of the country's population. These events are Japanese colonialisation, the evacuation of the Republic of China from mainland China to Taiwan and the rapid economic development of Taiwan during the last three decades.

Figure 4-1: Historical relationship between Mainland China and Taiwan



Sources: Summarised from Hsiao, Shi-Ching:1996, in *Chinese Culture*, p.117-127.

Since the country's population is dominated by people of Chinese origin, the movement of the population could also be influenced by Chinese Confucian culture and its traditions. A good

look at the history of politic-economic changes as well as Chinese culture and traditions from Japanese colonialist times until the present day in Taiwan will enable a better understanding of the nature and patterns of migration from rural I-Lan to Taipei. That is the main purpose of this chapter, which consists of 5 sections. Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 provide a historic overview of politic-economic changes and migration in different periods - during Japanese colonialism, after independence from Japan until 1985, and in present-day Taiwan. Section 4.4 discusses Chinese culture and traditions, and migration. Finally, section 4.5 is a conclusion of the demonstrated links between historical, political and economical changes in Taiwan and current migration patterns.

4.1 Political-economic Policies During Japanese Colonialism and Migration (1895-1945)

The impact of Japanese colonisation on Taiwan's population movement is summarised in Table 4-1. Despite many cruelties and acts of oppression (including the abduction of Taiwanese women to provide sex services for the Japanese army, as happened in most other countries in the region) committed by the Japanese colonial army during this period, Taiwan had benefited enormously from Japanese rule, especially in the areas of economic development, education and infrastructure (Yin in Emily & Gates:1981, Thornton & Lin:1994). As Ka (1995:49) argues: "In order to persuade capital to invest in Taiwan, the colonial state paved the way with extensive infrastructure investment." In addition, as Kiang (1991:94) puts it: "Gradually, the Japanese evolved some of the most modern, successful and progressive programmes in the world. It was a remarkable economic, educational, social and technological revolution."

However, it is understood that during the early period (approximately the first 10 years of the occupation) urbanisation was slow due to the fact that "Japan saw Taiwan mainly as a source of agricultural products that could be exported to Japan, and most of the investment went into agricultural development and the construction of transportation facilities necessary to get farm produce to ports" (Speare *et al*:1988, p.15). This and Taiwan's mountainous geographical characteristics meant population movement during this early period was not easy, as many parts of the country were inaccessible by road. Li (1976:87) argues that "the difficulty of communication in Taiwan during this period (1895-1945) may have impeded migration". According to Barclay, (1957:28-42) it was not until the 1930s that the rate of urbanisation started to lift off as a result of Japanese industrial expansion programmes, which included the

processing of sugar and other food products, coal mining and the manufacturing of aluminium, chemicals and other products.

Table 4-1: Summary of political-economic development and migration during the Japanese colonial period

Factors influencing migration	Early period (approx. 1895-1915)*	The later period (Approx. 1916-1945)
Inadequate road system and rugged topography of Taiwan	Restricted the population movement from one part of the county to another	
Hostility between the Japanese and rebels	Population movement is restricted by the Japanese in order to control the rebel infiltration	
Agricultural upgrading and expansion	Farmers are encouraged to stay and work the farms	
Infrastructural upgrading and expansion		Migration increases as access to big cities improve in most parts of the country
Educational improvement		Mainly young population migrate to big cities for higher education
Rural industrialisation	<p>Migration from areas of land pressure to the newly developed or reclaimed settlements</p> <p>However, as mentioned above, inadequate road systems or infrastructure restricted this</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration is partly halted by the continued improvement of the communication system and people commute to work rather than migrate • Migration from rural areas of land pressure and lack of economic activity to those of new development

Source: Summarised from section 4.1 by the author

Note: * Due to the lack of available data and information on the exact duration of the periods, the estimated dates were based on information from some seniors, including Dr W.Z, Cheng, Dr. C.G, Su and senior officer I-S, Chang.

Thus, out-migration from rural to urban areas was not necessary and commuting to work in the nearby township was the most common form of population movement at the time. As Thornton & Lin (1994:73) point out: “The decentralisation of many of the new factories into rural areas mitigated the pace of urbanisation and reduced the pressure on the larger cities. At the same time, these factories served as a source of diffusion for new ideas and outlooks through the many commuters who returned to their families each night or weekend.” This was possible mainly due to the extensive infrastructural development initiated by the Japanese ruler, as Kiang (1991:97) points out:

The completion of the north-south trans-island railroad in 1908 opened up the western island for the benefit of all citizens. ...Besides, various local railroad systems also operated largely on a regional basis. This is a significant development because Taiwanese could now travel around the island to seek education or job opportunities. In the area of telecommunications, telegraph, telephone and postal services grew rapidly and rivalled those in Japan.

Yet, the improved and newly built infrastructure and services in the rural areas, which were the result of the Japanese programmes, kept urban growth and the population movement from

rural areas in check. As Tsurumi (1977), Ho (1979) and Thornton & Lin (1994) argue, the Japanese government promoted rural industries by increasing investment in infrastructure such as inter-regional roads, schools in rural areas and especially the process of rural electrification. However, logically, higher education institutions were not available in the small rural townships and thus the migration of the young population to big cities for higher education or urban employment was possible and has been reported (Ho:1979).

For example, Kiang (1991:98) reveals that during the Japanese colonial period, “young Taiwanese often left their hometown for education, business or employment in the cities, and they even went to Japan in large numbers”. The majority of rural-urban migrants were reportedly destined for large cities such as Taipei and Kaoshing, since these cities provided them with more job opportunities and had more higher education institutions than other cities. Although data is not available, Barclay (1954:114) implied that “since these cities took such a large share of all migrants, they must have grown more rapidly in population than the rest of the island”. Li (1976) points out: “The Taipei prefecture has been gaining in population since the beginning of the series, presumably in part because economic prosperity followed the change of capital from Tainan to Taipei.”

Moreover, it was reported that migration also occurred as a result of ethnic conflict, especially among the aboriginal groups in the northern region. As Li (1976:87) points out that Hsichu prefecture “underwent heavy out-migration throughout the history of Taiwan, partly because of its rugged topography, one assumes, partly because of the continuous conflict between different ethnic group”.

Nonetheless, migration was not at a level that could affect the population growth of the country. Barclay (1954:106) reported that “migration did not have a marked effect in the redistribution of the population growth”. Li (1976:91) also adds: “There is no necessary negative co-variation between in-migration and out-migration. In other words, a prefecture may both lose many migrants and also attract other classes of in-migrants, so that its net migration rate would be rather small.” This was also because the Japanese strictly controlled the activities of the Chinese newcomers (not only their freedom of movement from mainland China, but also their choice of destination), as Barclay (1954:103) points out: “Chinese arriving from the mainland were given district legal status as aliens. Their activities were restricted and they were no longer allowed to merge with permanent Taiwanese residents.”

Moreover, rural-to-rural migration was also reported, especially from areas with limited arable land and economic activity to newly reclaimed and developed areas, which was the colonial government encouraged. As reported by Barclay (1954:113):

Migration was also rural to rural as government and some private companies built new developments in new areas. P'enghu Islands has lost relatively more people to other parts of Taiwan than any other prefecture. These islands experienced disastrous storms and rural poverty for many years, and had no adequate economic base for many people to follow pursuits other than farming.

In other words, during this period both the population's movement and growth, especially that of mainland Chinese immigrants, were kept in check by the Japanese colonial government. As Speare *et al* (1988:62) point out, "the migratory flow from mainland China to Taiwan was strictly limited to 10,000 seasonal workers per year". In this half-century (1895-1945), mainland Chinese never exceeded 6.2 per cent of the population of Taipei. The development and investment resulting from the Japanese programme that Taiwan inherited, as will be seen in the next section, shaped Taiwan's rural-urban migration according to urban labour demand so that it differs from that of other developing countries where rural-to-urban migration is reportedly the cause of the urban labour surplus crisis. In addition, during this period, migration in Taiwan helped to distribute the population from parts of the country with a relatively high population density to those of relatively low ones. As Li (1976:101) concludes: "The overall regional pattern of Taiwanese migration is an eastward movement, from the populous, developed region to the unpopulous, underdeveloped regions."

4.2 Political-economic Situation in Post-colonial Taiwan and Migration (1946-1985)

Three different events, as summarised in Table 4-2, reportedly affected the country's economy and population movement during this period. This was due to the different strategies adopted by the then government: firstly, the take-off phase (1946-1960); secondly, the labour-intensive industry phase or the economic miracle period (1960-1973); and, thirdly, the industrial upgrading phase (1974-1985).

Table 4-2: Summary of politic-economic situation in post-colonial Taiwan until 1985 and migration

Factors influencing migration	The impact on population movement
The take-off phase (1946-1960)	
The fall of the Republic in mainland China to the communist Moa	Mass migration from mainland China, which brings new investment that in turn leads to new demand for labour. Rural-urban migrants meet this demand.
Land reform policies	Rural-urban migration is partly restrained by the successful implementation of the land reform programme that results in farmers remaining on their farms rather than migrating to find other work in urban areas.
The continuous growth of the industrial sector and the expansion of infrastructure	Rural-urban migration continues to meet the new demand for labour in townships and urban areas.
The successful implementation of new monetary policies keeps inflation low, which attracts foreign investment to Taiwan	Rural-urban migration continues to respond to the demand caused by the new foreign investment in urban areas, especially in Taipei. However, the rate of migration was dictated by from the Kuo Ming Tang government's Martial Law.
The labour-intensive industry phase (1960-1973)	
The rapid growth of manufacturing industries and the export processing zones	Many young rural-urban migrants respond to the new labour demand in the zones.
The continuous and effective distribution of infrastructure and universal electrification	Rural population is able to commute rather than migrate to work in nearby industrial developments
The industrial upgrading phase (1974-1985)	
The government promotes a strategy to change from labour-intensive to high-tech and service industries	Rural-urban migration continues, but changes from involving low-educated and unskilled workers to highly educated and skilled workers.

Source: summarised from section 4.2 by the author

- The economic take-off phase (1946-1960):

This period coincided with the fall of the Republic of China's government in mainland China to the communists, which sparked a mass migration of about 600,000 people to Taiwan (Speare *et al*: 1988, p.17) and resulted in a total of "2 million refugees" (Kiang: 1991, p.109). The newcomers to Taiwan include the Republic of China's military officials, businessmen, employees from the mainland China's banks and civil servants, all of whom were wealthy and wanted to escape the communists (Dessus *et al*: 1995). The exodus, therefore, brought new investment potential to Taiwan, which was concentrated in the urban areas where most of the newcomers settled (Ibid:17). New investments needed a bigger supply of labour, which almost certainty derived from rural villages. Speare (in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.304) points out that between 1950 and 1966, the population of the ten largest cities increased significantly as a result of rural-to-urban migration.

Since its independence from Japan in 1945, Taiwan has achieved remarkable development in which one of the most important factors has been the rapid growth of the manufacturing sector (Speare *et al*:1988, p.1). Development also brought about urbanisation, especially the

upgrading of formerly rural townships and small towns to urban areas with unlimited employment opportunities. Furthermore, the promotion of labour-intensive industries by the government during this period was another important catalyst in the increase in demand for urban jobs that result in rural-urban migration (Kuo:1991).

In addition, although land reform and rural industrialisation decreased the problem of landless farmers, many still suffered and for them migration to urban areas to find employment remained a solution (Ho:1979). As Gallin & Rita (in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.331) argue: "For many of the people faced with landless problems, or for those whose standard of living has not kept pace with their rising expectations, the solution has been to move to the larger cities of the island to seek employment."

The search for employment in urban areas caused an influx of people into cities through commuting from nearby villages and migration from remote villages and other regions. As Speare *et al* (1988:11) point out, "the development of new industries did require people to move to the sites of these industries". The continued expansion and improvement of infrastructure by the government, supported by massive aid from the United States, also undoubtedly required the rural-to-urban migration of labour. It is noticed that aid from the United States was crucial for the Kou Ming Tang government's survival as it continued economic development despite its huge budget allocation for the military, which resulted from its confrontation with communist China (Dessus *et al*:1995, p.15; Pieke:1993, p.168).

In addition, the success of the monetary policy in keeping the inflation rate low - similar to the rate of the United States and other Western nations (Speare *et al*:1988, p.6) - also helped Taiwan to attract more investment. This, in turn, contributed to the demand for rural-to-urban migrant labour. In the meantime, however, the rural population was encouraged to continue to cultivate the land by the government's land reform programme and the improvement of agricultural techniques, which concentrated mainly on labour-intensive methods and the introduction of new, high-yield plant varieties.

The so-called 'land to-the-tiller' programme was designed to even the ratio of land ownership (no big farms and no small or landless farmers) to so reduce the pressure on large families to leave their farms and villages for other jobs in urban areas. Industries were also established in the countryside, which further reduced the volume of rural-urban migration. Speare *et al*

(1988:88-90) argue that the potential migration flow was held in check by the continued expansion of rural industrialisation and by the increased feasibility of doing seasonal work on farms owned by others. This was unique in the case of Taiwan as industries in other developing countries are concentrated in the big or capital cities. As Thornton & Lin (1994:67) point out: "The ability of farm families to earn income away from their own holdings was a key factor in reducing the level of migration to urban places." In addition, the government's compulsory schooling policies successfully kept the young labour force at school longer, which led to a reduction in migrant workers (Dessus *et al*:1995).

Taiwan was able to distribute economic development to rural areas mainly because of "the relatively lower land prices, an inexpensive and convenient transportation network, accessibility to the surplus rural labour force, and industrial sites and infrastructure provided by the government at relatively low prices or for free" (Speare *et al*, 1988, p.46). This rather unique and fortunate situation, according to many scholars (Speare *et al*:1988, Thorbecke:1979, Scitovsky:1986), prevented Taiwan's rural-urban migration from becoming a crisis - as happened in other developing countries - since there was no oversupply in the urban labour market.

In contrast, the success of the land reform programme "helped Taiwan to increase its exports of agricultural products during the 1950s and thus earned foreign currency to pay for imports needed for development" (Speare *et al*:1988, p.5). As a cyclical process, development brought urbanisation and therefore more jobs, which increases the demand for labour, supplied by the rural-urban migrants. In short, during this period - which coincided with the exodus of migrants from mainland China - migration was mainly a response to the demand for the labour needed for the rapid development and expansion of infrastructure in the country. Another reason why the flow rate of rural-urban migration never reached critical proportions is because the movement of the population in this period was discouraged by the Kou Ming Tang government's martial law policies. Dessus *et al* (1995:14) point out that while the government encouraged the improvement of the population's living standard, it also restricted the labour migration.

- The labour-intensive industry phase (1960-1973):

It was during this period that many of the labour-intensive manufacturing industries that once dominated in developed countries moved to benefit from the cheaper labour in developing countries, including Taiwan. As a result, as Skeldon (1990:177) points out, “hundreds of thousands of young women have been drawn into the textile industry and into assembly plants for electrical appliances, particularly in East and South-east Asia.” This period is also known as the export-orientated period as it led to the establishment of export processing zones in Keelung in 1965, and Nantze and Taichung in 1969 (Speare *et al*:1988, p.6).

Thousands of new jobs were created in those cities, as Wu (1985) points out that around 58,000 workers were employed in the zones by 1972. He added that the zones absorbed mostly unskilled, female workers, who perhaps came from remote villages around the country. Moreover, the demand for labour was increasingly wide-spread due to the establishment of linked factories in many urban areas. Such factories derived the same benefits from the government’s export-orientated policies, including low tariffs on imported goods, five years’ exemption from corporate taxes and low-cost loans (Speare *et al*:1988, Kuo:1983, Wu:1985, Schive:1995).

Because of the many labour-intensive jobs available in urban areas, this period led to an exodus of labour from rural areas. According to Liu (1988:10), the rate of rural labour migration rose rapidly from 0.9 per cent per year between 1952 and 1965 to 2.1 per cent per year between 1965 and 1974. As a result, Thornton & Lin (1994:74) argue that this period showed the highest rate of urban growth in the history of Taiwan as “the proportion of the population living in cities of fifty thousand or more rose from 41 to 59 per cent from 1961 to 1973, and the percentage in cities of one hundred thousand or more also grew rapidly, although no data is available.”

However, rural-urban migration was held in check by the government’s policy of industrial development near rural townships. It was therefore possible for many rural residents to work in industry without having to move, which mitigated the pace of urbanisation and rural-urban migration (Thornton & Lin:1994, p.75). Furthermore, the effective distribution of infrastructure, including good transportation and communication networks as well as universal electrification, made it possible for many rural residents to work in nearby industrial plants

while continuing to live at home, thus further reducing the rate of rural-urban migration (Liu:1988).

This situation was beneficial for Taiwan's rural-urban migrants, who, unlike in most other developing countries (except the Asian Dragons) as mentioned in Chapter 3, were able to escape unemployment in the cities. This was a result of the government's policies on both the promotion of labour-intensive industry and education since the 1950s. As Dessus *et al* (1995:24) point out: "It is clear that governmental policies promoting highly labour-intensive industry and the significant increase in workers' educational level were able to absorb the large labour supply of the 1950s and 1960s and enhance labour mobility, and then to allow the development of more highly capital-intensive industry without creating unemployment." Thus, like in the first phase, the motivation of rural-urban migration in Taiwan during the second period is a response to urban labour demand created by development and not the rural poverty push factor. Kuo (1991:41) concludes: "The rapid industrialisation of the labour-intensive export manufacturing factories had transformed the surplus farm labour (including the female labour force) into industries."

- The industrial upgrading phase (1974-1985):

Three important events had occurred during this period that could have affected the trend of migration and development of the country. Firstly, the oil crisis that started the recession in Taiwan resulted in a rapid increase in consumer prices (Speare *et al*:1988, Gold:1986). Secondly, despite the recession, wages continued to increase due to a shortage of labour (Speare *et al*:1988). These two factors made Taiwan more expensive to do business in than other low-wage developing countries. Thirdly, Taiwan experienced the loss of many Western companies, especially those of the US, after mainland China opened its boundaries to the Western world on the condition that they stopped investing in Taiwan (Speare *et al*:1988, Gold:1986).

Despite the above negative events, Taiwan's economy prospered, while development and urbanisation continued on the right track. This was the result of economic restructuring programmes that encouraged a shift from labour-intensive to technology-intensive industries (Gold:1986, Speare *et al*:1988). Rural-urban and other types of migration changed from

attracting unskilled or low-skilled labour, who used to work in the export processing zones, to highly-skilled and educated labour, who work in the newly developed or upgraded industries in the cities (Thornton & Lin:1994).

This could be seen in the decline in the volume of exported products produced by unskilled or low-skilled labour, such as textiles, as Wu (1985, p.10) points out that “total exported products of textile decline from 30 per cent in 1971 - 1975 to 21 per cent in 1981 - 1985.” In summary, although Taiwan experienced economic difficulties twice during this period, there was no sign of a crisis caused by migration as have been experienced in other developing countries (as discussed in Chapter 3). Migration was still a response to the urban labour demand for workers with better skills and higher education levels. As Speare (in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.311) argues:

With a few exceptions, rural-to-urban migration in Taiwan can be viewed as a rational response to changing economic conditions. The growing rural population has adjusted to the pressure of population on limited resources by sending to major cities those members of the rural population who are best qualified for urban employment.

In short, the economy and industry grew rapidly during this post-colonial period, which could lead one to conclude that the island must have experienced urban problem such as high urban unemployment as a result of rapid urbanisation, as seen in most developing countries. However, this was not the case for Taiwan. This was because, as Speare *et al* (1988:13) argue:

While the growth of trade and industries and the high rate of population growth provided strong forces toward urban growth, its distribution throughout Taiwan was not a simple function of these forces. Other factors such as the continued strength of the farm family as an economic unit and the development of extensive commuting networks and rural industrialisation all contributed to make the rural-to-urban transition in Taiwan less painful than it might otherwise have been.

They add that “urbanisation patterns in Taiwan conform closely to the urban-industrial growth experienced in the advanced Western nations” (Ibid:41). In other words, Taiwan did not experience the so-called rural-urban migration crisis during its rapid economic and industrial growth that has been experienced by most developing countries. This was partly because of the government’s educational policies, which kept the young labour force in school longer and resulted in a decline in the supply of labour. This, indirectly, reduced the rate of migration of the potential labour migrants (Dassus *et al*:1995).

4.3 Political-economic Situation of Present-Day Taiwan and Migration (1986-1998)

After Taiwan had suffered two recessions - as mentioned above - and increasing competition from other low-wage developing countries, the government started to transform the economy from being based on low-technology industries to high-tech industries, communication and commercial services. In addition, the changes in 1987 to the Taiwanese government's policies to allow its citizens to visit and invest in mainland China (Liu: 1996, p.106) also contributed to the closure of many low-skilled manufacturing industries throughout the country as these industries moved to benefit from the cheaper wages in mainland China. For example, Simon & Kau (1992:287) point out: "As of the end of 1988, the Taiwanese had invested in 430 projects on the mainland at a total value of US\$600 million.... Taiwanese investments are mainly in labour-intensive industries.... The goods are processed with cheap labour on the mainland."

In some cases, Taiwanese technical experts also migrated to mainland China as contract workers for Taiwanese companies. However, as discussed in Chapter 2 on the definition of migration, not all the Taiwanese who work in mainland China are migrants. In fact, most of them are probably not, since they only go to mainland China temporarily to work and remain in contact with their homes in Taiwan. Thus, many of them can only be regarded as sojourners or oscillators rather than migrants. Only a few have moved there with their families permanently (Tu:1997). According to Tu (1997:76) most of the Taiwanese contract workers in China work as managers, supervising and training Chinese workers. Therefore, there are very few of this type of migrant workers.

The motivation for rural-urban migration in the present-day Taiwan is mainly for reasons that are not directly related to the search for a better income. Nowadays, reasons for migration commonly include further education, the pursuit of a luxurious urban lifestyle or an expansion of the family business. Those urban and rural residents who can afford to do so either emigrate with their whole families or send their children to northern America, especially the United States and Canada and to a lesser extent western Europe.

4.3.1 The Pursuit of a Luxurious Urban Lifestyle

As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, section 2.2, economic development in Taiwan has been fairly distributed throughout the country (Speare *et al*:1988), which is different from other countries where development is concentrated in a few big or capital cities. Consequently, wages and the living standard have increased in urban areas as well as rural areas, albeit at a slightly lower rate. However, even if urban wages are higher than rural wages, the cost of living in urban areas is also higher. Therefore, it does not make much sense for the rural population, especially the farmers who often lack skills and are educated to a relatively low level, to migrate to urban areas for higher incomes since they are likely to be employed in the low-paying sectors of urban economies.

On the other hand, despite the increase in wealth in rural areas, many of the places retain their rural characteristics (for example the lack of universities, high-tech hospitals and modern entertainment services) due to the low density of the population and the geographic location of the areas. Therefore, with wealth on the increase in rural areas, many farmers are starting to seek a better life, including better schools and universities for their children and entertainment for themselves. These needs can be met by moving to a large city. This is apparent in the case of I-Lan county and especially for its surrounding villages. Therefore, although life is comfortable enough in I-Lan, especially for the older generation, the situation is different for the younger, more ambitious generation for whom migration to a big city - with its prestigious higher education and entertainment facilities - is the dream of a lifetime¹.

For example, Taipei has the most prestigious universities, the best and richest museums, theatres and other facilities in Taiwan, which attracts not only migrants but also tourists and scholars from across the country (Roger:1995). It is not only in Taiwan that big cities attract rural migrants who want to share in the cities' rich and varied services and facilities, other countries in North America and Europe have similar experiences (as mentioned in Chapter 3, section 3.3, by the UNCHS:1996 and Hornby & Jones:1993). The same situation is also found in mainland China, where urban areas are flooded by both the wealthy and poor outsiders, as Strand *et al* (1995:402) point out that "urban places were above all scenes of

¹ The pursuit of a luxurious urban lifestyle in Taipei is also encouraged by mass-communication such as TV fashion shows ("Yearly Taipei fashion show"), soap dramas (such as "Colourful Taipei"), magazines ("How to become a millionaire in Taipei") etc, which influence the opinion of people, especially the youth, to believe that Taipei is paved with gold and a place where it is easy to become rich.

intense competition for many privilege and pleasure beyond the immediate control of government officials.”

4.3.2 The Pressure to Pursue Higher and Better Education

The Chinese tradition of placing high value on education (further discussion is given in section 4.4) is still widely respected throughout Taiwan, especially in the rural areas. Speare *et al* (1988:77) state that “Chinese are education-oriented. The majority of parents intend to drive their children to achieve the highest possible level of education, irrespective of the needs of the economy”. This is because, as Brown & Foot (1994:22) argue, “education is prized by the Chinese for both its personally transforming qualities and its capacity for enhancing familial social status.”

This part of culture applies to all - the poor and the rich, urban and rural - and is becoming gender indiscriminate (son and daughter alike) in present-day Taiwan. For example, in the case of the author’s family, the author and her two sisters have the same access to higher education abroad as their two brothers. Furthermore, the changed view that values education for both genders, according to Thornton & Lin (1994:77), is also due to the fact that parents want to enhance a daughter’s marriage prospects, given the rapid rise in male education, as well as by the increase in jobs for young, educated women, since unmarried daughters usually contribute a significant portion of their earning to their parents. As a result, “college education increased among both sexes, with a faster pace among females” (Thornton & Lin:1994, p.80). Thus, since many rural areas lack facilities for higher or better education (well known colleges, universities), many parents strive to send their offsprings to big cities or abroad where those services are available.

In some cases, where parents can afford to relocate with their children, the whole family will migrate and settle in the urban areas where the children can then undergo further education. I-Lan county, including its township, has no university and the population therefore has a high propensity to send their offspring to urban areas to undergo higher education. Doing so will not create much of a problem for them since the communication system is well developed and connected to all major cities. It is noticed that the radical improvement in the level of education (from half of the Taiwanese population being illiterate in 1952 to less than 6 per cent in 1993) was part of a successful effort by the Kuo Ming Tang government to transform

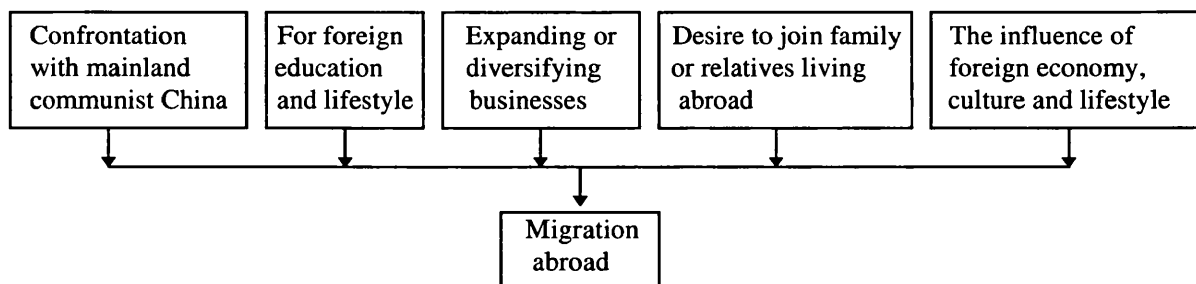
the economy from being labour-intensive to being high-technology intensive (Dassus *et al*:1995).

Moreover, the increasing competition for jobs for highly skilled and educated workers in Taiwan as a whole also puts a lot of pressure on parents to push their children to pursue high quality education in order to secure well-paid jobs in future. Such an attitude towards education also applies to Chinese migrants abroad, as Pan (1991:278) argues: “Clearly education is for the Chinese what it has been for generations of other migrants, the vehicle of upward mobility. If the wage of the Chinese has greatly improved in recent years, it is because they had become by 1980 the best-educated ethnic group in the United States.” In short, migration for education either for the migrants or for their children is one of the most important reasons for rural-urban migration, especially in the case of the Taiwanese population.

4.3.3 Motivations for Migrating Abroad

Although it is arguable that most of the migration to Japan, northern America and western Europe occurs only among the better-off, mainly urban, population, the argument has implications for the motivation of rural-urban migration. This is because, unlike in the case of developing countries and as discussed so far, the motivation for migration is strongly because of the pull factor and other family-related and cultural factors (also discussed later in section 4.4), rather than because of the rural push factors. This also applies to the motivation for migration abroad, as discussed next. As shown in Figure 4-2, there are five common motivations among the Taiwanese population to migrate abroad.

Figure 4-2: Main motivations for migrating abroad



Source: Summarised from this section by the author

Migration abroad, especially to Japan, North America and western Europe, requires sophisticated financial organisation and many other arrangements in the place of destination. However, these are normally made by travel agents, relatives, friends or associations the migrants may belong to (as discussed earlier) in the place of destination. Migration to the United States has occurred even before the Kuming Tang government moved to Taiwan, but the numbers increased with US involvement in Taiwan following the confrontation with mainland communist China after World War II.

Moreover, migration to the United States is also motivated by the long involvement of that country in the Taiwanese economy and military through American aid, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. As Barkan (1992:15) points out: "The economic and military penetration by the United States during the past half century into a number of European, Asian and Pacific areas created new opportunities for people in these sending areas to migrate to the United States." It is noticed that, in the meantime, the motivation for migration to the United States is also partly influenced by advertisements in the mass media, which reach almost the entire Taiwanese population. The United States, Canada and many Western European countries are often propagandised as places of prosperity, opportunities and freedom, and none of the negative aspects of life in these countries are presented. As Parnwell (1993:4) argues:

Quite often media such as television, radio, newspapers and advertising are responsible for raising people's awareness of life outside the narrow confines of their home areas to the extent that it heightens their level of dissatisfaction with their present conditions and may make them more prone to migration. The image created by the media may present a biased or distorted view by building up certain positive characteristics and playing down others.

In addition, the development of ties between the United States and communist mainland China has caused the Taiwanese to fear for the island's future and motivated many to move (migrate) abroad (Kwong:1987, p.44). Two main reasons for migration were apparent: firstly, the fear of war breaking out with communist China and, secondly, less significantly, the search for a better standard of living abroad, including expanding businesses, foreign education for children and joining family or relatives living abroad.

The threat from communist mainland China was very real during the Taiwanese presidential election in 1996, when missiles were fired into the Taiwanese Strait by mainland China. It caused panic among the whole population and most commercial and financial businesses. Although there is no data available, migration abroad was a priority for most Taiwanese

families at that time. Even though the situation has calmed down since then, many remain sceptical and the prospect of migration abroad remains a consideration for many.

At present, many families send their offspring abroad for a long education in the hope that, if anything happened between Taiwan and China, their children would be safe and that perhaps after the dust settles, they could return to rebuild the families and Taiwan as a whole. The motivation for migration abroad is also reported to be influenced by advanced foreign technology, civilisation and culture (Brown & Foot:1994). The above influences come mainly from the Japanese, who have occupied Taiwan for the last half century, and the United States since the withdrawal of the Japanese from the island (ibid:20).

In addition, the migration of the island's population to the United States is motivated by the US having eased its immigration policies for foreign-trained professionals during the Cold War with the Soviet Union. According to Kwong (1987:60): "Between the mid-1960s and the mid-1980s, close to 150,000 Taiwanese students came to the United States for graduate education. Today, they are the largest single group of foreign students studying in America."

Furthermore, migration abroad also stems from the increasing investments abroad of Taiwanese companies. Such investments provide better opportunities and reasons for many Taiwanese to settle down in foreign countries. Tu (1997:71) argues that "Taiwan has become an important outward investor since the 1980s." For example, Taiwan's total foreign direct investment flows into East Asia reached about US\$35 billion in 1986-93 and about US\$20 billion to Southeast Asia in 1986-94 (Tu:1997, p.70-71). In summary, as shown in Figure 4-2, the five reasons for migration abroad are completely different from those in the case of developing countries, as discussed in Chapter 3, where motivation for migration abroad is mainly the search for a higher income.

4.3.4 The Impact of Conscription on Migration

Military conscription could impact on migration in that the young male population of conscription age could migrate to other countries in an attempt to evade conscription. Another possibility is that upon completion of their military service, demobilised persons settle permanently in the places where they served during their military service, resulting in migration from their place of origin.

After the fall of the Republic in mainland China to the communist Moa, the republican government migrated to Taiwan, where it is known as "Kuo-Ming Tang". The new government imposed Martial Law in Taiwan in 1948. Under the auspices of promoting a tighter security system for the whole nation, Martial Law included Military Service Law, which prevented young males from migrating abroad. For example, after his fifteenth birthday², a young man could not travel abroad - not even as a student or a tourist in other countries - until he had completed military service. This was implemented because the government was afraid of losing young males who could defend the nation, since, as discussed previously, some families adopted the solution of sending their offspring abroad for a long education in the event of something going wrong between China and Taiwan.

According to the Military Service Law³ (1974), Republic of China,

Chapter 1, General:

"Article 1: According to the constitution, males of the Republic of China have the obligation to serve in the military. Article 2: Military service includes officer military service, NCO military service and EM military service. Article 3: When a male is eighteen years old, he must serve in the military from January 1 the year after his eighteenth birthday. He no longer serves in the military from he age of 45. The law stipulates officer and NCO military service and discharge. Article 4: Males who are physically deformed or handicapped or have chronic diseases are exempt from military service. Article 5: Males who have been sentenced to 7 years or more in jail are prohibited from military service Article 15:1 Active: males who are 19 years old and are physically fit will be recruited to fulfil their military service next year after their nineteenth birthday. Army recruits serve 2 years, while Navy and Air Force recruits serve 3 years....."

However, despite the restrictive military law, some families still succeed in sending their offspring abroad by sending them at an early age, such as before their fifteenth birthdays. For example, Mr. Chew and Mr. Shan, who are studying for a Masters degree at the University of London, have been in the UK for ten years to date. However, as a result, they suffered when they wanted to return by being kept from Taiwan by the government for four years (it normally takes four years for the Taiwanese government to clear such a person's name); secondly, they will never be issued with identification cards (身份証) and household registration cards (戶口証明) stating what type of military service (such as Navy or Air Force) they completed (by law, only those who are physically deformed and criminals have no

² The age of 15 is the time to complete secondary school and enter either high school or college.

³ There are two chapters comprising 54 articles in the Martial Law.

to do military service⁴). These two men are, however, fortunate in that their families are wealthy enough for them to work in the family business and not have to consider becoming politicians or government employees.

In the case of the young male population of conscription age, they could migrate to other counties in an attempt to evade military service, which is an even more serious event than the cases discussed above. Firstly, they are unable to find a proper job not only because they do not have ID cards (as discussed above), but they will become wanted by the local police as a so-called man that escaped conscription (逃兵). As a result they will have serious difficulties finding a job in both their places of origin and other counties. Secondly, by law, escaping conscription by moving from one county to another is also a criminal offence (National Defence Department:1974).

In reality, it is unlikely that conscription has much impact on the migration pattern⁵. Firstly, males who serve in the military reside in the military bases, which are far from the residential areas of each county. They are normally also not allowed to spend a lot of time in the village during their service (Liu:1992, Sun:1989, National Defence Department:1985). This reduces the possibility of getting married and settling there with a local girl after completion of military service. Secondly, when they have a holiday (normally 2 or 3 days every two or three months), most of them would visit home because most of them would have just graduated from university or high school. Most of them are also still financially dependent on either the government (the government pays them a monthly salary which is enough to live on in the military, for example for purchasing socks or toothpaste) or their parents (if they cannot live on their monthly salary from the government). In addition, they undergo a tough training course during the first few months of military service and most makes, therefore, need to be comforted by either their parents or friends to regain some confidence (Liu:1992, Sun:1989).

⁴ Even though the Martial Law was abolished in 1987, the Military Service Law remained the same apart from the abolition in 1994 of the regulation preventing young men of 15 years and older from going abroad until they have completed military service. However, their ID still lists their military history.

⁵ Due to unavailable data on this issue, this event was discussed with some male seniors, such as Dr. W.Z, Cheng, Dr. C.G, Su and H.C, Daiy and the author's two brothers, who concluded that during military service they hardly ever went to the local villages or towns as they had a very busy schedule. When they had a short break (a few hours), which rarely happened, they preferred to rest or spend some time alone to make phone calls or write some letters (Dr. Cheng even said "when I had time I just wanted to sleep. As a break of one or two hours a week or sometimes a month, what else can you do? There is nowhere to go since the base is far away from anywhere and there no transportation to reach downtown. If you walked it took more than one and a half hours to return to the base. In that case I rather slept or wrote some letters."). Thus, after they completed their military service they just left their base and settled in their hometown, where they know more people and it is easier to find a job.

Thus, they do not get very familiar with the county during their service apart from their military base. This again reduces the possibility of looking for a job in the county where they serve in the military.

Therefore, once they have completed their service (either two or three years, depending on the type of military service), most males find a job in an area he is familiar with, such as the last school he attended, the university where he graduated or his hometown (Speare *et al*:1988, Pan:1988, Chiang:1983). More importantly, he would choose the place where he has social ties in terms of friends and people who could help him build a career as soon as possible (this point will be revisited in the next section). Friends from the military, however, are from different parts of Taiwan and they return to their places of origin after completing

4.4 The Importance of Chinese Culture and Traditions and Migration

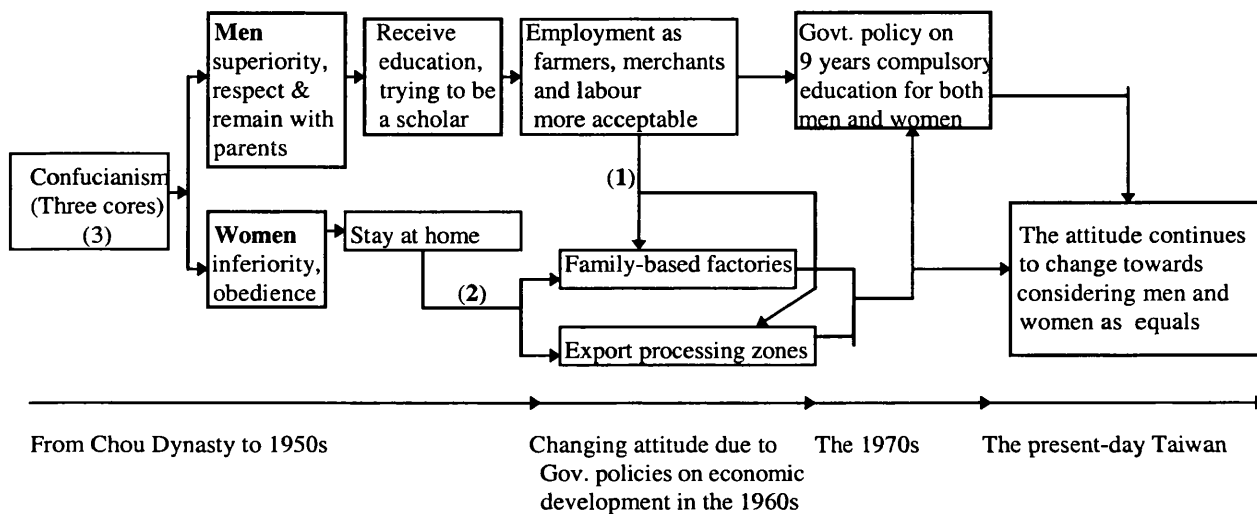
The majority of the population in Taiwan is of Chinese origin. Their centuries-old culture and tradition, the Confucian culture, is still widely respected in everyday life throughout the country. There is no doubt that culture and tradition play an often invisible but very important role in the decision making of each Taiwanese family in doing business, marriage, education for their children and, of course, the pattern of migration. This can be looked at in terms of three factors: firstly, the traditional Chinese Confucian family; secondly, the topophilia in Chinese culture; and thirdly, the nepotism or genealogy in Chinese culture.

4.4.1 The Traditional Chinese Confucian Family

There are many aspects relating to family in the Confucian tradition, such as the three cores. "The 'three cores' (三剛) of the Kang is a major core in a net to which all other things are attached. Thus, the sovereign is the 'Kang' of his subjects, that is, he is their master. Likewise, the husband is the Kang of the wife, the father is the Kang of the son" (Too:1996, p.16). Therefore, namely the tradition of men and their sons being superior to women and their daughters, the extended family and the high respect for education are all key elements of the Confucian tradition and could affect the pattern of migration. Although the attitudes of parents toward sons and daughters have changed over time, in the past sons' education was viewed as a priority over that of daughters (Coombs & Sun:1979; Wang:1991).

This factor could influence the decision to migrate of a family member, especially in the pursuit of a higher education for a son. The out-migration of daughters, if there is, could be to find employment in order to support the family (as shown in Figure 4-3). In other words, parents, especially in rural areas where the Confucian tradition has a greater influence than in urban areas, would send a son to the city to undergo further education while their daughters would be sent to secure employment to support the family, although daughters often stay at home to work on the farm or in the house (Coombs & Sun:1979).

Figure 4-3: Changing attitudes in Chinese culture in accordance with economic development



Note: (1)- in smaller numbers compared with women
 (2)- in higher numbers compared with men
 (3)- The three cores are: son over daughter, family life, education.
 Sources: Compiled from this section by the author

However, in the past daughters often stayed at the family home to look after the parents or to work on the family's farm. As Skinner (1957:126) argues: "Women rarely emigrated, and in some parts of China the local lineage councils did not allow wives to leave the village for fear of losing the entire family." In the field of education, daughters were given less of a chance or no chance to obtain an education compared with sons. Tsurumi (1977:26) points out that "it was rare for respectable gentry families to give their daughters a classical education or even to teach them systematically to read and write."

Yet, this tradition has been corrected (or greatly influenced) by the Japanese during their 50 years' rule in Taiwan. Tsurumi (1977:219) points out that the number of female Taiwanese students had increased drastically and that "by 1935 one quarter of the Taiwanese female elementary school-aged population was in school, and nine years later this percentage had

jumped to 60". The increase was due to the fact that "the Japanese policies explicitly encouraged the schooling of Taiwanese girls" (Ibid:26-30, 62-63). In other words, as Kiang (1991:98) points out, "Taiwan was forced by the Japanese to become a modern society."

The tradition has further changed, especially in present-day Taiwan, as a result of the education model and the attitudes on gender of both the new generation of parents and the government, who now regard both sexes as having equal rights (the author's family, mentioned above, is an example). For example, Galenson (1992:34) points out that "the proportion of unpaid female family workers in the labour force fell by almost two-thirds, most of them moving into paid employment between 1963 to 1989".

Moreover, according to Galenson (1992), not only has the number of female paid workers increased, but there has also been an improvement in their types of job. For example, women labourers in agriculture declined from 40.6 per cent in 1970 to 9.9 per cent in 1989, while women labourers in manufacturing, commerce and service increase from 22.5, 15.0 and 19.1 per cent in 1970 to 38.1, 22.5 and 24.9 per cent in 1989, respectively (Ibid:35). What is still common practice in some areas is the situation where sons inherit more of their parents' assets than their sisters, as the sons will continue to live with the aged parents or take full responsibility for their retired parents' lives. This is the same in the Chinese Confucian culture (Marsh:1996).

The second factor is that of the extended family, where "traditionally, filial piety could take the form of a three-generation joint or stem family living in the same household" (Marsh:1996, p.91). This could affect the decision to migrate of a family member, for example, due to the pressures of living with a large family where the parents of the husband continue to dominate decision making in the family business. This could cause resentment or tension for a family member who disagree or is unhappy with the decisions. For example, Baker (1977, p.500) points out that:

The problems involved in holding together a large joint family were enormous. Conflicts between father and son, mother and daughter-in-law, brothers, and the wives of different brothers were latent in even the smallest joint family.

Other aspects, such as a search for freedom by a family member, an escape from having a joint account with the extended family and tension between the family member and the in-laws could also be the motivation for migration to the city (although sometimes the issue is resolved

by moving to a separate house some distance away from the extended family rather than migrating to the city). For example, Speare (in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.325) indicates: "In the traditional extended family, the family head, usually the oldest male, makes the major decisions of the family and controls the family budget. All members of the family with outside income give over most of their earnings to the family head each pay-day, and this pooling of income can cause stress, particularly if different members make different contributions."

Finally, the respect for higher education in the Chinese Confucian tradition, which is undoubtedly still widely practised in Taiwan, puts immense pressure on individual families to strive for a good education for their offspring. This motivation is believed by the author to be one of the most common reasons for out-migration from rural areas among the young population. As Speare *et al* (1988:49) points out: "The high Chinese traditional value given to intellectuals and to improving one's education is still highly respected in Taiwan. People thus are highly motivated to pursue better education irrespective of the needs of the economy."

In addition, as mentioned earlier, providing children with a higher education is a source of pride for parents and could command respect for them from other village members. As Kwong (1987:72) shows: "Confucius' greatest legacy was the structuring of a political and social order in ancient China. Scholars were the highest class, ranking above farmers, menial labourers and merchants. The young were told to study hard, pass the exam and become government officials; fame, status and prosperity would automatically follow. Learning, thus, had a very practical objective: education was a means of breaking through the class barriers of ancient Chinese society." Yet, as shown in Figure 4-3, the pursuit of a higher education applies to both men and women.

4.4.2 Topophilia in Chinese Culture

This aspect could affect the pattern of migration in the sense that: firstly, the sense of place of origin of the early migrants play an important role in motivating them to assist their rural fellows to migrate or their countrymen to immigrate: secondly, the importance of the connection in assisting chain migration from the same villages: and, thirdly, the ambition to diversify the family's businesses.

The strong sense of place of origin among early migrants could play a very important role in the continued flow of out-migration from their places of origin. Once the early migrants in cities settle down, they will return to their rural community with as big a contribution as they can to build schools, hospitals, temples and provide other services (Skeldon:1990, p.164; Wang:1991, p.201). These successful migrants could become idols for their fellow villagers, who want to follow them to the city. Moreover, the migrants will recruit labour from their own communities if they are able to do so or provide new migrants with valuable information about the destination (Crissman:1967, p.190; Kwong:1987, p.67; Davin:1999). As Pan (1991:18) points out:

Once a Chinese from a particular area had established a foothold in a foreign country, he either sent for, or else returned to China to fetch, a young son or nephew from his native village to share in the new opportunities - or, if he achieved a measure of success, to help him with his business.

This also applies to the case of Chinese overseas immigrants, as Watson (1975:101) reports that, for example, the Man lineage or association in Europe provides for all the needs of its members:

Job introductions are sought from lineage mates previously established abroad, and passage money can often be obtained from lineage trust funds or from future employers - who are almost invariably lineage members. Furthermore, the lineage serves as a pool of dependable employees for the Man restaurant owners in Europe. In effect, then, the Man lineage has become a kind of emigration agency.

In Chinese society, as discussed in Chapter 3, clan, association, lineage etc. play an important role in chain migration, which is, according to Watson (1975:101), one of "the characteristics of Overseas Chinese and is best defined as a movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants". Similarly, Pieke (1998:11) points out that "chain migration and a culture of emigration hold most Chinese to the beaten track. They rarely seek cooperation and integration with strangers".

The success or failure of migrants in cities mainly depend on the strength of their connection to the destination. Pan (1991:112) points out: "There is no network like the network of Chinese connections, which joined market to market through clan or family and assured the Chinese middlemen that, wherever they happened to be, whether at home in China or abroad

in south-east Asia, there would always be plenty of cooperation on tap.” Thus, the rate of flow of migration from a place of origin is also greatly dependent on how well such a place is connected to the destination.

Moreover, the Chinese tradition of family-run businesses could also influence the pattern of migration in the sense that once it has prospered in one place, the family will seek to expand the business, and this includes setting up shop in new places. Since the family prefers its new branches to be run or controlled by relatives, it has to dispatch sons, daughters, nephews, nieces etc. to the new places, which often involve permanent residential movement. Therefore, in the Chinese culture, “personal links, kith and kin were important to the business expansion” (Pan:1991, p.240). For example, the traditional Chinese family-run business is said to be one of the most important factors in Taiwan’s economic growth, as Speare *et al* (1988:9) argue:

The second important factor in Taiwan’s growth is the cohesiveness of the Chinese family. The importance of the family can be seen in the large number of family businesses, the reliance on family members for loans and other forms of support, the strong support which parents provide their children with for higher education and other investments, such as migration, which will enhance their economic advancement, and the continuation of joint living arrangements after marriage.

Yet, in some cases, not only relatives are recruited into the new businesses, but also their fellow community members.

4.4.3 Nepotism and Genealogy in Chinese Society

Another two factors - the different local (dialects) languages and ethnicity - could affect the pattern of migration. Firstly, the different dialects of different parts of China and, to a lesser extent, that of the minority indigenous population of Taiwan, also determines migrants’ success or failure in the new places. Employers tend to recruit employees from their places of origin rather than from other areas (as mentioned earlier). Yet, those members of the rural or indigenous population who use different dialects have a lesser chance of being recruited by employers who speak a certain dialect.

Once in the new places, migrants tend to gather in groups or associations in order to protect themselves from any discrimination by the host population and authorities. “They must rely on

their own strength to solve their problems” (Kwong:1987, p.8). For example, in the case of Chinese immigrants in the United States, Kwong (1987:16) points out:

The vast majority of the residents of old Chinatowns came from a homogeneous agrarian background. Their common rural origin had important implications. First, it enabled immigrants to form tightly knit communities capable of defending themselves against hostile external forces. Second, the formation of political and social institutions in Chinatown was based on the regional and agrarian traditions of Kwangtung.

Similarly, in London and Europe in general, Watson (1975:99) indicates: “The Mans (associations) have been highly successful in meeting the challenge of ever increasing immigration restrictions (to Britain and other European countries). Much of their success is due to the co-operative efforts of individual emigrants working within the framework of the lineage to obtain jobs introductions and labour vouchers.” Such a tradition of sticking together among migrants without relying on outside or public assistance and the willingness to help each other to move ahead make the Chinese migrants more successful compared with other ethnic migrants in the United States and Europe, and perhaps in the rest of the world (Pieke:1998; Pieke & Benton:1995; Kwong:1987, p.4, Pieke and Benton:1995, Pieke:1998).

In addition, the purpose of creating migrant associations is also an attempt to preserve their identity as Chinese. As Pan (1991:113) argues: “The Chinese would hate to hear it said that by going abroad they had forgotten their origins, and the aims of these associations (clan associations) were to provide facilities for the worshipping of ancestors, to promote the well-being of clansmen and their harmony, and to preserve the records of the clan’s accomplishments.”

In forming associations, migrants tend to select themselves by common language, ethnic background and other factors such as “hometowns or homevillage of urban migrants, lineage, occupation, neighbourhood and having or not having an official degree or status” (Strand:1995, p.397, Gallin & Rita in Elvin & Skinner:1974, p.348). Pan (1991:112) indicates that “the dialect association was partly a mutual aid society, partly a club-home and partly a place to go to re-immense oneself in one’s Chineseness”.

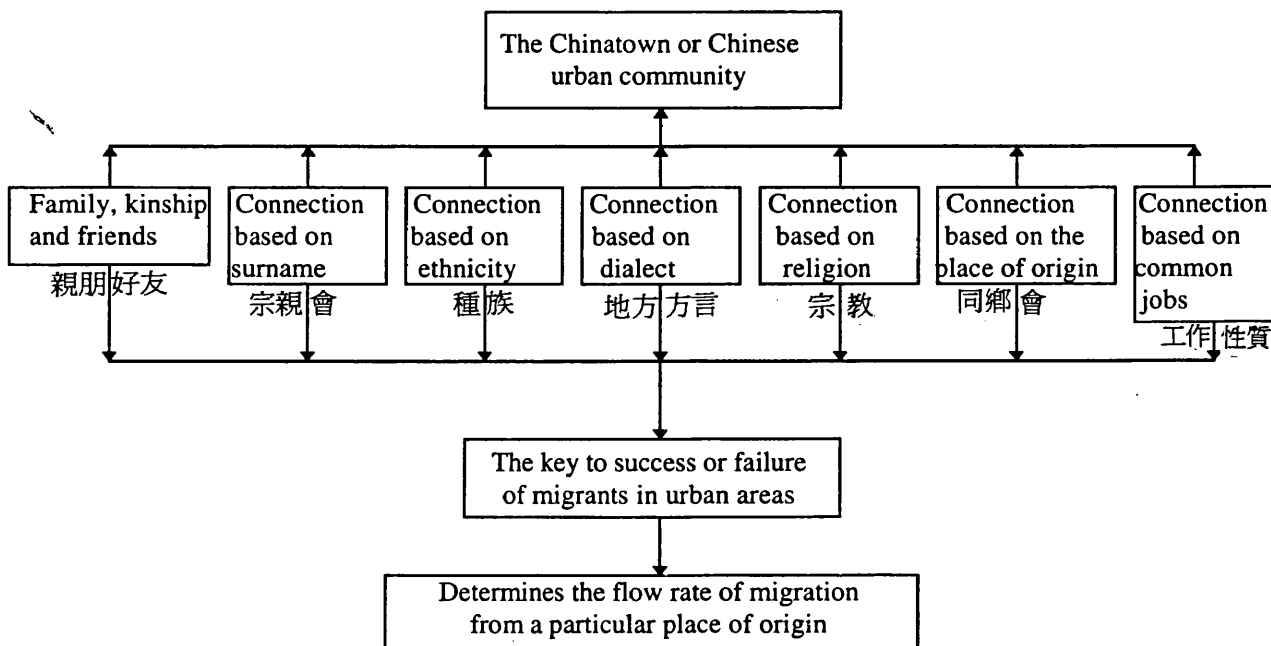
Thus, out-migration from one region could lead to a high concentration of migrants from that area in the destination, where they gather according to dialect and even by surname. For example, in the case of Chinese immigrants to the United States, Pan (1991:107) points out

that “Pittsburgh’s Chinatown was the turf of the Yee clan, Chicago the Moys’, Denver the Chinis’, and so on”. It is noticed that “there are only a few hundred surnames in common use in the whole of China” (Crissman:1967, p.190). Secondly, as Pan (1991:10) points out, “the Chinese became the world’s most obsessional genealogist”. As in the case of language differences, employers prefer to hire workers who share their own ethnic background.

Even if workers from one ethnic group are employed by another, they are likely to face more challenges than if they had been from the same ethnic background. This is because many companies or firms that are part of a specific association often mainly recruit their employees from the same ethnic background, as Golas (1977, p.563) states: “The requirement in many guilds is that members be natives of a single area other than the city.” Thus, the rate of migration from one region of ethnicity depends on how powerful and prosperous early migrants of the same ethnicity are in the place of destination. In short, as Skeldon (1990:164) summarises:

The function of the associations has been seen as a ‘buffer’ to protect the rural migrants in the city and to help them to adapt to an environment quite different from that of the village. The migrant association can also help to promote the development of the home community by channelling funds back to the village and lobbying for political and economic support amongst the bureaucracies.

Figure 4-4: Summary of the composition of Chinese urban communities and migrants’ connection



Sources: Summarised from chapters 3 & 4 by the author

Therefore, as shown in Figure 4-4, these connections with the places of destination often stimulate migration and, to some extent, is far more important than the economic reasons (push and pull factors) for migration.

4.5 Conclusion

It is clear that migration in Taiwan is affected by the political and economic changes of the country. Migration in Taiwan is also influenced by the Chinese culture and tradition. Firstly, during Japanese colonisation, migration was a response to the development and investment programmes carried out by the colonial government. As shown in Table 4-1, five factors - hostility between the Japanese and rebels, agricultural and infrastructural upgrading and expansion, educational improvement and rural industrialisation - influenced migration during that period. However, among the five factors, the Japanese investment and infrastructure development had the biggest influence on migration.

Secondly, during the post-colonial period (1946-85), migration was influenced by three different government development programmes, as shown in Table 4-2. First, during the period between 1946 to 1960, Taiwan experienced the highest rate of in-migration in its history, mostly from mainland China, after the government of the Republic China (the Kou Ming Tang government) was defeated by the communist army in mainland China. As a result, around 2 million Chinese moved to Taiwan en masse. The Kou Ming Tang government then initiated and eventually successfully implemented the land reform programme that kept farmers on their farms rather than migrate to find urban jobs.

However, rural-to-urban migration was reported in response to the continued expansion of industrial sectors and infrastructure that was initiated by the Japanese. Secondly, rural-to-urban migration peaked during the labour-intensive industry period between 1960 and 1973. Migration during this period was a result of the rapid economic growth of the country, which is sometimes known as the economic miracle period. Thirdly, rural-urban migration continued but had a different character from 1974 to 1985. It changed from attracting unskilled labour migrants to attracting skilled and educated migrants as a result of the change in the character of urban employment from labour intensive to skilled and technology intensive.

Thirdly, rural-urban migration in contemporary Taiwan has also changed from being mainly for job and income-related reasons to being for higher education and other reasons. Unlike during the two periods mentioned above, the majority of rural-urban migrants now move to undergo higher education at universities in urban areas, pursue a better lifestyle or for the various services and facilities on offer in urban areas. Those who can afford to, migrate to North America and western European countries.

Finally, the Chinese Confucian culture and tradition of the Taiwanese population also play an important role in migration patterns. As shown in Figure 4-3, the Confucian attitudes towards men and women, sons and daughters, influence the patterns of rural-urban migration in Taiwan. This influence emerges in the fact that, in the past, male migrants dominated. However, this trend has changed toward equality between the sexes because of the Japanese influence and especially following the introduction of 9 years' compulsory schooling by the government in the 1970s. Other Chinese traditions such as connections (Guanxi) and the family-run business or enterprise also affect the flow of migration from rural areas. These are the key factors to migrants' success or failure in the place of destination. Moreover, the connection is an important factor in dividing migrants in the place of destination according to dialect, religion and culture.

Part III: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Chapter 5: Methodology

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the way in which the research has been designed and implemented. The study's implementation, this chapter describes in detail the fieldwork while following three main objectives, as suggested by Fowler (1993):

- first, to allow for the replication of the data collection effort;
- second, to allow readers to detect procedural differences between research that would affect comparability;
- and thirdly, to provide an overview of the possible errors that can affect the findings of this study.

The chapter comprises 4 sections. Section 5.1 explains why this research focuses on the destination of migrants as the main survey area and analyses the problem area - why I-Lan county was selected as the place of departure for the research. It discusses the advantages and limitations of studying migration at the place of destination and the caution taken to reduce the limitations of this approach and to avoid bias. Section 5.2 provides a discussion of the research design and the strategy used for data collection, revealing how both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. Section 5.3 focuses on the process of selecting samples both at the place of origin and at the destination. Section 5.4 discusses the interviewing process, including the recruitment of the interviewers, training, the pilot test, the main fieldwork interviews and the data processing.

5.1 Choice of the Studied Location

5.1.1 Why the Destination, Taipei, and the place of Departure, I -Lan County, Were Selected as the Studied Locations

Taipei was chosen as the place of I-Lan county's migrants' place of destination because the record shows Taipei city is the major place of destination for I-Lan county's migrants. It was selected only after the researcher had gone through the out-migration record (戶口遷出登記冊) from 1985-1994, which was made available by I-Lan county department to the researcher on 10 September 1996.

According to this record, more than 90 per cent of I-Lan county's officially recorded out-migrants chose Taipei city as their destination (local registration of I-Lan county: from 1985 to 1994). Because of this consideration and due to the sizeable number of I-Lan out-migrants in Taipei who could be researched, Taipei city was selected as this study's main research location.

There are many factors that attract out-migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei (as already discussed in Chapter 4.3 and later tested in chapters 6, 7 and 8) compared with other cities surrounding I-Lan county, such as Taoyuan and Shinchu. This is because the mountainous geographical location of I-Lan county does not allow its population direct access to other cities – they have to pass through Taipei first. As shown in the map in Chapter 1, although I-Lan county borders areas with other big cities, such as Taichung and Nan Tou and Taoyuan, its landscape makes these cities inaccessible except via Taipei. This factor, coupled with Taipei's better job opportunities, good educational and health facilities and the attraction of the urban lifestyle, could discourage I-Lan county migrants to move to other cities and encourage them to end up in Taipei as a final destination.

5.1.2 Why I-Lan county was selected as the place of departure of migrants for the research

The choice of I-Lan county as a place of origin of migration for this study is based on two factors. Firstly, strategically and geographically, I-Lan county is an ideal county for a case study of migration since it is one of the poorest counties in Taiwan (as shown in Table 5-1) and the poorest in the northern region. As shown in Table 5-1, it is inaccessible except via Taipei because high mountains and valleys surround it. These geographical characteristics also represent other, less developed and impoverished counties in Taiwan, such as Pi-Tung and Hua-Lien, as shown in Table 5-1, which have similar geographical characteristics.

Secondly, through personal research and reading, the author ascertained that the government of Taiwan has invested in I-Lan county in an attempt to develop it, including as a tourist or retreat centre and as an industrial county (Harris 1992b). However, thus far the effort has not paid off and I-Lan county continues to lose its productive population to urban areas such as Taipei (Cheng:1990). The researcher's actual interest on the issue was sparked in 1994 when the author became involved with work on I-Lan county by Prof. Nigel Harris. It was thought that the issues raised in his study should be investigated further in order to establish the real reasons for the out-migration of I-Lan county's population.

Table 5-1: The characteristics of the three Poorest Counties in Taiwan

Indicators	I-Lan - the poorest in Northern region	Ping-Tung- the poorest in Eastern region	Hua-Lien - one of the poorest county in Taiwan
Geographical location ¹	Difficult access, surrounded by mountains, easy access only via Taipei	Difficult access, surrounded by sea & mountains, easy access only via Kao-Hsiung and Tai-Tung	Difficult access, surrounded by sea & mountains, easy access only via Nan-tou and Tai-Tung.
Number of population	466,603 (persons)	901,491 (persons)	355,609 (persons)
Number of clinics and hospitals	18	42	22
Schools, Universities	Senior High School:169 No university	Senior High School:365 National Ping-Tung Teaching College, National Ping-Tung Technology University.	Senior High School:202 and Hsien-Chi Medical Univeristy
Level of income (US\$)	8,743.8	8,612	9,498
Number of employment in agriculture (persons)	138,374	348,034	21,016

Source: Compiled from Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, I-Lan County Government, Ping-Tung County Government, Hua-Lien Government, Council for Economic Planning and Development and Taiwan Province, 1997 (and also through personal communication with Dr. C.G. Su).

5.1.3 The limitations and Advantages of this Migration Study

Due to time and financial limitations, this study could only conduct a relatively substantial survey at the place of destination - Taipei - with 200 sample interviewees. However, even though Taipei is the main destination of I-Lan county's out-migrants, the study could have included such destinations as Toay-Yuan city or Keel-Lung city, which are also destinations for I-Lan county's out-migrants, according to the out-migration record. By doing this the study could reveal the richness of factors involved in the complex phenomenon of out-migration from I-Lan county. The same applies to the place of origin - I-Lan county - where 100 sample interviewees were chosen from only three administrative areas of the county. In other words, the responses from the interviewees could have been more varied if the respondents had been obtained from the county's entire sample population (12 administrative areas). A comprehensive approach would have involved spreading the survey over various parts of the county to cover all the migrants that originated from that county.

However, like most academic research of the same kind, the choice to conduct the survey based mainly on the place of destination provides the most advantages, while the supplementary study at the place of origin fills most of the possible gaps in the survey at the place of destination. The advantages are:

¹ A detailed geographical location is presented in the map at the end of Chapter 1.

Firstly, the aim of this research is to explore the dominant view of push-pull factors for out-migration and to investigate the characteristics (as mentioned in the first chapter) of out-migrants to Taipei, the latter of which cannot be fully furnished by the migrants' relatives at their place of origin. For these reasons, the survey was primarily undertaken in Taipei city.

Secondly, future patterns and directions of migration can also be inferred from the respondents' migration plans. Questions can be asked on their reasons for migration, the process of migration and the gains from migration. Although, as many observers have pointed out, "in a substantial percentage of cases, the migrant is not fully aware of all of the forces at work which have brought about the decision to move"², it is essential to comprehend how the migration situation is seen by the migrant.

Thirdly, migrants who have lived in two or more places can assess the advantages and drawbacks of the different environments. Such an assessment is usually based on their expectations and aspirations before migration and how these have been modified by their migration experience.

Fourthly, a survey of migrants at the destination provides a comprehensive picture of their characteristics and socio-economic status.

Finally, a researcher who conducts a study at the destination of migration from rural areas can assess the environment and the push factors at the place of origin through discussion with migrants. In particular, migrants can be questioned about why they wanted to move before being questioned about other aspects of their situation. In addition, the push and pull factors in the rural areas can be examined. From some previous studies it is noted that most migrants in the towns over-emphasise the pull factors, while minimising or completely omitting the push factors that provoked the migration. These considerations were taken into account in this survey.

² Bogue D. J. & Hauser, P. M., 1969. 'Population Distribution, Urbanism and Internal Migration', *U.N. World Population Conference*, Belgrade, 30 August to 10 September 1969, p.24.

5.2 Research Design and Strategy for Data Collection

5.2.1 Research Design

The research design decides the manner in which individuals or other units are compared and analysed. It is the basis for making interpretations from the data, since no research design has an inherent superiority over another. Research designs differ on the basis of several factors. The choice of a particular research design, must be directed by the central research question the study wishes to address (Moser & Kalton:1979; Shipman:1988; Babbie:1990; Fowler:1993).

In the contemporary world, researchers have three types of methodological data analyses: the quantitative, the qualitative and mixed approaches (Hantrais and Mangen:1996). In this research, although the quantitative method is the dominant one, the qualitative method is also employed to support the results of the quantitative method where it cannot be statistically analysed. This is done in the form of long and short narratives presented in boxes in this study's finding chapters. Each method has its own advantages and limitations, and the research findings are affected to a certain extent by the nature of the method of data collection used. Campbell & Fiske point out (1959:13):

Knowledge in Social Sciences is fragmented, is composed of multiple parcels... The separateness of specificity of those bodies of knowledge is a consequence, not only of different objects of enquiry, but also of method specificity. Each method is one basis for knowing, one discriminable way of knowing.

While it is difficult to counter the weaknesses of case study methods, the problems of surveys can be remedied "through statistical control techniques, such as partialling, partial correlation and standardisation and through the combination of several data collection methods" (Labowitz & Hagedorn:1981, p.49).

As a result of the emphasis placed on the method of data collection in research designs there has been much discussion on the appropriateness of methods used in different situations. Nachmias & Nachmias (1992), for example, suggest a classification that distinguishes four general types of data collection: observational methods, survey research, secondary data analysis and qualitative research. The most widely accepted view among researchers today is that different types of information are best gathered in different ways.

The present study is concerned with the relationships between the characteristics of migrants and their reasons for migration. This central concern led to the adoption of the correlational (or cross-sectional) survey design, which is a quasi-experimental approach to social scientific inquiry that compares two or more units at one point in time (Labowitz & Hagedorn:1981; Miller:1991; Oppenheim:1992). Apart from the study's central concern, two other important factors - time constraints and limited resources - influenced the choice of the research design. A tight budget and time limitations typical of dissertation research meant that repeated observations or a longitudinal study, even if desirable, were impossible.

The design adopted in this study - the correlational (or cross-sectional) survey method - collects data at one point in time from a sample selected to describe some larger population at that time. Such a survey can be used not only for purposes of description, but also for the determination of relationships between variables at the time of the study (Labowitz & Hagedorn:1981; Miller:1991). However, this survey method is not without its problems. One major weakness associated with it has to do with the inability to control the effects of extraneous factors that may account for variations between different groups.

Labowitz & Hagedorn (1981) and Fowler (1993) note that a survey, as compared with experiments, is often characterised by a high degree of representativeness but a low degree of control over extraneous factors. Because surveys do not have experimental and control groups, other factors besides the independent variables may have produced the changes in the dependent variable. In contrast to surveys, a case study has a low level of representativeness. One can hardly differentiate cause from effect, and inferring from the intensive study of one or a few cases involves a high and generally unknown amount of risk. The major advantage of a case study lies in the richness of its descriptive examples that result from the intensive study of one or a few units. The results of these studies often suggest perceptive hypotheses that subsequently should be tested under experimental conditions and through surveys.

Although a majority of surveys utilise a single data collection method, it is not uncommon for a combination of methods to be used. Babbie (1990:63) points out that "the best studies are often those that combine more than one design", since each design provides a different perspective on the subject of the study. The social science research method of multiple information-gathering techniques was adopted in this study. The strategy of combining the different modes of data collection entails the use of different strategies and techniques in the study of the same object. The

advantage of this strategy is that, by relying on various methods to collect information, the researcher minimises the degree of specificity that each introduces in the final body of knowledge.

The use of different methods in combination, in which the strength of one compensates for the weakness of another, and the potential for linking them, was initially christened as methodological triangulation by Campbell & Fiske (1959). Its usefulness was stressed by Miller (1991), who calls for attempts to strengthen the validity of empirical evidence in the social sciences by reliance on more than one approach. Denzin (1970:35) indicates that this strategy raises the social scientist above the personal bias that stems from single methodologies.

By combining methods, observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow from one investigator or one method. When a hypothesis can survive the confrontation of a series of complementary methods of testing, it contains a degree of validity unattainable by a hypothesis tested with the restricted framework of a single method. The basic feature of methodological triangulation is the combination of two or more different research methods in the study of the same empirical unit. Such an approach allows one method to complement the other in terms of the interrelationships of problems, theories and methods (Denzin & Lincoln:1994).

Flick (1992) argues further that the value of methodological triangulation is apparent, not least because the weakness of one style may be balanced against the strengths of another style. Therefore, this strategy strengthens the validity and reliability of the evidence, increasing the credibility of the research findings. Considering all these aspects, the strategy behind the methods chosen for data collection in this research resulted from combining the available techniques most appropriate and fruitful for its design. In this process, several factors were taken into consideration in designing the quantitative data collection, pilot study and questionnaire, as well as qualitative data collection.

In applying methodological triangulation, this study cross-checks (or triangulates) the results obtained from interviewing migrants with the results obtained from interviewing stayers. The findings drawn are combined and compared with findings from secondary sources (previous studies), and checked against the unstructured, in-depth interviews with the migrants, stayers and a member of parliament from I-Lan county. The aim is to establish a more reliable and clearer picture of the reasons for out-migration, the reasons why some out-migrate and others do not, and the differences (socio-economic characteristics) between the migrants and stayers.

In summary, the main reason for choosing the quantitative method as the main but not sole method in this study is because, as Hantrais & Mangen(1996:131) point out: “The quantitative method has mainly been used by social scientists. Its strength lies in its ability to aggregate information on a large number of different units for macro-studies.” Or, as Bryman (1988:1) points out: “Quantitative research is typically taken to be exemplified by the social survey and by experimental observation and unstructured, in-depth interviewing.” These criteria fit the type of research that undertakes empirical macro-studies of the various migrants from different villages of I-Lan county - who differ in terms of gender, age and social status - in which the mass population have to be investigated. (However, the qualitative method is supplementary and in this study is used in the form of narrative cases as a supportive method.)

Although, as Hantrais & Mangen (1996:131) claim, “qualitative research offers the advantages of correlating theoretical assumptions and empirical material in a tighter way than can be done when using standardised statistical methods”, in no way can this be used to cover the quite varied composition of a large target studied population. In addition, the qualitative method becomes weak and of little help when it comes to comparative studies (Hantrais & Mangen: 1996). This is because the qualitative method often focuses on single situations, organisations and institutions, while the quantitative method can focus on multivariate issues (Strauss: 1987). Moreover, as Bryman (1988:1) adds, “qualitative methods such as participant observation tended to be regarded as relatively marginal in the context of the social scientist’s armoury of data collection techniques.”

In this case, it becomes quite clear that it cannot be used as the main method in this study since this research conducts an investigation of migrants in comparison with the stayers. However, the strength of the qualitative method in describing the social dimensions of urban life (Hantrais & Mangen: 1996, p.131) is employed in this study to further support the results of the statistical method, which lacks this strength. As Blalock (1970:45-6) concludes: “Many social scientists prefer to think of participant observation (qualitative method) as being useful at a certain stage in the research process rather than being an approach that yields a finished piece of research.” The qualitative method is presented in fourteen cases in this study that were constructed from the in-depth interviews conducted during the second field work, from 18th September to 5th December 1998 in Taipei and I-Lan county, Taiwan.

5.2.2 Quantitative Data Collection

Quantitative data collection in this study was from a representative sample survey of this research. The data was collected through a questionnaire constructed to obtain quantifiable information about the migrants' present situation, their motives for migration, their process of migration from their place of origin and other factors relevant to the issues investigated in this study (see questionnaire in Appendix -3A).

Prior to the field survey proper, a **pilot survey** was conducted in September 1996. Its main purpose was to test the quality of the questions in the questionnaires. In addition, the pilot survey served to identify and clarify possibly confusing terms used in the questionnaires. This ensured that the questions used would not be ambiguous and would be clearly understood by both the interviewers and interviewees. A secondary purpose of the pilot survey was to determine the strategy or procedure for the field survey proper. This was important because the pilot survey would indicate the time needed per interview, the number of days needed for the survey and, hence, the resources required. Finally, the pilot survey was intended to detect any problems that would be commonly encountered during the proper interviews and to find ways of solving or minimising them.

5.2.3 Qualitative Data Collection

From September to December 1998, the author personally carried out the in-depth interviews or qualitative data collection. Their aim was to provide an in-depth illustration of the context of the representative sample survey interviews and to support the quantitative data. Therefore, a trip of more than three months was made to Taiwan for data collection. During this trip, the researcher conducted all the in-depth interviews by herself, since they are relatively few (14 cases).

These interviews were semi-structural and conversational in style. All the interviews were tape-recorded. The 11 migrant respondents for the in-depth interviews were randomly chosen from the first fieldwork sample of 200 migrants, while the 2 stayer respondents for the in-depth interviews were randomly chosen from the sample of 100 stayers. One in-depth interviewee was not selected at random, but because she was the member of parliament concerned with planning and social welfare in I-Lan county. Because not all the interviewees were willing to spend more time on an in-

depth interview, each interviewee was asked permission for the in-depth interview after the random sampling.

The in-depth interviewees were randomly chosen from the total numbered sample of interviewees, which include 200 samples for migrants and 100 for stayers (see 5.3.1 and Appendix 2B for detail). However, taking into account the possibility that many of them might decline to participate, a further 6 migrant interviewees and 3 stayer interviewees were added as the reserve. After the random process, among the sample of 17 migrants and 5 stayers, only 13 migrants and 4 stayers were willing to take part in the interview.

The criteria for consideration is discussed in more detail below.

The initial interviews (using a structured questionnaire) not only served the purpose of data collection, but was also an introduction to potential participants for more in-depth investigation. Selection depended on a number of interrelated considerations, which included:

- (1) The willingness of people to participate further. The research required people to be willing to examine and analyse their feelings and experiences in more depth.
- (2) The information provided by the participants. In the initial interview, some people provided very little information, while others were rich in this respect.
- (3) The relationship between researcher and participants. This kind of research is a social exercise and it is necessary to build mutual trust.

Based on these considerations, 14 participants were selected from the total group of interviewees to represent the various circumstances of the migrants. The selection was made according to the participants' type of job before migration (except for the one MP from I-Lan county): farmer, land owner, non-land owner, manufacturing worker and service employee. In short, the purpose of choosing these different groups of interviewees was to reveal their reasons for out-migration - why they did it, what challenges they met in the city etc. - from the point of view of different employment backgrounds.

The in-depth interviews were to be concerned with subjective meaning rather than elicit standard responses. Furthermore, the interviews were to be a collaborative exercise between the researcher and the interviewees. As Anderson & Jack (1991) suggest, the spontaneous exchange that can take

place within such interviews offers freedom for clarification to researchers and narrators alike in a way that quantitative methods do not.

Unstructured interviews provide an opportunity for migrants to talk about what is important to them, rather than being guided along preconceived paths. A negative view of being a migrant, for example, would lead the researcher to focus on problems, whereas providing migrants with an opportunity to talk in an unstructured way about their past and present situation shifts the focus to what matters to them. The interviewees are allowed to say what they think, rather than what they think the researchers want them to say (Oakley:1981; Burman:1989). Oakley (1981) suggests that the researcher should be more like a friend than a data gatherer - a friend who is interested in the meaning of the topic under discussion for the person being interviewed.

It is important when carrying out interviews to listen to both what is said and what is not said. As well as being able to listen, the interviewer must have respect for people as individuals, be flexible in his/her response and be able to show understanding and empathy. Thompson (1990) questions the existence of a completely free-flowing interview. In order to start at all, he argues, a social context has to be set up, the purpose of the interview explained and at least an initial question asked. Introductions were important in the present research as the researcher was meeting most of the respondents for the first time (having been previously questioned by other members of the research team).

The interviews were carried out in the individual's own home. Pre-developed guidelines (on the researcher's own note) were used to ensure that the interviews included all items relevant to the study. At each interview the researcher expressed an interest in finding out the interviewee's perspective on his or her life. The interviewees were also assured that the interviews would be confidential, and each interview was conducted in a fairly relaxed atmosphere. During an interview, it is important for the researcher to listen to a respondent to try to understand the meaning behind the words, rather than to try and fit them into the research theories. It is important to ask for clarification when necessary and to listen to the respondent's moral language to uncover what he or she means by certain words. It is also important to listen to the respondent's meta-statements - those points in the interview when the respondent stops, looks back and comments on his or her own thoughts.

Since the unstructured interviews are best carried out by the researcher, due to the fact that only the researcher are aware of all the important points the interview is expected to raise, all the unstructured interviews were done by the researcher. After each interview, the researcher made notes in a field diary about the process of the interview; how it had felt, whether there appeared to be any barriers, whether there were any areas that needed to be followed up, whether anything could have been done differently and what went well. This was useful, both as a way of developing interviewing skills and as a time for reflection. It was also a concrete way of recording feelings that might not always be apparent from the tapes.

5.2.4 The Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire was first drafted in English at the Development Planning Unit in London under the supervision of Dr. Sheila Meikle and through discussion with research colleagues. Once the researcher was in Taiwan (16 September 1996), the questionnaire was carefully translated into Mandarin (國語) with the help of Miss Li Huang Chen - a friend of the researcher who is as a high school teacher at the Nan Tou provincial high school. The researcher was well aware of the fact that many people in I-Lan county are not fluent in Mandarin (in some cases, especially among members of the population with a low level of education, they cannot speak Mandarin at all), but speak only Hokkien (a local or original Taiwanese language - 台語). Therefore, the questionnaire should have been translated into Hokkien instead of Mandarin. Unfortunately, Hokkien has no written characters (alphabet), as it is only a spoken language. Taking this matter into consideration, all the interviewers, as mentioned in section 5.4.1, were recruited partly based on their command of Hokkien.

In compiling a structured questionnaire, the validity of subjective questions has to be carefully considered since there is no external criterion. In order to improve the quality of subjective questions and to build on the experience of the pilot fieldwork, the study implemented four steps aimed at avoiding known pitfalls in questionnaire design.

(1) Question arrangement. There are many ways to ask a question in any society and the question asked has to be worded to reach the target person. For example, if the question is asked in the wrong or a suspect manner, the respondents not only do not want to respond, but also might give untruthful answers. Sudman & Bradburn (1982), Turner & Martin (1984) and Oppenheim (1992) point out that small changes in wording, in the number of alternatives offered and even in the

position of a question in a questionnaire can make a major difference in people's responses. Therefore, all the words used in the questionnaires of this study are openly discussed during the interviewer training process before they are finally approved by the interviewers. In short, words which are used in the questionnaires have to be simple, straightforward and polite without being so formal as to make the atmosphere of the interview uneasy.

(2) Maximisation of question reliability. According to Hoinville & Jowell (1987) the extent to which subjective measures are unreliable will reduce the validity of those measures. With this in mind, avoiding ambiguity of wording and vagueness in the response form helps to improve the reliability of questions. Efforts must also be made to ensure that all questions have the same meaning to all respondents. Hence, all questions have to be relevant to the purpose of the research and imply no other intention that might threaten the privacy of the interviewees or arouse sensitive issues. For example, the question related to income was omitted from the questionnaires after the pilot testing since in Taiwanese society this matter is regarded as private.

(3) Multiplication of questions. It is recognised that multiple questions help to even out response idiosyncrasies and improve the reliability of the measurement process (de Vaus:1996). The answers to all questions are potentially influenced both by the subjective state to be measured, by the specific circumstances of the respondent and by the questions themselves. Some respondents avoid extreme categories, some tend to agree more than disagree, while others demonstrate the opposite tendency. By using different questions to measure the same subjective state the reliability of both questions and answers can be improved, with the answers being combined into a scale of responses. This research also took this consideration into account when compiling the questionnaire.

(4) Scaling of answers. The types of data analysis must be based on the scales used. There are 4 types of scale: (1) nominal scale - classifies the individual into groups which have no implication of gradation or distance; (2) ordinal scale - ranks individuals along the continuum of the characteristic being scaled, but again carries no implication of distance between scale positions; (3) interval scale - has equal units of measurement, thus making it possible to interpret not only the order of scales but also the distances between them, for example, Centigrade or Fahrenheit; (4) ratio scale - the highest level of measurement which has the properties of interval scales but with a fixed origin or zero point, for example, weights, lengths and times. For more details see Babbie (1990), Miller (1991) and Oppenheim (1992).

5.2.4.1. For the Urban Destination: Taipei City

The main field survey was conducted in September, October, November and December 1996. The survey was confined to migrants from the three selected areas at the place of origin: I-Lan city, Ta-Tung village and Tung-San village, while the interviews took place in Taipei city. The three areas were selected because of their population size and economic structure and administrative significance (as discussed in 5.2.4.2) which made them representative of various areas in the county. I-Lan city is centrally located, has regional administrative centres and has the highest population among those areas in the county. Ta-Tung village had the lowest population and a less developed economy when compared with other areas in I-Lan county. Tung-San village was chosen as it lies between the other two areas in terms of economic development in I-Lan county (the selection of the three areas is explained further in section 5.4.3).

The draft questionnaire was tested by a pilot sample comprising 10 migrant households in Taipei city. These were all conducted by the researcher. After each interview, all household members were asked about their perception of the questions, their relevance to their situation and the risk of misunderstanding. After processing the data collected, the answer categories were adjusted in accordance with the data provided by the test sample. The final version of the questionnaire was then used to interview selected samples in Taipei city (see Appendix 3A-1).

The questionnaire was designed to meet the main objectives of the study and then translated into questions. In short, the questions were divided into three categories to elicit the following:

- a. Background information. A series of questions was aimed at collecting information such as age, family size, education, duration of stay, occupation etc. This provided basic information about the respondents.
- b. The motives for migration. The main purpose of this category was to investigate the reasons for out-migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city.
- c. Migrational aspects. These questions were aimed at investigating the migration pattern among existing out-migrants in Taipei city, particularly in terms of the process of migration and the characteristics of the migrants.

5.2.4.2. For the Place of Origin: I-Lan County

The main field survey was conducted from December 1996 to January 1997. The survey was confined to the three selected areas: I-Lan city, Ta-Tung village and Tung-San village. These areas, as mentioned earlier, were selected according to their population size, economic structure (however, data was only available on the number of the population working in agriculture) and administrative significance.

Firstly, I-Lan city was chosen because it is the administrative centre of the county and it is the most developed area in terms of infrastructure, services and facilities. Thus, it can represent other developed areas, such as Lo-Tung and Su-Ao towns. Secondly, according to Table 5-2, it has the largest population, which could represent other administrative areas, such as Lo-Tung town. Tung-San was chosen because its population size could represent other areas of similar size, such as Su-Ao town and Chiao-Hsi village. Similarly, Ta-Tung village was selected because its population size could represent those villages with small populations, such as Nan-Ao village.

Finally, the three selected areas could also represent other areas in terms of the proportion of the population working in the agricultural sector. As Table 5-2 reveals, I-Lan city could represent other areas that have the smallest proportion of its population working in agriculture. Tung-San village could represent areas with an average proportion of the population working in agriculture, while Tai-Tung village could represent areas where a high proportion of the population works in agriculture. Moreover, the three chosen areas also could represent other areas in terms of the number of low-income households or persons. As shown in Table 5-2, Tung San village could represent areas with few (the lowest number among the three selected areas) low-income households or persons, I-Lan city could represent the average figure, and Ta-Tung village could represent areas with the highest number of low-income households or persons in the county.

A draft questionnaire was first tested by a pilot sample comprising 5 stayer respondents in I-Lan city. The researcher conducted all these interviews. After each interview, the stayer respondents were asked about their perception of the questions, its relevance to their situation and the risk of misunderstanding. After processing the data collected, the answer categories were adjusted in accordance with the data provided by the test sample. The final version of the questionnaire was used to interview the selected samples in I-Lan city, Ta-Tung village and Tung-San village (see Appendix: 3 B).

Table 5-2: The Characteristics of I-Lan county's Sub-Administrative Areas

I-Lan county's administrative areas	Comparative indicators					
	Population size (number of people)	Number (and percentage) of population working in agriculture		Number (and percentage) of population with a low income		
		No.	%	No.	%	Households
I-Lan city	92,038	15,869	17.2	664	0.72	272
Lo-Tung town	68,075	9,146	13.4	225	0.33	114
Su-ao town	48,545	6,707	13.8	518	1.07	179
Tou-Cheng town	33,624	8,461	25.1	349	1.04	117
Chiao-Hsi village	38,760	21,206	54.7	441	1.14	153
Zhung-Wei village	27,273	11,420	41.8	389	1.43	128
Yuan-San village	33,819	17,912	53.0	374	1.11	162
Tung-San village	51,828	15,376	29.7	271	0.52	116
Wu-Chien village	38,233	14,614	38.2	206	0.54	89
San-Hsing village	22,778	10,845	47.6	190	0.83	68
Ta-Tung village	5,708	4,009	70.2	277	4.85	86
Nan-Ao village	5,922	2,809	47.4	252	4.26	65

Source: Compiled from Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, I-Lan County Government, 1997.

The questionnaire for stayers was designed to crosscheck the findings obtained from the urban destination, in particular the reason why stayers could be induced to migrate and the main reason for remaining at the place of origin. The questions were classified into two categories to elicit the following:

a. Background information. A series of questions was aimed at collecting information on characteristics such as age, family size, education, occupation etc. This provided basic information about the stayers.

b. Motives for non-migration. The main purpose of setting up this series of questions was to investigate the attitude of the residents towards their existing situation, particularly employment opportunities, education and their satisfaction with I-Lan county. It also aimed to investigate the characteristics of existing residents, especially in terms of potential out-migration and factors influencing their decision to do so.

5.3 The Process of Selecting Samples

5.3.1 Sampling Method

The idea of sampling from a population rather than using a census of the whole population has become the standard method used by social scientists. It involves selecting for study a

representative cross-section of a larger population. In other words, sampling is the selection of a part to represent the whole in which each representative member has the same chance of being included in the sample. It is required to be as representative as possible of the population from which it is drawn. In this way, research results reflect not only the sample, but can also be generalised to represent the population as a whole.

There are two forms of sampling methods used in the social sciences. Firstly, non-probability sampling, also known as purposive or judgmental sampling, in which the researcher decides which sample should be selected, choosing what seems typical, relevant or interesting. This type of sampling method is employed when a population cannot be specified precisely (Miller:1991) or when probability sampling would be prohibitively expensive (Babbie:1990). While the necessity of using a non-probability sample may be apparent in some cases, its use increases the uncertainty of the sample data being representative of the whole population. Kalton (1983) summarises the source of concern:

Non-probability sampling covers a variety of procedures, including the voluntary and the purposive choice of elements for the sample on the grounds that they are 'representative' of the population. The weakness of all non-probability sampling is its subjectivity, which precludes the development of a theoretical framework for it (Ibid:7).

Secondly, probability sampling, by contrast, minimises as far as possible the judgement or bias of the researcher. This method is also known as random sampling because, at its most refined, each member of the population is given an equal chance of selection. Simple random sampling methods draw a sample from a population, with members of that population being selected one at a time, independently of one another and without replacement, so that, once a unit is selected, it has no further chance of selection. Operationally, drawing a simple random sample requires a numbered list of the whole population, with the assumption that each person or unit in the population appears only once (Moser & Kalton:1979; Babbie: 1990; Henry: 1990; Miller:1991).

The advantage of simple random sampling is the ease of selection and the ease of use of the data. Once the sampling frame is assembled, no other information about the population is needed for sampling. The disadvantage of this technique is that it requires an explicit sampling frame, that is, "a listing of the entire study population" (Henry:1990, p.96). Fortunately, in the case of this study, the disadvantage was overcome by the availability of a migration registration list, which can be obtained from the authorities. In other words, the list of all the out-migrants from I-Lan county is available for the researcher (the reliability of such a record is discussed in sections 5.3.2 and 5.4.4).

5.3.2 Sample Size

Of the many issues involved in sample design, one of the most common questions concerning survey methodology is how big the sample should be. Statistically, the sample size is influenced by three factors (Meier & Brudney:1987, p.163): firstly, the acceptable margin of error; secondly, the confidence level desired; and, finally, the standard deviation of the population. Of the three mentioned factors, a researcher should first decide how much margin for error he or she can afford, or how much precision is required of estimates. Once one knows the desired level of precision, only the size is needed. This can be expressed mathematically in the following terms (Moser & kalton:1979, p.148):

$$n = \frac{S^2}{[S.E.(x)]^2}$$

n = size of the sample

S.E. = standard error of a mean

S^2 = the variance, the sum of the squared deviations from the sample mean.

In effect, the above formula means sampling error decreases as sample size increases. Theoretically, there is nothing wrong with this approach; in practice, however, it provides little help in designing real studies. It is worthwhile to note that most methodology text books disagree about the necessity of using the formula on the basis of the logic (e.g., Labovitz & Hagedorn:1981; Hoinville & Jowell:1987, 1978; Fowler:1993) that: (1) it is unusual to base a sample size decision on the need for precision of a single estimate, since most survey studies are designed to make a variety of estimates; and (2) it is unusual for a researcher to be able to specify a desired level of precision in more than the most general way.

In addition, Shipman (1988) argues that when a required level of precision from a sample survey is specified, it generally ignores the fact that there will be error from sources other than sampling. In such cases, the calculation of precision based on sampling error alone is an unrealistic oversimplification. Moreover, given fixed resources, increasing the sample size may even decrease precision by reducing resources devoted to response rates, questionnaire design, or the quality of data collection.

Like most decisions relating to research, there is rarely a definitive answer about how large a sample should be. Zarkovich (1984:104) notes that "...the size of the sample is more a matter of

convenience (such as 1 or 10 per cent) or routine (3-5 per cent is usually discussed in books and has often been applied in surveys) than of real justification". Sample size should be made on a case-by-case basis, considering the variety of goals to be achieved by a particular study and taking into account numerous other aspects of the research design, such as cost, feasibility and time (Fowler:1993, p.41).

However, the number of total out-migrants from the three areas - Ta-Tung, Tung-San, and I-Lan city of I-Lan county - to Taipei between 1985 and 1994 (1048 out-migrants - see Appendix 2 for detail) is relatively small. After considering the time and financial resources available, the author decided to include 200 migrants at their urban destination, Taipei, and 100 stayers at the place of origin, I-Lan county. This sample of 200 migrants is equal to 19.08 per cent of the total number of out-migrants, as mentioned above. The stayer sample was chosen based on the ability of the author to interview them, since they will only be used to double check or triangulate some results of the main study target of out-migrants.

5.3.3 Sampling Design

Sampling design is the plan to select the units that make up a sample. There are a number of options to choose from when designing a sample, which vary according to the specific objectives of each piece of research. In simple random sampling, a sample frame is a prerequisite, in other words, a list of all units of the population (Henry:1990). In this study, simple random sampling was used. For the simple random sampling, the researcher used a table of random numbers, as shown in the appendix, to select the required samples. The main reason for using this table is to obtain an unbiased sample.

This technique was particularly useful in selecting the sample from ordinary town residents. To draw a sample of out-migrants, the researcher had to obtain a list of out-migrants (in other words, out-migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city) from I-Lan county's authority (the reliability of such a record is discussed in sections 5.3.2 and 5.4.4). For the random table of stayers, the researcher also had to depend on a list obtained from the local government of I-Lan county.

After obtaining the lists from the authorities, an identifying number was assigned to each household as a reference for the selection of the sample. Of course, the study would have been far more accurate if it had used the census for the total out-migrants rather than having had to rely on the list

from the authorities, but this was not possible for an academic research like this one due to time and financial constraints. The main reason is due to the possibility that many, if not a significant number of migrants, had failed to register with the authorities either before or after their migration. Thus, they are inevitably excluded from the random sample.

However, the researcher had discussed this issue with many experienced professionals, including Dr. Wei- Zen Cheng and Dr. Chung Koung Su³, and had reached the conclusion that only an insignificant number were not registered. The main reason is that Taiwan as a whole had been under Martial Law until 1987⁴. During this time, registration, especially of residential movement, had been very strict and had incurred monetary fine for failure to register after 1 month of relocating. Those who failed to do so would have suffered adverse consequences, such as being unable to get access to secure jobs, being ineligible to apply for a passport or receive public services, and being unable to get a marriage certificate.

Even though Martial Law has been abolished (1987), population registration remains compulsory. As stated in the Taiwanese Household Registration Law (戶籍法)⁵, articles 1,2, 23, 47, 53, 54 and 55 any person who fails to register his/her change of residence with the local authority could face substantial fines and other penalties similar to those meted out under Martial Law. These include the loss of the right to social support and to be employed by formal establishments, as well as, importantly, the possible rejection of applications for marriage certificates. For example, if a person is born and/or live in Nan-Tou county, the ID (*Hou Kho Ming Pou*- 戶口名簿) will be issued there with his/her full address in Nan-Tou. If he/she applies for a job, wants to be enrolled in a school or claims any social welfare in Taipei or outside of Nan-tou, then he/she needs to provide proof of his/her full residential address. To obtain the ID or to register a new residential address wherever he/she wishes to apply for a job or be enrolled in a school, the move has to be registered with local authorities within one month. Therefore, the research would like to acknowledge that some of those who evade the official registration procedure might never be found out, which could happen in both developed and developing countries.

³ Dr. Wei Zen Cheng - Vice Minister of Construction and Urbanisation of Taiwan Provincial Government and Dr. Chhung Koung Su - Dean of Engineering faculty of Fung Chang University, Taichung.

⁴ The Republic of China (ROC) government imposed the Martial Law on December 10, 1948 and abolished it on July 15, 1987.

⁵ There are 7 chapters comprising 61 articles in Household Registration Law (Fa Ou Pou).

The following discussion presents the process of collecting samples of this study.

5.3.3.1 The Process of Selecting Samples of Out-migrants

Migration registration has a long history in Taiwan. There have been two major censuses to collect data on out-migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city – one conducted in the Taipei municipality and one in the registration centres of the 12 areas of I-Lan county (eleven villages and I-Lan city⁶). To make the fieldwork more manageable, the census from the registration centre in I-Lan county was considered appropriate for pursuing those migrants who live in Taipei city, since the registration centre at the place of origin has more details about migrants, such as migrants' addresses in the pre-migration and post-migration phases etc.

This section shows how a representative sample was obtained. It first lists the variables: the choice of site, the census of out-migrants registered in I-Lan council, the timing and migrants' age, as well as the three steps used to select the samples:

Step 1: Selecting a part of I-Lan county. The research was organised to select data from three areas - I-Lan city, Ta-Tung village and Tung-San village – that would represent the migrant households in I-Lan county. The three areas were chosen for this investigation because they represent different parts of the county in terms of population size, economy and administrative duties. I-Lan city represents a rapidly growing town centre of I-Lan county. Ta-Tung was selected as representing one of the least developed areas of I-Lan county. Tung-San village was chosen because it fits in between I-Lan city and Ta-Tung village in terms of its level of development and economy.

Step 2: The criteria for selecting migrants from the official registration lists. Since a more detailed census of out-migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei was registered in the place of origin, data was collected from the local government of I-Lan county. Hence, migrants who met the following criteria were selected for a detailed interview:

(1) Out-migrants from the local government of I-Lan county - I-Lan city, Ta-Tung village and Tung-San village - who left I-Lan in 1985 or thereafter until 1994, as recorded in the official survey

⁶ I-Lan city is a very small town with a small population and is not industrialised etc. It is known as a city because it is the administrative and commercial centre of I-Lan county, but for the purpose of this study it is really a rural area.

of I-Lan council. Thus, it was possible to ensure that all those selected would have had the opportunity to establish themselves in Taipei.

(2) Age at arrival in Taipei city of 16⁷ years or more (the intention is to exclude non-decision making migrants). Those aged 16 or over in 1994 would have been at least 18 at the time of the survey.

Step 3: Selecting a random sample. A table of random numbers was used to select a random sample of out-migrants.

5.3.3.2 The Process of Selecting Samples of Stayers

The method of selecting samples of stayers involved using the variables of the site of choice, the census of stayers, the timing and the age of 16 or over. The process of selecting samples of stayers was conducted in three stages.

Step 1: Selecting a part of I-Lan county. The research was organised to enable a cross-check between the information obtained from migrants and from the stayers, and to find the main reason for out-migrating and for not out-migrating. Hence, the same areas as for migrants - I-Lan city, Ta-Tung village and Tung-San village - were chosen to represent the stayer households in I-Lan county.

Step 2: Selecting the stayers through the official registration list of I-Lan county. Since the population census is registered at the local government of I-Lan county, stayers who met the following criteria were selected for detailed interviews:

(1) Stayers⁸ registered at the local government of I-Lan county (those who have resided in I-Lan county before 1995) through the official survey of I-Lan council.

⁷ The reason why an age of 16 years or more was chosen is because, according to the educational system in Taiwan, 15 or 16 years is the age at which secondary school is completed and either high school or college is entered.

⁸ The definition of stayers is those people who have resided in I-Lan county for 18 months or longer (thus excluding the people who moved to I-Lan county less than 18 months ago).

(2) Age at registration in I-Lan county of 16 years or more. This is intended to exclude non-decision making stayers.

Step 3: Selecting a random sample. Based on the first two steps, the sample used for a detailed interview was chosen using a table of random numbers. (see Appendix 2B).

5.4 Recruitment, Training and Pilot Testing, Administering the Fieldwork Interviews, Difficulties and How They Were Overcome, and Data Processing - SPSS Statistical Software Package

5.4.1 Recruitment, Training and Pilot Testing

Even though, in the interests of consistency and accuracy, it is desirable for one researcher to conduct all the interviews, it is necessary to employ other interviewers when a sample size is large and there are time constraints. As the success of the cross-sectional survey method depends on it meeting time limitations, employing interviewers shortens the survey period so that data collection does not extend over a long period of time, during which conditions may change.

While there is a range of qualities desirable for interviewers, in practice they vary widely in personality, characteristics and their approach to interviewing. There is no rigid set of guidelines to distinguish potentially good interviewers from bad ones and, as with all personal work, the recruiter's judgement plays an important role (Guenzel *et al*:1983; Hoinville & Jowell:1987; Billet & Loosveldt:1988; Babbie:1990; Miller:1991). In this study considerations for recruiting interviewers were:

(1) Education: interviewers had to have reasonably good reading and writing skills. In addition, they had to be able to explain or clarify the questions to respondents when needed.

(2) Flexibility of hours: it was essential for interviewers to be able to work in the evenings and at weekends.

(3) Mobility: excluded people with some physical disabilities were excluded.

(4) Appearance: interviewers needed to have an agreeable appearance, which may have been a help in building rapport with some respondents.

Eight students from the National Taiwan University in Taipei were recruited on the recommendation of their supervisors⁹ to interview migrant samples in Taipei city. The consultation with their supervisors was deemed necessary because the interviewers needed not only to meet the above considerations, but also needed to have a talent for doing the job, know how to ask people for a favour, being tolerant and hard working. Their supervisors, who have worked with them for some time, could testify to this. Moreover, all the recruited interviewers were fluent in Hokkien (Local Taiwanese language) in case the interviewees had not had not influent Mandarin. This was latter proved to be an advantage since many I-Lan to Taipei migrants are only fluent in Hokkien.

At a later date, four more interviewers were recruited to interview stayers in I-Lan county, one of whom was the author's friend, a high school teacher in Nan-Tou city where the author lives. She was chosen because of her experience in working with people and, the fact, that she had access to private transportation and was willing to take the author to I-Lan county whenever needed. The remaining three interviewers were selected on the recommendation of the chairman of the I-Lan county assembly. These four interviewers were not paid by the author and in fact provided all the accommodation, some meals, gifts and, importantly, a warm welcome and company during the more than ten visits to the county by the author and her friend. It is noticed that because these interviewers are local, the interviews were conducted in a family-like atmosphere and without any difficulty. There was no problem then in language communication with the local I-Lan interviewees since all interviewers are fluent in Hokkien.

As is noted by many studies (Guenzel *et al*:1983; Hoinville & Jowell:1987; Billet & Loosveldt: 1988; Babbie:1990; Miller:1991), the core aspects of the interviewer's task are:

- (1) to locate and enlist the cooperation of the selected respondents;
- (2) to motivate respondents to be a good respondents;
- (3) to be a good question asker and answer recorder, providing a constant stimulus, asking questions in a standardised way and ensuring that answers meet question objectives.

Bearing in mind the above tasks of the interviewer, the initial training of the recruited interviewers prior to the preparation for the main interviews focused on the following points:

- (1) aimed to ensure that interviewers knew how and were aware of the necessity of putting the participants at ease and encouraging them to express themselves within the context of the

⁹ Ms. Su-Chun Lin and Dr. Zen-Chea Kang

questionnaire; (2) enabling interviewers to direct answers so that they remained focused on the items in the questionnaire and to be able to fully explain those items; (3) enabling interviewers to ask questions in a consistent and standardised way; (4) encouraging interviewers to present a neutral attitude towards the items in the questionnaire, avoiding indications of personal feeling either through words or facial expressions.

In addition to this initial training, after each practical field exercise regular meetings were held to discuss any difficulties experienced and plan for the next interview tasks.

The pilot field work (conducted September 21st to 24th, 1996 in the case of Taipei, and from 25th to 26th in the case of I-Lan county) was carried out before the main study in order to assess the ability of the respondents to participate in the research and test the phrasing and wording of research questions, where necessary questions were reworded so that they would be understood by the respondents. Due to time and financial constraints the pilot test was conducted on 9 interviewees in the case of migrants and 5 interviewees in the case of I-Lan county. The target interviewees were not randomly chosen and interviewees who lived close to each other were chosen to save time.

The pilot test was carried out simultaneously with all the interviewers. Each of them was given a chance to interview one respondent while the rest observed. After each interview a brief discussion was conducted to evaluate the previous work and to answer any questions. Finally, a last meeting was held at the end of the day to summarise and evaluate the work.

5.4.2 Administering the Fieldwork Interviews

The first preparation, as mentioned in questionnaire design section, undertaken was the translation of the questionnaire into Mandarin. Consideration was given to the exact meaning of and wording for each translated question the wording and meaning of questions as it may alter their validity. Initially, the questionnaire was translated by the researcher herself in co-operation with Miss Li Huang Cheng and then several experts¹⁰ were consulted. After further changes were made, the final Mandarin version of the questionnaire was ready for use (this version appears in full in Appendix-3).

¹⁰ Commentators were Dr. W.Z. Cheng, and Dr. K. C. Liu. at the National Taipei University.

Secondly, in addition to the brief statement on the cover of the structured questionnaire, an introductory letter had to be prepared prior to the undertaking of the survey. The letter explained the nature and purpose of the survey, and reassured respondents that their answers would be treated confidentially and that no one outside the research team would be able to associate individual respondents with their answers. The explanatory letter could be left with the respondent should he or she wish to contact the researcher after the interview.

Sudman (1967) found a uniformity in the proportion of time interviewers from three American organisations spent actually interviewing. Only about one-third of the time was spent interviewing, the other two-thirds being divided between travel and locating respondents (about 40 per cent of total time), editing the interviews and other clerical work (about 15 per cent), and preparing studying materials and handling administrative matters (about 10 per cent). In the light of these findings, another important aspect of the preparatory work is planning the interview programme to make the best use of time.

To this end, the allocation of sample addresses to interviewers was designed to reduce costs and take advantage of the available resources. Maximum efficiency could be achieved if each interviewer worked in a restricted geographical area (Moser & Kalton:1979). Starting at the first address on the sample list and working through the list did not seem the most economical way of carrying out the assignment. Thus, the researcher indicated out the location of the selected potential respondents on a detailed local map and prepared an itinerary for each recruited interviewer.

During the course of the survey preparation, the researcher was concerned about the possibility that an interviewer would invent an interview. The likelihood of this happening varies with the sample, the interviewing staff and the field procedure (Hoinville & Jowell:1987). Because the interview procedure employed in this study was that it was carried out in the respondents' homes, the interviewer's actual data collection could not be monitored. In such cases, the number of hours to be devoted to carrying out an interview is often sufficient "to motivate an interviewer to make up an interview rather than take the time and effort to carry it out" (Fowler:1993, p.122).

Generally, there are two approaches to check the validity of the interview (Moser & Kalton: 1979; Hoinville & Jowell:1987; Babbie:1990; Fowler:1993). One approach is to mail respondents a brief, follow-up questionnaire asking about reactions to the interview. The other approach is to have

interviewers obtain a telephone number from every respondent and then a sample is validated by the researcher.

With this in mind, the questionnaire designed for this study provided a space on the cover sheet for the respondent's address or telephone number to be completed by the interviewer. This method was based on the assumption that simply knowing in advance that validation - by mail or telephone - would be undertaken, would deter the interviewer from cheating (Fowler:1993). In addition, after each interview the researcher checked the questionnaires and entered them into the database. If any unlikely answer was found during that procedure, the interviewer who administered that questionnaire was asked to clarify the answer during the evening discussion sessions.

5.4.3 Difficulties and How They Were Overcome During the Field Study

Difficulties

Many difficulties arose during the fieldwork due to many factors, namely: the inaccuracy of the data obtained from the authorities on migrant registration where, for example, some migrants had already moved to a new address; the difficulties in making appointments with migrants; and, the legacy of Taiwan's recent authoritarian regime caused the population to be very cautious of this kind of interview. Although registering with authorities before changing residence at the place of origin and afterwards at the place of destination is compulsory¹¹ and has been required since Japanese colonisation, many people have somehow evaded the obligation, especially in providing their real address at the destination.

Yet, in a few cases (2 target interviewees) where the addresses of migrants in Taipei were genuine, these were only their temporary address and, at the time of the field study, they had already moved. Moreover, some addresses (2 target interviewees) were incomplete or incorrect in that they were the right street number or name, but the wrong house or flat number.

¹¹ This issues was raised by Dr. Wen Zen Cheng (Vice Minister of Construction and Urbanisation of Taiwan Provincial Government) during the discussion in Chung Shin Shin Chun where the Taiwanese provincial government located, Nan Tou city that anyone who fails to register more than one month after moving residence is liable to get a penalty from their local authority. For the further details see Household Registration Law.

A few interviews (4 interviewees) were also delayed due to the interviewees breaking their appointments. The reasons furnished for being unable to meet the interviewers were that the interviewees had immediate or urgent business to take care of at the agreed time. In other cases, the interviewees were unable to be traced for a period of time due to the nature of their employment, especially those who are self-employed.

The interviewers also encountered some uneasiness or hesitation on the part of the interviewees in agreeing to be interviewed. This was understandable among the low educated migrant families who have not caught up with the recent changes in the political situation of Taiwan. Many of these so-called old-fashioned families are still skeptical about the new right to free speech of individuals, as guaranteed by the recently elected government. Therefore, the target interviewees made many excuses, such as being too busy. In some cases, the interviewers were told to return at a later date for the appointments only to find the houses were locked. It is, however, noticed that many of the above difficulties were less apparent when conducting the fieldwork for the stayers, mainly because their addresses were accurate and the more relaxed way of life of this part of the population.

How Difficulties Were Overcome

The above difficulties, however, were overcome by the author and interviewers. The inaccuracies of migrants' addresses were overcome by establishing their new addresses. This was done with the help of fellow migrants in the I-Lan-Taipei migrants' community or associations¹². All the missing addresses of the target interviewees were chased and collected by the author, the interviewers and in some cases by community members. The author personally joined the I-Lan-to-Taipei community meeting that was held on 18 October 1996 at the lower ground floor of the Taipei municipality hall.

As it was their annual meeting, every member was expected to participate as it is very important for them to discuss the previous year's matters and how these could be improved the following year. The author was fortunate to be able to conduct some informal interviews with migrants at the meeting on matters such as how their life was in Taipei, how they identified themselves, whether

¹² One may argue that not all migrants would join the association or community after they move to Taipei city. However, this study still upholds the view that, as explained earlier in chapters 3 and 4, family, migrants' ethnicity, culture, language and birthplace are important not only economically, but socially in the process of migration and in adapting to urban life of migrants in the Chinese culture. Therefore, poor or rich migrants would join, if only because contact with the association or community would ensure plenty of cooperation on tap.

they experienced any discrimination from natives or others, and what the function of the I-Lan-Taipei association was, for example, how the association helped them.

The new addresses of the target interviewees were obtained at this meeting. However, only those addresses that were still in the boundary of Taipei municipality were pursued for the interviews while those migrants who had already moved to other cities or out of the city were replaced by the reserve target interviewees. The author also insisted that all the available interviewees who were busy and broke their initial appointments be pursued until they were successfully interviewed. This was an attempt to avoid using too many or all of the reserved numbers, so they could be used only to replace the migrants who had already left Taipei city.

In the event of sensitivities and suspicions on the part of the interviewees toward the interviews, the author and interviewers presented them with all the relevant letters, including those issued (and translated into Chinese) by the author's supervisor and department, a formal letter from Feng Chia university, a formal letter from I-Lan county's governor in which he sincerely asked his ex-native, fellow migrants to participate in the interview for the good of I-Lan county's future development. The interviewers also explained to the interviewees that the purpose of the interview is for academic study and that the information obtained from the interviewees would be treated as strictly confidential. Except for the 2 target interviewees who had already moved to other cities, the rest of the target interviewees were successfully interviewed and all of them received the interviewers in a warm and honest atmosphere.

5.4.4 Data Processing

5.4.4.1 SPSS Statistical Software Package

The computer programme chosen for entering and analysing the questionnaire was SPSS for Windows, which is regarded as one of the most advanced statistical packages on the market. Also, the package was easy to understand and use, with a very helpful and powerful tutorial aid, particularly version 6.1. Although other statistical packages, such as SAS and STAT Plus were reviewed, SPSS for Windows was chosen for its advanced capabilities and ease of use. For example, SAS was very hard to master when compared with the other two packages, while STAT Plus was much less advanced than the other two, particularly in terms of presentation and labelling.

Lastly, an important advantage of SPSS for Windows was that its labelling system for data entry and definition was very easy to understand and use, which saved a lot of time on data entry.

Consequently, the data was organised for processing in the SPSS computerised statistical programme, which is appropriate for handling and calculating variable frequencies and cross-tabulations. To facilitate this aspect of the study, the collected data was organised into two files - the total sample of all 200 urban migrant households from I-Lan county and all 100 rural stayers in the place of origin. The total processed data was recorded in three files with wide options for processing in the SPSS system. The data was processed in a first version on location on a laptop computer to facilitate the cross-checking of information collected. In the SPSS programme, the data variables have been processed in accordance with the issues investigated in this study and in relation to the hypothesis presented.

5.4.4.2 Reliability and Validity

Attention has been paid to the suggestion that social scientists should be aware of the two considerations of reliability and validity in the construction and evaluation of measurements during data analysis (Moser & Kalton:1979; Kiess & Bloomquist:1985; Babbie:1990; Miller:1991; de Vaus:1996).

Reliability refers to the extent to which repeated measurements made under constant conditions will give the same result. Validity refers to the success of an instrument in measuring what it sets out to measure (de Vaus:1996). This refers to "...the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration" (Babbie:1990, p.134). Validity of measures cannot be achieved unless the measure is reliable, but a reliable scale is not necessarily valid, for it could be measuring something other than what it was designed to measure (Kiess & Bloomquist:1985).

It should be noted that the reliability and validity of a scale are always specific to a particular population, time and purpose and to not invariant characteristics (Moser & Kalton:1979). In any given study the researcher has to decide what degree of unreliability and invalidity he or she will regard as acceptable.

Reliability

If a construct does not change over time, then the empirical data obtained from repeated measurements of that variable should also not change. A measure of a construct has reliability if consistent measurements are obtained from one time to another. Measures of a construct that are not stable when the variable itself does not change cannot be reliable; it must be remembered that reliability refers to “the accuracy, consistency or dependability of a measuring technique” (Cronbach:1951, p.297; Leary:1991, p.345). More specifically, it is defined as “the relative absence of errors between true score and observed score” (Kerlinger:1973, p.43). Broadly speaking, according to standard textbooks, there are three ways to estimate the reliability of a measure (Kiess & Bloomquist:1985; Leary:1991; Miller:1991; Oppenheim:1992; de Vaus:1996):

(1) Test-retest reliability: this is a test for the consistency of respondents’ responses over time. It is carried out by measuring responses on two occasions with a time interval in between. The test then correlates the two sets of scores. This type of test is suitable when a change in measurement score is not expected, for example, in an IQ or a personality test, rather than when measuring hunger and fatigue.

(2) Interrater reliability: also known as inter-judge or inter-observer reliability. This test measures the consistency between two or more investigators who observe and record the same subject.

(3) Inter-item reliability: this test is only suitable for measurements consisting of more than one item. When several questions or items are summed to provide a single score, this test is generally taken. Inter-item reliability refers to consistency among the items or a scale.

Because the state of subjects implied in the current research changes over time, the test-retest reliability test is inappropriate. Because an interviewer cannot rate a respondent’s feelings of satisfaction, the interrater reliability test was also deemed inappropriate, but the inter-item reliability test was considered suitable for this work. With the questionnaire being composed of many questions repeatedly measuring the same construct, such as reasons for out-migration or migrants’ characteristics, the results of the inter-item reliability test allowed items in a similar construct to be summed.

Inter-item Reliability Test - In the quality analysis carried out in this research, a range of data analysis techniques - Chi-square, t-test and regression model - have been used.

Chi-square - Chi-square tells you if two or more samples, each consisting of frequency data (nominal data), differ from each other. It can also be used to test whether a single sample differs significantly from a known population. The formula to calculate Chi-square is shown below and is computed by summing the square deviations (observed value- f_o minus expected value- f_e , divided by the expected value for each cell (George & Mallery:1995).

$$X^2 = \sum [(f_o - f_e)^2 / f_e]$$

In Chi-square test, the significant coefficient, p , is varied between 0 and 1. If p is close to 1 the observed value does not differ significantly. If $p < 0.05$, it is commonly accepted that the observed values differ significantly from the expected values and that the two variables are not independent of each other. In other words, there is a significant correlation between the two variables (George & Mallery:1995).

T-test - “A t-test is a procedure used for comparing sample means to see if there is sufficient evidence to infer that the means of the corresponding population distributions also differ.” (George & Mallery:1995, p.83) SPSS provides three different types of t-tests, namely independent-samples t-test, paired-samples t-test and one-sample t-test. However, this type of research is only concerned with the independent-samples t-test in which the method is to compare the means of two different samples.

Logistic Regression analysis - In the quantitative analysis carried out in this research, a particular type of multivariate statistical technique has been used - logistic regression analysis. Logistic regression models, also known as logit models, require far fewer assumptions than discriminant analysis or multiple regression analysis (logistic regression is an extension of multiple regression). The reason for using this model is because the data analysis of this study is in the ‘categorical’ scales, so the chance of using statistical analyses is very limited. Basically what this study needs, is frequency tables, Chi-square and a t-test. Regarding regression, one may argue that linear model would be more appropriate to explain the variables, however, the categorical scales can not be used as linear regression since that is based on correlation analysis and the logistics model is based on t-test and Chi-square. Therefore, this study only can use the logistics regression model.

According to George & Mallery (1995), logistics models have three special features. First, in logistic regression, the value that is being predicted represents a probability, and it varies between 0 and 1. If the probability is greater than 0.5, it is predicted that the event will occur. Second, the probability of an event occurring does not increase linearly with a unit change in the explanatory variables, but approaches zero at a slower and slower rate as the value of an explanatory variable gets larger and larger.

Third, all variables in the model are tested here to see if they should be removed from the model - the so-called Stepwise Selection method. At each step, the variable with the smallest significance level for the score statistic is entered in the model. Then, all variables that have been entered are analysed to verify if they meet removal criteria. If the SIGNIFICANCE OF LOG LR values for a variable are larger than POUT (the criteria for removing a variable from the equation), then that variable will be dropped. In this example, since all of the -2 log LR values are less than POUT, no variables can be removed. Because no variables can be removed and no variables can be added, the logistic regression equation is complete (George & Mallery:1995).

The variables in the questionnaire were categorical. One example from the data analysis is illustrated as follows: the answers to the questions relating relation to the most important reason for leaving I-Lan county were grouped into 6 main categories (job and job-related, education and education-related, to seek a better income, family-related, seeking better status and other reasons) and each category was regarded as a dependent variable that has been coded yes and no (0 and 1) in the model. Logit regression analysis of interval variables produces a single equation for the probability of an event occurring, which can be written as:

$$\text{Pro (event)} = 1 / (1 + e^{-Z})$$

Where Z is the linear combination

$$Z = B_0 + B_1X_1 + B_2X_2 + \dots + B_pX_p$$

The probability of the event not occurring is estimated as $\text{Prob (no event)} = 1 - \text{Prob (event)}$

In this research, categorical variables were used, therefore the model produced a set of equations that correspond to all the categories of each question. The results are in chapters 6, 7 and 8. In addition, several methods based on this regression model, such as goodness of fit,

forward stepwise selection, the likelihood-ratio test, backward elimination and the diagnostic method, were used to enhance the reliability.

Testing Hypotheses about the Coefficients - For large sample sizes, the test that a coefficient is 0 can be based on the **Wald statistic**, which has a chi-square distribution. When a variable has a single degree of freedom, the Wald statistic is just the square of the ratio of the coefficient to its standard error. For categorical variables, the Wald statistic has degrees of freedom equal to one less than the number of categories (George & Mallery:1995).

Unfortunately, the Wald statistic has a very undesirable property (Norusis:1994). When the absolute value of the regression coefficient becomes large, the estimated standard error is too large. This produces a Wald statistic that is too small, leading researchers to fail to reject the null hypothesis that the coefficient is 0, when in fact they should. Therefore, whenever researchers have a large coefficient, they should not rely on the Wald statistic for hypothesis testing. Instead, they should build a model with and without that variable and base their hypothesis test on the change in the log likelihood (Norusis:1994; Howitt & Cramer:1997; George & Mallery:1995; Kinnear & Gray:1997).

Partial Correlation - As in the case of multiple regression, the contribution of individual variables in logistic regression is difficult to determine. The contribution of each variable depends on the other variables in the model. This is a problem, particularly when independent variables are highly correlated. A statistic that is used to look at the partial correlation between the dependent variable and each of the independent variables is the *R* statistic. *R* can range in value from -1 to +1. A positive value indicates that, as the variable increases in value, so does the likelihood of the event occurring. If *R* is negative, the opposite is true. Small values for *R* indicate that the variable has a small partial contribution to the model (George & Mallery:1995). The equation for the *R* statistic is

$$R = \pm \sqrt{[(\text{Wald Statistic} - 2k) / -2LL(o)]}$$

where *K* is the degrees of freedom for the variable. The denominator is -2 times the log likelihood of a base model that contains only the intercept, or a model with no variables if there is no intercept. The sign of the corresponding coefficient is attached to *R*. The value of

$2K$ in the Equation is an adjustment for the number of parameters estimated. If the Wald statistic is less than $2K$, R is set to 0 (Norusis:1994).

Assessing the Goodness of Fit of the Model - In addition, steps are taken to ensure that the model fits the data collected in this research. The goodness of fit of a logistic regression model may be assessed by various methods. In this research the method used to assess how well the model classifies the observed data was the Classification Table, shown in Table A-3.

The other way of assessing the goodness of fit of the model is to examine how 'likely' the sample results actually are, considering the parameter estimates. The probability of the observed result, given the parameter estimates, is called the likelihood. Usually, the measure employed to assess how well the estimated model fits the data is -2 the log of the likelihood ($-2LL$), since the likelihood is less than 1. A model is considered good when the likelihood of the observed results is high. The goodness of fit of the model used in this research with all the independent variables has also been assessed (George & Mallery:1995).

The model chi-square statistic in logistic regression models is comparable to the overall F test for regression. In this model, the model chi-square is the difference between $-2LL$ for the model with only a constant, and the $-2LL$ for the complete model. Therefore, it tests the null hypothesis that all the coefficients in the model, apart from the constant, are zero.

Forward Stepwise Selection - The improvement statistic represents the change in $-2LL$ between successive steps of building the model. It tests the hypothesis that the coefficient for the variables added at the last step are. In the forward stepwise selection method used in this research the improvement represents the changes that the introduction of each variable brought in the model. This was used in the selection of predictor variables. The improvement chi-square test is comparable to the F-change test in multiple regression. The improvement statistics are also present in the finding in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Forward stepwise variable selection in logistic regression starts out with a model that contains only the constant, unless the option to omit the constant term from the model is selected. At each step, the variable with the smallest significance level for the score statistic, provided it is less than the chosen cut-off value (by default 0.05), is entered into the model. All variables in the forward stepwise block that have been entered are then examined to see if they meet removal criteria. If the

Wald statistic is used for deleting variables, the Wald statistics for all variables in the model are examined and the variable with the largest significance level for the Wald statistic, provided it exceeds the chosen cut-off value (by default 0.1), is removed from the model. If no variables meet removal criteria, the next eligible variable is entered into the model (Norusis:1994).

The Likelihood-Ratio Test - A better criterion than the Wald statistic for determining variables to be removed from the model is the likelihood-ratio (LR) test. This involves estimating the model with each variable eliminated in turn and looking at the change in the log likelihood when each variable is deleted. The likelihood-ratio test for the null hypothesis that the coefficients of the terms removed are 0 is obtained by dividing the likelihood for the reduced model by the likelihood for the full model.

Backward Elimination - Forward selection starts without any variables in the model. Backward elimination starts with all of the variables in the model. Then, at each step, variables are evaluated for entry and removal. The score statistic is always used for determining whether variables should be added to the model. Just as in forward selection, the Wald statistic, the likelihood-ratio statistic, or the conditional statistic can be used to select variables for removal (Norusis:1994).

Validity

The meaning of validity differs depending on whether it refers to subjective or objective questions. When people are asked about subjective states, for example, attitudes and opinions towards migration, there is no objective way of validating their answers. Only that person can freely access his or her feelings and opinions. Thus, the only way of assessing the validity of reports of subjective states is the way in which they correlate either with the other answers that a person gives, or with other facts about the person's life that one thinks should be related to what is being measured (Meyers:1979). For such measures, there is no truly independent direct measure possible (Babbie:1990). Because of this fundamental difference in the meaning of validity, therefore, this study undertakes two steps to improve the validity of the questions: (1) make the questions as reliable as possible and (2) ask multiple questions on one subject.

Following these two attempts to boost validity, their success could be measured firstly by checking face validity. Mental images that individuals associate with a particular concept often have a common thread; where this is true, the concept can be said to have face validity (Meyers:1979). Other, more systematic, approaches to validity have been discussed by de Vaus (1996). They are:

- (1) content validity, which refers to the degree to which a measure covers the range of meanings included within the concept;
- (2) criterion-related validity, which is something called predictive validity and is based on some external criterion; and,
- (3) construct validity, which is based on the way a measure relates to other variables within a system of theoretical relationships.

In checking content validity, not only should questions contain the common thread of the concept under study, but they should also cover the full range of possible attitudes, and cover them in a balanced way. The assessment of content validity is essentially a matter of judgement. In this study, the judgement of both facial and content validity were made by several experts in this field.

Ideally, the validity of a measure is determined by comparing it to a well-defined and theoretically-supported standard measure, in other words, criterion-related validity. Criterion-related validity is concerned not only with measuring current validity against a fixed measure, but also with how the measurement scale will perform under forecasted future criteria. The critical problem of this approach in the social sciences is that well-established measures do not exist for major variables (Meyers:1979). Measurements of variables in this study, consequently, cannot be compared with true measures.

To ensure construct validity, it is necessary to establish the true dimension of a variable or to determine a true relation between variables. A valid measure truly reflects the theoretically defined dimension of variables, and a valid relationship truly depicts the association between two or more variables. The extent to which both types of validity (measurement and relationship) are established is only approximated in the social sciences. There are several sociological studies that show a direct relationship between socio-economic status and reasons for migration, demographic characteristics etc. In this study, the socio-economic status of the migrants was measured by house ownership, land ownership and education. The demographic characteristics was measured by age, gender and marital status. To establish whether these measures of socio-economic status, demographic characteristics and variables included in this study are valid, direct relationships between those variables should be obvious. These are further discussed in chapters 6, 7 and 8 and Appendix 5 and show that the relationships among variables are similar to those of other studies.

PART IV: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 6: Migrant Characteristics & The Process of Searching for Employment by the Survey Population

Introduction

The main argument proposed by some authors¹ (discussed in chapters 1, 3 and 4, which are briefly summarised in Literature Review Table 1, Appendix 4) is that rural-urban migration is a channel of recruitment that is highly selective by age, gender, education and/or background such as wealth and occupation. This chapter looks into this argument by examining the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants in comparison with the stayers in the pre- and post-migration periods², as presented in sections 6.1 and 6.2. It also discusses the view that the informal sector provides an entry into the urban labour market³ for the new arrivals. Sections 6.3 and 6.4 examine the particular issue in the arguments of Oberai (1993) and Todaro (1977) that migrants' first entry into the urban labour market will either be as totally unemployed or as casual and part-time employees (as shown in Literature Review Table 2, Appendix 4). It further investigates how well migrants were assured of finding a job and how well they had their move planned⁴ in terms of sources of help or assistance. A conclusion to this chapter is given in section 6.5.

¹ Gugler:1997, Rao:1996, Massey *et al*: 1994, 1993, Scott & Litchfield:1994, Brown & Foot: 1994, Tan:1994, Crook:1993, Turnham:1993, Hsu:1992, Mortuza:1992, Borjas & Freeman:1992, Goldstein, S. & Goldstein, A.:1991, Sharma & Gupta:1991, Chang:1989, Pan:1988, Speare *et al*:1988, 1974, Chiang:1983, Schultz:1982, Wang:1973, Greenwood:1973, Miller:1967 and others as discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

²The term 'pre-migrant' used in this study refers to the migrant respondents from I-Lan county before their move to Taipei city. 'Post-migrant' refers to the migrant respondents in Taipei city at the time of the interview and after their move from I-Lan county. 'Pre-migration' refers to the period when migrant respondents were living in I-Lan county. 'Post-migration' is the period when migrant respondents resided in Taipei after the move from I-Lan county. The term 'stayer' used in this study refers to the people who were living in I-Lan county at the time of the interview.

³ The argument that migrants tend to secure low-paying jobs first, such as work in the informal sector (as discussed in Chapter 3), is favoured by authors such as Burgess *et al* (1997), Westen (1995), Mortuza (1992), Stark (1991), Speare *et al* (1988), Krausse (1979), Papanek (1975) and others.

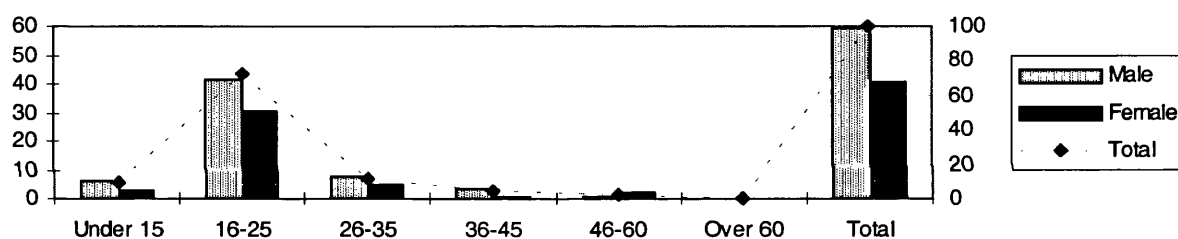
⁴ This was proposed by authors such as Pieke (1998), Castles & Miller (1998), Gugler (1997), Pieke & Benton (1995), Hogan & Berlinck (1976) and Skinner (1974). Hogan & Berlinck (1976) proved that access to information before migration was positively related to the status of the first job in Sao Paulo. They emphasised the importance of the first job in determining the migrants' initial adaptation to city life.

6.1 Demographic and Educational Characteristics of the Studied Population

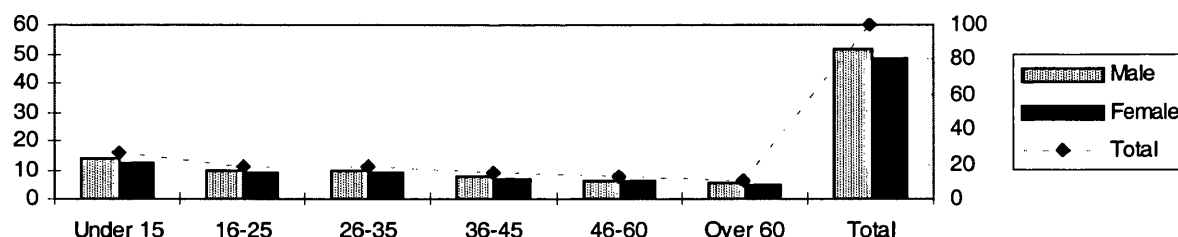
The findings shown in Figure 6-1 indicate that of the sample of 200 subjects, 119 were male (59.5%) and 81 were female (40.5%) as compared with the whole of Taiwan province (male 51.9%, female 48.1%), Taipei city (male 50.3%, female 49.7%) and I-Lan county (male 52%, female 48%). The explanation for men dominating migration is, as discussed previously in Chapter 4, that in the Confucian society there is discrimination between the genders; males play a different role in society from females, especially in the rural areas. More specifically, a married man is obliged to earn enough money to support his family, while a married woman is obliged to look after their children, take care of the household and often also look after aged parents (in-law).

Figure 6-1: Populations of pre-migrants and residents in Taiwan, Taipei city and I-Lan county by age and gender

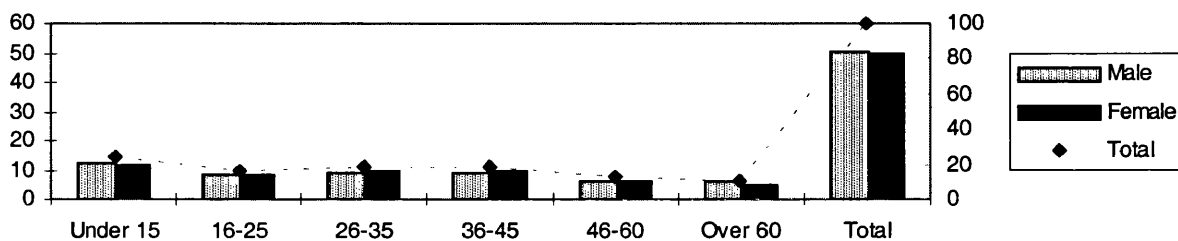
Pre-migrants



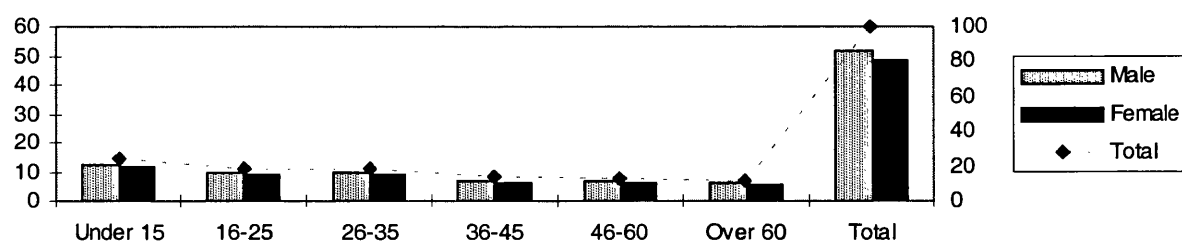
Taiwan



Taipei city



I-Lan county



Source: drawing based on Table 5A-1 in Appendix 5A, Frequency Tables

Furthermore, men are or will be the head of the household, so they are the priority of their parents. Men therefore receive more support from parents, such as more freedom to seek better opportunities by moving to the capital city, while married women have to stay in the place of origin and wait for their husbands to succeed so that they can be brought to the city. In other words, men often receive more support from their parents and have better opportunities in terms of education and employment compared with women because they will be the aged parents' main source of support. In most cases, single women remain at the family home to look after the parents or find a job nearby so they can still look after the family.

Such gender discrimination still occurs today, especially in rural areas, such as I-Lan county (despite the fact that attitudes are changing to the extent that men and women are increasingly regarded as equal). However, many improvements have been made, such as the fact that most parents now allow their daughters to be educated and in some cases they even allow their daughters to migrate for further education. This is also the case for some of the survey respondents that provided both quantitative and qualitative data interviews in this study (see the in-depth interviews in Chapter 7 with Miss Lin and Miss Su, Cases 7-1 and 7-4).

There is a strong association between age and migration in the year before migration ($p < 0.001$). The age structure of respondents ranged from under 15 to over 60 years, with a mean average of 22.4 years (as shown in Table 6-1). The majority of pre-migrants (72%) were 16-25 years old, while ages of the other populations were more evenly distributed. Figure 6-1 graphically summarises the characteristics of respondents.

The differences in the age structures of migrants and the populations of Taiwan, Taipei and I-Lan county can partly be explained by the fact that, as indicated by Pan (1988) and Schultz (1982), persons in their teens, twenties and early thirties are more mobile than other groups.

In addition, I-Lan county itself has no universities and technical institutions, thus, migrants tend to be younger than other populations since many of them leave I-Lan county for further education in Taipei (further discussion in section 7.3). As one of the in-depth interviewees, Miss Lin, said:

I knew I would have to go to Taipei to attend university since I was at high school. I was not the only one who planned to do so, some of my classmates at high school also knew they needed to leave their hometown to attend university as there is no university in I-Lan.

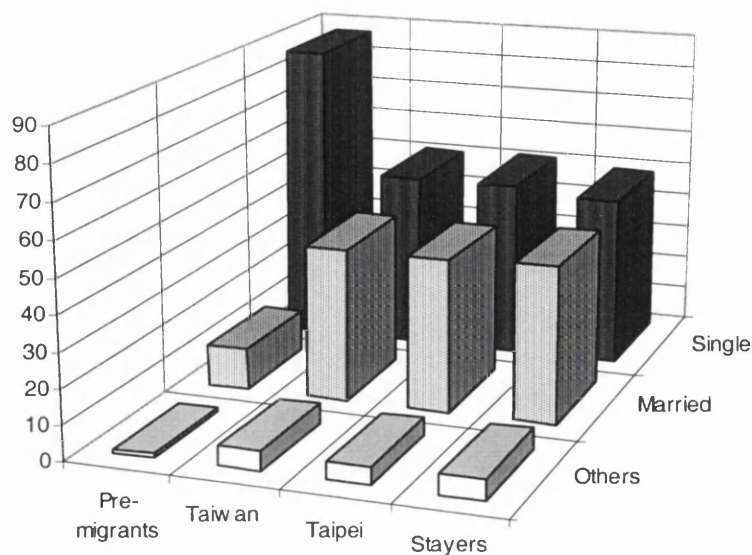
Table 6-1: Age mean of respondents compared with that of stayers in I-Lan, Taiwan and Taipei

Mean age	Pre-migrants	Stayers	Taiwan	Taipei
Male	21.8	33.5	32.3	28.7
Female	22.9	33.1	31.8	33.1
Total	22.4	33.3	32.1	30.9

Source: based on Table 5A-1 in Appendix 5A, Frequency Tables

Figure 6-2 shows that 87% (or 174 respondents) of the total migrants are single during the year before migration compared with 49% among stayers in I-Lan county, 50.5% of Taiwan's population and 50.9% of Taipei city's population. Migrants tend to be single because, as discussed earlier, the majority of migrants are significantly young, being aged 16-25. In short, migrants in the pre-migration period tend to be young, gender selective (dominated by males) and single, which comply with the literature on this particular issue.

Figure 6-2: Marital status of pre-migrants, I-Lan county's population and the populations of Taiwan and Taipei



Source: drawing based on Table 5A-3 in Appendix 5A, Frequency Tables

Migrants' educational attainment in the pre-migration period is higher when compared with the stayers and this phenomenon is more prominent after migrants have moved to Taipei city. Figure 6-3 reveals that the percentage of migrants who had an average or higher education⁵ is higher than that of the stayers (in the place of origin). More than sixty (or 60.5%) of the total migrants had an average or higher level of education during the year before migration, rising to 78% in the post-migration period, while only 20% of the stayers had an average level of education of high school or above.

Figure 6-3 also shows that in the year before migration, migrants had a higher proportion with a high school or higher level education compared with the populations of Taiwan and Taipei city as a whole. However, a lower percentage of migrants had undergone higher education (since they were significantly young before migration, being mostly in the age group 16-25 years) when compared with the educational level in Taiwan and Taipei city.

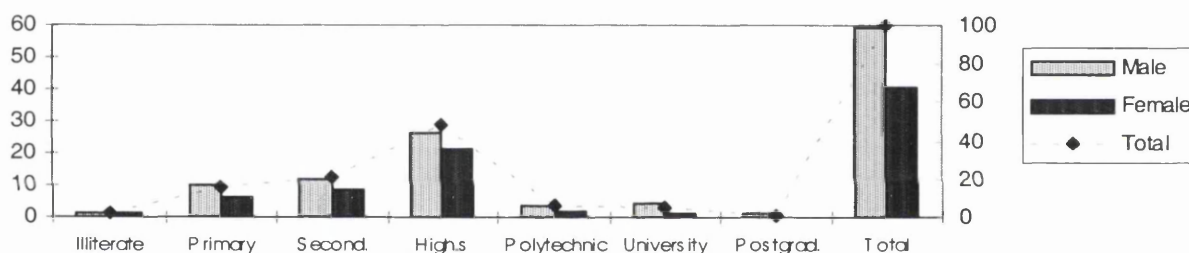
The reason why migrants have higher levels of education than the populations in both the place of origin and the destination is partly because, as discussed in the literature review of authors such as

⁵ The term 'higher education' refers to university, college and post-graduate studies; the term 'average education' is high school, polytechnic and technical school; the term 'lower education' includes education leading to and including secondary school.

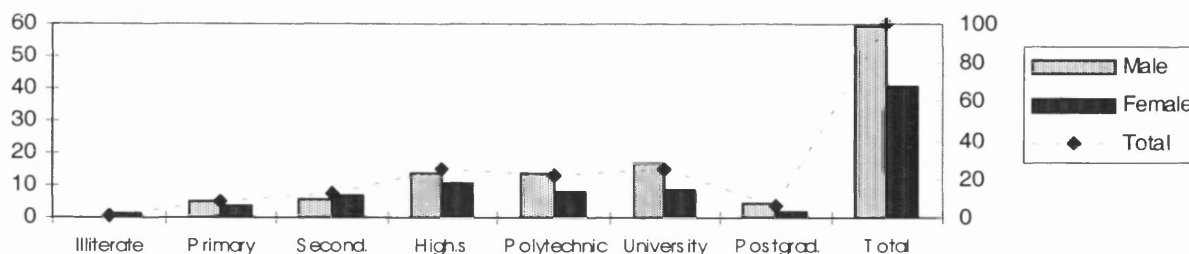
Gugler (1997), Massey *et al* (1993,1994) and Brown & Foot (1994), well-educated migrants have better opportunities in the urban job market than in the rural economy. Especially, for those whose main reason for migration to Taipei is for a higher income (which were found to be the minority in this study, as will be discussed in section 7.3), Taipei is competitive in terms of the large educated labour force in the city that compete for jobs. Thus, migrants need to have a better education and consider their cost of living in the place of origin with that in the destination. Since it is unlikely that migrants with relatively low levels of education will get a well-paid or more secure job, it is also unlikely for them to out-migrate, as the cost of living in Taipei is high. In other words, if migrants want better skilled or more secure jobs with better pay in order to survive in Taipei, then their level of education need to be better than that of urban natives.

Figure 6-3: A Comparison of educational level among migrants and Taiwan, Taipei and I-Lan residents

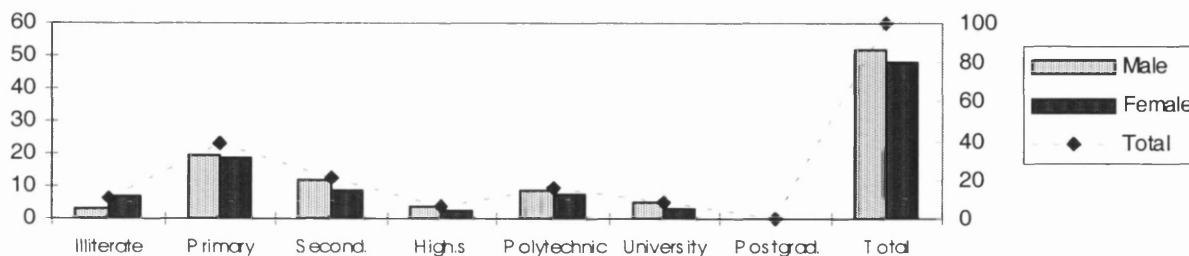
Before Migration



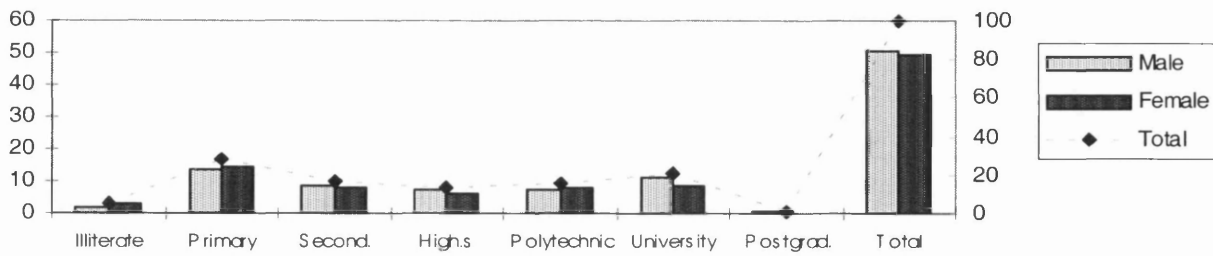
After migration



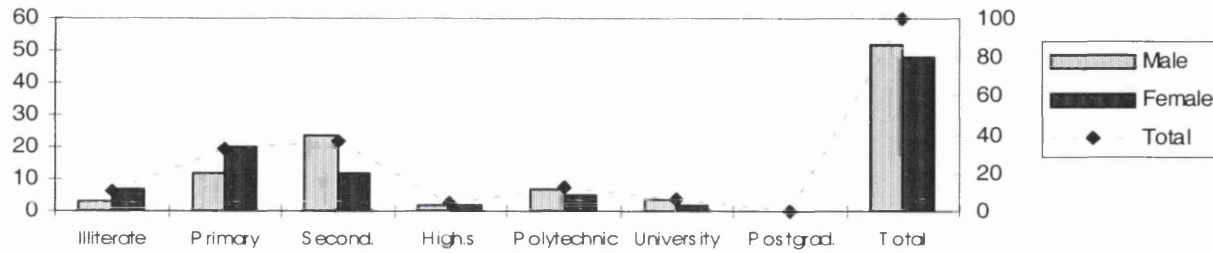
Taiwan



Taipei



Stayers



Source: drawing based on Table 5A-2 in Appendix 5A, Frequency Tables

In this study, it was found that there is a significant link between education and gender, as men usually have a higher educational level than women do⁶. Figure 6-3 illustrates that the average educational level of men is higher than that of women. As mentioned earlier, parents often encourage their sons to study more than their daughters in the hope that it will help secure a better future for their sons, who later have to look after their aged parents. This is because in Confucian society, aged parents live with their sons, while daughters live with their husband's family. Moreover, this result can be explained by the fact that, as discussed in Chapter 4, in the past, boys' education was viewed as a priority over that of daughters. While the attitude of parents have changed over time so that sons and daughters have become more equal, in some cases and especially in rural areas of Taiwan (as in the case of I-Lan), the ancient Confucian attitude prevails so that parents believe it is better for girls to receive less education than boys as better educated girls would not find good husbands. Mr. Wu, for instance, said:

⁶ This inference was supported by the results of a sample (200) statistical test using the t statistic at a significant level of $\alpha = 0.05$ for independent-samples t-tests about the average (the statistical results are shown in Appendix 5B).

There is no need for a girl to study, as a girl's job is to serve her husband and look after her children. Education is a means for living in the society, therefore, studying is a job for boys and not for girls. Once a person has more education, he or she has more opinions on things, which bring problems for a married woman in a family, as husbands, like me, prefer ignorant women. Above all, girls' fate is like a flower seed⁸ in the garden: when the sand in the garden is fertile then the seed can blossom. In some cases, however, the seed could never blossom or needs to be irrigated. So what I am saying is that a girl's job, importantly, is to find a good husband and obey him, not education⁹.

The conclusions are that, firstly, men have a higher level of education than women in the pre- and post-migration periods; secondly, migrants are better educated both in the pre- and post-migration periods, with higher levels of education than that of the stayer respondents (in the place of origin). Therefore, the results of the study support the findings of authors such as Gugler (1997), Massey (1993,1994) and Brown & Foot (1994), that migrants from rural to urban areas are better educated; in other words, that migration is selective by educational attainment.

6.2 Economic Characteristics¹⁰

Table 6-2 shows that there is a significant change in the occupation of migrants in the year before migration and after migration. More specifically, the finding indicates that migrants had improved their job status by moving to Taipei city¹¹. There were more students in the pre-migration period, representing 56.5% (113 respondents) of the total number of migrants during the year before migration, compared with 40% when the migrants first arrived in Taipei city and 13.5% at the time of the interview in Taipei city. Instead, more migrants enter the labour market after migration as the number of employed increased from 33% during the year before migration to 55.5% when they first arrived in the city and 74% at the time of the interview.

⁸ A flower seed indicates a married woman; the sand indicates a married man; a blossom indicates a woman married to a good or wealthy husband; a lack of blossoms or the need to be irrigated indicates a woman married to a bad or poor husband.

⁹ Mr. Wu was surprised when he heard the author was doing the interview for her PhD degree. He said to the author: "Do you really need to do that and do your parents allow you? In my opinion, you better take my advice that you should hurry to find a husband and do not study any more."

¹⁰ Income is excluded due to the high sensitivity of respondents, which results in them giving incorrect answers or the majority of them refusing to answer the question. Moreover, jewelry, motorcycles and relatively small household appliances are also excluded because the majority of Taiwan's population has access to these goods. Therefore, in this study, land and house ownership are the indicators used to establish the economic status of migrants.

¹¹ The term 'improved job status' used in this study means the improvement of job security, more professional jobs, better working conditions and more prestige in terms of personal feelings. The interviewees did not imply that term is related to a better income.

Table 6-2: A comparison of job status of migrants and stayers

Job status of stayers and migrants	Stayers			Migrants in								
				Pre-migration period			Initial jobs			Current jobs		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Employed	44 84.62	36 75.0	80 80	28 23.53	31 38.27	59 29.50	64 53.78	43 53.09	107 53.50	95 79.83	53 65.43	148 74.0
Apprentice	0	0	0	7 5.88	0	7 3.50	4 3.36	0	4 2.0	0	0	0
Sub-total for employed	44 84.62	36 75.0	80 80	35 29.41	31 38.27	66 33.0	68 57.14	43 53.09	111 55.50	95 79.83	53 65.43	148 74.0
Student	3 5.77	1 2.08	4 4	70 58.83	43 53.09	113 56.50	49 41.18	31 38.27	80 40.0	18 15.13	9 11.11	27 13.5
Unemployed	2 3.84	0	2 2	8 6.72	3 3.70	11 5.50	0	0	0	0	0	0
Housewife/family worker (in the case of male respondents)	3 5.77	11 22.92	14 14	0	4 4.94	4 2.0	2 1.68	7 8.64	9 4.50	2 1.68	19 23.46	21 10.5
Retired	0	0	0	6 5.04	0	6 3.0	0	0	0	4 3.36	0	4 2.0
Total	52 100	48 100	100 100	119 100	81 100	200 100	119 100	81 100	200 100	119 100	81 100	200 100

Notes: (1) Large numbers are actual frequencies; small numbers are percentages that apply to the rest of the tables

(2) It is acknowledged that due to the size of the sample and the many variables in the types of employment the analytical data analysis result between male and female respondents is statically insignificant. In other words, such a situation makes it difficult to draw any significant conclusion regarding gender from the table.

Source: results of statistical analysis

It is clear from Table 6-2 that the number of students has decreased dramatically from 113 respondents at their arrival in the city to only 27 respondents at the time of the interview. This shows that within 10 years (from 1985 - the earliest migrant sample - and 1994 - the latest migrant sample chosen in this study) most migrants have completed their education and have found work in the city; they have therefore decided to settle there permanently. This finding strongly indicates that migration for education in the case of I-Lan county to Taipei city students is, in fact, migration according to all the different definitions presented in the literature review in section 2.3, and not circulation or mobility. In other words, although at the time of leaving I-Lan county to study in Taipei city, these student migrants' original purpose was not necessarily to live in Taipei permanently after completing their education. Therefore, their move from I-Lan county to Taipei could not yet be considered migration (see section 2.3 for details on the definition of migration and similar terms). However, its development to migration was completed when they completed their education, found jobs in the city and eventually settled down there permanently.

The table also indicates that all the unemployed migrants had made the right decision to migrate to Taipei city since all of them were employed after their arrival in the city. Finally, it shows that there were more married female migrants (from 4 respondents in the pre-migration period to 19 respondents out of a total of 21 respondents at the time of the interview) after their migration to Taipei compared with their male counterparts. This latest finding further

supports the view above that the process of migration is completed after they settle down (and marry) in the city.

Moreover, the informal sector appears to be an easy point of entry to employment in the city, as illustrated in Table 6-3, 68.5% of migrants worked in the informal sector in their initial jobs. This is further illustrated with an in-depth interview, Case 6-1. This result is consistent with literature such as that of Speare *et al* (1988) and Stark (1991) that migrants' initial jobs tend to be in the informal sector of the city as it provides easier access to the urban labour market. However, job status had been improved after a period of stay in Taipei as the proportion of those working in the informal sector at the time of the interview had decreased, while the proportion of those working in the formal sector at the time of the interview had increased. As the table shows, the 68.5% of migrants who worked in the informal sector in their first job had decreased to 54.7% at the time of the interview.

For example, the figures for labour in manufacturing and labour in electricity, gas, water and sanitary services¹² (of the informal sector) changed from 13.5% and 6.3% respectively down to 2.7%. The proportion of labour in government service almost doubled (from 11.7% to 22.3%). Two in-depth interviews, Case 6-1 and Case 6-2, illustrate and support this view. Moreover, Table 6-3 also indicates that more stayers were engaged in the agricultural sector (20% to 9%) and fewer stayers worked in the formal sector (27.5% to 31.8%) compared with migrants in the pre-migration period. The survey results corroborate literature such as that of Brown & Foot (1994) and Massey *et al* (1993,1994) that rural-urban migration is a means to recruit people with better skills in response to the demand in the urban labour market.

¹² This sector incorporates pipe-laying companies and private repair companies for electricity, gas water and sanitary services. It mostly takes the form of family-run businesses with a maximum of 4 employees. The term 'informal sector' is used as per the definition of the ILO (International Labour Organisation): small scale, labour-intensive, relatively easy to enter, lack of security and generally low-paying.

Table 6-3: A comparison of occupational composition of migrants and stayers (excluding students, housewives and retired persons)

Occupation ¹³ by stayers & migrants	Stayers			Migrants in								
				Pre-migration period			Initial jobs			Current jobs		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Agricultural labour	9 20.46	7 19.44	16 20.0	4 11.11	2 6.67	6 9.09	0	0	0	0	0	0
Labour in manufacturing	5 11.36	7 19.44	12 15.0	5 13.89	6 20.0	11 16.67	8 11.77	7 16.28	15 13.51	4 4.21	0	4 2.70
Semi-skilled construction	4 9.09	1 2.78	5 6.25	5 13.89	2 6.67	7 10.60	8 11.77	2 4.65	10 9.01	12 12.63	2 3.77	14 9.46
Labour in electricity, gas, water & sanitary services	1 2.27	0	1 1.2	3 8.33	6 20.0	9 13.64	3 4.41	4 9.30	7 6.31	2 2.10	2 3.77	4 2.70
Labour in motor repair & related work	0	0	0	5 13.89	0	5 7.57	11 16.18	2 4.65	13 11.71	10 10.53	2 3.77	12 8.12
Tailor/laundry & related work	0	0	0	1 2.78	1 3.32	2 3.03	5 7.35	2 4.65	7 6.31	4 4.21	3 5.66	7 4.73
Craft & trade person	9 20.45	4 11.11	13 16.25	3 8.33	0	3 4.55	2 2.94	4 9.30	6 5.41	14 14.74	4 7.55	18 12.16
Restaurant/bar & related work	2 4.55	4 11.11	6 7.50	0	0	0	6 8.82	8 18.61	14 12.61	10 10.53	8 15.10	18 12.16
Others	3 6.82	2 5.56	5 6.25	0	2 6.67	2 3.03	0	4 9.30	4 3.60	4 4.21	0	4 2.70
Sub-total for informal sector	33 75.0	25 69.44	58 72.50	26 72.22	19 63.33	45 68.18	43 63.24	33 76.74	76 68.47	60 63.16	21 39.62	81 54.73
Finance, insurance & business services	8 18.18	7 19.44	15 18.75	1 2.78	8 26.67	9 13.64	14 20.58	7 16.28	21 18.92	15 15.79	17 32.08	32 21.62
Government service	3 6.82	4 11.12	7 8.75	7 19.44	3 10.0	10 15.15	10 14.71	3 6.98	13 11.71	20 21.05	13 24.53	33 22.30
Labour in hi-tech industry	0	0	0	2 5.56	0	2 3.03	1 1.47	0	1 0.90	0	2 3.77	2 1.35
Sub-total for formal sector¹⁴	11 25.0	11 30.56	22 27.50	10 27.78	11 36.67	21 31.82	25 36.76	10 23.26	35 31.53	35 36.84	32 60.38	67 45.27
Total	44 100	36 100	80 100	36 100	30 100	66 100	68 100	43 100	111 100	95 100	53 100	148 100

Notes: It is acknowledged that because of the size of the sample and the many variables of the types of employment the analytical data analysis result between male and female respondents is statically insignificant. In other words, such a situation makes it difficult to draw any significant conclusions regarding gender from the table.

Source: results of statistical analysis

¹³ Since there is a lack of data on Taipei city and Taiwan as a whole for the formal and the informal sectors, this study is unable to make a wider comparison. Hence, this matter requires further research in the future.

¹⁴ As discussed in Chapter 3, the term 'informal sector' is used as per the definition of the ILO (International Labour Organisation) in this study: small-scale, labour-intensive, relatively easy to enter, lack of job security and generally low-paying. However, in the case of Taiwan, in some cases the wages in the informal sector are not necessarily lower than in the formal sector, for example, labour in the craft or jewellery industries. Thus, income is excluded. Moreover, according to the nature of agriculture in I-Lan county, most forms are small and meet the above criteria. Thus, agricultural labour is also considered as part of the informal sector. Therefore, of the occupations shown here, only 3 qualify as being part of the formal sector. They are labour in hi-tech industry, labour in finance, insurance and business services and labour in government service.

Case 6-1: Mrs. Sun - Factor influencing her decision to leave her first job

(Date of interview: 27/09, 1998)

Working in a small, family-run shoe shop (informal sector)

Mrs. Sun was 31 years old, married and had one son living with her at the time of the interview in September 1998. She migrated to Taipei in 1991 with her husband and only son with the purpose of getting an urban education for her son. She had a high school qualification. Mrs. Sun was a grocer in the county, where she also had some farmland, which her husband cultivated. She had relatives in the city who encouraged her and the family to move there and who also offered her a job in their shoe shop.

Mrs. Sun claimed that she and her husband had sold their land and house in the county and migrated to Taipei together. She had only worked at her relatives' shoe shop for two weeks after her arrival in the city while her husband set up their small grocery shop in front of the flat they had bought. The reason for her taking the first job was because it was easy to enter, having been provided by the relatives. Secondly, she did not have to spend any time or money to secure it. The main reason for quitting this job as an assistant salesperson, according to her, was that she never planned to work for another person and that her first job was intentionally temporary - until her shop was ready to open. She added that she neither enjoyed nor disliked her first job since she knew from the beginning that it was only temporary. She concluded that her current job was satisfactory.

Case 6-2: Mr. Lee - Factor influencing his decision to leave his first job

(Date of interview: 05/10, 1998)

Working in a motorcycle and car repair shop (informal sector)

Mr. Lee was 45 years old, married and had 3 children, who all lived with him at the time of the interview in October 1998. He migrated to Taipei in 1987 with his whole family. Like Mrs. Sun above, he has only a high school qualification. However, he also has the special skill of repairing motorcycles and small cars, which he learned from his father as he grew up. His reason for migration was that he wanted to find a better job in the city; one he believed would suit his skills. Before migration, he worked as motorcycle and car mechanic in the county, where, he claimed, the work was not utilising his skills.

Mr. Lee had relatives or friends in Taipei city before migration. He landed his first job and accommodation through his relatives and friends in the city. He and his family did not migrate until he had rented the flat and they arrived only three days before his first day at the new job. His first job was as an assistant in a small, family-run motorcycle and car repair shop and dealer. In the meantime, he also applied for a similar job with a much bigger company in the city. He added that he was recommended for his first job by his relatives and landed it without any documentation, as his relatives are friends of the shop owner. The reason for him taking that first job, according to Mr. Lee, was that he just wanted to earn enough money to live on while he searched for a more secure job with better pay. Mr. Lee claimed that he was very lucky as he was invited to an interview for the second job, which he eventually accepted, only a week after he started work in the first job. He said that he enjoyed his first job as well as the one he had in I-Lan county, but he is much happier in his current job since it suits his skills.

In this study, it was found that education is significantly related to employment in the formal and informal sectors. This inference was supported by the results of a sample statistical test using the t statistic at a significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$ for independent-samples t-test about the average. From Table 6-4, the average educational level of formal sector employees is higher than that of informal sector workers, both in their initial and current jobs. Results are listed in Appendix 5B. For example, as shown in Table 6-4, among the 35 formal workers (100%), 85.7% (30 of 35 respondents) had an average or higher education¹⁵ (high school: 11, polytechnic school: 8, university: 8 and post-graduate studies: 3), while only 14.3% (5 of 35 respondents) had a lower level of education (primary: 2 and secondary school: 3).

The survey results are further supported by the findings in the case of migrants' current jobs; that is, the level of education has an impact on the propensity to enter the formal sector of the city economy (as shown in Table 6-4). This result is consistent with the findings in the literature review in Chapter 4 that, in Chinese culture, educational attainment is an important means with which to break through social class barriers (i.e. moving from a peasant-family background to banker-family status). This cultural notion is still highly and widely respected throughout Taiwanese society. In addition, migrants with higher education attainments are more likely to have a better chance of landing a job in the formal sector than those with relatively low levels of education.

¹⁵ The reason for choosing migrant respondents' educational attainment in the pre-migration period is because this tells one whether the education level of migrants has an impact on the migrants' ability to find their first job in Taipei city.

Table 6-4: The relationship between respondents' first jobs in the city and their level of education in the pre- and post-migration periods

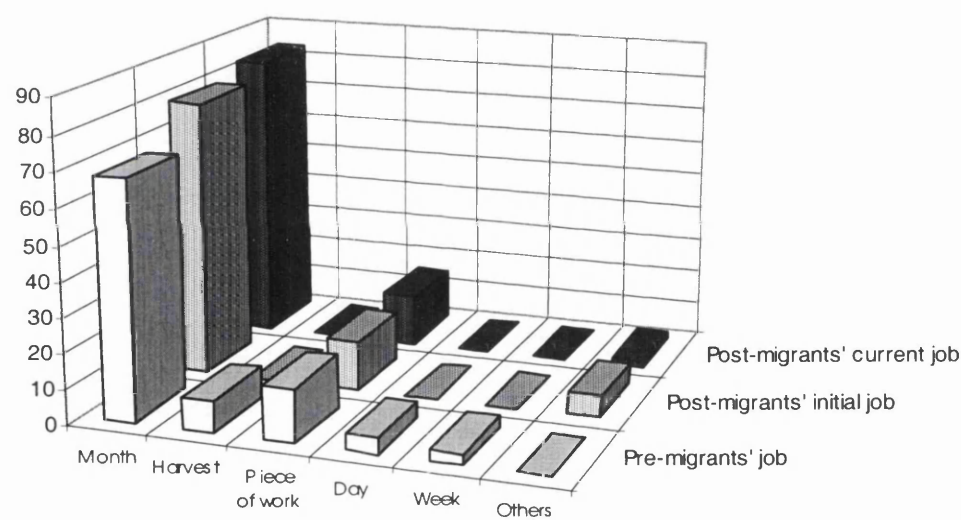
Level of edu. by type of job	Labour in fac- tories	Semi- skilled constru- -tion work	Labour in electricity, gas, water, sanitary services	Labour in motor repair and related work	Tailor/ laundry & related work	Craft & trade person related work	Restau- rant/bar & related work	Others	Sub-total for infor- mal sector	Finance, insu- rance & busi-ness	Gover nment service	Hi-tech	Sub-total for formal sector	Total
In the pre-migration period														
Primary	0	2 (20.0)	0	2 (15.38)	0	0	4 (28.57)	2 (50.0)	10 (13.16)	2 (9.52)	0	0	2 (5.71)	12 (10.81)
Secondary	7 (46.67)	0	2 (28.57)	5 (38.47)	2 (28.57)	4 (66.67)	0	2 (50.0)	22 (28.95)	2 (9.52)	1 (7.69)	0	3 (8.57)	25 (22.52)
High school	6 (40.0)	3 (30.0)	4 (57.14)	4 (30.77)	5 (71.43)	2 (33.33)	10 (71.43)	0	34 (44.74)	8 (38.10)	3 (23.08)	0	11 (31.43)	45 (40.54)
Polytechnic	0	5 (50.0)	1 (14.29)	0	0	0	0	0	6 (7.89)	4 (19.05)	4 (30.77)	0	8 (22.86)	14 (12.62)
Higher edu.	2 (13.33)	0	0	2 (15.38)	0	0	0	0	4 (5.26)	4 (19.05)	3 (23.08)	1 (100)	8 (22.86)	12 (10.81)
Post-graduate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (4.76)	2 (15.38)	0	3 (8.57)	3 (2.70)
Total	15 (100)	10 (100)	7 (100)	13 (100)	7 (100)	6 (100)	14 (100)	4 (100)	76 (100)	21 (100)	13 (100)	1 (100)	35 (100)	111 (100)
In the post-migration period														
Primary	0	2 (14.29)	0	2 (16.67)	0	4 (22.22)	6 (33.33)	0	14 (17.28)	0	0	0	0	14 (9.46)
Secondary	0	0	0	2 (16.67)	3 (42.86)	4 (22.22)	4 (22.23)	2 (50.0)	15 (18.52)	4 (12.50)	0	0	4 (5.97)	19 (12.84)
High school	1 (25.0)	3 (21.43)	4 (100)	6 (50.0)	2 (28.57)	7 (38.89)	6 (33.33)	0	29 (35.80)	5 (15.62)	4 (12.12)	2 (100)	11 (16.42)	40 (27.03)
Polytechnic	0	9 (64.28)	0	0	2 (28.57)	0	0	2 (50.0)	13 (16.05)	13 (40.62)	8 (24.24)	0	21 (31.34)	34 (22.97)
Higher edu.	3 (75.0)	0	0	2 (16.67)	0	2 (11.11)	2 (11.11)	0	9 (11.11)	9 (28.13)	12 (36.37)	0	21 (31.34)	30 (20.27)
Postgraduate	0	0	0	0	0	1 (5.56)	0	0	1 (1.24)	1 (3.13)	9 (27.27)	0	10 (14.93)	11 (7.43)
Total	4 (100)	14 (100)	4 (100)	12 (100)	7 (100)	18 (100)	18 (100)	4 (100)	81 (100)	32 (100)	33 (100)	2 (100)	67 (100)	148 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: The inference was supported by the results of a sample statistical test using the t statistic at a significant level of $\alpha = 0.05$ for independent-samples t-test about the average (results are show in Appendix 5B).

The nature of respondents' jobs (both male and female, $P > 0.05$) indicates a basis of employment that entails certainty and security in Taipei city. This normally means that workers who get paid on a monthly basis have full-time jobs, while those paid on a daily or weekly basis work in temporary or part-time jobs only. According to the survey results, illustrated in Figure 6-4, the majority of migrants were paid monthly and this proportion had increased from 68% (or 45 respondents) in the pre-migration period to 79.3% (or 88 respondents) of migrants in their first jobs in Taipei and 83.2% (79 respondents) at the time of the interview. The survey results are consistent with literature such as that of Dessus *et al* (1995) and Speare *et al* (1988) that Taiwan's rural-urban migration was not a crisis as it was in many developing countries (see section 4.2 for a discussion on the economic miracle in Taiwan). This is because there was no oversupply in Taiwan's urban labour market as most migrants in this study were not casual or part-time workers.

Figure 6-4: Basis of employment in the pre- and post-migration periods



Source: drawing based on Table 5A-4 in Appendix 5, Frequency Tables

Unlike migrants, the majority of stayers did not own any land (64% see Table 5A-5 in appendix 5), and those who did were small farmers. The percentage of house ownership among the stayers is also smaller than that of migrants. As shown in Table 6-5, the average size of land holdings of stayers was 0.35 acre, while the average size of land holdings of pre-migrants was 1.14 acres. In terms of house or flat holdings, as shown in Figure 6-5, the stayers are generally poorer (fewer have ownership) than migrants before their migration to Taipei city. In short, migrants are much better off in the pre-migration period than the stayers. Firstly, the majority of pre-migrants had larger land holdings compared with the stayers. Secondly, house ownership among the stayers is less common than among migrants in the pre-migration

period (95.5% compared with 88% who own a house, and 0% compared with 8.5 % who own more than 3 houses).

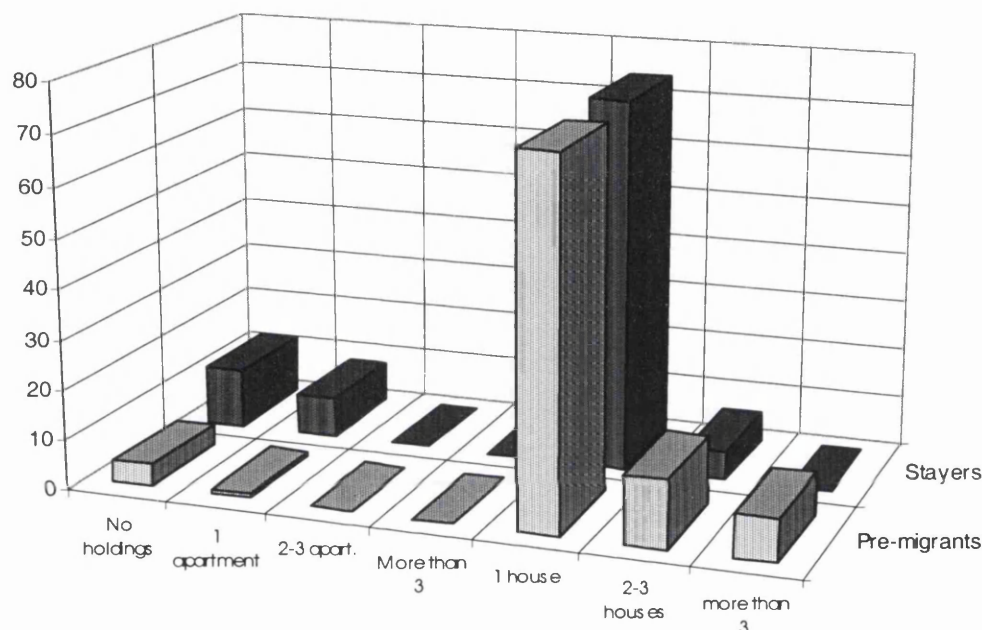
Table 6-5: The difference of average mean of land ownership between stayers and pre-migrants

Mean wealth	Pre-migrants	Stayers
Land	1.14	0.35

Note: *The average among the subjects who replied to the question (except 'cannot remember')

Source: results of statistical analysis

Figure 6-5: House ownership of pre-migrants and stayers



Source: drawing based on Table 5A-5 in Appendix 5, Frequency Tables

The findings also show that the likelihood of owning property (mainly flats) increases in accordance with the length of stay of migrants in Taipei city. In this study, the survey results reveal that there is a statistically significant association between the length of stay in Taipei city and the number of house or flats owned. From Table 6-6, for example, the survey results show that those who have stayed in Taipei for longer than 10 years tend to have a higher propensity for owning property than those who have stayed in the city for less than 10 years. This result is consistent with the findings in the literature review in Chapter 3, such as that of Castles & Miller (1998) and UNCH (1982), that new or recent migrants are at a disadvantage in owning property (in the case of Taiwan, owning houses or flats) in the city compared with urban natives. However, the situation improves as migrants' length of stay in the city increases.

Table 6-6: Number of houses owned according to length of stay in Taipei city

Duration	6 months - less than 1 year	1-3 years	4-6 years	Under 10 years	More than 10 years	Total
No. of Houses						
No*	11 (5.5)	19 (9.5)	10 (5.0)	5 (2.5)	17 (8.5)	62 (31.0)
1 Apartment	0	6 3.0	4 (2.0)	14 (7.0)	69 (34.5)	93 (46.5)
2-3 Apartments	0	0	0	0	5 (2.5)	5 (2.5)
More than 3 Apartments	0	0	0	0	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
1 House	0	2 1.0	2 (1.0)	1 (0.5)	17 (8.5)	22 (11.0)
2-3 Houses	0	0	0	2 (1.0)	11 (5.5)	13 (6.5)
More than 3 houses	0	0	0	0	4 (2.0)	4 (2.0)
Total	11 (5.5)	27 13.5	16 (8.0)	22 (11.0)	124 (62.0)	200 (100.0)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Notes: (1) No* indicates the migrants who did not own any house after they moved to Taipei city

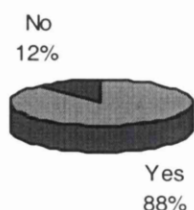
(2) $\chi^2 = 75.866$, $P < 0.001$, S. The obtained P-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$; we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which length of stay and house ownership are unrelated.

6.3 Patterns of Migrants' Urban Life Experience and Their Urban Connection

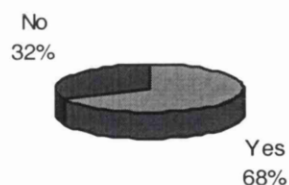
This finding, as illustrated in Figure 6-6, shows that nearly 90% of migrants had friends or relatives in the city before their departure; about 68% of the total number of migrants received help from such friends or relatives (either accommodation or job information). One in-depth interview, Case 6-3, illustrates and supports this view.

Figure 6-6: Relationship between migrants and earlier settlers in Taipei

Do you have any friends or relatives
in Taipei city?



Did you receive help from earlier settlers¹⁶ in
Taipei city?



Source: results of statistical analysis

¹⁶ 'Earlier settlers' in this study refers to migrants' relatives and/or friends and other types of connections such as associations based on place of origin and surname (see chapters 3 and 4).

Case 6-3: Mr. Hung - Importance of urban connections (having relatives) in Taipei city

(Date of interview: 24/09, 1998)

Mr. Hung was 38 years old and married with two children at the time of the interview in September 1998. He migrated to Taipei in 1986. According to him, his reason for migration was mainly a search for better business opportunities. He finished high school and worked as a vehicle mechanic in his uncle's shop before migration, where he learned the skill. Mr. Hung came to the city alone at first because he could not afford to bring his wife and three daughters with him. He had a distant relative in the city that he had visited many times before his migration. With the help of relatives he had rented a place and set up his own repair shop within 5 days of his arrival in the city. While he was setting up the business he was offered free accommodation with his relatives.

However, Mr. Hung said, he contributed a small amount of money to his relatives for his daily meal, even though they declined to accept it. A month later he brought his family from the province to live in a rented house close to his shop, where they remained. Mr. Hung concluded that without the help and information his relatives provided, including finding the right place to set up the shop, obtaining the documentation needed to open a shop, negotiating the rent with the land owner and offering other valuable advice, it would have been very difficult to do. This is because, according to him, business is very competitive in the city and it is very difficult to charge customers an attractive rate, as many similar shops are operating in the city. In addition, although his rates are higher than in I-Lan county, the cost of running a business is also higher in the city, including hiring an employee and buying spare parts. All of these difficulties were solved, according to him, with the help of his relatives and friends, who provided him with up-to-date information on the industry in Taipei, the names of places to buy second-hand goods and financial support without interest charges.

Therefore, migrants who received help and assistance from relatives or friends in the city - such as Mr. Hung and Mr. Lee - had resolved many of the potential difficulties and challenges that migrants might face in the city as newcomers. The case of Mr. Hung shows that not only did his relatives in Taipei help him at the time of his arrival in the city, but they continued to help him, for example, by providing financial support for his business to help him cope with the increased competition or to expand the business. He could also have received such help from a bank in the form of a loan, but it would have been harder for him to pay the interest. In addition, Case 6-5 of Miss Sung is presented below to verify the difficulties and challenges faced by migrants who did not get help or assistance from anyone in the city.

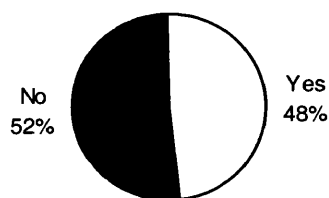
Case 6-4: Miss Sung - Facing more difficulties without relatives or friends in the city

(Date of interview: 01/10, 1998)

Miss Sung was 25 years old and single at the time of the interview in October 1998. She migrated to Taipei alone in 1994. Her reason for migration was that she wanted to find a better-paid job and live in Taipei. Before migration she was a primary school teacher in the town of I-Lan. Miss Sung did not have any relatives or friends in the city before migration. She obtained all the information about Taipei during her many earlier visits to the city to search for a job. During these visits she visited many educational institutions and universities. She was eventually offered work as an assistant administrator at the university of Chung Ching, where she remained. Miss Sung concluded that she had many difficulties in finding a job by herself and that it was also very expensive for her to secure her current job because of the many visits, telephone calls etc. that was needed. According to her, it would have eliminated many of the expenses and perhaps been faster and more convenient if she had relatives or friends living in the city before her migration.

Despite the fact that most migrants were well connected with Taipei via relatives or friends in the city, as mentioned earlier, many of them still had to search for a job after their arrival in the city. The survey results, as illustrated in Figure 6-7, show that among the total 111 respondents (excluding students, housewives and retired persons) who came to the city for a job, nearly 52% of total migrants did not have a job offer before migrating to the city.

Figure 6-7: Did you have a job offer (excluding students, housewives and retired persons)?



Source: results of statistical analysis

However, as shown in Table 6-7, the majority of those who did not have a job offer had heard about job vacancies in Taipei before migration during earlier visits, or from relatives or friends. These results are in accordance with the findings in the literature, as discussed in Chapter 3, that migrants had information on jobs in the city - particularly those who did not have a job offer – and already had a clear idea of the types of job they would get. This indicates that they are well connected, well informed and often have the move well planned before migration. However, according to the statistical test results there is no significant association between gender and

knowledge of job vacancies or a particular job in the city ($p > 0.05$). The majority of both male and female migrants who did not have a job offer (60.7%, or 34 in 56) knew about job vacancies before they came to Taipei.

Table 6-7: Knowledge of job vacancies or a particular job

X^2_1 : Did you know of job vacancies?	Male	Female	Total
No, I did not know	13 (35.14)	9 (47.37)	22 (39.29)
Yes, I knew	24 (64.86)	10 (52.63)	34 (60.71)
Total	37 (100)	19 (100)	56 (100)
X^2_2 : If you did know of job vacancies, did you know of a particular job?			
No, I did not know	9 (42.86)	5 (38.46)	14 (41.18)
Yes, I knew	12 (57.14)	8 (61.54)	20 (58.82)
Total	21 (100)	13 (100)	34 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

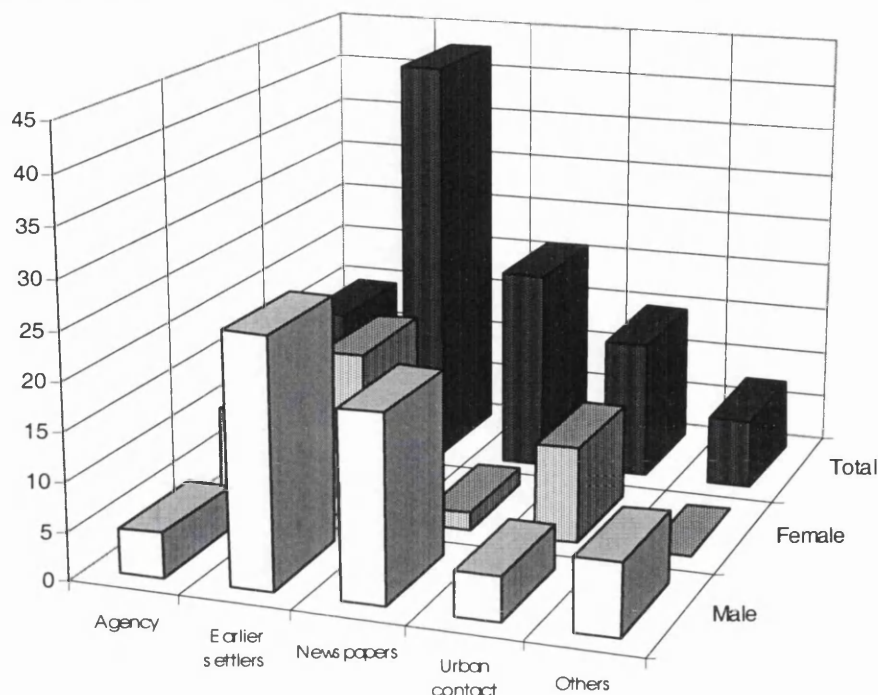
Note: $X^2_1 = 0.787$, $p > 0.05$, NS. The obtained P-value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and knowledge of job vacancies in the city are unrelated.

$X^2_2 = 18.34$, $p > 0.05$, NS. The obtained P-value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and knowledge of a particular job in the city are unrelated.

The importance of relatives' help in the city is clear from Figure 6-8, which demonstrates that the majority of migrants (43%, or 47 in 110) landed their first job based on information from earlier settlers (including those who had/had no offer before migration). However, no statistically significant association ($p > 0.05$) was found when the variables of gender, age and education were introduced, which indicates that getting the first job through the earlier settlers was the main method used by migrants, regardless of their gender, age and educational level.

The fact that many migrants got their first job based on information from earlier settlers and that the majority of migrants (68%), as illustrated previously in Figure 6-6, received help when they first arrived in the city further corroborate the literature review in chapters 3 and 4. This found that in Chinese society, clan, association and lineage play an important role in chain migration in that the tradition of sticking together among migrants and the willingness to help each other to get ahead make the migration to the city easier and more likely to succeed. This finding is further supported by the in-depth interviews with Mr. Hung and Miss Sung (Cases 6-3 and 6-4).

Figure 6-8: Channel through which first job in Taipei was obtained by gender

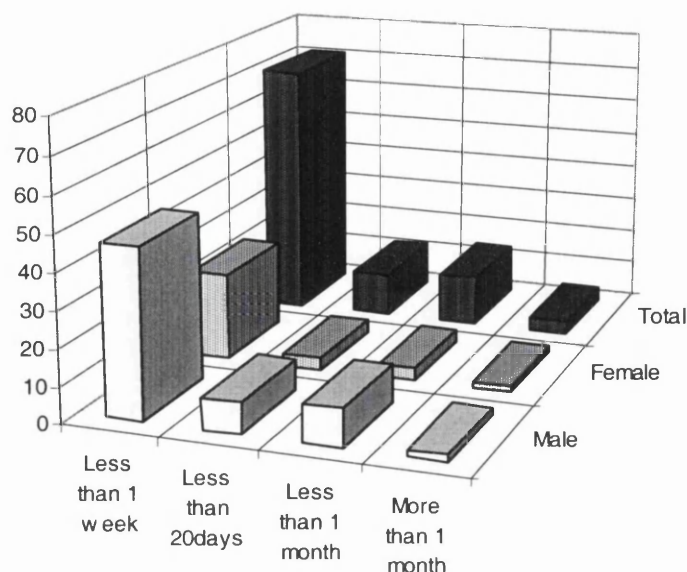


Source: drawing based on Table 5A-6 in Appendix 5, Frequency Tables

Many scholars, including Oberai (1993) and Todaro (1977), argue that migrants often spend some time being unemployed or under-employed as part-time workers in the low productivity services of the city before they find relatively permanent jobs. However, it is not the case for this study, as Figure 6-9 shows that almost 70% of I-Lan county to Taipei migrants (excluding students and housewives) found their first jobs within a week of their arrival in the city.

The results of the statistical analysis reveal that there is no significant association between the duration of the search for the first job in the city and gender ($p > 0.05$), which indicates, as seen in Figure 6-9, that the majority of both male and female migrants (about 70%) were employed immediately (within one week) after they moved to Taipei city. This is because the majority of male and female migrants had good connections in the city, for example, relatives and/or friends who provided help and information.

Figure 6-9: Duration of the search for the first job by gender ratio



Source: drawing based on Table 5 A-7, in Appendix 5, Frequency Tables

In examining the length of the search for the first job in relation to migrants' age structure and educational level, regression analysis¹⁷ was used as a statistical technique that could provide a straightforward description of how the dependent variable and independent variables (age and educational level) relate in the sample.

**Regression model 6-1: Duration of the search for the first job by age and educational level:
Duration of search for the first job (Dependent variable)**

Independent variable	B	S.E	P	R
Age	0.962	0.716	0.179	0.000
Educational level	-1.059	0.676	0.117	-0.822
Constant	0.472	0.648	0.466	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2log Likelihood: 63.345, χ^2 : 4.327, Goodness of Fit: 58.037

The obtained P-value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which length of search for the first job and age and educational level are unrelated, **NS**.

The above model and results¹⁸ reveal that age and level of education have no impact on the duration of the search for the first job ($p > 0.05$). This indicates that there is no relationship between migrants' success in finding a job and their age and educational attainment.

¹⁷ The presentation of regression analyses was done in consultation with Jeney Head, Lecturer at the Built Environment faculty of UCL, and the statistician Paul Cockle.

¹⁸ The formula and results of the regression model can be explained as follows:

Y - length of search for the first job = a • age + b • educational level + c

Where (x) and (y) are the variables: length of the search for the first job and age, educational attainment. The constant (c) is the (y) intercept, and the constant (a,b) is the slope, that is,

Length of search for the first job = 0.962 (age) - 1.059 (educational level) + 0.472
(0.716) (0.676) (0.648)

However, the results of the Chi-square or t-test¹⁹ (results are shown in Appendix 5B) statistical analysis reveal that there is a significant association ($P < 0.05$) between the duration of the search for the first job and job status (formal or informal sectors). Table 6-8 illustrates that the urban informal sector is an easy entry point for migrants, particularly for those who did not have a job offer before they moved to the city. This is because among the 47 informal workers, 76.6% (36 in 47) found work within a week compared with 45.5% (5 in 11) of formal workers. The vehicle repair, tailoring/laundry, manufacturing and semi-skilled construction sectors emerge as the easiest points of entry for those migrants who came without a job offer in the pre-migration period, but who had the skills demanded by the labour-intensive urban market. (An interview with Mr. Lee, Case 6-2, illustrates this point). This finding therefore corroborates the literature.

Table 6-8: Type of first job by duration of the search

Duration of the search by Occupational Composition	Less than one week	Less than 20 days, more than one week	Less than one month, more than 20 days	More than one month	Total: Row total
Labour in manufacturing	6 (14.63)	4 (57.14)	0	0	10 (17.24)
Semi-skilled construction work	5 (12.20)	0	0	0	5 (8.62)
Tailor/laundry & related work	7 (17.07)	0	0	0	7 (12.07)
Craft & trades person	4 (9.76)	0	0	0	4 (6.90)
Labour in vehicle repair & related work	10 (24.39)	0	0	1 (50.0)	11 (18.97)
Restaurant/bar & related work	2 (4.88)	2 (28.57)	4 (50.0)	0	8 (13.79)
Others	2 (4.88)	0	0	0	2 (3.45)
Sub-total for informal sector	36 (87.80)	6 (85.71)	4 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	47 (81.04)
Finance, insurance & business services	3 (7.32)	1 (14.29)	3 (37.5)	1 (50.0)	8 (13.79)
Government service	2 (4.88)	0	1 (12.5)	0	3 (5.17)
Sub-total for formal sector	5 (12.20)	1 (14.29)	4 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	11 (18.96)
Total	41 100.0	7 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	2 (100.0)	58 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: $X^2 = 9.369$, $p < 0.025$, S. The obtained P - value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which the duration of the search for the first job and job status are unrelated.

With regard to migrants' connections in Taipei, the statistical analysis in Table 6-9 reveals that there is a significant association between whether migrants had received help and the length of the search for first jobs. In other words, migrants who received help from relatives or friends in Taipei (85.3%, or 29 in 34) had a better chance of finding work within a week compared with those who did not (12.1%, or 4 in 33). This finding corroborates literature such as that of Pieke (1998) and Gugler (1997) that the help of migrants' relatives or friends in the city is crucial to migrants in establishing themselves in the city.

¹⁹ As explained in Chapter 5, not all variables can be tested with the regression model. Therefore, Chi-square or t-test was used as an alternative method.

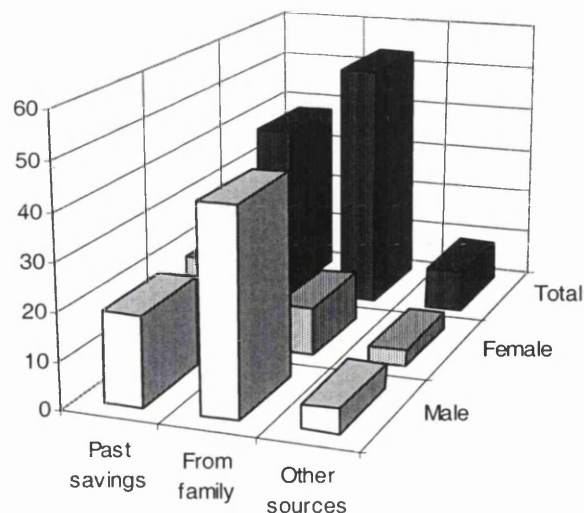
Table 6-9: Duration of search by whether migrants received help from relatives or friends

Duration of job search	No help received	Received help	Total
Less than 1 week	4 (33.33)	29 (85.30)	33 (71.74)
Less than 1 month, more than 1 week	8 (66.67)	4 (11.76)	12 (26.09)
More than one month	0	1 (2.94)	1 (2.17)
Total	12 (100)	34 (100)	46 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: $X^2 = 13.939$, $p < 0.003$, S. The obtained P-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which whether migrants received help or not and length of the search for first job in the city are unrelated.

During their early period in the city, migrants also received help from their families or relatives in I-Lan county. This help is not only crucial to student migrants, but also to those who moved to the city to find work. As Figure 6-10 suggests, the most prominent source of support for migrants while they are searching for their first job in the urban labour market is the family, with 53.4% relying on this source. However, there is a big difference when comparing the genders. The results of the statistical analysis reveal that there is a significant association between gender and means of support ($p < 0.026$). In other words, more male migrants (64.1%, or 25 in 39) receive support from their families in I-Lan county compared with female migrants (31.6%, or 6 in 19).

Figure 6-10: Means of support during the period of searching for the first job by gender

Source: Drawing based Table 5A-8, in Appendix 5, Frequency Tables

The finding that the majority of male migrants received support from their families in the villages while the majority of female migrants relied on their savings is in accordance with the literature, as discussed in Chapter 4, that traditional Taiwanese Confucian families are more supportive of sons than of daughters, especially in rural areas such as I-Lan county. Males generally receive more

assets from their parents since the sons pass on the family name to the next generation and parents depend on them in their old age. Mr. Wu (whose case is presented in an in-depth interview in Case 7-2, in Chapter 7) claimed²⁰:

I would not restrain any of my children to migrate to Taipei. I would fully support my sons as I am going to live with them when I am old, but daughters I am not sure, since when they grow up they will be married to someone and follow their family name. Anyway, I would respect my daughters' choice if they want to migrate only if they can support themselves in the city.

The evidence examined in this section further corroborates the argument that the majority of migrants and their families are not poor. This is proved by the fact that (1) the majority of migrants received support from their families²¹, which indicate that the economic status of migrants families in the village did not worsen as they did not need to be sent money by migrants. Instead, they supported migrants in the city. (2) As discussed in section 6.2, the majority of migrants owned more land and houses in the year before migration than the stayer population.

In addition, the results have contradicted the literature, as discussed in Chapter 3, that migrants in the urban labour market will either become unemployed or will seek casual and part-time employment. By contrast, the majority (70%) found a job within a week. Also, most migrants were employed on a monthly basis, which indicates that most of them were in full-time employment. The results can be explained by the fact that, as discussed in Chapter 4, Taiwan did not experience the so-called rural-urban migration crisis and resulting increased urban unemployment found in most developing countries (Speare *et al*:1988, Speare in Elvin and Skinner:1974). This was as a result of government policies that promoted labour-intensive industry and education between the 1950s and 1973, and the economic restructuring programmes (from 1974 to the present) that have helped Taiwan's economy to prosper and urbanisation to follow on par.

²⁰ He responded to the question: Would you allow your children to migrate to Taipei? Will you support them and what is your attitude towards your sons and daughter if they want to migrate?

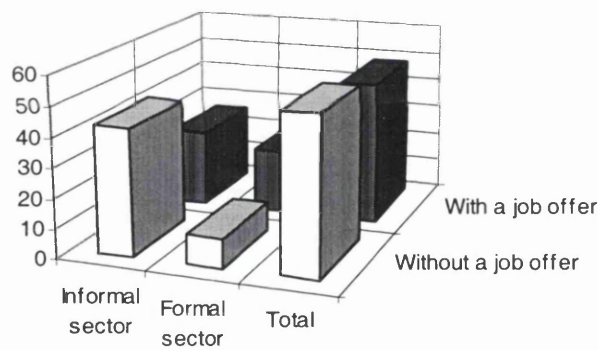
²¹ Even though women form a higher proportion of those who support themselves with savings, the findings in this study show that migration tend to be selective, with a male dominance of nearly 2 men in every 3 migrants.

6.4 Patterns of Migrants' Employment in Taipei

According to the results of the statistical analysis, there is a significant association between migrants who were offered a job and job status ($\chi^2 = 8.885, p < 0.002$). Figure 6-11 suggests that migrants who were offered a job before migration had a higher propensity to work in the formal sector than those who had no such offer.

A possible explanation is that those who were offered a job before migration had moved to the city as a result of a job transfer by their companies (formal sector - either public or private). This is because these migrants also worked in the formal sector in I-Lan county before migration. More specifically, these migrants would not move to Taipei if they did not get a better job as an incentive or motivation for migration, or if they were forced to do so because their employers transferred them.

Figure 6-11: Migrants who came to the city with and without job offers by job status



Source: drawing based on Table 5A-9 in Appendix 5, Frequency Tables

In relation to the type of the first job, the t-test results show there is no statistically significant association between job status (formal and informal sectors) and duration of stay in the first job. Table 6-10 illustrates that those who stayed with their first jobs for more than 2 years were found in both the informal and formal sectors. Two possible explanations arise from this finding. First, migrants remained in their first jobs because they were satisfied with it. Second, it might be difficult and costly for migrants to change from one job to another in Taipei.

Although additional studies are needed to finally determine which of these two explanations apply, two further findings of this study could support the first possibility. Firstly, as discussed

in section 6.3, the fact that both formal and informal workers were full-time employed (received monthly remuneration) and also had secure jobs could indicate that the first jobs provided reasonable satisfaction for migrants.

Secondly, migrants know which type of work suits their abilities, especially those who were employed in manufacturing, semi-skilled construction and craft sectors, regardless of the size of the firm. In other words, migrants only try to find jobs appropriate to their skills and abilities, regardless of the nature of work. Two Case Interviews (Cases 6-5 and 6-6) illustrate this point.

Table 6-10: Duration of stay in the first job by type of job

Duration of stay occupational composition	Still in job	25 months & longer	13-24 months	7-12 months	1-6 months	Total:
Labour in manufacturing	2 5.0	8 22.22	0	5 35.71	0	15 13.51
Semi-skilled construction work	7 17.50	0	2 50.0	0	1 5.89	10 9.01
Labour in electricity, gas, water & sanitary services	2 5.0	3 8.33	0	0	2 11.76	7 6.31
Labour in motor repair & related work	8 20.0	1 2.78	0	2 14.29	2 11.76	13 11.71
Tailor/laundry & related work	4 10.0	1 2.78	0	2 14.29	0	7 6.31
Craft & trade person	4 10.0	2 5.56	0	0	0	6 5.41
Restaurant/Bar and related work	2 5.0	4 11.11	0	2 14.29	6 35.30	14 12.61
Other service sector work	0	4 11.11	0	0	0	4 3.60
Sub-total for informal sectors	29 72.5	23 63.89	2 50.0	11 78.57	11 64.71	76 68.47
Finance, insurance & business services	3 7.50	9 25.0	2 50.0	3 21.43	4 23.53	21 18.92
Government service	8 20.0	4 11.11	0	0	1 5.88	13 11.71
Labour in hi-tech work	0	0	0	0	1 5.88	1 0.90
Sub-total for formal sectors	11 27.5	13 36.11	2 50.0	3 21.43	6 35.29	35 31.53
Total	40 100	36 100	4 100	14 100	17 100	111 100

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: The inference was supported by a sample (111 respondents) statistical test using the t statistic at a significant level of $\alpha = 0.05$ for independent-sample t-test about the average in the whole sample, results are listed in Appendix 5B.

Case 6-5: Mr. Cheng - Factors influencing his decision to stay in his first job

(Date of interview: 07/10, 1998)

Working in a restaurant (informal sector)

Mr. Cheng was married with one son at the time of the interview in October 1998. He was 39 years old at the time. He migrated to Taipei in 1988 with only a high school degree. According to him, his reason for migration was mainly because a friend offered him a job in a restaurant in Taipei. The offer was the result of many earlier visits to his friend, who was working at the same restaurant.

Mr. Cheng came to the city alone at first, not because he could not afford to bring his wife and son with him, but because his wife had to take care of his elderly mother and the house in I-Lan county. In his case, he did not spend any time looking for a job at all since his friend, who worked at the restaurant, arranged it. He did stay at the flat of his friend's family for the first two months, making a contribution for rent and meals.

After that he brought his family from I-Lan to live in a rented flat, which he then bought and where they remained. It had been 10 years since he landed that job and he had no intention at the time of the interview to find another job. Mr. Cheng indicated that he was fairly happy with that job. This is, according to him, because he has no qualifications apart from his high school degree. He also reasoned that his wife worked in the supermarket close to his home, which contributed to their income and enabled them to meet the rather small needs of his family of four. He added that he did not want to leave the restaurant since he had made a lot of friends there, which created a happy working environment for him.

Case 6-6: Mrs. Liu - Factors influencing her decision to stay in her first job

(Date of interview: 26/09, 1998)

Working in a hospital (formal sector)

Mrs. Liu was 49 years old and married with 4 children, none of whom lived with her, at the time of the interview in September 1998. She migrated to Taipei in 1985 with her husband. Her reason for migration was that she wanted to live in the city, close to two of her sons. They were married and lived in the city. Before the migration, she was a nurse at the provincial hospital.

Mrs. Liu was helped by her sons to obtain her current job. She said that they did most of the work in applying for job. Finally, she was accepted as a nurse by Rong Ming hospital. Since her migration to the city she had been housed by her eldest son, who has a house close to the hospital where she works. She said she was happy with her job and had never considered changing either her job or her residence. She added that it was not that her job in the city paid more than the one she had in I-Lan, but she liked the facilities and services in the city and the fact that she lived close to her two sons as well as another son and a daughter who lived near Taipei in Keelung.

In relation to migrants' gender structure, the t-test results show that there is a significant association between duration of stay in the first job and gender²². Table 6-11 illustrates that male migrants, especially married males (57.5%, or 23 in 40) are more likely to remain in their first job than married female migrants (20% or 10 in 40). This is possibly due to the fact that male migrants are the heads of the household and therefore are responsible for its main income, which places constant pressure on them not to be unemployed. Yet, it is also possible that most jobs listed in this study and especially those in the informal sectors, such as work in the semi-skilled construction, utility services, motor repair and craft sectors, are gender discriminatory by nature. In other words, these jobs tend to favour male workers above female ones. Furthermore, women in contemporary Taiwan do not want to be employed in these sectors, which could drive them from job to job until they end up in a situation where their choices are restricted. It is however, acknowledged that further study on the issue is needed in order to verify the conclusion.

Table 6-11: Duration of stay in first jobs by marital status and gender ratio

	Single		Married		Other		Row-total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Still in first Job	5 44.67	2 50.0	23 42.59	10 30.30	0	0	40 36.36
Sub-total for not in first job	7 58.33	2 50.0	31 57.41	23 69.70	2 100.0	5 100.0	70 63.64
25 months and longer	0	0	14 25.93	17 51.52	2	2 40.0	35 31.82
12-24 months	0	0	4 7.41	0	0	0	4 3.64
7-12 months	3 25.0	0	6 11.11	4 12.12	0	1 20.0	14 12.73
1-6 months	4 33.33	2 50.0	7 12.96	2 6.06	0	2 40.0	17 15.45
Column-total	12 100.0	4 100.0	54 100.0	33 100.0	2 100.0	5 100.0	110 100.0

Source: results of statistical analysis

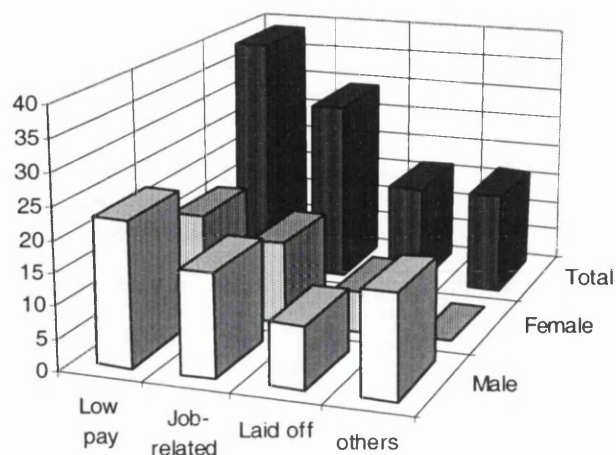
Note: (1) Missing of Observations:1, (2) χ^2 - Marital status: 24.27, $P < 0.019$, S. (3) The obtained P_1 -value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which the length of stay in the first job and marital status are unrelated.

The main reason for migrants leaving their first jobs within 1 year of migration (these respondents are the minority; that is, 31 respondents compared with a total of 79 migrants who remained in their first job for longer than 12 months), as shown in Figure 6-12, was low or unsatisfactory pay (again, they are a minority; that is, 12 in a total of 111 migrant respondents who had left their initial jobs). The findings, illustrated in Table 6-12, indicate that the majority of respondents who landed their first job within 12 months of arriving in the city were employed in the informal sector, with 71% in that category. Most of these respondents worked in the restaurant/bar and related industries and manufacturing. In relation to migrants' gender, the results of the statistical analysis show there is no significant

²² This inference was supported by the results of a sample (110 respondents) statistical test using the t statistic at a significant level of $\alpha = 0.05$ for independent-sample t-test about the average in the whole sample, results are listed in Appendix 5B.

association between the reason for leaving the first job within a year and migrants' gender (χ^2 - gender = 4.147, $p > 0.05$). Two case interviews, Cases 6-1 and 6-2 in Chapter 6 also illustrate this point.

Figure 6-12: Reasons for leaving the first job within 12 months



Source: drawing based on Table 5A-10 in Appendix 5A, Frequency Tables

However, the Chi-square results show that there is a significant association between type of job and the reason for quitting within a year ($\chi^2 = 34.364$, $p < 0.005$). As Table 6-12 shows that restaurant/bar and related work and manufacturing in the informal sector, as well as finance, insurance and business services in the formal sector seem to have a higher proportion of migrants who quit their initial job within a year. This indicates that these three areas of employment are unsatisfactory to migrants and they would therefore often change jobs.

This is possibly because these sectors, in particular restaurant/bar and manufacturing work, do not require skills and are not very prestigious jobs. Also, these jobs are relatively easy to enter and are numerous in the city. Migrants therefore have a choice of such jobs, resulting in them quitting easily if they feel another job is better paid, more secure or, for example, with a better and more famous establishment.

**Table 6-12: Occupational composition of the respondents
who landed their first job within 12 months**

Occupational composition	Male		Female		Total	
Labour in manufacturing	2	10.0	3	27.27	5	16.13
Semi-skilled construction work	1	5.0	0		1	3.23
Labour in electricity, gas, water & sanitary services	2	10.0	0		2	6.45
Tailor/laundry & related work	2	10.0	0		2	6.45
Craft & trades person	0		0		0	
Labour in motor repair & related work	2	10.0	2	18.18	4	12.90
Restaurant/bar & related work	4	20.0	4	36.36	8	25.81
Sub-total for informal sectors	13	65.0	9	81.82	22	70.97
Finance, insurance and business services	5	25.0	2	18.18	7	22.58
Government service	1	5.0	0		1	3.23
Labour in hi-tech industry	1	5.0	0		1	3.23
Sub-total for formal sectors	7	35.0	2	18.18	9	29.03
Total	20	100.0	11	100.0	31	100.0

Source: results of statistical analysis

X^2_1 : 34.364, $P_1 < 0.005$, S; X^2_2 : 6.611, $P_2 > 0.358$, NS.

Note: (1) The obtained P_1 -value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which occupation composition and quitting job within 12 months are unrelated. (2) The obtained P_2 -value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which quitting job with 12 months and gender are unrelated.

6.5 Conclusion

The results of this study, as set out in this chapter, corroborates findings in the literature such as that of Gugler (1997) and Massey *et al* (1993,1994) on the issue that migrants are significantly younger, tend to be male, single and with a higher level of education. It also corroborates the literature on the importance of earlier settler-relatives or friends to new migrants in the city, and of migrants being well prepared and having contact with the urban market before migration. However, the study's findings disprove some arguments in the literature, such as that of Anzorean & Poussard (1985) and Gurgess *et al* (1977), in particular the issue on migrants' economic status - that migrants in the place of origin are poor, landless and unemployed. In addition, unlike the argument proposed by Todaro (1977) and Oberai (1993) that the job seekers among migrants in the urban labour market will either become totally unemployed or seek casual and part-time employment, or that they will face uncertainty and insecurity in the urban labour market, this study's findings indicate that the majority of migrants (70.7%) are employed immediately (within a week) after their move to Taipei city.

The findings also provide a clear picture of the development from what was supposed to be mobility, or circulation, or other forms of population movements - as defined by different scholars and as discussed in Chapter 2-2 and summarised in Table 2-5 - to migration in the

case of student migrants who left I-Lan county to Taipei for further education. This is because, for some scholars, this study's student migrants could be those commuters or oscillators who only left the county for further education and presumed that they will return to the place of origin after completing their education. However, in this case study, most student migrants did not return to the county but had settled down in Taipei permanently after completing their education. This is an important finding as the number of the student migrants is substantial in the sample. This, in turn, could lead one to conclude that if they are not migrants, the study fails to live up to its main argument about migration.

The findings are given briefly below:

Rural-urban migrants differ from non-migrants (the stayers) in terms of age and gender composition, marital status, educational level and economic status. All the criteria examined in this chapter indicate that the (migrant) population tends to be single, has a younger age composition, is dominated by males and those with higher educational levels when compared with the stayers (in the place of origin). Moreover, the difference between non-migrant (stayers) and pre-migrant respondents in terms of occupational composition is that migrants have better skills to respond to the demands of the urban labour market. In other words, migrants during the year before migration had a much higher proportion of labour in electricity, gas, water and sanitary service, labour in motor repair and semi-skilled construction workers than stayers, and the populations in Taipei city and Taiwan as a whole.

In terms of occupational composition, students, labourers in manufacturing, government employees, labour in electricity, gas, water and sanitary services and labour in finance, insurance and business services as well as some semi-skilled workers were mostly rural-urban migrants. This is because of the lack of universities and more specialised jobs in the county. In addition, migrants tended to get their first jobs in the informal sector (such as in manufacturing, restaurant/bar and related work, semi-construction work and electricity, gas, water and sanitary services). However, job status improved after a period of stay in the city. The finding on migrants' economic status in this study is that the majority of pre-migrants were in economic strata²³ that were well above the average in I-Lan county. In other words, migrants are better off than stayers.

²³ Apart from their economic strata, as examined in this chapter, a further investigation on the motivation (the most important reason for moving out of the village to Taipei city) for out-migration to Taipei city will be provided in Chapter 7, which aims to further test the assumption that the migrant respondents were pushed out of the place of origin.

In the process of rural-urban migration, relatives and/or friends play an important role in helping migrants. Most migrants, even those who did not have a job offer before their arrival in the city, had a realistic idea regarding what jobs were available in the urban labour market. The main sectors in which migrants who did not have a job offer before migration obtained their first jobs were those in the informal sector, such as motor repair and factory work. The motor repair, tailoring/laundry, factory and semi-skilled construction sectors emerge as the easiest points of entry for migrants who have particular skills, yet were not offered a job before migration and wanted to secure a first job in the urban labour market as soon as possible.

Chapter 7: The Process of and Motivation for Migration

Introduction

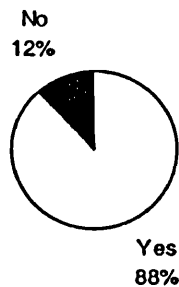
This chapter uses the study findings to test the debates in the literature on the process of migration and to examine the issue of the motivation for rural-urban migration. Common push factors in most developing countries identified in the literature are: inadequate income, lack of sufficient or productive land, lack of alternative economic opportunities (high unemployment/under-employment), absence of sanitation and medical services, and, in some places, lack of security (as discussed in chapters 3 and 4 and summarised in Literature Review Table 3, Appendix 4). Pull factors are all the alternatives available in the city - better infrastructure, more facilities, better income and better living standards - that attract rural dwellers to move to the city. The push-pull model, which is the most cited motivation for rural-urban migration in developing countries, differs from the reason for migration in most developed countries - job transfers and other reasons not related to the search for a higher income. However, what is the motivation behind the migration of I-Lan county's villagers to Taipei city?

The chapter comprises five sections. Section 7.1 examines migrants' networks in the city before migration and the relationship with their relatives in I-Lan county. Section 7.2 provides the reasons for staying in I-Lan county, while section 7.3 gives the reasons for leaving the county. Section 7.4 presents the characteristics of migrants who would be prepared to return to the place of origin. Lastly, section 7.5 is a conclusion of this chapter.

7.1 Migrants' Support Networks and the Phases of Migration

This section examines the particular argument that the majority of migrants are well prepared and have had contact with the city before migration (see chapters 3 and 4 and as summarised in Literature Review Table 2, Appendix 4). The findings, as shown in Figure 7-1, indicate that I-Lan to Taipei city migrants are well connected and informed during the year before migration as the majority of migrants had visited the city during the year before migration. However, there is no significant association between the variables of having visited Taipei before migration and migrants' gender, marital status and migrants' last employment in I-Lan ($P > 0.05$ see Tables 5A-11 and 5A-12 in Appendix 5).

Figure 7-1: Visited Taipei city during the year before migration?



Source: drawing based on Tables 5A-11, 5A-12, Frequency Tables

This is possible because most people can afford such travelling costs, especially in the case of the capital city, Taipei, which is the closest destination for I-Lan county's residents who want to visit another part of the country. Especially those migrants who plan to move out of I-Lan to Taipei city would take the precaution of visiting the city before making a final decision. Migrants also want to make sure that they will be able to find comfort in the cultural, traditional and ethnic links in the city before migration. The findings of many empirical studies, such as those of Fassmann & Manz (1994) and Massey *et al* (1993 & 1994), have concurred with the finding of this study.

As one of the migrants, Miss Sung (see in-depth interview Case 6-4) said:

I came to visit Taipei for a couple of times before the year of migration, since I was not sure that Taipei was the place I was expecting it to be. I saw the many job opportunities the city was offering. In addition, I heard from Taipei natives that there was an I-Lan county fellows association (宜蘭同鄉會) where I could seek help. Then I felt much better about the idea of moving to the city, and I did eventually.

According to Mrs. Liu (see in-depth interview Case 6-6):

I visited Taipei very often, especially before I decided to move to Taipei. Since I do not like to change to a new environment, I came to Taipei to make sure I could have someone to communicate with in Taipei in case I needed some help or I wanted to chat to someone. Then I found two or three people with whom I have a surname association (宗親會) and I-Lan county fellows association (宜蘭同鄉會). Afterwards, I thought things were not that difficult in Taipei and I moved.

The finding that the majority of migrants (67.5%, or 135 in 200 as shown in Table 7-3) move to the city first on migration corroborates with the literature such as that of Gugler (1997) and Eames (1970). Table 7-1 indicates that there is a statistically significant association between who came

with migrants at first, marital status and gender structure ($p < 0.05$). In addition, the table shows that a higher proportion of single male migrants came to the city alone with 81.7% (89 in 109 respondents) compared with 63.1% (41 in 65) of single female migrants. More significantly, 50% (4 in 8) of married male migrants came to the city alone compared with 6.3% (1 in 16) of married female migrants. By contrast, a higher proportion of married female migrants came to the city with their families with 93.8% (15 in 16) compared with 50% (4 in 8) of males.

Table 7-1: Who came with migrants by marital status and gender ratio

	Single		Married		other		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Alone	89 (81.65)	41 (63.08)	4 (50.0)	1 (6.25)	0	0	135 (67.5)
With Family ¹	12 (11.01)	15 (23.08)	4 (50.0)	15 (93.75)	2 (100.0)	0	48 (24.0)
Other	8 (7.34)	9 (13.84)	0	0	0	0	17 (8.5)
Total	109 (100.0)	65 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	2	0	200 (100.0)

Source: result of statistical analysis; X^2_1 - Marital status: 184.3, $p < 0.001$, S; X^2_2 - Gender = 37.167, $p < 0.01$, S

Note: The obtained P-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender, marital status and who moved to the city with migrants are unrelated.

The explanation for the higher percentage of women, especially married women, coming to the city with their families compared with male migrants is partly because, in Chinese society, daughters often remain with their families until they get married. In addition, parents are still conservative and concerned about the safety of their daughters in a big city such as Taipei, which has a high crime rate. Therefore, they would not normally allow their daughters to move to the city unless the whole family migrated with them. At the very least, the daughters are expected to live with relatives in the city. In this regard, the majority of both single male and female migrants who have just completed high school (aged 19) or secondary school (aged 16)² mostly go to the city to undergo further education. Therefore, most of them would go on their own, but will be looked after by relatives who live in the city (as illustrated in Case 7-1). As one of I-Lan county's migrants, Miss Su, said:

¹ The term 'family' in this study refers to all the members of the family, including those who lived under the same roof with migrant respondents before their departure, in other words, wife or husband, child or children and parent(s) or grand-parent(s). It is noticed that all the above members (variables) were listed separately in the questionnaire sheet. However, to enable the statistical analysis (test), all variables were grouped into one category, 'family'. This is because if all members (variables) were separately classified, it would lead to statistically insignificant test results, as the numbers would be too small.

² In Taiwan, compulsory education - up to age 15 - requires the completion of high school or polytechnic school education. It is uncommon for people to quit school and get a job at that age, as they are more likely to continue their education, or join the military due to the country's policy of compulsory conscription. This policy requires all men of 19 years or older to join the military for 3 year if they only have a secondary or high school qualification, and 2 years if they have a college, university or higher education. Therefore, those who quit school early have no choice but to join the military before finding a job (National Military Regulation).

I fought very hard to come and study in the city. Fortunately I have been quite good at my studies since I was small³. I witnessed some of my relatives' daughters, who were not very fond of studying and would like to come to the city for employment, but who were not allowed to move to the city alone. The reason for this that I heard from them was that their parents were worried about the security in Taipei and also partly that their parents expected them to work nearby in their villages where they could be looked after by their families.

Case 7-1: Miss Su - student migrant - Coming alone to the city for education

(Date of interview: 01/11, 1998)

Miss Su was 27 years old and single at the time of the interview in November 1998. She migrated alone to Taipei in 1988 to study at National Chung-Ching University after completing high school in I-Lan county. The decision was originally hers, but her parents had agreed to it. She was further encouraged in her decision by her uncle and his family in Taipei, who also undertook to take care of her in the city. She had relatives in Taipei, as well as in Taichung and Koashung cities. Before her migration, she had visited Taipei city more than other city as a tourist and had visited her relatives with her parents many times. After 4 years at university she graduated and secured a job as a nurse in Taipei. She mentioned that her uncle, who is a doctor at the same hospital, had recommended her for the job.

Miss Su indicated that because she is the only child in her family, her parents eventually migrated to live with her in 1994. The main reasons for choosing Taipei, according to her, was the advantage of having an uncle who lived there, because the city has prestigious universities compared with the other two cities - which was promising for her future career - and because she liked Taipei more than I-Lan and the other cities, judging by what she had seen during her many earlier visits. She concluded that, to date she was quite happy with her education, job and with living in Taipei, especially since her parents came to live with her. However, like most migrants from I-Lan, she and her parents remained in contact with the county through either irregular visits or other means of communication.

As mentioned earlier, many scholars, including Guglar (1997) and Eames (1970), found that migrants often came to the city alone at first and it was not until they had found jobs and accommodation that they brought their families from the rural areas to live with them in the city. In this study, the issue is discussed in terms of age, marital status and gender in order to establish whether the mentioned variables have an impact. To examine who came with migrants, regression analysis⁴ was used as a statistical technique that could provide a straightforward description of how the two variables - who came with migrants and age - related in the sample.

³ In Chinese society, parents are very supportive of children who are good students. In the case of Miss Su, she was luckier as she was the only child in her family, which eliminated the discrimination between sons and daughters by parents.

⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 5, not all variables are suitable for use in regression analysis. Therefore Chi-square or t-test analysis is used as an alternative method.

Firstly⁵, according to the logistic regression model results, as shown in Table 7-1 (1) below, migrants' age has a statistically significant impact on whether migrants came to the city alone or with relatives. The explanation is that younger migrants ($R = -0.13$) are more likely than older migrants to come to the city alone.

Regression model 7-1: Who came with migrants on migrating by age

(1) Coming alone on migrating (Dependent variable):

	B	S.E	P <	R
Age (Independent variable)	-0.925	0.368	0.012	-0.130
Constant	0.925	0.174	1.000	

Note: -2log Likelihood: 245.992, χ^2 : 6.240, Goodness of Fit: 200.000, S.

Secondly⁶, for migrants who came with their families, regression model 7-1(2) shows that older migrants ($R = 0.25$) were also more likely than younger migrants to come with their families on migrating.

(2) Coming with family on migrating (Dependent variable):

	B	S.E	P <	R
Age (Independent variable)	1.5230	0.384	0.001	0.250
Constant	-1.523	0.205	1.000	

Note: -2log Likelihood: 204.924, χ^2 : 15.508, Goodness of Fit: 199.991, S.

According to statistical analysis, as illustrated in Table 7-2, there is a significant association between the reasons for coming to the city alone at first, gender and marital status ($p < 0.05$). Furthermore, more men (51.6%, or 48 in 93), especially married male migrants (80%, or 4 in 5) moved to the city alone in order to find a job first compared with their female (22.5%, or 9 in 40) counterparts.

The table indicates that male migrants, especially married male migrants, came to the city alone at first to find a job. This corroborates the earlier explanation that most parents would not allow their young daughters to come to Taipei alone to work, which, in turn, is supported by the earlier finding that in Confucian society, girls stay with their parents before marriage and follow their husbands

⁵ The formula for the regression model of the relationship between the migrants coming to the city alone and their age can be explained as follows:

$$Y - \text{migrants coming alone on migrating} = a \bullet \text{age} + b$$

Where (x: age) and (y) are the variables: who came with migrants on migrating and age. The constant (b) is the (y) intercept, and the constant (a) is the slope, that is, $\text{Migrants coming alone on migrating} = -0.925 (\text{age}) + 0.925$
(0.368) (0.174)

⁶ $\text{Migrants coming with family on migrating} = 1.523 (\text{age}) - 1.523$
(0.384) (0.205)

after marriage. This again shows that a woman travelling alone is not common, even after marriage.

Table 7-2: The reasons for coming to Taipei alone at first by marital status and gender ratio

Reason for coming alone at first	Single		Married		Other		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
To find a job first	44 50.57	9 23.08	4 100.0	0	0	0	57 42.86
Only respondent needs to come to the city	30 34.48	19 48.72	0	1 100.0	0	0	50 37.59
Come to join the rest of the family	5 5.75	6 15.38	0	0	0	0	11 8.27
Feels insecure about the prospect of finding a job in the city	8 9.20	5 12.82	0	0	2 100.0	0	15 11.28
Total	87 100.0	39 100.0	4 100.0	1 100.0	2 100.0	0	133 100.0

Source: result of statistical analysis

X^2_1 - Marital status: 18.942, $P_1 < 0.004$, S; X^2_2 - Gender: 11.081, $P_2 < 0.011$, S.

Note: The obtained P-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender, marital status and migrants' reasons for coming to the city alone at first are unrelated.

To explain why migrants come alone to the city in relation to migrants' age, regression analysis was used as a statistical technique that could provide a straightforward description of how the dependent variables relate in the sample. The dependent variables are the reasons for coming to the city alone at first (firstly, only the respondent needs to live in the city, for example, to undergo education; secondly, the respondent was offered a job in the city but does not yet feel secure there; thirdly, the respondent came to look for a job in the city; and lastly, the respondent is joining relatives in the city), while the independent variable is age. The formula for the regression model of the relationship between coming to the city alone and age can be explained as follows:

Firstly⁷, the results below, as shown in Table 7-2 (1), show that younger migrants ($R = -0.161$) were more likely than older migrants to come to the city alone because only they needed to live in the city, for example, to undergo further education.

Regression model 7-2: Reasons for coming alone on migrating

(1) Only respondents need to live in the city, for example, to undergo further education (Dependent variable)

	B	S.E	P<	R
Age (Independent variable)	-1.964	0.768	0.011	-0.161
Constant	-0.288	0.191	0.132	

Note: $-2\log$ Likelihood: 166.180, χ^2 : 9.923, Goodness of Fit: 133.000, S.

⁷ The formula for the regression model of the relationship between the reason for coming alone and age can be explained as follows:

Y - reason for migrants coming alone on migrating = $a \bullet$ migrants' age before migration + b

Where (x) and (y) are the variable: reason for coming alone and age. The constant (b) is the (y) intercept, and the constant (a) is the slope, that is,

Reason on only respondents need to live in the city (such as for educational attainment) = $-1.964 - 0.288$
(0.768) (0.191)

Secondly⁸, the results below, as shown in Table 7-2 (2), show that older migrants ($R = 0.22$) were more likely than younger migrants to come alone at first because they were offered a job but did not yet feel secure in the city. Furthermore, while these older migrants were offered a job in the city, they were not sure about whether they would eventually settle in the city as the job they had been offered might not be satisfactory or because of other reasons, such as accommodation.

(2) Job was offered but not yet feeling secure in the city (Dependent variable)

	B	S.E	P <	R
Age (Independent variable)	1.521	0.595	0.012	0.220
Constant	-2.437	0.348	0.000	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: $-2\log$ Likelihood: 87.767, χ^2 : 5.943, Goodness of Fit: 132.994, S.

Finally, when the dependent variables of looking for a job first and coming to join relatives and the independent variable of age were introduced, the association became insignificant ($p > 0.05$).

The indication that age has a statistically significant impact on migrants who moved to the city alone at first to undergo further education or because they had been offered a job but were not yet feeling secure in the city is consistent with the earlier findings. In this study, most migrants are young and single, which explains the fact that they came to the city on their own at first, either because they had been offered work (older subjects), or to undergo further education (younger subjects). Therefore, when the dependent variables of looking for a job first and family-related reasons were introduced, they were insignificant.

In addition, this finding supports the earlier finding that female migrants do not commonly come to the city alone to work (as illustrated in the in-depth interview, Case 7-1). Those who did, tended to be older or of a more independent age, for example, married, widowed, divorced or the head of a family (however, this is only a minority in this study). Where female migrants came to Taipei alone to undergo education, as mentioned previously, they either had relatives looking after them in the city or they lived on the college or university campus for the duration of their stay.

Although some students might return to their villages after completing their education, they are excluded from this study. This is because the study only focuses on people who out-migrated from

⁸Secondly, the formula for the regression model of the relationship between the reason of having been offered a job and not feeling secure in the city yet and age can be explained as follows:

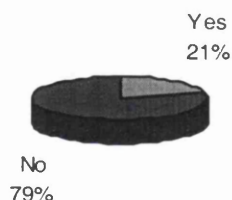
Reason on job being offered and not feel secure in the city yet = $1.521 - 2.437$
 $(0.595) \quad (0.348)$

I-Lan county to Taipei city and who, as defined in Chapter 2, had settled in Taipei permanently for 18 months or longer, for example as presented in Case 7-1. The target group of migrant interviewees was selected from the migration registration lists from the period 1985 to 1994.

Gugler (1997) and Eames (1970) indicate that before rural-urban migrants settle down in the urban areas, their families remain in rural areas where they either receive remittances from migrants or eventually move from to stay with migrants in the city. However, this is not the case for this study because, as shown in Figure 7-1, nearly 80% of migrants did not send remittances to their villages. The findings indicate that migrants' relatives in the village are not poor. This further corroborates the findings in Chapter 6 on the economic position of migrants in the pre-migration period that the majority of migrants at the place of origin are better off than those who remain in I-Lan county.

Figure 7-2: The percentage of migrants' families in I-Lan county who receive remittances

Are you sending remittances to the village?



Source: results of statistical analysis

In addition, Table 7-3 shows that 75% (150 in 200) of the migrants who came to Taipei alone remained so since no relatives have joined them. The results of the statistical analysis reveal that there is a significant association between gender and how long migrants stay in the city alone ($p < 0.028$). The families of male migrants (64%, or 32 in 50), including single and married male migrants, tend to join them at a later stage than in the case of female migrants (36%, or 18 in 50). This result is in accordance with previous research, as discussed in Chapter 4, because in traditional Taiwanese society parents would live with their sons in their old age. In other words, sons are responsible for their parents, unless the only child in the family is a daughter. As Mr. Chung described:

I worked quite hard to support my family for my entire life. I do hope my children, especially my son, will look after me nicely in my old age as I am doing now for my old-aged parents, whom I brought from I-Lan county to live with us.

Table 7-3: Duration of staying alone by marital status and gender ratio

Q: For how long did you stay alone before your family joined you?	Single		Married		Other		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
No one joined	35 92.11	18 85.71	50 63.29	38 73.08	2 100.0	7 87.5	150 75.0
Sub-total for those whose families followed	3 7.89	3 14.29	29 36.71	14 26.92	0	1 12.5	50 25.5
At the same time	0	0	0	2 3.85	0	0	2 1.0
Less than 3 months	0	0	2 2.53	0	0	0	2 1.0
More than 3 months, less than 6 months	0	0	2 2.53	0	0	0	2 1.0
More than 6 months, less than 1 year	0	3 3.80	3 3.80	4 7.69	0	0	10 5.0
More than 1 year, less than 2 years	2 5.26	0	3 3.80	1 1.92	0	0	6 3.0
More than 2 years, less than 3 years	1 2.63	0	3 3.80	0	0	0	4 2.0
More than 3 years	0	0	16 20.25	7 13.46	0	1 12.5	24 12.0
Total	38 100.0	21 100.0	4 100.0	52 100.0	2 100.0	8 100.0	200 100.0

Source: results of statistical analysis

X^2_1 - Marital status: 11.244, $P_1 = 0.508$, NS; X^2_2 - Gender: 14.120, $P_2 < 0.028$, S.

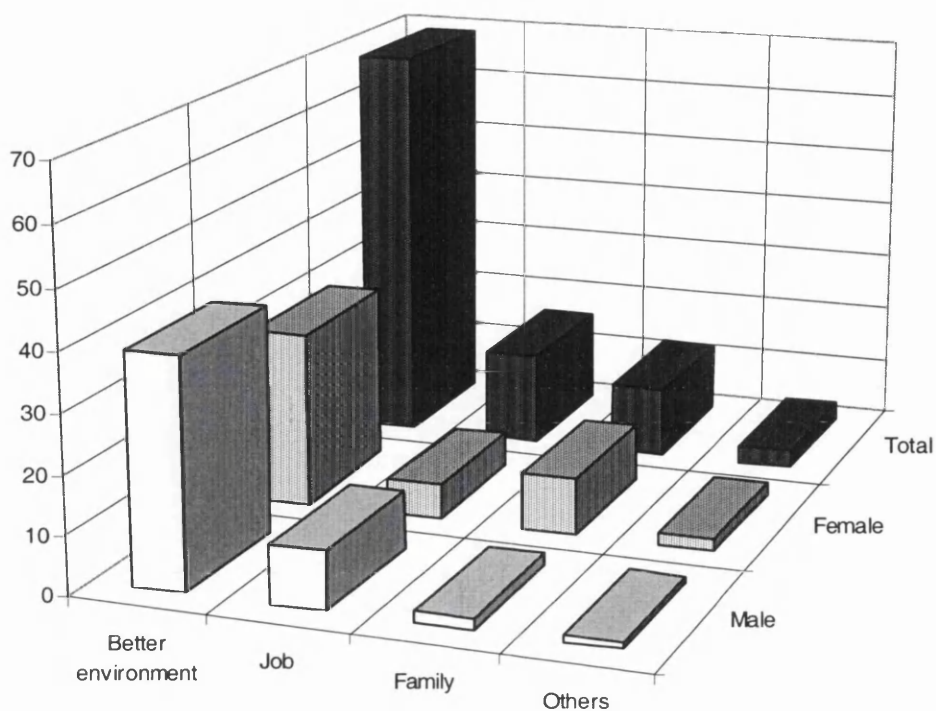
Note: (1) The obtained P_1 -value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which duration of stay alone and marital status are unrelated. (2) The obtained P_2 -value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and who came to the city to join migrants are unrelated.

In the case of most female migrants who came alone to undergo further education and who lived either on campus in Taipei or with their relatives, they did not need to be joined by their families. In conclusion, there is no evidence to support the argument found in the literature that when rural-urban migrants settle in urban areas their families remain in rural areas where they either receive remittances from migrants or eventually move from to stay with migrants.

7.2 Pull Factors in I-Lan county - Most important reason for staying in the place of origin

This section examines the pull factors of I-Lan county that keep many of its population there. The issue is discussed in relation to the studied population's gender and age structure, and marital status. The results of the statistical analysis reveal there is a statistically significant association between the reason for staying in I-Lan county and gender ($\chi^2 = 11.775$, $p < 0.008$), but the association became insignificant after the introduction of the variable of stayers' marital status ($\chi^2 = 2.872$, $p = 0.412 > 0.05$). As shown in Figure 7-3, males tend to dominate among those staying in I-Lan because of a better environment.

Figure 7-3: Most important reasons for staying in the place of origin by gender



Source: drawing based on Table 5A-13 in Appendix 5, Frequency Tables

In addition, men tend to have a higher proportion in the group that cited job-related reasons as the second-most important reason for staying in I-Lan (19%), while women outnumber men in the group that cited family-related reasons (21%). The majority of both male and female stayers cited a better environment as their main reason for staying. However, the reason why male respondents dominate in the job-related group is possibly due to the fact that they, especially men who are the head of the family, are responsible for supporting the family, so they have to be employed. For them to change jobs or migrate to a new place means a lot of responsibility. In addition, since aged parents also live with their sons (see Chapter 4, section 4), men also have to take into account their parents' views on moving - and most of the elderly Taiwanese population would not be inclined to move from their birthplace. The situation is further illustrated by an in-depth interview with Mr. Wu, Case 7-2.

Case 7-2: Mr. Wu - Factors influencing his decision to stay in I-Lan county

(Date of interview:25/11,1998)

Owning land in I-Lan county

Mr. Wu was 49 years old and married with four children at the time of the interview in November 1998. He had a high school qualification and had worked in his own agricultural equipment shop. He had relatives and some friends living in the city to whom he had paid many visits. According to him, he and his family never considered migrating to the city, even though some of his relatives and friends had encouraged him to do so.

The main reason for him staying in I-Lan is what he called the traditional bond with his land and the house that he inherited from his parents. He also said that he liked to visit the city, especially Taipei, but he did not want to live there. However, he admitted that he would not prevent any of his children migrating to Taipei when they had finished high school. According to him, what troubled him about big cities like Taipei was that they were too crowded, expensive and lacked community life. Mr. Wu concluded that he was satisfied with living in I-Lan with his family and would not migrate in the future.

Yet, this result can be explained by the fact that women, especially in economic terms (however, as discussed later, most female migrants were allowed to migrate to Taipei for education, and would be looked after by their relatives in Taipei), traditionally stay with their parents before marriage, they depend on their husbands after marriage and are expected to be supported by their children⁹ after their husband's death. Although in most urban areas of Taiwan in the present day this view has evolved as a result of changes in society and economic development, and the influence of Western culture, in many rural areas such as I-Lan county it is still popular. This view is illustrated by an in-depth interview with Mrs. Yean, Case 7-3.

⁹ In a full cycle of reciprocity of an interdependent relationship in Confucian society, the child depends on the parents and later the aged parents depend on the children.

Case 7-3: Mrs. Yean - Factors influencing her decision to stay in I-Lan county

(Date of interview: 20/11,1998)

Owning no land in I-Lan county

Mrs. Yean was 54 years old and married with three sons, one of whom lived with her at the time of the interview in November 1998. She obtained only a secondary school qualification 39 years ago and had had many different jobs since then. At the time of the interview she was a food seller in the I-Lan town centre. She had relatives living in Taipei and had visited them in the last three years before the interview.

Mrs. Yean admitted that she used to consider migrating, not to Taipei (which she said was “too noisy and polluted”) but to Taichung, but it had never materialised. The main reason was that she and her husband did not have the courage to move, even though she believed she could be better off (although she is not sure at all) if she migrated to a bigger city. In addition, she and her family were not so desperately poor as to be forced to migrate from I-Lan county. She also liked the environment in the county compared with that of Taipei, which she said, apart from potential business opportunities, would not offer her and her husband a good life, especially after retirement. Moreover, she also mentioned that she and her husband did not want to live far from their sons and grandchildren, who also remained in I-Lan county.

The study further examines each reason for staying in relation to the studied population’s age, level of education and economic status. In order to do this, regression analysis was used as a statistical technique that could provide a straightforward description of how the two variables - the dependent variable (reasons for staying - environment, job, family and other reasons) and independent variable (age, level of education and economic status) - relate in the sample.

As a result of regression analysis as shown below (after using the Forward Stepwise Selection Method), the variables of a better environment and job-related reasons have a significant association with the important indicator of age, but not the level of education or economic status. In addition, the associations were insignificant after the introduction of the variables of family-related and other reasons¹⁰.

¹⁰ More specifically, the formula of the regression model for the relationship between stayers’ reason for remaining in the place of origin and their age can be explained as follows:

$$Y - \text{reason for staying} = a + b \cdot \text{age} + c \cdot \text{educational level} + d$$

Where (x: age and economic status) and (y) are the variables: reasons for staying and age, educational level and economic status. The constant (c) is the (y) intercept and the constant (a and b) is the slope, that is,

$$\text{Reason for staying} = 1.29 (\text{age}) - 0.75 (\text{edu.level}) - 0.63 (\text{car}) - 1.01 (\text{house}) + 0.04 (\text{land}) + 1.12$$

(0.55) (0.74) (0.53) (0.61) (0.45) (0.92)

Regression model 7-3: Reasons for staying in I-Lan county

	B	S.E	P	R
Independent variables				
Age	1.289	0.547	0.019	0.171
Educational level	-0.751	0.7514	0.319	0.000
Car	-0.629	0.525	0.231	0.000
House	-1.009	0.611	0.099	-0.077
Land	0.042	0.447	0.926	0.000
Constant	1.122	0.921	0.223	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis . Note: -2log Likelihood: 105.557, χ^2 : 15.172, Goodness of Fit: 90.838, S.
The obtained P-values of level of education and economic status are above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of stayers in which the reasons for staying, educational level and economic status are unrelated, NS.

Since the relationships between the reason for staying and the variables of educational level, car, house and land ownership are not significant ($p > 0.05$), but that with the variable of age is, those non-significant variables can be removed from the model. This is the so-called Forward Stepwise Selection Method. Therefore, after adopting this method, the regression analysis below can be statistically explained that, firstly¹¹ as shown in regression model 7-3 (1), subjects tend to stay in I-Lan county for a better environment as they grow older ($R = 0.249$)

(1) Reason of better environment (Dependent variable): After adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method

	B	S.E	P	R
Age(independent variable)	1.427	0.463	0.001	0.249
Constant	-7.40	0.333	1.000	

Note: -2log Likelihood: 110.831, χ^2 : 9.898, Goodness of Fit: 97.999, S.

Secondly, as shown in regression model 7-3 (2) if age decreases ($R = -0.256$), the tendency of staying in I-Lan county for a better environment decreases and the respondents tend to stay for job-related reasons¹².

(2) Job-related reason (Dependent variable):

	B	S.E	P	R
Age (independent variable)	-1.718	0.637	0.007	-0.256
Constant	2.674	0.517	0.000	

Note: -2log Likelihood: 72.204, χ^2 : 8.179, Goodness of Fit: 97.982, S.

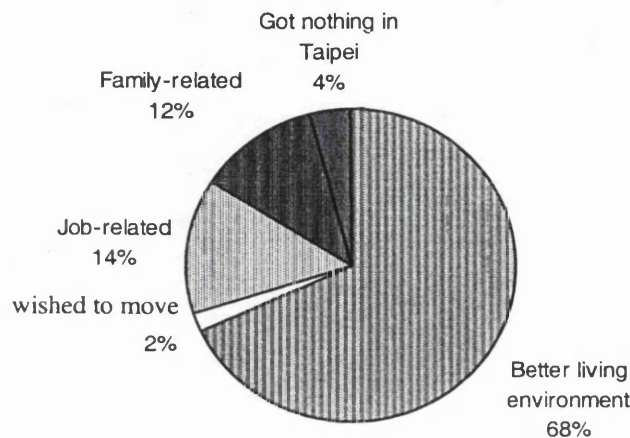
The studied population who cited the reason of I-Lan county’s pleasant environment as their main reason for staying in the county tend to be older than those who cited job-related reasons for staying.

¹¹ The formula for stayers’ reason for staying, a better environment, to the factor of stayers’ age is as follows:
Reason of better environment for staying = 1.427 (age) - 7.40
(0.463) (0.333)

¹² The formula and the regression analysis are explained as follows:
The reason of better environment for staying = - 1.718 (age) + 2.674
(0.637) (0.517)

Moreover, Figure 7-1 illustrates that, when the stayers were asked whether they had willingness to move to Taipei or not, 68% of them had no wish to move and cited the reason of Lan having a better living environment, while only 2% of stayers wished to move. This finding is not surprising, possibly not only in the case of this study but also for other countries where big cities, such as Taipei, are heavily polluted and have a higher crime rate compared with the relatively peaceful countryside (A comparison of environment: life in Taipei city and I-Lan county is shown in the photos at the end of the chapter).

Figure 7-4: Willingness of not moving to Taipei city with stated reasons?



Source: results of statistical analysis

This is one of the possible reasons for the proposal to develop I-Lan county as a retreat for the elderly or retired population of surrounding urban areas, including Taipei city (Harris:1992b). In the case of the younger population, who tend to stay in I-Lan for job-related reasons, they have already found satisfactory jobs in the county. Besides, if they have parents living with them or have inherited property in the county, these factors also greatly influence their decision to stay, as mentioned above. Two earlier in-depth interviews with Mr. Wu, Case 7-2, and Mrs. Yuan, Case 7-3, illustrate this view.

7.3 Push-Pull Factors Affecting Migrant Respondents to Leave I-Lan County

In order to make data more presentable, the reasons given by migrant respondents are grouped into six major categories: employment and job-related; education and education-related; marriage and family-related; seeking higher income; seeking better living conditions, and other reasons. The survey results, listed in Table 7-4, indicate that employment and job-related reasons and education and education-related reasons are the most common factors influencing the decision of individual

migrants to leave I-Lan county, accounting for 39.5% and 37% respectively. In other words, more than 76% of the total respondents are motivated by these two categories of reasons.

Table 7-4: Most important reasons for migration as given by migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city

Major Categories of Reasons				Sub-categories of Reasons			
Unit: %	Male	Female	Total	Unit: %	Male	Female	Total
To seek a higher income	13 (10.92)	9 (11.11)	22 (11.0)	1. Low-paid job 2. To seek higher income	6 (5.04) 7 (5.88)	6 (7.41) 3 (3.70)	12 (6.0) 10 (5.0)
Sub-total for reasons other than seeking for a higher income as follows:	106 (89.08)	72 (88.89)	178 (89.0)				178 (89.0)
Employment & job-related	55 (46.22)	24 (29.63)	79 (39.5)	1. Job transfer/Job assignment 2. To seek a specific type of job/For better job opportunities 3. More opportunities in Taipei for job specialisation or acquiring more skills 5. Bought land/Have business in Taipei 7. Nature of work unsatisfactory	12 (10.08) 18 (15.13) 21 (17.65) 4 (3.36) 0	11 (13.58) 7 (8.64) 2 (2.47) 0 4 (4.94)	23 (11.5) 25 (12.5) 23 (11.5) 4 (2.0) 4 (2.0)
Education	42 (35.30)	32 (39.51)	74 (37.0)	To seek education for self	42 (35.30)	32 (39.51)	74 (37.0)
Family-related reason	9 (7.56)	9 (11.11)	18 (9.0)	1. To accompany family 2. Have other friends and relatives in Taipei city	7 (5.88) 2 (1.68)	7 (8.64) 2 (2.47)	14 (7.0) 4 (2.0)
Seeking better living conditions	0	5 (6.17)	5 (2.5)	1. To live closer to a higher quality health service: hospitals or clinics 2. To have better access to luxurious entertainment facilities	0	5 (6.18)	5 (2.5)
Other reasons	0	2 (2.47)	2 (1.0)	1. Retirement from enterprises 2. Reasons not stated or other reasons	0 0	1 (1.23) 1 (1.23)	1 (0.5) 1 (0.5)
Total	119 (100)	81 (100)	200 (100)		119 (100)	81 (100)	200 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis. $X^2 = 14.548$, $p < 0.012$, S.

Note: The obtained p-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and reasons for out-migration are unrelated.

According to the results of the statistical analysis, there is a significant association between gender and the reason for migration ($p < 0.012$). As shown in Table 7-4, the majority of male migrants tend to migrate for job-related reasons, while the majority of female migrants tend to migrate for education-related reasons. The rest of the findings are summarised in Table 7-4. These results are consistent with the argument discussed in Chapter 4 that women, especially younger females, are more protected by their parents, who only give their permission for a move to the city when it is for further education. They believe their daughters will be well looked after if they reside in colleges or universities or with their relatives in the city. In summary, the results of Table 7-4 and the two in-depth interviews with Miss Lin and Mr. Chow, Cases 7-4 and 7-5, strongly support the hypothesis that the majority of migrants from I-Lan to Taipei city leave because of factors other than the pursuit of increased income¹³.

¹³ It is noticed that there is a clear difference between the reason of seeking a better income, employment and job-related reasons, and education and education-related reasons. The reason for migration to seek a better income refers to those who wanted to increase their income at the time of migration. In contrast, those who made the decision to

Case 7-4: Miss Lin - Factors influencing her decision to migrate (Date of interview: 29/10,1998)

Miss Lin was 25 years old and single at the time of the interview in October 1998. She migrated to Taipei alone in 1990. She had relatives in the city who encouraged her to study and live in Taipei. She used to live on the university campus and visited her relatives in the city most weekends. Her main purpose at the time of migration was to study at Taipei Cultural University, where her aunt's family helped her obtain the necessary information. Therefore, studying at the university in Taipei, which she could not do in I-Lan, was her main reason for migration. In addition, her luxurious lifestyle in the city, which included fashionable clothes by famous designers, music megastores, glamorous department stores etc and being independent from her parents, also influenced her decision to migrate.

At the time of the interview, she worked as an assistant manager at a private shoe import and export company. She had saved some capital and, with the help of her parents in I-Lan, had bought a one-bedroom flat in the city. Miss Lin concluded that she was very happy with her decision to migrate and wanted to persuade her parents to join her. Miss Lin said she had never experienced any discrimination and had not been mistreated because of her origin. She was very surprised and wanted to know the researcher's reason for raising this question. She said she believed this could not happen to Taiwanese-born migrants, but possibly to other foreign contract workers or, to a lesser extent, immigrants from the Chinese mainland.

Case 7-5: Mr. Chow - Factors influencing his decision to migrate (Date of interview: 25/09,1998)

Mr. Chow was 38 years old and married with two children at the time of the interview in October 1998. He migrated to Taipei in 1992. He had attained a high school education and had worked as a farmer on his own land, which he had inherited from his parents. He also traded his own harvest within I-Lan county before his migration. He had no relatives living in the city before his migration. Mr. Chow had visited the city many times and moved there alone at first because he could not afford to bring his wife and two daughters with him. He migrated because he wanted to become a grocery seller in Taipei. According to him, the years of selling his own harvest and the high number of potential customers in some areas of Taipei, which he had identified during the many visits, looked promising. Other factors influencing his decision to leave I-Lan included the future of his children, whom he wanted to be highly educated so that they can find jobs in prestigious sectors, such as banking.

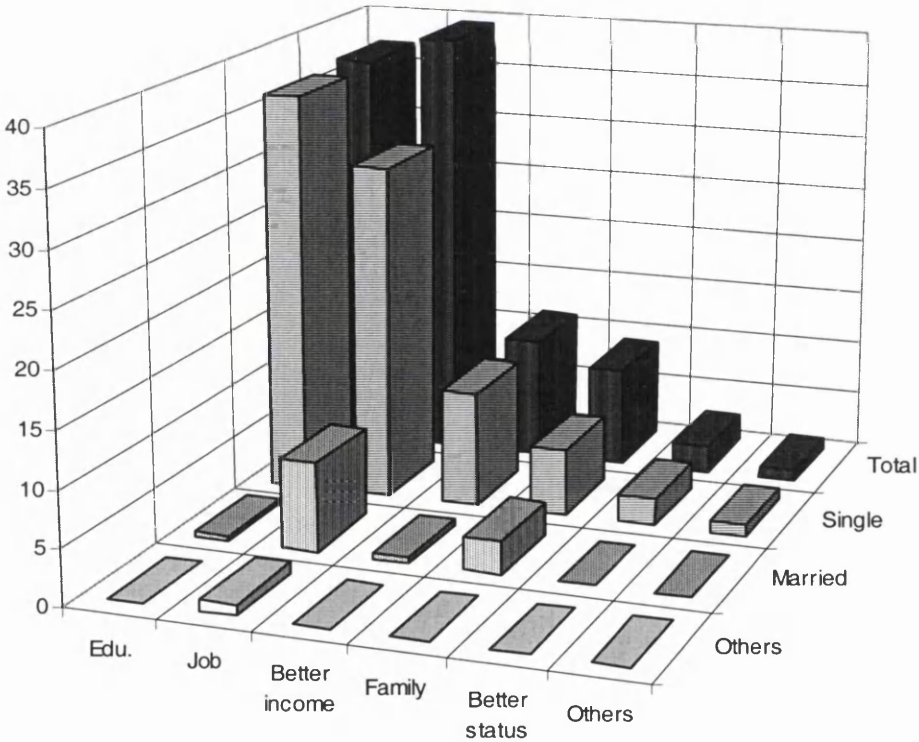
One month after he bought a small ground floor flat and set up shop with the help of his wife and relatives from I-Lan, he brought his family from I-Lan to live with him. Although he sold his land and house in I-Lan in order to make the investment in the city, he remained in contact with relatives and friends in I-Lan through letters, telephone calls and regular visits to celebrate special occasions. Mr. Chow concluded that he was satisfied with his decision to migrate because his business had been doing fairly well and his family also enjoyed the lifestyle in the city. Like Miss Lin, Mr. Chow did not believe that Taiwanese-born migrants, regardless of their origin but except those from tribal populations, experienced any discrimination in the city. He asserted that personal associations had a bigger impact on an individual's life than the place of birth.

migrate for other reasons, such as job and education-related reasons, refer to those had other reasons for migration at the time of migration, although in the long term the decision could be linked to the improvement of income. In other words, respondents did not imply anything that related to the improvement of their income in their reasons for migration to Taipei (in the three main reasons asked during the interviews, see Questionnaires in Appendix 3A, Question number 10).

In relation to migrants' marital status, the result of the statistical analysis reveals that there is a significant association between marital status and the reason for migration ($\chi^2 = 26.421$, $p < 0.003$). As shown in Figure 7-5, the majority of single migrants left I-Lan county for education and education-related reasons, while the majority of married migrants left for job-related reasons. An explanation for this is that, as mentioned earlier, I-Lan itself has no universities or technical institutions, so when migrants left the county for higher education in Taipei, they were in their teens and most of them were single.

These results were in accordance with the findings of the previous research, as discussed in chapters 1 and 3, that rural push does not apply in the case of Taiwan as is does in the case of most developing countries, where rural poverty is the most cited reason for moving to the city, resulting in the fact that most young, single migrants come to cities for a higher income. In this study it was found that the majority of married migrants moved for job-related reasons (see also the explanation in footnote 13) and single migrants moved to undergo further education.

Figure 7-5: Most important reasons for leaving I-Lan county by marital status



Source: drawing based on Table 5A-14 in Appendix 5, Frequency Tables

In relation to migrants' age structure, educational level and economic status, regression was used as a statistical technique that could provide a straightforward description of how the dependent and independent variables relate in the sample. According to the regression analysis model 7-3, there is a significant association between migrants' responses on the reasons for migration - job, education, better income and family-related reasons - and the variables of age, literacy and economic status (car, house, land ownership). However, the associations ($P > 0.05$), as shown in the below table, were statistically insignificant after the introduction of the variables of seeking higher status and other reasons¹⁴.

Logistic Regression model 7-4: Reasons for out-migration (1.A) Job-related reasons (Dependent variable)

	B	S.E	P	R
Independent variables				
Age	-1.49	0.40	0.001	-0.211
Educational level	-0.61	0.33	0.068	-0.071
Car	-0.63	0.42	0.134	-0.037
House	0.06	0.40	0.879	0.000
Land	0.92	0.35	0.008	0.137
Constant	0.83	0.41	0.040	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2Log Likelihood: 263.115, X^2 : 28.511, Goodness of Fit: 196.922.

The obtained P-values of level of education and economic status are above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which job-related reasons, educational level and economic status are unrelated, NS.

Since the relationships between the reasons for out-migration and the variables of educational level, car and house ownership are not significant ($p > 0.05$), but they are significant for the variables of age and land ownership ($p < 0.05$), those non-significant variables can be removed from the model, as illustrated in regression model 7-4(1.B). Therefore, after adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method¹⁵, the regression analysis can be statistically explained if the migrants (79 respondents) who left the county for job-related reasons are younger ($R = -0.22$) and have more land ($R = 0.13$) in the pre-migration period.

¹⁴ More specifically, the formula of regression model for the relationship between migrants' reason for leaving - for job-related reasons - and the three independent variables can be explained as follows:

$$Y - \text{out-migration for job-related reason} = a \bullet \text{age} + b \bullet \text{educational level} + c \bullet \text{economic status} + d$$

Where (x) and (y) are the variables: reasons for out-migration, and age, educational level and economic status. The constant (d) is the (y) intercept and the constant (a, b and c) is the slope, that is,

$$\text{Job-related reason} = -1.49 (\text{age}) - 0.61 (\text{literacy}) - 0.63 (\text{car}) + 0.06 (\text{house}) + 0.92 (\text{land}) + 0.83$$

$$(0.40) \quad (0.33) \quad (0.42) \quad (0.40) \quad (0.35) \quad (0.41)$$

¹⁵ The formula for migrants' response of leaving for job-related reasons to the factor of migrants' age and land ownership is as follow:

$$\text{Out-migrating for job-related reason} = -1.503 (\text{age}) + 0.802 (\text{land ownership}) + 0.405$$

$$(0.393) \quad (0.314) \quad (0.358)$$

(1.B) Job-related reasons (Dependent variable): After adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method

	B	S.E	P <	R
Independent variables				
Age	-1.503	0.393	0.001	-0.22
Land	0.802	0.314	0.011	0.13
Constant	0.405	0.358	0.258	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 243.958, X^2 : 20.669, Goodness of Fit: 198.001. $P < 0.05$, S.

Secondly¹⁶, since the relationships between out-migration for education-related reasons and the variables of age, car, house and land ownership are not significant ($p > 0.05$), but it is significant for the variable of educational level ($p < 0.05$), those non-significant variables can be removed from the model.

(2.A) Education-related reasons (Dependent variable)

	B	S.E	P	R
Independent variables				
Age	3.00	0.78	0.061	0.220
Educational level	-1.84	0.41	0.001	-0.268
Car	1.42	0.44	0.071	0.179
House	-0.34	0.48	0.481	0.000
Land	-0.63	0.41	0.122	-0.038
Constant	-2.56	0.78	0.001	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 188.081, X^2 : 73.641, Goodness of Fit: 191.738

The obtained P-values of economic status (house and land) are above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which education-related reasons, age and economic status are unrelated, NS.

Therefore, after adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method, as shown in model (2.B) below, the regression analysis¹⁷ can be statistically explained if the migrants (74 respondents) who left the county to undergo further education are less educated ($R = -0.252$) in the pre-migration period.

(2.B) Education-related reasons (Dependent variable): After adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method

	B	S.E	P <	R
Edu.level (independent variable)	-1.692	0.390	0.001	-0.252
Constant	-2.834	0.766	0.001	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 195.474, X^2 : 68.109, Goodness of Fit: 197.708. $P < 0.05$, S.

¹⁶ The formula of logistic model for the relationship between migrants' reason for leaving - for education-related reasons - and the three independent variables can be explained as follows:

$$\text{Education reason} = 3.00 (\text{age}) - 1.84 (\text{edu.level}) + 1.42 (\text{car}) - 0.34 (\text{house}) - 0.63 (\text{land}) - 2.56$$

(0.78) (0.41) (0.44) (0.48) (0.41) (0.78)

¹⁷ The formula for migrants' response of leaving for education-related reasons to the factor of migrants' level of education is as follows:

$$\text{Out-migrating for education-related reason} = -1.692 (\text{educational level}) - 2.834$$

(0.390) (0.766)

Thirdly, since the relationships between out-migration for a higher income and the variables of age, educational level, car and house ownership are not significant ($p > 0.05$)¹⁸, but it is significant for the variable of land ownership ($p < 0.05$), those non-significant variables can be removed from the model.

(3.A) For a higher income (Dependent variable)

	B	S.E	P	R
Independent variables				
Age	-0.27	0.60	0.656	0.000
Educational level	0.61	0.48	0.205	0.000
Car	0.77	0.80	0.338	0.000
House	-0.98	0.56	0.081	-0.087
Land	1.17	0.58	0.045	0.121
Constant	1.72	0.61	0.005	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 127.485, X^2 : 10.653, Goodness of Fit: 202.386

The obtained P-values of age, literacy and car ownership are above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which the reason of wanting a higher income and age, educational level and car ownership are unrelated, NS.

Therefore, after adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method as shown in (3.B) below, the regression analysis¹⁹ can be statistically explained in that land ownership had a significant impact on out-migration for a higher income. In other words, migrants who left the county for a higher income (22 respondents) tend to have more land ($R = 0.093$) compared with other migrants.

(3.B) Reason of a higher income (Dependent variable): After adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method

	B	S.E	P <	R
Land ownership (Independent variable)	0.949	0.530	0.050	0.093
Constant	1.772	0.262	0.001	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 134.520, X^2 : 3.617, Goodness of Fit: 197.968, S.

Lastly, since the relationships between out-migration for family-related reasons and the variables of age and economic status (car, land and house ownership) are not significant ($p > 0.05$)²⁰, but it is

¹⁸ The formula of logistic model for the relationship between migrants' reason for leaving - for a higher income - and the three independent variables can be explained as follows:

$$\text{Higher income} = -0.27 (\text{age}) + 0.61 (\text{edu.level}) + 0.77 (\text{car}) - 0.98 (\text{house}) + 1.17 (\text{land}) + 1.72$$

(0.60) (0.48) (0.80) (0.56) (0.58) (0.61)

¹⁹ The formula for migrants' response on leaving for a higher income to the factor of migrants' land holdings is as follows:

$$\text{Out-migrating for a higher income} = 0.949 (\text{land ownership}) + 1.772$$

(0.531) (0.262)

²⁰ The formula of logistic model for the relationship between migrants' reason for leaving - for family-related reasons - and the three independent variables can be explained as follows:

$$\text{Family reason} = -0.87 (\text{age}) - 1.87 (\text{edu.level}) - 7.82 (\text{car}) - 0.89 (\text{house}) + 0.33 (\text{land}) - 0.63$$

(0.59) (0.67) (22.22) (0.82) (0.56) (0.55)

significant for the variable of the level of education ($p < 0.05$), those non-significant variables can be removed from the model.

(4.A) For family-related reason (Dependent variable)

	B	S.E	P	R
Independent variables				
Age	-0.87	0.59	0.137	-0.042
Educational level	-1.87	0.67	0.005	-0.218
Car	-7.82	22.22	0.725	0.000
House	-0.89	0.82	0.273	0.000
Land	0.33	0.56	0.562	0.000
Constant	-0.63	0.56	0.253	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 94.757, X^2 : 25.879, Goodness of Fit: 195.687

The obtained P-values of age and economic status are above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which family-related reasons, age and economic status are unrelated, NS.

Therefore, after adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method (as shown in (4.B) below), the regression analysis²¹ can be statistically explained if migrants who left the county for family-related reasons (18 respondents) are less educated in the pre-migration period. This result can be explained in that the majority of the group who left for family-related reasons are either significantly young (aged under 16) ($R = -0.282$), or significantly older and their educational level is less relevant to the purpose of migration, that is, they came to join their families.

(4.B) Family-related reason (Dependent variable): After adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method

	B	S.E	P <	R
Edu. level (Independent variable)	-2.221	0.651	0.001	-0.282
Constant	-1.451	0.287	0.001	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 104.902, X^2 : 16.113, Goodness of Fit: 199.958, S.

In short, the results of the regression analysis, that migrants who came for job-related reasons have a negative association with age and that migrants who came for education-related reasons have a negative association with educational attainment, statistically corroborate the hypothesis that the majority of migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city leave because of factors other than the pursuit of a higher income. In this study, the majority of migrants moved for job-related and education-related reasons. There is a minority who moved for a higher income, but this group had more land than the other groups, which is unlike the case in most developing countries where similar groups are poor and were pushed out of the place of origin.

²¹ The formula for migrants' response on leaving for family-related reasons to the factor of migrants' level of education is as follow:

$$\text{Out-migrating for family-related reason} = -2.221 \text{ (level of education)} - 1.451$$

(0.651)(0.287)

Furthermore, Table 7-5 indicates that of the total migrants who were working at the time of the interview, 52.05% (or 76 in 146) said that their jobs were not available in I-Lan, compared with 47.95% (or 70 in 146) whose jobs were available in the county but who still moved to the city. The table also shows that 100% (2 in 2) of jobs in hi-tech industries, 88.9% (16 in 18) of jobs in restaurant/bar or related industries, 57% (4 in 7) of jobs in tailoring, laundry and related industries and 56.3% (18 in 32) of jobs in finance, insurance and business services were inadequate in I-Lan county, which 'pushed' migrants with appropriate skill and education out of I-Lan county. This is because the labour market in Taipei tends to be more segregated than in I-Lan. For example, if the owner of an imported car wanted to have some repairs done in I-Lan county, the local shop would have to order some of the parts from Taipei, resulting in a wait of a couple of weeks and a delay in the work.

Table 7-5: Types of jobs that are available or not in I-lan county

Types of migrants' current job in Taipei	Not available in I-Lan county		Available in I-Lan county		Total	
Labour in manufacturing	1	1.32	3	4.29	4	2.74
Semi-skilled construction work	6	7.89	8	11.43	14	9.59
Labour in electricity, gas, water, sanitary services	2	2.63	2	2.86	4	2.74
Labour in motor repair/related work	6	7.89	6	8.56	12	8.22
Tailor/laundry & related work	4	5.26	3	4.29	7	4.80
Craft & trade person	8	10.53	8	11.43	16	10.96
Restaurant/bar & related work	16	21.05	2	2.86	18	12.33
Other service sector work	2	2.63	2	2.86	4	2.74
Sub-total for informal sectors	45	59.21	34	48.57	79	54.11
Finance, insurance & business services	18	23.69	14	20.0	32	21.92
Government service	11	14.47	22	31.43	33	22.60
Labour in hi-tech industries	2	2.63	0		2	1.37
Sub-total for formal sectors	31	40.79	36	51.43	67	45.89
Total	76	100.0	70	100.0	146	100.0

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: (1) Number of missing observations 2. (2) $X^2 = 121.687$, $P < 0.001$, S. (3) The obtained p-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which types of jobs and whether those types of jobs are available or not are unrelated.

This is because the vehicle repair shops in I-Lan are not specialised and often provide general services, ranging from providing parts and doing repairs to motorcycles to work on trucks and most types of cars. However, for a unique car (i.e. an imported or a more expensive car), that would be unusual in a village²²; the owner would have difficulty in finding a repair shop that can do the work. In Taipei, many companies specialise in imported cars and the owner could have the work done immediately. The same applies to high-tech industries or the service sector, in which I-Lan county cannot compete with Taipei. For instance, business such as those in the tailoring and laundry-related sector face difficulties in competing for the small markets of I-Lan county, where

²² As explained earlier, the manufacturing and service industries in I-Lan county tend to be small scale and labour intensive, requiring low capital investment.

only those who are wealthy and who live in the town centre can afford such services. The majority of I-Lan’s population still practices the traditional method of doing laundry - done by parents or grandparents at home. Therefore, these sectors of the urban labour market that are absent in rural areas pull the related labour force from I-Lan county to Taipei city.

In relation to migrants’ gender, Table 7-6 indicates that there is no significant association between the two variables. In the case of migrants whose jobs were available in the county, when asked the reason for coming to the city to do the same job there, the majority of both men and women (51.4%, or 36 in 70), did so because of a job transfer or other job-related reason. The result can be explained by the fact that, as discussed in Chapter 6, I-Lan’s industries - both manufacturing and services - tend to be small scale and relatively labour intensive. Therefore, the county has difficulty attracting more skilled, specialised and hi-tech industries.

Table 7-6: Reason for doing the same job if migrants’ jobs are available in I-Lan by gender

Q: Is the job you are doing now available in I-Lan county? If yes, why did you move to do the same job in Taipei city?	Male	Female	Total
No, The job is not available.	47 (49.47)	29 (56.86)	76 (52.05)
Sub-total for Yes and stated reason:	48 (50.53)	22 (43.14)	70 (47.95)
Job transfer and job-related reason	20 (21.05)	16 (31.37)	36 (24.67)
More business potential in Taipei	20 (21.05)	4 (7.85)	24 (16.44)
Higher income	3 (3.16)	2 (3.92)	5 (3.42)
Used to Taipei city	5 (5.27)	0	5 (3.42)
Total	95 (100)	51 (100)	146 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis
 Note: (1) n=146; the number of missing observation 2; (2) $\chi^2 = 8.044$, $P > 0.090$; The obtained P-values is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and the variables of whether jobs are available or not and the reason for doing the same job are unrelated.

It is also partly because in Taiwanese society, a job opportunity in the capital city - whether it be because of a transfer or another reason - is a once in a lifetime chance, especially among the new generation, that no person can refuse, as it is the dream of many to live in the capital, which represents the opportunity to break through social class barriers. The rural population also view being part of an urban group as more civilised and more advanced than life in rural areas. This is, as mentioned in chapters 3 and 4, because the media often paint urban areas and especially Taipei as the centre of civilisation, technological advancement and luxurious entertainment. It is a source of pride for parents if villagers or relatives compliment them on their children living in the city, regardless of whether the person who moved to the city is successful or not. They regard the person as being very experienced and not a frog that does not know what is happening outside the pond²³. As Mr. Cheng said:

²³ There is a Taiwanese saying that some frogs are trapped in the pond (or well) and they can only see a small part of the sky, which they regard as the whole world.

I was offered a job by my friend in a restaurant in Taipei before migration. When I knew I had been offered a job, at the beginning, I hesitated on the idea of moving to Taipei for a little while, as I was married and had one son at the time and did not feel very secure about the job. I mean, if I was younger and single like in my early 20s I would have moved immediately, without giving it a second thought, but when you have a family, things need to be evaluated more - the costs and advantages. However, eventually, I overcame all the obstacles, as firstly, I was still young and full of ambition, not only for myself but for my family and especially my son. I thought it was worth having a go, as it is said Taipei is paved with gold and as long as you worked hard, you would deserve what you get. Secondly, I would like to see my son grow up in a more technologically advanced city, where he would have a better chance in terms of education and job opportunities than in the village. Thirdly, most of my neighbours heard I was coming to Taipei for a job from my mother²⁴ and kept complimenting me about how talented I was, even though I was not sure I that I would succeed in my job in Taipei. This is a kind of pressure, but in a way it is good as it pushed me to leave I-Lan since I did not want them to ask me what stopped me from moving to Taipei. So, there you are, I am here now.

To explain the relationship between the dependent variable of whether migrants' jobs are available and the independent variables of age and educational attainment, regression was used as a statistical technique that could provide a straightforward description of how these two variables relate in the sample. Doing so will investigate the question of whether appropriate jobs exist in I-Lan county or not for those who have a relatively high level of education and skills. The same applies to age differences, where the young population (as discussed earlier) tends to look for the so-called white-collar jobs rather than blue-collar jobs.

First²⁵, since the relationship between whether migrants' jobs are available in I-Lan county and the variable of educational attainment is not significant ($p > 0.05$), as illustrated in the model 7-5, but it is significant for the variable of age, the non-significant variable can be removed from the model.

Regression model 7-5: Whether the job is available in I-Lan county :

(A) Jobs are available

	B	S.E	P<	R
Independent variables				
Age	-0.796	0.347	0.022	-0.127
Educational level	0.14	0.344	0.676	0.000
Constant	0.298	0.287	0.298	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 196.787, X^2 : 5.366, Goodness of Fit: 146.009

The obtained P-value of literacy is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which whether jobs are available and literacy are unrelated, NS.

²⁴ In Chinese society, parents' gossip is always centered on family matters, especially the subject of their sons or daughters. The gossip would be even more common in an extend family.

²⁵ The formula of the logistic model of the relationship between whether migrants' jobs are available in I-Lan and age and educational level can be explained as follows:

$$Y = a \bullet \text{age} + b \bullet \text{edu. level} + c$$

Where (x: age and edu. level) and (y) are the variables: whether jobs are available, and age and educational level. The constant (c) is the (y) intercept, and the constant (a and b) is the slope, that is,

$$\text{Whether job is available} = -0.796 (\text{age}) + 0.144 (\text{educational level}) + 0.298$$

(0.347) (0.344) (0.287)

Therefore, after adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method (as shown below B), the regression analysis²⁶ can be statistically explained if younger migrants' jobs ($R = -0.124$) were significantly more likely to be available in the county than those of older migrants. In other words, the majority of older migrants had to find work in the cities as those jobs were unavailable in the county.

	B	S.E	P <	R
Age (independent variable)	-0.768	0.340	0.024	-0.124
Constant	0.353	0.256	0.168	

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 196.962, X²: 5.191, Goodness of Fit: 146.000, S.

Table 7-7 indicates that, among the minority of migrants whose jobs were available in the county, more than 80% (29 in 36) of formal workers came to the city because of a job transfer or related reason, while 56% (19 in 34) of informal workers came because of the better business potential in Taipei. Therefore, migrants whose jobs are available in the county migrate because of job transfers and related reasons. Moreover, according to the in-depth interview with Mr. Wang, Case 7-6, migrants seem to be lured by the city's attractions, including luxurious services and more advanced facilities (as discussed in Chapter 4). This result is consistent with the previous finding that young migrants aspire to live in the city and that, once they are offered a chance or they see an opportunity, they would accept it, especially if their companies initiated the move to the city through a job transfer or assignment.

$$\text{Whether migrants' jobs are available} = -0.768 (\text{age}) + 0.353$$

(0.340)
(0.256)

Table 7-7: Whether migrants' types of jobs are available and reasons for doing the same job by type of job

Row Q: Is the job you are now doing not available in I-Lan county? Column Q: What is the current nature of your job?	No	Q If yes, why did you move to the city to do the same job?				
		Job transfer & related reason	Better business potential in Taipei	Better income	Used to Taipei city	Total
Labour in manufacturing	1 (1.32)	1 (2.78)	0	0	2 (40.0)	4 (2.74)
Semi-skilled construction work	6 (7.89)	4 (11.11)	4 (16.67)	0	0	14 (9.59)
Labour in electricity, gas, water, sanitary services	2 (2.63)	0	2 (8.33)	0	0	4 (2.74)
Labour in motor repair/related work	6 (7.89)	0	6 (25.0)	0	0	12 (8.22)
Tailor/laundry & related work	4 (5.26)	0	1 (4.17)	2 (40.0)	0	7 (4.79)
Craft & trade person	8 (10.53)	2 (5.56)	4 (16.67)	0	2 (40.0)	16 (10.96)
Restaurant/bar & related work	16 (21.05)	0	0	2 (40.0)	0	18 (12.33)
Other service sector work	2 (2.63)	0	2 (8.33)	0	0	4 (2.74)
Sub-total for informal sectors	45 (59.21)	7 (19.45)	19 (79.17)	4 (80.0)	4 (80.0)	79 (54.11)
Finance, insurance & business services	18 (23.69)	7 (19.44)	5 (20.83)	1 (20.0)	1	32 (21.92)
Government service	11 (14.47)	22 (61.11)	0	0	0	33 (22.60)
Labour in hi-tech industries	2 (2.63)	0	0	0	0	2 (1.37)
Sub-total for formal sectors	31 (40.79)	29 (5.56)	5 (20.83)	1 (20.0)	1 (20.0)	67 (45.89)
Total	76 (100)	36 (100)	24 (100)	5 (100)	5 (100)	146 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: (1) Number of missing observations 2. (2) X^2_1 - job status = 121.686; X^2_2 - type of jobs = 26.986, $P_{12} < 0.01$, S. (3) The obtained P-values is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which job status and type of job and the variable of whether jobs are available or what is the reason for doing the same job are unrelated.

The results of the statistical analysis, illustrated in Table 7-7, show there is a significant association between the reason for coming to Taipei city to do the same job and job status, both for formal and informal jobs. It was found that, in relation to the proportion of migrants in formal and informal sectors, formal workers whose jobs are available in the county tend to have a higher propensity for coming to the city to do the same job. This is because their companies transfer most formal workers to Taipei to do the same job. The findings reflect the fact that it is not reasonable for the informal workers, who have relatively few skills, to migrate to Taipei to do the same job, unless there are other reasons for doing so, such as the opportunity to secure a different type of job or a more specialised job unavailable in I-Lan.

Mr. Wang was 30 years old and married with 2 children, all of whom lived with him, at the time of the interview in October 1998. He migrated to Taipei in 1990 with his whole family in an attempt to find a better life in the city. He said that although his family's living conditions in I-Lan were not very good, it was not desperate. He migrated because he was confident of his prospects in Taipei and because he wanted his children to go to good universities in Taipei city so they could have better job opportunities. He also had relatives in Taipei and other big cities in Taiwan. Like most of the Taiwanese population, he had visited many cities before his migration as a tourist or on business. Before migration he worked as a cloth trader.

Mr. Wang said that the main reason for choosing Taipei as his destination was because during his earlier visits to various cities, Taipei appeared to be the best place as it offered him the most potential business. His decision to migrate to Taipei, according to him, had been right since his business - selling locally-made clothes and shoes - has so far suffered no major crises, especially during the recent economic slowdown in Taiwan (since early 1996). He concluded that all his family members were happy with the decision to migrate to Taipei, especially his children, who were studying in Taipei. He hoped that his children, as a result of the migration and their Taipei education, would find better jobs than his. Like most Taiwanese, regardless of their origin, Mr. Wang asserted that he remained in contact with his birthplace by visiting annually or every two years (as his business schedule allows) and through the I-Lan community in Taipei.

In short, from the evidence examined in this section it is reasonable to conclude that rural push occurs because of the absence of certain types of jobs, which is unlike the case in other developing countries where rural push is mainly the result of rural poverty (as discussed in the literature review in Chapter 3). However, this rural push in I-Lan county is overshadowed by Taipei's pull factors - the availability of skilled or specialised jobs and higher educational facilities. The lack of or inadequate job market for highly skilled people and the lack of higher education institutes (university, college etc) in the place of origin constitute economic and educational push factors for out-migration. The educational and employment pull forces of the capital city are important reasons for migration as evidenced by the high proportion of migrant respondents who gave these two reasons for moving to Taipei city. Thus, the majority of out-migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city leave because of factors other than the pursuit of an increased income.

7.4 Characteristics of Migrants Who Plan to Go Back to I-Lan County

As discussed in the previous section, more than half of migrants' jobs in the city are not available in the county, so this section analyses the characteristics of those migrants who would be prepared to go back if they could have a similar job in the county. According to Table 7-8, nearly 61% (90 in 148) of respondents whose jobs are not available in the county were prepared to move back to

their place of origin if they could find similar jobs there, while 40% (58 in 148) of respondents would not be prepared to return.

In addition, the results of the statistical analysis indicate that there is a significant association between gender and wanting to work in I-Lan county ($\chi^2 = 8.591$, $p < 0.003$). However, the relationship became insignificant after the introduction of the variable of marital status ($\chi^2 = 4.688$, $p < 0.196$). More specifically, men, especially married male migrants, tend to be more willing to go back to the village compared with female migrants, accounting for nearly 74% (54 in 73) of male and 43% (17 in 40) of female migrants, respectively. Among the 40% of migrants who had no wish to go back, the most significant motivation was family-related reasons, with 28% (16 in 58), dominated by both single and married female migrants (75%, or 2 and 10 in a total 16).

Table 7-8: Reasons for not wanting to go back by marital status and gender ratio

Q: Suppose you get a similar job in your village, would you be prepared to move back? If not, what is the reason?	Single		Married		Other		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Yes	11 55.0	4 40.0	54 73.97	17 42.5	0	3 75.0	90 60.81
Sub-total for no and stated reasons	9 45.0	8 60.0	19 26.03	23 57.5	0	1 25.0	58 39.19
Employment and job-related	4 20.0	1 10.0	6 8.22	2 5.0	0	0	13 8.78
Education and education-related	2 10.0	0	1 1.37	7 17.5	0	1 25.0	11 7.43
Family and family-related	0	2 20.0	4 5.48	10 25.0	0	0	16 10.81
Used to Taipei city	0	2 20.0	4 5.48	4 10.0	0	0	10 7.76
Others	3 15.0	1 10.0	4 5.48	0	0	0	8 5.41
Total	20 100.0	10 100.0	73 100.0	40 100.0	0 100.0	4 100.0	148 100.0

Source: results of statistical analysis

χ^2_1 - Gender: 8.591, $P_1 < 0.003$, S. χ^2_2 - Marital status: 4.688, $P_2 = 0.196$, NS.

Note: (1) The obtained P_1 -value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which migrants' reasons for not being prepared to go back and gender are unrelated. (2) The obtained P_2 -value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which migrants' reason for not being prepared to go back and marital status are unrelated.

The reason why more men than women tend to decide to go back is because, as mentioned in Chapter 4, women's decision making is subject to agreement by their male partners. In other words, the decision to move is mainly approved by the head of the family, who is normally their male partners. Therefore, at the time of the interview, female migrants gave family-related reasons for not wanting to go back to I-Lan, which indicates that the decision to move back to I-Lan lies with their husbands. In addition, most women hesitate to make the decision to go back because, psychologically, they do not want to move residence often. This is

possibly because women tend to shoulder most of the work of moving home. Two in-depth interviews, with Mr. Chung and Mrs. Cheng in Cases 7-7 and 7-8, illustrate this situation.

Case 7-7: Mr. Chung - Factors influencing his decision of wanting to move back to I-Lan county (Date of interview: 16/10,1998)

Mr. Chung was married with three children at the time of the interview in October 1998. He was 50 years old at the time. He migrated to Taipei in 1985. According to him, his reason for migrating was mainly to improve his income. He finished college and worked as an electrician before migration. At the time of the interview in Taipei he also worked as an electrician in a private company. Mr. Chung said he received a higher wage and was satisfied with the working conditions in Taipei. However, he complained that even though his income is higher than in I-Lan, the living costs in the city were also higher. Mr. Chung mentioned that although he and his family completely settled down in the city, he still remained in contact with I-Lan by visiting every two or three years, especially during the local festival time (in Taiwanese dialect 大拜拜). He added that through the I-Lan community in Taipei, of which he and his family are members, he received all the news about I-Lan county, his friends and some relatives. He also stayed in contact through telephoning and writing to his relatives and friends in the county.

Mr. Chung concluded that he and his wife in particular would go back to I-Lan if he could have a similar job with a similar wage to his current job. This is because, as he said earlier, although he got a higher wage in the city, the cost of living was also high, which meant he could not save much. The better living environment (which he described as the people being friendlier, fresher air, less congestion etc) in I-Lan county is one of the main reasons for him of wanting to move back. He added that although there are many I-Lan migrants around Taipei and they meet every month, being close to his old friends and relatives in I-Lan would be more enjoyable. But, he hinted that despite wanting to move back, he still enjoyed the better facilities and services offered in Taipei.

Case 7-8: Mrs. Cheng - Factors influencing her decision of not wanting to go back to I-Lan (Date of interview: 25/10,1998)

Mrs. Cheng was 34 years old and married with a son who lived with her at the time of the interview in October 1998. She migrated to Taipei in 1990 with her husband and son to obtain a better type of job than the one she had in I-Lan county, where she and her husband ran their own food store in the county centre's market. In Taipei, she worked as a cook's assistant in the Department of Social Welfare, while her husband took a job in a private supermarket. She said that she was satisfied with her job since it was much more secure than her job in I-Lan, where they received a daily wage from selling food in the evening market.

Mrs. Cheng, like Mr. Chung above, maintained contact with her I-Lan friends and relatives through the I-Lan community in Taipei, irregular visits to I-Lan and through other types of communication. However, unlike Mr. Chung, she and her family do not want to move back to I-Lan county even if there was a similar job with similar wages in the county for her. The reason was, according to her, that they had already sold their property in the county and her son was studying in Taipei. If she wanted to move back, she said, there would be too much work to do and she would be too tired to do it, as had happened during her migration to the city. She also added that she and her husband had become used to the city, where the facilities and services were better and more convenient than in I-Lan county.

To explain the association between the dependent variable (migrants whose jobs were not available and who would be prepared to go back) and independent variables (age, literacy, economic status), regression was used as a statistical technique that could provide a straightforward description of how these variables relate in the sample. First, since the relationships between migrants who would like to go back and the variables of educational level, car, house, land ownership and economic status are not significant ($p > 0.05$)²⁷, as illustrated in the regression model 7-6, but it is significant for the variable of age ($p < 0.05$), those non-significant variables can be removed from the model.

Regression model 7-6 (A): Migrants who would like to go back if there is a similar job in I-Lan

	B	S.E	P	R
Independent variables				
Age	2.650	1.061	0.013	0.204
Educational level	1.317	0.38	0.074	0.108
Car	-0.763	0.928	0.427	0.000
House	-0.548	0.765	0.474	0.000
Land	7.684	28.241	0.786	0.000
Constant	-0.195	0.347	0.574	

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: : -2•Log Likelihood: 196.787, X^2 : 5.366, Goodness of Fit: 146.009

The obtained P-values of educational level and economic status are above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which whether migrants would be prepared to go back and educational level and economic status are unrelated, NS.

Therefore, after adopting the Forward Stepwise Selection Method (as shown in the model B below), the regression analysis²⁸ can be statistically explained if older migrants ($R = 0.0236$) were more likely than younger migrants to return to the county if they could secure a similar job there. This is because, as Pan (1988) and Schultz (1982) argue, persons in their teens, twenties and early thirties are more mobile than the other age groups and young people want to live in the capital city if they have the opportunity to do so, as mentioned earlier.

²⁷ The formula for the relationship between migrants who responded 'yes' (like to go back) and the 3 independent variables - migrants' age, level of education and economic status (cars, house, land ownership) can be explained in the formula as follow:

$$Y = a \bullet \text{age} + b \bullet \text{edu. level} + c \bullet \text{economic status} + d$$

Where (x:age,edu.level, economic status) and (y) are the variables: reasons for out-migration, and age, educational level and economic status. The constant (d) is the (y) intercept, and the constant (a, b and c) is the slope, that is,

$$\text{Yes} = 2.650 (\text{age}) + 1.317 (\text{edu.level}) - 0.763 (\text{car}) - 0.548 (\text{house}) + 7.684 (\text{land}) - 0.195$$

$$(1.061) \quad (0.738) \quad (0.928) \quad (0.765) \quad (28.241) \quad (0.347)$$

²⁸ The formula for the relationship between migrants' response and the factor of migrants' age is as follows:

$$\text{Yes - would like to go back to I-Lan county} = 2.197 (\text{age}) + 0.000$$

$$(0.792) \quad (0.267)$$

Regression model 7-6 (B): Migrants who would like to go back if there is a similar job in I-Lan (after adopting Forward Stepwise Selection Method)

	B	S.E.	P <	R
Independent variable				
Age	2.197	0.798	0.001	0.2364
Constant	0.000	0.267		

Source: results of logistic regression analysis

Note: -2-Log Likelihood: 90.636, X^2 : 11.329, Goodness of Fit: 76.000, S.

The finding that older migrants have a higher propensity of wanting to go back if there is a similar job available in I-Lan corroborate the earlier findings that, firstly, the majority of older migrants' jobs are not available (regression model 7-5) in the county and they therefore came to the city mainly to secure jobs that suit their skills or professional experience. Secondly, although young migrants came to Taipei for the same jobs (in the case of those whose jobs are available in I-Lan county), other reasons provided by migrants²⁹ during the interview imply that not only job-related reasons (such as job transfers or more specialised jobs) were involved in their decision to migrate. Reasons such as the attractiveness of Taipei (such as more advanced technology or different lifestyle compared with I-Lan, as mentioned by some of the study's in-depth interviewees and as discussed in Chapter 4) also had an influence on the decision. In other words, if I-Lan county could provide more similar jobs and the same attractions as Taipei, these migrants might not move out of I-Lan, as illustrated in the in-depth interview Case 7-6. Therefore, from these findings, it is reasonable to conclude that I-Lan county is a pleasant place to live in, but the population is motivated to move out by the lack of some types of jobs, such as more specialised jobs, and higher educational facilities for its population.

In relation to migrants' job status, the results of the statistical analysis show that there is no significant association between formal and informal workers whose jobs are not available in I-Lan and their willingness to go back to the village ($\chi^2 = 0.08$, $p > 0.05$), but there is a significant association between type of job and willingness to go back ($\chi^2 = 18.536$, $p = 0.047$). Table 7-9 illustrates that all migrants in motor repair or related work (100%, or 6 in 6) and in tailoring or laundry work (100%, or 7 in 7) would like to return if they could have similar jobs. No migrants in electricity, gas, water and sanitary services, hi-tech industries and other service sectors were prepared to move back to the county.

²⁹ This is because, as shown in the questionnaires (in Appendix 3), migrants were asked to choose three reasons for moving out of the county. Afterwards, they were asked to choose only the most important reason (which is indicated by migrants as the most important reason) for out-migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city. The reason for choosing only one of the reasons is because of the statistical analysis.

Table 7-9: The willingness to go back to the village by migrants' type of work

Raw Q: What is the current nature of your work? By Occupational Composition	Q: Suppose you get a similar job in your village, would you be prepared to go back?		
	'Yes'	'No'	Total
Labour in manufacturing	1 (2.27)	1 (3.33)	2 (2.70)
Semi-Skilled construction work	4 (9.09)	2 (6.67)	6 (8.11)
Labour in electricity, gas, water, sanitary services	0	2 (6.67)	2 (2.70)
Labour in motor repair & related work	6 (13.64)	0	6 (8.11)
Tailor/laundry & related work	7 (15.91)	0	7 (9.46)
Craft & trade person	3 (6.82)	2 (6.67)	5 (6.76)
Restaurant/bar & related work	10 (22.73)	6 (20.0)	16 (21.62)
Other service sector work	0	0	0
Sub-total for informal sector	31 (70.46)	13 (43.33)	44 (59.46)
Finance, insurance & business services	9 (20.45)	10 (33.33)	19 (25.68)
Government service	4 (9.09)	5 (16.67)	9 (12.16)
Labour in hi-tech industries	0	2 (6.67)	2 (2.70)
Sub-total for formal sector	13 (29.54)	17 (56.67)	30 (40.54)
Total	44 (100)	30 (100)	74 (100.0)

Source: results of statistical analysis

$\chi^2 = 18.536$, $p = 0.047$, S.

Note: (1) $n=76$; the number of observations 2;

(2) The obtained P-values of literacy and economic status are below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which whether migrants would be prepared to go back and type of job are unrelated.

Therefore, the majority of migrants would like to return if certain types of jobs were available in I-Lan county. Those who did not want to move back to I-Lan county even they could find a similar job there, as illustrated in Table 7-10, cited family-related reasons. They included 28 respondents (or 49%) who said they had already settled down in the city as they had married in Taipei and had a house or flats to live in, and 11 (or 19%) migrants who reported the reason that they already had their children enrolled in good schools in the city and wanted them to continue their further education at the city's universities. These reasons for not wanting to go back to I-Lan county clearly shows the facilities that I-Lan county cannot provide them with, even they could have been employed in a similar job.

Table 7-10: Reasons for not wanting to go back to I-Lan county

Reasons	Number	Percentage
Family-related reason: married and settled down in Taipei	28	49.12
Taipei offers better educational opportunities for children	11	19.30
Larger market potential for business	7	12.28
Better working conditions, better accidental compensation and health care	5	8.77
Have become used to Taipei	6	10.53
Total	57	100.0

Source: result of statistical analysis

Note: Because the variables of migrants' wanting to go back and not wanting to go back and the stated reasons, as shown above, were added into the same column in the SPSS data analysis, the statistical analysis could not be performed in more detail. Therefore, the table presents here only based on frequency.

However, it is also acknowledged that the number of respondents who replied that they wanted to return to I-Lan county could have been different if the question in the questionnaires had not been: "If you could get a similar job in your village, would you be prepared to return there to work?" (see questionnaires, question 42), but: "Would you like to move back to I-lan county?". This is because migrants were influenced by the leading questions, in which the factor of job availability could influence migrants' responses. In other words, migrants should have been asked an open question when they were asked about a possible return to I-Lan county. By doing so, most of those who replied that they did not want to return I-lan county could have expressed that they did not want to move back since other factors were also involved.

Nonetheless, the study results confirm (as explored in Chapter 6, and earlier sections of this chapter) that I-Lan county could only offer relatively labour-intensive types of work, and that the lack of demand in the service industry, resulting in the absence or lack of certain types of jobs and the lack of more skilled and specialised jobs in the county cause out-migration. An in-depth interview with an MP of I-Lan county, Case 7-9, illustrates and supports this view.

Case 7-9: Ms. Cheng - Weaknesses of I-Lan county that lead to the out-migration of its population from the government's point of view (Date of interview: 03/12, 1998)

Ms. Cheng is an MP representing I-Lan county at the time of the interview, December 1998. Responding to the question of what the weaknesses of I-Lan county are that lead to the out-migration of its population, Ms. Cheng pointed out four main factors. Firstly, I-Lan county has no higher educational facilities for its own adult students, not to mention attracting students from outside the county to study in I-Lan. It has no universities or other technical institutes.

Secondly, because the county has no higher educational facilities, most of the stayers have a relatively low level of education or are low skilled in terms of modern technology. These two factors, according to Ms. Cheng, puts I-Lan in a less advantageous position in attracting investments that would aid development in the county. This is because, she said, not enough skilled labour is on offer to justify investment in high-technology intensive or service industries.

Thirdly, since most of the stayers have a low level of education and seem to be dominated by older people (as the young have moved out), they are conservative and do not adapt easily to new ideas. Ms. Cheng emphasized that local people do not understand the modern way of doing business and of development, nor do they want to change their traditional ways of doing business and thinking. Ms. Cheng claimed that there have been a few demonstrations by the local population against the new developments during the last few years, which had led to the cancellation of the construction of new factories in the county.

Lastly, Ms. Cheng noted the lack of political will and courage (perhaps due to the few demonstrations against new development as mentioned above) among Taiwan's provincial leaders as well as the county councils in initiating, explaining to and training the population for the new development programmes.

7.5 Conclusion

The study's findings have concurred with some of the arguments in the literature on migration in developing countries, such as that of Gugler (1997) and Massey *et al* (1993, 1994), on the importance of migrants being well-prepared before migration through visits to the city and contact with the urban labour market.

However, the findings of this chapter contradict the literature on migration in developing countries on the issue that rural-urban migrants settle down in urban areas while their families remain in rural areas where they either receive remittances from migrants or eventually move from to stay with migrants (Gugler:1997), as well as the issue of the motivation of rural-urban migrants. Although the finding on the motivation for migration of this study is similar to the case of developed countries, it is not a straightforward case.

The findings of the research on the process of and motivation for migration are briefly given below:

The findings that the majority of migrants did not send remittances to their families, but instead received financial support from their families (specifically, the majority of male migrants received support from their families, while female migrants mostly relied on their savings, as discussed in Chapter 6), and that the majority of migrants stayed in the city alone (75%) further corroborate the findings in Chapter 6 that migrants are not only not poor, but also not poorer than the stayers.

The push factors of the motivation for migration are not poverty in the case of rural-urban migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city, but are because of employment and other job-related factors as well as education and education-related reasons. The pull factors of Taipei city are the better selection of job types, quality education and better facilities and services. Thus, the findings on pull factors seem to corroborate the literature on developed countries. In short, the motivation for migration in the case of this study seems to be closer to those of developed countries than those of developing ones, although it is not a straightforward case.

In other words, the hypothesis that the majority of out-migrants from I-Lan county to Taipei city leave because of factors other than the pursuit of an increased income is supported by this study. The rural push is a catalyst (due to employment and job-related factors as well as education and

education-related reasons), but not a sufficient condition to support the hypothesis that poverty drives rural people out and compels them to seek better alternatives in the urban labour market. By contrast, rural-urban migrants in this study were found to be the better-off villagers (as discussed in this and previous chapters), who migrated for reasons other than the search for a better income in the city .

Finally, the findings demonstrate that in spite of the attractions of Taipei city, as mentioned above, the majority of migrants would like to return to I-Lan county if they could find similar jobs to the ones they had in the city at the time of the interview. This trend becomes stronger as migrants become older. This is mainly due to the fact that older migrants want to live in a quieter place when they grow older. They would also like to move back to their place of birth, as discussed in Chapter 4. This case again further supports the view that the findings of this case study on the motivation for migration are closer to the case of developed countries.

Life in Taipei City and in I-Lan County



Photo-1: Road traffic in Taipei City (not in peak hours)



Photo-2: Road traffic in I-Lan County



Photo-3: Massive infrastructure and chaotic pedestrian flow in Taipei City (not in peak hours).



Photo-4: One of the busiest roads in I-Lan City's centre but more tolerable compared to the above situation in Taipei City (in peak hours).



Photo-5: Another scene of traffic congestion in one of the Taipei's streets.



Photo-6: Life is less miserable in I-Lan county in terms of pollution, traffic, etc.



Photo-7: Good road system in I-Lan County



Photo-8: A pleasant environment to live in I-Lan County - Characteristics of the County are fresh air, green fields, nice scenery.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Suggested Further Studies

General conclusion

One of the main concerns of this study is to reach an understanding of the motivation for out-migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city. This issue arose from the theoretical background, based on the well-known classical and neo-classical migration theories and those that have challenged them. In addition, the research also attempts to enable an understanding of the socio-economic characteristics of those migrants. These issues have been examined through the collection and analysis of primary data from both the place of origin - I-Lan county - and the destination of migrants - Taipei city. In an attempt to include interviewees that will represent all the economic strata of I-Lan's population the samples were chosen from three villages that represent the least (Ta-tung village) and most (I-Lan city) developed (as defined in Chapter 5.3.3) areas of I-Lan county, as well as one in an intermediate state of development (Tung-San). The analysis uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to provide evidence to validate the hypotheses.

This study has demonstrated that the motivation for migration from I-Lan to Taipei city is different from those often found in both developed and developing countries (see Chapter 2). This is mainly because, although the economic structure of Taiwan's rural and urban areas is similar to that of developed countries in that there are fewer significant differences between rural and urban areas, community services and public facilities such as higher educational institutions are still concentrated in large cities, such as Taipei. On the other hand, Taiwan is also different from most developing countries in that there is a very small gap between the average income in rural and urban areas (see Chapter 2).

Such a small gap does not provide adequate motivation to push people out of their villages to urban areas for better incomes when other social losses that result from migration are taken into consideration (such as less contact with relatives or friends). Therefore, the motivation for migration from I-Lan to Taipei is mainly for higher education and the opportunities for specialist jobs that I-Lan lack, and not the search for a higher income, as found in most cases of developing countries (see Chapter 3). It is because of this that the migration pattern of this study is more similar to that of developed countries than of developing countries, although it is not a straightforward case.

Finally, this study found that the process of out-migration from I-Lan county is the result of an uneven distribution of community services and public facilities in Taiwan, despite the rapid growth of both the economy and personal income throughout the country during the last three decades. This has led to an increased demand for better higher educational facilities and other services for the rural population, which the county is unable to provide adequately.

Conclusion of the theoretical discussion

Classical theories such as those of Adam Smith and Karl Marx define a model of migration based on economic push and pull factors. Push factors include lack of access to land, lack of employment and under-employment, low wages, wasted land, drought, famine and population increases. Pull factors are attractive urban alternatives for the rural dwellers, such as higher wages and better living conditions. Neo-classical theories such as that of Todaro (1976, 1977) regard the motivation for rural-urban migration as a function of two variables: the difference in real income between rural and urban areas and the probability of obtaining a better-paid job in the city. This was because these authors believed the rural agricultural sector is characterised by zero or very low productivity. Recent studies such as those of Mortuza (1992) and Li (1996) propose that the most important reasons for moving to a city are under-employment and low income in rural areas, while others such as those of Anzorena & Poussard (1985), Scott & Litchfield (1994) and Burgess *et al* (1997) regard rural poverty as the main reason for leaving rural areas.

In short, both classical and neo-classical migration theories focus on the economic factors. However, both types of theory are criticised by the likes of Saajastad (1962), Mcgee (1977), Danish (1987), William (1988) and Castle & Miller (1998) (see Chapter 3, section 3.3) as being incomplete explanations for the complex migration phenomenon. The latter point out that other factors, such as social, political, cultural, religious and traditional factors and migrants' links with the destination, also play a very important and decisive role. Moreover, the classical and neo-classical migration theories can not effectively explain the case of developed countries or are invalid in the case of developed countries.

This is because, firstly, the two theories focus on geographic wage and price differentials - between the places of destination and origin - as the underlying force in the migration process. Such a study cannot explain the process of migration in developed countries where job transfers and other reasons not related to the search for a higher income cause the majority of populations movements.

In these cases, migrants “are not responding to geographic salary differentials, but to institutionalised organisational forces” (Johnson & Salt:1990, p.29). In other words, migrants do not respond to labour market demands and they are professional, non-competing groups (Ibid:57).

Secondly, the motivation for migration in developed countries is mainly for job transfers and other reasons not related to the search for a higher income, which differs from that of developing countries where the majority of migrants move in search of a higher income as a result of push and pull factors in the place of destination and origin. Importantly, the push and pull factors become blurred in the case of developed countries as a result of the small differences or less significance between the place of origin and destination. In other words, it is reasonable to say that the motivation for migration in the case of developed countries is strongly influenced not by economic factors or economic necessity, but by migrants’ responses to other factors. This is the biggest difference with the case of developing countries, where the motivation for migration is often strongly influenced by economic necessity.

There are two main reasons for this. The first is that the difference in wages and living conditions between the rural and urban areas of developed countries has become marginal or insignificant. At the same time, the population of both the places of origin (rural) and destination (urban) have similar access to services and facilities that in developing countries are only available in urban areas (see Chapter 2, section 2.2). Therefore, the reason for migration from rural to urban areas is unlikely to be the search for a higher income or better living conditions, since urban areas and especially large metropolitan areas are often associated with heavy traffic, air pollution and noise.

Even though the urban wage is slightly higher than the rural one, as mentioned above, most migrants do not move in response to wage differentials since the difference is not significant and other factors need to be considered. As Johnson & Salt (1990:68) point out, “the psychological cost of leaving a home, environment and friends can never be compensated for easily”. In other words, financial gain from migration is countered by the loss of other factors resulting from migration.

The second factor is the difference between the economic structures of developed and developing countries. The economic structure of developed countries is dominated by service and technology-intensive industries in both rural and urban areas, while in developing countries it is dominated by agriculture and labour-intensive manufacturing industries that are concentrated in urban areas.

Therefore, most rural-urban migrants in developed countries are not farmers, but skilled and educated residents who migrate as a result of economic changes in their places of origin. They move to urban areas for jobs that suit their skills and level of education, for example migration from a mining town to a town with service industries.

The case study of I-Lan to Taipei migration

Any attempt to compare the case of one country with another faces many challenges, including the fact that each country has its own, rather unique demographic population distribution, political, social, cultural and religious structures, economic development distribution and historical background. In addition, migration patterns could vary from one part of a country to another, again due to the differences in economic development distribution, ethnic population distribution and other factors, as mentioned above. This study is no exception. While it could represent other counties with similar characteristics, such as Ping-Tung and Hua-Lien counties (as discussed in Chapter 5), it might be invalid in the future because of changes to the country's economic structure, population growth, the distribution of development and other unexpected factors such as possible conflict with Communist Mainland China, which could result in war.

However, there appears to be a dichotomy of the motivation for migration between the two types of countries that could be used as a basis for comparing the case studies. These two main motivations for migration could be classified as, firstly, economic necessity, such as the search for a higher income or an escape from poverty. Secondly, the motivation based on individual feelings or responses to other factors; in this case the individual could continue to make a living or live a reasonable life even without migrating to a new place. This includes migration for better or higher education, job transfers, the search for better living conditions (refers to services and facilities), more skilled or specialised jobs or expanding businesses.

The socio-economic characteristics of individual migrants that belong to these two categories of motivations for migration also vary accordingly. As discussed in chapters 1, 2 and 3, most migrants in developing countries who move to urban areas because of economic necessity are often found to be poor peasants (although it does not apply to all cases). In contrast, most migrants in developed countries whose migrate for other reasons are found to be highly educated or skilled persons and not poor. These are the main comparable points in this study from which conclusions can be drawn, as discussed below.

The findings of this study show that the reasons for and pattern of migration from I-Lan county to Taipei are significantly different from those of the “push-pull” theory in relation to developing countries¹. This is mainly because Taiwan differs with most developing countries in terms of economic structure (relatively well distributed) and the difference between rural and urban areas (less significant, especially in terms of wages and basic amenities and services such as schools, access to clean water, electricity and sewage, which most of the population has access to). In addition, the findings of this case study suggest that the reasons for migration from I-Lan to Taipei have similarities to that of many developed countries. The main motivations for migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city are non-economic necessity reasons, such as further education, job transfers and more specialised jobs.

Moreover, the findings also demonstrate a difference between the reasons for migration in I-Lan county and the patterns demonstrated by previous studies of other parts of Taiwan. For example, the findings of Chiang (1983) with regard to empirical studies in San-Chung city (as mentioned in section 1.1) and other studies by Wang (1973), Liao (1985) and Chang (1991), in which the economic and/or employment reason is the most significant factor for migrants moving to the city. This is not applicable to I-Lan. Another example is the findings of Pan (1988) with regard to empirical studies in Taichung city, where environmental reasons are most cited by migrants.

On the other hand, good living conditions in I-Lan county such as a pleasant environment (as cited by stayers in the in-depth interviews, Case 7-3) constitute a very important pull factor for stayer respondents to continue to live in the county, accounting for 70% of these respondents. This is another point that is similar to the case of developed countries, where migration – as well as the decision to stay - is not because of economic necessity but other factors, including the living environment. Hence, push factors such as the lack of land, population increases, drought, famine, or zero or very low productivity in the rural areas - as found in most developing countries - cannot be applied to I-Lan county.

Therefore, when comparing the studies of San-Chung city and Taichung city with this research it seems that the main reasons for out-migration to cities from different rural areas in Taiwan varies from one place to another (although the two previous cases might now be invalid as they were

¹ It is understood that, even between the developing and developed countries, there should be varied cases, since each country has its own characteristics in terms of economic, religious and cultural structures. However, the terms ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ countries used in this study refers to those mentioned by authors and scholars, as quoted and discussed in the literature review in chapters 1 and 2 of this study.

conducted in the 1980s). In other words, it depends on where migrants come from (the place of origin) and where they are heading (the destination). For example, in the case of I-Lan county migrants would not move to Taipei for a better environment as I-Lan county itself is a good place to live. Migrants move to the city for specific reasons, as mentioned above, such as the lack of universities, specialised jobs or certain other types of employment for them in the place of origin - I-Lan county.

It is clear from this that the lack of higher educational facilities is the main reason for the out-migration of I-Lan county's population. This leads to a lack of skilled and professional labour in the county. As a result, I-Lan fails to attract skilled and specialised industries. In turn, that leads to the out-migration of the area's few skilled and highly educated residents, trained outside the county, or a failure to lure these residents to return to work in the county after completion of their education/training in the large cities (in this case study, student migrants who did not return to I-Lan county). This finding is further supported by the findings below that I-Lan to Taipei migrants are better educated, wealthier and more skilled compared with the stayers.

The research finds that the propensity to migrate is greatest not among the lowest stratum (in terms of economic and job status), but among those from the average or above average strata. Nine out of ten (or 90%) pre-migrant respondents' main occupations were not linked to agriculture, yet 62.2% were landowners. The majority of them also had larger holdings than the stayers (see section 6.2). By contrast, 20% of stayer respondents are agricultural labourers, but only 36% of them own land. Additionally, the stayers are poorer than the pre-migrants in terms of house ownership, as only 88% of them own houses compared with 95.5% of migrants. Thus, the socio-economic characteristics of migrants in the developing countries are different from those of this case study. This is because, as mentioned in Chapter 2.1, Taiwan's economic structure is closer to those of developed countries, where especially the number of the population working in agricultural sector is minimal compared with those working in other sectors, even in rural areas such as I-Lan county.

The finding also supports the theory that the propensity to migrate is greatest among those who are in the average or above average groups (in terms of economic and job status) in that migrants' families did not rely on an income from them during the process of migration. This is because the majority of migrants (79%) did not send remittances to their villages; in contrast, the majority of migrants (53.4%) received support (in monetary terms) from their families in the villages. Lastly,

the majority of migrants remain alone in the city as their families are not dependent on them and they therefore did not need to join migrants in Taipei.

The above findings can be explained in terms of two factors. Firstly, most migrants (61%) knew about job opportunities (including wages and type of job) in the city before their migration. Therefore, farmers are unlikely to migrate to the city in search of a higher income (although this is not the case for this case study) since they know that they lack the skills required for a better paid job there. Also, only those who are better educated and who know they can get a better job that suits their education and skills in the city will migrate. In addition, most of the poor population² of I-Lan is not in the same desperate position as the poor in many developing countries, where migration is the only option for survival.

Secondly, since the gap in the level of income between low-skilled workers in Taipei and I-Lan farmers is small, migrants have to consider the cost of living in the city, which is many times higher than in I-Lan county, as well as the cost of losing contact with relatives, friends and the place of birth. The latter, in Confucian tradition, as discussed in Chapter 4.4, is regarded as a very important social bond, especially for the rural population such as that of I-Lan county. Thus, earning a little extra in Taipei will not compensate low-skilled migrants for the other losses resulting from the move. Therefore, people will not easily consider leaving their ancestral home if the situation is not desperate, which it is not in this study. Hence, it is unlikely that low-skilled farmers will migrate for an insignificant gain compared with the loss of so many aspects of living on their ancestral land.

In short, the main motivations for migration to Taipei for the majority of I-Lan's population are for reasons other than the search for a higher income. However, this is not a straightforward case that can be precisely concluded by arguing that the motivation for migration in this case study is exactly the same as those of developed countries. In other words, on the one hand, the motivation for migration from I-Lan county concurs with that of developed countries in the broad sense that it is not because of economic necessity. On the other hand, the lack of higher educational facilities,

² There is a lack of references on the issue of the poor in Taiwan as a whole, and of I-Lan county in particular. However, according to information gathered by the researcher, including from Mrs. Cheng (a member of I-Lan county's parliament) and Drs. Su and Cheng, the term 'poor' refers to the low-income families who lack amenities such as cars and other relatively luxurious private goods/facilities. In this case, the poor population is not desperate in terms of making a living, as often mentioned in literature on the poor in most developing countries.

other services and specialised job opportunities, which lead to the out-migration of its population, is also similar to what is found in developing countries.

This is due to the fact that, despite the increase in income of I-Lan's population during the last three decades, the pace of supplying community services and educational facilities in rural areas has been slow, and these areas cannot cope with the increased demand for better services. For example, I-Lan county has no university or equivalent educational institution, no modern hospital (with advanced technology such as hospitals in Taipei) and no or an inadequate number of hi-tech industries and services. Therefore, its own students as well as its better educated and skilled residents have to find such services and jobs in urban areas, such as in Taipei.

The research establishes, through an in-depth interview as presented in Case 7-9 (in Chapter 7), that the lack of these facilities and services in I-Lan county are partly because of the low level of education of the local population and their conservative ideas, which make them slow to adopt to modern ideas on development. However, the main reason is the lack of political will among the leaders of both the county and of Taiwan province, who are responsible for the county's development. Further studies on the government policies regulating the development programme of I-Lan county as well as the participation of I-Lan's population in the development process are needed in order to further understand this factor.

The findings of this research support the literature on the point that migration is selective by age, gender, marital status, education and wealth. In the case of I-Lan county migrants tend to be younger, male, single, better educated and skilled, and better off compared with the stayers. However, the proposition by many previous scholars, including Todaro (1977) and Mortuza (1992), that migrants tend to have a higher incidence of unemployment in urban markets is invalid in the case of I-Lan county. The findings of this study show that nearly 100% of migrants found jobs within a month (71% within one week and only 3% after more than one month) of their arrival in Taipei and none were unemployed at the time of the interview.

Moreover, the findings on the basis of employment and job opportunities show that the positions in Taipei city are secure, as 79.3% (more than three quarters) of the respondents' first jobs were paid on a monthly basis, indicating that they were in full-time employment. In addition, more than one third of the respondents were still in their first job at the time of the interview. The duration of the

job-search is also short, with less than one week being the most common length of time spent searching for a first job, accounting for more than 70% of migrant respondents.

In terms of the occupational composition of migrants in the pre-migration period, they were students as well as employees in government, finance, insurance and business services, labourers in manufacturing and semi-skilled workers. The post-migratory occupational composition indicates that first jobs in the urban labour market are often as semi-skilled labour (or in the informal sector), but that job status improves after a period of residence in Taipei city.

The above findings seem to concur with the fact that Taiwan as a whole has experienced a labour shortage since the 1970s. Thus, it is understandable that the level of unemployment is low, as some migrants were offered a job before migration (27%), the majority of those who did not have job offers were employed within one month after moving to Taipei city (71%) and all were employed in Taipei at the time of the interview (100%). This is further confirmed by the finding that most migrants did not spend more than a week to secure a job in the city. Such a short period spent searching for a job in the city is also due to the fact that most migrants had a great deal of information about the city and their prospects of finding work from their many visits to the city before their migration (see section 7.1).

In short, migrants are well prepared for migration as a result of various visits to the city and contact with relatives or friends in Taipei. As discussed in chapters 3.4 and 4.4, this is due to the help and information provided to migrants by relatives, friends and their other types of urban connections such as associations. Even those who did not have a job offer before migration had a very clear idea of what job they would get in Taipei city.

The study also confirms that, like most of the arguments in the literature review, migrants are young, single, mostly male and better educated and skilled compared with the stayers. However, migrants aged 16-25 were the most significant group in this study, which is even younger than in many previous empirical studies. For example, Chiang (1983) discovered that migrants in San-Chung city, Taiwan, were dominated by the age group 25-29 years, and Pan (1988) found in the case of Taichung city, Taiwan, that migrants aged 25-34 were the most significant group.

The fact that most I-Lan to Taipei migrants are aged between 16-25 and are single concurs with the reasons for out-migration from the county. As discussed in section 7.2, the majority of migrants

move out of I-Lan county in search of higher education in Taipei city, since I-Lan lack this facility. Although further study is needed in the case of migrants from I-Lan county, the dominance of men is partly because, as discussed in Chapter 4.4, the Confucian tradition still influences the population of Taiwan. This is particularly true of rural areas such as I-Lan county, where the higher education of sons is seen as a priority over that of daughters. In addition, parents will live with their sons in their old age, as prescribed by Confucian tradition. Therefore, providing higher education for sons is an investment, as the sons, having secured a better job and better income as a result of their higher qualifications, will be able to take better care of the elderly parents.

Final remarks and recommendations for further studies

It is clear that I-Lan to Taipei migration is a consequence of the continued failure to provide adequate higher educational facilities and a market for specialised labour to I-Lan county's population. It is suggested that migration can only be stopped or seriously slowed down (even though it is doubtful that such an attempt will be economical or necessary) by making the rural areas more attractive, including providing all the facilities, services and job opportunities that are normally available in urban areas. That is a necessary but very difficult and expensive task.

This study provides many useful findings relating to the migration patterns as seen in the case of I-Lan county to Taipei city migration. The most important finding is that people with different backgrounds (in terms of age, marital status and gender) have different reasons for leaving I-Lan county. In other words, the decision to move or to stay is different for each case and thus varies accordingly. For example, the young, single, female respondents of I-Lan county left for better education in Taipei. However, when these young, single, female respondents or their families initially made the decision to leave I-Lan county they intended to leave only temporarily and there was a high possibility of them returning after the completion of their studies in Taipei city. Thus, at that early stage it was not migration, but mobility or commuting in the sense that these students visited their I-Lan homes or families once or twice a year, or even more often.

This group did not return to I-Lan county after completing their education. Instead, they found satisfactory jobs in Taipei and settled there permanently. Although they remain in contact with relatives in I-lan county, they are formally residents of Taipei since they no longer own property in I-Lan and pay fewer visits to I-Lan county compared with when they were

studying. It is at this final stage that the movement from I-Lan to Taipei of this study's student respondents can be considered as migration. In short, this study points out that, in the case of I-Lan county to Taipei city, among the young population whose reason for migration was for education, the process of leaving the county had evolved from commuting or mobility to migration. In other words, the initial decision was not to migrate but only to commute or oscillate to improve their education. However, after their studies were completed, they found satisfactory jobs in Taipei, which made them settle in the city permanently instead of return to the county, thereby completing the process of migration.

This situation also applies to those who left I-Lan county for better employment opportunities. During the first stage, the move was not seen as migration but as commuting or mobility. Only once they were assured of economic survival in Taipei and had settled there permanently had the process of leaving I-Lan county become a complete migration process. The evolution of this process, however, took a shorter time to complete compared with the case of the students. As mentioned in Chapter 7, it took anything from 6 months to two years to complete the process of migration when migrants brought their whole family with them to settle in Taipei city (in the case of those whose families came to join them in the city).

Although I-Lan seems to lack some of the services and facilities needed to keep its population from out-migrating, as mentioned before, further studies on the impact of out-migration on I-Lan county's economy are needed to conclude whether the effect is significant or not. This is because most of the out-migrants from I-Lan county did not leave solely in search of better job opportunities, but also for other reasons, including higher or better education. While on the one hand I-Lan county should be better equipped with the services and facilities required by its increasingly wealthy population, on the other hand, it is not economically sound to invest in costly facilities and services for a relatively small number of potential consumers. In other words, cost benefit analysis would be able to evaluate the cost of installing the services and facilities and the benefit of such services to the population and economy. Yet, it is not an easy task since the motivation for migration is rather complex. For example, even if there was a university in I-Lan county, people might still migrate to Taipei if they want to attend a better university.

Further study on why most of these migrants decide to migrate instead of commute between Taipei and I-Lan county (the researcher assumes that the main reason is the time it takes to

commute from I-Lan to Taipei, which is two and a half hours or longer) could produce interesting results. Such a study should be in the form of qualitative or in-depth interview analysis in order gain a deeper insight into the issues surrounding decision-making. The target group for the study should include all population strata, but, perhaps more importantly, should include student migrants who choose not to return to I-Lan county after completing their studies in the city.

By doing so, many interesting questions could be answered, such as: What lies behind the migrants' decision to abandon their birthplace, which is uncommon in the traditional Chinese or Taiwanese society? Or, have the Chinese or Taiwanese traditions of being close to one's birthplace and kin been less influential compared with other factors, such as the attractiveness of the urban lifestyle for the younger generation?

Further studies in the form of in-depth interviews or qualitative analyses on how migrants decided on Taipei and not other cities as the destination that would meet their expectations for education, job opportunities and a satisfactory urban lifestyle could also produce interesting results. The study therefore needs to include all strata of the population, including those who migrate for education, job opportunities and an urban lifestyle. It should also consider who makes the decision to migrate and how such a decision is reached among the family members.

The Common Criteria Used to Distinguish Between Developed and Developing Countries

Commonly the following criteria are used to classify countries, according to Schilderink (1970:23-4), most of the World Bank and United Nations publications¹ lists:

I. Demographic and general health variables:

1. Population density; 2. Population growth; 3. Degree of urbanisation; 4. Infant mortality; 5. Death rate; 6. Life expectancy; 7. Density of medical aid.

II Economic variables:

1. Gross National Product; 2. Gross National Product per capita of the population; 3. Percentage share of agriculture in the Gross Domestic Product; 4. Percentage share of services sector in the Gross Domestic Product; 5. Average annual growth of the Gross Domestic Product; 6. Average annual growth of the Gross Domestic Product per capita; 7. Value of imports; 8. Value of exports; 9. Average energy consumption per capita of the population; 10. Agricultural population.

III Sociological and educational variables:

1. Illiteracy rate; 2. Elementary education; 3. Secondary education; 4. Higher education; 5. Higher education; 6. Pupils/teacher ratio.

IV. Communications variables:

1. Radio/TV ownership; 2. Visits to cinema; 3. Newspaper circulation.

V. Services and infrastructure:

Paved roads, water supply, railway, power and energy, population per physician, sanitation and sewage.

VI. Political variables:

1. Political participation: this is a rank variable determined by Simpson's method which indicates to what extent:

- a. the state constitution is based on an authoritarian regime, on a semi-party system (semi-competitive) or on a multi-party system (competitive);

- b. the representation of the form of government consists of a polyarchy (wide representation), of a limited polyarchy (large group representation or broad oligarchy), of a pseudo-polyarchy (ineffective representation), or of a non-polyarchy (subordination or autocracy);

- c. chances of having affairs looked after by interested parties are significant,

moderate, limited or negligible.

¹ See World Bank publication series, World Development Report, i.e.: 1996, 97, 98; The United Nations publications, Human Resources, i.e., 1996, 97, 98.

Methodology Appendices:

Appendix 2A

Formal Letters - Issued by the Governor of I-Lan County and DPU, UCL.

2A-1 Formal Letter from the Governor of I-Lan County (Translated from Chinese)

Miss Shu- Chun Chang, is studying a Ph.D degree, in which the concern of the study is the characteristics and the reasons for out-migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city. The research is to look at the county's development and its characteristics, being a representative study of a modern society which is meaningful and helpful not only to the county but also to the whole country.

In the last few years, the local people have been moving out to Taipei city, resulting in the fact that there is an urgent need for the government to focus on this problem which is getting serious. Appreciation from the county is expressed in terms of the contribution of the study to the county's future development and the policy implication.

If there is any help needed from the county hall, it would be a pleasure to give it and / or provide any information, by informing us, either here at the governor's office or the administration office. We anticipate the study will be successful. Best wishes,

I-Lan County Governor.

Yu Hsi Kun,

4 October 1996.


24 May 1996

**Taipei Representative Office UK
To Whom it May Concern**

This is to certify that Miss Shu Chun Chang is registered as a full-time student on the M.Phil/Ph.D programme (1995-98) at the Development Planning Unit, University College, London.

As part of her work for this programme she is undertaking research into the nature of migration from I-Lan county to Taipei City. As part of this research she is required to conduct a field study in I-Lan county, Taiwan Province, Republic of China from September 1996 - January 1997.

I would be grateful for any assistance the Taipei Representative Office in the UK can extend to her. It would be particularly useful if the UK Office would inform the relevant agencies and officers of Miss Shu Chun Chang's work in order to facilitate her field work survey in Taipei.

A circular stamp containing the UCL crest and the following text:

Dr Sheilah Melkle
DPU
Development Planning Unit
PhD Supervisor
University College London
9 Endsleigh Gardens
London WC1H 0ED
Tel: 0171 388 7581
Fax: 0171 387 4541
E. Mail: dpu@ucl.ac.uk



11 June 1996

The Government of Taipei Municipality

This is to certify that Miss Shu Chun Chang is registered as a full-time student on the M.Phil/Ph.D programme (1995-98) at the Development Planning Unit, University College London.

As part of her work for this programme she is undertaking research into the nature of migration from I-Lan County to Taipei City. As part of this research she is required to conduct a field study in Taipei Municipality, Taiwan Province, Republic of China from September 1996 - January 1997.

I would be grateful for any assistance your office can extend to her to facilitate her field study in Taipei.


DPU
Development Planning Unit
University College London
9 Endsleigh Gardens
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Tel: 0171 388 7581
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E-mail: dpu@ucl.ac.uk
Dr. Sheilah Meikle
PhD Supervisor
June 1996



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24 May 1996

The Government of I-Lan County

This is to certify that Miss Shu Chun Chang is registered as a full-time student on the M.Phil/Ph.D programme (1995-98) at the Development Planning Unit, University College, London.

As part of her work for this programme she is undertaking research into the nature of migration from I-Lan county to Taipei City. As part of this research she is required to conduct a field study in I-Lan county, Taiwan Province, Republic of China from September 1996 - January 1997.

I would be grateful for any assistance your office can extend to her to facilitate her field work survey in I-Lan.

Sheilah Meikle
Development Planning Unit
University College London
Dr Sheilah Meikle
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How 200 migrant respondents were chosen from the List of the Population Registration Centers of I-Lan city, Ta-Tung, and Tung-San villages.

The total of 200 migrants spread over 10 years is equivalent to 20 per year. Therefore, for each year 20 migrants were found. In the case of migrants who cannot be chased in Taipei city (for example, some of them might have changed address without informing Taipei's Population Registration Centre or I-Lan county), these were dropped with the next case being chosen. For example in the year 1985, the numbers we needed were 3, 6, 9..etc as shown below, but somehow number 27 could not be found, and so this survey picked up number 28.

The list of the Population Registration Centers of I-Lan city, Ta-Tung and Tung-San villages which records migrants who moved out of the city and registered at the centres, provided the random choice of 20 migrant respondents in each year.

Year	Number of migrants	Random Number
1985	61	$/20=3.1$ 3 (Thus, out of every 3, the survey pick 1 respondent)
1986 ¹	79	$/20=3.9$ 3 (Thus, out of every 3, the survey pick 1 respondent)
1987	93	$/20=4.7$ 4 (Thus, out of every 4, the survey pick 1 respondent)
1988	92	$/20=4.6$ 4 (Thus, out of every 4, the survey pick 1 respondent)
1989	99	$/20=4.95$ 4 (Thus, out of every 4, the survey pick 1 respondent)
1990	96	$/20=4.8$ 4 (Thus, out of every 4, the survey pick 1 respondent)
1991	114	$/20=5.7$ 5 (Thus, every 5, the survey pick 1 respondent)
1992	136	$/20=6.8$ 6 (Thus, out of every 6, the survey pick 1 respondent)
1993	134	$/20=6.7$ 6 (Thus, out of every 6, the survey pick 1 respondent)
1994	144	$/20=7.2$ 7 (Thus, out of every 7, the survey pick 1 respondent)

Example of 1985:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
61									

¹ The level of migration is higher in 1986 because at the end of 1985, the railway started connecting with Keelung and Taipei city in the north and Hualien-Ta-Tung in the south, resulting in the fact that it became more convenient for migrants to reach the city.

How 100 stayer respondents were chosen from the List of the Population Registration Centers of I-Lan city, Ta-Tung, and Tung-San villages.

The total of 100 stayers spread over 10 years is equivalent to 10 per year. Therefore, for each year 10 migrants were found. In addition, there are another 30 back-up stayers (spread over 10 years in 3 areas this is 1 in each year. In the case of stayers who cannot be found in I-Lan city, Ta-Tung and Tung-San villages (for example, some of them have changed address without informing these three areas' Population Registration Centres), these were dropped with the next case being chosen (the back-up case). For example in the year 1985, the numbers we needed were 4 stayers in I-Lan city as shown below, but somehow numbers 2 and 3 stayers could not be found, and so this survey picked one from I-Lan city's back-up stayers and another one from the Ta-Tung's back-up stayers; if for 1986, the number we needed in Ta-Tung were 3, but somehow 1 stayer could not be found, we picked up the back-up from Ta-Tung.

The list of the Population Registration Centers of I-Lan city, Ta-Tung and Tung-San villages which record stayers who live in and registered at the centres, provided the random choice of 10 migrant respondents in each year.

Year	Random Through the Official Record			Number of Back Up		
	Random Number					
	I-Lan City ²	Ta-Tung	Tung-San	I-Lan, Ta-Tung, Tung-San		
1985	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)
1986	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)
1987	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)
1988	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)
1989	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)
1990	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)
1991	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)
1992	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)
1993	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)
1994	4	3	3	1	1	1 (1 in each area)

Example of 1985:

I-Lan City:

Number	Back Up from Three Areas		
	I-Lan	Ta-Tung	Tung-San
1, 2, 3, 4	1	1	1

Example of 1986:

Ta-Tung Village:

Number	Back up from Three Areas		
	I-Lan	Ta-Tung	Tung-San
1, 2, 3, 1	1	1	

² The reason for choosing 4 stayers for each year in I-Lan city while the rest two were 3 is in terms of population, I-Lan city has more.

Appendix 3A-1 Questionnaires - the Place of Destination - Taipei City

A Small Scale and Intensive Field Survey of Rural-Urban Migrants from I-Lan County to Taipei city

From September 1996 to January 1997

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL MIGRANT

Interview No.
Serial No.

Hello. I am an assistant of a University College London student in London, U.K. I am helping her with a Ph.D thesis on a study about the people who migrate from I-Lan county to Taipei city. The aim of this research is to assess and identify the reason for out-migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city. You have been chosen to be interviewed through a random method of selection and your answers will be treated confidentially, being used only for the purposes of the research. Would you mind to spare 30 minutes to answer some questions about your stay in Taipei city?

Here is a copy of a formal letter from the governor of I-Lan county who has helped in the research and would also like the people who used to live in I-Lan county to help. Thank you.

Did you out-migrate from I-Lan county? (If not, stop the interview)

Yes No

Part I: General Questions:

Q 1 Age.....

Q 2 Sex

1. Male
2. Female

Q 3

(a) What's your present marital status?

1. Single (**skip to Q5**)
2. Married
3. Divorced
4. Widowed
5. Other

(b) Do you have any children?

Yes No

Q 4 What was your marital status before you moved to Taipei city?

1. Single
 2. Married
 3. Divorced
 4. Widowed
 5. Other
-specify

Q 5

(a) Were you born in I-Lan county?

Yes

No

(b) In what year?

.....

Q 6

(1) Are you the head of the household?

Yes

No

If Yes, skip to Q7

(2) What is your relationship to the head of the household?

1. Spouse
2. Son; Daughter (including son-in-law or daughter-in-law)
3. Grandchild (including grandson-in-law or granddaughter-in-law)
4. Parent (including parent-in-law)
5. Brother or sister
6. Other

.....specify

7 How old were you when you moved to Taipei city?

.....Years old

Q 8 How long have you been in Taipei city?

Years Months.....

Q 9 Which level of education have you achieved?

1. Illiterate or semi-illiterate
2. Primary school
3. Secondary school
4. High school
5. Polytechnic or technical school
6. Higher education (university or college)
7. Postgraduate

Q 10 (a) Why did you move to Taipei city?

(RECORD UP TO THREE: MARK IF REPLIES MATCH THE OPTIONS, NOTE IF DIFFERENT)

- (1) Bought land/ have business in Taipei
- (2) Transfer of place in old job/ or job assignment
- (3) To seek better income
- (4) To seek a type of job or for more job opportunities
- (5) Taipei city offers jobs which are more skilled or specialized
- (6) Work was insufficient to support family
- (7) Nature of work unsatisfactory
- (8) To seek better education for children
- (9) To seek education for self
- (10) To get married
- (11) To accompany family
- (12) Seek better living conditions
- (13) Have friends and relatives here
- (14) Retirement from enterprises
- (15) Other

-----specify

(b) Which of these reasons was the most important to you?

Part 2: Questions on the Year Before Migration: Request to ask the employment, and economic status to the individual migrant to be interviewed.

The following are some questions of what happened in the year before you moved to Taipei city. Please, try to recall that you are in your village--I-Lan county in the year...The questions that I am going to ask all relate to that one year.

Q 11 What was your last main job?

- (1) Employed (then skip to Q15)
- (2) Unemployed (then skip to Q 14)
- (3) Housework (then skip to Q 16)
- (4) Apprentice (then skip to Q 13)
- (5) Student (answer Q 12 then skip to Q16)
- (6) Retired (then skip to Q 16)

.....specify

Q 12 (a)What level of educational did you achieve before you moved to Taipei city?

- (1) Illiterate or semi-illiterate
- (2) Primary school
- (3) Secondary school
- (4) High school
- (5) Polytechnic or technical school
- (6) Higher education (university or college)
- (7) Postgraduate

Q 13 Did you work? (if the answer is Yes, skip to Q 15)

Yes **No**

Q 14 Did you search for a job? (If the answer is Yes, skip to Q 17.
If the answer is No, skip to Q 18)

Yes **No**

Q 15 If you were working during that year, then:

(a)What was your main job? (Enquire into type of job - job composition)

(b) How many labourers in the factory (company) where you worked³?

- 1. Less than 10 persons (including the owner)
- 2. More than 10 persons (including the owner)

(c) Did your factory (company) join the labour union?

Yes **No**

(d) Were you hired?

Yes **No**
(If the answer is No, skip to Q 16)

³ If migrants' factory or company where he/she worked meet any criteria (b) - Less than 10 persons (including the owner); or (c) - free union membership, is grouped into as the informal sector.

(e) Were you hired by the day, by the week, by the month or on any other basis?

1. Day
2. Week
3. Month
4. Year
5. Harvest
6. Season
7. Piece Work
8. Other (Specify-----)

(f) What was the main reason you stopped working?

Q 16 Besides your main economic activities, what other work did you do in the last 12 months before your departure (Enquire into place of work (industry) and occupation of respondent). **If the answer is none, skip to Q 18**

(a) What was your main job? (Enquire into type of job - job composition)

(b) How many labourers in the factory (company) where you worked⁴?

1. Less than 10 persons (including the owner)
2. More than 10 persons (including the owner)

(c) Did your factory (company) join the labour union?

Yes

No

Q 17 How long were you without work?

Never worked

Skip to Q 18

Years.....

Months.....

⁴ If migrants' factory or company where he/she worked meet any criteria (b) - Less than 10 persons (including the owner); or (c) - free union membership, is grouped into as the informal sector.

Q 18

(a) Did your family own any land?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to Q 21)

(b) How much was the total land?

.....acres

(c) What kind of land?

1. Agricultural use
2. Commercial use **(skip to Q 20)**
3. Industrial use **(skip to Q 20)**
4. Residential use **(skip to Q 20)**

Q 19 Did you employ any labour?

Yes

No

If Yes, how many?

Q 20

(a) Did you lease out any land?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to (e))

(b) How much?

.....acres

(c) What kind of land?

(d) Why did you have to lease out?

(e) What happened to your land after you came to Taipei city?

Q 21

(a) Did you rent any land?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to Q 22)

(b) How much did you rent?

.....acres

(c) What kind of land?

1. Agricultural use
2. Commercial use
3. Industrial use
4. Residential use

(d) What happened with the land you rented after you moved to Taipei city?

.....

Q 22 Did your family own any house?

If Yes, how many and what type of house?

Q 23 Did your family own any car?

If Yes, how many cars?

Part 3: The Question on the process of migration.

Q 24

(a) Did you have any close friends or relatives from I-Lan county in Taipei city before you moved here?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to Q 25)

(b) Did you get any information or advice on accommodation or job information from them before you moved?

Yes

No

Q 25

(a) Did you visit Taipei city during the year before migration before you moved to settle down here?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to Q26)

(b) Did you visit Taipei city often? (More than 3 times in a year)

Yes

No

(c) If yes, what used to be the reason for visiting Taipei so often?

(d) If no, what is the reason for visiting Taipei city?

Part 4: The question on the process for searching a job

The following questions 26-36 exclude from the people who migrate mainly for education reasons (If the main reason for migrants is for education then skip to Q 37)

Q 26 Apart from your main purpose to work in Taipei city, did you intend to seek some education?

Yes

No

Q 27 Were you offered a job before you moved to Taipei?

Yes

No

(if the answer is Yes, skip to Q 32)

Q 28

(a) Did you know about job vacancies before you came?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to Q 29)

(b) Did you know about a particular job vacancy for which you were qualified?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to Q 29)

(c) What was your main job? (Enquire into type of job - job composition)

(d) How many labourers in the factory (company) where you worked⁵?

1. Less than 10 persons (including the owner)

2. More than 10 persons (including the owner)

⁵ If migrants' factory or company where he/she worked meet any criteria (b) - Less than 10 persons (including the owner); or (c) - free union membership, is grouped into as the informal sector.

(e) Did your factory (company) join the labour union?

Yes

No

(f) Who told you about it?

1 Friends

2 Relatives

3 Newspaper, magazine

4 Employment agency

5 Other

.....specify

Q 29 (a) For how long were you in Taipei city before you started looking for a job?

1. Have not started (skip to **Q 31**)

2. Days

3. Months.....

(b) If you did not start looking for job immediately, what were you doing?

Q 30 After how many days of searching, did you find a job?

.....days (approximately)

Q 31 (a) Did you send any remittance to your family in the village?

Yes

No

(b) How did you support yourself during this waiting period?

1. Past savings

2. Loan

3. Support from family in village

4. Friends' support in Taipei

5. Relatives' support in Taipei

6. Other source (specify.....)

Part 5: Question on the first job in Taipei city

Q 32

(a) What was your first job in Taipei city? (Enquire into type of job - job composition)

(b) How many labourers in the factory (company) where you worked⁶?

1. Less than 10 persons (including the owner)
2. More than 10 persons (including the owner)

(c) Did your factory (company) join the labour union?

Yes

No

Q 33

(a) How long did you stay in the first job?

1. Still in job (**skip to Q 34**)
2. Less than 1 month
3. 1-6 months
4. 7-12 months
5. 12-24 months
6. 25 months and over
7. Other -----Specify

Ask the reason if less than one year

(b) What was the main reason for ending that job?

1. Have not stopped
2. Quit, because of low income
3. Quit, because of taking another job
4. Quit, because of poor working conditions
5. Quit, to set up a business
6. Poor health, disability
7. To get married
8. Pregnant
9. Laid off, no work

⁶ If migrants' factory or company where he/she worked meet any criteria (b) - Less than 10 persons (including the owner); or (c) - free union membership, is grouped into as the informal sector.

10. Laid off, other reasons
11. Job completed
12. Completed /gave up apprenticeship/training
13. Paid off debt
14. Other reason (.....specify)

Q 34 Through which channel did you get this job?

1. Employment agency
2. Information from earlier settlers about impending recruitment plans
3. Newspapers
4. Search efforts of urban contacts
5. Other (Specify.....)

Q 35

(a) What else did you do? (Enquire into type of job - job composition)

(b) How many labourers in the factory (company) where you worked⁷?

1. Less than 10 persons (including the owner)
2. More than 10 persons (including the owner)

(c) Did your factory (company) join the labour union?

Yes

No

Q 36 If you were working for wages, how were you paid?

1. Season
2. Casual, daily
3. Weekly
4. Monthly
5. Piece work
6. Other (specify)

⁷ If migrants' factory or company where he/she worked meet any criteria (b) - Less than 10 persons (including the owner); or (c) - free union membership, is grouped into as the informal sector.

Part 6: Questions on current status in Taipei city

***Q 37** What kind of main activity are you engaged in at the moment? (Use guide manual to classify respondent into any of the following:)

- (1) Employed (skip to Q 41)
- (2) Housewife/family worker (skip to Q 44)
- (3) Unemployed (skip to 44)
- (4) Apprentice (skip to Q 41)
- (5) Student (if the answer is a student, then only answer Q 38 to Q 40 and skip to Q 44)
- (7) retired (skip to Q 44)

Q 38

(a) What level of education are you studying now?

- (1) High school
- (2) Polytechnic or technical school
- (3) Higher education (university or college)
- (4) Postgraduate
- (5) Other.....specify

(b) Is it available in I-Lan county?

Yes No Do not know

(c) If Yes, why did you move here?

.....

Q 39 Do you intend to get a job in Taipei city after you complete your studying?

Yes (why) No (why)

Q 40

(a) Are you working while you are studying at the moment?

Yes No (If No, skip to Q 44)

(b) How many hours per week?

.....

(c) What is the nature of work you are doing now? (Enquire into type of job - job composition)

(d) How many labourers in the factory (company) where you worked⁸?

1. Less than 10 persons (including the owner)
2. More than 10 persons (including the owner)

(e) Did your factory (company) join the labour union?

Yes

No

(then skip to Q 44)

Q 41

(a) What is the nature of work you are doing now? (Enquire into type of job - job composition)

(b) How many labourers in the factory (company) where you worked⁹?

1. Less than 10 persons (including the owner)
2. More than 10 persons (including the owner)

(c) Did your factory (company) join the labour union?

Yes

No

Q 42

(a) Is the same job, which you are doing now, available in I-Lan county?

Yes

No

Other

⁸ If migrants' factory or company where he/she worked meet any criteria (b) - Less than 10 persons (including the owner); or (c) - free union membership, is grouped into as the informal sector.

⁹ If migrants' factory or company where he/she worked meet any criteria (b) - Less than 10 persons (including the owner); or (c) - free union membership, is grouped into as the informal sector.

If Yes, why did you move to work in the same job in Taipei city? Why not work in I-Lan county?

(b) If, you get a similar job in your village, would you be prepared to return to work?

Yes No Other

(If the answer is Yes, skip to Q 43)

(c) Why not?

Q 43 If you were working for wages, how were you paid?

1. Season
2. Casual, daily
3. Weekly
4. Monthly
5. Piece work
6. Other (specify.....)

***Q 44** What was the attitude of your family to your moving to Taipei city?

1. Did not mind
2. Supported
3. Opposed
4. Indifferent
5. Other (specify.....)

Q 45 Who came with you to this city on migrating?

1. Alone
2. Husband and children
3. Wife and children
4. Relatives
5. Friends
6. Others (specify.....)

Q 46 (If alone) Why did you come alone?

.....

Q 47 Who joined you later?

1. No one
2. Husband
3. Husband and children
4. Wife
5. Wife and children
6. Others (specify.....)

Q 48 How long did you stay before they joined you?

.....

Q 49 Did you live in a parental family or in an extended family or a nuclear family?

1. Parental
2. Extended
3. Nuclear

Q 50

(a) Does your family own any land?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No skip to Q 51)

(b) What kind of land?

1. Agricultural use
2. Commercial use
3. Industrial use
4. Residential use

(c) What is the area of the land?

.....acres

Q 51 Does your family own any house?

If yes, how many?

Q 52 Does your family own any car?

If yes, how many?

Q 53 How good is your economic position in Taipei city compared to when you were in your village?

1. Much better
2. Better
3. Same
4. Poorer
5. Much poorer

Appendix 3A-2 Questionnaire - the Place of Origin - I-Lan County

A Small Scale and Intensive Field Survey of the Reason for Staying in I-Lan County

From September 1996 to January 1997

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL STAYER

Hello. I am a University College London student in London, U.K. I am doing my Ph.D thesis on the people who migrate from I-Lan county to Taipei city. The aim of this research is to assess and identify the reason for out-migration from I-Lan county to Taipei city. You have been chosen to be interviewed through a random method of selection and your answers will be treated confidentially, being used only for the purposes of the research. Would you mind to spare 10 minutes to answer some questions about your stay in I-Lan county?

Part I: General Questions: Request to the individual stayer to be interviewed.

Q 1 Age.....

Q 2 Sex

1. Male
2. Female

Q 3

(a) What's your present marital status?

1. Single (**skip to Q4**)
2. Married
3. Divorced
4. Widowed
5. Other

(b) Do you have any children?

Yes

No

If yes, how many and what are their ages?

Q 4

(a) Were you born in I-Lan county?

Yes

No

(b) In what year?

.....

Q 5

(1) Are you the head of the household?

Yes

No

(If Yes, skip to Q 6)

(2) What is your relationship to the head of household?

1. Spouse
 2. Son; Daughter (including son-in-law or daughter-in-law)
 3. Grandchild (including grandson-in-law or granddaughter-in-law)
 4. Parent (including parent-in-law)
 5. Brother or sister
 6. Other
-specify

Q 6 Which level of education have you attained?

1. Illiterate or semi-illiterate
2. Primary school
3. Secondary school
4. High school
5. Polytechnic or technical school
6. Higher education (university or college)
7. Postgraduate

Part 2: Questions on Current Status:

Q 7 What is your main job?

- (1) Employed (**then skip to Q11**)
- (2) Unemployed (**then skip to Q 10**)
- (3) Housework (**then skip to Q 12**)
- (4) Apprentice (**then skip to Q 9**)
- (5) Student (**answer Q 8, then skip to Q 12**)
- (6) Retired (**then skip to Q 12**)

Q 8 What level of education are you at now?

- (1) High school
- (2) Polytechnic or technical school
- (3) University or college
- (4) Postgraduate
- (5) Other

.....specify

Q 9 Do you work? (if the answer is Yes, skip to Q 11)

Yes

No

Q 10 Did you search for a job? (If the answer is Yes, skip to Q 13.
If the answer is No, skip to Q 14)

Yes

No

Q 11 If you are working, then:

(a) What is your main job? (Enquire into type of job - job composition)

(b) How many labourers in the factory (company) where you worked¹⁰?

- 1. Less than 10 persons (including the owner)
- 2. More than 10 persons (including the owner)

(c) Did your factory (company) join the labour union?

Yes

No

(d) Were you hired?

Yes

No

¹⁰ If stayers' factory or company where he/she worked meet any criteria (b) - Less than 10 persons (including the owner); or (c) - free union membership, is grouped into as the informal sector.

(If the answer is No, skip to Q 12)

(e) Were you hired by the day, by the week, by the month or on any other basis?

1. Day
2. Week
3. Month
4. Year
5. Harvest
6. Season
7. Piece Work
8. Other (specify-----)

Q12 Besides your main economic activities, what other work did you do? If the answer is none, skip to Q 14

(a) Enquire into type of job - job composition

(b) How many labourers in the factory (company) where you worked¹¹?

1. Less than 10 persons (including the owner)
2. More than 10 persons (including the owner)

(c) Did your factory (company) join the labour union?

Yes

No

Q 13 How long were you without work?

Never worked

Skip to Q 14

Years.....

Months.....

¹¹ If stayers' factory or company where he/she worked meet any criteria (b) - Less than 10 persons (including the owner); or (c) - free union membership, is grouped into as the informal sector.

Q14 Did you think of migrating to Taipei city?

Yes (Why)

No (Why not)

Q 15

(a) Does your family own any land?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to Q 18)

(b) What is the total area of the land?

.....acres

(c) What kind of land?

1. Agricultural use
2. Commercial use **(skip to Q 17)**
3. Industrial use **(skip to Q 17)**
4. Residential use **(skip to Q 17)**

(d) What kind of crop?

.....

Q 16 Do you employ any labour?

Yes

No

If Yes, how many?

Q 17

(a) Did you lease out any land?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to Q 18)

(b) How much?

.....acres

(c) What kind of land?

1. Agricultural use
2. Commercial use
3. Industrial use
4. Residential use

(d) Why do you have to lease out?

Q 18

(a) Did you rent any land?

Yes

No

(If the answer is No, skip to Q 19)

(b) How much do you rent?

.....acres

(c) What kind of land

1. Agricultural use
2. Commercial use
3. Industrial use
4. Residential use

Q 19 Does your family own any house?

If Yes, how many and what type of house?

Q 20 Does your family own any car?

If Yes, how many cars?

Q 21 Did you live in a parental family or in an extended family or a nuclear family?

1. Parental
2. Extended
3. Nuclear

您好，我是倫大博士班學生的助理，我是在幫忙作博士論文的問卷。問卷的內容是在了解和探討宜蘭縣民外移台北市的原因和特徵所在。經過亂數的選取您已被選為作問卷的對象。您的回答將視為機密，並且只作為研究的目的，您是否願意接受用分鐘您外移台北市原因的訪談。

您是從宜蘭搬來的嗎？（如不是，停止這問卷）

是 不是

第一部份，普通問題：訪問對象是從宜蘭遷出台北的定居者。

1. 年齡

2. 性別

(1) 男

(2) 女

3. (a) 請問您目前的婚姻狀況？

(1) 單身（請接問題 5）

(2) 已婚

(3) 離婚

(4) 寡婦

(5) 其他 _____（請說明）

(b) 有沒有小孩？

有 沒有

如”有”，請問有幾個成年和未成年小孩？

4. 在遷入台北之前，請問您的婚姻狀況？

(1) 單身

(2) 已婚

(3) 離婚

(4) 寡婦

(5) 其他 _____（請說明）

5. (a) 您是在宜蘭出生的嗎？

是 不是

(b) 您是在那一年出生？

6. (1) 請問您是這一家中的戶長嗎？

是 不是

(如答案” 是” , 請接問題 7)

(2) 請問您和戶長有何關係？

① 配偶

② 兒子, 女兒 (包括女婿和媳婦)

③ 孫子 (包括孫女婿和孫媳婦)

④ 父母 (包括丈母娘或公公婆婆)

⑤ 兄妹

⑥ 其他 ----- (請說明)

7. 您是在幾歲遷入台北的？

8. 您遷入台北市有多久了？

年數 月數 -----

9. 請問您的教育程度是？

(1) 不識字或不大識字

(2) 國小

(3) 國中

(4) 高中 / 高職

(5) 專科學校

(6) 高等教育 (大學或學院)

(7) 碩士或博士

10. (a) 請問您為何遷入台北市？(複選題：至多3項)

- (1)買了土地或者有生意在台北
- (2)因為職務調動
- (3)為了更高的收入
- (4)專業技術工作的關係或為了某特定的工作
- (5)台北能提供較專業技術化的工作
- (6)收入不夠支持家庭
- (7)不滿意原在宜蘭的工作
- (8)為了小孩的教育
- (9)為了自己的教育
- (10)為結婚
- (11)為了陪伴家人
- (12)尋找更高的生活品質
- (13)有朋友或親戚在台北
- (14)事業退休
- (15)其他 (請說明)

(b) 以上各項原因，那一項對您來說是最重要的？

第二部份，針對在遷入台北之前，在宜蘭的就業經濟狀況。

被訪者以一家主或者是單獨遷入者為對象，以下問題針對未遷入台北前，在宜蘭的狀況。

以下問題是針對您外移台北的前一年的情況，請您回想那一年您在宜蘭的狀況

11. 在宜蘭時您的最後一個工作是什麼？

- (1)被僱用或聘請 (請接問題15)
- (2)失業 (請接問題14)
- (3)主管家事 (請接問題16)
- (4)受訓或學徒 (請接問題13)
- (5)學生 (回答問題12後接問題16)
- (6)其他 (請接問題16) 請說明

12.在遷入台北之前您的教育程度是？

- (1)不識字或不大識字
- (2)國小
- (3)國中
- (4)高中／高職
- (5)專科學校
- (6)高等教育（大學或學院）
- (7)碩士或博士

13.住宜蘭時有工作嗎？（如果答案”有”，請接問題15）

有 沒有

14.既沒工作，曾找過工作嗎？（如果答案是”是”，請接問題17；如果答案是”不是”，請接問題18）

是 不是

15.在遷入台北的那一年，您有工作，則：

（a）您所從事的工作性質是什麼？

（請詳細說明，像業務員、美容師．．．．）

（b）您的工廠／公司有多少員工¹（包括老闆）

①少於十人（包括老闆）

②多於十人（包括老闆）

（c）您的工廠／公司有加入工會嗎？

是 不是

（d）您以前是被僱用嗎？

是 不是

（如答案”不是”，請接問題16）

（e）當時您的工資是如何計算？

- (1)日計
- (2)週計

1.如受訪者的公司／公廠有任何如下規定（b）少於10人（包括老闆）；或（c）無工會的加入將視為非正式（較小規模）公司。

(3)月計

(4)年計

(5)以收成計

(6)計季節計

(7)按件計酬

(8)其他 _____ (請說明)

(f) 什麼原因，您停止了工作。

16. (a) 除了您的主要工作外，在遷入台北前的十二個月，您還有額外的工作嗎？

有 沒有

如”有”，填入工作性質像業務員、美容師．．．等，請詳細說明

(之後，請接問題18)

(b) 您的工廠／公司有多少員工² (包括老闆)

①少於十人 (包括老闆)

②多於十人 (包括老闆)

(c) 您的工廠／公司有加入工會嗎？

是 不是

17. 有多長時間，您沒有工作？

沒有工作過 (請接問題18)

年數 _____ 月數 _____

18. (a) 請問您們有自己的土地嗎？

有 沒有

(如答案”沒有”，請接問題21)

(b) 請問總共有多少？

_____ 英畝

(c) 那一種土地？(可複選)

(1)種農作物的

(2)商業用地 (請接問題20)

(3)工業用地 (請接問題20)

(4)住家用地 (請接問題20)

2. 如受訪者的公司／公廠有任何如下規定 (b) 少於10人 (包括老闆)；或 (c) 無工會的加入將視為非正式 (較小規模) 公司。

19. 您有僱用工作嗎？

有 沒有

如有，請問有多少人？

20. (a) 您有把土地出租出去嗎？

有 沒有

(如答案” 沒有” ，請接問題 (e))

(b) 出租了多少？

----- 英畝

(c) 什麼樣的土地？

(1) 農業用地

(2) 商業用地

(3) 工業用地

(4) 住家用地

(d) 為什麼您出租土地？

(e) 來台北之後，您如何處理？

21. (a) 請問您有沒有租任何土地？

有 沒有

(如答案” 沒有” ，請接問題22)

(b) 您租了多少土地？ 英畝

(c) 什麼樣的土地？

(1) 農業用地

(2) 商業用地

(3) 工業用地

(4) 住家用地

(d) 來台北之後，您如何處理那些租來的土地？

22. 在宜蘭，您有沒有自己的房子？

如有，有幾間房子和那一種房子？（樓房、平房、別墅）

23. 有車子嗎？

有 沒有

如有，有幾輛？

第三部份，遷出宜蘭的過程

24. (a) 在遷出台北之前，您有沒有親戚或朋友在台北？

有 沒有

（如果是”沒有”，請接問題25）

(b) 您有沒從他們身上得到一些在台北的資訊？

有 沒有

25. (a) 在遷入台北之前，您曾來過台北嗎？

有 沒有

（如果是”沒有”，請接第4部份）

(b) 您時常來台北嗎？（一年中超過3次）

是 不是

（如答案”不是”，請接第4部份）

(c) 為什麼常來台北？

(d) 如不是，為什麼來台北？

第四部份，針對到台北尋找工作者，若是請回答26－36題。（若為求學而搬到台北者，請不必作答）

26.除了您主要在台北工作的目的外，您曾想去受一些額外的教育嗎？

是 不是

27.在搬入台北之前，工作是否確定？

是 不是

（如果答案”是”，請接問題32）

28.（a）在遷入台北之前，您知道有工作的機會嗎？

有 沒有

（如答案”沒有”，請接問題29）

（b）您知道某特定一項的工作職位需求，而您是合乎條件嗎？

有 沒有

（如答案”不是”，請接問題29）

（c）什麼樣的工作？

（填入工作的性質，像業務員、美容師．．等，請詳細說明）

（d）您的工廠／公司有多少員工³（包括老闆）

①少於十人（包括老闆）

②多於十人（包括老闆）

（e）您的工廠／公司有加入工會嗎？

是 不是

（f）您如何獲得這項資訊的？（可複選）

(1)朋友

(2)親戚

(3)報紙、雜誌

(4)就業服務站

(5)其他 -----（請說明）

3.如受訪者的公司／公廠有任何如下規定（d）少於10人（包括老闆）；或（e）無工會的加入將視為非正式（較小規模）公司。

29. (a) 來台北後多久，你才開始找工作？

(1) 還沒開始 (請接問題31)

(2) 天 -----

(3) 月 -----

(b) 如沒開始找工作，你作些什麼？

30. 花了多少時間，您才找到工作？

----- 天 (大約)

31. (a) 在台北，有寄錢回宜蘭嗎？

是 不是

(b) 還沒找到工作之前，您如何維持生計？

(1) 存蓄

(2) 借錢

(3) 家人的支助

(4) 台北朋友的支助

(5) 台北親戚的支助

(6) 其他 ----- (請說明)

第五部份，針對在台北的第一份工作。

32. (a) 在台北，您的第一個工作是什麼？ (填入工作性質，如業務員、美容師、
．．等，請詳細說明)

(b) 您的工廠／公司有多少員工⁴ (包括老闆)

① 少於十人 (包括老闆)

② 多於十人 (包括老闆)

(c) 您的工廠／公司有加入工會嗎？

是 不是

33. (a) 在第一個工作的崗位上，您待了多久？

(1) 目前仍在任職中 (請接問題34)

(2) 少於一個月

(3) 一至六個月

(4) 七至十二個月

(5) 十二至廿四個月

4. 如受訪者的公司／公廠有任何如下規定 (b) 少於10人 (包括老闆)；或 (c) 無工會的加入將視為非正式 (較小規模) 公司。

(6)廿五個月或者超過廿五個月

(7)其他_____請說明

為什麼作不到一年就換工作？

針對工作不到一年者：為什麼工作不到一年就換工作

(b) 您辭去工作的主要原因是什麼？

(1)仍在任職中

(2)因薪水太低

(3)因另有了一份工作

(4)因工作環境差

(5)因自己創業

(6)健康情況欠佳

(7)結婚

(8)懷孕

(9)公司工作來源不穩定

(10)公司面臨危機或其他原因

(11)約定的工作已完成

(12)結束或者放棄學徒／受訓

(13)償還付債

(14)其他原因_____ (請說明)

34. 您是透過什麼管道獲得這份工作？

(1)工作介紹所

(2)在台北同鄉得知

(3)報紙

(4)自己對都市工作的找尋

(5)其他_____ (請說明)

35. (a) 您還作了那些工作？(填入工作的性質，如業務員、美容師．．．等，請詳細說明)

(b) 您的工廠／公司有多少員工 (包括老闆)

5. 如受訪者的公司／公廠有任何如下規定 (b) 少於10人 (包括老闆) ；或 (c) 無工會的加入將視為非正式 (較小規模) 公司。

①少於十人（包括老闆）

②多於十人（包括老闆）

（c）您的工廠／公司有加入工會嗎？

是 不是

36. 您的薪水是多久支領一次？

(1) 季節性

(2) 馬上作馬上領

(3) 以週計

(4) 以月計

(5) 按件計酬

(6) 其他 _____（請說明）

第六部份，目前在台北的狀況

37. 請問您目前是從事於那一項的經濟活動？

(1) 被僱用（請接問題41）

(2) 家庭主婦或主管家理事務（請接問題44）

(3) 失業（請接問題44）

(4) 學徒（請接問題41）

(5) 學生（如是學生，請回答問題38～40之後，請接問題44）

(6) 退休（請接問題44）

38. (a) 您目前就讀：

(1) 高中

(2) 專科

(3) 大學或學院

(4) 碩士或博士

(5) 其他 _____（請說明）

（b）您在宜蘭能找到同一教育水準的學校嗎？

是 不是 不知道

（c）如是，為何您到台北來？

39. 完成學業後，您會嚐試著在台北找工作嗎？

會（為什麼）

不會（為什麼）

40. (a) 在求學的階段，您工作嗎？

是

不是

（如”不是”，請接問題44）

(b) 每禮拜幾個小時？

(c) 什麼樣的工作性質？（請接問題44）

(d) 您的工廠／公司有多少人⁶（包括老闆）

(e) 您的工廠／公司有加入工會嗎？—是 不是

41. (a) 您正在從事什麼性質的工作？（填入工作性質，像業務員、美容師．．等，請說明）

(b) 您的工廠／公司有多少員工⁷（包括老闆）

①少於十人（包括老闆）

②多於十人（包括老闆）

(c) 您的工廠／公司有加入工會嗎？

是

不是

42. (a) 您現在的工作，在宜蘭有相同的嗎？

有

沒有

其他

（如有，你為何來台北）

(b) 如在宜蘭有類似的工作，您還會想待在宜蘭嗎？

會

不會

其他

（如”會”，請接問題43）

6. 如受訪者的公司／公廠有任何如下規定（d）少於10人（包括老闆）；或（e）無工會的加入將視為非正式（較小規模）公司。

7. 如受訪者的公司／公廠有任何如下規定（b）少於10人（包括老闆）；或（c）無工會的加入將視為非正式（較小規模）公司。

(c) 爲何不會？

43. 如果被僱用，你的工資是如何計算？

- (1) 以季節性計
- (2) 馬上作馬上領
- (3) 週計
- (4) 月計
- (5) 按件計酬
- (6) 其他 ----- (請說明)

44. 您家人對您遷入台北的態度如何？

- (1) 不介意
- (2) 支持的
- (3) 不支持的
- (4) 不關心
- (5) 其他 ----- (請說明)

45. 當初是誰跟您一起遷入台北？

- (1) 自己一個人
- (2) 丈夫和小孩
- (3) 妻子和小孩
- (4) 親戚
- (5) 朋友
- (6) 其他 ----- (請說明)

46. 爲何單獨一個人？

47. 在您搬出宜蘭之後，有沒有親人搬來與您同住？

- (1) 沒有人
- (2) 丈夫
- (3) 丈夫和小孩

(4)妻子

(5)妻子和子孩

(6)其他 _____ (請說明)

48. 您來台北多久之後，他們才遷入台北？

49. 您是住在什麼樣的家庭？

(1)折衷家庭

(2)大家庭

(3)小家庭

50. (a) 您在台北有自己的土地嗎？

有 沒有

(如”沒有”，請接問題51)

(b) 什麼樣的土地？(可複選)

(1)農業用地

(2)商業用地

(3)工業用地

(4)住宅用地

(c) 有多少的土地？

51. 您有自己的房子嗎？

如有，有幾間，什麼樣的房子(平房、樓房、別墅)

52. 您是有車階級嗎？

如有，有幾輛？

53. 您搬來台北後，經濟狀況有比在宜蘭時好嗎？

(1)好很多

(2)好一點

(3)一樣

(4)窮一點

(5)窮很多

您好，我是倫大博士班學生的助理，我是在幫忙作博士論文問卷，問卷的內容是在了解和探討宜蘭縣民外移台北市的癥結所在。經過亂數的選取您已被選為作問卷的對象。您的回答將視為機密，並且只作為研究的目的。您是否願意接受十分鐘關於您居住在宜蘭的問題訪談？

第一部份，普通的問題

訪問對象：在宜蘭定居者

1. 年齡 _____

2. 性別

(1) 男

(2) 女

3. (a) 請問您目前的婚姻狀況？

(1) 單身 (請接問題 4)

(2) 已婚

(3) 離婚

(4) 寡婦

(5) 其他 _____ (請說明)

(b) 有沒有小孩？

有

沒有

如”有”，請問有幾個成年和未成年小孩？

4. (a) 您是在宜蘭出生的嗎？

是

不是

(b) 您是在那一年出生？

5. (1) 請問您是這一家中的戶長嗎？

是

不是

(如答案”是”，請接問題 6)

(2)請問您和戶長有何關係？

①配偶

②兒子，女兒（包括女婿和媳婦）

③孫子（包括孫女婿和孫媳婦）

④父母（包括丈母娘或公公婆婆）

⑤兄妹

⑥其他 _____（請說明）

6. 請問您的教育程度是？

(1)不識字或不大識字

(2)國小

(3)國中

(4)高中／高職

(5)專科學校

(6)高等教育（大學或學院）

(7)碩士或博士

第二部份，針對在宜蘭定居者，就業、經濟狀況

7. 請問您目前是主要從事於那一項經濟活動？

(1)被僱用或聘請（請接問題11）

(2)失業（請接問題10）

(3)家庭或主婦或主管家中事務（請接問題12）

(4)受訓或學徒（請接問題9）

(5)學生（請接問題8，後接問題12）

(6)退休 _____（之後請接問題12）

8. (a) 您目前就讀：

(1)高中

(2)專科

(3)大學或學院

(4)大學後的進修

(5)其他 _____（請說明）

9. 您目前工作嗎？（如”是”，請接問題11）

有 沒有

10. 既沒工作，曾找過工作嗎？（如果答案是”是”，請接問題13；如答案”不是”，請接問題14）

是 不是

11. 既有工作，則：

（a）您所從事的工作性質是什麼？（填入工作性質，像業務員、美容師．．．等，請詳細說明）

（b）您的工廠／公司有多少員工1（包括老闆）

①少於十人（包括老闆）

②多於十人（包括老闆）

（c）您的工廠／公司有加入工會嗎？

是 不是

（d）是被僱用的嗎？

是 不是

（如”不是”，請接問題12）

（e）您的工資是如何計算？

(1)以日計

(2)以週計

(3)以月計

(4)以年計

(5)以收成計

(6)計季節計

(7)以一項一項的工作計

(8)其他 -----（請說明）

12. 除了您的主要工作外，還還有額外的工作嗎？之後接問題14

（a）如有，請填入工作性質像業務員、美容師．．．等，請詳細說明）。

1. 如受訪者的公司／公廠有任何如下規定（b）少於10人（包括老闆）；或（c）無工會的加入將視為非正式（較小規模）公司。

(b) 您的工廠／公司有多少員工2 (包括老闆)

① 少於十人 (包括老闆)

② 多於十人 (包括老闆)

(c) 您的工廠／公司有加入工會嗎？

是 不是

13. 有多長時間，您沒有工作？

沒有工作過 請接問題14

年 _ _ _ _ _

月 _ _ _ _ _

14. 您曾經想過搬到台北來住嗎？

有 (原因) _ _ _ _ _

沒有 (原因) _ _ _ _ _

15. (a) 您有自己的土地嗎？

有 沒有

(如” 沒有” ，請接問題18)

(b) 請問有多少？

_____ 英畝

(c) 那一種土地？ (可複選)

(1) 農業用地

(2) 商業用地

(3) 工業用地

(4) 住家用地

(d) 種植那種作物？

16. 您有僱工人嗎？

有 沒有

如有，有幾個工人？

2. 如受訪者的公司／公廠有任何如下規定 (b) 少於10人 (包括老闆) ；或 (c) 無工會的加入將視為非正式 (較小規模) 公司。

17. (a) 您有把土地出租出去嗎？

有 沒有

(如” 沒有” ，請接問題18)

(b) 出租了多少？

英畝

(c) 什麼樣的土地？

(1) 農業用地

(2) 商業用地

(3) 工業用地

(4) 住家用地

(d) 爲什麼您出租土地？

18. (a) 請問您有沒有租入任何土地？

有 沒有

(如” 沒有” ，請接問題19)

(b) 您租入了多少土地？

英畝

(c) 什麼樣的土地？

(1) 農業用地

(2) 商業用地

(3) 工業用地

(4) 住宅用地

19. 在這裡，您們有自己的房子？

如有，有幾間房子和那一種房子？（平房、樓房、別墅．．．等）

20. 有自己的車嗎？

如有，有幾輛？

21. 您是住在什麼樣的家庭？

(1) 折衷家庭

(2) 大家庭

(3) 小家庭

Literature Review Table 1¹:

Authors	Argument
Hsu (1992), Chang (1989), Pan (1988), Chiang (1983) and Wang (1973)	In their empirical studies in Taiwan, they found out that migrants into cities are selective by age, marital status, occupation and higher level of education.
Crook (1993)	Industry in the cities selects and encourages migrants of specific age, gender and background.
Schultz (1982)	1. "A strong association between age and migration is universally noted...". 2. More educated people are more likely to migrate than less educated ones.
Lee (1969)	Emphasises there is a propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life-cycle which is important in the selection of migrants.
Brown & Foot (1994) ² ; Massey <i>et al</i> (1993,1993) and Speare(1974)	Migration is a selective process that tends, initially at least, to draw relatively well, educated, skilled, productive and highly motivated people away from sending communities.
Gugler (1997), Scott & Litchfield (1994), Turnham (1993), Greenwood (1973) and Miller (1967)	Emphasises the link between migration and education.
Borjas & Freeman (1992), Mortuza (1992), Goldstein, S. & Goldstein, A. (1991) and Sharma & Gupta (1991)	Migration into cities is generally highly selective by age and education.
Qian (1996) and Tan (1994)	Indicates that migration tends to be highly selective on the basis of age, education, occupation and marital status.
Stark (1991) and Speare <i>et al</i> (1988)	Migrants tend to go into low paying jobs first such as work in the informal sector.
Burgess <i>et al</i> (1997), Westen (1995) and Mortuza (1992)	In their own empirical studies in Bangladesh (Mortuza:1992), and Bamako, Mali (Westen:1995) and Indonesia (Burgess <i>et al</i> :1997), they found the fact that most migrants join the informal sector since the formal sector of economy is too small to absorb the vast number of job seekers.
Krausse (1979) and Papanek (1975)	Typical migrant jobs include street vending, construction, craft or labour intensive manufacturing or service jobs.
Rao (1996)	"Migration from rural area is a selective process in relation to age, sex and the level of education and that migrants are drawn overwhelmingly from the upper strata of the society".

¹ These arguments were some samples of the literature reviews summarised in Chapter 3.

² See Literature review in Chapter 4.

Literature Review Table 2³:

Authors	Argument
Sabot (1975)	In an empirical study in Tanzania found that the majority of migrants gave savings and aid from friends and relatives as their major source of funding in the city initially.
Browning & Feindt (1971) and Flinn & Converse (1970)	In their empirical studies proved that relatives and friends play a particularly significant role in helping migrants to settle in the city.
Oberai (1993) and Vaughan & Feindt (1973)	Note the importance of kinship and friends in the city which help the new arrivals with early accommodation and assist in obtaining work.
Davin (1999), Pieke (1998), Pieke & Benton (1995), Davis (1995), Deborah <i>et al</i> (1995), Brown & Foot (1994), Massey <i>et al</i> (1994,1993), Honig (1992) Skeldon (1990), Rowe (1989), Eades (1987) Kwong (1987), Gallin & Rita (1974), Crissman (1967), and Barclay (1954)	Despite the importance of family kin and friend in the process of migration and adapting urban life of migrants, other connections based on migrants' ethnicity, culture, language, birth place(province, district or village) and even sure name are also as important not only economically, but also socially.
Oberai (1993) and Todaro (1977)	Propose that migrants on their first entry to the urban labour market will either become totally unemployed or will seek casual and part time employment (in the urban labour market).
Gugler (1997), Rao(1996), Li (1996) Barik (1994) and Speare (1988,1974)	Indicate that before migrants' move to the city, a family and friends contact usually play a significant role in the rural-urban migration process.
Hogan & Berlinck (1976)	In an empirical study in Sao Paulo prove that the importance of the information determines migrants' initial adaptation to the city's life.
Pan (1991) ⁴ and Waston(1975)	There are no network like the network of Chinese connections, which joined market to market through clan or family and would be always plenty of cooperation on tap.
Gugler (1997) and Eames (1970)	In their empirical study in Calcutta, India, and Nigeria proved that before migrants settle down (finding a job and accommodation) in the urban areas, their family are left in the rural areas either receiving the remittances from migrants or they eventually move to stay with the migrants.

³ These arguments were some samples of the literature reviews which were summarised in chapters 3 mainly and 4.

⁴ See literature review in chapters 3 and 4.

Literature Review Table 3⁵:

Authors	Argument
Classical-Theories:	
Hodge:1990, Adam Smith and Marx (Smith:1976; Kraus & see Chapter 3)	Defined a model of migration based on push and pull factors. Push factors are economic and include lack of access to land, lack of employment, low wages, wasted land, drought, famine and population increase, etc. Pull factors are attractive alternatives for the rural dwellers.
Clarke (1972,see Chapter 3)	Emphasizes the push as coming from deteriorating conditions in rural areas forcing migrants to seek a livelihood in cities, and the pull exerted by the desired and increasing opportunities in cities attracting rural migrants.
Neo-Classical Theories; argument and some empirical studies in developing countries	
Chan(1994), Maruzko(1987), Todaro (1976 & 1977), Sjaastad(1962)(see Chapter 3)	Argue that the motivation for rural-urban migration is a function of two variables: the difference in real income between rural and urban areas and the probability of obtaining a job in the cities.
Gugler (1997, see Chapter 3)	Indicates that migration streams between regions have been shown to correspond to income differentials between those regions.
Williamson (1988) and Amin (quoted in McGee:1977) (see Chapter 3)	Believe economic variables are not solely responsible for migration as argued by Todaro (1974).
Schultz (1971) and McGee (1971) (see Chapter 3)	Note that rural demographic pressures have forced rural migrants to move to the cities.
Nagi (1976, see Chapter 3)	Proposes that the major cause of migration is the pressure of population on the land in the rural area. This causes economic pressure in the rural areas and forces people to move to the cities to find employment and livelihood.
Temple (1975, see Chapter 3)	States that "the majority leave their village because they cannot find employment or because employment opportunities are uncertain".
Burgess <i>et al</i> (1977) and Anzorena & Poussard (1985) (see Chapters 3 & 4)	Argue that rural poverty is the most fundamental reason for the great migration to the cities.
Speare (1977, see Chapter 3)	Views non-monetary factors, especially the location of relatives and receipt of job information from friends or relatives, as important determinants of mobility.
Schive (1995), Skeldon (1990), Eades (1987), Wu (1985), Kuo (1983), Speare (1969,1974) (see Chapter 4)	Government policies on the establishment of export processing zones in Koashiung and Nantize and Taichung result in the fact that zones absorbed a massive rural migrants to the city. Thus, the motivation of rural-urban migration in Taiwan is the respond to urban labour demand for development and not the rural poverty push factor.
Scott (1975, see Chapter 3)	Sees the push-pull hypothesis as too simplistic because it regards all the forces as external and does not account for personal desires.
Stark (1991, see Chapter 3)	States that "A person who is more relatively deprived can be expected to have a stronger incentive to migrate than a person who is less relatively deprived....".
Strand (1995), Chan (1994), Massey <i>et al</i>	Claims poverty itself is not a sufficient cause for migration.

⁵ These arguments were some examples of the literature reviews which were summarised in chapters 3 and 4 and Chapter 1.

(1994) and Butterworth (1979) (see Chapter 3)	
Li (1996, see Chapter 3)	In an empirical study in Vietnam, found the most important reasons for moving to the city were 'under-employment' and 'low income'.
Mortuza (1992, see Chapter 3)	In an empirical study in Bangladesh, found the main motive of migration was due to 'poverty'. Also emphasizes that a major problem lies in the fact that rural-urban theories or models overlook the historical process of social, economic and political changes and their effects on migration which practically limits their applicability in different countries and different regions.
Harris (1995, see Chapter 1)	Claims that poverty itself is not a sufficient cause of migration and argues that "if is not poverty but development which induces movement, the more developed the world becomes, the greater the movement" (1995:192).
Speare <i>et al</i> (1988, see chapters 1 and 3)	Claims that the dominant view of 'push-pull' or 'poverty hypothesis' cannot be a fact to consider in rural to urban migration in the case of I-Lan county, Taiwan.
Chang (1991), Liao (1985), Chiang (1983) and Wang (1973) (see chapters 1 and 3)	In some empirical studies in Taiwan indicate that the main factor for migrants moving into the cities is economic or employment-related reason.
Pieke (1998), Castles & Miller (1998), Massey <i>et al</i> (1994) and Eades (1987) (Chapter 3)	Migrant connections with the place of destination sometimes is the most important reason for the decision to migrate.
Pan (1988, see Chapter 1)	In an Empirical study in Taiwan, found that migrants moving into Taichung city are mainly for better environment reason.
Empirical Studies in Developed Countries	
Eldridge (1965, see Chapter 3)	Shows that in developed countries, low wages are not the main reason for rural-urban migration.
John & Salt (1990 see Chapter 3)	In their empirical studies in U.S, U.K, France and Netherlands found that "employer initiated moves" form a still higher proportion, accounting for nearly 60 per cent of inter-regional moves.
Long (1988 see Chapter 3)	Reports that job transfer was the main reason for leaving their previous residence.
Jornby & Jones (1993) and Barkan (1992) (see Chapter 3)	Argue that the changing economic structure of cities of developed countries - from manufacturing and heavy industries to high technology and service industries - also affect the trend of migration.
Chun (1996, see Chapter 3)	Indicates that "job opportunities are the most important determinant in migration."
Pooley & Whyte (1991, see Chapter 3)	Argue that in the case of the united Kingdom "economic necessity no doubt provided a spur, but other influences played their part, and the pull of the town, freedom from parental supervision, and the chance of an independent income were elements."

Appendix 5 -

Table 5A-1: Age by Gender of respondents, Taiwan province, Taipei city and I-Lan county

<i>Pre-migrants</i>	Under 15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	Over 60	Total
Male	13 10.92	83 69.75	15 12.61	7 5.88	1 0.84	0	119 100
Female	5 6.17	61 75.31	9 11.11	2 2.47	4 4.94	0	81 100
Total	18 9.0	144 72.0	24 12.0	9 4.50	5 2.50	0	200 100
<i>Post-migrants</i>	Under 15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	Over 60	Total
Male	--	29 24.37	27 22.69	30 25.21	29 24.37	4 3.36	119 100
Female	--	15 18.53	27 33.33	25 30.86	7 8.64	7 8.64	81 100
Total	--	44 22.0	54 27.0	55 27.50	36 18.0	11 5.50	200 100
<i>Stayers</i>	Under 15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	Over 60	Total
Male	--	10 19.23	10 19.23	16 30.77	11 21.15	5 9.62	52 100
Female	--	2 4.17	12 25.0	12 25.0	11 22.92	11 22.92	48 100
Total	--	12 12.0	22 22.0	28 28.0	22 22.0	16 16.0	100 100
<i>Taiwan</i>	Under 15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	Over 60	Total
Male	2 246 864 26.03	1 551 794 17.97	1 600 128 18.53	1 254 616 14.53	1 026 950 11.90	952 739 11.04	8 633 091 100
Female	2 099 271 26.10	1 470 204 18.15	1 486 423 18.53	1 171 973 14.57	994 158 12.14	794 792 9.91	8 017 421 100
Total	4 346 135 26.10	3 021 998 18.15	3 086 551 18.53	2 426 589 14.57	2 021 708 12.14	1 747 531 10.51	1 6650 512 100
<i>Taipei City</i>	Under 15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	Over 60	Total
Male	330 530 24.36	218 674 16.12	243 348 17.93	236 471 17.43	167 344 12.33	160 546 11.83	1 356 914 100
Female	307 307 22.95	214 781 16.04	265 215 19.80	251 555 18.78	174 738 13.05	125 563 9.38	1 339 159 100
Total	637 837 23.65	433 455 16.07	508 563 18.86	488 026 18.10	342 082 12.69	286 110 10.61	2 696 073 100
<i>I-Lan</i>	Under 15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-50	Over 60	Total
Male	58 306 24.27	43 707 18.19	45 221 18.82	32 280 13.44	31 049 12.92	29 697 12.36	240 260 100
Female	54 774 24.63	41 712 18.77	39 959 17.98	30 301 13.63	29 537 13.29	25 996 11.70	222 249 100
Total	113 050 24.43	85 419 18.47	85 180 18.42	62 581 13.53	60 586 13.10	55 693 12.04	462 509 100

Large numbers are actual frequencies; small numbers are row percentages

Note: The data on stayers' age structure for Figure 6-1 and Table 6-1 in Chapter 6, was compiled from I-Lan county's Statistical Report. The reason why the data from the fieldwork had not been used here is that the age of 16 years or more was chosen for the stayer respondents at the time of the interview. (The intention was to exclude those who, as children, did not themselves make the decision to stay in I-lan county) Therefore, the data from the field study lacks the age group of younger than 15. The age structure of I-Lan county was compiled from the government's yearly statistical report.

Source: Compiled from the field work from September 1996 to January 1997; *I-Lan county's Statistical Report, Statistical Yearbook of Taiwan Province: 1994; The Statistical Abstract of Taipei Municipality: 1994.*

Table 5A-2: Education by Gender of respondents, Taiwan and Taipei

Pre-migrants	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	High sch.	Polytech.	Higher edu.	Postgrad.	Total
Male	3 2.52	20 16.81	24 20.17	52 43.70	8 6.72	9 7.56	3 2.52	119 100
Female	2 2.47	12 14.81	18 22.22	43 53.09	4 4.94	2 2.47	0	81 100
Total	5 2.50	32 16.0	42 21.0	95 47.50	12 6.0	11 5.50	3 1.5	200 100
Post-migrant	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	High sch.	Polytech.	Higher edu.	Postgrad.	Total
Male	0	10 8.41	11 9.24	28 23.53	27 22.69	34 28.57	9 7.56	119 100
Female	2 2.47	7 8.64	14 17.28	21 25.93	16 19.75	17 20.99	4 4.94	81 100
Total	2 1.0	17 8.50	25 12.50	49 24.50	43 21.50	51 25.50	13 6.50	20 100
Stayer	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	High sch.	Polytech.	Higher edu.	Postgrad.	Total
Male	3 57.69	12 23.08	24 46.15	2 3.85	7 13.46	4 7.69	0	52 100
Female	7 14.58	20 41.67	12 25.0	2 4.17	5 10.42	2 4.17	0	48 100
Total	10 10.0	32 32.0	36 36.0	4 4.0	12 12.0	6 6.0	0	100 100
Taiwan	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	High sch.	Polytech.	Higher edu.	Postgrad.	Total
Male	4 345 454 5.92	27 574 529 37.56	16 594 545 22.60	5 320 435 7.25	11 985 640 16.32	7 417 702 10.10	185 054 0.25	73 423 359 100
Female	9 801 978 14.49	26 707 654 39.47	12 628 138 18.66	3 789 045 5.60	10 199 492 15.07	4 489 241 6.63	50 218 0.18	67 665 766 100
Total	14 147 432 10.03	54 282 103 38.47	29 222 683 20.70	9 109 480 6.41	22 185 132 15.61	11 960 943 8.39	235 272 1.66	141 088 955 100
Taipei	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	High sch.	Polytech.	Higher edu.	Postgrad.	Total
Male	388 316 3.25	3 152 705 26.38	2 069 836 17.32	1 738 205 14.54	1 785 129 14.94	2 706 133 22.64	112 004 0.94	11 952 328 100
Female	717 546 6.16	3 357 901 28.84	1 930 768 16.58	1 487 410 12.78	1 974 910 16.96	2 125 656 18.26	48 634 0.42	11 642 825 100
Total	1 105 862 4.69	6 510 606 27.59	4 000 604 16.96	3 225 615 13.67	3 760 039 15.94	4 831 789 20.48	160 638 0.68	23 595 153 100
I-Lan	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	High sch.	Polytech.	Higher edu.	Postgrad.	Total
Male	161 951 7.90	736 438 35.91	583 402 28.45	128 387 6.26	258 833 12.62	177 797 8.67	3 995 0.19	2 050 803 100
Female	311 198 15.89	708 604 36.17	467 886 23.89	90 910 4.64	279 875 14.28	99 357 5.07	1 064 0.05	1 958 895 100
Total	473 149 11.60	1 445 042 35.44	1 051 288 25.78	219 297 5.38	606 710 14.88	277 154 6.80	5 058 0.12	4 077 698 100

Large numbers are actual frequencies; Small numbers are row percentages

Source: results of statistical analysis; *I-Lan county Statistical Yearbook, 1994. Statistical Yearbook of Taiwan Province: 1997; The Statistical Abstract of Taipei Municipality: 1994.*

Table 5A-3: Marital status of migrants, Taiwan province and Taipei city

Marital Status	Pre-migrants %	Post-migrants: %	Stayers: %	Taiwan Province: %	Taipei City %
Single	87.0	27.8	49.0	50.5	50.9
Married	12.0	67.2	45.0	43.9	43.9
Others	1.0	5.0	6.0	5.6	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: results of statistical analysis; *Statistical Yearbook of Taiwan Province: 1997*; *The Statistical Abstract of Taipei Municipality: 1994*.

Table 5A-4: Basis of employment in the pre- and post-migration periods

Categories	Pre-migration job in I-Lan county			Post-migration					
				The first job in Taipei			The Nature of the work currently engaged ¹ in		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Harvest	4 (11.11)	2 (6.67)	6 (9.09)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Piecework	7 (19.44)	3 (10.0)	10 (15.15)	10 (14.71)	6 (13.95)	16 (14.41)	6 (11.11)	8 (19.51)	14 (14.73)
Day	0	3 (10.0)	3 (4.55)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Week	1 (2.78)	1 (3.33)	2 (3.03)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Month	24 (66.67)	21 (70.0)	45 (68.18)	53 (77.94)	35 (81.40)	88 (79.28)	46 (85.19)	33 (80.49)	79 (83.16)
Other	0	0	0	5 (7.35)	2 (4.65)	7 (6.31)	2 (3.70)	0	2 (2.11)
Total	36 (100)	30 (100)	66 (100)	68 (100)	43 (100)	111 (100)	54 (100)	41 (100)	95 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: χ^2 - Pre-migration = 4.962, $P > 0.05$; χ^2 - first job = 0.355, $P > 0.05$; χ^2 - current job = 2.697, $p > 0.05$, NS. The Obtained P-value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and basis of payment are unrelated.

¹ The total number of labourers is 148. However, concerning the basis of employment for the work they were engaged in at the time of the interview, some (63 migrant respondents) did not wish to say how often they were paid. This question is quite sensitive, particularly as it involved how they earned their money at the time of the interview, and the valid cases here are 95 migrant respondents.

Table 5A-5: House and land ownership of migrants and stayers

	Stayers		Pre-migrants		Post-migrants	
Land ownership						
No land holdings	64	64.0	75	37.88	188	94.0
Sub-total for land ownership	36	36.0	123	62.12	12	6.0
Less than 1 acre	32	32.0	42	21.21	12	6.0
1-3 acres	2	2.0	23	11.62	0	0
More than 3 acres, less than 5 acres	2	2.0	13	6.56	0	0
More than 5 acres	0	0	10	5.05	0	0
Others	0	0	35	17.68	0	0
Column total	100	100	198	100	200	100
House ownership						
No house holdings	12	12.0	9	4.5	62	1.0
Sub-total for house ownership	88	88.0	191	95.5	138	69.0
1 apartment	8	8.0	2	1.0	93	46.5
2-3 apartments	0	0	0	0	5	2.5
More than 3 apartments	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
1 house	74	74.0	145	72.5	22	11.0
2-3 houses	6	6.0	27	13.5	13	6.5
More than 3 houses	0	0	17	8.5	4	2.0
Total	100	100	200	100	200	100

Note: (1) The number of observations for migrants with land is 198 (the number of missing observations 2);

(2) The number of observations for migrants with houses is 200 (the number of missing observations 0); (3) The number of observations for stayers is 100 (the number of missing observations 0)

Source: results of statistical analysis.

Table 5A-6: Channel through which first job in Taipei was obtained

	Male	Female	Total	
Employment agency	5 7.46	11 25.58	16	14.55
Information from earlier settlers	28 41.79	19 44.19	47	42.73
Newspapers	21 31.35	2 4.65	23	20.91
Search during visits to city	5 7.46	11 25.58	16	14.55
Other	8 11.94	0	8	7.27
Total	67 100	43 100	110	100

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: (1) $n=110$, the number of missing observation 1; (2) $\chi^2 = 3.087$, $p > 0.05$, NS. The obtained P-value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and the channel for getting the first job are unrelated.

Table 5A-7: Length of search for the first job by gender ratio

	Male	Female	Total	
Less than one week	27 69.23	14 73.68	41	70.69
Less than 20 days	5 12.82	2 10.53	7	12.07
Less than one month	6 15.39	2 10.53	8	13.79
Sub-total for less than one month	38 97.44	18 94.74	56	96.55
More than one month	1 2.56	1 5.26	2	3.45
Column-total	39 100	19 100	58	100

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: $\chi^2 = 0.512$, $df = 3$, $p > 0.05$, NS. The obtained P-value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and duration of the search for the first job are unrelated.

Table 5A-8: Means of support during the period spent for searching for the first job by gender

	Male	Female	Total
Past savings	11 28.21	11 57.89	22 37.93
Support from family in village	25 64.10	6 31.58	31 53.45
Relatives' support in Taipei	0	2 10.53	2 3.45
Friends' support in Taipei	1 2.56	0	1 1.72
Other source	2 5.13	0	2 3.45
Total	39 100	19 100	58 100

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: $\chi^2 = 11.064$, $p < 0.026$, S. The obtained P-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and means of support are unrelated.

Table 5A-9: Occupational composition of first job of migrants who came to the city with job offers and without job offers before migration

Occupational composition	With an offer	Without an offer
Labour in manufacturing	5 (9.43)	10 (17.24)
Semi-skilled construction work	5 (9.43)	5 (8.62)
Labour in electricity, gas, water & sanitary services	7 (13.21)	0
Labour in motor repair & related work	2 (3.77)	11 (18.97)
Tailor/Laundry & related work	0	7 (12.07)
Craft & trade person	2 (3.77)	4 (6.90)
Restaurant/Bar & related work	6 (11.32)	8 (13.79)
Other service sector work	2 (3.77)	2 (3.45)
Sub-total for informal industries	29 (54.72)	47 (81.03)
Finance, insurance & business services	13 (24.53)	8 (13.79)
Government service	10 (18.87)	3 (5.71)
Labour in hi-tech industries	1 (1.89)	0
Sub-total for formal sector	24 (45.28)	11 (18.97)
Total	53 (100)	58 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: $\chi^2 = 8.885$, $p < 0.002$, S. The obtained P-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which job status (formal and informal sectors) and whether migrants were offered a job are unrelated.

Table 5A-10: Reasons for ending first job within 12 months

Categories	Male	Female	Total
Because of low pay	7 (35.0)	5 (45.46)	12 (38.71)
Job-related reason	5 (25.0)	4 (36.36)	9 (29.03)
Laid off	3 (15.0)	2 (18.18)	5 (16.13)
Other reason	5 (25.0)	0	5 (16.13)
Total	20 (100)	11 (100)	31 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: $\chi^2 = 4.147$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$, NS. The obtained P-value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which gender and reasons for ending for first job are unrelated.

Table 5A-11: Visiting Taipei during the year before migration

	Single		Married		Other		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Never Visit	16 (14.68)	8 (12.31)	0	0	0	0	24	(12.0)
Visit	93 (85.32)	57 (87.69)	8 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	2 (100.0)	0	176	(88.0)
Total	109 (100.0)	65 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	2 (100.0)	0	200	(100.0)

Source: result of statistical analysis

X^2_1 - Marital status: 4.075, $P_1 > 0.130$, NS; X^2_2 - Gender: 0.581, $P_2 > 0.446$, NS.

Note: The obtained P-value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which marital status, gender and visiting Taipei during the year before migration are unrelated.

Table 5A-12: Visiting Taipei by last job in I-Lan county

Last job	Employed		Apprentice		Student		Unemployed		Housewife or retired		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Never Visited	4 13.79	4 13.33	2 28.57	0	10 14.29	4 9.30	0	0	0	0	16 13.45	8 9.88
Visited	25 86.21	26 86.67	5 71.43	0	60 85.71	39 90.70	7 100.0	4 100.0	6 100.0	4 100.0	103 86.55	73 90.12
Total	29 100.0	30 100.0	7 100.0	0	70 100.0	43 100.0	7 100.0	4 100.0	6 100.0	4 100.0	119 100.0	81 100.0

Source: results of statistical analysis

X^2_1 - Last job status: 4.836, $P_1 > 0.436$, NS; X^2_2 - Gender: 0.581, $P_2 > 0.446$, NS.

Note: The obtained P-value is above $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which last job status, gender and visiting Taipei during the year before migration are unrelated.

Table 5A-13: Most important reason for stayers to live in I-Lan county by gender

	Male	Female	Total
Better environment	39 (75.0)	30 (62.50)	69 (69.0)
Sub-total for other reasons such as...	13 (25.0)	18 (37.50)	31 (31.0)
Job-related reasons	10 (19.23)	6 (12.50)	16 (61.0)
Family reasons (family, relatives and friends are in I-Lan county)	2 (3.85)	10 (20.83)	12 (12.0)
Other	1 (1.92)	2 (4.17)	3 (3.0)
Total	52 (100)	48 (100)	100 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: $\chi^2 = 11.775$, $p < 0.008$, S. The obtained P-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we may confidently reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of stayers in which gender and reason for staying are unrelated.

Table 5A-14: Most important reason for leaving by marital status

Reasons	Single	Married	Other	Total
Education and educated-related	73 (41.95)	1 (4.17)	0	74 (37.0)
Employment and job-related	61 (35.06)	16 (66.66)	2 (100.0)	79 (39.5)
To seek a better income	21 (12.07)	1 (4.17)	0	22 (11.0)
Marriage and family-related	12 (6.90)	6 (25.0)	0	18 (9.0)
Seeking higher status	5 (2.87)	0	0	5 (2.5)
Other reasons	2 (1.15)	0	0	2 (1.0)
Total	174 (100)	24 (100)	2 (100)	200 (100)

Source: results of statistical analysis

Note: $\chi^2 = 26.421$, $p < 0.003$, S. The obtained P-value is below $\alpha = 0.05$: we do not reject the null hypothesis that this sample came from a population of migrants in which marital status and reason for leaving are unrelated.

Table 5B: Sample t Tests at $\alpha = 0.05$ For Hypotheses about Means (Independent-Samples t-tests)

Reference	Simple Size	Simple Mean*	Mean Difference	t Statistic	P value	SE of Mean	Conclusion
Average education between men and women	200	4.555	0.419	2.06	0.041	0.145	Since P-value is below 0.05, we cannot reject H_0 . The mean level of education of men is significantly higher than that of women.
Average education of migrant who worked in formal and informal sectors	111	4.187	1.111	4.45	0.001	0.168	Since P-value is below 0.05, we cannot reject H_0 . The mean educational level of migrants who worked in the formal sector is significant higher than those in the informal sector.
	148	4.598	1.342	6.75	0.001	0.141	Since P-value is below 0.05, we cannot reject H_0 . The mean educational level of migrants who worked in the formal sector is significant higher than those in the informal sector.
Average length of search between formal and informal sectors	58	1.731	-0.738	-1.88	0.001	0.243	Since P-value is below 0.05, we cannot reject H_0 . The mean length of the search for the first job in the formal sector is significant longer than in the informal sector.
Average length of stay between formal and informal sectors	111	3.514	-0.344	-0.79	0.432	0.434	Since the P-value is above 0.05, we may reject H_0 . The mean length of stay in the formal sector is not significant longer than in the informal sector.
Average length of stay between men and women	111	2.888	-0.688	-2.10	0.038	0.234	Since P-value is below 0.05, we cannot reject H_0 . The mean length of stay of men is significant longer for women.

Note: The t statistic is used to compare the mean for different categories of a measurement variable and is known as a 'difference-of-mean test'. Simple mean is always in the direction specified by H_1 . The P-value stands for the probability and it quantifies the degree of uncertainty. The P-value here is always measured against the significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$ before drawing a conclusion from the tests. P-value should not exceed 0.05 if we are to be 95% certain that a research hypothesis is true. "The ninety-five percent confidence interval (95% CI) is an interval calculated from the data in such a way that it would indicate the true value of parameter in 95% of samples" (Kinner & Gray:1997).

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