

## Migration Transition and Educational Differentials in Taiwan, 1981-85 \*

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This paper tests the mobility transition theory using data from the October round of the monthly labor force surveys conducted in Taiwan in 1981-1985. The results suggest that migration in Taiwan in the first half of 1980's was basically in accord with what had been hypothesized by the theory for an industrialized society in terms of volume, direction and motivation of migration. When age and labor force status were controlled, the mobility transitional hypotheses were mostly supported by our data. Exceptions could be explained by greater rural industrialization and greater daily commuting than had been common in Western societies at a comparable stage of development.

- 1 . Data
- 2 . Distribution of Population and Migrants
- 3 . Flows of Migration
- 4 . Differential Educational Attainment
- 5 . Discussion

The objective of this paper is to examine the applicability of the mobility transition hypothesis in contemporary Taiwan. Two specific aspects of this theory will be tested. The first relates to the predictions of transition theory with respect to migration volume and direction.

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The second relates to the predictions about the educational attainment of migrants in different streams.

The mobility transition hypothesis was introduced by Zelinsky (1971) and elaborated by Bouvier, Macisco and Zarate (1976) and Wilson (1988). It proposes that migration volume, direction and composition may change as a society moves through different stages of development. In the traditional stage, rural to rural movement resulting from push factors is the dominant force of migration. These migrants are generally less well educated than nonmigrants at both places of origin and destination. Rural to urban migrants, however, have better education than nonmigrants at destination, although the volume of such movement is relatively low.

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 movement. Migrants are better educated than those stay at the origin but less educated than the nonmigrants at destination. However, a bimodal pattern is often discerned in this situation. The so-called rural failures may also be lured to the city. These migrants may well be less educated than their counterparts at either place of origin or destination. In addition, inter-metropolitan movements are emerging. These migrants are characterized by better education than their counterparts at both places of origin and destination.

In the post-industrial society, metropolitan to metropolitan migration supersedes nonmetropolitan to metropolitan migration and becomes the dominant stream. Or more precisely, the direction of flow is from

one industrial sector to another. These migrants are better educated than nonmigrants regardless of places of origin and destination. Another emerging type of movement is an urban to rural pattern. These migrants are among the better educated and some have sentiments for a "return to nature." This pattern may alter the usual urban to rural migration which is mainly composed of return migrants and characterized by less education than stayers at place of origin but better educated than the natives at place of destination.

In reality, changes of migration streams and composition 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 characteristic of all three types of society and stages of development. Recognizing this, Wilson (1988) divided areas of the United States core and upward transitional regions in analyzing 1940 and 1980 U.S. decennial census data. Within each region, the division of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan was still maintained, so that he had a total of sixteen different streams in his analysis. The results of his analysis show that migrants have higher educational attainments regardless of areas of origin and destination.

Taiwan provides an alternative setting for testing the mobility transition hypothesis. In this century, Taiwan has nearly completed its population transition process. By the mid 1980s, life expectancy exceeded 72 years and total fertility had fallen to about 1.9 children per woman (Ministry of Interior, 1986). Meanwhile, it has also experienced rapid urbanization and industrialization. By 1985, 41 percent of the labor force

was employed in the secondary sector and 50 percent of the population lived in cities with over 100,000 population (DGBAS, 1986). It thus offers a good setting to examine the applicability of a general framework for migration differentials to a society which has reached the industrial stage of societal development.

## 1 .Data

The primary source of data for this paper is from the October rounds of the monthly labor force survey conducted by the Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics in Taiwan from 1981 to 1985. The survey is intended to be representative of the noninstitutional population of Taiwan and involves a two-stage stratified sample design. In total, about 16,500 households were selected which was equivalent to an overall sampling fraction of four per thousand. In this paper, we limited the analysis to persons aged 15 and over because only these persons were asked the labor force questions and reasons of moving. This sample was weighted to inflate the result to the total population of Taiwan (see DGBAS, 1984).

In this analysis, we have divided Taiwan into four units –i.e. Taipei Metropolitan Area, Kaohsiung Metropolitan Area, small cities, and other townships. The two metropolitan areas are defined as they were by Liu (1974) (see Figure 1). There are 12 small cities with populations of 100,000 or more which are located outside these metropolitan areas. The other townships are mostly rural, although they include small urban towns. Excluding movements within each of these categories, we have

12 migration streams, which provides a manageable number of streams and provides a sufficient number of migrants in each stream for analysis (see Table A1).

In addition, another factor-reasons for moving-is brought into our study framework to gain more insight about variation among migration streams. At early stages of urbanization, migrants are drawn to cities primarily for higher education and for nonagricultural employment. As urbanization proceeds, other reasons such as housing become important. The changes of migration motivation are thus related to migration selectivity. If the majority of migrants respond primarily to plus factors at destination, they tend to be positively selected. However, if most migrants respond primarily to minus factors at origin, they tend to be negatively selected (Lee, 1966).

## 2 . Distribution of Population and Migrants

In 1983, slightly more than half of Taiwan's population resided in urbanized areas (see Table 1). Among the three urbanized categories, Taipei Metropolitan Area had the biggest share of population, 26.4%. Kaohsiung Metropolitan Area and small cities had shares of 17.1% and 13.2% respectively. The vast area belonging to other townships accounted only for 43.3% of total population.

It is interesting to note that the distributions of out-migrants and in-migrants in the period of 1981-1985 were out of proportion to that of population. About half of out-migrants (51%) came from rural areas or other townships, while 84% of in-migrants moved to the three urbanized

Figure 1  
Metropolitan Areas and Cities of Taiwan

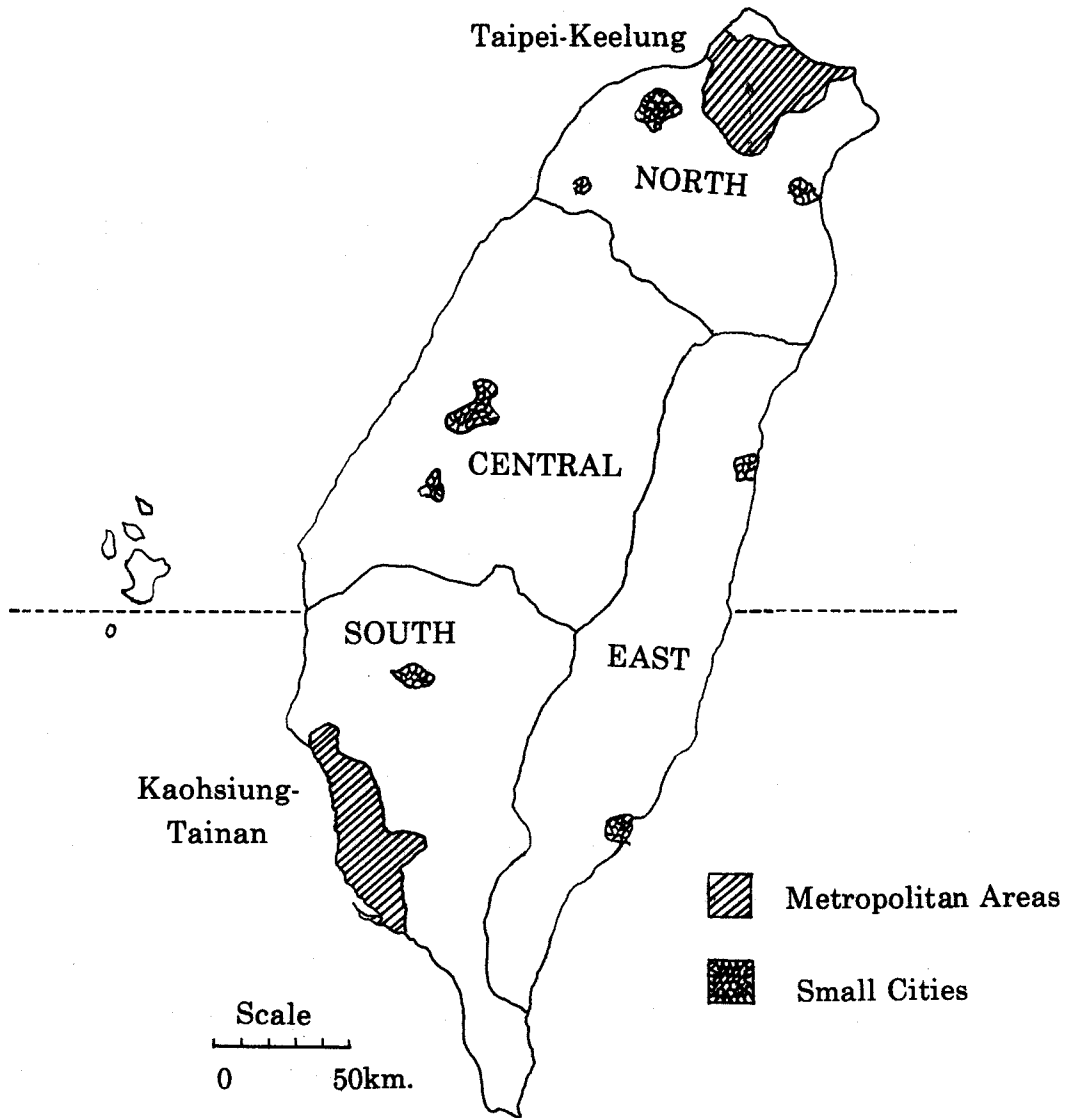


Table 1: Population, in-migrants and out-migrants by region

Region	Population*	%	out-migrants**	%	In-migrants**	%
Taipei met.	4,906,993	26.4	459,441	15.4	1,248,788	41.7
Kaohsiung m.	3,172,131	17.1	465,155	15.6	492,861	16.5
Small cities	2,455,752	13.2	538,814	18.0	770,216	25.8
Other towns	8,060,554	43.3	1,528,262	51.0	479,806	16.0
Total	18,595,430	100.0	2,991,672	100.0	2,991,672	100.0

\* Mid-year 1983 population, based on 1982-1983 Taiwan-Fukien Demographic Fact Book.

\*\* In-migrants and out-migrants 1981-1985.

categories. The imbalance between in-migrants and out-migrants was most conspicuous for the Taipei area and other townships. On the one hand, 41.7% of migrants moved to the Taipei area, but only 15.4% of migrants came from the Taipei Metropolitan Area. It implies that the Taipei area gained 789 thousands population from migration in the five-year period. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that small cities socially gained more population than Kaohsiung did (231,402 versus 27,706). On the other hand, 51% of migrants came from other townships, but only 16% moved to other townships. This means that other townships lost

1,048 thousands persons during the period.

In brief, the phenomenon described above suggests that migration in Taiwan was reaching the late industrial stage. We have found that the majority of migrants still came from rural areas. It is also found that overwhelming majority of migrants took urban areas as their destination. To corroborate this conclusion, it deserves to examine migration by streams.

### 3 . Flows of Migration

Table 2 shows the distribution of migrants for the 12 streams defined above. It is interesting to note that all 12 streams are substantial. The numbers of migrants ranged from 73,869 to 712,941 (see Table 2). When the mid-year population of 1983 was taken as the basis, out-migration rates varied from 21.8 per thousand to 113.4 per thousand. Richmond's observation that migration patterns for all three types of society may coexist is true in this case (Richmond, 1969). However, Table 2 indicates that migration in Taiwan in this period was still mainly in the late industrial stage. Rural to urban movements were dominant. They accounted for 51% of total migration. Urban to rural movements ranked the second, 16.0%. And movement between small cities and two metropolitan areas had a proportion of 11.8%. Meanwhile, metropolitan to metropolitan movements were emerging. They had a share of 12.2% of total migration. This distribution was basically in accord with what mobility transition theory had hypothesized for an industrial society.

When variation among the twelve streams was examined in terms



Table 2: Number, percentage and rate of migration by types of streams

streams	number of migrants	percentage distribution	out-migration rate (per 1,000)
Metropolitan to metropolitan			
1. (K to T)	257,359	8.6	81.1
2. (T to K)	106,739	3.6	21.8
Subtotal	364,098	12.2	--
Rural to urban			
3. (O to T)	712,941	23.8	88.5
4. (O to K)	312,253	10.4	38.7
5. (O to S)	503,068	16.8	62.4
Subtotal	1,528,262	51.0	--
Urban to rural			
6. (T to O)	176,893	5.9	36.1
7. (K to O)	116,457	3.9	36.7
8. (S to O)	186,457	6.2	75.9
Subtotal	479,807	16.0	--
Urban to metropolitan			
9. (S to T)	278,488	9.3	113.4
10. (S to K)	73,869	2.5	30.1
Subtotal	352,357	11.8	--
Metropolitan to urban			
11. (T to S)	175,809	5.9	35.8
12. (K to S)	91,339	3.1	28.8
Subtotal	267,248	9.0	--
Total	2,991,672	100.0	160.9

Note: T = Taipei Metropolitan Area; K = Kaohsiung Metropolitan Area;  
 S = Small cities; and O = Other townships.  
 The out-migration rates are based on moves over five years.

of out-migration rates, we found that they could be classified into high and low rate groups. The three streams which took Taipei Metropolitan Area as destination and the two streams which were movements between small cities and other townships belong to the high rate group. Their out-migration rates ranged from 62.4 per thousand to 113.4 per thousand. The rest of the streams were placed in the low rate group. Their out-migration rates varied from 21.8 per thousand to 38.7 per thousand. Since the Taipei Metropolitan Area contained the primate city, it provided lots of job and education opportunities for young people. Therefore, it was understandable why the Taipei Metropolitan Area as a destination received many more migrants from the other three units. Similarly, small cities also functioned as economic and education sub-centers for their surrounding rural townships. Consequently, movements between small cities and other townships became more frequent than the other seven streams.

In order to find out why the two groups differed, the out-migration rates were decomposed by reasons of moving. In this study, reasons for moving were grouped into six categories—job change, first job, study, housing, marriage and other. Respondents who moved to accompany others were classified according to the reasons for moving given by the persons whom they were accompanying.

Overall, migrants in this period moved mainly because of three reasons – i.e. changing jobs, acquiring first jobs and attending schools. The accumulated five year out-migration rate for these three reasons was as high as 123.4 per thousand (see Table 3). These reasons accounted for

about three-fourth of all migrants. When we take a closer look at Table 3, we find that the high rate group has much higher rates for these three reasons than the low rate group.

In Table 4, alternative analyses of variance were carried out to examine the effects of stream and reasons for moving on out-migration rates. Panel 1 shows that when all 12 streams and all six reasons of moving were analyzed, both stream and reasons of moving had significant effects. However, when the high and low migration rate groups were analyzed separately, the effect of "stream" became insignificant. Such a change implies that the major differences among streams were between the high and low rate groups.

So far, the discussion suggests that in Taiwan in the first half of 1980's was basically in accord with what had been hypothesized for an industrial society in terms of volume, direction and motivation of migration. In the following discussion, we will examine the theory in terms of education.

#### **4 . Differential Educational Attainment**

Basically, the mobility transitional theory proposes that rural to urban migrants are better educated than those who stay at origin but less well educated than those nonmigrants at destination and that urban to urban migrants are better educated than nonmigrants regardless of places of origin and destination. In order to test the applicability of the hypothesis, nonmigrants of the four study units in 1983 were taken as reference groups for comparison of educational attainment based on

Table 3: Out-migration rates by streams and reasons for moving

Stream	REASON		FOR MOVING				Total
	Change job	First job	Study	Housing	Marriage	Other	
High-rate group							
1. (K to T)	18.1	20.2	27.8	3.9	2.6	8.6	81.2
2. (S to T)	29.2	25.1	35.1	13.3	4.1	6.5	113.3
3. (O to T)	21.0	33.2	18.8	6.1	4.8	4.6	88.5
4. (O to S)	14.6	21.9	12.3	6.3	4.3	3.0	62.4
5. (S to O)	24.8	11.9	8.7	8.5	11.5	10.5	75.9
Low-rate group							
6. (T to K)	8.2	4.0	3.9	0.7	1.4	3.6	21.8
7. (S to K)	11.4	4.2	8.7	0.9	1.4	3.4	30.0
8. (O to K)	10.1	12.5	6.7	2.7	4.1	2.6	38.7
9. (T to S)	12.6	3.9	10.3	3.1	0.6	5.3	35.8
10. (K to S)	8.5	4.7	11.1	0.9	0.3	3.4	28.8
11. (T to O)	14.8	4.3	4.2	4.4	3.1	5.2	36.0
12. (K to O)	12.3	5.5	5.0	2.9	5.8	5.2	36.7

Note: 1. T = Taipei Metropolitan Area; K = Kaohsiung Metropolitan Area;  
S = Small cities; and O = Other townships.

2. The rate for total are higher than any of the rates for streams because they include all the streams for each place of origin.

3. Unit of out-migration rate is 1/1,000

Table 4: ANOVA of out-migration rates by streams and reasons for moving

Source of variation	Sum of square	DF	Mean square	F	Significance	Eta2 or R2
All reasons, all groups						
Main effect	3162.3	16	197.6	7.77	0.001	0.69
Stream	1572.1	11	142.9	5.62	0.001	0.35
Moving reasons	1590.2	5	318.0	12.50	0.001	0.35
Residual	1399.5	55	25.4			
Total	4561.7	71	64.3			
All reasons, low rate group						
Main effect	434.4	11	39.5	7.84	0.001	0.74
Stream	35.9	6	6.0	1.19	0.339	0.06
Moving reasons	398.5	5	79.7	15.82	0.001	0.67
Residual	151.1	30	5.0			
Total	585.5	41	14.3			
All reasons, high rate group						
Main effect	1931.6	9	214.6	5.76	0.001	0.72
Stream	237.2	4	59.3	1.59	0.216	0.09
Moving reasons	1694.4	5	338.9	9.09	0.001	0.64
Residual	745.6	20	37.3			
Total	2677.2	29	92.3			

the proportion of each group who had completed senior high school or a higher level.

In Table 5, the last column shows that all 12 streams had higher proportions with senior high and above education than that for nonmigrants in Taipei Metropolitan Area, which had the highest proportion among the four units in 1983. Although this result differs from the hypotheses of mobility transition theory, obviously it was subject to the influences of age and labor force status. Therefore, age and labor force status were controlled and the traditional H and L signs were adopted to indicate migrant/nonmigrant educational differentials. For example, a LH sign indicates that educational attainment of migrants is lower than that of nonmigrants at origin, but higher than that of nonmigrants at destination. The details of this comparison are presented in Table 6, while the hypotheses of theory are given in parentheses.

When age and labor force status are taken into account, the results generally correspond to the predictions of mobility transition theory. Out of 24 differences for all migrants aged 15 to 24, there are 20 which are in the hypothesized direction (see panel 1 of Table 6). The four differentials which were inconsistent with the hypotheses involved the movements in both directions between other townships (which were mostly rural) and Kaohsiung and small cities. In all of these streams the migrants entering and leaving the more urbanized areas were hypothesized to have lower levels of education than the residents of these places. However, in each case, they had higher education, as indicated by the HH sign. When only those in the labor force are considered in panel 2,

Table 5: Percentages of migrants and nonmigrants with senior high and above education by age and labor force status

STREAM /REGION	LABOR FORCE				ALL MIGRANT			
	15-24	25-34	35+	Total	15-24	25-34	35+	Total
<b>Movements between urban units</b>								
1. (K to T)	66.5	66.3	49.3	64.1	80.3	73.7	36.6	73.7
2. (T to K)	62.5	67.4	16.5	59.1	74.5	71.7	11.9	66.1
3. (S to T)	55.2	67.7	50.2	60.1	75.1	66.5	29.8	68.0
4. (S to K)	68.8	69.8	3.6	61.0	73.0	75.9	16.7	69.2
5. (T to S)	53.7	63.4	58.5	58.1	74.9	65.6	49.8	68.4
6. (K to S)	52.2	53.0	13.4	48.6	77.2	56.3	14.2	65.8
<b>Movements between urban and rural units</b>								
7. (O to T)	38.9	41.7	29.1	38.5	51.5	41.7	19.5	45.6
8. (O to K)	37.8	55.1	15.8	40.4	50.8	55.8	7.7	46.9
9. (O to S)	45.5	48.7	18.7	42.9	58.7	48.1	14.1	51.1
10. (T to O)	41.8	53.7	26.2	43.0	45.1	50.6	17.1	40.8
11. (K to O)	50.8	55.9	43.4	52.1	54.4	47.2	30.8	48.8
12. (S to O)	53.6	52.0	14.7	46.5	56.0	51.3	14.4	48.1
<b>Total migrants</b>								
Total	46.5	55.3	28.2	46.9	60.7	55.5	21.2	54.4
<b>Non-migrants in 1983</b>								
1. (T)	46.2	44.3	24.8	36.9	53.1	39.2	17.7	33.8
2. (K)	42.4	41.2	17.8	31.2	48.2	35.2	12.2	27.9
3. (S)	40.6	44.4	20.7	33.6	47.6	41.0	14.0	30.7
4. (O)	28.9	26.2	6.8	16.3	36.1	23.3	4.7	16.0
<b>Total nonmigrants in 1983</b>								
Total	37.7	37.1	14.2	26.5	45.0	32.9	10.2	24.9

Note: T = Taipei Metropolitan Area; K = Kaohsiung Metropolitan Area;  
S = Small cities; and O = Other townships.

most of the differentials remain the same. However, for the movement from other townships to Kaohsiung, the differential is changed to the hypothesized direction. This change, while not statistically significant, is probably due to the removal of college students from the stream.

Two of the remaining three inconsistencies were cases where migrants moving from Kaohsiung and small cities to mostly rural townships had higher education than those in the cities which they were leaving. Many of these migrants were entering the labor force and it is likely that they had completed their education in the city and were returning to the rural areas. However, since there has been considerable industrial development in small towns and rural areas of Taiwan, it is also likely that some of these migrants were moving to skilled jobs located outside of cities or to residences from which they could commute.

For the older age group 25-34, there were six inconsistencies between the observed educational differentials and the hypotheses. They occurred for all of the movements between other (mostly rural) townships and cities. They all carried a sign of HH instead of a hypothesized HL or LH sign. When the analysis was restricted to migrants in the labor force, in panel 4, the sign for the movement from other townships to Taipei changed to the hypothesized direction, although it was not statistically significant. For the other streams, it is unlikely that returning students accounted for much of the differential since there are few students in this age range.

The observed exceptions are consistent with the predictions of the mobility transition theory for the post-industrial stage when the rich



Table 6: Migrants/nonmigrants differentials in education attainment

Origin	DESTINATION			
	Taipei metropolis	Kaohsiung metropolis	Small cities	Other townships
All migrants aged 15-24				
Taipei metro.	--	HH(HH)	HH(HH)	LH(LH)
Kaohsiung met.	HH(HH)	--	HH(HH)	H*H(LH)
Small cities	HH(HH)	HH(HH)	--	HH(LH)
other towns	HL*(HL)	HH*(HL)	HH(HL)	--
Migrants in labor force and aged 15-24				
Taipei metro.	--	HH(HH)	H*H(HH)	L*H(LH)
Kaohsiung m.	HH(HH)	--	H*H*(HH)	H*H(LH)
Small cities	HH(HH)	HH(HH)	--	HH(LH)
other towns	HL(HL)	HL*(HL)	HH(HL)	--
All migrants aged 25-34				
Taipei metro.	--	HH(HH)	HH(HH)	HH(LH)
Kaohsiung m.	HH(HH)	--	HH(HH)	HH(LH)
Small cities	HH(HH)	HH(HH)	--	HH(LH)
other towns	HH*(HL)	HH(HL)	HH(HL)	--
Migrants in labor force and aged 25-34				
Taipei metro.	--	HH(HH)	H*H(HH)	H*H(LH)
Kaohsiung m.	HH(HH)	--	H*H*(HH)	HH(LH)
Small cities	HH(HH)	HH(HH)	--	H*H(LH)
other towns	H*L(HL)	HH(HL)	HH*(HL)	--

Note: 1. Cell symbols denote migrant/nonmigrant educational attainment differentials at origin and destination. For example, (LL) indicates that the educational attainment of migrants is lower than nonmigrants at both origin and destination; while (LH) indicates that the educational attainment of migrants is lower than nonmigrants at origin, but higher than nonmigrants at destination.

2. () indicates transition theory's hypotheses.

3. \* indicates difference is not significant at  $p=.05$  level.

move to exurbia. However, there is little other evidence to support this in Taiwan. More than one-half of these migrants were moving either to change jobs or to enter the labor force. This suggests that rural and small town industrial development is the main factor attracting migrants with higher levels of education to these areas.

In a separate analysis, not shown here, we examined the industry of employment for migrants who moved to the mostly rural townships. Only about 13 percent of the migrants in each age group were employed in agriculture while 45 percent of the youngest group and 34 percent of those aged 25 to 34 were employed in manufacturing. These results suggest that a significant proportion of persons who move to rural areas or small towns do so either because of the presence of manufacturing jobs there or the proximity of these areas to job locations and the existence of adequate transportation to enable them to commute daily. In this regard, Taiwan does not fit the mobility transition model because it has been able to undergo a significant industrial transformation without the massive urbanization predicted on the basis of Western experience.

## 5 . Discussion

Evidence presented in this paper suggests that migration in Taiwan in the first half of 1980's was basically in accord with what had been hypothesized by the mobility transition theory for an industrial society in terms of volume, direction and motivation of migration. When migrant/nonmigrant educational differentials were tested, at first we found that migrants had higher educational attainment regardless of areas of

origin and destination. This result was similar to Wilson's finding (Wilson, 1988). However, when age and labor force status were controlled, the mobility transitional hypotheses were mostly supported by our data. Although some exceptions were noted, most of them could be rationalized by factors such as age composition, proportion of student migrants, labor force status, and rural industrialization.

There is considerable room for further research on this topic. In addition to the need to test the hypotheses of mobility transition theory in other societies which are at different stages of development, there is a need for more detailed data. Because place of employment was not coded in the Taiwan survey, we could not distinguish moves to job locations from moves to nearby places of residence from which the migrants could commute to work. We could gain a better understanding of the process if these destinations could be distinguished.

The second problem was our failure to distinguish return migrants from non-return migrants. Since urban to rural return migrants were hypothesized as less well educated than those who remained in urban areas, it would help to be able to identify the return migrants and separate them from those who were new migrants to rural areas who were attracted by employment opportunities in these areas.

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Table A1: Number of cases by stream and reason for moving

Stream*	REASON FOR MOVING						Total
	Job change	First job	Study	Housing	Marriage	Other	
<b>A. Weighted to represent population (in thousand)</b>							
1. (K to T)	57	64	88	12	8	27	257
2. (S to T)	72	62	86	33	10	16	279
3. (O to T)	170	268	151	49	38	37	713
4. (T to K)	40	19	19	3	7	17	107
5. (S to K)	28	10	22	2	3	9	74
6. (O to K)	82	101	54	22	33	21	312
7. (T to S)	62	19	50	15	3	26	176
8. (K to S)	27	15	35	3	1	11	91
9. (O to S)	117	177	99	51	35	24	503
10. (T to O)	73	21	21	22	15	26	177
11. (K to O)	39	18	16	9	18	17	116
12. (S to O)	61	29	21	21	28	26	187
total	827	803	663	242	201	256	2,992
<b>B. Actual sample size (unweighted)</b>							
1. (K to T)	120	96	144	19	15	41	435
2. (S to T)	171	162	218	32	18	37	638
3. (O to T)	465	929	447	61	79	108	2,089
4. (T to K)	83	31	34	6	9	26	189
5. (S to K)	57	33	61	6	6	16	179
6. (O to K)	197	315	170	51	64	54	851
7. (T to S)	161	46	102	32	8	49	398
8. (K to S)	60	32	65	8	2	24	191
9. (O to S)	319	522	344	106	83	67	1,441
10. (T to O)	240	47	65	48	40	80	520
11. (K to O)	120	42	41	23	48	49	323
12. (S to O)	185	76	71	58	63	72	525
total	2,178	2,331	1,762	450	435	623	7,779
<b>C. Standard errors for percentage based on each cell**</b>							
1. (K to T)	4.6	5.1	4.2	11.5	12.9	7.8	2.4
2. (S to T)	3.8	3.9	3.4	8.8	11.8	8.2	2.0
3. (O to T)	2.3	1.6	2.4	6.4	5.6	4.8	1.1
4. (T to K)	5.5	9.0	8.6	20.4	16.7	9.8	3.6
5. (S to K)	6.6	8.7	6.4	20.4	20.4	12.5	3.7
6. (O to K)	5.1	2.8	3.8	7.0	6.3	6.8	1.7
7. (T to S)	3.9	7.4	5.0	8.8	17.7	7.1	2.5
8. (K to S)	6.5	8.8	6.2	17.7	35.4	10.2	3.6
9. (O to S)	2.8	2.2	2.7	4.9	5.5	6.1	1.3
10. (T to O)	3.2	7.3	6.2	7.2	7.9	5.6	2.2
11. (K to O)	4.6	7.7	7.8	10.4	7.2	7.1	3.9
12. (S to O)	3.7	5.7	5.9	6.6	6.3	5.9	2.2
total	1.1	1.0	1.2	2.4	2.4	2.0	0.6

\* See footnote of Table 2 for abbreviation.

\*\* For percentages from 35 to 65% calculated as  $\sqrt{.25/n}$ .  
 For percentages around .25 or .75, multiply by .87; for those around  
 .15 or .85, multiply by .71.

# 遷徙在教育程度上之分化性：以台灣為例

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## 摘要

本文的目的是利用行政院主計處所收集之一九八一至一九八五勞動力調查資料來檢定遷徙轉型理論的適用性。分析結果顯示從遷徙量、遷徙方向及遷徙動機三方面來看，台灣地區的遷徙情形，在80年代的上半期，是符合遷徙轉型理論對工業化國家所做的假設。我們檢定遷徙者與非遷徙者之教育程度的差異性時，首先我們發現遷徙者之教育程度都高於遷出地及遷入地非遷徙者之教育程度。不過，當年齡與就業情形被控制住時，遷徙轉型理論的大部份假設都得到分析結果的支持，少數的例外可以用較大幅度的鄉村工業化及較遠距離的通勤來加以解釋。