

GENDERED TERRAIN OF MIGRATION:
VARIATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRANT POPULATIONS

By

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To my beloved husband, Sagar, for unwavering support and infinite patience

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Recent demographic trends in international migration indicate distinct and profound changes in the gender composition of migrant populations. While men have historically dominated in cross-border movements, the latest estimates suggest that women now constitute about half of the total foreign-born stock in a large number of countries, particularly in Europe, Asia and the Americas (United Nations 2006). This feminization of international migration calls for a closer examination of the gender breakdown of migrant populations to discern whether women are increasingly as migratory as men, and how this notion of feminization varies across time and space (Donato et al. 2011). Closer attention to the changing gender landscape of international migration is important because it can have strong implications for sending and receiving countries.

In this paper, I estimate the age-standardized gender composition of foreign-born populations in 56 countries and describe the nature and patterns of women's representation in international migration to gauge the extent of feminization. In doing so, I build on work by Donato et al. (2011), who use the term "gender ratio" to refer to the percent of migrant population that is female. Like Donato and her colleagues, I prefer "gender ratio" over "sex ratio" because there is little doubt that migration is largely a social phenomenon embedded in gender and other social relations. Although "ratio" refers to a specific mathematical and demographic concept, I use it to denote the share of

immigrant population that is female, expressed as percentage, in order to be consistent with the extant literature (Donato et al. 2011; Alexander and Steidl 2012).

The other concept central to my project is feminization. Initially used in the context of poverty and inequality to describe women's increasing representation among the poor (Pearce 1978; Peterson 1987; Chant 2006) and in the economy (Jensen, Hagen and Reddy 1988; Standing 1989, 1999; Catagay and Ozler 1995), it first appeared in migration studies in a 1984 special issue titled "Women in Migration" of the *International Migration Review* (see Morokvasic 1984; Houstoun et al. 1984). Alexander and Steidl (2012: 224) define feminization of migration as a dynamic process in which "international migrant streams formerly dominated by men gradually become gender-balanced or even majority-female." Similar conceptualizations have been discussed in several other works (e.g. Gabaccia 1996; Simon and Brettell 1986; Donato et al. 2006; United Nations 2006). Adding another layer to this idea of feminization, Oishi (2005) asserted that women are not only traveling more, but they are traveling as autonomous migrants and not only as dependents. These two concepts – gender composition of immigrant populations and feminization – are central to my analysis and will be explored throughout the paper.

The main objective of this research is twofold. First, I generate estimates of gender ratios of foreign-born populations, defined as those living in a country or area other than that in which they were born. These estimates are age-standardized to account for the different age structures of male and female populations. Second, I examine how the gender ratios of foreign-born populations vary across time and space. Specifically, I examine how gender ratios of immigrant populations differ across geographic regions

and over time to distinguish countries or clusters of countries that have received more women than men, and vice versa. Based on these observed patterns of male-female migrations, I then map gendered circuits of migration to describe how the major regional and global destinations for female migrants compare to male-dominated circuits of migration.

Findings from the study add to the growing literature on the gender composition of immigrant populations and address differences and shifts in gender ratios among immigrants in different parts of the world. Substantively, the study contributes to our understanding of the nature of the variations in the gender ratios of migrants, and informs us about female and male patterns of migration in the contemporary world and how they differ from historical trends. Finally, the findings presented below have important implications for future national and transnational migration policies at the sending and receiving ends, a point I discuss in the last section of this paper.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The incorporation of gender in migration studies is both old and new. The earliest known scholar to discuss the gendered dimensions of migration was E. G. Ravenstein, who is often quoted to this day for his influential work *The Laws of Migration* (1885, 1889). In this work, he explicated laws of migration based on 19th century migrants in the United Kingdom. With respect to gender, he stated that although men clearly dominated as international migrants, the majority of domestic, or short-distance, movers were women. Because the volume and frequency of domestic migration exceeded international movements, he confidently stated, “Woman is a greater migrant than man” (Ravenstein 1885:196). Nearly a century after Ravenstein’s reports, the scholarship on gender and migration re-emerged and grew subsequently. These studies drew attention to the changing face of immigrants by highlighting the patterning of international migration by gender, and they challenged predominant migration theories that assumed migration was a male phenomenon. However, despite intriguing revelations, the scholarship on the gender dynamics of migration developed only unevenly at first.¹

From 1980 onward, many articles, edited volumes and books showcasing women’s side of the migration story started to emerge (e.g. Dumon 1981; Phizacklea 1983; Simon and Brettell 1986; Lauby and Stark 1988; Gabaccia 1992 and 1994; Constable 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). These works asserted that migration

¹ The history of gender and migration scholarship that follows derives largely from Donato et al. (2006) and Curran et al. (2006).

entails different meanings, experiences and consequences for men and women. The aforementioned *International Migration Review (IMR)* special issue on “Women in Migration” (1984) brought much attention to this topic, with the *New York Times* featuring findings from the Houstoun et al. (1984) study on its front page. The news piece headlined “Men Only a Third of U.S. Immigrants” and highlighted that women have comprised more than half of the total immigrant population since 1930, challenging conventional wisdom that the majority of the immigrants were working-age men (Pear 1985). Houstoun and his colleagues described the predominance of women among the U.S. immigrants as unique since the vast majority of immigrants in other parts of the world continued to be men, and they offered several reasons for this unique pattern. They explained that more foreign women came to United States than men for family reunification, including widowed mothers who moved to live with their children. Additionally, American men were more likely than women to marry foreigners and bring them to the country, and Americans also adopted more baby girls from abroad than boys. This landmark study yielded rich insights into the gender dynamics of migration by explicating distinct individual and state level factors in shaping the gender distribution of immigrant populations.

The special issue of the *IMR* also included articles that dealt with the implications of migrant women’s participation in the labor market in the recipient communities. Pessar (1984) examined how the domains of household and workplace interacted in the lives of Dominican immigrant women in the United States. Her ethnography revealed that women’s wage employment improved their social relations and status in the family but the newly adopted egalitarian ideals in the household did not fully translate to collective

action to demand better workplace conditions. Boyd (1984), on the other hand, studied the labor force experiences of immigrants in Canada using the 1973 Canadian Mobility Survey. She found that the occupational statuses of Canadian female immigrants were lower than those of their male counterparts and native-born Canadian women, indicating the “double negative” effect of being woman and foreign-born. However, the experiences of double disadvantage varied by birthplace: immigrant women from the United States and the United Kingdom experienced the disadvantage to a lesser extent than those from other nations. These works brought to the fore some of the important implications of women’s migration for receiving countries as well as for families.

In another assessment of the scholarship on the intersection of gender and migration, Curran et al. (2006) revealed that the body of literature published in the 1990s on gender and migration was clearly dominated by qualitative studies which established gender as a constitutive element in migration studies. For instance, studies by Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992), Kibria (1994) and Constable (1997) explored the different ways in which gender influences the expectations and experiences of migration. Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) studied how migration impacts patriarchal relations in the Mexican immigrant families and concluded that “migration is both gendered and gendering” (411). She found that men’s departure rearranged gender relations within the household by giving women who stayed behind autonomy and decision-making power. Men, on the other hand, learned to do domestic work such as cooking and cleaning, and also conceded to their wives’ decisions regarding household matters when away from home. Hence, when families were reunited, they took on more egalitarian values.

Kibria's (1994) ethnographic study of Vietnamese refugees in Philadelphia found that the age and gender composition of the Vietnamese refugee households had a bearing on the family's economic outcomes. She reported that the families with heterogeneity among household members in terms of age and gender yielded more positive economic outcomes than families that were more homogeneous in age and gender. To elaborate, she explained, "hierarchical households may be better able to demand economic behavior from members that calls for self-sacrifice and is directed towards familial rather than individual goals" (93). These two works, along with several others (e.g. Wolf 1992; Pessar 1994; Mahler 1995), shed light on the gender dynamics of migration within the domain of the household.

Moving beyond the household and the economy, Constable's (1997) case study painstakingly documented the experiences of Filipina domestic workers from recruitment to deployment to employment in Hong Kong. The author examined how recruiters disciplined Filipinas throughout the process of labor migration to produce docile bodies and uphold the stereotype of female domestic workers. The baton of discipline was then passed on to employers in Hong Kong who exercised control by enforcing strict dress code and timetable on their employees. In response, Filipina domestic workers found ways to resist and challenge the treatment of the recruiters and employers. Constable's study reveals how different parties – migrant workers, recruiters, the state and receiving community – negotiate the meaning and terms of migration, which are often gendered.

As Hondagneu-Sotelo (2003:6) lamented, the majority of these works "added" and "stirred" women in the sociological discourse on migration by either focusing on male or female immigrant experiences. At the turn of the 21st century, migration scholars

continued to engage in qualitative research to further nuance and refine the gendered experiences of migrants in various parts of the world (e.g. Menjivar 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Espiritu 2003; Piper and Roces 2003; Parrenas 2008). One consequence was a quantitative-qualitative divide in migration scholarship whereby qualitative undertakings have made theoretical strides but quantitative scholars have struggled to do so (Curran et al. 2006). Part of the problem is that migration data are not always inclusive of the context and experiences of non-migrants, who are predominantly women.

Very recently, scholars have begun to address these limitations and quantitative research efforts have emerged and made worthy headway. These studies have not only complemented and corroborated findings from previous studies, but have also generated new knowledge on the causes, processes and consequences of international migration. Some major migration projects such as the Mexican Migration Project (MMP), the Latin American Migration Project (LAMP), Migrations between Africa and Europe (MAFE), and the collection of census data from multiple countries such as the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- USA and International), have been instrumental in propelling migration studies by including detailed data on women and covering larger scales across geographic and time units. All of these data sources now include enough detail by gender to permit statistical analysis of patterns and determinants of gendered migration.

Several insightful studies have been published using one or more of these data sets. Kanaiaupuni (2000) used MMP data to study the determinants of Mexican migration and found that gender interacts with social and economic factors in defining and

predicting migration. For example, these findings revealed that human capital investment in terms of education differentially affected the migration propensities of men and women. While higher education increased the odds of women migrating, it had an opposite effect on male migration. In terms of age, women were more likely to travel at older ages than men, and the number of children increased the odds of male migration but had no effect on female migration. These findings led her to state that “migration is a profoundly gendered process and conventional explanations of men’s migration in many cases do not apply to women” (Kanaiaupuni 2000: 1312).

In another study, Cerrutti and Massey (2001) used MMP data sets to examine the determinants and timing of Mexican migration to the U.S. and how they differ for men and women. Their study found that while the vast majority of Mexican men move to the United States independently and pioneer subsequent migration for other family members, Mexican women almost always followed their husband or other relatives. Moreover, men tended to migrate for employment purposes whereas women were motivated mostly by familial reasons. Likewise, Curran and Rivero-Fuentes (2003) considered how the gender composition of migrant networks influences international and domestic moves among Mexicans. Regarding migration to the United States, male migrant networks were more important for men than for women whereas female migrant networks were important determinants of female migration only. Interestingly, having female migrant networks lowered the odds of male migration. As the authors argued, these findings suggest that gender organizes migration in significant ways. In a similar vein, Donato, Wagner and Patterson (2008) used data from the MMP to study unauthorized migration across the Mexico-United States border. The authors established that unauthorized border crossing

was a gendered phenomenon with women more likely to cross with the aid of a paid smuggler while men tended to cross alone, and that more women were migrating from Mexico than in the past. Along the same line, Donato et al. (2008) examined how U.S. immigration policies affect the labor market conditions and employment prospects for Mexican immigrants and how they vary by gender. Their results showed that U.S. policies negatively affected employment conditions for both men and women, but the consequences were harsher for women. Women not only experienced lower wages but were also pushed into informal economic activities more than their male counterparts.

While the MMP has enabled in-depth analysis of Mexico-U.S. migration, the LAMP survey covers migration flows originating in 10 Latin American countries and Puerto Rico.² Recent studies using LAMP data also corroborate the importance of using a gender lens. For example, Donato (2010) examined the gendered patterns of migration from a number of nations south of the U.S. border and reported that lifetime migration probabilities differed significantly for men and women, depending on their legal status and national origin. She found that men, especially unauthorized men, led the migration flows from Mexico to the U.S. but women led documented migration from other nations, such as the Dominican Republic.

Furthermore, in an analysis of MMP and LAMP data, Sana and Massey (2005) assessed the effects of household composition, family members abroad and community context on remittances in Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Among other things, their results established that the remitting behavior was largely

² The 10 countries in question are Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Peru.

gendered. They found that while male householder abroad was a strong predictor of remittances overall, the female householder was a negative predictor of remittances in the Dominican Republic, which signal Dominican women's tendency to settle in the United States. Interestingly, the Dominican daughters abroad were more likely to remit than the sons. Likewise, Cerrutti and Gaudio (2010) described gender differences between Mexican migration to the U.S. and Paraguayan migration to Argentina. While women constituted less than 45% of the total Mexican migrant stock in the U.S., Paraguayan immigrant women clearly predominated (58%) in Argentina. They also reported that not only were Paraguayan women more likely to migrate than Mexican women, but that they also tended to migrate autonomously.

Beyond the Americas, European scholars have used MAFE data to examine the gender-migration nexus. Toma and Vause (2010), for example, examined whether and how migrant networks affect the probability of moving abroad in the context of Senegalese and Congolese migration. Among other things, they found that women in both countries were significantly less likely to pioneer a migration trip than men in the absence of a network at the destination. Their results also suggested that for both countries, presence of networks at destination mattered more for women migrants than for men. Interestingly, network composition differed for Senegalese and Congolese women; Senegalese women tended to follow their spouses whereas Congolese women went where they had friends, relatives and spouses. Together these efforts, and the data sets behind these analyses, have helped to spearhead more quantitative gendered analyses of migration processes in the Americas, Europe and Africa. Moreover, these studies also reveal that gendered patterns, motivations and behaviors are far from uniform; instead,

there is considerable variation across historical periods and geographical locations. Therefore, given both qualitative and quantitative realms attest to the distinct role that gender plays in all facets of migration, going forward migration studies in the 21st century are incomplete without including gender as an integral element.

Despite these advances in scholarship, some topics are still less well understood than others. One is how the gender composition of migrant populations varies over time and across nations (Donato et al. 2011; Donato 2012; Moya 2012). In their review article, Curran et al. (2006) reported that a large portion – at least 20 percent – of migration studies in sociological journals failed to describe the gender composition of the samples under study. Given that gender fundamentally influences how individuals experience migration, it is important to understand the gender distributions of migrants in different parts of the world and how they have changed over the course of history (see Donato et al. 2011). This is especially important considering the renewed interest in the increasing feminization of migration and its implications (e.g. Zlotnik 2003; Gordon 2005; United Nations 2006; Donato et al. 2011). To advance this aspect of migration research, *Social Science History* (2012) published a special issue dedicated to gender ratios of international migrants and it includes three manuscripts.

The first, by Alexander and Steidl (2012), revisits Ravenstein's landmark study and recalculates the gender composition of domestic migrant populations for that same time period using data that has recently become available from the 1881 Census of England and Wales. The author's replication includes a control for the age structures of male and female populations. To much intrigue, the authors reported that "the apparent overrepresentation of women among internal migrants was due not to their higher

propensity to move but to the much higher rate at which male migrants left the population, through either death or emigration” (223) Therefore, when the age structure was taken into account, the difference between male and female internal migration was minuscule.

In the same issue, Gabaccia and Zanoni (2012) explore transitions in gender ratios of international migrant populations using historical flow data for the period 1820-1924 initially compiled by Willcox and Ferenczi (1970 [1929]). Their findings reveal significant variations and shifts in gender ratios over the course of the study period and across geographic units. Importantly, they show that the characterization of historical migrations as predominantly male is problematic because migration had begun to feminize as early as in the first half of the 20th century in some parts of the world, including the United States where the shift had begun in the 1920s.

Likewise, Leinonen (2012) reports her findings from her study on intermarried Finland-U.S. migrants, which sought to uncover underlying factors that pattern the gender distribution of migrants. She found that the reasons for migrating are not purely economic or educational as commonly depicted in the preponderance of migration literature, but that the underlying motivations are multi-faceted and include factors such as love, marriage and family ties. Leinonen also touches upon an important issue here - the economic and male biases in migration theories that need to be revised given the recent developments in migration studies that attest to the relevance of gender in international migration.

Among the recent studies that delve into the gender distribution of immigrant populations, the most comprehensive one was conducted by Donato et al. (2011). The

authors estimated age-standardized gender ratios of U.S. immigrant populations since 1850 and 26 other nations since 1960. They corroborated many of the gender trends reported elsewhere but showed how shifts in the gender composition were more conservative than previously thought. They also reported that there is no one trend that characterizes the gender make-up of the migrant populations, and there is substantial variation across different nations. Donato et al. (2011) demonstrated the importance of controlling for the feminization of aging foreign-born populations when estimating migrant gender ratios from stock data. Their rationale was that without accounting for the age distribution of immigrants, it is difficult to know whether the observed feminization of migration over the 20th century was due to sex differences in the aging population, among other things. Together, these works offer invaluable insights into the gender distribution of migrations across geographic regions and historical times, ushering in an important discourse towards upending dated migration theories.

The predominant migration theories that map the movement of peoples across borders have not only been male-centric, but they have also relied predominantly on economic models (Boyd and Grieco 2003). For example, the neo-classical framework asserts that migration patterns and circuits are shaped by economic variables such as the demand for labor in the receiving countries and the large supply in the sending countries (Massey et al. 1993; Stalker 1994; Goss and Lindquist 1995). Such a model attributes the initiation of migration to push factors at the origin communities and pull factors at the destination, whereby individuals are rational actors who weigh the costs and benefits of migration. Subsequent theorizing on migration within the economic framework used families or households as the unit of analysis to examine migration decisions, known as

the new economics of labor migration (Massey et al. 1993; Castles and Miller 2009). The theory posits that migration is a means to diversify income sources and dispersing risks among family or household members. As such, migration decisions are made in the context of a group and not limited to the individual.

Moving away from neoclassical explanations and the new economics paradigm, which are essentially micro level decision models, dual labor market theory focuses on the larger, structural forces of the global economy. The theory postulates that international migration is essentially shaped by “pull” factors, especially the unique labor demands in the industrialized nations driven by social meaning and status ascribed to jobs (Piore 1979; Massey et al. 1993). The low-paying, risky jobs at the bottom rungs of the occupational hierarchy are unappealing and socially undesirable to native workers in industrialized societies. To fill this labor gap, the advanced economies attract foreign laborers. Hence, migration occurs in the context of structural differences in the labor demands between industrialized and non-industrialized nations. Similarly, world systems theory (Wallerstein 1974; Massey et al. 1993; Mahler and Pessar 2006) contends that global capitalism extracts labor from the periphery to the core nations. The link between the peripheral and core economies, which facilitates the flow of laborers, could be colonial, ideological or cultural.

These theories have some merits but are limited in the analysis of the gendered and diverse nature of international migration today. The neoclassical and new economics of labor migration theories ignore gender relations within a family dictated by patriarchal values in traditional communities (King 2007). These theories do not take into account gendered social structures that operate at the individual and household levels and impinge

on migration decisions. Macro theories are also inadequate in explaining the gendered flow of migrants and why some migration circuits are male dominated while others are female dominated.

Hochschild (2003) argues that richer countries extract the “new gold” or emotional labor from poorer countries and lay paths for the transport of feminized labor migrants. Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003) charted similar configurations of female migration in their book *Global Women: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. The authors described a global care chain in which women crossed borders to fulfill domestic work and care-related needs in other countries, thereby creating a care-driven link between people and communities across the globe. These findings suggest one way for scholarship to move forward is to map variations in the gender composition of immigrants in some major destination countries to discern which countries are attracting more women and from which parts of the world.

A much-refined and integrative approach to female migration is offered by Oishi (2005) in her study of women’s migration in Asia. She argues that the patterns of female migration defy traditional migration theories that simply propose poverty or unemployment as the main drivers of emigration. Her research revealed that while men mostly emigrated from low-income countries such as Bangladesh and India, women also left from relatively better off countries like the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia. On the receiving end, she found that men mostly traveled to economically affluent countries but women traveled worldwide. This is an important finding suggesting that migration flows are essentially gendered and that migration circuits are significantly different for men and women. Oishi further delved into care-motivated migration characterized by

women increasingly migrating to fill reproductive labor gaps in wealthier and newly industrialized countries where native women join the labor force and work long hours, creating demand for services involving nursing, caring for children and the elderly, and domestic, household work. Importantly, Oishi's work proposes an integrative framework to theorize international female migration. Thus, to fully understand where women travel from and to which countries, we have to take into account individual-level factors such as women's autonomy and decision-making power within households, the social legitimacy and social norms that approve of women's wage employment and international migration, and the role of the state in facilitating or restricting women's migration. Massey (1999) offers a similar multi-level approach but does so without mentioning gender; he integrates different theoretical propositions and offers to explain migration in terms of individual motivations and aspirations, push factors in the developing countries and pull factors in the developed regions, and social structures that connect the origin and destination communities. Together, these all-encompassing approaches offer a fruitful avenue from which to examine the variations in the gender ratios of international migrant populations.

From this review, I identify some salient gaps in migration research pertaining to gender. First, although there is much buzz about feminization of migration and how women now constitute at least half of the total migrant population, it is less clear how this notion of feminization varies across time and space. As such, there is a need to estimate the gender composition of foreign-born stocks living in different parts of the world today, and assess how women's representation has changed over time. In the estimation of gender ratios of migrant populations, it is important to control for the mortality

differences at old ages among men and women in order to ensure that larger enumeration of women in foreign-born stocks is not because they are outliving their male counterparts. Such mortality adjustment can be done using the technique of age standardization, which removes the effects of different age structures of male and female populations. Second, although there are many studies about the gender distribution of immigrants in the United States and Europe, fewer studies tell us about less industrialized regions. This paper attempts to address that gap by including countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and Africa in the analysis. Finally, I build on the work of Donato et al. (2011) and examine the extent to which gendered circuits exist worldwide in more detail. Because traditional understandings of migration streams and circuits are still male-centric and do not fully accommodate the gendered paths of migration today, I identify major regional destinations and examine the gender composition of the largest immigrant or national origin groups residing in those countries. By undertaking these tasks, this paper adds to the current momentum that migration scholars have built to uncover the gendered patterns and circuits of international movements that depict the reality of today's migration.

CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODS

I use census data from IPUMS-International made available by the Minnesota Population Center at the University of Minnesota (www.ipums.org). The IPUMS-International is a public-use data set that offers individual-level census data on populations in many countries, including foreign-born persons. As of May 2012, IPUMS-International contains data for 62 countries representing approximately 397 million persons (<http://www.ipums.org>). Of these countries, data on the foreign-born are available for 56 nations in years ranging from 1960 to 2008.

Table 1 lists the 56 nations that comprise the sample for my analysis. For each nation, there is at least one census year of data and many have more than one census year. As a result, the sample includes 147 national censuses that contain detailed information about nativity.

Table 1 also shows a set of nations that offer considerable geographic coverage across five world regions: Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, and Latin America and the Caribbean. The United States has the longest chronological coverage (1960-2005), followed by Mexico (1960-2000) and Canada (1971-2001). For the Latin American and Caribbean region, data are available for 14 countries. Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Puerto Rico have the most historical coverage with data for five census years, while Bolivia, Peru and Saint Lucia have data available for two censuses and Cuba has just one. For Europe, there are data on 14 countries with France (seven censuses) and Ireland (six censuses) having the most historical coverage. In contrast, Armenia, Austria, Belarus,

Greece and Italy have census data available for one year only. In Asia, there are 12 countries and Malaysia and Thailand have four census years available. However, the remaining nations in Asia have data for just one or two censuses.

Table 1. Datasets and Geographic Units Used in the Analysis by Region

Country	No. of Censuses with Nativity Data	% of Population in Sample	Years Covered
<u>NORTH AMERICA</u>			
Canada	4	1-2.7	1971·1981·1991·2001
Mexico	5	0.4-10.6	1960·1970·1990·1995·2000
United States	6	1-5	1960·1970·1980·1990·2000·2005
<u>SOUTH/CENTRAL AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN</u>			
Argentina	4	2-10	1970·1980·1991·2001
Bolivia	2	10	1976·2001
Brazil	5	5-6	1960·1970·1980·1991·2000
Chile	5	1-10	1960·1970·1982·1992·2002
Colombia	5	2-10	1964·1973·1985·1993·2005
Costa Rica	4	6-10	1963·1973·1984·2000
Cuba	1	10	2002
Ecuador	5	3-10	1962·1974·1982·1990·2001
Jamaica	3	10	1982·1991·2001
Panama	4	5-10	1960·1970·1990·2000
Peru	2	10	1993·2007
Puerto Rico	5	1-5	1970·1980·1990·2000·2005
Saint Lucia	2	10	1980·1991
Venezuela	4	10	1971·1981·1990·2001
<u>EUROPE</u>			
Armenia	1	10	2001
Austria	1	10	2001
Belarus	1	10	1999
France	7	5-33	1962·1968·1975·1982·1990·1999·2006
Greece	1	10	2001
Ireland	4	10	1971·1981·1996·2006
Italy	1	5	2001
Netherlands	3	1.2	1960·1971·2001
Portugal	3	5	1981·1991·2001
Romania	3	10	1977·1992·2002
Slovenia	1	10	2002
Spain	3	5	1981·1991·2001
Switzerland	4	5	1970·1980·1990·2000
United Kingdom	2	1-3	1991·2001

Table 1. Datasets and Geographic Units Used in the Analysis by Region (continued)

Country	No. of Census with Nativity Data	% of Population in Sample	Years Covered
<u>ASIA</u>			
Cambodia	2	10	1998-2008
Iran	1	2	2006
Iraq	1	10	1997
Israel	3	10	1972-1983-1995
Kyrgyz Republic	1	10	1999
Malaysia	3	2	1970-1980-2000
Mongolia	1	10	2000
Nepal	1	11.35	2001
Pakistan	1	2-10	1973
Palestine	2	10	1997-2007
Philippines	2	10	1990-2000
Thailand	4	1-2	1970-1980-1990-2000
<u>AFRICA</u>			
Egypt	1	10	1996
Ghana	1	10	2000
Guinea	2	10	1983-1996
Kenya	2	5	1989-1999
Malawi	3	10	1987-1998-2008
Mali	2	10	1987-1998
Rwanda	2	10	1991-2002
Senegal	2	10	1988-2002
Sierra Leone	1	10	2004
South Africa	3	2-10	1996-2001-2007
Sudan	1	15	2008
Tanzania	2	10	1988-2002
Uganda	2	10	1991-2002
TOTAL	147		

Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-International), accessed in May 2012

Similarly, data are available for 13 African countries. For Malawi and South Africa, there are three census years, and for the rest of the countries, at most two census years. Taken together, these data represent considerable geographic and chronological coverage that permit an analysis about regional and global variations in migrant gender ratios.

Another strength of the IPUMS-International data is that they are accessible and user-friendly. All IPUMS files contain harmonized microdata with uniform variable codes, including those for nativity, facilitating comparative studies. Finally, an important aspect of IPUMS data sets that is particularly important to my study is that they permit age-standardization since they include data for each age or age category.

While the IPUMS-International has several advantages, it also has some limitations especially in terms of geographic coverage. Although data are available for a large number of countries and in some cases for multiple years, the two most populated countries in the world, China and India, are not present. Recent census data from China reveal that migration is largely rural-urban with approximately 261 million temporary or “floating” individuals living in different parts of China. One consequence is that immigrants accounted for only a fraction of the total mobile population with slightly over 1 million foreigners, including residents of Hong Kong and Macau, living in China at the time of the census (Hvistendahl 2011). Other studies on Chinese migration also attest to the prominence of rural-urban migration (e.g. Roberts 1997; Fan 2003; West and Zhao 2000; He and Gober 2003). In contrast, the foreign-born population is much larger in India than in China. The United Nations (2012) estimated that there are approximately 5.4 million foreign-born persons living in India. Hence, missing data on immigrants in countries such as India and, to a lesser extent, China is one of the limitations of this paper.

In the analysis that follows, I use a sample of immigrants who are 18 years or older living in the countries and territories listed in Table 1. Table 2 contains the variables used in the analysis and their descriptions, codes and types as defined by

IPUMS-International; these are age, gender, nativity and country of birth. Age is measured as how old respondents are in years. The nativity variable identifies individuals who are native born or foreign-born. Foreign-born individuals are those who are residing in countries different from their countries of birth. For these persons, there is also information about country of national origin. Gender is male or female. All of these variables have minimal missing data. On average, missing values represent just .25 percent of the total values for age, one percent for nativity, and there is no missing data for gender.

Table 2. Variables from IPUMS-International Used in the Analysis

Name	Description	Codes/Range	Type of variable
Age	Years of life	Range: 000 - 100/100+ 999= Not reporting/missing	Continuous Numeric
Sex	Gender	1= Male 2= Female 9= Unknown	Categorical
Nativity	Whether born in country of census (i.e. native) or outside of country of census (i.e. foreign)	0= NIU (Not in universe) 1= Native-born 2= Foreign-born 9= Unknown/missing	Categorical
Country of Birth	Country/region of birth	5-digit numeric codes for countries, regions, or specific set of countries	Categorical

Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012

The analysis proceeds in three main phases. First, I examine weighted³ unstandardized estimates of the gender ratio of the immigrant population in 56 nations. I also estimate age-standardized estimates of the gender composition and compare the

³ In IPUMS data sets, each person from the sample has a weight value that represents certain number of people in the population. For most data sets, each individual has a value of 100 people but in some cases different weights are assigned to ensure that the results are representative of the entire population.

differences between these two types of estimates. For countries with multiple years, I calculate gender ratios for all available years.

The bulk of the analysis in this first phase involves applying the technique of age standardization to estimate the gender ratio of immigrant populations, expressed as “percent female.” There are a number of strong reasons to standardize gender ratios by age (see Preston, Heuveline and Guillot 2001). First, male and female populations have different age structures. Differences in the age distributions of male and female populations are especially apparent among older populations since women have lower mortality rates than men (Case and Paxson 2005). Therefore, because the age distributions of populations are affected by factors such as birth, death and migration rates, it is necessary to standardize the gender composition of the foreign-born population (Donato et al. 2011; Alexander and Steidl 2012).

Following Donato et al. (2011) and Alexander and Steidl (2012), I implement direct age standardization for each nation by, first, calculating the expected number of foreign-born men by multiplying the percent of men who are foreign-born by the number of women in the destination population for each age. Second, I divide the actual number of foreign-born women (numerator) by the sum of expected number of foreign-born men and actual number of foreign-born women (denominator) to calculate the age-standardized gender composition of a foreign-born stock. Because data are not disaggregated by age for some countries, I substitute age categories in the standardization procedure. This procedure adequately controls for the effects of differential mortality rates between men and women in the migrant stock populations.

This method diminishes the effects of higher male mortality (especially at older ages) by generating a synthetic foreign-born male population that retains the observed proportion of migrants within each age, but is not subject to the different age structures of the overall male and female populations. Since the female population is used as the standard, and there are normally more women than men at older ages, the result is that the method tends to inflate the number of men at old ages as if it were “resurrecting” some men who had died in earlier years. In absence of flow data, the stock data can provide a current snapshot of the immigrant population, which is shaped by recent and past migration history as well as by differential death rates. By age standardizing the observed gender ratios, the resulting estimates depicts a cumulative picture of the current and historical migration patterns, minus the mortality effects. These estimates better represent the last several decades of international migration into the country than the observed ratios generated by stock data alone and helps to better gauge the degree of feminization.

If the age-standardized percent female foreign-born is roughly 50 or more, I consider the migrant stock feminized. As a comparison, I also generate unstandardized or observed estimates of gender ratio by calculating the percent of total migrant population that is female. This phase of the analysis helps me determine the gender distribution of migrant populations residing in each of the 56 countries, thereby allowing me to gauge the degree of feminization. In addition, I am able to assess differences in age-standardized and unstandardized estimates and how different age structures of women and men influence our estimation of the feminization of migration.

The second phase of the analysis identifies countries that have disproportionately higher or lower percentage of foreign-born women using the age-standardized estimates

generated in the earlier phase. I group countries geographically and examine whether gender distributions have regional differences. I also identify outliers or unique cases in each region. Such outliers provide insights into why some regions or countries attract comparatively high or low proportion of female migrants compared to others. For instance, past research suggests that the proportion of female migrants will likely be smaller in the Gulf and other oil-producing countries where there is demand for manual labor traditionally fulfilled by foreign men whereas nations in South East Asia and Europe are more likely to attract female immigrants to fulfill the need for caregivers (Tyree and Donato 1986; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Oishi 2005).

Finally, based on the data that are available, I identify five countries with the largest foreign-born population in each region to examine variation in the gender composition of immigrant population within regions. I then examine the gender composition of the three largest immigrant groups residing in these regional destinations. I restrict this analysis to data available since 2000. For example, in Asia for census years 2000 and beyond, the top five receivers of immigrants are Malaysia, Philippines, Nepal, Thailand and Cambodia, and within each, I identify the three largest national origin groups. In Malaysia, which is the largest receiver of migrants in this region, the three largest national origin groups are from Indonesia, Philippines and Bangladesh. I will then examine how the gender ratios of those national origin groups vary. In summary, this phase of the analysis identifies the key regional destinations, the major migrant sending countries to those destinations, and subsequently, maps migration circuits for each region. The focus is on whether and how migration circuits are gendered, and the extent to which

these circuits compare to the male models of migration as predicted by conventional migration theories.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Gender Composition of Immigrant Populations and How It Varies Over Time

I begin by examining variation in the gender composition of foreign-born populations across different historical periods. Table 3 describes the study's sample divided into four periods based on census years, and presents the means and standard deviations of the age-standardized and unstandardized estimates of the gender ratio for each period. Results show that immigrant population's average age-standardized gender composition varies across census periods, albeit modestly. The mean age-standardized percent female for all census periods is 47.7 whereas the mean for unstandardized estimates is 49.4 percent. The net difference of 1.7 percent in the global percent female is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) based on two-tailed, paired difference of means test. These results suggest that the unstandardized gender ratios may be overstating the degree of feminization of the migrant populations under study.

Table 3 also describes how these estimates shift over time. Overall, there is some evidence of women's increasing presence in cross-border movements. Considering the standardized estimates, on average, women constituted 46.9 percent of the foreign-born populations through the 1960s and 1970s and that share increased to 47.9 percent in the 1980s. The 1990s saw a slight decrease in the average percent female but the gender ratio increased again to 48.4 early in the 21st century. Comparable means for unstandardized estimates also show an increase, and one that is larger than that based on the standardized estimates. Unstandardized estimates suggest that women have constituted about half of

the global migrant population since the 1980s. Without accounting for the age distribution of the population, women’s representation among foreign-born stocks increased from 49.4 to 50.2 percent between 1960-79 and 2000-09.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for Census Periods, 1960- 2009

	No. of Countries (Samples)	Percent of foreign born population that is female		Net difference between Unstandardized and Standardized Estimates
		Mean (SD), Age-Standardized Estimates	Mean (SD), Age-Unstandardized Estimates	
All census periods	56(147)	47.7 (4.6)	49.4 (4.6)	1.7***
1960- 1979	22 (33)	46.9 (4.2)	47.7 (4.3)	0.8**
1980-1989	26 (26)	47.9 (3.3)	49.9 (3.3)	2.0***
1990- 1999	37 (39)	47.5 (4.2)	49.6 (4.5)	2.1***
2000- 2009	46 (49)	48.4 (5.5)	50.2 (5.3)	1.8***

Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012
 Note: *p ≤ 0.05, *** p ≤ 0.001 based on paired, two-tailed t-test between the standardized and unstandardized estimates within each period.

On the whole, these results are interesting because of what they suggest about the gender composition of global immigrant populations. First, they document a shift in the gender ratio of migrant populations such that more women are international migrants in the early 21st century than in earlier decades during the late 20th century. Second, they also suggest that the pace of feminization has become fairly modest in contrast to what is generally conveyed in most reports from the United Nations. Third, age standardization yields estimates that are more conservative than unstandardized ones. Importantly, the more conservative, age-standardized estimates demonstrate an upward trend in women’s representation among global migrant populations over the census years, offering strong evidence that the rising number of women in the migrant stocks is not entirely due to the longevity of women or higher mortality among male immigrants at old age, but it is most likely due to an actual increase in women’s migration.

Gender Composition of Immigrant Populations Across Space and Time

This section emphasizes the extent to which the gender composition of immigrant populations varies across geographic regions and over time. For this analysis, I group the 56 nations into five geographic regions and track changes in the gender composition of the foreign-born stocks in these regions across three census periods.⁴ In general, Table 4 reveals considerably more variation in the gender composition of immigrant populations than Table 3. It also documents a shift toward feminization in most of the world regions, and that age-standardized estimates are more conservative indicators of women's representation in migrant populations.

North America, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Asia have experienced an increase in their shares of female immigrants. The standardized estimates reveal that in Latin America and the Caribbean, the share of female immigrants rose from 46 percent to 49.1 percent between pre-1990 and post-2000, representing a 3.1 percentage point increase. In Asia and North America, the increases were of smaller scale (2.8 and .8 percent points, respectively). In contrast, the immigrant population in Europe has remained gender balanced across the periods, and in Africa, the gender composition of foreign-born stocks shifted downward toward more men, from 47 to 44 percent between pre-1990 and post-2000. Hence, in Africa, immigrants continue to be predominantly male and they have become increasingly so. However, readers should approach the African case with caution because of its limited data coverage. After North America, the

⁴ In this analysis, I collapse the four census periods in Table 3 into three because of small sample size. This insures adequate sample size of countries in each period within each region (see Table 4).

African region consists of the smallest number of nations (N=12) and few have data for multiple census years.

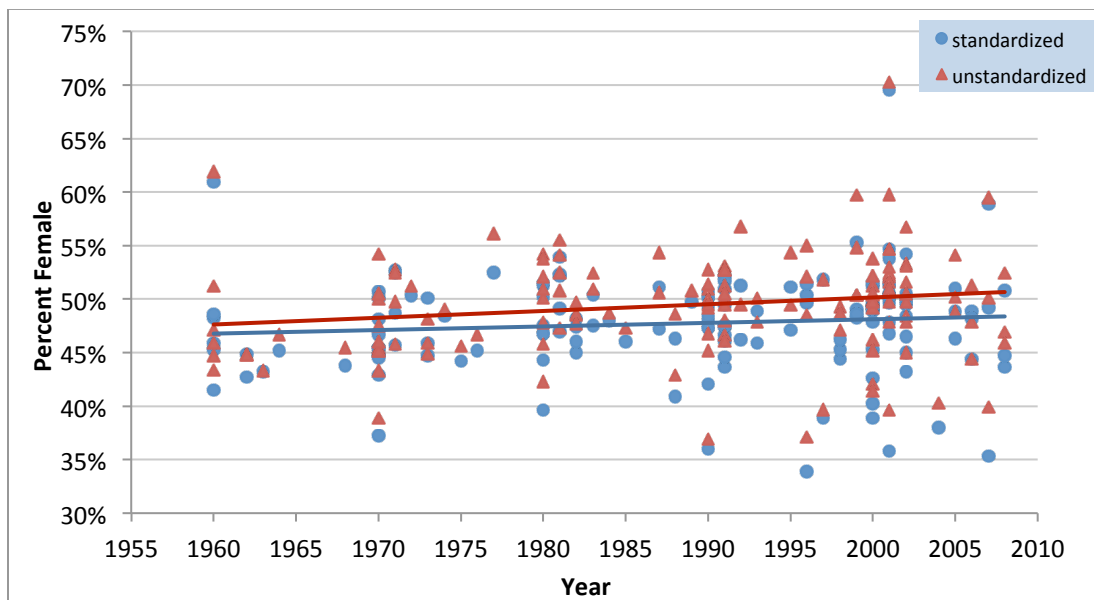
Table 4. Variations in Gender Ratios of Immigrant Populations across Geographic Regions: Pre-1990, 1990-99, and 2000-Present

Geographic Regions	No. of Countries (Samples)	Percent Female in Foreign Born Population					
		Mean (SD), Standardized Estimates			Mean (SD), Unstandardized Estimates		
		Pre 1990	1990-1999	2000-Present	Pre 1990	1990-1999	2000-Present
All countries	56 (147)	47.3 (3.8)	47.5 (4.2)	48.4 (5.5)	48.7 (4.1)	49.6 (4.5)	50.2 (5.3)
North America	3 (15)	48.3 (1.8)	48.5 (1.0)	49.1 (0.8)	50.2 (3.1)	50.5 (0.9)	50.8 (0.8)
South/Central America and the Caribbean	14 (51)	46.0 (2.0)	47.5 (1.9)	49.1 (2.6)	47.2 (2.6)	49.5 (1.7)	51.1 (2.8)
Europe	13 (34)	50.5 (4.8)	50.8 (2.1)	50.4 (2.2)	51.7 (4.7)	53.2 (3.1)	52.0 (2.9)
Asia	14 (25)	46.0 (5.0)	44.1 (5.9)	48.8 (9.8)	46.2 (4.4)	46.2 (6.3)	50.0 (9.4)
Africa	12 (22)	47.1 (3.2)	45.7 (4.8)	44.2 (5.7)	49.7 (3.5)	47.6 (4.7)	46.6 (5.0)

Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012

Compared to age-standardized estimates, unstandardized estimates depict more women among immigrant populations worldwide, and a larger increase in the percentage of female immigrants in all regions. The unstandardized estimates show that in the Americas, Europe and Asia, female immigrants constituted, on average, at least 50 percent of total foreign-born populations by the beginning of the 21st century. Europe leads the way with 52 percent female, followed by Latin America and the Caribbean (51 percent), North America (51 percent) and Asia (50 percent). Moreover, the increase in the percent female from pre-1990 to recent census years is larger than the increase based on age-standardized estimates, suggesting that unstandardized estimates are inflated in part by aging immigrants. Nonetheless, even standardized estimates clearly indicate that male hegemony in international migration is on the decline, with the exception of Africa.

Figure 1 tells a similar story. It illustrates shifts in the gender composition of the global immigrant populations based on standardized and unstandardized estimates for 56 countries since 1960. Once again, there is considerable variation in the observed and standardized gender ratios. Although this variation seems to have increased over time, it may be related to the larger number of country census samples for the most recent years. The figure also shows the extent to which unstandardized estimates overstate the degree of feminization of immigrant populations; note that the blue circles, e.g. age-standardized estimates, are consistently below red triangles representing unstandardized estimates. In addition, there are a number of sizeable outliers such as the Netherlands in 1960 (61 percent female), Nepal in 2001 (70 percent female) and South Africa in multiple years (34 - 36 percent female). These cases will be discussed in more detail later.



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012

Figure 1. Unstandardized and Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in 56 countries, 18+ Years: 1960 – 2009

Figure 1 also includes trend lines for both standardized (blue) and unstandardized (red) estimates. These are simple linear trends generated by ordinary least squares. For unstandardized estimates, the trend line crossed the 50 percent mark in early 2000, indicating that women now constitute at least half of the total immigrant stock for these 56 countries. The trend line for standardized estimates depicts a more modest upward trend and the line is consistently below the 50 percent mark. Again, the gap between the standardized and unstandardized estimates may be due to different age structures of men's and women's populations, such that the higher enumeration of women in migrant populations may be partly driven by their overrepresentation in the adult and elderly population.

Finally, note that the two trend lines in Figure 1 diverge over time, indicating a growing gap between standardized and unstandardized estimates. This suggests that the effect of age is stronger now than in the past and that there may be more women present in aging foreign-born populations than men.

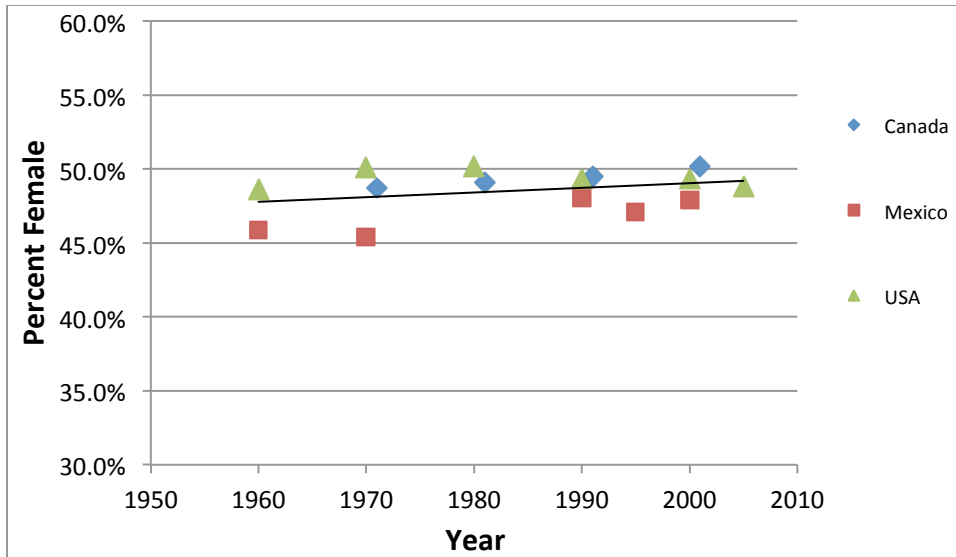
Examining the gender composition of the immigrant population worldwide across regions and by time period reveals considerable variation in the gender distribution of global immigrant populations. The findings provide strong evidence that immigrant populations in these study countries are increasingly gender-balanced and in some cases female dominated (e.g. Europe) or male dominated (e.g. Africa). These patterns are suggested by both standardized and unstandardized estimates, although the extent of feminization is somewhat smaller after standardizing by age.

Variability by National Origin

In the section that follows, I examine the age-standardized gender ratios of foreign-born populations in destinations by their national origins. Additionally, I identify major regional destinations, i.e. countries with the largest immigrant population in each of the five regions discussed earlier, and estimate the gender composition of the three largest national origin immigrant groups residing in these regional destinations.

North America

Compared to other regions, the three North American countries - Canada, Mexico and the United States - have more extensive data in terms of historical coverage. Figure 2 summarizes these data and shows that the age-standardized estimates of gender composition of foreign-born populations (percent female) in these three countries have been over 45 percent since 1960. In the United States, women immigrants comprised half of the total immigrant population in 1970 and 1980, but since then their share has remained below 50 percent. In Canada, the foreign-born population has also become increasingly feminized; here women's representation has been rising steadily since 1930 and it crossed the 50 percent mark in 2000. However, Mexico adds more variation. Male immigrants continue to dominate in terms of overall numbers, but since 1970 it appears that more women may have immigrated to Mexico.



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed May 2012

Figure 2. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in North America, 18+ Years: 1960-2005

While both Canada and Mexico have experienced recent increases in women's share of the immigrant stock, the United States has experienced the opposite trend. That is, while the stock of U.S. immigrants is currently less than 50 percent female, the most recent estimates suggest a small downward trend. Donato et al. (2011) showed that this decline is due to the increase in Mexico-U.S. migration since the 1970s. Although the flow of Mexico-U.S. migrants is one of the largest between any two nations in the world, it has been male-dominated largely because it contains a large share of unauthorized migrants (Fry 2006). Therefore, after excluding Mexican-born immigrants from the analysis, Donato et al. found that women's share among the remaining foreign-born population was 51 percent in 2006, compared to 49 percent when Mexico was included.

To further explore the issue of variation in the gender composition of immigrant populations in North America, I identify the top three sending countries to North America

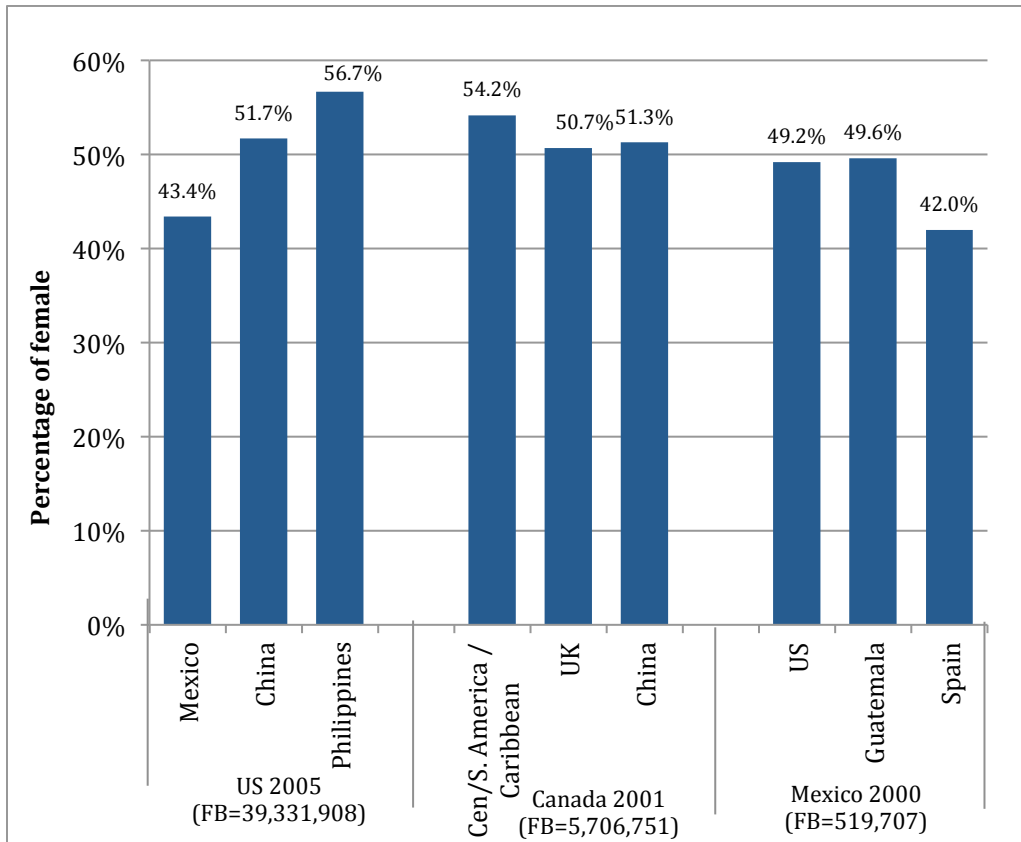
and estimate their gender composition for the latest available years. Examining gender ratios by national origin helps to identify variation in specific migration circuits between nations in North America and elsewhere. Moreover, assessing the gender make-up of these national origin groups informs us about whether these migration circuits are gendered.

Figure 3 displays standardized gender ratio estimates for the top three national origin groups in the United States, Canada and Mexico. Nations are ordered by the size of their foreign-born populations: the United States has the largest (in 2005, approximately 40 million), followed by Canada (5.7 million in 2001), and then Mexico with approximately 520,000 foreign-born persons in 2000. Within each country, I show the gender compositions of the three largest national origin groups, with the largest presented first. In the United States, the biggest immigrant group is from Mexico (28 percent of the total foreign-born population), followed by China (5 percent) and the Philippines (4 percent). While Chinese and Filipino immigrant groups are clearly female dominated, Mexican immigrants are predominantly male, as expected. The Philippines is one of the biggest labor-exporting countries in Asia⁵ and sends large numbers of women to undertake care-related jobs in developed and newly industrialized countries, including the United States (Parrenas 2001; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Massey and Taylor 2004; Oishi 2005). In addition, the United States and the Philippines have cultural and historical links as well as bilateral military agreements, which include United States military bases in the Philippines until 1991 when the Philippines Senate voted to shut

⁵ The Commission on Filipinos Overseas estimated that there are almost 9.5 million Filipinos living outside the country as of December 2010. Of the total, about 47 percent are permanent migrants, 45 percent are temporary and the remaining 8 percent are irregular migrants. The number of emigrants has increased steadily in the past decade.

(http://www.cfo.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1340:stock-estimate-of-overseas-filipinos&catid=134:statisticsstock-estimate&Itemid=814)

them down (United States Department of State 2012). Among other conditions, the presence of a U.S. military base has contributed to the marriage-related migration of Filipinas to the United States (Donato 1992).



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012
 Note: FB= total number of foreign born living in country in that year

Figure 3. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in North America by Top Three National Origins, 18+ years

In Canada, the largest immigrant group was from Central and South America and the Caribbean (11 percent of foreign-born population)⁶, closely followed by the United Kingdom (10.5 percent) and then China (6 percent). Since the largest immigrant group

⁶ The data from Central and South America and the Caribbean were reported as such and cannot be disaggregated.

includes individuals from all of South/Central America and the Caribbean and data cannot be disaggregated, it is difficult to formulate a generalizable immigration story for this diverse group. Nevertheless, the standardized estimate of percent female shows that the immigrant population from this region residing in Canada is feminized (54.2 percent). The second and third largest groups – United Kingdom (50.7 percent) and China (51.3 percent), respectively – are also feminized. Women are traveling in equal numbers, if not exceeding their male counterparts, to Canada. Also, notably, female-dominated Chinese immigration flows have a significant presence in the United States and Canada.

In Mexico, the vast majority of immigrants, over two-thirds (69 percent), originate from the United States, and 49.2 percent are women. The second and third largest sending nations, Guatemala (6 percent) and Spain (4 percent), sent far fewer immigrants to Mexico. While the population of Guatemalan immigrants in Mexico is gender balanced, Spanish immigration to Mexico is male dominated. In general, these estimates suggest that the immigrant populations in Mexico are less feminized than the other two North American countries.

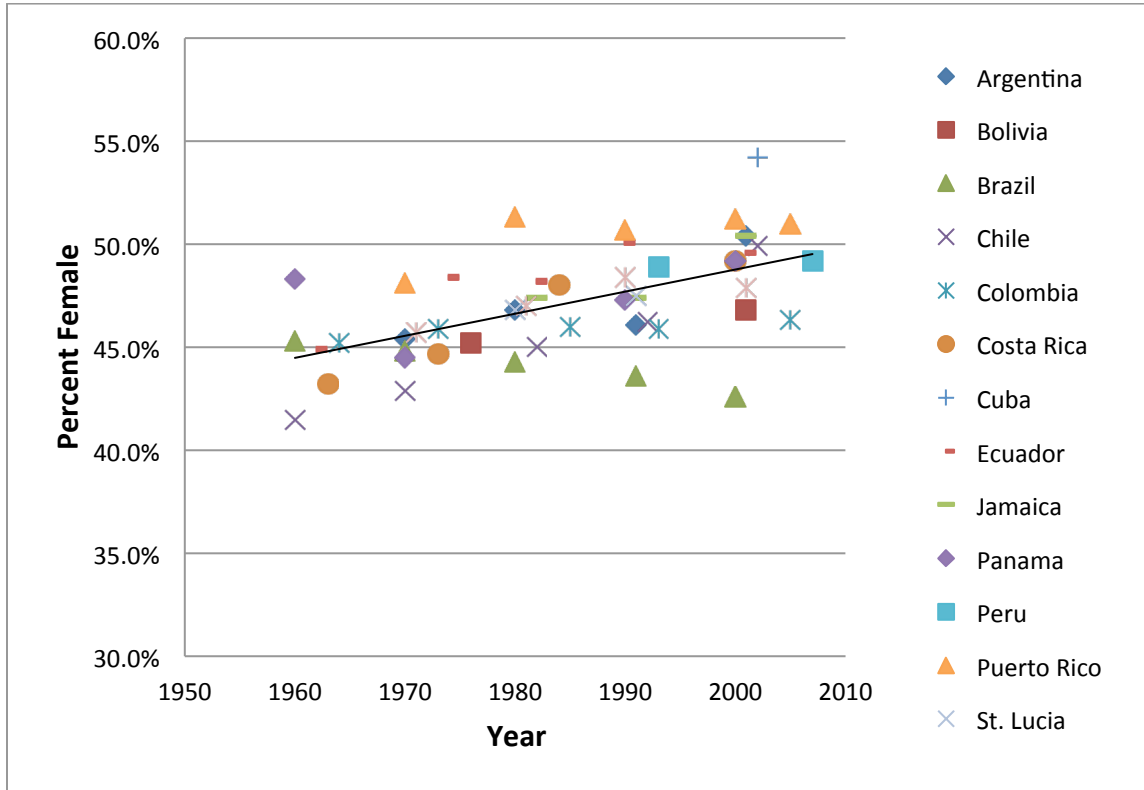
Latin America and the Caribbean

There is considerable variation in the gender composition of foreign-born populations in Latin America and the Caribbean. However, the overall trend for the 14 countries and territories in this region suggests that immigration in this region has been predominantly male. As Figure 4 illustrates, for most countries, historically and in recent years, women account for less than half of the immigrant populations as depicted by the vast majority of estimates falling below the 50 percent mark. Puerto Rico and Cuba are

the exceptions. Puerto Rican immigration has been female dominated since the 1980s and Cuba's immigrant population in 2002 was largely female (54.2 percent). Notably, Chile experienced a distinct upward shift in women's representation in the immigrant population with 8 percentage point increase from 42 percent in 1960 to 50 percent in 2002. A similar upward trend is observed for Argentina, whose immigrant population has become increasingly feminized from less than 45 percent in 1970 to over 50 percent at the beginning of the 21st century.

On the other hand, Brazil, and to a lesser extent Venezuela and Colombia, saw downward shifts in women's representation in their immigrant populations. Estimates for Brazil show a distinct downward trend in women's share, decreasing from 45 percent in 1960 to 43 percent in the 2000s. The significant presence of male immigrants in Brazil could be explained by demand for manual labor, which is predominantly fulfilled by male immigrants, to work in agriculture, especially from Japan beginning in the early 20th century (Amaral and Fusco 2005). In addition, Brazil is a destination of low-skilled migrants from the neighboring countries of Bolivia and Peru. Similarly, Venezuela's historically male-dominated foreign-born population moved towards feminization from the 1970s (45.7 percent female) through the 1990s (48.4 percent female) but the trend reversed in the early 2000s (47.9 percent female). Interestingly, the unstandardized estimates show no such decline and in fact, indicate that Venezuela's foreign-born population was gender balanced in 2001. This suggests that the gender balance in Venezuela's immigrant population may not be due to the increasing immigration of women in recent years but due to the fact that foreign-born men were exiting the population through death at higher rates than their female counterparts at older ages.

Once again, across all nations, despite substantial variations, there is a distinct upward trend overall in percent female for the census years covered as indicated by the trend line for the region.



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012

Figure 4. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in Latin America and the Caribbean, 18+ Years: 1960- 2007

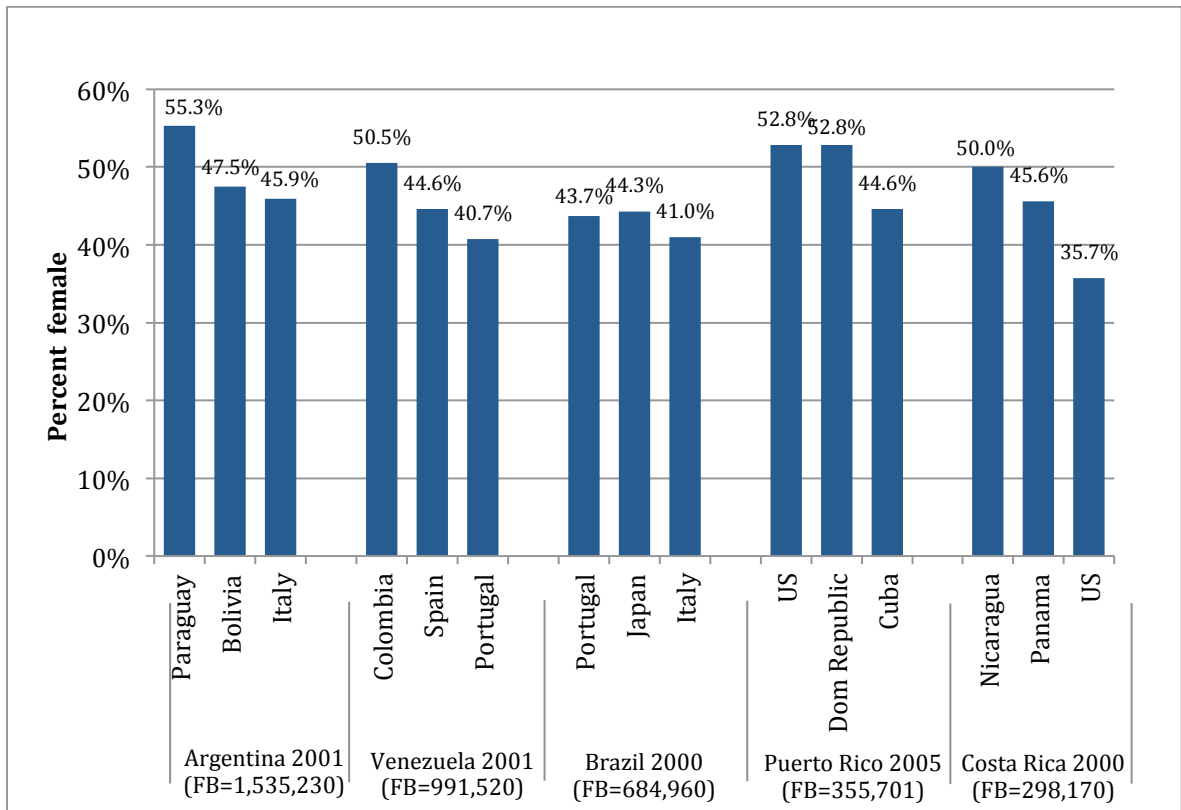
To further examine the variation in the gender ratios of foreign-born stock in Latin America and the Caribbean, Figure 5 presents five regional destinations and the gender composition of the top three national origin immigrant groups in each of the destinations. For the latest year for which data are available, the largest recipient of migrants in this region is Argentina with more than one and half million foreign-born

individuals, followed by Venezuela with a little less than a million, then Brazil with well over half a million, and Puerto Rico and Costa Rica both housing less than half a million foreign-born persons. As Figure 5 depicts, there is much variation in the gender composition of immigrant groups in these countries. In Argentina, immigration from Paraguay was heavily female whereas it was mostly male from Bolivia and Italy. The overall gender-balance observed in Argentina in 2001 is influenced by Paraguayan immigrants who constitute about one-fifth (21 percent) of the total foreign-born population. According to Jachimowicz (2006), a large number of Paraguayan women travel to Argentinian cities to work as domestic helpers and care workers. Additionally, trafficking of Paraguayan women into the country for sex work has been cited as a reason for the feminization of the Paraguay-Argentina flow.

In Venezuela, the second largest regional destination, the largest national origin immigrant group is Colombian, which constitutes more than 60 percent of the total immigrant population in the country. Colombian immigrants are gender-balanced, whereas men clearly dominate among the Spanish and Portuguese national origin immigrant groups.

Comparatively, Brazil is a unique destination since male immigrants widely predominate and shares of women are below 45 percent for all three national origin groups. But Brazil's migration circuit is globally more far-reaching with the largest immigrant groups coming from Portugal, Japan and Italy. Portuguese immigrants comprise about one third of the foreign-born population followed by Japanese and Italian immigrants, each with about one-tenth of the share. Significant immigration from Japan to Brazil reflects the two nation's unique history traced back to the early 20th century

when Brazil brought Japanese laborers to work in coffee plantations after slave labor was abolished in the country (Amemiya 1998). Since then, Japanese immigrants have continued to migrate to Brazil but in lesser numbers than before.



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012
 Note: FB= total number of foreign born living in country in that year

Figure 5. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in 5 Largest Regional Destinations in Latin America and the Caribbean by Top 3 National Origins, 18+ Years

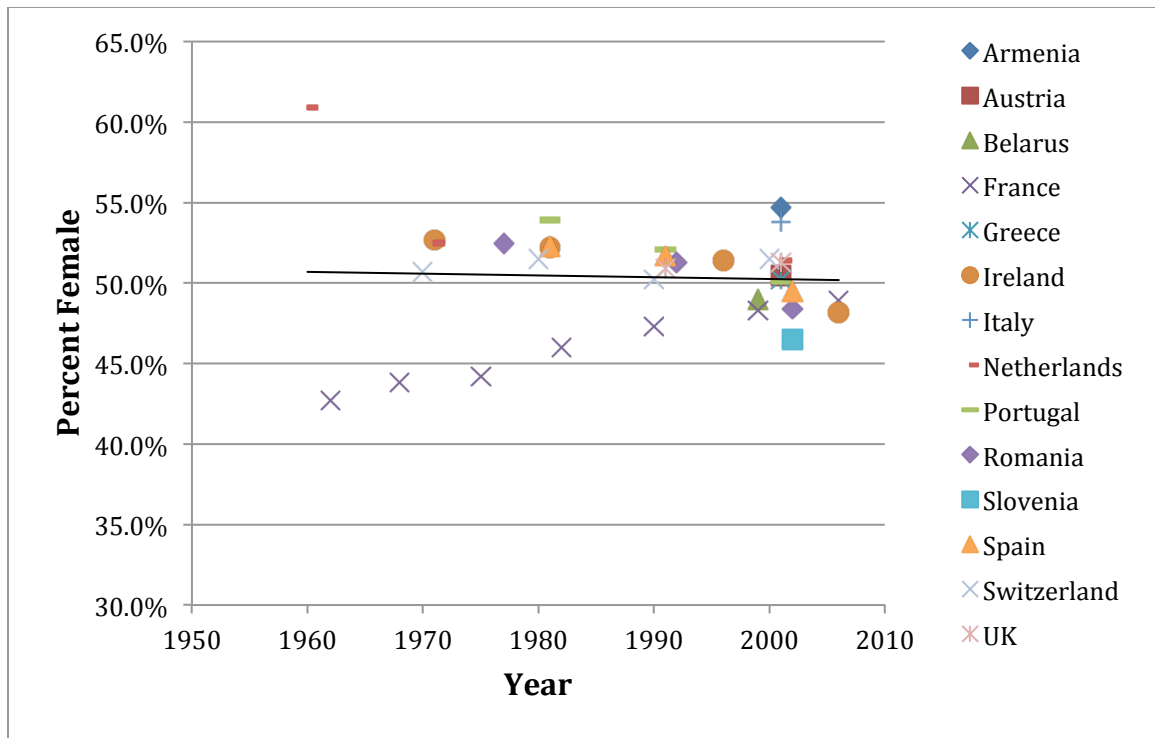
As for Puerto Rico, immigrants from the United States (roughly two-third of the total foreign-born population) and from the Dominican Republic were largely women, but Cubans were mostly men. The feminized immigrant population in Puerto Rico

appears to be driven by female-dominated U.S. migration. Finally, in Costa Rica, Nicaraguans, who make up more than three quarters of the total immigrant population, were evenly distributed in terms of gender, but those from Panama (4 percent) and the U.S. (3 percent) were largely men. Nicaraguans were largely driven to Costa Rica by political instability in their home country, but recent immigrants are also motivated by better job prospects in the agricultural industry and the social programs that Costa Rica offers (Mahler and Ugrina 2006). Americans also have a large presence in Costa Rica since the United States has a strong trade, military and diplomatic relationship with the country. As such, the vast majority of the American immigrants in Costa Rica are men.

Overall, there is a distinct shift toward feminization among immigrant populations residing in Latin America and the Caribbean. However, the representation of women in the immigrant populations is not uniform and varies substantially by national origin. Migration from other Latin American countries and the Caribbean is explained partially by geographic proximity and historical ties whereas some migration flows from Europe are rooted in colonial ties (e.g. Portuguese in Brazil, Spanish in Venezuela). Importantly, the migration circuits linking the regional destinations and the sending countries depict considerable gendered variations. On the one hand, some migration circuits such as the ones linking Paraguayans to Argentina, and Americans and Dominicans to Puerto Rico are predominantly female and on the other hand, the migration streams to Brazil, Costa Rica and Venezuela are distinctly male.

Europe

The gender ratios of immigrant populations in the 13 European countries included in the analysis reveal some shifts in the estimates over time. As Figure 6 illustrates, the foreign-born populations in these countries have been relatively gender-balanced with most estimates of gender composition falling around the 50 percent mark. However, there are some distinct cases that merit some discussion. First, France displays a clear upward trend since 1960, indicating a progressively more feminized immigrant population in the recent years. Despite a more than six percentage point increase in the percent female from 1960 (43 percent) to 2006 (49 percent), the overall representation of women is still slightly less than half. In contrast, Ireland is experiencing de-feminization of their immigrant population. From 1970 to 2006, the share of female immigrants decreased from 53 percent to 48 percent and the historically female dominated immigrant population became male dominated at the turn of the 21st century. This downward trend perhaps resulted from the stricter immigration policies in Ireland since early 2000s that were geared towards attracting highly skilled individuals from outside the European Union (E.U.) and low or semi skilled workers from within the E.U. (Ruhs and Quinn 2009).



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012

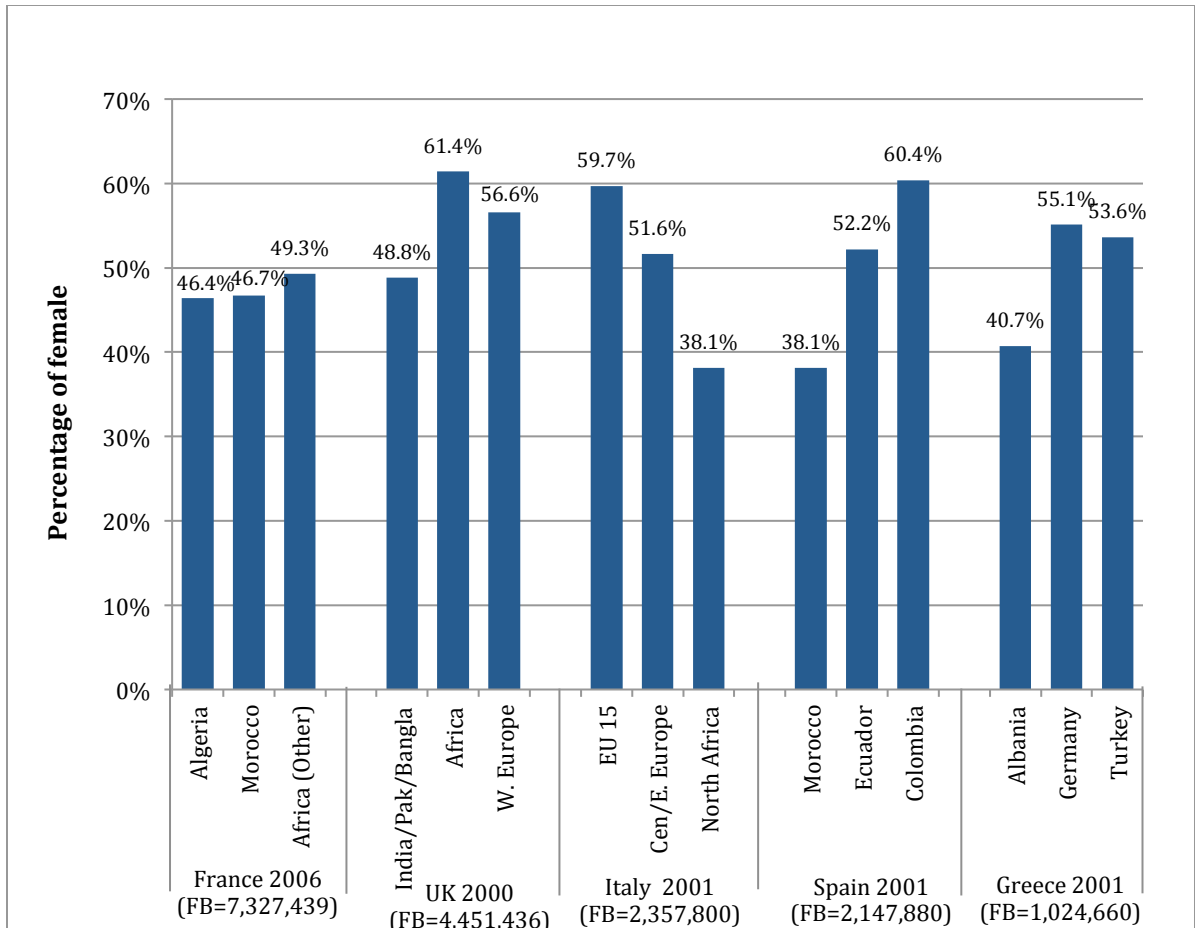
Figure 6. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in Europe, 18+ Years: 1960- 2006

The Netherlands reported a highly feminized immigrant population (60.9 percent female) in 1960 and subsequent decades saw a steep decline in the share of female immigrants. About 53 percent of the Netherlands’ foreign born were female in 1970 and their presence further decreased to 51.4 percent by 2004. Despite the gradual decrease, women’s representation among immigrants remained more than half. The distinctly female-dominated immigrant population in Netherlands in the 1960s was most likely driven by the decolonization of Indonesia and Suriname, which motivated return migration among Dutch expatriates, many of whom had Indonesian or Surinamese brides (Jansen 2006).

Similar but less pronounced downward trends are observed for Portugal, Romania and Spain. Other countries such as the United Kingdom and Switzerland exhibit somewhat less variation over the years, maintaining either a gender-balanced or female-dominated immigrant population. Despite some de-feminization, on the whole the data reveal women's predominance in foreign-born populations across Europe historically even though the trend line suggests a modest decline. However, note that the trend line is influenced by the Netherlands (1960), which is an outlier among the estimates.

Figure 7 illustrates national origin differences in the gender ratio of immigrant populations in the five largest regional destinations in Europe. These destination countries receive international migrants from places far and wide. In addition to migrants from nearby European countries, there is a significant presence of immigrants from Africa, South Asia and Latin America. France, by far, has the largest foreign-born population (7.3 million foreign-born persons), followed by the United Kingdom (4.5 million), Italy (2.4 million), Spain (2.1 million) and Greece (1 million).

In France, the largest national origin immigrant group was from Algeria (18 percent), followed by Morocco (12 percent) and then other African nations (11 percent). Historically, from these three origin communities, more men have come into France than women. Adepoju (2006) contends that although migration from Africa has historically been male dominated, the trend is gradually changing. He adds that the African migrant streams have become feminized in recent times as women from several African countries travel more autonomously to Europe and to oil-producing countries to work in health care and other domestic labor industries.



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012
 Note: FB= total number of foreign born living in country in that year

Figure 7. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in 5 Largest Regional Destinations in Europe by Top 3 National Origins, 18+ years

In the United Kingdom, the largest national origin group includes immigrants from three Commonwealth South Asian countries - India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (22 percent of the total immigrant population). The next largest immigrant groups were from Africa and Western Europe, each constituting about 19 percent of the foreign-born population in the UK. Female immigrants clearly predominate in the United Kingdom, particularly from Africa and other Western European countries. Most notably, the vast majority of African immigrants were female, a fact likely linked to the immigration of

care workers and nurses to the UK. In contrast, the gender composition of immigrant populations in Italy reveals much more variation. Approximately 60 percent of Italian immigrants from the European Union 15⁷ were women, compared to 51.2 percent for those from Central and Eastern Europe, and 38.1 percent from North Africa.

The three largest national origins among immigrants in Spain are Morocco, Ecuador and Colombia, and they display substantial variation in gender composition. Moroccan immigration is by far and large male-dominated (only 38 percent female), followed by Ecuadorians (52.2 percent female) and female-dominated Colombian immigration (60.4 percent female). Large numbers of Colombian and Ecuadorian women travel to Spain to work as domestic helpers and care-givers. In Greece, the largest national origin immigrant group, Albanians, was male majority but both German and Turkish immigrant groups consisted of more women. Albanians constituted more than one-third of the foreign-born in Greece; many migrated to Greece, both legally and illegally, after the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe (Vidali 1999).

Overall, European destinations contain much diversity in their immigrant populations. Migration circuits in this region are defined by historical and colonial ties as well as the contemporary drivers of migration such as health care professional migration among African women and domestic workers' migration from Latin American countries. The migration circuits linking France and Northern/other African countries are also highly gendered consisting of many more men than women. The United Kingdom and South Asian countries are linked via their colonial history, whereas the female dominated African immigrants are motivated by health care labor demand. Similarly interesting

⁷ European Union 15 includes Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom.

variations are observed among national origin groups in Italy, Spain and Greece at the beginning of the 21st century.

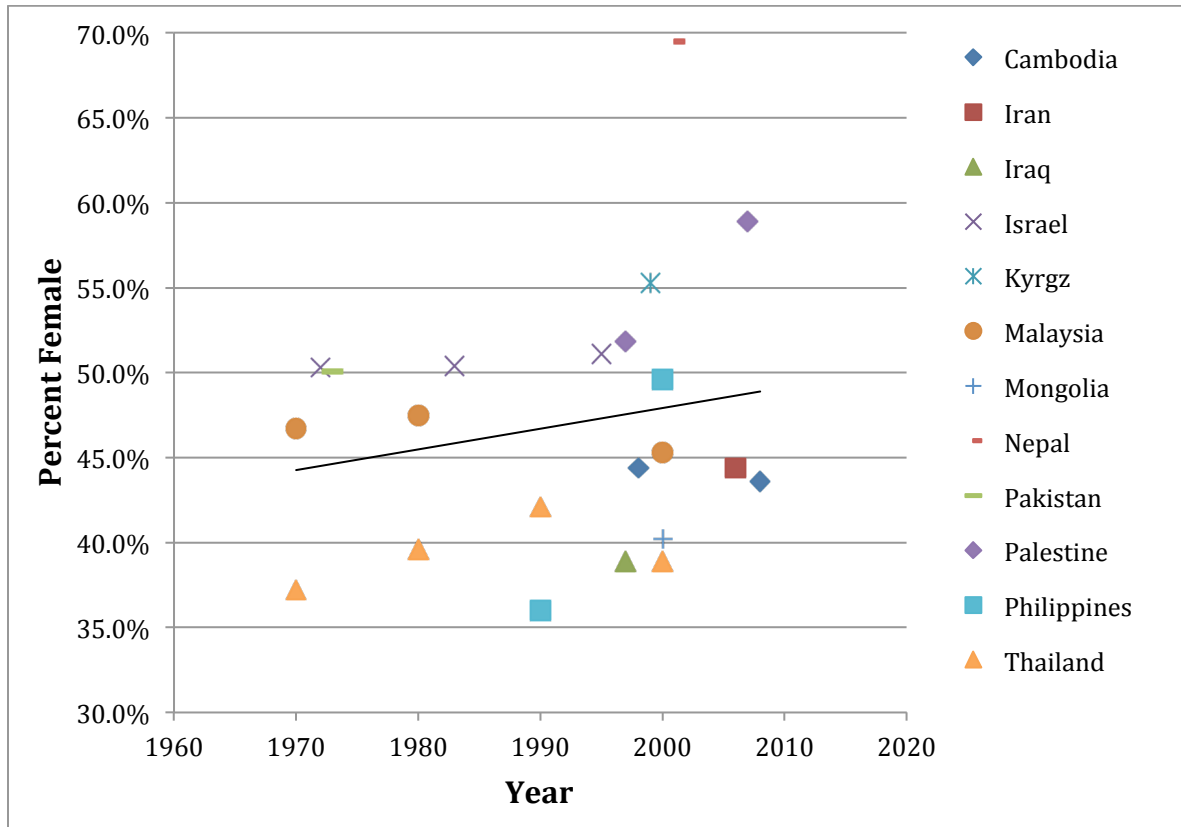
Asia

Although the topic of migration has not been explored in the Asian context to the same extent as in Europe and the Americas, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2009) estimates that Asia has a highly mobile population and houses over 60 million of the world's 213 million international migrants. Figure 8 depicts the gender makeup of immigrant populations in 12 Asian countries for which we have data. The trend line indicates an increase in women's representation among immigrants residing in this region over the years.

Estimates of the gender composition are quite dispersed suggesting substantial variation in the gender composition of foreign-born populations. However, the majority of estimates fall under the 50 percent mark indicating that most immigrant populations in this region are male-dominated. Israel, Nepal, Kyrgyz Republic and Palestine are exceptions because they have comparatively more feminized foreign-born populations than other Asian nations.

In Israel, since 1970, the foreign-born population has remained approximately gender balanced. Donato et al. (2011) noted that the gender balance in Israel could be understood in terms of the uniqueness of the country in that it attracts families as well as older individuals for religious and ethnicity-related reasons. In addition, the politically volatile territory of Palestine has experienced nearly a 10 percentage point increase,

rising from slightly more than 50 percent female to almost 60 percent female between 1998 and 2008.

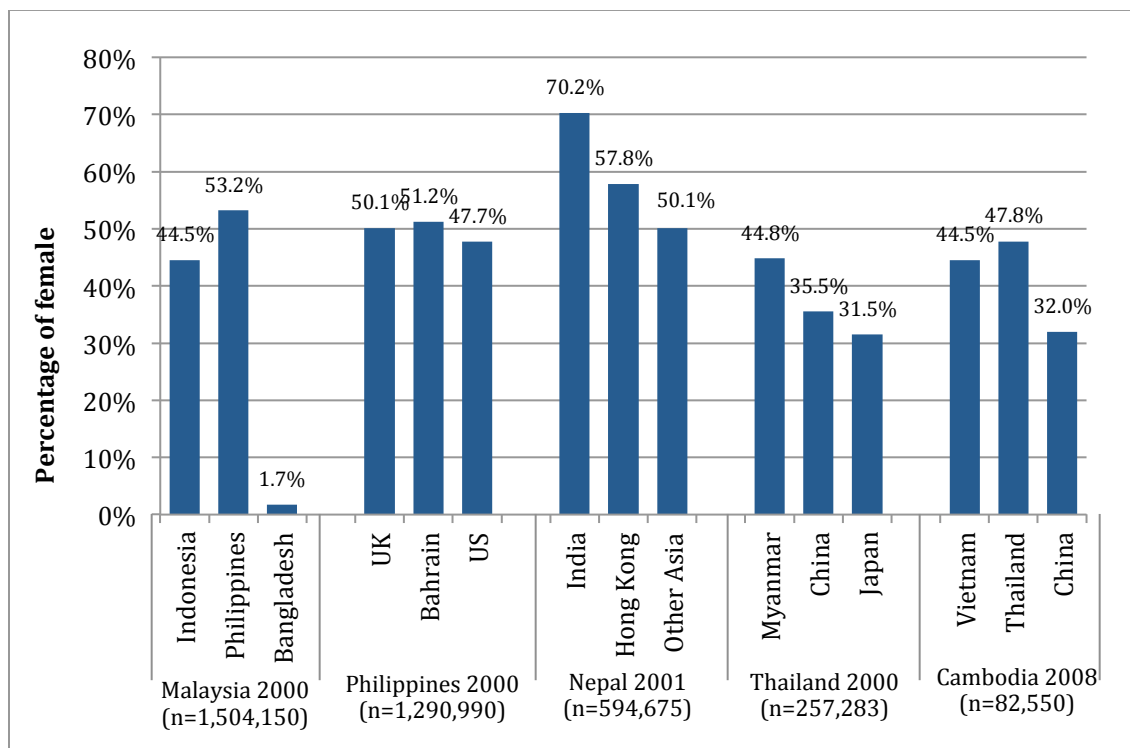


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012

Figure 8. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in Asia, including the Middle East, 18+ Years: 1970- 2008

Figure 8 also shows that Nepal’s immigration is distinctly feminized compared to other destinations. Likewise, data from the Philippines show a huge leap towards feminization, with a 14 point increase in percent female in one decade, between 1990 and 2000. On the other hand, a contrasting story emerges for Cambodia, Iraq, Mongolia, Malaysia and Thailand. In these countries, the immigrant populations are heavily male.

It is important to note that data on Asian countries are quite sparse compared to other parts of the world, both in terms of chronological and geographical coverage. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the two largest countries in the region, India and China, are missing from the analysis. Nonetheless, this analysis offers an exciting starting point to begin to explore the variability in the gender distribution of migrant populations living in this region.



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012. Note: FB= total number of foreign born living in country in that year

Figure 9. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in 5 Largest Regional Destinations in Asia by Top 3 National Origins, 18+ Years

As Figure 9 illustrates, the largest recipient of migrants in this region is Malaysia with over 1.5 million foreign-born individuals residing in the country at the turn of the 21st

century. The second largest Asian destination is the Philippines with 1.3 million foreign-born individuals, third is Nepal with approximately 600,000 immigrants, followed by Thailand with slightly more than one quarter of a million and Cambodia with just over 80,000 immigrants.

Indonesians, the largest national origin immigrant group in Malaysia, constitute slightly less than half (42 percent) of the total immigrant population, followed by immigrants from the Philippines (8 percent) and then Bangladesh (4 percent). While the Philippines sent mostly women, which is consistent with prior studies, Indonesians in Malaysia were male dominated, and strikingly Bangladeshi immigrants were almost entirely men, with less than two percent of Bangladeshis in Malaysia being women. Oishi (2005) and Donato et al. (2011) noted that this extremely low presence of women is due to the demand for manual labor in Malaysia, which is met almost exclusively by men. Moreover, Bangladeshi law limited women's emigration until very recently. The Bangladeshi government had imposed a ban on the migration of semi-skilled and unskilled women in 1981, and this restriction was eased only in 2003, when women over 35 years of age were permitted to leave (Siddiqui 2006). The Bangladeshi case demonstrates the powerful role of the state and how it can influence the gender representation of immigrant populations around the world.

Following Malaysia, the Philippines was the second largest recipient of migrants in the Asian region with approximately 1.3 million foreign-born residing in the country in 2000. The largest national origin groups in the Philippines included immigrants from the UK, Bahrain and the United States. Immigrant populations from the UK and Bahrain

were more or less gender balanced, but there were more American men than women in the Philippines.

Nepal is a unique case among countries covered in this study. Nepal had the highest percent of women in its immigrant population (70 percent) and the top three national origin groups residing in the country were also feminized. About 70 percent of Indian immigrants in Nepal, 58 percent of Hong Kong immigrants, and 50 percent of immigrants from other Asian countries were women. It is not surprising to find many Indians in Nepal given the open border policy between the two nations signed in 1950 (Nayak 2010); the Treaty of Peace and Friendship allows citizens of both countries to freely travel and work across borders. What contributes to the large share of Indian women in Nepal is that the two nations share religious and cultural heritage, which facilitate marriage migration. Kansakar (2003) noted that the large presence of Indian women in southern parts of Nepal is indicative of marriage migration across the Nepal-India border. Therefore, the Nepali case reveals that a variety of factors, including cultural similarities and state treaties, shape migration and produce circuits that may be distinctly gendered.

On the other hand, immigrants in Thailand were heavily male for all three top senders. The largest national origin group is Burmese (43 percent of total foreign-born population), followed by Chinese (21 percent) and then Japanese (10 percent). As Figure 9 illustrates, the overwhelming majority of Japanese immigrants were men and Japanese women comprised less than one-third of the total Japanese immigrant population in Thailand as of 2000. About the same gender distribution is observed among Chinese immigrants. Japanese and Chinese immigrants travel to Thailand mostly for business

purposes to fill senior or other managerial positions, held mostly by men (IOM- Thailand 2011). In addition, Thailand's government granted about 270,000 immigrants who entered the country before 1972 permanent residency, and of those, 85 percent were Chinese (Muntarbhorn 2005). Finally, Burmese men are recruited to occupy low-skilled jobs in Thailand and other parts of Asia.

Likewise, Cambodia's foreign-born population was overwhelmingly male. Only 45 percent of the Vietnamese population, which is the largest immigrant group residing in Cambodia, were women. About 48 percent of the Thai national origin group were women and the share of women among the Chinese immigrants was noticeably small (32 percent). According to the Asian Migration Center (2002), Cambodia draws migrants from Vietnam to work in the construction sector and fill positions such as foremen, craftsmen and mechanics. Similarly, the majority of Chinese immigrants enter the country to fill managerial and other highly skilled jobs among other things.

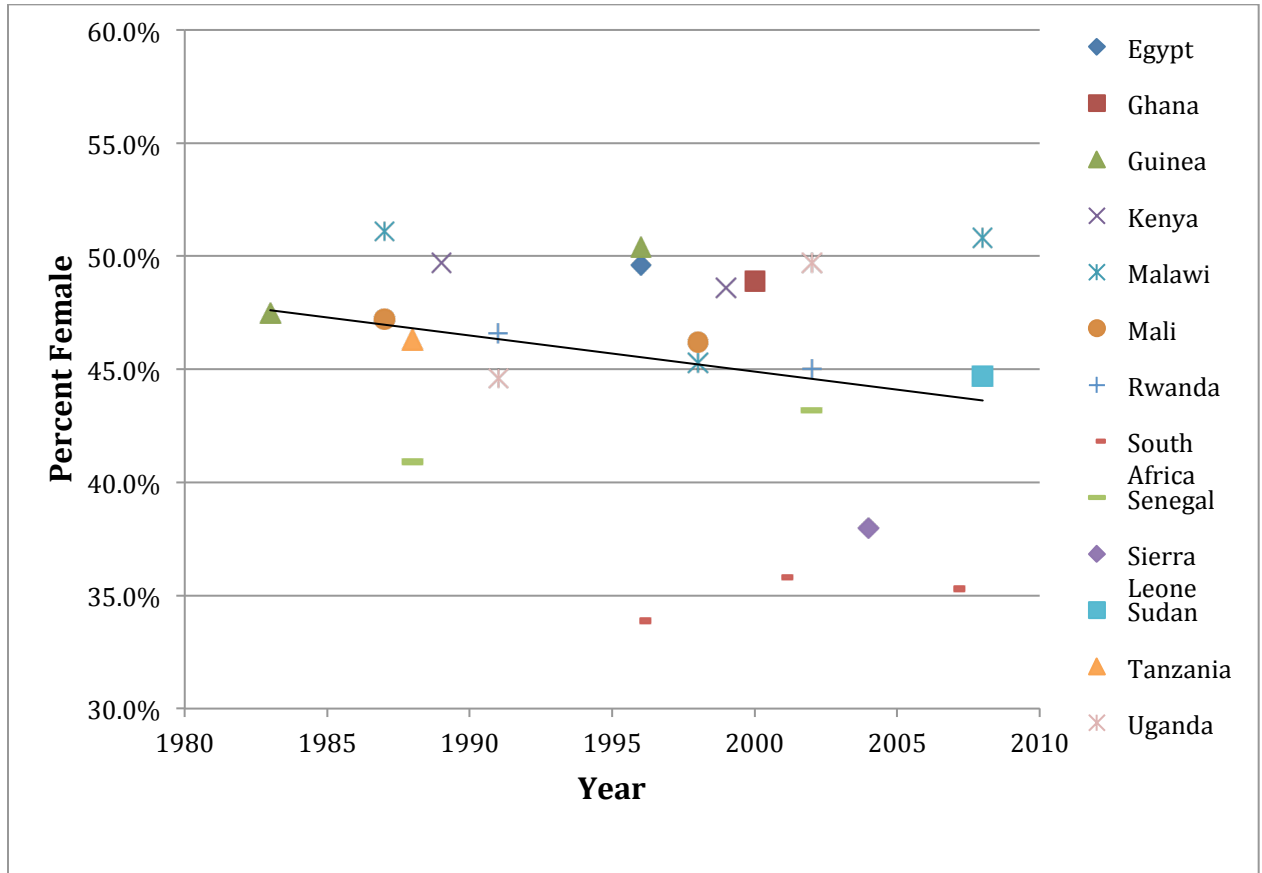
In the top Asian destinations, it appears that immigrants are mostly coming from neighboring countries, with the exception of the Philippines which draws immigrants from the United Kingdom and the United States. In general, men continue to dominate in the migration streams to Asian destinations. However, there are some unique cases such as Nepal with overwhelmingly feminized immigrant populations, which can be attributed to open borders and cultural factors that facilitate marriage of Indian women to Nepali men. As observed in other regions, labor-related migration circuits linking Bangladesh to Malaysia, and Japan and China to Thailand, mostly draw male migrants. On the other hand, there is some evidence that the migration circuits are also characterized by cultural and marriage motivations (e.g. Israel and Nepal, respectively).

Africa

As of 2010, Africa housed over 19 million international migrants and that number is steadily increasing (United Nations 2009). However, very little is known about the migrant populations living in this region and even lesser is known about their gender breakdown. Adepoju (2004) contends that like in other parts of the world, most international migrations in Africa are driven by rapid population growth and unemployment in origin countries. Additionally, several parts of Africa continue to experience ethno-political conflicts and civil strife engendering forced migration to neighboring countries and Europe. According to the most recent estimates from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are about 2.7 million refugees in Africa, which constitutes about one-fifth of the global refugee population (2011). The UNHCR *Global Trends Report* reveals that the refugee population in sub-Saharan Africa is feminized (51.2%) but in southern Africa, refugees are largely men. Given the scale and frequency of forced migration and other forms of displacement, it is important to keep in mind that the refugee populations are often enumerated as part of the foreign-born stock in the African nations included in this analysis. However, the analysis does not make distinction between refugee and voluntary immigrant groups because the data sets do not allow it.

As Figure 10 illustrates, gender ratios of foreign-born populations for the nine African nations vary geographically and by census years. Overall, immigrant populations residing in this area are predominantly male and the trend line indicates a gradual decline in women's presence in these populations in the recent years suggesting a trend toward defeminizing. However, we have to be very cautious while interpreting the trend line

since we have few cases for this region and most nations have limited chronological coverage. Also, note that the trend line may be influenced by the recent estimates of the gender composition of immigrants in South Africa, which has an overwhelmingly male foreign-born stock.



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012

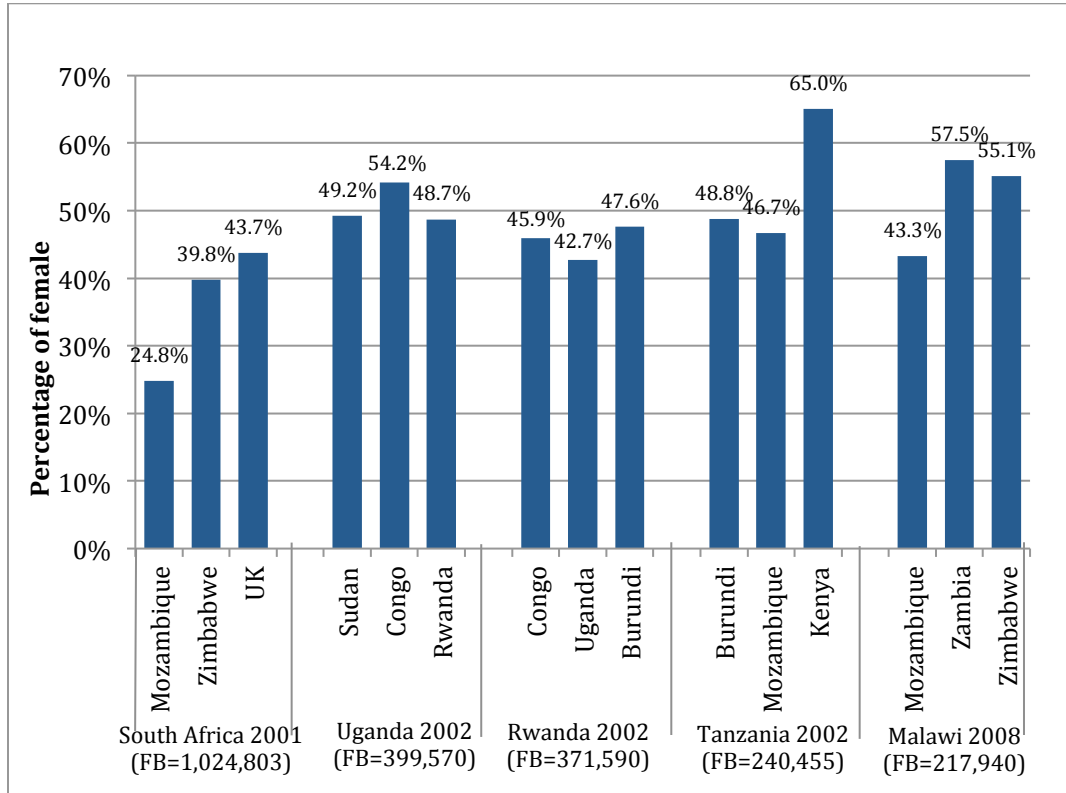
Figure 10. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born population in Africa, 18+ Years: 1983- 2008

Compared to other African cases, Malawi has a more feminized immigrant population but gender ratios have fluctuated considerably over the three census periods. In 1987, the share of women in the foreign-born stock was more than 50 percent, but the

estimate dipped to 45 percent in 1998 and then dramatically increased to over 50 percent in 2008. In contrast, immigration in South Africa has been consistently and overwhelmingly male. The large presence of male immigrants in the country can be attributed to the large coal and gold mining industries that depend on male migrant workers (Zlotnik 2004). In addition, a report published by the South African Institute of International Affairs (Hughes 2007) on migration in southern Africa stated that migrants who seek work in South Africa, and particularly female migrants, are often victims of violence, overt hostility, social exclusion and economic exploitation, making South Africa particularly unappealing to female migrants. The report also indicated that while there are some opportunities for contract work, female migrants in South Africa have limited opportunities in terms of scope, location and pay. Therefore, labor demands in the mining industry and its unfavorable environment for female migrants are presumably responsible for the low representation of women in the foreign-born population.

Sierra Leone also has considerably fewer women than men in their foreign-born population. On the other hand, Egypt (49.6 percent female in 1996), Guinea (50.4 percent female in 1996) and Uganda (49.7 percent female in 2002) had relatively gender-balanced foreign-born populations. These countries have experienced some economic growth in recent years, albeit unevenly. While Egypt experienced dramatic increase in per capita GDP (in constant 2000 US\$) in the 1990s, Guinea and Uganda only saw modest increases in per capita GDP (World Bank, n.d.). These economic changes may have implications for the gender distribution of the migrant populations in these nations since economic growth increases the need for both low-skilled manual laborers and domestic workers, creating a demand for both male and female migrant workers.

However, in absence of systematic migration studies in most countries in this region, there is still a lot to uncover about the factors that contribute to the gendering of migration streams overall.



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS- International), accessed in May 2012
 Note: FB= total number of foreign born living in country in that year

Figure 11. Age-standardized Estimates of the Gender Composition of Foreign-born Populations in 5 Largest Regional Destinations in Africa by Top 3 National Origins, 18+ Years

The five largest destinations for migrants in Africa are South Africa, Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania and Malawi. These countries are also some of the largest recipients of refugee populations and asylum seekers from various parts of the continent, indicating that the substantial presence of some immigrant groups is due to the influx of refugees fleeing violence in origin countries. Early in the 21st century, armed conflict and political

instability in the Great Lakes region, particularly in Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Burundi, drove a large number of refugees to neighboring countries such as Tanzania and Uganda, and as far as southern African countries (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2001). Note too that a handful of countries, such as Rwanda and Sudan, are both receiver and sender of refugees. The UNHCR (2001) further reported that Rwanda housed almost 60,000 refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi. Unfortunately, our data sets do not allow distinction between voluntary migrants and refugees or asylum seekers.

As Figure 11 illustrates, South Africa is the largest regional destination with over 1 million foreign-born individuals, followed by Uganda and Rwanda with just under 400,000 immigrants, and Tanzania and Malawi with about a quarter of a million each. In the African context, migrants seem to originate from a handful of countries, namely Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Congo and Burundi. For instance, Mozambique was one of the largest national origin groups in South Africa and constituted about 26 percent of the total immigrants in the country. Similarly, in Tanzania and Malawi, 18 percent and 26 percent of the foreign-born populations, respectively, were from Mozambique. Although immigrants from Mozambique legally traveled to South Africa to work in mines and farms in the 1990s, they also entered in large numbers through illegal means (Crush 2008). Likewise, Zimbabwe is one of the three largest immigrant groups in South Africa and Malawi, and the Congolese is one of the biggest national origin groups in Uganda and Rwanda. Interestingly, Uganda is both one of the largest receivers of migrants and one of the largest senders to Rwanda.

In terms of gender composition, the largest national origin groups in all five countries are strikingly male-dominated with the exception of Congolese immigrants in Uganda, Kenyan immigrants in Tanzania, and Zambian and Zimbabwean immigrants in Malawi. In South Africa, only a quarter of the Mozambique immigrant group was female. In Zimbabwean and British national origin groups, men were in the majority as well. In contrast, immigrant groups in Uganda appear to be either gender balanced or at least approaching gender balance– the Sudanese and Rwandans with just below 50 percent, and Congolese with 54 percent female. Toma and Vause (2010) suggested that women in Congo are less subjected to social control and have higher labor market participation than countries like Senegal and, therefore, face fewer restraints in migrating. In Rwanda, all three top national origin groups have more men than women. However, a different story unfolds for Tanzania. While immigrants from Burundi and Mozambique are largely men, immigrants from Kenya are predominantly women with 65 percent of Kenyan immigrants in Tanzania being female. Along the same lines, Zambian and Zimbabwean immigrants in Malawi are largely women but those coming from Mozambique are mostly men.

African immigration is therefore very much male dominated and originates from a handful of countries in the region. However, Adepoju (2004) argues that there is some evidence of feminization in African migrant streams in more recent years. He notes that African women, particularly from Nigeria, Ghana and Tanzania, are traveling abroad to pursue higher education and careers in European and Arab countries. Most are professionals, mostly physicians and nurses. Relatively more is known about Africans traveling to Western and Gulf countries compared to migrants traveling to African

destinations. From the few cases we have in this study, it appears that women's migration circuits are patterned by economic activities.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

There is now a large body of scholarship that attests to the significance of gender in migration studies. Recent studies have made considerable strides in gendering migration theories by demonstrating that the motivations, experiences, and consequences of migration are distinct for men and women. The next important step toward developing a coherent and comprehensive understanding of male-female migration is to examine the gender distribution of migrants living in different parts of the world today and examine how they vary across space and historical times. Past research efforts (e.g. Tyree and Donato 1986; Oishi 2005; United Nations 2006; Donato et al. 2011) have started to look into the gender makeup of immigrant populations living in several parts of the world. These works have raised intriguing questions regarding the gendered processes, circuits, and consequences that characterize contemporary migration. This paper attempts to push the scholarship further by answering some of the questions raised in those studies.

My analysis explored the gendered landscape of international migration by estimating and examining the age-standardized gender ratios of foreign-born stocks in 56 countries since 1960 to gauge the extent of the feminization of migration. My results show an observable shift toward feminization of immigrant populations for most nations, but there is much heterogeneity in the degree of feminization throughout the world. Moreover, trends of de-feminization were observed in some nations, particularly in Brazil, Ireland and South Africa. Even more remarkable differences in the gender composition of immigrant groups emerged when assessing the gender distribution of

immigrant populations by national origin within the regional destination countries. As such, there is more variation at the smaller level of geography. In fact, the regional figures tend to converge closer to the 50% mark than most individual country figures, and therefore regional figures conceal the immense heterogeneity within regions.

Another important finding is that age-standardized estimates of gender composition of immigrant populations offer conservative measure of feminization. Methodologically, I demonstrated how the effects of differential mortality rates of men and women at older age can be controlled using the age standardization procedure to assess the degree of feminization. Age standardization produces more conservative estimates of the gender ratio and ensures that the greater enumeration of female migrants as compared to men in stock data is not because aging foreign-born men are leaving the population (i.e. dying) at higher rates than their female counterparts. This technique is widely used in demographic studies and adds power to the estimation of population related statistics. Future migration studies can greatly benefit from this method.

On the substantive side, findings from this paper add to already formidable evidence that migration is gendered. Importantly, the uneven representation of women in immigrant populations and gender-specific migration circuits suggest that international migration occurs in the interactive context of individual, household, societal and state level factors. As such, this paper maps migration circuits that link sending and receiving communities to suggest why some countries send more women than men and vice versa. Although the male migration circuits are somewhat consistent with what neo-classical theories predict, women's circuits have some unique features. This study offers evidence that female-dominated migration streams are also driven by employment activity, such as

the female African nurses in European countries, Filipina domestic workers in the United States, and Paraguayan sex workers in Argentina. Some circuits also highlight the role of non-tangible motivations such as the matters of family and marriage (e.g. migration of Indian brides to Nepal) driving female migration. There is also evidence suggesting that highly skilled women are increasingly traveling abroad to pursue educational and career goals.

A state's stance on emigration of women also plays a vital role in patterning male-women's migration. Countries like Bangladesh and Nepal have had restrictive policies on women's migration for low-skilled and domestic work abroad. Hence, there is low representation of Bangladeshi and Nepali women in the Gulf countries compared to male counterparts. On the receiving end, immigration policies geared towards importation of affordable manual labor to work in construction and mining industries select on male migration. Therefore, on the whole, there is convincing evidence that the factors producing gendered migration circuits are best understood by taking an integrative approach such as the one proposed by Oishi (2005).

The feminization of migrant populations has important implications for migrants and their families, for sending and receiving communities, and for migration regimes at national and transnational levels. Although my study does not directly measure or quantify these consequences, I discuss several of them for future researchers to consider. First, women's movement to take up wage employment and to pursue other aspirational goals challenges normative gender expectations. Women who not only cross household boundaries but independently travel beyond their national frontier to provide for themselves and their family are likely to experience migration as a source of

empowerment and an exercise of freedom, especially those from traditional, patriarchal societies. At the household level, migration of care-providers may shift the balance of power in families by reconfiguring the household division of labor. Men who stay behind have to take on child-rearing and provide care for the older members of the family. Such changes at the individual and household levels portend much larger changes at the societal level. On the flip side, emigration of many women, especially mothers, may create care strain in families and adversely affect the children (Parrenas 2005). In addition, the transnational relationship stresses marital ties and challenges the traditional notion of family – the extent of which is not fully known at this point (Mazzucato and Schans 2011).

Having many women in immigrant populations may affect the local marriage market by inflating the pool of marriageable-aged women in destinations, while at the same time, deflating the number in sending communities. The negative effects of sex ratio imbalance have been documented extensively in India, China and South Korea, where sex-selective abortions have produced significantly more men than women. Some speculated consequences include a surplus of unmarried men, the importation of foreign brides, and social instability (Yi et al. 1993; Dreze and Khera 2000; Hesketh and Xing 2006). In the receiving communities, the immigration of young women expands and diversifies the marriage market for the native men. Among immigrant women, the pool of preferred marriage partners may be dramatically reduced in the foreign land since most immigrants prefer endogamous marriage (Pagnini and Morgan 1990; Angrist 2002). As a result, unmarried immigrant women may intermarry or delay/forgo marriage altogether. Moreover, when immigrant women marry men in destination communities, the likelihood

of return migration is reduced and may result in permanent care drain as well as brain drain from sending communities.

Women's increasing migration to undertake certain categories of jobs also affects the labor market. Although migration increases women's overall participation in the labor force, it may contribute to segmentation of the global labor market whereby immigrant women are funneled into low-paying domestic jobs with little prospects for advancement. Studies have shown that immigrant women are often confined to an enclave economy that offers lower pay, long work hours and challenging working conditions (Zhou and Nordquist 1994; Chiswick and Miller 2005; Xie and Gough 2009). Although immigrant women's increasing economic participation in ethnic enclaves provides a livelihood, it may hinder their incorporation into the larger formal labor market. In addition, the intimate services and emotional labor that women from poorer countries provide in the richer economies become commodified in the global capitalist system (Constable 2009). Hochschild (2003) goes as far as to argue that the extraction of love and care is a new form of imperialism. In addition to "care drain," the sending countries also experience brain drain as educated and highly-skilled women leave to seek better opportunities elsewhere (Dumont, Martin and Spielvogel 2007).

The changing gender composition of immigrant populations also raises questions about the adequacy of current emigration and immigration laws catering to the increasingly feminized migrant population. Current migration regimes still operate under the presupposition that migration is a male phenomenon. Countries that have recently started sending more women do not yet have legal structures to facilitate female emigration and to ensure their well-being at the destinations. Lack of proper support

systems and regulations of the recruitment and deployment of migrant workers inevitably leads to exploitation and abuse (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). Often, receiving countries are not fully prepared to address the needs of the unprecedented number of female immigrants from a range of countries and cultures. For example, Thierfelder, Tanner and Bodiang (2005) discuss the inability of the Swiss health care system to adequately address specific gynecological and obstetric health care needs of migrant women from Africa who have undergone female genital mutilation. This is just one example of the lack of preparedness among destination countries receiving culturally diverse, female-dominated immigrant populations. Therefore, new legal frameworks and migration regimes should be tailored to meet the needs of the changing demographics of migrant populations.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge a number of limitations in the analysis above. First, there are only 56 countries in the analysis with uneven spatial and historical coverage. While some distinct patterns emerged in terms of the gendered patterns of migration, the small number of countries poses some problem in drawing generalizable conclusions. Second, census data are gathered from multiple sources and although the data are harmonized, there may be cases in which variables may not be exactly comparable. For instance, in terms of origin location, some censuses report individual countries while others report regions and continents. Finally, stock data, as opposed to flow data, are limited in the sense that it is challenging to precisely understand the effects of the gender composition of recent immigrant groups on the overall gender ratio even though they permit removing the effects of age. For instance, age standardization does not take into account fully the inflow of aging parents, mostly surviving mothers, who

move to live with their children at destination countries. In addition, other variables such as differential rates of return migration, which may affect the gender ratio of immigrants in a considerable way, cannot be controlled for. However, despite these shortcomings, this project has produced some important and exciting findings that add substantively to international migration scholarship and will spearhead further research into this crucial topic.

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