

**INTERNATIONAL FAMILY MIGRATION AND LABOR-
MARKET OUTCOMES OF IMMIGRANT COUPLES:
DO TYPES OF MIGRATION MATTER?**

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This study examines whether immigrant women's labor-market outcomes relative to those of immigrant men vary across different types of family migration. Using matched pairs of husbands and wives from the 2000 U.S Census, this study investigates the impact of international family migration on immigrant women's employment status and hourly earnings. The results show that, for women, wife-initiated migration is positively associated with employment, compared to husband-initiated and simultaneous migration. In relation to the moderating effect of education, for wife-initiated migration, women are also more likely to be employed as education rises. Thus, for wife-initiated migration, the gender gap diminishes substantially with increasing education. Consistent with the analyses of employment status, for women, wife-initiated migration is positively associated with higher hourly earnings. The moderating effect of education also shows that, for women, the positive association between wife-initiated migration and hourly earnings increases with education.

Key Words: *International Family Migration, Gender, Labor Market, Employment, Earnings*

INTRODUCTION

The ethnic composition of immigrant streams into the United States has dramatically changed over the past decades as the origin of immigrant streams has shifted from Europe toward Asia and Latin America (Barringer, Gardner and Levin, 1993). The increased volume of immigration from developing countries has renewed the debate over the mode of social and economic incorporation of new immigrants in the U.S. (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 1997; Zhou, 1997; Alba and Nee, 2003). In addition, the role of women in the international migration process has substantially increased over the past decades (Zlotnik, 1998). Contrary to the pervasive assumption of the international migrant as a

young, economically motivated male, Houstoun, Kramer, and Barrett (1984) documented that more than half of all legal immigrants to the U.S. has been female since 1930. Castles and Miller (2003) also identified that the feminization of migration is one of the general trends in contemporary migrations. Especially, the demand for female labor has rapidly grown in sectors such as nursing and domestic work as a result of structural changes in the economies of major immigrant-receiving countries (Pedraza, 1991; Boyle, 2002). To meet the rising demand for domestic and nursing workers, female migrants are increasingly likely to make such moves alone and act as the primary earners (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997; Kanaiaupuni, 2000a; Oishi, 2002).

Despite the significance of gender in international migration, until recently the role of women in migration has been largely neglected in the literature. Most previous research on gender and migration mainly investigated the role of gender in terms of *internal* family migration. Mounting evidence indicates that, rather than a means of upward social mobility, family migration oftentimes has adverse effects on married women's labor-market outcomes (Mincer, 1978; Lichter, 1983; Shihadeh, 1991; Clark and Withers, 2002). In contrast, relatively little research has attempted to examine how the interplay between gender and the family takes place in the context of *international* migration.

Furthermore, recently several researchers have questioned the homogeneity of family migration. For example, in their review of literature on family migration, Bailey and Boyle (2004) claimed that family migration is not a unitary concept and that it is difficult to capture a wide variety of family-related movement in a single typology. Based on the distinction between family migrants who moved with their partners and those who moved alone (joining migrants), Boyle et al. (1999; 2001) also found that long-distance female migrants who moved with their partners are the most likely to be unemployed or economically inactive. Compared to female migrants who moved with their partners, however, they found that joining female migrants were actually more likely to be employed or economically active.

There is another literature, limited but growing, which examines whether the impact of family migration on married women's labor-market outcomes is contingent upon individual-level resources that female migrants bring to the destination area (Lichter, 1983; Shihadeh, 1991; Boyle et al., 1999; Smits, 1999). For example, Lichter (1983) tested a hypothesis that returns to migration vary systematically with women's level of resources, such as education and occupational status. He found

that the negative impact of family migration does not diminish regardless of absolute and relative levels of education and occupational status. However, no previous research has attempted to investigate the possibility that moderating effects of individual-level resources can vary depending upon family contexts where decisions to migration are made.

Using the 2000 U.S. Census 5 Per cent Public Use Microdata Sample, this study seeks to address this gap in the literature by examining labor-market outcomes among international family migrants to the U.S. Compared to internal family migration, it appears that the impact of international family migration on women is more complex and multidimensional because international migration involves crossing different political borders and cultural boundaries, as well as changes in roles and authorities of women in the family. In this study, we focus on heterogeneity among international family migrants and examine whether married women's labor-market outcomes are contingent upon different family migration types. Rather than assuming homogeneous effects of family migration on partnered women's labor-market outcomes, we hypothesize that returns to family migration are dependent upon family migration decision processes within households. More specifically, we attempt to test if immigrant wives' labor-market outcomes vary depending upon whether or not women are lead migrants in the migration process.

Although we believe investigating heterogeneity among international family migrants is a useful addition to the literature on family migration, it should be noted that the internal family migration literature on married women is mainly concerned with the relative effect of moving versus not moving (some exceptions include Bonney and Love, 1991; Shihadeh, 1991). Although important, this limitation could not be addressed because the U.S. census data do not provide any information on those who decided not to move. Despite this limitation, we think it is still worthwhile to focus on immigrant husbands and wives in the U.S. and examine the heterogeneity among immigrant families. Using matched pairs of husbands and wives, we expect that the study results will provide a good opportunity to assess the labor-market performances of immigrant husbands and wives following migration in the U.S. labor market.

We also hypothesize that a person's human capital resources, such as educational attainment, have differential effects on married women's labor-market outcomes depending upon family migration types. Although this study does not examine differential effects of

individual-level resources between migrant and non-migrant women, we go beyond previous research that examined simply the effects of individuals' resources on married women's labor-market outcomes by paying attention to the interlay between individual-level resources and family contexts. Specifically, we attempt to test if women's educational attainment exerts greater significance on labor-market outcomes when they are lead migrants.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON FAMILY MIGRATION

Previous research on internal family migration has extensively examined its impact on married women's labor-market outcomes. In family migration decisions, the literature suggests that families tend to move in response to economic motivations on the part of the husband (Duncan and Perrucci, 1976; Markham and Pleck, 1986; Bonney and Love, 1991; Shihadeh, 1991; Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Nivalainen, 2004). Previous research has also documented that family migration decisions are biased toward husbands' human capital characteristics (Boyle et al., 2000; Duncan and Perrucci, 1976; Lichter, 1982, 1983; Shihadeh, 1991).

With respect to labor-market outcomes following family migration, many studies discovered that family migration has negative effects on women's labor-market outcomes such as labor force participation (Morrison and Lichter, 1988; Smits, 1999; Cooke, 2001), employment (Mincer, 1978; Lichter, 1980; Spitze, 1984; Morrison and Lichter, 1988; Shihadeh, 1991; LeClere and McLaughlin, 1997; Lee and Roseman, 1999; Boyle et al., 2001; Cooke, 2001), weeks worked (Sandell, 1977; Spitze, 1984), hours worked (Jacobsen and Levin, 1997; LeClere and McLaughlin, 1997; Clark and Withers, 2002), and earnings (Sandell, 1977; Lichter, 1983; Spitze, 1984; Maxwell, 1988; Jacobsen and Levin, 1997; LeClere and McLaughlin, 1997; Clark and Withers, 2002). Several studies also found that negative effects of family migration do not diminish regardless of the levels of women's education and occupational status (Lichter, 1983; Shihadeh, 1991; Boyle et al., 1999). The literature also suggests that negative effects are greater for married women with children than women without children (Smits, 1999; Cooke, 2001).

Not all studies point to negative effects of family migration, however. Several studies presented positive or mixed effects of family migration on married women's labor-market outcomes. For example, Cooke and Bailey (1996) showed that family migration has a positive effect on the employment of married women. Duncan and Perucci (1976) found that

family migration appears to benefit wives who were unemployed prior to migration but not to benefit wives who were employed prior to the move. Smits (1999) found that negative effects of family migration are smaller for wives with higher education. Smits, Mulder, and Hooimeijer (2003; 2004) observed that decision making within the household has become less gendered over time. Furthermore, several studies showed that the negative effects of family migration on women's labor-market outcomes are short lived (Sandell, 1977; Lichter, 1983; Spitze, 1984; LeClere and McLaughlin, 1997; Clark and Withers, 2002).

In a somewhat similar vein, Bonny and Love (1991) argued that even though married women's roles are mainly oriented around their husbands' occupational careers, this does not necessarily lead to negative effects on partnered women's labor-market circumstances. They suggested a possibility that women may already have scaled down their occupational aspirations prior to the move. Therefore, partnered women may accept a secondary labor-market role due to their reduced professional aspirations, which may facilitate women's labor-market adaptation following migration.

Although a growing body of literature documents the importance of considering gender relations in understanding international migration processes and subsequent socioeconomic incorporation (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Pedraza, 1991; Pessar, 1999; Kanaiaupuni, 2000a), until recently the role of gender in international migration has been largely neglected in the literature on family migration. Several recent studies have suggested that gender remains an important social division among international migrants. For example, Goyette and Xie (1999) found that even immigrant female scientists were less likely to be employed and promoted than their immigrant male counterparts. Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) and Willis and Yeoh (2002) also emphasized the gendered nature of migration practices among unskilled and highly skilled immigrants, respectively.

Furthermore, relatively little research has attempted to examine how the interplay between gender and the family takes place in the context of international migration. Although there are no studies of which we are aware that directly examine the impact of international family migration on married women's labor-market outcomes, several previous studies have investigated the role of the family in immigrants' labor-market activity. For example, Baker and Benjamin (1997) and Duleep and Sanders (1993) documented the negative association between wives' labor-market participation and their husbands' assimilation in the

host society. Their explanation is if immigrant women have husbands who need schooling and job training required in labor markets, they are more likely than women who do not have such husbands to work for a period after migration to finance their husbands' investments in human capital. Long (1980) also used this argument to explain the negative effect of years since migration on earnings for married immigrant women. Yet, the literature does not present a consistent pattern regarding the negative association between immigrant wives' employment and their husbands' assimilation. For example, Greenlees and Saenz (1999) found that husband's income was negatively associated with wife's employment among immigrant Mexican women. However, compared to husband's unemployment, husband's full- or part-time employment was positively associated with wife's employment. MacPherson and Stewart (1989) also tested Long's (1980) hypothesis but they found only weak evidence that immigrant women increase their labor-market participation if their husband is attending school.

Two theoretical perspectives have dominated the study of family migration to explain uneven returns on family migration. In Mincer's (1978) extension of the neo-classical model, husbands and wives maximize total family well-being and family migration decisions are based on the relative earning potentials of spouses (see also Sandell, 1977). In contrast, the gender-role model of family migration introduces asymmetry into the migration process, during which both members of the couple decide how to respond to a job opportunity. This approach stresses that gender-role ideology is largely responsible for the uneven returns experienced by husbands and wives from family migration (Bielby and Bielby, 1992).

To date, most research on family migration recognizes the narrowness of the neo-classical model of family migration and empirical evidence also points toward the salience of the gender-role model (Cooke, 2001; 2003). Although previous research has addressed family context to explain the negative effects of family migration on married women's labor-market outcomes, the underlying mechanisms determining uneven returns on family migration have yet to be clearly understood. Rather than identifying the reasons behind family migration, previous research on labor-market outcomes (not on family migration decisions) typically assumes that women (men) family migrants are tied (lead) migrants, with the underlying assumption that actual and potential earning power is greater for men than for women and that husbands' gains from migration tend to exceed wives' losses. Thus, relatively little is yet known

about heterogeneity among family migration and its consequences on married women's labor-market outcomes.

DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

Data

For this study, we used the 5 Per cent Public Use Microdata Sample of the 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing. The data set is useful for the purpose of this study because it provides detailed information on a large number of immigrants of various racial/ethnic backgrounds. In this study, immigrants included all people who were not U.S. citizens at birth. Thus, immigrants were those who indicated that they were either a U.S. citizen by naturalization or not a citizen of the U.S. In addition to non-Hispanic whites and blacks, this study also encompassed Asian and Hispanic racial/ethnic groups to adequately represent post-1965 immigrants from Asia and Latin America who are known to be substantially different in their adaptation patterns in the U.S. (Hirschman and Wong, 1984; Waters and Eschbach, 1995; De Jong and Madamba, 2001).

This study included only Mexicans among Hispanic origins rather than treating Hispanics as a homogeneous group. While it is known that Asian Americans have made significant economic gains compared to blacks and Hispanics in the U.S., previous research has also documented substantial heterogeneity among them (Hirschman and Wong, 1984; Nee and Sanders, 1985; Alba and Nee, 2003). Given the heterogeneity among Asian Americans, this study included six major Asian ethnic groups: Asian Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese. Except for Mexicans, all other racial/ethnic groups in this study are of non-Hispanic origins. The per cent distribution of race/ethnicity in the analytic sample, categorized into nine mutually exclusive groups, was as follows: whites (22.56), blacks (5.80), Mexicans (38.02), Asian Indians (8.17), Chinese (9.33), Filipinos (6.23), Japanese (0.96), Koreans (4.25), and Vietnamese (4.68).

Although the objective of this study was to investigate differences in labor-market outcomes among family migrants, no direct information on family migration at immigration was available in the data set. This study addressed this problem by constructing a matched couple data set, which allowed us to identify linked marital partners. Using matched pairs of husbands and wives, this study also clarified the gains and losses from

international migration between husbands and wives (Boyle et al., 2001; Cooke, 2003). To identify international family migrants, individuals were excluded from the analytic sample if one or both of the linked partners were native born. Couples were also excluded if linked partners were born in different countries of origin. This matched couple data set provided a reasonable approximation for family migrants, but we could not exclude the possibility that linked couples get married in the U.S., even though both husband and wife were born in foreign countries (for instance, childhood/adolescence immigrants). We imposed one more condition to handle this problem. Couples were excluded if one or both of the linked partners were 24 or younger at immigration.¹ Further, couples were excluded in the analytic sample if one or both partners were above or below the prime-age bracket of 26-64 years, living in institutions, in the armed forces, or students. Immigrants since 1999 were also excluded from the sample because they provided incomplete or no information on their labor-market experiences. The last restriction may have reduced short-term disruption effects occurring immediately after international migration.

Measures

Types of family migration. This study identified three different family migration types based on the year of entry to the U.S. It should be noted, however, that the variable measuring the year of entry tends to underestimate the complexity of migration patterns (Jasso et al., 2000). We created a variable identifying the type of family migration by comparing the year of entry of the husband and the wife. In this study, couples were *husband-initiated* if the husband entered the U.S. first and then his wife followed later, and *wife-initiated* in the reverse case. Couples were defined as *simultaneous* movers if both husband and wife entered the U.S. in the same year. Although this classification is not a perfect proxy for decision making within households, we think it provides some insights into the family-migration decision process. For example, although we do not know the specific reasons behind family migration, if wives entered the host economy first, this suggests that the migration

¹ Additional analyses were carried out using less (20 or older) and more (30 or older) conservative cutoffs to assess the robustness of this approach. The analyses using different age cutoffs at immigration also provided consistent results, except that in the analysis of employment status, differences between husband-initiated movers and simultaneous movers became statistically significant for the less-conservative cutoff.

process was not husband-centered or that women took the initiative to make such a move.

Labor-market outcomes. To examine the impact of family migration on partnered women's labor-market outcomes, we accounted for two labor-market outcomes: employment status and hourly earnings. Respondents were employed if they were either (1) working during the reference week as paid employees, working in their own business or profession, working on their own farm, or working 15 hours or more as unpaid workers on a family farm or in a family business; or (2) not working during the reference week, but were temporarily absent from their normal jobs or businesses because of illness, industrial dispute, bad weather, vacation, or other personal reasons (employed = 1). The second labor-market outcome was hourly earnings. Earnings differences generated by market mechanisms may occur through differences in hours worked or through differences in the hourly wage paid. We used average hourly earnings as the dependent variable regarding earnings. We computed the average hourly earnings as the ratio of annual earnings to annual hours of work. Annual earnings were the sum of wage and salary income and self-employment income, and annual hours of work were the product of weeks worked and usual weekly hours of work (the natural log of hourly earnings was used in the analysis) (see Petersen 1989 for more on the earnings function).

Sociodemographics. Three measures of demographic variables were age, gender, and race/ethnicity. The continuous version of age and its squared term were included in the models predicting employment (centered on the mean). Instead of being used as a continuous variable, age was categorized into three discrete groups in models predicting hourly earnings: 25 to 39, 40 to 49, and 50 to 64 years to reduce the problem of multicollinearity. We generated eight dummy variables of race/ethnicity from the nine racial groups presented above.

Socioeconomic status. Five measures of socioeconomic status were considered: educational attainment, income of other family members, geographic region, industry, and self-employment. Educational attainment measures the highest grade of school completed by the respondent (0 to 21 years). The total income of other family members is the sum of the amounts reported separately for wage or salary income; net self-employment income; interest, dividends, net rental or royalty income; income from estates and trusts; social security or railroad retirement income; Supplemental Security Income; public assistance or welfare payments; retirement, survivor, or disability pensions; and all

other income of other family members. Educational attainment and total income of other family members were treated as continuous variables and were centered on the means. Residential region was categorized into four regions: Northeast (reference), Midwest, South, and West. Industry was coded into seven categories: agriculture / mining / construction, transportation / communication, trade, finance, service, public administration, and manufacturing (reference). Self-employment was a dichotomous variable and coded 1 if a respondent was self-employed in an unincorporated or incorporated business or company and 0 if the respondent was not self-employed.

Assimilation. Four assimilation-related variables were considered: citizenship status, English proficiency, duration of residence, and age at immigration. Citizenship status was a dichotomous variable and U.S. citizens belonged to one of five categories: born in the U.S., born in Puerto Rico or a U.S. Island, born abroad of American parent(s), and naturalized citizen (the non-citizen=1). In relation to English proficiency, respondents who reported that they spoke a language other than English were asked to categorize English speaking ability as "very well," "well," "not well" or "not at all." Respondents who could speak only English were coded "very well." English proficiency was treated as a continuous variable in this study. Duration of residence in the U.S. and age at immigration were also treated as continuous variables.

Life course events. Several life course events were included in our analysis. Previous research has suggested that the negative impact of family migration on women's labor-market outcomes is closely tied with life-course events such as the presence of children (Cooke, 2001; Smits, 2001). We considered three life-course events associated with labor-market outcomes: the presence of children under 18 in the household, the presence of the elderly in the household, and functional disability. The number of children aged 17 or younger was centered on the mean, and the presence of the elderly was a dichotomous variable which was coded 1 if there was a person aged 65 or older in the household. Functional disability was also included as a dummy variable and was coded 1 if the respondent indicated a functional disability.

Analysis Plan

First, we described per cent distributions of selected variables. Descriptive statistics were presented by family migration types. Second, we fit a series of logit models to estimate the probability of employment,

compared with non-employment. After fitting the baseline model, we introduced two-way interaction terms to examine whether the effect of gender varied across different family migration types. We also examined how education moderates the association between gender and family migration types. In family migration research, educational attainment and occupational status are two widely used measures of individual-level resources. However, in our data set, unfortunately, occupational status in the country of origin prior to immigration was not available. Thus, we focused on educational attainment as an indicator of individual-level socio-economic status. Educational attainment has several advantages over occupational status. First, in general, educational attainment is stable after young adulthood and causally prior to occupation over the life course. Education also significantly determines the likelihood of employment and the earning level. Furthermore, education is a universal indicator of individual-level socioeconomic status, whereas occupational status is specific to the employed in the country of origin.²

Finally, after correction for sample selection was made, a series of robust regression models were estimated to examine the impact of family migration on the natural logarithms of hourly earnings.³ If individuals are employed randomly, we can ignore the fact that not all earnings are observed and use ordinary regression to fit a series of earnings models. This assumption, however, is unlikely to hold (Winship and Mare, 1992). To correct sample selection bias, we fit a bivariate probit model and included the inverse Mill's ratio (λ) in the analysis of hourly earnings as a control variable (Heckman, 1979; Greene, 2000). Covariates

² Although English language proficiency is an important component of human capital among immigrants, we do not consider it as an individual-level resource that immigrants bring to the United States. It should be noted that this variable measures English language proficiency at the time of the survey, not that at the time of immigration. Thus, this variable is more prone to inferential problems such as endogeneity. English language proficiency may increase the likelihood of employment and earnings growth but we cannot exclude the reverse causality (see Bauer, Epstein, and Gang, 2005; Chiswick and Miller, 1995 for the problem of endogeneity). Compared to English language proficiency, causal order issues are less problematic for educational attainment since respondents were 25 or older at immigration in the analytic sample.

³ In family migration research, sample selection models were used since migrants and non migrants are self-selected, rather than randomly selected, from a population (Cooke and Bailey, 1996; Lee and Roseman, 1999; Smits, 2001). This study only corrected sample selection bias regarding employment and it is not possible to correct sample selection bias regarding migration since the data used refer only to those who have already migrated.

in the baseline model of employment status were included in fitting the probit model. Given the sample size, in earnings models, robust regression was used to reduce the impact of influential outer values instead of manual outlier deletion. Using weighted least squares, robust regression permits weights between 1 and 0 and outer values get down-weighted (Hamilton, 1992). After fitting the baseline model of hourly earnings, we examined whether the effect of gender on hourly earnings varied across different family migration types. The moderating effects of education were also tested.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

The per cent distributions of selected factors by family migration types are presented in Table 1. Compared to other family migration types, women tend to be older in wife-initiated migration. Racial/ethnic differences by family migration types are substantial. Per cent distributions of race/ethnicity by gender are slightly different due to inter-racial/ethnic marriage. Non-Hispanic whites are more likely to be in simultaneous migration whereas blacks are more likely to be in wife-initiated migration. By contrast, husband-initiated migration is a leading type of family migration among Mexicans. As mentioned earlier, Table 1 shows that Asian Americans are heterogeneous in family migration types. It is particularly worthwhile to examine Filipinos and Vietnamese. For Filipinos – like blacks – wife-initiated migration is a leading form of family migration. However, simultaneous migration is a leading type of family migration among Vietnamese. Although it is not possible to examine the migration intentions of these two ethnic groups based on this data set, economic (economic migrants) and political (refugees) motivations may explain the primary family migration types for these two ethnic groups.

Education levels are relatively lower among husband-initiated migrants. Employment status shows that wife-initiated migration is quite different from the other two family migration types. Both husband and wife are more likely to be employed in wife-initiated family migration. In addition, wife-only employment is also noticeable in wife-initiated migration. With respect to citizenship status, non-citizens are more likely to be simultaneous migrants. Women are more likely to be citizens in wife-initiated migration. Finally, husband-initiated migrants are less

TABLE 1. PER CENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF SELECTED VARIABLES BY FAMILY MIGRATION TYPES

Variables	Husband-initiated		Wife-initiated		Simultaneous	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age Group						
25~39	15.15	29.30	14.27	16.23	18.76	25.38
40~54	57.08	55.69	57.22	61.68	51.54	55.23
55~64	27.78	15.01	28.51	22.09	29.69	19.39
Race/Ethnicity						
Non-Hispanic white	14.91	15.00	15.19	15.13	35.30	35.28
Black	8.61	8.55	13.03	13.06	4.26	4.27
Mexican	31.17	31.11	19.73	19.63	18.26	18.26
Asian Indian	11.24	11.24	8.76	8.89	9.20	9.21
Chinese	14.21	14.21	13.34	13.32	10.47	10.41
Filipino	8.57	8.62	19.95	20.02	5.86	5.89
Japanese	1.33	1.34	0.70	0.66	2.14	2.14
Korean	5.63	5.61	5.53	5.53	6.73	6.72
Vietnamese	4.33	4.33	3.79	3.75	7.80	7.82
Education						
Less than high school	34.49	37.26	26.57	27.23	24.13	28.03
High school	18.67	21.46	21.32	22.73	21.87	25.57
Some college	12.55	12.99	16.91	15.88	14.20	15.56
College or more	34.29	28.28	35.21	34.16	39.80	30.83
Employment Status						
Both husband and wife	42.96	42.96	51.95	51.95	45.03	45.03
Only husband	33.26	33.26	21.61	21.61	32.13	32.13
Only wife	7.25	7.25	11.60	11.60	7.35	7.35
None	16.53	16.53	14.84	14.84	15.49	15.49
Citizenship Status						
Citizen	46.70	33.29	41.45	53.49	37.10	36.09
Non-citizen	53.30	66.71	58.55	46.51	62.90	63.91
Presence of Child under 18						
Yes	31.46	31.46	37.64	37.64	40.15	40.15
No	68.54	68.54	62.36	62.36	59.85	59.85
N	31,098		10,930		56,322	

likely to have a child under 18 in the household.

Employment Status

Table 2 shows the results of the logit analyses. Model 1 shows that immigrant women are less likely to be employed than immigrant men. More specifically, being a woman decreases the odds of employment by 67.6 per cent, with other variables held constant. In relation to the effects of different family migration types, the results show that both wife-initiated and simultaneous migrants are more likely than husband-initiated migrants to be employed. For wife-initiated migration, the odds of employment increase by 10.1 per cent compared to husband-initiated migration, with other variables held constant. Likewise, being a simultaneous family migrant increases the odds of employment by 6.5 per cent, with other variables held constant. Consistent with the human capital framework, Model 1 also shows that education is positively associated with employment.

Model 2 introduces two-way interaction terms to examine whether the effect of gender is contingent upon different family migration types. The results show that introducing two-way interaction terms changes the main effect of wife-initiated migration. In Model 2, the main effect of wife-initiated migration is negatively associated with employment. However, simultaneous family migration is consistently positively associated with employment. The interaction of gender by wife-initiated migration shows that the effect of gender is significantly dependent upon family migration types and that, for women, wife-initiated migration is positively associated with employment. The interaction term shows that, for wife-initiated migration, being a woman increases the odds of employment by 65.6 per cent, with other variables held constant. However, the interaction of gender by simultaneous family migration is not statistically significant. Table 3 presents predicted probabilities of employment by gender and family migration types. Women of wife-initiated migration show the highest probability of employment among women (.591). The gender gap is also the smallest in wife-initiated couples and the greatest in simultaneous migration couples.

Model 3 introduces three-way interaction terms to assess how education moderates the association between gender and family migration types. The findings show that the moderating effect of education also differs across family migration types. In particular, for

TABLE 2. LOGIT MODEL COEFFICIENTS FOR EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Women	-1.128***	-1.242***	-1.242***
Type of migration (Husband-initiated)			
Wife-initiated migration	.096**	-.185***	.185***
Simultaneous migration	.063**	.081***	**.080
Women × Wife-initiated		.505***	.500***
Women × Simultaneous		-.037	-.034
Education	.050***	.050***	.051***
Women × simultaneous Education			.017**
Women × Wife-initiated Education			-.005
Age	.019***	.016***	.016***
Age squared	-.004***	-.004***	-.004***
Race/Ethnicity (White)			
Black	.265***	.275***	.273***
Mexican	-.077**	-.084**	-.084**
Asian Indian	.009	.008	.005
Chinese	.412***	.410***	.406***
Filipino	.317***	.319***	.310***
Japanese	-.473**	-.480***	-.480***
Korean	.152***	.155***	.153**
Vietnamese	.156***	*.155***	.150***
Family income of other members	-.003***	-.003***	-.003***
Region (Northeast)			
Midwest	.197***	.196***	.196***
South	-.001	-.001	-.002
West	-.102***	-.102***	-.101***
Non-citizen	-.170***	-.170***	-.171***
English proficiency	-.188***	-.186***	-.187***
Age at immigration	-.011***	-.009***	-.009***
Functional disability	-.364***	-.370***	-.370***
Women × P17 in household		-.155***	-.154***
P65 in household	.224***	.006	.007
Women × P65 in household		.379***	.379***
Intercept	2.354***	2.346***	2.347***
Log-likelihood	-55963	-55787	-55781

Note: N = 98,350 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

TABLE 3. EMPLOYMENT PROBABILITIES BY FAMILY MIGRATION TYPES AND GENDER

Types of Family Migration	Predicted Probability of Employment		
	Men	Women	Difference
Husband-initiated Migration	.784	.512	.272
Wife-initiated Migration	.751	.591	.160
Simultaneous Migration	.797	.523	.274

Note: Predicted probabilities were calculated based on Model 2. Except for gender and types of family migration, other variables were fixed at the means; N = 98,350.

wife-initiated migration, women are more likely to be employed with increasing education. Although the division of gender remains substantial, for wife-initiated migration, the gender gap also diminishes with increasing education. The gender gap among wife-initiated migration couples is significantly smaller for women who have higher education. The data also suggest that women who entered the U.S. with their husbands in the same year are more likely to suffer employment hardship than women from wife-initiated migration.

Hourly Earnings

Table 4 shows the robust regression models of logged hourly earnings, after correction for sample selection bias was made.⁴ Consistent with previous models regarding employment status, Model 4 shows that immigrant women are negatively associated with hourly earnings compared to immigrant men. The coefficients of family migration types show that both wife-initiated migration and simultaneous migration are associated with higher hourly earnings compared to husband-initiated migration. Education is also strongly positively associated with hourly earnings.

Model 5 introduces two-way interaction terms and shows that the effect of gender on hourly earnings is contingent upon family migration types. The interaction of gender by wife-initiated migration shows that, for women, wife-initiated migration is associated with higher hourly earnings. Table 5 shows the expected hourly earnings by gender and family migration types. The overall pattern is consistent with the employment status presented in Table 3, except that the gender gap is

⁴ The coefficient of the selectivity correction factor (λ) is significant in hourly earnings models. The positive sign of the parameter indicates that the average hourly earnings of working immigrants are higher than what hourly earnings would be for those non-working immigrants with the same measured characteristics if they worked.

TABLE 4. ROBUST REGRESSION MODEL COEFFICIENTS FOR LOGGED HOURLY EARNINGS

Variables	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Women	-0.478 ***	-0.450 ***	-0.453 ***
Type of migration (Husband-initiated)			
Wife-initiated migration	.040 ***	-.023	-.022
Simultaneous migration	.021 ***	.058 ***	.058 ***
Women Wife-initiated		.131 ***	.097 ***
Women Simultaneous		-.090 ***	-.088 ***
Education	.055 ***	.055 ***	.055 ***
Women Wife-initiated Education		.	.019 ***
Women Simultaneous Education			-.002
Age group (39 or younger)			
40 to 54	.093 ***	.097 ***	.098 ***
55 to 64	.011	.011	.010
Race/Ethnicity (White)			
Black	-.172 ***	-.172 ***	-.172 ***
Mexican	-.247 ***	-.250 ***	-.251 ***
Asian Indian	-.075 ***	-.076 ***	-.077 ***
Chinese	-.059 ***	-.057 ***	-.059 ***
Filipino	-.093 ***	-.093 ***	-.098 ***
Japanese	.413 ***	.402 ***	.400 ***
Korean	-.072 ***	-.071 ***	-.072 ***
Vietnamese	-.195 ***	-.195 ***	-.197 ***
Self-employment	-.099 ***	-.100 ***	-.099 ***
Industry (Manufacturing)			
Agriculture/mining/construction	-.028 *	-.029 **	-.031 **
Transportation & information	.010	.014	.013
Trade	-.182 ***	-.180 ***	-.181 ***
Finance/insurance/real estate	.031 *	.033 **	.032 *
Service	-.103 ***	-.103 ***	-.104 ***
Public administration	.007	.008	.007
Non-citizen	-.047 ***	-.048 ***	-.049 ***
English proficiency	-.186 ***	-.188 ***	-.188 ***
Age at immigration	-.013 ***	-.013 ***	-.013 ***
Duration of residence	.005 ***	.005 ***	.005 ***
Functional disability	-.138 ***	-.140 ***	-.142 ***
P17 in household	-.008 ***	-.009 ***	-.009 ***
Lambda (λ)	.621 ***	.642 ***	.652 ***
Intercept	3.312 ***	3.297 ***	3.298 ***

Note: N = 63,631 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

TABLE 5. HOURLY EARNINGS BY FAMILY MIGRATION TYPES AND GENDER

Types of Family Migration	Predicted Hourly Earnings		
	Men	Women	Difference
Husband-initiated Migration	16.16	10.31	5.85
Wife-initiated Migration	15.79	11.48	4.31
Simultaneous Migration	17.12	9.98	7.14

Note: Predicted hourly earnings in U.S. dollars were calculated based on Model 5. Except for gender and types of family migration, other variables were fixed at the means; N = 63,631.

markedly larger among simultaneous migration couples. Table 5 shows that women from wife-initiated migrations show the highest hourly earnings among women (\$11.48). Also in wife-initiated migrations, the gender gap is the smallest (\$4.31).

Finally, Model 6 assesses how education moderates the association between gender and family migration types. Figure 1 shows that, for husband-initiated and simultaneous migrants, the gender gap in hourly earnings increases sharply with increasing education. However, for wife-initiated migration, women are more likely to earn more with

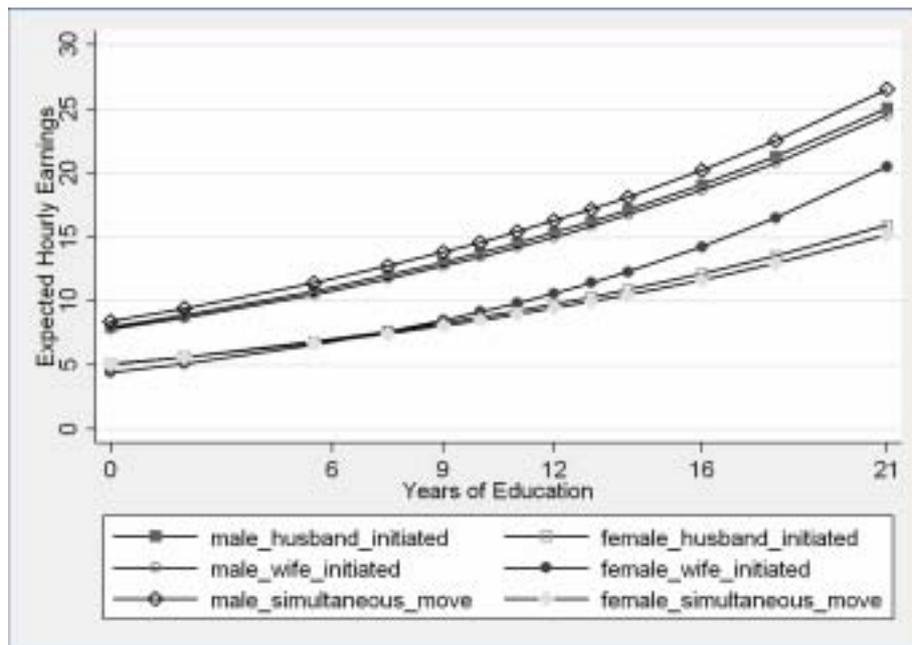


FIGURE 1. MODERATING EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON HOURLY EARNING

increasing education. Thus, the gender gap among wife-initiated migration couples remains smaller than that of other family migration types.

We also estimated the same models using annual earnings as the dependent variable instead of hourly earnings (results not shown). Consistent with the hourly earnings analysis, women from wife-initiated migrations showed the best performance among immigrant women and the gender gap was also the smallest among wife-initiated migration couples.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Previous research on the impact of family migration on married women's labor-market outcomes has mainly focused on internal family migration. We extended the previous research by examining labor-market outcomes among international family migrants in the U.S. In particular, we addressed the heterogeneity among family migration instead of comparing labor-market performances between migrant and non-migrant women. We also assessed how individual-level resources measured by educational attainment moderate the relationship between gender and family migration types.

First, the effects of gender on employment status and earnings differed significantly across different family migration types. In contrast to previous research that largely neglected the existence of heterogeneity among family migration, we found that different family migration types led to substantially different labor-market outcomes among migrant husbands and wives, even though gender gaps in employment status and earnings remained substantial. In particular, immigrant women from wife-initiated migration were positively associated with employment and higher earnings, compared to immigrant women from husband-initiated and simultaneous family migration. Furthermore, gender gaps in employment and earnings were minimal among wife-initiated migration couples.

With respect to the moderating effects of education, the results also showed that, for wife-initiated migration, the positive associations between women and employment and higher earnings increased with increasing education. Thus, our findings suggest that the utility of individual-level resources is also context-dependent. For women who take the initiative to move, that individual-level resources such as education can play positive roles in achieving better labor-market

outcomes. The findings also suggest, however, that individual-level resources may not have positive influences if women do not take the initiative to move.

Given the observed differences in married women's labor-market outcomes across different family migration types, our findings suggest that we cannot simply generalize the impact of international family migration on wives' labor-market outcomes, even though this study did not compare labor-market performances between migrant and non-migrant women. Compared to non-migrant women in the country of origin, international family migration may have negative (or positive) effects on migrant women's labor-market outcomes. However, our findings suggest that we need to examine specific mechanisms by which differential labor-market outcomes are produced in order to achieve a fuller understanding of the consequences of family migration.

Although we found that immigrant women from wife-initiated migration experience better labor-market outcomes than do other immigrant women, the reason is not clear because the census data did not reveal migration motivations and because we addressed migration decision processes within households using a proxy variable due to data limitations. Therefore, it is not appropriate to conclude which theoretical perspective (neo-classical model versus gender-role model) provides a better explanation for labor-market experiences among immigrant women.

In addition, although the internal family migration literature tends to focus mainly on family context, many additional factors need to be considered to fully understand the dynamics of international family migration. Although much research is centered on Mexican immigration, evidence suggests that international migration into the U.S. is a complex phenomenon with many intervening variables and that there is no single theory to successfully explain the migration behavior of individuals and households (Massey et al., 1994; Massey and Espinosa, 1997). Massey (1999) suggests four basic facts to be considered in the study of international movement: structural forces in developing societies, structural forces in developed societies, motivations and aspirations of individuals, and socioeconomic structures connecting areas of out- and in-migration. Oishi (2005) also proposes an integrative approach to international female migration. She argues that we need to investigate the roles of the state (migration policies for women), individuals (women's autonomy and decision-making power), and society (social norms or legitimacy for female migration) in both migrant-sending and

receiving countries to fully understand the gendered nature of international migration.

Finally, several limitations of this study should be acknowledged. First, this study did not address the migration decision process within the household directly and instead used a proxy variable to define different family migration types due to data limitations. To better understand the married women's labor-market outcomes resulting from international migration, we need to directly address decision-making processes within households and distinguish between migrants who moved for reasons associated with their own, or with their spouse's, economic motivations.

Second, the data in the present analysis referred only to families who have already migrated due to data limitations. Despite the fact that family migration research has mainly compared the experiences of migrant and non-migrant women, there is no comparable information about couples who decided not to move in this study. A fuller understanding of the impact of international family migration on married women's labor-market outcomes requires pooled origin/destination data with comparable information for non-migrants in the origin country and for migrants in the destination country.⁵ Further, given that migration selectivity is not constant over time (see Borjas, 1985), a more complete picture will be obtained by incorporating a longitudinal component into the origin/destination research framework. This longitudinal approach will also allow us to compare economic gains of immigrant women through international migration with what they would have earned had they stayed in the country of origin, rather than being restricted to comparing migrants with non-migrants of similar measured characteristics.

Further, this study was limited in its ability to capture diverse living arrangements that couples may adopt since this study only included currently married men and women migrants living together in the same household. The concept of transnationalism has been influential in recent analyses of global mobility (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, 1992) and temporary or circular migration is an increasingly common feature of global population movements (Duany, 2002). Structural conditions associated with global capitalism indicate that family

⁵ Given the diversity of recent immigrant streams, it is extremely difficult to use the origin/destination research framework. However, although limited to select nations, recent research based on the origin/destination framework, such as the Mexican Migration Project (MMP) and the Latin American Migration Project (LAMP), demonstrates its usefulness in the study of international migration (Massey and Espinosa, 1997; Massey and Sana, 2003).

migration may become a more pronounced phenomenon as a result of a more flexible and spatially mobile workforce (e.g., employee relocation) (Smith, 2004). Household members may be spatially separated, with members of the same household living simultaneously in both sending and receiving countries in transnational space (Hardill, 2004). Modern technology is also reducing the importance of face-to-face context in personal interaction in transnational space. In particular, in this study, the data did not reflect the experiences of non-migrant women in the country of origin. It should be noted that non-migrant women in split households are also profoundly affected by transnational migration processes. For example, Kanaiaupuni (2000b) shows the central role of non-migrant Mexican women in the creation and continuity of temporary or circular male labor migration to the U.S.⁶

Third, consistent with previous research on internal family migration, this study only focused on the economic consequences of international family migration. However, the impact of international family migration is not limited to the economic sector. Although gender inequality may be reinforced through international migration, evidence also suggests that international migration may be capable of promoting gender equality due to increased economic opportunities, autonomy/privacy, and legal protection for women in the host society (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Hirsch, 1999). Finally, the data in the present study presented the marriages existing at a given point in time. Thus, this study only presented a snapshot of the adaptation processes, rather than the long-term consequences. Further research is needed to examine the trajectories of adaptation patterns over time and to assess the validity of these findings using better data sets.

⁶ However, it also should be noted that an increasing body of literature raises objections to the transnational perspective. For example, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) object to the transnationalism perspective in that transnationalism tends to overemphasize circulation and the indeterminance of settlement, underestimate the power of the nation-state, and neglect gender. Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller (2003) found that the number of immigrants who are regularly involved in cross-border activism is relatively small. In addition, it was not the least educated or more recent immigrants who are most prone to retain ties with their home country politics. They found that the immigrants most involved in transnational activities were better educated or longer residents of the host society. Woodrow-Lafield et al. (2004) also found that recent immigrant cohorts have greater propensity to naturalize than did earlier cohorts in the United States.

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