IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN THE CITY:
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

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September 1979

CRSO Working Paper No. 205

Copies available through:
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Paper
prepared for
conference on
Women, Work and
City Environment
Paris, France
October 23 - 25, 1979

(Please do not quote)

Women have been active participants in the great migrant streams of modern times. The photographs of steamers passing the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor show the rails of the ships lined with European women, scarves on their heads, bundles in their arms. Internal migration within Europe in the nineteenth century brought rural women into growing cities. The Breton peasant who became a maid in Paris probably spoke Breton better than French and her rural life was as different from that of the Parisian bourgeois household that she served as that of the mid-nineteenth century Irish maid in Boston or the early twentieth century Italian seamstress in New York from their employers. Today, as in the past, women are migrants, from the Portuguese concierge in Paris, the Algerian home sewer in a Parisian suburb, to the Mexican seamstress in a California sweatshop.

The concept of the dual labor force has recently been proposed to explain contemporary relations of immigrants with urban labor markets. Michael Piore's formulation of the dual labor market hypothesis focuses on the demand side of immigration: the urban job hierarchy, in which occupations fall into two differentiated categories. The first includes jobs with good working conditions, high wages, secure stable work, due process in discipline, and chances for advancement. These are primary market jobs. The second, with jobs characterized by poor working conditions, harsh and often arbitrary discipline, unstable employment, little chance for advancement and low wages is the secondary market. (Gordon, 1971: 43, 46; Piore, 1975: 126). Piore (1979: 33 - 35) argues that the secondary market is valuable to some employers, for it does not require them to pay good wages, restrict layoffs, or even pay benefits.

He believes the secondary market is closely linked to contemporary capitalist conditions of uneven demand and the protected position of some workers (those in strong unions). The secondary labor market allows the employer a very elastic and inexpensive labor supply. Recent migrants frequently hold these non-union secondary sector jobs. Nationals most often avoid them because they are low-status, low paying and frequently dead end jobs. Yet they give the recent migrant what he or she needs and wants: cash-earning employment.

Piore's hypothesis becomes less convincing when it moves away from its useful and suggestive dichotomization of the labor market to describe the process of migration and of adaptation or the life of the migrant in the host country. By insisting on the primary importance of employer demand in promoting immigration, Piore slights the question of why the migrants move and how. He argues that although the migrant enters into the urban secondary labor market with the goal of rapidly earning as much money as possible for remittance to his or her family and then returning home, a basic human need for social relations modifies his or her life and may eventually turn him or her into a permanent resident of the host country. Thus Piore offers a socio-psychological interpretation of change in the migrants' behavior based on individual social needs in the host country. He believes that the original temporary migration "creates a sharp distinction between work, on the one hand, and the social identify of the worker, on the other. ...From the perspective of the migrant, the work is essentially asocial; it is purely a means to an end . . . the migrant is initially a true economic man, probably

the closest thing in real life to the Homo economicus of economic theory" (Piore, 1979: 54). From this economically motivated behavior, however, the migrant slips into psychologically-induced change; the adaptation period is the one in which human problems become more salient, because the migrant's action now goes beyond the original individual self-exploitation; he or she now seeks comfort and happiness. The radical shift in explanatory perspective is disconcerting, but so is the location of the forces of change solely in social circumstances in the host country and the oversimple view of why and how migrants move.[1]

Piore does not discuss whether women and men immigrants are in the same position, or whether the same forces affect them in similar ways, for he does not explore male and female experience separately.

Looking at women in migration separately is one strategy which illuminates both motivation and the process of migration in their structural aspects and leads us to a different understanding from that of Piore of the efforts of migrants to restore or build families in the host country. The proportion of women in the initial, employer-induced, individual, remitting migration is relatively small, today; historically, such female migration is well-known, and studying it offers some clues about single men's contemporary migration which Piore misses. Today, proportionately more women take part in the later migration of families to join an earlier male migrant. Nevertheless, we shall argue that both individual and family female migrants are moved by "family" motivations, evident among women, less noticed among men.

Piore examines women and young people as a separate category from migrants, also employed in the secondary sector, but neglects to examine women migrants as a separate analytical category. In what ways do women experience migration differently than men; in what ways is their experience similar? These are the central questions of this paper. Beyond these descriptive questions, however, studying women migrants is a strategy for exploring some aspects of migration and migrant experience which the dual labor market hypothesis does not adequately develop. The advantages to employers of secondary market employment conditions are relatively clear. But what propels migrants to these jobs? To what extent and how does migration shape the position of the migrant in the urban labor market? What specific characteristics of women as workers affect their ability to do wage work and their attractiveness as workers? How do migrant status and sex interact in the case of female rural to urban migrants with urban secondary market labor?

This paper addresses these questions at several levels. First, it reviews the historical experience of Western Europe and the United States to examine patterns of male and female migrant behavior. A model of female immigration and immigrant urban work is then developed, using contemporary female migrant experience as evidence. Finally, comparisons are made of two contemporary cases -- Mexican migration to American cities and North African (primarily Algerian) migration to French cities, as compared to contemporary Portuguese migration.

In all sections, the main focus will be on lower class migrants: the poor from less-developed areas who supply the contemporary city of the developed West with the unskilled and semi-skilled labor essential even in these highly specialized economies. The migration of skilled or professional workers may follow similar geographic patterns. Nevertheless, the professional migration of technical and white collar employees who come to cities for training and jobs is less important numerically. Even when it involves substantial numbers, it is composed of workers with guaranteed jobs, personal resources, and experience which makes their migration much less problematic.[2] A second important category which is not discussed here are the persons who migrate out of political opposition or as a result of political or social oppression, such as Vietnamese or Cubans in present-day America. Migrants into agricultural labor, whether seasonal or contracted on other bases, are also omitted. We use the words family and household in a contemporary, narrow, Western sense. Household is understood as the group of people living and eating together; family as the reproductive unit of a couple and their children.

The Historical Experience of Migration: 1800 - Present

The historical experience of lower class migrants from rural to urban areas includes both internal and international migration. Internal migration was the more typical case in nineteenth century Europe; the woman or girl who became a servant was one of the most typical female migrants. Domestic service was the chief employment of single women in the pre-industrial city, and it continued to be the most important category of work in most nineteenth century European cities with mixed economies; commerce and trade, government and business administration, and consumer production were the chief economic activities in these cities.

in the city of Milan, Italy, at the end of the nineteenth century (L. Tilly, 1977), for example, demand was generated for service and consumer products by the prosperous bourgeois population occupied in trade and the administration of business which were Milan's chief economic activities before the growth of modern industry. This demand for women workers was filled primarily by young, unmarried, rural migrants, migrating alone into the relatively protected, yet potentially exploitative, homes of their employers. Similarly in Nimes, a southern French provincial capital, single young women came from specific rural villages to become servants. They moved through networks of connections which helped them find jobs and which alerted them to good openings or risky and unpleasant situations (Moch, 1979. See also Chatelain, 1969; McBride, 1974; Mouillon, 1970; Tilly and Scott, 1978). Men migrants to these cities were also overrepresented in similar, low-ranking service occupations; restaurant and hotel workers, railroad workers, city services such as street cleaning, and unskilled construction work.

Migrant women were usually marginal to the more modern and industrialized sector of the urban economy. This was even more marked in the case of married women, who were primarily involved in unstructured informal work, sometimes illegal or unregulated, usually performed in small shops or homes. Such sweated labor, illegal labor and casual self-employment were often not reported to census takers. (Schmiechen, 1979, estimates that 30 to 40 percent of married women's work, concentrated in this kind of occupation, was not reported in London.) Yet other sources, in particular contemporary surveys and biography, show that married women sewed shirts, made shoes, prepared food, did informal street

hawking for money (Booth, 1893; Burnett, 1974; Cohen, 1977; Roberts, 1977; Scott and Tilly, 1975).

Another, differently organized, migration moved toward the new industrial centers of nineteenth century Europe, the textile cities and the mining towns. This was more often a family migration, for children and young people were typical workers in the early mills and mines before the regulation of child labor and compulsory education laws, and such jobs seldom offered housing for single persons, as did domestic service. (The exception was the silk industry in both France and Italy, where single women were commonly recruited in an employer-sponsored, controlled migration which placed them in dormitories attached to their places of work.) Older couples with adolescent children who could work right away were an important part of this family migration (Friedlander, 1973; L. Tilly, 1978). Young couples who themselves were workers were another. In the textile cities, married women also frequently worked; in mining or metalworking cities the labor force was more predominately male, although girls were hired for certain specific, but heavy, and dirty, work of sorting and carting coal. In all cases, however, the proportion of married women in industrial labor was much smaller than that of single girls and women.

In all cases also, it was the family which made economic decisions, which balanced earnings of its members against consumption needs of the household, and against its long term goals. Migrant families in the nineteenth century urban wage economy had to send other household members to work because the earnings of the household head were

usually insufficient to support the family. Whether it was children, or the wife who worked, depended on the children's ages (an aspect of the family cycle), regulatory laws and patterns of job availability.

Within Europe, there was also an international migration, less well-known than that to the United States. The most well-documented cases were the movement of Belgians into the textile and mining cities of the north of France and of the Irish into the textile cities of Lancashire, and to London. These were primarily family migrations by the middle of the nineteenth century, although the Irish migration to Britian went through an individual, circular phase. (On Belgians, see Lentacker, 1974; L. Tilly, 1978. On Irish, see Anderson, 1971; Lees, 1979). The international migration to the United States followed similar patterns. There was a single female migration of Irish and other nationality women who came as servants in early to mid-century, at about the same time that males were being recruited in gangs to work on railroad building and other heavy labor. There followed an Irish family migration to textile towns in the 1850's and later. (Dublin, 1979; Dubnoff, 1976; Kessler-Harris, 1975). It was primarily young persons, women as well as men, only rarely married women, who worked in the American mills for these families. At the end of the century, the North and West European immigrants were virtually replaced by South and East Europeans among whom Russian Jews, Poles and Italians were most important numerically. In New England, French Canadians succeeded the Irish in the textile mills. For Italians and Poles, a predominantly male sponsored gang migration was followed by family migration, often, in the case of the Italians, a circular, non-permanent migration, either to commercial metropolitan cities like New York, to

to heavy industry cities like Buffalo or Pittsburgh, or to textile cities, like Paterson, Lowell or Pawtucket. The patterns of family labor force participation resembled those already mentioned; many children but few married women employed, occupations determined by the characteristics of the urban economy, within and outside the limits of the law.

By the period between the wars, typical migrant groups had changed in both Europe and the United States. In Europe, international migrants became more common, with Poles and Italians moving to France, for example. In the United States, the First World War and the 1924 legislation restricting immigration drastically reduced European immigration. In the decades that followed, particularly as the Depression ended and rearmament for the Second World War started, the secondary labor market of northern cities was filled by Blacks from the rural south. In the period since the 1950's boom, immigrants to northern and central European cities have come more and more frequently from the Mediterranean fringe -- first from Italy and Spain, then Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Portugal and North Africa, most recently from Black Africa. In the United States, migrants from the Carribean, Mexico and other Latin American countries have begun to complement the role of the American Black in the urban secondary labor force.

The jobs which these successive streams of migrants moved into in the historical progression just described are precisely those of the secondary sector: low-skilled, less secure, service or manufacturing jobs with seasonal or fluctuating demand at the bottom of the urban job hierarchy which native-born workers were unwilling to perform. In both

Europe and America, textile factories, with their unskilled, repetitive work, cyclical and uncertain productive schedules, and paternalistic employer-worker relations have been typically migrant employers. The American displacement of the textile factories from New England to the south, and the migration of the European-financed textile industry to developing countries in order to tap rural or newly urbanizing workers are examples of the strong links between textile occupations and certain kinds of workers (primarily those moving from argicultural or rural industrial to urban industrial work for the first time.) The construction and automobile industries have behaved, historically, in different ways in Europe and the United States. In Europe, they tend to hire immigrants; in the United States, they are bastions of native unionism. (Piore, 1979). (The United States auto industry, it should be noted, did hire southern rural migrants, including Blacks, in the Second World War period and after, but only in certain circumscribed and specified areas; the Blacks, for example, worked in the foundries, not the assembly line. Also, although the auto unions are both militant and powerful in Italy and France, struggles between native and immigrant workers have taken place within the unions rather than over the issue of admission of immigrant workers into the occupations.) (See Allal et al, nd: 149 -170.) Among the secondary labor force jobs, those which have hired and continue to hire women migrants (as contrasted to native born women, who are also secondary workers), are textiles, garment making, domestic service, cleaning and laundries.

Lessons From the Historical Study of Migration

The historical experience, then, supports the concept of the dual labor market. It confirms that the urban and/or industrial sector has drawn on migrants for certain kinds of low-paying, low status work, jobs which are determined by the characteristics of the urban economy, the demand side of the equation. How migrants fit into the urban job market is also affected, however, by the timing of their migration (what mix of jobs is already held by other migrant groups or natives when a given group migrates), and by characteristics of the migration itself, such as whether it is individual or family groups who migrate, or whether the migration is organized by sponsors, is circular or characterized by chains. Government intervention in promoting or preventing migration is another element which shapes demand. The supply side of migration is less well-specified by the dual labor market hypothesis, which sees male individual migrants as proto-typical.

Analysis of women migrants illuminates this aspect. Women's labor force participation is best analyzed while taking into account their life cycle stage, in particular marital status, because family position is a key determinant of female labor force participation (Oppenheimer, 1973; Tilly and Scott, 1978).

Single women migrant workers in the city have been and are still frequently there in order to contribute to their family of origin. Sometimes, migrants have cut their ties to family of origin primarily because this family could not support them. Less often, the goal of single

women may be to separate themselves economically or socially from their families (Lequin, 1977; Moch, 1974; Rogers, 1976). In all these cases, however, the single migrant is relatively able to do any kind of wage labor she wishes and can be hired for. In the case of women, the latter is an important caveat, as discussed below, because of the persistance of sex-segregated and sex-typed occupations. Nevertheless, freedom from family of origin control or demands for contributions does not mean that the single woman migrant is free from family considerations. Thadani and Todaro (1978) argue, in their recent model of migration for single women, that a) marriage is an avenue of mobility unique to women, and b) the necessity to marry (more compelling in some social and economic situations than in others), has an impact on women's decision to migrate and work in the city.

If she is married, a woman's position in her family of procreation is an important element in her work and migration. Her access to wage labor is uneven and difficult due to her childcare and household responsibilities. Further, as Jacob Mincer's recent model of family migration suggests, family decisions to migrate are based on calculation of net family gain rather than personal gain to individual family members (1978: 750). Nevertheless, in the vast majority of cases, including those of the immigrants under review here, the anticipated gains to a migrating family come from the projected earnings of the male household head.[3] Thus, female members of the migrant household generally do not move to take specific jobs. Rather, they move into a labor market which had attracted another member of their household with other occupational skills or abilities. If we understand that the family calculation is most likely based upon the husband's projected wages, the wife's place in a labor market which may be unsuited to her skills and language ability, work norms and preferences, is understandable. It would be inaccurate and incomplete to describe a woman's migration behavior and work without reference to her family position.

The same is true, in modified form, of male migration. Male migrants, whether single or married, are frequently sending remittances from their urban wages to their family of origin or procreation. Although marriage may not be a step in upward mobility for single men migrants, their efforts at family formation are also influenced by the fact of their migration. They may actually become more attractive marriage partners, because of the money and experience they acquire in the urban sector. Their choice of wife and timing of marriage is certainly mediated by the fact of their migration and the timing of it. It is possible that there is a larger proportion of boys or men within a given migration who, compared to girls or women, are free, or break free upon migration, of obligations to their families. Nevertheless, the family or household is most often the unit in which decisions about male migration are made, and the household acts, for men as for women, as a mediating institution between the sending group and the urban labor market. The supply side of migration, then, needs to be linked to households, present and future, not simply to individuals or the larger social group (cf. Jelin, 1977).

Further, the sending household is a rural household most likely in a subsistence or domestic production economy. The strategies or

principles of behavior of this household and the individuals it sends to the city are formed in the economy in which that sending household is located, not in the capitalist economy (or even the margins of it which the secondary labor market represents), into which the migrant moves. The household is the level at which migrant behavior, so single-minded and focused on earning money in what looks to urbanites like self-exploitation, must be understood. An analysis of women's migration gives this generalization concrete form. (See also Scott and Tilly, 1975.)

The following sections will set out a general model of migrant women's work. It predicates the importance of the dual labor market, affected as it may be by government policy, in shaping the demand for labor and of the sending economy and the family in shaping the supply of female workers. In addition, it takes into account several intermediate factors, among them cultural sex-role constraints, marriage mobility, network ties, the triple handicap of migrant/female/ethnic status, and the conjoncture (cyclical or temporal factors).

Before turning to the model, some explicit examination of the likeness and difference between contemporary international migration and the historical experience of rural to urban migration is necessary. Permanence of migration is not an important difference. Like today's migrants, most of the nineteenth century internal and international migrants did not plan their migration as permanent. There was much back and forth movement before the net balance of a large permanent immigration to urban areas was achieved.

There has been, overall, an apparent declining asymmetry between migrants and the group into which they migrate in both internal rural-urban migration and intercity migration because such migration, in developed countries, is less likely to involve migrants from greatly undeveloped areas. Communications improvements and mass media have both promoted cultural likeness and familiarized urbanites with regional or local subgroups. Local and private services have developed which facilitate migrant entry and adaptation in cities.

It is more difficult to estimate historical change in the international migrant's position relative to that of the national. Certainly, the migrant continues to lack native political rights and obligations. International migrants sometimes have limited access to social services in the urban host country. However, this is often indirectly caused, for government services in Western countries, including education, welfare and public housing, do not ordinarily discriminate explicitly against migrants. Differential access of migrants to these services is often based on residential patterns and qualification requirements which favor long term residents.

Even more important are attempted government controls of immigration itself which result in dubious legal status for many immigrants. Undocumented immigrants are understandly reluctant to apply for public welfare or public housing, or even to send their children to school. The more developed the urban sector is, the more persons are employed in modern tertiary jobs, the more powerful are unions of native workers, the more effective and pervasive government intervention is in

providing social benefits and job security for primary market native workers, the more disadvantaged migrants appear to be.

The long historical perspective suggests that the dual labor market is not unique to a historical period in the evolution of monopoly capitalism (as Edwards, Reich, and Gordon believe, 1975: xii - xiii), but that the scale of the contemporary dual labor market may be greater, as may be the gap in living conditions between international migrants and primary market workers than in the past. Precise criteria for comparison need to be established and better data gathered; this is problematic, however, because the records of migration and migrant workers are known to be incomplete, as discussed more fully below. Important characteristics of contemporary migrant conditions, then, are linked to the lack of full political rights of international migrants and the possibility of government limiting their entry into the urban sector, and indirectly their access to jobs and social services.

The Urban Economy

The occupational structure in the host city is of crucial importance, because it sets the limits of available jobs. In a world where most occupations have been and are sex-typed and sex-segregated (Blaxall and Reason, 1976; Gross, 1968; Oppenheimer, 1973; Snyder and Hudis, 1976), their sex is a basic constraint in women's work and occupational choices. When female jobs expand, or diversify women's employment often changes in degree and character, as well as level (Cohen, 1977; Oppenheimer, 1973; L. Tilly, forthcoming). Nevertheless, the

basic pattern of women's employment is tied to the distribution of jobs in the urban economy (L. Tilly, 1977). These women's jobs may vary from city to city, but it is an irony of economic development that they are seldom industrial jobs which employ advanced technology. The most universal occupation of migrant women over time continues to be domestic or personal service (Granier and Marciano, 1975; Jelin, 1977; Prevost, 1969; Rubbo and Taussig, 1977; Youssef, 1974). Other services (restaurants, hospitals, laundries), also employ migrant women, as do certain light manufacturing jobs (Salaff, 1976). Garment-making continues to be an important employer of immigrants to the United States and elsewhere (Buck, 1979; Lindsey, 1979; Safa, 1978 and 1979; Shinoff, 1979; Smith, 1976). The common element in this variety of jobs is that they are unskilled, low-status, insecure, low paying, and sometimes dangerous (Morokvasic, 1975). Moreover, as Piore points out (1979: 17), "they are usually performed in an unstructured work environment and involve an informal, highly personalistic relationship between superior and subordinate".

The underreporting of migrant women's work (especially that of married women), continues to be a problem for the analyst of the contemporary situation. Migrant women still sew at home and in sweatshops. Many of the over 100,000 garment workers in California work (for subcontractors) in sweatshops in homes, garages and stores. Because a large proportion are believed to be illegal aliens, and to be working in violation of wage and hour regulations, and in flagrantly poor working conditions, their employment is doubtless underreported. (Lindsay, 1979.)

in France, the great majority of migrants enter illegally: it is believed that more than 90 percent of all families entering in 1968 entered illegally (Castles and Kosack, 1973: 34, 209). Again, a condition which suggests massive underreporting of the economic activity of migrant married women.

Primary labor market opportunities for women (for example, teacher, nurse, or even union protected clerical or factory worker), continue to be beyond the purview of migrants from less developed and rural areas. Secondary market occupations are more likely for the migrant for three reasons: a) The jobs require less education and fewer skills than primary market jobs; b) Migrants are willing to accept these jobs because they are accustomed to non-urban job hierarchies in which work is frequently both physically taxing and low paid (Piore, 1979: 57 - 58); c) The migrant is attractive to the employer for low status, low pay jobs because of his/her willingness to accept such conditions and reputed passivity.

Migrant women suffer from a triple disability as workers, for they are women, migrants, and often members of ethnic minorities. As women, they are members of a group which has worked and continues to work for lower wages than men, and whose work commitment is often intermittent because of child bearing and child and home care responsibilities (for example, see Foner, 1975: 240 - 241). As migrants, they find themselves in an economic and social system governed by unfamiliar norms in which their native language hinders communication (Levi, 1975). As ethnics, they are the butt of job and social discrimination against their group --

whether simple prejudice or the "statistical discrimination" which Gordon describes (1972: 46), stemming from the individual's resemblance to workers whom employers view as unstable or unreliable.

The distribution of other workers in the receiving city also influences the availability of jobs. The differences in distribution of males and females within groups (sex ratio), or of the distribution of sex assigned jobs are both relevant here. A shift towards manufacturing, with an increase in male-assigned jobs may reduce the number and proportion of female service jobs if it reduces the proportion of service hiring firms or individuals (L. Tilly, 1977). If other migrant groups are already in the city, holding down certain types of jobs such as domestic service or construction jobs, a newly arrived group of migrants may not be able to move into that field. The pattern of job holding by other groups can influence demand, affecting employers' search for a low paid, hard-working labor force.

Government policy also shapes urban demand for immigrant labor. Enforced legislation may make immigrant workers more costly, by imposing social taxes on employers. Legislation or administrative policy may encourage immigrants from one sending area rather than another. (French postwar policy promoted by various means first Italian, then Spanish and Portuguese migration; the result was that these workers received more benefits such as housing or training, or more rapid access to benefits, because they were legal and preferred immigrants.) Government efforts to cut off migration may modify certain characteristics of the migration. All sorts of people can be transformed into "family" of already entered

migrants, or alternatively, a larger proportion of immigration may become clandestine. Another possibility is that the sex composition of immigrants may change, if men are excluded because of lack of jobs in construction or manufacturing, but domestic servants are still welcome.

Finally, work opportunities in the urban economy are tied not only to urban economic structure, but to the conjoncture, the business cycle and longer temporal changes. In prosperous times, middle class urban residents hire servants, industries increase output, construction booms, and migrants respond quickly by moving toward these increased opportunities. Contrariwise, middle class households, industries and construction shed workers when business is bad. In response, migrants may leave and return to their rural homes until work is again available in the urban sector. Or, if they are more settled, protected against expulsion or able to evade forced repatriation, they may become a "social problem" for the receiving country.

The urban economy, then, its structure, and business cycle, and government controls are the chief determinants of the level and sector of migrant women's labor force participation. The jobs are primarily secondary sector jobs, as are the jobs of most migrants. Nevertheless, there is a large unknown component in all estimates of activity.

Conditions in the Sending Area

Economic conditions in the sending area, are of course, of primary importance in launching migration streams. Declining living

standards and/or declining chances to achieve economic expectations are crucial. These conditions can be due either to lack of growth or decline of the sending area's economy, or to population growth which causes an adverse balance of resources and persons. A gap between expected earnings or living standard in the sending and receiving areas makes migration a reasonable, or necessary act. This asymmetry in conditions may extend to social factors such as number of possible marriage partners, or their "quality" in terms of wealth, education, or prospects. The latter may be especially important to women, for whom migration may be more frequently linked to family formation then it is to future wage earning or saving (Thadani and Todaro, 1978).

Life Cycle Stage

The most immediate determinant of migrant women's labor force participation is the women's life cycle stage. In the rural economy, or non-industrial small town from which she migrated, a married women can work productively in a time-flexible manner even though she is also responsible for child care, housework and production for home use. (Rubbo, 1975; Tilly and Scott, 1978). Urban wage labor such as factory and office work is less time-flexible. Yet, in the contemporary developed world, in contrast to the nineteenth century, married women often work in the modern clerical and commercial service sector. This has come about as a consequence of greatly increased demand in this sector and the contemporaneous decline of fertility and better infant and child survival prospects (Oppenheimer, 1973; Tilly and Scott, 1978).

Consequently, contemporary immigrants to Western cities, although they come from a rural society in which women's productive and reproductive roles are often combined in the household, enter a labor force where the wage-earning married woman is common, and where many occupations take women out of the household all day.

Migrant women are very likely to be married. Many women migrants are migrants because they are married, for they are moving to join their husbands. The first waves of single male migration ended after about 1965 in Europe. In most countries, wives and families were not legally permitted to come until housing was available. Nevertheless, families came clandestinely to all Western countries (Castles and Kosack, 1973: 209; North and Houstoun, 1976: 69 - 73). Family migration has increased since then, despite European government efforts to repatriate migrants since 1974 (Kayser, 1977: 239). In France, the most recent figures, from the 1968 census, show that among immigrants, 63 percent of women over 16 were married, as compared to 58 percent for the national average and for native French women. Higher still was the proportion female married in certain migration streams: 80 percent for Algerians and 78 percent for Portuguese. Nearly two-thirds of the Mexican-born women (over 14), in the United States were married in 1970 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973b: 93). This pattern of married women migrating is particularly strong in contemporary developed countries. In rural to urban migration in less-developed countries, as in Latin America, many single women move on their own (Jellin, 1977; Youssef, 1974). Most female immigrants in France and the United States who are young and single came as children, with their parents.

The married woman, in general, is constrained in the job market by child bearing, child nurture and by the logistics of home and child care. Immigrant married women tend to have higher fertility than nationals. Migrants in France, for example, have contributed disproportionately to natural increase throughout the twentieth century (Dyer, 1978: 74, 211-212). From 1953 to 1965, births in excess to those projected were due in large part to immigration (Nadot, 1967). Mexican Americans have had higher fertility than Anglos for over a century, and their fertility continues to be higher, even when age is accounted for (Bradshaw and Bean, 1973: 692; Grebler, et al., 1970: 131 - 133). The presence of preschool children is a further hinderance to mothers' ability to work outside the home. Mexican Americans in the United States have more children of preschool age than any other immigrant group, and than native Blacks (Almquist and Wehrle-Einhorn, 1978: 46). Child care is often difficult to arrange. Moreover, the migrant woman has special problems finding suitable child care because the service is expensive and because the caregiver may not speak the language of the mother and child. Migration frequently cuts women and their families from the support and aid of kin and community in domestic chores and child care. The migrant mother's child care responsibilities may be heavier than at home in consequence. "No grandmother, no aunties, completely alone," complained a Jamaican mother in London to Foner. (1975: 241; see also Singh, 1978: 25). The migrant woman with young children who must work will tend to take certain kinds of jobs, working nights, while her husband cares for the children, or working at home.

Single women migrants of legal working age are not as disadvantaged in the job market as are married women. Nevertheless, as in the case of married women, many single women are moving to the urban sector as dependants of male migrants who will be the primary worker in the household. These women's choices will be more limited than if they had migrated to seek jobs on their own. Single women may migrate to different host cities and different kinds of jobs than married women from the same origin, because their freedom of choice is greater (Foner, 1976: 29 - 30). In either case, single women work in a less intermittent way, usually as full-time workers, because they are not attempting to combine child rearing and paid employment. They are relatively favored employees, and as such, they are usually the first to have primary market jobs: the first to be factory employees (Safa, 1976), often the first to hold white collar jobs (Cohen, 1977; Foner, 1975: 240 - 241).

Most single migrant women live with their parents. Daughters in the city without their parents, such as the Turkish women working in German factories, may be sent by their families to work and contribute to family economic goals (Nermin, 1977: 43). Some single women do not work for the family of origin, but for their own futures. Emigration and urban work help to separate these women from the life their families have know. Emigration and mobility via marriage are one of the few ways for a rural woman to move away from a life of agricultural labor. Consequently, rural women continue to move independently of men to seek their fortune in urban areas (Foner, 1976: 30; Rogers, 1977; Thadani and Todaro, 1978).

Sex Role Constraints

Not all single women are encouraged by their families to work. The religious custom of female seclusion of which the Moslem purdah is an extreme expression, discourages women from going freely outside the home, particularly after puberty. Families believe that if their daughters are not confined, they will appear to be, or will be, "spoiled", and will thus be unmarriageable. Adult females in Moslem countries have seldom been employed outside the home partly because of these restrictions (Youssef, 1974). Purdah is one example -- albeit a most striking example -- of a sex role constraint that limits women's employment. (Nevertheless, Papenek, 1976, notes that very recently in Pakistan, more young women are entering factories. Presumably, these are unmarried adult women.)

Her home society is generally more restrictive of the behavior of the single migrant woman than the receiving city. In a small community, older women observe her behavior and enforce norms through gossip or other social pressure. The urban area affords recreational, personal and economic possibilities which are not available in rural agricultural society. Beyond this banal observation, few generalizations can be made about sex role constraints because they vary so greatly. Although social norms may keep women from many kinds of sociability, in no situation do they prevent poor women from working, often under very unfavorable conditions. Neither the Moslem ideal of female seclusion, or the machismo ideal of some Latin American countries prevents women from earning, or, in the latter case, sometimes taking full financial responsibility for their children (Rubbo, 1975; Schildkrout, 1979; Youssef, 1974). It is

likely that cultural ideas about sex roles change with changing circumstances. Sometimes, indeed, they become more strict as they become more attainable with greater prosperity, or as the contrast between a family's beliefs and those of the society around them becomes sharper. Migration may change the relationships between husband and wife toward more equality, more dependence, or toward more conflict (Foner, 1975: 231 - 239; Nermin, 1977: 35). Parent-child interaction over control over children's sexuality and marriages can be very painful (Sayad, 1979: Parts 1 and 2; See also Castles and Kosack, 1973: 365 - 366, and Verbunt, 1969: cited in Castles and Kosack).

An attempt to estimate the importance of female seclusion on Moslem women's work in Western Europe is an example of how problematic the question of sex role constraints remains. By one count, 52 percent of Spanish women, 51 percent of the Portuguese women and 30 percent of the Italian women in France are employed, while only 16 percent of North African women are employed (Granier and Marcian, 1975: 154; See also Prevost, 1969: 22, 24, 28, 36, for lower estimates for all groups, based on an earlier period). At first glance, this suggests that social norms effectively restrain Moslem women's employment. However, as shown below, marriage, the presence of small children in the household and consequent national differences in age structure help to account for Moslem women's low rate of employment. Although Moslem women are employed less in Europe than other migrants, they are employed more than in their native country. According to a survey in Berlin in the early 1970's, 37 percent of the Turkish women were employed, as opposed to 11 percent in

Turkey; most of the employed women (70 percent) had never done wage work before they came to Germany (Nermin, 1977: 35).

As in their home countries, Moslem women in Western Europe seldom work as domestic servants (Prevost, 1969: 36; Youssef, 1974: 37). It is not clear whether this is due to their cultural preference or to employer preference, however. Migrant women with European backgrounds have been preferred as servants in most of Europe. Moslem women are employed in European factories, however. They are sent by their families with the explicit goal of earning money and building connections which will aid male migrants from these families.

> "traditionally-trained, non-migratory motivated women were strongly urged by their father, husbands or other relatives to take up industrial jobs in foreign countries by which they could secure lucrative positions with higher income possibilities for their male relatives. (Nermin, 1977: 31).

Young single women who almost never go out at home have been sent to German factories. "Since savings of such young girls are by no means negligible, many Anatolian rural families in recent years have strongly approved of the departure of their daughters abroad." (Nermin, 1977: 43). The parents do insist on lodging arrangements which protect single women. This is the heim for single Turkish female factory workers. The heim resembles the nineteenth century factory-operated dormitories which

provided housing and supervision for single French female silk workers (Nermin, 1977: 44; Tilly and Scott, 1978: 109). Thus the Moslem custom of confining adult females may be altered, at least for single women, in a new environment. Adaptation of this custom enables the family to maximize its gains in the Western city.

Networks

The friendships, relationships and contacts of the individual are her major sources of information. They also inform "chain migration, in which a network of friends, relatives, or tribesmen partly established in the city organize migration and involvement in the city." (Tilly, 1974: 295). Among male Portuguese migrants in Toronto, some contacts lead to very different jobs than others. Immigrants in one study had contacts which led into jobs with more or fewer chances for advancement (Anderson, 1974). Informal contacts are responsible for a large proportion of job opportunities (for examples, see Granovetter, 1974; Parnes, 1970: 101), and are all the more important in finding blue collar jobs (Lurie and Rayack, 1966: 88; Tilly and Brown, 1968). Time has demonstrated that migrants are particularly efficient at communicating job opportunities through networks of personal contacts (Hagerstrand, 1957: 152 - 154). They quickly communicate job openings (Hareven, 1975: 253), sending relatives and friends to apply for vacancies in the shops where they work. Migrant groups give fine-tuned responses to changes in the economic conjoncture, which can change the sex composition of the migrant stream. For example, after the European economic recession of 1966 - 1967,

the demand for male Turkish workers in the Federal Republic of Germany declined, but demand for Turkish women continued. The number of Turkish women migrants rose steeply and the proportion female among Turks in Germany rose from 13 to 22 percent in three years (Nerman, 1977: 31 - 33).

Studies of the role of network contacts in job finding for migrants have usually focused on male contacts and male employment (Anderson, 1974; Tilly and Brown, 1968). Yet networks of, or including, women also pass along information about employment for women (Whiteford, 1978: 241). Indeed, informal contacts may be more important to female than male employment. Women's jobs in the secondary labor market are informally recruited because they are often characterized by the organization of small group work or home work. Further, employers of illiterate workers need not advertise. It is in the interest of the employee to have a friend on the job or to have information about the job from a friend when the situation is informally structured. Because fewer women work in formal settings, their informal connections, made and cultivated through marketing, visiting and helping kin, or religious practice, are proportionately more important to them (Riegelhaupt, 1967: 117 - 118). Smith observed that Portuguese women in a New England town belonged to extensive general networks because they were in better contact with extended kin than men, had more church-linked social contacts, could talk on the job at garment-cutting tables, and used the telephone when at home. They may also have been more successful in making contacts because they were more open about desiring information, readily expressing this wish and their fear that they would not succeed in making contacts (Smith, 1976: 24).

For these reasons, the occupations of her kin, community or national group fellow migrants may be a good predictor of an immigrant women's occupation.

Strategies

A set of strategies ties together the elements of this model: the urban economy, as modified by government intervention, economy of sending area, life cycle stage, sex role constraints and networks. Working within the opportunities and constraints of its situation, the migrant family chooses a strategy which will advance its goals. The goals of the family and the behavior of women may vary, but they are most clearly seen as family goals toward which the woman works in any number of ways. The goal may be to save money to buy land at home in the case of the Anatolian peasant at work in the German factory (Hermin, 1977: 31). It may be to send money home to the family for their short term needs, as in the case of the Peruvian garment worker in New York (Buck, 1979: 46). Or the goal may be to settle and raise children in the receiving nation (Levi, 1975: 157). All family members may work to these ends. The comparative importance of the return or circular migration and permanent migration and the way that a single person's commitment to family of origin may be transformed during migration and work in a far away land are in constant flux.

The strength of family strategies explains the observation of the chief of general investigation of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service that immigrants "are willing to come in, produce at top efficiency ten hours a day - six days a week" (Buck, 1979: 43). Not only

are they willing to work long hours, but they are also willing to deny themselves decent housing and food in order to save, or to insure their children food or education. Others deny a child schooling in order to free the mother from household chores for wage earning. Family strategy may require the exploitation of its members for present or future gain. Migrants are seemingly as willing as the unscrupulous employer to exploit themselves. Such exploitation is relative, of course, and the comparison of possibilities for work and saving in the country of origin usually shows even less desirable conditions of work and much poorer pay.

The concept of family strategy casts the migrant as an actor in a new environment, not a passive victim of it. Structural disabilities - such as the triple disadvantage of migrant women in the job market -- do not dictate passivity. Rather, migrants can and do balance their skills and information about urban opportunity to reach decisions. They do not have many choices, but to perceive them as passive pawns of circumstances denies the reality of their rationality, the enormity of their effort, and the mobility of migrant groups in history.

This model of women in migration and urban work has drawn upon two major theoretical sources: The dual labor market hypothesis and the theory of family economy. The latter perspective has led to a more developed conceptualization of supply aspects of migration, which we believe must be taken into account for all migrants, male and female alike. Foremost here is the notion that family or household unit goals, strategies and decisions play a large part in most migration and thus the migrant, and his or her migration and work must be analyzed in the

context of the household rather than at the individual level. The family of origin and present or future family of procreation are prime aspects in any migrant's frame of reference. From this perspective, the migrant is not an isolated and individual actor. His or her effort to reunite his or her family or form a new family in a new country at destination is an outcome of the migration itself, linked to family goals or to family formation. The migrant acts rationally and resourcefully to get him or herself and his or her family to the destination. The fact that that family cannot live on the salaries they earn, that their housing is crowded and unhealthy, that their access to education or mobility is blocked is due to the original labor market demand, for cheap labor, and the host country's unwillingness to assume the costs of social services and community support for persons to whom the free market will not pay a living wage. Most European countries are ambiguous on this issue, for not only do immigrants do useful labor, but they are also a welcome source of demographic vitality and population growth. Government support for some of the costs of immigrant settlement, even temporary, is likely if the receiving countries acknowledge immigrants for providing population growth, growth on which continued economic development is dependent.

In order to see how these forces and factors interact in specific contexts, we turn to the cases of Mexican women in the United States and of North African women in France, as compared to Portuguese women.

North African and Portuguese Women in the French Labor Force

Like the Mexican migration to the urban United States, North African migration to France has had a long history. North African

migration has been contemporaneous with European migration, but much less favored. This migration has been part of the enormous population shifts that have accompanied West European economic growth and prosperity, on the one hand, and French divestment of its colonies, on the other, in the 1950's and 1960's. The paradox of the European case is that, as Hoffman-Nowotny insists,

> millions of people who are living in foreign countries are not designated as "immigrants"; nor do these countries see themselves as "immigration countries." And vice versa, very few of the countries that send millions of their citizens to work abroad consider themselves "emigration countries" in the narrow sense . . . Since neither emigration nor immigration countries admit that they are such, there are no well-defined or codified immigration or emigration policies. (1978: 86)

There are even more tangled factors in the case of France, if we focus on Algerians, the largest national group of North Africans, as the following brief historical review shows.

In 1947, Algerians received full French citizenship. From then until Algerian independence, Algerians were not counted as immigrants to France. At the same time, there was an official office of immigration, which organized sponsored migration. By 1948, there was a large continuing irregular immigration from many sources to France, which, as the years passed, was retroactively "regularized": i.e., immigrants were granted legal status to match their de facto situation. In the period from 1954 to 1962, the years of the Algerian war for independence,

Algerian immigration into France seems to have been relatively slow, but it continued in a regular stream. Accurate migration data are not available for any period but the most recent. Tapinos (1975),(whose historical survey is the source of this overview), believes that from 1956 to 1965, there was a spurt of non-sponsored immigration accompanying economic growth, including family migration. Italian migration was favored in the immediate post war period and in the 1950's; by the early 1960's, Spanish migration had taken over and Portuguese was emerging. 1962 was the year of Algerian independence. The highest rates of registered migration of all national origins, up to that period, followed in 1962 to 1965; this inflow included the repatriation of ethnic French residents of Algeria and the Algerians who had supported French colonial policy. There was a follow-up agreement to the Evian accords, the Algerian War settlement which granted Algerians relatively free entry into France, in 1964, which added new conditions to Algerian immigration (Tapinos, 1975: 63).

During the following period, controls became more common, as the French government tried to keep track of and channel rapid immigration. Family migration became more common. In 1968, a circular letter of the Minister of Social Affairs restricted ex post regularization of migrant status except in the case of Portuguese, domestic servants, and workers whose occupations were not listed as overcrowded in official evaluations of the job market. However, family members continued to be legalized if they immigrated to join a relative. An agreement giving special benefits to Portuguese migrants was signed with the Portuguese government in 1971.

Earlier, efforts to control and limit Algerian migration had been stepped up, with a 1968 agreement which required additional documents for Algerians in France and set a quota for their entry. In 1971, the yearly quota was reduced. In 1973, after violence between Algerians and French in Marseilles and other cities, the Algerian government suspended emigration. In this period, Moroccan and Turkish migration increased; in July, 1974, however, the French government suspended immigration, because of the recession then gathering force.

Increasing rates of female migration for domestic service and increasing family migration were characteristic of the period after 1970 (Tapinos, 1975: 111 - 112). Many of the wives who came in this period came to take jobs themselves, evidence of a changed form of family migration. In earlier family migration, wives who joined their migrant husbands were seldom themselves workers. Algerians continued in the earlier pattern, while Spanish and Portuguese tended to fit in the new. In order to bring their families, migrants had to show that they had decent housing. The lack of decent housing for Algerian families often prevented their rebuilding their families in France, as compared to other groups (Tapinos, 1975: 114 - 115). Portuguese wives, since they came as workers themselves, often servants for whom housing was provided, were better able to accompany or rejoin their husbands; once the family was reunited, however, decent housing was not available, and huge Portuguese shanty towns (bidonvilles) grew. (See "Les portugais," n.d., but, about 1965, for description of the mushrooming of these Portuguese bidonvilles in the early 1960's.) More recently, Portuguese and other

European migrants have been able to improve their housing more so than have the Algerians.

Foreign women's labor force participation, focusing primarily on North Africans and Portuguese, based on the 1968 census, shows the following patterns (Wisniewski, 1974). About 3.7 percent of the female population over 15 of France were foreign citizens; this compares to 7.7 percent of the adult male population. Of these foreign born women, about 60 percent were Italian, Spanish and Polish (the older migrant groups), 9 percent were Portuguese and 11.4 percent North African (7.2 percent Algerian). This census preceded the enormous influx of Portuguese from 1968 to 1972, which will be examined below with data from the 1975 census. Table I shows that the proportion of married women was distinctly higher among immigrant women (62.6 percent), than among all women (58.3 percent). Portuguese (78.1 percent married), and Algerians (79.5), had the highest proportions married among the immigrants. The numbers of married immigrant men in this census were twice as high as the numbers of married women, which indicates that one male migrant out of two had left his wife behind.

Levels of female labor force participation for women varied enormously by nationality, as shown in Table II. Nearly 39 percent of the Portuguese women worked; 30.1 percent of Tunisians, 28 percent of Moroccans, but only 11.8 percent of Algerians (Wisniewski, 1974: 7). The numbers of Moroccan and Tunisian women in France were much smaller than the Algerians or Portuguese, of course. Wisniewski explains this distribution by alluding to cultural factors, despite the disparity among

TABLE I

Marital Status of Total and Immigrant Women in France, 1968

Female population over 16	Total of Women 16+		Single		Married		Widowed & Divorced	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total female population	19,723,580	100.0	4,695,000	23.8	11,521,380	58.4	3,506,600	17.8
Total foreign female population	730,360	100.0	146,424	20.0	457,404	62.7	126,532	17.3
Algerian female population	52,424	100.0	7,428	14.1	41,756	79.5	3,340	6.4
Moroccan female population	10,112	100.0	2,588	25.6	6,676	66.0	848	8.4
Tunisian female population	12,920	100.0	3,152	24.4	7,944	61.5	1,824	14.1
Portuguese female population	66,616	100.0	12,104	18.2	52,060	78.1	2,452	3.7

Source: Wisniewski, 1974, based on 1968 census sample 1/4

TABLE II

Labor Force Participation of Total and Immigrant Women in France, 1968

Female population over 16	Total Female Labor Force (over 15)		Domestic Servants		Cleaning Women		Industrial Workers	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total female population	7,123,520	36.1	-	*	-	*	-	*
Total foreign female population	208,760	28.5	32,856	15.7	26,928	12.8	76,340	36.6
Algerian female population	6,216	11.8	192	3.1	388	6.2	3,500	56.3
Moroccan female population	2,876	28.4	384	13.4	208	7.2	828	28.8
Tunisian female population	3,888	30.1	104	2.7	140	3.6	1,332	34.3
Portuguese female population	25,852	38.8	5,720	22.1	4,472	17.7	12,244	47.4

*Not given

Source: Wisniewski, 1974, based on 1968 census sample 1/4.

the three North African Moslem groups. Portuguese women were about evenly divided between industrial and service work. Algerian women were primarily industrial workers, and Moroccan and Tunisian, service and white collar workers. In the latter groups, Wisniewski notes, there were some (he gives no indication of how many), Tunisian Jews who kept their nationality and who had higher educational qualifications and better jobs; presumably, these women may have contributed to the higher participation rates of Tunisian women. Algerian and Portuguese women were mostly unskilled workers, while Moroccan and Tunisian women were much more often skilled workers or supervisory workers.

Wisniewski's report on the 1968 census does not cross-tabulate women's marital status or children present with their labor participation. Algerian women in France had very high fertility at the period, as earlier, according to various surveys in the 1950's. A fertility survey in Algeria in 1970 showed that fertility there was very high, and had been increasing for some years. Youthfulness at marriage (average age at first marriage was 18), was an important factor there, but so was the apparent lack of any effort to curb or space births. The consequence was fertility at about the natural limit - 9.2 children for women married at 18, still married at 45 - 49 (Leriche, 1961: 17; Négadi and Vallin, 1974). Although we were unable to find comparable fertility data for national groups among migrants (all fertility discussions compared French to all immigrants), we were able to calculate a child women ratio for "French Moslems born in Algeria plus Algerians" from published age, sex and marital status for this group (Prévost, 1968: 19). For this measure,

we calculated children aged 0 to 4 by ever-married women aged 15 to 44, times 1000; the ratio is 1146.5, very high. A child-women ratio is not a good measure of fertility, but simply suggests the comparative range of fertility at one point in time. Most Portuguese migrants, for whom similar data were not available, came from the relatively high fertility northern region of Portugal. So it seems likely that their fertility was also high, but here we have no evidence even as rough as that for Algerians. However, descriptive accounts suggest that many of the married women in the group, who came to work as servants, left their children in Portugal, where they were cared for by relatives (Brettell, 1979).

The very low proportion of North African women employed in domestic service and house cleaning should also be noted, (Table II). Portuguese women were 17 percent of all domestic servants and cleaning women, while they were only 9 percent of foreign women. Household service work accounts for much of Portuguese women's overrepresentation among foreign women in the labor force, balancing out the Algerian women's underrepresentation. Portuguese women had moved into the household service slot formerly occupied by Spanish women by 1968; Algerian women were ordinarily not household service workers. Three factors of unknown weight are involved: Algerian women may have chosen not to do such work; employers may have chosen not to hire them as long as European women were available; or the recruitment of women for household service may have been going on through networks and channels to which Algerian women had no entry. It is quite likely the Portuguese women were hired before migration for some domestic service jobs. Nevertheless, for all groups

actual employment in house cleaning is probably underreported in the census, as it is easy to do such work without official notice.

The 1968 data are consistent, then, with the dual labor market hypothesis. Portuguese women, migrants who migrated in order to work, were much more often employed. Nearly all migrant women workers held low status, poorly paid occupations. The women with reputedly highest fertility were least likely to work. There were also patterns of occupational distribution which seemed to reflect possible ethnic or cultural constraints, the timing of migration, or employer preference.

Examining how things changed may clarify some of these alternatives.

The preliminary published report on foreigners from the 1975 census suggests some interesting changes in labor force participation patterns of migrant women. (Missing from this report, however, are crucial tables such a breakdown by sex of national groups in the total population, marital status of the migrant population by national groups, or an age breakdown by sex for these groups.) Tables III and IV present the available relevant figures. The labor force proportions in the report, (Table III, Column 4a), are of working women as a proportion of the entire female population of any age of each national group. Since the age structure of migrant groups vary, we have estimated females below working age. (We divided the number of persons under 17 by two. This assumes a sex ratio of 100 for persons under 17. There may be some selective migration for work by young men at 16, or

TABLE III

Female Labor Force Participation
In France, 1975

	Female Population		Total Labor Force	
	Over 15		Number	Percent
	1	2	3	4
Total	21,033,225		8,132,185	38.7
Foreign	958,885		298,310	31.1

	All Ages	Estimated 17+*		4 a of all Females	4 b of Women 17+
Total	26,854,955	20,046,480	8,132,185	30.3	40.6
Foreign	1,381,595	900,247	298,310	21.6	33.1
Algerian	227,600	96,072	17,380	7.6	18.1
Moroccan	69,455	35,472	9,575	13.8	27.0
Tunisian	43,220	23,867	5,940	13.7	25.0
Portuguese	350,600	212,370	108,050	30.8	50.8

*Method for estimation: Half of children of both sexes under 17 were subtracted from total female population.

Sources: Wisniewski, 1979; I.N.E.D. 1977 (Census sample 1/5).

TABLE IV

Women's Work in Selected Occupations, 1975

Female Population In Labor Force	OCCUPATIONS: Household And Other Services #	%	Unskilled Semi-Skilled Industry Workers #	%	Skilled Industry Workers #	%	Employees #	%
Total	968,545	11.9	1,404,706	17.3	433,135	5.3	2,454,375	30.2
Foreign	82,860	27.8	117,905	39.5	22,580	7.6	37,165	12.5
Algerian	2,700	15.5	7,395	42.6	1,665	9.6	4,360	20.7
Moroccan	2,835	29.6	3,965	41.4	665	6.9	1,230	12.8
Tunisian	1,085	18.3	2,005	33.7	740	12.5	1,540	25.9
Portuguese	33,335	30.8	57,435	53.2	7,050	6.5	7,790	7.2

Source: Wisniewski, 1979; I.N.E.D., 1977 (Census sample 1/5).

even 15, hence excess males, but this may be balanced by the excess females of the ordinary sex ratio and by female servant migration. The "under seventeen" was the only available young age group by nationality.) Estimated women under seventeen were then subtracted from all females to provide an adult base for labor force participation. Labor force participation, calculated on this base, yielded much higher rates for the women in migrant groups under consideration, because of the much younger age structure of foreigners compared to the native French population. Portuguese women have a substantially higher labor force participation rate than the whole female population, double that of the North Africans. Again, Algerian women were least likely to be wage workers, although the participation rate (18.1 percent), is much higher than that of 1968 (11.4). Rates of Moroccans and Tunisians were down somewhat. In 1975, as in 1968, many Portuguese women had evidently come to France very recently in order to work; Algerian women had come to rejoin their husbands.

The proportions of women by nationality in various types of work had also changed. North African women had greatly increased their representation in service (the category in 1975 includes household service plus some other small categories), from earlier very small proportions. Proportionately, fewer Portuguese women were employed in services (30.8 percent as compared to 43.6 in 1968). Fifty-two percent of Algerian women were industrial workers, still. A higher proportion of Portuguese women were industrial workers in 1975, and a somewhat increased proportion (7.2 percent as compared to 1.1 percent), were

white collar workers. Portuguese women were moving out of household service, and more North African women were doing such work. However, Algerian women in particular were more likely to be employees (i.e., white collar), than servants.

No adequate fertility measures were found for migrant groups, but the estimate of women over 17 for each national category was used to construct a comparable rough child/woman ratio. (This ratio is useful for internal comparisons among groups and it is not intended as a measure of fertility.) All children under 17 for each group were divided by the estimated number of women over 17. The ratio for all women was very low, .68, as expected, due to the very low French birth rate. The overall migrant ratio was 1.1, because of very low ratios in the older migrant groups, Italians and Spaniards. The Portuguese had a slightly higher ratio (1.3) than the mean, while the North Africans had much higher ratios. It is possible, also, that fewer of Portuguese women's children were living with them than was the case for other nationalities. The Algerian ratio of 2.7 is almost 4 times higher than that of the population as a whole, two and one half times that for all foreign women. Given this number of dependents under 17 for each adult woman (married or not), it is no wonder that Algerian women's labor force participation is so much lower than the average for foreign women.

Information from the two national censuses confirms both that immigrant women's employment is disproportionately clustered in household services and unskilled or semi-skilled work as the dual labor market hypothesis would predict, and that high child/woman ratios are linked

to lower labor force participation for North African, particularly Algerian, women. The causal direction of this link is not known. The kinds of jobs Algerian women held (manufacturing and white collar jobs) are occupations in which it is difficult for married women with children to manage. The fact that proportionately fewer North African women are listed in household services suggests that it is primarily single North African women who are working. This is consistent with the married women's heavy familial responsibilities and with underreporting of such work by married women. It is possible that the growing proportion of the Algerian women workers who were employees, were young women educated in France, hence qualified for some white collar positions which Algerian born women were not.

The incompleteness of these data, on top of uncertain reporting, make further speculation fruitless. Let us turn instead to several local case studies which provide additional information, largely descriptive of aspects of North African women's lives in France other than work.

A recent publication (I.N.E.D., 1977), reports five studies on North Africans in France. The five studies were not conceptualized as strictly comparative, and the data were gathered for different kinds of samples, focusing on specific problems which differed in each case: Housing, schooling, work, the process of migration. By 1976, Alain Girard's preface notes, there were 1,350,000 North Africans living in France (900,000 Algerians, 300,000 Moroccans, and 200,000 Tunisians), out of a total 4,000,000 resident foreigners.

The study of "adaptation" at Marseilles (Garreno, et al, 1977) surveyed inhabitants of three neighborhoods, one an old downtown area, and two outlying public housing developments. They report that, contrary to the official policy that migrants pass through well-defined phases of residence from bidonville to temporary public housing to standard public housing -- there were, on the one hand, many immigrants in old working class residential neighborhoods and, on the other, those in the public housing stream who often were slowed in their eventual access to standard housing. Immigrants were placed in _Cités de transit_ -- temporary housing -- because standard housing was not ready, but also because they were believed to be "unready" for regular public housing. It was often years before they could leave the Cités.

In some sense, the old downtown neighborhood of the Panier, in Marseilles, provided a more integrated life for Algerians, because there they lived among other working class families. Nevertheless, the research team noted a tendency toward segregation of the schools which suggested movement out by French natives as Algerians became more common in a neighborhood. Married women were able to do house or office cleaning because their housing was close to downtown. In the public housing projects, whether they were in the _cités de transit_ or the HLM (the standard apartments) North Africans were more isolated. They had fewer contacts with non-kin or non-immigrants and were, of necessity, reliant on themselves. An analysis of fiscal resources shows that North Africans were using their families to accumulate income adequate to their needs. In the Fontvert development, the wages of the male head of household

provided only 40.9 percent of total income. The wife's or children's wages provided 27.3 percent and various public subsidies (divided between those based on need, such as assistance, and those which were automatic, such as family allowances), provided the larger portion of family resources (Garreno, et al, 1977: 66 - 67). There is no detail on the kinds of jobs which women and children held, except that they are described as even more unstable than men's. About 25 percent of the wives reported that they clean house, often in far-removed neighborhoods. Here is an effect of the outlying location of much public housing, which made the voyage to work for these women long and difficult. The other public housing development studied included both temporary and standard housing. This is where many families were found to be "blocked" in the temporary housing, and as their families grew by new births, these developments were rapidly becoming over-crowded. (There were more than 8 children in the average North African household in one type of public housing in the Gavotte neighborhood (Garreno, et al, 1977: 99)!

Although women were in many ways more isolated in the suburban public housing, they cultivated and used family connections. Women in the Fontvert development made 5 or 6 trips a week, often on foot, to relatives in other parts of Marseilles. They also met informally together in the development with other North African woman. One crane operator noted that the women "give each other advice and ideas; that helps the families, later." (Garreno, et al, 1977: 84)

Rochefort et al (1977), studied families and school children in the Lyons urban area through census and other official documents and also surveyed residents of a public housing development. They found that

Algerian families were very large, that women had many household and child-care responsibilities and that practically none of these women earned wages. There had been a vast increase in the number and proportion of children in the Algerian population from 1962 to 1968, as wives joined their husbands. By the end of 1973, Rochefort and associates estimate, there were 2.7 children under 15 for each Algerian woman, only one for each Portuguese woman. The Algerian mothers were burdened with younger children which prevented them from accompanying their kinder-garten or nursery age children to the schools provided for them; this actually increased their charges at home (Rochefort et al, 1977: 148). The women were isolated because the new housing in which they lived was clustered on the outskirts of Lyons, separated from the older mixed use neighborhoods. These women had little contact with their neighbors, much more with kin, who lived elsewhere in the city. They were unable to go to the housekeeping classes the social services provided: they simply lacked time because of their numerous dependents and because of the inflexible schedules of men's work and children's schooling. The mothers needed their children as interpreters of French life and translators, and were investing a lot of hope on these children's schooling for their families' future.

The study of Gennevilliers, an industrial suburb of Paris (Gokalp and Lamy, 1977), combines a study of workers, based on information collected from employers, and a study of foreign families in a public housing development. There were eleven factories in Gennevilliers in 1973 which hired more than 1000 workers each, including General Motors

France; not only was there much manufacturing, then, but that manufacturing was very large scale. The city also had an enormous proportion of immigrants in its resident population, 27 percent in 1968, of which 80 percent were North Africans (41 percent Algerian, 38 percent Moroccan, and 1.3 percent Tunisian). The labor force of the city had different proportions of national groups, because the residential figures just provided include dependants, and dependency ratios varied; 33.9 percent of the male workers were Moroccans, 20.8 percent Algerians. In the female labor force, there were more Algerian women workers (8.2 percent) than Moroccans (5.9 percent). Although only 11.9 percent of male workers were Portuguese, 21.5 percent of the women workers were, reflecting much higher labor force participation among Portuguese women than among the North Africans, a phenomonen discussed above for France as a whole. Overall however, most workers (93 percent) were male, a characteristic linked to the types of industries in the community. Most of the men, in fact, worked in heavy industry -- auto construction and building. The proportion in construction and public works is high for both Portuguese (58 percent) and Algerians (41 percent). However, of these workers, many more Algerians (83 percent) than Portuguese (56 percent) were unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Most resident women worked elsewhere than the city; one out of two worked in commerce; one out of six, in the chemical industry. There is no detailed report of occupation by sex and nationality.

Differences according to national origin, in living arrangements and demography in Gennevilliers are clear. The city has both provisional,

cité de transit and HLM, standard, public housing. Most Algerians (58 percent), lived in the cité de transit, while about 40 percent of Portuguese did. Apparently, the Algerians had been admitted to public housing of any type more slowly than the Portuguese. A majority (52.6 percent) of the Algerians were in the Paris region before 1963, only 11.7 percent of the Portuguese. Despite this record of seniority, in 1974, Algerians were more commonly housed in the cité de transit than the Portuguese. Part of this difference was doubtless due to the fact that male Algerian immigrants came and worked alone in France. Yet, if this is so, it points up a consequence of delayed family migration, namely that the migrants lose out on priority for public housing. Discrimination also plays a role here. In fact, the HLM residents, for a complex of reasons, are primarily non-African immigrants, married to Frenchwomen, in France for more than ten years, and long time residents of Gennevilliers.

The aggregate comparisons among national groups of immigrant women show that the sector in which both Portuguese and North Africans were likely to be employed was the secondary sector. Service, especially household service, and low skilled or unskilled manufacturing were the most common occupations. The rough comparisons of dependents per woman suggest that heavier family responsibility in France accompanied lower labor force participation by Algerian women.

The case studies of Marseilles, Lyons, and Gennevilliers show how different migrant experience may be, even among recent migrants. But they also show how important are the circumstances and timing of migration. Family migration is transforming Algerian migration (and

Algerian access to public housing), but it poses a new set of problems in which families are often dependent on themselves. Under these circumstances, with parents locked into the lowest ranking and poorest paid jobs, and mothers even less prepared for urban work than fathers, numerous children are still family resources which are an alternative to adult ambitions for themselves. High fertility, poor jobs, and poor access to public services are linked to both delayed family migration and discrimination; high fertility was a rational strategy of Algerian families, in the 1974 situation in France. This may well change and may have begun to change by now, but we have no more recent data.

Mexican Women in the American Labor Force

Mexicans have long been a part of the American population, particularly in the Southwestern states, where their presence pre-dates American possession of the land. After the establishment of the U.S. - Mexican border, movement of permanent and temporary migrants continued unhampered -- to the extent that no records of immigration were kept between 1886 and 1893 (Grebler et al., 1970: 63). In the twentieth century, America has welcomed Mexicans to the degree they are needed as workers: the most substantial waves of immigrants began in response to labor shortages during World War I and peaked in the boom years of the 1920s. At the end of the economic depression of the 1930s, Mexicans were imported as temporary farm laborers, under the auspices of the bracero program, and by the later 1950s, over 400,000 contract workers entered per year (Grebler et al., 1970: 64 - 68).

America's Mexican-American population has changed dramatically in the past twenty years. It is larger, more female and more urban than earlier. In the Southwest alone, the Mexican-American population increased by 50% in the 1950s and by 33% in the 1960s. By 1975, 6.7 Mexican - Americans lived in the U.S. (Fogel, 1979: 2). The termination of the bracero program in 1964 has increased family migration, visible in a sharp relative increase in female immigrants from Mexico in the late 1960s. (The sex ratio of Mexican immigrants dropped from 119.5 for 1960 - 1964 to 82.1 for 1965 - 1969.) Once dependent largely on argiculture, Mexican - Americans have become a primarily urban group. At the beginning of the 1960s, the vast majority of Mexican-Americans live in the five Southwestern states of Texas, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and California, but since the mid-1960s, more have been moving to urban areas in the Midwest (Briggs, 1975: 359; Grebler, et al, 1970: 112- 113). Consequently, this subgroup is becoming an increasingly significant part of the American urban labor force.

Yet the life-cycle patterns and fertility of Mexican-American women, important elements in the above model, militate against their employment. Mexican-American's fertility is significantly higher than that of Anglo Americans and Blacks. Regardless of income, age or religiosity, they bear more children than their White and Black counterparts (Almirez, 1973; Bradshaw and Bean, 1973: 694; Grebler, et al, 1970: 131 - 135). Moreover, Mexican-Americans have young children in the home -- a most immediate brake on mother's employment; 46% of the husband - wife families include at least one child under six. The figure is 27% for white couples

and 32% for Black couples (Almquist-Wherle Einhorn, 1978: 67). Consequently, only 36.4% of Mexican-American women are employed (as registered by the 1970 census), compared with 47.5% of Black women and 40.6% of white women. The machismo culture of Mexican-Americans may also depress women's labor force participation (Nieto, 1974), because ideally, the male supports his spouse and children.

Within the highly visible and relatively well-researched Mexican-American community, the immigrant -- about 20% of Mexican-Americans -- holds a special place.[5] This section will sketch out that place. Here "immigrant" and "Mexican-born" will refer to the subsection of the Mexican-American community which was born in Mexico. Generally, immigrants have higher fertility, a lower rate of labor force participation, and a distinct pattern of employment compared to Anglo, Black and Mexican-American women in the United States.

Mexican-born women have an average of over four children. At ages 25 - 44, they have higher fertility than Mexican-Americans, and over one child more than Black and White American women. (See Table V.) And high fertility seems to depress the chances that the Mexican immigrant woman would work, because less than a third of Mexican-born women were working in 1970. (See Table VI) Their rate of labor force participation contrasts sharply to Black women's (47.5%), White women's (40.6%), and even to that of Mexican-American women (36.4%). The longer the Mexican woman lives in the United States, however, the more likely she is to work, and this is probably related to the child bearing phase of the life cycle. For example, in 1970, women who had been in the U.S. for less than six years

TABLE V

Children Ever Born to Women in the USA
1970

Number of Children Ever Born	White	Black	Mexican American	Mexican Immigrant
Per 1,000 women	1,915	2,242	2,164	3,430
Per 1,000 ever-married women	2,450	3,023	2,956	4,074
Per 1,000 ever-married women aged 25 - 44	2,679	3,412	3,246	3,768

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of The Census, Subject Reports of the 1970 Census: PC (2)-1A, National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C. : Government Printing Office, 1973).

TABLE VI

Rate of Labor Force Participation

Of Women in the U.S., 1970

	White	Black	Mexican-American	Mexican Immigrant
Percent in labor force	40.6	47.5	36.4	30.2

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Subject Reports of the 1970 Census: PC (2)-1A, National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C. : Government Printing Office, 1973).

had a mean age of 22.6 and 33.6% of them worked; many of these women probably had pre-school children. On the other hand, women who had been in the U.S. ten to fifteen years, had a mean age of 33.7 and 36.3% of them worked. Because they began child bearing relatively early, it is possible that this group had fewer preschool children (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973b: 461 - 462).

Table VII compares the occupations of Mexican-born immigrants with Whites, Blacks and Mexican-American women. Mexican-born women are heavily concentrated in industry: nearly 40% of them are factory operatives. Service occupations (such as waitress in food services, nurses' aide in health services, or janitoress in cleaning services), employ nearly one in five. Many are household service workers, and fewer have clerical jobs than any other group of working women. Mexican-Americans are more likely than immigrants to have clerical jobs, but they are also concentrated in industry and in service occupations. Consequently, each group of female employees appears to have a more or less special place in the American labor force: White women dominate clerical work, Black women concentrate in domestic and non-domestic service, and Mexicans have the highest proportion of manufacturing operatives.

Newly arrived Mexican women work at different kinds of occupations than those who have been in the United States longer. Participation in farm labor drops -- from 11% of recent arrivals to 6% of those arrived 11 - 15 years earlier. A large proportion (13%), of new arrivals work as domestic servants, but few women who have been in the U.S. over five years do. Factory work also declines -- from 45% for new arrivals to 36%

TABLE VII

Occupations of Women in the U.S., 1970

	White	Black	Mexican American	Mexican Immigrant
		Percent		
Professional & technical workers	16	11	6	4
Managers, administrators	4	1	2	2
Sales workers	6	3	6	5
Clerical workers	37	21	26	13
Craft workers, foreman	2	1	2	3
Operatives	14	17	26	38
Nonfarm laborers	1	1	2	2
Farm laborers, foremen	0	1	4	7
Nonhousehold service workers	14	25	21	18
Private service workers	2	18	5	9

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Subject Reports of the 1970 Census: PC (2)-1A, National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1973); Elizabeth Almquist and Juanite Wehrle-Einhorn, "The Doubly Disadvantaged: Minority Women in the Labor Force", in Ann Stromberg and Shirley Harkness, eds., Women Working (Palo Alto, California: Mayfield, 1978).

for women in the U.S. for 16 - 20 years. Clerical employment, however, increases dramatically: only 7% of new arrivals have clerical jobs, but after five years, 11% do, and after 10 - 15 years, 17% work as clericals (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973b: 462). This suggests that women's place in the labor force evolves as they have more experience in the U.S.

Thus, national statistics yield a picture of the Mexican immigrant woman as married with high fertility, low rates of labor force participation, and very special occupations. The longer she has lived in the U.S., the greater the likelihood of working. Also, the long-time U.S. resident is more likely to be a white collar worker and less likely to be a farm laborer, factory worker or domestic servant than the new arrival. In short, she comes to resemble the aggregate community of Mexican-Americans. Consequently, national statistics support the idea that marriage and childbearing often keep women out of the workplace. In a general way, they support the dual labor market hypothesis by showing how Mexican women move from servant, agricultural and factory work toward clerical work as their status as new immigrant becomes less salient.

Data on Mexican-Americans in the Southwest U.S. from a Current Population Report is intriguingly suggestive of this group's family strategy. The low labor force participation rate among women is offset by participation of children and other relatives in the household. (Thirty-nine percent of Mexican-American women worked, 51% of their children and other relatives; 50% of other white wives worked, 39% of their children and other relatives.) Mexican-American women with children under six were just as likely to work as other white women. Yet, when their children

were older, they were less likely to work than other groups (Ryscavage and Mellor, 1974: 5). Apparently, they did not enter the labor force after childbearing as often as other mothers. This suggests that the Mexican family is more inclined to put growing children to work than wives, and that its offspring (whose school attendance is notoriously low), are the mainspring of its survival system.

Yet, aggregated data from five Southwestern states does not inform specifically about Mexicans in the city. In order to discern the role of migrants in the urban economy and the impact of opportunity and the presence of other groups upon it, we will compare the occupations and labor force participation of Mexican immigrant women in three cities. One is a Midwestern city with a fast-growing Mexican-American population - Chicago, and the others are California cities whose Mexican-Americans are quite different from each other: San Francisco and Los Angeles. This investigation is limited by the very general kind of data available on Mexican immigrants from published census materials. Marital status and date of arrival are not availably by city. Labor force participation rates are available, but they are not broken down by marital status or age of children. Occupational categories are the most general 12 categories allowed by the census and as a result, there is no indication of which industry or which service employs. Moreover, occupations are not published for cities, but for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas only. Thus, the Chicago data include the surrounding counties and part of Indiana; the Los Angeles data include Long Beach and the San Francisco data include Oakland.

Mexican women in Chicago are relatively young and recently arrived in the United States. This fits with the fact that Mexicans only began to come to Midwestern cities in large numbers in the middle 1960s, decades after they had settled in the Southwestern United States. Age and 1965 residence suggests that many Mexican women in Chicago may be single and able to work. Recency of arrival suggests that many Mexicans would be factory workers. The presence of a well-established Black labor force suggests that the competition may be keen for service and clerical jobs, at least.

Table VIII shows that factory work is the primary vocation of Mexican immigrant women in Chicago. Although nearly 20% are clerical workers, their share of white collar jobs is well behind that of Mexican-Americans, Blacks, or the total female labor force of the city. Mexican-Americans, on the other hand, are more likely to be clerical or service workers, although they too are primarily factory operatives. Black women hold many more white collar jobs and service jobs -- particularly in health services.

Mexican women in the San Francisco area are older than those in Chicago and fewer arrived in the U.S.A. after 1965. This suggests a more established migrant community, and by extension, one more likely to work in services and white collar jobs than in industry. Table IX ("Total Female Labor Force"), shows that there are relatively few jobs in industry in the San Francisco area. Although the state's two largest garment manufacturers (Levi Strauss & Co., and Koracorp Industries, Inc; Business Week, 1978), are located in the Bay Area, its female labor force is

TABLE VIII

Rate of Labor Force Participation and Occupations of Women in Chicago SMSA, 1970

	All Women	Black	Mexican American	Mexican Immigrants
I. Percent of women in the labor force	45.2	46.8	44.5	36.3
II. Occupations:				
Professional & technical workers	15	11	7	3
Manager, Administrators	3	2	1	0
Sales workers	7	3	4	2
Clerical workers	43	35	29	19
Craft workers, foremen	2	2	3	3
Operatives	15	20	42	59
Nonfarm laborers	1	2	2	3
Farm laborers, foremen	-	-	-	-
Nonhousehold service workers	13	19	10	9
Private service workers	2	6	1	2
III. Percent of Total Female Labor Force	100	16	4	-

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population; Subject Reports of the 1970 Population: PC (2)-1A National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973).

TABLE IX

Rate of Labor Force Participation and Occupations of Women in San Francisco-Oakland SMSA, 1970

	All Women	Black	Mexican American	Mexican Immigrant
I. Percent of Women The Labor Force	45.1	51.1	44.1	28.8
II. Occupations				
Professional & technical	18	12	10	6
Manager, administrators	5	2	3	0
Sales workers	8	4	6	4
Clerical workers	44	35	42	21
Craft workers, foremen	1	1	2	2
Operatives	7	8	15	31
Nonfarm laborers	1	1	1	2
Farm laborers, foremen	-	-	1	2
Nonhousehold service workers	14	26	17	23
Private service workers	3	11	3	8
III. Percent of Total Female Labor Force	100	10	10	-

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population; Subject Reports of the 1970 Population: PC (2) - 1A National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973).

concentrated in white collar occupations. Professional, managerial, sales and clerical positions account for over 70% of women's jobs. The Mexican-American women in San Francisco in 1970 was most often a clerical worker, and nearly 60% had white collar jobs. More were factory workers than Blacks, but they were not so disproportionately in industry as Mexican-Americans in Chicago.

In this economy, opportunities for Mexican immigrant women were clearly limited. This is reflected by an unusually high rate of unemployment (12%), and low rate of labor force participation (28.8%), in 1969. And in an economy with relatively few factory jobs, the largest group of women were operatives -- over twice the proportion of immigrants as of all Mexican-American women. In services and even in domestic service, they nearly equaled Blacks. Yet, while over half the Black women in the area had white collar jobs, only 31% of the immigrants did. Perhaps, relatively few Mexican-Americans in San Francisco were recently arrived because there were few opportunities for them.

The age and recency of arrival of Mexican women in Los Angeles placed them between those in Chicago and San Francisco. More were under the age of 24 than in San Francisco, and more had been living in Mexico five years earlier. Yet the relatively healthy proportion over the age of 65, high rate of labor force participation (36.2%), and low rate of unemployment (8%), reflect the fact that the Mexican-American community of Los Angeles includes a large contingent of new arrivals to an established community. Mexican-American women outnumber Black women in the labor force of the city. The figures in Table X show that Mexican immigrants in Los

TABLE X

Rate of Labor Force Participation and Occupations of Women in Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA, 1970

	All Women	Black	Mexican American	Mexican Immigrant
I. Percent of Women In The Labor Force	44.6	50.0	42.7	36.2
II. Occupations				
Professional & technical workers	16	14	8	3
Manager, administrators	5	2	3	3
Sales workers	7	3	5	1
Clerical workers	40	33	32	14
Craft workers, foremen	2	2	3	3
Operatives	13	15	31	53
Nonfarm laborers	1	1	1	2
Nonhousehold service workers	14	21	14	13
Private service workers	3	10	3	8
III. Percent of Total Female Labor Force	100	11	15	-

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population; Subject Reports of the 1970 Population: PC (2)-1A National Origin and Language (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973).

Angeles, like those in Chicago and San Francisco, concentrate in industry more than Mexican-Americans and far more than Black women. Relatively few have white collar jobs (a smaller proportion than in San Francisco or Chicago). About 20% of the immigrants work in domestic and other services.

Why are Mexican immigrants primarily in industry? First, their education, training and skills do not qualify them for most white collar jobs. The average female immigrant from Mexico has completed 5.8 years of schooling, and her mother tongue is not English. This not only disqualifies her from most white collar jobs, but from many service jobs as well. Those which require easy communication with a client -- such as household service or waitressing -- are difficult for someone whose English is poor. However, English is not required to clean an office building at night, or empty a bedpan, so many non-domestic service jobs are open to and filled by immigrants. Second, there is competition for domestic, health and cleaning service jobs from Black women, who have been firmly lodged in the least desirable jobs in the American labor force for decades. Third, the areas where Mexican immigrant women do work in domestic service and services the most -- the non-industrial areas of the Southwest -- have not been represented here because published data on these SMSAs is not available.

What kind of industry employs the Mexican immigrant women? Do industrial employers draw from the primary or the secondary labor force? This question is difficult to answer because the census occupational classifications are so general. Walter Fogel of UCLA infers from informal sources and data on the Mexican-American population that employers

in the production of non-durable goods include the manufacture of apparel, textiles, and rubber, plastic, stone, and clay products, cosmetics, furniture, food processing and footwear. Durable goods manufacturers include primary metals manufacturing. Laundry and food services, railroad transport, and construction are other employers. Fogel notes that most jobs are unskilled or semi-skilled, but concludes, "on the other hand, Mexican nationals have attained noticeable significance in a few fairly skilled occupations, as sewers and stitchers in the apparel industry, construction, carpenters, and private household workers, for example" (Fogel, 1976: 45). Of these occupations, only apparel industry workers are operatives. Industry and labor agree that at least 80% of the garment workers in California's garment industry are Hispanics (Lindsey, 1979). California's garment industry, second only to New York's, employs well over 100,000 workers. Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that many of the Mexican women factory operatives in California are garment workers.

Unfortunately, given the nature of the garment industry, to have attained "noticeable significance" in these "fairly skilled" occupations places the female Mexican immigrant squarely in the secondary labor force and subjects her to some of the worst exploitation in contemporary American industry. Helen Safa has noted that the garment industry, as a labor intensive industry, has exploited women's labor at cheap rates since its inception, first employing rural American workers, then European immigrants. Although much garment labor is presently exported to "runaway shops" outside the U.S.A., the industry also employs immigrants in New York and California from Asia, Mexico, and other Latin American

countries (Buck, 1979; Lindsey, 1979). The California industry is the primary employer of Mexicans.

First, a closer examination of the garment industry explains its attraction for the migrant woman and its nature as a secondary sector employer. The structure of the garment industry makes for a fragmented labor force. Between the manufacturer and the worker is the contractor, who manages contracts for batches of garments and hires labor to produce the garments. Thus, the contractor, or the contract manager, is the employer. Although some contractors employ workers in large shops, small shops thrive; a 1979 study of the Bay Area garment industry in California found that most of the 228 shops employed no more than 25 workers (Gaurdian, 2 May, 1979). And because the contractor need only rent sewing machines and a building, under-capitalization is common (Shinoff, 1970: 241). Consequently, many garment workers are employed by people who are themselves on the margin of business survival. And because contractors employ in small units and have little money, they skimp on wages and benefits for their employees, who are seldom organized into unions. As a matter of fact, only 12.5% of California's garment workers are unionized (Business Week, 1978: 188).

Although the worker in the small sweatshop is a skilled laborer, she is nonetheless part of the city's secondary labor force. Employment depends on the garment contract, and is consequently undependable. With the exception of becoming a contractor one's self, there is no upward mobility as a garment worker. Finally, the work is unhealthy and dangerous: the sweatshops are ill-ventilated (Lindsey, 1979), and hazardous.

As one team of observers recorded: "In one typical workroom (in New York), 75 women sit 2 feet apart and operate their sewing machines at long, waist-high tables illuminated by flourescent lights. Flammable fabric is everywhere: in open bins, on wheel-mounted pipe racks, on the debris-strewn floor." Yet sixty-eight years have passed since the Traingle Shirtwaist fire that killed 146 women and men in a lower Manhattan sweatshop in New York (Ruby and Concannon, 1977).

Garment sewing is also "put out" to women who work at home and are paid by the piece. Labor officials consider home work more onerous than sweatshop conditions becuase it allows absolutely uncontrollable abuses of hour, wage and child labor laws. Women can overwork themselves and exploit their children's labor (Buck, 1979: 46; Shinoff, 1970: 240, 243). Because home work is practically invisible -- its only really visible manifestation being the sight of women walking through the garment district with bundles of goods in their arms -- it is impossible to estimate how many women do garment work at home. The chief of California's Division of Industrial Welfare estimated in 1970 that there were up to 75,000 homeworkers in the Los Angeles garment industry alone (Shinoff, 1970: 240). Yet official industry estimates placed the total number of workers in the entire California garment industry at about 75,000 in the same year (Business Week, 1978).

With a cheap Hispanic labor force, the California garment industry has blossomed since 1970. Wholesale sales jumped from $1.4 billion to $2.6 billion in 1977. Industry statistics recorded that 28,000 more jobs were generated in that period in California while the

industry in the nation as a whole lost 78,000 jobs (Business Week, 1978: 183). The expansion of the number of garment workers in California in this decade, workers who are primarily Hispanic female immigrants, depends on a process more complex than exploitation of worker by employer. In addition, it depends on the complicity of the labor force, which is fostered by the illegal migrant status of many workers, the triple disadvantage of the Mexican woman in the labor force, and the social organization of the garment industry: fear, powerlessness and networks of contact. Illegal aliens are afraid to join garment workers' unions for fear of being reported to the Immigration Service by their employer and deported (Lindsey, 1979). Workers are unable to defend themselves because they cannot speak English (Shinoff, 1970: 242). Moreover, they cannot risk being fired because this is often the only job they know of and are qualified for. Last, the sweatshop and home work systems are held together by bonds of friendship, family and national origin. The small "low-end" contractor, who may actually be a husband and wife team (Buck, 1979: 43), does not so much hire individual workers as gather a group of women into the shop. In the words of a Department of Labor official, the contractor "mobilizes a community of women." Investigators of New York sweatshops found that often the workers in a shop are "all members of a single family or extended sibling group, working together as a cohesive unit" (Buck, 1979: 43). And the contractor may be of the same nationality as the workers, using his own community as a source of labor.

For the immigrant woman, a job which allows her to work with her family or friends, or to work at home and care for her children, is

in some senses, ideal. Estelle Smith describes the chances for communication afforded to Portuguese women around the cutting table of the garment work shop (Smith, 1976). And Maria Ramerez, a Mexican immigrant explains that she does home work because dhild care would cost $40 of her weekly $60.00 paycheck (Shinoff, 1970: 242). The value of a wage earned is expressed by a New York garment worker -- an illegal immigrant from Peru facing deportation for the third time: "I wasn't doing anything wrong working there. I was just working for others, for my family" (Buck, 1979: 43).

The jobs of Mexican immigrants in the American city illustrate the special place of the migrant woman in the labor force. When they are compared with the Mexican-American ethnic group, and when analyzed by length of residence in the U.S., it is clear that migration itself is a salient factor in setting women apart in the work force. When compared with all working women, it is clear that ethnicity and immigrant status place the Mexican-born at a double disadvantage. Even in the absence of detailed occupational information, one may conclude that the concept of the dual labor market is appropriate for dealing with Mexican-born women in the U.S.A., for their non-union manual labor jobs (domestic, farm worker, operative), are among the most dead-end and least remunerative of occupations.

It is more difficult to assess the impact of other elements of the model introduced at the opening of this paper. For example, the role of competing groups of workers and the economy of specific cities

cannot be disentagled without more detailed information. Are immigrants more often domestic employees in L. A. than Chicago because there is less competition with Blacks for these jobs, because there is a greater demand for such workers in L.A., or because a greater number of very recent migrants (for whom live-in service is a relatively desirable job) reside in L.A.? Mexican women are obviously drawn into factory jobs, but published census information does not distinguish between industries, pay levels, unionization and other crucial factors which reveal whether or not an occupation employs primary or secondary sector workers.

Mexican women's employment does seem to be low because many are in the life cycle stage which most stringently limits women's employment: they are married and have young children at home. Given these facts, it may be that a relatively high percentage of young mothers work out of necessity; only more detailed information will tell. Their children's low school attendance does suggest that the Mexican child may work despite compulsory education and child labor laws, and that the family strategy of Mexican immigrants may include children's work.

Clearly, many Mexican women's jobs are characterized by substandard conditions, low wages and inadequate protection. Their work is dangerous, unhealthy and ill-paid. This brings us to the heart of the dilemma of policy regarding the employment of migrants, particularly of migrant women: Pay is substandard for illegally long hours, employers exploit migrants and they are willing to work in exploitative conditions -- because substandard jobs are among the only jobs available to them.

Conclusion

We have seen that immigrant women, in the historical experience of Western Europe and of the United States and in contemporary international migration, have similar problems. They share a family, or household, determination of the timing and conditions of migration. Today, they come primarily as kin of male migrants. Their lack of skills typically bars them from most jobs in the receiving area. Nevertheless, there are many migrant women in the secondary labor force where there is a demand for workers to do unskilled, poorly paid jobs, located in small scale manufacturing and service in particular. In this aspect, women's wage labor is an effort to achieve the goals of immigrants, economic betterment, whether the immigrant is an individual or a member of a family group. The wage labor of women is only one way in which immigrant families may be trying to achieve their goals. High fertility, and a strategy of bearing children who will later be workers contributing to the family, is an alternative that many recently arrived or recently united families seem to be pursuing. The production and reproduction alternatives are most clearly posed by the comparison between Algerians and Portuguese, but they are also evident among Mexican immigrants with different lengths of residence in the United States.

Recognition that immigrant women, like men, are wage workers, and that their wage work meshes of necessity with their family lives, puts immigration and work into its proper context. It points up the need for policy that takes both arenas, work and family, into account, not only in understanding the process of migration, but in dealing with

the housing, child care, education, and working conditions, questions/ problems which are becoming more salient with the residence in receiving countries of more and more women and children as well as male migrants.

FOOTNOTES

1. The transformation of migration process from sponsored, circular migration to chain migration is best conceptualized by C. Tilly (1974 and 1978), to whom we owe our basic understanding of the problem. Because we are focusing on implications for women and family, we use the categories individual and family migration. Piore (1979) sees individual migration as the process to be explained; family migration as an unforeseen and undesireable possible outcome of individual migration.

2. Herold, 1979: 257 - 263, objects to the "biased picture of female migration" that results from a focus on "low status women." However, rural-born, uneducated women working in the secondary labor market or joining their husbands employed in that sector far outnumber the female professionals or civil servants or the wives of professionals who migrate.

3. There are exceptions to the adult male employment goal of most migration. Young women come to work as servants in cities in the twentieth, as well as in the nineteenth century. Many families with adolescent or young adult children moved to nineteenth century textile cities in order for their children to work. Contemporary Spanish and Portuguese male migration has sometimes been preceded by women who became maids or concierges and were later joined by their husbands. See page 27 for the case of Anatolian daughters who migrate before male members of their families.

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