

## MIGRATION SELECTIVITY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE IN THE TAIPEI METROPOLIS

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### I. INTRODUCTION

While migration selectivity is well documented (Shaw, 1975; Greenwood, 1975; Ritchey, 1976; De Jong and Fawcett, 1981), its consequences receive relatively little attention. Two principal factors have been suggested to account for the limited investigation on consequences of migration (Greenwood, 1975). One is due to its causal complexity. Or migration influences many socio-economic variables and is in turn influenced by them. The other is the limited availability of relevant data. In this paper, efforts are made to simplify the problem. At first, migration selectivity and its consequences are investigated separately. Secondly, we limit our focus on migration selectivity in terms of occupational structure only. Finally, we try to decompose the migration selectivity and its consequences by streams and moving motivation. We hope that the decomposition will give us more clues about how migration selectivity is regulated and how it in turn has effects on occupational structures.

According to Mobility Transition Theory (Zelinsky, 1971; Bouvier, Macisco and Zarate, 1976; and Wilson, 1988) migration volume, direction and characteristics may change as a society moves through different stages of development. In the traditional stage, rural to rural movement resulting from push factor is the dominant force of migration. These migrants are generally less well educated than nonmigrants at both places of origin and destination. As a society moves toward industrialization, there will be less rural to rural movement. Rural to urban movement becomes the dominant stream. This is generally a pull type of movement. Migrants are better educated than those at the origin but less well educated at destination. In the post-industrial society, metropolitan to metropolitan migration supersedes nonmetropolitan to metropolitan migration and becomes the dominant stream. These migrants

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are better educated than nonmigrants regardless of places of origin and destination.

In reality, changes of migration streams and characteristics are not as neat as what we have described above. As Richmond (1969) has pointed out, most countries will exhibit patterns of migration that are characteristics of all three types of society and stages of development. Therefore, the impact of migration selectivity is subject to the influence of various combination of inflow and outflow streams.

Similarly, the composition of migrants by moving motivation is also related to a society's stage of development. It has been noted that work- and job-related reasons of moving are salient in developing countries (De Jong and Fawcett, 1987). Marriage and family unification and education follow in order. For developed countries, the dominant responses are work- and job-related, housing and family related reasons. It had been suggested that longer distance movers are likely to give employment or job-related reasons, whereas housing is the dominant reasons for short-distance movement. Moreover, occupational selectivity has been observed in the developed countries. The higher status persons seeking the better jobs and opportunities must move a greater distance to find them (Rose, 1958; Stub, 1962) with exceptions occurred to those occupational categories where job investment are high, either in capital equipment or the close cultivation of clientele (Ladinsky, 1967). On the contrary, the supply and demand of unskilled labor can be met within a local market.

Furthermore, the influence of movement due to housing reasons on occupational differentials depends, in part, on degree of suburbanization (Glodstein and Mayer, 1964; Wardwell & Gilchrist, 1980). The experience of the United States indicates that in the early stage of suburbanization only a select segment of the population can afford the combined cost of country living and commuting. When there is a marked increase in the suburbanization, people who move to suburban areas is not confined to the white-collar circles and becomes a mass phenomenon including manual workers.

Taipei metropolis provides an ideal setting to examine the effects of migration on occupational structures through compositions of streams and moving motivation. It has been reported that migrants to and from Taipei metropolis are positively selected. While Taipei city as a primate city attracts a large volume of migrants from

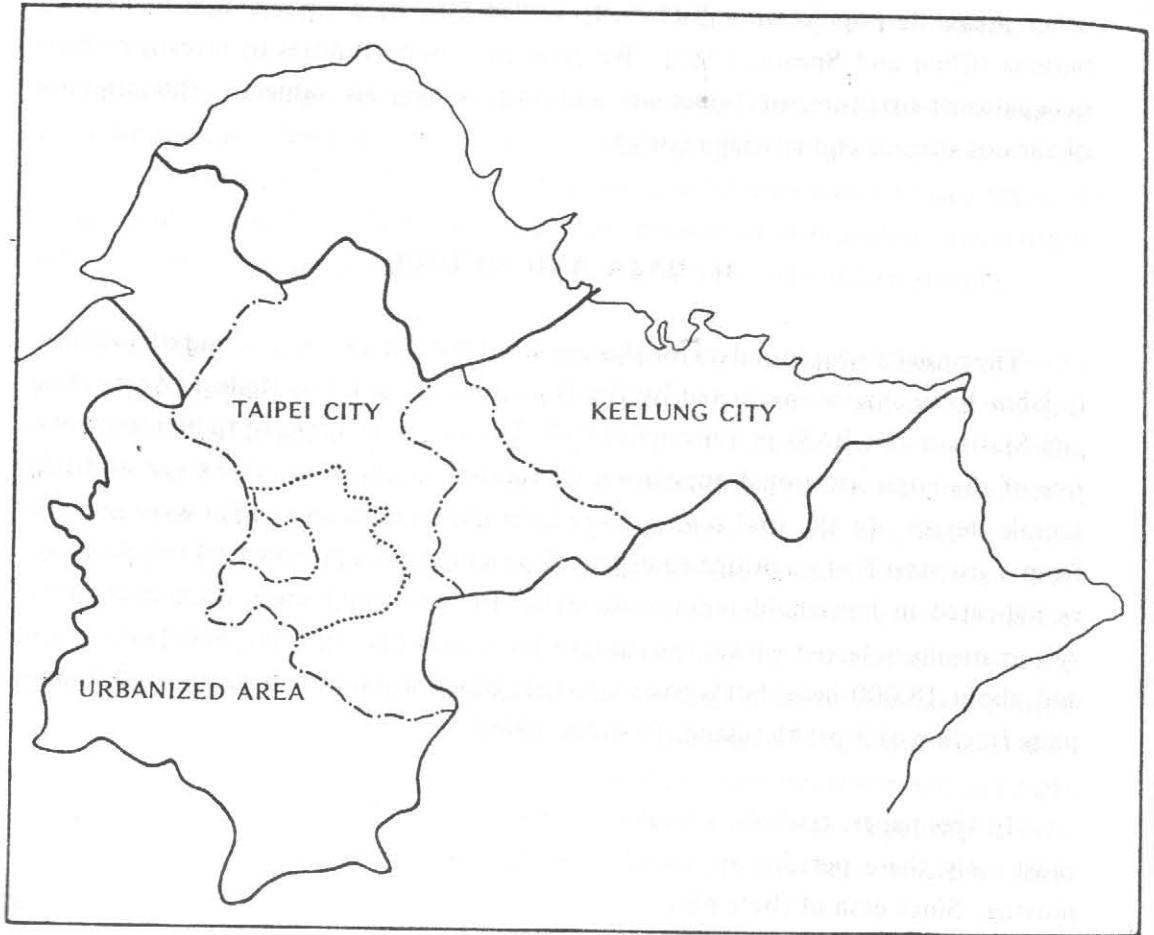
other areas, its population substantially spilled into its periphery due to housing reasons (Chen and Speare, 1989). We thus have opportunities to investigate how occupational structures of Taipei city and its periphery are subject to the influence of various streams and moving reasons.

## II. DATA AND METHOD

The primary source of data for this paper is from the October round of a monthly labor force survey conducted by the Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) in Taiwan in 1987. The survey is intended to be representative of the noninstitutional population of Taiwan. It involves a two-stage stratified sample design. In the first stage, village level units (Tsun's and Li's) were selected from a list stratified according to degree of urbanization and industrial composition, as indicated in household registration data. In the second stage, households were systematically selected within the sample Tsuns and Lis. In total, 516 Tsuns or Lis and about 18,000 households were selected, which is equivalent to an overall sampling fraction of 4 per thousand (DGBAS, 1988).

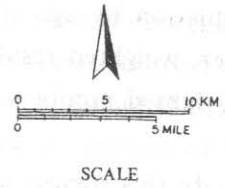
In this paper, analysis is limited to person aged 15 and over and employed because only these persons are asked both the labor force questions and reasons of moving. Since each of these persons has been given a weight, we are able to inflate the sample to the total population of Taiwan. These weights are adjusted to match the population by age and sex as recorded in the household register. Throughout this paper, weighted results will be presented with the exception of logit analysis. The unweighted numbers and estimates of sampling errors are available in the appendix.

In this survey, a person is defined as a migrant if he or she moved across a city or township boundary within the year preceding the survey. For each migrant, the city or township of origin and of destination are identifiable. However, to make the analysis more manageable, we will focus only on migration in the Taipei Metropolitan Area. We have divided Taiwan into three areas: Taipei City, Taipei's Periphery, and all other areas. The periphery of Taipei includes Keelung City and the Townships in the North Large Metropolitan Area, as defined by Liu (1979), excluding those which are within Taipei city itself (see figure 1). There are six migration streams among these three areas:



LEGEND

- Metropolitan Boundary
- · - · - · - 1968 City Boundary
- ..... 1931-1968 City Boundary
- - - - - Central Business District Boundary



From Paul K. C. Liu, "Economic Aspects of Rapid Urbanization in Taipei" *Academia Economic Papers*, 7: 1 (March 1979) p. 152.

Figure 1. Taipei Metropolitan Area

1. Migration from Taipei's periphery to Taipei City.
2. Migration from other areas to Taipei City.
3. Migration from Taipei City to Taipei's periphery.
4. Migration from other areas to Taipei's periphery.
5. Migration from Taipei City to other areas.
6. Migration from Taipei's periphery to other areas.

Finally, it deserves to be mentioned that this paper suffers from an important data limitation. Although, the focal point of this paper is occupational structure, the survey provides only respondents' occupation at the time of interview. We thus are forced to assume that there is no substantial change of occupational structure on the group level before and after migration.

### III. MIGRATION STREAMS

In 1987, there were 2,186 migrants aged 15 and over and employed in the labor force survey. When weighted appropriately, this corresponds to about 1,165,096 migrants for all of Taiwan. These numbers imply that about 6.0 percent of the population move across township boundaries. Because we are interested in migration to and from Taipei City and Taipei's periphery, we have excluded other migration streams and are left with 28.0% of the total sample (equivalent to 326,682 persons) for analysis.

Among the six streams defined above, streams 2 and 4 which are movements from other areas to Taipei city and Taipei's periphery are most voluminous. Each of them has about 77 thousands of migrants (see Table 1). In total, they account for 47.5% of total sample included in this analysis. Meanwhile, there are slightly more than ten thousand people (31.5%) who move out Taipei city. About 60% of them move to Taipei's periphery, and the other 40% move to other areas. Or there are substantial population spill-over from Taipei city to its periphery.

The net gains from migration can be obtained by subtracting the total out-migrants for each area from the total in-migrants. The last column of Table 1, shows that Taipei city gained only 16,204 migrants and that Taipei's periphery gained 68,842 migrants. Most of these gains were from the exchange with other areas.

Table 1: Migrants by Places of Origins and Destination, 1987

Destination	Places of origin			Total in-migrants	Net in-migrants
	Taipei	Periphery	Other areas		
Taipei	--	40,991	78,057	119,048	16,204
Periphery	60,455	--	77,084	137,539	68,842
Other areas	42,389	27,706	--	70,095	-85,046
Total out-migrants	102,844	68,697	155,141	326,682	--

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

Since the flow from Taipei city to its periphery was greater than the flow from periphery to the city, the periphery had a net gain of 19.5 thousand from its exchange with the city. These figures show that while many of the migrants from outside areas still go to the city, the net flow within the metropolitan area is towards the periphery.

The net in-migration to Taipei city which was measured in the Labor Force Survey is slightly smaller than the net migration recorded in the household registration data. The registered total net migration for Taipei city from other counties or cities was 37,075 (MOI, 1988). When this number is multiplied by a ratio of employed persons aged 15 or over to total population (0.48), we estimate that the net in-migration of employed persons aged 15 or over is 17,796. It suggests that the Labor Force Survey estimate is about 9% smaller than the estimate of household registration data. This difference is in contradiction to our previous finding. We have found that the survey estimate was much larger than household registration results in the period 1981-1985 (Chen and Speare, 1989). If this is a real turn-around, there are two possible explanations for the differences between the survey estimate and household registration report in 1987. One is that household registration is somewhat exaggerated. For example, there may be a substantial number of persons who register move but never actualize it, because the purpose of registration is to make their children able to attain better schools in Taipei city. Moreover, the proportion of exaggeration is not balanced by the proportion of delayed report. The other is that there are some errors in the sampling and weighting of the labor force

Table 2: Percentage Distributions of Moving Reasons by Stream

Stream*	Moving Reasons			Total	N
	Job+ Education	Housing	Marriage & Other		
1. P-T	36.8	43.8	19.4	100.0	40,991
2. O-T	89.9	2.4	7.7	100.0	78,057
3. T-P	19.2	53.9	26.9	100.0	60,455
4. O-P	72.6	8.1	19.3	100.0	77,084
5. T-O	82.3	4.0	13.7	100.0	42,389
6. P-O	78.8	10.3	11.0	100.0	27,706
Total	64.1	19.3	16.5	100.0	326,682

$$\chi^2 = 169.2$$

$$DF = 10$$

$$P < 0.001$$

based on unweighted sample

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

\* Abbreviations for stream names are as follows:

T is for Taipei city;

P is for Taipei's periphery; and

O is for Other areas.

survey. Since the difference is relatively small, we do not suspect that the survey is biased with respect to the characteristics of migrants or their reasons of moving.

Table 2 shows the distributions of major categories of moving reasons by streams. Basically, they are similar to what we have found for the 1981-1985. Overall, the major reason of moving is to meet interviewers themselves or their relative's job and education needs. It accounts for 64.0% of all moves. Housing and marriage and other reasons have about the equal share, 19.3% and 16.5% respectively. This overall pattern, in fact, does not depict well any single stream, because there are two extreme patterns of distribution. Stream 1 and 3 which involve short distance of movement between Taipei and its periphery basically share one type of movement. The other four streams, which involve longer distance of move, has another type of distribution. In general housing reasons predominates among the shorter distance of moves. It accounts for 43.8% to 53.9% of the short-distance moves. On



the other hand, job and education reasons were the most important one for the longer distance moves. It ranges from 72.6% to 89.9% of the long-distance moves.

Table 2 also gives us a good picture about how population spill from Taipei to its periphery. Persons moving from Taipei to its periphery are more likely to move due to housing reasons, such as buying a new home, rental expiration, poor living environment and houses which are too small. In contrast, persons moving to Taipei from its periphery are relatively more likely to move in search of jobs or to attend schools. When the numbers moving in each direction are examined by reason (see Table A1), we see that 15 thousand migrants moved from the periphery to Taipei for work or study and only 12 thousand moved in the opposite direction for these reasons, or a net gain of 3 thousand for Taipei city. However, Taipei had a net lost of 15 (18 VS. 33) thousand for housing reasons and another lost of 8 thousand for marriage and other reasons. These differences imply that Taipei is still the center for education and employment, while the periphery is able to provide better housing. In general, characteristics of those who move because of job and study differ from that of movers due to housing. We thus suspect that each stream has different socio-economic compositions.

#### IV. MIGRATION SELECTIVITY

Our previous research indicates that migrants are positively selected in the period 1981-1985 (Chen & Speare, 1989). In this study, we find that the selectivity is influenced by composition of moving motivation. Stream 1 and 3, or movement between Taipei city and its periphery which are dominated by housing reasons, have rather similar characteristics. Their mean ages are about 30, which is about 6 years younger than non-movers, but 1-6 years older than other types of movers (see Table 3). Their proportions of being married are about 60%. Again, they are about 5-8% smaller than that for non-movers but 10% to 50% greater than other types of movers. Or movements in the metropolitan area contain more family move. This is supported by the fact that there are lower percentages of male in those two streams than stayers or other types of movers. There are only some 40% of male in the movement between Taipei and its periphery. For other types of movers and stayers, the percentages of male are mostly slightly over 60%.



Table 3: Selected Characteristics of the Population by Migration Stream

	Stream *						Stayers
	P-T (1)	O-T (2)	T-P (3)	O-P (4)	T-O (5)	P-O (6)	
% Married	58.2	13.1	60.5	40.8	23.6	47.8	65.9
% Male	47.6	51.9	41.3	61.0	66.8	64.1	62.0
% Senior Hi <sup>+</sup>	69.4	56.3	74.9	47.1	68.3	45.6	41.1
% White collar	76.4	47.7	69.5	35.6	56.0	42.6	44.1
Mean age	30.2	23.7	29.8	26.0	27.2	28.6	35.8
Cases	40,991	78,057	60,455	77,084	42,389	27,706	7,845,163

Sources: 1987 October round labor force survey.

\* Abbreviations for stream names are as follows:

T is for Taipei city;

P is for Taipei's periphery; and

O is for Other areas.

Data in Table 3 also show that migrants of stream 1 and 3 have a higher status. Their percentages with senior high and above education are 69.4% and 74.9% respectively. For other streams, only stream 5 has a percentage as high as 68.3% and the rest some 40% to 50%. The percentage for stayers as a whole is as low as 41.1%. We can come to a similar conclusion in terms of percentage of white collar workers. The proportions for stream 1 and 3 are 76.4% and 69.5% respectively. For the rest, it ranges from 35.6% to 56.0%. And stayers as a whole has a proportion of 44.1%.

Since the socio-economic variables described above are somewhat correlated, a series of logit analyses are carried out to see whether each of them has independent effect on probability being a migrant. In the analyses, migrants of each stream are compared with stayers at their places of origin. The five socio-economic variables are dichotomized. Or code 1 is assigned to younger persons aged less than 35 white collar workers, married, or persons with senior high and above education and the rest are given a code of 0.

Table 4: Results of Logit Analysis for Each Stream in Relative to Stayers of Its Origin

	$\frac{P-T}{P}$	$\frac{O-T}{O}$	$\frac{T-P}{T}$	$\frac{O-P}{O}$	$\frac{T-O}{T}$	$\frac{P-O}{P}^a$
Constant	2.28 (24.21)**	2.67 (39.37)**	2.32 (25.16)**	2.77 (37.70)**	2.23 (24.01)**	2.34 (22.64)**
Age	0.19 (2.06)*	0.40 (5.88)**	0.27 (2.93)**	0.45 (5.95)**	0.27 (2.80)**	0.31 (2.93)**
Sex	-0.01 (-0.11)	0.09 (2.43)*	-0.10 (-1.46)	0.07 (1.55)	0.06 (1.06)	0.07 (1.00)
Occupation	0.24 (2.76)**	0.12 (2.99)**	-0.08 (-0.96)	-0.11 (-2.25)*	-0.19 (-2.98)**	-0.04 (-0.54)
Education	0.08 (0.92)	-0.04 (-1.13)	0.10 (1.25)	0.04 (1.00)	0.03 (0.47)	-0.10 (-1.18)
Marital Status	-0.06 (-0.81)	-0.51 (-9.61)**	0.08 (1.06)	-0.29 (-5.96)**	-0.30 (-3.99)**	-0.14 (-1.78)
Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2$	40.86	38.60	35.73	20.25	25.57	25.95
DF	26	26	26	26	25	26
Prob.	0.032*	0.053	0.097	0.78	0.431	0.466
Cases	4085	23655	4982	23602	5010	4035

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

a The meaning of abbreviations are as follows:

T is for Taipei city;

P is for Taipei's periphery; and

O is for other areas.

\* Significant at 0.05 level.

\*\* Significant at 0.01 level.

The results of logit analyses are shown in Table 4. We find that age is the only variable which has a significant effect at each analysis. Or migrants are unanimously younger than stayers at origin. On the other hand, the variable "education" shows no significant effect at any analysis. For the variable "sex", it has significant effect only at the analysis of the second stream. In this long-distance rural-urban movement, male has a greater probability of being migrants. However, signs of the coefficients for streams are in the expected directions. For example, stream 1 and 3 which are dominated by housing reasons have negative signs. As to marital status, it has effects on most of long-distance movements, i.e. streams 2, 4, and 5. Or single persons have greater probabilities of becoming migrants in these long-distance movements. What is unexpected is the negative sign for the coefficient of stream 1, although it is not significant. One possible explanation for this result is that most of those who move to Taipei city from its periphery due to other reasons are female.

What we are most concerned in this analysis is the effect of occupation. Table 4 indicates that occupation has two types of effect. For those movements to Taipei city, white collar workers are more likely to become migrants than stayers of their origin. For other streams, the coefficients are negative or blue collar workers have greater probabilities of becoming migrants. This negative effect is significant at 0.01 level for the movement from Taipei city to other areas and at 0.05 level for the movement from other areas to Taipei's periphery. In brief, occupation has different effect on probability of becoming a migrant. The next important question is how migration selectivity is regulated by occupation structures and is in turn has effects on occupational structures.

## V. A DECOMPOSITON BY STREAMS

In this section, our final goal is to examine the effects of in- and out-migrants on occupational structures of Taipei and its periphery. To accomplish this goal, two steps are taken. At first, we try to check if there is structural differentials between each inflow or outflow stream and stayers. We also try to replace migrants back to their places of origin. The resulting occupational differentials reflects the net effect of new entry and exit of labor force. Secondly, we try to study the absolute contribution of relevant streams within each major category of occupation. So we may conclude the net effect of migration within each occupation category.

Table 5 shows occupational structures of migrants moving in and out of Taipei city and their differences from stayers of Taipei city. Overall, migration is selective and has a negative effect on Taipei's occupational structure. The index of dissimilarity ranges from 14.3% to 27.6%. The index is greater for the long-distance movements between Taipei and other areas than the short distance movements between Taipei and its periphery. This results suggests that long-distance migration is more selective than short-distance one. The selectivity, moreover, is somewhat influenced by direction of movement.

For the two short-distance movements, there are similarity and dissimilarity. Both of them have greater proportions of professional and clerical workers but fewer proportions of sales, service, and agricultural workers than that of Taipei stayers. However, the major surplus differs. It is striking to note that clerical workers accounts for 43.1% of movement from Taipei's periphery to Taipei. This percentage is 16.8% greater than that of Taipei stayers. On the other hand, there is 10.7% more than that of Taipei stayers. There are two alternative explanations for this phenomenon. One is that professional workers move out of Taipei city to its periphery in order to acquire a better living environment. The other is that professional workers have an extended labor market and move out in search of a better working arrangement. Data shown in Table 5 give us some clue to the support of the second explanation. We find that the proportion of professional workers for the movement from Taipei to other areas is 12.9% greater than that for Taipei stayers. This question will be further discussed in the next section.

For the two long-distance movements, both are characterized with more blue collar workers than that of Taipei stayers. The movement from other areas to Taipei city is a typical type of rural to urban movement for an industrial society. According to Bouvier et al. (1976), this types of society is in demand of labors to fill the factories emerging throughout the land. On the other hand, the movement from Taipei to other areas is a mixture of more blue collar workers and professional workers. We suppose this is due to two special features of Taiwan: industrial decentralization (HO, 1979) and development of Kaohsiung metropolis. The establishment of factories in other areas attracts blue collar workers, while professional moves to another metropolis.

Column 6 is the results of taking in-migrants away from and adding out-

**Table 5: Percentage Distributions of Occupation by Types of Movement  
in and out Taipei City**

Occupation	Taipei stayers	move in from (%)		move out to (%)		Taipei without migrants (%)
		periphery	other areas	periphery	other areas	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Professional w.	14.8	15.9	10.6	25.5	27.7	16.0
Clerical w.	26.3	43.1	15.7	26.7	10.2	25.9
Sales worker	19.3	8.3	10.1	7.4	8.4	19.3
Service w.	10.1	9.1	11.3	9.9	9.7	10.0
Agricultural w.	0.6	--	1.4	--	5.0	0.7
Production w.	25.9	20.5	38.3	29.1	35.6	25.8
Non-skilled w.	2.9	3.1	12.6	1.4	3.5	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,290,376	40,991	78,057	60,455	42,389	1,274,172

Occupation	(2)-(1)	(3)-(1)	(4)-(1)	(5)-(1)	(6)-(1)
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Professional w.	1.1	-4.2	10.7	12.9	1.2
Clerical w.	16.8	-10.6	0.4	-16.1	-0.4
Sales worker	-11.0	-9.2	-11.9	-10.9	--
Service w.	-1.0	1.2	-0.2	-0.4	-0.1
Agricultural w.	-0.6	0.8	-0.6	4.4	0.1
Production w.	-5.4	12.4	3.2	9.7	-0.1
Non-skilled w.	0.2	9.7	-1.5	0.6	-0.6
Index of Dissimilarity	18.1	24.1	14.3	27.6	1.3

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

migrants to Taipei stayers. Structural differences between column 6 and 1 reflects the net effect of new entry and exit of labors which is shown in column 11. It seems the natural growth of labor force has a small upgrading effect on Taipei's occupational structure. The proportion for professional workers increases 1.2%. But the rest decline slightly with the exception of agricultural workers.

The occupational differentials between Taipei's periphery and relevant streams are rather different from what we have described before. In Table 5, we have found that long-distance movement is more selective than short-distance movement. In Table 6, it is interesting to note that the movements between Taipei city and the periphery are more selective than the movements between the periphery and other areas. For the former types of movements, the index of dissimilarity ranges from 26.9% to 31.0% (see Table 6). However, it is only 10.4% and 16.6% for the latter types of movement. This result is somewhat different from what we have found from Table 5. Major reasons for the difference are triple. At first, we find that stayers of Taipei's periphery is composed of greater proportion of production workers than that of Taipei's stayers (44.0% vs 25.9%). However, the shares of production workers for the movements between Taipei and its periphery are 29.1% and 20.5% respectively, which are close to the proportion for Taipei stayers. Therefore, when we take the occupational structure for stayers of Taipei's periphery as a frame of reference instead of Taipei's structure, differences in proportion of production workers are increased 10% to 20%. Secondly, we find that majority of migrants moving in from and out to other areas is production workers. They are substantially greater than their counterparts in the movements between Taipei and other areas, but rather close to the proportion for stayers of Taipei's periphery. Consequently, there is almost no difference in the proportion of production workers between migrants moving from Taipei's periphery to other areas and stayers of Taipei's periphery. Finally, the outflow of professional workers from Taipei's periphery to other areas is in proportion to its share in the occupational structure of Taipei's periphery. So there is almost no difference in the proportion of professional workers between stayers of Taipei's periphery and its out-migrants to other areas. This is quite different from the phenomenon of a substantially greater proportion of outflow of professional from Taipei to other areas.

The discussion above suggests that occupational structures of migrants are highly influenced by the structure of the place which provides more job opportunities.

It is important to note that this suggestion is also applicable to its counterstream. It implies that migration activities is basically regulated by some core places which provide job opportunities. What they can pump into or release is in proportion to their occupational structures. However, we find that some other forces are also in work and influence few occupational categories. One of them is the nature of certain occupation. For example, sales workers are less mobile due to the constraint of clients. But professional are more mobile because they have an extended labor market. Another possible force is the need of housing. According to our data shown in Tables 5 and 6, we suspect clerical workers are highly influenced by this force. This problem will be picked up again in the next section.

In Table 6, we find that the net effect of entry and exit of labor force is again very limited. The index of dissimilarity is 1.7% only (see column 11). Meanwhile, the contribution of migrants is also limited. Overall, migrants contribute 1.3% and 5.9% increase of employed persons aged 15 and over in Taipei city and its periphery respectively (see Table 7). This percentage is derived by dividing total numbers of net migrants by total stayers of Taipei city. Similarly, the percentages of in- or out-migrants to grand total and sub-total for each occupational category are shown in columns 2-5. We are surprised to note that Taipei loses 6.5% of professional workers. This is the only out-migration to Taipei's periphery is not mainly due to housing reasons, it implies that professional do have an extended labor market. We feel this is an indicator that Taiwan is moving toward more advanced stage of development. Agricultural workers is another category which experiences loss. Although, percentage of loss is high, absolute number of loss is limited.

On the other hand, the other five categories all experience net gain for Taipei city. Most of the gain is due to relatively larger volume of in-migrants from other areas than from Taipei's periphery. This results is understandable because other areas is much larger than Taipei's periphery. The only exception occurs to the category of clerical workers. It gains mainly from Taipei periphery. We suspect most of this movement is due to housing reasons.

The contribution of migration to each occupational category of Taipei's periphery is shown in Table 8. The pattern of contribution is basically similar to that for Taipei city, while professional workers is the only exception. It gains 10.8% rather than loss. Since the gain mainly come from Taipei city, it is important to find



**Table 6: Percentage Distributions of Occupation by Types of Movement in and out Taipei's Periphery**

Occupation	Periphery stayers (1)	move in from (%)		move out to (%)		Periphery without migrants (%) (6)
		Taipei (2)	other areas (3)	Taipei (4)	other areas (5)	
Professional w.	9.6	25.5	8.0	15.9	10.3	9.1
Clerical w.	19.0	26.7	10.1	43.1	19.7	20.1
Sales worker	14.1	7.4	8.2	8.3	6.1	14.5
Service w.	8.5	9.9	9.3	9.1	6.5	8.4
Agricultural w.	1.3	--	1.5	--	6.4	1.5
Production w.	44.0	29.1	55.6	20.5	43.8	43.1
Non-skilled w.	3.3	1.4	7.3	3.1	7.2	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,172,324	60,455	77,084	40,991	27,706	1,103,482

Occupation	(2)-(1) (7)	(3)-(1) (8)	(4)-(1) (9)	(5)-(1) (10)	(6)-(1) (11)
Professional w.	15.9	-1.6	6.3	0.7	-0.5
Clerical w.	7.7	-8.9	24.1	0.7	1.1
Sales worker	-6.7	-5.9	-5.8	-8.0	0.4
Service w.	1.4	0.8	0.6	-2.0	-0.1
Agricultural w.	-1.3	0.2	-1.3	5.1	0.2
Production w.	-14.9	11.6	-23.5	-0.2	-0.9
Non-skilled w.	1.9	4.0	-0.2	3.9	-
Index of Dissimilarity	26.9	16.6	31.0	10.4	1.7

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

**Table 7: Percentage of Various Types of Migrants to Taipei's Stayers by Occupation**

Occupation	Taipei stayers	move in from (%)		move out to (%)		net migrant effects (%)
		periphery	other areas	periphery	other areas	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Professional w.	191,581	3.4	4.3	8.1	6.1	-6.5
Clerical w.	339,216	5.2	3.6	4.8	1.3	2.8
Sales worker	249,624	1.4	3.2	1.8	1.4	1.3
Service w.	129,884	2.8	6.8	4.6	5.5	1.9
Agricultural w.	7,940	—	13.5	—	26.5	-13.0
Production w.	334,573	2.5	8.9	5.3	4.5	1.7
Non-skilled w.	37,558	3.3	26.2	2.2	3.9	23.4
Total	1,290,376	3.2	6.0	4.7	3.3	1.3

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

**Table 8: Percentage of Various Types of Migrants to Periphery's Stayers by Occupation**

Occupation	Periphery stayers	move in from (%)		move out to (%)		net migrant effects (%)
		Taipei	other areas	Taipei	other areas	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Professional w.	113,118	13.6	5.4	5.7	2.5	10.8
Clerical w.	222,707	7.3	3.5	7.9	2.5	0.4
Sales worker	165,534	2.7	3.8	2.1	1.0	3.4
Service w.	100,141	6.0	7.2	3.7	1.8	7.6
Agricultural w.	15,636	—	7.2	—	11.4	-4.2
Production w.	516,070	3.4	8.3	1.6	2.4	7.7
Non-skilled w.	39,118	2.2	14.3	3.2	5.1	8.2
Total	1,172,324	5.2	6.6	3.5	2.4	5.9

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

out whether the spill-over is due to housing or job needs.

## VI. A DECOMPOSITION BY MOVING MOTIVATION

In this section, we will examine occupational differentials for those moving due to job and education and for those moving because of housing separately. The examination serves two purposes. At first, we want to know whether higher mobility of professional workers is due to extended market rather than housing needs. Secondly, we want to know whether the movement of clerical workers is dominated by housing needs.

Table 9 shows occupational differentials between Taipei stayers and migrants who move due to job and education needs. It indicates that professionals who move out of Taipei city is out of proportion to Taipei's occupational structure. This is especially true for the movement to Taipei's periphery. Professionals account for 45.6% of the stream which is 30.8% greater than its counterparts of Taipei stayers. Meanwhile, it is also noted that professionals account only for 28.2% of the movement to other areas which is 13.4% greater than its counterparts of Taipei stayers. The results suggest that the move of professionals is in response to extended labor market. Of course, this conclusion is left to be confirmed by the analytical result for the movement due to housing reasons. Moreover, further analysis may confirm if distance has a retarding effect on the move of professionals.

Whereas the selectivity of clerical workers is rather different from that of professional workers. The proportion of clerical workers in the stream from Taipei's periphery to Taipei city is 44.6% (see Table 9). It is 18.3% greater than its counterpart in Taipei city. On the contrary, there are limited clerical workers move to Taipei's periphery and other areas due to job and education reasons. They are substantially less than their counterparts in Taipei city. Obviously, these results imply that Taipei city provides more job opportunities to clerical workers than the other two geographical units. But only clerical workers living in Taipei's periphery are more responsive to it. Later on, we will check whether the influence of job and education needs on clerical worker is greater or less than that of housing needs.

Overall, we are surprised to note that short-distance movements are more selec-

**Table 9: Percentage Distributions of Occupation by Types of Movement  
in and out Taipei City Due to Job and Education Reasons**

Occupation	Taipei stayers	move in from (%)		move out to (%)		Taipei without migrants (%)
		periphery	other areas	periphery	other areas	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Professional w.	14.8	16.2	11.3	45.6	28.2	15.7
Clerical w.	26.3	44.6	14.6	4.9	10.4	26.1
Sales worker	19.3	5.9	11.0	--	8.7	19.5
Service w.	10.1	16.9	11.8	26.9	9.0	10.0
Agricultural w.	0.6	--	1.5	-	5.5	0.7
Production w.	25.9	8.1	36.0	22.6	33.9	25.8
Non-skilled w.	2.9	8.3	13.8	--	4.2	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,290,376	15,085	70,160	11,594	34,886	1,251,611

Occupation	(2)-(1)	(3)-(1)	(4)-(1)	(5)-(1)	(6)-(1)
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Professional w.	1.4	-3.5	30.8	13.4	0.9
Clerical w.	18.3	-11.7	-21.4	-15.9	-0.2
Sales worker	-13.4	-8.3	-19.3	-10.6	0.2
Service w.	6.8	1.7	16.8	-1.1	-0.1
Agricultural w.	-0.6	0.9	-0.6	4.9	0.1
Production w.	-17.8	10.1	-3.3	8.0	-0.1
Non-skilled w.	5.4	10.9	-2.9	1.2	-0.7
Index of Dissimilarity	31.9	23.6	47.6	27.5	1.2

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

tive than long-distance movements when we consider only those movements motivated by job and education needs. The indices of dissimilarity are 31.9% and 47.6% for the movements between Taipei and its periphery. They are 8% to 20% greater than the indices of dissimilarity for in-migrants from and out-migrants to other areas. Meanwhile, they are 13.8% and 33.3% greater than the indices for total cases which are not affected by the control of moving motivation (see Table 5). For the movement out to Taipei's periphery, the increase of dissimilarity index is mainly due to selectivity of white collar workers. The movement contains professional and service workers but less clerical and sales workers. On the other hand, the increase of dissimilarity index for movement into Taipei city from its periphery is influenced mainly by blue collar workers. It consists of fewer proportion of production workers but more non-skilled and service workers. It seems to us that these results are the replication of the experience of other more advanced countries. We wonder whether similar results can be observed among migrants motivated by housing needs.

When we again limit our analysis to migrants motivated by housing reasons, we arrive at a completely different picture. For the movement from Taipei's periphery to Taipei, clerical workers is the major component. It accounts for 47.9% of the stream, which is 21.6% greater than its counterparts of Taipei stayers (see Table 10). On the contrary, the shares of other occupational categories are all less than their counterparts in Taipei city. For the movement out to Taipei's periphery, clerical workers and production workers each accounts for about one third of the stream. They are 7.0% and 10.3% greater than their counterparts in Taipei city respectively. The rest of occupational categories all have less shares than their counterparts in Taipei city. Among them, professional workers show the greatest difference (9.3%). This picture is rather different from the experience of advanced countries. Here in Taiwan, periphery is not the first choice of living environment for professional workers due to two reasons. On the one hand, good schools, government institutes, major business districts, and other modern conveniences are located in Taipei. On the other hand the traffic jam is almost inevitable for commuters from periphery to Taipei. Therefore, a greater proportion of lower middle class is pushed to the periphery.

In Table 10, we also note that the exchange of population between Taipei city and other areas is very selective. We feel this is a biased picture because of limited sample cases. Therefore, they are not further discussed here.

**Table 10: Percentage Distributions of Occupation by Types of Movement  
in and out Taipei City Due to Housing Reasons**

Occupation	Taipei	move in from (%)		move out to (%)		Taipei
	stayers	periphery	other areas	periphery	other areas	without migrants (%)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Professional w.	14.8	9.5	---	5.5	---	14.7
Clerical w.	26.3	47.9	---	33.3	22.9	26.2
Sales worker	19.3	14.1	---	13.7	---	19.3
Service w.	10.1	6.5	4.6	8.8	22.6	10.1
Agricultural w.	0.6	---	---	---	10.0	0.6
Production w.	25.9	22.0	95.4	36.2	44.5	26.2
Non-skilled w.	2.9	---	---	2.6	---	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,290,376	17,972	1,848	32,610	1,675	1,304,841

Occupation	(2)-(1)	(3)-(1)	(4)-(1)	(5)-(1)	(6)-(1)
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Professional w.	-5.3	-14.8	-9.3	-14.8	-0.1
Clerical w.	21.6	-26.3	7.0	-3.4	-0.1
Sales worker	-5.2	-19.3	-5.6	-19.3	---
Service w.	-3.6	-5.5	-1.3	12.5	---
Agricultural w.	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6	9.4	---
Production w.	-3.9	69.5	10.3	18.6	0.3
Non-skilled w.	-2.9	-2.9	-0.3	-2.9	---
Index of Dissimilarity	21.6	69.5	17.3	40.5	0.3

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

If the reference frame is shifted from Taipei's occupational structure to that of its periphery, we still come to the same results. In brief, there is a greater proportion of professionals in the move due to job and education needs, but there are more clerical workers in the move motivated by housing reasons. So relevant tables are not presented here.

So far, evidence regarding the question whether the movement of clerical workers between Taipei city and its periphery is dominated by housing needs is still inconclusive. Therefore, the absolute contribution of in- and out-migrants is further controlled by moving motivation and presented in Tables 11 and 12. We find that the dominance of housing reasons among the movements of clerical workers in the Taipei metropolitan area is supported by our data. The total number of clerical in- and out-migrants motivated by housing needs is 5.74% to the clerical workers of Taipei stayers. The similar ratios for job and education reasons and marriage and other reasons are 2.15% and 2.09%, respectively (see Table 11). When we take clerical workers of Taipei periphery's stayers as reference, we still come to the same conclusion. The ratio of clerical migrants motivated by housing needs is 8.73% to the clerical workers of Taipei periphery's stayers, while the ratios for the other two types of movements are 3.28% and 3.18%, respectively (see Table 12). A similar conclusion is also applicable to production workers. The ratio of total number of in- and out-migrants to Taipei stayers for production workers is 4.71%. Whereas the ratios for the other two types of migrants are 1.14% and 1.92%, respectively (see Table 11).

Overall, Taipei loses 1.12% of its population due to housing needs. We are surprised to note the loss is prevalent among every occupational category. Moreover, most of them are relatively smaller than the gain of population by job and education reasons. In total, Taipei gains 3.0% of population through movements motivated by job and education needs, but loss 0.63% due to marriage and other reasons. These results indicate that migration selectivity due to job and economic reasons has stronger impact on occupational structures than that is caused by selectivity due to housing needs.

Table 11 also reveals that distance has no retarding effect on the movement of professional workers. The ratio of professional workers moving to other areas is 5.13% to the professional workers of Taipei's stayers. It is 2.37% greater than the



**Table 11: Percentages of Various Types of Migrants to Taipei's Stayers  
by Occupation and Moving Motivation**

Occupation	Taipei stayers	move in from (%)		move out to (%)		net migrant effects (%)
		periphery	other areas	periphery	other areas	
<u>Migrants motivated by job reasons</u>						
Professional w.	191,581	1.27	4.13	2.76	5.13	-2.48
Clerical w.	339,216	1.98	3.02	0.17	1.07	3.76
Sales worker	249,624	0.36	3.09	--	1.21	2.23
Service w.	129,884	1.96	6.38	2.40	2.43	3.51
Agricultural w.	7,940	--	13.50	--	24.35	-10.84
Production w.	334,573	0.36	7.54	0.78	3.54	3.59
Non-skilled w.	37,558	3.34	25.82	--	3.93	25.24
Total	1,290,376	1.17	5.44	0.90	2.70	3.00
<u>Migrants motivated by housing reasons</u>						
Professional w.	191,581	0.90	--	0.94	--	-0.04
Clerical w.	339,216	2.54	--	3.20	0.11	-0.77
Sales worker	249,624	1.01	--	1.79	--	-0.78
Service w.	129,884	0.90	0.07	2.20	0.29	-1.53
Agricultural w.	7,940	--	--	--	2.12	-2.12
Production w.	334,573	1.18	0.53	3.53	0.22	-2.04
Non-skilled w.	37,558	--	--	2.25	--	-2.25
Total	1,290,376	1.39	0.14	2.53	0.13	-1.12
<u>Migrants motivated by marriage and other reasons</u>						
Professional w.	191,581	1.22	0.19	4.35	0.99	-3.94
Clerical w.	339,216	0.69	0.58	1.40	0.09	-0.21
Sales worker	249,624	--	0.08	--	0.22	-0.14
Service w.	129,884	--	0.35	--	0.44	-0.09
Agricultural w.	7,940	--	--	--	--	--
Production w.	334,573	0.97	0.87	0.95	0.75	0.15
Non-skilled w.	37,558	--	0.36	--	--	0.36
Total	1,290,376	0.61	0.47	1.26	0.45	-0.63

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

Table 12: Percentages of Various Types of Migrants to Stayers of Taipei's Periphery by Occupation and Moving Motivation

Occupation	Periphery stayers	move in from (%)		move out to (%)		net migrant effects (%)
		Taipei	other areas	Taipei	other areas	
<u>Migrants motivated by job reasons</u>						
Professional w.	113, 118	4.68	3.54	2.16	1.25	4.81
Clerical w.	222, 707	0.26	2.23	3.02	2.10	-2.63
Sales worker	165,534	--	1.83	0.54	1.02	0.27
Service w.	100,141	3.11	2.81	2.54	1.64	1.73
Agricultural w.	15,636	--	7.23	--	11.39	-4.16
Production w.	516,070	0.51	6.99	0.24	1.67	5.59
Non-skilled w.	39,118	--	10.11	3.21	5.10	1.80
Total	1,172,324	0.99	4.77	1.29	1.86	2.61
<u>Migrants motivated by housing reasons</u>						
Professional w.	113,118	1.59	0.82	1.52	--	0.89
Clerical w.	222,707	4.87	--	3.86	0.35	0.65
Sales worker	165,534	2.70	0.72	1.53	--	1.89
Service w.	100, 141	2.85	1.93	1.17	--	3.62
Agricultural w.	15,636	--	--	--	--	--
Production w.	516,070	2.29	0.24	0.77	0.40	1.36
Non-skilled w.	39,118	2.16	2.43	--	--	4.58
Total	1,172,324	2.78	0.53	1.53	0.24	1.54
<u>Migrants motivated by marriage and other reasons</u>						
Professional w.	113,118	7.37	1.06	2.07	1.28	5.09
Clerical w.	222,707	2.13	1.27	1.05	--	2.34
Sales worker	165,534	--	1.29	--	--	1.29
Service w.	129,884	--	2.43	--	0.15	2.29
Agricultural w.	15,636	--	--	--	--	--
Production w.	516,070	0.62	1.08	0.63	0.28	0.79
Non-skilled w.	39,118	--	1.78	--	--	1.78
Total	1,172,324	1.39	1.27	0.68	0.26	1.72

Source: 1987 October round labor force survey.

short-distance movement from Taipei to its periphery. This result is different from what we have found before when moving reasons are not controlled. The deviation is caused by the fact that a substantial proportion (4.35%) of professional workers move to Taipei's periphery due to marriage and other reasons. The survey, however, does not provide detail accounts of other reasons.

The picture for Taipei's periphery is rather different. It gains 2.61% by job and education reasons, 1.54% by housing needs, and 1.72% by marriage and other reasons (see Table 12). The gain is prevalent among every occupational category with only two exceptions. There are more clerical workers move to Taipei and more agricultural workers move to other areas because of job and education reasons. On the other hand, the gain of professional workers is most substantial in percentage. It gains 4.81% by job and education reasons, 0.89% by housing needs, and 5.09% by marriage and other reasons. Meanwhile, the gain of production workers is most substantial in numbers. It gains 41,544 production workers which outnumbers professional workers by 29,339 persons. The majority of this gain is due to job and education needs. Obviously, the gains and losses are in response to migration selectivity.

## VII. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this analysis, we have found that there are three forces regulating the selectivity of migrants. They are occupational structures of core areas, nature of occupation, and migration motivation. Occupational structures of migrants are basically decided by the structures of some core areas. On the other hand, the other two forces cause deviation. Our data suggest that Taipei city is the core area for its periphery and other areas. Meanwhile, Taipei's periphery is the core for movements between the periphery and other areas. In addition, we find that professional have greater probability of migration because of extended labor market. On the contrary, sales workers are less mobile due to the constraint of clients. Finally, we have noted that the movement of clerical workers between Taipei and its periphery is mainly motivated by housing reasons. It results in population spill-over from Taipei to its periphery. The loss, however, is compensated by immigrants from other areas in search of jobs. A high proportion of the immigrants is blue collar workers.

The results presented here have an important theoretical implication. We find

that the experience of more advanced countries is replicated in Taiwan when we limit our analysis to movement motivated by job and education needs. For examples, rural to urban movements are mainly composed of young and blue collar workers. Urban to urban movement is emerging as indicated by high mobility of professional workers. On the other hand, we find that the western experience is not applicable to those movements motivated by housing needs. Here, clerical workers are the major component of movements in and out of Taipei city. The proportion of professional workers who move due to housing needs is rather limited. It suggests that movements due to housing needs are in response to push factors rather than pull factors.

Overall the influence of migration selectivity on occupational structures is still dominated by the selectivity due to job and education needs. Our data show that in Taipei city loss of population due to housing needs is prevalent among every occupation category. However, the overall patterns of impact caused by migration selectivity is similar to the impact pattern due to job and education reasons rather than housing needs. It suggests that currently the impact of movement due to economic reasons is stronger than that of housing needs in Taiwan. Whether this impact pattern is specific to Taiwan and societies in the late transition stage or can be carried over into the next more advanced stage of development is an interesting research topic.

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Table A1: Numbers of Cases by Stream and Reason for Moving

I. Weighted to Represent Population (in thousands)				
Stream	Reason for Moving			Total
	Job+ Education	Housing	Marriage & Others	
Periphery to City	15	18	8	41
Other areas to City	70	2	6	78
City to Periphery	12	33	16	61
Other areas to Periphery	56	6	15	77
City to Other areas	35	2	6	43
Periphery to Other areas	22	3	3	28
Total	210	64	54	328

II. Actual Sample Numbers (unweighted)				
Stream	Reason for Moving			Total
	Job+ Education	Housing	Marriage & Others	
Periphery to City	28	20	8	56
Othr areas to City	196	4	15	215
City to Periphery	18	29	12	59
Other areas to Periphery	132	7	23	162
City to Other areas	68	5	14	87
Periphery to Other areas	41	6	6	53
Total	483	71	78	632

III. Standard Errors for Percentages Based on Each Cell*				
Stream	Reason for Moving			Total
	Job+ Education	Housing	Marriage & Others	
Periphery to City	9.4	11.1	17.7	6.7
Other areas to City	3.6	25.0	12.9	3.4
City to Periphery	11.8	9.3	14.4	6.5
Other areas to Periphery	4.4	18.9	10.4	3.9
City to Other areas	6.1	22.4	13.4	5.4
Periphery to Other areas	7.8	20.4	20.4	6.9
Total	2.3	5.9	5.7	2.0

\* For percentages from 35 to 65%. Calculated as  $\text{SQRT} (.25/n)$ .

For percentages around .25 or .75, multiply by .87; for those around .15 or .85, multiply by .71.



# 台北都會區遷徙選擇性對職業結構之影響

陳肇男\*

(中文摘要)

本文係利用行政院主計處1987年十月份勞動力調查資料，探討遷徙之流向組成與遷徙動機對職業結構之影響。本文發現遷徙選擇性受到三種力量的制約，即核心地區之職業結構，職業特性及遷徙動機。遷徙者之職業結構主要取決於核心地區之職業結構，而另外二者則產生偏離的作用。

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