

The economic integration of female migrants in urban labor markets: The Philippine case*

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Introduction

Women in many developing countries tend to be relegated to the backstage of the country's economic production theater, as a consequence among others, of existing value systems. Despite the fast changing socioeconomic conditions, women remain confined to domestic roles. This limitation excludes them from economically viable employment or self-employment. The increasing participation of females in the labor force has been defined as a crucial issue in the role of women in development.

To most observers, the biggest opportunity to increase the number of economically active females lies in the modern sector of a country's urban economy. The growth of the modern sector entices many working-age females to compete for jobs in the urban labor market. Women migrants, in particular, are lured by employment opportunities in the fast expanding tertiary sector of the urban economy.

To illustrate, the annual average rate of female participation in the labor force in the Philippines rose from 44.2 percent in 1985 to 48.8 percent in 1989 (National Statistics Office, 1989). Of particular interest are the women migrants in Metro Manila who exhibit higher labor force

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participation rates (45.5 percent) than their non-migrant counterparts (35 percent), as pointed out by Feranil (1988) and Perez (1991).

What is not so apparent is how female migrants are integrated in the labor market of smaller metropolitan areas like Cebu. This paper thus highlights female migrant and non-migrant differentials in urban labor market adaptation in a medium-sized, rapidly growing metropolitan area in Central Visayas, a region south of the country's primary urban agglomeration, Metro Manila. It relies heavily on a study conducted by Feranil in 1990 and draws policy implications from the more important findings. Discussions will focus on the economic dimension of the urban adaptation of female migrant workers.

Data and limitations

To collect data, a common research instrument developed by the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) was modified to suit local conditions. Three hundred women were targeted for interviews using the ESCAP questionnaire that emphasized migration histories and the labor adaptation of women in selected cities of the ESCAP region. The life history matrix was employed to ascertain junctures of change in the life cycle and spatial mobility of the women.

Data for the Philippines describe women migrants to Metro Cebu, a leading urban agglomeration in the Central Visayas region. The Metro Cebu sample was derived from a listing of 300 service and manufacturing establishments at the National Statistics Office. In a random sample of 187 establishments drawn from the above listing, the majority had less than 10 employees. Female employees in each of the 187 sample establishments were assigned unique numbers prior to final random selection as survey respondents. One female worker was drawn from very small establishments (0-9 workers), two from the medium-sized (10-19 workers) and three from large establishments (20 or more workers).

Training of interviewers commenced in the second week of May 1990. Interviews were held in either the place of work or place of residence and were completed for all 300 participating female workers by June 15, 1990.

Metro-Cebu: The second best?

Metro Cebu is the second largest metropolitan grouping in the Philippines. Although its population of almost one million in 1990 is still

smaller than Metro Manila's population of close to eight million, it is expanding at almost the same rate. Metro Manila's population density in 1990 exceeded 12,466 persons per square kilometer while that of Metro Cebu was 2,672 persons per square kilometer (Table 1). Both grew very rapidly during the 1970s, with Metro Cebu's expansion rate (4.0 percent) even exceeding that of Metro Manila (3.6 percent). There may have been decelerations during the 1980s, but recent growth rates still exceed those estimated for the entire country.

Table 1: Basic Population Indicators

Indicators	<u>Philippines</u>	<u>Metro Manila</u>	<u>Metro Cebu (Cities Only)</u>
Population			
1970	42,070,660	4,970,006	474,811
1980	48,098,460	5,925,884	699,594
1990*	60,667,505	7,928,867	936,896
Annual Growth Rate (percent per year)			
1970-1980	2.71	3.58	3.95
1980-1990	2.35	2.95	2.96
Land Area (sq. km.)	300,000	636.00	35.70
Population Density (per sq. km.)			
1970	140	7,814	1,354
1980	160	9,317	1,995
1990*	202	12,467	2,672

*Based on 1990 Census data.

Table 1 provides more details on the basic population indicators for the entire country, Metro Manila and Metro Cebu. To align the metropolitan data, Metro Cebu refers only to its three cities (Cebu, Mandaue and Lapu-lapu) which are 100 percent urban just like the component cities and municipalities of Metro Manila.

The working-age population (ages 15+) of Metro Manila grew the fastest at 4.8 percent per annum during the period 1970-80 (Table 2). The female labor force of all areas grew uniformly during this decade, and even faster than its male counterpart. Even the growth of the number of women aged 15+ in the labor force (4.4 percent) during the period 1980-1986 outpaced the growth of the male working-age population in the labor force by 1.2 percentage points. The growing need among women for employment increases the competition in a labor market that may soon grow overcrowded.

Table 2 also provides an indirect economic perspective of Metro Cebu through data on the Philippines, Metro Manila (known as the National Capital Region or NCR) and Central Visayas where Metro Cebu is located. Positive economic growth was posted between 1980 and 1989, although GDP per capita in 1989 in real terms was lower than that of 1980. Poverty incidence tended to be very high in all areas, although lowest in Metro Manila. Central Visayas had the highest poverty incidence in the country, with the percentage of poor in urban areas close to that of the entire country, although rural poverty was even more pronounced.

Unemployment in the Philippines tended to be highest in Metro Manila due to the more formal economic structure in the metropolis. The registered unemployment level was not as high in urban areas of Central Visayas. However, market-oriented concepts like unemployment do not always apply in Third World cities where traditional industries may be more prevalent. Underemployment or other under-utilization variables may be a more precise measure even when disaggregated data are not readily available.

In Table 3, more details on the age distribution of the Philippines, Metro Manila, and Metro Cebu show that in the sub-national metropolitan areas the percentage of the population aged 15-64 exceeds the national percentage by 3.9 points. Metro Manila did, however, have the highest proportion of the labor force in the 15-64 age bracket. The youthfulness of Metro Cebu's population creates a dependency burden on the productive sector of the population, already strained by meager incomes. Thus, odd jobs proliferate in the manufacturing sector. The distinguishing character of this sector is the predominance of migrant female workers.

Table 2. Economic and Demographic Indicators of the Philippines, Metro Manila and Central Visayas

	<u>Philippines</u>	<u>Metro Manila</u>	<u>Central Visayas</u>
GDP in ,000 Pesos			
1980	92,637	29,224	6,727
1989	107,144	33,256	8,086
GDP per capita			
1980	1,926	4,931	1,776
1990	1,783	4,281	1,784
Poverty Incidence 1985			
Total	59.3	44.1	68.1
Urban	52.1	44.1	58.9
Rural	63.7	-	73.4
Both Sexes 15+			
1980	29,155	3,880	2,292
1986	34,853	4,779	2,690
Growth Rate	3.0	3.5	2.7
In Labor Force			
1980	18,010	2,069	1,489
1986	22,364	2,737	1,796
Growth Rate	3.7	4.8	3.2
Unemployment Rate			
Total	6.4	18.6	2.1
Urban	11.0	18.6	4.7
Male 15+			
1980	14,502	1,833	1,135
1986	17,328	2,299	1,328
Growth Rate	3.0	3.8	2.6
In Labor Force			
1980	11,449	1,198	897
1986	13,872	1,578	1,059
Growth Rate	3.2	4.7	2.8
Unemployment Rate			
Total	4.9	19.9	2.1
Urban	10.8	19.9	5.2
Female 15+			
1980	14,652	2,047	1,157
1986	17,525	2,479	1,362
Growth Rate	3.0	3.2	2.8
In Labor Force			
1980	6,561	871	591
1986	9,492	1,159	796
Growth Rate	4.4	4.9	3.7
Unemployment Rate			
Total	8.9	16.8	2.2
Urban	11.4	16.8	4.0

Source: National Economic Development Authority and National Statistics Coordinating Board data.

Table 3: A Comparison of Age-structures: Philippines, Metro Manila Capital Region, and Metro Cebu, 1970-1980

AREA	POPULATION BY AGE GROUP		PERCENT DISTRIBUTION	
	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
<u>PHILIPPINES</u>				
Total	<u>34,684,486</u>	<u>48,098,460</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
0-14	16,770,871	20,221,547	45.7	42.0
15-64	18,879,915	26,240,572	51.5	54.6
65+	1,033,700	1,636,341	2.8	3.4
<u>METRO MANILA</u>				
Total	<u>3,966,695</u>	<u>5,925,884</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
0-14	1,570,704	2,057,518	39.6	34.7
15-64	2,318,755	3,726,870	58.4	62.9
65+	77,256	141,501	2.0	2.4
<u>METRO CEBU</u>				
Total	<u>474,811</u>	<u>699,594</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
0-14	200,017	269,825	42.1	38.6
15-64	263,060	409,139	55.4	58.5
65+	11,734	20,630	2.5	2.9

Source: Census data for years shown.

Profile of female workers in Metro Cebu

Most of the female workers interviewed were young, with 66.7 percent within the age 15-29 (Table 4). So, it is not surprising that they were also predominantly single, as the data show 60.5 percent of the total respondents were never married at the time of interview. Of the single females, 66.0 percent were aged 15-24.

Table 4: Present Age of Respondents by Marital Status and Migration Status since Age 15

Present Age of Respondents	Marital Status		Total	Migration Status			Total	
	Single	Married		W/Sep.	Migrants			Total
					Non-Migrants	Within Cebu Province		
15-19	30.8	4.1	-	27.7	17.2	14.4	20.0	
20-24	35.2	7.2	-	20.8	30.2	18.1	23.7	
25-29	23.6	23.7	14.3	24.8	19.0	26.5	23.0	
30-34	4.4	22.7	28.6	10.9	8.6	18.1	12.0	
35+	6.0	42.3	57.1	15.8	25.6	22.9	21.3	
Column % Total (N)	100.0 (182)	100.0 (97)	100.0 (21)	100.0 (101)	100.0 (116)	100.0 (88)	100.0 (900)	
Distribution of Total (%)	60.7	32.3	7.0	33.7	38.6	27.6	100.0	

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

When asked about residential changes made since age 15, only one-third reported no migration. Of those who experienced migration since age 15, there were more short-distance or intra-provincial movers i.e., those coming from other municipalities within Cebu province (38.6 percent) than long-distance or inter-provincial migrants, i.e., those coming from outside Cebu province (27.6 percent).

Table 5 provides details on the subjects' age and marital status at the time of the survey. Most female workers in Metro Cebu are young and unmarried, particularly those migrants coming from outside Cebu province. All inter-provincial migrants aged 20-24 were single at survey date, in contrast with the 88.6 percent of intra-provincial migrants still unmarried. This suggests that migration has depressing effects on marriage, meaning that distance can create barriers in "social interactions" leading to a more costly and lengthier process of social adjustment to the urban marriage market. Both migrant groups, nevertheless, reported larger proportions of unmarried in the ages 15-29 than the non-migrants.

As for women who married late, 70 percent of migrants from within Cebu province married at age 30 or older as compared to 60 percent of migrants from outside Cebu. Compare these proportions to the 54.5 percent of non-migrants who married at age 30 or later. The data suggest that older married female migrants have a greater need to work than older married non-migrant females do. Migrant female workers at older ages struggle more with multiple roles as working wives/mothers than their non-migrant counterparts. These patterns among female migrants lead one to ask whether urban labor force participation indicates subjugation or prestige or both?

The following describes the migration status of the respondents in terms of particular traits at the time of interview. All in all, migrants comprised about two-thirds of the female work force in Metro Cebu's manufacturing and service establishments, with 58 percent of the migrants coming from within Cebu province.

Age

Table 6 classifies female workers who have been migrants since age 15 according to their ages at the time of the survey. The youngest workers were found among non-migrants, among whom 28 percent were only 15-19 years old. Migrants, on the other hand, tended to be slightly older, although about three fourths were between the ages 15-34. Often

younger than those from outside Cebu province, 30 percent of intra-provincial migrants were in their early twenties and about one-fifth were 25-29 years old. Of the migrants from outside Cebu, 26.5 percent were 25-29 years old and nearly one-fifth were in their early twenties.

Table 5: Percentage Distribution of Marital Status of Female Workers in Metro Cebu by Migration Status and Age at Survey Date

Migration Status and Age	Marital Status			Total
	Single	Married	Widowed/ Separated	
Non-Migrant				
15-19	85.7	14.3	-	100.0
20-24	85.7	14.3	-	100.0
25-29	56.0	36.0	8.0	100.0
30-34	36.4	54.5	9.1	100.0
35+	12.5	62.5	25.0	100.0
All ages	61.4	31.6	6.9	100.0
Migrants from within Cebu Province				
15-19	100.0	-	-	100.0
20-24	88.6	11.4	-	100.0
25-29	63.7	31.8	4.5	100.0
30-34	17.2	69.0	13.8	100.0
All ages	62.1	32.7	5.2	100.0
Migrants from outside Cebu Province				
15-19	100.0	-	-	100.0
20-24	100.0	-	-	100.0
25-29	68.2	31.8	-	100.0
30-34	13.3	60.0	26.7	100.0
35+	21.1	57.9	21.0	100.0
All ages	57.9	32.5	9.6	100.0

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

Table 6: Selected Characteristics of Female Workers in Metro Cebu at Time of Survey by Migration Status

Present Age of Respondents	Migration Status			Total
	Non-Migrants	Migrants		
		With in Cebu Province	Outside Cebu Province	
Distribution of Total by Migrant Status (%)	<u>33.7</u>	<u>38.6</u>	<u>27.6</u>	<u>100.0</u>
<u>Age</u>				
15-19	27.7	17.2	14.4	20.0
20-24	20.8	30.2	18.1	23.7
25-29	24.8	19.0	26.5	23.0
30-34	10.9	8.6	18.1	12.0
35+	15.8	25.0	22.9	21.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(101)	(116)	(83)	(300)
<u>Education</u>				
Elementary	22.8	27.6	9.6	21.0
With High School	17.8	23.3	18.1	20.0
High school graduate	18.8	25.0	28.9	24.0
With college	15.8	10.3	19.3	14.7
College graduate	24.8	13.8	24.1	20.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(101)	(116)	(83)	(300)
<u>Marital Status</u>				
Single	61.4	62.1	57.9	60.5
Married	31.6	32.7	32.5	32.3
Widowed/ Separated	6.9	5.2	9.6	7.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(101)	(116)	(83)	(300)
<u>Residence at Birth</u>				
Urban	65.3	17.2	36.1	38.7
Rural	34.7	82.8	63.9	61.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(101)	(116)	(83)	(300)

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

Education

Focusing on human capital concerns, female workers in manufacturing and service establishments can be ranked qualitatively. For instance, the least educated were the short-distance migrants or those originally from Cebu province. Migrants from other provinces and the non-migrants were often better educated (Table 6), as close to one-fourth of both groups were college graduates. Of the female workers who had completed at least Grade 1, 27.6 percent migrated from within Cebu. This is not surprising, considering that 83 percent of them were born in rural areas where incomes are generally lower. Moreover, most colleges are located in towns and cities. Approximately half of non-migrants had at least some college education or some other training. Most migrants had some form of non-formal or vocational training, though they generally had less education.

Marital status

It is clear from data in Table 5 that single women represent the bulk of female workers in Metro Cebu. The category of those coming from within Cebu province had the highest proportion of unmarried women (62.1 percent) and the lowest proportion of widowed or separated (5.2 percent).

Residence at birth

Data on urban-rural locale of birthplace show that 65.3 percent of non-migrants were born in urban areas. The corresponding proportion among migrants is substantially lower at 38.7 percent. Eighty-three percent were born in rural areas of other parts of Cebu province compared to 63.9 percent among those originating from outside Cebu province.

Why women flock to Metro Cebu

An underlying theme in most writings on female migration up until the 1970s is that their spatial mobility is merely associational. They are depicted as the second wave of population movements following a pioneering migration by a spouse or another family member. This may no longer be true. Recall that most of the respondents, especially the

migrant females from within Cebu province, were single as of survey date, implying a different set of motivating factors for their migration to Metro Cebu. In addition, data on the decision to migrate (Feranil, 1990) show that in 66 percent of the cases the migrant herself was mostly responsible for the move to Metro Cebu. This was more true for those coming from within Cebu province (69.4 percent) than from those coming from outside Cebu, of which 20 percent moved to Metro Cebu because of parents' or relatives' migration. Of the migrants coming from within Cebu only 16.7 percent moved with kin. The 62.1 percent of females who migrated into Metro Cebu came in search of work (Table 7).

Table 7: Migrants' Main Reasons for Most Recent Move by Local of Last Residence

Reasons for Choosing Metro-Cebu	Previous Residence		Total
	Within Cebu Province	Outside Cebu Province	
Work	62.8	61.3	62.1
Work + Education	10.9	11.2	11.1
Education	8.2	7.5	7.9
Family related	13.6	11.2	12.6
Area, environment	3.6	6.3	4.7
Forced	0.9	2.5	1.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(110)	(80)	(190)

Excludes 9 cases of no information.

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

Integration of female migrants in the urban labor market

Occupational mobility: From non-gainful to gainful occupations

The shift in women's employment status before and after migration can serve as an index of adaptation to the urban labor market. Due to

problems of processing voluminous individual-level data from the life history matrix, only employment status at specific migrations are presented and discussed.

Table 8 indicates that in their second to the last move, most migrants were still studying or doing housekeeping work. After their most recent moves many found gainful employment in the following: 1) services (from 4.0 percent to 26.1 percent), 2) production, craftsmanship and processing (from 3.0 percent to 23.6 percent), 3) clerical (from 3.0 percent to 15.1 percent), and 4) sales (from 5.0 percent to 13.1 percent). In fact, less than 10 percent of these female workers remained students or housekeepers after their last moves. At survey time, of course, all of these women were already employed, mostly in the four occupational groupings listed above, including 31.2 percent in the service sector. A greater proportion of women who were previously studying (48.3 percent) than those doing housekeeping (25.1 percent) before their second to the last move shed their non-gainful occupational status during their last move.

The detailed cross tabulation of previous occupation by current occupation (Table 9) reveals that all of the few migrants in the professional category retained their professional status after migration. Most former non-professional workers also remained within the same occupational grouping. Administrative or executive workers emerged either in the same occupational group or in clerical jobs. Most former clerical workers remained in clerical jobs or even moved into administrative/management employment. Those who worked previously as sales workers, production and service workers stayed also, by and large, in the same occupational category. Those who used to be full-time housekeepers were most often in production and service employment at survey date. Women who were students at the time of the last move were working afterwards in either production, service, clerical or sales employment. These findings corroborate the earlier shifts in occupational status described in Table 8. Off hand, one can appreciate the occupational mobility of the migrants to Metro Cebu. This could be the source of attraction to young single females who migrate to Metro Cebu.

The current employment situation

Table 10 provides two indicators of current employment. Most female workers were actively employed last month. Only about five percent of those currently working at survey date could be considered

Table 8: Percentage Distribution of Occupation of Female Migrants in Metro Cebu During Second to Last Move, Last Move, and Survey Date

Occupation	Before Second to Last Move			First Occupation Last Move			Survey Time		
	Within Cebu	Outside Cebu	All Migrants	Within Cebu	Outside Cebu	All Migrants	Within Cebu	Outside Cebu	
Careful Occupation									
Professional/Tech.	1.7	2.4	2.0	1.7	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.2	1.5
Admin/Tech.	-	1.2	0.5	2.6	6.0	4.0	5.2	8.4	6.5
Clerical	0.9	6.0	3.0	12.1	19.3	15.1	18.1	25.3	21.1
Sales	5.2	4.8	5.0	10.3	16.9	13.1	15.5	20.5	17.6
Farming	9.5	4.8	7.6	-	2.4	1.0	-	-	-
Transport	-	-	-	0.9	-	0.5	0.9	-	0.5
Craft/Production	4.3	1.2	3.0	29.3	15.7	23.6	25.0	16.9	21.6
Service	2.6	6.0	4.0	26.7	25.3	26.1	33.6	27.7	31.2
Laborers/etc.	2.6	-	1.5	0.9	-	0.5	-	-	-
Non-Careful Occupation									
Housekeepers	29.3	19.3	25.1	7.8	7.2	7.6	-	-	-
Students	43.9	54.3	48.3	7.7	6.0	7.0	-	-	-
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(116)	(83)	(199)	(116)	(83)	(199)	(116)	(83)	(199)

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

Table 9: Percentage Distribution of Occupation of Female Migrants at Time of Last Move and at Survey Date

Usual Occupation at Last Move	Column Total %	Present Occupation						Row Total %	
		Profes-sional	Admin/Exec.	Clerical	Sales	Farming	Transpo.		Craft/Prod.
Gainful Occupation									
Professional	1.5	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
Administrative/Executive	4.0	-	50.0	37.5	-	-	-	-	100.0
Clerical	15.1	-	13.3	73.4	-	-	-	3.3	100.0
Sales	13.1	-	7.7	-	76.9	-	-	3.9	100.0
Farming	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	100.0
Transport	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	100.0
Craft/Production	23.6	-	2.1	8.5	2.1	-	-	68.1	100.0
Service	26.6	-	1.9	13.5	13.5	-	-	3.8	100.0
Non-Gainful Occupation									
Housekeepers	7.5	-	6.7	20.0	26.7	-	-	13.3	100.0
Students	7.4	-	-	21.4	21.4	-	-	21.4	100.0
Total % (N)	100.0 (199)	1.5 (3)	6.5 (13)	21.1 (42)	17.6 (35)	- (1)	0.5 (1)	21.6 (43)	31.2 (62)

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

recent hires. The women reported a wide variety of occupations. Overall, about 25.0 percent were either service or craftsmen/production workers while 23.3 percent were clerical workers. About 30 percent of non-migrants were clerical workers while an equal segment were in production or factory employment and close to 20 percent were service workers. Migrants differed from non-migrants and among themselves, with those from outside Cebu more likely to work in services (31.3 percent) compared to those from within Cebu province (26.7 percent). The latter represented an equally large segment of crafts and production workers (26.7 percent) compared to those from outside Cebu (19.3 percent). About one-fifth of both migrant groups, however, worked in clerical or sales occupations.

Table 10: Current Employment Situation of Respondents by Migration Status

Current Employment Situation	Migration Status			Total
	Non-Migrants	Migrants		
		Within Cebu	Outside Cebu	
<u>Main Activity the Past Month</u>				
Working	95.0	99.1	96.4	97.0
Not Working	5.0	0.9	3.6	3.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(101)	(116)	(83)	(300)
<u>Occupation the Past Month</u>				
Professional/Technical/				
Admin.	10.9	5.2	9.6	8.3
Clerical	29.7	20.7	19.3	23.3
Sales	9.9	19.8	20.5	16.7
Transport/Comm.	-	0.9	-	0.3
Craftsmen/Production	29.7	26.7	19.3	25.7
Service	18.8	26.7	31.3	25.4
Others	1.0	-	-	0.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(101)	(116)	(83)	(300)

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

Industry classifications by migrants status in Table 11 show that those who are actually from Cebu province (either non-migrants or migrants from within the province) were more often the ones working in manufacturing establishments. Their concentration was particularly pronounced in food/beverage/tobacco processing or the manufacture of wood and wood products including furniture, a known industry of Cebu. In contrast, migrants from outside Cebu province were more often found in service establishments (61.1 percent). Female recruitment into traditional industries like wood processing and related products or food manufacture may be due partly to their being from Cebu province, and thus having more access to such work opportunities. They may also be more familiar with the necessary skills, having acquired them through informal training in kin or neighborhood enterprises. Examples include making local pastries, delicacies or rattan furniture where sometimes an entire neighborhood participates in the production and distribution process.

Service industries, on the other hand, tend to employ more females from outside the area. Some local women may not want to do menial service work in restaurants and eateries or be associated with service establishments such as roadside motels, night clubs or massage parlors. These jobs may also be more acceptable to long distance migrants who readily accept such jobs in place of queuing for jobs in the organized sector. Migrants would also be hard pressed to accept any job. Labor recruitment may also be biased in favor of migrants in order to avoid social conflicts that might result if local women were employed in certain types of occupations.

Earning power of female workers

Studies of earning differentials between the sexes have long shown that women workers almost always earn less for more work, in the Philippines and elsewhere (Eviota and Smith, 1984). In 1991, Perez highlighted the growing feminization of Metro Manila's service sector that has increased the number of female migrants in low-paying subordinate jobs relative to male migrants in better-paying occupations outside the service sector.

The same observation is reinforced by this study and particularly the data in Table 10. Most women migrant workers in Metro Cebu, particularly those from outside Cebu, worked 40 hours or more each week for the past year. Considering that all female workers in the sample

were drawn from formally organized establishments, the vigor of this schedule was not surprising.

Table 11: Percentage Distribution of Female Workers in Metro Cebu by Broad Industry Group and Migration Status at Time of Survey

Broad Industry Group	Migration Status		Total	
	Non-Migrants	Migrants		
		Within Cebu		Outside Cebu
Broad and Specific Industry Group				
MANUFACTURING	<u>59.3</u>	<u>57.8</u>	<u>38.6</u>	<u>53.0</u>
Manufacture of Food/ Beverage/Tobacco	10.9	25.0	9.7	16.0
Textile, wearing apparel	7.9	7.8	12.1	9.0
Wood and wood products	18.8	14.7	6.0	13.7
Paper and paper products	2.0	1.7	1.2	1.6
Chemical, coal, rubber plastic	6.9	3.4	3.6	4.7
Non-metallic mineral products	5.9	0.9	-	2.3
Other manufacturing industries	6.9	4.3	6.0	5.7
SERVICE	<u>40.7</u>	<u>42.2</u>	<u>61.1</u>	<u>47.0</u>
Educational services	2.0	3.4	6.0	3.7
Medical/dental/health	6.9	1.7	3.6	4.0
Other social services	-	0.9	1.2	0.6
Recreational/cultural	6.0	6.0	8.4	6.7
Personal and household	9.9	6.9	12.1	9.3
Restaurant and hotels	15.9	23.3	30.1	22.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(101)	(116)	(83)	(300)

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

The estimated monthly earnings of female workers are shown in Table 12. Overall, about 32 percent reported incomes of P1,000 to P2,000 a month. One-fourth (26.3 percent) received more. At the lower end, 28 percent received P750 or less per month. About 13 percent received between P751 and P1,000 the past month. These low incomes indicate that female workers in the production and service sectors have benefitted only slightly from what is touted as the "Cebu boom" in economic growth. Many still receive very low wages, comparable to those of domestic helpers in private households.

Non-migrants tended to earn more than migrants. About two-thirds of non-migrants earned more than 1,000 each month whereas only 58.1 percent of migrants from outside Cebu and 51.8 percent from within the province belonged to this "highest" income bracket. Moreover, the largest segment of female workers earning only P500 or less each month were the migrants from within Cebu province (27.2 percent). The corresponding proportion for the long-distance migrants was slightly lower at 25.9 percent. Only 14.3 percent of the non-migrants workers were in this income bracket.

Discrimination against work participation: What women think

Although this study does not address in great detail the issues of urban labor market adaptation, an attempt was made to confirm the existence of discriminating practices against female workers. It should be noted that responses are not descriptions of group-normative behavior but individual expressions concerning unfavorable working conditions for women. The respondents were asked, "Do you feel that it is less difficult, equally difficult, or more difficult, for a woman than a man to enter vocational schools find a job in the city receive on-the-job training, receive promotion at employment?" Score values ranging from 1 (less difficult), 2 (equally difficult), and 3 (more difficult) were computed according to the migration status of the women workers.

Data in Table 13 show that the respondents, regardless of migration status, found it equally difficult for men and women to find jobs in the city, to enter vocational schools and receive on-the-job training. This reflects the meager employment prospects for women in a situation of labor surplus like that of Metro Cebu. With regard to promotions as

employees, however, women workers in Metro Cebu did think that they are disadvantaged.

Table 12: Selected Work-related Variables for Female Workers in Metro Cebu by Migration Status

Monthly Income	Migration Status		Total	
	Non-Migrants	Migrants		
		Within Cebu		Outside Cebu
<u>Estimate of Monthly Income</u>				
<P250	1.0	1.8	4.9	2.4
251-500	13.3	25.4	21.0	20.1
501-750	5.1	6.1	4.9	5.5
751-1000	13.3	14.9	11.1	13.3
1001-2000	34.7	28.1	35.8	32.4
More than 2000	32.6	23.7	22.3	26.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(98)	(114)	(81)	(291)
<u>Number of Hours Worked Per Week</u>				
1-39 hrs.	8.1	5.4	10.0	7.6
40 + hrs.	91.9	94.6	90.0	92.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(99)	(112)	(80)	(291)
<u>No. of Years Worked</u>				
< 1 year	30.0	22.6	17.1	23.6
1-2 years	26.0	33.9	26.8	29.3
3 + years	44.0	43.5	56.1	47.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(100)	(115)	(82)	(297)

N.B.: Excludes those not working the month prior to interview.

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

Table 13: Average Scores of Perceived Discrimination Against Women by Migration Status

Area Where Discrimination May Occur	Migration Status			Total
	Non-Migrant	Migrant		
		Within Cebu	Outside Cebu	
Extra Vocational Training school	1.88	1.85	1.73	1.83
Find job in city	1.93	1.84	1.78	1.85
Receive on the job training	1.87	2.02	1.77	1.90
Receive promotion at employment	2.11	2.08	2.03	2.07

N.B. Score values:

1 - less difficult

2 - equally difficult

3 - more difficult

Source: 1990 ESCAP Survey

Conclusion

This study reveals a positive degree of occupational mobility among young women migrant workers in Metro Cebu. A closer look, however, shows that more migrants, particularly the long-distance movers, held lower-paying jobs than the non-migrants, suggesting an apparently selective recruitment of female migrants from outside Cebu. This has led to segmentation among the migrants themselves. One questions then whether female migrant absorption into the urban labor market is simply another form of subjugation. For instance, respondents perceived the prospect of employment in an urban labor surplus economy such as Metro Cebu as equally difficult for men and women but observed that women have greater difficulty in obtaining promotions once employed.

It would be interesting to subject the data set to a multivariate analysis of the determinants of women's earning power, taking into consideration migrant type and duration of stay in Metro Cebu in addition to the basic socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the women. An earlier regression analysis by Feranil (1991) failed to consider migration-

related variables which could reveal the ways by which migration hastens urban labor absorption of female workers. Such an undertaking rests on the premise that increased participation of women in the urban labor market indicates development of areas as well as enhanced participation of women in development.

The Philippine Development Plan for Women, 1989-1994 (PDPW) is meant as a blueprint for government action to mainstream women in development efforts. It also collates all available data that can raise consciousness on issues regarding women. The documents, as well as their annual updates, provide very little information on female labor adaptation in the urban setting within the country. In its present form, the document's chapter on industry describes employed women dominating three major industry groups in the formal sector, namely trade, services and manufacturing, while women in the informal sector are noted as concentrated mainly in small-scale sales, services and subcontracted production (like garment-making and embroidery). The chapter on migration deals only with international migration, and these touch mainly on welfare issues. Equally important are issues stemming from women in internal migration.

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